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Book Reviews

The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700. By John Leddy Phelan. Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1959. Pp. xi, 218. Illustrations. $4.00.

In the *Hispanization of the Philippines* the author presents a case study of the conflicts and fusion of cultures in a fringe area. His book provides an excellent illustration of the successes and failures of Spanish colonial policy in its application to specific local conditions. The dual motive which inspired the Spanish conquerors—the desire for both spiritual and worldly profit—created problems never completely solved in any part of Spain's empire overseas, but it is to her credit that the struggle to achieve an equitable compromise between economic and religious incentives continued.

By 1565 the Spanish authorities, with decades of colonial experience behind them, were in a mood to learn from earlier mistakes. Under the influence of the Dominican theory of conquest by pacific means, they hoped to avoid the excesses which had hitherto characterized their initial impact with the native races. In this the Philippine enterprise was partially successful, but the old problem of satisfying the economic needs of the conquerors without injustice to the conquered remained. As Mr. Phelan points out, there was a great gulf between protective legislation emanating from Spain and the possibility of enforcing it in so remote a possession under local conditions of which the lawmakers were insufficiently cognizant. This stumbling block existed throughout the empire, but one of the advantages of regional studies is the opportunity to analyze governmental theory and practice within a more circumscribed framework and so help to illuminate the general problems of Spanish colonial social history. Regional historians should not proceed as if their area were isolated on an island in space and time. Neither should they make facile assumptions on the basis of general

theories of colonial administration and fail to take into account the inevitable modifications in practice under the pressure of circumstances. Mr. Phelan's ethno-historical approach avoids these pitfalls and his work has wider implications than the title may suggest. Students of Southwestern history will find some interesting parallels in the problems and behavior of the ruling Spanish minority in their attempts to impose their way of life in a physical and cultural environment totally different from the one they found in New Mexico. It would be hazardous to make too much of such comparisons, but, perhaps because both areas were on the very fringes of Christendom, the process of acculturation followed similar lines in many respects. Moreover, when both disappointed the Spanish dream of gold and glory, the proselytizing motive was strong enough for them to be maintained at heavy expense to the Crown; their strategic importance as a curb to the ambitions of other empire builders was a later development.

Mr. Phelan writes unpretentiously and well, with due respect for his source of material and its limitations. In addition to several illustrations from sixteenth and seventeenth century works, there is a short glossary, an appendix with maps showing the centers of missionary activity, a bibliographical essay and list of sources, and a useful index.

University of New Mexico ELEANOR B. ADAMS

Prudent Soldier, a Biography of Major General E. R. S. Canby, 1817-1873. By Max L. Heyman Jr. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959. Pp. xv, 418. Notes, bibliographical note, maps, index.

This handsome if pedestrian biography of Edward Richard Sprigg Canby, graced by fine laid-paper and all the other qualitative features which for long have been associated with the Clark editions, presents the life of the "prudent" Union soldier who commanded the Department of New Mexico when Sibley's Confederate force invaded the territory in

1862. As a whole, however, Canby was more outstanding as a military administrator than as a field commander, and even the fifty-page chapter on his career in New Mexico is largely concerned with Canby's promulgation of martial law and other problems of administration. It was the general's claim to fame as an honest, efficient administrator that the biographer stresses as the central theme in his study. The reader who reads this "life" objectively may also conclude, perhaps regretfully, that Canby was an archetype of the punctilious, unimaginative military bureaucrat who still inhabits the recesses of the Pentagon or manfully puzzles-out orders at some far-flung base.

After graduation from West Point in 1839 (Canby was thirtieth in a class of thirty-one), there were routine assignments in the early 1840's: duty at regimental headquarters in Florida and patrols against the Seminoles, garrison duty on the Canadian border, a recruiting detail in Buffalo, then the Mexican War. With Scott's army in Mexico, Canby received citations "for active and zealous performance of his duties," and as a brevet Major began his career as a military staff officer. During the next decade he was in California on service with the Adjutant General's office, or travelling elsewhere from post to post on inspection tours. Promoted to Lieutenant Colonel, and as second in command, he marched with the Tenth Infantry in the Utah Expedition. In August, 1859, he took over the command of Fort Bridger; a year later he lead his unsuccessful expedition against the Navajos in New Mexico Territory, and on June 11, 1861, became commander of the Union forces in the New Mexico Department.

The discussion of military operations in New Mexico during the Civil War in this biography contains less than is to be found in the studies by Kerby, Colton or Keleher, but this is understandable since Heyman's stress is upon Canby's administrative career. He accepts Canby's own interpretation of the Valverde battle—that the misbehavior of the "green" New Mexico troops caused the federal defeat there, and agrees with the usual appraisal that Canby not only saved his

forces after the battle but executed a strategic defense plan of his own which adequately contained the Confederate advance into the territory. This strategy included Canby's call upon the Governor of Colorado Territory for troops, the destruction of supplies in the Rio Grande towns (a modified "scorched earth policy"), the movement from north and south upon the Confederate troops with Albuquerque as the point of convergence, and the pressure applied to Sibley's force at Peralta which resulted in their disastrous retreat from New Mexico. Several important questions on Canby's generalship are not discussed. For example, was Canby motivated by any subjective attitudes in his failure to press the retreating troops of his brother-in-law (Sibley) after the Peralta skirmish? As a military administrator in the Department of New Mexico during the early years of the Civil War Canby exerted unusual efforts to raise funds, provide supplies, and keep order (he invoked martial law), but like many another official he underestimated the citizens of Spanish descent in the region.

When the New Mexican campaign of 1862 was over, Canby was called to duty in the Adjutant General's Office in Washington where he continued to ingratiate himself into the favor of such martinets as General-in-Chief Halleck and the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton. He carried out several assignments, such as a command in New York City in connection with the draft riots, and then, elevated to the rank of Major General of Volunteers, he became commander of the Military Division of West Mississippi after the Banks Red River Expedition fiasco of 1864. In Louisiana, Canby concentrated the troops in defensible positions, sent a force under General Gordon Granger to assist Farragut against the forts which guarded Mobile Bay, and, after much delay, finally moved into Mobile on April 12, 1865. In administering his Division, Canby attempted to enforce trade regulations and dealt with the "unionists" of Louisiana who were attempting to reorganize State government there. Both in the Gulf area during the war and as a department commander after the war

in Texas, the Carolinas, and Virginia, Canby was a devoted executor of others' policies. He was upright, discreet yet firm, and totally lacking in obstreperous initiative which might prove to be embarrassing to his superiors. Without the Dantonian fury of most Radicals in that era, he was nonetheless able to run with the Radical pack. If he was not "the great reconstructor" that the *New York Tribune* called him, he stood up staunchly against the passive resistance with which the conservative southern whites met his literal enforcement of the reconstruction statutes.

His many abilities notwithstanding—in spite of his mastery of military orders, reports, correspondence, and records, his disciplinary excellence, and his level-headed judgment—Canby was not a great general in the field. His personal bravery and devotion to duty were unquestioned; but he lacked the imagination and dynamic resiliency which make commanders great. He was never able to override obstacles presented by the conditions of battle; he never seized upon forlorn hopes and turned them into golden opportunities. At the Battle of Cerro Gordo he was confused in the chaparral and, panting from exhaustion, reached the crest of El Telégrafo after the fighting was over. In his expedition against the Navajos he found that the rough country made pursuit impracticable. The "condition" of his troops made it inadvisable to strike the Confederates again after Peralta. Torrential rainfall was responsible for his failure to push ahead more rapidly in the action against Mobile. Even in the melodramatic finale of his career in the lava beds, he met his death while caught between the intransigent will of Captain Jack of the Modocs and his rigid orders from Washington.

There is evidence of hard work in this volume. The author combed the army's command papers and the Adjutant General's files in the National Archives; he examined manuscript collections in the Library of Congress and elsewhere, also West Point records, the volumes of the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, and many other printed sources. It is an odd inaccuracy that after using the Nathaniel

Prentiss Banks manuscripts in the Essex Institute library, the "fighting politician's" middle name should appear as Preston.

University of New Mexico GEORGE WINSTON SMITH

The Civil War in the Western Territories: Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah. By Ray C. Colton. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. Pp. ix, 230. $5.00.

Mr. Colton has set out to prove a thesis dear to the hearts of true Southwesterners: that there was a Civil War west of the Mississippi as well as east of it. He proposes to redress the historian's neglect of the vast western stage of that conflict by giving us a factual blow-by-blow account of the military movement of Confederate and Union armies in the four territories of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah during the war years. He is also interested in the effects of these campaigns upon Indian affairs and political developments within each territory. The narrative is accompanied by useful, simplified maps of the various battles and marches, and by pictures of the leading military and political figures of the Southwest.

In seeking out the motives for Confederate interest in the Mountain West, the author feels that the vague Southern dreams of a corridor to the Pacific and the creation of a sympathetic southwestern confederacy coincided with the very practical needs for military supplies stored in western forts, the gold and silver to be had from Colorado and Arizona mines, and the support of Indian allies in the war against the Union. But Mr. Colton's real interest—and the central focus of the book—is the exciting military campaign which began with Colonel Baylor's and General Sibley's invasions of New Mexico in 1861 and 1862, and ended with the unexpected defeat of the cocky Confederates at Glorieta Pass. He calls this complex and uncertain battle, in which both sides cautiously claimed a victory, the "Gettysburg of the West." And as in so many other Civil War histories the Confederate side of the campaign (incorrectly described on the dust

jacket as the "campaign up the Colorado River") comes more alive and seems more heroic and tragic than the Northern efforts to contain the irrepressible Texan invaders. The northern preparations at Fort Union are given in some detail, however, and the actual battle at Glorieta is impartially viewed from both sides.

This reviewer is in agreement with Mr. Colton's general thesis that the West's role in the Civil War needs more attention. He also appreciated reading a clear and factual narrative of the detailed troop movements, skirmishes, and battles along the Rio Grande, and the precise chronicle of General Carleton's occupation of Confederate Arizona. Nevertheless, he was sorely troubled by the author's extreme reluctance to go beyond—either in fact or by interpretation—the standard printed accounts in Hollister, Whitford, and Keleher, and by a too steady reliance on the venerable but by now somewhat outdated Bancroft. One leaves the military chapters of this book still wondering why Major Isaac Lynde made the disastrous decision to abandon Fort Fillmore; or whether General Sibley was drunk and fear-ridden at Valverde; or why General Canby was so suspiciously cautious when Union victories seemed so easily within his grasp; and finally, whether it was Chivington or Captain William H. Lewis who deserved the most credit for the outcome at Glorieta Pass. Perhaps these are unanswerable questions, but the reader is left feeling that the author did not get "inside" of his chief protagonists. Similarly, the role of Chivington in the Sand Creek Massacre and the consequences of this affair are treated so guardedly that the uninitiated reader might never guess that this sorry affair started a general Indian war, unseated a governor, split Colorado politics, and held up Colorado statehood for a dozen years.

The author concludes with a summary of Indian troubles and political developments within the four territories. While he dramatizes rather successfully the significance and scope of the Indian troubles by running a horrifying statistical commentary on the number of settlers killed and wounded and the scores of skirmishes and battles which took place, he

tells the political story so briefly that nearly all of the excitement and complexity surrounding territorial politics—particularly in New Mexico and Colorado—are missed. What Mr. Colton has done is to present us with neither a definitive scholarly work nor a popularized romantic account. Nor do I believe that either of these was his aim. His book might best be called a "brief introduction" to the Civil War in the western territories for those who, like himself, have become interested in the Southwest through years of study and travel. If such an introduction is intended to whet the appetite for a fuller history of this little known side of the Civil War, then he has succeeded in doing just that.

Yale University HOWARD R. LAMAR

The Fighting Parson: The Biography of Colonel John M. Chivington. By Reginald S. Craig. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1959. Pp. xv, 284. $7.50.

John M. Chivington did not earn the sobriquet "The Fighting Parson," as one might surmise, engaging Confederate invaders in New Mexico. Instead he won that title battling for the Lord in border Kansas during its "bleeding" time. Nevertheless, he upheld his reputation as a fighter at Apache Cañon and Glorieta Pass in March, 1862, only to have it spoiled at Sand Creek two years later.

Colonel Reginald S. Craig, lawyer-soldier, has prepared a lucid, easily read account of this Methodist minister from Ohio, whose assignments in Illinois, Missouri, and Nebraska eventually brought him to Denver as presiding elder of the Rocky Mountain District just before the outbreak of the War between the States.

Chivington's part, as major and then colonel of the First Colorado Volunteers, in helping to repulse the Confederate invasion of New Mexico is well known to *aficionados* of New Mexican history, and the author presents nothing new for them on this subject. If anything, as a biographer, he fails his hero, recapitulating the entire campaign rather than centering his attention upon Chivington's role in it. More-

over, the lack of a tactical map of the Apache Cañon and Glorieta Pass engagements handicaps the reader somewhat; while the research on that phase of the tale makes this part the weaker of the two main sections of the book.

It is in his defense of Chivington's actions in the Sand Creek Affair that Craig really shines, for it was to this end that the work was primarily written. Had Chivington had Craig as his advocate during the hearings which followed that event, he would probably have a better reputation than he currently has.

The author, somewhat unfairly, blames the Indian for all the troubles that led to the so-called massacre. He reveals an alliance of sorts among the Plains Indians and points out that the Indians at Sand Creek were not the ones with whom any purported truce had been made, and that they were by no means unarmed and helpless when attacked by Chivington's forces. A pitched battle which lasted all day ensued and the killing of women and children together with the alleged atrocities committed by Chivington's men was not nearly as extensive as contended, nor was it within Chivington's power to prevent entirely such incidents from occurring.

It is Craig's thesis that the Sand Creek Affair was used by the anti-state forces of Colorado to defeat the move for its admission into the Union; that this was abetted by the enmity of Colonel E. W. Wynkoop and the jealousy of S. F. Tappen, formerly lieutenant colonel of the First Colorado Volunteers, who presided over the court of inquiry (Chivington was never court martialed).

After a careful examination of the testimony, the author shows rather conclusively that the preponderance of evidence is against Sand Creek being termed a massacre; that Grinnell and other historians have given credence to statements of prejudiced parties, overlooking their motives and the counterstatements of more reliable witnesses; and that Chivington's conduct, before, during, and after the assault, was correct.

Craig includes a superfluous chapter on the final quelling of the Cheyenne, in which Chivington had no part, and con-

cludes the Chivington story with a recital of how, after being ostracized by church and country, he was accepted and honored again by most of his Denver neighbors.

Now, in this seventeenth in the "Great West and Indian" series of the Westernlore Press, Colonel Craig will undoubtedly succeed in vindicating Chivington in the eyes of the nation as well.

Los Angeles Valley College MAX L. HEYMAN, JR.

Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863. By William H. Goetzmann. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959. Pp. xx, 509. Illustrations, maps, bibliography and index. $6.50.

Although the terminal dates given in the title of this new book on western exploration indicate a span of six decades it is, in the main, devoted to the life of the United States Army Corps of Topographical Engineers, 1838-1863. In the Army Reorganization Act of 1838, the Topographical Engineers were accorded a status equal to the regular Corps of Engineers and were placed under the direct supervision of the Secretary of War. From then until March of 1863, when the organization was legislated out of existence, its men and officers charted the American West earlier discovered by the mountain men. Their work was much the same as that of the "Pathfinder," Fremont, in that frequently they covered a terrain that was by no means *terra incognita.* If the men of the Corps were not discoverers, they were chroniclers, and what they left behind was fact, not folklore. Here was their great contribution.

In an early and important chapter, the author describes the work of John C. Fremont, whom he calls the "most famous of all the Topographical Engineers." The Southwest next comes under close scrutiny in a chapter entitled "The Mexican War Reconnaissance." Here the reader again encounters Fremont, and along with him some of the other "names" of the Corps, such as Lieutenant James W. Abert (son of J. J. Abert, head of the Corps) and Lieutenant Wil-

liam H. Emory, whose reports would be widely read. Out of the war came the first large-scale assignment of the Topographical Engineers, the Mexican boundary survey, and a three-volume report compiled by Emory. Following the boundary survey chapter, Professor Goetzmann offers one entitled "Exploring the New Domain, 1838-1853," in which he discusses the efforts of the Corps to locate suitable travel routes across the recently acquired empire. A natural outcome of this examination was an interest in possible railroad routes, and this question is the subject for another well done chapter. The concluding section of the volume is devoted to the wagon road program (so well treated in Professor W. Turrentine Jackson's earlier study, *Wagon Roads West*), the Mormon War of 1857, and troubles with the Sioux during the Fifties.

Except for a few minor points, readers will find little to criticize in this study. It is well written; in some sections quite excitingly so, and the over-all result is more than satisfactory. In a place or two there are sentences subject to misinterpretation. For example, in referring to the Dunbar-Hunter expedition of 1804 (p. 34), the author states that Thomas Jefferson was anxious to learn more about the western boundary of Louisiana and he "determined to send an exploring expedition up the Red River, which ran toward the West." The source of the river lies to the West; it runs east and then southeast. Or, in referring to Jedediah Smith's travels in 1829 (p. 51), he speaks of Smith as having "penetrated as far north as the present Canadian border before joining his partner, David Jackson, somewhere north of Flathead Lake in what is now northern Idaho." If he means that Flathead Lake is in present Idaho, there will be strong objections from Montanans. Smith and Jackson could meet west, or even northwest, of Flathead Lake and still be in present Idaho, but not north. In another instance (p. 37), he refers to one of the explorers "floating first up the Missouri River." To have done so would have been to defy the laws of gravity.

Mention must be made of the fine maps, so often missing

in works of this kind. In addition to smaller reproductions of numerous maps by the explorers, there are fourteen well executed maps distributed throughout the text in appropriate locations. Then, as a real dividend, there is a back-cover envelope filled with large reproductions of maps by G. K. Warren, J. C. Fremont, and F. W. von Egloffstein. Such an inclusion speaks well for the publisher, most of whose colleagues ruthlessly ignore such necessities on the grounds of economy at a time of rising costs. Along that line, it should be remarked that the entire design of the book is one of excellent taste carried out in every detail. The reviewer runs no risk in predicting that the book at once will go down as a "standard" in the field of western history.

University of Colorado ROBERT G. ATHEARN

The Spanish Element in Texas Water Law. By Betty Eakle Dobkins. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1959. Pp. xiii, 190. Illustrations, Maps, Index. $5.00.

Texas, with its rapidly expanding population, industrialization, and agriculture, is faced with an acute water problem. Since Texas' demand for water is ever increasing and the state's water supply is limited, it is obvious that an effective conservation and equitable distribution program will soon be necessary. Industrial and municipal water demands have greatly accelerated within the past few decades, but irrigation is the water glutton of the state. It accounts for approximately 85 percent of the state's total water consumption. One of the major facets of this water problem in the sub-humid areas of the state is the right to appropriate the surface waters from the perennial streams which cross these arid regions.

One of the fastest growing agricultural areas in the United States is the lower Rio Grande Valley. By 1950 irrigated farms covered most of the four counties located in the southern tip of Texas. Between 1939 and 1950 the acreage under irrigation in the lower Rio Grande Valley had more than doubled, for it was during this period that approxi-

mately 364,000 additional acres of arid land were opened to cultivation by irrigation. As a result of the recent Texas drought, it is evident that the region already has under irrigation the maximum number of acres which the Rio Grande River can sustain under present conditions. The Falcon Dam will furnish a limited water reserve for lands now under cultivation during periods of drought, but it will not support any further expansion of cultivation. There is approximately one million additional acres of land in the area which could be placed under cultivation if an adequate supply of water for irrigation could be obtained. Much of this additional acreage is covered by recognized Spanish Land Grants, which are fully protected under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

In order to protect the investments and correlative rights of all the inhabitants of the lower Rio Grande Valley, an equitable program for the equitable distribution of the existing water supply is necessary. Texas has adopted the Common-Law doctrine of riparian rights, which provides that every proprietor has a natural right to use the water which flows in a stream adjacent to this land for irrigation purposes. If the courts continue to follow the riparian rights rule, all undeveloped tracts abutting the river in the lower Rio Grande Valley could eventually be opened for cultivation. If this happened there obviously would not be sufficient surface water available to irrigate all the valley lands, and the tracts located down river would be deprived of the water which their owners had previously appropriated.

In 1956 the State of Texas took the initiative, in an effort to solve the lower Rio Grande Valley water dilemma, by instituting suit against the Hidalgo County Water Control and Improvement District No. 18. At the time of the institution of the suit, Texas was in the deathly grip of a seven year drought and the waters behind the Falcon Dam were rapidly being depleted. Texas asked the Court to grant it authority to regulate the distribution of the water of the Rio Grande. The litigation involved the conflict between rights of the riparian proprietors and prior appropriators and the right of the State to regulate water in the interest of the public

welfare. In an effort to separate the question of what water rights appertained to Spanish Land Grants from the main issues involved in the case, the court severed the cross action filed by the Valmont Plantations from the main suit.

District Judge W. R. Blalock handed down the decision in the case State of Texas et al. vs Valmont Plantations et al. in May, 1959. The court held that "when the Government of Spain made the original grants of land in question in this case, that such grants did not, as an appurtenance thereto, carry with them a right of irrigation upon the lands involved," but that under the rulings of Texas Supreme Court, Judge Blalock had no alternative but to hold that all lands abutting on the Rio Grande had a riparian right of irrigation. Both sides in the case have perfected appeals to the Texas Supreme Court.

Realizing the importance of this decision to the people of Texas, Betty Eakle Dobkins undertook the laudable task of writing the history of water rights appertaining to the more than 10,000,000 acres of Texas land whose title originated in grants made by the officials of Spain. The author in a clear and readable style traced the development of water law from its origin up to the present time. With well-documented authority, she has compiled a great deal of evidence tending to show that the Spanish and Mexican Governments followed the prior appropriation rule of water law, instead of the Common-Law rule of riparian rights.

It is indeed unfortunate that *The Spanish Element in Texas Water Law* was published before the appeal in the Valmont Plantations case was decided by the Supreme Court of Texas, for that decision will undoubtedly settle many of the conflicting and complex theories concerning Texas water law appertaining to Spanish Land Grants. However, one of the motives which prompted the publishing of this scholarly work was to call attention to the fact that the Common-Law rule of riparian rights is not adaptable to the conditions found in the sub-humid Southwest. Even if the Court does not concur with the author's findings concerning all facets of the long discontinued and complex Spanish water law sys-

tem, Mrs. Dobkins' work will continue to be an invaluable tool to those interested in promulgating a more realistic and workable water law for Texas.

Wilco Building, Midland, Texas J. J. BOWDEN

The True Story of Billy the Kid. By William Lee Hamlin. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1959. Pp. xiv, 364. 29 plates. $6.00.

While this book adds little new to the sum of our factual knowledge of the Lincoln County War, it tells the story clearly and understandably. And it has the virtue of omitting the mass of incredible legend which has been building up ever since the imaginative Ash Upson so embroidered and fattened his *Authentic Life of Billy the Kid,* by Pat F. Garrett. An illuminating foreword by Caroline Davis, with an introductory note as well as a prologue by the author, set the stage for the reader's better understanding of the Lincoln County War. Not content with merely refurbishing previously published accounts, Mr. Hamlin had the advantage of personal interviews with Governor Otero, George Curry, George Coe, Amel Blazer, and Lucian Dutra, for a better "feel" for the events he describes. One might wish that the author had also talked with Chauncey Truesdell, Billy's schoolmate at Silver City, and perhaps other who knew something of the boy during his formative years.

The illustrations are the familiar photographs plus two somewhat less well known group photographs purportedly including Wm. Bonney. The appendix presents photographic reproductions of several pertinent letters and documents from the Indiana Historical Society Library. One might wish that the author had included here a document most revealing of motives and methods, District Attorney Rynerson's letter of February 14, 1878, "Friends Riley & Dolan . . . shake that McSween outfit up till it shells out and squares up and then shake it out of Lincoln." Incidentally, the dust jacket of this volume illustrates the killing of Olinger, the buildings shown in the background bearing little relation to Lincoln as

it actually was; such standardized movie-set backgrounds seem to be the rule with the illustrators of Western books; it is difficult to understand why so distinguished a publisher as Caxton would not trouble to achieve some semblance of authenticity in dust jacket illustration.

A conscientious searcher for truth such as Mr. Hamlin is confronted with a frustrating task in weighing the conflicting evidence. Memories of old-timers, no matter how sincere, are not always reliable through the haze of passing years. And in the case of the Lincoln County War, he who reviews the old newspaper files must realize that factionalism was so violent that even newspaper accounts were frequently slanted or completed distorted.

If the author be accused of being overly laudatory of the Kid, it must, nevertheless, be conceded that he is more than gentle in his portrayal of Rynerson, Dolan, and the others who opposed Billy and his friends. Quite properly omitted are such unsupported and unlikely yarns as that of Billy's heroic exploits in Mexico, his rescue from jail of someone name Segura, and his attack on and almost single-handed defeat of twenty or more bloodthirsty Indians in an unidentified mountain canyon. Unfortunately, however, also omitted are Billy's two first publicly recorded crimes: *The Arizona Citizen* reported the killing of F. P. Cahill by Henry Antrim, alias Kid, at Camp Grant, Arizona, in August of 1877; and the *Mesilla Independent* of October 13, 1877, reported the theft of three horses by Henry Antrim and others from Pass' coal camp in the Burro Mountains.

The author states frankly that "this book is not presented as a history of the territory . . . nor as a historical romance." However, the title, *"The True Story of Billy the Kid,"* may well betray the reader into accepting the work as completely definitive and factual. It has the virtue of being better documented than most—though such documentation may tend, for many readers, to lend validity to the whole, including the fictional and the suppositions of the author. The climax of the fighting at the McSween house is described in dramatic detail—how Beckwith killed McSween and how

Billy then taunted Beckwith for poor marksmanship and proceeded to kill Beckwith. Unfortunately, this account deviates from that told by surviving witnesses under oath at the Dudley Court of Inquiry. Andrew Boyle, Joseph Nash, José Chávez y Chávez, and others with fresh memories of what they had recently witnessed, agreed that McSween remained within the building after Billy and some others had escaped; that Beckwith was killed by someone hiding in the chicken house; and that when McSween was killed his body fell on top of Beckwith's corpse. Readers familiar with the facts may question the accuracy of the statement that Billy counted Harvey Morris as one of his "nine fighting men." Morris was a tubercular youth recently arrived to "read law" in McSween's office. And, of course, the firing of the building was first undertaken, not from the northwest corner, but at the northeast corner where the fire was discovered by twelve-year-old Minnie Shield. It would be pleasant to believe that the Rev. Dr. Ealy performed the funeral services over the body of his friend McSween. But Dr. Ealy's diary fails to mention this in its accounts of his day-by-day activities; in fact, he records leaving Lincoln on the morning of July 19 and remaining at Fort Stanton until he was taken to Las Vegas July 22. Mr. Hamlin follows, in general, the conventional story of the killing of jailer Bell. Respect for surviving families of participants may have deterred him from relating the more plausible account accepted by Maurice Garland Fulton and others who enjoyed the confidence of old Lincoln citizens. Incidentally, Mr. Hamlin has Gauss throw Billy a file to the front porch of the court house, while Godfrey Gauss's own written statement is that he had run to his room in the back yard of the building and then, through a window in the court house, tossed Billy a prospector's pick. Billy's friend Brown signed his name "Henry," not "Hendry." And why change Milnor Rudulph's name to MacDonald Rudolph? There were no wings in the Pete Maxwell house; the building was a perfect rectangle. The Tunstall store is described as being built with an angle in front conforming to a bend in the street; at least one old photograph shows that the present angled

wing had not been constructed when the picture was taken long after the Lincoln County War. L. G. Murphy is identified as a major marching across the Arizona desert with the California Column. War Department records show him as a Sgt. Major in the U. S. Regular Army some time prior to the Civil War, and that his Civil War service was entirely with the New Mexico Volunteers. By all accounts, including Gen. Lew Wallace's letter of instruction to Bonney, the Governor's interview with Billy was at the house of John B. Wilson; and it is difficult to see how the story is improved by changing the place of meeting to the Ellis Hotel. Trivial matters? Perhaps, but enough to warn the reader not to accept the title "TRUE Story" too literally.

Although as a source of accurate and detailed information the book offers no serious challenge of Wm. A. Keleher's scholarly and factual *Violence in Lincoln County,* its omissions and occasional deviations from documented and accepted fact should not prevent it from being recognized as certainly one of the better of the Billy books.

Chicago 11, Illinois 1000 Lake Shore Drive R. N. MULLIN