

NOTES AND REFERENCES

The following abbreviations have been used:

AFG	<i>Argument of Franklin B. Gowen, Esq., of Counsel for the Commonwealth, in the Case of the Commonwealth vs Thomas Munley</i>
AP	Allan Pinkerton
BF	Benjamin Franklin
CAC	<i>Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Alexander Campbell, for the Murder of John P. Jones. Trial transcript</i>
CAS	Charles A. Siringo
CEK	<i>Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Edward Kelly. Trial transcript</i>
CMD	<i>Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Michael J. Doyle. Trial transcript</i>
CvC	<i>James Carroll, James Boyle, Hugh M'Gehan, and James Roarity, Plaintiffs in Error, vs The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Defendant in Error</i>
DDC	<i>Dennis Donnelly, Plaintiff in Error, vs The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Defendant in Error</i>
DvC	<i>Thomas Duffy, Plaintiff in Error, vs The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Defendant in Error</i>
ECD	<i>The Evidence in the Case of Dennis Donnelly</i>
ERN	Richardson, Edmund. Notes, Affidavits, and Related Material produced for <i>State of Idaho v. Steve Adams</i> , District Court, Wallace, Shoshone County, Idaho, February–March, 1907. Western Federation of Miners/International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Collection, Bound Materials #73–77, Archives, University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries, Boulder, Colorado
FBG	Franklin B. Gowen
FRG	Governor Frank R. Gooding
GDB	George D. Bangs
GHB	George H. Bangs
HML	Molly Maguire Papers. Reading Company Law Department Records (Call Number 1520, Series V), Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Delaware
HSP	Molly Maguire Reports. Historical Society of Pennsylvania Society Small Collection [0022B] (box 25, folders 2–3), Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
ISA	Pinkerton Papers. James H. Hawley Papers (M12), Idaho State Archives, Idaho History Center, Boise, Idaho
JM	James McParlan(d)
LoC	Pinkerton's National Detective Agency Records (MSS 36301), Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC

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- PAH Molly Maguire Manuscript Collection, American Catholic Historical Society Manuscript Collections (ID MC12), Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center, St. Charles Borromeo Seminary, Wynnewood, Pennsylvania
- RAP Robert A. Pinkerton
- RCK *Report of the Case of the Commonwealth vs John Kehoe et al. ... for an Aggravated Assault and Battery with Intent to Kill Wm. M. Thomas*
- RJL Robert J. Linden
- SIA *State of Idaho v. Steve Adams*, District Court, Rathdrum, Kootenai County, Idaho, October 25–November 24, 1907. Trial transcript. Western Federation of Miners/International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Collection, Bound Materials #73–77, Archives, University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries, Boulder, Colorado
- SIH *State of Idaho v. William D. Haywood*, District Court, Boise, Ada County, Idaho, June 4–July 30, 1907. Trial transcript. Western Federation of Miners/International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Collection, Bound Materials #61–71, Archives, University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries, Boulder, Colorado
- TAN Investigation of Shooting of J.A. Ancheta, 1891–92. Governor L. Bradford Prince Papers, 1889–1893 (Collection 1959–088), Special Reports and Issues (microfilm reel number 121), Territorial Archives of New Mexico, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico
- WAP William A. Pinkerton

Preface

1. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania implicated members of the Molly Maguires in sixteen murders during the trials held from 1876 to 1878. Other sources put the numbers much higher; see, for example, the article from *The Miners' Journal, and Pottsville General Advertiser* of March 30, 1867 (reprinted in Dewees, *The Molly Maguires*: 372–374), in which more than fifty murders were listed as having occurred in Schuylkill County in 1863–67 alone.
2. The following account of McKenna's activities has drawn heavily from CAC: 613–629; RCK: 92–98; Dewees, *The Molly Maguires*: 256–274; and *Among the Assassins!*: 14–17.
3. JM, in RCK: 93. The use of primary materials and original sources allows a historical immediacy and authenticity that is not otherwise possible. Therefore, in quoting them, the idiosyncratic punctuation and spelling have been retained, corrections being made or [*sic*] being used only where necessary for clarity.
4. JM, testimony in first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 11, 1876; JM, in *Among the Assassins!*: 15.
5. JM, in RCK: 94.
6. RCK: 95.
7. RCK: 95.
8. Frank McAndrew, quoted in AP, *The Molly Maguires and the Detectives*: 491.
9. Dewees, *The Molly Maguires*: 267.
10. *The Mauch Chunk Coal Gazette*, July 16, 1876.

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1. John W. Ryon, in second trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, July 20, 1875.
2. FBG, quoted in AFG.
3. Hurt, James McPartland: 1.
4. Aurand and Gudelunas, *The Mythical Qualities of Molly Maguire*: 91, 102; emphasis added.
5. For example, Campbell, *A Molly Maguire Story*; Crown, *A Molly Maguire on Trial*; Elliott,

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Introduction; Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*; Lens, *The Labor Wars*; McCarthy, *The Great Molly Maguire Hoax*; Young, *Harp Song for a Radical*.

6. For example, Dewees, *The Molly Maguires*; Pinkerton, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*.
7. *Denver Catholic Register*, May 22, 1919; Shoaf, *Unwinding the Tangled Skein*: 1.
8. The most notable were Kelly, *The Outlaw Trail*; Baker, *The Wild Bunch at Robbers Roost*; and Horan, *Desperate Men*.
9. Horan, *Desperate Men*: 248–249. It would be years before I had the background to realize that Horan – a reporter and editor for the *New York Journal American* and the only writer not employed by Pinkerton’s to be allowed extended access to the agency’s archives – occasionally muddled his facts, including the misspelling of McParland’s name and giving him a fictitious middle initial.
10. Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*.
11. That the files were purged before they went to the Library of Congress does not imply that they were sanitized to hide the truth specifically about McParland. John R. Sellers, the historical specialist on the Civil War and curator of the Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress (and one of the individuals responsible for the acquisition of the Pinkerton’s archives), indicated that many files and reports were never retained in the first place as agency policy was to deliver them to the employing client at the end of a case to eliminate the need to store any but the most important materials. Further, he noted that active culling of materials by Pinkerton’s had been going on for decades, ever since a decision was taken to eliminate sensitive files – particularly those related to investigations of labor unions and strikes – that might be subpoenaed or stolen (as actually occurred shortly before McParland’s last major investigation).

In fact, a policy of closing such files was in force more than a century ago. Charlie Siringo, the famous “cowboy detective” who worked for Pinkerton’s for twenty-two years, quoted a 1907 letter from John Cornish, the manager of Pinkerton’s Eastern Division, to George D. Bangs, the agency’s general manager, showing how this was done. “Mr Goodwin will return this letter to New York, enclosing with it the journal memorandum and any other correspondence he has on the matter,” Cornish wrote. “We do not want anything on file at the Buffalo office in connection with this case. The Lackawanna Steel Company is a client of the Buffalo office and we want to have the Buffalo office in a position to say if ever the question comes up to them that they did not know the work was being done” (Siringo, *Two Evil Isms*: 50).

Yet more limitations on McParland material were brought about because most remaining documents are from the agency’s two primary offices: Chicago and New York. Even when Pinkerton’s consolidated its historic information into the archive that was eventually donated to the Library of Congress, little material from the numerous branch offices was kept. As most documents relating to McParland would have been in the Denver office – where he was based for about three decades – this further decreased the chances of finding relevant items.

12. See, for example, Miller and Sharpless, *The Kingdom of Coal*; Salay, *Hard Coal, Hard Times*.
13. JM, quoted in RCK: 27.
14. Lin Bartholomew, quoted in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, July 24, 1876.
15. Of course, even though these reports are not known to exist, they still might lay hidden or forgotten. Other papers have turned up like this. For example, in April 2001, a previously unknown set of letters between McParland and attorney A. Russell Smith was sold at an estate auction. And the author traced some of McParland’s original reports – only once before ever seen by researchers – to the descendants of the public prosecutor in a number of the Molly Maguire trials.
16. Kenny, *The Molly Maguires in Popular Culture*: 40; Lewis, *Lament for the Molly Maguires*. This assessment is actually true for a great deal of the material written about both McParland and the Molly Maguires.

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17. *Denver Catholic Register*, July 10, 1919.
18. AP, *General Principles and Rules*: 8.
19. Marx, *Undercover*: xix.
20. See, for example, Borovik, *The Philby Files*; Girodo, *Personality, Job Stress, and Mental Health in Undercover Agents*; Marshall, *Intelligence and Espionage*; Marx, *Undercover*; Taylor, *Dudley Bradstreet*.
21. Smallwood, *The Johnson Quotation Book*: 105.
22. Taylor, *Dudley Bradstreet*: 111.
23. *The Atlanta Constitution*, January 22, 1895.
24. Shoaf, *Fighting for Freedom*: 69.
25. Doyle, *The Valley of Fear*.

Chapter 1: The Makings of a Detective

1. Baptismal records, parish registers of the Catholic Church of Ireland, Diocese of Armagh, Parish of Ballymore & Mullaghbrack (Tandragee): microfilm P.5586. Since McParlan spelled his name without the concluding “d” for the first thirty-four years of his life, it will be spelled that way in this book until the period when he changed it.
2. A lack of birth records was common in Ireland, where civil registration of births became required only in 1864, and even then was not truly universal. The biographical material about McParlan has been drawn from numerous sources, including: CAC: 493–495, 561–562; Dewees, *The Molly Maguires*: 79–83; LoC, Boxes 30–31, 140; RCK: 39–45, 68–69; SIA: vol. 2, 866–870; and his testimony during the trials of the Molly Maguires, as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*.
3. For example, JM, testimony in first trial of James Carroll et al., as reported in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, May 9, 1876; JM, in DvC: 276; JM, in RCK: 39. For the claim of 1839, see JM, in SIA: vol. 2, 866.
4. United States Catholic Conference, *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, Second Edition: paragraph 1250.
5. Eugenio Biagini, Faculty of History, University of Cambridge, personal communication, July 21, 2011.
6. Niederhauser, *Phytophthora infestans*: the Mexican connection; Bourke, *Emergence of Potato Blight*.
7. Donnelly, *The Great Irish Potato Famine*; Kinealy, *This Great Calamity*; Kinealy and Parkhill, *The Famine in Ulster*.
8. Edwards and Williams, *The Great Famine*: 260, Fig. 2.
9. Baptismal records, parish registers of the Catholic Church of Ireland, Diocese of Armagh, Parish of Ballymore & Mullaghbrack (Tandragee): microfilm P.5586; in these records, McParlan’s father’s last name was spelled both McParlin and McParlan, and his mother’s maiden name was given as Loughran, Lougheran, and Lougheron.
10. Griffith’s Printed Valuation Books (microfiche MF2/2); Will (and One Codicil) of Eneas M’Parland late of Drumachee County Armagh; farmer who Died 12 July 1889, Wills Calendar 1889: 541–546.
11. Campbell, *A Molly Maguire Story*: 69; Patrick Campbell, personal communication, June 10, 2011.
12. Quote: JM, in CAC: 562. The name of his first employer at the Tyne Chemical Works has long incorrectly been listed as Christopher L. Hewson & Sons because apparently the stenographer in the first trial of John Kehoe et al. misunderstood when McParlan said, “Christian Allhusen and Sons” and transcribed it the former way (see RCK: 41). It was correctly recorded in McParlan’s notes in Pinkerton’s National Detective Agency, *History of Detectives: James McParlan*, October 16, 1880 (LoC, box 30). McParlan tended associate companies with the names of their owners, so, for example, he indicated in his Pinkerton’s

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- forms that he worked for “Stephenson’s Chemical works,” thinking of James Cochran Stevenson, who was a manager of the Jarrow Chemical Company at the time he was there.
13. JM, in Lewis, *Lament for the Molly Maguires*: 46.
 14. U.S. Customs Service, passenger lists of vessels arriving at New York, New York, 1820–1897: microfilm roll M237_282; line 50; list number 709.
 15. RCK: 42; SIA: vol. 2, 866.
 16. *The New York Herald*, 1853, cited in Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*: 147; *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, 1867.
 17. Quoted in Anbinder, *Five Points*: 27.
 18. JM, in RCK: 68.
 19. JM, testimony in first trial of James Carroll et al., quoted in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, May 9, 1876; JM, in CAC: 493c.
 20. Thale, Police.
 21. McParlan’s talents in sales must have been vastly better than his judgment of time, because his recollection of how long he remained at various jobs does not add up. He later testified that he kept his liquor store for “probably a couple of years” (CAC: 493d). When combined with the periods that he stated he held positions with Beaubien, the city police, and Dodge and Brothers, the total does not add up to the correct amount of time from July 1868 to October 1871. Moreover, the Ninth U.S. Federal Census, taken in the Ninth Ward of Chicago on June 16, 1870, shows that he was already recording his occupation as “saloon keeper.” That was less than two years after he joined Beaubien, to which would have to be added the time with the police and eight months with Dodge and Brothers. It is another case of McParlan being a little loose with accuracy. See: U.S. Federal Census, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: microfilm roll M593_204; Ninth Ward, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois, p. 50B.
 22. For updated assessments on how the fire was started, see Bales, *The Great Chicago Fire*; Cromie, *The Great Chicago Fire*.
 23. The biographical material about Pinkerton and the early history of his detective agency has been drawn from numerous sources, including: AP, *Criminal Reminiscences and Detective Sketches*; AP, *Professional Thieves and the Detective*; AP, *Thirty Years a Detective*; Horan, *The Pinkertons*; Horan and Swiggett, *The Pinkerton Story*; Lavine, *Allan Pinkerton*; LoC, boxes 1–4; Mackay, *Allan Pinkerton*; Morn, *The Eye That Never Sleeps*; Rowan, *The Pinkertons*; and numerous local newspaper accounts.
 24. Chase, *Chartism*; Williams, *John Frost*.
 25. Mackay, *Allan Pinkerton*: 53–54; *The Chicago Daily News*, May 27, 1931.
 26. AP, *Criminal Reminiscences*: 25–49.
 27. Richardson, *The New York Police*; Roots, *Are Cops Constitutional?*.
 28. Hall, *Legal and Social Aspects of Arrest Without a Warrant*; Steiker, *Second Thoughts About First Principles*.
 29. Quote from *Babington v Yellow Taxi Corp* 150 NY 14; 164 NE 726. See also Roots, *Are Cops Constitutional?*: 692.
 30. Roots, *Are Cops Constitutional?*: 692.
 31. *The Daily Democratic Press*, October 4, 1854.
 32. The railroad companies were the Illinois Central, the Michigan Central, the Michigan Southern and Northern Indiana, the Chicago and Galena Union, the Chicago and Rock Island, and the Chicago Burlington and Quincy. The Illinois Central’s “Agreement with Pinkerton & Co, February 1, 1855” is held in the Illinois Central Railroad Company Archives, the Newberry Library, Chicago.
 33. Morn, *The Eye That Never Sleeps*: 54.
 34. *The Daily Democratic Press*, April 12, 1855.
 35. Smith, *Trial of Oscar T. Caldwell*.
 36. *The Daily Democratic Press*, March 17, July 2, 1855; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 17, 1855; *Chicago Weekly Times*, July 19, 1855.

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37. *Chicago Weekly Times*, April 19, 1855.
38. Denniston, *America's Silent Investigators*: 30.
39. *The New-York Times*, September 15, 1883.
40. Hassler, *General George B. McClellan*; Sears, *George B. McClellan*.
41. See AP, *History and Evidence of the Passage of Abraham Lincoln*. In his biography of Lincoln, Ward Lamon denied that a plot had existed and implied that Pinkerton had fabricated the entire story (*The Life of Abraham Lincoln*: 511–526). However, the first person to indicate knowledge that there was a conspiracy was not Pinkerton but Samuel Felton, president of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad. Norman B. Judd, an Illinois politician traveling with Lincoln's party, confirmed that Felton first revealed the plot (see Edwards, *Sketch of the Life of Norman B. Judd*). Pinkerton described Felton's revelation in detail in *The Spy of the Rebellion*. The Pinkerton reports about the plot can be found in Cuthbert, *Lincoln and the Baltimore Plot 1861*.
42. Pinkerton has long been criticized for the excessive estimates of Confederate troop strengths that he supplied to McClellan. However, it has also been suggested that his intelligence networks intentionally overestimated to confirm McClellan's initial assessments. Pinkerton admitted in his own reports that he "estimated large," and gave the impression that he might have been instructed to do so. See Mackay, *Allan Pinkerton*, and, for Pinkerton's own account, see *The Spy of the Rebellion*.
43. Although Pinkerton's version of the unblinking eye became famous in his trade, it was not the only time such a concept was used. The San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1851 and 1856 also used the symbol of the eye, sometimes accompanied by the slogan "*Nunquam Dormio*," meaning "Never Sleep" (Ethington, *The Public City*: chapters 2–3). It is not known if Pinkerton's or the Vigilance Committee used the slogan first, but either or both might have been influenced by the Masonic all-seeing eye, which was a popular symbol of the time.
44. For example, AP, *Special Rules and Instruction to be Observed in Testing Conductors*; AP, *Tests on Passenger Conductors*. See also Morn, *The Eye That Never Sleeps*: 57–58.
45. AP, *General Principles and Rules*.
46. GHB, letter to AP, December 23, 1870: LoC, box 46, GHB letterpress copybook, vol. 1; Navarro, *History of Cuba*: 43–51.
47. Morn, *The Eye That Never Sleeps*: 53, 92.
48. U.S. Congress, *Appropriations to the Budget*; Churchill, From the Pinkertons to the PATRIOT Act: 3; Lowenthal, *The Federal Bureau of Investigation*: 6–10.
49. GHB, letter to AP, December 29, 1870: LoC, box 46, GHB letterpress copybook, vol. 1.
50. *The New-York Times*, November 14, 1871.
51. GHB, letter to AP, May 27, 1872: LoC, box 46, GHB letterpress copybook, vol. 2.
52. AP, letter to Captain Fitzgerald, Aug. 15, 1872: LoC, box 47, AP letterpress copybook, vol. 1.
53. AP, letter to GHB, October 17, 1872: LoC, box 47, AP letterpress copybook, vol. 1; emphasis in original.
54. Larson, *Jay Cooke*; Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble*.
55. AP, letter to GHB, May 18, 1873: LoC, box 47, AP letterpress copybook, vol. 1.
56. The portrayal of the Molly Maguires has changed dramatically over the past 135 years, just as the image of McParlan has.

The revisionist process by which individuals or groups have been posthumously transformed into myths that can be utilized to validate an ideological position, to explain or rationalize a social agenda, or to lend credence to a historical interpretation has been clearly demonstrated (see, for example, Helly, *Livingstone's Legacy*; Jeal, *Livingstone*; MacKenzie, *Heroic Myths of Empire*). Every myth requires a mediator to construct, develop, and interpret it, and in this case the different accounts have presented clear representations of both the Molly Maguires and those in opposition to them, in each case demonstrating the concerns, values, and political, social, and legal agendas of the mediator.

The initial narratives about the Molly Maguires reflected the perspective of the powers that

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had put them on trial – the government, railroad companies, and other big businesses – and were not friendly toward organized labor. The Molly Maguires were represented in these publications as violent Irish Catholic terrorists who ran roughshod over the coalfields until brought to justice by the heroic McParlan. The examples of this viewpoint include Pinkerton's semi-fictional *The Molly Maguires and the Detectives*, Dewees's *The Molly Maguires*, Lucy's *The Molly Maguires of Pennsylvania*, McCabe's *The History of the Great Riots*, and the anonymously written *History of Schuylkill County*. They also comprise numerous articles or pamphlets, including one in the prestigious *American Law Review* (Morse, The "Molly Maguires" Trials) and one the title of which left no doubt about its assessment: *The Molly Maguires: a Thrilling Narrative of the Rise, Progress and Fall of the Most Noted Band of Cut-Throats of Modern Times*. This interpretation remained dominant for half a century in journalistic, historical, and fictionalized accounts of the events (for example, Moffett, The Overthrow of the Molly Maguires; Rhodes, The Molly Maguires in the Anthracite Region of Pennsylvania; Rhodes, in *History of the United States*, Vol 8; and Doyle, *The Valley of Fear*).

In the 1930s, new viewpoints of the Molly Maguires and McParlan were introduced. Anthony Bimba, a fiery Lithuanian immigrant and member of the American Communist Party, had already been tried in Massachusetts in 1926 for sedition and blasphemy for a speech he gave attacking the Lithuanian political regime, supporting Bolshevism, and denouncing capitalism and the Catholic Church (see Wolkovich, *Bay State, Blue Laws and Bimba*). Bimba wrote *The Molly Maguires* as one of a number of strongly anti-capitalist books and pamphlets. He indicated that the concept of the existence of the Molly Maguires had been fabricated in the course of the class battle, and that when one swept aside the lies of the mine owners, it became apparent that the efforts of the ruling bourgeoisie were simply to destroy the miners' union, and that to do so "a campaign of vituperation was started; the label 'Molly Maguire,' with all its ruling class distortions was created; spies, provocateurs and gangsters were put to work." The Molly Maguires were not, he concluded, criminals of any kind but simply innocent martyrs of the class struggle.

Four years later, in *The Molly Maguire Riots*, J. Walter Coleman similarly placed the Molly Maguires in the context of a struggle between labor and management, although without Bimba's extreme polemics. Coleman's contextual argument and attention to detail about the Molly Maguires and the mining industry were considerably stronger than those made previously. However, he did introduce a major failing – which was followed by many later writers – by attempting to demonstrate McParlan's long-term dishonesty and lack of ethics. To do this, Coleman inaccurately portrayed the "meaning" of the verdict of the 1907 trial of William Haywood, and then extended that flawed interpretation to his assessment of the detective's role vis-à-vis the Molly Maguires.

Coleman's argument indicated that defense attorney Clarence Darrow easily undermined the testimony of key witness Harry Orchard during the Haywood trial by showing that Orchard could not have committed several murders he claimed he had carried out. Then, in a classic closing argument lasting eleven hours, Darrow "proved" McParlan to be a heinous creature: "a spy, a traitor, a liar" with methods more odious than any crime, "who never did anything in his life but lie and cheat and scheme, for the life of a detective is a living lie, that is his business; he lives one from the time he gets up in the morning until he goes to bed; he is deceiving people, and trapping people and lying to people" (quoted in Darrow's Speech in the Haywood Case: 30). Thus, the story went, by "exposing McParlan's underhand tactics in his treatment of both the Molly Maguires and Harry Orchard, Darrow won the case and secured Haywood's freedom" (Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*: 283). The authors of the accounts subscribing to this theory have thereby led their readers to assume that the verdict purposefully affirmed Haywood's innocence.

Coleman and his followers then proceeded to the argument that if McParlan's tactics in the Haywood trial were dishonest, then his investigation and testimony in the Molly Maguire trials were equally dubious. This has led to several books stating that McParlan's "entire

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career was based upon tactics so questionable that he can no longer be dismissed with merely a prayer of thanks for ridding the country of a gang of cutthroats” (see, for example, Coleman, *The Molly Maguire Riots*: 171; quoted in Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*: 4).

However, the above argument falters for three reasons. First, even were McParlan guilty of unscrupulous behavior in the Haywood case, it would not necessarily mean he had engaged in similar actions three decades before. Second, the arguments are based on only two cases, without assessing the thirty years between, so “entire career” is clearly overstated. And third, and most important, the account given of the Haywood trial is simply inaccurate. Several jurors afterward said they were thoroughly convinced by Orchard’s testimony and thought Haywood was guilty – and Judge Fremont Wood agreed (Samuel D. Gilman, in *The Idaho Daily Statesman*, July 29–30, 1907; George Powell, in *Capital News*, July 29, 1907; Davis, *Released for Publication*: 42–44; Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*: 255–261). However, Wood’s instructions to the jury largely invalidated the testimony of Orchard and led several jury members to feel that regardless of their beliefs, only a “not guilty” verdict could be returned (Samuel D. Gilman in *The Idaho Daily Statesman*, July 29–30, 1907; George Powell, in *Capital News*, July 29, 1907; Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*: 255–261). Thus, Coleman’s assessment was flawed, as are those that adhere to it, as their conclusions are derived from equally insufficient or inaccurate information.

In the aftermath of the Bimba and Coleman books, numerous accounts continued to depict the Molly Maguires as labor heroes and McParlan as a villain. *Labor’s Untold Story* by Boyer and Morais (1955) viewed the Molly Maguires as innocent laborers carrying on the struggle of the Workingmen’s Benevolent Association after it collapsed. In *The Labor Wars* (1973), Lens indicated they were martyrs to the cause of labor, framed by capitalists. Similar theses were expounded by Reilly, in *Rebels in the Shadows* (1962) – which includes wholly fictitious scenes “proving” McParlan to be guilty of perjury – by Weiss, who wrote in “Private Detective Agencies and Labour Discipline” (p. 91) that the Ancient Order of Hibernians “had been at the centre of the guerrilla warfare resistance since the strike”; by Young, in *Harp Song for a Radical* (1999); and in the 1970 film *The Molly Maguires*, in which John Kehoe was portrayed as noble, peace-loving, and principled, much the opposite of McParlan.

In the midst of this revisionism, Wayne G. Broehl published *The Molly Maguires* (1964), incorporating the most wide-ranging primary research then done and using important sources not consulted previously. This was far and away the most even-handed history of the Molly Maguires, and Broehl was not kind to McParlan in his final assessment, when Coleman’s argument was incorporated. Because of its neutrality, it has been harshly criticized by recent, less-balanced accounts (for example, Campbell, *A Molly Maguire Story*: 38; Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*: 5). An article that took a similar, neutral position was Quinn’s “Of Myths and Men,” but it did not use any primary sources, and so is of less value.

Perhaps the most important article about the Molly Maguires is “The Mythical Qualities of Molly Maguire” by Harold Aurand and William Gudelunas (1982). Like Broehl’s work, it was restrained in its assessments and showed that, other than a handful of basic facts, little can be unequivocally demonstrated about the episode, which therefore “permits the assignment of motives and roles according to a predetermined scheme” (p. 102).

The Aurand and Gudelunas thesis of preexisting bias has been demonstrated numerous times in recent books that are highly critical of McParlan. This is true of even the most scholarly work on the subject, Kevin Kenny’s *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*, which was carefully argued, extremely detailed, and pioneering in placing the Molly Maguires in the context of Irish and American social history, as well as showing the cultural, ethnic, religious, and ideological influences acting upon them. However, it ignored a great deal of evidence that was not hostile to or critical of McParlan, Pinkerton’s, and Gowen while seemingly accepting without any skepticism clearly biased criticisms of them, resulting in a strongly negative assessment of each. The McParlan appraisal was admittedly based on the Coleman argument without research into McParlan’s career that would have shown the weaknesses of such a

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position. Therefore, although extremely significant in understanding the Molly Maguires, the account is much less so in gaining a comprehension of McParlan.

Several books written by enthusiasts and giving more personal accounts than Kenny's (for example, Campbell, *A Molly Maguire Story*; Crown, *A Molly Maguire on Trial*; McCarthy, *The Great Molly Maguire Hoax*) also appear to have conformed to a predetermined judgment of unfair treatment of the Molly Maguires, as well as to McParland's wickedness.

Although not emphasizing the Molly Maguires, three books have been published about the Haywood trial and its associated investigations and trials, which are linked to the Molly Maguires through the participation of McParlan. The first major account, Grover's *Debaters and Dynamiters* (1964), was well researched, impartial, and thought provoking in its assessments and conclusions. Along with Broehl's and Kenny's books, it is the most scholarly and just work relating to McParlan. Two books published in the last fifteen years about these later events (Lukas, *Big Trouble*; Martin, *The Corpse on Boomerang Road*) each gave a fuller picture of McParland at that stage than had been produced previously, and neither was kind to him. However, it was not in either's remit to attempt a serious study of him, and although Lukas's book achieved a reasonable balance, Martin's did not. The only attempt to combine McParlan's two major cases into one work was made in an unpublished manuscript entitled "The Great McParland" by the mystery writer Zelda Popkin. Sadly, it not only ignores the rest of McParland's career but is unreliable due to numerous errors of fact.

Thus, assessments found in most of the previous works about the Molly Maguires or McParlan should be treated with care, as they tend to suffer from heavy and obvious biases.

57. The biographical material about Gowen and his early career has been drawn from several sources, including: Bowen, *Coal and the Coal Trade*: 24–33; Broehl, *The Molly Maguires*; and Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*.
58. Cardenas, *The Crime Victim in the Prosecutorial Process*: 357–360; Krent, *Executive Control Over Criminal Law Enforcement*: 290–292; Train, *The Prisoner at the Bar*. Presentments represented the findings of a grand jury without any involvement from an attorney general or district attorney, who could thereafter produce an indictment from the presentment, binding the defendant for trial.
59. Roots, *Are Cops Constitutional?*: 689–691; Train, *The Prisoner at the Bar*.
60. Ireland, *Privately Funded Prosecution of Crime*: 43; McConville and Mirsky, *Jury Trials and Plea Bargaining*; Van Alstyne, *The District Attorney*.
61. Aurand and Gudelunas, *The Mythical Qualities of Molly Maguire*: 91.
62. Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*: 10.
63. Statistics from Popkin, *The Great McParland*: 16.
64. FBG, in Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, *Verbatim Report of Proceedings at a Meeting of Share and Bond Holders*; also see Yearley, *Enterprise and Anthracite*: 201.
65. In 1870, the WBA was renamed the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association, but the old initials continued in popular use. The original name or initials are therefore used throughout the book. See Bimba, *The Molly Maguires*: 44; Schlegel, *The Workingmen's Benevolent Association*.
66. AP, *General Principles and Rules*: 6–10.
67. AP, *General Principles and Rules*: 8.
68. Broehl, *The Molly Maguires*: 144–145.
69. BF, report to FBG, October 9, 1873: HML, box 1001.
70. BF, report to FBG, October 24, 1873: HML, box 1001.
71. The account of the meeting between Pinkerton and Gowen comes from: AP, *The Molly Maguires and the Detectives*: 13–18.

Chapter 2: The Molly Maguires

1. The background material about the secret societies of Ireland owes much to several key

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- sources: Beames, *The Ribbon Societies*; Garvin, *Defenders, Ribbonmen and Others*; Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*; Lee, *The Ribbonmen*; Wall, *The Whiteboys*; and Williams, *Secret Societies in Ireland*.
2. For example, Bergin, *History of the Ancient Order of Hibernians*; Milroy, *History of the AOH*: 5; O’Dea, *History of the Ancient Order of Hibernians*: vol. 2, 771–772; Rushe, *History of Monaghan*: 278.
 3. Dawson, *Nicknames and Pseudonyms*: 202.
 4. Foster, *Letters on the Condition of the People in Ireland*: 23; Trench, *Realities of Irish Life*: 63–83. It would be surprising if the Foster claim were accurate, based on a search of the nineteenth-century House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, conducted through the University of Southampton’s Enhanced Parliamentary Papers on Ireland project, which indicated that the first time the Molly Maguires were referenced in Parliament was in 1846 for activities in 1845. Perhaps the earliest known use of the name in print was in Dublin’s daily newspaper *Freeman’s Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, which, on December 10, 1844 stated: “They called themselves the ‘Molly Maguires’, a fantastic name, but they assembled at night, and committed outrages of every kind.”
 5. For example, JM, report for AP, October 10, 1873: HML, file B-979: 3.
 6. Trench, *Realities of Irish Life*: 82.
 7. Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*: 19.
 8. For example, Broehl, *The Molly Maguires*: 1; JM, report for AP, October 10, 1873: HML, file B-979: 4–5.
 9. Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*: 13–44.
 10. Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*: 80.
 11. For background on Bannan, see Kenny, *Nativism, Labor, and Slavery*.
 12. *The Miners’ Journal and Pottsville General Advertiser*, October 3, 1857. There were other newspapers in the state that also used the term “Molly Maguires” around the same time, when looking at the Irish Catholic role in the state election.
 13. Gudelunas and Shade, *Before the Molly Maguires*: 83.
 14. For background on the history of the anthracite industry, see Binder, *Anthracite Enters the Home*; Davies, *The Anthracite Aristocracy*; Haine, *Anthracite Coal; History of Schuylkill County*; Itter, *Early Labor Troubles in the Schuylkill Anthracite District*; Powell, *The Pennsylvania Anthracite Industry, 1769–1976*; Wallace, *St. Clair*; and Yearly, *Enterprise and Anthracite*.
 15. For background on the geography of the anthracite region, see Haine, *Anthracite Coal; History of Schuylkill County*; Knies, *Coal on the Lehigh*; and Powell, *The Pennsylvania Anthracite Industry, 1769–1976*.
 16. For an overview of the railroads that were major players in the anthracite region, see Bogen, *The Anthracite Railroads*.
 17. Wiley, *Biographical and Portrait Cyclopeda of Schuylkill County*: 127.
 18. Broehl, *The Molly Maguires*: 87; Rayback, *A History of American Labor*: 109.
 19. As in any other profession, mining included men who developed methods for cheating at their work. According to Yearley (*Enterprise and Anthracite*: 179), until checking each car became regular practice, some miners loaded the bottom of the cars with useless slate and dirt and then topped them with coal. And until weighing became prevalent, the cars were loaded loosely to avoid having to put as much coal in each one.
 20. Kehoe, *John Kehoe, Plaintiff in Error, vs The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Defendant in Error*: 12; *Kehoe v. The Commonwealth*: 82.
 21. *The New-York Times*, December 26, 1888, indicated that the Buckshots used cudgels and billy clubs until one day a man named Donolan “picked up a large frozen potato and began digging the inside out of it with his pocketknife. As he dug, the fact that the interior of the potato could be fashioned into all sorts of shapes, suggested to him a new and more appropriate mold for casting a Buckshot billy. He cut the inside of the potato into irregular forms, and pouring it

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- full of molten lead produced a string of knots and knobs and jagged corners ... In the hands of an expert wielder of the cat it became a weapon that could either cut, bruise, or smash, as the operator willed.”
22. Shankman, *The Pennsylvania Anti-War Movement*: 147–149; Shankman, Draft Resistance in Civil War Pennsylvania.
 23. McClure, *Old Time Notes of Pennsylvania*: vol. 1, 545. Similar assessments were also made in Carbon County by the deputy provost marshal, E.H. Rausch, who wrote, “An organization exists throughout the Middle Coal Field, of Irishmen, known as ‘Buckshots,’ for the avowed purpose of resisting the draft” (Rausch, letter of November 16, 1863, quoted in Bulik, *American Gothic*). This emphasizes the lack of uncertainty whether the Molly Maguires and the Buckshots were the same or just similar organizations.
 24. McClure, *Old Time Notes of Pennsylvania*: vol. 1, 548–549; McClure, *Lincoln and Men of War Times*: 91.
 25. Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*: 10; Long, *Where the Sun Never Shines*: 93.
 26. General James Fry, letter to General William Whipple, August 3, 1863, quoted in U.S. War Department, *War of the Rebellion*: series III, vol. 3, 620.
 27. Colonel Charles Albright, letter to President Abraham Lincoln, November 9, 1863, quoted in U.S. War Department, *War of the Rebellion*: series III, vol. 3, 1008–1009.
 28. *The Miners’ Journal and Pottsville General Advertiser*, January 10, 1863; *The New-York Times*, November 7, 1863. Thugs or Thuggee were members of a vast and well-organized confederacy of professional assassins who were located in India for hundreds of years, at least as far back as 1356. Worshipers of Kali, the Hindu goddess of destruction, they made a practice of getting to know travelers and then garroting or strangling them and plundering the bodies. The Thugs were finally suppressed in the 1830s by the efforts of governor-general Lord William Bentinck and his chief agent, William Henry Sleeman; see Wagner, *Thuggee*.
 29. Rausch, letter of November 16, 1863, quoted in Bulik, *American Gothic*; *The Miners’ Journal and Pottsville General Advertiser*, November 11, 1863.
 30. Henry Ward Beecher, 1877, quoted in Babson, *The Unfinished Struggle*: 7.
 31. *The Miners’ Journal and Pottsville General Advertiser*, March 30, 1867; list reproduced in Dewees, *The Molly Maguires*: 372–375.
 32. *Lebanon Courier*, January 20, 1866.
 33. *Hester et al. v. The Commonwealth*: 214. For accounts of other attempts at highway robbery, see *The Miners’ Journal and Pottsville General Advertiser*, March 23, 1867; *The Sunbury Gazette*, February 23, 1867.
 34. Quote from Shalloo, *Private Police*: 61. Before 1865, law enforcement in Pennsylvania existed only at the county, city, or lower levels. When the railroad and mining companies argued that they required additional protection for their property, the private Coal and Iron Police were given powers not only to safeguard their holdings and assets, but also to investigate, arrest, and imprison. The numbers in these forces grew steadily until there were more than seven thousand. Many were relatively untrained men who were essentially hired guns enforcing the will of the mining companies. Eventually, the Coal and Iron Police largely supplanted official municipal or county police in the handling of industrial disturbances. There were numerous documented abuses by the officers, and they were accused of assault, kidnapping, rape, and murder. The violence between the striking miners and the Coal and Iron Police was so intense during the Anthracite Coal Strike of 1902 that it helped lead to the formation of the Pennsylvania State Police three years later. However, the Coal and Iron Police continued in force until Governor Gifford Pinchot revoked all of the commissions on June 30, 1931, effectively ending the organizations; see Norwood, *Strikebreaking and Intimidation*.
 35. For background on the WBA, see Chandler, *Anthracite Coal and the Beginnings of Industrial Revolution*; Pinkowski, *John Siney*; Schlegel, *The Workingmen’s Benevolent Association*; and Yearley, *Enterprise and Anthracite*.

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36. For more detailed information about the dangers faced by the miners, see Aurand, *The Anthracite Mine Workers*; Hudson Coal Company, *The Story of Anthracite*; Long, *Where the Sun Never Shines*; Miller and Sharpless, *The Kingdom of Coal*; and Wallace, *St. Clair*.
37. For background on John Siney and details of his strategies, see Killeen, John Siney; Pinkowski, *John Siney*; Schlegel, *The Workingmen's Benevolent Association*; and Yearley, *Enterprise and Anthracite*.
38. Yearley, *Enterprise and Anthracite*: 184.
39. *The Anthracite Monitor*, June 12, 1869.
40. Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*: 49–50.
41. For the proposed package, see Killeen, John Siney: 157; Schlegel, *The Workingmen's Benevolent Association*: 246–248.
42. For the background and outcome of the “Gowen Compromise,” see Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*: 20–21; Schlegel, *The Workingmen's Benevolent Association*: 249–250.
43. Broehl, *The Molly Maguires*: 112–113.
44. FBG, letters to John Siney, December 30, 31, 1870, quoted in Pennsylvania General Assembly, *Report of the Committee*: 116–117.
45. Pennsylvania General Assembly, *Report of the Committee*: 43, 53–59; Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*: 24–25.
46. Broehl, *The Molly Maguires*: 114.
47. *State Journal*, March 10, 1871.
48. Pennsylvania General Assembly, *Report of the Committee*.
49. FBG, March 1871, quoted in Pennsylvania General Assembly, *Report of the Committee*: 18–19; emphasis in the original.
50. John Siney, March 1871, quoted in Pennsylvania General Assembly, *Report of the Committee*: 33.
51. *The Daily Miners' Journal*, March 11, 1871.
52. Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*: 34–35.
53. Broehl, *The Molly Maguires*: 126–127.
54. FBG, quoted in Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*: 39.
55. Thomas, *The Coal Monopoly*.
56. Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*: 44; Schlegel, *America's First Cartel*. A cartel is marked by a formal agreement among otherwise competing firms, in which the members concur on such courses of action as price fixing, controlling total output, allocation of customers or territories, and the division of profits in order to increase the profits of each member of the cartel by reducing competition. Each of these types of collusion increased in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, particularly after C.T. Dodd, an attorney for the Standard Oil Company of Ohio developed a new form of trust agreement to bypass state prohibitions against corporations owning stock in other corporations. Such business activities – which, according to Senator John Sherman, reduced competition and were therefore “designed, or which tend, to advance the cost of goods to the consumer” – were prohibited by Congress with the 1890 passage of the Sherman Antitrust Act, the first federal statute to limit cartels and monopolies. See: Sherman Anti-Trust Act of July 2, 1890.
57. Jones, *The Anthracite Coal Combination*: 40–41; Schlegel, *America's First Cartel*: 7.
58. Roy, *A History of the Coal Miners*: 77.
59. For example, *The Mauch Chunk Coal Gazette*, December 8, 1871; *The Anthracite Monitor*, December 9, 1871.
60. *Springfield Daily Union*, March 17, 1877.

Chapter 3: A New Identity

1. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 17.
2. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 23, 20.

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3. RAP, Detective Surveillance of Anarchists: 611–612.
4. Dewees, *The Molly Maguires*: 79; RJL, quoted in CAC: 1322; Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, History of Detectives: James McParlan, October 16, 1880: LoC, box 30.
5. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 23.
6. The beginning of the end for Pinkerton's testing program was a freak accident that occurred outside of Jersey City, New Jersey, in November 1872. An undercover operative stuck his head out a window as a train of the Erie Railroad crossed a bridge and was struck by a girder and knocked out of the car, into the river. When his body was found, papers on it revealed him to be a Pinkerton's operative assigned to test employees. Other information gave away the location of the secret Pinkerton's testing offices in Jersey City and Dayton, Ohio, that had been set up for agents to obtain their instructions and write their reports. Using this information, representatives of the conductors' unions began spying on the Pinkertons, who discreetly moved their offices in the middle of the night. The resulting difficulties led Pinkerton to cut back permanently on his testing program. See Morn, *The Eye That Never Sleeps*: 63.
7. Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, History of Detectives: James McParlan, October 16, 1880: LoC, box 30.
8. JM, report to AP, October 10, 1873: HML, file B-979.
9. Beames, *Peasants and Power*: 78; Connolly, *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland*, chapter 6; Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*: 158–162; Ridge, *Erin's Sons in America*. Other sources that made a linking between the two societies included *The Daily Miners' Journal*, *The Pilot*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, and *The New York Herald*.
10. JM, quoted in RCK: 15–16.
11. JM, testimony in trial of Thomas Munley, as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, July 3, 1876.
12. For example, a significant amount of Patrick Campbell's research for *A Molly Maguire Story* was conducted under the assumption that McParlan received large sums that he hid in a variety of ways, but Campbell admitted that some of his guesses were inaccurate, and the rest remain simply conjecture. The film *The Molly Maguires* indicated that McParlan had been told that his reward would be an appointment as head of Pinkerton's Colorado office – but this clearly was not the case, as Pinkerton's expanding into Denver was not seriously considered until 1886, in response to the Thiel Detective Service Company opening an office there. The most intriguing connection between McParlan and unexplained payments was made by Howard Crown in an appendix to *A Molly Maguire on Trial* (pp. 176–178). Crown reported the existence of an invoice from Pinkerton's to the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company for “services and expenses in connection with ‘Investigation of Mollie Maguires.’” The document shows three monthly payments to McParlan of \$210 each, from November 1879 to January 1880. However, no further documentation has been found, so the reasons for the transactions remain a mystery.
13. See, for example, Marshall, *Intelligence and Espionage*: 122–124.
14. See, for example, Allan, *Palgrave of Arabia*; Hopkirk, *The Great Game*; Meyer and Brysac, *Tournament of Shadows*.
15. See, for example, Alvarez, *Spies in the Vatican*; Greenwood, *A Night in a Workhouse*; Williams, *Klaus Fuchs*.
16. Marshall, *Intelligence and Espionage*: 122.
17. Taylor, *Dudley Bradstreet*: 111.
18. BF, report to FBG, March 25, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
19. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 26.
20. JM, testimony in trial of Thomas Munley, as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, July 4, 1876.
21. Baptismal records, parish registers of the Catholic Church of Ireland: microfilm P.5586.
22. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 97; Luraghi, *A History of the Confederate Navy*.

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23. Aurand, *Historical Account of the Mollie Maguires*: 15; Broehl, *The Molly Maguires*: 155.
24. Pinkerton's required that each operative "make a daily report of every transaction that takes place, in connection with the operations he is engaged upon, in writing" (BF, in CAC: 672). McParlan was expected to include details about where he went, whom he met, and what they said. He was not able to file reports every day, but "I made them daily; sometimes they were not mailed. There would not be anything very particular probably for two or three days; and then I wanted to avoid having to go to the post office too often, for fear it might be detected by the postmaster or somebody else" (JM, testimony in trial of James Roarity et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, August 19, 1876. See also JM, in CAC: 598–599; BF, in CAC: 672–673).

With a few exceptions, these original reports no longer exist, and those known to be extant were ones rewritten by Franklin and passed on to Gowen at irregular intervals. Exactly how much editing of McParlan's reports was done by Franklin is unknown, although the few checks possible indicate that the documents were largely direct transcriptions of the original reports. However, even Franklin's copies do not cover McParlan's entire time in the anthracite region. The dates of the known existing reports, and the locations in which they are currently held, are:

<u>Dates of Reports</u>	<u>Location</u>
January 1–25, 1874	HML
January 26–May 3, 1874	HSP
August 27–October 21, 1874	HML
November 13–December 8, 1874	HML
January 23–February 16, 1875	HML
February 17–26, 1875	HML
March 6–30, 1875	HML
April 13–May 12, 1875	HML
July 1–11, 20–24, 1875	HML
July 15–August 2, 1875	Kaercher MSS; held by Kaercher descendants
August 24–September 2, 1875	Kaercher MSS; held by Kaercher descendants
October 12–December 26, 1875	HML

With minor exceptions, therefore, McParlan's actions and observations regarding the Molly Maguires can only be based on Franklin's secondary reports – including those for Pinkerton's operative Robert J. Linden, who entered the anthracite region in 1875, and several other agents who infiltrated the union – expense accounts, the trial testimony of McParlan and others, and Pinkerton's book, which, although "fictionalized," is the only account that might have actually used McParlan's original reports.

25. JM, in CAC: 497.
26. JM, testimony in first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 9, 1876; *Among the Assassins!*: 7–8.
27. *The Pilot*, October 18, November 8, 1873.
28. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 42.
29. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 64.
30. No reports from McParlan exist from October through December 1873, so the account of his showmanship at Dormer's tavern is taken from AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 73–81.
31. In *Big Trouble* (p. 180), Lukas indicates that McParlan bellowed the song in fluent Gaelic. However, McParlan himself reported on a Pinkerton's form that he spoke only English, and there is no indication elsewhere of him – or his siblings – knowing any other language. See: Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, *History of Detectives: James McParlan*, October 16, 1880: LoC, box 30.
32. JM, in CAC: 743.

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33. Quoted in O’Dea, *History of the Ancient Order of Hibernians*: vol. 2, 885.
34. James Frederic Wood, printed copy of pastoral letter, January 19, 1864: HML, box 979, file F, “Memoranda and Papers”.
35. JM, testimony in first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, May 9, 1876; *Among the Assassins!*: 7–8; AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 96.
36. Doyle, *The Valley of Fear*: 162.
37. The biographical material about Kehoe has been drawn from numerous sources, including Crown and Major, *A Guide to the Molly Maguires*: 34–35, 120–122; McCarthy, *The Great Molly Maguire Hoax*: 101–103; Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*: 222; and numerous newspaper accounts of the time.
38. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 102–103; BF (for JM), report to FBG, January 3, 1874: HML, box 1001.
39. BF (for JM), report to FBG, January 2, 1874: HML, box 1001.
40. BF (for JM), report to FBG, January 3, 1874: HML, box 1001.
41. BF (for JM), report to FBG, January 6, 1874: HML, box 1001.
42. BF (for JM), report to FBG, January 10, 13, 1874: HML, box 1001.
43. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 64.

Chapter 4: On the Inside

1. Although McParlan indicated in his report of February 6 that his job would commence at “Davies’ colliery,” he later stated in court that he had first worked at the Indian Ridge shaft (JM, testimony in first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, May 8, 1876).
2. For background on life in the patches, see: Miller and Sharpless, *The Kingdom of Coal*; Patterson, *Reminiscences of John Maguire*; Wallace, *St. Clair*; Warfell, *A Patch of Land Owned by the Company*.
3. *Pennsylvania Legislative Record*, 1876: 608; also see Broehl, *The Molly Maguires*: 84.
4. BF (for JM), reports to FBG, February 21, March 3, 4, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
5. BF (for JM), report to FBG, February 2, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
6. See AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 152–154.
7. Horan and Swiggett, *The Pinkerton Story*: 112; Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*: 102.
8. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 128–130, 136–137.
9. BF (for JM), report to FBG, February 12, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
10. Yearley, *Enterprise and Anthracite*: 119–120.
11. Roy, *The Coal Mines*: 244–246; Yearley, *Enterprise and Anthracite*: 119–120.
12. T. Thomas, letter, December 6, 1873, quoted in Conway, *The Welsh in America*: 194.
13. Miller and Sharpless, *The Kingdom of Coal*; Yearley, *Enterprise and Anthracite*: 170.
14. Morris and Williams, *The South Wales Coal Industry*; Jones, *Colliery Settlement in the South Wales Coalfield*; Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*: 62.
15. BF (for JM), report to FBG, February 17, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
16. Wallace, *St. Clair*: 253–256.
17. BF (for JM), report to FBG, February 18, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
18. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 137–138; see also U.S. Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: microfilm roll T9_1192; 1st Ward, Shenandoah, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, page 494C.
19. JM, testimony in first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, May 9, 1876; BF (for JM), report to FBG, March 16, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
20. BF (for JM), report to FBG, March 23, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
21. BF (for JM), report to FBG, March 24, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
22. BF (for JM), report to FBG, April 2, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
23. BF (for JM), report to FBG, April 15, 1874: HSP, folder 3.

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24. BF (for JM), report to FBG, April 14, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
25. BF (for JM), report to FBG, April 19, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
26. The following information about “the goods” comes from BF (for JM), report to FBG, April 14, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
27. BF (for JM), report to FBG, April 30, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
28. BF (for JM), report to FBG, April 30, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
29. JM, in CAC: 744.
30. BF (for JM), report to FBG, April 20, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
31. AP, letter to FBG, March 27, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
32. AP (for P.M. Cummings), report to FBG, February 28, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
33. Killeen, John Siney: 242–272; Pinkowski, *John Siney*: 102–140.
34. Killeen, John Siney: 242–272.
35. AP (for P.M. Cummings), report to FBG, March 6, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
36. BF (for JM), report to FBG, May 3, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
37. *The Weekly Miners’ Journal*, August 2, 1874; *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, August 20, 1874.
38. BF (for JM), reports to FBG, September 11, 13, 1874: HML, box 1001.
39. According to Crown and Major (*A Guide to the Molly Maguires*: 28–30), Cosgrove and Thomas James became involved in a fight with Tom Jones at J.H. Scheifly’s tavern. When Jones tried to run off, Cosgrove pursued him. Gomer James, who was nearby, ran down the street to help his friend Jones and shot Cosgrove, who died on the spot.
40. Quoted in Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*: 95.
41. BF (for JM), report to FBG, September 16, 1874: HML, box 1001.
42. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 228–229.
43. For an in-depth view of the role of the Catholic Church in the history of the Schuylkill County AOH and the Molly Maguires, see Kenny, *The Molly Maguires and the Catholic Church*.
44. James Frederic Wood, printed copy of pastoral letter, January 19, 1864: HML, box 979, bile F, “Memoranda and Papers”. For background on Wood, see Kenny, *The Molly Maguires and the Catholic Church*: 7–11.
45. *New-York Freeman’s Journal and Catholic Register*, October 3, 10, 1874; both also were published in the *Catholic Standard*, October 17, 1874.
46. AP (for P.M. Cummings), report to FBG, November 27, 1874: HML, box 1001.
47. *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, November 6, 1874.
48. JM, in RCK: 85–86.
49. BF (for JM), report to FBG, November 29, 1874: HML, box 1001.
50. *The World* (New York), November 18, 1874; *The New York Herald*, November 23, 1874.
51. BF (for JM), report to FBG, November 24, 1874: HML, box 1001.
52. *Shamokin Herald*, December 24, 1874; *McManus v. The Commonwealth*.

Chapter 5: The Long Strike

1. Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*: 63–64.
2. See BF’s reports to FBG enclosing reports by P.M. Cummings (November 2–December 8, 1874; January 19–February 7, 1875), William McCowan (February 13–26, 1875; April 2–13, 1875), and “WRH” (February 19–26, 1875): HML, box 1001. See also correspondence from H.B. Hanmore to FBG: HML, box 979.
3. FBG, *Argument of Franklin B. Gowen, Esq, before the Joint Committee of the Legislature of Pennsylvania*. Also see BF’s reports to FBG enclosing reports by “ATL” (May 7–August 3, 1875), “RWP” (May 10–14, 1875), and “CMP” (May 10–22, 1875): HML, box 1001.
4. BF (for JM), reports to FBG, February 4, 25, March 25, 30, 1875: HML, box 1001.
5. See, for example, BF (for JM), reports to FBG, January 23, 26, February 5, 8, 1875: HML, box 1001.
6. *The Pottsville Standard*, April 3, 1875.

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7. BF (for JM), reports to FBG, March 15, 17, 18, 1875: HML, box 1001.
8. BF (for JM), reports to FBG, February 15, 17, March 26, 1875: HML, box 1001; see also FBG, List of Outrages in Schuylkill and Shamokin Regions: 99–101.
9. On March 6, McParlan blamed “the people in the immediate neighborhood” for the “secret depredations at Buck Mountain,” and on March 26 he indicated that the burning of the telegraph office and at least one instance of loaded cars being dumped and trains thrown off the track were “done by members of the Workingmen’s Benevolent Association.” BF (for JM), reports to FBG, February 17, March 6, 26, 1875: HML, box 1001.
10. BF (for JM), report to FBG, March 9, 1875: HML, box 1001.
11. Kenney, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*: 172–173.
12. BF (for JM), reports to FBG, February 18, March 14, 21, 1875: HML, box 1001.
13. Numerous coffin notices were reprinted as part of FBG, List of Outrages in Schuylkill and Shamokin Regions: 109–114.
14. JM, testimony in first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, May 10, 1876; *Among the Assassins!*: 13–14. Four decades later, in a letter to George D. Bangs – the son of Pinkerton’s original general superintendent, who had succeeded his father in that position – McParlan added a twist to the story that did not appear in his trial testimony. He stated that the plan would have been carried out had he not “made a speech wherein he claimed he had absolute knowledge that somebody had informed the railroad officials and they had a large force of coal and iron police and deputy sheriffs” ready to “arrest any person who attempted to interfere with this railroad” (JM, letter to GDB, March 4, 1915: LoC, box 140, folder 8). This is only one example of McParlan’s memory late in life not always corresponding to his earlier reports.
15. BF (for JM), reports to FBG, April 13–19, 1875: HML, box 1001.
16. BF, letter to Michael Beard, August 5, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1.
17. JM, in ECD: 128.
18. Pinkerton’s book later suggested McParlan participated in this second meeting, but it is apparent from a memorandum that Franklin produced at the time that the operative was actually already back in Schuylkill County. See AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 275–278; BF, memorandum, April 28, 1875: HML, box 1001.
19. Henry Pleasants, letter to FBG, March 29, 1875: HML, box 979. For Pleasants’s background and role in the Civil War, including the disastrous Battle of the Crater, see Pleasants and Straley, *Inferno at Petersburg*.
20. Quote from BF, memorandum, April 28, 1875: HML, box 1001; see also RJL, testimony in trial of James Roarity et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, August 19, 1876.
21. The biographical material about Linden has been drawn from LoC, box 30.
22. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 280.
23. BF (for JM), report to FBG, May 3, 1875: HML, box 1001.
24. See, for example, BF (for RJL), reports to FBG, May 17, 19, 20, 24, 26, 1875: HML, box 1001.
25. *Lebanon Courier*, May 5, 1875.
26. RCK: 85.
27. In May 1872, a number of men converged on the cemetery of St. Edward’s Catholic Church in Shamokin, where they hoped to bury a mineworker – now thought to be James Deggan – who had been killed by a coal fall at the Excelsior Colliery. The priest, Father J. Joseph Koch, refused to allow the burial, resulting in members of the crowd assaulting him, causing extensive property damage, desecrating the church, and burying the body without permission. Although numerous men were involved, only four were tried for inciting a riot, three of whom were found guilty. Hester was given the lengthiest prison sentence: two years, seven months.
28. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 289–291.
29. Howard T. Crown, personal communication, June 16, 2011; Crown and Major, *A Guide to the Molly Maguires*; Jaeger, *The Molly Maguires of Northumberland County*.

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30. BF (for JM), reports to FBG, February 13, 1875: HML, box 1001.
31. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 294.
32. BF (for JM), reports to FBG, May 10, 1875: HML, box 1001.
33. JM, in CAC: 731–733; RJJ, in CAC: 745–747.
34. For Linden’s story of the incident at the West Shenandoah colliery, see BF (for RJJ), reports to FBG, June 2–4, 1875: HML, box 1001.
35. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 332–333.
36. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 333.
37. *The New-York Times*, June 4, 1875. According to a later report in *The New-York Times* (August 17, 1875), the riot almost cost the life of one of Mahanoy City’s most notorious inhabitants. During the riot, “Bully Bill” Thomas was attacked, but was rescued by the police. “Two officers escorted him home, and as he was about to enter his house a man stepped up, thrust a pistol in his face, and pulled the trigger; but Bill’s lucky star was, as usual, in the ascendant, and the pistol failed to explode.”
38. FBG, letter to John F. Welsh, June 9, 1875, published in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, June 10, 1875.
39. Evans, *History of United Mine Workers of America*: vol. 1, 36.
40. BF (for JM), report to FBG, May 9, 1875: HML, box 1001.
41. *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, May 28, 1875.
42. McParlan’s daily reports for much of May and June 1875 are missing, so an account of the meeting and subsequent incidents can only be taken from his trial testimony. For his account, see RCK: 27–28, 58, 63–64, 82; and JM, testimony in first trial of John Kehoe et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, August 9, 10, 1876.
43. JM, in RCK: 26.
44. Roarity’s name was also spelled Roarty, depending on the account.
45. RCK: 28.
46. RICK: 29.
47. RCK: 28.
48. JM, in CAC: 605, 575.
49. JM, in RCK: 82, 59.
50. JM, in CAC: 570.
51. For example, the period from January 29 through February 4. See: BF, reports to FBG, January 29, February 4, 1875: HML, box 1001. For McParlan’s testimony about his health, see CAC: 579–580.
52. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 317.
53. JM, in RCK: 63.
54. RCK: 38.

Chapter 6: Three Dead Men

1. Wallace, *St. Clair*: 425–426.
2. It has been argued that Gowen wanted to destroy the Molly Maguires, and particularly Kehoe, because they had political influence that could have blocked Gowen’s political aspirations as well as his economic ambitions for the Reading (see Bimba, *The Molly Maguires*: 110; McCarthy, *The Great Molly Maguire Hoax*: 149). However, when the historical evidence is examined, this argument fails on several counts. First, there is no indication that Gowen had any personal political ambitions at that time. Second, as Aurand and Gudelunas (*The Mythical Qualities of Molly Maguire*: 99–100) clearly demonstrate, on the political front neither Kehoe nor any other alleged Molly Maguire was a key Irish Catholic leader at even the county level, so they posed no political threat. Third, again according to Aurand and Gudelunas, the theory that the power of Kehoe and the AOH was shown by their contributions to the re-election of Republican John Hartranft as governor of Pennsylvania does not stand up to scrutiny when the

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- votes are examined; rather the data just show the lack of political significance of the AOH.
3. For an overview of Gowen's vision of industrial and social order in Schuylkill County, see Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*.
 4. FBG, *Argument of Franklin B. Gowen, Esq, before the Joint Committee of the Legislature of Pennsylvania*: 76, 77. For the list he produced for the legislators, see FBG, List of Outrages in Schuylkill and Shamokin Regions.
 5. FBG, *Argument of Franklin B. Gowen, Esq, before the Joint Committee of the Legislature of Pennsylvania*: 76–77. As ridiculous as this claim by Gowen might seem today, it was not uncommon for powerful industrialists a century ago to consider themselves champions of the worker and yet fierce opponents of unionism. One of the better explanations for this dichotomy came from Henry Ford, who voluntarily doubled the pay of many of his workers and yet was adamantly against unions (see Ford and Crowther, *My Life and Work*: 253–266). Ford believed that union leaders – like Siney – who wanted to restrict production in order to keep wages high actually harmed the worker because productivity was a requirement for economic success and prosperity. He also thought that strikes not only interfered with the legally binding contractual process, but that they were frequently promoted by leaders whose primary goal was perpetuating economic crisis as a means of maintaining personal power. And he believed that unions interfered with the individual freedoms that gave dignity to working men (see, Wik, *Henry Ford and Grass-Roots America*).
 6. FBG, *Argument of Franklin B. Gowen, Esq, before the Joint Committee of the Legislature of Pennsylvania*: 79, 81.
 7. FBG, *Argument of Franklin B. Gowen, Esq, before the Joint Committee of the Legislature of Pennsylvania*: 80.
 8. BF (for JM), report to FBG, July 6, 1875: HML, box 1001.
 9. JM, report to BF, September 2, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1.
 10. BF (for JM), reports to FBG, July 4–5, 1875: HML, box 1001.
 11. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 362.
 12. BF (for JM), reports to FBG, July 7–9, 1875: HML, box 1001. RJL, expense account, July 7–9, 1875: HML, box 1001.
 13. The story of McParlan's fiasco in Pottsville comes from AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 354–356.
 14. JM, testimony in the first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 8, 1875; BF, letter to Michael Beard, August 5, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1.
 15. BF (for JM), report to FBG, July 15, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file A15; JM, expense account, July 15, 17, 1875: HML, box 1001; AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 379.
 16. BF (for JM), report to FBG, July 15, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file A15; JM, in CAC: 508–509.
 17. BF (for JM), report to FBG, July 17, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1. The following account is based on multiple sources, including JM's and Jimmy Kerrigan's testimonies in the first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 8–15, 1876; the testimony of the same two in CAC; the testimony of both in CvC: Appendix: 51–140, 182–305; JM's testimony in DvD: 320–321; and BF (for JM), reports to FBG, July 15–August 2, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file A15.
 18. As quoted by Jimmy Kerrigan, in CvC: Appendix: 54–55.
 19. Jimmy Kerrigan, in CAC: 457.
 20. *Among the Assassins!*: 20; Jimmy Kerrigan, testimony in the first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 13, 1875; JM, testimony in the second trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, July 18, 1875.
 21. Kerrigan testified that it was actually Duffy who led McGehan and Boyle to the cemetery before then returning to Carroll's, while Kerrigan had gone home (Kerrigan, testimony in the first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 13, 1875; *Among the Assassins!*: 20). However, according to McParlan's report, when Kerrigan first revealed details of the murder to McParlan, he stated that “he got his two men and placed

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- them in position” (BF (for JM), report to FBG, July 27, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file A15). Moreover, McParlan testified at least three times that McGehan told him on August 14, 1875, that it was Kerrigan who led them to the cemetery (testimony in the first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, May 8, 1875; CvC: Appendix: 274; DvC: 320, 324–325). McParlan’s testimony appears to be more accurate, as it would seem that Kerrigan was shifting certain of his actions to Duffy, as he already had shifted the blame for planning the murder from himself to Duffy.
22. *Among the Assassins!*: 6; JM, testimony in the first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, May 8, 1875; JM, testimony in the second trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, July 18, 1875.
 23. Dewees, *The Molly Maguires*: 161–162.
 24. In fact, William Zehner, the general superintendent for the Lehigh and Wilkes-Barre Coal Company, testified that *he*, not Jones, “issued orders that those two men should not receive employment at any of our collieries” (CAC: 688). Originally, the plan was for McGehan and Mulhall to kill Yost, but “because Mulhall had a large family, it was determined that he should not go” (Albright and Hughes, *The Great Mollie Maguire Trials*: 39).
 25. JM, in CAC: 547–548.
 26. BF (for JM), report to FBG, July 17–18, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file A15; BF, letter to Michael Beard, August 5, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1; BF, in CAC: 691–692.
 27. BF (for JM), report to FBG, July 18, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file A15; *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, July 18, 1876.
 28. BF (for JM), report to FBG, July 25, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file A15.
 29. CAC: 511.
 30. BF (for JM), report to FBG, July 27, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file A15. Although Kerrigan said this to McParlan, the latter subsequently attributed the comment to McGehan in his trial testimony, stating McGehan had said it at the August 14 saloon opening (JM, testimony in second trial of James Carroll et al., quoted in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, July 18, 1876; JM, in CvC: Appendix: 192; noted in Albright and Hughes, *The Great Mollie Maguire Trials*: 33).
 31. JM, quoted in CvC: Appendix: 294; quoted in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, July 19, 1876.
 32. For example, BF (for RJL), report to FBG, August 22, 1875: HML, box 1001.
 33. BF (for RJL), report to FBG, July 31, 1875: HML, box 1001; RJL, in CAC: 652.
 34. JM, in CAC: 509–511.
 35. CvC; Albright and Hughes, *The Great Mollie Maguire Trials*: 41.
 36. BF (for RJL), report to FBG, August 5, 1875: HML, box 1001.
 37. BF, letter to Michael Beard, August 5, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1; RJL, in CAC: 653; BF, in CAC: 675–677.
 38. See testimony of Michael Beard, Daniel Shepp, Mrs James, Charles Walton, T.C. Williams, and William Zehner, in CAC, CEK, CMD.
 39. BF, in CAC: 693; RJL, in CAC: 660–661; JM, in CvC: Appendix: 247.
 40. JM, in CAC: 517–518; RJL, in CAC: 661–662.
 41. JM, in CAC: 515–516. In fact, mine superintendent Zehner had already advised Jones against using this, his regular route, to go to the collieries at the upper end of the valley. Instead, he recommended that Jones “should come to Lansford every morning and go up on the locomotive; that would probably be the safest way” (CAC: 687). It was in the process of doing this that Jones was murdered.
 42. Quoted in *Among the Assassins!*: 6.
 43. CvC: Appendix: 191; DvC: 318–319; Albright and Hughes, *The Great Mollie Maguire Trials*: 43–44.
 44. *The Weekly Miners’ Journal*, August 20, 1875.
 45. Evidence before Coroner’s Jury in the case of Thomas Gwyther (Girardville). According to Linden, after shooting Gwyther, Love went to the law office of Martin L’Velle, where he told the clerk “that he had shot a man and asked what he had better do. The clerk not supposing

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- that he had [actually] killed any one said ‘you had better clear out’ which Love did” (BF (for RJL), report to FBG, August 17, 1875: HML, box 1001). It was assumed by some that Kehoe intentionally arrested the wrong man to give one of his compatriots in the Molly Maguires a chance for escape (see, for example, AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 422–423).
46. The preceding two paragraphs are based on accounts in *The Weekly Miners’ Journal*, August 20, 1875.
 47. JM, testimony in first trial of James Carroll et al., as reported in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, May 10, 1876; JM, reports to BF, August 24–25, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1.
 48. BF (for RJL), report to FBG, Aug. 19, 28, 1875: HML, box 1001; Michael Lawler, testimony in trial of James McAllister, as reported in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, November 27, 1876.
 49. BF (for RJL), report to FBG, August 23, 1875: HML, box 1001.
 50. JM, in CAC: 513; JM, report to BF, August 24, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1.
 51. JM, report to BF, August 25, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1; JM, testimony in trial of James Roarity et al., as reported in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, August 19, 1876; Patrick Butler, in RCK: 250–262.
 52. BF (for RJL), report to FBG, August 23, 1875: HML, box 1001; Crown and Major, *A Guide to the Molly Maguires*: 125.
 53. BF (for RJL), report to FBG, August 27, 1875: HML, box 1001.
 54. JM, report to BF, August 25, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1; BF (for RJL), reports to FBG, August 27, 1875: HML, box 1001.
 55. JM, report to BF, August 26, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1; BF (for RJL), report to FBG, August 28, 1875: HML, box 1001.

Chapter 7: Murder and Vigilante Vengeance

1. JM, report to BF, August 31, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1.
2. JM, testimony in trial of Thomas Munley, as reported in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, July 4, 1876.
3. JM, reports to BF, August 29, 30, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1.
4. JM, in ECD: 143.
5. JM, testimony in trial of Thomas Munley, as reported in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, July 4, 1876.
6. JM, report to BF, August 31, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1.
7. JM, report to BF, August 31, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1.
8. JM, in DDC: 155, 175. Doubts have also been expressed about why McParlan was not able to escape from Hurley during the day. However, McParlan’s earlier reports show that the young killer seemed to be truly keen to keep the detective’s company. He showed up twice that previous week and remained with McParlan all day; “hence I found it impossible to make out any report” (JM, reports to BF, August 26, 30, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1).
9. JM, testimony in first trial of James Carroll et al., as reported in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, May 11, 1876; JM, testimony in trial of Thomas Munley, as reported in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, July 4, 1876; DDC: 142–144, 150; quote from ECD: 174–175.
10. JM, in ECD: 169; see also JM, reports to BF, September 1, 2, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1.
11. Statement of Mark Jeffry, in BF (for RJL), report to FBG, Sept. 2, 1875: HML, box 1001.
12. JM, testimony in trial of Thomas Munley, as reported in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, July 4, 1876; see also JM, reports to BF, September 1, 2, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1; statement of D.R. Newell, in BF (for RJL), report to FBG, September 2, 1875: HML, box 1001; report of post-mortem examinations of the bodies of Thomas Sanger and William Uren, September 1, 2, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file A35.
13. Report of post-mortem examinations of the bodies of Thomas Sanger and William Uren, September 1, 2, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file A35.
14. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 436–437.

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15. BF (for RJL), report to FBG, September 2, 1875: HML, box 1001.
16. JM, report to BF, September 1, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1.
17. RJL, in CAC: 655.
18. JM, report to BF, September 2, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1; JM, testimony in first trial of James Carroll et al., as reported in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 10, 1876.
19. JM, testimony in first trial of James Carroll et al., as reported in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 10, 1876; JM, in CAC: 602–603.
20. JM, in *Among the Assassins!*: 11; JM, in DvC: 323.
21. JM, in CAC: 587–588.
22. The account of the events surrounding the murder of Jones is based on testimony in CAC, CEK, and CMD, and in JM, reports to BF, August 25–Sept. 2, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1.
23. Jimmy Kerrigan, in CAC: 351.
24. *The Mauch Chunk Democrat*, September 4, 1876.
25. Jimmy Kerrigan, in CAC: 356.
26. *Evening Chronicle*, September 4, 1875.
27. Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*: 200; see also Broehl, *The Molly Maguires*: 235–236; Campbell, *A Molly Maguire Story*: 20, 114, 119; Crown, *A Molly Maguire on Trial*: 132–133.
28. The Kaercher MSS include McParlan's reports of August 24 to September 2, 1875. Despite these reports giving a more in-depth accounting of McParlan's inner thoughts and reasoning than any other source, they were not consulted by Kenny, Campbell, Crown, or, in fact, any other authors writing about the Molly Maguires, with the exception of Broehl.
29. See testimony in CAC, CEK, and CMD. In *A Molly Maguire Story*, Campbell questioned why the Coal and Iron Police took so long to begin guarding Jones after the details about the assassination plot had been discovered, why they were not guarding him the night before he was killed, and why he was allowed to go out on his own the morning of his death. His conclusion was that these actions were part of a wide-ranging conspiracy – one that included Gowen, Parrish, Asa Packer (head of the Lehigh Valley Railroad), the borough council committee on which Shepp and Beard served, Zehner, the Coal and Iron Police, Pinkerton's, and McParlan. All of these essentially agreed, according to Campbell, to allow Jones's murder in order to charge some of the alleged Molly Maguires, particularly Alec Campbell, with capital offenses. However, a simpler and more reasonable answer exists. The first indication that it was known Jones was the target came on August 5, the same date that Linden noted that any attempt had been postponed until after the county convention on the twenty-fifth. Therefore, there was no need for protection prior to when Williams assigned two officers to the duty several days before the convention. Thereafter, according to Franklin, Williams "had a man sleeping in Mr Jones house, and guarded him all the time after Jones was notified" (CAC: 677). In reality, however, much of that time Jones was sleeping at Zehner's house – he was also considered under threat (and his position was considerably more powerful) – where they were both guarded. Despite all of the warnings, including from his family and friends, Jones, according to his sister, "would not at all acknowledge ... that he was in danger" (CAC: 695–696) until a week before his murder, when his family moved in with her. On his last night, he unexpectedly stayed in his own home for the first time in weeks – apparently without protection – and then went by himself to the Lansford depot. Thus it may be asked whether the police even knew where he was that last night. Further, like Sanger – who had also been warned about being a target – Jones refused to let the threat interfere with his routine, arguably making him at least in part responsible for that fatal lack of protection.
30. JM, in CAC: 601.
31. *The Daily Miners' Journal*, September 28, 1876.
32. JM, testimony in first trial of James Carroll et al., as reported in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 11, 1876.
33. BF, in CAC: 679–680.

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34. Testimony in first trial of James Carroll et al., as reported in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 11, 1876.
35. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 447–448.
36. *The Tamaqua Courier*, September 4, 1875; emphasis in original.
37. See, for example, *Daily Herald*, September 4, 1875; *The Daily Miners' Journal*, September 4, 6, 1875; *The Workingman*, September 4, 1875.
38. Coleman, Gold Hunters of California; Ethington, *The Public City*: chapters 2–3.
39. Bogardus, *The Scarlet Mask*; Horan, *The Pinkertons*: 160–179.
40. *Daily Herald*, September 4, 1875.
41. Morn, *The Eye That Never Sleeps*: 78; AP, letters to GHB, April 17, November 1, 1874: LoC, box 47, AP letterpress copybook, vol. 1.
42. AP, letter to GHB, August 29, 1875: LoC, box 47, AP letterpress copybook, vol. 1.
43. RJL, letter to JM, Sept. 1875; quoted in AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 442.
44. AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 443–444.
45. Porter, *The Merck Manual of Diagnosis and Therapy*.
46. RJL, in CAC: 1316.
47. JM, expense account, September 15, 19, 1875: HML, box 1001; List of Members of the AOH: HML, box 979.
48. Handbill listing Molly Maguire crimes and residences of murderers: LoC, box 142.
49. JM, expense account, September 29, October 2, 1875: HML, box 1001; AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 462.
50. Porter, *The Merck Manual of Diagnosis and Therapy*.
51. BF (for JM), report to FBG, October 13, 1875: HML, box 1001.
52. BF (for RJL), reports to FBG, September 3–20, 1875: HML, box 1001.
53. RJL, expense account, October 5, 6, 1875: HML, box 1001; BF (for RJL), report to FBG, October 20, 1875: HML, box 1001.
54. *Daily Herald*, October 23, 1875.
55. Dewees, *The Molly Maguires*: 235–237.
56. BF (for JM), reports to FBG, October 14, 19, 1875: HML, box 1001.
57. Miscellaneous document about Thomas Hurley and Patrick Clark: Kaercher MSS, file A42.
58. See BF (for JM), reports to FBG, Oct. 31, November 11, 15, 17, 20, 1875: HML, box 1001.
59. BF (for JM), report to FBG, November 1, 1875: HML, box 1001.
60. JM, testimony in trial of Thomas Munley, as reported in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, July 3, 1876; RCK: 102.
61. BF (for JM), report to FBG, November 27, 1875: HML, box 1001.
62. The account of the Wiggans Patch murders – including the quotes – are taken from depositions given at the habeas corpus hearing for Frank Wenrich on Dec. 13, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file A31, and from numerous newspapers, including: *Daily Herald*, December 10, 11, 1875; *The Daily Miners' Journal*, December 11, 1875; *Evening Chronicle*, December 10, 11, 1875; *The Evening Telegraph*, December 11, 1875; *The New-York Times*, December 11, 1875; *The Pottsville Standard*, December 11, 1875; and *The Tamaqua Courier*, December 11, 1875.
63. *Daily Herald*, December 11, 1875.
64. *The Daily Miners' Journal*, December 17, 1875.
65. *Daily Herald*, December 11, 1875.
66. *Daily Herald*, December 14, 1875.
67. BF (for JM), report to FBG, December 13, 1875: HML, box 1001.
68. LoC, box 142, folder 4. James B. Reilly, whom McParlan mentioned, was one of several Pottsville attorneys who had agreed to represent Doyle, Kelly, and Kerrigan. He had told Jerry Kane, the Mount Laffee bodymaster (who provided Doyle and Kelly for the Jones murder) that “there was something rotten in Denmark,” meaning he suspected an informer within the Molly Maguires (Crown and Major, *A Guide to the Molly Maguires*: 147).
69. Horan and Swiggett, *The Pinkerton Story*: 127; Horan, *The Pinkertons*: 226.

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70. For example, Broehl, *The Molly Maguires*: 265.
71. BF, letter to AP, December 11, 1875, quoted in typescript of Horan and Swiggett, *The Pinkerton Story*; LoC, box 21, folder 2. In *The Pinkertons* (page 533), Horan stated: "I had copied this letter [from the Pinkerton's archives] in 1949. It is now missing. Broehl also reports it missing." Not surprisingly, more than forty years later, it is still not to be found in the Pinkerton's files at the Library of Congress.
72. BF (for JM), reports to FBG, December 11, 14, 1875: HML, box 1001.
73. BF (for JM), report to FBG, December 15, 1875: HML, box 1001.
74. Through the years, numerous suggestions have been made as to the identity of the murderers at Wiggans Patch. One of the first notions was that it was a "clan fight" between the O'Donnells and Irish families in Gilberton (*The Daily Miners' Journal*, December 11, 1875; *The Evening Telegraph*, December 11, 1875). Just a few days previously, James O'Donnell had led a group of men to St. Nicholas, where they had badly beaten a Gilberton man named Patrick Quinn (BF (for JM), report to FBG, December 8, 1875: HML, box 1001). That this led to the events at Wiggins Patch is unlikely, however, as the efficiency and numbers of the attackers appear too highly organized for a factional struggle. Moreover, such a group would have had no reason to leave behind the note about the killings of Sanger and Uren.

Another theory was mentioned by Dewees (*The Molly Maguires*: 239–240) as having come from John Slattery, a member of the Tuscarora lodge. Slattery claimed that Charles O'Donnell had become "much troubled in mind" after the murders of Sanger and Uren, and that Kehoe feared he would give away the details of the killing. On the morning before the murder, Charles Mulhearn supposedly told Slattery that a job was to be done that night at Wiggans Patch. Slattery was convinced that Mulhearn and others had carried out Kehoe's order to eliminate O'Donnell. Given the closeness of the family (of which Kehoe was a part), the way in which Molly Maguire killings were generally carried out, and the size and actions of the group invading the O'Donnell house, this theory makes little sense (as even Dewees, no friend to Kehoe, admitted).

Half a century later, Coleman claimed that the Sheet-Irons (or Chain Gang) were responsible (*The Molly Maguire Riots*: 104). Yet again, the way the operation was organized does not reflect the actions usually conducted by that gang. Moreover, if there were a serious consideration that they had done it, there would have been at least some discussion about revenge among those with whom McParlan spent time in the following weeks.

Some historians have suggested that the killers at Wiggans Patch were members of the Coal and Iron Police, because of the paramilitary-type action and the fact that that force has been viewed as violent and oppressive. However, there is no real evidence to sustain this contention, and the sheer numbers involved that night make it hard to believe that one of them – a perpetrator or a colleague – would not have betrayed that fact in the ensuing years.

What therefore seems most likely is that the men attacking the O'Donnell house were vigilantes who had gathered together for vengeance after learning the details in the materials released by Pinkerton's, which included the names and addresses of those accused of the crimes. This concept was voiced as early as the day after the attack (*Evening Chronicle*, December 11, 1875). If so, Pinkerton and his agency must shoulder some of the blame for encouraging such behavior, as must local newspapers, particularly Foster and the *Herald*.

But did Pinkerton's play a greater role? The obvious planning and efficiency of the operation suggest a mastermind behind the process, and Pinkerton's letter indicates that Linden would have been an appropriate individual for this role. According to his expense account reports, Linden was not in Schuylkill County at the time of the attack, but that does not mean that he might not have set up the entire operation. That said, there is no evidence to indicate that Linden was involved, so while he cannot be eliminated as a suspect, there is no hard and fast reason to assume he *was* involved, either.

It is thus difficult to say who actually *was* responsible, although it could not have been a Pinkerton's operation in its entirety – the agency simply did not have enough men there. The

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vigilantes could have come in part from other local gangs, secret societies, or the Coal and Iron Police, but it is unlikely that either Gowen or Pinkerton's would have encouraged participation by such units. What is more likely is that they were made up of individuals from several organizations – as in previous vigilance committees – to enforce what they perceived as justice. In this sense, the killers at Wiggans Patch were not very different than the Molly Maguires enforcing what Kenny generously called “retributive justice” and defined as “violence designed to redress violations against a particular understanding of what was socially right and wrong” (*Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*: 8–9). Ergo, if the killings perpetrated by the Molly Maguires were legitimate, then so was the attack at Wiggans Patch.

A lengthy discussion between two Molly Maguire experts – Mark Bulik and Dennis McCann – suggested that at least some of the Wiggans Patch vigilantes might have been members of the Silliman Guards. This was a militia company of initially sixty-three men formed in and around Mahanoy City in March 1875 in response to the disorders during the Long Strike. It was named after E.S. Silliman, the president of the First National Bank, who contributed substantial funds to setting up the company (Davies et al., *Mahanoy City*: 74). The Silliman Guards were mustered into the National Guard in November 1875, and it was written soon after: “As conservators of law and order the company has been eminently a success, providing a standing menace to the lawless element” (*History of Schuylkill County*: 232).

The first lieutenant (second-in-command) of the Silliman Guards was Wenrich, who was not only a friend of George Major – who succeeded him as chief burgess of Mahanoy City – but of William Enke, a fellow member of the guards and a borough magistrate, who was wounded in the violence that erupted between strikers and law-enforcement officers at Mahanoy City on June 3, 1875. One of the individuals reported to have engaged in “rapid shooting” against the law-enforcement organizations that day was Friday O'Donnell (AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 335).

Although all these facts are circumstantial, it is suspicious that the one individual identified from the attack was a colleague of two men who had been shot by Molly Maguires, including one killed by someone living at the Wiggans Patch house, where several residents had also been named in the Pinkerton's release as the killers of Sanger and Uren. As an officer of the Silliman Guards, it does not take a great stretch to imagine that Wenrich, as an officer of the Silliman Guards, would be able to co-opt members of his own organization – and undoubtedly other “community-minded” individuals – to seek revenge with military efficiency.

75. *Catholic Standard*, December 23, 1875; *Daily Herald*, December 23, 1875; *The New-York Times*, December 25, 1875.
76. BF, in CAC: 1322, 1321.
77. RJL, in CAC: 1317.

Chapter 8: Trials and Tribulations

1. *Daily Herald*, December 23, 1875; *The New-York Times*, December 23, 1875.
2. *Daily Herald*, February 5, 1876.
3. Charles Albright, quoted in *The Great Mollie Maguire Trials*: iv.
4. It has long been suggested that Asa Packer financed the prosecution in the Molly Maguire trials. The Pennsylvania historian Lance Metz has argued that it was actually Edward Clark of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company (Metz, Edward W. Clark's Role in the Carbon County Molly Maguire Trials). There does not appear to be enough information to prove the argument definitively one way or the other, but what *is* certain is that Allen Craig – one of the initial prosecutors – represented both Packer and the Lehigh Valley Railroad.
5. That “company lawyers” were allowed to join the prosecution in the Molly Maguire trials has been criticized as one of the most unethical aspects of the trials. However, this argument shows a lack of understanding of mid-nineteenth century legal practice. There was no objection at the time because private prosecution, although not as common as several decades

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previously, was still not infrequent and was acceptable in the eyes of the law as it was recognized that the county district attorney would require aid to prosecute such an unusually large number of capital cases. Even Judge John P. Lavelle, whose book *The Hard Coal Docket* is perhaps the most notable condemnation of the fairness of the trials, acknowledged: “It was not unusual at this time for lawyers who represented a victim’s family to assist the district attorney in trying the case against the defendant” (p. 287). Lavelle thereafter stated that there were no cases where lawyers for the victim completely took over the prosecution, but this is clearly at odds with the legal processes of earlier times, as well as with his previous comments acknowledging that the district attorney was a relatively new position, with the first prosecutor in Carbon County not having been appointed until 1843 (p. 202). Further, although each of these men represented one of the companies, they were not employees but members of highly esteemed law practices representing those companies.

6. *The Mauch Chunk Democrat*, September 4, 1875; *The Times*, January 19, 1876.
7. Lavelle, *The Hard Coal Docket*: 291–299. Lavelle’s argument addressed only those trials held in Carbon County. He determined that less than 1 percent of the pool of prospective jurors for the initial trials was Irish, whereas fully 13 percent of the population of Carbon County was Irish, and he indicated that today such seemingly “purposeful or deliberate limitation of Irishmen in the jury pool” would “not pass constitutional muster” (p. 293), as “the defendants did not have the fair possibility for obtaining on their juries a representative cross section of the Irish community” (p. 298).

Although Lavelle’s conclusion – that due to these errors the verdict would be overturned in today’s legal system – is undoubtedly accurate, his analysis was flawed by his failure to give adequate consideration to several salient points. First, the method by which the names of potential jurors were chosen from the “jury wheel” followed the customary practice of the time, and Lavelle showed that the percentage of Irish jurors had been below a representative level in every year since 1865 (pp. 291, 295). By showing a decade-long pattern of unfair representation, this also indicates that the Molly Maguire trials did not actually violate due process any more than any other trial in Carbon County during that period. Second, the jury pool was taken only from eligible voters, which – as stated in the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1874, Article VIII, Section 1 – meant U.S. citizens who had resided in the state for a minimum of a year and the election district for at least two months, and who had paid state or county tax (that is, property tax) within the previous two years. These qualifications eliminated not only recent immigrants from the jury pool but most of the poor, including a high percentage of the Irish laborers in the mining patches, in contrast to the land-owning farmers of (more usually) German or “Pennsylvania Dutch” extraction. Thus, the percentages compared were not representative of the figures actually being worked with. And third, Lavelle’s figures are suspect because he used an inexact method to determine the ancestry of those in the jury pool, particularly in distinguishing between Irish and Scottish names (with the result that one “Alexander Campbell” was listed as Scottish, although an Irish man with the same name was on trial as a member of the Molly Maguires).

Finally, Lavelle’s assessment suffers – as do many recent interpretations of the Molly Maguire trials – from the self-congratulatory concept of historical presentism, that is, assessing, judging, or interpreting the past by use of present-day perspectives and beliefs, and thereby creating a distorted understanding of the events as they unfolded or were perceived at the time (see, for example, Hunt, *Against Presentism*). In this sense, Lavelle’s statements that “there was no case law or statutory law prohibiting this shameful practice” (p. 293) and that there were “many other aspects of the ‘Mollie’ trials which raise serious questions about whether the defendants received fair trials” (p. 322) neglect that *many* aspects of trial law throughout the nineteenth century would not meet current judicial standards, but that due process – like the human condition and behavior in general – is constantly changing and should not be judged through the prism of current standards or in order to validate current beliefs but rather through the moral and societal values of the time in question.

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8. See, for example, Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*: 215; Lavelle, *The Hard Coal Docket*: 317.
9. For example, there are five jurors in the Doyle trial mentioned by Lavelle (*The Hard Coal Docket*: 317, 349–353) as having “a poor understanding of the English language.” First, it should be noted that whereas several might have had some problems with the intricacies of legal jargon, so might many native English speakers. Moreover, a closer look at the voir dire suggests that three of these might not actually have had any more difficulty than any other juror. Juror William Bloss indicated that he understood German better than English, but this does not imply that he could not understand the details of a murder when presented in English, only that German was his native language. Juror Joel Strohl stated that he could not read or write English but that he could understand it; this is, in fact, no different than many jurors of the time of English, Scottish, Welsh, or Irish descent – literacy was not a qualification and not something considered relevant to serve on a jury. And juror Daniel Remaley indicated that he did not understand English as well as he might, but, as with the previous two individuals, the defense lawyers did not consider his lack of understanding to be of such an extent that they challenged him.
10. *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, January 19–21, 1876; Broehl, *The Molly Maguires*: 272; Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*: 115.
11. See testimony in CMD.
12. Dewees, *The Molly Maguires*: 247–248; Lavelle, *The Hard Coal Docket*: 323. Basing his statement on Dewees’s comment, Lavelle goes so far as to say it “is uncontroverted that James McParlan ... sat in on defense counsel strategy sessions during the *Doyle* and *Kelly* cases and then reported the defense strategy to the prosecutors.” In fact, there is no evidence at all that McParlan was involved in such meetings, and the inaccuracy of the comment is certainly shown by the fact that the *Kelly* case did not go to trial until late March, and, needless to say, McParlan would not have been welcome in the defense attorneys’ meetings weeks after he had disappeared from the anthracite region due at least in part to having been accused by Ryon of being an undercover detective!
13. BF (for JM), reports to FBG, October 12, 14, 19, 20, 1875: HML, box 1001; AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*: 463.
14. *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, February 2, 1876; *Daily Herald*, February 1, 1876.
15. Allen Craig, as reported in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, February 1, 1876.
16. Lin Bartholomew, as reported in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, February 1, 1876.
17. Samuel S. Dreher, as reported in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, February 2, 1876.
18. *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, January 28, 1876.
19. *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, February 2, 1876.
20. *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, January 31, 1876.
21. Coleman, *The Molly Maguire Riots*: 114, note 3.
22. *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, February 23, 1876.
23. *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, January 29, 1876.
24. *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, January 29, 1876.
25. Various details of the confession appeared in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, February 14, 1876, and *Daily Herald*, February 14, 19, 1876. *Bethlehem Daily Times* published the confession on April 5, 1876, after it was leaked, and the next day it appeared in, among other newspapers, *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, *Daily Herald*, *The Mauch Chunk Coal Gazette*, *The Mauch Chunk Democrat*; *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, *The Tamaqua Courier*, and *The Times* of Philadelphia.
26. For example, *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, February 5, 1876; *Daily Herald*, February 5, 1876.
27. Record of the habeas corpus hearing of James Carroll, Hugh McGehan, James Boyle, James Roarity, Thomas Duffy, February 12, 1876: Kaercher MSS, file A2
28. BF, letter to George Kaercher, February 19, 1876: Kaercher MSS, file A16. All of the details of McParlan’s visit to the Higgins household, including the quotes, come from this letter, in which Franklin passed on the information from McParlan’s report.

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29. Record of the hearing on habeas corpus in Commonwealth vs Charles McAllister and Thomas Munley, February 23, 1876: Kaercher MSS, file A9.
30. JM, in RCK: 92.
31. Dewees, *The Molly Maguires*: 260–261.
32. One of the greatest mysteries related to the end of McParlan’s undercover assignment is the story of Father O’Connor, a passionate opponent of the Molly Maguires, telling Kehoe that there was a detective in their midst. Many theories have been developed as to how a priest should even know such a fact, as well as why a committed adversary of the AOH and the Molly Maguires would betray someone fighting against them. Did Gowen and Archbishop Wood intentionally let the information slip so that, having been exposed, McParlan would be willing to testify? Did it come out by accident? Did Gowen set up the situation knowing that McParlan would feel the need to testify to help avoid embarrassment to the Church for its role? Was the information leaked to a series of priests – O’Connor had told McParlan that if he wanted more information he could visit Father Reilly of Shenandoah or Father Ryon of Mahanoy City. Or, more alarmingly, had Father O’Connor broken the sacred silence of the confessional? If any of these happened, would Gowen or Wood have risked McParlan’s life by giving his name rather than just the fact that there was a detective working in the anthracite region? None of these possibilities are truly convincing, yet neither is the simplest notion: that despite his intense opposition to the Molly Maguires, O’Connor’s cultural background led him to find the presence of a detective – an informer – so totally unacceptable that he felt compelled to notify Kehoe about him. Of course, this might have been more likely if he did not believe Kehoe was involved in the criminal activities for which he was later tried. A letter from Gowen to Wood strongly indicates that the two of them were not working on this in conjunction (FBG, letter to James Frederic Wood, May 11, 1876: PAH). However, McParlan’s own testimony in the trials did not elucidate any causes behind the situation or clarify the events. And as Gowen, Wood, or O’Connor never later addressed the issue, it is unlikely there will ever be any certainty about exactly what happened.
33. RCK: 95.
34. RCK: 96.
35. JM, in RCK: 96.
36. JM, testimony in the first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, May 12, 1876.
37. RJJ, letter to George Kaercher, March 4, 1876: Kaercher MSS, file A14.
38. JM, testimony in the first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, May 12, 1876; JM, in CAC: 626–627.
39. JM, in RCK: 98.
40. JM, testimony in the first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, May 12, 1876; JM, in RCK: 98.
41. It is not unlikely that McParlan warned McAndrew – to whom he owed his life – to leave the region before the arrests and trials started in earnest. In fact, allowing his friend to leave might have been one of the conditions McParlan set in order to testify. After a relatively brief stay in the Old Country, McAndrew returned to the United States in December 1876, after the majority of the trials had been completed, arriving in New York aboard the ship *Algeria* (see U.S. Customs Service, passenger lists of vessels arriving at New York, New York, 1820–1897: microfilm roll M237_406; line 48; list number 1139). Returning to work as a miner, he moved back to Shenandoah, where he was still living in 1880 with his wife and four children (see U.S. Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: microfilm roll T9_1192; 1st Ward, Shenandoah, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, page 494C).
42. See data held at: <http://phillyclimate.blogspot.co.uk/2007/07/1876-philadelphia-daily-weather-data.html>.
43. CvC: Appendix: 224–225. During the second trial for the murder of policeman Yost, defense attorney Ryon, hoping to show McParlan was a hypocrite, pointedly asked him about his

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relations with the Catholic Church after joining the AOH, which had been condemned by Archbishop Wood. McParlan made clear his feelings about the sanctity of the Church's rites.

Q: You were a member of that church?

A: Yes, sir; I am a member of that church.

Q: Were you then?

A: I was when I joined that society, and am now.

Q: Did you go to communion and confessional after you joined that society?

A: I never did; it was sacrilegious – the idea of such a thing.

44. *The Daily Miners' Journal*, March 30, 1876.
45. See testimony in CEK.
46. Robert Ramsey, in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, June 11, 1875.
47. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 1876. Unfortunately, Siney never truly regained his reputation during his lifetime. Widely considered a failure, he died in 1879 at the age of forty-eight of "black lung disease."
48. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 6, 1876.
49. Charles Albright, letter to George Kaercher, April 27, 1876: Kaercher MSS, file A28.
50. RAP, letter to S.S. McClure, October 31, 1894: RAP Correspondence, University of Virginia. Only the first and third pages of this letter exist, so it is uncertain how much further Pinkerton discussed McParlan's decision.
51. Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*: 119–120.
52. This eventually became the prosecution team's official motive for McParlan giving testimony, and it was stated regularly during the trials – for example, FBG, in AFG: 29–30; F.W. Hughes, in *The Great Mollie Maguire Trials*: 86–87, JM, testimony in the trial Thomas Munley, as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, July 4, 1876.
53. FBG, letter to James Frederic Wood, May 11, 1876: PAH.

Chapter 9: McParlan on the Witness Stand

1. *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 5, 1876.
2. *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 5, 1876.
3. *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 8, 1876.
4. *Daily Herald*, May 8, 1876.
5. *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 9, 1876. This constant linking of the AOH and the Molly Maguires was an important prosecution strategy, as it attributed the crimes to a large, well-organized society, supporting Gowen's claims that it was the basis of a major conspiracy. Remarkably, by McParlan's third day on the stand, even the defense had accepted this admission that the organizations were the same. At one point Bartholomew asked McParlan: "As I understand from your testimony, you were initiated into the Ancient Order of Hibernians or Mollie Maguires, on the 14th day of April, 1874?"
6. See, for example, *The New-York Times*, May 14, 1876; *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 19, 1876; *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 20, 1876.
7. For background to these trials, see Kauffman, *American Brutus*; Steers, *Blood on the Moon*; Steers and Holzer, *The Lincoln Assassination Conspirators*.
8. For example, Bingham, *Trial of the Conspirators, for the Assassination of President Lincoln*; Pittman, *The Assassination of President Lincoln and the Trial of the Conspirators*; Poore, *The Conspiracy Trial for the Murder of the President*; *Trial of John H. Surratt in the Criminal Court for the District of Columbia*.
9. Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*: 122.
10. Testimony in the first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 9, 1876.
11. It is some of these reports and other related materials that form the Kaercher manuscripts held by the district attorney's descendants. The parties were unable to consult the papers in the

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later trials due to legal wrangling. See, for example, testimony in the trial of Thomas Munley, as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, July 4, 1876; CAC: 597–598.

McParlan's reports have long proven a highly contentious source not only because some were rewritten by Franklin and are therefore not original, but because there is often little corroborating evidence. The reason for this, of course, is that McParlan was working alone in a task veiled in secrecy, and the only other individuals involved in many of the meetings and events were those he was investigating. This lack of any confirmation has allowed subsequent critics to question the honesty of his accounts.

However, although there are inconsistencies or inaccuracies to be found in the reports, this is not surprising, considering they cover more than two years. Viewed objectively, the reports seem factual, with occasional errors in accuracy and interpretation, and undoubtedly some exaggeration. Yet it is easy to believe that such errors were genuine mistakes, as it would have been in McParlan's best interests to tell his employers the truth, because he would never be certain if other operatives might be able to check or dispute his information. Although exaggeration has proven throughout history to be a frequent part of the reports of spies (see Marshall, *Intelligence and Espionage*: 119–120), and in his stories throughout his life McParlan often trod a fine line between outright fabrication, embellishment, and the straight truth, there is nothing intrinsic about his reports suggesting they should not be believed.

In addition, there were few sources from the time conflicting with McParlan's reports, although this is in part because "the Molly Maguires themselves left virtually no evidence of their existence, let alone their aims and motivation" (Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*: 5). Some authors have taken this point a step further and claimed that the lack of internal records documenting the Molly Maguires as an organization is proof that such an association never existed in any formal sense. However, it is not reasonable to expect that a group of men – a significant proportion of whom were illiterate – who held secret meetings at night on untamed mountainsides to plan murders and other "outrages," would prepare and maintain records of their intentions or deeds, or, even if they did, not do so in such a way as to hide their true actions in order to avoid being caught and punished. Even Kenny (pp. 285–286) has acknowledged that the Molly Maguires "did indeed exist as an organized conspiracy" and "as a group of Irish immigrants who assassinated their enemies."

12. Testimony in the first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 10, 1876.
13. Testimony in the first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 10, 1876.
14. Testimony in the first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 10, 1876.
15. JM, testimony in the first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 11, 1876.
16. *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 11, 1876.
17. FBG, letter to James Frederic Wood, May 14, 1876: PAH.
18. Letters from Bishop J.F. Shanahan, April 19, 1876 (MS 51.869Tu) and Bishop John Tuigg, April 19, 1876 (MS 51.866Tu) to Archbishop James Frederic Wood: Papers of Archbishop James Wood; Kenny, *The Molly Maguires and the Catholic Church*: 357.
19. FBG, letter to James Frederic Wood, May 16, 1876: PAH.
20. *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 18, 1876.
21. FBG, in the first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 17, 1876.
22. BF, letter to FBG, June 13, 1876: Kaercher MSS, file A3.
23. BF, letter to FBG, June 5, 1876: HSP, folder 2.
24. BF, letter to George Kaercher, April 9, 1876: Kaercher MSS, file A16; H.C. Boyer, letter to George Kaercher, April 8, 1876: Kaercher MSS, file A23.
25. BF (for RJL), reports to FBG, May 27, June 5, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file A3.

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26. BF (for RJL), report to FBG, May 22, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file A3.
27. BF (for RJL), report to FBG, May 26, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file A3.
28. BF (for RJL), report to FBG, May 26, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file A3.
29. BF (for RJL), report to FBG, June 9, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file A3.
30. BF, letter to FBG, June 13, 1876: Kaercher MSS, file A3.
31. BF (for RJL), report to FBG, June 3, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file A3.
32. See, for example, Connell, *Son of the Morning Star*; Donovan, *A Terrible Glory*.
33. Dewees, *The Molly Maguires*: 303.
34. Lavelle, *The Hard Coal Docket*: 290.
35. Campbell, *Alexander Campbell, Plaintiff in Error, vs The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Defendant in Error*.
36. JM, in CAC: 509, 548.
37. JM, in CAC: 509–510.
38. JM, in CAC: 509–511, 548, 591.
39. JM, in CAC: 517–518.
40. JM, in CAC: 515–516.
41. JM, in CAC: 512–513, 548–549, 590.
42. JM, in CAC: 520.
43. JM, in CAC: 524–526, 528–530, 550.
44. JM, in CAC: 507, 546.
45. Daniel Kalbfus, as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, June 23, 1876.
46. *Daily Herald*, July 1, 2, 1876.
47. Campbell, *Alexander Campbell, Plaintiff in Error, vs The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Defendant in Error*: 193.
48. *Campbell v The Commonwealth*: 114.
49. BF, letter to George Kaercher, June 25, 1876: Kaercher MSS, file A16.
50. Robert Heaton, as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 30, 1876.
51. FBG, in AFG: 5.
52. FBG, in AFG: 6–7.
53. JM, testimony in the trial of Thomas Munley, as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, July 4, 1876.
54. JM, testimony in the trial of Thomas Munley, as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, July 4, 1876.
55. Martin M. L'Velle, as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, July 6, 1876.
56. FBG, in AFG: 11–12.
57. FBG, in AFG: 15–16.
58. FBG, in AFG: 19.
59. FBG, in AFG: 24–25.
60. FBG, in AFG: 36; emphasis in original.

Chapter 10: One After Another

1. The reasons for her change are uncertain – it might have been fear of being charged with perjury or it could have been an unexpected renewal of a sense of loyalty to him – but the couple did reconcile after the trials and lived together for many years in Virginia. See Crown and Major, *A Guide to the Molly Maguires*: 123–124.
2. CvC: Appendix: 287–288.
3. CvC: Appendix: 224–225.
4. For example, JM, in CvC: Appendix: 188–189, 190–191, 193, 197, 195–196.
5. JM, in CvC: Appendix: 186.
6. John Ryon, as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, July 20, 1876.
7. John Ryon, as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, July 20, 1876.

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8. FBG, in the first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 17, 1876.
9. CvC: Appendix: 223.
10. Charles Albright, in *The Great Mollie Maguire Trials*: 35–36.
11. Francis W. Hughes, in *The Great Mollie Maguire Trials*: 85–86.
12. JM, in RCK: 13–105.
13. JM, in RCK: 26.
14. JM, in RCK: 122–126.
15. Frank McHugh, in RCK: 117.
16. Frank McHugh, in RCK: 113.
17. George Beyerle, in RCK: 121.
18. Coincidentally, Hartranft was familiar with major conspiracy trials. A brevet major general in the U.S. Army – he had won the Medal of Honor at the First Battle of Bull Run – Hartranft was placed in command of the Old Capitol Prison and was appointed a special provost marshal during the trial of the conspirators in the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. As such, he first read the official charges to the conspirators and led the four condemned prisoners to the gallows on July 7, 1865. He served as the seventeenth governor of Pennsylvania, from 1873 to 1879. See Steers, *The Lincoln Assassination Conspirators*.
19. FBG, in RCK: 122.
20. Samuel A. Garrett, in RCK: 134.
21. Quote from *State v. Barrows*, 74 Me 401: 409. This brief review is based upon the 1961 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Ferguson v. Georgia*, 365 US 570, 215 Ga 117, 109 SE2d 44, which was delivered by Mr Justice William Brennan.
22. As would be seen in later Molly Maguire trials, it was possible to waive the incompetency of a defendant to serve as a witness if the prosecution and defense agreed that he could testify, and received the permission of the court for him to do so. This was not a frequent occurrence, as the opponents had to agree, and it was unlikely that both would consider the testimony to be a benefit to their cases. It appears, however, that this was the case in the trial for aiding and assisting to reward Hurley for the murder of Gomer James.
23. Samuel A. Garrett, in RCK: 135.
24. John Ryon, in RCK: 216, 217.
25. “It is impossible for two persons, listening to the same conversation and engaging in the same thing, after the absence of months, to remember exactly every word that was said,” Gowen declared, using as his “best illustration” the differences in the writings of “the four greatest witnesses of the greatest act ever committed in this world. I take the four Evangelists themselves, St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John.” See FBG, in RCK: 177, 187.
26. FBG, in RCK: 184.
27. A more recent example of this same defense strategy is the murder trial of O.J. Simpson, in which the defense emphasized the character and alleged misconduct of police detective Mark Fuhrman as a means of focusing the jury’s need to punish on someone other than the defendant. See, for example, Cochran, *Journey to Justice*; Shapiro, *The Search for Justice*. For the argument having been followed by Molly Maguire apologists, see, for example, Bimba, *The Molly Maguires*; Campbell, *A Molly Maguire Story*; Coleman, *The Molly Maguire Riots*; Crown, *A Molly Maguire on Trial*.
28. Kehoe, Canning, Donnelly, O’Brien, Gibbons, and Morris were each given seven years at labor with solitary confinement. Roarity was not sentenced due to already having being sentenced to hang. Donahue’s sentencing was delayed because he was facing a capital charge in Carbon County. McHugh was released after a short period in jail. See *The Daily Miners' Journal*, October 17, 1876.
29. Kehoe and Canning received an additional seven years at labor with solitary confinement. Donnelly and O’Brien were each given five years. Once again, Donahue’s sentencing was delayed, and the judge did not bother to sentence Roarity. See *The Daily Miners' Journal*,

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October 17, 1876.

30. *Daily Herald*, August 21, 1876.
31. Statement of Patt Butler on the AOH: Kaercher MSS; Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*: 138.
32. Testimony of Patrick Butler, in RCK: 256, 257–261.
33. *Daily Herald*, August 21, 1876.
34. Donnelly, O'Brien, and O'Neil were each sentenced to prison for two years, and Dolan for one. Butler, for whom the jury recommended mercy, saw his sentencing "continued until November" in order that he might be used as a witness in a subsequent trial. Yet again, Donahue's sentencing was delayed, and the judge did not sentence Roarity, as he was already due to be hanged. See *The Daily Miners' Journal*, October 17, 1876.
35. For Kerrigan's complete testimony, see DvC.
36. JM, in DvC: 293.
37. DvC: 283.
38. *Daily Herald*, September 20, 1876.
39. Duffy – "an old gray-haired man, old enough to have known better than to swear to a pack of lies" – was convicted of perjury for testifying that he had seen Kerrigan with Yost and McCarron around the time of Yost's murder. He was sentenced to two and a half years in prison, as was Hyland, who had stated that she had seen Munley at home on the morning of September 1. This was the only one of the perjury trials in which McParlan testified, but Hyland was convicted mainly due to having told two other women several days later that she had not been at the Munley house in a fortnight. Kate and Barney Boyle were sentenced to two and a half and three years in prison, respectively, for providing false alibis for James Boyle. See *The Daily Miners' Journal*, October 17, 1876.
40. *The Daily Miners' Journal*, September 22, 1876. On the same day, charges against James Bradley as an accessory before the fact in the murders of Sanger and Uren were dropped.
41. JM, testimony in trial of Muff Lawler, as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, September 22, 1876.
42. Slattery and Michael Doolin were both found guilty, and Mulhearn had pleaded guilty before the trial. Slattery and Mulhearn had their sentencing continued until November because they were scheduled to be witnesses in subsequent trials in Pottsville. Doolin's sentence was postponed so that he could testify for the defense in an upcoming trial in Mauch Chunk. See *The Daily Miners' Journal*, October 17, 1876.
43. Monaghan was sentenced to seven years at labor with solitary confinement. Donahue was sentenced to two years at labor. See *The Daily Miners' Journal*, Sept. 27, 28, Oct. 17, 1876.
44. *The Daily Miners' Journal*, September 28, 1876.
45. The arrival and role of Charles and Edward has been the subject of heated debate. Patrick Campbell (*A Molly Maguire Story*: 88) indicated that they had been in the anthracite fields with their brother throughout much of his time there, but this seems highly unlikely. Campbell's argument was based on his conversations with Kittie Schick, Charles McParlan's youngest daughter, who told him that: "[H]e [Charles] and Edward went down there at the same time uncle Jim went down ... all three were in the Pinkertons together. Edward and my father also had assumed names – they went under the maiden name of their mother – Loughrin – and their job was to keep close to Jim and warn him if he was in danger of being found out."

Campbell used this to support his notion that McParlan lied about his inability to warn Jones as well as his theory of a massive conspiracy against Alexander Campbell and other AOH leaders by a broad range of individuals (see pp. 111, 119). However, an octogenarian repeating unconfirmed tales told her when she was a youngster – particularly if they were from someone as much of a storyteller as James McParlan – is not necessarily the most accurate source of data. This is proven by the fact that certain things she told Campbell that *have* been checked have proven inaccurate (such as the name her father went by when he was in Pennsylvania and when her parents "met" for a second time).

On the other hand Charles and Edward both claimed for many years thereafter that they

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had come into the United States in 1876, and there is no reason to disbelieve them; this would mean they arrived no earlier than at the end of McParlan's undercover operation, and most likely later. By the middle of August, they both were on Pinkerton's payroll, and each received fifteen dollars every other week (with one exception) until late March 1877. This amount indicates that they were not considered the level of operative that McParlan had been when he started his investigation. For Edward's claims of when he entered the United States, see U.S. Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: microfilm roll T623_130; Precinct 37, Victor, Teller County, Colorado, page 11A; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: microfilm roll T624_118; Precinct 1, Manitou, El Paso County, Colorado, page 5A; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920: microfilm roll T625_163; Manitou, El Paso County, Colorado, page 9B. For Charles's claims, see U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920: microfilm roll T625_352; 33rd Ward, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois, page 13B. For their payments, see statements of cash advanced Charles and Edward McParlan, December 1, 1876, and March 15, 1877: HML, box 1001.

46. JM, in *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. John Donahue*, October 23, 1876.
47. JM, in *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Alexander Campbell*, for the Murder of Morgan Powell): part 3: 57. For his testimony in the joint trial of Fisher and McKenna, see JM, in *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Thomas P. Fisher and Patrick McKenna*, Dec. 13, 1876.
48. Francis W. Hughes, as recorded in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, October 25, 1876.
49. *The Daily Miners' Journal*, November 14, 1876.
50. *The Daily Miners' Journal*, November 15, 1876. Lawler was never sentenced, because he agreed to testify against Bucky Donnelly, and he was released shortly thereafter.
51. Kehoe, *John Kehoe, Plaintiff in Error, vs The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Defendant in Error*.
52. RJJ, expense account, August 22–28, 1876: HML, box 1001.
53. Quote from Hughes, *Commonwealth versus Patrick Hester, Patrick Tully, and Peter McHugh*: 73. For full account of the trial, see *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Patrick Hester, Peter McHugh, and Patrick Tully*; McParlan's testimony is found on pp. 704–711.
54. The letter appeared in *The New-York Times*, February 12, 1877; *Daily Herald*, February 13, 1877; *Catholic Standard*, February 17, 1877; *The Catholic*, February 24, 1877.
55. Quoted in *Irish World*, April 21, 1877.
56. Quote: JM, in ECD: 151–152; for the body of McParlan's testimony, see ECD: 119–157.
57. DDC.
58. There were still five Molly Maguire trials to come, however: James McDonnell and Charles Sharp for the murder of George K. Smith in 1863; Martin Bergin for the murder of Patrick Burns in 1870; and Peter McManus and John O'Neil for the murder of Frederick Hesser in 1874. All were found guilty, and the first four were hanged, with O'Neil's death penalty being commuted to life in prison. See Appendix B for dates and locations of the trials.

Chapter 11: An Ending and a Beginning

1. Quoted in *The Mauch Chunk Democrat*, June 21, 1877.
2. Tully's confession to George E. Elwell, reported in *The New-York Times*, March 26, 1878.
3. On October 1, 1877, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court affirmed the decision of the lower court in Kehoe's case (*Kehoe v. The Commonwealth*). An appeal was then made to the Pardon Board, and in April 1878 Kehoe presented sworn statements from John Campbell and Neil Dougherty – the other men convicted of the murder – admitting their roles but denying he was involved (see *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Statements of John Campbell and Neil Dougherty*). The Pardon Board failed to issue a decision at that time, but in September it met again and voted 2–2 for clemency, the tied vote meaning the conviction was upheld. A chance for a pardon still looked possible, as Governor Hartranft had stated: “All agree that he

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deserves the same punishment as that administered to his numerous guilty companions; however, he should not be hung for a crime that he was not clearly proven guilty of merely because he has been implicated in other dark deeds that, according to the law, would consign him to the gallows” (*Daily Herald*, July 10, 1878). However, with the election approaching, Hartranft procrastinated signing the death warrant, and it was not until November 21, having been defeated by Henry M. Hoyt, that he finally did so. Kehoe continued to protest his innocence until the end.

In the 1970s, Kehoe’s granddaughter, Alice Wayne, and great-grandson, Joseph Wayne, led an effort to obtain him a posthumous pardon. After considerable pressure – and a good deal of support that showed a lack of understanding of legal history and practice, as well as of the labor history of the anthracite region – in 1979 the Board of Pardons recommended a posthumous pardon, which was signed by outgoing Governor Milton Shapp. This has since been trumpeted as a “full pardon,” exonerating Kehoe of guilt. However, the Board of Pardons itself points out that it “does not decide innocence or guilt. The Judicial System has that function ... The important point to remember is that the applicant has already been found guilty and sentenced through the judicial process. The Board of Pardons determines whether there are sufficient reasons to recommend mercy” (Pennsylvania Board of Pardons web site). The pardon itself did not indicate that Kehoe was innocent or exonerated of guilt. Further, it only referred to his murder conviction, and not to those convictions in the Thomas and Major cases, which stand as before.

4. James McDonnell and Charles Sharp were executed in Mauch Chunk for their role in the murder of George K. Smith in 1863, Martin Bergin was hanged in Pottsville for murdering mine foreman Patrick Burns in 1870, and Peter McManus went to the gallows in Sunbury, Northumberland County, for his involvement in the murder of Frederick Hesser in 1874.
5. See, for example, *The Irish World*, June 16, 1877; *The Labor Standard*, June 23, July 7, 1877; *The New York Herald*, June 19, 20, 1877.
6. For example, Dewees, *The Molly Maguires*; AP, *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*; and a work of fiction, Edwards, *Twice Defeated*.
7. For example, Bimba, *The Molly Maguires*; McCarthy, *The Great Molly Maguire Hoax*.
8. For example, for Kerrigan, see his testimony in Record of the habeas corpus hearing of James Carroll, Hugh McGehan, James Boyle, James Roarity, Thomas Duffy, February 12, 1876: Kaercher MSS, file A2; in DvC: 299; in RCK: 239–251. For Butler, see his testimony in ECD: 250–269. For Mulhearn, see his testimony in trial of John Slattery et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, September 23, 1876.
9. Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*: 285, 286.
10. For example, Lens, *The Labor Wars*; McCarthy, *The Great Molly Maguire Hoax*; Young, *Harp Song for a Radical*.
11. For more in-depth discussion of this point, see Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*: 111–113, 117–120, 139–140, 145–147, 239–240.
12. See, for example, Bimba, *The Molly Maguires*; Campbell, *A Molly Maguire Story*; McCarthy, *The Great Molly Maguire Hoax*.
13. Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*; Yearley, *Enterprise and Anthracite*.
14. For a full discussion, see Aurand and Gudelunas, *The Mythical Qualities of Molly Maguire*.
15. That the lack of Irish on the juries was not considered legally significant at the time is indicated by the appeals to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania not including any efforts to achieve a new trial based on such discrimination (see *Campbell v. The Commonwealth*; *Carroll et al. v. The Commonwealth*; *Duffy v. The Commonwealth*; *Kehoe v. The Commonwealth*; *Hester et al. v. The Commonwealth*; *Donnelly v The Commonwealth*). It was not until 1985 that the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Batson v Kentucky* (476 US 79) that racial discrimination (and by extension nationalist discrimination of the kind more recently charged in the Molly Maguire trials) in the selection or disqualification of jurors, by means of peremptory challenges, deprives the accused of important rights.

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16. FBG, in AFG: 15–16.
17. Aurand, *From the Molly Maguires to the United Mine Workers*: 25.
18. BF (for JM), report to FBG, April 30, 1874: HSP, folder 3.
19. Crown and Major, *A Guide to the Molly Maguires*: 215–218.
20. Dennis Canning, testimony in ECD: 344, 349–350.
21. See Campbell, *A Molly Maguire Story*.
22. Patrick Campbell, personal communication, June 10, 2011; quote from Sigal, *Going Away*: 169: emphasis in original.
23. Crown, *A Molly Maguire on Trial*: 108–117. Perjury is currently defined under Pennsylvania Consolidated Statute 18 (Crimes and Offenses), Part II (Definition of Specific Offenses), Article E (Offenses Against the Public), Chapter 49 (Falsification and Intimidation), Section 4902: “A person is guilty of perjury, a felony of the third degree, if in any official proceeding he makes a false statement under oath or equivalent affirmation, or swears or affirms the truth of a statement previously made, when the statement is material and he does not believe it to be true.”
24. RCK: 70.
25. ECD: 154.
26. Crown, *A Molly Maguire on Trial*: 116.
27. JM, testimony in first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, May 10, 1876.
28. Testimony in first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, May 9, 1876. Emphasis added by author.
29. JM, testimony in trial of Thomas Munley, as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, July 3, 1876.
30. John Ryon, in second trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, July 20, 1876.
31. JM, report to BF, August 31, 1875: Kaercher MSS, file B1.
32. First trial of James Carroll et al., quoted in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, May 11, 1876.
33. JM, testimony in the trial of Thomas Munley, as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, July 4, 1876.
34. JM, in ECD: 174–175.
35. For example, JM, testimony in first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, May 11, 1876; JM, in CAC: 587–588, 600–602.
36. JM, testimony in first trial of James Carroll et al., as recorded in *The Daily Miners’ Journal*, May 11, 1876; JM, in RCK: 63–64.
37. Marshall, *Intelligence and Espionage*: 120.
38. Broehl conducted a study of the Pinkerton’s expense statements in the Reading Railroad files (see *The Molly Maguires*: 351–352). He found that for the first half of 1875, the Reading was billed for McParlan’s salary and expenses and was also sent a composite bill for Linden and nine other agents. Although it has been speculated that this meant the Western Middle Field was crawling with Pinkerton’s agents, and that therefore McParlan should have been able to find someone to whom to give a warning about Sanger or Jones, the other operatives were not his brothers or other agents deep in the Molly Maguires. Rather, they were Linden’s men, who had been sworn into the Coal and Iron Police, and those such as P.M. Cummings, William McCowan, and “WRH,” whose duties had taken them into the ranks of the WBA.
39. For example, Campbell, *A Molly Maguire Story*; Crown, *A Molly Maguire on Trial*; Lens, *The Labor Wars*; McCarthy, *The Great Molly Maguire Hoax*; Young, *Harp Song for a Radical*.
40. Unger, *The Greenback Era*.
41. RAP, letter to Louis N. Megargee, quoted in *The Denver Sunday Times*, July 30, 1899. In 1864 Pinkerton had purchased from the Illinois Central Railroad a 254-acre patch of prairie land located near Onarga, Illinois, ninety miles south of Chicago. In the ensuing years he turned it into an estate that, a visiting reporter wrote, had “no equal in the West, and no

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superior in the United States” (*The Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 12, 1882). It was known as “Larch Farm” for the approximately one hundred thousand larch trees Pinkerton ordered from Scotland in 1871. The heart of the property was “The Villa,” the main house, which was surrounded by twelve acres of lawns, vast flowerbeds, and numerous outbuildings. Nearby was an artificial lake and the “Snuggery,” Pinkerton’s special retreat – connected by a secret tunnel to the main house – where he entertained friends and met with key agency supervisors or clients (Mackay, *Allan Pinkerton*: 202–203; Morn, *The Eye That Never Sleeps*: 66). It would have been an exceptional honor for him to let McParland stay there for months.

42. Mackay, *Allan Pinkerton*: 202–203.
43. RAP, letter to Louis N. Megargee, quoted in *The Denver Sunday Times*, July 30, 1899.
44. For example, *The Courier-Journal*, September 24, 1879; *The Evening Post*, September 26, 1879; *The Kingston Daily Freeman*, September 26, 1879.
45. Mrs Toner, 1979, quoted in Campbell, *A Molly Maguire Story*: 67.
46. For example, Frank Taaffe, personal communication, October 30, 2011.
47. Will (and One Codicil) of Eneas M’Parland late of Drumachee County Armagh; Farmer who Died 12 July 1889, Will Calendar 1889: 541–546. By that time the “d” had been added to the end of the family name.
48. Frank Taaffe, personal communication, October 30, 2011.
49. JM, letter to FBG, December 20, 1877: HML.
50. Henry Pleasants, letter to BF, March 19, 1977: HML.
51. Patrick Butler, testimony in ECD: 271–273.
52. Henry Pleasants, letter to E. Gregory, July 24, 1877: HML; FBG, letter to S.B. Whiting, August 26, 1878: HML.
53. Jimmy Kerrigan, letter to George Kaercher, September 28, 1877: Kaercher MSS, file A19.
54. BF, letter to George Kaercher, April 20, 1877: Kaercher MSS, file A16.
55. Daniel McCarthy, letter to J.S. Snyder, September 6, 1876: HML; Daniel McCarthy, letter to “Friend John,” November 6, 1876: Kaercher MSS, file A21.
56. JM, letter to GDB, November 8, 1909: LoC, box 30.
57. *Daily Herald*, May 28, 1877.

Chapter 12: A New Life

1. Among the many fine books detailing different aspects of the displacement of Native Americans at this time are Faulk, *The Geronimo Campaign*; Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*; Utley, *The Lance and the Shield*. For background on the problems facing nineteenth-century Chinese immigrants, see McClain, *In Search of Equality*; Gyory, *Closing the Gate*. For the conflicts between the U.S. government and the Mormon Church, see David, *The Polygamous Prelude*; Driggs, *The Prosecutions Begin*.
2. For background on Billy the Kid, see Gardner, *To Hell on a Fast Horse*; Utley, *Billy the Kid*. For the story of the gunfight at the O.K. Corral, see Barra, *Inventing Wyatt Earp*; Tefertiller, *Wyatt Earp*. For the tale of Jesse James, including his killing by Bob Ford, see Stiles, *Jesse James*; Yeatman, *Frank and Jesse James*.
3. Morn, *The Eye That Never Sleeps*: 98–107.
4. *The Courier-Journal*, September 24, 1879; reprinted in numerous newspapers, including: *The Evening Post*, September 26, 1879; *The Kingston Daily Freeman*, September 26, 1879.
5. *The Courier-Journal*, September 24, 1879; reprinted in numerous newspapers, including: *The Evening Post*, September 26, 1879; *The Kingston Daily Freeman*, September 26, 1879.
6. Marriage registration number 1868/8393, New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs.
7. Marriage license number 41918, August 26, 1879, Illinois Department of Public Health Marriage Records, Cook County; *The National Police Gazette*, September 20, 1879.
8. Pinkerton had originally created his Preventive Police as a group of night watchmen, or what was known by W.S. Beaubien as merchant police. The first captain of the force was Paul H.

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Dennis; Fitzgerald was his successor.

9. AP, letter to GHB, March 30, 1877: LoC, box 47, AP letterpress copybook, vol. 2.
10. For Pinkerton's annoyance with Mrs Franklin, see AP, letters to RAP, February 29, March 8, 1876; AP, letter to GHB, September 29, 1876: all LoC, box 47, AP letterpress copybook, vol. 2. For the issues with Franklin, see GHB, letter to AP, May 27, 1872: LoC, box 46, GHB letterpress copybook, vol. 2; AP, letter to RAP, March 8, 1876: LoC, box 47, AP letterpress copybook, vol. 2; also see Franklin materials in LoC, box 28, folder 16.
11. *The Evening Telegraph*, November 28, 1891; also see Linden's biographical materials in LoC, box 30, folder 3.
12. For Charles [Laughlin], see U.S. Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: microfilm roll T9_1159; First Ward, Conshohocken, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, page 302C. For Edward [Laughren], see U.S. Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: microfilm roll T9_1173; Enumeration District 217, Philadelphia, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, page 253C.
13. Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, History of Detectives: James McParlan, October 16, 1880: LoC, box 30.
14. Physician's Certificate of Death number 1760, March 6, 1880, Illinois Department of Public Health Deaths Index, Cook County.
15. *McParland et al. v. Larkin*, 155 Ill 84, 39 NE 609.
16. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: microfilm roll T9_197; Chicago, Cook County, Illinois, page 193A; Chicago Directory Company, *The Lakeside Annual Directory of the City of Chicago 1880*.
17. See Robertson's biographical materials in LoC, box 32, folder 10. See also Chicago Directory Company, *The Lakeside Annual Directory of the City of Chicago 1884* and *The Lakeside Annual Directory of the City of Chicago 1885*. Chief clerk was an administrative position in the Pinkerton's hierarchy. It was the head of the clerical department in a regional office, so technically above a regular operative but below an assistant superintendent.
18. See Robertson's biographical materials in LoC, box 32, folder 10.
19. Return of a Birth number 4597, April 17, 1881, Illinois Department of Public Health Births Index, Cook County; Physician's Certificate of Death number 3416, April 17, 1881, Illinois Department of Public Health Deaths Index, Cook County.
20. Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, History of Detectives (Supplement by Sup't), October 28, 1880: LoC, box 30.
21. Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, History of Detectives (Supplement by Sup't), October 28, 1880: LoC, box 30.
22. AP, letter to GHB, September 2, 1875: LoC, box 47, AP letterpress copybook, vol. 2.
23. See Chicago Directory Company, *The Lakeside Annual Directory of the City of Chicago 1882*; City of Chicago Record and Index of Persons Registered and of Poll Lists of Voters, 1890, p. 150; *The Daily Miners' Journal*, September 22, 1893. In the following years, Charles lived near James in the several houses – including one built by the McParlands – on the contiguous properties. However, it is hard to differentiate the houses not only because most no longer exist, but because Chicago went through confusing street re-numberings in 1879–80 and 1909. The guide to the latter (Chicago Directory Company, *Plan of Re-Numbering City of Chicago*) stated: "Prior to the 1909 street renumbering Chicago street numbers were chaotic. There were several separate and distinct numbering systems. The baseline for street numbers varied from street to street." As shown by the series *The Lakeside Annual Directory of the City of Chicago*, the numbering on Menominee Street actually did not change until late 1880 or early 1881, when the street numbers for some houses – but not all – increased between six and twelve. Around the same time, the street name changed from Menominee to Menomonee, but many documents continued to show the older spelling. This confusion means that although it would appear that at different times James, Charles, and their families occupied 146, 147, 148, and 154 Menomonee, it is uncertain how many of these were the same house.

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24. Return of a Birth number 4381, April 5, 1882, Illinois Department of Public Health Births Index, Cook County.
25. The details of the transfer of property and the following legal arguments and processes have been taken from *McParland et al. v. Larkin*, May 16, 1889; *McParland et al. v. Larkin*, 155 Ill 84, 39 NE 609; Throckmorton, *Illustrative Cases on Contracts*: 212–218.
26. Marriage License number 62788, June 12, 1882, Illinois Department of Public Health Marriage Records, Cook County; Chicago Directory Company, *The Lakeside Annual Directory of the City of Chicago 1883*.
27. *McParland et al. v. Larkin*, May 16, 1889.
28. *McParland et al. v. Larkin*, May 16, 1889.
29. Throckmorton, *Illustrative Cases on Contracts*: 213–214.
30. Throckmorton, *Illustrative Cases on Contracts*: 215.
31. Throckmorton, *Illustrative Cases on Contracts*: 215.
32. *McParland et al. v. Larkin*, 155 Ill 84, 39 NE 609.
33. *The New-York Times*, September 15, 1883.
34. Mackay, *Allan Pinkerton*: 234–237; Physician’s Certificate of Death, July 1, 1884, Illinois Department of Public Health Deaths Index, Cook County.
35. Chicago Directory Company, *The Lakeside Annual Directory of the City of Chicago 1885*.
36. Physician’s Certificate of Death number 61452, August 10, 1885, Illinois Department of Public Health Deaths Index, Cook County.
37. *The Columbus Courier*, August 13, 1885.
38. Allison, *History of Cherokee County, Kansas*: 146.
39. *The Columbus Courier*, January 21, 1886.
40. *The Columbus Courier*, February 18, March 4, 1886.
41. JM, in SIA; 871.
42. *The Evening Post* (Cincinnati), June 24, 1886; *The Columbus Courier*, July 15, 1886.
43. *The Columbus Courier*, July 8, 1886.
44. Klein, *The Life and Legend of Jay Gould*; Renehan, *Dark Genius of Wall Street*.
45. Case, *The Great Southwest Railroad Strike and Free Labor*: 30–31.
46. The details of the strike against the Southwest Railroad System are taken from Allen, *The Great Southwest Strike*; Case, *The Great Southwest Railroad Strike and Free Labor*; Missouri Bureau of Labor Statistics and Inspection, *The Official History of the Great Strike of 1886 on the Southwestern Railway System*; and accounts from *The Daily Times* (Dallas), *Kansas City Daily Journal*, *The Kansas City Star*, *The Parsons Daily Sun*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and *The Topeka Daily Capital*.
47. *The Parsons Daily Sun*, March 12, 1886.
48. For the violent history of south Kansas, see Blackmar, *Kansas*; Case, *History of Labette County*; Miner, *Kansas: the History of the Sunflower State, 1854–2000*.
49. Gard, *The Shawnee Trail*.
50. *The Parsons Daily Sun*, January 19, February 27, April 29, May 18, June 19, 1886.
51. Shoaf, *House of Horrors*. The quotes throughout the paragraph are from this article.
52. For a history of *Appeal to Reason*, see Graham, “*Yours for the Revolution*”.
53. For the campaign against McParland, see Eastwood, *A Few Incidents Taken from the Criminal Annals of James McPartland*; Hurt, *James McPartland: a Free Hand Drawing*; Shoaf, *Unwinding the Tangled Skein*; Shoaf, *McPartland, the Pariah*; Shoaf, *House of Horrors*.
54. For details of the murder of Lena Hopfer by James McPartland, and his subsequent trial and placement in an insane asylum, see *The New York Times*, May 13, June 14, 1906, July 29, 1925.
55. For example, Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 189–190.
56. The account of the Myers murder and McLaughlin trial is based on the reports from *The Abilene Reflector*, *Columbus Courier*, *Dodge City Times*, *Labette County Democrat*, *The Parsons Daily Sun*, and *Parsons Eclipse*, as well as Case, *History of Labette County*: 71–72.

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57. *The Parsons Daily Sun*, April 15, 1886.
58. *Parsons Eclipse*, April 15, 1886.
59. *The Parsons Daily Sun*, April 25, 1886.
60. *The Parsons Daily Sun*, June 3, 1886.
61. Judge Chandler, quoted in *The Parsons Daily Sun*, June 5, 1886.
62. Case, *History of Labette County*: 72.
63. Shoaf, House of Horrors.
64. Eastwood, A Few Incidents Taken from the Criminal Annals of James McPartland.
65. *Parsons Eclipse*, July 1, 1886.
66. Shoaf, Unwinding the Tangled Skein.

Chapter 13: A New Detective in Town

1. WAP, letter to JM, December 22, 1899, quoted in CAS, *Two Evil Isms*: 105.
2. The biographical material about Siringo, his cowboy career, and his early history with Pinkerton's has been drawn from numerous sources, including: Lamar, *Charlie Siringo's West*; Peavy, *Charles A. Siringo*; Pingenot, *Siringo*; Sawey, *Charles A. Siringo*; CAS, *A Texas Cow Boy*; CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*; CAS, *Two Evil Isms*; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*.
3. Gard, *The Chisholm Trail*; Skaggs, *The Cattle-Trailing Industry*.
4. Gard, *The Chisholm Trail*; Skaggs, *The Cattle-Trailing Industry*.
5. Gray, Chisholm Trail.
6. Emmett, *Shanghai Pierce*.
7. CAS, quoted in Thorp, Old Colt's Forty-Five: 14.
8. Metz, *Pat Garrett*: 87–117; CAS, *History of "Billy the Kid"*: 102–133; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 104–110.
9. Dobie, *Guide to Life and Literature of the Southwest*: 119.
10. The details of the Haymarket affair are taken from multiple sources, including Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy*; Green, *Death in the Haymarket*; Messer-Kruse, *The Trial of the Haymarket Anarchists*.
11. The diametrically opposed viewpoints about the Haymarket affair are shown by two recent books on the subject: Green, *Death in the Haymarket* and Messer-Kruse, *The Trial of the Haymarket Anarchists*.
12. CAS, *Two Evil Isms*: 2.
13. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 13–16; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 121–122.
14. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 15.
15. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 16–17; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 123–124.
16. CAS, *Two Evil Isms*: 5.
17. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 21, 22.
18. See, for example, *St. Paul Daily Globe*, June 1, 1892, August 25, 1893; *The Winona Daily Republican*, June 1, 1892, August 25, 1893; *Hartman v. Warren et al.*; *Midway Company v. Eaton*, 183 US 619; Hart and Ziegler, *Landscapes of Minnesota*: 222.
19. See *St. Paul Daily Globe*, February 13, 14, 1892. McParland's testimony related to the efforts of Emil Hartman and several colleagues to gain control of the land. He recounted numerous conversations in which they confessed to unscrupulous and fraudulent behavior, and although his word did not impact their legal position, it put Hartman, and particularly his crony, Judge S.F. White of Duluth, in an unfavorable light. When, on the second day of testimony, White was finally able to cross-examine the detective, the lively exchange showed that McParland was still ready to spar while on the stand. "Well, go on with your lying," said White. "I always knew you were a liar." McParland quickly retorted: "And you are the most consummate liar I ever saw, and I've seen lots of them."
20. *Auburn Morning Dispatch*, August 20, 1886.
21. W. Smyth (Pinkerton's, New York), letter to R. Dudley, May 6, 1951: LoC, box 140, folder 8.

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22. Rockwell, *Memoirs of a Lawman*: 346.
23. Rockwell, *Memoirs of a Lawman*: 346.
24. Moffett, *The Overthrow of the Molly Maguires*: 97. This tale was repeated in newspapers throughout the country, for example, in the *Newcastle News-Journal*, February 8, 1895.
25. See Gantt, *The Case of Alfred Packer*; Kushner, *Alferd G. Packer*. In late 1873, the thirty-one-year-old Packer – he used both Alfred and Alferd at different times – was in a large party of prospectors that left Utah for the gold country in the San Juan Mountains of Colorado. Halted temporarily by winter weather, in February 1874 he and five others continued into the treacherous conditions of the high mountains. Two months later Packer appeared on his own, flush with cash and telling wild and conflicting stories to those who questioned him about the other men. When strips of human flesh were found in an area Packer had passed through, it began to appear that he had killed the others, taken their money, and eaten them in order to survive. After being arrested on suspicion of murder, he escaped and was not heard of for nine years, during which time the bodies of his five victims were discovered lying in a row with their skulls split open by a hatchet. In March 1883, Packer was identified and arrested in the Wyoming Territory. He was taken back to Colorado, found guilty of murder, and sentenced to be hanged, but, on appeal, the Colorado Supreme Court ruled that a person could not be tried for a murder committed in 1874 because at that time Colorado was a territory and not a state, and it did not have the appropriate murder statute. He therefore needed to be retried for voluntary manslaughter.

While he awaited trial in Gunnison, Packer had numerous interactions with Shores, who later noted, “He was slow-witted, cowardly, vicious, and a natural bully. From his crudely written letters and my conversations with him, I learned that he had committed other serious crimes for which he was never arrested or prosecuted” (Rockwell, *Memoirs of a Lawman*: 343). In his retrial in 1886, Packer was convicted on five counts of voluntary manslaughter and sentenced to forty years in prison. He served fifteen years, and in 1901 was paroled. He died in 1907, but his legend continues – at times in grisly fashion, at times in a humorous manner. A cafeteria at the University of Colorado, for example, is named The Alferd Packer Restaurant & Grill, and to go along with a slogan of “Have a friend for lunch,” the menu for Mexican specialties is entitled “El Canibal.”
26. Rockwell, *Memoirs of a Lawman*: 349.
27. Rockwell, *Memoirs of a Lawman*: 349–352. Hurley is buried in block 6 of Gunnison Cemetery (Wommack, *From the Grave*: 365).
28. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 17.
29. Mackay, *Allan Pinkerton*: 217.
30. Farley joined Thiel’s agency in 1873, and within two years had become superintendent of the New York office. He opened Thiel’s office in St. Paul in 1878 before founding the Denver one in 1885. He served two spells as the chief of police for that city, from 1889 to 1893 and 1897 to 1901. See Kaufmann, *Historic Supplement of the Denver Police*; *Representative Men of Colorado*: 84; John F. Farley Papers, Georgetown University.
31. Eames’s name is frequently spelled Eams, because that is the way Siringo misspelled it in his books. However, in the Pinkerton’s advertisements of the time, as well as in his personal address information, it is spelled Eames; see *Corbett & Ballenger’s Fifteenth Annual Denver City Directory* and *Corbett & Ballenger’s Sixteenth Annual Denver City Directory*.
32. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 25–33; CAS, *Two Evil Isms*: 11–12; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 127–128.
33. CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 128.
34. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 33–38; CAS, *Two Evil Isms*: 12; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 129–130.
35. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 44–65; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 130–132.
36. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 69–70; CAS, *Two Evil Isms*: 9–11, 14–18, 20–21. In 1910, after Siringo retired from the agency, he tried to publish a book entitled “Pinkerton’s Cowboy Detective.” Before it was released, however, Pinkerton’s, disturbed because of a damaging

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exposé that had been published several years earlier by former Denver stenographer Morris Friedman (*The Pinkerton Labor Spy*), obtained an injunction in Illinois preventing Siringo from using the name Pinkerton in his book. The book was not, in fact, particularly negative, and Siringo's lawyer advised him to calm troubled waters by writing an explanatory letter to William Pinkerton – who had a fond feeling for his cowboy detective. Instead, the fiery Siringo dashed off a threatening one, in which he warned Pinkerton that he really *could* tell dirty secrets if the agency made things difficult for him. However, the contracts that he had signed when working for Pinkerton's had forbidden any such publication, so the law was firmly on the agency's side and the book did not appear for almost two years. (For a copy of a Pinkerton's contract, see that with McParland: LoC, box 30, folder 11.) When the book finally did come out in 1912, as *A Cowboy Detective*, it had been amended to change Pinkerton to Dickenson, McParland to McCartney, and numerous other such conversions, all of which were obvious to an aware reader. The original proofs of "Pinkerton's Cowboy Detective" are in LoC, box 61, folder 2. These have been used for the purposes of quoting whenever a relevant name has been changed in *A Cowboy Detective*. In the proofs, the bookkeeper is correctly named as Morton, rather than Lawton, as in the published book.

37. CAS, *Two Evil Isms*: 9–11, 14–18, 20–21. In a standard form sent to clients, entitled "For the Guidance of the Officers of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, and for the information of its Patrons," Pinkerton's advised that "The Agency does not operate for rewards or for compensation contingent upon the result of any business it undertakes, and none of the Agency's operatives are permitted to receive any reward which may have been offered in connection with the same, nor any gratuity for any service performed ... The Agency will not be retained in any matters which are not strictly legal and reputable, nor in divorce proceedings, or matters pertaining to the marital relations" (TAN, reel 121, frame 847).
38. CAS, *Two Evil Isms*: 14–18, 20–21.
39. CAS, *Two Evil Isms*: 18.
40. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 69. Seemingly undisturbed by having been caught, Eames immediately continued his shady work in Denver, as manager of the Denver Merchants' Police. He also became a partner in McCarthy & Eames mining brokers; see *Corbett & Ballenger's Sixteenth Annual Denver City Directory*.
41. RAP, letter to W.J. Loader, February 23, 1888: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
42. See *Corbett & Ballenger's Fifteenth Annual Denver City Directory*, *Corbett & Ballenger's Sixteenth Annual Denver City Directory*, and *Ballenger & Richards' Annual Denver Directory* for the years 1889–1892.
43. Marriage license number 126767, May 10, 1888, Illinois Department of Public Health Marriage Records, Cook County.
44. In different documents, the dogs that McParland raised and kept around his home were referred to as bull terriers, pit bulls, or bulldogs. McParland himself reported in 1906 that when he was questioning Harry Orchard, the prisoner "asked me if I still kept them savage bulldogs. I said, 'Yes'" (JM, report to FRG, January 25, 1906: LoC, box 172, folder 2). Nevertheless, the preponderance of the evidence suggests that his dogs were what today would be classed as bull terriers.
45. Chicago Directory Company, *The Lakeside Annual Directory of the City of Chicago 1888, 1889*; City of Chicago Record and Index of Persons Registered and of Poll Lists of Voters, 1888, p. 527.
46. The role of W.B. Sayers in many cases has essentially been overlooked because in *A Cowboy Detective* Siringo changed his name – as he did for many others – to W.O. Sayles. The proof copies of "Pinkerton's Cowboy Detective," however, show beyond doubt that it was Sayers who was involved in numerous cases with Siringo (see, for example, LoC, box 61, folder 2: pages 199–206, 210, 212–228, 279, 305–307, 309–314). Intriguingly, on page 306 of *A Cowboy Detective*, the correct name was not changed, and it remained "Sayers." As earlier researchers were unable to see the proofs of "Pinkerton's Cowboy Detective" (before they

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- were sent to the Library of Congress) some of the very best works about Siringo or the Wild Bunch carry the incorrect name, including Lamar, *Charlie Siringo's West*; Sawey, *Charles A. Siringo*; Horan, *Desperate Men* (which goes so far as to more intimately call him "Bill Sayles"); Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*; and Pointer, *In Search of Butch Cassidy*. In his classic biography (p. 303), Patterson noted the likelihood of the name "Sayles" being fictitious and speculated on the possibility that it referred to Frank P. Dimaio, the renowned Pinkerton's operative who helped trace Cassidy, Harry Longabaugh (the "Sundance Kid"), and Etta (or Ethel) Place to Argentina and then Bolivia. Although Patterson suggested that Morn (*The Eye That Never Sleeps*: 161) seemed to subscribe to the Dimaio theory, he correctly indicated that this was unlikely. Now it can be acknowledged with certainty that Sayles was actually Sayers.
47. Details of the case are to be found in CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 66–69, and CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 132–134.
 48. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 68.
 49. Details of the case are to be found in CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 74–85, and CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 136–139.
 50. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 78.
 51. Gowen's later career is discussed in depth in Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*: 167–273.
 52. This assessment has long been accepted by most historians. For example, see Coleman, *The Molly Maguire Riots*; Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading*; Broehl, *The Molly Maguires*; and Crown and Major, *A Guide to the Molly Maguires*. However, one author has recently decried the suicide verdict. Patrick Campbell argued in *Who Killed Franklin Gowen?* that the former Reading president was murdered – although he does not know by whom – and that there was a conspiracy by Linden and others to cover it up.
 53. JM, quoted in *Denver News*, December 18, 1889.
 54. Details of the case are to be found in CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 91–113, and CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 142–151.
 55. Details of the case and its related cases are to be found in July and August 1890 issues of *The Aspen Daily Times*, *The Aspen Weekly Times*, *The Castle Rock Journal*, *The Daily Chronicle*, and *Silver Cliff Rustler*.
 56. *The Aspen Weekly Times*, July 19, 1890.
 57. *The Daily Chronicle*, July 16, 1890.
 58. *The Aspen Weekly Times*, July 19, 1890.
 59. *The New-York Times*, September 20, 1890.
 60. City of Denver 1890 Death Book, Record number 234775, September 26, 1890, Denver County, Colorado.
 61. Return of a Birth number 10510, January 28, 1891, Illinois Department of Public Health Births Index, Cook County; Physician's Certificates of Death number 10972, February 1, 1891, and number 10987, February 18, 1891, Illinois Department of Public Health Deaths Index, Cook County.
 62. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 92, 116; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 151–154.
 63. Details of the events surrounding the fight can be found in CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 152–153.

Chapter 14: Calling the Shots

1. *The Rocky Mountain News*, March 17, 1906.
2. Hammett, *Red Harvest*: 109.
3. Much of the information on the organization of the Pinkerton's offices is taken from Friedman, *The Pinkerton Labor Spy*: 4–19. Morris Friedman was a stenographer in the Denver office who stole a number of documents before leaving the agency and writing his book about the inner workings of the company, while condemning its ethics and the way it functioned, particularly against mining unions.
4. Friedman, *The Pinkerton Labor Spy*: 5.

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5. See Howard and Dunn, *Labor Spy*; Hunt, *Front-Page Detective*; Weiss, *Private Detective Agencies and Labour Discipline in the United States*.
6. Although Friedman (*The Pinkerton Labor Spy*: 14) noted: “it is certainly necessary to correct and re-arrange an ungrammatical, mis-spelled report,” the editing of reports did not always improve them. Dashiell Hammett wrote about his time as a Pinkerton’s operative that an officer in San Francisco “once substituted ‘truthful’ for ‘voracious’ in one of my reports on the grounds that the client might not understand the latter. A few days later in another report ‘simulate’ became ‘quicken’ for the same reason” (Hammett, *From the Memoirs of a Private Detective*: 89).
7. Friedman, *The Pinkerton Labor Spy*: 17.
8. Friedman, *The Pinkerton Labor Spy*: 18–19.
9. New Mexico Territorial Legislative Council, Council Bill No 122: TAN, reel 121, frame 681.
10. See WAP, letter to L. Bradford Prince, February 7, 1891: TAN, reel 121, frames 6812–683; JM, letter to L. Bradford Prince, February 10, 1891: TAN, reel 121, frames 687–689. For Siringo’s accounts of the case, see CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 116–134, and CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 153–157.
11. For a view of the political and social scene in New Mexico in the 1890s, see Westphall, *Thomas Benton Catron and His Era*; Lamar, *The Far Southwest*; Larson, *New Mexico’s Quest for Statehood*; Larson, *New Mexico Populism*: 60. For a history of the Santa Fe Ring, in which Catron was a major player, see Lamar, *The Far Southwest*: 121–147.
12. For the history of the White Caps, see Larson, *The White Caps of New Mexico*, and Schlesinger, *Las Gorras Blancas*.
13. For McParland’s early views on the relation between the White Caps and the Knights of Labor, see JM, letter to L. Bradford Prince, March 6, 1891: TAN, reel 121, frames 722–723. For background on the relationship, see Larson, *The White Caps of New Mexico*: 178–179.
14. McParland billed Prince regularly for the Pinkerton’s daily rate of eight dollars and Siringo’s heavy expenses. These can be found throughout the correspondence, for example, in TAN, reel 121, frames 764–768, 773, 786–790, 811–819, 831–835.
15. For keeping Prince informed of Siringo’s movements, see JM, letters to L. Bradford Prince, February 20, March 6, 30, May 4, June 17, 1891: TAN, reel 121, frames 710–712, 722–723, 747–748, 782, 805. For explaining away Siringo’s difficulties, see JM, letters to L. Bradford Prince, March 21, 30, June 1, 1891: TAN, reel 121, frames 744–745, 747–748, 797–798. For payments, see JM, letters to L. Bradford Prince, February 20, April 18, 1891: TAN, reel 121, frames 710–712, 774. For soothing Prince’s worries, see JM, letters to L. Bradford Prince, March 21, April 8, June 8, 1891: TAN, reel 121, frames 744–745, 756, 799–800.
16. As is apparent from McParland’s response in JM, letter to L. Bradford Prince, April 8, 1891: TAN, reel 121, frame 756.
17. John Gray, letter to L. Bradford Prince, April 25, 1891: TAN, reel 121, frames 769–772.
18. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 130. Ben Pingenot (*Siringo*: 175–176) pointed out that although Siringo always laid the blame for his bout with smallpox on burying a woman who had died of the disease, since “smallpox has an incubation period of ten to fourteen days, Siringo was probably exposed to the disease after being debilitated with a form of ague in Santa Fe and just before his arrival in Cow Springs.”
19. JM, letter to L. Bradford Prince, April 18, 1891: TAN, reel 121, frame 774.
20. JM, letter to L. Bradford Prince, July 20, 1891: TAN, reel 121, frames 824–825.
21. JM, letter to L. Bradford Prince, July 27, 1891: TAN, reel 121, frames 826–827.
22. For the background on Tom Horn before his involvement with Pinkerton’s, see Carlson, *Tom Horn*: 22–39; Horn, *Life of Tom Horn*.
23. Rockwell, *Memoirs of a Lawman*: 261.
24. Rockwell, *Memoirs of a Lawman*: 273.
25. Horn, *Life of Tom Horn*: 259.
26. Shores’s description of the incident suggested why he went back so quickly: “Tom was more

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and more showing a side to his character that I had never seen before. In my previous association with him on comparatively short trips he had been cooperative, full of stories, and a pleasant companion. Now, I was learning that on a long trail he was moody, insisted on his own way, and wanted the best of everything. This experience ended my close friendship with Tom, and I made it a point of never working with him again” (Rockwell, *Memoirs of a Lawman*: 309).

27. Horn, *Life of Tom Horn*: 260–261.
28. Tom Horn, quoted in *Reno Evening Gazette*, July 17, 1891.
29. *Daily Nevada State Journal*, October 2, 1891. For the significance of faro at the time, see Sanders, Faro.
30. Quoted in Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 192; see also Nash, *Encyclopedia of Western Lawmen & Outlaws*: 165–167.
31. CAS, *Two Evil Isms*: 46.
32. See Carlson, *Tom Horn*, for a number of instances of Horn reporting to Pinkerton’s.
33. WAP, letter to Frank Canton, April 12, 1895; JM, letter to Frank Canton, April 13, 1895: both Frank M. Canton Collection, box 1, folder 3, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. See also DeArment, *Alias Frank Canton*: 167–168.
34. CAS, *Two Evil Isms*: 48.
35. See Carlson, *Tom Horn*.
36. *The Denver Times*, February 28, 1907.
37. Extensive details of the case are to be found in Conrad, “A Revolting Transaction”; Day, *Death in the Mail*; Brownlee, *Dr. Graves*; Taylor, *The Wealthy Widow and the Mysterious Package*; and several newspapers that carried lengthy accounts of the investigation and subsequent trial, particularly the *Providence Daily Journal* and *The Rocky Mountain News* of Denver. Day, an editor at the *Journal*, covered the trial in Denver and sent back to Providence voluminous dispatches that he turned into his book. Conrad, the great-grandson of the murder victim, used both the newspaper accounts and family correspondence. It was not possible for Conrad or other researchers to use original Pinkerton’s reports, which have long been missing. As far back as 1940, a letter from the Pinkerton’s public relations department to the editor of the magazine *True Detective Mysteries* stated that “we appear not to have on file any of the original papers” (Agency Public Relations, letter to John Shuttleworth, August 12, 1940: LoC, box 73). A slip of paper in the file at the Library of Congress confirms this lack of original material today.
38. Agency Public Relations, letter to John Shuttleworth, August 12, 1940: LoC, box 73.
39. See, for example, coverage by *The Boston Daily Globe*, *Boston Morning Journal*, *The New-York Times*, and *Providence Daily Journal*.
40. Written at the top of an article about Cornish in *Boston Morning Journal*, June 13, 1897: LoC, box 27, folder 20. Cornish, a short, slight, energetic, but nervous-seeming man, was born in London in 1846 and moved to New York in 1868. After working a variety of jobs, including for P.T. Barnum, he joined Pinkerton’s in 1875 as an operative under George H. Bangs. In 1883, he was promoted to chief clerk, the next year to assistant superintendent, and in 1886 he was made superintendent of the new Boston office. More details about his Pinkerton’s career can be found in his Agency file: LoC, box 27, folder 20.
41. Later published as Graves, *The Fall of Richmond*.
42. J.A. Sewall, quoted in Day, *Death in the Mail*: 60, 64; Brownlee, *Dr Graves*; *Aspen Weekly Times*, December 12, 1891.
43. JM, quoted in *The Rocky Mountain News*, April 1891.
44. JM, quoted in *The Rocky Mountain News*, April 1891.
45. Had the trial been held in Providence – where Hanscom’s history in Boston would have been better known – the jury might have put considerably less faith in his testimony. He had previously been a chief inspector for the Boston Police but was discharged in 1888 in a highly publicized incident of malfeasance, insubordination, and suspected embezzlement (*The*

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Boston Daily Globe, July 6, 8, 1888). His behavior in the Graves investigation was highly questionable ethically, and he followed that up with a brief and mysterious appearance in the investigation relating to the murders charged to Lizzie Borden before Robert Pinkerton apparently pulled him off the case (see Widdows, Spotlight on Orinton M. Hanscom). Yet in July 1894, when one of his mentors came back into power, he was welcomed back to the Boston Police with a promotion to deputy superintendent (Tappan, *The Officers and the Men, the Stations Without and Within of the Boston Police*: 13). For further information on his brief career with Pinkerton's, see LoC, box 29, folder 12.

46. Conrad, "A Revolting Transaction": 85; Brownlee, *Dr. Graves*.
47. *The Denver Republican*, May 12, 1891; *The Chicago Evening Post*, May 18, 1891.
48. Graves, T. *Thatcher Graves, Plaintiff in Error, vs The People of the State of Colorado, Defendant in Error*.
49. For differing opinions on Graves's suicide and guilt, see Conrad, "A Revolting Transaction": 242–252.

Chapter 15: A New Direction

1. This brief summary of several labor organizations is based on a number of the many books detailing different aspects of that growth of American labor in the late nineteenth century, including: Dubofsky and Dulles, *Labor in America*; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*; Mandel, *Samuel Gompers*; Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor*; Phelan, *Grand Master Workman*; Rayback, *A History of American Labor*.
2. Allen, *The Great Southwest Strike*; Case, *The Great Southwest Railroad Strike and Free Labor*.
3. For background on the unionization of coal mining, see Blizzard, *When Miners March*: 28–28; Fox, *United We Stand*; McDonald, *Coal and Unionism*.
4. For the history of unions in hard-rock mining, see Lingenfelter, *The Hardrock Miners*; Wyman, Mark, *Hard Rock Epic*.
5. See, for example, Smith, *Trial of Oscar T. Caldwell*.
6. Gutman, *The Braidwood Lockout of 1874*: 16.
7. Asher and Stephenson, *Labor Divided*: 183–186.
8. Morn, *The Eye That Never Sleeps*: 100–101.
9. For statistics on the Silver Valley, see Bennett, Siems, and Constantopoulos, *The Geology and History of the Coeur d'Alene Mining District, Idaho*: 137.
10. For historical background, see Bennett, Siems, and Constantopoulos, *The Geology and History of the Coeur d'Alene Mining District, Idaho*; Historic Wallace Preservation Society, *The Silver Valley*.
11. Luck was always a key element in mining, and few tales show its value more than that about the discovery of the site on which the Bunker Hill Mine was founded (see Aitken, *Idaho's Bunker Hill*: 3–6, for a full account). In 1885, Noah Kellogg, an unsuccessful gold-seeker, obtained a grubstake – the supplies, provisions, funds, and other materials needed by a prospector to seek out a claim, which were provided in return for a promised share in that claim or its profits – from O.O. Peck and J.T. Cooper. A condition of the grubstake was that Kellogg take with him a noisy jackass that had been annoying many of those living in Murray, the town that had developed near the first claims on the North Fork of the Coeur d'Alene. In late August, while Kellogg was sleeping in Milo Gulch, the jackass wandered off. When he awoke, Kellogg could hear the animal braying, but he had to climb high into the hills on the west side of the creek to find it. When he did, he discovered it standing on a mineral outcrop of galena, or lead sulfide, a compound frequently found in conjunction with silver and zinc. Whether Kellogg was alone at the time and told friends about his discovery, or whether they had gone with him has long been disputed, but one of those friends – Jim Wardner – described finding the donkey as if several of them were there. "Reaching his side," he wrote, "we were

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astounded to find the jackass standing upon a great outcropping of mineralized vein-matter and looking in apparent amazement at the marvelous ore-shoot across the canyon ... [where] it was reflecting the sun's rays like a mirror" (Wardner, *Jim Wardner of Wardner, Idaho*: 23).

When Kellogg and his friends filed a claim in early September, Peck and Cooper brought suit against them for not including them, as agreed. In April 1886 the case was heard before First District Judge Norman Buck, who determined that, as the jackass was part of the grubstake, and it had discovered the outcrop, Peck and Cooper were entitled to a quarter interest. Meanwhile, the claim was leased to Wardner – for whom the town that grew nearby was named – and together with Cornelius Sullivan, whose claim was across the creek, he formed the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mining & Concentrating Company. Four years later, a mile and a half down the canyon, the town of Kellogg sprang up around Bunker Hill's second mill. For years a sign there supposedly noted that it was "the town discovered by a jackass and inhabited by its descendants."

12. Smith, *The Coeur d'Alene Mining War*: 17.
13. For an overview of the background to the struggles in the Coeur d'Alene region as viewed by members of the labor movement, see Lingenfelter, *The Hardrock Miners*: 196–218.
14. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 135–136.
15. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 136.
16. Where Siringo was forced to change the names of individuals when he published *A Cowboy Detective*, the original proofs of "Pinkerton's Cowboy Detective" (LoC, box 61, folder 2) are used, in this case pages 137–138.
17. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 140–141.
18. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 138.
19. CAS, *Two Evil Isms*: 37–38.
20. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 140.
21. CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 159–160.
22. The owners' honesty was called into question in March, when the railroads rescinded the rates but the mines were not opened; see Lingenfelter, *The Hardrock Miners*.
23. Smith, *The Coeur d'Alene Mining War*: 36–40.
24. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 141.
25. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 142–143; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 160–161.
26. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 144.
27. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 145.
28. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 144–147; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 162–164.
29. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 148.
30. CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 162.
31. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 148.
32. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 150. The events at Homestead, a center of the iron and steel industry seven miles east of Pittsburgh, were among the most serious and violent in U.S. labor history. Members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers had engaged in strikes in Homestead in 1882 and again in 1889. When a new strike threatened at Andrew Carnegie's steel works in 1892, the chairman of the company, Henry Clay Frick, locked out the workers and sealed off the plant. The strikers surrounded the plant so that no one – including strikebreaking workers – could get in or out. On July 6, in an effort to open the plant to nonunion replacement workers, some three hundred armed members of Pinkerton's Protective Patrol from Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York were sent by barge down the Monongahela River with orders to land under cover of darkness and enter the plant. Instead, as a tug pulled the barges toward the shore, the strikers, their families, and other supporters tore down the fences, which were topped with barbed wire and surrounded the plant, to reach areas where they could prevent the Pinkerton's agents from landing. There is conflicting evidence as to which side fired first, but a twelve-hour siege of the two barges ensued, in which three Pinkerton's men and about ten strikers were killed. As thousands of other workers

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descended on the site, the Pinkerton's chose to surrender. Despite being guaranteed safe passage out of town, a number of them were severely beaten before a special train transferred them to Pittsburgh. On July 12, state militia entered the town, removed the strikers from the plant site, and oversaw Frick's bringing in of nonunion strikebreakers; the militia remained in Homestead for more than three months. Meanwhile, the ill treatment of the Pinkerton's agents and a subsequent assassination attempt on Frick lost the unions public support, and the strike collapsed, breaking the Amalgamated Association as a force. For a full account of the events at Homestead and the role of the Pinkerton's, see Krause, *The Battle for Homestead*.

33. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 151.
34. Magnusen, *Coeur d'Alene Diary*: 247.
35. The story of the events of July 9–11 are told in detail in CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 149–171; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 164–183.
36. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 159.
37. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 159.
38. Stoll, *Silver Strike*: 225–226; Smith, *The Coeur d'Alene Mining War*: 74–79; Pingenot, *Siringo*: 44.
39. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 178–179; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 182–183; Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*: 16.
40. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 184–187. One common but historically unsound interpretation of the strike is that the violence erupted because the union miners discovered that they had been infiltrated by a Pinkerton's agent. Early proponents of this were Wayne (*The Coeur d'Alene Mining War of 1892*: 63) and Lingenfelter (*The Hardrock Miners*: 199, 206), and it was repeated by Lukas (*Big Trouble*: 103–104). In fact, Siringo had reported through the St. Paul office well in advance of the time he began to be suspected that July would see the beginning of the uprising. In addition, not only had large supplies of guns and ammunition been purchased prior to that, but violence had already begun in a concerted way as early as July 4.
41. Lingenfelter, *The Hardrock Miners*: 212–215; Stoll, *Silver Strike*: 247–248; Wood, *The Introductory Chapter to the History of the Trials of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone*: 8–9.
42. See Smith, *The Coeur d'Alene Mining War*: 110–113; Lingenfelter, *The Hardrock Miners*: 219–221; Jensen, *Heritage of Conflict*: 54–55; JM, report to Luther M. Goddard, February 9, 1906: ISA, box 5.
43. McMurry, *The Great Burlington Strike of 1888*: 192–204.
44. Quote from *United States of America ex rel David P. Weinberger, and David P. Weinberger, Esq., Individually v. Equifax, Inc.* For full accounts of the hearings, see U.S. House of Representatives, *Employment of Pinkerton Detectives*; U.S. Senate, *Investigation in Relation to the Employment for Private Purposes of Armed Bodies of Men, or Detectives, in Connection with Differences Between Workmen and Employers*.
45. The current, revised wording of the Anti-Pinkerton Act states: "An individual employed by the Pinkerton Detective Agency, or similar organization, may not be employed by the Government of the United States or the government of the District of Columbia." See Office of the Law Revision Counsel, *United States Code*: 5 USC Sec 3108.
46. Morn, *The Eye That Never Sleeps*: 107.
47. *United States of America ex rel David P. Weinberger, and David P. Weinberger, Esq., Individually v. Equifax, Inc.*
48. For a superb summary of the 1894 Cripple Creek strike, see Jameson, *All that Glitters*: 55–64.
49. Carlson, *Roughneck*: 51.
50. Quoted in Jameson, *All that Glitters*: 57.
51. JM, letter to GDB, March 4, 1915: LoC, box 140, folder 8. For a less biased viewpoint regarding the men behind the explosion, see U.S. Senate, *A Report on Labor Disturbances in the State of Colorado*: 78–79.
52. In hindsight, most historians agree that Waite was relatively evenhanded. McParland held no such opinion, giving him a large share of the blame: "The militia was sent for, but

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- unfortunately it was controlled by the notorious Governor Waite. They gave no protection to lives or property” (JM, letter to GDB, March 4, 1915: LoC, box 140, bolder 8). Much of the public at the time agreed with McParland in thinking Waite’s lackluster response had encouraged anarchy; the result was that he was voted out of office in November 1894 and his party was never again a significant force (Suggs, *Colorado’s War on Militant Unionism*: 20).
53. Carlson, *Roughneck*: 51.
 54. Baker, *The Reign of Lawlessness*: 51.
 55. For basic information on Edward, see U.S. Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: microfilm roll T623_130; Precinct 37, Victor, Teller County, Colorado, page 11A; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: microfilm roll T624_118; Precinct 1, Manitou, El Paso County, Colorado, page 5A.
 56. Campbell, *A Molly Maguire Story*: 89, 87.
 57. Among the investigations in which McParland played a prominent role was a diamond robbery aboard the Sioux City and Pacific Railroad, committed by Sherman W. Morris, also known as James Burke, Kid McCoy, and Edward Herman, and a man “with as many aliases, an itching palm for diamonds, and as nery a bandit as ever cut a throat or cracked a safe” (*The Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 10, 1893; see also Moffett, *True Detective Stories*: 95–120; Criminal History of Edward Herman: LoC, box 142, folder 6; R. Dudley, letter to WAP, September 26, 1920: LoC, box 142, folder 6). Having started his criminal career in Iowa by robbing a jewelry store there in 1885 at the age of sixteen, Morris was still going strong when he disappeared in 1920 while on parole for snatching a purse in Philadelphia. Another conviction for which McParland was credited was that of the train robber Oliver Curtis Perry, who twice broke into the “money car” of the American Express Special of the New York Central Railroad while the train was traveling at full speed (see Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 190). Yet, thorough searches of Pinkerton’s records, the biography of Perry, and the newspapers of the time do not indicate he had any involvement whatsoever (see Oliver Perry file: LoC, box 148; Spargo, *Wanted Man*; *The New-York Times*, 1892, 1893, 1895). Intriguingly, the original story seems to have come from the Great Detective himself, who was, perhaps, once again pushing stories to the limits of the truth. (For McParland’s claims, see WAP [for JM], report to FRG, January 22, 1906: ISA, folder 4. In the report, McParland stated: “I then told Orchard of several other cases that I had personally handled wherein the state witnesses went free, among them Perry the train robber in 1893.”)
 58. See *Ballenger & Richards’ Nineteenth Annual Denver City Directory*, *Ballenger & Richards’ Twentieth Annual Denver Directory*.
 59. In early 1877, Pinkerton discovered that members of Franklin’s Philadelphia office were attending revivalist meetings held by the wildly popular evangelist Dwight L. Moody and the gospel singer and composer Ira David Sankey (see Evensen, *God’s Man for the Gilded Age*). Pinkerton – a self-professed atheist – exploded: “I should never have dreamt for a moment that the evil preachings which are spread throughout the U.S. by Moody and Sankey and others should have at length come into my Agency.” As his employees evidently had extra time, he ordered: “They are to give their whole time to my business without reservation whatsoever. The men are to remain on duty on Sunday until the Superintendent sees fit to excuse them ... none of them shall in any way undertake to attend church on Sunday but shall be at the office at 9 AM” (AP, letter to BF, January 23, 1877: LoC, box 47, AP letterpress copybook, vol. 2). That said, understanding McParland’s intensity of feeling about his church, neither Pinkerton nor his sons ever tried to prevent his regular involvement in Catholic affairs.
 60. JM, letter to GDB, September 5, 1903: LoC, box 30, folder 11.

Chapter 16: Butch Cassidy and the Wild Bunch

1. For a sample of the wide variety of cases worked by Pinkerton’s agents in this period, see CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*.

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2. This term was popularized in studies of the Old West by James D. Horan, who used it as a title for three distinct editions of his book *Desperate Men*.
3. *The Salt Lake Herald*, October 12, 1894.
4. CAS: *A Cowboy Detective*: 194–195.
5. For a full account of the case, see CAS: *A Cowboy Detective*: 197–228; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 184–195.
6. CAS: *A Cowboy Detective*: 202.
7. CAS: *A Cowboy Detective*: 205–206.
8. CAS: *A Cowboy Detective*: 222.
9. CAS: *A Cowboy Detective*: 279.
10. CAS, “Pinkerton’s Cowboy Detective”: 279: LoC, box 61, folder 2.
11. J.C. Fraser, letter to WAP, July 22, 1905: LoC, box 31, folder 1.
12. Choroiditis is a swelling and inflammation of the choroid, a layer of blood vessels and connective tissue in the posterior part of the eye. Current ophthalmological opinion has questioned what kind of appropriate operation could have been performed were the diagnosis correct (Doheny Eye Institute, personal communication, November 27, 2011).
13. Shoaf, Quiet for the Gun Men; Campbell, *A Molly Maguire Story*: 186–187.
14. For the marriage of Charles McParland and Emma Schoepple, see *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 22, 1893; *The Weekly Miners’ Journal*, September 22, 1893. For the year of Edward’s marriage, see U.S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: microfilm roll T624_118; Precinct 1, Manitou, El Paso County, Colorado, page 5A. For Emma McParland’s death, see Report of Death number 13418, May 3, 1898, Illinois Department of Public Health, City of Chicago.
15. 1893 Electoral Roll, Electoral District of Grey: 46; 1896 Electoral Roll, City of Wellington Supplementary Roll: 19: New Zealand Electoral Rolls.
16. For McParland’s home addresses, see *Ballenger & Richards’ Seventeenth Annual Denver City Directory* through *Ballenger & Richards’ Thirty-Eighth Annual Denver City Directory*.
17. For example, WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 20, 1906: ISA, folder 6.
18. An example of this occurred in the period running up to the Haywood trial in 1907, when John Russell Kennedy, representing the Associated Press, was given a good deal of inside information by Governor Frank Gooding. When Kennedy was afterward taken to see McParland and the lead prosecutor, James Hawley, the detective “suggested to Mr Kennedy that while we did not want to censor what he should send out, if he would ... read it to us, we might have some suggestions to make which would be beneficial to him, in other words we might add to it. He thought that was very fair” (WAP (for JM), report to FRG, May 4, 1907: ISA, folder 22).
19. McMenamin, *The Pinnacled Glory of the West*: 173; see also, for example, *The Salt Lake Herald*, July 12, 1901 (for his participation in the Elks Fair), and *The Intermountain Catholic*, August 30, 1902 (for being named to the General Advisory Committee for the Denver Cathedral Fair).
20. *The Castle Rock Journal*, January 21, 1898.
21. *The Clipper*, March 25, 1898.
22. The biographical material about Parker and his outlaw career has been drawn from numerous sources, including: Baker, *The Wild Bunch at Robbers Roost*; Horan, *Desperate Men*; Kelly, *The Outlaw Trail*; Meadows, *Digging Up Butch and Sundance*; Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*; and Pointer, *In Search of Butch Cassidy*.
23. Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*: xi.
24. Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*: 38.
25. Warner, *The Last of the Bandit Riders*: 136.
26. See Davis, *Wyoming Range War*.
27. Although it is frequently stated that Cassidy acquired “Butch” while working at a butcher’s shop in Rock Springs, Wyoming, in 1891 (for example, Betenson and Flack, *Butch Cassidy*:

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- 70; Lamar, *Charlie Siringo's West*: 197), Patterson (*Butch Cassidy*: 56–57) showed that there were at least several other versions of how the name came about, and that there is no certainty about it.
28. One of the intriguing things about Lay is how widely descriptions of him differ. Patterson described him as “tall and dark-complected, often described as handsome, although some of his photos do not always bear this out” (*Butch Cassidy*: 80). Conversely, the description released by Pinkerton’s at the time listed him as having a “Light complexion, light brown yellowish hair, light brown eyes” and being “Quite good looking, good education and gentlemanly sort of fellow not rough or uncouth, very erect, is said to have teeth gold filled” (LoC, box 90, folder 14).
 29. See, for example, Patterson: *Butch Cassidy*: xii, 181; Ernst, *The Sundance Kid*: 4.
 30. Description in LoC, box 89, folder 13.
 31. Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*: 106; see also Kelly, *The Outlaw Trail*: 136.
 32. Baker, *The Wild Bunch at Robbers Roost*: 188.
 33. The biographical material about Longabaugh and his outlaw career has been drawn from numerous sources, including: Baker, *The Wild Bunch at Robbers Roost*; Ernst, *Sundance*; Ernst, *The Sundance Kid*; Horan, *Desperate Men*; Kirby, *The Rise and Fall of the Sundance Kid*; Meadows, *Digging Up Butch and Sundance*; and Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*.
 34. Description in LoC, box 93, folder 1.
 35. Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*: 123.
 36. Description in LoC, box 92, folder 2.
 37. Wanted poster in LoC, box 92, folder 8.
 38. The details of the attempted bank robbery at Belle Fourche vary according to the source. Among the differences are whether there were five or six robbers, whether three or four went into the bank, whether O’Day was holding the horses or had arrived first and gone to a saloon down the street, and, most important, whether Longabaugh was involved. For excellent but differing summaries, see Ernst, *The Sundance Kid*: 65–70; and Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*: 125–128.
 39. For years Harry Longabaugh has been listed as one of the bank robbers at Belle Fourche. However, Donna Ernst (*The Sundance Kid*: 69–70) has argued persuasively that a letter written by David Gillespie, a friend of Longabaugh’s, gives proof that Sundance was still working on a ranch in Wyoming.
 40. JM, letter to GDB, December 8, 1903: LoC, box 92, folder 10; see also Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*: 1; Pointer, *In Search of Butch Cassidy*: 131–132.
 41. The murder of Willie Strang, the killing of Valentine Hoy, and subsequent events, including the actions by the governors of Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming, are covered in detail in Pointer, *In Search of Butch Cassidy*: 141–148; and Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*: 131–140.

Chapter 17: On the Trail of the Wild Bunch

1. Despite it being a well-known event in the history of the Old West, the details about the Wilcox train robbery vary greatly among different sources. Among the “facts” reported differently were the number of robbers (between three and six), how they actually got the conductor to stop the train, which side of the bridge the train first stopped on, whether charges had already been set on the bridge, the total value of the items stolen, and which members of the gang were actually involved and which ones were in which party after they split up. Such variation in detail is common throughout the history of the Wild Bunch. This account of the Wilcox robbery loosely follows those given in Patterson’s *Butch Cassidy* (143–147), Meadows’s *Digging Up Butch and Sundance* (33–34), Ernst’s *The Sundance Kid* (83–94), and in the local newspapers of the time, such as *The Buffalo Bulletin*, *Carbon County Journal*, and *Natrona County Tribune*.
2. Ernst, *The Wilcox Train Robbery*.

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3. Quoted in Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*: 145.
4. Lamar, *Charlie Siringo's West*: 201; Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*: 146.
5. Frank Murray, letter to Frank A. Hadsell, March 6, 1901: Frank A. Hadsell Papers, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.
6. JM, letter to GDB, July 22, 1899: LoC, box 31, folder 1.
7. RAP, note to GDB, written at bottom of: JM, letter to GDB, July 22, 1899: LoC, box 31, folder 1.
8. CAS, "Pinkerton's Cowboy Detective": 307–308: LoC, Box 61, Folder 2; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 211.
9. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 310–311; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 212–213.
10. Among the items stolen from the Union Pacific train was thirty-four hundred dollars of "incomplete currency" being sent by the U.S. Treasury to Portland, Oregon. Not only had the serial numbers of this currency been recorded, but the notes had been damaged in the explosion, so that banks, hotels, and merchants – who had been contacted by a variety of law-enforcement agencies – could report its use. This allowed Siringo and other detectives to discover exactly where the money was being spent. See Ernst, *The Sundance Kid*: 92.
11. CAS, "Pinkerton's Cowboy Detective": 312: LoC, box 61, folder 2.
12. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 313–324; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 215–218.
13. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 324–325; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 218–219.
14. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 335.
15. *The Kansas City Star*, February 28, 1900; see also Ernst, *The Sundance Kid*: 92–93.
16. See *The Morning Times-Citizen*, February 28, 1900, for details of the arrest.
17. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 330; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 222.
18. MacKell: *Cripple Creek District*: 98–99.
19. On January 15, 1900, Horn sent a letter to Edmund C. Harris, the division superintendent for the Union Pacific, laying out his investigation as of that date. Five months later, Frank Murray of Pinkerton's Denver office sent a copy of the same letter to U.S. Marshall Frank A. Hadsell. The initial letter might have been sent directly to Harris because the Union Pacific was employing Horn, and the company might have forwarded a copy to the Pinkerton's Denver office. However, it is also possible that the letter to Harris was initially sent to Pinkerton's, copied and then sent on to Harris, as was the case with most such investigations in which Pinkerton's was hired, including the Molly Maguires, Siringo's work for the Territory of New Mexico, Siringo's undercover operation in the Coeur d'Alenes, etc. See Tom Horn, letter to Edmund C. Harris, January 15, 1900 and Frank Murray, letter to Frank A. Hadsell, June 7, 1900: both, Frank A. Hadsell Papers, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.
20. Tom Horn, letter to Edmund C. Harris, January 15, 1900: Frank A. Hadsell Papers, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.
21. Tom Horn, letter to Edmund C. Harris, January 15, 1900: Frank A. Hadsell Papers, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.
22. Frank Murray, letter to Frank A. Hadsell, June 7, 1900: Frank A. Hadsell Papers, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.
23. JM, letter to Frank M. Canton, November 25, 1899: Frank M. Canton Collection, box 1, folder 30, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.
24. For an excellent study of Canton, see DeArment, *Alias Frank Canton*; for specifically his interest in being a bounty hunter after leaving federal employment in Alaska and his correspondence with Pinkerton's, see pp. 239–249.
25. JM, letter to Frank M. Canton, November 25, 1899: Frank M. Canton Collection, box 1, folder 30, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.
26. JM, letters to Frank M. Canton, January 13, February 3, 1900: Frank M. Canton Collection, box 1, folder 30, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.
27. Kelly, *The Outlaw Trail*: 261–262.

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28. Lamar, *Charlie Siringo's West*: 201; Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*: 143.
29. For a full account of the Folsom train robbery and the following events, see Burton, *The Deadliest Outlaws*: 162–192.
30. McGonagill's name has been widely misspelled in this tale, and some have wondered if he was somehow tied to the Wild Bunch. That appears extremely unlikely, however. Instead, he was just a regular cowboy who went on to become a very successful professional rodeo performer. For background on McGonagill, see Whitlock, *Cowboy Life on the Llano Estacado*: 112–115; Axford, *Around Western Campfires*: 27–29.
31. French, *Some Recollections of a Western Ranchman*: 273–274.
32. French, *Some Recollections of a Western Ranchman*: 274.
33. Burton, *The Deadliest Outlaws*: 257.
34. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 354–355; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 240–241.
35. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 355–356; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 241.
36. Kelly, *The Outlaw Trail*: 263–265.
37. The full story of what became known as the Tipton robbery is told in Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*: 161–165; Kelly, *The Outlaw Trail*: 273–276.
38. *The New York Herald*, September 1, 1900.
39. Kirby, *The Rise and Fall of the Sundance Kid*: 79; Patterson: *Butch Cassidy*: 163.
40. Although the lawmen of the time and many historians thereafter believed that Cassidy and Longabaugh were among the robbers, Donna Ernst found a note in a Pinkerton's file that she wrote indicated they were already on their way to Winnemucca, Nevada, and therefore could not have participated in the Tipton robbery; see Ernst, *The Sundance Kid*: xx, 127. Burton supported this with the argument that those two and Will Carver simply could not have reached Winnemucca if they had been involved in Tipton (*The Deadliest Outlaws*: 274–275), although Patterson illustrated that they could have made it there had they been willing to take a train (*Butch Cassidy*: 166). Other individuals said by Burton to be among the robbers were Ben Kilpatrick and Bill Cruzan (p. 275).
41. The story of Cassidy's efforts to arrange an amnesty in return for going straight is told in Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*: 158–161; Kelly, *The Outlaw Trail*: 266–272; Betenson and Flack, *Butch Cassidy*: 151–160.
42. Quoted in Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*: 161; see also Kelly, *The Outlaw Trail*: 271.
43. Quoted in Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*: 161; see also Kelly, *The Outlaw Trail*: 271–272.
44. Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*: 172; Kelly, *The Outlaw Trail*: 277; Burton, *The Deadliest Outlaws*: 275.
45. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 340–341; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 230–231.
46. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 351; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 238.
47. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 348; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 235.
48. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 355–356; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 240–241.
49. For the story of Siringo's work with the men on the fringes of the Wild Bunch, see CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 358–380; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 244–251. In these accounts, Ferguson was "Jim F." and "Jim Foss," respectively.
50. Quoted in CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 362; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 246.
51. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 367; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 249.
52. CAS, *A Cowboy Detective*: 362–374; CAS, *Riata and Spurs*: 246–251.
53. CAS, Account of Charles A. Siringo.
54. Kelly wrote that the gang was heading to the famous red-light district known as "Hell's Half Acre" to hide out and "paint the town" (*The Outlaw Trail*: 281). Baker (*The Wild Bunch at Robbers Roost*: 193), Meadows (*Digging Up Butch and Sundance*: 35), and Burton (*The Deadliest Outlaws*: 279) indicated that the trip to Fort Worth was to celebrate recent successes against the railroads. Patterson reported that the trip was "for a little rest and relaxation" (*Butch Cassidy*: 175). And Lamar suggested that attending Carver's wedding was the reason for going (*Charlie Siringo's West*: 204).

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55. Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*: 176–177; Meadows, *Digging Up Butch and Sundance*: 35–36. Intriguingly, the biography of Dodge, based on his extensive journals and correspondence, does not mention this incident; see Lake, *Under Cover for Wells Fargo*.
56. WAP, letter to RAP, 31 July 1902: LoC, box 16, folder 2.
57. Numerous authorities – including Meadows (*Digging Up Butch and Sundance*: 37), Patterson (*Butch Cassidy*: 185–186), and Burton (*The Deadliest Outlaws*: 281) – indicate that Cassidy left on the same steamer as Longabaugh and Place. However, others, such as Kelly (*The Outlaw Trail*: 282–286), have suggested that he remained behind and took part in the Wagner train robbery before joining his friends in South America.
58. JM, letter to GDB, March 5, 1901: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
59. For an account of the final days of Will Carver’s life, see Ernst, *From Cowboy to Outlaw*.
60. For a complete account of the Wagner train robbery, see Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*: 187–191; Kelly, *The Outlaw Trail*: 282–286.
61. Burton, *The Deadliest Outlaws*: 320–321.
62. For a full account of the final years of Harvey Logan’s life, see Ernst, *Harvey Logan*; and Lynch, *Harvey Logan in Knoxville*.
63. For background on Dimaio and his first major case – the investigation into the 1890 Mafia murder of New Orleans police chief David Hennessy – see Horan, *The Pinkertons*: 418–441. For Dimaio’s role in Pinkerton’s investigation into Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid, see Frank P. Dimaio, report, September 17, 1941: LoC, box 89, folder 13. Also see Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*: 198–200; Meadows, *Digging Up Butch and Sundance*: 40–42.
64. Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*: 199; Meadows, *Digging Up Butch and Sundance*: 42–43.
65. There are many different theories expounded as to the deaths (or not) of Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid in Bolivia, including whether they were killed by the Bolivians or by their own hands as they ran out of ammunition. There are also many tales of their supposed survival and return to the United States. Among the most thoughtful and carefully researched of the available accounts are Patterson, *Butch Cassidy*; Meadows, *Digging Up Butch and Sundance*; and Ernst, *The Sundance Kid*.
66. *The Sun*, September 13, 1903.

Chapter 18: The Man in Charge

1. For year-to-year changes, see Pinkerton’s advertisements in *Ballenger & Richards’ Annual Denver Directory* and *The Lakeside Annual Directory of the City of Chicago*, both for the years 1900–1910.
2. Ballenger & Richards, *Ballenger & Richards’ Thirty-First Annual Denver City Directory*.
3. Gale, *A Dashiell Hammett Companion*: xiii–xiv.
4. Hammett, *Red Harvest*: 108–109.
5. JM, letter to WAP, December 27, 1900: LoC, box 142, folder 6.
6. *The Seattle Daily Times*, August 17, 1903.
7. Ringling Brothers, *The Circus Annual*: Tuesday, July 28, 1902.
8. Quote from Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 172; for background of the Elks, see Fehrenbach, *Elkdom*.
9. *The Salt Lake Herald*, August 12, 1902.
10. McMenamin, *The Pinnacled Glory of the West*: 173–174.
11. Suggs, Religion and Labor in the Rocky Mountain West.
12. Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 194. For background on and the organization of the Knights of Columbus, see Kaufmann, *Faith & Fraternalism*.
13. See McParland’s History as a Knight of Columbus, ERN: 111.
14. Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 194–195.
15. Susan Brosnan, Archivist, Knights of Columbus Supreme Council, personal communication, November 29, 2011; Sean Espy, Grand Knight, Council 539, Knights of Columbus, personal communication, December 1, 2011.

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16. McMenamin, *The Pinnacled Glory of the West*: 173.
17. Quote from *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 7, 1901. The details of the robbery and investigation are taken from contemporaneous accounts in the *Boston Post*, *The New York Times*, *The San Francisco Call*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, and *The Washington Times*.
18. Boessenecker, *Lawman*: 295.
19. JM, quoted in *The San Francisco Call*, August 13, 1901.
20. JM, quoted in *The San Francisco Call*, August 13, 1901.
21. Philpott, *The Lessons of Leadville*: 2.
22. U.S. Senate, *A Report on Labor Disturbances in the State of Colorado*: 88.
23. Philpott, *The Lessons of Leadville*: 7–10.
24. Wyman: *Hard Rock Epic*: 53–54.
25. U.S. Senate, *A Report on Labor Disturbances in the State of Colorado*: 96.
26. Philpott, *The Lessons of Leadville*: 4–5.
27. Wyman: *Hard Rock Epic*: 171–172.
28. Quoted in Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 213; see also Jensen, *Heritage of Conflict*: 67.
29. Carlson, *Roughneck*: 51–52, 58.
30. Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 166.
31. Phipps, *From Bull Pen to Bargaining Table*: 59–65.
32. Jameson, *All that Glitters*: 71–72.
33. Suggs, *Colorado's War on Militant Unionism*: 39–41.
34. Baker, *The Reign of Lawlessness*: 52.
35. Details of the initial Colorado City strike and its repercussions are taken from Jameson, *All that Glitters*; Suggs, *Colorado's War on Militant Unionism*; and U.S. Senate, *A Report on Labor Disturbances in the State of Colorado*.
36. MacNeill had actually been a Pinkerton's client on and off since 1892. According to McParland, Crane was not the only agent at the USRRC, as he noted, "we have at present three operatives detailed on work for him" (Pinkerton Detective Agency Reports, University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries Archives). The information about Crane's role is drawn from Friedman, *The Pinkerton Labor Spy*: 30–40.
37. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, June 4, 1906: ISA, folder 13.
38. See Friedman, *The Pinkerton Labor Spy*: 41–50.
39. Details of the Cripple Creek strike and its repercussions are taken from Blevins, Nicholl, and Otto, *The Colorado Labor Wars*; Jameson, *All that Glitters*; Rastall, *The Labor History of the Cripple Creek District*; Suggs, *Colorado's War on Militant Unionism*; and U.S. Senate, *A Report on Labor Disturbances in the State of Colorado*.
40. Details about Gratias's role during the strike are taken from Friedman, *The Pinkerton Labor Spy*: 52–64. McParland's directives are detailed in the Pinkerton Detective Agency Reports, University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries Archives.
41. Haywood, *Bill Haywood's Book*: 157–158.
42. For background on the Citizens' Alliance, see Suggs, *Colorado's War on Militant Unionism*: 68–72.
43. Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*: 47–48; Jameson, *All that Glitters*: 206.
44. First quote: Rastall, *The Labor History of the Cripple Creek District*: 99; second quote: *The Rocky Mountain News*, December 11, 1904.
45. Quoted in Baker, *The Reign of Lawlessness*: 43. For the illegal arrests at the *Victor Daily Record* and efforts to continue publishing it, see Langdon, *The Cripple Creek Strike*: 149–151.
46. See Friedman, *The Pinkerton Labor Spy*: 156–171. The operative in question was Robert M. Smith. Concurrently, Pinkerton's undercover operatives were fulfilling similar assignments in other areas. Thomas J. Williams helped prevent the United Mine Workers from unionizing the Wyoming Union Pacific Coal Company at Rock Springs (Friedman, *The Pinkerton Labor Spy*: 172–177). And Frank E. Cochran was so successful in his undercover role at the Mountain Copper Company in Keswick, California, that the WFM named him its national

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- organizer (Friedman, *The Pinkerton Labor Spy*: 178–183).
47. For the attempt to wreck the train, see Jameson, *All that Glitters*: 210–211, and Rastall, *The Labor History of the Cripple Creek District*: 103–107; for the murder of Collins, see Gressley, *Bostonians and Bullion*: 101, and Martin, *The Corpse on Boomerang Road*: 162–163.
 48. For a detailed account of the strike in the Telluride, see Martin, *The Corpse on Boomerang Road*: 194–266.
 49. Quoted in Jameson, *All that Glitters*: 219.
 50. Edward McParland, in SIH: vol. 6, 3065. For his full testimony, see SIH: vol. 6, 3063–3069.
 51. Edward McParland, in SIH: vol. 6, 3066.
 52. U.S. Senate, *A Report on Labor Disturbances in the State of Colorado*: 267.
 53. Jameson, *All that Glitters*: 230.
 54. Grinstead and Fogelberg, *Western Voices*: 184; see also *The Denver Post*, Nov. 21, 2008.
 55. Quote from CAS, *Two Evil Isms*: 24–25; see also Suggs, *Colorado's War on Militant Unionism*: 186–187.
 56. Brundage, *The Making of Western Labor Radicalism*.
 57. *The Ocala Banner*, January 16, 1903; see also *The Ocala Evening Star*, January 14, 1903.
 58. JM, letter to RAP, June 13, 1903: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
 59. JM, letter to RAP, June 13, 1903: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
 60. JM, letter to RAP, June 18, 1903: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
 61. JM, letter to RAP, June 18, 1903: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
 62. McParland's description of the symptoms – as well as the way in which improvement eventually occurred – suggests that the cause could actually have been a macular edema, a swelling or thickening of the macula, the part of the retina responsible for detailed central vision. This can be caused by fluid leaking from retinal or choroidal blood vessels. Not infrequently this resolves itself naturally, as could have been the case for McParland (Doheny Eye Institute, personal communication, December 16, 2011).
 63. JM, letter to RAP, June 18, 1903: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
 64. JM, letter to RAP, June 22, 1903: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
 65. JM, letter to RAP, June 25, 1903: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
 66. JM, letter to GDB, September 5, 1903: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
 67. JM, letter to Cyrus Wells "Doc" Shores, September 7, 1904: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
 68. Quote from JM, letter to WAP, February 22, 1905: LoC, box 30, folder 11; other details from John C. Fraser, letter to GDB, February 15, 1905; John C. Fraser, letter to WAP, July 22, 1905; JM, letters to GDB, August 8, 17, 1905: all LoC, box 30, folder 11.
 69. *The New York Times*, April 17, 1904.
 70. RAP, letter to WAP, September 15, 1905: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
 71. Robert Pinkerton, born in 1848, was about three years younger than McParland, but he died in 1907 at the age of only fifty-nine.
 72. For a fuller account of the investigation of Ingram's death and other Pinkerton's cases in Canada, see Williams, *Call in Pinkerton's*.
 73. For McParland's report and related information, see Royal Canadian Mounted Police Papers RG18, Library and Archives Canada.

Chapter 19: A Murder and a Confession

1. *The Idaho Daily Statesman*, January 10, 1906; Clay, *The Assassination of Ex-Gov. Steunenberg*: 32.
2. Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*: 59; Horsley, *The Confessions and Autobiography of Harry Orchard*: 218.
3. Details of Steunenberg's assassination and final moments, and of the actions in the aftermath are taken from Josephine Steunenberg, letter to Grace Crookham, Jan. 10, 1906: George L. Crookham Papers MS 189.1–13; Will Steunenberg, letter to Delia Brobst, Jan. 13, 1906:

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- George L. Crookham Papers MS 191.1–8; Nina Steunenberg, letter to Delia Brobst, Jan. 13, 1906: George L. Crookham Papers MS 193.1–9; all The College of Idaho; Steunenberg, *The Martyr of Idaho*; and editions in the following days of *The Caldwell News*, *The Caldwell Tribune*, and *Evening Capital News*. The quote is from Charles Steunenberg, letter to Delia Brobst, Jan. 13, 1906: George L. Crookham Papers MS 195.1–4, The College of Idaho.
4. Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*: 60.
 5. Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 67.
 6. For the prosecution of the fraud and arson cases, see *The Columbus Courier* for February and March 1886. For information on Stockslager's background, see Allison, *History of Cherokee County, Kansas*; Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*; Hawley, *History of Idaho*, vol. 1.
 7. Idaho officials seeking investigative help from an outside agency was not unusual. As in Pennsylvania in the 1870s, Idaho had no state police force, its attorney general had no investigative staff, local sheriffs and constables tended to have little training in probing serious crime, and the federal government did not have a bureau that could assist the states. See Fuld, *Police Administration*; Calhoun, *The Lawmen*; Prassel, *The Western Peace Officer*.
 8. McParland's animus to Swain went back almost two decades, to when he first took over the Denver office. At that point Swain was Denver's chief of detectives, a position to which he had risen in only a few years since joining the police department in 1883. The two men were much alike in some ways – proud, smug, and aggressive – and quickly found themselves at odds over the way their overlapping investigations were handled and as competitors for acclaim and recognition. McParland also developed a great disdain for Swain's recklessness, which was highlighted in incidents in which he fired down a crowded street and later gunned down a depressed man fumbling around with an unloaded pistol. Although Swain was cleared legally of the latter charge, the public protests over his behavior led him to resign from the force. Not long thereafter, he joined Thiel's agency, and in 1899 experienced great success with his use of undercover agent Edward L. Zimmerman in the Wardner union. Needless to say, this only made McParland's antagonism greater, and the Great Detective never missed a chance to score against his rival.
 9. W.S. Swain, report to FRG, January 2, 1906: ISA, folder 1.
 10. *Evening Capital News*, January 3, 1906.
 11. Testimony of Bill Haywood, in SIH: vol. 9, 4093–4095.
 12. W.S. Swain, report to FRG, January 3, 1906: ISA, folder 1.
 13. *Evening Capital News*, January 9, 1906; *The Idaho Daily Statesman*, January 9, 1906; Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*: 60–61.
 14. W.S. Swain, report to FRG, January 3, 1906: ISA, folder 1.
 15. Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*: 61–62; Connolly, *The Moyer-Haywood Case: Part 1: the Murder and the Arrest of Orchard*: 20–23. In fact, Miller did not reach Caldwell until January 8, after disembarking from his train in Walla Walla, Washington. Although Miller claimed this was because he was ill, it has been speculated that he was reluctant to be involved once he had discovered in the news reports of January 4 that Hogan was actually Orchard (Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*: 61–62). That same day, Simpkins sent a telegram to the WFM headquarters in Denver, stating: "Cannot get a lawyer to defend Hogan. Answer." It is possible that Simpkins had arranged for Miller to be the attorney, but without giving him full details. And it is likely that Miller continued to Caldwell only after being in contact with other members of the WFM executive board. The situation was never clarified because during the subsequent trials, Miller could not be called by the prosecution, because he joined the defense team and spent most of the trial in California taking depositions.
 16. Frank Gooding, telegram to Fred T. Dubois, December 30, 1905, reprinted in *The Rocky Mountain News*, March 1, 1906; Will Steunenberg, letter to Delia Brobst, January 13, 1906: George L. Crookham Papers MS 191.1–8, The College of Idaho; among the newspapers espousing this theory, see *Daily Press*, Dec. 31, 1905; *The Hawaiian Star*, Jan. 1, 1906; *Los Angeles Herald*, Dec. 31, 1905; *The New York Times*, Dec. 31, 1905; *The Salt Lake Herald*,

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- Dec. 31, 1905; *The San Francisco Call*, Dec. 31, 1905; *The Sun*, Dec. 31, 1905.
17. Hawley, *History of Idaho*, vol. 1; McConnell, *Early History of Idaho*: 372–375.
 18. See Gramm, *The Free Silver Movement in America*; Argersinger, *Silver Republicans*: 689.
 19. U.S. House of Representatives, *Coeur d'Alene Labor Troubles*: 24–25.
 20. Details of the events of April 29 are taken from *The Idaho State Tribune*, May 3, 1899; Hawley, *History of Idaho*, vol. 1, 251–256; U.S. House of Representatives, *Coeur d'Alene Labor Troubles*: 6–7, 22–23; Fahey, *The Days of Hercules*: 26–30.
 21. Frank Steunenberg, telegram to William McKinley, April 29, 1899: quoted in Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 115.
 22. U.S. Senate, *Coeur d'Alene Mining Troubles*: 4.
 23. U.S. House of Representatives, *Coeur d'Alene Labor Troubles*: 127–128.
 24. U.S. Senate, *Coeur d'Alene Mining Troubles*: 6–7.
 25. U.S. House of Representatives, *Coeur d'Alene Labor Troubles*: 114–115; Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*: 38.
 26. Jameson, *All that Glitters*: 216, 220–221.
 27. Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 150.
 28. For the interactions between the soldiers of the Twenty-Fourth and the miners, see Cooper, *The Army and Civil Disorder*: 170–184; Laurie and Cole, *The Role of Federal Military Forces in Domestic Disorders*: 171–172.
 29. Haywood, *Socialism the Hope of the Working Class*: 467.
 30. *The Idaho Daily Statesman*, May 19, 1906.
 31. Belle Steunenberg, in *The Idaho Daily Statesman*, June 7, 1907.
 32. Belle Steunenberg, in *The Idaho Daily Statesman*, June 7, 1907.
 33. Quoted in JM, letter to J.C. Fraser, January 13, 1906: LoC, box 172, folder 1.
 34. James Nevins, letter to JM, January 13, 1906: LoC, box 172, folder 1.
 35. JM, letter to James Nevins, January 11, 1906; James Nevins, letter to JM, January 13, 1906: both LoC, box 172, folder 1.
 36. JM, letter to James Nevins, January 8, 1906: LoC, box 172, folder 1.
 37. Details of and quotes from this meeting come from JM, letter to James Nevins, January 11, 1906; WAP (for JM), report to FRG, January 10, 1906: both LoC, box 172, folder 1.
 38. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, January 10, 1906: LoC, box 172, folder 1.
 39. JM, letter to J.C. Fraser, January 13, 1906: LoC, box 172, folder 1.
 40. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, January 14, 1906: LoC, box 172, folder 1.
 41. JM, letter to J.C. Fraser, January 13, 1906: LoC, box 172, folder 1.
 42. JM, letter to J.C. Fraser, January 13, 1906: LoC, box 172, folder 1.
 43. Details of and quotes from this meeting come from JM, letter to J.C. Fraser, January 13, 1906; WAP (for JM), reports to FRG, January 12, 13, 1906: all LoC, box 172, folder 1.
 44. JM, letter to J.C. Fraser, January 13, 1906: LoC, box 172, folder 1.
 45. WAP (for JM), reports to FRG, January 17, 18, 1906: ISA, folder 4; JM, letter to J.C. Fraser, January 13, 1906: LoC, box 172, folder 1.
 46. Details of and quotes from McParland's first meeting with Orchard come from WAP (for JM), report to FRG, January 22, 1906: ISA, folder 4.
 47. The man McParland referred to was Manus Cull, alias Kelly the Bum. McParland's memory failed him just a bit here, as the actual murder victim was Alexander Rea.
 48. In his testimony at the Haywood trial, Morris Friedman stated that "in the course of dictation Mr McParland very frequently made allusions to the Inner Circle of the Western Federation of Miners"; see SIH: vol. 6, 2910.
 49. McParland's belief in the concept of the Inner Circle has been commented upon scornfully by his skeptics, for example, Friedman, *The Pinkerton Labor Spy*: 23; Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*: 283; Martin, *The Corpse on Boomerang Road*: 169, 273, 292. However, it was used prior to the entry of Pinkerton's into the Steunenberg murder investigation in numerous newspapers, including *Deseret Evening News*, Jan. 1, 1906; *Los Angeles Herald*,

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- Dec. 31, 1905; *The New York Times*, Dec. 31, 1905; *New-York Tribune*, Dec. 31, 1905; *The Salt Lake Herald*, Dec. 31, 1905; *The San Francisco Call*, Dec. 31, 1905.
50. Details of and quotes from McParland's second meeting with Orchard – except for those noted – come from WAP (for JM), report to FRG, January 25, 1906: LoC, box 172, folder 2.
 51. Horsley, *The Confessions and Autobiography of Harry Orchard*: 231–232.
 52. Horsley, *The Confessions and Autobiography of Harry Orchard*: 233.
 53. Orchard, *The Confession and Autobiography of Harry Orchard*, Parts 1–5; Horsley, *The Confessions and Autobiography of Harry Orchard*.
 54. Hinks, *A Personal Note of Introduction*: ix.
 55. JM, report to FRG, January 27–28, 1906; JM, report to FRG, January 28–29, 1906: both, LoC, box 172, folder 2.
 56. JM, report to FRG, January 31, 1906: LoC, box 172, folder 2.
 57. For the claims made in Orchard's confession, see JM, reports to FRG, January 27–28, 28–29, 31, 1906: all LoC, box 172, folder 2.
 58. For example, Carlson, *Roughneck*: 140–141; Martin, *The Corpse on Boomerang Road*: 273–274; Stone, *Darrow for the Defence*: 204–205.
 59. JM, reports to FRG, January 28–29, 31, 1906: both, LoC, box 172, folder 2.
 60. JM, reports to FRG, January 28–29, 31, 1906: both, LoC, box 172, folder 2.
 61. See, for example, WAP (for JM), reports to FRG, January 29, February 3, 9, April 6, 8, 1906: all ISA, folders 4, 5, and 9.

Chapter 20: Battle Lines are Drawn

1. For details of the life and assassination of McKinley, see Morgan, *William McKinley and His America*; Miller, *The President and the Assassin*.
2. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 3, 1906: ISA, folder 5.
3. Details of Hawley's career are taken from MacLane, *A Sagebrush Lawyer*; Hon. James H. Hawley.
4. MacLane, *A Sagebrush Lawyer*: 87.
5. *The San Francisco Call*, February 19, 1906; *New-York Tribune*, February 20, 1906; *The Nebraska Advertiser*, March 2, 1906; *Bisbee Daily Review*, March 3, 1906.
6. The current Idaho Statutes, Title 19 (Criminal Procedure), Chapter 21 (Trial), Section 2117 (Testimony of Accomplice – Corroboration), reads: “A conviction cannot be had on the testimony of an accomplice, unless he is corroborated by other evidence, which in itself, and without the aid of the testimony of the accomplice, tends to connect the defendant with the commission of the offense; and the corroboration is not sufficient, if it merely shows the commission of the offense, or the circumstances thereof.” This is the same wording as was in Section 7871 of the Revised Statutes of Idaho Territory, 1887, which were in force at the time of the Steunenberg murder investigations.
7. Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*: 69. Simpkins's disappearance makes the claim by Swain that he knew exactly where he was and that he could be arrested at any time either false or, in not picking him up, the greatest single blunder in the investigation. Simpkins was later reported in Idaho, Washington, Oregon, Colorado, Mexico, and as far afield as Australia and Singapore. Rumors abounded not only about where he might be, but even if he were still alive – or if he had been murdered by the WFM to ensure his silence. Alternatively, it was speculated that he had been a Pinkerton's operative and that the agency decided he could never testify, as it would ruin his cover. This seems unlikely, because of the significance of the case and Pinkerton's use of other agents to testify in important situations.
8. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, Feb. 2, 1906: ISA, folder 5. The legal ruling for the situation the prosecution faced had been made in 1903 in *Hyatt v. People of State of New York*, in which the U.S. Supreme Court determined that the Constitution's extradition clause required that anyone being extradited must have fled from the state where the crime had occurred.

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9. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 4, 1906: ISA, folder 5.
10. The full details of the plan to bring Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone to Idaho come from WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 8, 1906: ISA, folder 5; WAP (for JM), reports to FRG, February 16, 17, 1906: ISA, folder 6.
11. For a full list of the cipher code, see JM, attachment to letter to J.H. Hawley, February 8, 1906: ISA, folder 5.
12. For example, see charges of them being “perjured papers” in Carlson, *Roughneck*: 93.
13. This technicality was explained in Instruction 21 to the jury in the *State of Idaho v. William D. Haywood*, when Judge Fremont Wood quoted Section 7697 of the Revised Statutes of Idaho Territory, 1887: “The jury is instructed that the defendant in this case is charged as a principal under our statute, which provided that ‘The distinction between an accessory before the fact and a principal and between principals in the first and second degree in cases of felony, is abrogated, and all persons concerned in the commission of an offense, whether they directly commit the act constituting the offense, or aid and abet in its commission, though not present, shall hereafter be prosecuted, tried and punished as principals, and no other facts need be alleged in any indictment against an accessory than are required in an indictment against his principal’” (SIH: vol. 11, 5407–5408). According to Hawley’s interpretation, this meant that, as Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone were technically principals in the crime, “under our law they were *constructively* here ... It is necessary in the affidavit and the request that the party should be treated as having ... departed from the jurisdiction about the time of its commission” (James H. Hawley, instructions to Owen Van Duyn, Feb. 10, 1906: letterpress book 56, James Henry Hawley Papers (M48), Idaho State Archives; emphasis added).
14. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 8, 1906: ISA, folder 5. Orchard had stated that Adams had murdered Collins on the order of St. John.
15. Harry Orchard, quoted in WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 9, 1906: ISA, folder 5.
16. McParland’s mentioning here, and at other times, the role of Divine Providence has been interpreted by one of his harshest critics as indicative of his “personal belief that he had a divine mandate,” that he must have considered himself “the mouthpiece of Divine Providence,” and that “he believed his authority came from ‘Divine Providence’” (Martin, *The Corpse on Boomerang Road*: 146, 283, 311). However McParland lived in an age when people owned a strong belief in the role of Providence in their lives. It was common for people to call upon Providence at times of need, to acknowledge Providence at moments of success, and even to curse Providence for their failures. For example, the expedition accounts of polar and African explorers, the journals of military officers, and the diaries of political figures are all replete with references to Providence. Thus, rather than suggesting anything about McParland’s ego, this aspect of his behavior simply shows him to be a man of his time.
17. JM, letter to Luther M. Goddard, February 9, 1906: ISA, folder 5.
18. FRG, letter to WAP, February 10, 1906: LoC, Box 172, folder 1.
19. WAP (for JM), reports to FRG, February 13, 14, 1906: ISA, folder 6.
20. Details of and quotes from the meeting with Governor McDonald are taken from WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 16, 1906: ISA, folder 6.
21. It has been argued that Governor McDonald should have waited for the legitimacy of the extradition papers to be established (Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 254). However, his signature could be legally justified by the “Full Faith and Credit” clause of Article 4, Section 1 of the Constitution of the United States, which states: “Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state.” Moreover, there was no legal requirement in Colorado for any further hearing (Mills, *Mills’ Annotated Statutes of the State of Colorado*: chap. 56, section 2037, 23).
22. Details of and quotes regarding the plans for the operation are taken from McParland’s reports of the time, particularly WAP (for JM), reports to FRG, February 16, 17, 1906: ISA, folder 6.
23. McParland was actually more generous with provisions than he indicated in his report. As shown by receipts submitted by Pinkerton’s to the State of Idaho, he provided the party with

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- twenty turkey sandwiches, twenty chicken sandwiches, twenty beef sandwiches, twenty ham sandwiches, six cans of sardines, and two loaves of bread along with containers of butter, cheese, dill pickles, olives, mustard, and strawberry jam. There were also three dozen hard-boiled eggs, an undefined number of apples, one hundred cigars, three dozen quarts of Budweiser, and a quart of Old Crow bourbon. All for a journey that would take twenty-seven hours (see *The Cost to the State of Idaho of the Haywood Trial*).
24. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 17, 1906: ISA, folder 6. Oscar M. Carpenter was the secretary of WFM Telluride Local Number 63 when St. John was president. Like St. John, he was mentioned in Pinkerton's or prosecution reports as being involved in a variety of murders.
 25. For Moyer's money and guns, see *Morning Oregonian*, March 7, 1906; *The Caldwell Tribune*, June 30, 1906.
 26. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 18, 1906: ISA, Folder 6.
 27. For quote, see JM, Synopsis, undated: LoC, Box 172, folder 1; for details about Winnie Minor, see Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 238, 257–258, 775.
 28. Moving the train to Union Station so that it was perhaps half an hour closer to the state line and Boise was the one concession the Union Pacific was willing to make when McParland asked if the departure time could be moved forward, due to concerns that reporters lurking around the jail would pass on details that might ruin the operation (Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 259–260). The Union Pacific officials said that the special train was not yet ready, and, in their defense, it must have been impossible at that stage to change the running schedules of all conflicting trains so that McParland's would still have the priority it had been given.
 29. The account of the journey from Denver to Boise is taken from Haywood, *Bill Haywood's Book*: 193; *The Idaho Daily Statesman*, Feb. 21, 1906; *Evening Capital News*, Feb. 21, 1906.
 30. Wanhope, *The Haywood-Moyer Outrage*: 7.
 31. *The Denver Republican*, February 18, 1906. See also *The Denver Post*, February 18, 1906.
 32. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 18, 1906: ISA, folder 6. Few things made McParland more hopping mad than the loss of secrecy in an important operation. Around this time, he said to a reporter who had asked for information that the solution to the loss of secrecy was simply to tell no one. The reason, he explained, was that while the number of people who knew about an operation grew arithmetically, the resulting chances for a leak of information expanded geometrically. To make this point, he drew the figure one on a page, and said, "If I tell you," and then he made a parallel mark, "that is eleven. And if you tell your wife" – and he made another parallel mark – "that is a hundred and eleven." See *The Idaho Daily Statesman*, February 18, 1906.
 33. *The Rocky Mountain News*, February 19, 1906.
 34. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 20, 1906: ISA, folder 6.
 35. Although these comments ran with slightly different phrasing, the essence of the quote appeared in, for example: *The Bemidji Daily Pioneer*, February 21, 1906; *The Daily Ardmoreite*, February 22, 1906; *The Minneapolis Journal*, February 20, 1906; *Milwaukee Daily News*, February 20, 1906; *The Salt Lake Herald*, February 21, 1906; *The San Francisco Call*, February 21, 1906.
 36. Quote from *The Minneapolis Journal*, February 20, 1906; with slightly different phrasing it appeared in, among others: *The Bemidji Daily Pioneer*, February 21, 1906; *Deseret Evening News*, February 20, 1906; *The Salt Lake Herald*, February 21, 1906.
 37. *The Denver Republican*, February 20, 1906.
 38. Quote from *The Minneapolis Journal*, Feb. 20, 1906; with slightly different phrasing it appeared in, among others: *The Denver Times*, Feb. 20, 1906; *Deseret Evening News*, Feb. 20, 1906; *New-York Tribune*, Feb. 21, 1906; *The Salt Lake Herald*, Feb. 21, 1906.
 39. Details of Richardson's career are taken from Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*: 189–191.
 40. *Denver News*, May 8, 1911.
 41. Quoted in *The Rocky Mountain News*, March 10, 1906.
 42. Details of Darrow's early life and career are taken from Darrow, *The Story of My Life*; Stone,

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- Darrow for the Defence*; Tierney, *Darrow: a Biography*; Farrell, *Clarence Darrow*.
43. For the role of Debs in the Pullman strike – arguably the most important strike in American history – see Lindsey, *The Pullman Strike*; Papke, *The Pullman Case*.
 44. Darrow, *The Woodworkers' Conspiracy Case*.
 45. *The Rocky Mountain News*, February 27, 1906.
 46. *The Minneapolis Journal*, February 19, 1906; *The San Francisco Call*, February 19, 1906; *The Colfax Gazette*, February 23, 1906; *The Salt Lake Herald*, February 23, 1906.
 47. Turner, *The Actors and Victims in the Tragedies*: 524.
 48. Adams statement to Richardson, ERN: 5. Brown later denied that he had made any such statement; see WAP (for JM), report to FRG, March 8, 1907: ISA, folder 20.
 49. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 23, 1906: ISA, folder 6.
 50. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 23, 1906: ISA, folder 6.
 51. For the charges leveled against St. John for the supposed murders of William J. Barney, Wesley Smith, and John Mahoney see Martin, *The Corpse on Boomerang Road*.
 52. Exactly how much of Orchard's original confession was true will never be known. A lot of experienced criminal experts clearly believed a substantial amount of it. But there is also little doubt that some was false. Orchard's charges against St. John, for example, disappeared in the later published versions of his confession after an Idaho grand jury failed to indict him. For comparison, see JM, reports to FRG, January 27–28, 28–29, 31, 1906: all LoC, box 172, folder 2, as opposed to Orchard, *The Confession and Autobiography of Harry Orchard*, Parts 1–5; Horsley, *The Confessions and Autobiography of Harry Orchard*.
 53. Adams statement to Richardson, ERN: 6.
 54. Adams statement to Richardson, ERN: 7.
 55. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 25, 1906: ISA, folder 6.
 56. *The New York Times*, February 26, 1906; *Los Angeles Herald*, February 26, 1906; *The Salt Lake Herald*, February 26, 1906; *The San Francisco Call*, February 26, 1906; *The Salt Lake Tribune*, February 27, 1906.
 57. Adams statement to Richardson, ERN: 7.
 58. Adams stated that McParland “kept me up until 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning trying to make me confess” (quoted in *Industrial Union Bulletin*, March 9, 1907). However, he made it clear in a sworn statement to Richardson that the first interview had actually taken about two hours.
 59. Adams statement to Richardson, ERN: 8.
 60. Adams statement to Richardson, ERN: 8. On March 3, Annie Adams was brought to Boise by Thiele. She and her children were thereafter housed within the state penitentiary.
 61. Adams statement to Richardson, ERN: 8. See also *Industrial Union Bulletin*, March 9, 1907, which quoted Adams in his first trial as stating: “He [McParland] told me about ‘Kelly the Bum’ and other men who had turned state's evidence and had been set free. He told me some bible stories, too, but I am not familiar with the bible.” In that statement, Adams indicated that the stories of Kelly the Bum and from the Bible had been told him in the first interview with McParland, but in his sworn statement to Richardson he placed their timing in the second interview, after he had agreed to give his confession.
 62. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 28, 1906: ISA, folder 6.
 63. Details of the confession are taken from the second trial of Adams, in which parts of the typed and corrected confession were read into the record. See SIA: vol. 2, 842–864.
 64. Adams statement to Richardson, ERN: 9.
 65. JM, in SIA: Vol. 2, 842.
 66. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, March 1, 1906: ISA, folder 7.
 67. *The Idaho Daily Statesman*, March 2, 1906; *The Salt Lake Herald*, March 3, 1906.
 68. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, March 7, 1906: ISA, folder 7.
 69. Cowart, James McParland and the Haywood Case: 29; Beal and Wells, *History of Idaho*: vol. 2, 214.
 70. Details of Borah's early career are taken from Johnson, *Borah of Idaho*; McKenna, *Borah*.

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71. *The Salt Lake Herald*, March 8, 1906.
72. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, March 8, 1906: ISA, folder 7.
73. Commenting about Swain, Sheriff Angus Sutherland of Shoshone County said to McParland that “I have discovered that he is very careless about telling the truth”; see WAP (for JM), report to FRG, April 1, 1906: ISA, folder 9.
74. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, March 8, 1906: ISA, folder 7.
75. *The Rocky Mountain News*, March 10, 1906.
76. *Ex parte Moyer*, 12 Idaho 250, 256, 259, 85 Pac 897, 899, 900; see also *Ex parte Pettibone*, 12 Idaho 264, 85 Pac 902, and *Ex parte Haywood*, 12 Idaho 264, 85 Pac 902.
77. Johnson, No Habeas Corpus for “Big Bill”: 15. A petition for writ of certiorari is the appeal document that a party files asking the Supreme Court of the United States to review the decision of a lower court. It includes a record of the parties, a statement of the case’s established facts, a list of the legal questions for review, and reasons why the Court should grant the writ. A writ of certiorari is granted if the Supreme Court agrees to hear the appeal. For full details, see Supreme Court of the United States, *Rules of the Supreme Court of the United States*.

Chapter 21: The Lull Before the Storm

1. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, March 16, 1906: ISA, folder 8.
2. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, April 2, 1906: ISA, folder 9.
3. For details on the way St. John was detained and then arrested, see WAP (for JM), reports to FRG, March 12, 13, 1906: ISA, folder 7, and *The Salt Lake Herald*, March 15, 1906, which is the source of the quote.
4. The story of the Pueblo train disaster is taken from *The Evening Post*, March 16, 1906; *Daily Journal*, March 16, 17, 1906; *The Daily News*, March 17, 1906; *The Rocky Mountain News*, March 17, 1906; *Wanganui Chronicle*, April 26, 1906. The headlines are from *The Rocky Mountain News* and *The Daily News* of Denver.
5. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, March 17, 1906: ISA, folder 8; Horsley, *The Confessions and Autobiography of Harry Orchard*: 243–244.
6. Shaun McParland, Family history documents; Martin McParland, personal communication, August 3, 2011. Sadly, Emily did not long outlive her husband, dying in Wellington in 1910 at the age of twenty-six. She was buried in the McParland family plot at the Karori Cemetery. Francis and Eneas were thereafter raised by their grandfather.
7. The quote was one of the slogans that regularly appeared on the front page. *Appeal to Reason* was highly successful – at points attaining a circulation of more than half a million a week and featuring articles by such renowned supporters of American socialism as Upton Sinclair, Jack London, and Mary “Mother” Jones – but it was actually loathed by many socialists (Graham, “*Yours for the Revolution*”). Ida Crouch-Hazlett – the organizer for the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the editor of the socialist *Montana News* – noted “True Socialists despise the *Appeal*. It is printed to sell, not to help the party. It is making dupes of those who subscribe to it and it is doing great harm to the workers to whom the real interests and purposes of the party are dear” (quoted in *The Idaho Daily Statesman*, May 23, 1907).
8. Debs, Arouse, Ye Slaves!. See also Debs, *Debs: His Life, Writings and Speeches*: 309–311.
9. Details of Shoaf’s background are taken from Shoaf, *Fighting for Freedom*.
10. Shoaf, *Fighting for Freedom*: 54.
11. Shoaf, A House of Horrors. Such stories produced with no proof were commonplace for Shoaf, who had, according to Emanuel Haldeman-Julius – owner and editor of *Appeal to Reason* after its founder, Julius Wayland, committed suicide – “a prejudice against facts” (Haldeman-Julius, *My Second 25 Years*: 61). Shoaf happily agreed: “If the facts do not accord ... get up the story, anyway. Use the names of the parties involved in the plot, give dates, places and such other incidents as will lend a semblance of truth to the proposition, crowd the

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- story with fictitious names and characters, throw ginger and insinuating suggestion into the article, write it up 'red hot,' and send it in" (Shoaf, *Appeal to Reason*, March 31, 1906).
12. Shoaf, *Fighting for Freedom*: 68–69.
 13. Shoaf, McParland, the Pariah.
 14. Hurt, James McParland.
 15. WAP (for JM), reports to FRG, March 14, 1906: ISA, folder 7; April 9, 1906: ISA, folder 9.
 16. The account of the trip to Pocatello comes from WAP (for JM), reports to FRG, March 27, 28, 1906: ISA, folder 8.
 17. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, March 26, 1906: ISA, folder 8. The notion of making the public aware that the defendants were not the heroes portrayed by the socialist and labor press was a continuing theme. McParland later discussed with Hawley calling the deputies who had arrested Moyer and Haywood as witnesses, as "at the time of his arrest there was found on Moyer's person or possibly in his valise a 44 Automatic Colts revolver and 100 rounds of cartridges and that Haywood, who was written up as one of the most model men in the city of Denver, was found stripped naked in a room in an assignation house with a woman with a No 44 Colts revolver laying on the table." He added: "we considered that it would be a good thing and well worth the expense to place these men on the witness stand simply to state ... what they discovered on the person of Moyer and the circumstances relating to the arrest of this model and moral man Haywood, the man that was so kind to his wife and family." See WAP (for JM), report to FRG, May 23, 1906: ISA, folder 12.
 18. *The Idaho Daily Statesman*, March 28, 29, 1906.
 19. For Orchard changing his story, see WAP (for JM), report to FRG, April 9, 1906: ISA, folder 9; for the quote, see WAP (for JM), report to FRG, April 3, 1906: ISA, folder 9.
 20. McParland's reports throughout 1906 give details of the investigations made to corroborate the confessions, but for this specific period, see in particular WAP (for JM), reports to FRG, April 6, 8, 9, 10, 1906: ISA, folder 9. He also held numerous meetings about this effort – see, for example, WAP (for JM), reports to FRG, April 16, 18, 19, 1906: ISA, folder 10. For the notion of one of his critics that McParland fabricated much of the confessions himself, see Martin, *The Corpse on Boomerang Road*: 12–13, 273–275.
 21. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, April 6, 1906: ISA, folder 9.
 22. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, April 9, 1906: ISA, folder 9.
 23. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, April 12, 1906: ISA, folder 9.
 24. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, April 8, 1906: ISA, folder 9.
 25. JM, letter to H. Frank Cary, April 6, 1906; quoted in WAP (for JM), report to FRG, April 6, 1906: ISA, folder 9.
 26. The four men were Barney, Wesley Smith, John Mahoney, and Sam Servis. For an accounting of their disappearances, the insistence by members of the local press and others that they had been murdered, and the resolution of their cases – some of which were concluded only when the men were discovered to still be alive – see Martin, *The Corpse on Boomerang Road*.
 27. Hawley, Steve Adams' Confession and the State's Case Against Bill Haywood: 22.
 28. For McParland mentioning Carpenter at an early stage, see WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 17, 1906: ISA, folder 6.
 29. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, March 14, 1906: ISA, folder 7.
 30. For details of the agreement, see JM, letter to James H. Hawley, Dec. 4, 1906; WAP, letter to JM, Feb. 14, 1907: both James Henry Hawley Papers (M48), Idaho State Archives.
 31. Bulkeley Wells, letter to James H. Hawley, March 29, 1906: James Henry Hawley Papers (M48), Idaho State Archives.
 32. Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 375.
 33. WAP (for JM), special report to FRG, April 4, 1906: ISA, folder 9.
 34. H. Frank Cary, telegram to JM, March 8, 1906; quoted in: WAP (for JM), report to FRG, March 8, 1906: ISA, folder 7.
 35. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, April 17, 1906: ISA, folder 10.

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36. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, May 2, 1906: ISA, folder 11.
37. Annie Adams, A copy of Steve Adams confession as nearly as I know, ERN: 11; Steve Adams testimony in *Scott County Kicker*, October 6, 1906.
38. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, June 4, 1906: ISA, folder 13.
39. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, June 9, 1906: ISA, folder 13.
40. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, June 30, 1906: ISA, folder 13.
41. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, July 2, 1906: ISA, folder 14.
42. Darrow's testimony in U.S. Senate, *Industrial Commission on the Relations and Conditions of Capital and Labor Employed in the Mining Industry*: 10,797. His law partner Edgar Lee Masters at another point indicated the fee was fifty thousand dollars, of which Darrow took the thirty-five thousand off the top, leaving the rest for the firm; see: Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 329.
43. *The Boston Daily Globe*, May 20, 1907.
44. For example, WAP (for JM), report to FRG, April 12, 1906: ISA, folder 9; WAP (for JM), special report to FRG, September 11, 1906: ISA, folder 15.
45. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, May 18, 1906: ISA, folder 11.
46. Dickson, a lawyer, ran the Chicago company with John Bloomington. See Cohen, *The Racketeer's Progress*: 165.
47. For socialist and labor publications that gave the case extensive coverage, see *Appeal to Reason*, *Industrial Union Bulletin*, *Miners' Magazine*, *Montana News*, *The Socialist*; for mainstream newspapers that at times supported the defense, see, for example, *Deseret Evening News*, March 10, 1906; *St. Louis Star-Chronicle*, May 21, 1906; and numerous editions of *The Rocky Mountain News*.
48. *Appeal to Reason*, April 28, 1906.
49. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, July 3, 1906: ISA, folder 14.
50. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, June 24, 1906: ISA, folder 13.
51. *The Parma Herald*, May 5, 1906.
52. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, May 3, 1906: ISA, folder 11.
53. Quoted in WAP (for JM), report to FRG, May 10, 1906: ISA, folder 11.
54. JM, letter to GDB, August 4, 1906: LoC, box 30.
55. JM, letter to FRG, August 26, 1906; JM, letter to James H. Hawley, August 27, 1906: both ISA, folder 14.
56. Many years later, Kittie McParland Schick told Patrick Campbell that she had moved to Denver after the death of Eneas; see Campbell, *A Molly Maguire Story*: 83–84. Siringo wrote in "Pinkerton's Cowboy Detective" (p. 510) that: "Mr McParland was anxious to eat Christmas dinner with his wife and little niece in Denver, therefore we hurried back."
57. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, June 4, 1906: ISA, folder 13.
58. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, August 22, 1906: ISA, folder 14.
59. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, August 22, 1906; JM, letter to FRG, August 26, 1906: both ISA, folder 14.
60. WAP (for JM), special report to FRG, August 20, 1906: ISA, folder 14.
61. JM, letter to FRG, August 26, 1906: ISA, folder 14.

Chapter 22: The Fight for Adams

1. Darrow, *The Story of My Life*: 134.
2. James H. Hawley, letter to Jacob Fillius, August 13, 1906: letterpress book 59, James Henry Hawley Papers (M48), Idaho State Archives; JM, letter to James H. Hawley, August 27, 1906: ISA, folder 14.
3. JM, letter to James H. Hawley, April 25, 1906: ISA, folder 10.
4. The declaration was first published in *The Evening Telegram*, September 11, 1906.
5. JM, Synopsis, undated: LoC, box 172, folder 1.
6. JM, report to FRG, January 27–28, 1906: LoC, box 172, folder 2; Adams's confession, in

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- SIA: vol. 2, 853–854.
7. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, September 10, 1906: ISA, folder 15.
 8. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, September 10, 1906: ISA, folder 15. According to the detective following Darrow, the lawyer did indeed go to Pendleton, Oregon – on the main line to Wallace – where he evidently met with lawyers about the habeas corpus petition; see WAP (for JM), report to FRG, September 11, 1906: ISA, folder 15.
 9. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, September 11, 1906: ISA, folder 15.
 10. The quotes in this paragraph are from: Adams statement to Richardson, ERN: 22.
 11. Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 344.
 12. JM, letter to Thomas McCabe, April 18, 1907: LoC, box 172, folder 1.
 13. JM, letter to FRG, May 27, 1912: LoC, box 172, folder 1.
 14. MacLane, *A Sagebrush Lawyer*: 158.
 15. Charles E.S. Wood, letter to Sara Field Ehrgott, October 17, 1911: Charles Erskine Scott Wood Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.
 16. For the details of and immediate editorials about the bombings, see the coverage in *The Los Angeles Times* in the weeks following the events.
 17. For details about the career of Burns and his role in solving the bombing of *The Los Angeles Times* building and the Llewellyn Iron Works, see Hunt, *Front-Page Detective*; Caesar, *Incredible Detective*.
 18. For Darrow's role in the McNamara defense as well as his subsequent trial for bribery, see Cowan, *The People v. Clarence Darrow*.
 19. Cowan, *The People v. Clarence Darrow*: 434.
 20. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, September 20, 1906: ISA, folder 15.
 21. For the decision on whom to have testify, see WAP (for JM), report to FRG, Sept. 20, 1906: ISA, folder 15. For Thiele's promotion, see S.C. Thiele, testimony in SIA: vol. 2, 616.
 22. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, September 25, 1906: ISA, folder 15.
 23. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, September 29, 1906: ISA, folder 15. Judge Boomer's statement clearly shows differences in the rules relating to evidence and use of witnesses between 1906 and the present. At that time the defense did not have the right to the prosecution's evidence, witness statements, or confessions. Today the defense is entitled to receive any information that might exonerate or reduce the degree of complicity of the defendant.
 24. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, March 23, 1906; *Pullman Herald*, March 24, 1906; *The Colfax Gazette*, March 30, 1906.
 25. Stone, *History of Colorado*: vol. 2, 287–288; Martin, *Corpse on Boomerang Road*: 277–279.
 26. *The San Francisco Call*, October 7, 1906; *The Salt Lake Tribune*, October 7, 1906; *Los Angeles Herald*, October 8, 1906.
 27. For the full decision of the Supreme Court, see *Pettibone v. Nichols*, 203 US 192, 51 L.Ed. 148, 27 Sup. Ct. Rep. 111. See also *Moyer v. Nichols*, 203 US 221, 51 L.Ed. 160, 27 Sup. Ct. Rep. 121, which followed the ruling of *Pettibone v. Nichols*, and included a similar ruling for *Haywood v. Nichols* and the three cases on the docket from the Idaho Supreme Court: *Pettibone v. Whitney*, *Moyer v. Whitney*, and *Haywood v. Whitney*. The following discussion is based on this decision.
 28. *Pettibone v. Nichols*, 203 US 192, 206.
 29. *Ker v. People of the State of Illinois*, 119 US 436, held that when a state official forcibly brought back an individual from a foreign country (Peru) without having officially requested him to be returned by that country, that the state (Illinois) nevertheless had jurisdiction to try him for criminal acts perpetrated there. *Mahon v. Justice*, 127 US 700, held that the forcible abduction of an individual from one state (West Virginia) to another in which he was under indictment (Kentucky), by parties acting without warrant or authority of law, did not entitle the individual to be released from detention due to his unlawful abduction.
 30. *Pettibone v. Nichols*, 203 US 192, 216.
 31. *Pettibone v. Nichols*, 203 US 192, 217.

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32. Johnson, No Habeas Corpus for “Big Bill”: 15. The case has been cited numerous times in US courts, including, most notably, in *United States v. Humberto Alvarez-Machain*. In 1992 the Supreme Court reversed a lower-court decision, holding that an individual’s forcible abduction from a foreign country by government agents does not prohibit his trial in a U.S. court for violation of criminal law. *Pettibone v. Nichols* was also cited in 1960 by an Israeli court, which held that the transportation of Adolf Eichmann to stand trial in Israel was not a factor in it being able to try him for crimes against humanity. See, for example, *Attorney General of Israel v. Adolf Eichmann*; Silving, *In Re Eichmann*.
33. JM, letter to GDB, November 26, 1906: LoC, box 30.
34. JM, letter to James H. Hawley, November 26, 1906: ISA, folder 16.
35. RAP, letter to JM, November 28, 1906: LoC, box 30.
36. WAP (for JM), special report to FRG, January 2, 1907: ISA, folder 18.
37. In bitterly contested elections in November 1906, the Republicans had taken control of both houses of the Idaho Legislature. At that time the position of U.S. senator from Idaho was not determined in a statewide general election; rather, a party’s nominee was decided at a state convention and a vote between the parties’ candidates was taken in the Legislature. Thus, it was not until a matter of weeks before the trial that Borah defeated the Democratic incumbent, Fred Dubois. As his Senate position was officially to begin on March 4, it proved impossible for him to join the prosecution in Wallace. See Grover, Borah and the Haywood Trial: 67.
38. McParland’s accounts of his incredibly frustrating saga to reach Wallace take up six days of reports: WAP (for JM), reports to FRG, February 9–14, 1907: ISA, folder 19.
39. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 7, 1907: ISA, folder 19.
40. JM, letter to GDB, February 17, 1907: LoC, Box 172, folder 1.
41. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 15, 1907: ISA, folder 19; JM, letter to GDB, February 17, 1907: LoC, box 172, folder 1.
42. Searches in Boise and in Wallace did not turn up an extant full transcript of the trial. Details of the confession are therefore taken from the second trial of Adams, in which parts of the typed and corrected confession – as introduced in the trial in Wallace – were read into the record. This official confession was supposedly the same in its essentials as that given by Adams to Thiele in April 1906. See SIA: vol. 2, 842–864 for the confession, particularly pages 853–856 for details relating to the Tyler murder. All quotes about the events surrounding the murder are from this version of the confession.
43. *The Salt Lake Herald*, February 19, 1907; *The Salt Lake Tribune*, February 19, 1907.
44. The quote and the details about Ryan are from: *Daily Arizona Silver Belt*, February 21, 1907; *Los Angeles Herald*, February 21, 1907; *The Creede Candle*, February 23, 1907.
45. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 20, 1907: ISA, folder 19.
46. The Associated Press story appeared in newspapers nationwide, for example, *The San Francisco Call*, February 21, 1907; *Los Angeles Herald*, February 21, 1907; *The Salt Lake Herald*, February 21, 1907; *Bisbee Daily Review*, February 21, 1907.
47. For example, *Daily Arizona Silver Belt*, February 22, 1907; *The San Francisco Call*, February 22, 1907; *The Salt Lake Herald*, February 22, 1907.
48. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 21, 1907: ISA, folder 19.
49. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 21, 1907: ISA, folder 19.
50. *The Salt Lake Herald*, February 22, 1907.
51. See WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 21, 1907: ISA, folder 19 for the following exchange with Richardson.
52. See, for example, *The Salt Lake Herald*, February 22, 1907; *Los Angeles Herald*, February 22, 1907; *The Spokesman-Review*, February 22, 1907.
53. Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 503.
54. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 24, 1907: ISA, folder 19.
55. The parts of the confession that were introduced are found in SIA: vol. 2, 842–864, where they were read into the record of the second Adams trial. Confirmation that this was not all of

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the confession is from SIA: vol. 2, 1054. Hawley asked: "Is this statement that we have read marked Exhibit No 19, the entire statement which was taken at the time he confessed to you?" McParland answered: "No. There is a great many other statements of different other murders that he was connected with." Darrow objected, and the judge ruled that the sentence after "No" would be stricken. "He has had experience enough so he ought to know he ought not to make any statement as to other matters," said Darrow. "Yes," agreed the judge, "please do not state in regard to any other matters." "All right, that was my mistake," said McParland, to which Darrow facetiously remarked: "Of course we know it was entirely innocent on his part."

56. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 23, 1907: ISA, folder 19.
57. *The Denver Times*, February 28, 1907; *The Salt Lake Tribune*, March 1, 1907; *The Times Dispatch*, March 1, 1907.
58. Quoted in Weinberg, *Attorney for the Damned*: 433.
59. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, March 7, 1907: ISA, folder 20.
60. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, March 7, 1907: ISA, folder 20. McParland's suspicions about this were reinforced in a lengthy conversation with former sheriff Harvey Brown, who told him that Richardson had refused to pay him when presented a bill for his investigations. According to Brown, Richardson said, "I have paid out four thousand dollars since I came to Wallace and I will be damned if I will pay out another cent for Steve Adams or Lillard." Brown believed these payments were for alibi witnesses; see also WAP (for JM), report to FRG, March 8, 1907: ISA, folder 20.
61. Friedman, *The Pinkerton Labor Spy*: 216.
62. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, March 5, 1907: ISA, folder 20.
63. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, March 8, 1907: ISA, folder 20.

Chapter 23: The Haywood Trial

1. The details about Bryan succeeding Smith and then giving way to Wood for the Haywood trial are based on Wood, *The Introductory Chapter to the History of the Trials of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone, and Harry Orchard*: 19–21.
2. JM, letter to James H. Hawley, November 26, 1906: ISA, folder 16.
3. Wood, *The Introductory Chapter to the History of the Trials of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone, and Harry Orchard*: 20.
4. McParland was actually slightly ahead of the game, as the previous night he recorded that he and Hawley had discussed Wood taking over the case; see JM, report to FRG, March 11, 1907: ISA, folder 20. By all accounts, Richardson was caught totally off guard by the switch.
5. The details about the background of Fremont Wood are taken from Hon. Fremont Wood.
6. JM, report to FRG, March 12, 1907: ISA, folder 20. Not surprisingly, one source that didn't accept Wood's impartiality was *Appeal to Reason*, which noted that: "Apparently a fair-minded man in ordinary professional practice at law, it is nevertheless well known that his friendliness to organized labor is assumed and not real" (May 18, 1907).
7. Wood's rulings are discussed in Wood, *The Introductory Chapter to the History of the Trials of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone, and Harry Orchard*: 20–21.
8. For details of the Roosevelt–Harriman dispute and the resultant "undesirable citizens" imbroglio, see Harbaugh, *Power and Responsibility*; Scheinberg, Theodore Roosevelt's "Undesirable Citizens".
9. Theodore Roosevelt, letter to James S. Sherman, October 8, 1906; quoted in Morison, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 5: 447–452.
10. *The World*, April 2, 1907.
11. Theodore Roosevelt, letter to James S. Sherman, October 8, 1906; quoted in Morison, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 5: 447–452.
12. Theodore Roosevelt, letter to Honore Jaxon, April 22, 1907; Theodore Roosevelt, letter to

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- William Henry Moody, March 26, 1906; both quoted in Morison, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 5: 653–655, 196–200.
13. For details of Fraser's career and promotions, see LoC, box 29, folder 7.
 14. For his frequent inquiries, see, for example, JM, reports to FRG, March 19, 24, 26, 27, 28, 1907, April 9, 12, 13, 1907: ISA, folders 20, 21.
 15. Harvey K. Brown, letter to JM, 14 April, 1907, quoted in JM, report to FRG, April 17, 1907: ISA, folder 21.
 16. McParland's full plan for Hicks influencing Annie Adams is laid out in JM, letter to Thomas McCabe, April 18, 1907: LoC, box 172, folder 1. McParland had a habit of spelling out exactly what he wanted his hirelings or prisoners to say or write, a notable example being when he produced letters for Orchard to send to his second wife in Cripple Creek; see WAP (for JM), report to FRG, May 4, 1906: ISA, folder 11. (Orchard was a bigamist with a wife from an earlier date still living in Canada; for information about his family in Canada, see Boles, *A Public Silence Broken*.) This tendency has encouraged the belief that McParland had more input than he acknowledged in the Orchard and Adams confessions.
 17. The details of Hicks's murder of Quinn, imprisonment, and trial are taken from *The Times of Wallace*, April 26, 27, Sept. 24, October 4, 1907; *The Seattle Republican*, April 26, 27, 1907.
 18. JM, letter to Henry K. Knight, Mary 7, 1907: LoC, box 172, folder 1.
 19. C.C. Hicks, letter to JM, quoted in JM, report to FRG, May 12, 1907: ISA, folder 22.
 20. JM, letter to C.C. Hicks, May 13, 1907: ISA, folder 22.
 21. JM, letter to James H. Hawley, April 17, 1907: ISA, folder 21. It is now generally thought that the charges were politically motivated and brought about by a few individuals such as former U.S. District Court judge James Beatty, who had attempted to gain the Senate seat Borah won. Pushed by these politicians, the U.S. attorney for Idaho, Norman M. Ruick, had to virtually double the size of the grand jury to obtain a majority vote (12–10) for an indictment. In the autumn, Borah – represented by Hawley – was acquitted of the charges after the jury deliberated only fourteen minutes. For a detailed study of this part of Borah's career, see Grover, *Borah and the Haywood Trial*; McKenna, *Borah*.
 22. JM, report to FRG, April 23, 1907: ISA, folder 21.
 23. For details on the background of Cole, see Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 447; also WAP (for JM), special report to FRG, January 10, 1907: ISA, folder 18.
 24. For Cole's activities as a double agent, see Synopsis of Reports of Operative No 28: LoC, box 173, folder 4.
 25. For example, Operative 24A, report to FRG, January 15, 1907: ISA: folder; 18; Operative 10, H.F. Cary, letter to G.J. Hasson, February 3, 1907: LoC, box 172, folder 1; Operative 15, JM, report to FRG, April 13, 1907: ISA, folder 21.
 26. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, March 20, 1906: ISA, folder 8.
 27. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, December 15, 1906: ISA, folder 17.
 28. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, February 25, 1907: ISA, folder 19.
 29. WAP (for JM), report to FRG, March 5, 1907: ISA, folder 20.
 30. For details about the exquisite Idanha Hotel, see d'Easum: *The Idanha*.
 31. JM, report to FRG, May 5, 1907: ISA, folder 22.
 32. Assistant Superintendent Thiele reported that: "Correspondent Shoaf of the Appeal to Reason and his associate Mr Walker are continually prowling about the Idan-ha Hotel and claim they are very anxious to secure snapshot photos of Gov Gooding and Mgr McParland." See S.C. Thiele, report, May 11, 1907: ISA, folder 22.
 33. *The Denver Times*, March 1, 1907. In mid-May, Darrow and his wife also left for a small house in a quiet section of Boise; see Stone, *Darrow for the Defence*: 216.
 34. Robert Pinkerton and *Appeal to Reason* saw Siringo's role in distinctly different lights. Pinkerton wrote to McParland that he wanted his manager to have "anyone that you feel it is necessary for you to have in order to give you such protection during these trials as is proper ... I hope you will not be rash and consider that this is not necessary or consider the expense

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- of the same” (RAP, letter to JM, November 28, 1906: LoC, box 30). Shoaf, on the other hand, wrote that Siringo was a “famous ‘bad’ man ... the hound pup whose special mission it is to shadow the footsteps of McPartland and see that no harm befalls the royal person. McPartland possesses an awful hankering for ‘red licker,’ begotten thirty years ago while conspiring against innocent members of the Mollie Maguires, and were he not accompanied by an attendant there is no telling what he might do” (Shoaf, *Quiet for the Gun Men*).
35. “It is said that Gooding lives in daily fear of assassination, and that McPartland is afraid to venture outside the Idanha hotel without an armed escort,” Shoaf wrote mockingly. “There is no doubt that Gooding and McPartland are living in mortal agony every hour of the day and every day of the week, but it is not the agony that accompanies the fear of assassination. The knowledge of their many crimes, if they are human, must be an ever-present source of travail to their souls” (Shoaf, *Quiet for the Gun Men*).
 36. Shoaf, *Quiet for the Gun Men*.
 37. *The Socialist*, March 26, 1907.
 38. Quoted in Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 518.
 39. *The Socialist*, April 7, 1906.
 40. *The Boston Daily Globe*, May 20, 1907.
 41. The description of Wood’s courtroom is taken from Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*: 104–105; *The New York Times*, June 5, 1907.
 42. Details of Operative 21’s movements are taken from his reports, many of which are found in LoC, box 173, folder 4. Others are in the James Henry Hawley Papers (M48), Idaho State Archives.
 43. JM, letter to James H. Hawley, April 6, 1907: ISA, folder 21.
 44. First quote from Darrow’s testimony in U.S. Senate, *Industrial Commission on the Relations and Conditions of Capital and Labor Employed in the Mining Industry*: 10778; second quote: FRG, in *The Idaho Daily Statesman*, January 2, 1908. Confirmation that the man discovered was Johnson comes from JM, letter to GDB, December 5, 1908: LoC, box 27, folder 13.
 45. FRG, in *The Idaho Daily Statesman*, January 2, 1908.
 46. *The Rocky Mountain News*, July 1, 1907; *Evening Capital News*, July 1, 1907.
 47. *The Idaho Daily Statesman*, May 18, 1907; *The Evening Telegram*, May 14, 21, 1907.
 48. *Appeal to Reason* (May 18, 1907) reported the lengthy process as follows: “As the names of the veniremen [talesmen] were called and they were questioned, attorneys on both sides adverted to voluminous piles of papers wherein the mens’ [sic] history, political and social, was found. It is evident that the attorney for the prosecution knows pretty nearly the bias and character of virtually every possible juror in Ada county, and the attorneys for the defense proved that their knowledge of the same possible jurors is by no means limited. The questioning was severe and particular.”
 49. Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*: 104.
 50. Clarence Darrow, in SIH: vol. 1, 9–10.
 51. Harrison, *Clarence Darrow*: 131; Haywood, *Bill Haywood’s Book*: 212; Maloney, Clarence Darrow: 306.
 52. James H. Hawley, in SIH, vol. 1: 14, 21.
 53. Siringo, *Riata and Spurs*: 258; Siringo, *A Cowboy Detective*: 511.
 54. Turner, Introductory Note to the Confession and Autobiography of Harry Orchard: 295.
 55. *The Milwaukee Journal*, June 6, 1907.
 56. Lukas, *Big Trouble*: 555.
 57. Orchard’s direct testimony is found in SIH, vol. 1: 108–316.
 58. *The New York Times*, June 9, 1907.
 59. For example, an interchange on June 10 went:
Q: You do have regular conferences, don’t you, on the subject of your testimony during the adjournments?
A: Not only in a general way ...

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Q: You meet Mr McParland, don't you, on your coming in every morning?

A: No sir, I do not.

Q: You held a conference with him this morning at half past eight?

A: I spoke to him.

Q: Didn't you hold a conference with him?

A: No sir, I didn't. ...

Q: How long did he stay there with you this morning?

A: I think he stayed about ten minutes.

Q: Did you see him Saturday afternoon at the penitentiary?

A: No sir, I did not.

Q: Did you see him Saturday afternoon anywhere?

A: No sir, I did not.

Q: How long did you see him at the penitentiary yesterday?

A: Possibly an hour or so. ...

Q: Talked about this case, didn't you?

A: Some, we did, yes sir.

Q: And about your testimony in this case, didn't you?

A: May have referred to some pieces in it, yes sir.

Q: And the method by which you should be able to withstand cross examination, and so forth, didn't you?

A: No sir.

Q: Didn't talk upon that subject at all?

A: He spoke of what – of how – of what gave me strength to go through this examination, yes sir. (SIH: vol. 2, 595–596)

At that stage, perhaps realizing that Orchard was referring to his new-found religion, Richardson changed the subject. Then, on June 13, on Orchard's final day on the stand, Richardson opened the questioning with:

Q: Have you had your usual talk with Mr McParland this morning at half past eight?

A: I seen him a few minutes this morning about half past eight.

Q: Did you see him last night after you went off the stand?

A: No sir, I did not.

Q: Had a visit with him this morning at half past eight until the time you came to the court house?

A: No sir, I saw him about five minutes.

Q: Did not meet him by appointment?

A: No sir, I did not. ...

Q: You talked about the case I suppose? ...

A: He said he was very sick and hardly able to be out of bed. (SIH: vol. 3: 1147–1148)

60. *The New York Times*, June 14, 1907. Oscar King Davis also used the "McPartland" spelling started by Shoaf. Whether this was him making a statement about the detective, *à la* Shoaf, or a mistake perhaps brought about by the McPartland known as "Sharkey the Brute" is unknown. However, it continued throughout his two-month series of trial reports.
61. Connolly, *The Moyer-Haywood Case: Part 4: Harry Orchard and His Story*: 11.
62. *The Denver Post*, July 29, 1907.
63. For the arguments of Richardson, Borah, and Darrow, see SIH: vol. 4, 1950–2055.
64. Judge Fremont Wood, in SIH: vol. 4, 2056.
65. For details of the Wood's decision and its background, see Wood, *The Introductory Chapter to the History of the Trials of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone, and Harry Orchard*: 21–25.
66. Barrymore, *Memories*: 157.
67. For Darrow's introductory statement, see SIH: vol. 4, 2058–2121.
68. For Orchard being in different locations, see SIH: vol. 5, 2208–2216. For Orchard's supposed

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- vendetta against Steunenberg, see SIH: vol. 5, 2219–2247, 2731–2742; vol. 6, 2985–3040, 3130–3162, 3246–3272. For Sam Davis’s account and testimony related to the events at Wardner in 1899, see SIH: vol. 5, 2333–2444, 2705–2730. For a new account of events at the Vindicator mine, see SIH: vol. 5, 2616–2618, 2651–2670. For depositions and testimony about the Bradley events, see SIH: vol. 7, 3401–3450, 3461–3504, 3505–3517, 3554–3559, 3583–3588.
69. For Friedman’s testimony, see SIH: vol. 5, 2781–2794, 2833–2838; vol. 6, 2840–2932. See also Friedman, *The Pinkerton Labor Spy*.
 70. *The Sun*, July 2, 1907; *The San Francisco Call*, July 2, 1907; *The Washington Herald*, July 2, 1907.
 71. *The Idaho Daily Statesman*, July 1, 1907.
 72. *The Sun*, July 2, 1907.
 73. For Edward McParland’s testimony, see SIH, vol. 6, 3063–3071.
 74. Shoaf, Who Blew Up the Independence Depot?.
 75. The plan is explained in detail in: JM, reports to FRG, May 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 25, 1907: ISA, folders 22, 23.
 76. *The World*, July 6, 1907; *The Denver Republican*, July 6, 1907.
 77. For rebuttal testimony, see SIH, vols. 9, 10; for a summary of the testimony, see Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*: 159–166.
 78. Wood, *The Introductory Chapter to the History of the Trials of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone, and Harry Orchard*: 24.
 79. Connolly, The Moyer-Haywood Case: Part 8: What Has Been Brought Out in Haywood’s Trial: 14.
 80. James H. Hawley, letter to Jacob Fillius, July 22, 1907: James Henry Hawley Papers (M48), Idaho State Archives.
 81. *The Idaho Daily Statesman*, July 21, 1907.
 82. Davis, *Released for Publication*: 42.
 83. *The New York Times*, July 23, 1907.
 84. *The Idaho Daily Statesman*, July 24, 1907.
 85. Edmund Richardson, in SIH: vol. 11, 5171.
 86. Edmund Richardson, in SIH: vol. 11, 5238, 5237.
 87. *The New York Times*, July 26, 1907.
 88. Darrow, Darrow’s Speech in the Haywood Case: 30–31. Quotes from Darrow’s summation are taken from the complete text of his speech that appeared in *Wayland’s Monthly*, published in Girard, Kansas, by Julius Wayland, the proprietor of *Appeal to Reason*. Thus, as in *Appeal to Reason*, McParland is once again spelled McPartland.
 89. Darrow, Darrow’s Speech in the Haywood Case: 44. Darrow later denied that he had spoken supportively of violence on behalf of labor, claiming that *Appeal to Reason* had published his entire summation, where such language was not to be found (see Darrow, Letter to the Editor). However, *Collier’s* pointed out in editorials (Please Read This, and Who Told the Truth?) that the entire text of the final argument was to be found in *Wayland’s Monthly*, including the text that Darrow claimed did not exist.
 90. Darrow, Darrow’s Speech in the Haywood Case: 31.
 91. Darrow, Darrow’s Speech in the Haywood Case: 68.
 92. William E. Borah, in James Henry Hawley Papers (M48), Idaho State Archives: box 71, folder 63: 5496–97; for a slightly edited version, see Borah, *Closing Argument of W.E. Borah*: 9–10.
 93. William E. Borah, in James Henry Hawley Papers (M48), Idaho State Archives: box 71, folder 63: 5497; for a slightly edited version, see Borah, *Closing Argument of W.E. Borah*: 10.
 94. *Morning Oregonian*, July 27, 1907.
 95. Judge Wood’s instructions are in SIH: vol. 11, 5392–5434.
 96. SIH: vol. 11, 5417–5418.

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97. For example, Davis, *Released for Publication*: 43–44; MacLane, *A Sagebrush Lawyer*: 168–169; Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*: 255–257.
98. Stone, *Darrow for the Defence*: 245–246.
99. *The New York Times*, July 29, 1907; *The Boston Daily Globe*, July 29, 1907; *The Sun*, July 29, 1907.
100. The next spring, when Orchard was sentenced by Wood to be executed, the judge recommended that the state board of pardons commute the sentence. According to a widely published press account: “Judge Wood based his recommendation on a long legal decision quoting authorities and holding that an equitable right exists on the part of a confessing accomplice telling the whole truth to be spared the death sentence. He declared he believed Orchard told the full and exact truth in his confession. He said the acquittal of Haywood and Pettibone by two juries was not inconsistent with his declaration, as the juries' verdicts did not signify that Haywood and Pettibone are innocent, but that the state failed to present sufficient legal evidence, aside from the confession, to warrant their conviction.” See, for example, *The Seattle Star*, March 18, 1908; *The Daily Ardmoreite*, March 18, 1908; *The Evening World*, March 18, 1908; *Los Angeles Herald*, March 19, 1908.
101. *The Salt Lake Herald*, July 30, 1907; *Deseret Evening News*, July 30, 1907.
102. *Idaho Capital News*, July 30, 1907.
103. *The Salt Lake Herald*, July 30, 1907; *Deseret Evening News*, July 30, 1907.
104. Mrs Oral Sebern Coleman, letter to David H. Grover, August 19, 1960; quoted in: Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*: 260.
105. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, July 29, 1907.
106. For Russell, see *The Boston Daily Globe*, July 29, 1907; for Richardson, see Cowan, *The People v. Clarence Darrow*: 60.
107. Quoted in Pingnot: *Siringo*: 63
108. Davis, *Released for Publication*: 42
109. Siringo, *Riata and Spurs*: 259–260

Chapter 24: Four Trials

1. Grant, *The Haywood Trial*: 862.
2. *The Salt Lake Herald*, July 31, 1907.
3. *Daily Journal*, August 8, 1907.
4. For example, *The Salt Lake Tribune*, August 9, 10, 1907; *Los Angeles Herald*, August 9, 1907; *The San Miguel Examiner*, August 10, 1907; *Warren Sheaf*, August 15, 1907.
5. *The New York Times*, August 18, 1907.
6. The details of Borah’s trial can be found in: *Boston Evening Transcript*, October 3, 1907; *Daily Capital Journal*, October 3, 1907; *The Salt Lake Herald*, October 3, 1907, *The Washington Times*, October 3, 1907.
7. *Daily Capital Journal*, October 1, 1907; *The Seattle Star*, October 1, 1907.
8. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, November 8, 14, 1907; *The Salt Lake Herald*, November 9, 1907.
9. *Daily Arizona Silver Belt*, October 31, 1907; *The Salt Lake Tribune*, October 31, 1907.
10. Darrow, *The Story of My Life*: 157–159; Stone, *Darrow for the Defence*: 249–250.
11. Darrow, *The Story of My Life*: 158.
12. SIA: vol. 2, 582. Darrow’s first examination of McParland in the second Adams trial is found in SIA: vol. 2, 570–593.
13. SIA: vol. 2, 584.
14. SIA: vol. 2, 872–873.
15. SIA: vol. 2, 866, 867, 886.
16. SIA: vol. 2, 898–899.
17. SIA: vol. 2, 910–912.
18. *The Inter-Mountain Republican*, November 14, 1907.

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19. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, November 14, 1907.
20. SIA: vol. 2, 1053, 1055.
21. JM, report to FRG, January 27–28, 1906, pp. 13–14: LoC, box 172, folder 2.
22. SIA: vol. 2, 866.
23. Marx, *Undercover*: xix.
24. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, November 21, 1907.
25. *Daily Arizona Silver Belt*, November 24, 1907; *Bisbee Daily Review*, November 24, 1907.
26. *The Salt Lake Herald*, November 25, 1907.
27. Darrow, *The Story of My Life*: 163.
28. *The San Francisco Call*, December 11, 1907; *Los Angeles Herald*, December 11, 1907.
29. *New-York Tribune*, December 11, 1907.
30. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, December 15, 1907; *The Salt Lake Herald*, December 15, 1907.
31. Darrow, *The Story of My Life*: 165.
32. *The Salt Lake Herald*, January 1, 1908; *Deseret Evening News*, January 3, 1908.
33. *The Salt Lake Herald*, January 5, 1908; *Los Angeles Herald*, January 5, 1908.
34. *The New York Times*, August 4, 1908.
35. JM, letter to GDB, February 4, 1908: LoC, box 97, folder 1.
36. WAP, letter to GDB, February 9, 1908: LoC, box 97, folder 1.
37. WAP, letter to GDB, quoted in typescript of Horan and Swiggett, *The Pinkerton Story*; LoC, box 21, folder 2.
38. Pingenot, *Siringo*: 64, 67.
39. Wood, *The Introductory Chapter to the History of the Trials of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone, and Harry Orchard*: 34–35; *New-York Tribune*, March 11, 1908; *The Sun*, March 11, 1908; *Deseret Evening News*, March 11, 1908.
40. Wood, *The Introductory Chapter to the History of the Trials of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone, and Harry Orchard*: 35; *The Seattle Star*, March 18, 1908; *The New York Times*, March 19, 1908; *Los Angeles Herald*, March 19, 1908.
41. Wood, *The Introductory Chapter to the History of the Trials of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone, and Harry Orchard*: 35–36. Although Wood had believed Orchard implicitly, and had thought Haywood guilty, the verdict angered many, who perceived him to be in labor's pocket. Thus, when he stood for re-election in 1910, there was an intense campaign against him, led by former governor Gooding. Wood was defeated and did not again serve as a judge, but later appraisals have expressed great respect for his high standards of fairness and his adherence to the legal requirements by which he conducted the trial. See Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*: 291; Wilper, Trial Judge Fremont Wood; Wells, The Haywood Trial.
42. *Los Angeles Herald*, March 19, 1908.
43. G.J. Hasson, letter to P.K. Ahern, April 2, 1908: LoC, box 172, folder 1.
44. JM, letter to FRG, April 6, 1908: LoC, box 172, folder 2.
45. *Daily Capital Journal*, July 1, 1908.
46. Orchard, *The Man God Made Again*.
47. What the authorities did not realize was that Barney was not dead. He had just moved from the area without telling anybody. His significance came from being one of several men assumed to have been murdered, and therefore a victim of a crime that could be pinned on members of the WFM at a time when the struggle between the mine owners and unions in Colorado had few limits on how the opposing sides would behave toward each other. For full details of how the supposed murder of Barney fit into the Colorado Labor Wars, see Martin, *The Corpse on Boomerang Road*. What is unknown is whose bones Wells actually found.
48. *Daily Arizona Silver Belt*, December 28, 1907; *The Salt Lake Tribune*, December 28, 1907.
49. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, December 31, 1907; *Deseret Evening News*, January 1, 1908.
50. *The Salt Lake Herald*, July 8, 1908.
51. *Grand Junction Daily News*, July 8, 1908; *Daily Journal*, July 9, 1908.
52. *The Denver Post*, July 8, 1908.

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53. *The Denver Republican*, July 9, 1908.
54. *The Denver Post*, July 8, 1908.
55. *The Denver Post*, July 8, 1908.
56. *The Denver Post*, July 8, 1908.
57. *The Denver Republican*, July 9, 1908.
58. First quote, *The Denver Republican*, July 9, 1908; second quote, *The Rocky Mountain News*, July 9, 1908.
59. *The Rocky Mountain News*, July 10, 1908.
60. *Daily Journal*, July 9, 1908.
61. *The Rocky Mountain News*, July 10, 1908.
62. *The Colorado Transcript*, July 16, 1908.
63. *The Arizona Republican*, July 11, 1908.
64. *The Fairplay Flume*, July 17, 1908.
65. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, July 15, 1908; *Daily Journal*, July 14, 1908.
66. The quotes about the Cary investigation and interview are all taken from JM, letter to GDB, December 5, 1908: LoC, box 27, folder 13.
67. JM, letter to WAP, December 24, 1899: LoC, box 27, folder 13.
68. GDB, letter to WAP, September 13, 1901: LoC, box 27, folder 13.

Chapter 25: The Long Good-bye

1. The details of the robbery and the subsequent investigation are taken from Thompson, *The Great Omaha Train Robbery*; Folsom, *The Money Trail*: 20–23.
2. *The Omaha Daily News*, May 24, 1908.
3. The details of the crime and the early investigation are taken from *The Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, September 3, 4, 6, 11, 1910; *The Salt Lake Tribune*, September 3, 4, 8, 1910.
4. *The Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, April 7, 1910.
5. Details of these incidents are taken from *The Salt Lake Tribune*, October 17, 1910; *The Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, October 26, 28, 1910; quote from *The Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, December 10, 1910.
6. *The New York Times*, December 11, 1910; *The Salt Lake Tribune*, December 15, 16, 1910.
7. *The Evening Standard*, March 14, 1911.
8. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, February 21, March 5, June 3, 1911.
9. *The Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 9, 1911; *The Salt Lake Tribune*, June 9, 1911.
10. Details of the robbery, investigation, and trial are taken from *The Evening Standard*, March 9, 18, April 8, 9, 20, 21, 25, 27, May 8, 22, 23, 1911.
11. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, May 25, 1911.
12. Duke, *Celebrated Criminal Cases of America*: facing p. 63.
13. Doyle, *The Valley of Fear*.
14. This version of the story was told by Ralph Dudley, later the agency's general manager (see Horan, *The Pinkertons*: 499). A different version of how Doyle heard the tale is given in Costello, *The Real World of Sherlock Holmes* (131–133). Costello claims that famed detective William J. Burns told Doyle the story in 1913, and Doyle thereafter obtained more details from Allan Pinkerton's *The Mollie Maguires and the Detectives*. However, Costello failed to give a proper source for this version, and the fact that Dudley was on very friendly terms with William Pinkerton suggests that it is more likely to be the accurate account.
15. For example, *The Washington Herald*, October 26, 1911.
16. *The Washington Herald*, November 19, 26, December 10, 1911; for other printings of the articles, see, for example, *The San Francisco Call*, *The Denver Republican*.
17. JM, letter to GDB, October 4, 1910: LoC, box 91, folder 1.
18. JM, letter to GDB, February 10, 1914: LoC, box 140, folder 8.
19. JM, letter to GDB, February 10, 1914: LoC, box 140, folder 8.

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20. Quoted in *The Daily Miners' Journal*, May 9, 1876.
21. For example, during the second trial of Steve Adams, Darrow asked McParland about the organization he had joined in the anthracite region. McParland denied he had joined the AOH and insisted that the organization's name was the Molly Maguires (see SIA: vol. 2, 875–876).
22. *The Intermountain Catholic*, January 1, 1910.
23. *Denver Catholic Register*, December 3, 1914, October 19, 1916.
24. For details of McMahan's career, see LoC, box 30, folder 7.
25. JM, letter to Allan Pinkerton, October 26, 1915; JM, letter to GDB, August 17, 1916: both, LoC, box 30, folder 7.
26. JM, letter to Allan Pinkerton, October 23, 1915: LoC, box 30, folder 7.
27. Allan Pinkerton, letter to JM, October 26, 1915: LoC, box 30, folder 7.
28. E.E. Prettyman, letter to GDB, July 22, 1916; JM, letter to GDB, July 28, 1916: both, LoC, box 30, folder 11.
29. E.E. Prettyman, letter to GDB, July 22, 1916: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
30. E.E. Prettyman, letter to GDB, July 24, 1916: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
31. E.E. Prettyman, letter to GDB, August 1, 1916: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
32. *The Ogden Standard*, March 20, 1914; *The Logan Republican*, March 24, 1914.
33. *The Ogden Standard-Examiner*, March 7, 1922, January 13, 1923; *Davis County Clipper*, July 24, 1925.
34. WAP, letter to Allan Pinkerton, September 28, 1916: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
35. WAP, letter to GDB, March 18, 1918: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
36. McParland's devotion to his bulldogs never waned. During the run-up to the first Adams trial, he had written to Governor Gooding that: "I have often discussed with you how highly I appreciated a bulldog for his faithfulness, courage and tenacity"; see JM, letter to FRG, December 4, 1906: ISA, folder 17.
37. WAP, letter to GDB, March 18, 1918: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
38. C.V. Hatter, letter to Allan Pinkerton, March 26, 1919: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
39. C.V. Hatter, letters to GDB, May 1, 1919; C.V. Hatter, letter to WAP, May 9, 1919: both, LoC, box 30, folder 11.
40. C.V. Hatter, letter to GDB, May 14, 1919: LoC, box 30, folder 11.
41. C.V. Hatter, letter to GDB, May 14, 1919: Loc, box 30, folder 11; State of Colorado, Certification of Vital Record, Death Certificate file 5404, May 18, 1919. Apoplexy was the term used at the time of McParland's death for a sudden and acute impairment or loss of neurological function, brought about by – among other causes – what today is called stroke, cerebral or intracranial hemorrhage, or cerebral embolism.
42. McMenamin, *The Pinnacled Glory of the West*: 174.
43. *The Denver Post*, May 20, 1919.
44. C.V. Hatter, letter to GDB, May 19, 1919; WAP, letter to GDB, June 5, 1919: both, LoC, box 30, folder 11.
45. *Denver Catholic Register*, May 22, 1919.
46. *The Rocky Mountain News*, May 20, 1919.
47. *The Minneapolis Journal*, June 8, 1919.
48. Horan: *The Pinkertons*: 502.
49. For Siringo's death, see Pingent, *Siringo*: 149. The three books about which he fought with Pinkerton's were *A Cowboy Detective*, *Two Evil Isms*, and *Riata and Spurs*.
50. There has been a debate as to exactly when Doc Shores died. The editor of his manuscript stated that his death was on October 18, 1934 (Rockwell, *Memoirs of a Lawman*: 374). An obituary in a local newspaper stated that it was on "last Friday morning," which would have been October 19, 1934 (*Gunnison News-Champion and the Gunnison Republican*, October 25, 1934). And the date on his tombstone is October 12, 1934.
51. *Colorado Springs Evening Telegraph*, July 4, 1926.
52. G.A. Fuller, letter to H.H. Lintner, November 21, 1928: LoC, box 30, folder 11; Certificate of

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- Death, November 19, 1928, Illinois Department of Public Health Deaths Index, Cook County.
53. White, *Illinois Blue Book*: 394; Certificate of Death number 6036768, December 15, 1928, Illinois Department of Public Health Deaths Index, Cook County.
 54. Carlson, *Roughneck*.
 55. U.S. House of Representatives, *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–2005*: 1,133.
 56. U.S. House of Representatives, *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–2005*: 679–680.
 57. *The New York Times*, May 8, 1911.
 58. Farrell, *Clarence Darrow*.
 59. Coleman, *The Molly Maguire Riots*. The essence of Coleman’s flawed appraisal of McParland (pages 169–171) was that he and Orchard had created a web of lies to convict Haywood, but that Darrow had shown them to be lies, as validated by the not-guilty verdict. Further, the fact that McParland lied about Haywood was evidence that he had lied during the Molly Maguire trials, thereby indicating *their* innocence. Although this argument was historically inaccurate, Coleman’s judgments about how this part of McParland’s career reflected on the Molly Maguire trials were carefully followed by Broehl, Kenny, and others in making determinations both about the trials and the detective himself. Unfortunately, Coleman made basic mistakes that have since been accepted unquestioningly and have led to faulty assessments of McParland.

Coleman stated that McParland had instructed Orchard daily as to what to say during the trial, including orchestrating his requests for changes in the record of his testimony. Haywood had earlier suggested this (*Bill Haywood’s Book*: 210), but there is no evidence whatsoever for such a conclusion. The Haywood trial transcript (which Coleman did not use) shows that Orchard denied such an accusation, and it, as well as the press accounts of the Haywood and Pettibone trials, suggests that Orchard had a remarkable memory for detail, and that he was able to make such corrections whenever inaccurate reporting was made through the day, not just after he had supposedly met with McParland.

More important, the essence of Coleman’s argument was that “the task of the defense lay in refuting [Orchard’s] statements, a task which was rendered easier because the overzealous witness had accused himself of crimes which were actually mere accidental deaths. Orchard was contradicted in so many particulars by apparently disinterested and reputable persons that his testimony was not considered credible and Haywood was acquitted” (*The Molly Maguire Riots*: 171).

This argument was picked up by later authors virtually verbatim (for example, Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*: 283). However, it is simply inaccurate. Although some of Orchard’s stories – particularly those about the explosion in the Vindicator mine and the assassination attempt of Bradley – were disputed in the rebuttal section of the trial, holes were found in the testimony of the defense witnesses. More to the point, Judge Wood and most of the reporters covering the trial found Orchard’s testimony quite credible, and the majority of the jury clearly indicated that the verdict was not indicative of a lack of belief in his testimony but was related to Wood’s instructions about corroboration and the state’s burden of proof.

A common extension of Coleman’s argument is that Darrow, “By exposing McParlan’s underhand tactics in his treatment of both the Molly Maguires and Harry Orchard ... won the case and secured Haywood’s freedom.” Kenny claimed that Darrow “compelled Orchard to tell the court about the role that McParlan played in the whole affair” and showed Orchard’s testimony “to be inconsistent and incredible” (*Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*: 283; see also Broehl, *The Molly Maguires*: 355–357, for Darrow’s closing argument proving a case against McParland). Darrow did not, of course, compel Orchard to do anything in the Haywood trial, as it was Richardson who cross-examined him. But such specifics aside, it has been shown that McParland’s “tactics” had little to do with the verdict, nor was Orchard’s testimony considered inconsistent. In fact, the remarkable consistency of his testimony was

Notes and References

commented upon by many individuals involved, particularly Judge Wood (see Wood, *The Introductory Chapter to the History of the Trials of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone, and Harry Orchard*: 34–36).

Thus, the basis of Coleman's arguments about the "meaning" of the verdict of the Haywood trial – as it applied to McParland – is inaccurate. The jury's verdict did not affirm either an overriding belief in Haywood's innocence or a condemnation of McParland's investigative or interrogative behavior. Taking no heed of these facts, the final stage of Coleman's thesis was that if McParland's behavior was shown to be corrupt in the Haywood trial, it is not unreasonable to think that it also was in the trials of the Molly Maguires. Therefore, their convictions were of dubious validity.

However, as the supposed facts underlying the essence of Coleman's argument were wrong, this final step in the defense of the Molly Maguires is not a logical progression, nor is any assessment based on comparing Coleman's misunderstanding of McParland's role in the Haywood trial to his earlier involvement in other trials. Nevertheless, Coleman's lack of accuracy has tended to be ignored in recent negative assessments of McParland, while his flawed analysis continues to be used as "proof" of the Great Detective's villainy.

60. Brief History of James McParland, Famous Detective: LoC, box 31, folder 2.
61. Sigal, *Going Away*: 168.
62. Farrell, *Clarence Darrow*: 156.
63. Aurand and Gudelunas, *The Mythical Qualities of Molly Maguire*: 101.
64. For example, JM, letter to GDB, December 5, 1908: LoC, box 27, folder 13.
65. *The Minneapolis Journal*, February 20, 1906.
66. JM, letter to GDB, December 5, 1908: LoC, box 27, folder 13.