ARMED ROBBERY

Offenders and Their Victims



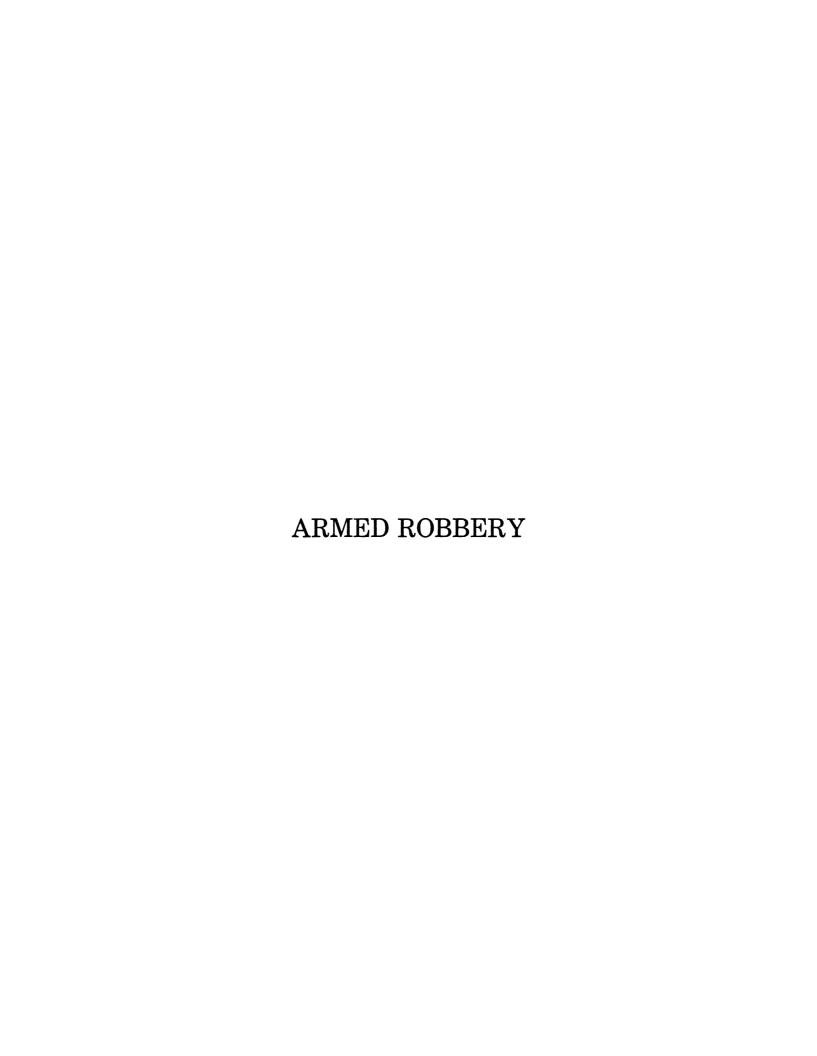
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Denver, Colorado

With Chapters by

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 \boldsymbol{By}

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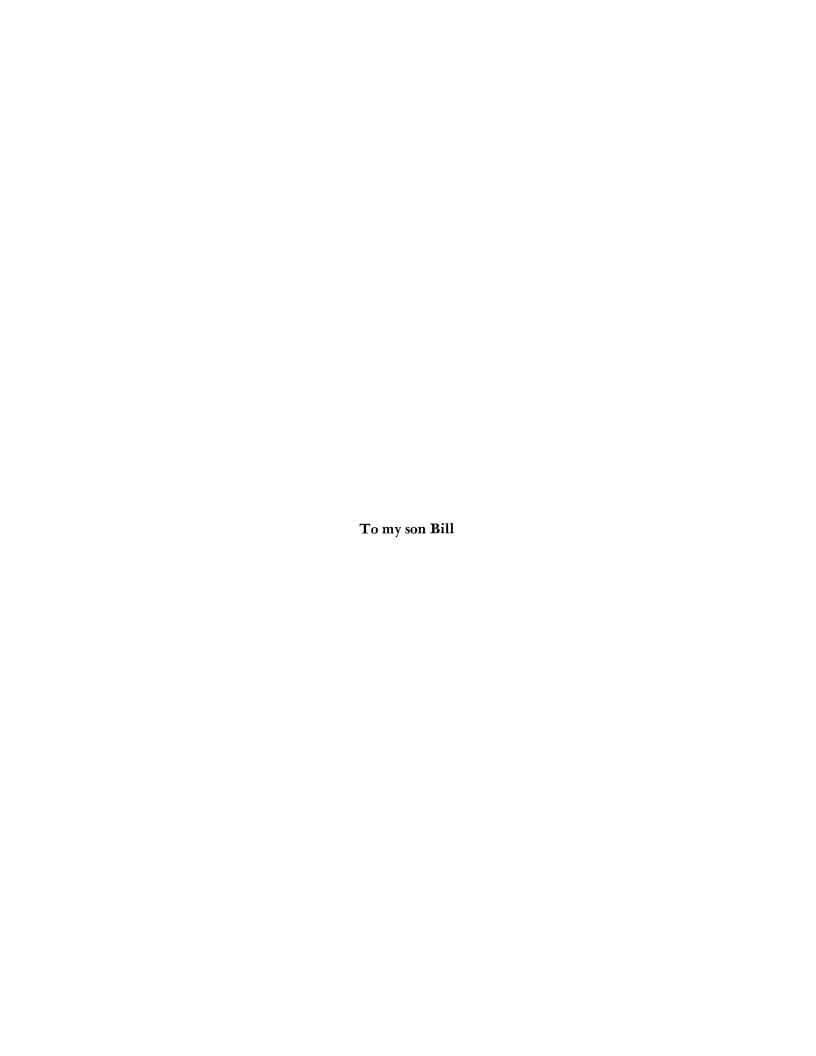
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PREFACE

R obbers accounts for almost half the crimes of violence in the United States. Armed robbery is a serious crime which involves not only a threat to life but also loss of life. Although relatively few robberies end in death, one in eight of all criminal homicides are committed during the crime of robbery. The robbery victim is not the only one to die. Sometimes the robber is shot down or otherwise killed. In this study of 1,000 armed robberies in Denver, there was one death for every 250 such robberies.

The author has conducted psychiatric evaluations for the courts of over 100 armed robbers, including twenty-five who killed during the robbery. However it is not the aim of this study to seek a comprehensive explanation of the origins of crime, a goal which has eluded more talented experts in criminology and psychiatry. Viewpoints on the causes of armed robbery are reviewed.

Although many books have been written on such famous robbers as Jesse James and John Dillinger, the actual crime of robbery has been relatively neglected. During the last three and one-half years the author has spent much time with the robbery detectives of a busy police department. Offenders and their victims have been interviewed, sometimes at the scene of the crime. Information has been obtained from many sources to throw some light on this crime. A glance at the table of contents will show the range of inquiry.

John M. Macdonald

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I AM PARTICULARLY grateful to those detectives who served on the robbery detail of the Denver Police Department during the major part of this study: Dale Burkhart, Howard Dressel, Ed Hansen, Jim Laurita, Dale Lawless, David Martin, Dick Rennick, Mike Rosales, J. C. Tyus, Ron Wright and Lieutenant Don Brannan. Life was never dull in such company. Personalities varied but a quick mind and a formidable memory remained constant. It was disconcerting to be expected to recall in detail an arrest, a crime scene or an interview with a suspect three or more years after the event.

To list all who provided help would be to provide a substantial part of the police roster. Police Chief Arthur G. Dill, Division Chief Thomas E. Rowe, and Captain Robert B. Shaughnessy did much more than might be expected of busy senior officers. Detectives Les Beaulieu, Bob Partenheimer and Steve Tanberg were on the robbery detail during part of this study. Many officers from other police departments within and beyond Colorado also contributed to this book.

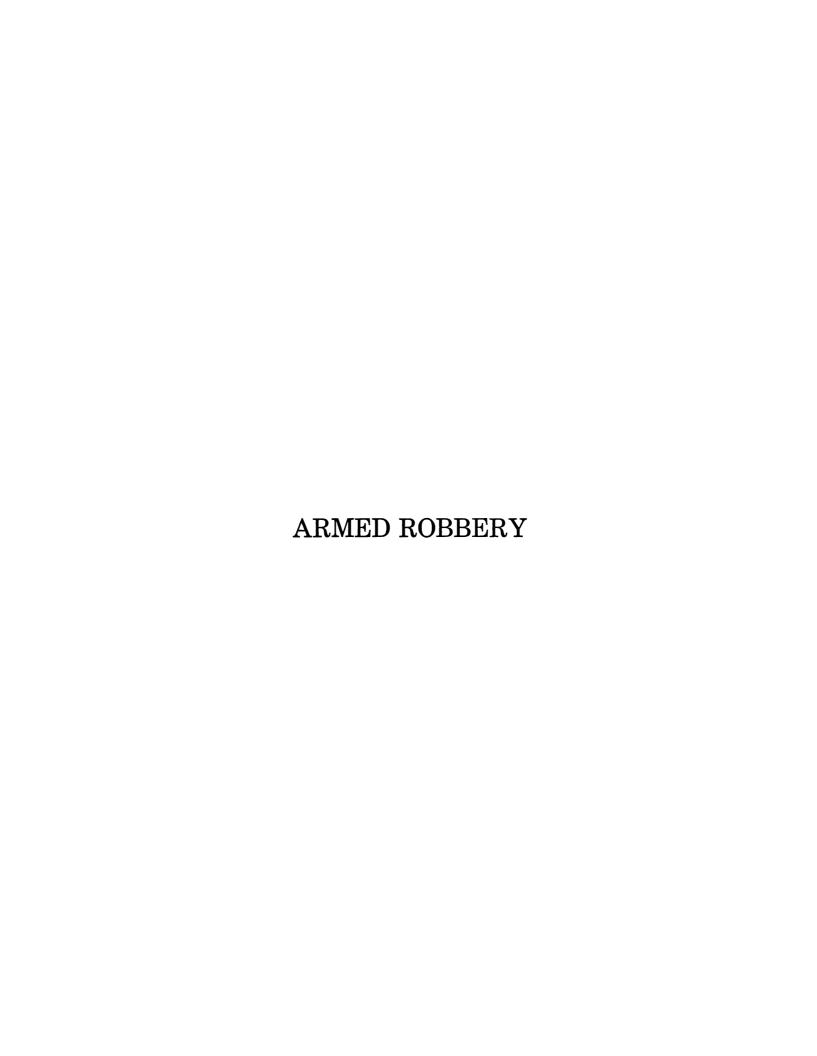
My thanks are due to authors and publishers who have permitted reproduction of material. The source of quotations has been listed in the references at the end of the book, unless otherwise requested. Shorter versions of Chapters 10 and 11 were originally published in the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin (March 1973) and The Police Chief (January 1974) respectively.

I am grateful to Dr. Stuart Boyd of St. John's College, Santa Fe, New Mexico for his advice. Mrs. Kathleen Hunt assisted in the statistical section. Miss Elaine Steffen lightened the burden of preparing the manuscript; her able secretarial assistance is greatly appreciated.

J.M.M.

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THE ROBIN HOOD TRADITION

The finest men in England, physically speaking, throughout the last century, the very noblest specimens of man, considered as an animal, were the mounted robbers who cultivated their profession on the great roads. When every traveller carried firearms the mounted robber lived in an element of danger and adventurous gallantry.

Thomas de Quincey

Through the centuries the armed robber has been admired as well as feared, glorified as well as vilified, and preserved for posterity in literature, poetry and ballads. Fame comes to those whose villainy places them in the top rank of their profession. It comes also to those robbers whose exploits, whether successful or unsuccessful, capture the public imagination. Heroic behavior in the tradition of Robin Hood contributes to public acclaim.

Heroic qualities include outstanding courage and the ability to engage in bold adventurous deeds. Charisma is desirable but mere showmanship may be sufficient. The righting of wrongs and the correction of social injustice add to the image of this kind of lawbreaker. He must rob the rich, a trifling requirement as there is little profit in robbing the poor. He should also give money to the poor. This need not be a regular practice, one or two well publicized acts of charity suffice.

His victims should include members of social groups disliked or envied by the common people. Public humiliation of persons in authority gives pleasure to those who are neither wealthy nor powerful. Banks and large corporations should be robbed rather than small stores. Time and again one reads of villain-heroes who have duped law enforcement officers or other officials through some bold act which often involves imposture or disguise. Clever impudent escapades arouse our silent admiration even as we publicly murmur our disapproval.

Bloodshed is best avoided but the armed robber who would be a hero must have other redeeming virtues if he does not have at least a few kills to his credit. He should be careful, however, to kill only in self-defense or in revenge on someone who has betrayed him, or otherwise incurred his just disapproval. The occasional slaughter of an innocent bystander in a holdup will be overlooked; after all no one is perfect, but these killings should be within reasonable limits if the offender wishes to retain public support.

Chivalry toward female victims and acts of generosity toward deserving or physically disabled male victims of holdups do much to promote the reputation of an aspiring hero. Preferably the robber should have suffered some social injustice before embarking on his career of crime. This makes it easier to overlook awkward shortcomings. An unfortunate childhood and physical handicap such as short height are also useful in fostering sympathy for the underdog offender whose behavior, objectively viewed, is rather reprehensible.

Above all the noble outlaw should be an uncompromising individualist who loves the free life, scorns convention, and refuses to submit to the more tiresome rules and regulations of society. Paradoxically, he is expected to pay a price for these rebellious acts which bring him fame. He must atone for his misdeeds through honest behavior following a royal pardon, through punishment in a penitentiary, or through violent death.

A gunfight provides a fitting finale for his life of crime. He should die at the hands of a lesser man, or group, so that even in death the distance between him and the vulgar is accentuated. Death from ambush at the hands of a bounty hunter or person intent on seeking public acclaim by disposing of a public enemy contributes to a robber's posthumous glory. This is especially true when his death is the result of betrayal by a girl friend or former colleague which carries the implication that only in this manner could this superman be brought low. If his life is taken on the scaffold, there can be no hint of cowardice but rather a

brave exit with perhaps a jocular final comment to his executioner.

Few outlaws meet all the above requirements for nobility but such is the need of society throughout the ages for villain-heroes that allowances are made for those who do not really qualify for posterity. We see what we want to see; a blind eye is turned toward weakness of character and unforgivable acts. Noble and chivalrous deeds are invented when they do not exist to cloak the desperado with a reputation which permits public adoration. Every country and every generation has a Robin Hood, but the lives of such men seldom match the legends which surround them.

ROBIN HOOD

Robin Hood has been described as the prince of robbers, and ballads pay tribute to his noble character. Grafton, who claimed to obtain his information from an "olde and aunciente pamphlet," placed Robin Hood's career in the last years of the twelfth and the first years of the thirteenth centuries. Historians have attempted to identify him from court records, inscriptions on gravestones and other sources. The Wakefield Court Rolls of 1316 show that a Robert Hood purchased a plot of land close to the traditional site of Robin Hood's activities in the earliest ballads.

In 1322, persons involved in the revolt against Edward II were outlawed and their lands confiscated. Among forfeited properties listed in the "Contrariants roll" of Wakefield is a tenement believed to belong to Robert Hood. Attempts have been made to identify various members of Robin Hood's band with persons mentioned in the Wakefield Court Rolls but Keen, in his review of the Wakefield theory, finds the evidence unconvincing. The evidence of graves is also unsatisfactory.

Despite all efforts to prove his existence, it would appear that Robin Hood belongs to legend. Nevertheless, there were many bands of outlaws in England throughout the middle ages and the exploits of outlaws in Sherwood Forest show that the ballads are true to life. A band of outlaws led by Eustace de Folville was hunted for many years by the Sheriff of Nottingham. In 1326

this band murdered Sir Roger Bellers, Baron of the Exchequer. In 1332 the band captured Sir Richard Willoughby, one of the King's Justices, and held him to ransom for 1300 marks. He was not released until payment was made.

Eustace was never captured despite twenty years of robbery and the two attacks on the King's officers. Indeed, he was pardoned on two occasions by the King. Other outlaws of Sherwood Forest lived up to the Robin Hood legend. Knights and abbots were waylaid, prisoners of the Sheriff of Nottingham were rescued by armed men, and the outlaws received considerable public support. One outlaw who named himself after the legendary Friar Tuck was pardoned by the King in 1429.

These outlaws robbed corrupt government officers as well as unpopular landlords and abbots, but they also committed murder. Today's version of the Robin Hood tales has been romanticized, and the dark deeds have been removed. The early ballads are much more bloodthirsty and presumably more true to life. Keen makes the following comments:

At the pinch of necessity Robin's merry men spared neither man nor child. When Little John and Much the Miller's son surprised the monk who had betrayed Robin Hood to the sheriff, murder was the order of the day and they had no scruples about their manner of dealing with the boy who rode with him:

John smote off the munkis head, No longer wold he dwell; So did Much the litull page, Ffor ferd lest he should telle.

So much for the innocent child; but even the dead had scant respect from the outlaw. When Robin slew Guy of Gisborne he cut off his head and put it on his bow's end. Not content with that:

Robin pulled forth an Irish knife, And nicked Sir Guy in the face; That he was never on woman born Could tell whose head it was.

Robin Hood's life was a long struggle against the forces of tyranny and injustice, but his victory was only achieved in the blood of his enemies, and his admirers rejoiced to see it run.

KNIGHTS OF THE ROAD

The wind was a torrent of darkness among the gusty trees, The moon was a ghosty galleon tossed upon cloudy seas, The road was a ribbon of moonlight over the purple moor, And the highwayman came riding—

Riding-riding-

The highwayman came riding, up to the old inn-door....
—Alfred Noyes, The Highwayman

Most bandits have no claim to nobility but the highwaymen of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, through their gallantry and their gentlemanly behavior in the pursuit of their profession, earned the title "Knights of the Road." De Quincey noted that in those days the profession of robber "was a liberal profession which required more accomplishments than either the bar or the pulpit; from the beginning it presumed a most bountiful endowment of heroic qualifications—strength, health, agility, and exquisite horsemanship, intrepidity of the first order, presence of mind, courtesy, and a general ambidexterity of powers for facing all accidents, and for turning to a good account all unlooked-for contingencies."

Lord Macaulay also spoke highly of these offenders. "It was necessary to the success and even to the safety of the highwayman that he should be a bold and skillful rider and that his manner and appearance should be such as suited the master of a fine horse. He therefore held an aristocratical position in the community of thieves, appeared at fashionable coffee houses and gaming houses, and betted with men of quality on the race ground. Sometimes, indeed, he was a man of good family and education."

Visitors to England, accustomed to less chivalrous treatment at the hands of their own highwaymen, were astounded by the courtesy and good manners of the English highwaymen. Following the defeat of King Charles by Oliver Cromwell and his Roundheads, a number of cavaliers who had supported the King turned to highway robbery to restore their fortunes. These gentlemen may have contributed to the relatively high standards expected of English highwaymen. Some of them were careful to rob only Roundheads. For example, Zachary Howard, who had mortgaged his estate to raise a troop of horses for the King, robbed only supporters of Cromwell.

The ranks of highwaymen included former army officers, a naval officer, three law students, several Oxford and Cambridge undergraduates and one old Etonian, William Parsons the son of a Baronet. Whether of high or low birth, their demand "Your money or your life" may have been peremptory, but they would often apologize for their unseemly conduct and usually would not resort to violence unless resisted. Remarkably few murders were committed despite the fact that robbery alone carried the death penalty.

William Hawke, who was only twenty-four when he was executed, attracted general sympathy because of the compassion he had always shown for those he accosted. Several times he was fired upon by travelers he robbed, but never did he return their fire. While he was awaiting execution, several of these gentlemen came to thank him for his past humanity and some tried to help him (Barrows).

James Maclean, known as the "Gentleman Highwayman," told his female victims that he would take only what they were prepared to give. In November 1749 while riding in his carriage across Hyde Park, Horace Walpole the politician and man of letters was held up by Maclean who accidentally fired his pistol. Fortunately the ball grazed the skin beneath Walpole's eye and merely stunned him. Mortified by his carelessness, Maclean wrote two letters of apology to Walpole who later reported that "the whole affair was conducted with the greatest good breeding on both sides."

Woman travelers were also accorded special consideration by other highwaymen, some of whom would not stoop to rob them. Male travelers, in a most unsporting fashion, sometimes took advantage of this generosity by slipping their valuables to female companions. Duval, a famous highwayman, while holding up a carriage on Blackheath, noticed that a baby was sucking from a feeding bottle made of silver. He snatched the bottle from the

baby's mouth and had to be reminded by one of his companions that such behavior was not in keeping with the reputation he was expected to maintain. He returned the bottle.

One highwayman, when asked at his trial why he had taken so little trouble to avoid detection, replied "Gentlemen do not resort to trickery" (Hibbert). Certainly many highwaymen showed little imagination in their method of operation. These mounted robbers seldom did more than wear a mask to hide their identity. A few dressed as priests or women. Some used circular horseshoes or reversed the horseshoes to confuse their pursuers, others changed horses frequently to avoid recognition.

William Page was responsible for two innovations to his conservative profession. First, he taught himself cartography and drew a map of the roads twenty miles round London. This map was discovered in his lodgings after he was arrested. Second, instead of riding out on horseback, he went to work in a phaeton and pair. As soon as he was out of town he would pick some secluded spot to park his phaeton, and then, after changing his clothes and putting on a new wig and mask, would saddle one of his horses and ride out on to the road. After a successful robbery he hurried back to where he had parked the phaeton, changed again, and drove back to town at his leisure (Pringle).

Page who had over 300 robberies to his credit was given the title "Master of the Road." Like many of his less successful colleagues, he died on the scaffold. Public executions gave highwaymen the opportunity to further their reputation for bravery. Those who could afford to do so gave a farewell dinner party in prison for their female admirers and ordered a new suit of clothes for the hanging. The dandy, "Sixteen String Jack," John Rann, who acquired his nickname by always having sixteen silken strings of different colors attached to his clothing, purchased an expensive green suit for his execution.

Jocular remarks on the scaffold also contributed to the high-wayman's reputation. Jerry Abershaw on his way to the gallows nodded to friends in the crowd and joked with those around him. When he was about to be hanged, he insisted on removing his boots, laughingly explaining to the crowd, "My mother always said I'd die with my boots on, and I'm going to prove her wrong."

Public executions gave the public an opportunity to show their approval of highwaymen who caught their fancy. They would throw flowers and colored streamers on their heroes and call out encouraging comments. Public admiration of convicted highwaymen was censured by Henry Fielding the London Magistrate in his *Inquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers* which was published in 1751.

The day appointed by law for the thief's shame, is the day of glory in his own opinion. His procession to Tyburn and his last moments there are all triumphant; attended with the compassion of the weak and tender-hearted, and with the applause, admiration and envy of all the bold and hardened. His behaviour in his present condition, not the crimes, how atrocious soever, which brought him to it, is the subject of contemplation. And if he hath sense enough to temper his boldness with any degree of decency, his death is spoken of by many with honour, by most with pity, and by all with approbation (Fielding).

Duval, one of the two highwaymen mentioned in Macaulay's *History of England*, was given a fine funeral at St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden, following his execution at Tyburn. His burial stone in the church bears this epigraph.

Here lies Du Vall: Reader, if male thou art, Look to thy purse; if female, to thy Heart... Old Tyburn's glory, England's illustrious thief, Du Vall, the Ladies' Joy, Du Vall the ladies' grief.

Some of the behavior attributed to famous highwaymen is based upon fantasy rather than upon facts. Dick Turpin, "King of the Highwaymen," probably the most successful man in his profession, was indeed brave and resourceful. On one holdup in Epping Forest, singlehanded he stopped two coaches carrying more than twenty people. Many other exploits described by his biographers are fictional. For example, he never made the glorious ride on his mare Black Bess from London to York. He was a brutal, ruthless murderer.

For every Captain Hind, who never demanded a traveller's purse without first raising his hat, there were many highwaymen who showed no such courtesy to their victims. In *Romany Rye*, George Borrow's elderly ostler describes Abershaw and Ferguson,

two well-known highwaymen, as jolly and entertaining companions in a tavern, but he goes on to describe very different behavior during robberies.

Upon the road it was anything but desirable to meet them; there they were terrible, cursing and swearing, and thrusting the muzzles of their pistols into people's mouths; and at this part of his locution the old man winked, and said, in a somewhat lower voice, that upon the whole they were right in doing so, and that when a person had once made up his mind to become a highwayman, his best policy was to go the whole hog, fearing nothing, but making everybody afraid of him; that people never thought of resisting a savage-faced, foul-mouthed highwayman.

If he were taken they were afraid to bear witness against him, lest he should get off and cut their throats some time or other upon the roads; whereas people would resist being robbed by a sneaking, pale-visaged rascal, and would swear bodily against him on the first opportunity,—adding, that Abershaw and Ferguson, two most awful fellows, had enjoyed a long career, whereas two disbanded officers of the army, who wished to rob a coach like gentlemen, had begged the passengers' pardon, and talked of hard necessity, had been set upon by the passengers themselves, amongst whom were three women, pulled from their horses, conducted to Maidstone, and hanged with as little pity as such contemptible fellows deserved.

Few highwaymen gave to the poor and many behaved without nobility. Zachary Howard raped the wife and daughter of General Fairfax. Thomas Wilmot became impatient when a lady had difficulty in removing her diamond ring and he cut off her finger. William Cady, who had a bachelor of arts degree from the University of Cambridge, became enraged when the wife of a wealthy merchant pleaded with him to keep her wedding ring. She swallowed the ring; he shot her in the head, cut her open and retrieved the ring in the presence of her husband. This highwayman who brought discredit to his profession was executed in 1687.

BANDIT HEROES OF THE WILD WEST

Such is the need for heroes and champions, that if there are no real ones, unsuitable candidates are pressed into service.

E. J. Hobsbawm, Bandits

The heyday of the American bandit of the Wild West followed the end of the Civil War in 1865. For over thirty years these outlaws on horseback held up stagecoaches, trains, and banks. Life west of the Mississippi was punctuated with raids by Indian war parties, gold strikes, and range wars between cattlemen and sheep farmers. Continued ill feeling between Union and Confederate supporters as well as lawlessness in frontier towns added to the social unrest. This unsettled period was the time of heroes.

The memory of such heroes as Bat Masterson, "Doc" Holliday, Billy the Kid and Jesse James lives on. Whether lawman, gambler, gunfighter or armed robber, their fame is kept alive in books and movies. On television year after year Wyatt Earp relives his shootout with the Clantons at the OK Corral in Tombstone; the James-Younger gang rob the bank at Northfield, and numerous lesser bandits hold up Wells-Fargo stages.

The legends surrounding these Western heroes are often in sharp conflict with contemporary newspaper accounts of their crimes. Ramon Adams in his books Burrs Under the Saddle and Six-Guns and Saddle Leather attempts to disentangle fact from fiction and provides a valuable antidote to the myths and legends. Western bandits were men of violence who did not hesitate to shoot the defenseless victims of their robberies.

Their lives are in striking contrast to their sober dignified appearance in studio portraits. For example, a photograph of five members of the Wild Bunch including Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid looks more like a formal picture of a group of church elders than of several desperados wanted by the law. All are dressed in suits, ties with watch chains across their vest, and stiff felt hats with rounded crown and narrow brim. Whether sitting or standing their posture is erect, and all have an earnest, unsmiling look on their faces. There is not a gun in sight and the backdrop is not a western saloon but a clutch of flowers in a bowl and a brocaded drape hanging from the ceiling.

Many of these bandits had spectacular but brief criminal careers. The Dalton gang went into this business in 1890, but they became overly ambitious and their attempt to hold up two banks at once in Coffeyville, Kansas on October 5, 1891 ended in disaster. When they stopped in an alley to put on false beards, a store

owner saw them and spread the alarm. There was a gunfight which cost the lives of four citizens and four bandits. Emmet Dalton, the only bandit to survive his wounds, settled down to a respectable life after spending fourteen years in a penitentiary.

Al Jennings' career as a bandit lasted less than a year. He survived a gunfight with a posse to receive a life sentence in 1898 for robbing the U.S. mail in a train holdup. A showman like many of his colleagues, he ran for election as Governor of Oklahoma in 1914 with the slogan "If elected I promise to be honest for a year—if I can hold out that long." Sam Bass, who began robbing stagecoaches at the age of twenty-four, died of gunshot wounds on his twenty-seventh birthday following a shootout with Texas Rangers.

Some western heroes continued their criminal careers over many years. Butch Cassiday, who held up his first train near Grand Junction, Colorado at the age of twenty, robbed his last train in Bolivia, South America twenty-two years later. Henry Starr, nephew of Belle Starr, the bandit queen, held up a railroad station in 1891 at the age of eighteen and continued his criminal career until fatally wounded in a bank holdup thirty years later in 1921. One of the last robbers on horseback, he changed with the times and used a motor car in his later holdups.

Henry Starr is not a good example of a successful bandit as he spent over fifteen years in penitentiaries in Colorado, Ohio and Oklahoma. After one robbery he ran into a barbed wire fence in the dark. On another occasion he erred in killing a deputy U.S. marshal, and like the Daltons he made the mistake of trying, with the aid of others, to rob two banks at the same time. He was more successful in convincing authorities of his excellent prospects for rehabilitation. As fast as his sentences were commuted, he returned to his old occupation and on his deathbed he boasted "I've robbed more banks than any man in America."

A more successful bandit with many years of lawlessness without punishment was Frank James, the brother of Jesse James. In 1882, after sixteen years of crime, he surrendered himself to the Governor of Missouri and handed over his pistol and cartridge belt saying "Governor Crittendon, I want to hand over to you that which no living man except myself has been permitted to touch since 1861 and to say that I am your prisoner." When he was taken to Independence, Missouri to stand trial for the murder of a Pinkerton detective and for a bank robbery in 1867, huge crowds turned out to see him. There were public demands that Frank should be allowed to go free. Judge John Henry Ward of the Supreme Court of Missouri openly urged that Frank be pardoned (Settle).

He was also charged in another county with a murder in a bank robbery in 1869 and with another two murders in a train robbery in 1881. In Alabama he was charged with the robbery of a government paymaster. In Kentucky he was charged with train robbery. Curiously, Minnesota did not attempt to extradite him for trial in the Northfield bank robbery in which four citizens were slain. At his first trial, which was for murder in a bank robbery, he was acquitted.

General Jo Shelby, a popular Confederate cavalry commander, testified as a character witness. He was drunk and had some difficulty in identifying the accused, but when he did so he asked "to shake hands with an old soldier." As he left the courtroom, he nodded to Frank and said, "God bless you old fellow." Although the General was fined ten dollars for contempt of court, his testimony may have contributed to the acquittal.

Frank James was never convicted of any crime, and between his release in 1885 following acquittal at his second trial, and his death in 1915, he was not involved in any criminal behavior. In 1902 he sought a court order to prevent the showing in Kansas City of a play *The James Boys in Missouri* that had been shown in other parts of the country for years. The court granted the injunction subject to payment of a 4,000 dollar bond to indemnify the company against loss in case of appeal and reversal of the decision. James was unable to furnish this bond, and the play was shown to large audiences. James later complained:

The dad-binged play glorifies these outlaws and makes heroes of them. That's the main thing I object to. It's injurious to the youth of the country. It's positively harmful. I am told that Gilliss Theatre was packed to the doors last night, and that most of those there were boys and men. What will be the effect upon these young men to see the acts of a train robber and outlaw glorified? (Kansas City Star, February 10, 1902).

Frank's exemplary behavior following his surrender detracts from his image as a desperate bandit. He was even encouraged by some legislators in 1901 to apply for appointment as door-keeper of the lower house of the Missouri legislature. Frank was fond of quoting Shakespeare, a trait which contributed to his identification by a preacher who testified that Frank, using the name Willard, had stayed with him overnight the day before a robbery. Rough outlaws are not expected to quote Shakespeare. It is not surprising that Frank's younger brother Jesse, who died with his boots on, achieved greater fame.

Jesse James

Jesse James is the only American bandit who is classical who is to this country what Robin Hood or Dick Turpin is to England, whose exploits are so close to the mythical and apocryphal.

Carl Sandburg, The American Songbag

Jesse James, the leader of the James-Younger band, has been called the king of bandits. Like his older brother Frank he was never convicted of any crime. Indeed he was never brought to trial nor even apprehended. For sixteen years he evaded officers of the law and continued to commit crimes of violence, including murder, until his death in 1882 at the age of thirty-four. Little is known of his early childhood. The ballad reports his background.

His mother she was elderly, His father was a preacher, Though some do say, I can't gain say His mother was his teacher.

When Jesse was two years old, his father left his family in Missouri while he went to preach the gospel in California where he died a year later. His widow's next marriage was brief. Her third husband, Dr. Reuben Samuel, was a physician who had turned to farming. The family had a difficult time during the Civil War. Frank James joined a Confederate guerilla unit and local Union militia were not favorably disposed toward Doctor Samuel. On one occasion Dr. Samuel was choked on the end of