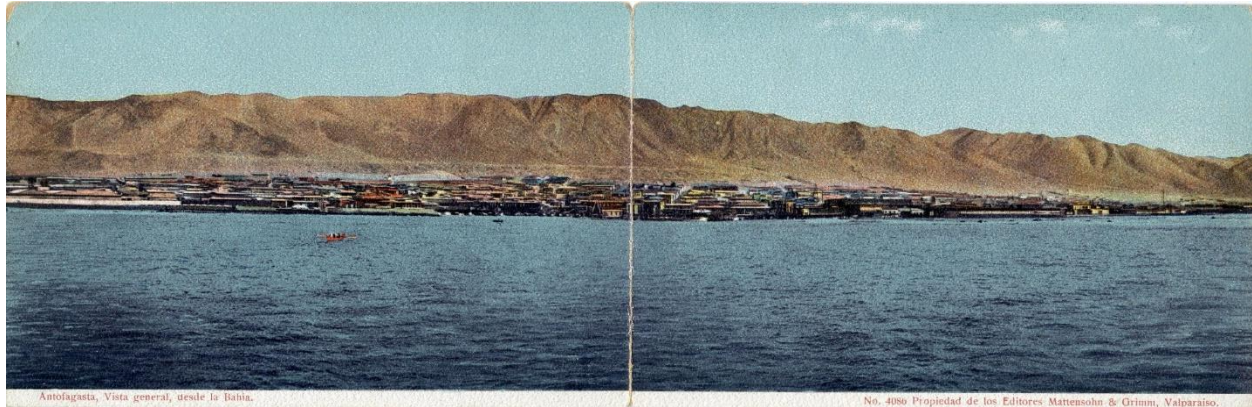


The Sundance Kid in Chile: Boyd's Will Be Boyds

Daniel Buck & Anne Meadows



Early 1900s sea view of Antofagasta, which grew along the coast and in 1905 had a population of about 30,000, several thousand of whom were foreigners.
(Buck and Meadows collection)



FORM 55-3-101-10M-AE. LB 44590

P. N. D. A. No. 1961

NAME.....Harry Longbaugh. No. 470 R
 ALIAS....."Kid" Longbaugh; Harry Alonzo;
 Frank Jones; Frank Boyd; the "Sundance
 Kid"

NATIVITY.....Swedish-American. COLOR.....White
 OCCUPATION.....Cowboy; rustler
 CRIMINAL OCCUPATION.....Highwayman,
 bank burglar, cattle and horse thief

AGE.....35 years. HEIGHT.....5 ft. 10 in
 WEIGHT.....165 to 175 lbs. BUILD.....Good
 EYES.....Blue or gray. NOSE.....Rather long
 COMPLEXION.....Medium
 STYLE OF BEARD.....Mustache, (if any),
 natural color brown, reddish tinge

FEATURES.....Grecian type
 COLOR OF HAIR.....Natural color brown, may
 be dyed; combs it pompadour

IS BOW-LEGGED; FEET FAR APART.

REMARKS:- Harry Longbaugh served 18
 months in jail at Sundance, Cook Co.,
 Wyoming, when a boy, for horse stealing.
 In December, 1892, Harry Longbaugh,
 Bill Madden and Henry Bass "held up" a
 Great Northern train at Malta, Montana.
 Bass and Madden were tried for this
 crime, convicted and sentenced to 10 and
 14 years respectively; Longbaugh es-
 caped and since has been a fugitive. June
 28, 1897, under the name of Frank Jones,
 Longbaugh participated with Harvey
 Logan, alias Curry, Tom Day and Walter
 Putney, in the Belle Fourche, South
 Dakota, bank robbery. All were arrested,
 but Longbaugh and Harvey Logan escaped
 from jail at Deadwood, October 31, the
 same year. Wanted for robbery First
 National Bank, Winnemucca, Nevada, Sep-
 tember 19th, 1900. See Information No.
 421.

Pinkerton mugshot card of the Sundance Kid, early 1902, listing Frank Boyd as an alias,
 based on information from the agency's 24 January 1902 Circular No. 2.
 (Pinkerton Records, Library of Congress, Washington, DC)

Enter Frank Boyd

In early 1902, the Pinkerton's National Detective Agency published a circular naming three suspects in the holdup of a Nevada bank. Among them was the Sundance Kid, whose aliases included Frank Boyd.¹ How the Pinkertons determined that Sundance, whose real name was Harry Alonzo Longabaugh, was using Frank Boyd as an alias is uncertain. The agency had been hunting Sundance for several bank and train holdups, and was receiving reports from a network of lawmen and informers.²

Four years later, in January 1906, the Pinkerton Philadelphia office issued a brief internal memo stating that a local "post office informant" had indicated that the Sundance Kid "is now in the Argentine Republic, under the assumed name of Frank Boyd; that a short time ago he got into some difficulty with the officials of the Chilean government, which cost him \$1500. to settle." Sundance was a Pennsylvania native, so presumably the postal clerk was opening mail addressed to his family there.³ The settlement was arranged by the US vice consul in Antofagasta, Frank D. Aller, which was misspelled "Frank Allen (or Alla)" in the memo. The assertion that Sundance was "now" in Argentina suggests that the letter had been sent by Sundance from that country.⁴

In July 1909, Aller wrote to the US Legation in La Paz, Bolivia, saying that "an American citizen named Frank Boyd is wanted in Antofagasta and letters addressed to him in Bolivia failed to receive a reply." Implying not that he was wanted by the police, but by friends in Chile who had not heard from him in some time. Two British vice consuls in Bolivia "and many others" had told Aller that Boyd, and his companion Maxwell, a known Bolivian alias of Butch Cassidy, had been "killed at San Vicente . . . and buried as *desconocidos*," that is, "unknowns." Aller was attempting to "locate Boyd alive, or failing this, to produce legal proof of his death." The legation later said that a judge in Chile required such proof in order to settle Boyd's estate. In January 1911, the legation sent Aller a Bolivian report on "the two American citizens killed" in San Vicente "and whose names are unknown." There is no evidence that Aller took any further action.⁵

The Outlaw Trio Sails to South America

A decade earlier, in February 1901, the Sundance Kid, Ethel Place, and Butch Cassidy had fled the United States for Argentina, where for several years they ranched in the Chubut Territory in Patagonia. In mid-1905, the three were on the run again, one step ahead of the Argentine police, who had been alerted by the Pinkertons to their presence, and who suspected them of involvement in a recent bank robbery. Sundance is thought to have taken Ethel to the United States, and then returned to Chile, while Cassidy probably remained in Chile.⁶ In reality, their itineraries are not known with any precision. On 28 June 1905, Sundance wrote from Valparaíso, Chile, to a friend in Chubut that "the day after tomorrow my wife and I leave for San Francisco." Whether they actually went, or for that matter were married, is uncertain, but given the steamship speeds of that era, even if they had gone to San Francisco in late June, he (or both, if Ethel came back with him) could have been in northern Chile by early August.⁷ What has never been established is exactly what kind of trouble Frank Boyd got himself into in Antofagasta.

When we were in Chile in the late 1980s and early 1990s, we attempted to find out more about the Pinkerton memo's cryptic reference to Frank Boyd's misadventure there and to the possible settlement of his estate. Our research attempts in Antofagasta failed, and we were told that any judicial records would be in Santiago. In Santiago, we were told that they would be in Antofagasta. No one seemed to know. Over the years, we made periodic stabs at the Boyd mystery, but nothing turned up. A few months ago, while digging into the life of turn-of-the-last-century Antofagasta photographer Rodolfo Boock, Dan found that the *Biblioteca Nacional de Chile* had digitized the city's afternoon daily, *El Industrial*.⁸ He interrupted his fixation on Boock and dropped "Frank Boyd" into the search box.

Up came several August 1905 articles about Frank Boyd, articles that had gone unnoticed for more than a century. That good fortune soon led to finding the judicial file on the Boyd affair.⁹



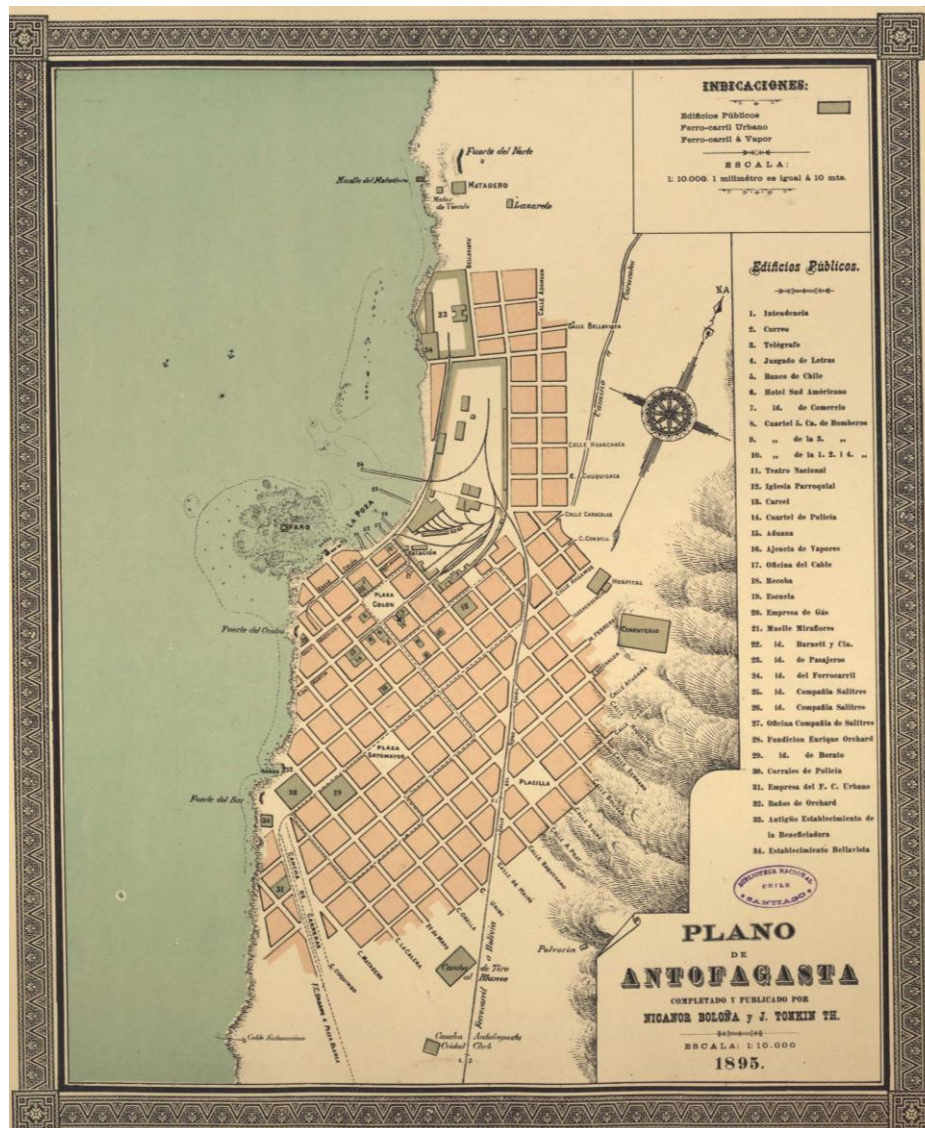
Photographer Rodolfo Boock and team, ca. 1895, near the Ollagüe volcano along the route of the Antofagasta (Chile) and Bolivia Railway line, which ran from Antofagasta to Oruro, Bolivia. (Buck and Meadows collection)

The Antofagasta Incident

First settled in the 1860s on the then-Bolivian coast and occupied by Chile in 1879 at the start of the War of the Pacific, Antofagasta was by 1905 one of Chile's busier ports, exporting large quantities of nitrate, copper, and other minerals, and importing fuel and industrial and consumer goods, such as coal, Kodak cameras, Winchester rifles, and Singer sewing machines. The nitrate industry, largely controlled by the British, contributed fully one-half of all tax revenues to the national government and, in the words of one historian, "would provide the means to lubricate the Chilean economy and political apparatus for some years to come." A lubrication, wrote Pablo Neruda (a Nobel Prize winning poet who also briefly represented Antofagasta in the Senate), distilled on the backs of the workers: "And they showed me their rations of miserable food / the dirt floors in their homes / the sun, the dust, the bedbugs / and the immense solitude."¹⁰ The misery came at a price: militant workers, ardent

class conflict, and violent government repression. The nitrate boom lasted, with some abrupt ups and downs, from the 1890s to the 1930s.¹¹

Among Antofagasta's 30,000 inhabitants were about four thousand foreigners, chiefly British, Germans, and Croatsians, but including a few North Americans. The mining and maritime basis of the economy resulted in a prosperous and rowdy port boasting a number of first-class hotels and innumerable lesser hotels and *pensiones*, more than 50 restaurants, several major import/export houses, half a dozen photography studios, eight doctors, 12 lawyers, 16 barbers, eight consulates, 36 billiard halls, two distilleries and five breweries, two piano teachers, eight midwives, a cricket field, a shooting range, and enough gambling dens, bars, and brothels to keep the locals happy and the police occupied.¹²



Antofagasta in 1895. The central commercial and government district surrounded the Plaza Colón. The Boyd shooting occurred a few blocks south, at the corner of Calle Maipú and Calle 14 de Febrero, a neighborhood of brothels and after-hour bars near the Plaza Sotomayor. (Biblioteca Nacional de Chile)

A Michigan businessman visiting in 1913 claimed that the city had 3,000 prostitutes. Given the inclination of travelers to exaggerate, the number might be inflated, but still. “Many public buildings were plastered with huge signs, warning fathers of families to safeguard their daughters against being enticed into houses of prostitution,” wrote an Australian sailor in the city that same year.¹³ Municipalities had the authority to regulate prostitution, viewed as a “necessary evil” in order to keep the workers contented, if not docile. Regulation included the registration and regular health checks of sex workers.¹⁴ In Antofagasta, brothels were allowed in a special zone on the edge of town but operated illegally in neighborhoods near the *Plaza Sotomayor*. Antofagasta’s very own Hell’s Half Acre. *El Industrial* featured crime news prominently, chiefly muggings and robberies, complained about bordellos and gambling dens, and railed at the ineptitude and corruption of the police force. In early 1905, it ran a series of articles naming the streets in better neighborhoods where vice operated openly with the knowledge of the police chief, and stating that it was widely known that “every Monday, an individual in a carriage visited each gambling den, brothel, and bar to collect payments.”¹⁵

By the middle of 1905, a smallpox epidemic had battered Antofagasta, and many *guardianes de policía*, as policemen were called, were sick or tied up with public-health duties. “The security of the population is in the care of seven or eight officers,” lamented *El Industrial*. “Thus, the city is at the mercy of the rogues; the assaults and robberies are repeated night after night, in the very center of the city, and sometimes in broad daylight there are assaults in the most brazen way.”¹⁶



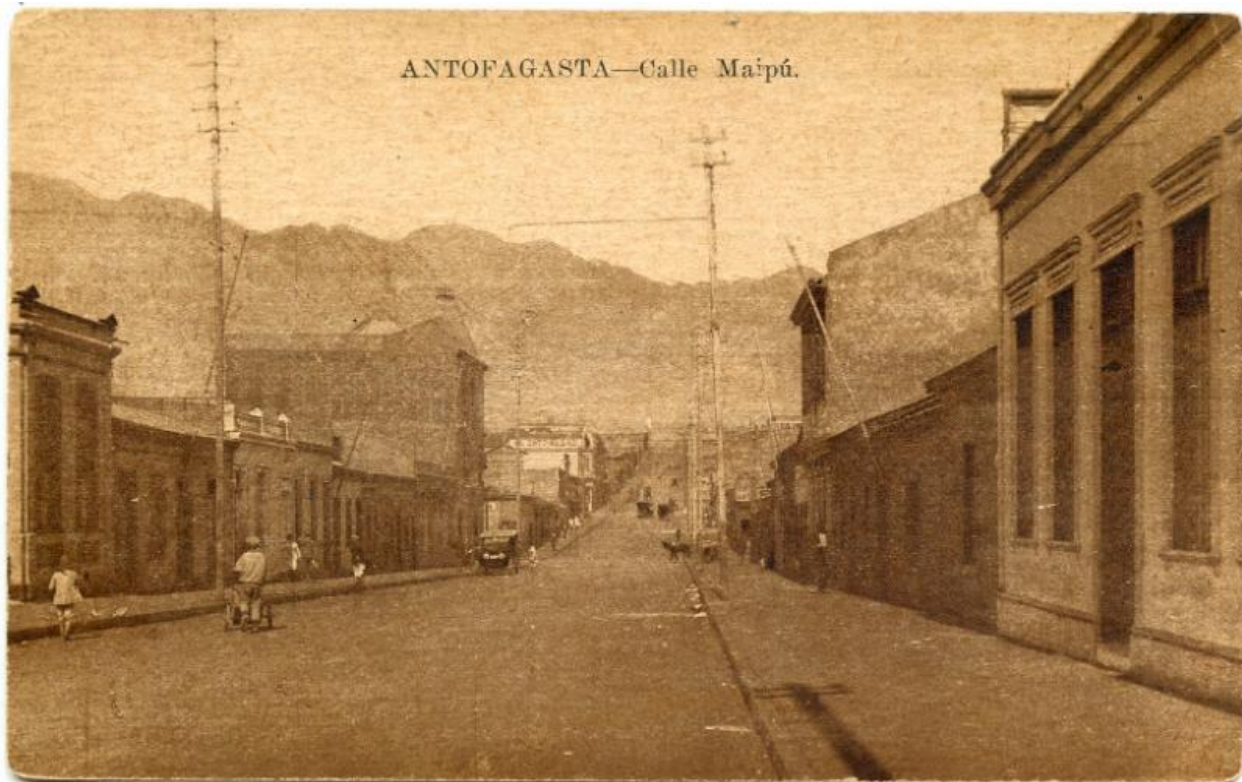
Angamos Street in central Antofagasta, early 1900s.

Note the Singer sewing machine sign on the left. (Buck and Meadows collection)

El Industrial reported a number of shocking crimes that year, including one in which the police themselves were involved. An ex-policeman was seriously injured in an assault, losing his hat and revolver; an army sergeant was attacked and injured by six men; three policemen assaulted two

“suspicious” men and stole their money and a revolver. Drunkenness was a plague, the newspaper opined, and most crimes were committed by repeat offenders under the influence. And where was the law? “If you need a policeman, go to any bar and there you can be guaranteed of finding an officer.”¹⁷

A seismic example of the crime wave was a fatal shooting of a policeman early the morning of Monday, 21 August, at the *Universo* restaurant on *Calle Maipú*, corner of *Calle 14 de Febrero*, near the Plaza Sotomayor, several blocks south of the town center. In the restaurant was “a decently dressed man, of Yankee nationality, who in his manners and in everything pretended to be a gentleman of good standing,” wrote *El Industrial* later that same day. “He did not speak Spanish and entertained himself conversing in English with” Carlos Lagreze. Around 4:30 a.m., a policeman entered and told owner Daniel Carmona he was in violation of closing hours and had to cease serving liquor and food. Carmona asked his customers to leave, which upset the Yankee and his companion. The Yankee drew a revolver, threatening the officer. Another policeman, Arturo Gonzalez, came on the scene and tried to arrest the Yankee, who “fired a bullet at him at close range, killing him instantly.” The Yankee fled.¹⁸



Frank Boyd shot Arturo Gonzalez on Calle Maipú, near the Plaza Sotomayor. “El crimen de la Calle Maipú,” the press called the killing, “the Maipú Street crime.”
(Buck and Meadows collection)

Detectives interviewed witnesses at the scene and determined that the Yankee was staying at the *Gran Hotel Colón*, a first-class establishment in the center of town. After racing to the hotel, they caught the assailant just as he was about to hire a carriage for Caleta Coloso, a small nitrate port seven miles south of Antofagasta. At police headquarters, he was questioned via an interpreter: “He said his name was Frank Boyd Boyd; that he was a native of Pssylvania [sic], United States, and was working as a commercial broker. He adamantly denied being the perpetrator of the crime, despite the overwhelming evidence against him. Finally, appearing to be annoyed by the questions being asked, he stated that he

would not answer any further questions until he had a lawyer to defend him.” The police searched Boyd’s hotel room, no. 18 on the second floor, where they found “a suitcase with a carbine and three bags full of rifle and revolver bullets.” They determined that he had “recently arrived from North America.”¹⁹



Frank Boyd was arrested at the Gran Hotel Colón, facing the Plaza Colón, a few hours after he shot Arturo Gonzalez. A Batallón Esmeralda detachment marched in Gonzalez’s funeral.

Several months later, the battalion commander supplied arms to a private militia that massacred upwards of 300 striking railroad workers in the plaza.

(Buck and Meadows collection)

Arturo Gonzalez, 24, was buried the next morning. "A large procession formed by the police force, public officials, a band of musicians, and a detachment from the *Batallón Esmeralda* followed the flower-draped hearse, a posthumous offering of friendship and camaraderie." Gonzalez left a widow and a son.²⁰



The Antofagasta cemetery tombstone of Arturo Gonzalez Q., age 24, killed by Frank Boyd on the morning of 21 August 1905. Gonzalez was survived by his wife, Cristina Parraguez de Gonzalez, and son, Luis Octavio Gonzalez. (Findagrave.com)

Heading up the investigation was *Juez de Letras* -- literally, a lettered judge, a judge with a law degree -- Luis A. Molina, assisted by chief of detectives Ismael Vergara. (In South America, judges can be directly involved in criminal cases, with the same or separate judges handling the investigative, trial, and sentencing stages.)²¹ Several witnesses were interviewed, including Lagreze, who it turned out was a waiter at the Hotel Colón. The witnesses were all “consistent in affirming that Boyd was the murderer of officer Arturo Gonzalez,” Vergara said, adding that “Boyd let it be known that he was sorry for his crime and considers it a great disgrace.” A North American named Thomas Fisher, “who was arrested along with Boyd,” presumably at the hotel, was “released on the grounds that he had no involvement in the crime.”²²

Tuesday evening, 22 August, an armed man was found lurking inside the judge’s apartment above the courthouse but was scared off by a servant’s screams. Molina himself was working late at police headquarters, maybe on the Boyd case.²³ “We are going through a period of insecurity and abandonment,” *El Industrial* complained, “which is a shame for a city as cultured and important as Antofagasta.”²⁴

The assassination attempt was apparently unrelated to the Boyd case and never solved. Two months later another judge was shot at, and in 1907, in the midst of an acrimonious feud between Molina and the police department, Molina accused the police chief of plotting to murder him.²⁵

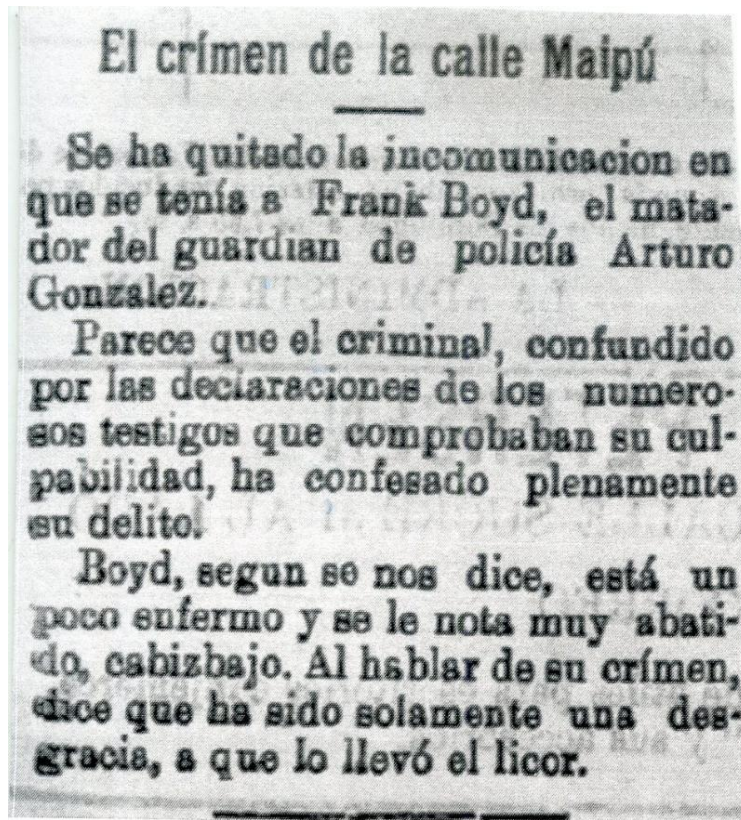
The day after the attempt on the judge, Boyd -- who had been questioned now for two days -- was described as being down in the dumps. Lagreze, his supposed companion at the time of the shooting, had given two statements "that corroborate what was asserted by the other witnesses" regarding Boyd's guilt.²⁶



CUARTEL DE POLICIA. ANTOFAGASTA
Propiedad exclusiva de W. PATON Y CIA, Valparaiso y Antofagasta.

The Antofagasta police headquarters, where Frank Boyd was held and questioned in August 1905. (Buck and Meadows collection)

El Industrial carried no more news of the case until a week later, 30 August: “The incommunicado detention of Frank Boyd, the killer of Arturo Gonzalez, has been lifted. It appears that the criminal, humiliated by the statements of numerous witnesses proving his guilt, has fully confessed to his crime. Boyd, we are told, is a little sick and looks very downcast, disheartened. When talking about his crime, he says that it was just an unfortunate accident, that the liquor took him.” The phrase in the article was “*solamente una desgracia*.”²⁷ In Spanish, “desgracia” has several meanings, but in this context Boyd was saying that he was drunk, and the shooting was a misadventure, an accident, not that he shot the policeman intentionally. Arguably, he was confessing to involuntary manslaughter. It’s possible that, with the help of Aller or a well-connected local lawyer, Boyd could have been let off with a fine.



On 30 August 1905, *El Industrial* published its final known article about the shooting, indicating that many witnesses had testified to Frank Boyd’s guilt, and that he had confessed to his crime, although adding that he had admitted to “only an unfortunate accident, that the liquor took him.” (Biblioteca Nacional de Chile)

Chilean legal analyst Robustiano Vera, writing in 1883, said that the usual penalty for “homicide due to recklessness or incompetence” (“*homicidio por imprudencia o impericia*”), in effect, manslaughter, which included homicides committed while drunk, was five years in prison, but that in some cases “a pecuniary penalty [could] be imposed, depending on the greater or lesser seriousness of the crime.” As a matter of practice, Vera concluded, it was the custom to “sentence the offender to a penalty proportionate” to the circumstances of the case.²⁸

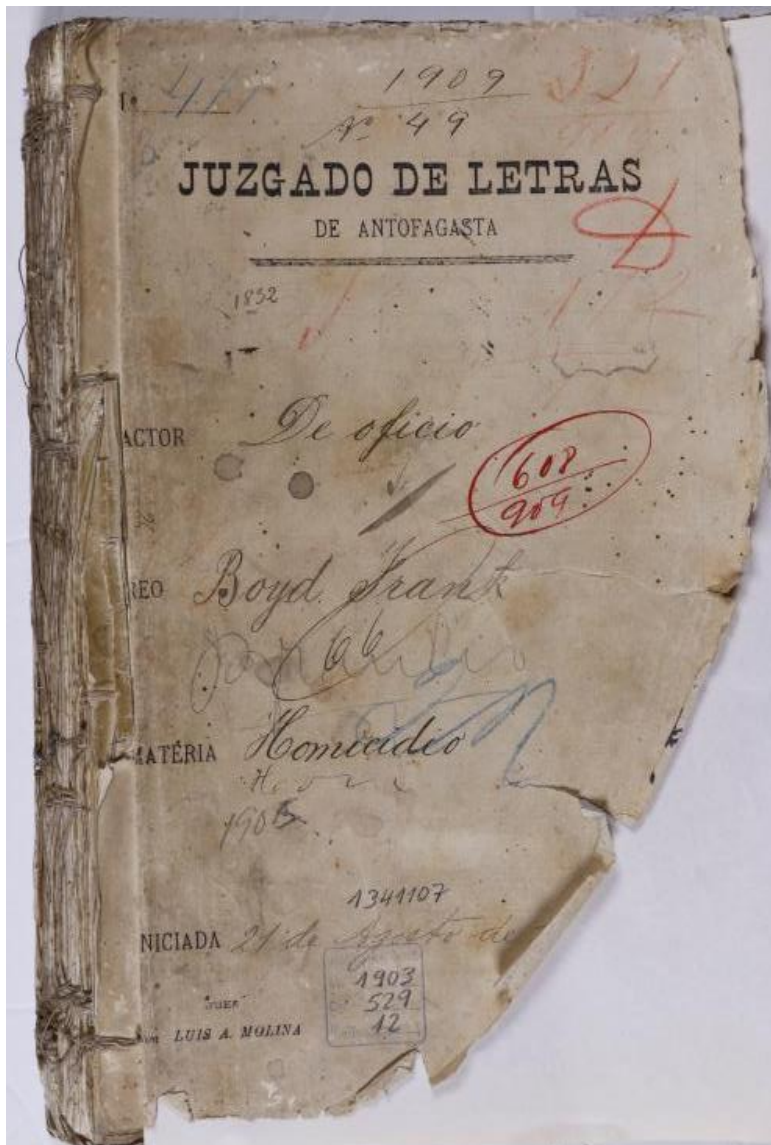
News of Frank Boyd and the shooting of Arturo Gonzalez abruptly vanished from *El Industrial* altogether, although perhaps further information on the case was reported in one of the several missing issues from the next few months. In any event, Boyd seems to have wriggled out of his predicament. How that might have happened is hinted at in his confession and as well in the January 1906 Pinkerton memo about Boyd having had escaped some trouble in Antofagasta with the help of the US vice-consul and a wad of cash.²⁹ The circumstances are further suggested in an interview retired mine administrator Percy Seibert, who had worked with and befriended Sundance and Cassidy in Bolivia in 1907 and 1908, gave several decades later to Wild Bunch writer James D. Horan. Per Horan’s

scribbled notes, Seibert told him that Sundance had been involved in a shooting in Chile: “chief police shot, no intention, accident, showed cops gun, held week, had lawyer -- sent message, to Butch, who had 1,000 english, gave bill.” Horan’s notes cryptically mention that Sundance apparently had “no single-action .45” but did carry a “Smith Wesson.”³⁰

However Sundance had extricated himself from the mess in Antofagasta, by mid-December he and Butch Cassidy were identified by several witnesses as having been among the four bandits who held up the *Banco de la Nación* 1,000 miles away in Villa Mercedes, Argentina. A few witnesses said that among the four was a woman, which has led to speculation that Ethel Place was present.³¹

The Official Record Turns Up

There the matter rested until shortly before we went to press, when the *Archivo Nacional de Chile* informed us that they had located the judicial record, the *expediente*, for the Boyd case. The expediente contains documents filed with the court from his arrest on 21 August 1905 to April 1910, when the case sputtered to a close. The expediente tells a somewhat different and more complicated story from that of *El Industrial*.³²



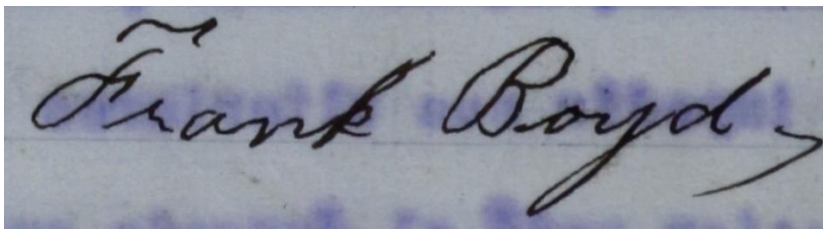
The tattered cover sheet of the Frank Boyd expediente, a nearly 150-page judicial record of the prosecution of the Sundance Kid for the murder of policeman Arturo Gonzales. (Boyd Expediente, Archivo Nacional de Chile)

The day of the shooting, judge Molina opened his investigation. Over the next 48 hours, he interviewed eleven witnesses who had been present inside and/or outside the Universo. Their statements were all over the map. There was no consensus on who was dining with whom, nothing on the cause of a supposed argument that caused Boyd to strike a man, and a disagreement on the circumstances surrounding the shooting itself. The one thing they agreed on, however, was that Boyd, whether by negligence or intention, shot Gonzales.

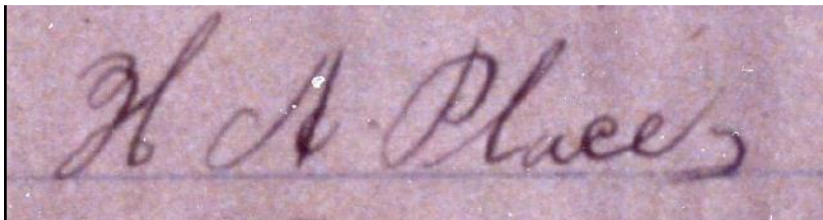
What probably happened: After a night of carousing in houses of prostitution, Boyd was dining at the Universo with several people, possibly including two brothel owners, a prostitute, a Chilean army officer, and an English-speaking Peruvian. For reasons never explained, Boyd intervened in an argument at another table, which led to him punching or slapping (take your pick), Carlos Legreze. Soon thereafter, police sergeant José Reyes closed the restaurant for a curfew violation, and the patrons drifted out into the street, where Boyd's argument with Legreze resumed or Boyd got into a dispute with police officers (take your pick). Boyd pulled out his revolver, waved it around, and it discharged. Trying to calm things down, Arturo Gonzales, who had been five feet, 20 feet, or 20 meters (take your pick) from Boyd, fell dead.³³

Boyd and his companion Thomas Fisher were also interviewed, via interpreters (both men claimed not to speak Spanish), on the 22nd. Fisher said: "I am Frank Boyd's partner, and we have come from the United States to study the cattle business. Last night I was with the interpreter [the same man interpreting for the interview], my partner Boyd and others in Margarita Aguilera's house of prostitution after having been in other women's houses, and I stayed there until two in the morning, when I returned to where I was staying, Zoila Varga's house, from where I got up about half past nine in the morning." The transcript abruptly changes to the third person, saying that he, Fisher, went to Aguilera's brothel looking for Boyd, and she told him that Boyd had killed someone, Gonzalez or a stranger, she wasn't certain. He added that he was 35 years old and that he and Boyd had some pounds sterling deposited at the hotel. Fisher was determined to have been uninvolved and was released.³⁴

Boyd, interviewed via two interpreters, declared that "I am Jones by maternal surname, born in Philadelphia, thirty-eight years old, single, cattle dealer in the United States and on a trip here to study the same business, never been in prison, can read and write. I have no friends or acquaintances in Chile or South America except Mr. Thomas Fisher, whom I recently met in Lima and have not seen in nine years." Boyd added that he had just returned from a visit to Bolivia.³⁵



Frank Boyd's signature on a court filing in Chile in 1905 and the Sundance Kid's H.A. Place signature on a land filing in Argentina ca. 1902, both of which display a closing fillip. (Boyd Expediente and Marcelo Gavirati)



Coincidentally, the Sundance Kid was at the time 38, had been born in Phoenixville near Philadelphia, had previously used the alias Frank Jones, and had posed as a cattle buyer in New York in 1901. He had, however, been incarcerated before, in Wyoming in the 1880s, and he had many friends and acquaintances in Argentina, where he had lived from 1901 to 1905. The judge did not ask an obvious question, why Boyd might be studying the cattle trade in Antofagasta, which did not have one. Nor did he take note that Boyd's testimony contradicted that of Fisher, who said that they had come down from the United States together.³⁶

Boyd went on to say that the evening before the shooting he had been in "Margarita Aguilera's house of prostitution, where he had been on other nights, and in other brothels as well. Around 3:30 in the morning he invited Aguilera, another woman from her house, a sub-lieutenant [Ricardo] Meneses, and a young Peruvian named Carlos Molina, who spoke English, to dine at a restaurant across from Aguilera's brothel." While they were in the restaurant, Boyd heard several people arguing, and he thought perhaps they had said something offensive about him -- or he had offended them -- unclear, because he supposedly did not speak Spanish. One of the individuals, Carlos Lagreze, said to him in English, "What are you going to do about it?" Boyd slapped Lagreze in the face, whereupon Lagreze returned to the room where he was dining. (Boyd's account is choppy, perhaps a reflection of translation or transcription issues, and as well the nature of the interview itself. Questions had to be translated from Spanish to English, and the answers from English to Spanish. Moreover, the transcription is more of a rough summary, in both the first and third person.)

Once in the street he was "grabbed from behind," perhaps by Aguilera, he thought. He freed himself, saw several people coming at him, and, believing they were chasing him, pulled out his revolver. "He thought he saw, although he was not sure, that a soldier armed with a saber" -- or perhaps a stick -- "was attacking him, and then he let out a shot from his revolver, without intending to shoot, because he had no reason to hurt anyone." Boyd did not recall if Gonzalez, who he said was in civilian dress and who raised his hands to stop him from shooting, was the same person as the one in uniform with the saber or the stick. "When the shot discharged the individual who fell was about five steps away." He added that he did not threaten sergeant Reyes with his revolver.

After the shooting, Boyd said he tried unsuccessfully to enter another brothel, where Fisher was, and then went back to the Hotel Colón, where he told an English-speaking German what had happened. He said he had had no intention of escaping. He authorized the court to make available to Gonzalez's widow 100 pounds (the equivalent of nearly \$16,000 today) from his funds. He made the offer in view of the interpreters' comments that Gonzalez was "an official of irreproachable character who leaves a widow and son in misery."

Boyd's arrest after a night on the town should come as no surprise to Wild Bunch students. The most prominent quintet of the gang, Cassidy, Sundance, Harvey Logan, Ben Kilpatrick, and Will Carver, seen posing smartly in John Swartz's 1900 *tableau vivant*, spent a few weeks entertaining themselves in the red-light districts of San Antonio and Fort Worth celebrating recent bank and train holdups. Later the next year, Kilpatrick was arrested in a St. Louis bordello, snared by a breadcrumb trail of stolen currency. Shortly thereafter, Logan met the same fate following several nights in Knoxville drinking and whoring, which culminated in a brawl with two policemen and his arrest. Kilpatrick's detention resulted in the police snooping around the Fort Worth and San Antonio demimondes, collecting intelligence about the Wild Bunch and, as an unexpected bonus, finding the first known copy of the Swartz photograph. Brothels and outlaws, a fraught mix.³⁷



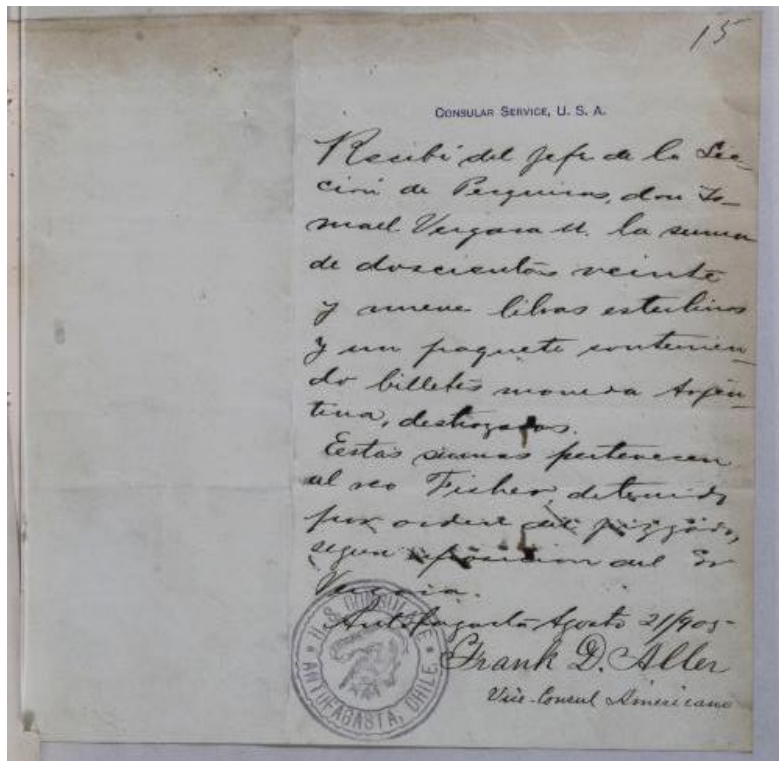
Fort Worth photographer John Swartz's November 1900 portrait of (left to right) the Sundance Kid, Will Carver, Ben Kilpatrick, Harvey Logan, and Butch Cassidy. By December of the following year, Carver was dead, Kilpatrick and Logan were under arrest, and Cassidy and Sundance were in exile in Argentina. Contrary to legend, the photograph was not instrumental in determining the fate of any of the five outlaws.
(National Portrait Gallery, Washington, DC)

Boyd was interviewed again on 29 August. He said that he had no intention or reason to kill Gonzales, that he had believed he was being attacked and needed to defend himself, and that his gun went off by accident, not intentionally, as he was backing away. He denied that he had threatened Lagreze or Reyes with his revolver. The court -- meaning judge Molina -- interrupted to say that the witnesses had said that Boyd's aim was "fixed and calculated, and that he must be well versed in handling a revolver." Boyd imprudently agreed, saying that "he is an experienced hunter in his country and has practiced target shooting." Boyd upped his earlier offer to the widow Gonzalez, saying that he would give her and her son another 100 pounds, provided that he had that much available after "covering the costs of his defense, personal expenses, and passage back to his country." He was making a rather conditional offer, in reality more of a gesture, as all his funds were at the *Banco de Chile*, under the control of the court.³⁸

Boyd and Fisher's personal effects at the Hotel Colón were seized and inventoried on the day of their arrest, and their hotel room sealed. The bulk of the property was clothing, e.g., ties, gloves, shirts,

and scarves, but also included an Argentine shooting club Merit of Honor medal, seven “Tomas Fisher” business cards, two dictionaries, and two sheepskin bags, one containing 192 pounds sterling and 37 pounds sterling, totaling 229 pounds, and the other 285 “somewhat torn” Argentine peso bills. Armaments included a Comblain carbine, two soft carrying cases, two ammo belts, 320 carbine bullets, 23 bullets for a 12-millimeter revolver, and 28 bullets for a 9-millimeter revolver. The Smith & Wesson revolver taken from Boyd upon his arrest and the carbine were the only guns seized. The personal effects did not include any horse tack, such as saddles or bridles.³⁹

The US vice consul in Antofagasta, Frank D. Aller, involved in the case from the very first day, accepted custody from the police of the 229 pounds sterling and damaged 285 Argentine peso bills that belonged to Fisher, who was released almost immediately.⁴⁰



The day of Frank Boyd and Thomas Fisher's arrest, US vice-consul Frank D. Aller accepted custody from the police of 229 pounds sterling and a packet of shredded Argentine pesos belonging to Fisher. The consulate did not notify the Department of State of its intervention in the case. (Boyd Expediente, Archivo Nacional de Chile)

On 6 September, Antofagasta district attorney Joaquin Elizalde filed an *acusa*, short for *Acusación del Ministerio Fiscal*, essentially an indictment, declaring Boyd guilty based on his confession. The *acusa* summarized the street melee version of events, noting the absence of any evidence that Boyd disliked or even knew Gonzalez, and discounting the prostitutes' accusations that his actions were treacherous or premeditated. The document also described Boyd's deep regret for his actions and his offer to compensate Gonzalez's widow. Nonetheless, Elizalde said, a murder did take place. He concluded that the crime was *homicidio simple*, that is, unaggravated murder, what we might call second-degree murder or even manslaughter. He recommended a sentence of four years in prison, less time served, plus court costs, and sent the *acusa* to judge Molina for his consideration.⁴¹

Two weeks later, perhaps shocked by the four-year sentence, Boyd (or his lawyer) filed a lengthy reply to the *acusa*. The reply denied his guilt and took issue with the sentence. He claimed that North American newspapers promoted the notion that in South America one must go about armed in order to defend oneself against attacks, and that not only was he “overexcited with that idea,” but that Carlos Molina had warned him that he might be attacked. He added a new claim, that he had only recently

learned that prior to the shooting Molina had given a boy a peso to go find police officers. He said that “undoubtedly an attack was prepared against me surely by Lagreze, and that it failed due to my armed defense.” He went on: “My weapon was not aimed at anyone specifically,” that he was just trying to keep his assailants “at bay,” and that the shot that went off was “an unfortunate mishap that cannot be attributed to any malice on my part, since I did not know him nor had any kind of altercation with him.” Boyd tried to blame his mishap on his revolver: “The shot was fired by chance, which happens so many times and very easily with the Smith & Wesson revolver without an open trigger, which I carried.”⁴²



Antofagasta lawyer and former judge Primitivo Líbano Letelier (1860-1926) simultaneously represented Frank Boyd in the murder case and judge Luis A. Molina in a judicial misconduct matter. In the middle of both cases, he was elected as a deputy to the lower house of the National Congress. Shortly after the December 1907 Santa María School Massacre in Iquique, in which upwards of 2,000 striking nitrate miners and their wives and children were murdered by Chilean army units, Líbano sent a congratulatory telegram to the Minister of the Interior. (Biblioteca Nacional de Chile)

Boyd summarized his case: “But at four in the morning on a dark night; in an unknown town and country; with the warning that Mr. Molina gave me; with the various people I saw at the exit and whom I must have assumed were my assailants; with Lagreze’s provocation; I had been driven by an irresistible fear, and I believed it not only prudent but necessary to take out my revolver, not to offend anyone, but to defend myself.” As further “proof” of his defensive intentions he said that “I have always backed away, without ever trying to attack anyone.” Boyd asserted that the witnesses who said that he had pointed his revolver at Gonzales were wrong, and that in any event none of them were near him, and that it was so dark out they couldn’t have seen anything anyway.⁴³

Boyd’s reply concluded by arguing that even if the shooting was a crime, there were extenuating circumstances: that his previous conduct had been irreproachable; that he had acted under powerful stimuli; and that he had asked to court to give the widow Gonzalez 100 pounds, and 100 more if his financial circumstances allowed. He further argued that since there were several extenuating factors and no aggravating ones, his sentence could be substantially reduced, or perhaps converted to a “simple fine.”⁴⁴

A few days later, Fisher and another North American, James Knight, not otherwise identified, gave statements at Boyd’s request as to his good character.⁴⁵ Fisher was probably Butch Cassidy, and Knight was possibly Herbert Grice, who had associated with Cassidy and Sundance in Argentina.⁴⁶ Fisher and Knight testified that they had known Boyd for 20 and 14 years, respectively, and that he was of upstanding character.⁴⁷ Only Cassidy had known Sundance for more than a few years, and in any event, neither of the two men could honestly say that their outlaw friend was of good character, although he was no doubt a boon companion.

On 29 September, Boyd filed a motion asserting that he was not criminally responsible, and thus should be let out on bail. Aller, who was guaranteeing the bond, co-signed the motion, and Elizalde agreed and set bail at 5,000 pesos (about \$50,000 today). Aller was named as the guarantor, and provided a property at Calle Sucre 37, where Boyd would be under some sort of house arrest. He was let out on bail the next day.⁴⁸



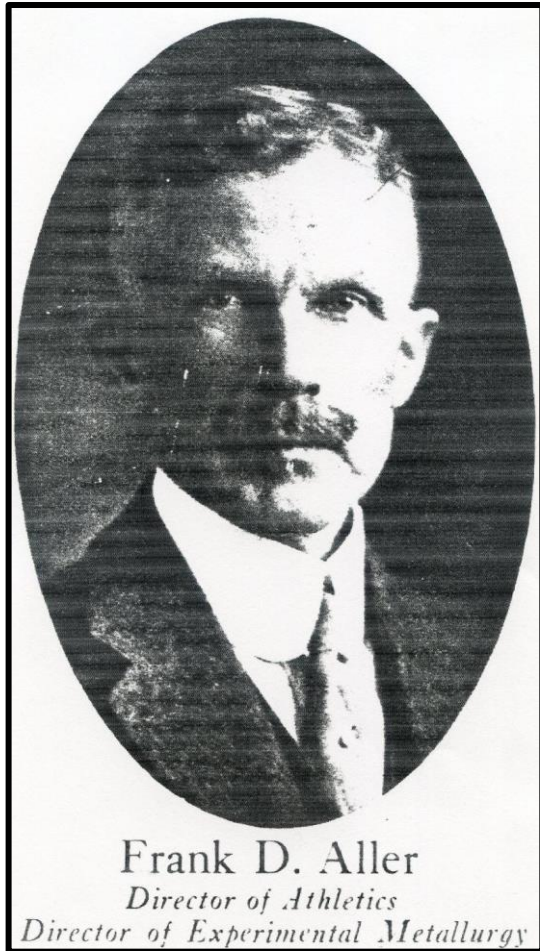
As a condition of bail, Frank Boyd was under some sort of house arrest at an Aller property on Calle Sucre, near the Muelle de Pasajeros, the Passenger Dock, just north of the Plaza Colón. (Buck and Meadows collection)

Although it was obvious from the legal nature of Boyd's filings that he had been represented by an attorney, none was named in any document until 5 October 1905, when he filed a motion giving power of attorney to Primitivo Líbano Letelier. (One reason to file a power of attorney is so that the agent can legally represent the principal in his absence. Boyd was planning ahead.) The well-connected Líbano practiced law in Antofagasta with his brother Ernesto, had previously served as an alternate judge, and in 1906, while representing Boyd, was elected as a deputy to the lower house of the National Congress. In 1908, following the Santa Maria School Massacre in Iquique, in which upwards of 2,000 striking nitrate workers, along with their wives and children, were slaughtered by Chilean army units, Líbano sent a congratulatory telegram to the Minister of the Interior, describing the massacre as regrettable, but "painfully necessary."⁴⁹

After Boyd's release, two witnesses, Ricardo Meneses and Carlos Molina, were reinterviewed at Líbano's request on several specific points, including whether Boyd feared for his safety, whether Lagreze had attacked him in the street, whether Boyd had been 20 meters away (presumably from Gonzales) "when the shot was fired," whether the Universo had been illuminated inside by "strong paraffin lamps" thus "making it more difficult to distinguish objects" when Boyd exited into the dark

street; and whether Boyd did not intend to shoot Gonzales and was in fact retreating. Although the resulting additional testimony by Meneses and Molina was favorable to Boyd on most points, the fact that he had shot Gonzales remained undisputed.⁵⁰

Soon after being released on bail, Boyd vanished, leaving Aller responsible for the bond. Why Aller guaranteed a bond and provided a house-arrest location for a man he did not personally know and who was accused of murdering a police officer is a mystery. Consulate officials in those days did try to assist US citizens who had run afoul of the law, and it was not unheard of that they would advise them to flee the country if let out on bail, but to get involved to the extent of signing the bond was unusual.⁵¹



Frank D. Aller worked for the American Smelting and Refining Company in Chile, 1900 to 1918, and later coached football at the Colorado School of Mines. In 1905, he assisted the Sundance Kid with a murder charge in Chile. Following the outlaw's reported demise in Bolivia, Aller sought his death certificate, perhaps to settle his estate. (*The Prospector*, vol. IX, 1923, Colorado School of Mines, Golden, CO)

Aller had come to Chile in early 1900, with his wife Bessie, to manage the American Smelting and Refining Company operations in Antofagasta. In June 1902, he was appointed US vice consul, serving under consul Charles C. Greene, a Rhode Island businessman and descendant of Revolutionary War hero General Nathanael Greene, who had been living in Chile on and off since the 1850s. Greene died in Santiago in November 1905, and Aller assumed charge, but only as vice consul, with the late consul's son, Samuel C. Greene, serving as clerk. Aller was reduced in rank to consular agent in June 1906, when the diplomatic outpost was downgraded and placed under the jurisdiction of the Iquique consulate. In June 1907, Aller resigned, meaning that his further involvement in the Boyd case was as a private citizen. Samuel C. Greene, who followed him as consular agent, was accused of "financial irregularities" later that year and was replaced in 1908.⁵²



Frank Aller and his wife Bessie moved in late 1908 to Gatico, north of Antofagasta, to manage an American Smelting and Refining Company facility. “How would you like to live here?” Bessie joked in her message to a friend in the United States. The Allers lived in Gatico for ten years. (Buck and Meadows collection)

In December 1908, Aller relocated to an American Smelting facility in Gatico, just north of Antofagasta. He remained in Chile until 1918, when he was sent to the company’s New York office. In 1921, Aller moved to Colorado where for nearly two decades he worked intermittently for American Smelting and his alma mater, the Colorado School of Mines, where he taught and coached football. He retired in 1939 and died in 1944, age 77. Aside from his correspondence with the US legation in Bolivia, there is no indication that Aller ever shared with the Department of State anything about his several-year intervention in the Boyd case.⁵³

The Widow Speaks

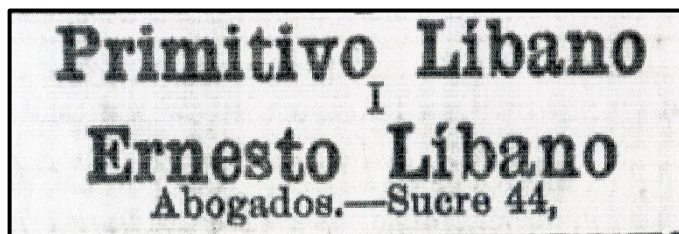
In early November 1905, Arthur Gonzalez’s widow, Cristina Parraguez viuda de Gonzalez, intervened in the case. Líbano filed a motion on behalf of Boyd and her, though she was named as acting on her own behalf. Líbano and the widow Gonzalez agreed that she and her son Luis Octavio Gonzalez would receive 100 pounds and Líbano, 80 pounds, and that “once the 100 pounds are received, the damages caused will be deemed as compensated and repaired, taking into account Mr. Boyd’s economic resources, which are scarce.”⁵⁴

Although the widow Gonzalez signed the agreement, she immediately had a change of heart and that same day filed a reply, which said although she had received the 100 pounds, “such amount is not in any way consistent with what should be given to me as support for my son pursuant to law.” She protested the idea that Boyd would himself be returned any of his money (apparently a reference to

Boyd's conditional offer in his 23 September reply to the *acusado* until she and her son were adequately compensated.⁵⁵

A week later, perhaps finding that the court's attention to her interests had been deficient, she filed an appeal: She emphasized the seriousness of the case, claimed a cover-up -- "there has been an attempt to throw dirt on the matter, presenting it as if it had been a casual matter" -- and lamented that Boyd had been released on "insignificant bail." She added a bombshell: According to what she had heard, "the defendant has been absent from Antofagasta and has probably already left the country." The court agreed to her intervention in the case, but denied her request that Boyd's bail be revoked, ignored her assertion that he had fled, and in general gave her the run-around.⁵⁶ What became of the widow Gonzalez is unknown. Possibly she and her two-year-old son returned to her home town, Rancagua, near Santiago.⁵⁷

Boyd and Fisher's finances are confusingly discussed and sometimes inaccurately enumerated in more than 20 different documents in the expediente. At the time of their arrests, Boyd had in his possession 430 pounds sterling (the equivalent of about \$68,600 today) and Fisher had 229 pounds (about \$36,500 today), plus 285 damaged Argentine paper pesos (about \$4,120 today). Boyd's money was deposited in the Banco de Chile under the court's control, while Fisher had Aller hold his money. Boyd filed requests with the court asking that various amounts from the 430 pounds be dispersed, but the only two that the court seemed to have approved were 100 pounds to the widow Gonzalez and 80 pounds to Líbano. He requested that a second 100 pounds be given to the widow Gonzales and payments of 150 and 180 pounds be made to Aller, perhaps to provide Aller with funds to cover the 5,000-peso bond (which was the equivalent then of about 320 pounds), but it's unclear if they were ever approved. In any event, the total of all Boyd's requests, 610 pounds, exceeded his 430 pounds held at the Banco de Chile. Perhaps Fisher contributed to the transactions, which later gave rise to stories that Cassidy had bailed out Sundance, but they are not reflected in the court documents. In any event, it's quite possible that by the time Boyd got out on bail, 30 September 1905, he and Fisher had pretty much run out of money.



Primitivo Líbano Letelier practiced law in Antofagasta with his brother Ernesto. In a nod to Jarndyce and Jarndyce, Líbano was still appealing the murder case in 1909, several years after Boyd had jumped bail and the year after he had been killed in Bolivia. (*El Industrial*, 1 August 1905)

From late 1905 until mid-1908, a two-and-a-half-year stretch, nothing happened with the Boyd case. On 27 February 1909, more than three years after the defendant had been released on bail and vanished, and almost four months after he was presumably killed in Bolivia, judge Molina's secretary filed a 10-page order, summarizing the case, increasing his sentence to "five years and one day of imprisonment," and disqualifying him "absolutely and in perpetuity" from all public rights and offices in Chile.⁵⁸

Two months later, an order for Boyd's arrest was issued. The police replied that they understood that Boyd had gone to Europe about a year earlier.⁵⁹ Judge Molina issued an order demanding that Aller present the defendant within five days or forfeit the bail, only to learn Aller was residing in Gatico, in another jurisdiction, thus requiring that the process be re-initiated there.⁶⁰

In early July, as attempts to locate the missing Boyd continued, Líbano filed an appeal of the February decision to increase his prison term.⁶¹



The only known photograph of the Sundance Kid (standing by mule) and Butch Cassidy (seated on mule) in Bolivia, taken in 1908 on the hacienda of Angelberto Valdez, 1908, in Capiñata, Inquisivi, La Paz, near the Concordia tin mine where the outlaw pair had been working. They were killed in Bolivia later that year. (Buck and Meadows collection)

Here Comes the Judge

On 20 October, Enrique Barros, an attorney with the Court of Appeals in Tacna, determined that judge Molina had not taken into account the “mitigating circumstances” in the case. These included that Boyd was a non-Spanish-speaking foreigner who had been drinking, that he had been warned he might be attacked, that his previous conduct had been “irreproachable,” and that he has “zealously sought to pay reparations for the harm caused.” Barros recommended that Boyd’s sentence be reduced to one year, minus time served, plus court costs. He also noted that it was striking that the Boyd case “had been paralyzed from December 22, 1905, to June 15, 1908,” though he gave no explanation for the lack of activity.⁶² Actually, with the exception of a couple of documents filed mid-1908, no activity had occurred from December 1905 to February 1909.

A possible reason for the pause was that beginning in October 1905 judge Molina was enveloped in a lengthy disciplinary proceeding, the result of a complaint filed by group of Antofagasta lawyers supremely angry about his alleged unprofessional judicial and personal conduct. Sixteen attorneys filed more than 20 charges, which included “habitual drunkenness,” the backdating of rulings in order to stymie appeals, “indecent attacks and demands on women” (in one case, “biting and assaulting a woman” who refused his importunities), kickbacks from his employees, “rude and insulting” behavior towards the less fortunate defendants in his courtroom, and “inexcusable delays in rulings” (uncharged prisoners languished for months in jail, and uncontested civil cases stalled) resulting in a court suffering from “paralysis” and “abandonment.”

Two charges related to the Boyd case. First, that the judge was with Boyd in a brothel at the time of the Gonzalez murder, and that he had “responsibility for the act.” Second, that the “manner in which the judge prosecuted Boyd for the murder of Gonzalez” was improper, presumably meaning that he had a colossal conflict of interest. It’s possible that the lawyers, animated by local politics, were throwing everything but the kitchen sink at Molina, and in the process mixed up Carlos Molina, who was with Boyd, with judge Molina, whom no witness named as being present. (Of course, judge Molina was interviewing the witnesses, and his secretary was transcribing the interview summaries.) Perhaps judge Molina was with Boyd earlier in the evening, before the murder. However, the investigation did not seem to have gone too deeply into the question, concluding that his frequenting brothels and his presence “at the door of one of them” when Gonzales was murdered “refer to his private life and not to his judicial functions.”⁶³

Coincidentally, Molina was represented in the disciplinary matter by Boyd’s attorney, Primitivo Líbano. Perhaps as a reflection of Líbano’s excellent reputation, but in any event an indication of the small town that Antofagasta was.

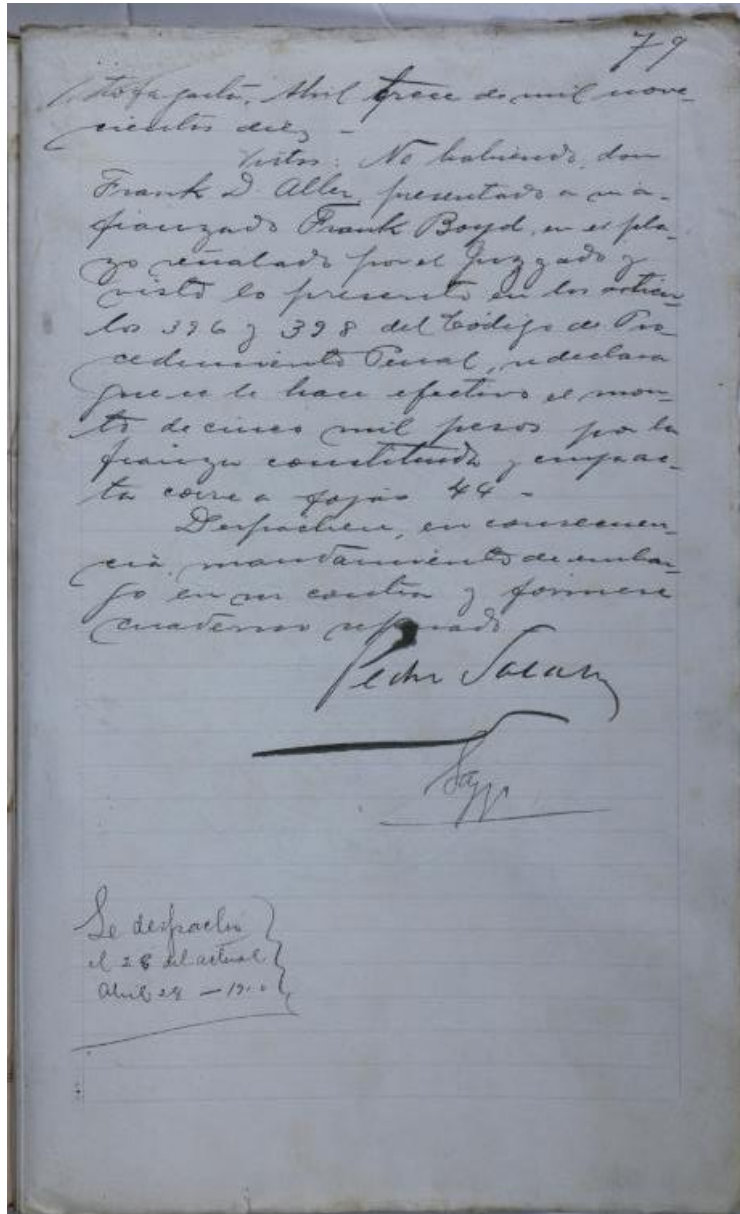
An investigation by judicial authorities brought down on Molina a four-month suspension, which he appealed to the appellate court in Tacna, which reduced it to a fine. This was appealed by the complainants to the Supreme Court in Santiago, which, in May 1907, imposed a two-month suspension. In the interim, the Boyd case was handled by Molina’s colleague, judge Eduardo Cuellar N. and his secretary, Pedro Salas B., who had signed the complaint against judge Molina.

Two weeks after Barros’s October 1909 recommendation, the Court of Appeals in Tacna ruled that there were only two extenuating circumstances: Boyd’s “previous irreproachable conduct” and his “having zealously sought reparations for the harm caused.” The court bumped his sentence up to three years in prison. The decision made no mention of the fact that Boyd had fled years earlier, of which the lower court and district attorney Elizalde were aware.⁶⁴

Having been alerted in May 1909 that judge Molina’s court would very much like to see Boyd in person, Aller was impelled to begin looking in earnest, only to be told that Boyd and a companion named Maxwell had been killed in Bolivia the previous November. In July, Aller took his efforts further, asking the US legation in La Paz for proof of Boyd’s being alive or dead. His letter was lost, and he did not renew the query until August 1910, but by that time the Boyd case in Antofagasta had been closed.

These new revelations about Aller’s role in the homicide case call into question his statement to the US legation in La Paz in August 1910 that legal proof of Boyd’s death “was wanted by a judge in Chile in order to settle his estate.”⁶⁵ Aller himself might have needed such proof in order to be released from the 5,000-peso bond he had guaranteed. It’s also possible that Aller still had custody of some of Boyd’s funds, which -- in the event he had died -- needed to be disbursed to his heirs. Both possibilities could be the case.

No evidence has surfaced that Aller took the matter any further, and in any event the last document in the expediente, 13 April 1910, is an order to collect the 5,000 pesos from Aller. Whether the collection was ever made is not known.⁶⁶ Almost a year later, January 1911, the US legation in La Paz forwarded Aller a letter from the Bolivian government on “the two American citizens who were killed” in San Vicente “and whose names are unknown,” along with “a 10-page report about the efforts made to identify the victims and explain the circumstances of the incident.” There is no indication that Aller shared the information with the Chilean authorities.⁶⁷



The final document in the almost five-year prosecution of Frank Boyd is a 13 April 1910 court order to recover from former US vice consul Frank D. Aller the 5,000-peso bond he had guaranteed for the appearance of the now missing defendant. Unbeknownst to the court, Boyd had died in Bolivia in November 1908. (Boyd Expediente, Archivo Nacional de Chile)

As for judge Molina, his career did not suffer, though the tumult continued. After serving his suspension, he returned to the district court in Antofagasta, where he was repeatedly accused of “shameful incidents” such as assaulting an attorney, debauchery, and fraud. Libano, the attorney who had only recently defended him, accused him of “habitual drunkenness and all kinds of immoral acts.” In 1912, Molina was reprimanded but not suspended. That contretemps led to an altercation in which Molina assaulted Libano, who in turn, assisted by his brother, beat up Molina. The Libano brothers were fined 100 pesos. Molina, linked to nitrate interests in Antofagasta and more importantly an active member of the *Partido Liberal Democrático*, part of a powerful coalition in Chile during the “Parliamentary Regime” period in which the Congress, not the president, was the preeminent government power, continued to receive a variety of judicial appointments. In 1915, he was promoted to the Court of Appeals in Talca, and in 1920 named to the Court of Appeals in Santiago, an appointment that so offended one of the justices there that he resigned.⁶⁸ A Chilean historian

attributed the controversies that surrounded Molina to the “nitrate fever” that roiled Antofagasta, a fever that “brought him bitter lawsuits, accusations, and reproaches.”⁶⁹

A Story Retold Is a Story Embroidered

In February 1910, before the Boyd case had closed, *The Knoxville Daily Journal and Tribune* published an article, supposedly based on a recent *New York American* story, about Sundance and Cassidy’s adventures in South America that included a reference to an incident in Antofagasta in which Sundance, referred to as “Lauterbaugh,” killed a local policeman in a dispute over a woman. The outlaw fled to the office of the US consul: “Cassidy turned over all the funds in his possession in order to get the Kid out of jail. It cost the pair every cent they had, but in time the Kid went free.”⁷⁰

Four years later, W.J. McCarthy, a Colorado cattleman who said he had recently visited Antofagasta, told the Pinkertons an even more involved account, which he claimed had been related to him by the warden of the city’s prison: “Cassidy, with two other Americans and a woman,” had been living there, where Cassidy had robbed a bank, killed the mayor, broken his leg while escaping, and been captured. He now sat in prison.⁷¹

In an October 1914 letter, Pinkerton western division superintendent William A. Pinkerton changed the location to Peru. Shortly thereafter, an agency official wrote to the Antofagasta police chief requesting more details but got no reply. In a 1919 letter, Pinkerton again mistakenly referred to Cassidy’s capture in Peru, adding a new twist, that Sundance, not Cassidy, had escaped. Two years later, he further bollixed the story, writing that Sundance (to whom he affixed Cassidy’s alias, George Parker) had been arrested in Peru, and Cassidy had escaped.⁷²



William A. Pinkerton (center) and two friends on an Arkansas hunting trip, which was more successful than his pursuit of Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid.

(Pinkerton Records, Library of Congress, Washington, DC)

In 1926, a young man named Richard Diespecker published “‘Hole in the Wall’ Gang of Outlaws” in the *Victoria Daily Times*, a British Columbia newspaper, setting forth yet another version of the events in Antofagasta: Cassidy was dining there with his lady friend at a “fashionable restaurant.” His companion was “intimately acquainted” with the sheriff, who suddenly appeared at the restaurant door. A confrontation occurred, and Cassidy, holding a “squeeze-grip type of revolver . . . which he was not used to,” shot the sheriff, who “dropped to the floor with a bullet between his eyes, stone dead.” Cassidy was arrested, “but he managed some way to get in communication with Longbaugh [sic], who at once went to Antofagasta and placed cash bail with the court for £1,000 sterling, thus securing Cassidy’s release.”⁷³ Note the detail about having trouble with the revolver, which Boyd raised in his court pleadings.

Following his return to the United States, Herbert Grice, who said he had been in Argentina with Cassidy and Sundance, attempted a memoir, an unfinished pastiche written in the first and third person that reads like a dime novel penned by a man with attention-deficit disorder. According to Grice, Sundance “had fouled up” their reason for being in Antofagasta: to rob the *Banco de Tarapacá y Argentina, Ltd.* During a night of drinking and debauchery, Sundance had a confrontation with a “Jonny,” a young dandy, who pulled a knife from his walking stick. Sundance shot him dead, fell asleep in a park, and woke up in jail. Spinning a travel tale worthy of A. Henry Savage Landor, Grice says that he had come to Antofagasta from Buenos Aires by a several thousand mile detour up the Amazon and over to Barbados, where he had been recovering from malaria when he learned of Sundance’s arrest. He rocketed several thousand more miles to his friend’s rescue, paying his 2,000-peso bail. Off they all went to Argentina to rob a bank in Villa Mercedes.⁷⁴

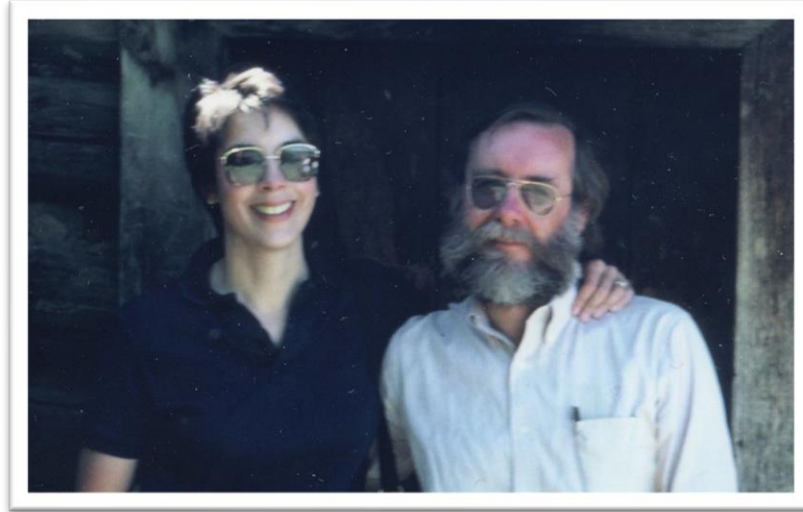
Grice does not mention the names Boyd and Fisher in his memoir, but says that he used the alias James Knight in Chile. The expediente includes among Boyd’s companions a James Knight, who first appears in a 25 September 1905 document, meaning that if he had been immediately cabled in Barbados of the arrest, he might have possibly had time to travel to Antofagasta. Contrary to Grice’s assertion, however, Knight had no role in posting bail. Grice’s memoir did not come to light until decades after his 1953 death and so confused his relatives that they thought he was the Sundance Kid.

These accounts of the 1905 incident in Antofagasta are good examples of how a story retold is a story changed -- improved, contorted, and embroidered. Any of the men who knew Cassidy or Sundance in Chile or Bolivia, such as Percy Seibert or Frank Aller, or who knew people who knew them, could easily have picked up the original story or a version thereof, and passed it on. Even Grice, who was possibly in Antofagasta at the time, could not keep the story straight. At each retelling, the story changed, especially if the retelling was years later, over a beer, to a writer, or scribbled in a memoir. Aller was a less likely raconteur because there is no evidence that he ever said a word (outside his communications with the US legation in La Paz) to anyone about his encounters with outlaws. Seibert, however, was an inveterate yarner, and entertained Wild Bunch historian Horan among others with anecdotes of his life in the Andes. In any event, the identity of the source remains to be determined.

By the 1910s, Pinkerton interest in Sundance and Cassidy had waned, and mostly amounted to fielding the odd letter from someone purporting to have seen the outlaws here or there and dismissing claims made in the press. A 1913 magazine article, one of the earliest English-language references to the 1908 shootout in Bolivia, was rejected without further investigation by William A. Pinkerton: “I personally believe the whole story to be a fake.” In 1923, having no idea what had actually become of the Sundance Kid or Butch Cassidy, Pinkerton died.⁷⁵

Acknowledgments: In Argentina, Carlos Dante Ferrari Doyle and Marcelo Gavirati; in Bolivia, Limbert Jerez López and Natascha Lara Bisch; in Chile, Damir Galaz-Fernández, Jaime González Colville, José Antonio González Pizarro, Daniel Palma Alvarado, the staff at the Archivo Nacional Histórico and the Biblioteca Nacional

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Anne Meadows and Daniel Buck at the door of Butch and Sundance's cabin in Cholila, Chubut, Argentina in 1986.

Daniel Buck and Anne Meadows are the authors of *The End of the Road: Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid in Bolivia* (2017), and Meadows is the author of *Digging Up Butch & Sundance* (rev. ed. 2003). They live in Washington, DC.

Endnotes:

¹ Circular No. 2, 24 January 1902, Denver, Colorado, Pinkerton's National Detective Agency Records, (MSS 13593), Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington DC. (Hereinafter cited as Pinkerton Records.) Subsequently, the agency published a mugshot card, "Harry Longbaugh [sic]. No. 470 R," which included Frank Boyd among his aliases.

² For example, after the 1899 Wilcox, WY, train robbery an informant told US Marshal Frank A. Hadsell, who was in regular contact with the Pinkertons, that Sundance was known as "Hank Boyed." Donna B. Ernst, *The Sundance Kid: The Life of Harry Alonzo Longabaugh* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 89; and Robert Goodwin to Daniel Buck, emails, 15, 17, 18, 19, and 23 May 2022. Ernst and Goodwin source the Boyd alias to an early 1900s Hadsell notebook, Frank A. Hadsell Papers, Wyoming State Archives, Cheyenne, WY.

³ Ernst, *The Sundance Kid*, 155.

⁴ New York, Criminal History No. 7111, "Harry Longbaugh [sic]," 26 January 1906, Philadelphia, PA, Pinkerton Records. Whether the 1,500 was in pounds sterling, Chilean pesos, or US dollars is uncertain. A second source says it was "1,000 english," implying pounds sterling. In 1905, the pound was worth in dollar equivalent \$4.86, and the Chilean peso, 36.5 cents. Thus, assuming the 1,000 or 1,500 was pounds, and converting values from 1905 to 2022 by a Consumer Price Index factor of 32.85, the dollar value today would be either nearly \$160,000 or \$249,000. At the other extreme, if we are talking about 1,000 or 1,500 Chilean pesos, the dollar value today would be only about \$13,000 or \$18,000. See *The World Almanac and Encyclopedia* (NY: The Press Pub. Co. 1906), 189, and *CPI Inflation Calculator*, <https://www.in2013dollars.com/us/inflation/1905?amount=1>, accessed 20 June 2022. For a discussion of the difficulty in calculating the relative value of the dollar over time, see *Measuring Worth*,

<https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/uscompare/>, accessed 18 May 2022.

⁵ Communications between Frank D. Aller and the US Legation in La Paz. Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1910, Volumes 54 and 58 (C8.3 and C8.10), Record Group 84, Foreign Post Files, National Archives, Washington, DC. For a discussion of the Aller communications as well as Cassidy and Sundance's last months in Bolivia, see Daniel Buck and Anne Meadows, "Al Final del Camino: Butch Cassidy y Sundance Kid en Bolivia," *Fuentes*, vol. 10, no. 46, October 2016 (La Paz, Bolivia), http://www.revistasbolivianas.ciencia.bo/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1997-44852016000500003&lng=es&nrm=iso, accessed 15 June 2022, and *The End of the Road: Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid in Bolivia* (London: The English Westerners' Society Brand Book, 2017); Limbert Jerez López, *Butch Cassidy & Sundance Kid -- Evidencia Innegable* (La Paz, Bolivia: Expediente HN, 2017); and Max Reynaga Farfán, *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid: Tres razones para morir en Bolivia* (Tupiza, Bolivia: Huellas Chicheñas, 2nd ed. September 2020).

⁶ There are unconfirmed stories that Cassidy and Sundance frequented bars in Punta de Rieles, a mine camp outside Chuquicamata, a copper mine in the Andes northeast of Antofagasta. See Daniel Buck and Anne Meadows, "Bandoleros legendarios en Atacama," *Eco Pampino*, no. 11, April 2013, www.albumdesierto.cl, accessed 2013.

⁷ For biographical information about the Sundance Kid, see Ernst, *The Sundance Kid*, and for Butch Cassidy, see Charles Leerhsen, *Butch Cassidy: The True Story of an American Outlaw* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2020). For an account of Cassidy and Sundance's years in Argentina, see Marcelo Gavirati, *Buscados en la Patagonia: La historia no contada de Butch Cassidy y los bandoleros norteamericanos* (Villa Adelina, Buenos Aires, Argentina: Patagonia Sur Libros, 4th ed. 2011). For a look at researching in Argentina, Chile, and Bolivia, see Anne Meadows, *Digging Up Butch & Sundance* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 3rd ed. rev. 2003). For a recent update on the outlaws' time in South America, see Mike Bell, *Butch and Sundance in South America: New Evidence of Their Lives and Deaths* (London: The English Westerners' Society Brand Book, 2nd ed. rev. 2021). The many and diverse cultural and historical links between Chile and California are the subject of a study by Edward Dallam Melillo, *Strangers on Familiar Soil: Rediscovering the Chile-California Connection* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 2015).

⁸ Rodolfo Boock and his brother Alberto operated the *Boock Hnos.* studio in Antofagasta from the late 1890s to the early 1900s, specializing in portraiture and industrial photography. See Hernán Rodríguez Villegas, *Historia de la fotografía: Fotógrafos en Chile durante el siglo XIX* (Santiago, Chile: Centro Nacional del Patrimonio Fotográfico, 2001), 77, and *Historia de la fotografía: Fotógrafos en Chile 1900-1950* (Santiago: Centro Nacional del Patrimonio Fotográfico, 2011), 63. See also, "R. Boock (photographer)," Christies, *Live Auction 6168: Exploration & Travel*, 16 September 1999, <https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-1545254>, accessed 16 August 2022.

El Industrial, 1881 to 1906, is archived at the *Biblioteca Nacional Digital de Chile*, Santiago, <http://www.bibliotecanacionaldigital.gob.cl/bnd/612/w3-channel.html>.

⁹ Thanks to Chilean historian Daniel Palma Alvarado for the suggestion to query the Archivo Nacional de Chile.

¹⁰ Pablo Neruda, "The Sand Betrayed," *Canto General*, trans. Jack Schmitt (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), 188.

¹¹ For a history of Chile, see Simon Collier and William F. Slater, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2nd ed. 2010) and Brian Loveman, *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism* (NY: Oxford University Press). Both books have excellent sections on the nitrate boom. The "lubricate" quote is from Loveman, *Chile*, 184-85. For a bibliographic essay on Chile, see Harold Blakemore and Simon Collier, "Chile," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, Leslie Bethell, ed. (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

For a history of Antofagasta, see Enrique Agullo Bastias, *Antofagasta "La ciudad heroica" Aspectos históricos mas sobresalientes de su vida y desarrollo, 1879-1979* (Antofagasta, Chile: Imprenta, 1979); Isaac Arce, *Narraciones históricas de Antofagasta*, (Antofagasta: n. pub., 1930); Juan Benevides et al., *Ciudades y arquitectura portuario: Los puertos mayores del litoral chileno* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 2nd ed. 1998); Oscar Bermudez Miral, *Orígenes Históricos de Antofagasta* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1966); *Anuario Prado Martínez: Unica Guía General de Chile, 1904-1905* (Santiago: Centro Editorial de Alberto Prado Martínez, 1905); Juan Panades Vargas et al, *Antofagasta: Una historia en imágenes* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1979); Juan Luis Panades Vargas and José Antonio González Pizarro, *Antofagasta, historia de mi ciudad*

(Antofagasta: Corporación Pro Antofagasta, 1998); Juan Floreal Recabarren Rojas, *Episódios de la vida regional* (Antofagasta: Ediciones Universitarias, 2002).

¹² For a discussion of the immigrant contribution to the cultural and commercial development of Antofagasta, see José Antonio González Pizarro, "Tourism and Immigration: The European Contribution to the Invention of Landscape and Hotel Industry in the Atacama Desert During the Nitrate Epoch, 1880-1930," in *Tourism*, Leszek Butowski, ed. (Rijeka, Croatia: IntechOpen, 2016). For a history of crime in Chile in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, see Daniel Palma Alvarado, *Ladrones: Historia social y cultural del robo en Chile, 1870-1920* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2021). For a history of the police in Chile, see Daniel Palma Alvarado, "'Una historia en verde': las policías en Chile. Balance y sugerencias para la investigación," *Revista Historia y Justicia*, no. 2, April 2014, http://revista.historiayjusticia.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/RHyJ_2014_2_DS_P_Palma.pdf, accessed 30 May 2022, and "Policías rurales en Chile: los Gendarmes de las Colonias (1896-1907)," *Claves, Revista de Historia*, vol. 3, no. 4, 2019, <http://journals.openedition.org/rhj/6017>, accessed 30 May 2022.

¹³ For a discussion of prostitution in early 1900s Chile, see Leyla Flores M., "Vida de mujeres de la vida: Prostitución femenina en Antofagasta, 1920-1930," in Diana Veneros Ruíz-Tagle, ed., *Perfiles revelados: Historias de mujeres en Chile: siglos XVIII-XX* (Santiago: Editorial Universidad de Santiago, 1997); Alvaro Góngora Escobedo, *La prostitución en Santiago, 1813-1930: Visión de las elites* (Santiago: Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, 1994); Elizabeth Quay Hutchison, "'El fruto envenenado del árbol capitalista': Women and the Prostitution of Labor in Urban Chile in 1896-1925," *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 9, no. 4, Winter 1998; Fernanda Kalazich, "Para estudiar la prostitución en las pampas salitreras. Apuntes desde los estudios subalternos y la arqueología industrial," *Revista Chilena de Antropología*, no. 37, 2018, <https://revistas.uchile.cl/index.php/RCA/article/view/49487>, accessed 24 August 2022; and Igor Pezo and José Soto, "Algunas notas metodológicas desde la vida cotidiana subalterna para el estudio de la historia de la prostitución en Chile," *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, <https://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/63581?lang=en>, accessed 24 August 2022.

The estimate of 3,000 prostitutes comes from Henry Stephens, *South American Travels* (NY: The

Knickerbocker Press, 1915), 182. Stephens was a Harvard-educated Michigan businessman who traveled in South America in the 1910s. He said that the Antofagasta population in 1913 was 50,000, of which undoubtedly less than half were women. Per the 1907 census, women made up only 36.6% of the population of the Province of Antofagasta. See Oficina Central de Estadística, *Sinópsis estadística de la República de Chile* (Santiago: Sociedad Imprenta y Litográfica Universo, 1917). In other words, perhaps 15% of the female population worked in the sex trade. The warning sign anecdote is from Jack Mercer, *Hard Times: A Runaway's Adventures in the Americas* (Melbourne, Australia: Transit Lounge, 2013), 129.

¹⁴ Flores M., "Vida de mujeres," 223.

¹⁵ The charges that illegal vice operated openly in Antofagasta with the knowledge of the police chief and that bribes were collected weekly were reported in "Contra la conducta funcionaria del Perfecto de Policía de Antofagasta," *El Industrial*, 16 March 1905. Two earlier articles 11 and 14 March, 1905, both titled "La policía de seguridad," made similar accusations. The second said that several dozen citizens had sent the newspaper "a list of 40 or more gambling dens, bars, brothels, and houses of prostitution that operated at all hours of the night . . . without in the least being disturbed by the police." "Casas de prostitución," *El Industrial*, 24 June 1905, lamented the intrusion of prostitution into city's streets, "even in the most central," rather than being restricted to the "barrios designated by municipal regulation."

¹⁶ "Crónica," *El Industrial*, 21 August 1905.

¹⁷ "Asaltos y robos," *El Industrial*, 22 August 1905; "Asaltos," *El Industrial*, 25 July 1905; "Policiales asaltantes," *El Industrial*, 23 September 1905; and "Ebrios," *El Industrial*, 26 July 1905.

¹⁸ "Asesinato de un guardian de policía," *El Industrial*, 21 August 1905. Boyd's supposed dinner companion's name was spelled Lagreze, not Lagrezze, as *El Industrial* had it, per several primary records, e.g., "Carlos Lagreze," 20 January 1883 baptism, Antofagasta, Chile, *Ancestry.com*, accessed 13 May 2022.

¹⁹ The double Boyd was probably a reflection of the South American tradition of using two last names, that of the father and the mother. In an interview, Boyd said that his mother's name was Jones (see discussion under "The official record turns up"), which would have rendered his full name Frank Boyd Jones, so perhaps a police officer misunderstood, resulting in Frank Boyd Boyd. (Coincidentally, the Pinkertons reported that Jones was among Sundance's

aliases. See Circular Number 2, 24 January 1902, Pinkerton Records.) In most of the other citations in *El Industrial*, he was described simply as “Frank Boyd.”

For a history of Caleta Coloso, see Floreal Recabarren Rojas and Pamela Ramírez Figueroa, *Coloso, ayer y hoy* (Antofagasta: Corporación Pro Antofagasta, 2017).

²⁰ “*Los funerales de guardian Gonzalez*,” *El Industrial*, 22 August 1905. Arturo Gonzalez, 21 August 1905 death, *Findagrave.com*, accessed 11 May 2022, and Arturo Gonzalez, death registration, 21 August 1905, *Ancestry.com*, accessed 11 May 2022. We spell Gonzalez’s name without an acute accent on the *a* because that is how it’s given in the records.

²¹ Carlos Dante Ferrari Doyle, to Daniel Buck, email, 27 May 2022.

²² “*El crimen de la calle Maipú*,” *El Industrial*, 22 August 1905. Two detectives named Vergara were on the Antofagasta police force in August 1905, chief of detectives Ismael Vergara and detective Francisco Segundo Vergara. The very busy chief of detectives Vergara investigated the Boyd case, a judicial assassination attempt, and a plot by an ex-detective and others to murder several police officers, an intrigue thwarted in one of the brothels on Calle 14 de Febrero. The unfortunate detective Vergara was arrested 20 August for shooting a suspected thief, and three days later was sentenced to 40 days in jail. “*El crimen de la calle Maipú*,” *El Industrial*, 22 August 1905; “*Audaz atentado. La vida del señor juez de letras en peligro*,” *El Industrial*, 23 August 1905; “*Intento de asesinato*,” *El Industrial*, 15 August 1905; “*Otro suceso sangriento*,” *El Industrial*, 21 August 1905; and “*El crimen de Domingo, Condena del agente Vergara*,” *El Industrial*, 24 August 1905.

²³ “*Audaz atentado. La vida del señor juez de letras en peligro*,” *El Industrial*, 23 August 1905; “*El atentado contra el Juez, señor Molina*,” *El Industrial*, 24 August 1905.

²⁴ “*Un suceso bochornoso*,” *El Industrial*, 25 August 1905.

²⁵ “*Atentado contra juez Guzman*,” *El Industrial*, 16 October 1905; “*Antofagasta: El juez y la policía -- Creo el primero que se trata de asesinarlo*,” *El Mercurio de Valparaíso* (Chile), 23 August 1907.

²⁶ “*El crimen de la calle Maipú*,” *El Industrial*, 23 August 1905.

²⁷ “*El crimen de la calle Maipú*,” *El Industrial*, 30 August 1905.

²⁸ Robustiano Vera, *Código Penal de la República de Chile comentado por Robustiano Vera*, (Santiago: P. Cadot, 1883), vol. II, 599.

²⁹ New York, Criminal History No. 7111, “Harry Longbaugh [sic],” 26 January 1906, Philadelphia, PA, Pinkerton Records.

³⁰ Percy Seibert, interview by James D. Horan (ca. 1950, n.p.). Courtesy of Donna B. Ernst.

³¹ For an account of the Villa Mercedes holdup, see Gavirati, *Buscados*, 129-39; and Ricardo A. Gutiérrez and Hugo A. Moreno, *Butch Cassidy & The Wild Bunch: Asalto al Banco Nación en Villa Mercedes* (San Luis, San Luis, Argentina: ICCED, 1992). And as well Daniel Buck and Anne Meadows, “The Wild Bunch in South America: Assault on the Banco de la Nación in Villa Mercedes,” *WOLA Journal*, vol. 1, no 1, Spring-Summer 1991; vol. 1, no. 2, Fall-Winter 1991; vol. 1, no 3, Winter-Spring 1992; and vol. 2, no. 2, Fall 1992.

³² “Frank Boyd,” *Expediente Judicial de Antofagasta*, 21 de Agosto de 1905 al 12 de abril de 1910. *Archivo Nacional de Chile*, Santiago. (Hereafter cited as Boyd Expediente.) The expediente is pamphlet stitched and the leaves filed chronologically (with a couple of exceptions) and foliated, that is, numbered consecutively (with a couple of exceptions) on the upper right-hand corner of the recto of each leaf. There are no documents from 22 December 1905 to 15 June 1908 and a couple of other briefer gaps, which suggests the possibility of missing documents. Perhaps the foliation was done after the case was closed, consecutively numbering only the existing documents. For ease of reference, we cite documents by author and/or recipient and date.

The interview transcripts are in the form of a summary, usually written in both the first and third person, and signed by those present, e.g., the interviewee, the interviewer, normally judge Molina, and Molina’s clerk, José del Tránsito Concha, who probably had transcribed them, and any interpreters. The transcripts are often choppy and the narrative hard to follow. The judge rarely interrupted with an observation or clarification. For a discussion of testimony and witness issues in Chile, see “*Testimonios y testigos: el problema de la fuente*,” Tomás Cornejo Cancino, in *Justicia, poder y sociedad en Chile: recorridos históricos*, Tomás Cornejo C. and Carolina González U., eds. (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales, 2007).

Many thanks to Miguel Ángel Carrasco Urriola and Luis Estefan Martínez Tapia at the Archivo Nacional de Chile for their assistance in finding and retrieving the expediente. We would like to especially thank Bolivian researcher Limbert Jerez López for converting the expediente’s documents into a more readable typed version, and for his exceptional assistance in interpreting the document. Thanks to

Argentine researchers Carlos Dante Ferrari Doyle and Marcelo Gavirati for their interpretive help, as well.

³³ Ricardo Meneses, Ester Beytía, Nemesio Díaz, Alfredo Rivera, Pedro Yotaipí, José Reyes, Margarita Aguilera, and Carlos Molina (also referred to elsewhere in the expediente as Marcos Molina), interviews, 21 August 1905; and Aníbal Valdivia (also referred to elsewhere in the expediente as David Valdivia), Daniel Carmona, and Carlos Lagreze, interviews, 22 August 1905: Boyd Expediente.

³⁴ Thomas Fisher, interview, 21 August 1905, Boyd Expediente; “*El crimen de la calle Maipú*,” *El Industrial*, 22 August 1905.

³⁵ Frank Boyd, interview, 22 August 1905, Boyd Expediente.

³⁶ Ernst, *The Sundance Kid*, 7, 73, 132, and 135-53.

³⁷ Thanks to Donna Humphrey-Donnell for a chronology of the events of 1900 and 1901, clarifying that Fort Worth detective Charles Scott discovered the Swartz photograph in a local boarding house as a result of Kilpatrick’s arrest in St. Louis: Donna Humphrey-Donnell to authors, email, 24 July 2022. For more on Wild Bunch frolics in the sexual underworld, see Richard F. Selcer, *Hell’s Half Acre: The Life and Legend of a Red-Light District* (Fort Worth, TX: Texas Christian University Press, 1991) 243-270; Donna Humphrey-Donnell, “How the Fort Worth Five Photo Was Discovered” (unpublished manuscript, 16 December 2021); David Bowser, *West of the Creek: Murder, Mayhem and Vice in Old San Antonio* (San Antonio, TX: Maverick Publishing, 2003), 41-45; Arthur Soule, *The Tall Texan: The Story of Ben Kilpatrick* (Deer Lodge, MT: TrailDust Publishing, 1995), 59-60; and Mark T. Smokov, *He Rode With Butch and Sundance: The Story of Harvey “Kid Curry” Logan* (Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 2012), 223-31.

³⁸ Frank Boyd, interview, 29 August 1905, Boyd Expediente.

³⁹ Aníbal Campbell, court receiver inventory, 21 August 1905, Boyd Expediente. The Belgium-made Comblain carbine was exported to Brazil, Chile, and Peru. See “Military Rifles. The Comblains,” <https://www.militaryrifles.com/comblains>, accessed 4 August 2022.

⁴⁰ Frank D. Aller, receipt, 21 August 1905, Boyd Expediente. “*El crimen de la Calle Maipú*,” *El Industrial*, 22 August 1905.

⁴¹ Joaquin Elizalde to S.J.L. (judge Molina), acusa, 6 September 1905, Boyd Expediente.

⁴² Frank Boyd to S.J.L. del C. (judge Molina), reply to acusa, 23 September 1905, Boyd Expediente.

⁴³ Boyd reply, 23 September 1905, Boyd Expediente. Boyd’s remark that he had always backed away from conflict is reminiscent of one made in Bolivia in 1908: A.G. Francis, a gold-dredge operator in Bolivia with whom Cassidy and Sundance are thought to have camped before and after the 1908 *Aramayo, Francke y Cía.* payroll holdup that led to their deaths, wrote in a 1913 article that the man presumed to be Sundance “claimed that he had never hurt or killed a man except in self-defense.” See A.G. Francis, “The End of an Outlaw,” *Wide World Magazine*, vol. 31, no. 181, May 1913, 43. A.G. Francis might have been a pseudonym for Edward Graydon or his assistant, Harold Holsted, the men actually in charge of the gold dredge at the time of the Aramayo holdup. See Buck and Meadows, *The End of the Road*, 14.

⁴⁴ Boyd reply, 23 September 1905, Boyd Expediente.

⁴⁵ Frank Boyd to S.J.L. del C. (judge Molina), testimony request, 25 September 1905, Boyd Expediente.

⁴⁶ James Knight is probably Herbert Grice, who was with Cassidy and Sundance in Chubut, Argentina. In his memoir. Grice said that he used the name James Knight in Chile. See Larry Pointer, *Grice Whom Nobody Could Catch* (Billings, MT: AlphaGraphics, 2013), 122.

⁴⁷ Thomas Fisher and James Knight, statements, 26 September 1905, Boyd Expediente.

⁴⁸ Frank Boyd to S.J.L. (judge Molina), petition, 29 September 1905; Joaquin Elizalde, statement, 30 September 1905; and judge Molina, order, 30 September 1905: Boyd Expediente.

⁴⁹ Frank Boyd to S.J.L. del C. (judge Molina), power of attorney motion, 5 October 1905, Boyd Expediente; “*Primitivo Libano i Ernesto Libano*” advertisement, *El Industrial*, 1 August 1905; Dr. Semper and Dr. Michels, “*La industria del salitre en Chile*,” *Revista oficial de minas, metalurgia i sustancias salinas*, vol. 53, 1904, Berlin, Germany; “*Primitivo Libano Letelier, Reseñas biográficas parlamentarias, Historia Política*,” Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile (Santiago), https://www.bcn.cl/historiapolitica/resenas_parlamentarias/wiki/Primitivo_L%C3%ADbano_Letelier, accessed 8 August 2022. For information about the Santa María School Massacre, see Lessie Jo Frazier, *Salt in the Sand: Memory, Violence, and the Nation State in Chile, 1890 to the Present* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), and Peter De Shazo, “The Valparaíso Maritime Strike of 1903 and the Development of a Revolutionary Labor Movement in

Chile," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1, May 1979.

⁵⁰ Frank Boyd to S.J.L. (judge Molina), request for Ricardo Meneses and Marcos Molina (Marcos and Carlos Molina might be the same person) interview, 29 September 1905; Ricardo Meneses, interview, 6 October, 1905; Marcos Molina, interview, 12 October, 1905; and Primitivo Líbano to S.J.L. (judge Molina), request for Aníbal Valdivia interview, 13 October, 1905: Boyd Expediente. There is no indication that Vadivia was interviewed.

⁵¹ For a history of the US consular system, see Charles Stuart Kennedy, *The American Consul: A History of the United States Consular Service, 1776-1924* (Washington, DC: New Academia Publishing, 2025). For a discussion of consular duties in fact and in practice, see Nicole M. Phelps, "One Service, Three Systems, Many Empires: The U.S. Consular Service and the Growth of U.S. Global Power, 1789-1924," in *Crossing Empires: Taking U.S. History into Transimperial Terrain*, Kristin Hoganson and Jay Sexton, eds. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020); and Nicole M. Phelps, interview by Abby Mullen, 14 January 2022, "What is a consul anyway?," *Consolation Prize*, <https://consolationprize.rrchnm.org/what-is-a-consul-anyway-re-release/>, accessed 1 August 2022.

⁵² Data on the US consulate in Antofagasta was assembled from a variety of records, including Chile Post Files, General Records of the Department of State, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC; George Sears Greene, *The Greenes of Rhode Island, with historical records of English ancestry, 1534-1902* (NY: The Knickerbocker Press, 1902); and online sources such as the *Register of the Department of State*.

⁵³ Aller's biographical details are from "In Memoriam, Frank D. Aller," *The Mines Magazine*, July 1944, and *The Prospector* (Golden, CO: Colorado School of Mines, vol. IX, 1923), 25.

⁵⁴ Primitivo Líbano to S.J.L. (judge Molina), motion, 9 November 1905, Boyd Expediente.

⁵⁵ Cristina Parraguez viuda de Gonzalez to S.J.L. (judge Molina), reply, 9 November 1905, Boyd Expediente.

⁵⁶ Boyd reply, 23 September 1905; viuda de Gonzalez to S.J.L. del C. (judge Molina), appeal, 14 November 1905; viuda de Gonzalez to S.J.L. del C. (judge Molina), motion, 16 November 1905, viuda de Gonzalez to S.J.L. del C. (judge Molina), motion, 18 November 1905: Boyd Expediente.

⁵⁷ Luis Octavio Gonzalez Parraguez, birth registration, born 7 October 1903, Rancagua,

Ancestry.com, accessed 8 August 2022, and Arturo Gonzalez, death registration, 21 August 1905, *Ancestry.com*, accessed 11 May 2022.

⁵⁸ Pedro Salas B., recommendation to Eduardo Cuellar N. (judge Molina's colleague), 27 February 1909, Boyd Expediente.

⁵⁹ Joaquin Elizalde, "Boyd Frank" arrest warrant, 1 May 190; and A. Gonzalez E., note, 8 May 1909: Boyd Expediente.

⁶⁰ Luis A. Molina, order, 19 May 1909; Molina, notice, 26 May 1909; and Molina, order, 29 May 1909: Boyd Expediente.

⁶¹ Primitivo Líbano to S.J.L. (judge Cuellar), appeal, 5 July 1909, Boyd Expediente.

⁶² Enrique Barros, *Fiscalía de la Corte de Apelaciones Tacna*, recommendation, 20 October 1909, Boyd Expediente.

⁶³ For an analysis of the judicial complaint against Molina, including the disposition of the two counts relating to the Boyd case, see Ernesto Bianchi Tupper, "La razon de una renuncia," *La Nación* (Santiago), 13 June 1920, republished as "Resumen y Documentación," *Juventud*, vol. 3, no. 13. April-May 1921, 72-76d. For more details about Molina and the judicial complaint, see "La actitud de los abogados ante la conducta de los jueces. La queja de los Letrados de Antofagasta," *Revista de tribunales: Publicación mensual de la legislación i jurisprudencia* (Santiago), vol. 8, no. 7, 1 October 1905; "El recurso de los togados," *El Industrial*, 6 November 1905; "Enojoso incidente personal en Tacna. El juez Molina y el abogado acusador," *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, 18 January 1906; "Con el juez de Antofagasta. Las acusaciones en su contra," *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, 1 May 1906; and "El proceso contra el juez de Antofagasta," *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, 22 May 1907.

⁶⁴ *Corte de Apelaciones de Tacna*, appellate decision, 2 November 1909, Boyd Expediente.

⁶⁵ Buck and Meadows, *End of the Road*, 27-28.

⁶⁶ Pedro Salas B., *Secretario de la Corte de Letras de Antofagasta*, order, 13 April 1910, Boyd Expediente.

⁶⁷ Buck and Meadows, "The End of the Road," 28-29. All that survives in the Department of State archives is the Bolivian government's 26 December 1910 cover letter to the US legation and legation's 21 January 1911 letter to Aller.

⁶⁸ For details of the further tumult that followed Molina, see Bianchi Tupper, "La razon de una renuncia." Bianchi Tupper was the Santiago

appeal court justice who resigned upon learning of Molina's appointment. For more on Molina's career, see "Ministro, Don Luis Alberto Molina Valdivia," *Memoria del Ministerio de Justicia* (Santiago: Imprenta I Encuadernación Fiscal de la Penitenciaría, 1924), 512; and Jaime González Colville, "120 años del Corte de Apelaciones de Talca," *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia*, vol. LXXV, no. 118, 2009, 388. As well, González Colville to Daniel Buck, emails, 29 and 30 August 2022.

⁶⁹ Virgilio Figueroa, "Molina Valdivia Luis A.," *Diccionario histórico biográfico y bibliográfico de Chile, 1800-1930* (Santiago: Balcells, 1931), 4-5: 294-95.

⁷⁰ The Knoxville newspaper article escaped the attention of modern researchers until Mike Bell wrote about it in 2021. Bell, *Butch and Sundance*, 33-34.

⁷¹ Supt. E.E. P. Reports, Denver, CO, 15 October 1914. Pinkerton Records. McCarthy's account was mentioned by later writers, e.g., Richard Patterson, *Butch Cassidy: A Biography* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 219, José Steinsleger in *La Jornada de Mexico* (Mexico City), 16 May 2001, and José Ossandón A., "Los asaltantes que sebraron terror," *El Mercurio de Calama* (Chile), 5 August 2001.

⁷² William A. Pinkerton to Charles Ware, Genl. Mgr., Union Pacific Ry., Omaha, letter, 25 October, 1914; Pinkerton's National Detective Agency to Chief of Police, Antofagasta, letter, 31 October 1914; William A. Pinkerton to H.H. Lintner, General Supt. St. Louis, letter, 11 April 1919; and William A. Pinkerton to H.H. Lintner, Gen. Supt., St. Louis, letter, 17 October 1921. Pinkerton Records.

⁷³ Bell, *Butch and Sundance*, 23-24.

⁷⁴ Pointer, *Grice*, 112-13.

⁷⁵ Francis, "The End of an Outlaw;" William A. Pinkerton to Geo. L. Bangs, Gen. Mgr., New York, letter, 27 April 1913, Pinkerton Records; and "William A. Pinkerton Dies in California," *New York Times*, 12 December 1923.

MERRY CHRISTMAS 2022



As we close out another year and volume of the *WWHA Journal*, we want to wish a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year to all our friends in WWHA.

Roy B. Young, Editor