

## Bones & Bias

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January, 2018

### Abstract

Among the many stories about Amelia Earhart's fate that surfaced in the 1960s was one claiming that her bones had been found on Gardner Island (now Nikumaroro). The rumor was widely ridiculed and dismissed. In 1998, TIGHAR research uncovered proof that a partial skeleton had, indeed, been found in 1940 and an official investigation conducted. The discovered historical documents provide a detailed account of the official British inquiry and include the report of a British doctor who concluded that the skeleton was definitely male. What became of the bones is unknown.

In 1998, forensic anthropologists associated with TIGHAR, applying late 20th century analytical tools to the bone measurements included with the doctor's report, concluded that he had been in error. The bones were more likely those of a female of Earhart's height and ethnic origin.

In 2015, a paper by a British graduate student and an Australian anthropologist contradicted those findings and asserted that the doctor's original verdict was more likely correct. This paper examines the non-anthropological aspects of the 2015 critique and shows it to be riddled with error and misrepresentation. A close reading of the original British investigation reveals it to have been intentionally hobbled.

Quantification of Earhart's physique acquired through forensic techniques and improved analytical software have made it possible to confirm and expand on the 1998 work of the TIGHAR anthropologists. Those new findings are addressed in a paper published in Vol. 1, No. 2 of *Forensic Anthropology*, a peer-reviewed scientific journal. The new analysis reveals that Earhart is more similar to the bones found on Gardner Island in 1940 than 99% of individuals in a large reference sample.

### Introduction

In July 1960, Coast Guard veteran Floyd Kilts related a strange tale to a *San Diego Union* reporter. He said that while he was serving on Gardner Island during WWII, an islander told him that Amelia Earhart's bones had been found on the island by the first settlers in 1938. An "Irish magistrate" supposedly tried to take the bones to Fiji in an open boat but died of pneumonia on the way. The "superstitious natives" then threw the bones overboard.<sup>1</sup> The



Floyd Kilts. Photo courtesy *San Diego Union*, July 21, 1960.

newspaper editor wrote to the British Embassy in Fiji asking if there was any record of such an event. In April, 1961 he received a reply from the District Commissioner of the Phoenix Islands District saying he had searched through the early records and found no report of the discovery of a skeleton on Gardner Island.<sup>2</sup> Kilts' story was later investigated by Earhart researcher Fred Goerner and judged to be ludicrous.<sup>3</sup> In the early 1990s, former British colonial officials contacted by TIGHAR expressed their certainty that nothing of the sort had ever happened.<sup>4</sup>

In 1997, TIGHAR member Peter McQuarrie found a file titled "G.E.I.C. M.P. No. 13/8/1 1940: Report and Returns, Unclassified, Discovery of Human Remains on Gardner Island" in the Kiribati National Archives in Tarawa. The central point of Kilts' tale was true. Bones suspected at the time as possibly being the remains of Amelia Earhart were found on Gardner in September 1940, not by an

Irish magistrate but by the island's first resident British administrator, Gerald Gallagher, whose nickname was "Irish." The file, apparently retrieved from Gardner Island some time after Gallagher's death in September 1941, contained his copies of correspondence relating to the discovery, but the record was incomplete. The file ended with the bones being sent to the Western Pacific High Commission in Fiji. Logically, there had to be more.

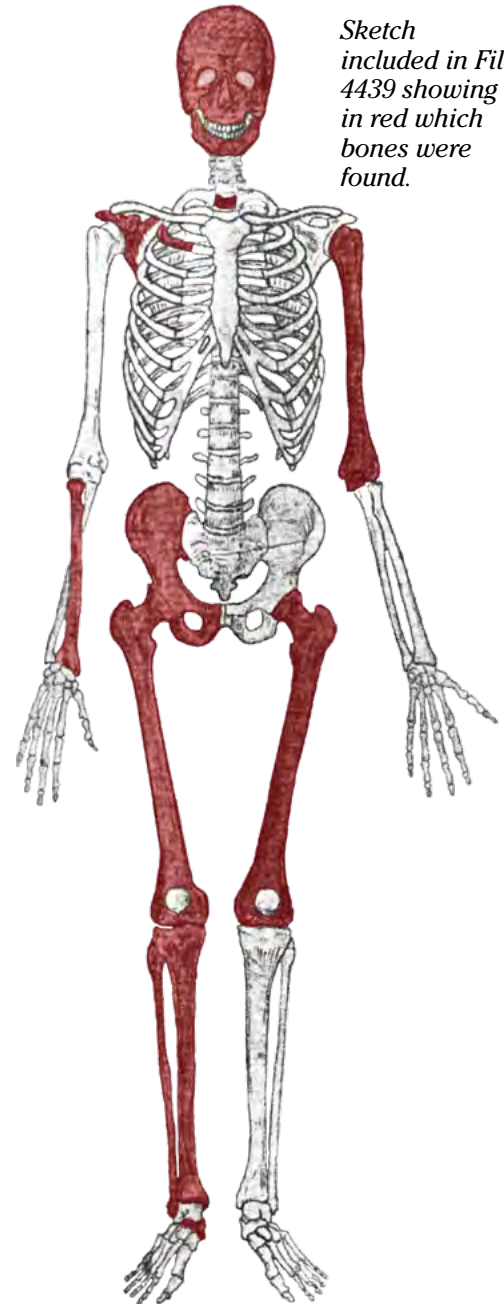


*Gerald Gallagher, Officer in Charge, Phoenix Islands Settlement Scheme in his headquarters on Gardner island*

In February 1998, TIGHAR researcher Kenton Spading located "Western Pacific High Commission File No. 4439 (G&E) 1940, Skeleton, Human, finding of, on Gardner Island," in an obscure British archive. Later that year Spading and TIGHAR Executive Director Ric Gillespie traveled to England and made photocopies of the entire thirty-one page day-by-day record of the investigation and many other related files.

The purpose of the forgotten British inquiry was to determine whether a partial skeleton found on Gardner Island might be that of Amelia Earhart. The bones were examined and measured by Dr. David W. Hoodless, Principal of the Central Medical School in Fiji. Hoodless wrote in his report that "it may be definitely stated that the skeleton is that of a MALE" (emphasis in the original). He was "not prepared to give an opinion on the race or nationality of this skeleton," but then proceeded to do so anyway. "[I]t is probably not that of a pure South Sea Islander – Micronesian or Polynesian. It could be that of a short, stocky, muscular European, or even a half-caste, or person of mixed European descent." Hoodless felt the man was "not less than 45 years of age and that probably he was older: say between 45 and 55 years." He

estimated the man's height to be approximately 5 feet 5½ inches. Hoodless suggested that if a more detailed analysis was required, "the obvious course to adopt would be to submit these bones to the Anthropological Department of the Sydney [Australia] University where Professor Elkin would be only too pleased to make a further report." (For information on Prof. Elkin see [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A. P. Elkin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A._P._Elkin).)



*Sketch included in File 4439 showing in red which bones were found.*

*Bones - coloured red  
(uncoloured portion of skeleton represents missing bones)*

Hoodless' observations, methodology, and conclusions were evaluated by forensic anthropologists Karen R. Burns, Ph.D., and Richard L. Jantz, Ph.D., in 1998. Using FORDISC 2.0, an interactive computer program created by Richard Jantz and Steve Ousley for the classification of unknown adult crania according to race and sex, Jantz and Burns concluded that the skull was more likely European than Polynesian and most similar to that of Norse (northern European) females. The level of certainty, however, was very low. Based on the length of the long bones measured by Hoodless, they judged the castaway's stature to fit Earhart's supposed height of 5'7" to 5'8". They concluded that the skeleton, "insofar as we can tell by applying contemporary forensic methods to measurements taken at the time, appears consistent with a female of Earhart's height and ethnic origin."

Burns and Jantz released their analysis in a paper titled "Amelia Earhart's Bones and Shoes? Current Anthropological Perspectives on an Historical Mystery,"<sup>5</sup> co-authored by Richard E. Gillespie and Thomas F. King, Ph.D., at the annual convention of the American Anthropological Association in Philadelphia on December 5, 1998. Seventeen years later, in 2015, Pamela J. Cross at the University of Bradford in England and Richard Wright, Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at the University of Sydney in Australia, published a

paper titled "The Nikumaroro bones identification controversy: First-hand examination versus evaluation by proxy. Amelia Earhart found or still missing?" in *The Journal of Archaeological Science*. Cross and Wright did not, of course, examine the bones first hand but they took issue with Burns and Jantz's findings, arguing that, "While Hoodless was obviously not trained as a modern forensic anthropologist, his background indicates he was perfectly competent to assess sex, age, body type and ancestry of a human skeleton." They concluded that the evidence regarding sex and body type exclude Earhart.

Dr. Burns died in 2012, but Dr. Jantz responded to the Cross/Wright paper with a decision to re-evaluate his findings using tools and data developed since his initial analysis in 1998. His paper titled "Amelia Earhart and the Nikumaroro Bones: A 1941 Analysis vs. Modern Quantitative Techniques," was published in 2018. It addresses the anthropological arguments presented by Cross and Wright and refines his original assessment of the castaway's probable identity using new estimates of the castaway's physique developed through forensic techniques. Jantz's analysis reveals that Earhart is more similar to the bones found on Gardner Island in 1940 than 99% of individuals in a large reference sample.

This paper examines the non-anthropological aspects of the Cross/Wright analysis.

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## Errors and Misrepresentations

*Like a ship out on the ocean  
Just a speck against the sky  
Amelia Earhart flying that sad day  
With her partner Captain Noonan  
On the second of July  
Her plane fell in the ocean far away.*<sup>6</sup>

The date of Earhart's disappearance is enshrined in legend and song, and yet the Introduction of the Cross/Wright paper says:

*On June 29th 1937, after flying some 20,000 miles, Earhart and Noonan began the last, most dangerous portion of their round-the-world flight.*<sup>7</sup>

Earhart and Noonan flew from Darwin, Australia to Lae, New Guinea on June 29. They did not depart for the flight to Howland Island until three days later.

Cross and Wright also tell us:

*"The plane left overloaded with the fuel necessary to make the long flight and soon after*

*take-off the expected headwind speed increased dramatically from 15 to over 26 mph.*"<sup>8</sup>

No one knows what winds the aircraft experienced. Seven hours after takeoff, Earhart was reportedly heard to say "wind 23 knots" (26.5 mph) but she did not specify whether it was a headwind, tailwind, or crosswind.<sup>9</sup>

Cross and Wright assert that "British officials treated the discovery [of the bones] seriously and had the remains analysed in 1940."<sup>10</sup>

In fact, no analysis was done until 1941. The bones were found in September 1940 but did not leave Gardner Island until January 1941.

Such mistakes have no bearing on the identity of the castaway but they reveal a casualness toward historical accuracy. The errors in the authors' characterization of the British investigation are of greater consequence.

Cross and Wright state that "the British thought the remains might belong to Earhart or Noonan

and considered their identification an important issue.”<sup>11</sup>

In fact, the historical record reveals no evidence that the handful of WPHC officials who were aware of the discovery considered that the bones might be Noonan’s. Indeed the record gives no indication that they knew that Earhart had a man with her.

Cross and Wright say:

*“... the skeletal evidence was lost during World War II. Subsequent attempts to trace the bones indicate that they were moved to Australia, probably Sydney, but no further evidence has been found.”*<sup>12</sup>

What subsequent attempts? Cross and Wright offer no source for this information. Did Cross and Wright attempt to trace the bones or are they just making stuff up? TIGHAR has made extensive, but fruitless, attempts to trace the bones. After Hoodless submitted his report he was told to retain the bones until further notice.<sup>13</sup> No one knows when or how the skeletal evidence was lost, and there is nothing in the WPHC File to indicate that the bones were sent to Australia.

*According to Cross and Wright, “Hoodless concluded that the remains most likely belonged to a c. 5’5½” stocky male of European or mixed European ancestry, probably between 45–55 years old.”*<sup>14</sup>

The statement misrepresents Hoodless’ confidence in his findings.

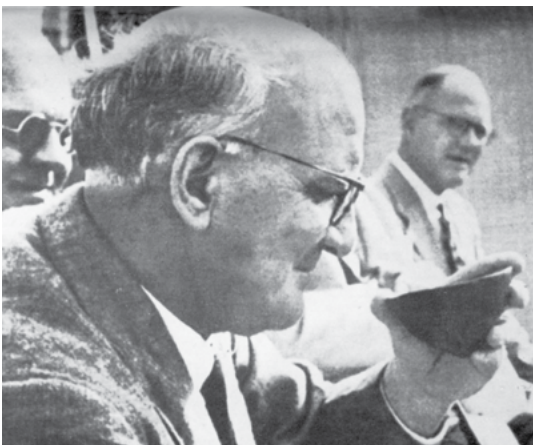
The only firm conclusion he drew was that the skeleton was “definitely that of a MALE” (emphasis in the original). He wrote that it was not possible to be “dogmatic” about the person’s age due to the weather-beaten condition of all the bones. Hoodless was even more circumspect about the person’s ethnicity, saying,

*I am not prepared to give an opinion on the race or nationality of this skeleton, except to state that it is probably not that of a pure South Sea Islander-Micronesian or Polynesian. It could be that of a short, stocky, muscular European, or even a half-caste, or person of mixed European descent.*<sup>15</sup>

Cross and Wright incorrectly assert that “Upon receipt of the Hoodless report, Macpherson concluded that the remains were not those of Amelia Earhart and the case was closed without further action.”<sup>16</sup>

MacPherson was Duncan Campbell MacEwan MacPherson M.B., Ch.B., Acting Central Medical Authority for the Western Pacific, but it was Secretary Vaskess, not Dr. MacPherson, who advised the High Commissioner that the Hoodless report “...appears definitely to indicate that the skeleton cannot be that of the late Amelia Earhart.”<sup>17</sup> The case was not “closed without further action.”<sup>18</sup> The investigation continued and the objects found with the bones were shown to various experts in Fiji. The last entry in WPHC File 4439 is dated August 19, 1941.

## Was Hoodless “Perfectly Competent” to Evaluate the Skeleton?



*David W. Hoodless, LMSSA, Principal of the Central Medical School, Suva, Fiji.*

Central to Cross and Wright’s assertion that Hoodless was correct in his assessment of the bones is their contention that:

*While Hoodless was obviously not trained as a modern forensic anthropologist, his background indicates he was perfectly competent to assess sex, age, body type, and ancestry of a human skeleton.”*<sup>19</sup>

To support that opinion they point out that he was the Principal of the Central Medical School (CMS) in Fiji. What they fail to mention is that the Central Medical School was not a medical school in the traditional sense. It did not train physicians. The CMS trained Pacific Islanders in medical skills and credentialed them as Native Medical Practitioners (NMPs) to serve the basic medical needs of outlying island populations.

David Hoodless was a dedicated and talented administrator but his experience as a practicing physician was limited. His medical training

was acquired sporadically over a period of seventeen years and he never received a degree from a medical school. He was credentialed as a physician by The Society of Apothecaries. The Society was authorized to license doctors in Britain under a 17th century charter granted by King James. It did not operate medical schools, but rather, conducted examinations. An applicant who passed the tests was licensed to practice medicine as a Licentiate of Medicine & Surgery of The Society of Apothecaries (LMSSA).

Hoodless spent most of his professional career as a school administrator. He graduated from King's College, London with a bachelor's degree in mathematics in 1910 at the age of 18.<sup>20</sup> The following year he took a job as Assistant Master at the Queen Victoria School in Fiji.<sup>21</sup> He developed an interest in medicine while serving as Acting Head Master of the Lau Provincial School in Fiji and, in 1918, returned to England for medical training at King's College Medical School. Unable to complete the course of study for lack of funds, he returned to Fiji in 1921 to become Superintendent of Schools.<sup>22</sup> By 1928 he had accumulated two years of leave and returned to London to continue his medical training at Charing Cross Hospital because they agreed to let him skip summer vacations so that he could complete the course within the available time.

In 1929, just before final examinations, Hoodless was admitted to the hospital with a duodenal ulcer and acute hemorrhage. When he got out of the hospital he returned to Fiji where he was made Tutor at the Central Medical School to "coordinate the various parts of the medical training, to maintain discipline among the students, to report progress to the Advisory Board, and to ensure the School was running smoothly and efficiently." The title of Tutor was later changed to Principal.<sup>23</sup>

It would take Hoodless another five years to accumulate enough leave to return to England to finish his certification as a physician. In 1934 he was granted a one year leave of absence and returned to Charing Cross intending to complete an MB (Bachelor of Medicine) degree.

However, due to a recurrence of his duodenal ulcer, he ended up taking and passing the exam for an LMSSA instead. When he returned to Fiji in August 1935 he resumed his duties as Principal of the Central Medical School.

Although known as a fine teacher, throughout his time with the Central Medical School his duties were primarily administrative. He is remembered with great respect and is widely credited with the success of the Native Medical Practitioner program, but there is nothing in his known background to indicate he had any specific training or experience in assessing the sex, age, body type, and ancestry of a human skeleton.

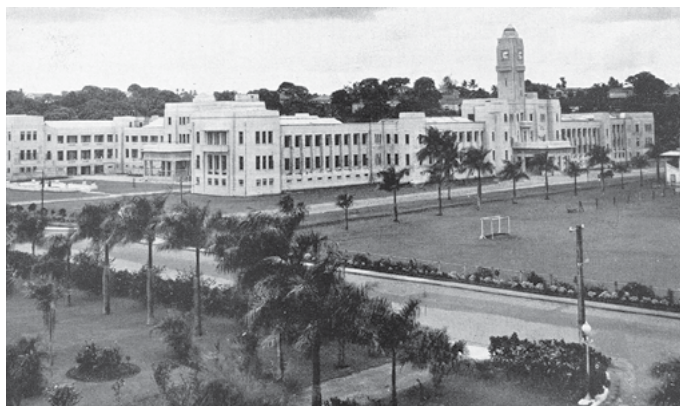
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## An Investigation Fated to Fail

If the objective of the British investigation of Gallagher's discovery was intended to be a thorough and unbiased inquiry into whether the remains found on Gardner Island were those of Amelia Earhart, its capabilities were deliberately thwarted by the man who ran the show, High Commissioner of the Western Pacific Sir Harry Luke.

Immediately upon learning of Gallagher's discovery in October 1940, the High Commissioner clamped a lid of secrecy on the entire affair and ordered everything to be sent to Fiji. From the beginning, virtually every one of his subordinates who was privy to the details of the case urged consultation with sources outside of Fiji.

- Gerald Gallagher, in his initial report of the discovery, suggested that American authorities be contacted regarding Earhart's dental



*Offices of the Western Pacific High Commission and Colony of Fiji, Suva, Fiji.*

records. He also recognized the woman's shoe and the numbers on a sextant box found near the bones to be important clues.<sup>24</sup>

Had the American authorities been contacted, the British should have learned that radio bearings taken on supposed distress calls from the missing

plane had crossed near Gardner Island.<sup>25</sup> The bearings prompted an aerial search by aircraft from USS *Colorado* which noted “signs of recent habitation” on the uninhabited atoll.<sup>26</sup> Had Earhart’s husband been shown the woman’s shoe he could have answered the question of whether or not it was hers.

- Francis Holland, the Acting Resident Commissioner of the Gilbert & Ellice Islands Colony, felt that “Your Excellency will probably wish to make enquiries concerning numbering of sextant box.”<sup>27</sup>
- Dr. D.C.M. MacPherson, Acting Central Medical Authority, recommended that the skeleton be sent to Fiji or to the Anatomical Department at the University of Sydney for examination. He cautioned that, “Bones, per se, unless correlated with some known physical deformity or injury in the deceased (such as a healed fracture, etc.,) are of little value as regards identification, although of course sex and age can often be established.”

Had information about Earhart’s medical history been sought, the British should have learned that her skull should have had a small, hard-to-spot hole in the right maxillary sinus from a Caldwell-Luc procedure done in 1934 to relieve sinus pressure.<sup>28</sup>

MacPherson felt that

*...the number on the sextant case appears to afford the most hopeful means of identification. The instrument itself moreover, if a good one, should have engraved on it a number assigned either by the Bureau of Standards in the case of the United States, or the National Physical Laboratory in the case of the United Kingdom.*

*This number indicates as a rule the result of tests for which compensation requires to be made in using the instrument.*<sup>29</sup>

MacPherson was correct. Had his recommendation been followed the British should have learned that the two numbers on the sextant box were a Brandis & Sons, Brooklyn, NY serial number, and a calibration number assigned by the U.S. Naval Observatory. The Brandis sextant for which the box was made was the same type habitually used by Noonan as a backup instrument.<sup>30</sup>

- Henry Vaskess, Secretary of the WPHC and second in command to Sir Harry Luke, passed along MacPherson’s observations and added,

“Perhaps a carefully worded letter should now be sent to the U.S. Consul-General in Sydney asking him to obtain a description of the sextant carried by Mrs. Putnam and any number or distinguishing mark on it?”<sup>31</sup>

In 1940 it should have been possible to find out whether the sextant box belonged to Noonan.

The High Commissioner remained as resolute as Pharaoh. The discovery would remain strictly secret.

*Better I think await the arrival of the remains etc. Thinnest rumours which may in the end prove unfounded are liable to be spread.*<sup>32</sup>

It was six months before the bones arrived in Fiji on March 24, 1941. Exactly who decided that Hoodless should be the one to examine the skeleton is not clear, but he was by no means the most qualified physician available.

Thirty-nine year-old Dr. D.C.M. MacPherson was, by far, the premiere medical professional in the WPHC. Born and raised in the tiny village of Acharacle in the Scottish Highlands, “Jock” MacPherson received his M.B. (Bachelor of Medicine) and Ch.B. (Bachelor of Surgery) from Glasgow University medical school in 1928.<sup>33</sup> In 1929 he became a



*Duncan Campbell McEwen MacPherson M.B., Ch.B., Acting Central Medical Authority for the Western Pacific.*

Medical Officer in the Gilbert & Ellice Islands Colony and, in 1931 was promoted to Senior Medical Officer. MacPherson won a Fellowship in the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation and in July 1933 traveled to the United States on “special study leave on full salary.”<sup>34</sup> He earned a Certificate in Public Health at Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine in Baltimore in June 1934.<sup>35</sup> Returning to the WPHC in February 1935, he transferred to Fiji Service with a Diplomate in Tropical Medicine. In July 1939 he was appointed Pathologist for the Colony of Fiji and, in October was made Assistant to the Central Medical Authority for the Western Pacific. In May 1940 he became Acting Medical Authority for the Western Pacific.<sup>36</sup>

There is no evidence that MacPherson ever saw the bones. The job was given to Hoodless, who ended his report with a suggestion that, if a more detailed analysis was needed, “the obvious course to adopt would be to submit these bones to the Anthropological Dept of the Sydney University where Professor Elkin would be only too pleased to make a further report.”<sup>37</sup>

Again Sir Harry Luke declined. “Please ask the CMA to convey my thanks to Dr. Hoodless for his report and the trouble he has taken in this matter and to request him to retain the remains until further notice.”<sup>38</sup>

## Sir Harry Luke: Nothing to See Here

As High Commissioner of the Western Pacific, a job he neither sought nor wanted, Sir Harry Luke was a fish out of water – specifically, the waters of the Mediterranean. His eighteen year career in the Colonial Service had been spent in the Middle East and Mediterranean, including eight years as Lieutenant Governor of Malta. In 1938, Luke had applied for the governorship of Cyprus but the Secretary of State for the Colonies gave him Fiji and the Pacific island colonies instead. At 54 and nearing retirement, he was sent to what he may have seen as a backwater corner of the empire. After arriving in Fiji, Sir Harry several times asked to be considered for Mediterranean openings, but to no avail.<sup>39</sup>

With the outbreak of war in 1939, some of his contemporaries judged Luke to be not up to the demands of wartime governance. The Prime Minister of New Zealand felt that the colonies needed “a person of more drive and positive qualities of leadership.”<sup>40</sup> By November 1940, the Ministry of Information in London was telling the Secretary of State, Lord Lloyd, of “disquieting reports” from Fiji about Luke “who has had a pretty sticky career.” “Can’t you send an energetic patriotic married Governor?”<sup>41</sup> Luke was, in fact, married, but his wife had not accompanied him to the Pacific and he was remembered in Fiji as being “a bit of a playboy.”<sup>42</sup>

The discovery and investigation of the bones took place during the most desperate period in modern British history. From the fall of France in May 1940 until December 1941, Britain stood alone against Germany – and Britain was losing. The survival of the empire hinged on persuading a reluctant United States to take an active role in providing support.

But on March 29, 1942, an Air Ministry official who had visited Fiji three times wrote,

*In my opinion and in the opinion of Naval and Military and Air Commanders in Fiji, certain leading residents, and the American Consul,*



*Sir Harry Luke KCMG GCStJ*

*the Governor is too self-centred, self-important, and lacking in leadership and appreciation of his duty in relation to the war effort in Fiji. It appears that the Governor is universally disrespected and that his removal has recently been the subject of a public petition.*<sup>43</sup>

Of particular concern was Luke’s inability to get along with the Americans. “Government relations with the American consul, for whom I and all others to whom I have spoken have the highest regard, are particularly bad.”<sup>44</sup>

Not everyone was down on Luke. Sir Ian Thompson, his Aide-de-Camp in 1941, described Sir Harry as a “pleasant and conscientious fellow.”<sup>45</sup> Thompson was not privy to the bones investigation and only learned about it many years later from TIGHAR. When asked for his opinion about why the High Commissioner did not inform the Americans, he replied, “Remembering the refreshingly international attitudes that Sir Harry always displayed, I am certain there was no sinister intent on his part. The American Consul

resident in Fiji at that time was a Mr. Abbott, with whom Sir Harry was on good terms. I find it hard to believe that the Consul was unaware of the bones discovery.”<sup>46</sup>

Official concern about Luke’s leadership came to a head when the shooting war came to the Pacific. As the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, invaded the Gilberts, and moved south through Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, and into New Guinea, it looked like Fiji would be next – but Fiji was unprepared. Replacing Luke became a priority. On March 22, 1942, Field Marshall John Dill, Chief of the British Joint Staff Mission in Washington sent the Secretary of State for the Colonies a “most secret” message. Luke was a “complete disaster ... it is essential something be done about him at once ... situation demands immediate

repeat immediate action.” On March 30, 1942 the Colonial Office was instructed to “Sack Luke and do it at once.”<sup>47</sup> In June General Sir Phillip Mitchell took over as High Commissioner. Ian Thompson’s opinion notwithstanding, after Luke was replaced as Governor of Fiji, the American Consul, Wayne Wright Abbott, wrote in an October 1942 report,

*The new Governor has only been in the Colony now about three months, but he has in this time shown himself, in marked contrast to his predecessor, to be a vigorous, purposeful man free from petty prejudices, bent on achieving his mission.*<sup>48</sup>

Sir Harry Luke’s handling of the Gardner Island incident in 1940 and ’41 was consistent with the behavior that got him cashiered in 1942.

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## Conclusions

The Cross/Wright paper is inaccurate and biased. Its defense of Hoodless mischaracterizes the findings of a talented administrator and teacher tasked with a job beyond his training and experience.

Sir Harry Luke’s refusal to inform the Americans of Gallagher’s discovery or assign a qualified person to examine the bones deprived the investigation of critical information that could have resulted in a very different verdict. Even after the bones and objects found on Gardner Island were judged to be of no consequence, neither Sir Harry nor any of the handful of officials who knew about the incident ever talked or wrote about it. The archived file disappeared like the Ark of the Covenant in the final scene of *Raiders of the Lost Ark* until TIGHAR tracked it down in 1998. Its full significance is only now becoming apparent.

The complete British files discovered by TIGHAR are on the TIGHAR website at [http://tighar.org/Projects/Earhart/Archives/Documents/Documents\\_index.html](http://tighar.org/Projects/Earhart/Archives/Documents/Documents_index.html).

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## Notes

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- 3 Fred Goerner, correspondence, March 1, 1990. <https://tighar.org/Projects/Earhart/Archives/Documents/Letters/Letters.html>. Accessed November 26, 2017.
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- 6 Song by Dave McEnery, “Amelia Earhart’s Last Flight,” Stasny Music Corporation, 1939.
- 7 Pamela Cross and Richard Wright, “The Nikumaroro bones identification controversy: First-hand examination versus evaluation by proxy. Amelia Earhart found or still missing?” *Journal of Archaeological Science, Reports* 3 (2015), page 52.
- 8 Cross/Wright.
- 9 Correspondence from Eric Chater to M.E. Griffin, July 25, 1937. Accessed January 3, 2018. [https://tighar.org/Projects/Earhart/Archives/Documents/Chater\\_Report.html](https://tighar.org/Projects/Earhart/Archives/Documents/Chater_Report.html).
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## Notes, cont.

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- 16 Cross/Wright.
- 17 W.P.H.C. File No. M.P. 4439, April 11, 1941.
- 18 Cross/Wright.
- 19 Cross/Wright.
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- 22 Guthrie, 11.
- 23 Guthrie, 15-19.
- 24 Gerald B. Gallagher telegram to Resident Commissioner, W.P.H.C. File No. M.P. 4439 – 1940. Sept. 23, 1940.
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- 27 F.G.L. Holland telegram to Sir Harry Luke, W.P.H.C. File No. M.P. 4439 – 1940, Oct. 1, 1940.
- 28 Fred Goerner, *The Search for Amelia Earhart* (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1966), p. 174.
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- 33 “Medical Definition of MBChB,” <http://www.medicinenet.com/script/main/art.asp?articlekey=33443>.
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