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COCHISE COUNTY HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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Douglas, Arizona 85607

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EARP-CLANTON GUNFIGHT (TOMBSTONE) BIBLIOGRAPHY

By Chris Mills

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this bibliography is to acquaint the casual reader with the print sources on the subject of the Earp-Clanton gunfight. By adding some evaluative comments, I hope to provide a guide to the literature for the interested reader who cannot afford the time and effort to read everything on the subject. This list is certainly not comprehensive, but it does contain much of the literature available. All of the really important writing on the subject as of this date (Summer, 1980) is included.

In the first place, the gunfight that occurred on October 26, 1881, did not take place at the O.K. Corral. (The exact location is shown in the diagrams accompanying this bibliography—see pp. 2 and 3.) How the gunfight became the "Shootout at the O.K. Corral" can be largely attributed to the efforts of such writers as Fredrick Bechdolt, Walter Noble Burns and Stuart Lake in the 1920s. Unfortunately, most of the writers on the subject since then have accepted these accounts uncritically on this point and the "Shootout at the O.K. Corral" ranks with "Custer's Last Stand" in the mythology of Americana. Any version that locates the fight "at the O.K. Corral" is wrong from the start.

At this point, I would like to interject a very brief, but factual summary of the gunfight. The background to the fight is incredibly complex and would take a full-length book to develop—as even the simplest of details is hotly disputed after nearly a hundred years. Basically, though, there were two factions: the Clantons and the Earps. On October 26th, the Clanton faction was made up of at least four men: Ike Clanton, his brother Billy, and the two McLaury brothers—Tom and Frank. All were ranchers in Cochise County. The Earp faction was made up of four men: J. H. "Doc" Holliday and three Earp brothers—Virgil (Tombstone's Chief of Police and a Deputy U.S. Marshal), Morgan and Wyatt. These men resided in Tombstone, where they had extensive business interests.

About 2 p.m. on Wednesday, the 26th, after a rather hectic morning that featured threats, pistol-whippings, arrests, fines, and more threats, the Clanton party crossed Allen Street, passed through the O.K. Corral, turned left on Fremont Street and walked to the vacant lot between Fly's Boardinghouse and a house owned by William Harwood. (See Figure 1.)

The Earp party, upon hearing this, left Hafford's Corner Saloon at Allen and Fourth and proceeded up Fourth, then turned left, walking in

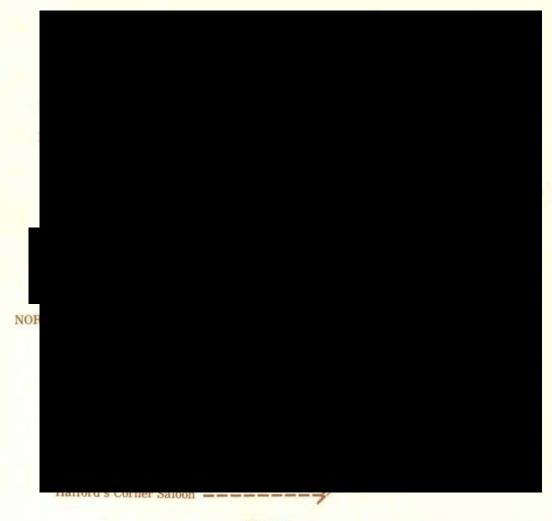


Figure 1

twos down Fremont until they came face to face with the Clantons at the spot indicated on Figure 1. The Earps fanned out. Ike Clanton fled.

In the positions indicated (Figure 2), the two factions exchanged words. Almost simultaneously, members of the Earp faction (probably Morgan Earp and Doc Holliday) opened fire. It was all over in less than twenty seconds. Billy Clanton and the two McLaurys were dead or dying and two of the Earps (Virgil and Morgan) were wounded. Doc Holliday was grazed slightly. There were several witnesses besides the participants, including Cochise County Sheriff John Behan, but no two reported the event exactly the same in all particulars. In fact, the controversies are still raging today.

The second point I would like to make is that most of the books I have evaluated were *not* written solely about the gunfight. Therefore, my comments are not judgments of the entire work, but only of the versions they present of the gunfight. Of course, some works are better than others, but

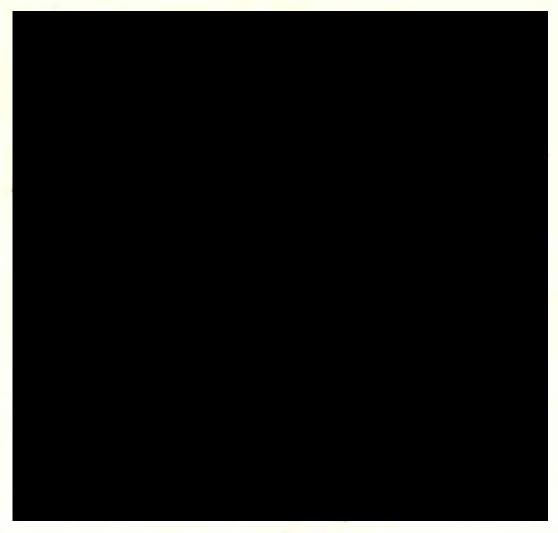


Figure 2

as of this writing, *none* of them could be justly described as definitive or completely accurate in all details. A truly authoritative work on the Earp-Clanton gunfight has yet to be written.

PRIMARY SOURCES

The primary sources contain the accounts of those people who witnessed the fight or its aftermath—or who claimed to be eyewitnesses. The page numbers given will locate the account of the fight itself in these sources when the entire book is not devoted to the gunfight. The more authoritative, accurate or otherwise believable accounts are indicated by an asterisk (*).

1) Artrip, Louis and Fullen

Memoirs of (the late) Daniel Fore (Jim) Chisholm and the Chisholm Trail. (sic) Yermo, California: Artrip Publications, 1959. pp. 73-98

This is the account of a man who was supposedly an eyewitness but who "knew the virtue of silence". He has the date wrong.

*2) Boyer, Glenn G. (compiler and editor)

I Married Wyatt Earp: The Recollections of Josephine Sarah Marcus Earp. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976. pp. 88-93

This is one of the most reliable sources, especially as annotated by Boyer. It is

basically the memoirs of the third (and last) Mrs. Wyatt Earp, who was the common-law wife of Sheriff John Behan at the time. "Sadie" (as she was known at the time) arrived on the scene immediately after the shooting stopped and records her impressions of what happened as well as what she thought of the participants—all of whom she knew.

3) Brown, George Rothwell (editor)

Reminiscences of Senator William M. Stewart of Nevada.

New York: Neale, 1908. p. 266

Stewart claims to have been an eyewitness. This is doubtful as he insists that six Clantons were killed.

4) Chisholm, Joe

Brewery Gulch: Frontier Days of Old Arizona—The Last Outpost of the Great Southwest.

San Antonio: The Naylor Co., 1949. pp. 91-100

Chisholm asserts that the Clantons and McLaurys "never had a chance" and "were deliberately assassinated"—which is debatable; also that Ike Clanton "had been wounded"—which is untrue. Exactly what he witnessed (if anything) is unclear.

*5) Clum, John P.

It All Happened In Tombstone.

Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Press, 1965.

This is an important account, though somewhat partisan, by the man who was the mayor of Tombstone at the time. He witnessed the events that led up to the fight, took a hand in the events subsequent to it, and knew all the participants well. The book has been annotated by Earp authority John D. Gilchriese.

6) Gardner, Raymond Hatfield (Arizona Bill)

The Old Wild West: Adventures of Arizona Bill.

San Antonio: The Naylor Co., 1944. pp. 80-86

This is the account of an alleged "ear-witness", who remained seated "comfortably behind a nice thick door" and "stayed right there until it was all over". It is also highly dubious, being an "O.K. Corral" account.

7) Hughes, Dan de Lara

South From Tombstone.

London: Methuen & Co., 1938. pp. 36-40

Another "O.K. Corral" battle epic by an alleged eyewitness who has most of the facts garbled. We are told that Ike Clanton "was a two-faced skunk" and that Wyatt Earp was a "U.S. Marshall". Hughes is wrong about Earp and probably wrong about Ike Clanton, too.

*8) Lake, Carolyn (editor)

Under Cover for Wells Fargo: The Unvarnished Recollections of Fred Dodge.

Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1969. pp. 26-29

Fred Dodge was a sidekick of the Earps in Tombstone. He was also (unbeknownst to them) an undercover man for Wells Fargo. His account is a very valuable contribution, though he did not witness the fight himself.

*9) Turner, Alford E. (editor)

The Earps Talk.

College Station, Texas: Creative Publishing Co., 1980.

A very valuable source consisting of quotations from the Earp brothers and annotated by Earp authority Al Turner, this book is one of the newest on the market. Its maps, diagrams and almost painful accuracy make it a "must".

*10) Waters, Frank

The Earp Brothers of Tombstone: The Story of Mrs. Virgil Earp.

New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1960. pp. 154-176

"Allie" Earp did not actually witness the fight. Indeed, she was largely kept in the dark by her husband and his brothers. Nevertheless, she rushed to Virgil's side as soon as the shooting stopped and took part in the aftermath. Her contribution is a valuable one, even though "ghost-written" by a man who is rabidly anti-Earp.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Some of these sources could be considered primary as they contain eyewitness accounts interspersed throughout them. However, I have included these with the "contemporary" accounts because they have been severely edited to "prove a point". The rest of the books included as secondary might more properly be called accounts "once removed", being written by those who obtained their information essentially second-hand.

11) Ball, Larry Durwood

The Office of the United States Marshal in Arizona and New Mexico Territories, 1851-1912.

(University of Colorado doctoral dissertation-1970)

This is included only because it contains the "verdict" of U.S. Marshal (for Arizona Territory) Crawley P. Dake on the fight. Virgil Earp alone was his deputy at the time of the fight. Yet Dake plainly states in his letter of November 28, 1881, that "my deputies at Tombstone have struck one effectual blow" to the lawless element. The status of Wyatt Earp is discussed at length in this authoritative source.

12) Bishop, William Henry

Old Mexico and Her Lost Provinces: A Journey in Mexico, Southern California, and Arizona by Way of Cuba.

New York: Harper & Bros., 1883. pp. 482-495

This is the first of a raft of accounts based on "old-timer" recollections, though the data collected was still relatively fresh. Bishop reports that the Earp party was "armed with rifles". (They were not.) Apparently, he talked to persons who were not as knowledgeable as they should have been just two years after the fight.

13) Breakenridge, William M.

Helldorado.

Glorieta, New Mexico: Rio Grande Press, 1970. pp. 146-151

"Billy" Breakenridge was a part-time deputy sheriff at the time of the fight, though he did not witness it. His is the first anti-Earp account of any coherence. His honesty has been challenged.

14) Erwin, Allen A.

The Southwest of John H. Slaughter, 1841-1922: Pioneer Cattleman and Trail Driver of Texas, the Pecos and Arizona, and Sheriff of Tombstone.

Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark, 1965.

This is a biography of much-respected John Slaughter, whose only observation about the fight (which he did not witness) was that it was a "lawless blunder".

15) Ganzhorn, Jack

I've Killed Men.

London: Robert Hale, Ltd., 1940. pp. 24-32

This account was written by the son of the man who managed the Oriental at the time of the gunfight. It contains the testimony of some of the eyewitnesses, although in edited form.

16) Jaastad, Ben

Man of the West: Reminiscences of George Washington Oaks, 1840-1917.

Tucson: Arizona Pioneers Historical Society, 1956. pp. 44-46

Oaks observed in passing that the Clanton faction "did not believe the fight would happen until the Earps opened up on them". He doesn't specify what they did believe. Of little value.

17) Martin, Douglas D. (editor)

The Earps of Tombstone.

Tombstone: Tombstone Epitaph, 1959.

This booklet contains all the references to the Earps that appeared in the *Tombstone Epitaph* between 1880 and 1882. Unfortunately, there are no really discriminating annotations—so that the liars and knaves get "equal time" with the confused and mistaken.

18) Martin, Douglas D. (editor)

Tombstone's Epitaph.

Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1951. pp. 177-203

Again, the *Epitaph* has been drawn from to provide contemporary second-hand accounts of Tombstone's early days. Naturally, the gunfight gets big play. D. D. Martin was a professor of Journalism at the University of Arizona for many years.

19) McCool, Grace

So Said the Coroner: How They Died in Old Cochise.

Tombstone: Tombstone Epitaph, 1968. pp. 77-82

This book is essentially comprised of testimonies from Cochise County Coroner's inquests. Unfortunately, the testimonies of eyewitnesses to the gunfight are presented in edited form.

20) Parsons, George Whitwell

The Private Journal of George W. Parsons.

Tombstone: Tombstone Epitaph, 1972. p. 189

George W. Parsons was out of town when the gunfight occurred and his entry for October 27th (the date of his return) mentions the episode only in passing. Parsons has often been dismissed as a pro-Earp partisan and he certainly admired the Earps; but his journal entries, while often cryptic, mount a formidable challenge to the contention that Tombstone was sympathetic to the Clanton faction in 1881.

21) White, Owen Payne

The Autobiography of a Durable Sinner.

New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942. pp. 25-26

White contends that there "was a feud on" between Charleston and Tombstone—a gross oversimplification.

22) Wister, Fanny Kemble (editor)

Owen Wister Out West: His Journals and Letters.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958. pp. 213-219

The novelist Owen Wister wrote an account of the gunfight from Benson on June 25, 1884—12½ years after the event. He reported that it occurred on November 26, 1881, but aside from this, his version is astonishingly accurate—especially since his sources were irrationally anti-Earp.

MODERN SOURCES

Here are included all the works of research and analysis as well as speculation that have been written in the twentieth century. Most of them, quite frankly, are not very good. Those that are exceptionally accurate are marked with an asterisk (*).

23) Adams, Ramon F.

Burs Under the Saddle: A Second Look at Books and Histories of the West.

Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964.

Twenty-four of the sources that appear in this book are included in this bibliography. Adams basically analyzes each in terms of accuracy and reports their shortcomings in detail. Like most authorities, he is very definite in his idea of "the truth". He has been criticized.

24) Adams, Ramon F.

More Burs Under the Saddle.

Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979.

Seven more books on the gunfight are pronounced upon by Adams.

NOTE: The books analyzed in *Burs*... are: 1, 4, 6, 10, 15, 21, 25, 26, 27, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 42, 43, 44, 46, 51, 52, 56, 63, and 65. The books analyzed in *More Burs*... are: 3, 9, 41, 54, 57, 59, and 61.

25) Arnold, Oren

Thunder in the Southwest: Echoes From the Wild Frontier.

Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952. pp. 48-50

The fight is described in chapter 3—"Bluff and Blood at Tombstone". Ike Clanton, we are told, "histed' his white tail and ran. It was days before anybody saw him again." Picturesque.

26) Bakarich, Sarah Grace

Empty Saddles: A New Version of the Earp-Clanton Feud.

Tombstone: E. C. Nunnelley, 1946.

This is an 8-page effort to elicit sympathy for Billy Clanton. Whether or not he deserved this much effort is a question readers must decide for themselves.

27) Bakarich, Sarah Grace

Gunsmoke.

(Privately printed?), 1947. pp. 47-53

This is apparently the result of some perfunctory research and oral history from Tombstone-Charlestown "old-timers". Significantly, it is catalogued as fiction.

28) Ball, Larry D.

"Outlaws of the Southwest" in Brand Book of the Denver Westerners.

Boulder, Colorado: Johnson Publishing Co., 1965.

This is an elaborate, scholarly proof of the existence of an "outlaw menace" in Arizona Territory in 1881. Good background.

29) Bartholomew, Ed E.

Wyatt Earp, 1879 to 1882: The Man and the Myth.

Toyahvale, Texas: Frontier Book Co., 1964. pp. 234-240

He asserts that he will present "the antics and machinations" of Earp and his friends. He claims to cite "nearly nine hundred bibliographical sources of research". Nothing is footnoted, however, and the true total is less than seven hundred, including duplication.

30) Bechdolt, Frederick

When the West was Young.

New York: The Century Co., 1922. pp. 100-101

This is a very sketchy, inaccurate "O.K. Corral" version. An original myth source.

31) Boyer, Glenn G.

An Illustrated Life of Doc Holliday.

Glenwood Springs, Colorado: Reminder Publishing Co., 1966. pp. 30-35

Generally, anything by Boyer is good. This is one of his earlier efforts, however, and lacks important information that has since been discovered.

32) Boyer, Glenn G.

The Suppressed Murder of Wyatt Earp.

San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Co., 1967.

Where Boyer gets his titles is a mystery. This particular book is argumentative, even contentious, but no one can fault Boyer's research.

33) Brent, Rafer (editor)

Great Western Heroes: Seven True Stories of Men Who Tamed The West.

New York: Bartholomew House, 1957. pp. 81-114

This is a collection of men's magazine article reprints. The pertinent article is "The Saga of Wyatt Earp" by Jack Pearl. It is another "O.K. Corral" epic, complete with a fictitious "Buntline Special".

34) Brophy, Frank Cullen

Arizona Sketch Book: Fifty Historical Sketches.

Phoenix, Arizona: Arizona Messenger Press, 1952.

The fight gets one sentence. Another "O.K. Corral" version.

35) Burns, Walter Noble

Tombstone: An Iliad of the Southwest.

Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page, 1927. pp. 200-220

The relevant chapter is entitled "The Showdown" and is an important "O.K. Corral" myth source.

36) Clum, Woodworth

Apache Agent.

Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1978. p. 268

This is basically a biography of John Clum, the mayor of Tombstone, and adds no information on the gunfight, except to assert (erroneously) that it occurred "in front of John Clum's *Epitaph* office".

37) Gard, Wayne

Frontier Justice.

Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949. pp. 245-248

As a result of the gunfight, we are told, Tombstone was "made unsafe for blustering outlaws". Another "O.K. Corral" version and a poor one at that.

38) Hamill, Lloyd & Rose

Hamill's Tombstone Picture Gallery.

Glendale, California: Western Americana Press, 1960. pp. 13-15

This portrays the fight as "a senseless massacre". It would be more convincing if the Hamills had bothered to get minor details—like the order in which the Earps walked up Fremont Street.

39) Hendricks, George David

The Bad Man of the West.

San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Co., 1942. pp. 2-4

This book begins with a fictitious "old-timer's account" of the fight. There is an interesting, if unscientific, analysis of the physical characteristics of the bad men and peace officers.

40) Hogan, Ray

Johnny Ringo: Gentleman Outlaw.

London: John Lang, 1964.

This is the British version of Hogan's The Life and Death of Johnny Ringo. Since Ringo was not a party in the confrontation of October 26th, it is largely irrelevant. Yet, Hogan makes some interesting assertions about events in Tombstone that day—all undocumented. "Mostly fiction," snorts Western authority Ramon Adams.

41) Jahns, Patricia

The Frontier World of Doc Holliday: Faro Dealer from Dallas to Deadwood.

New York: Hastings House, 1957. pp. 185-215

This is an odd one. The gunfight is "described" by quoting the testimony of the eyewitnesses—a cute (and safe) device. Despite some rather heavy-handed psychoanalysis on Jahn's part, this is an excellent biography.

42) King, Frank M.

Mavericks: The Salty Comments of an Old-Time Cowpuncher.

Pasadena, California: Trail's End Publishing Co., 1947.

These "salty" comments were "refined" from various Mavericks columns that appeared in the Western Livestock Journal over the years. King's qualification seems to be that he knew Sheriff John Behan.

43) King, Frank M.

Wranglin' the Past: Being the Reminiscences of Frank M. King.

Los Angeles, California: Haynes Corp., 1935.

King again. Shooting from the lip.

44) Lake, Stuart N.

Wyatt Earp: Frontier Marshal.

Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1931. pp. 280-298

This is it—the original "block-buster". It almost deserves an asterisk, but the damage this book has done will probably never be un-done. Lake claimed (falsely) that Wyatt Earp had dictated it to him. It is wildly inaccurate heroworship at its worst. Ironically, it has probably outsold all other works on this bibliography combined. It gave rise to the "Buntline Special" myth and firmly established the "O.K. Corral" in the mythology of Americana. It is also the basis for most of the men's magazine-type writing on the subject for the past fifty years and has been the target for often unbalanced de-bunkers. Important.

45) Lewis, Alfred Henry

The Sunset Trail.

New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1905. pp. 350-352

Apparently based on information provided by Bat Masterson, this work of fiction tells the tale of "Mr." Holliday and the Earps versus "the San Simon people" who "came spurring forth of the corral" (sic).

46) Lockwood, Francis Cummins

Pioneer Days in Arizona, From the Spanish Occupation to Statehood.

New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932. pp. 281-282

Lockwood, a former professor of literature at the University of Arizona, presents what is essentially a re-hash of Breakenridge (13) in a chapter entitled "Tombstone's Troublesome Days".

47) Love, Alice Emily

History of Tombstone to 1887.

(Unpublished Master's Thesis-University of Arizona, 1933)

A scholarly approach flawed by the "O.K. Corral" story. Good background.

48) Ludlum, Stuart D. (editor)

Great Shooting Stories.

Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1947.

Stuart Lake contributed a piece of his epic (44 above) entitled "At the O.K. Corral".

49) McClintock, James H.

Arizona: Prehistoric-aboriginal-pioneer-modern.

Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1916. pp. 480-483

According to McClintock, a former State Historian, the Earps were charged with "almost half of the robberies" that occurred around Tombstone at the time. This is utterly preposterous. Badly garbled account.

50) Miller, Joseph

Arizona: The Last Frontier.

New York: Hastings House, 1956. pp. 140-154

"The Earp-Clanton Feud" (Chapter 5) is simply a string of extended quotations from the *Tombstone Nugget* and the *Tucson Star* of the period. Important perspective.

51) Myers, John Myers

Doc Holliday.

Boston: Little, Brown, 1955. pp. 161-183

This is basically an "O.K. Corral" yarn blown up to a biography of Doc Holliday with lots of help from Lake (44). Myers' account of Big Nosed Kate's death is greatly exaggerated. Big Nosed Kate, Doc Holliday's paramour, lived until 1940.

52) Myers, John Myers

The Last Chance: Tombstone's Early Years.

New York: E. P. Dutton, 1950. pp. 157-169

Again, this is a Lake-inspired "O.K. Corral" account. It has entirely too much undocumented dialogue to be authentic nonfiction.

53) Peterson, Thomas H.

The Tombstone Stagecoach Lines.

(Unpublished Master's Thesis-University of Arizona, 1968.)

This is flawed by a reliance on "old-timer" sources that make assertions which cannot be verified. Good background.

54) Richards, Colin

Buckskin Frank Leslie: Gunman of Tombstone.

El Paso, Texas: Texas Western Press, 1964. p. 15

A "violence at the O.K. Corral" account.

55) Rittenhouse, J. D.

Maverick Tales: True Stories of Early Texas.

New York: Winchester Press, 1971. p. 216

Mentioning the fight in passing, Rittenhouse contends that the Clantons were not outlaws because they had never been charged with rustling. Quibbling.

56) Robinson, William Henry

The Story of Arizona.

Phoenix: The Berryhill Co., 1919. pp. 229-230

Not only is this an "O.K. Corral" account, but it is set in October of 1888.

57) Rosa, Joseph G.

The Gunfighter, Man or Myth?

Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969. pp. 135-139

Oddly enough, Rosa is British. Ramon Adams called this "interesting . . . well done . . . (and) a valuable addition to the literature of the gunman". Coverage of the gunfight is very brief, unfortunately.

58) Ryan, J. C.

A Skeptic Dude in Arizona.

San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Co., 1952. pp. 96-101

Ryan has managed to absorb all the "old-timer" tales and still present a fairly rational "interpretation" of what it all means. His whole book is limited to personal opinions, though, and he seems to have swallowed the "O.K. Corral" line. Better than most works of this kind.

*59) Schoenberger, Dale T.

The Gunfighters.

Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1971.

This is one of the more accurate accounts. The chapters on Doc Holliday and Wyatt Earp are relevant and certainly well researched. It has a decided "debunking" flavor to it, though.

60)

Tombstone Tales.

Tombstone: Tombstone Epitaph, n. d.

An "O.K. Corral" version.

*61) Trachtman, Paul

The Gunfighters.

Alexandria, Virginia: Time/Life Books, 1974. pp. 15-34

This is only slightly inaccurate, otherwise very well presented. It is a sad comment on the state of the literature when one of the best books on the subject is a *Time/Life* book. Easy to follow.

62) Traywick, Ben T.

The Residents of Tombstone's Boot Hill.

(Privately printed?), 1971. pp. 27-30

The relevant chapter is entitled (significantly) "The Immortal Fight at the O.K. Corral". Traywick asserts that "it is believed" that the first two shots were fired "by Wyatt Earp and Billy Clanton". Exactly who fired the first two shots (for what that is worth) may never be satisfactorily resolved, but one thing is certain, neither Wyatt Earp nor Billy Clanton fired them.

63) Walters, Lorenzo D.

Tombstone's Yesterdays.

Tucson: Acme Printing Co., 1928. pp. 52-82

Walters presents edited abstracts of the Wells Spicer Decision as well as an abstract of Coroner Mathews' report. If he had let it go at that, this would be a valuable source. But he insisted on telling the tale of the gunfight at the "O.K. Corral".

64) Way, Thomas E.

Frontier Arizona.

New York: Carlton Press, 1950. pp. 40-43

This is really an odd one. It is purportedly a copy of the *Tombstone Epitaph* of October 27, 1881. Only it is nothing at all like the newspaper account that has been reproduced elsewhere. Where Way got it is a mystery.

65) Wilson, Rufus Rockwell

Out of the West.

New York: Press of the Pioneers, 1933. pp. 299-301

Wilson locates the fight near the "assay office" for some reason. It was "near" an assay office, but it was "near" the O.K. Corral, too. Strange.

PERIODICALS

Everything significant about the gunfight has been included here. Much of the wretchedly-written men's magazine "contributions" have been purposely ignored as they add nothing but speculation and misinformation to the controversy. What is left is the pick of the lot—being either well-written or well-researched. Some are both.

66) American Heritage 11:42-46 August, 1960.

"Wyatt Earp and Bat Masterson" by Peter Lyon.

This is a rather superficial de-bunking effort based on Waters' The Earp Brothers of Tombstone (10) and some perfunctory research. Lyons locates the action "at the O.K. Corral" and reports "somebody spoke; somebody started shooting"—which is certainly true, but hardly informative.

67) American West 7:26-28+ May, 1970.

"The Wyatt Earp Syndrome" by C. L. Sonnichsen.

Sonnichsen's writing style takes some getting used to. His contribution is an interesting, if rambling, critique of Western fiction dealing with Wyatt Earp, particularly Robert Krepps' Hour of the Gun.

68) Arizona and the West 18:217-236 1976.

"Postscripts to Historical Fiction About Wyatt Earp in Tombstone" by Glenn G. Boyer.

Once again, Boyer's title is misleading. He is not dealing with historical fiction in the conventional, literary sense of the word. His is an attempt to set the record straight.

69) Arizona and the West 19:65-84 September, 1977.

"The O.K. Corral Fight at Tombstone: A Footnote by Kate Elder" (edited and annotated) by A. W. Bork and Glenn G. Boyer.

This is basically the eyewitness account of Big Nosed Kate, Doc Holliday's common-law wife. It is preceded by contributions from Bork and Boyer and extensively annotated by both. (Bork interviewed Kate in the 1930s.) A very valuable contribution and important source.

70) Arizona Days and Ways pp. 7-11 March 1, 1964.

"The Scholarly Assessment of Wyatt Earp" by B. Johnson.

This is an interview with Earp authority John D. Gilchriese, whose responses clear up a lot of myth and misinformation on the subject of Wyatt Earp in general and of the gunfight in particular.

71) Arizoniana (now Journal of Arizona History) 1:20-22 Fall, 1960.

"Notes on the Earp-Clanton Feud" by William A. Duffen.

This presents two interesting primary source documents —petitions for writs of habeus corpus drafted by lawyers for Wyatt Earp and Doc Holliday. There is also a very brief account of the "O.K. Corral" fight. Title somewhat misleading.

72) THE COCHISE QUARTERLY 1:3-6 March, 1971

The Life and Times of Wyatt Earp by John D. Gilchriese

Gilchriese is one of a very few writers who really knows this subject. His account has the virtue of accuracy—as far as it goes. Very brief.

73) The Kansas Historical Quarterly XLII(2):113-154 Summer, 1976.

Wyatt Earp and the Buntline Special Myth by William B. Shillingberg.

Shillingberg discusses the fight only in passing. His article is important in that it authoritatively lays to rest the Colt "Buntline Special" nonsense.

74) Montana, the Magazine of Western History 20:64-74 Winter, 1970.

The Wells Spicer Decision: 1881 by Gary Roberts.

This is a cautious, factual account with good background on Justice of the Peace Wells Spicer, who exonerated the Earp party in a hearing after the gunfight. Text of the Decision included.

75) True West 18:18 + January/February, 1971.

I Witnessed the O.K. Corral Fight: Excerpts From the Unpublished Diary of Honest John Montgomery by Wayne Montgomery.

John Montgomery owned the O.K. Corral in 1881. This is purportedly an eyewitness account. There are too many inaccuracies.

76) Tucson Magazine pp. 22 and 34 March, 1976.
A Day of Reckoning by Charles Casey.

This is a typical "what really happened at the O.K. Corral" yarn, complete with implausible dialogue. As has been pointed out before, nothing really happened at the O.K. Corral.

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HIKING NELL

By Ida K. Meloy

It was in the spring of 1911 that, upon the advise of our physician, my husband and I with our two sons, seven and nine years of age, left our home in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania for our new home in the west.

We were exiled to the remote territory of Arizona where the high, dry, climate, glorious sunshine, blue skies, magnificent sunsets, the rocks and hills, balmy days, wonderful nights, the solitude of the desert were conducive to health. Our ultimate destination was Manzora, Arizona high in the Dragoon Mountains, not far from old Mexico on the south, and New Mexico on the east, overlooking a beautiful valley with scattered homesteads. We especially enjoyed the evenings, admiring the large, bright stars, and the moon, which seemed so close to the earth we could almost reach up and touch it. The altitude was the highest point between El Paso and San Francisco.

Our home was one mile from the flagstop Manzora, seven miles from Cochise, and four miles from Dragoon, on the Southern Pacific railroad. We were back to the primitive with oil lamps, wood burning stoves, water hauled from a distance of five miles in large drums and nearest neighbors four miles away.

As we were seated around the fire reading on the night of December 23, 1911 at our home, the Golden Rule Mine, there was a knock at the door. As is customary my husband inquired, "Who is there?"

"A traveler," a woman's voice answered. She had seen our light as she was walking along the railroad one mile away and came to see if she could secure lodging.

"What are you doing out at night and afoot?" my husband asked. She replied she was a reporter for the New York Times and was walking on a wager to Los Angeles. He asked for her credentials. She replied she did not have any.

"Well, traveler, come in, and since you are a woman alone and afoot, we will give you lodging."

As I looked at her, I thought I had never seen such a sight. She had on a light tan coat made of about eighteen or twenty gores, as

was the style in those days, a long black voile skirt with a train, a blouse, and men's shoes. Her dutch bob of black hair fell in strings about her thin face. She wore a black scarf. As I waited for some sort of introduction, the traveler introduced herself, saying, "I'm Hiking Nell. Haven't you ever heard of me?"

Of course I hadn't. Just at that moment the old prospector to whom we had given a home came in and gave her close scrutiny. Looking him over as well, she inquired of me, "Who is that old rooster?"

Trying to hide my amusement, I explained he was our watchman. As I went about the business of preparing a meal for our unexpected guest, I could see there was no love between them at first sight. In fact, they immediately began to quarrel. Looking at her disdainfully, he said, "You can fool these people, but you cannot fool me."

She spat out at him that if she ever met him along the road, he'd better watch out, and I could tell she meant it.

Finally, they settled down and I showed her where she could clean up before having dinner. We always kept wash up facilities just outside the kitchen door for our traveling visitors.

The old prospector kept a wary eye on her while she prepared for dinner, and once came back to whisper that she was making signs to someone. I went into the living room to tell my husband, who promptly sent the old prospector to his quarters, and then with dog and gun made a trip around the house and corral. He found no one, of course, and when he came to the prospector's door knocked very sharply. The old man, who always boasted about being so brave, called in an excited voice, "Who's there? Answer at once or I'll shoot through the door."

Laughing to himself, he explained it was only he and that he was getting ready to put the new traveler, "Hiking Nell" in the feed room, (which was next to the prospector's), for the night, and that he had better lock his door. With a snort the old prospector began to barricade his door.

In the meantime, as our visitor was eating her dinner, I sat down and talked to her; I felt that she was so odd and in need of a friend. I asked her what occupation she was engaged in. She replied she had been a pianist and played in a moving picture show; and that she was also a friend of Della Fox, a very prominent actress of that day. I glanced at her hands and could see they were very beautifully shaped in spite of the ruffage, and that she could have been an artist of some kind. During the meal she kept walking to the stove putting something in, which I discovered were "cockle burrs" picked up on her trek across the desert.

The next morning as our two wayfaring boarders came to the house for breakfast, I asked the old prospector how he had slept. He replied, "Never better in my life." I wondered if he was telling the truth because we did not sleep due to the dogs barking so much. A little later, however, he remarked that Nell swore all night long and that he couldn't sleep a wink. At this we all had a good laugh.

After breakfast, Nell and I resumed our talk. She explained that she really did not have any place to go, and asked if she could stay with us, promising that she would scrub floors, wash dishes, and do all the hard work if we would just keep her. It was rather pitiful, as she said that in crossing the country many people would not even give her a drink of water. I had to explain that we could not take any more travelers in as we had no room available. I told her that I would help her in any other way that I could.

Nell stayed on all day, walking through the house, as she hummed most of the day. She said she was so happy to be there. I did not give her any encouragement, however, and finally she had to be on her way to Phoenix, Arizona, where she could get work in the orange groves. Her time for winning the wager had expired.

Walking out the door to say good-by, Nell stopped and pulled out of her blouse front, which seemed to contain all of her belongings, a pair of gloves. This, she explained was what she wanted to give me for Christmas. I thanked her, but replied I thought she should keep them as she might be able to trade them for a meal somewhere along the road. Reluctantly she put them back in her blouse, this time extracting a souvenir spoon engraved, "Alva, Oklahoma." I accepted this, saying I would always keep it as a friendly gesture and cherish it.

I filled buckets with food and water, as well as coffee, so that she would have some nourishment along the way. I also gave her a note to the hotel at Dragoon four miles away, requesting that they give her a night's lodging at our expense. Then she was off around the mountains. She kept looking back, waving until she disappeared around them.

I could not forget "Hiking Nell", as she departed in her strange looking attire, carrying buckets of food and water. It was such a cold afternoon for her to be starting out alone.

That night was one of those dark, dark nights. I could see nothing as I peered out the window from time to time, half expecting Nell to return to us. I had a certain uneasiness about Nell. Strange as she was, she was out there alone. I wondered if she would arrive at the hotel safely. Soon it began to snow and we retired for the night.

The next day we received the news of our strange traveler, "Hiking Nell". She never reached Dragoon, but was found wandering around in the snow not far from town. Poor Nell was incoherent and completely out of her mind. She reached Phoenix finally as she set out to do, but she did not get to work in the orange groves. Her new home was the kindly asylum for the mentally sick. There, perhaps she found better understanding and more secure lodging than in all her travels.

I shall never forget "Hiking Nell" and her strange lodging at our home in the Dragoons. During the four years of residence there, we met many unforgetable characters, but of all the interesting experiences, and of all the most unforgetable persons, there was one especially memorable, "Hiking Nell."

Written in 1955 by Ida K. Meloy.

A Note About The Author:

Ida Koons Meloy and her husband, Charles L. Meloy, came to Arizona in 1911 along with their two sons, Andrew and William. They moved from Harrisburg, Pa. to the Golden Rule Mine in the Dragoon Mountains, owned by Mr. Meloy and his brother Andrew of New York City.

Their first night in Arizona was spent in the Cochise Hotel. Mrs. Meloy was an excellent story teller and had many tales to tell of her pioneer days in Cochise County.

The family moved to Douglas in 1916 and Mrs. Meloy lived there until her death at age 89 in 1965.

 Barbara Klingensmith Meloy (wife of Ida's son, William)