

# Neighbors on the Hot Seat: Revelations

by Daniel Buck and Anne Meadows

An old Argentine police file that had been in private hands for a quarter of a century was recovered last year by researchers Marcelo Gavirati and Celia Beloso.<sup>1</sup> The file documented a 1911-1914 inquiry by the Chubut Territory's interim police chief Leandro Navarro and judge Luis Navarro Careaga into the activities of bandits Robert Evans and William Wilson, who had been terrorizing southern Argentina. Singularly inept, they had botched the holdup of a general store in Comodoro Rivadavia in February 1908, murdered popular Welsh settler Llwyd ap Iwan during the robbery of his store at Arroyo Pescado in December 1909, and kidnapped wealthy rancher Lucio Ramos Otero in March 1911, then failed to collect any ransom before he managed to escape.

These crimes are often erroneously attributed to Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid,<sup>2</sup> who decamped to Patagonia in 1901, one step ahead of the Pinkertons. Using the aliases James P. "Santiago" Ryan and Harry A. "Enrique" Place, Butch and Sundance—along with Sundance's companion, who was known as Ethel (not Etta) Place and unfailingly described as his wife—homesteaded a ranch in the Cholila Valley in the Andean foothills of the Chubut Territory.

According to some reports, Evans and Wilson lived at the Wild Bunch estancia in Cholila, either during or after Butch and Sundance's tenure.<sup>3</sup> These reports have never been substantiated, but the Wild Bunch exiles definitely knew Robert Evans. In fact, Butch was detained by the



Daniel Gibbon, we have just learned from Dan Buck and Anne Meadows' research, was Butch and Sundance's best friend in Argentina. Courtesy Violeta Gibbon de Aranea.

*About the Authors:* Dan Buck and Anne Meadows are the leading Wild Bunch researchers and writers in the United States today. Their discoveries in South America, including those disclosed in this article, are revamping our view of Butch Cassidy, the Sundance Kid and their cohorts. Anne is author of the recent book, *Digging Up Butch and Sundance*, which will be issued in softcover. Together Dan and Anne have written articles for *Wild West*, *True West*, *South American Explorer* and other magazines. Charter members of WOLA, Dan and Anne have previously contributed several articles to this Journal and Dan recently was elected to the WOLA board of directors.

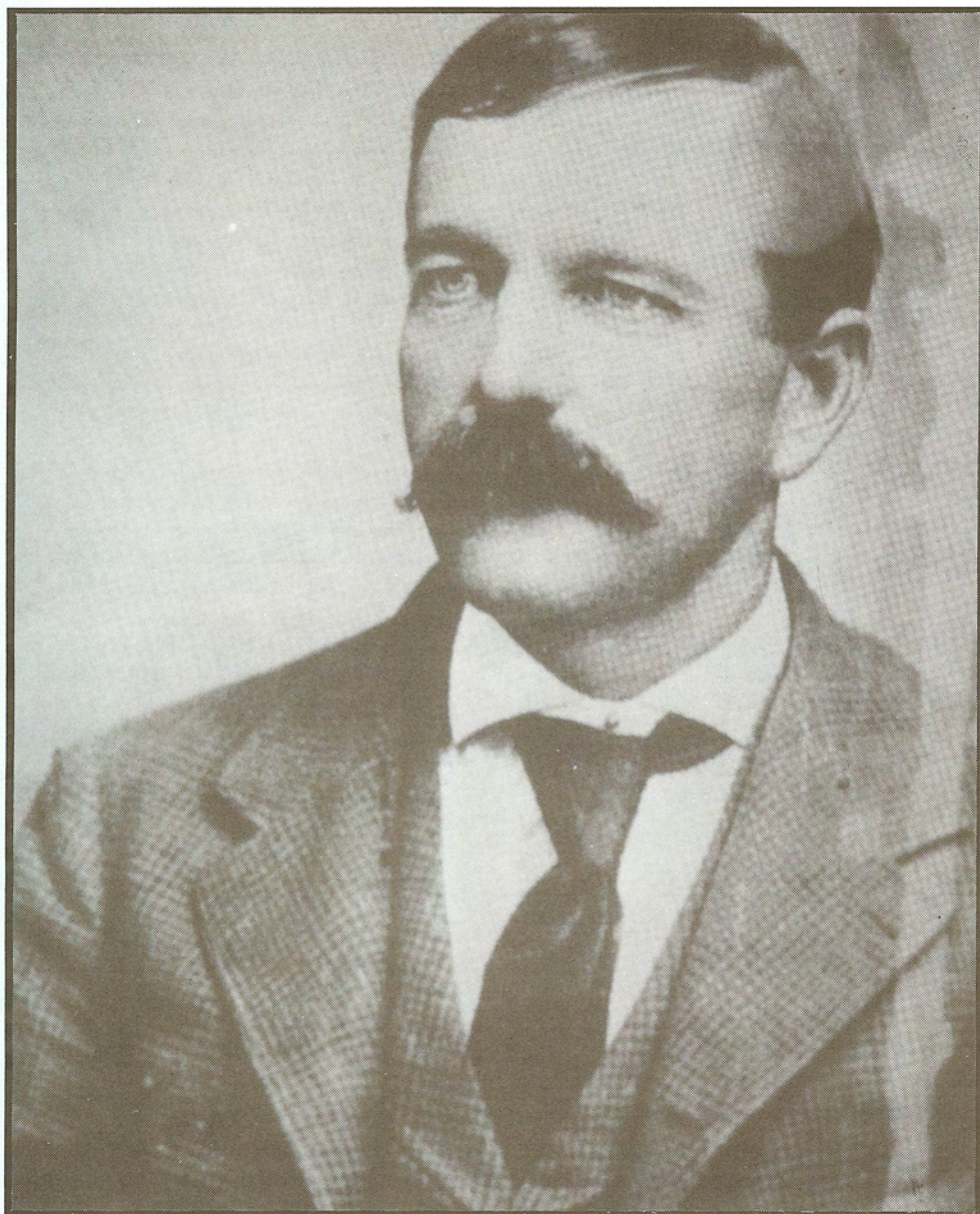
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Chubut police in March 1904 on suspicion of having helped him escape following the robbery of a land-company manager.<sup>4</sup> Little is known about his origins, and the available information conflicts: An Argentine researcher described Evans as a Montana sheep thief who used the name Emiliano Hood; a Buenos Aires newspaper reported that Evans was the Argentine-born son of Welsh immigrants; and a friend said that he thought Evans himself was Welsh.<sup>5</sup> (Evans is a common Welsh surname.) In the recently recovered police file, he is nearly always called "Roberto Evans or Hood," as if "or Hood" were part of his surname. Although the Argentine

authorities and newspapers uniformly spelled his name "Evans," he signed "Ebans" on a couple of receipts for sheep.<sup>6</sup> In view of the fact that the letters *v* and *b* are virtually indistinguishable in spoken Spanish, the signature raises questions not only about his true name—or alias—but also about his literacy and native language.

William Wilson was born in Texas in 1885 and had farmed near Billings, Montana, before coming to Argentina. There is no evidence to suggest that Butch and Sundance knew Wilson, who did not leave the United States until September 1904<sup>7</sup> and was not sighted in Chubut until a few years later.<sup>8</sup> In any

# From the Long-Lost Argentine Police File



John "Juan Comodoro" Perry was Butch and Sundance's nearest neighbor in Cholila. Courtesy Ine's Mirta Cea.

event, the Wild Bunch trio had left Cholila in May 1905, well before Evans and Wilson committed their most infamous misdeeds.

The murder of Llwyd ap Iwan led to the formation of the *policia fronteriza*, a mounted police force headed by Major Mateo Gebhard (who, coincidentally, had pursued Butch, Sundance, Ethel, and an unidentified confederate after the December 1905 robbery of the Banco de la Nación in Villa Mercedes de San Luis).<sup>9</sup> In December 1911, three years after Butch and Sundance died in San Vicente, Bolivia, a *fronteriza* patrol shot and killed Evans and Wilson at their camp near Río Pico in southwestern Chubut. The patrol

missed an accomplice, Mansel Gibbon, who had left the camp and scooted over the Chilean border a few days earlier.

Although Butch and Sundance were not the focus of the inquiry, the file contains documents that have shed new light on their activities in Argentina. These documents—letters, receipts, and invoices, some of which were signed by Butch and Sundance—have been reproduced and discussed at length elsewhere.<sup>10</sup> The file also reveals the high prices several people paid for their friendships with the Wild Bunch trio.

In addition to gathering documentary evidence, the Chubut authorities interviewed friends, neighbors, and

employees of the bandits to construct a record of their activities and identify their accomplices. The file contains statements from some fifty witnesses. Instead of transcribing the testimony word for word, however, the stenographer merely summarized what the witnesses had said. Before the investigation ended, several of the witnesses, some of whom had been jailed for long periods without being charged with any crimes, repudiated their statements, which they claimed to have signed under duress.<sup>11</sup> Nonetheless, the summaries provide slivers of truth that, when combined with documentary evidence and contemporary newspaper articles, may help researchers piece together the Patagonian chapter of the Wild Bunch saga.

Set out below are those portions of the witnesses' statements that pertain to Butch, Sundance, and Ethel.

## Wenceslao Solís

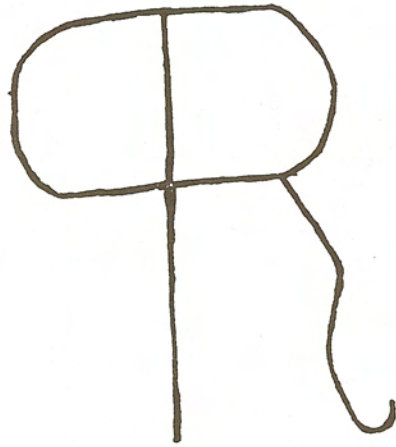
A literate, married, 43-year-old Chilean resident of Río Pico, Wenceslao Solís was interviewed twice in 1911. During his second interview, he was asked whether he knew various people.

He answered that he knows Ricardo Perkins, Enrique Place, Roberto Evans... whose real name he doesn't know, but that he knows Andrés Duffy only as the one generally called Dientes de Oro. He was asked when and where he first met these people. He answered that he first met Ricardo Perkins seven years ago at the Southern Land Company at Leleque, where Perkins was a bookkeeper and Solís was a peon. He met Enrique Place in Cholila nine years ago when Place arrived and homesteaded some land, and Solís worked for him for eight months as a peon. He first met Roberto Evans or Hood in Cholila six years ago as Hood, and later in Río Pico in July of 1910, where he thought he was called Roberto Evans. And he met Grice seven years ago, when he first saw him at Place and Ryan's house....

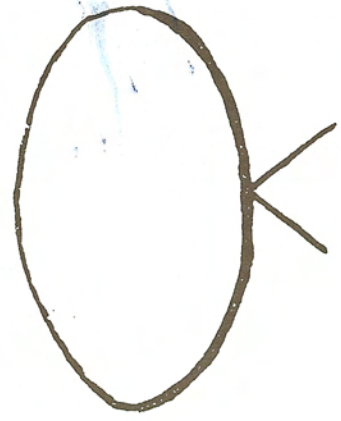
Richard Perkins was the Argentine-born son of North American immigrants. He had attended a military academy in Richmond, Virginia, then returned to Argentina. Around the turn of the century, he settled in the Chubut Territory and found work at the Leleque estancia, thirty miles northeast of Cholila.<sup>12</sup> Leleque was part of the extensive holdings of the Southern Argentine Land Company, a British enterprise.<sup>13</sup> (The estancia is now owned



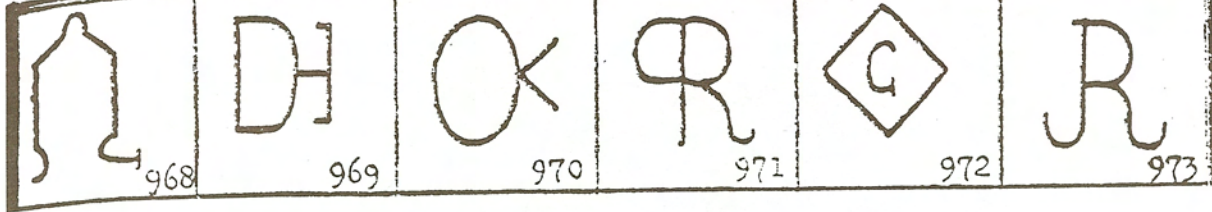
973



971



970



Above are the only confirmed, documented known brands owned by members of the Wild Bunch (even though an unconfirmed brand was reported owned by Butch Cassidy and Al Hainer in Larry Pointer's *In Search of Butch Cassidy*), and all three are brands they owned in South America. Taken from a Chubut brand registration book, at top, from left, the brand "R" was owned by "Santiago R. Ryan" (Butch Cassidy); the second, a backwards "P" with an "R", was owned by Ryan and Place (Butch and Sundance) and the third, by Enrique A. Place (Sundance). Below the three brands is the top line from page 127 of the brand book where the three brands are shown, numbers 970, 971 and 973. These brands were discovered by Argentine researcher Oscar Lovell and are reprinted courtesy of Lovell and the authors.

by Luciano Benetton, the Italian clothing manufacturer.) In September 1911, Perkins was detained by the police on suspicion of complicity in the failed holdup in Comodoro Rivadavia, but he apparently was never charged. During his interrogation, he mentioned that he had once helped the judge who was questioning him: Perkins had served as the judge's translator in 1904, when Butch was interviewed about his role in helping Evans to escape after he had robbed the land company manager.<sup>14</sup>

Grice is a mystery. Some witnesses said that William Wilson's aliases included Grice and Gray, while other individuals said that Grice and Wilson were different people altogether. One witness mentioned "the Grice brothers" but said he didn't know them. Gray and one or both of the Grice brothers were among the suspects in a 1905 bank robbery

in Río Gallegos, a crime often attributed to Butch and Sundance.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps significantly, the Spanish word for gray is *gris*.

Andrew Duffy was almost always described in the police file as Dientes de Oro, or Gold Teeth. Several witnesses believed that Duffy was Wild Bunch member Harvey Logan, alias Kid Curry, who had escaped from a Knoxville jail in 1903 and was thought to have fled to Argentina to join Butch and Sundance. Although his presence in South America was never confirmed, Pinkerton flyers circulating in Argentina fueled these stories.

Evidence in the file, however, eliminates Duffy as a candidate for Logan. A 1909 Chubut livestock receipt contains a signature by A.J. Duffy that matches the signature on a 1904 Montana court document located by outlaw historian

Barbara Hegne. The Montana Duffy was a saloonkeeper, rustler, and associate of Dutch Henry Leuch.<sup>16</sup> According to a letter of recommendation obtained by the Chubut police, Duffy came to Argentina in 1907 as the foreman of a wheat-threshing crew. He later fell in with Evans and Wilson, but his taste for violence was so keen—he once had to be talked out of shooting a boy merely for the hell of it—that Evans and Mansel Gibbon murdered him in August 1910 near Corcovado in western Chubut. His death later spawned reports that Harvey Logan had been killed in South America, although the stories usually changed the location to the better known Corcovado, Chile, just over the Andes from its Argentine namesake.

As the interview with Wenceslao Solís continued, he was asked when he had last seen Sundance.

He answered that Santiago Ryan and Enrique Place departed from Cholila on May 9, 1905, and that he accompanied them as far as Lake Nahuel Huapi, whence he returned to Cholila, while his employers—Ryan, Place, and his wife, Ethel, who also was with them—sailed on the lake from San Carlos de Bariloche to Chile. When Solís returned from the lake, he brought two men's saddles and one lady's saddle, with orders to give one to Juan Aguilar, the other to Tom Gibbon, and the lady's to the Cochamó Company, which he did upon his return to Cholila.

Juan Aguilar's background and relationship with the bandits is unknown. He (or Juan Vidal, another of the bandits' ranch hands) might have been the Juan to whom Sundance had sent greetings in a letter to Daniel Gibbon shortly after leaving Cholila in 1905.<sup>17</sup> Gibbon, who was Butch and Sundance's best friend in Argentina, was a Welsh immigrant who had come to Argentina in 1885 and settled in Esquel, the village that anchored the 16 de Octubre colony in the Andean foothills. (The colony's name commemorates the date on which Chubut became a territory in 1884. The Welsh called the region Cwm Hyfryd, meaning Pleasant Valley.)<sup>18</sup>

Tom Gibbon was the eldest of Daniel and Cathrine Gibbon's eight sons. At one point, three of the Gibbon boys—Tom, Albert, and Mansel—lived near the Wild Bunch ranch in the Cholila valley. Although several of the Gibbons were suspected of aiding and abetting North American bandits in Patagonia, the only genuine outlaw in the family was Mansel, who participated in the kidnapping of Ramos Otero and the murder of Andrew Duffy.

The Cochamó Company, a Chilean

enterprise, was interested in increasing its holdings in western Chubut, which was the subject of some concern in Argentina, inasmuch as a British arbitration commission had only recently awarded the region to Argentina. Butch and Sundance sold their holdings—that is, their buildings, equipment, and perhaps some livestock—to the Cochamó Company for 18,000 pesos, roughly \$200,000 in today's money. They couldn't sell the land, because they didn't own it. A story now in circulation is that a wealthy Argentine obtained the title to a large chunk of western Chubut, including the land Butch and Sundance had settled, and tried to sell it to the Chileans, but that the Argentine government annulled the sale.<sup>19</sup>

The bandits' departure from Cholila came precisely twelve weeks after two North Americans relieved the Banco de Tarapacá y Argentino in Río Gallegos of a sum worth at least \$100,000 in today's money (bank employees disagreed about the exact amount).<sup>20</sup> Although Butch and Sundance were never positively identified as the culprits (the bandits' descriptions did not exactly fit them), the fact that they were the prime suspects undoubtedly contributed to their decision to leave when they did.

Some time later, [Solís] doesn't recall if it was a year, he learned that his exemployers Santiago Ryan and Enrique Place had robbed the bank at Villa Mercedes in San Luis Province, and two years after leaving Cholila, which would have been 1907, Enrique Place returned to Cholila, accompanied by Hood, and they stayed for two days at Mansel Gibbon's house. Solís was asked if he knew why Place came back to Cholila, and he answered that [Place] had left 200 sheep and 30 mares that Daniel Gibbons was having

raised by the Southern Land Company. Place returned in order to sell the sheep and whatever foals the mares had had. Mansel Gibbon arranged to sell the 200 sheep to John Perry, and Mansel Gibbon paid Enrique Place directly. The foals that belonged to Place and Ryan remained under Daniel Gibbon's care. A few days after Place left Cholila, saying he was going to Chile, Hood appeared with Ricardo Perkins. Solís was asked if Daniel Gibbon was at Mansel Gibbon's house during the time Place was there, and he answered yes, he frequently saw Daniel at Mansel's house.

The witnesses differed as to whether Place's return to Cholila occurred in 1906 or 1907, but there is general agreement that he arrived with Evans. Perhaps Evans was involved in the Villa Mercedes holdup in December 1905. The robbers—reportedly three men and a woman—were thought to have come over the Andes from Chile and returned to Chile after the holdup. Butch, Sundance, and Ethel were identified from newspaper photographs, but the fourth bandit was not.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, if any photograph of Evans exists, it has not yet been identified.

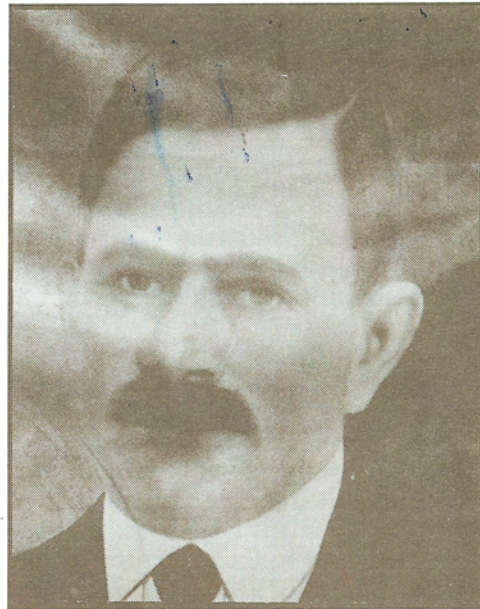
John Perry was Butch and Sundance's nearest neighbor. The witnesses disagreed about how many animals were sold by whom and to whom, but the consensus was that Sundance, accompanied by Evans, returned to effect the transaction and then departed for Chile with the money, leaving Evans behind. The fact that Daniel Gibbon played a key role in the matter and was seen in Sundance's company did not sit well with the Chubut authorities: They put him in jail.

Milton Roberts

The second witness with information about Butch and Sundance was Milton

The wedding of Albert Gibbon and Griselda Aviles in Cholila, circa 1918. The bride and groom are seated in center; Edward Gibbon is seated on the far left, playing guitar; Daniel Gibbon has a child on his lap; and Tom Gibbon is seated on the far right. Courtesy Carlota Gibbon.





From left, Milton Roberts, Edward Humphreys and Alejandro Villagrán. Roberts was the Chubut policeman who went to Cholila in 1906 with orders to arrest Butch and Sundance. Humphreys was the Esquel sheriff who lost his job because of his friendship with Butch, Sundance and Ethel. Villagrán was a foreman at Butch and Sundance's ranch in Cholila. Sundance stayed with Villagrán and Mansel Gibbon during a visit to the region in 1906. The first two photos courtesy the authors; the Villagrán photo courtesy Arturo Villagrán.

Roberts, a 31-year-old <sup>English</sup> Welsh rancher and policeman in the 16 de Octubre colony. Interviewed on October 2, 1911, Roberts described an attempt to arrest the Wild Bunch bandits.

In February 1906, he was named policeman for 16 de Octubre, and in April of the same year he received an order from Police Headquarters to go to Cholila and assist the police there in the capture of two North Americans suspected of having robbed the bank in Villa Mercedes, San Luis. When he arrived in Cholila, he learned that the individuals he was supposed to capture had left for Chile five days earlier, and that Mansel Gibbon had sold a herd of sheep in order to lend money to the two suspects, whose names he soon learned were Enrique Place and Hood. The money from the sheep sale was given directly by Daniel Gibbon to Place and Hood. About three months later, Daniel Gibbon told [Roberts] that [Gibbon] was a trustworthy person, and that he had once helped two people, who were in a difficult position because they were being hunted by the authorities, by selling some animals and giving them the money, knowing full well it would one day be repaid with interest.

Roberts's statement reveals that the Chubut Police thought that Butch and Sundance were still living in Cholila in 1906. The fact that Roberts nearly caught Sundance during his brief return was pure chance. Although Roberts was probably correct about the year in which Sundance returned, because the visit happened soon after he was appointed to his police post and not long after the Villa Mercedes holdup, his contention that Mansel or Daniel Gibbon had sold

his own animals and lent the proceeds to Sundance did not make sense. Why would Sundance have come all the way back to Cholila just to borrow money? Furthermore, Roberts said that Hood had departed for Chile with Sundance, which was inaccurate.

On May 4, 1912, Milton Roberts was questioned again. Instead of clarifying the subject, Roberts muddled it.

Asked how he knows that Mansel Gibbon sold some of his sheep in order to assist in the escape of Place and Robert Evans or Hood, [Roberts] answered that he learned of it from John Perry, a Cholila resident who had been the intermediary in the sale. He believes that the real purchaser was Professor Vicente Calderón, and that the money was given to Place by Daniel Gibbon, Mansel's father, according to Perry. This version is public knowledge in Cholila and has been confirmed by Elias Gibbelli, the ex-Justice of the Peace in Cholila. Asked if he knew the bandits personally, and if he knew anyone in the photographs he was shown, he answered that he knew William Wilson, Place and Ryan, and Mansel Gibbon, and that among the photographs he recognized Place and his wife, Mansel Gibbon, and Rafael Beltrán, the murderer of Francisco Miguelarena, adding that the last-named was not one of the gang of North Americans.

Not only was Roberts's testimony hearsay—he merely related what John Perry had allegedly said—but it also contradicted Perry's own sworn statement.

Vicente Calderón, the first schoolteacher in Cholila, came to the valley in late October 1905, five months

after the bandits' departure. A fervent nationalist, Calderón opposed the efforts of the Cochamó Company to buy Argentine land, which he saw as part of a Chilean plot. The first sheriff of Cholila, Juan Bonansea, who also publicly opposed Cochamó's encroachments, was murdered in 1907; the following year an attempt was made on Calderón's life by, ironically, a local police official. Both crimes were blamed on Chilean agents.<sup>22</sup> (Visitors to Cholila today will find a bronze bust of its illustrious and patriotic schoolteacher on a pedestal in the center of the Plaza Vicente Calderón.)

Robert O. Jones

The third witness with information about Butch and Sundance was 56-year-old Robert O. Jones, a Welsh immigrant who had lived in Argentina for thirty years. At the time of his interview, in 1911, he resided in Esquel. Jones told the Chubut authorities what he knew about the bandits and their associates.

The first time he saw Ryan was in 1903, on the road to the Chubut colony, when [Ryan] was traveling with Garner, who is now in England. Later, he saw Ryan again at Daniel Gibbon's house, where [Jones] found [Ryan] drunk and put him to bed, and since then [Jones] has seen [Ryan] various times at the same house, where Gibbon introduced [Ryan] as a friend.

As for Enrique Place, [Jones] saw him in Trelew the same year as Ryan, staying at the Hotel del Globo with Mrs. Ethel. He later saw him in various places, including the house [of Daniel Gibbon], who related that "Place" was an alias and that his real name was Jones, and that in the United States he

was the leader of a gang of outlaws who had robbed many trains and escaped from every jail they had ever been in. In one case, he [Sundance or another member of the gang—it is unclear] got the jailer to come close to his cell and then tied a wire around his neck, grabbed the keys, and fled. [Jones] has seen some of the things Gibbon told him about Place and Ryan in North American magazines.

Garner—who appears in other witnesses' statements as Alen, Allen, or Glen Garner, Gardner, or Garsed—might have been John "Jock" Gardiner, a Scot who came to Argentina from Glasgow as a teenager in 1890. After spending a few years with a pair of uncles who owned an estancia near La Plata, he moved to Chubut and worked as a teacher, trader, and ranch hand, probably at Leleque. In 1907, he left Argentina for Ireland, where he died in 1946. Gardiner was reputed to be a friend of the Wild Bunch trio and a frequent visitor to Cholila, although one yarn has the friendship going too far—he was said to have had an affair with and perhaps impregnated Ethel Place. Two years after Gardiner's death, an Irish friend and neighbor named Frank O'Grady, began peppering the Pinkertons, the Argentine authorities, and Butch's sister Lula Parker Betenson with letters about Gardiner's recollections of gold cached in the Andes by Butch and Sundance before their flight.<sup>23</sup>

Daniel Gibbon's story, as related by Jones, indicated that Gibbon had swallowed too many tabloids. The escape tale is a recounting of Harvey Logan's dramatic breakout in Knoxville, which made the front pages of American newspapers coast to coast. In fact, by the time the Chubut authorities began conducting their interviews, some of the outlaws' neighbors had read about the Wild Bunch's exploits in such popular periodicals as the *British Wide World Magazine* and the Argentine *Caras y Caretas*, not to mention the newspapers of the day and the ubiquitous Pinkerton and Argentine police flyers. Lurid details made their way into the record via loquacious witnesses who had seen nothing more than the odd magazine article or newspaper clipping.<sup>24</sup>

Jones told the police that he was less familiar with Wilson and Evans than with Place and Ryan.

Jones saw William Wilson for the first time with Pete Litjens and Daniel Gibbon, and all he knows is that they're good friends.... He knows Roberto Evans only by name, from his relations with Daniel Gibbon, saying that he was the one who robbed the bank in Río Gallegos with Grice, whom he doesn't know either.



Richard Clarke was a Chubut merchant who sold dry goods to Butch Cassidy. Courtesy the authors.

Peter Litjens was a young Nebraskan who worked in western Chubut. Following the shooting of Llwyd ap Iwan in December 1909, the authorities detained Litjens as a suspect, evidently on the grounds that the murderers were thought to be North Americans and Litjens was a North American. Fellow colonist E.B. Theobald, a Trelew merchant, vouched for Litjens's good character and stood his bail. He was never charged with involvement in ap Iwan's murder.<sup>25</sup>

The summary of Jones's statement concluded with a curious recitation:

Daniel Gibbon said that he was a close friend of Enrique Place, alias Harry Longbaugh, or Sun Dance Kid, or Ed Jones; of James P. Ryan, or Santiago Ryan, or George Parker, or Patrick Vassidy, alias Buch Cassidy; of Andrés Duffy, who he was told was called Harvey Logan, and also known as Dientes de Oro, saying that he was adept at disguises, being able to pull out his gold teeth and change them for others. Among [Daniel Gibbon's] friends was also Roberto Evans or Hood, who stayed at [Gibbon's] house. Asked if he had anything else to declare, [Jones] said no.

These strings of aliases sound as if they were lifted, typos and all, from a police flyer or newspaper article. Perhaps Jones—or the stenographer—put the aliases in Gibbon's mouth.

David G. Rees

The fourth witness with knowledge of Butch and Sundance's activities was David G. Rees, a 37-year-old British (most of the 16 de Octubre colonists were

Welsh, but they invariably described themselves as British or English) bachelor who lived in Río Grande, in the 16 de Octubre colony. The information he provided, in late 1911, was secondhand.

Invited to declare what he knows about people who have been involved with the North American bandits, he said that Francisco Albornoz related that he was coming down from the Río Limay when he met Enrique Place with his wife Ethel and Santiago Ryan, who hired him as a guide for three days, until they reached Maitén, where they gave him 200 pesos for the three days of service, and then he departed, that being 1902.

That two years later, Francisco Albornoz went to Cholila, where he saw Place and Ryan, who were now ranchers, and he hired on as a peon. Some time later, Albornoz went to work as a peon for Gibbon, who one day sent him to Corinto with a wagon to look for two boxes, which he was to deliver to a house that Rees didn't identify, and when he opened the boxes in Daniel Gibbon's house, he saw that they contained weapons and ammunition.

Albornoz told Rees that Place was wounded in the wrist, and that he'd gone to Mansel Gibbon's house to recuperate, and that Mansel's father, Daniel, had gone with his sons to the mountains to talk with Place and Ryan, who were hiding there.

Rees's account of Gibbon's possible involvement in supplying arms and ammunition to the bandits probably gave the authorities one more excuse to lock him up. The statement contains no information about how Place was wounded or why he and Ryan were hiding.

Francisco Albornoz also informed Rees that, being [Daniel] Gibbon's peon, [Albornoz was in a position to know] that Mansel had stolen 500 sheep with the same brand as that of Daniel Gibbon. They moved the sheep six leagues [about eighteen miles] in one night to a ranch. After Albornoz told Rees these things, he asked that [Rees] say nothing to the police.

That Mansel would have stolen sheep "with the same brand" as his father's is puzzling. Perhaps Rees actually said that the brand was "similar to his father's brand" or that Mansel had "changed the brand to match his father's."

Francisco Albornoz

The authorities next interviewed the man from whom Rees had obtained his information: Francisco Albornoz, a 45-year-old Chilean who had lived in Argentina for eighteen years. At the time of the interview, in late 1911, he resided in Súnica, a small settlement in the 16 de Octubre colony. He provided more details about his encounters with the bandits.



Hotel del Globo in Trelew, Chubut. Witness Robert O. Jones saw Sundance and Ethel (Etta) there in 1903. Courtesy the authors.

In 1902, coming down from the Río Limay towards the 16 of Octubre colony, about half a league [a mile and a half] from the river, he ran into Enrique Place, Santiago Ryan, and Mrs. Place, who were traveling in a wagon, and they asked him to accompany them as a guide as far as the 16 de Octubre colony, which he agreed to do, and he rode with them three days until they came to Curhué Grande, where he parted from them, returning once again to where he had started.

If this was the bandits' first trip to Patagonia, Alborno's timetable was wrong: They came to Chubut in June 1901.<sup>26</sup> It is possible that the events he described occurred in 1902, but by then the bandits probably would not have needed a guide. Moreover, Sundance and Ethel left for the United States in early 1902 and didn't return to Argentina until August, landing at Puerto Madryn and traveling west up the Chubut Valley, which wouldn't have taken them anywhere near the Limay River or Curhué Grande, both of which were in the Neuquén Territory. In any event, an August 10, 1902, letter from Butch to his pal Elzy Lay's mother-in-law indicates that the trio was already well established in Cholila, with the ranch buildings constructed and the cattle business underway.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps Alborno said "nine or ten years ago," meaning 1901, and the stenographer and Rees picked the wrong year.

About two years later, while working as a ranch hand for the Southern Land

Company, Alborno saw Place, his wife, and Ryan ranching in Cholila. After leaving the company, Alborno went to work for Daniel Gibbon, where he frequently saw Santiago Ryan, Andrés Duffy, Hood or Roberto Evans, William Wilson, and Perkins, whose first name he can't recall.

One day Daniel Gibbon told Alborno to help Mansel Gibbon take two boxes by wagon to the house of Sheriff Eduardo Humphreys in Corinto. When they arrived, Alborno tried to lift one because they looked small, but it was so heavy he couldn't move it, so Humphreys ordered two peons to help him. Alborno told Mansel the boxes were terribly heavy for being so small, and he replied that it was because of what they contained, which was bullets and firearms. Asked if he had seen these in Daniel Gibbon's house, Alborno replied that he had only seen carbines and two revolvers, and that he didn't think the weapons they brought to Eduardo Humphreys's house were destined for Daniel Gibbon.

Edward Humphreys, the son of Welsh pioneer Mauricio Humphreys, had been the sheriff of Gaiman, near the Atlantic Coast, before moving to Esquel and becoming that community's first sheriff.<sup>28</sup> According to Frank O'Grady, Humphreys was "a frequent caller" at the Wild Bunch ranch and was "fairly crazy about Etta."<sup>29</sup> (Indeed, according to researcher Francisco Juárez, who spoke with several of her former neighbors, "she was a goddess.... Everybody was enamored of her."<sup>30</sup>)

As his interview continued, Alborno related a strange tale.

One night Alborno was herding a troop of horses, and a mare bolted, and while he was chasing her he met Daniel Gibbon, who was riding with a man [Alborno] believes was Santiago Ryan, who was completely disguised with a long white beard, but [Alborno] knew him by his voice. The man in the disguise separated himself from Gibbon a bit. At this time, the robbery of the bank in Río Gallegos had just happened, and [Alborno] thinks that is where they were coming from.

Alborno was one of the few individuals interviewed during this inquiry to link Butch or Sundance to the Río Gallegos holdup. Most of the witnesses said that both men had been in Cholila at the time. No one else has ever named Daniel Gibbon as a participant, although the perpetrators might have had accomplices guarding fresh horses along the escape route.

Alborno was then shown some photographs found by the frontier police in Daniel Gibbon's house. Alborno said that he recognizes one of them, named Grice, whom he has seen many times in Gibbon's house. This man, Alborno said, transported two trunks that were deposited in a shed at the stable in Nahuelpan at Daniel Gibbon's house. Gibbon opened the trunks the next day in Alborno's presence, and they saw women's clothing and dress material, which Alborno believes belonged to Mrs. Place.

Unfortunately, the photographs shown to Alborno were not in the file. This was the only time a photograph of the elusive Grice was mentioned.

#### Honorato Inzunza

The authorities also interviewed Honorato Inzunza, a 38-year-old Chilean resident of Esquel. He said that he had seen Mr. and Mrs. Place, Santiago Ryan, and Ricardo Perkins at Daniel Gibbon's house.

Asked if he had heard or if he knew how many North American bandits made up the gang, he answered that he had heard Daniel Gibbon say that the bandits were numerous. That some were in the United States and others were here, and that he was also told that the North American government had placed a large reward for the capture of Place and Ryan. So Inzunza said it would be quite easy to capture them—just go to their house in Cholila, grab them, and kill them. Whereupon Daniel Gibbon told him never to say anything like that again or it would cost him his life, because once in the United States a member of the gang was killed by someone seeking the reward, and five days after collecting it, he was murdered by the companions of the bandit he had killed, and if you succeed in killing Ryan and Place, it

won't be long before revenge will be taken, just as happened to that fellow in the United States.

Obviously, Daniel Gibbon's dime-novel imagination found a rapt audience in Señor Inzunza.

#### John Williams Reade

Another witness interviewed in late 1911 was John Williams Reade, a 63-year-old businessman who lived in Esquel.

Asked if he knows Santiago Ryan, Enrique Place, and his wife, he answered: That he only knows the first of those named. Asked if Daniel Gibbon has corresponded with them, he answered that about two years ago Gibbon indicated that he had received a letter from Bolivia, and that it had come from Santiago Ryan. Whether he received more letters afterward is unknown, but whenever he was asked about it he would always answer that there is no news.

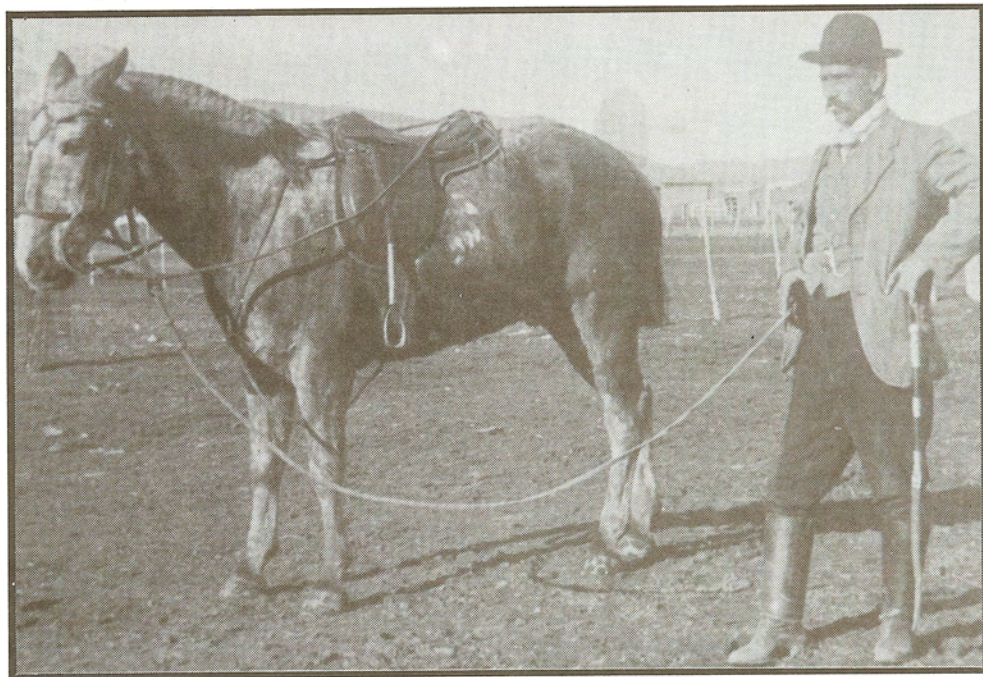
Even though "about two years ago" was probably incorrect, inasmuch as the Bolivian shootout occurred in 1908, the fact that the letters to Gibbon had ceased—as had the letters to Sundance's family and Butch's friends<sup>31</sup>—is another piece of circumstantial evidence that the bandits died in San Vicente.

#### Albert Gibbon

The authorities also questioned Daniel Gibbon's son Albert, who was then 26 years old and living in Cholila. Albert Gibbon was asked whether he knew Enrique Place and Santiago Ryan and whether they were friends of Edward Humphreys, who had been the sheriff in Esquel when the bandits lived in Cholila.

[Gibbon] answered: Yes, he knows them, and Santiago Ryan was a friend of Humphreys, whose house he often visited, but with respect to Place, [Gibbon] doesn't know what friendship they had, because he never saw [Place] at Humphreys's house. Asked if he knows where Santiago Ryan and Enrique Place could be found, [Gibbon] answered that Juan Perry of Cholila has said that they were both killed in Bolivia the previous year. Asked when Place and Ryan were last in Cholila, [Gibbon] answered that four years ago Place was here by himself with Hood, but [Gibbon] didn't see them because at the time he was gravely ill. Asked which other people he had seen at Place and Ryan's house, [Gibbon] answered that there was another North American there for a few days named MacQuirk, who said he was going to Bolivia, and later someone else—Gibbon thinks it was Perry—said that MacQuirk was in Bolivia as a manager of a mine.

The witness's calendar was off: Butch and Sundance had been killed three years before the interview, not the previous year. MacQuirk is a name new to the



Albert Gibbon, who lived north of the Wild Bunch ranch, the Gibbon told authorities that Butch and Sundance had been killed in Bolivia. Courtesy Carlota Gibbon.

Wild Bunch chronicles. There was, however, no shortage of Mc's and Mac's knocking around: Pedro McCraig was said to have known Butch in southern Chile; J. MacVeigh or MacVey was said to have ridden with Butch and Sundance in Bolivia; and Mr. MacVeagh, a reputed alias for a mysterious Mr. Grogan, was said to have been a Hole-in-the-Wall fugitive in Bolivia.<sup>32</sup>

#### Daniel Gibbon

The key witness, whom most of the previous witnesses had linked to the outlaws, was Daniel Gibbon. An upstanding member of the Welsh community, Gibbon had joined one of the posses pursuing Evans and Wilson after the murder of Llwyd ap Iwan. But the authorities took an extremely dim view of the company family kept. A few days after being arrested, Daniel Gibbon was interrogated at length and then thrown back in jail.

Asked if he knows Roberto Evans, William Wilson, Andrés Duffy, Ricardo Perkins, Santiago Ryan, and Enrique Place... he answered that he knows all six people... Asked if he knows where Place and Ryan, Andrew Duffy, Robert Evans, William Wilson, and Blanc MacQuirk and Harvey Logan can be found, he answered that MacQuirk and Harvey Logan were probably the same person, in which case he might be found in La Paz, Bolivia, according to what was said when he left here; Place and Ryan could be found in Bolivia three or four years ago [i.e., in 1907 or 1908], but it is not known where they are now....

Asked what he knows about the robbery of the bank in Río Gallegos, he

answered that he knows nothing about it except that at that time Place and Ryan could be found in Cholila, and that he did not yet know Robert Evans. But it is suspected that Place and Ryan had something to do with the robbery, because soon thereafter they made known their intentions to sell their livestock and buildings to the Cochamó Company, and [Gibbon] acted as their agent and arranged a price of 20,000 pesos with Thomas Austin, the local manager of the company. Later, per the instructions of the company, Austin told Place and Ryan that the company could pay only 18,000 pesos....

They went to Santiago, Chile, and the money was paid directly from the company, and Ryan never again returned to Cholila, but Place did return with Roberto Evans, approximately three or four years ago. Asked why he didn't inform the police when he saw Place in Cholila, he answered that there were no policemen to tell, but that he did advise Edward Humphreys, so that he could take whatever measures he thought prudent. Moreover, Place had said that if anyone ever revealed that he was there, he would kill them in an instant, and Gibbon was afraid [Place] would follow through on his threat.

Asked why Place returned to Cholila and with whom he stayed, [Gibbon] answered that [Place] just came looking for money and that he stayed at the homes of Alejandro Villagrán and Mansel, Daniel Gibbon's son. Asked if Place obtained the money he was seeking, and if so, who gave it to him, he answered that Mansel had sold most or all of his sheep to Juan Perry and had given Place the proceeds (the amount he does not know), plus 100 pesos that had been lent to the late Mr. Stone. Asked if Place returned this



money to Mansel and, if so, from where and through whom it was sent, or was it personally delivered, he answered that he knows for sure that it wasn't repaid, but that he is certain that it will be when Place has the opportunity.

Alejandro Villagrán had been a foreman at Butch and Sundance's ranch.<sup>33</sup> The identity of Mr. Stone is unknown. The file contained no explanation of why Mansel had the money or who had lent it to Mr. Stone.

Asked whether, when Place was in Cholila, his wife was there with him, [Gibbon] answered that it was said that she was in San Francisco, California. Asked whether Place spoke of Ryan and where he could be found, he answered that Place said that Ryan had met some other North Americans who had come to Buenos Aires to play in a rodeo at the Sports Coliseum, and that he could be found in northern Chile, heading toward Bolivia. [Gibbon] does not remember the names of the people Place said were traveling with Ryan, except for one who [Gibbon] said was Glen Gardner.

Asked if he knows what other names Place and Ryan used, aside from the ones they used in Cholila, [Gibbon] answered that from the North American magazines it

was known that they had various names. But in the house they occupied in Cholila, they had left a box full of letters from North America, in the belief that they might later return, and in these letters he believes their real names can be found, along with the names of people they have been involved with.

That Place had told [Gibbon] that most of the cowboys or gauchos who had come from North America were known to [Place] and Ryan, and for that reason [Ryan and Gardiner] had gone to meet up with them.

Gibbon's responses were fairly straightforward. He answered the questions without implicating himself and without giving away too much about his activities with Butch and Sundance. Gibbon also gave his friends an alibi for the Río Gallegos holdup (not that it mattered—by then, they had been dead for three years). If Ethel Place was in San Francisco in early 1906, she left Sundance much earlier than has heretofore been documented. The story of Butch's visit to Buenos Aires comports with an account by Bill Connell, who said that he had met Butch during the "Texas Cowboys" rodeo at the Sociedad Sportiva arena in December 1905 or January 1906.<sup>34</sup> As

for the box of correspondence, the authorities either failed to find it or neglected to mention having done so in the record.

A few months later, Gibbon found himself back on the griddle.

Asked if he is satisfied with his statement...which has been sent to the interim police chief for his perusal, [Gibbon] states that he would like to make it clear that he signed the document under threat of violence and after having been locked up for five days without food or water, and that as a result he was not in a condition to understand what he signed.

He would like to make clear that he had never said that he knew Harvey Logan, whom he has never seen. In respect to MacQuerk, he knows him as Yake and not as Blanc. He didn't say that the North Americans who were suspected of having robbed the banks [in Argentina] were in La Paz [Bolivia]; it's just that he had read in the newspaper that a robbery had occurred in Oruro [Bolivia], although it didn't give a time or a date. He did not indicate that he had suspicions that Ryan and Place had taken part in the holdup in Río Gallegos, nor did he say that Place had returned to Chile after his departure from Cholila accompanied by Evans, and that this was recently, in April 1909, more or less.

Finding Gibbon unrepentant, wanting only to pick up the few beans he had spilled in his previous interrogation, the authorities sent him back to jail. Probably just as well, as his stories were becoming more convoluted. The mysterious MacQuerk, whom Gibbon had previously thought to be Harvey Logan, was now dubbed "Yake." Coincidentally, Mansel Gibbon's alias during the kidnapping of Lucio Ramos Otero was Yake (an Argentine version of Jake).<sup>35</sup>

#### Gumersindo Zenteno

Another witness was Gumersindo Zenteno, a 33-year-old Chilean who lived in Esquel. He was asked what he knew about the 1905 bank robbery in Río Gallegos.

He answered that, having been in Ñorquinco in 1906, he thinks he knew about the robbery, believing the perpetrators to be the Grice brothers, directed by Miss Place. Asked if he knows Enrique Place and Santiago Ryan and if, on the day of the robbery, they could be found in Cholila, he answered that Place and Ryan could be found that day in Cholila, but not Miss Place. Asked if Place and Ryan ever returned after their departure from Cholila, he answered that he never heard anything about that. Asked if he knows either of the Grice brothers, he answered no. Asked who is or was involved with the bandits just named, he answered that Duffy and Wilson were involved with



The Gibbon family in Esquel in 1908. From left: front, Will, Edward and Sidney; middle, Tom, Dennis and Daniel; back, Cyril and Cathrine. Courtesy Rosa E. Medina de Gibbon.

Daniel Gibbon, but as for Place, Ryan, and Robert Evans, he did not know them.

No one could have been convicted on the basis of Zenteno's testimony. First he revealed that he was in Norquinco, not Cholila, during the year after the holdup and merely thought he knew about it. Then he volunteered that Place and Ryan, whom he didn't know, were in Cholila on the day of the robbery, whenever that was. Finally, he blamed the bank heist on Ethel Place and a pair of brothers he'd never met.

#### John Perry

In November 1911, the authorities interviewed another key witness, John Perry, known locally as Juan Comodoro Perry, who had been Butch, Sundance, and Ethel's nearest neighbor to the south. Perry had served as the first sheriff of Crockett County, Texas, but had brought his family to Argentina in 1901 or 1902, because he found west Texas too crowded.<sup>36</sup>

Asked if he knows Santiago Ryan, Enrique Place, Ethel Place, Andrew Duffi or Duffy, alias Dientes de Oro, Mansel Gibbon, Ricardo Perkins, William Wilson, Peter Litjens, and Daniel Diego Gibbon, he said: He knows all of them except William Wilson. Asked under what circumstances he knows them, he said: When he came to the territory some years ago, he met for the first time Enrique Place, Ethel Place, and Santiago Ryan, who had a cattle and sheep ranch.

He first met Andrés Duffy three years ago, when [Duffy] stayed at his house one night, saying he had recently come to Chubut and was looking to buy three or four horses. He met Peter Litjens four years ago when [Litjens] was working on a wagon train belonging to Benjamin Storm. He met Ricardo Perkins at the Southern Land Company in Leleque, where Perkins was working as a bookkeeper, and he knew Mansel and Daniel Gibbon from Ryan and Place's house, where Mansel worked.

Asked if he had purchased livestock from Santiago Ryan and Enrique Place, he said yes. Asked when and how much livestock he bought, he said he gave Ryan and Place a herd of cattle in exchange for 5,200 sheep, but the value of the cattle did not cover the difference, the exact amount he does not recall. This happened six or seven years ago.

Asked if he had purchased livestock from Mansel Gibbon, he said yes, and asked what livestock and in what quantity and on what date, he said that it was three or four years ago, he couldn't recall the date exactly, that he bought from Daniel and Mansel Gibbon 300 of their sheep, but he doesn't remember the brand....

Perry was talking about two different transactions: a trade of cattle for sheep while Butch and Sundance were still

ranching in Cholila and the purchase of sheep from Mansel and Daniel Gibbon after the bandits' departure. The first transaction, which left Perry owing some money to Butch and Sundance, might have been the subject of a May 1, 1905, note from Butch asking Perry to pay \$285.44 to Daniel Gibbon, who had already given that amount to Butch.<sup>37</sup> The second transaction Perry described was the one to which the other witnesses were probably referring, although Perry didn't mention Place's role in the deal.

#### Thomas Austin

On February 24, 1912, the police brought in Thomas Tegai Austin, a 49-year-old rancher and naturalized Argentine of Welsh origin, who lived in Esquel. He had come to Chubut with the first group of Welsh immigrants aboard the *Mimosa* in 1865, and had moved to the 16 de Octubre colony in 1894.<sup>38</sup> Ten years later, he was a central figure in the plans of the Cochamó Company, which had built a road from Cochamó, Chile, to the Argentine border in the Andes north of Cholila, with the intention of running cattle and sheep from Chubut over the border and down to Cochamó. The livestock would then be slaughtered, and the meat, hides, wool, and tallow would be shipped up the coast of Chile and to Europe.<sup>39</sup> As the company's representative in western Chubut, Austin had negotiated the sale of Butch and Sundance's buildings and other property.<sup>40</sup>

Asked if he knew what sort of friendship existed between Daniel Gibbon and the suspects Santiago Ryan, Enrique Place, and his wife Ethel Place, [Austin] said that they did have some relationship, because he saw Gibbon in their house in Cholila, where they had a store, and Ryan, Place, and his wife knew Gibbon's house, but [Austin] didn't know what relationship they all had.

Austin undoubtedly knew a great deal more about the bandits, but he didn't volunteer anything that wasn't asked of him.

#### Edward Humphreys

On March 2, 1912, the police questioned Edward Humphreys, who was now 42 years old and ranching in Esquel.

Asked if he knew Santiago Ryan, Enrique Place, Ethel Place, Ricardo Perkins, Andrés Duffy or Doffi, alias Dientes de Oro, Daniel and Mansel Gibbon, Peter Litjens, Allen Gardner, perhaps known as Grice, Roberto Evans or Hood, and William Wilson, he said that he knew them all, except Gardner. Asked how long he has known them and under what circumstances, he said that he has known Ryan for ten years, having been introduced to him by Francisco Preston, the

Southern Land Company manager...; that he knew Williams [William Wilson?] and Litjens from Ricardo Clarke's store in Súnica, where they worked on Clarke's wagon trains; that he knows Perkins from his work as a bookkeeper at the Leleque company in 1899; that he met Place and his wife Ethel for the first time at their home; that he met Ryan at Corinto...and Duffy some years ago in Esquel....

Francis Preston, a manager with the Southern Argentine Land Company, had given Butch and Sundance a letter of introduction when they first came to Cholila.<sup>41</sup> How he knew them and why he wrote the letter are unknown. Most likely they were introduced to him as North American ranchers looking to homestead in the region (which was true).

Richard Clarke's store in Súnica, near Esquel, was frequented by the bandits. The police file contained an order Butch had placed with Clarke in December 30, 1904, for a dozen *bombillas* (metal straws used for drinking *mate*), half a dozen socks, two pairs of slippers, one sweater, and two handkerchiefs. In April 1905, shortly before leaving Cholila, Butch wrote Clarke and asked him to give the clothing to Gibbon.

Humphreys was the first of the bandits' Argentine friends to pay a price for his association with them: Directed by the police authorities in Buenos Aires in 1905 to investigate Butch and Sundance's criminal activities, Humphreys tipped them off instead and was subsequently forced to resign his police commission. Milton Roberts gave a different version of events some thirty-five years later, when the Chubut police were responding to a letter from Frank O'Grady. Roberts related that Edward Humphreys was "a good citizen well loved by his neighbors—although perhaps weak in character—and a very good friend of Daniel Gibbon...who was also close to the North Americans. It was said that Gibbon tried to frighten Humphreys with facts he knew about the band, which caused Humphreys to renounce his position."<sup>42</sup> Another retired policeman, Julio O. de Antueno, came closer to the truth: "Humphreys was dismissed by territorial governor Lezana for failing to carry out his orders and conducting himself in a manner unbecoming a police officer."<sup>43</sup>

Some three weeks after this interrogation, police chief Navarro ordered the arrest of Humphreys for, among other sins, having assisted Mansel Gibbon in his flight from the camp near Río Pico. The erstwhile lawman was later released.

HOTSEAT ~ Continued from page 15  
The Inquiry's Results

On March 25, 1912, the day he ordered Humphreys's arrest, Navarro sent territorial judge Luis Navarro Careaga a report on what the investigation had uncovered. In reference to Butch and Sundance, Navarro wrote:

The suspects Enrique Place or Ed Jones or Harry Longbaugh or Sun Dance Kid, leader of a gang of bandits in the United States of America, his wife Ethel or Mari Place, Santiago Ryan or James P. Ryan or Jorge Parker or Patricio Cassidy alias Buch Cassidy, who were living in Cholila as ranchers..., dedicated themselves to work at their [home]. In 1905 the bank in Río Gallegos was robbed, and in 1906 [sic] another identical crime took place against the bank in Villa Mercedes, San Luis, which resulted in an order being sent to Milton Roberts to effect the arrest of the suspected culprits, but even though that couldn't be accomplished..., it was determined that the culprits were Enrique Place and Hood or Evans, whose escape was assisted by Mansel and Daniel Gibbon.

The fugitives went to Chile where they boarded a steamship and sailed to Valparaíso. Ryan traveled as William Thompson; Place and his wife as Matthews; with Evans or Hood. In Valparaíso, they boarded the trans-Andean train, with Place and his wife getting off at Cuevas and Ryan continuing on to Buenos Aires.... In the liquidations that Place and Ryan made of their ranch holdings before their flight, Daniel acted as an agent, selling the properties to the Cochamó Company, whose manager was Tomás Austin.

Navarro's letter was a hodgepodge of everything he had learned during the previous year. In reality, he had not learned very much. The most tantalizing morsels of intelligence Navarro gleaned were that Butch had used the alias William Thompson and that Sundance and Ethel apparently had traveled as Mr. and Mrs. Matthews.

\* \* \*

Although no charges were ever filed against him, Daniel Gibbon spent two years in jail, and some of his land was confiscated. His legal ordeal, the deaths of his wife and sons Cyril and Dennis, and the disgrace Mansel had brought on the family, launched Gibbon on a downward spiral. He began drinking heavily and eventually took to wandering the streets of Esquel, muttering incoherently. He died in the early 1940s. Mansel Gibbon was never captured. Relatives heard that he had gone straight, married a wealthy widow, and spent the rest of his life ranching near Balmaceda in southern Chile. The three youngest

Gibbons—Will, Edward, and Sidney—became policemen.<sup>44</sup>

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ENDNOTES

1 The police file, *Juzgado Letrado del Territorio Nacional del Chubut: Expediente Número 4929*, contains 984 unnumbered pages of documents, interview summaries, and correspondence, which appear to be arranged chronologically, commencing June 16, 1911, and ending March 18, 1914. Recovered in mid-1995 by Gavirati and Beloso, of the Centro Nacional Patagónico in Puerto Madryn, the file is now at the Biblioteca Agustín Alvarez in Trelew. For an excellent analysis of the file, see Marcelo Gavirati, "Butch Cassidy y Sundance Kid de la Leyenda a la Realidad Histórica," paper presented at the Congreso de Historia, Trevelin, Argentine, November 1995.

2 See, for example, Bruce Chatwin, *In Patagonia* (NY: Summit Books, 1977), pp. 41-66.

3 "Los Bandoleros Norteamericanos, Fehorías Cometidas," *La Prensa*, Buenos Aires, January 27, 1906.

4 *Ibid.*; "The Police Comisario...", *Buenos Aires Standard*, March 20, 1904; and "Los Bandidos Norteamericanos, Su Vida en la Argentina," *La Prensa*, Buenos Aires, January 18, 1906.

5 Francisco N. Juárez, "Cowboys en la Patagonia," *Co & Co*, c. 1993; "Los Bandoleros Norteamericanos, Muerte de Evans y Wilson," *La Prensa*, Buenos Aires, December 12, 1911; and "Los Bandoleros Norte-americanos, Con el Detenido Perkins," *La Prensa*, Buenos Aires, September 15, 1911.

6 See, for example, the April 27, 1909, agreement with Daniel J. Gibbon signed by Roberto Ebans, *Juzgado Letrado*, *op. cit.*

7 Wilson probably came directly to Argentina in 1904, but the first documentary evidence of his presence there is his passport application, which he made in Buenos Aires in June 1907. "No. 115,

June 26, 1907, William Wilson," *Emergency Passport Applications, 1904-1907*, vol. 31, Record Group 59, Entry 515, National Archives, Washington, DC.

8 Wilson's name first appears in three Buenos Aires newspaper articles reporting the death of Llwyd ap Iwan: "Lloyd ap Iwan Murdered," *Buenos Aires Standard*, January 5, 1910; "Los Bandoleros de Chubut," *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, January 5, 1910; and "El Bandolerismo en el Sur," *La Prensa*, Buenos Aires, January 6, 1910.

9 "Notes on the News," *Buenos Aires Herald*, December 11, 1906. According to the article, "Captain Gebhard of the Province of Buenos Aires police force has ridden 300 leagues in search of the 'American bandits' who held up the National Bank at Villa Mercedes a long time ago and, with the booty, beat a masterly retreat, as well as the entire police of the Province of San Luis. The gallant Captain rode hard and well, but not hard and well enough. In other words, he did not overtake the fugitives, who have been driven into Chili. For the information of the Chilian police, the Captain states that, should they go out to see the redoubtable quartet (three men and a woman), they must take long range rifles and crack shots, otherwise they will, in turn, suffer defeat, for the bandits shoot straight, ride like centaurs, and rob like greased lightning. Was it worth riding 300 leagues merely to tell the world these facts, deduced from a tin can [that was] picked up on the trail and [that], being riddled with bullets, was presumed to have served as a target for the Mauser pistols and Japanese cartridges of the small but invincible band of freebooters?"

10 Daniel Buck and Anne Meadows, "Leaving Cholila: Butch and Sundance Documents Surface in Argentina," *True West*, January 1996.

11 For a discussion of the use of criminal records in historical analysis, see Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, eds., *History from Crime* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994). Muir and Ruggiero caution, on pp. viii-ix, that the text of criminal records, first, are "biased and approximate," second, are "scripts in a theater of authority"—indeed, are "polluted by authority," and third, are "always multivocal," but that "does not mean that all interpretations are equally valid."

Muir and Ruggiero point out, on p. 230, that historians have long been concerned by "the evident bias of the documents generated by crime. It could well be argued that every judicial document in a case is a tissue of lies; defendants reconstructing their past to make it sound as innocent as possible; accusers recasting events to make the accused seem as guilty as possible; investigators working to fit individuals and events into preconceived notions of crime; witnesses shaping their testimony because of animosities, friendships, the desire to please the powerful, or the need to thwart them."

12 "Noticias de Policía, Los Bandoleros Norteamericanos, Captura de Ricardo Perkins," *La Prensa*, Buenos Aires, September 14, 1911; "Policía, Los Bandoleros Norteamericanos, Una Captura Importante," *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, September 14, 1911; "Policía, Los Bandoleros Norteamericanos, Con el Detenido Perkins," *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, September 15, 1911; "The North American Bandits, Capture of Richard Perkins," *Buenos Aires Herald*, September 15, 1911; and "Hold Americans as Argentine Outlaws, Richard Perkins Said to be One of 'Sun-Dance Kids,'" *The Baltimore News*, September 16, 1911.

13 For a discussion of the British land companies in Patagonia, see Eduardo José Míguez, *Las Tierras de los Ingleses en la Argentina (1870-1914)*, (Buenos

Aires: Ed. Belgrano, 1985), pp. 203-330.

14 *La Prensa*, September 15, 1911, *op. cit.*

15 *La Prensa*, January 27, 1906, *op. cit.*

16 Barbara Hegne, letter to the authors, December 5, 1995. For details of Duffy's Montana roots, see Barbara Hegne, "Dutch" Henry, *Border Outlaw of the Big Muddy* (Eagle Point, OR, 1993), and *Border Outlaws of Montana, North Dakota & Canada* (Eagle Point, OR, 1993); Gary A. Wilson, *Outlaw Tales of Montana* (Havre, MT, 1995); Roy O'Dell and Barbara Hegne, "Dutch Henry, Border Outlaw of the Big Muddy," *True West*, December 1994; and Ralph Bradley, "'Long Henry,' Terror of Eastern Montana," *NOLA Quarterly*, October-December 1995.

17 H.A. Place, letter to Daniel J. Gibbon, June 28, 1905. The relevant sentence read, in part, as follows: "As I have no more news, I will end by begging that you remember us to all our friends, without forgetting Juan and Vencylow[sic], giving them our regards and good wishes...." See Buck and Meadows, "Leaving Cholila," *op. cit.*

18 For the best English-language history of the Welsh immigration to Chubut, see Glyn Williams, *The Desert and the Dream* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1975).

19 See Raúl Víctor Cea, "Memorias de un Cordillerano," *Raíces*, vol. 1, no. 9, through vol. 2, no. 25; and Andrés Bufali, "Los Martínez de Hoz y la Banda de Butch Cassidy," in *Secretos, Muy Secretos de Gente Muy Famosa* (Buenos Aires: Ed. Eagle, 1991), pp. 69-88.

20 Osvaldo Topicc, "Río Gallegos, 1905 ¿Butch Cassidy Cabecilla del Robo? Asalto al Banco de Tarapacá," *Todo es Historia*, no. 276, Junio 1990, and "Butch and Sundance and the Río Gallegos Bank Robbery," *Old West*, Fall 1993; Daniel Buck and Anne Meadows, "Wild Bunch Holdup in Argentina," *NOLA Quarterly*, vol. XII, no. 3, Winter 1988, and "Muchas Cuentas y Pocos Datos," *Feed Back*, May 1988; and Anne Meadows, *Digging Up Butch and Sundance* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), pp. 43-45 and 62-70.

21 Ricardo A. Gutiérrez and Hugo A. Moreno, *Butch Cassidy & the Wild Bunch: Asalto al Banco Nación en Villa Mercedes* (San Luis, Argentina: Ed. Nahuel, 1992); and Daniel Buck and Anne Meadows, "The Wild Bunch in South America," *WOLA Journal*, vol. 1, nos. 1-3, and vol. 2, no. 1.

22 Cea, *op. cit.*; Juan Isidro Tamburini, *Héroes Ignorados: Siembra y Dolor en la Escuela Campesina* (Resistencia: Ed. Cultural Nordeste-Cooperativa, 1971), pp. 19-41; and "Colonia Cholila," *Numero Especial del Diario Esquel en sus Bodas de Plata*, Esquel, February 25, 1950, pp. 137-142.

23 James W. Burns [James Dullenty], "A Secret Hoard in Argentina," *True West*, May 1983; Hugo Pratt, "Patagonia, La Ultima Pista," *Cuadernos de Fierro*, n.d.; Frank O'Grady, letters to the Pinkerton Detective Agency, the Argentine Ministry of the Interior, and Lula Parker Betenson, 1948-1970; and James Dullenty, interview with Frank O'Grady, April 26, 1976.

24 For example, two articles that appeared in *Wide World Magazine*, "The Evolution of a Bandit," September 1910, and "The Bandits of Argentina," April 1911, were found by the Chubut authorities in Daniel Gibbon's home. Both were translated into Spanish and made part of the police file. "Evolution," by John McIntosh, purported to be the story of Harvey Logan's life in the United

States and Argentina. It recounted the dramatic tale of Logan's escape from the Knoxville jail with which Gibbon entertained Robert O. Jones. "Bandits," by H.S. Orde, summarized the Río Gallegos, Comodoro Rivadavia, and ap Iwan crimes, concluding that they had all been committed by two unnamed North American bandits who had attempted to go straight, ranching "at the foot of the Andes." *Caras y Caretas* ran a two-page photo spread on January 13, 1906, about the Villa Mercedes holdup, complete with headshots of Butch, Sundance, Ethel, and Logan. When Perkins was arrested, *Caras y Caretas* ran another story, "Noticias de Policía, Los Bandoleros Yankis," September 23, 1911, which contained not only the four mug shots, but also a photo of Perkins.

25 Litjens Correspondence, 335.112 L71, Argentine Post Files, Despatches, vol. 84, January-April 1911, Record Group 84, National Archives, Washington, DC. Litjens went to the Philippines from Argentina and then returned to the United States. He died in his native Nebraska in the 1940s. Don Gieger, Robert Litjens, and Lillian Holesovsky, conversations with Daniel Buck, May 1989.

26 Alberto González Toro, "Las Andanzas del Simpático Butch y el Tímido Kid en la Patagonia," *Clarín*, Buenos Aires, March 22, 1992.

27 Meadows, *Digging Up Butch and Sundance*, *op. cit.*, pp. xi-xii, 38-42; and Donna Ernst, *Sundance My Uncle* (College Station: Creative Publishing, 1992), pp. 167-171.

28 "Los Humphreys en la Vida del Chubut," *Argentina Austral*, no. 405, 1965.

29 Frank O'Grady, letter to Lula Parker Betenson, July 25, 1970.

30 González Toro, *op. cit.*

31 Ernst, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

32 Andy Doonan, conversation with the authors, July 1994; Frank O'Grady, letter to Lula Parker Betenson, July 25, 1970; Arthur Chapman, "Butch Cassidy," *The Elks Magazine*, April 1930; James D. Horan, *Desperate Men* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1962), pp. 341-45; and A.V.L. Guise, *Six Years in Bolivia* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1922), pp. 86-88 and 155-58.

33 Cea, *op. cit.*; and Arturo Villagrán, conversation with the authors, January 1996.

34 Eugene Cunningham, *Triggernometry* (London: Four Square, 1967); and Daniel Buck, "Cowboys Meet Gauchos," *South American Explorer*, no. 37, June 1994.

35 See Lucio Ramos Otero, *Son Cosas de la Vida, Dijo Yake* (Buenos Aires, 1911), 1: 50.

36 Evert White, "Political Development of Crockett County," in Crockett County Historical Society, *A History of Crockett County, Texas* (San Angelo, TX: Anchor Pub., 1976).

37 See Buck and Meadows, "Leaving Cholila," *op. cit.*

38 Albina Jones de Zampini, *Reunión de Familias en el Sur* (Trelew, Argentina 1995), p. 23.

39 "Nothing seems to have appeared in the Buenos papers regarding the Cochamó Company....," *Buenos Aires Standard*, March 20, 1904.

40 Cea, *op. cit.*

41 Pratt, *op. cit.*

42 "Prontuario de Harvey Logan, no. 7371," *Policía del Territorio Nacional del Chubut*, p. 17.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

44 Blanca Gibbon, Carlota Gibbon, Chiche Gibbon de Mielgo, Gladys Gibbon Medina, Raquel Gibbon, Violeta Gibbon de Aranea, Violeta Gibbon de Muñoz, and Rosa E. Medina de Gibbon, conversations with the authors, January 1996; and Héctor Garzonio, "El Cañadón de los Bandidos," in *Memorias de Ciudad* (Esquel: Municipalidad de Esquel, 1993).

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soon thereafter and Sirilda Davis married a man named Lukins. Three children were born of that union; Leonard, Herbert and Pearl.

It is uncertain if Ora Sirena Severns ever knew about her half brother, outlaw Harry Tracy. Attempts to establish contact with descendants of the Lukins siblings, thus far, have been unsuccessful. A death certificate shows Ora Sirena Severns' married name was Brown and that she died November 6, 1971, in Dallas, Texas. She apparently left no descendants. Still, stranger things have happened and it would be an exciting discovery to turn up a missing link to our outlaw relative.

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