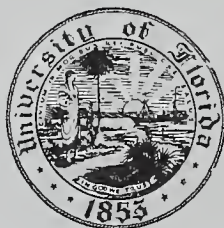


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NO ANNUAL MEETING IN 1943

The Golden Anniversary Program of the Oklahoma Historical Society will not be held owing to the need for curtailment of travel on account of gas and rubber restrictions. Original plans called for holding this important meeting at Kingfisher in May.

The attention of our readers is called to the article on page 60 entitled, "The Oklahoma Historical Society," by Robert L. Williams, President of the Society.

The other work of the Oklahoma Historical Society continues in step with the increased usefulness of the Society during the war.

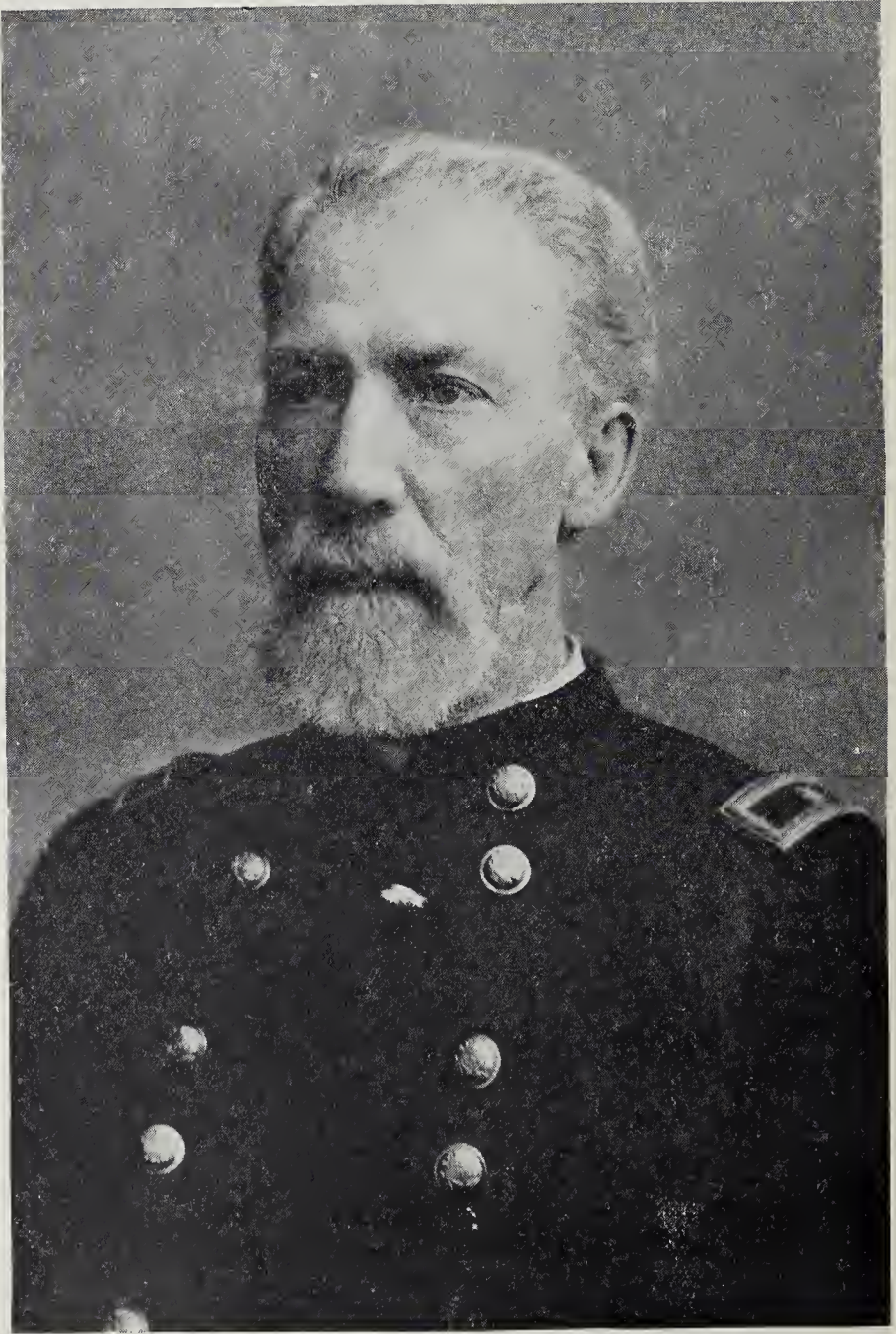
THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 26, 1893. From the beginning the organization has experienced a steady growth.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the state's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks to foster the study and teaching of the history of Oklahoma.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, etc.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the state's history, and for librarians. The annual dues are \$1 and includes a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. A free sample copy will be sent upon request. Life membership may be secured upon the payment of \$25. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Secretary of the Society, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.



JAMES CARSON JAMISON

The Chronicles of Oklahoma

Volume XXI

March, 1943

Number 1

JAMES CARSON JAMISON

1830-1916

By Robert L. Williams

James Carson Jamison, born near village of Paynesville, Pike County, Mo., Sept. 30, 1830, died at Guthrie, Okla., Nov. 19, 1916, with interment at Clarksville, Mo., was son of John Cowden Jamison, of Scotch-Irish descent, and his wife, Margaret Jamison, a distant relative. His father, from Mecklenburg County, N. C., in 1827, settled on a tract of wild land on south side of Guinn's Creek, three miles southeast of Paynesville, in what was known as the "Jamison Settlement." An uncle, whose name was also James Carson Jamison, and his sons, John, Adam, Samuel, Joseph and James took up practically all the wild land on both sides of the creek from Smith's Mill to the south where it spread over the prairie. When five years old, his father acquired and moved to a tract of land on Sulphur Creek near Louisville, Mo.

After the death of the father and mother, the children gave up the farm, each finding a home as best they could. When 14 years old, a cousin by the name of J. Carson Jamison offered him a home with him and there he lived, three miles east of Paynesville, attending the district school in winter and working on the farm in spring and summer until 1848.

In the spring of 1849 he left for California with the James Brown party, consisting of Brown and wife, son and daughter, and a colored boy and girl, and Enoch Emerson, Jeff Huntsman, Alfred Jamison, Thomas Morris, a man named Sperry, and James (Rockey) McPike, author of the expression, "I'm bound for California, if the rope don't break," and himself. The party crossed the Missouri river five miles above St. Joseph on April 5, 1849, and he arrived in Sacramento on October 9, 1849, having at Fort Kearney left the Brown party and joined the Wisconsin Star Company, which was under the leadership of Capt. W. C. Monroe, a Missouri River steamboat man, and a nephew of Rev. Andrew Monroe, and among whom was Lucius Fairchild¹, later a general in the U. S. Army during the Civil War, and Governor of the state of Wisconsin, and Victor Seaman, the skipper who commanded the vessel upon which Meiggs, after defaulting as comptroller of the city of San Francisco, escaped to South America.

James Carson Jamison in 1850 was in the mining camps in California of "Rough and Ready," in Nevada County, and at Todd's Valley, in Placer County, in the summer and fall, and

¹ *History of Oklahoma*, p. 239, by Foreman.

paid a dollar in gold dust for a single copy of a newspaper, measured by pinch. That is what the thumb and forefinger could hold between them when pressed together, an expert getting good measure, and in some instances a copy of a newspaper was passed on to another party for a dollar and then on to others to get the news from back East. Frequently he walked afoot ten miles to meet the stage coach to get *The Republican*, a St. Louis newspaper, and paid a dollar for an issue.²

In December, 1855, after having spent six years in California, he left San Francisco on the old steamship, *Sierra Nevada*, Capt. Blethen commanding, and on December 5, 1855, joined William Walker³ in Nicaragua⁴, where, having been made a lieutenant in the great filibuster's army, was severely wounded on April 11, 1856 at the first battle of Rivas, and later promoted to the captaincy of his company on account of gallant service in action and was its commander in subsequent engagements.

From 1855 to 1857 in Nicaragua were three years of desperate battles, hairbreadth escapes from implacable and bloodthirsty enemies, sanguinary reprisals, wounds, dancing with dark-eyed Spanish señoritas, drinking of much red wine abundant in that country, and an almost daily interpretation of the code duello to satisfy the hot-blooded Americans. General Walker was not opposed to duelling, having fought many himself, yet at one time so many of his officers were incapacitated by wounds received in this manner that the efficiency of his command in the field was seriously threatened. Not forbidding duelling, but adopting tactics no less effective, a meeting between two officers had been arranged on the strand at San Juan del Sur, Jamison being one of the seconds. The principals had taken position and were waiting for the "One, Two, Three—Fire!" when an officer, his sword flashing in the sun, was seen approaching rapidly on horseback. The duelling party waited to learn his mission. Without dismounting, the officer said: "Gentlemen, General Walker presents his compliments, and directs me to say that the survivor or survivors of this duel will be shot." The cessation of duelling for awhile followed.

In the second battle of Rivas, Captain Jamison, having fallen severely wounded with a rifle ball in the calf of his right leg, was lodged in a cathedral, used temporarily as a hospital. From pain and exhaustion he sank into slumber, to be awakened by rifle balls striking the cathedral bell. He found that Walker's army was retreating, and that if he did not escape he would be shot as soon as discovered. Dragging himself out of the cathedral in his wounded condition, he fled through a jungle of cactus, his body lacerated with innumerable injuries, until he found a pony

² St. Louis (Mo.) *Republic*, July 8, 1908.

³ *My Day*, Reminiscences of a Long Life, by Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, p. 121.

⁴ Vol. 20, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, June, p. 157.

on which he made his escape and rejoined his comrades. This was not the only wound received by him, and in later years when questioned about other wounds he would say that they were the souvenirs of a too truculent youth, and should be forgotten. High up in each leg, near his body, and close to the femoral artery, General Jamison carried two big leaden balls. Near his heart was a long scar made by a bullet that diverted from its straight course and ricocheted along his ribs. A crease in his skull that would part his hair exactly in the middle marked the course of another bullet that came near ending his life. Under his left jaw was a scar made by a machete in the hands of a desperate Mexican in the California goldfields. Backed against a wall, the Mexican aimed a blow to strike off his head, and would have succeeded had not Jamison thrown his head back as far as he could. There was a torrent of blood, but the Missourian's head was still on his shoulders, and his companions ran to his rescue and put the Mexican permanently out of the mining business.

He had a brother, Alexander Jackson Jamison, who also was in California, and the following sisters: Mrs. Margaret Jennings of San Jose, California, Mrs. Mary Spires of Montgomery City, Mo., and Mrs. Katherine Brown of Modesto, Mo.

His wife's mother, Mrs. Margaret White, died at his residence at Jefferson City on January 14, 1888, whilst he was Adjutant General of that State. James Madison White, a brother of his wife, at the age of 80 years, died at his and his sister's (Mrs. J. C. Jamison's) home on December 20, 1929 in Rogers, Ark., and was buried at Clarksville, Mo. His wife, Mrs. Sarah Ann Jamison, 87 years old, died on Feb. 5, 1930 at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Galen Crow, who was married to Galen Crow at Guthrie, Okla., on Oct. 18, at Rogers, Ark., 1905, and was also buried at Clarksville, Mo.

General Jamison returned to Pike County from Nicaragua as the Civil War was impending, and when it did come he joined the fortunes of the South and was given a captain's commission in a Missouri regiment of the Confederate States Army. His health had been greatly impaired by service in Nicaragua, and after engaging in the Battle of Lexington in Missouri was taken prisoner by the enemy and confined for a long period in a number of federal strongholds. One of his severest wounds was received in battle in the Civil War.

Whilst on parole from his war prison confinement he married on June 10, 1862, Miss Sarah Ann White of Clarksville, Mo., and when peace was restored engaged in the newspaper business in Pike County, Mo., and at different times owned newspapers at Clarksville, Bowling Green and Louisiana, Mo.

In 1867, with William S. Pepper, he bought and published the Clarksville Sentinel, which he later sold to Lemuel Welch, and in 1874, with W. B. Carlisle, purchased the Riverside Press

and in 1880 sold it to Champ Clark and going to Colorado for a rest returned in July of that year and bought the Bowling Green Express, changing its name to the Times, and the same year sold it to W. F. Mayhall, and later repurchased the Riverside Press at Louisiana, Mo., and in April, 1885 sold same to W. O. Gray.

Always actively interested in public affairs, when Gen. John S. Marmaduke became governor of Missouri, he was appointed Adjutant General of the state. Great industrial unrest developed, and as Adjutant General, he rendered much service to the public in controlling with state troops disorders at railroad shops at Hannibal in 1885 and 1886, and among coal miners at Bevier, and suppressing disturbances among the Bald Knobbers in Southern Missouri.⁵

After Governor Marmaduke's death, General Jamison was continued as Adjutant General under Governor Morehouse, who as Lieutenant Governor succeeded to the Governorship, being Adjutant General from 1885 to 1889.

With him the spirit of adventure still existed. Oklahoma being opened to settlement on April 22, 1889, he came with its pioneer homeseekers. Immediately after the opening, under the provisional government, he was a member of Arbitration Board No. 1 at Guthrie, and also served as City Councilman.

After organization of the territorial government, under its Enabling act passed by Congress May 2, 1890, he was elected and served a term as Justice of the Peace, and during the campaign in 1892 published the Guthrie Democrat.

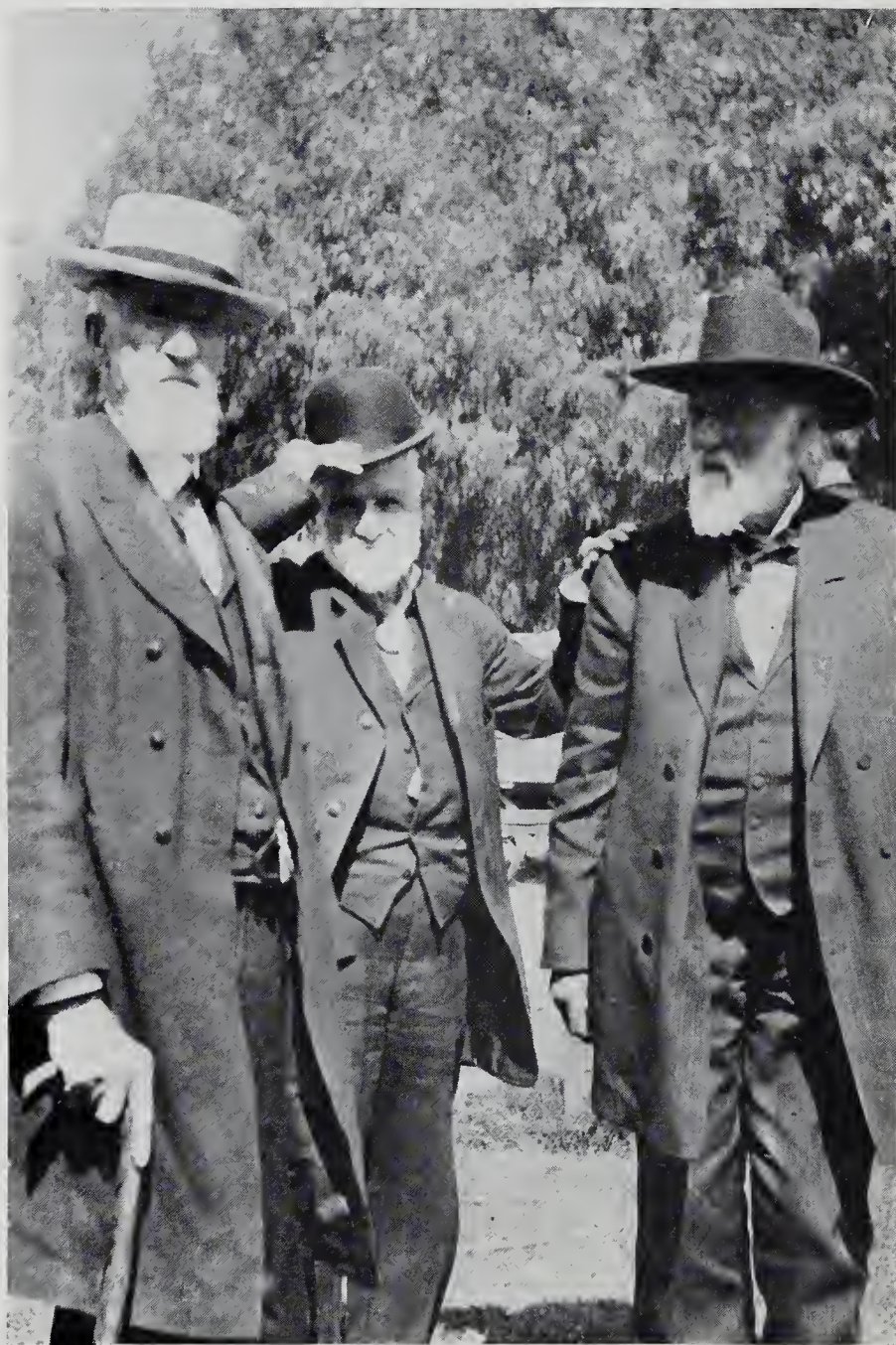
Governor W. C. Renfrow appointed him Adjutant General of Oklahoma Territory, and as such he organized Oklahoma's first regiment of Militia, and in that early day was potent in preserving order, and at the close of that administration in 1897 retired to his farm near Guthrie and lived the life of a country gentlemen of the old school, dispensing hospitality as he had known it in his native Missouri.

In contrast to the activities of his early life, this brave, honest and chivalrous man's later years were tenderly associated with nature's gentlest creatures, the birds. He wrote pages of newspaper letters pleading for their care and protection, and for the enactment of laws under which they might find shelter, and was a moving cause in the organization of the first state Audubon society. Declining the honor of the active office as its first President, he was made its honorary President. Since that time the observance of bird day has been introduced into the public schools of the state of Oklahoma.

Among his relics was one of the silver medals struck in San Francisco for the American survivors of the bloody second battle

⁵ Vol. 17, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 1939, p. 42.





GENERAL JAMISON, MAJOR BALDWIN, COLONEL ROGERS

of Rivas.⁶ On one side is an "American Phalanx," then in an argent field appear six mountain peaks and the rising sun, and last, in a field of blue: "Reps. Nicaragua. 1855-6-7." On the reverse side is an inscription showing the name of the owner and his rank in Walker's Army.

The survivors of Walker's first expedition to Nicaragua organized an association, and held annual meetings in California, the last on April 11, 1911 at Monravia, California, with only three surviving members (in picture): General Jamison (left), Major John M. Baldwin (center), Walker's Judge Advocate, and Col. William K. Rogers of Berkley (right).⁷ This was the last meeting of the association, but General Jamison was the last to pass away. (See his picture taken when Adjutant General of Missouri.)

He stood six feet in his stockings and weighed as a young man 170 pounds. When over 80 years of age, there shone in his face the same indomitable courage that distinguished him in other days, the fire of bravery and daring not having faded from his blue eyes. In repose his expression was one of resolution and determination, beginning at the tip of his iron-like brow and extending to the line where his mane of white hair began mantling his brows. There was something lion-like in his bearing and one would feel that it was unwise and dangerous to provoke his anger, yet with a smile he would extend his hand in greeting, his face indicating kindness.

These men to whom these medals after lapse of years were awarded still heard the songs of the troubadours—that floated to the shores of the Carolinas in other centuries from lands across the sea, and exemplified such almost forgotten lines as from Tickner's Virginians of the Valley:

"The knightliest of the Knightly race,
That since the days of old,
Have kept the lamp of chivalry
Alight in hearts of gold.
The kindliest of the kindly band
That rarely hating ease!
Yet rode with Raleigh round the land,
With Smith around the seas.

Who climbed the blue embattled hills
Against uncounted foes,
And planted there, in valleys fair,
The lily and the rose!
Whose fragrance lives in many lands
Whose beauty stars the earth:
And lights the hearth of happy homes
With loveliness and worth!"

⁶ Presented by his daughter, Mrs. Galen Crow, of Rogers, Ark., to the Oklahoma Historical Society, and now in its museum.

⁷ *With Walker in Nicaragua*, by General Jamison, Publishers, E. W. Stephens Co., Columbia, Mo., 1909.

THE GREAT SEAL OF THE CHEROKEE NATION

By J. Bartley Milam

The great seal of the Cherokee Nation¹ carries a story of hope of Tribe and symbolism of its design. In the center of the seal was a large seven-pointed star surrounded by a wreath of oak leaves. The outside border of this device bore the words, "Seal of the Cherokee Nation." Two words for "Cherokee Nation" in the native language followed, printed in characters from the Sequoyah alphabet and pronounced "Tsa-la-gi-hi A-ye-li." At the lower edge of the seal was the date, "Sept. 6, 1838." This date was that of the adoption of the constitution of the Cherokee nation.

Interpretation of the device in the seal is found in Cherokee folklore and history. Ritual songs in certain ancient tribal ceremonies made reference to seven clans, the legendary beginnings of the Cherokee people. A sacred fire was kept perpetually burning in the "town house" at a central point in the nation. The live oak, the principal hard-wood timber in the old Cherokee country in the Carolinas, was used in keeping the sacred fire. Thus, in connection with this fire, the oak was a symbol of strength and everlasting life.

The seven-pointed star in the Cherokee seal represented the seven ancient clans in tribal lore. Since the oak tree was associated with the mysteries of the sacred fire, the wreath of oak leaves was a symbol of the dauntless spirit of a courageous people.

When first organized under a constitution in the east, the Cherokee government planned to preserve its national history and found a museum. In 1859, the Baptist missionaries, Evan Jones and his son, John Jones, promoted the organization of a secret society, called Keetoowah, among the fullblood Cherokees. Members sought the preservation of Cherokee history and the development of high ideals of individualism. During the war between the states, the Keetoowah sided with the Union.

The seal of the Cherokee nation was adopted by law of the national council and approved by Lewis Downing, principal chief, on December 11, 1869. Lewis Downing had begun his work as a Baptist preacher among his people the same year that saw the adoption of the Cherokee constitution, 1839. During the war between the states, he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Third Indian home guard brigade in the Union Army. In 1867, Colonel Downing was first elected principal chief of the Cherokee nation. In that year, when old factional and political strife had threatened to disrupt the nation again, Rev. Evan Jones and his son succeeded in furthering the organization of the Downing party, an alliance between members of the former Ross party (Union sympathizers)

¹ The author of this article presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society a banner showing the Great Seal of the Cherokee Nation, January 28, 1943.—J. W. M.



and the Confederate Cherokees. From this time, until the close of the Cherokee government just before Oklahoma became a state, the Downing party elected all the principal chiefs in the nation, except one.

In 1869, Colonel Downing was re-elected for a second term as principal chief. The seal of the Cherokee nation adopted by the national council in that year reflected his influence and his associations among his people. One of the darkest chapters in the history of the Cherokees, resulting from the war in the states, had recently closed. The mystic seven-pointed star and the wreath of oak leaves in the seal, surrounded by the name of the Cherokee nation in both English and Sequoyah characters, together with the date of the adoption of the constitution west, formed a symbol of great promise. It heralded a "glorious return" of the united Cherokees pledging their devotion to the highest ideals in their educational, industrial, and religious life.

It is gratifying that recognition has been given the Five Principal Nations of the old Indian Territory in that the great seal of the State of Oklahoma has been worked out of the Seal of the Territory of Oklahoma, and the seals of the Five Indian Nations, namely: Cherokee Nation, Choctaw Nation, Chickasaw Nation, Creek Nation and the Seminole Nation, and 45 stars representing each State of the Union.

IS AMERICAN HISTORY ON THE WAY OUT?

By Philip D. Jordan

Many Americans were shocked and surprised in June when they learned that schools throughout the nation were giving instruction in United States history to relatively few students.¹ The *New York Times*, apparently suspecting that educational institutions in the United States had gradually swung away from the thesis that United States history was important for American citizens, published the results of a nation-wide survey which had been directed by Benjamin Fine.² Although the results of this survey probably were astounding to many parents of children in grade and in high schools and in institutions of higher learning, they only confirmed what many historians had suspected for years. During the past quarter century it was not uncommon to hear on many lips the phrase that "history was on the way out," that "United States history was not practical" and that what was needed were more courses of a "utilitarian" nature. Such courses would deal with contemporary problems, such as present-day standards of living, poverty, crime, cur-

¹ This article is based in part upon the author's "The New York Times Survey of United States History" which appeared in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September, 1942.

² *New York Times*, June 21, 1942. The entire survey has been republished in pamphlet form by the Macmillan Company.

rent political trends, and analyses of today's economic difficulties. The orientation course and the course which attempted to "integrate" or to "fuse" all phases of knowledge—sociology, government, economics, history, literature, geography, and even religion and philosophy—were conceived as substitutes for a knowledge of the basic development and maturity of the American way and American ideals. It became possible for some college students to register for courses called "Planning for America" without ever having had solid fundamental knowledge of what America was. The *Times* survey only confirmed and made real the impression that courses in the history of the United States were none too popular either with students or educators.

The survey revealed that eighty-two per cent of the institutions of higher learning in the United States do not require the study of United States history for the undergraduate degree. Eighteen per cent of the colleges and universities, however, were found to require such history courses before a degree is awarded. It also was found that many students could complete four years in college without taking any history courses pertaining to their native country. The *Times* survey, of course, did not give information concerning the number of students who had enjoyed courses in related fields. Seventy-two per cent of the colleges and universities do not require United States history for admission, while twenty-eight per cent require it. As a result the survey revealed that "many students go through high school, college and then to a professional or graduate institution without having explored courses in the history of their own country."

The analysis also revealed other interesting information. Less than ten per cent of the total undergraduate body were enrolled in United States history classes during the second semester which ended in June, 1942, and only eight per cent of the freshmen class took courses in United States history, although thirty per cent were enrolled in European or world history courses. To gain these findings the *Times* sent questionnaires to virtually every liberal arts college, professional school and teachers college in the United States—a combined total of 1,225 institutions. Returns were received from 690 colleges, or fifty-six per cent of the total. An undergraduate body of 587,554 men and women were represented by the returns. Of these, 180,175 were freshmen. It was found that 168,845 students were enrolled in all history courses last semester, or thirty per cent of the entire undergraduate body. However, of this number only 54,826 students were taking United States history which amounted to nine per cent of the undergraduate enrollment.

It was learned further that a somewhat larger percentage of undergraduates in teachers colleges was taking American history courses than in the liberal arts or technical schools. Fifteen per cent, or 12,262 out of 70,807 students in the teachers colleges were enrolled in United States history classes, but eighty-five per cent

were not. About seven per cent, or 2,203 out of 36,363 were enrolled in the professional and technological institutions, while nine per cent, 40,927 of a total undergraduate enrollment of 480,384, were enrolled in the liberal arts colleges. That meant that eighty-five per cent of the future teachers of young people were receiving no instruction in United States history courses despite the fact that they will function as public servants within the democratic framework, that ninety-three per cent of the future professional and technological classes were receiving no instruction in the history of their nation, and that ninety-one per cent of students enrolled in colleges of liberal arts, who are to constitute presumably the "leaders of tomorrow" of whom so many commencement orators speak, were receiving no instruction in the history of their own land. Figures for private and denominational schools corresponded closely with those of the public institutions.

The survey brought to light other illuminating facts: many more freshmen were taking courses in history other than that of the United States; more public colleges and universities demand United States history as a prerequisite for entrance than private or denominational colleges; by and large United States history is not required for the undergraduate or graduate degrees in "any of the colleges or universities with the possible exception of the teachers colleges where nearly one-half did make it compulsory"; liberal arts colleges and universities, "which account for most of the undergraduate students in the United States, are more opposed to the compulsory teaching of United States history than any of the other educational groups"; it "would seem . . . that in a little more than half the teacher training centers of this country men and women can be licensed for teaching positions without having had any course in United States history, either on the secondary or collegiate level"; United States history, in most institutions, is not a required subject for students majoring in economics or sociology; students majoring in government, for the most part, found that they had to take courses dealing with the history of the United States; and many college presidents or administrators were in favor of making United States history courses compulsory.

There were various reasons advanced for the introduction of United States history into the undergraduate curriculum. Among the most frequently mentioned were these: it helps develop good citizenship; it teaches the American way of life; it builds civic responsibility; it develops good leadership; it helps the citizen appreciate his American heritage; it will give the American boys fighting against Fascism a clearer insight into the democratic traditions they are defending. Opposition to the compulsory teaching of United States history centered mainly on two grounds: first, no subject should be forced upon the student, and second, many of the college men and women had taken courses in history on the high school level.

Although the *Times* survey did not indicate any possible answer to the last two points, there are replies that might be made. For example, most institutions do have required courses which students are obligated to take. Many colleges and universities require courses in freshman English, for example, and many teachers colleges require courses in principles of teaching or in methods. Probably relatively few institutions of higher learning in the United States permit the student to select areas of study at random. The argument that many college men and women had taken courses in United States history on the secondary level also is open to criticism. These same students had also taken English courses on the high school level, yet many liberal arts colleges prescribe additional work in the field. An objection might also be made that high school history is on the level of the high school and that there is much more to be learned concerning American ideals on a higher plane.

The *Times* survey was published just about the time that the National Education Association was meeting in Denver. It was only natural, of course, that the professional educators of the nation should be concerned with the results of the analysis. On June 27, a joint session was held by the National Education Association and the National Association of Manufacturers at which time speakers recommended that more attention should be paid to the study of United States history in the schools and colleges of the country. Professor Alonzo F. Myers of New York University and chairman of the Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education, said that less than fifty per cent of the voters of the United States have ever had a course in United States history. Howard Coonley, chairman of the Walworth Company of New York and past president of the National Association of Manufacturers, asserted that it was of "great importance" to teach American history to students in elementary school, high school and college.³

Governor Ralph L. Carr of Colorado, addressing the National Education Association delegates, said that "It is up to the educator to see to it that they (American students) have a real background from which to draw information, that they understand that the bases of our way of life are valuable and good, that they can answer the problems that are going to be presented. American history has taught us the value of our Constitution and our way of life. It is important that students study American history and understand the democratic traditions of our country."⁴

Dr. Caleb F. Gates, Jr., Chancellor of the University of Denver, recommended making United States history compulsory for all students. Later the National Education Association adopted a resolution by unanimous vote which, in part, suggested to teachers that "the values for which our country is fighting be held constantly

³ *Ibid.*, June 28, 1942.

⁴ *Ibid.*, June 30, 1942.

before our students.” Martin Wilson, secretary of the resolutions committee and chairman of the social studies department at the James Monroe High School in New York City, said that members of the committee intended this resolution to cover the study of United States history. “Every student,” he said, “from elementary school through college, should take courses in the history of our nation.” Mrs. Myrtle Hooper Dahl, President of the National Education Association, indicated that it was important that all students know the history of their country and stressed United States history as a “morale builder.” Dr. Willard E. Givens, executive secretary of the Association, supported the views of his associates.⁵

On July 3, Robert H. Jackson, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, told the Texas State Bar Association that the reported indifference in schools toward the teaching of United States history was “an ominous symptom of waning vigor of American democracy.” “The preservation of freedom and free institutions,” continued Mr. Justice Jackson, “requires wisdom as well as wishing.” He urged a rebirth of interest in American experience and philosophy of self-government. Frederick A. Van Fleet, newly elected Governor General of the General Society of Mayflower Descendants, recommended that the teaching of United States history be made mandatory in all colleges and universities in the country and suggested that perhaps a special citation could be given schools which “do give United States history its proper place.”⁶

In late August a state-wide conference of California history professors was held in Palo Alto. Fifty representatives of eighteen universities and colleges convened with Professor Edgar E. Robinson, head of the department of history at Stanford University, presiding. Professor Frederic L. Paxson of the University of California introduced a resolution which would make United States history courses “required” subjects in every four-year college and university in California. If the proposal is adopted by California institutions of higher learning they will refuse to graduate any one who has not studied a course covering the “political and economic history” of the country “from the discovery to the present, with due attention to social, cultural, and other forces.” Another resolution adopted at the close of the two-day session declared: The present national emergency has brought an increasing conviction that a knowledge of American history is essential for a full appreciation of our national heritage. The successful operation of a democracy, in war as well as in peace, is dependent upon a citizenry familiar with the lessons to be learned from its past.” Dr. George H. Knowles of Stanford University warned that “if we ourselves don’t approach the matter in terms of requirement, some one else will and the some one else probably will represent political pressure groups.” Professor Frank J. Klingsberg of the University of California at

⁵ *Ibid.*, July 3, 1942.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Sept. 13, 1942.

Los Angeles told his colleagues he would think it "very strange if we were the only people on earth who didn't know their own history. Agreeing with this point of view, Professor Maxwell Hicks Savelle of Stanford University said: "We require students to go to school and that's not undemocratic; we require them to read and write and that's not undemocratic. If it is just as important for them to appreciate our history, if we believe in it educationally, we ought to require it." Professor Thomas Andrew Bailey of Stanford University blamed history teachers themselves to a great extent for "ruining American history." He said that some people who are teaching United States history are "complacent, apathetic and cowardly." "They are dull and conventional in the classroom," he continued, "afraid of being branded with the stigma of 'popularizer.'" Professor Bailey said further that journalists, not historians, are writing history for the people.⁷ The conference decided to create a loose organization open to all California colleagues of the teachers and writers of United States history in attendance.

The California recommendaions were the subject of extended editorial comment in *The Saturday Review of Literature*, which pointed out that approximately three-quarters of "the college students of our land (allowing something for those who elect courses in American history) start on their careers with merely the rudimentary knowledge of American annals, American institutions, and American foreign relations which an elementary course in history taken early in school life furnishes. These are the men and women presumably about to enter on positions of responsibility and influence, the men and women who will be in the professions, provide the direction for business, fill many of the political offices. That they should have merely the most superficial acquaintance with the past of their country is shocking, and it can well be dangerous at a time when the whole world is in solution and the problems to be settled at the end of the war will demand everything that can be had of understanding and knowledge."

The Saturday Review of Literature directed attention to the fact that American interest in United States history is ripe. "No one," it maintained, "who has watched the development of American letters in recent years but must have been struck by the enormous and constantly increasing concern of America with its own past. Historical biographies have had a steadily growing vogue and the historical novel has flourished like the green bay tree. Indeed, the novel of our past has been so constantly divesting itself of the romantic character which was its distinguishing mark in the nineties of the last century as to have frequently become fictionized history rather than historical fiction." The editors of the *Review* concluded by remarking, as are many Americans, that "It would be a pity if our colleges lagged behind in furnishing thorough courses in his-

⁷ *Ibid.*, Aug. 30, 1942.

tory the most essential basis for successful building of the future—a knowledge of the past.”⁸

There are many ways by which a knowledge of the American past can be brought to students and to the public. State historical societies can be of great assistance by disseminating knowledge of local history in their journals, by supplying village, county, city, and state newspapers with feature stories dealing with local background and prominent figures who played a major role in the political, social, and cultural activities of the state, by sponsoring essay contests among lower grade and high school pupils, and by furnishing speakers to luncheon clubs and other societies. Not the least of the significant contributions of the state historical societies are the library and reference rooms where citizens may be aided in their personal research problems.

“Mr. and Mrs. America” also have a responsibility if history is not to be tossed into the discard. Their obligation is to interest themselves in history and to stimulate their children to an appreciation of the national heritage. They must also urge the younger generation to register for courses in the narrative of their nation in the grade school, the secondary school, and in the college and university. The democratic process can not fully be understood without reference to the historical pattern.⁹ And Mr. and Mrs. America must assume the responsibility of impressing upon local school administrators and teachers the significance and functional value of American history. Frequently the Parent-Teachers Associations may serve as a vehicle to carry this lesson home to both administrator and classroom instructor. The public interest makes emphasis upon history mandatory.¹⁰

Whatever may be the long-time results of the survey undertaken by the *New York Times*, one thing can be said: the *Times* has performed a valuable public and patriotic service and has directed attention to a situation which long has worried the historians of the United States. It seems fairly certain that the people of the nation want their children to know the story of their own land. It is to be hoped that educators will take positive steps so that more young Americans—in elementary school, high school, and college and university—will have an opportunity to gain a knowledge of United States history. Historians who have been timid and who have felt that United States history “is on the way out” should renew their faith in their own subject and work toward making American history more and more available to the younger generation. Training in United States history, however, does not necessarily guarantee competent citizenship. Many Americans who have never been trained

⁸ *The Saturday Review of Literature*, Sept. 5, 1942, 10.

⁹ Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy* (Washington, D. C. 1938), chap. 2.

¹⁰ Educational Policies Commission, *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy* (Washington, D. C., 1937), 5.

in the history of the nation perform their duties in local communities and at the polls with honesty and vigor. And many more citizens who have had only grade and secondary instruction in the narrative of their country function admirable. In short, required courses in any subject, although they may aid in determining attitudes, can not guarantee individual proficiency. Even the *Times* pointed out editorially that it would be "unrealistic to believe that a course in American history can work miracles." On the other hand, it is difficult to see how courses in United States history could do harm. President Roosevelt put the issue squarely when he said: ". . . a nation must believe in three things. It must believe in the past. It must believe in the future. It must, above all, believe in the capacity of its people so to learn from the past that they can gain in judgment for the creation of the future."

RECOLLECTIONS OF APRIL 19, 1892

By Ralph H. Records

At high twelve on the nineteenth of April, 1892, the third one of Oklahoma's spectacular runs for homesteads took place. This time it was the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation, the largest of those assigned to the Plains Indians under the treaties of Medicine Lodge. But this area was reduced by President Grant's executive order of August 10, 1869. "The reservation was bounded on the north by the Cherokee Outlet, on the east by the Cimarron and the ninety-eighth meridian, on the south by the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache reservations, and on the west by the Texas state line." Even then there were four million and three hundred thousand acres. But a committee of three representing the United States Government met with the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians in 1890 and came to an agreement in which every member, 3,300, was given an allotment of 160 acres. The United States then purchased the remainder of the reservation land, 3,000,000 acres, for a million and a half dollars. This was the land that was opened to white settlers by a run.¹

The Indians selected their allotments first. For the most part they preferred land along the streams and in the river valleys. They wanted water and timber. They took the excellent land in the valley of the Washita extending from Red Moon to the Kiowa Indian reservation. The next best land lay in the valley of the North Canadian and extended from the 98th meridian across the northeastern section of the reservation. The farthest west of the allotments was to be found near Strong City, 120 miles west of Concho, the seat of the Indian agency. There are allotments near Taloga and Seiling about one hundred miles north of Concho. In a westerly direction from Kingfisher three hundred Indians held soil of the highest quality. Other tribesmen selected upland, north

¹ Roy Gittinger, *Formation of the State of Oklahoma, 1803-1906*, (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1917), pp. 90, 164, 217.

and northeast of Cantonment. There were instances in which individual tribesmen deliberately chose poor land so as to be near a certain Indian colony or settlement.²

The white homeseekers who came later certainly believed that the Indians held the best farming land. But in the years that followed, experience revealed that the level upland farms were far better than those that were crossed by streams or drained by their tributaries. In a country where infrequent rains sometimes fell in torrents, the surface water was soon drained away and the surface of the ground made dry and hard. Those who farmed the high and level areas enjoyed greater returns after all.

Having learned that too long a wait between the President's proclamation and the opening of Old Oklahoma had brought unprecedented crowds, a very short notice was given in respect to the opening of the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation. Even so there might have been twenty-five thousand people who participated. It is true, however, that many were not actual homeseekers; some had already exercised their homestead rights elsewhere and merely wished to sell a claim to some homeseeker who had not exercised his filing rights. Other participants were merely marking time until the opening of the Cherokee Outlet. Many were attracted by the prospects of adventure. Many others, on the other hand, were repelled by the bleak and barren aspect of the countryside, and by the thought of being remotely situated from railroads and markets. At any rate the homeseekers had faith in the agricultural future of the eastern half of the reservation; for, as participants in the run, they thronged the eastern boundary and that portion of the northern boundary east of the gypsum hills. They were skeptical of the western portion of the reservation: the rainfall was considered insufficient, and markets would be too far away. As late as October, 1892, only half the reservation had been settled.³

The Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation, like Old Oklahoma, had its Boomer promoters. These groups and individuals, residing in Old Oklahoma near the reservation, kept in touch with friends and relatives in the states and advised them of future openings. To be on hand for the opening, whenever it might be, some came and lived temporarily with their kinsmen in the Territory. Many came with the expectation of securing land in the Cherokee Outlet, for its attraction was the greatest of all. Some of those who had families farmed land in Old Oklahoma on shares. M. F. Pierce and W. L. McNulty removed from Missouri in 1891 and rented two farms near Mulhall and raised crops of corn. When they learned of President Harrison's proclamation of April 12, 1892, announcing the opening of the Cheyenne reservation by run, they changed their

² Interviews, R. H. R. with Ebenezer Kingsley (Clerk in the Indian Service), Concho, Oklahoma, September 3, 1941; J. A. Buntin, Norman, Oklahoma, October 16, 1942. The latter was an Indian agent from 1893 to 1914 to Kiowas and Comanches.

³ Gittinger, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

plans and sought claims in the Cheyenne country instead. Those who were bachelors resided temporarily with relatives until the opening. Oliver Gleason stayed with his brother-in-law, George Jones of Lacy, and James Lutes stopped with his brother. They defrayed their expenses and contributed their share to the family larder by hunting quail and prairie chicken.⁴

Although many homeseekers came immediately from Kansas, the writer met only two who were born in that state. The first settlers of the Cheyenne reservation came from many states. Whereas Kansas and Missouri were popularly accredited with peopling the northeastern portion of the reservation, actually only two of the pioneers, and they were brothers, were born in Kansas. These were Ira and Jerry Emmons. Their father, Robert, was born in New York, but removed to Ohio, thence to Iowa, and thence to Kansas. His son, Nelson, who also staked a claim, was born in Ohio. Twenty-five other first settlers came immediately from Kansas. But with the exception of John Felder, who was four when his father removed from Missouri, they could not be called Kansans.⁵ Other Missourians were: W. L. McNulty, M. F. Pierce, W. H. Hendricks, James Cook, J. M. Stuteville, and Charles Holcomb. These men came directly to Oklahoma. Although A. M. Parvin was born in New Jersey and served as a soldier in a regiment from that state during the Civil War, he removed to Kansas, and took a claim in Oklahoma (1892). C. W. Norton and George Sands were born in Wisconsin. Norton's father, who had a homestead near Okeene, was born in New York.⁶ Ed and Guy Buxton, uncle and nephew, were natives of Eaton county, Michigan; and so were Henry and Thad Slaght, father and son. The latter resided for a while near Salina, Kansas.⁷ Oliver Gleason, J. H. Jones, Dora Barker Records, S. W. Mills and Milton Mills were born in Illinois. Dora Barker removed with her parents to southeastern Kansas at the age of eight, subsequently married and came to Oklahoma. J. H. Jones came with his father to a farm twelve miles northeast of Wichita in 1870. He was a cowboy for Quinlan and saw the Cheyenne country long before white settlers came.⁸ Charles and Elmer Bardrick, Mrs. W. W. Haworth, and P. D. McClung were Iowans. But they all resided in Kansas prior to coming to Oklahoma. Indiana-born were: Frank Christman, W. W. Haworth, Mrs. P. D. McClung, and F. A. and L. S. Records.

⁴ Interviews, R. H. R. with W. L. McNulty, Okeene, Oklahoma, September 5, 1941; O. S. Gleason, Okeene, Oklahoma, September 6, 1941.

⁵ Interviews, R. H. R. with Ira Emmons, Okeene, Oklahoma, August 10, 1942; John L. Felder, Okeene, Oklahoma, August 8, 1942.

⁶ Interviews, R. H. R. with W. L. McNulty, Okeene, Oklahoma, September 5, 1941; W. H. Hendricks, Okeene, September 2, 1941; Gilbert Parvin, Okeene, August 8, 1942; C. W. Norton, Okeene, August 8, 1942.

⁷ Interview, R. H. R. with Thad Slaght, Okeene, September 2, 1941. The writer was long a neighbor of the Buxtons.

⁸ Interviews, R. H. R. with O. S. Gleason, Okeene, September 6, 1941; J. H. Jones, Waynoka, Oklahoma, November 28, 1941; W. C. Broady, Okeene, August 6, 1942.

They resided a while in Kansas. F. A. Records came from the Pawnee Indian Agency, where he was employed as Government farmer and chief of Indian police.⁹

There were representatives from the South. H. S. Quinn and his brother L. R. were born and reared in Mississippi. H. S. is a graduate of the University of Mississippi, and both practiced law in Kansas City, Missouri. By way of Kansas from Tennessee came: Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Broady, George Seneker, John and Andrew Wallace, and two Negroes, J. M. Droke and son.¹⁰

Many of the homeseekers came with their families. Godfrey Felder left his family at Hennessey until he had staked his claim. W. W. Haworth brought his large family and a son-in-law to a campsite in the sandhills near the Cimarron. Standing on top of a sandhill, the family could plainly see the spectacular start of the race, the riders guaging their gaits so as to avoid both the treacherous quicksands and the unfamiliar channels of water in the Cimarron. J. B. Quisenberry drove his family in a covered wagon to the southern boundary of the Strip and camped only a few rods from the point where a trooper appeared to start the race. Large groups of Negroes appeared on the sand bars of the Cimarron and along the ninety-eighth meridian leading south from the river. Many of the women carried pickaninnies on their backs, while the men carried their personal effects in bundles. W. L. McNulty interviewed a young white promoter who had accompanied two hundred Negroes from Topeka, Kansas. Prancing around with an air of self-importance, he boasted of collecting five dollars apiece from the homeseekers, for which he promised to secure each one a claim. These Negroes came to Hennessey by train and walked sixteen miles west to the Cimarron.¹¹

When L. S. and C. M. Records left Peru, Kansas, to try for claims, they drove in a wagon under bows and sheet to Dover where they found such a vast crowd of homeseekers that they believed it would be too hazardous to try for a claim at that point. So they drove up the Cimarron to the northwestern corner of Old Oklahoma, a narrow strip called "the Horn." G. W. Cottam, a former Indianan, held this last farm. The two brothers and Charles Norton camped with Cottam until the day of the opening. Cottam had raised a large crop of corn in 1891, and the campers bought corn and hay for their teams. The water was excellent. Shelled corn sold for thirty cents a bushel.¹²

⁹ Interviews, R. H. R. with C. W. Bardrick, Okeene, August 9, 1942; L. E. Haworth, Okeene, November 27, 1941; F. E. Christman, Okeene, August 9, 1942; C. W. and O. W. McClung, Okeene, August 4, 1942.

¹⁰ Interviews, R. H. R. with H. S. Quinn, Okeene, August 9, 1942; W. C. Broady, August 6, 1942; G. W. Seneker, Okeene, September 2, 1941.

¹¹ Interviews, R. H. R. with John L. Felder, Okeene, August 8, 1942; L. E. Haworth, Okeene, November 27, 1941; W. L. McNulty, Okeene, September 5, 1941.

¹² L. S. Records, "The Recollections of a Cowboy of the 'Seventies and 'Eighties," Ms in possession of R. H. Records, Norman, pp. 646-48.

Three days before the opening soldiers set fire to the tall, dry grass, and L. S. Records recalled that the earth seemed to tremble and the prairie fire roared like thunder. He said it was easy for the homeseekers to find the corner stones. Each stone bore numbers corresponding to the range, township, section, and quarter-section. Oliver Gleason saw the reddish overcast of nights from a distance of five miles. During the two days before the opening W. L. McNulty, atop a sandhill, saw soldiers patrolling Salt Creek by twos and threes looking for Sooners. The disappearance of the tall grass left only the sheltering banks of the smaller streams in the valley of the Cimarron.¹³

The nineteenth was chilly, cloudy, and misty; a wind was out of the north. The United States cavalrymen remained to start the homeseekers and to keep order. W. C. Broady took his position on the Strip line west of the Cimarron directly north of the present town of Okeene. At that point was the camp of the troopers, at least thirty-five in number, which comprised two large wagon outfits with mule teams. As the forenoon wore on, the cavalrymen began deploying west to the gypsum hills and east across the Cimarron and down that river until the farthest trooper sighted one riding north from the Kingfisher camp. The soldiers were posted at intervals of a mile apart. All the troopers, save one at the campsite on the Strip line, rode out in front of the throngs with a watch in one hand and a carbine gripped in the other. Instantly at high twelve the guns were fired and the excited homeseekers were off whooping and yelling. Many were on horses, some rode mules; some were in carts and spring wagons; some ran in heavy farm wagons; and the whites who were afoot expected to stake the border claims. Apparently nearly all the Negroes, and there were thousands of them, were afoot. Time was not such a compelling factor: they traveled in their own unhurried way until they reached the black-jacks and sandy lands ranging along the course of the North Canadian. Many secured claims along the headwaters of Salt Creek.¹⁴

The soldiers themselves took a lively interest in the welfare of some of the homeseekers, and were anxious to talk with the civilians. A young trooper told W. C. Broady where to find a claim on Spring Creek, which was near timber and an excellent spring of running water. C. W. Norton heard another soldier tell an elderly widow, named Newman, who was afoot and unattended, to run a few yards across the line and set her stake. He assured her that he would see that her rights were respected. She got the claim. Yet the soldiers had to restrain certain persons. Will Hend-

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 648; interview, R. H. R. with W. L. McNulty, Okeene, September 5, 1941; O. S. Gleason, Okeene, September 6, 1941.

¹⁴ L. S. Records, "Recollections," pp. 648-9; interviews, R. H. R. with W. C. Broady, Okeene, August 6, 1942; John L. Felder, Okeene, August 8, 1942; C. W. Norton, Okeene, August 8, 1942; W. L. McNulty, Okeene, September 5, 1941; W. H. Hendricks, Okeene, September 2, 1941.

ricks saw a soldier remove a Sooner and escort him four miles back of the starting line. During the forenoon Hendricks saw mounted soldiers in groups of threes and fours, occupying the high points and watching for Sooners. C. W. Bardrick saw a trooper turn back an elderly woman, named Selke, who, because of her inability to understand English, had started a few moments before the carbine was fired. She, like Mrs. Newman, was afoot and unattended.¹⁵

George Seneker crossed the Cimarron afoot, his trouser legs rolled to his knees and shoes in his hands, scaled a great bluff on the west bank and staked a claim. The fact that the horsemen had to ride nearly two miles up Salt Creek before they could find a fordable crossing explains Seneker's success. But Godfrey Felder and his son, John, entered the run in their lumber wagon. They drove south from the Strip line one mile and 120 rods in a high lope and stopped long enough the permit Godfrey Felder to jump from the wagon and stake a claim. John and another young man hurried to the next claim south and staked it. Felder saw two men sprint for the claim on the Cheyenne-Strip boundary. One of them tripped and sprawled on the ground. This footrace was witnessed by their families who looked on from their covered wagons. Although failing to stake the first claim, the fellow who stumbled found another one on the Kiowa Trail crossing of the Cimarron. G. W. Seneker saved one rider from being dragged to death or drowned in the Cimarron. In the horse's fall the rider's foot was forced through the stirrup, and he lost his grip on the bridle reins. L. S. Records saw a middle-aged blacksmith named Hanks ride his fast-gaited mare into a deep hole of water in the Cimarron: both horse and rider disappeared beneath the water for a moment. Chilled to the bone and nearly breathless, Hanks remounted only after very great exertion and staked a claim a mile west of the river.¹⁶

Not all the participants in the run wished to be farmers. There were town and real estate promoters among them. Plans for the founding of Okeene antedated the actual opening of the country. A group of men, some of them in Hennessey and the others, homesteaders nearby, formed a townsite company. James Atchison, James Little, and Lon Saunders carried with them a real estate tent with their names stamped on it. They proposed to take part in the run themselves, got as many others interested as possible, secured Pat Nagle, of Kingfisher, as their attorney, and hired Tom Taylor, a farmer, northwest of Hennessey, to pick out the townsite and lead the group. Nagle agreed to steer the homesteaders through the ordeal of filing at the landoffice at Kingfisher. They escaped the long delay of standing in line to await the call of their numbers. The company apparently left nothing undone. But those who stood in

¹⁵ Interviews, R. H. R. with W. C. Broady, C. W. Norton, W. H. Hendricks, C. W. Bardrick, cited above.

¹⁶ Interviews, R. H. R. with G. W. Seneker, John L. Felder, cited above; L. S. Records, "Recollections" pp. 649-50.

line expressed their disapproval of the way Nagle handled his clients. The Bardrick Brothers, Elmer and Charles, erected a building, dug a well, and put in a stock of general merchandise. This was the initial business building in Okeene. The promoters induced the Mansfield Brothers, Tude and Bill, to sell their claims east of Hennessey and establish a retail store, selling hardware and groceries. Their business failed in a few years. D. G. Ellington came and installed drygoods and groceries. A. J. Kelly set up a restaurant: "he fed the hungry and all drank slough water." Saloonist Parks of Hennessey sent A. F. Brockman with the first consignment of liquor to Okeene. Charles and Elmer Bardrick, Frank Christman, Harry Russom, Arch Claywater, were others who took part in the run. They all agreed to meet at a point on the Strip line which happened to be three miles north and one east of their future townsite. Tom Taylor rode in front of the group and carried a six-shooter. When he fired it, the group scattered and began staking claims. Charles Bardrick, James Atchison, Frank Christman, and E. A. Evans staked the four cornering claims on which the town began. Since Atchison had already exercised his homestead right in western Kansas, Nagle filed on the claim, erected a small residence, lived there six months, and then returned to Kingfisher. Evans' son, Harry, built a blacksmith shop on the townsite. Dr. Alexander opened an office to practice medicine. H. C. Chapman, a Union soldier, came and founded the *Okeene Eagle*. Cyrus Houser became the first owner and proprietor of a saloon. Milton Mills, who staked his brother's claim for him southeast of Okeene, was the town's first druggist. S. W. Mills, being a Union soldier, was not required to take part in the run.¹⁷

To obtain authorization for a townsite, F. S. Christman and P. S. Nagle each relinquished forty acres of land to the United States Government. The Government then set aside one block of land for the public school. This plot was later purchased by the local Roman Catholics who founded a church and a parochial school. Desiring a central location for the school building, some land was bought and some donated and the building was erected there. Nagle and Christman also relinquished land to the townsite in order to furnish a right-of-way for the Frisco railway company. This step was taken to prevent Homestead from getting the Frisco. Finding a name for the new town engaged the attention of all the citizens. They met at the present site of the Frisco railway station. Tude Mansfield presented the crowd with a jug of Brockman's whiskey and proposed the name of a small town in Harper County, Kansas, where Mansfield once lived. But the name, Chrisfield, was unacceptable. Editor Chapman, Frank Christman, Cyrus Houser, and others made suggestions. Then Elmer Bardrick hit upon the novel

¹⁷ Interviews, R. H. R. with C. W. Bardrick, Okeene, August 9, 1942; F. S. Christman, Okeene, August 9, 1942.

idea of creating a name. He took the first two letters in Oklahoma; the last two letters in Cherokee; and the last two letters in Cheyenne. It spelled Okeene, and the name appealed to a majority of the men present.¹⁸

The Cheyenne country attracted a large number of Union soldiers. Although they were not required to make the race themselves, many of them did so. Some of them, like Emanuel E. Cook and Charles Holcomb, waited until after the run to get claims. Holcomb's friends found an excellent quarter-section which had been overlooked on the day of the run. Furnished with the numbers, he went to Kingfisher and filed. Cook and a friend named W. M. Walton stayed in Hennessey until the day after the run when they drove out in a covered wagon and interviewed two men who had claims for sale. The claimants wanted fifty dollars apiece, but Cook and Walton got them for twenty-five. In the case of S. W. Mills, his brother, Milt Mills staked a claim for him. Union Veterans such as Daniel Annis, W. W. Haworth, A. M. Parvin were in the run and staked a claim apiece.¹⁹ Sim Younger, a Negro soldier from Kansas, led a large group of his race to the headwaters of Salt Creek where they took up land. There were a number of Union veterans among them. Being pensioners of the United States Government, the old soldiers were a "god-send" to the pioneer settlers.²⁰ They were nearly the only persons who had ready cash, and they were able to buy the settlers' livestock and produce. This enabled the settlers to secure clothing and provisions for their families, and implements for use on their homesteads. Business men of Okeene profited from the Union veterans' prompt payment of bills.²¹

The country store and postoffice was an important feature of the first years of the settlement. Sam Rogers of Hennessey built Parvin store on A. M. Parvin's claim. He sold drygoods and groceries, hardware, salt bacon, shot and powder by the pound. One year Rogers paid three cents a dozen for eggs. A nephew of Territorial Governor, A. J. Seay, staked a claim southeast of Okeene. The young man built a small residence, installed a store and post-office and named it Seay. The township was also named Seay. "David Rupert's store at Vilas did a landoffice business." Thad Slaght bought three boxes of New Club shells of Rupert for a dollar. Slaght preferred to use brass shells which could be reloaded. He paid a quarter for three pounds of shot; and sometimes bought a 25-pound bag of shot for \$1.35. Slaght also sold quail to Rupert

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Interviews, R. H. R. with W. L. McNulty, Okeene, September 5, 1941; Gilbert Parvin, Okeene, August 8, 1942; John and Stephen Mills and Mattie Mills Allen, Okeene, September 1, 1941.

²⁰ Interviews, R. H. R. with W. L. McNulty, C. W. Bardrick and John L. Felder, cited above; George Cook, Okeene, August 8, 1942.

²¹ *Ibid.*; F. S. Christman and C. W. Bardrick, retired business men of Okeene, recalled the help of the old soldiers.

at a dollar a dozen. He made sixty dollars a month during the fall and winter. Many of the first settlers made more from selling game than from any other source of income. Thad Slaght hired a professional hunter to kill game, such as quail, prairie chicken, ducks, and geese, which was delivered to Showalter's produce house in Hennessey. Mixed ducks sold at \$1.50 a dozen, and mallards at \$3. Before noon of one day Slaght killed fourteen prairie chickens, and on one trip to Hennessey, sold seventy-six to Showalter. He also killed and sold numerous Canadian geese, and some white brants. Deer were not profitable because there was too much beef in the country. Cattle brought two cents a pound on the hoof. Slaght's hunter hunted the year round, ranging from Canada to the Gulf. His camp was at the mouth of the Eagle Chief in the Strip. Assisting him were his two sons, aged fifteen and eighteen, and a crippled man who did the cooking.²²

The successful homeseekers, having filed on their claims at the landoffice in Kingfisher, hurried away after their families. During the months of May and June they came in their covered wagons in such numbers that one unfamiliar with the new method of settlement in Oklahoma might have guessed that the population of all the neighboring states had suddenly been seized with wanderlust. Conditions of travel were hazardous and even dangerous, for it was a season of heavy rainfall; many were waterbound for days, and crossing the Salt Fork and Cimarron compelled whole groups of travelers to double their teams as they crossed with loaded wagons. C. W. McClung recalls seeing his father's undersized mule disappear momentarily in the middle of the main stream of the Cimarron. The water ran into the wagon box. William W. Baker and his family, who came from a farm twelve miles north of Hutchinson, Kansas, with a covered wagon, a hay rack, and thirty head of cows and calves, were waterbound at the Cimarron's Kiowa Trail crossing for two days (May 10 to 11). Crossing the river required a whole day, for Baker pulled ten other covered wagons across with his iron grey mares. Baker's oldest sons, Robert and Earl, drove the cattle afoot, but broke the yearlings to ride before half the distance to the Cheyenne country was completed. When G. W. Seneker left Derby, Kansas, in a covered wagon with his wife and child they had a very exciting ten-day trip. It rained nine of the days and twice the rainfall created flood conditions. The evening preceding Decoration Day they were camped twelve miles northeast of Wellington, and saw the tornado that nearly destroyed the city. Passing through Wellington two days later, they saw several hearses on the streets and were told nine persons were killed. Every creek and river was at flood stage, including the Cimarron, and forty to fifty covered wagons were marooned at the principal trail crossings.

²² Interviews, R. H. R. with Gilbert Parvin and Thad Slaght of Okeene, cited above.

The Senekers reached their claim overlooking the high bluff on the Cheyenne side of the Cimarron, June the sixth.²³

Providing a place of residence was an immediate necessity. Many of the settlers constructed dugouts; some built sod houses; some hauled blackjack timber from across the Cimarron and erected log houses. The Glass mountains were denuded of their great stand of cedar timber, within three years after the run. Besides making durable fence posts, as well as being used for fuel, these logs made excellent picket houses. Cedar houses and clay roofs seemed to go together. Clay was more impervious to rain than were the ordinary sod or dirt tops. Thad Slaght recalled once seeing a column of wagons a mile in length emerging from the gypsum hills, laden with cedar logs. Frame houses were erected by some of the pioneers before the summer of 1892 was well along. F. A. Records, Government farmer and chief of Indian police for the Pawnee Indians, resigned from the service and filed on a claim six miles east of Okeene. He bought the claim staked by a Mr. Hanks. Having saved a considerable part of his salary, he hired William Elson, a carpenter, who resided on a sandhill claim in Old Oklahoma, to build a four-room frame house on his new homestead. It was the first one in the northeastern area of the Cheyenne country. The former Pawnee employee's residence was used as a school house for a season and a Sunday School regularly convened there. Elson built houses for nearly all the farmers between the Cimarron and two miles from Okeene. Firms at Hennessey sold great quantities of lumber and hardware to the pioneers of the Cheyenne and Arapaho country.²⁴

Whereas some of the settlers were Union soldiers and had a regular monthly pension, the vast majority of settlers had to devise ways of securing funds. That Thad Slaght hunted and sold game for a livelihood has already been noted. Others improved their pecuniary positions by establishing country stores and installing postoffices. W. L. McNulty, M. F. Pierce and Harvey Black cut and hauled wild prairie hay from the James Lutes claim seven miles east of Okeene and sold it to William E. Malaley, the liveryman, of Hennessey, at a \$1.50 a load. McNulty was paid \$25.00 just before Christmas day, 1892. Recalling the incident forty-nine years later, he said: "That \$25.00 really did me more good than any money I have ever earned, before or since. I bought my wife a gingham dress and some oysters. It was her first dress since she left Missouri in December of 1891. I bought some toys for my two children. We had a real Christmas tree the next day. I was now living in my own home, had a farm, and lots of money!" F. S. Christman came into the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation with \$600 which he saved from his earnings while working as a farm hand in Kansas

²³ Interviews, R. H. R. with J. E. Baker, Okeene, August 4, 1942; C. W. McClung, Okeene, August 4, 1942; G. W. Seneker, Okeene, September 2, 1941.

²⁴ Interviews, R. H. R. with Thad Slaght, W. C. Broady, W. L. McNulty, C. W. McClung, all of Okeene, cited above.

and later as a clerk in stores in Hennessey and El Reno. He made the race on a pony which he bought for ten dollars.²⁵

As was the case in Old Oklahoma and the Cherokee Outlet, there were contested claims in the Cheyenne country. Some were actuated by honest motives, but not all of them. A few days after the run, when G. W. Seneker was building his half-dugout and shanty, a man named Graham drove up in a spring wagon and told Seneker that a woman had filed on his claim. He added, "It was a mistake on her part." The woman was a Mrs. Cook of Hennessey, who had a restaurant there. Being unable to leave her business to take part in the run, she hired one of her boarders, a man named Haynes, to stake a claim for her. Haynes dismounted and staked Seneker's claim; then tried to buy it when it became apparent that he was too late. He was told to move on, and he did. Haynes rode north furiously two and a half miles and staked another claim overlooking a great bluff on the Cimarron. He then returned to Hennessey but gave Mrs. Cook the numbers of Seneker's claim. Mrs. Cook then deeded Haynes some property in Wichita and gave him \$200 in cash. Graham, who had come up from Kingfisher to view Mrs. Cook's claim at her request, discovered the deception and hurried back. He telegraphed Mrs. Cook to take the first train to Kingfisher. She and Graham went to the landoffice and made application to change her filing from Seneker's claim to the one Haynes staked for her. As Mrs. Cook and Mr. Graham left the landoffice, Haynes and another man rode up with the intention of filing on Mrs. Cook's claim. She denounced Haynes and demanded that he return her property and money. He complied. Then the lady tried to induce Mr. Seneker to take Haynes' span of mules and \$200 for the delay and expense he had needlessly suffered. He refused the offer. But a year elapsed, however, before Seneker secured authority to file on his claim. In the meantime he was told to file a contest against Mrs. Cook and secure a lawyer. He called on Deck and Grant Houston of Kingfisher. Deck, who had a claim near Seneker's, advised, "You don't want a trial. Put it off." Seneker acted on the advice and returned to his claim. When another six-months' period passed, Seneker was ordered to come to Kingfisher and have a trial. Deck Houston again confronted the clerk at the landoffice and snapped, "You want to get some money out of this fellow." Houston pressed this lead, and the official finally permitted Seneker to file. Houston accepted only five dollars for his services.²⁶ But a contest near Taloga ended in the killing of a Mr. McDonald, August 31, 1898, by one Ed McHaffie. The former, who had been active in Republican politics, had been a delegate to several Territorial conventions.²⁷

²⁵ Interviews, R. H. R. with W. L. McNulty and F. S. Christman and others cited above.

²⁶ Interview, R. H. R. with G. W. Seneker, Okeene, September 2, 1941.

²⁷ *The Hennessey Clipper*, September 8, 1898.

Education was an immediate concern of the settlers after their families had arrived. The first school in Okeene was taught in a small tin building on Main Street. Miss Linnie L. Howell was one of the first teachers. C. W. Bardrick was the clerk of the school board from 1892-1900.²⁸ The first term of school in W. C. Broady's district, two miles east of Okeene, was conducted in a dugout by Mrs. Andrew Wallace. The children of S. W. Mills, in a neighboring district, were in attendance that year because the settlers there had not organized a school or secured a teacher. Mrs. Wallace was paid \$10 a month; she furnished the dugout, and her own children were pupils. The late Sam Kratz taught one term and received \$25 a month. Decades later Kratz told Broady that this money did him more good than any he had ever earned, before or since. It was a year of very poor crops, and Kratz was a farmer. In 1894 this district voted to bond the district in the sum of \$125. This money paid for the lumber and paint. Thomas Oliver of district No. 11 in Kingfisher county donated the rock for the foundation; and the men of the district erected the building. W. C. Broady, Nelson Emmons, Robert McClung, John Montanyea, George Sands, John and Andrew Wallace and Abe Sooter donated their labor. This building still stands on Highway 51, two miles east of Okeene.²⁹ Another building, called Solid Rock, five miles east of Okeene, still stands but, like nearly all the other old one-room schools of the 'nineties, it is no longer used. The system of motor-bus transportation to Okeene has left these buildings as reminders of a vanished generation.

There were many cases of typhoid fever during the first years of the settlement. It may be traceable to the fact that the settlers drank water from sloughs, creeks, and open-dug wells. Unscreened doors and windows exposed children to fly-borne diseases. Deaths were not uncommon. When misfortune overtook one of the settlers, his neighbors came to his assistance. When Frank Crew was bedfast with typhoid, his neighbors drove into his field early one morning with their one-furrow and two-furrow plows and plowed his entire field before the day ended. Mrs. Viola Chilcote, widow of Jacob Chilcote who staked a claim, was assisted in numerous ways by her neighbors. P. D. McClung and L. S. Records hauled loads of stove-length wood for her use, and the school board of district No. 11 employed her as a teacher.³⁰

The use of telephones, automobiles, radios, and even rural electrification to a degree are additional evidences that the pioneering stage has long since passed.

²⁸Interview, R. H. R. with C. W. Bardrick, Okeene, August 9, 1942.

²⁹Interview, R. H. R. with W. C. Broady, Okeene, September 1, 1941.

³⁰L. S. Records, "Recollections," pp. 690, 693-94; interviews, R. H. R. with W. L. McNulty, Okeene, September 5, 1941; Thad Slaght, Okeene, September 2, 1941.

RECOLLECTIONS OF APRIL 22, 1889.

By Frank J. Best.

Looking back to that bright, sunshiny, moderately warm, slightly windy day in April, 1889, the day of the opening for settlement of Oklahoma, I am amazed that I only partially realized how great a privilege was mine, that I was to view this historic event from the inside. To me then it seemed only an over publicized passing event, and not, perhaps, the most momentous day of my life.

I was in the employ of the Santa Fe Railway, and had been transferred from their service in Topeka, Kansas to Guthrie more than a week before the date of the opening. The freight shipments were pouring in with such volume that neither the facilities nor the working force could handle it, and in a short time a blockade resulted, and shipments for Oklahoma stations, congested all sidetracks from Wichita, Kansas to Gainesville, Texas. This condition obtained for more than two months. Food, stocks of merchandise to establish stores, and building material were sorted out, and brought in preference. This was my first experience in "priority." We were not able to secure newspapers nor did we have time to read, if we could secure them, so we were somewhat in the dark as to what was transpiring on the outside, though passing trainmen, told us of the massing of homeseekers along the border.

Until the morning of the opening, we were somewhat lonesome, only the bare prairie to be seen, other than a photographer's tent and the Santa Fe employees. Carpenters were building the depot building and men were building sidetracks, nearly all of the latter were termed "Bohunks," southern European emigrants, who did not speak or understand our language.

Early on the morning of the opening day, there appeared to be considerable activity in what is now the business part of the townsite, about 100 men were on the ground, and the number grew until it looked like about 300 before the legal opening hour, high noon. These men were what was later given the status of being "sooners."

Out of curiosity, I walked up to where the crowds were. While they were scattered over a wide space, yet there were three or four men standing in the rear ends of wagons used for platforms, who had groups about them approvingly listening. There was little difference in these talks. Their argument seemed to agree that this was already Government land, subject to entry, therefore the general land laws were applicable, and that it needed no act of Congress to open it for entry, and the proclamation was not necessary, and no set time for the opening needed. That each of the listeners were within their legal rights by being on the townsite or farms, and were advised to go get them. A question was raised as to what

size a "town-lot" was? Some thought a 50 feet front, some 100, and some thought they should have a business lot, also an ample residence lot. Stakes were being driven, strings tied to stakes to mark the boundaries, and the presumed owner spread out his meager personal effects, and mentally braced himself for the rush that was coming.

While I went among them as a curious onlooker, but after listening to the talks, I thought perhaps they "have got something there," so I joined the lot grabbers. I found I had waited until the "grabbing" was poor, as everything at all desirable was already taken, it was necessary, even before the opening hour, to go completely outside the business part. The lot was "down the hill" with a depression through it.

Before the noon hour, I was back at my work.

The first passenger train that came into Guthrie after the noon hour was a train from the south. The coaches were either empty or were carrying only one or two persons, the trainmen stated they had dropped off "all along."

Shortly after two o'clock trains from the north began to arrive. They were much behind schedule, the reason being that men were jumping off continuously, necessitating running slow to avoid injuring them. To watch them approach, being plainly visible for more than two miles, the homeseekers could be seen to throw off their personal effects, then to jump off. A small cloud of dust was created by the sprawling landing, from which would quickly emerge the man running his best, going for a claim and a hoped for future home. All too many of them found each claim taken, not only by one man, but usually from two to a half dozen. Those who could get no land drifted into the towns so that by nightfall the town had a population of vigorous citizens, though there was only the bare land. They had the population, nothing else, not even food or water, except such as they may have brought with them.

When the noon hour arrived, from the timber along the streams emerged hundreds of horsemen, wagons, buggies and others on foot, going pell-mell in all directions. I had been within a few hundred yards of them, but the trees and bushes so concealed them that I was much surprised indeed. Years of litigation grew out of the contests, though many of them sold their "rights" to each other, especially after the courts handed out severe penalties for any proved perjured testimony.

Very few, if any of those entering illegally, won out advantageously, for it was necessary to prove where they were on and prior to the opening date.

For my own town lot adventure, the final outcome netted me exactly nothing.

After sleeping on the lot at nights for a week, sleeping as much as a person could without any covers in frosty night air, a man told me he knew I did not make the legal run, that he intended jumping the lot, but rather than have a controversy, he would pay me thirty dollars for my alleged rights, the deal was consummated, most satisfactory for both of us. When the survey was made, establishing streets, this plot of ground was in the street, so he lost it. A man named Ragsdale had started a bank with no legal standing at all. I deposited my thirty dollars; Ragsdale, the bank money and my thirty dollars left town without a forwarding address. Thus was the cycle completed.

Just before noon hour, the opening day, a man dressed in a blue Civil War uniform, rode up to me, asking my name, and where he could find me. He told me he had served 4 years for the U. S. A. in that war, that he was entitled to land, and was here to get it. He pointed to a nice claim adjoining the townsite to the south, and asked me if I would not watch him go on it, which I did. Dismounting, he began driving stakes and digging for foundation.

Every day for a week thereafter he hunted me up, and was most cordial, and refreshed my memory as to seeing him enter the land. I asked him if he did not have contestants. He advised he had none. Knowing there were two to a dozen contestants reported as being on similar situated claims, I thought it somewhat strange. He was most friendly. About a week after the entry, I met him in one of the narrow paths leading uptown. He looked me squarely in the face as we met, and although I was smiling and spoke to him, he did not show the least sign of recognition, and passed on. I turned and called to him, thinking he did not recognize me, being away from my usual location. He turned, still a cold stare at me. I asked how he was making it on his claim. He said but two words, "D—ed School-land," and passed on his way, passed out of my life. He had found it was reserved school land, not open for entry, dashing his hopes. Thus ended what had had the promise of a beautiful friendship.

The act of Congress, passed in the very last days of the Cleveland administration and vitalized by proclamation in the first few days of President Benjamin Harrison's administration, contained the bare authorization. Except fixing the day of the opening, and providing settlers must not enter the boundaries prior to that time, and reserving for townsites certain lands for several towns, no other vital or necessary provision was provided. Not a single law was applicable, either civil or criminal, except the Federal laws, and they only covered such cases as prohibition of liquor under the Indian Territory provisions, and on such criminal cases as were committed on land reserved in the Federal Government's name, such as the acre space reserved for land offices, and a few other minor reserved spaces. There was no law provided for settlement and setting up

townsite government, no provision for streets, nor for dividing the space in lots, no way ownership could be established, no way to get deeds, no way a person holding a lot could show rights or get legal protection, no way to legally arrest for criminal acts ranging from theft to murder, except such as were committed against the Federal Government or on its small reservations, no sanitary or health arrangements, no provision for food, water and ordinary requirements, and no places that they could be obtained. It is true, that a stream of water was near, but it was bitter with salt, alkali and was red muddy. Those coming by train had little or no provisions, and the wagons arriving next day with provisions for themselves, were soon cleaned out, if they could spare it at all.

The principal towns had from 5,000 to 20,000 people within 24 hours, and not a toilet facility and on the open prairie. It has been to me a wonder that we were so fortunate as to escape an epidemic of typhoid or such diseases. Here was a general condition, not only for hardships, but that legally unrestrained people might take advantage of to the detriment of others. It tested their citizenship and love for the right.

Left to their own resources, the American democracy and love of self government, in just a day or two, the leaders among them came together and formed an organization. Not a single law backing them, the citizens gathered, and elected officers, speeches were made assuring these officers loyal support. A survey of the town was made, streets and alleys were established, blocks and lots provided for. Here was the real test, for in opening the streets and changing the boundaries of the blocks and lots, deprived very many of their lots, or threw several on the same lot, and at times the protests were more than verbal, requiring force in making the changes and removing the claimants. A board of three was appointed to hear testimony and to establish the rightful owner of lots, and to issue them a certificate in lieu of a deed. There was no law authorizing such actions but the board acted as best it could, and its decisions seemed fairly satisfactory. A year or more later, when laws were made, these unauthorized certificates, were considered as *prima facie* evidence of ownership, and deeds were issued to those where no contest existed.

In cases of contest, new hearings were held, but the work of the original board had been done well, and practically all holding certificates got deeds. There were no laws to provide for taxation or to pay any expenses or for the most needed maintenance and upkeep. By the same common consent, satisfactory provisions were made, and order was established with the minimum of friction. Here was a large collection of settlers, almost everyone strangers to each other, coming together and establishing a working arrangement for the common good, and doing a splendid job of it.

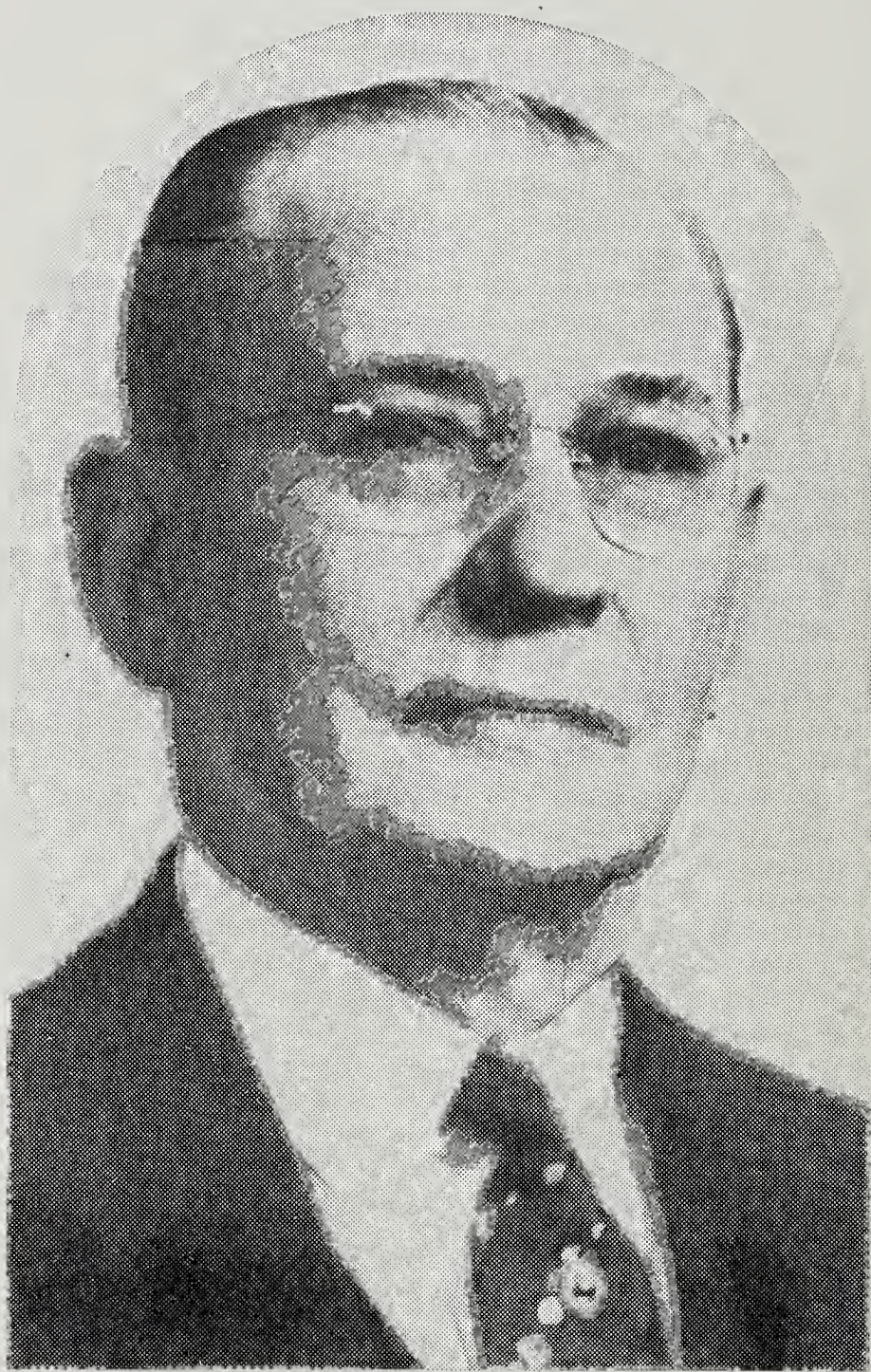
Historically, Oklahoma is young; very many living today witnessed those stirring times, yet apparently much has been written, probably to touch up the story glamorously. That is wrong and some of it really defames those sterling homeseekers. This has been augmented by many delegations visiting conventions, and by our own parades, dressed in fantastic costumes that allege to represent these early settlers, also that they were a lot of drinking, gun-toting, tough outfits. These are not a fair representation of facts or conditions. They are glamorous but not historical or representative.

There were no cattle and no cow-boys within miles of that part of Oklahoma. People were dressed just the same as those found today on our streets or about their shops or farms, except a small change in styles. No one carried a revolver, at least, not exposed. There were no saloons for at least 15 months after the opening. The new country came under the Federal Indian laws, and absolute prohibition existed, and a large force of U. S. marshals and deputies saw it was enforced. It was about the only law they had, and their main source of revenue, so it was rigidly enforced. On the whole, there was absolutely no saloon or liquor sales, and no drunkenness. The writers who have described church services as being held in saloons, or that boards for seats at church were supported by beer kegs, the pulpit being a liquor barrel, wholly are a disregard for facts. Yet these statements are fast becoming to be accepted as representative.

These early settlers were homeseekers in the truest type. They were looking for, hoping for a home and land to provide them a living. They were peaceful, and as well behaved as any assembly that we have today.

It is true there was sharp competition as always exists where the prizes to be won were so great as these lands. There were isolated cases of friction among those contesting for the same land, but in the early days this was slight. Much bitterness did exist a year or more later when these contests came up for adjudication, but these are not a part of the opening story.

Certain harmless friction has grown up around certain watches, that are contended to be the watch that governed the exact time the run was started, or that a certain revolver is the one discharged to announce that time. When one considers that the boundary around these lands to be opened ran for more than two hundred miles, and that no watch or revolver could possibly govern over one mile, and that while these articles might be considered historical for that limited space, there are probably two hundred of them which with equal justice could be claimed as being thus historical.



TOM HALE

TOM HALE

1862-1941

By Robert L. Williams

Tom Hale, born October 5, 1862, near Clarksville, in Red River County, Texas, was a son of Thomas Hale, Sr. and his wife, Frances (Welborn) Hale, the former born February 14, 1822 and the latter June 7, 1825, in Tennessee, where they were married and then migrated to Texas in the 1840's and to this union came the following children, all born in Red River County, Texas: (1) John Guy Hale, born October 10, 1848, (2) Johnson Welborn Hale, born September 1, 1866, and (3) Elizabeth Sarah Hale, born July 23, 1856; all predeceased their brother, Tom Hale, who died in McAlester, Oklahoma, on April 25, 1941; interment in Hilcrest Mausoleum, Dallas, Texas.

Tom Hale was married to Julia Bryan Holloway at Woodland, Texas, September 11, 1884 and to this union came two sons—the elder, Eustace, who died when five years of age, and the younger, Elmer, born November 16, 1887, and his mother survive.

On January 5, 1913, his son, Elmer Hale, was married to Miss Opal Franklan Harvey and to that union has come two children, a son, Elmer, Jr. and a daughter, Cierelda Julia, who is the wife of T. A. Barnard and they reside in San Gabriel, California and they have two children, Cierelda Julia Barnard and Frances Ann Barnard. The son, Elmer Hale, Jr. is a First Lieutenant in the 18th Field Artillery at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

Tom Hale received the education afforded by the local country schools following the Civil War. Leaving the farm when he was 21 years of age he became a clerk in a retail dry goods store at Honey Grove, Texas, and then in Paris, Texas, and later in Detroit, Texas, with Ed Byrd, he engaged in the retail hardware and implement business. In 1894, having sold his interest in the Detroit business he went to work for the Rock Island Implement Company of Dallas, Texas—its main office located at Rock Island, Illinois—and so continued until January 4, 1896, when he located at Durant, Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory, with one Taber of Dallas, Texas, under the firm name of Tom Hale & Company and engaged in the retail implement business, the late E. H. Smith being associated with them as an employee. Later he disposed of the business, and the late A. L. Severance¹ succeeded thereto.

In 1900 the late Hugh Halsell and A. B. Scarbrough of Bonham, Texas, and Tom Hale organized the Durant Wholesale Grocery Company, with Hale as Manager, and he also participated with them in the organization of the Durant National Bank at Durant. The wholesale grocery company in 1902 was expanded and the name changed to Hale-Halsell Company, with a branch at Coalgate, Oklahoma. In

¹ Vol. 18, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, pp. 309-310.

1904, having acquired the Townsend Wholesale Grocery Company business at McAlester, Oklahoma, he removed to that point and continued said wholesale grocery business until his death. The grocery company as Hale-Halsell Company extended its branches to Muskogee, Tulsa, Okmulgee, Holdenville and Hugo—the Coalgate branch being removed to Ada in 1919. The capital of the organization expanded and at the close of the World War I it was \$1,400,000.00, since which time it has been reduced to \$1,000,000.00. Tom Hale was its President until age caused his transfer to the Chairmanship of the Board of Directors.

He was effective in the promotion of the Boy Scouts organization and various civic movements, a member of the Presbyterian Church at McAlester, and a 32d degree Mason.

Tom Hale was for years President of the First National Bank at McAlester and disposed of his interest therein and later organized the National Bank of McAlester and was its President from the date of its organization until his death. He was an able, active, capable, enterprising and progressive business man.

In 1898 in the territory tributary to Durant in which grain was raised he sold and delivered to the surrounding farmers as many as 100 grain binders,² on May 21, 1898.

By Act of March 18, 1915, the act of May 23, 1913 providing for construction of the State Capitol and creating a Commission therefor was amended, so that the Governor became "ex-officio chairman of the Commission," and Patrick James Goulding, William Bruce Anthony and Stephen A. Douglas, were continued as members thereof, to hold office until the completion of the Capitol Building, or until removed by the Governor of the State.³ Soon after said Commission was thus re-organized, and a Citizens Advisory Committee was appointed by said Commission to advise in the construction of said building, to-wit: Joseph Huckins, Jr., Chairman, E. K. Gaylord, Vice-Chairman, Tom Hale, F. M. Pirtle, H. W. Gibson, Sr.,³ Edgar S. Vaught and S. W. Hogan. Said Capitol Building having been in due course completed⁴ the Sixth Legislature on March 16, 1917, passed the following House Resolution:

"Whereas, this great undertaking has been accomplished without suspicion or intimation of graft or extravagance;
* * *

. . . Be it resolved, that we hereby tender on behalf of the people of the State our earnest commendation for their earnest and efficient efforts in building the Capitol, the intelligent care and supervision they have given to this great responsibility, and the value of their services in the discharge of their duty."

² Session Laws of Oklahoma, 1915, Chap. 166, pp. 292-297; Vol. 10, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, p. 613; Daily Oklahoman, March 24, 1915.

³ Vol. 5, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, p. 100-101.

⁴ The Capitol Building was completed and finished within the limits of the appropriation of One and One-half Million Dollars.



MCCORMICK BINDERS DELIVERED BY TOM HALE, AT DURANT, MAY 21, 1898

In the Capitol Building are two black marble plaques upon one of which is inscribed:

"State Capital Commission
R. L. Williams, Governor and Chairman
P. J. Goulding, Vice-Chairman
W. B. Anthony S. A. Douglas
Ira Mitchell⁵)
A. N. Leecraft) Secretaries
Edward P. Boyd, Superintendent"

and upon the other is inscribed:

"Citizens Advisory Committee
Joseph Huckins, Jr., President
Ed. S. Vaught Secretary
E. K. Gaylord H. W. Gibson
Tom Hale F. M. Pirtle
S. W. Hogan"

Architects
S. A. Layton and S. Wemyss Smith
Contractors
James Stewart and Co. Inc.
Building Commenced July 20, 1914
and Completed June 30, 1917."

The following members of the Citizens Advisory Committee have passed away: Joseph Huckins, Jr., H. W. Gibson, Sr., F. M. Pirtle, and Tom Hale. Those that still survive are: Edgar S. Vaught and S. W. Hogan. Of the State Capitol Commission, the Governor, Robert L. Williams still survives, but the other members, Patrick James Boulding, Stephen A. Douglas and William Bruce Anthony have passed away. S. A. Layton and S. Wemyss Smith, the architects, also have passed away.

COUNTY AND NATIONAL ELECTIONS IN PONTOTOC COUNTY, CHICKASAW NATION

By Gordon M. Harrel

According to the treaty of 1855 between the Chickasaw Indians and the United States which was signed by President Franklin Pierce March 4, 1856, the Chickasaw people were given the right of self government with complete separation from the Choctaws. After their removal to Indian Territory from their former homes east of the Mississippi, the Chickasaws had been living in the Choctaw country and under Choctaw laws and domination. Their relations during these years with the Choctaws had been peaceful but not harmonious. The Chickasaws desired their own tribal government and the right to administer their own affairs. Thus the treaty of 1856 was received with great pleasure by the Chickasaws.

During the summer of 1856 the Chickasaws held a Constitutional Convention at Tishomingo and drew up a Constitution for their people. The Constitution provided for three Departments of government, namely, the Executive branch, the Legislative branch and

⁵Ira Mitchell was secretary as long as his full time as such was needed and then A. N. Leecraft, secretary to the Governor, acted without additional compensation.

the Judicial branch. For purposes of local government counties were organized. Four counties were provided for in a Chickasaw Senate Resolution of October 5, 1859.¹ The four counties were Panola, Pickens, Tishomingo and Pontotoc.

The Chief Executive was a governor elected by the qualified voters of the Nation; he held his office for two years. The legislative branch was a bi-cameral system with a senate and a house of representatives. Senators were chosen by qualified voters for a term of two years while members of the house of representatives were chosen to serve one year. Both branches required their law-makers to be Chickasaws by birth or by adoption to be eligible for the office. The judicial department was to consist of one Supreme Court, district courts and such county courts as the legislature might from time to time establish.² According to the above mentioned constitution each county was entitled to a county court which had jurisdiction over all matters in controversy not exceeding the value of one hundred dollars.³ The County Judge was elected for a term of two years and was commissioned by the Governor of the Nation. In addition to trying cases criminal and civil, county judges were given jurisdiction over all probate matters relative to the estates of deceased persons and guardianships.

On October 12, 1876, B. F. Overton, Governor of the Chickasaw Nation, approved an act of the legislature to organize County Courts in each county.⁴ The act provided that county courts were to be courts of enquiry and had the power to commit, discharge or remand to higher courts offenders of the Chickasaw laws. County courts were also charged with the duty of appointing guardians, to take probate of wills, settle the accounts of executors, administrators and deceased persons. The meeting date for county courts was fixed for the third Wednesday of each month at the county seat.⁵

In 1876 the Chickasaw Legislature passed an act fixing the salaries of all public officials of the Chickasaw Nation.⁶ The salaries were as follows:.

Governor	\$1500 per annum
Attorney General	\$ 500 " "
County Judges	\$ 200 " "
Sheriffs	\$ 400 " "
Constables	\$ 400 " "
District Judges	\$ 600 " "
Senators and Representatives	\$4.00 per day
County Clerk	\$ 300 per annum

¹ *Constitution, Laws and Treaties of Chickasaws*, published in 1860, page 3-23 and 141-143.

² *Constitution, Laws and Treaties of Chickasaw Nation*, edited by Davis A. Homer, 1899.

³ *Ibid*, page 64.

⁴ *Ibid*, page 65.

⁵ *Ibid*, page 65.

⁶ *Constitution, Laws and Treaties of Chickasaw Nation*, Davis A. Homer, 1899.

All general elections were held on the second Wednesday in August of each year.⁷ The Constitution further provided that the Legislature shall prescribe the manner of conducting all elections; on October 7, 1876, B. F. Overton, Governor, signed an Act defining the procedure for elections in each county. This Act provided for the County Judge in each county to select two assistant judges and two clerks who with the County Judge were to manage the elections with fairness and justice to all. In case the County Judge failed to attend to his duties the electors at the polls on election day were authorized to appoint judges and clerks and hold the election.

There were no printed ballots. The clerks prepared the election supplies which consisted of a long wide sheet of paper with the names of the candidates for the various offices listed on them. The voter's name was listed on another sheet of paper and he signified to the clerk the person for whom he wished to vote. The clerk made a mark or tally in front of the person's name voted for. The polls opened at 8 o'clock A. M. and closed at 5 o'clock P. M. In case of a tie vote between two candidates the polls were to be reopened immediately for the purpose of deciding the election. The polls of the second election must close by 12 o'clock P. M. After the votes were counted the managers of the election were required to give certificates of election to the candidate for each office receiving the highest number of votes.

Suffrage rights were granted to all free male persons nineteen years of age and upward who were members of the Chickasaw tribe by birth or adoption and who had resided in the Chickasaw Nation for six months previous to the election. Suffrage was denied to idiots, insane and all persons convicted of crimes against the Chickasaw Nation, or who had eluded peace officers by fleeing from custody or trial.⁸

County and national elections were frequently close and many charges of unfairness were made particularly regarding the eligibility of voters. In 1888 the Legislature passed an Act in relation to Contested Elections which was signed by Wm. L. Byrd, Governor on November 10.⁹ This act provided that the County and Probate Clerks of each county shall prepare a list of all qualified voters and furnish such to the County Judges at least fifteen days before the election date. Those who became of age during the fifteen days before the election could vote by satisfying the County Judge as to their ages. According to this Act a candidate who became dissatisfied with the conduct of an election and who had good reason to believe that fraud had been practiced could lay his complaint be-

⁷ *Ibid*, see section 15, page 19.

⁸ *Constitution of Chickasaw Nation*, Davis A. Homer, Art. II.

⁹ *Ibid*, page 54.

fore the County Judge. The Judge was authorized to set a date for a hearing to investigate the complaint. The person filing the complaint was required to prove the charges to the Judge. If this was done the Judge was required to give him a certificate of election to the office.

Following the election held at Stonewall, Pontotoc County, Chickasaw Nation on August 13, 1902 for national and county officials, there were charges of irregularities and violations of the laws brought up by the defeated candidates. In accordance with the laws of the Chickasaw Nation of 1888 a complaint was filed by P. S. Mosley the defeated candidate for Governor, before George Colbert, the County and Probate Judge. The County Court held a hearing on the charges at Stonewall, Pontotoc County, Indian Territory, August 25, 1902. The following is the official minutes kept by the County Clerk:¹⁰

Stonewall, I. T. August 25th 1902

Special term of the Co. Court ordered on the 25th of August 1902 to be held pursuant to adjournment.

Met for business the written complaint have been made by the Honorable P. S. Mosley being a candidate for Gov. and others having been dissatisfied with the results of the last election initiated and brought a bill of complaint before this court for a fair and impartial investigation. Murray¹¹ Attorney representing the case and George Burris representing the parties on the Byrd ticket. George Colbert the newly appointed and commissioned as County Judge being the successor to H. M. Quincy for the unexpired term being present. Forbus Mosley sheriff being present the court opened by the sheriff. The case was taken up for examination and the deft.¹² Attorney not well prepared moves that the case be postponed till one o'clock P. M. or after noon. Motion granted by the Court and adjourned to meet at one o'clock P. M.

Court met for business one o'clock P. M. and is now ready for business. The deft. Atty. made a lengthy ag (argument) for the deft and read the law according to the Election Act after which the Atty for the Complaint parties and both attys on each side made lengthy speech on each side. McKeel¹³ Atty for the deft. parties made lengthy argue (argument) George Burris atty for parties def.¹⁴ After hearing on both side of the Atty for . . . both parties the Court overrules the motion presented by Geo (Evidently George Burris) after hearing.

T. C. Walker and H. M. Quincy was sworn to testify.

¹⁰ Official minutes, of the County and Probate Clerk of Pontotoc County. The Clerk's book was obtained from John C. Atkins who served as clerk from 1900 to 1904.

¹¹ William H. Murray.

¹² Attorney for defeated party.

¹³ J. F. McKeel.

¹⁴ George Burris attorney for Byrd ticket.

On August the 26th the special court met; the following records of that date are recorded in the County Clerk's Book on page 354-355:

Contested Election of General Election 3rd Wednesday in August 1902
A. D.

Before George Colbert County and Probate Judge of Pontotoc County
Chickasaw Nation Ind. Terr.

1 —William James
2 —Almon Holden
3 —Herbert Quincy
4 —Elian Fillmore
5 —Wm. Anderson
6 —George Underwood
7 —William Wright
8 —Sampson Anderson
9 —John C. Adkins
10—Esaw Seely
11—Solomon Owens
12—Thomason Johnson
13—C. T. Walker
14—Bill Gibson
V. S.—Judgment

CONTESTANTS

1 —H. Colbert
2 —Sampson Johnson
3 —Frank Reed
4 —Hosea Walden
5 —James Frazier
6 —Halison Brown
7 —Gabriel Underwood
8 —Eastman Maytubby
9 —Bill Perry
10—Henry Fillmore
11—John Walmor
12—Robert Alberson
13—James Walker

CONTESTEES

On this August 25th 1902 A. D. the cause comming on to be heard upon the petition Contestants and Contestees being present in person and by Attorney William H Murray and Contestees being present in person and by Attorney J. F. McKeel, W. H. Campbell and George Burris and parties. Announcing ready and the Court having heard the evidence, argument of Counsel and having taken the same under advisement until eight o'clock A. M. on August 26th 1902 A. D. Doth find:

That the Poll Books purporting to be a record of the votes cast for the above named Contestants and Contestees, Who were candidates for the offices of Senators, Representatives, County Judge, County Clerk, Sheriff and Constables and for Palmer S Mosely and W. L. Byrd candidates for the office of Governor and J. L. Thompson and I. O. Lewis candidates for the office of Attorney General, at what purported to be the General Election held at Stonewall Pontotoc County Chickasaw Nation on Wednesday August 13th 1902 were not signed, certified and sealed by the Judges of the Election as required by laws of Chickasaw Nation and that such Books were blotted and blurred and otherwise torn, tattered and disfigured and were Kept on such quality of paper and were Ruled and arranged in such a way That it is impossible to ascertain from the face of them for which candidates the voter cast their ballots thereby Rendering it impossible to Intelligently determine the Results.

It is therefore ordered, considered and adjudged That said purported General Election held at Stonewall, Pontotoc County, Chickasaw Nation on Wednesday August 13th 1902 at which the above named Contestants and Contestees were candidates for the various County officers and at which Palmer S Mosely and William L Byrd were candidates for the office of Governor and at which J. L. Thompson and I. O. Lewis were candidates for the office of Attorney General was not held and conducted as required by Laws of the Chickasaw Nation and is therefore Illegal and of no effect and furthermore that the certificates heretofore issued purporting to declare H. Colbert, Sampson Johnson and Frank Reed Elected senators from Pontotoc County and Hosea Walden, James Frazier, Halison Brown, Gabriel Underwood and Eastman Maytubby Representatives from Pontotoc County and Billy Perry County Judge of Pontotoc County and Henry Fillmore County Clerk of Pontotoc County and John Walmor Sheriff of Pontotoc County and Amos Holden, Robert Alberson and James Walker, Constables of Pontotoc County, be nulled and the same are hereby Revoked

George Colbert

Co. & Probate Judge of Pontotoc
County, Chickasaw Nation, Ind. Terr.

Recorded on this the 28th day of August
1902 A. D.

John C Atkins
Co. & Probate Clerk of
Pontotoc County, C. N. I. T.

The outcome of the disputed election of 1902 was a victory for the Mosely ticket by a majority of six votes.¹⁵ Thus he entered upon his term as the next to the last Governor of the Chickasaw Nation at a time when the Chickasaws were divided on the issue as to the future of their Tribal Government. Mosely was inaugurated Governor September 1, 1902. He immediately called a special election for the 25th of September. The election was to pass on the Supplemental Agreement of the Atoka Agreement which was approved by the Congress of the United States July 1, 1902.

The issues between Palmer S. Mosely and William L. Byrd in the election were whether to cooperate readily with the Supplemental Agreement and give up the attempt to maintain their own tribal form of government and autonomy or to reconcile themselves to the white man's rule and the extinction of their own. Byrd was for the full blood side, which opposed the Supplemental Agreement. Mosely although himself a full blood represented the Progressive Party which favored the ratification. Byrd was not a full blood but being an Ex-governor took the side of the full bloods. The Chickasaws ratified the Supplemental Agreement at the election held on September 25th 1902.

¹⁵ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 18, (1940) p. 250.

WILD CAT'S DEATH AND BURIAL

By Kenneth W. Porter

That Wild Cat (Coacoochee), son of King Philip (Emathla), noted leader in the Seminole War and of the Seminole migration to Mexico, 1849-1850, died of smallpox in Coahuila in 1857, has been well-known for sixty or seventy years to anyone sufficiently interested to turn to the easily accessible printed sources,¹ but details concerning his death and burial have been lacking. The circumstance that the sources for the bare facts, while readily available, are not well-known to the layman, has resulted, further, in some positively erroneous conceptions which, while probably not wide spread, are nevertheless worthy of correction.

The official historian of the 8th U. S. Infantry, for example, in a publication of 1873, stated that Wild Cat was brained "on the banks of the Rio Grande" by a whiskey-bottle in the hands of "Gopher John," who, for this or some other unspecified offense, met death by the rope in Northern Mexico;² Gopher John (nickname of the Seminole Negro chief more properly known as John Horse, John Cavallo, or Juan Caballo) was, at the time of publication, actually living on the military reservation of Fort Duncan, Eagle Pass, Texas! It is probably only a coincidence that a shadowy tradition exists among some of the Seminole Indians of Oklahoma that Wild Cat was somehow made away with by the Seminole Negroes in order that they might gain possession of the land granted to the Seminole by the Mexican government.³

This rumor is contradicted not only by all the known circumstances of Wild Cat's death but also by the esteem in which he was held by the Seminole Negroes whom he led, and which their descendants still display at any mention of his name. The suspicion is based on the circumstance that the Seminole Negroes of Naciminto, Coahuila, near the headwaters of the Rio Sabinas, in the Santa Rosa Mountains, now occupy half of the land granted in 1852 to Wild Cat's followers (the other half is in the possession of Kickapoo Indians) and on a false conception of the circumstances of the grant, which is derived in turn from a misinterpretation of the relations between the Indians and Negroes who followed Wild Cat to Mexico. This misinterpretation, finally, results from the assump-

¹ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1870, pp. 328-329; *Reports of the Committee of Investigation sent in 1873 by the Mexican Government to the Frontiers of Texas*, N. Y., 1875, pp. 407-412.

² Wilhelm, Thomas, *History of the Eighth U. S. Infantry*, 2 vols., Headquarters, Eighth Infantry, 1873, vol. i, pp. 159, 173-174.

³ Thanks are due to C. C. Patten, Wewoka, Oklahoma, who in 1921 accompanied a party of Seminole to Mexico to investigate the possibilities of recovering the Wild Cat land-grant, for informing me of this tradition. Mr. Patten states that "A-ha-la-chochee," Wild Cat's grandson, who was in the party, did not think that the Negroes had murdered his grandfather, but was under the impression that they had improperly acquired the land-grant.

tion that "slavery" among the Seminole Indians, in Florida and the Indian Territory, was similar to the "Peculiar Institution" of the *ante-bellum South*, and that the Negroes with Wild Cat were "slaves" to the Indians among his followers.

The testimony of contemporary observers—Indian agents, army officers, and others—is unanimous that, among the Seminole, slavery, so-called, was a mutually advantageous arrangement, a sort of primitive democratic feudalism, whereby the Negroes, through being claimed by Indian "masters," were protected against seizure by outsiders and, in turn, paid a tribute in kind to their protectors; but lived in separate villages, possessed their own fields, flocks, and herds, carried arms, and were commanded by Negro chiefs, subject, of course, to the orders of the principal Indian leader, whoever he might be. Thus the Indians who migrated to Mexico were directly commanded by Wild Cat and the Negroes by John Horse, but all obeyed the head-chief, who was Wild Cat. The grants of land by the Mexican government to Wild Cat and his followers were accordingly made not to the Seminole Indians alone, but to the Seminole, the Kickapoo who acknowledged his authority, and the "Mascogos"—the last designation referring to the Seminole Negroes.

Let it be hastily admitted that "Mascogos" is a term which would more properly apply to Creek Indians than to Seminole Negroes, but the fact remains that when Mexican officials and official documents used the word, they meant "los negros libres (Mascogos)"—probably in reference to the fact that these Negroes were "Mascogos" linguistically. An approach to an understanding of the Wild Cat *hegira* can be attained only at the cost—in some cases doubtless a heavy one—of realizing that among the Seminole Indians a "slave" was not a slave in the sense understood by *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Gone with the Wind*, or any slave-code, ancient or modern, and that although "Mascogo" should mean Creek, in this particular connection it signified, Humpty Dumpty fashion, a free Seminole Negro. An insistence that words must be and always are used in their dictionary-meanings can result only in utter confusion. I was informed in all gravity and sincerity, by a gentleman of Muzquiz, that a large element of the Wild Cat immigrants were Creek Indians, and that the Negroes "came as slaves of the Seminoles, with fetters on their wrists and brands on their faces"—so strong the influence of the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* pattern—despite the notorious opposition of the Creeks to Wild Cat's enterprise and the contemporary evidence that the Negroes actually came as allies of the Indians, under their own chief, with guns across their saddles and dirks in their sashes.

The Seminole Negroes of Nacimiento, consequently, occupy their land simply by virtue of the Mexican government's grant to the "Mascogos" and not because, by force or fraud, they "done away" with Wild Cat or hocus-pocused "the papers" out of the possession of the Indians.

In the spring of 1857 Wild Cat and some of his followers were out scouting against the wild Indians, performing the military service by which they held their land. On their return from this expedition they camped at a place called Alto, near Muzquiz. There the smallpox struck them and many died (a newspaper account says 40), including the chief. Just north of Muzquiz, on the road to Nacimiento, is a two-story building, with a vacant lot next to it, not far from the cemetery and on the opposite side of the road. There Wild Cat and his followers were camped; there they died and were buried on the spot. Later the Mexicans dug up their bones and carted them away "the way they do."⁴

There was mourning in Nacimiento at the news, and particularly at Wild Cat's death. "We all just cried and cried," an aged Seminole Negro woman remembered over seventy years later, "he was so good!"⁵

The Seminole of the Indian Territory had in 1856 been granted their independence from the Creek Nation, and this doubtless was influential in causing all, or nearly all, the Indians to return to the Territory during the few years following Wild Cat's death, 1858-1861. The Mexican government then persuaded the Negroes to remove to the south, to the Laguna de Parras, on the plea that their diminished numbers would expose them to raids from Texas filibusters, but actually, it is probable, to employ them as scouts against the Apache who were ravaging that part of the country. Early in 1865 a large band of Kickapoo entered Mexico, seeking to avoid involvement in the Civil War, and at the invitation of a few fellow-tribesmen who had come to Mexico with Wild Cat and had remained when the main body returned to the United States; they were granted the land which had been abandoned by the Seminole. Part of the Negroes had already returned to Nacimiento from the Laguna, and more were to follow, frequently after a sojourn of greater or lesser duration in Texas, where they served as scouts for the United States, as formerly for the Mexican government.

Nacimiento de los Negros now has a population of about 500, perhaps 350 of whom are to a greater or lesser degree of Seminole Negro blood; *Nacimiento de los Indios*, five miles up the river, is populated by about the same number of Kickapoo. John Horse's burial-place no one knows—he died in mysterious circumstances, ca. 1885, while on a mission to Porfirio Diaz—but Wild Cat's last campground is still pointed out. Both men are remembered with gratitude and affection by the people of Nacimiento and their several hundred kinsfolk in Brackettville, Texas.

⁴ Mrs. Charles (Sarah Factor) Daniels (1850-), Nacimiento, Coah.; Mrs. Adams (Rosa Dixon) Fay (ca. 1860-), Brackettville, Tex.; *San Antonio Texan*, June 18, 1857.

⁵ Foster, Lawrence, *Negro-Indian Relations in the Southeast*, Philadelphia, 1935, pp. 42-49.

INDIAN TERRITORY GHOST TOWNS

By A. C. Townsend

A peculiar state of affairs existed late in the last century in the present state of Oklahoma. There was an officially created Oklahoma Territory, but it refused almost without exception to use "Terr." on its postmarks. The postmarks read "Oklahoma" with but just four known exceptions out of the hundreds of towns and cities. And there was no officially declared Indian Territory by the Post Office Department until 1889—but without any exceptions locally every town in the Indian Territory had been using postmarks reading "Indian Territory" in one form or another for a period of fifty years!¹

By the Act of May 2, 1890, the official boundaries of both Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory were defined, thus two territories were designated where only one had formerly been specifically designated.

Just to complete the record, the two territories were united and combined into the State of Oklahoma on November 16, 1907, and the old Indian Territory postmarks then became extinct. California and Nevada have no cause to brag of their "ghost towns," at least so far as numbers are concerned. We have a record now of 359 towns that used stamped postmarks, and of that number the *Postal Guide* shows that 132 of them are among the things that were. Over one third of them gone!

The first five Indian postmarks read:

Miller Court House, Choctaw Nation, 1824.

Cantonment Gibson, Cherokee Nation, 1827.

Nicksville, Cherokee Nation, 1828.

Fort Towson, Choctaw Nation, 1832.

Eagle Town, Choctaw Agency, 1834.²

All but Fort Towson and Eagle Town are ghost towns now and covers with these postmarks are exceedingly scarce. The remaining two are pretty small; Fort Towson has less than 500 inhabitants and Eagletown (as the postmark now reads) is but what we call "a wide spot in the road."

Consider some of the names of the dear departed: Bald Hill, Badland, Cary's Ferry, Coody's Bluff, Echo, Frogville, Erin Springs (sentiment there!), Legal, Lyceum, Owl, Panther, Quarz (not gold, just quartz), Starville. Some of them the names of settlers who came to see and to conquer the wilderness and build cities. And their dreams crumbled to dust and their houses and towns crumbled to dust, and in many instances there is not a trace left.³

¹ See the *Stamp Review* (St. Joseph, Missouri), XV, No. 4, pp. 1, 12.

² See Grant Foreman, "Early Post Offices of Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City), VI, Nos. 1-4; VIII, No. 1.

³ Charles N. Gould, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman, 1933).



Geo S Ramsey

Some of the army names naturally faded away, but what tales of Apache raids and other thrilling events could we shiver over if the old sites had a voice! Camp Supply, Cantonment, Fort Washita. And what became of the Irishmen who founded Erin Springs, McKey, McLain, McKuskey, Reagan? They too are but ghost towns.

But it was not alone the white man whose dreams faded and whose homes disappeared. Look at the Indian towns: Catale, Choska, Cooyah, Econtuchka, Juanita, Lukfata, Monido, Oconee, Oowala, Sageeyah, Sawokla, Wauhilla.

GEORGE SAMUEL RAMSEY
1874-1941

By Robert L. Williams.

George Samuel Ramsey, born August 18, 1874, in Warren County, Tennessee, near Viola, about eleven miles south of McMinnville, and died at Tulsa, Oklahoma, December 27, 1941, with interment in Greenhill Cemetery, Muskogee, Oklahoma, was the fourth and youngest of the four children of George Washington Ramsey who was born December 22, 1833 and died July 24, 1912, and his wife, Elizabeth King, who was born September 12, 1838 and died February 3, 1926, and who was the daughter of Thomas Jefferson King and, his wife, Francis (Fannie) Ramsey.

George Samuel Ramsey and Earline Young, daughter of Andrew M. Young, of Wartrace, Bedford County, Tennessee and his wife, Ollie House Young, were married on November 20, 1898, to which union came the following children; (1) Ollie, who died in infancy, with interment at Manchester, Tennessee, (2) George Cross Ramsey, born September 25, 1902 and died August 8, 1911, with interment in Greenhill Cemetery, Muskogee, Oklahoma, and (3) Margaret, born at Muskogee on October 18, 1913 and married William M. Smartt, and both reside at Nashville, Tennessee.

His wife, Earline Young, died at Muskogee, Oklahoma, February 24, 1918, with interment in Greenhill Cemetery, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

He received his academic education in the schools in Warren County, Tennessee and the Academy at Viola and at Burrett College of Spencer, Van Buren County, Tennessee, and read law under Captain George Cross of Manchester, Coffee County, Tennessee, and after such preparation, on September 2, (first Monday), 1895, at the beginning of term of County Court in Manchester after a hearing it was "ordered * * * that a certificate be granted G. S. Ramsey stating that he is a citizen of Coffee County, Tennessee, the age of twenty-one years and of good moral character," and "on September 3, 1895, George S. Ramsey * * * before M. D. Smallman, Judge of the 6th Judicial Circuit * * * and Walter S. Bearden, Chancellor of the 4th District * * * having applied for license to

practice law in the several courts of said State and the said applicant having produced a certificate from the County Court of Coffee County showing that he is a man of good moral character and twenty-one years of age and having satisfied us of the sufficiency of his knowledge of the law, we do hereby authorize and license the said George S. Ramsey to practice in all courts of law and equity in the said State of Tennessee.”

Philip (maternal line) King, the founder of the King family in Warren County, Tennessee, and of whom George S. Ramsey was a descendant, was born May 22, 1760, in Louisa County, Virginia, whose family in his youth moved to Westham, Virginia and at the age of 20 he enlisted in Gaskin's Virginia Regiment, about the time of General Gates' defeat by Lord Cornwallis, and marched with his regiment to Cheraw Hills, to seek provisions for the Colonial army and in 1780 was transferred or re-enlisted in Goochland County and served as a corporal in Captain Loveley's regiment until he was taken prisoner by the British and carried to Fluvanna County, Virginia, and made his escape and returned to Louisa County and rejoined his regiment and took part in the siege of Yorktown. In 1782 he marched under General Mad Anthony Wayne toward Savannah, Georgia, and on June 24, 1782 was engaged in an engagement with the Creek Indians at the widow Gibbons Mill near Ebenezer, Georgia, and was discharged from the army shortly thereafter at Ashley Hills, South Carolina. A pension was granted to him February 28, 1833.

After the close of the Revolutionary war Philip King lived near Richmond, Virginia about two years, then moved to Cumberland County, and thence to Louisa County, place of his birth, and then started on a long journey to Tennessee, first settling in Sullivan County and after being there eight years, moved on to Hawkins County, and from there crossed the mountains and took up land on the Elk River Road—later known as the Winchester Road—and today as the Viola Road—settling about half way between Viola and McMinville.

Philip King had a brother named William, who married Mary Woodson, a sister of Philip King's wife, Nancy Woodson, both daughters of Drury Woodson and his wife, Lucy Christian, of Goochland, Virginia.

Philip King died August 14, 1836, at the age of 76 years, two months and twenty-three days, his will being approved November 3, 1836, two of his sons, Wilson and Thomas Jefferson, acting as administrators of the estate, with the Will annexed. His wife, Nancy Woodson, died October 22, 1840. To them came eight children, four boys and four girls: (1) William King, never married and looked after the home place and died about 1862; (2) Drury King, married Isabell Allison and by her had a daughter who married a man named Donica and moved to Arkansas; (3) Wilson Carey Nelson King, who married Elizabeth Sellers and by her had two daughters and

five sons, to-wit: (1) Elizabeth, married Tade Northcutt; (2) Nancy, married Albert Johnson; (3) Hiram, married Jane Cope; (4) Philip, married Mollie Sims; (5) John, married Malvina Higginbottom and died in 1929, interment in the family cemetery on the Viola Road; (6) Drury, married Tenna Bonner; (7) William, died in the Military Service of the Confederacy during the Civil War. (4) The fourth son of Philip King, Thomas Jefferson King, married Fannie Ramsey, and lived on the Viola Road and to them came two daughters and two sons: (1) Elizabeth (Maggie), married George Washington Ramsey; (2) a daughter died in infancy; (3) Philip, married a woman from Nashville, Tennessee; (4) William (Billy) married Queen Thomas. (5) Lucy King; (6) Catherine King; (7) Nancy King; (8) Zellah King.

Elizabeth (Maggie) King and George W. Ramsey, her husband, had four children: (1) A daughter named Mollie who married Horace Burger and resided at Manchester, Coffee County, until her husband's death and now with her son at Cleveland, Bradley County, Tennessee, (2) a daughter, Ada, who died in infancy, (3) T. Foster Ramsey who resides at Winchester, Franklin County, Tennessee, and (4) George Samuel Ramsey, the subject of this article.

His paternal grandfather was Samuel Ramsey, a son of David Ramsey and his wife, Jane McCaslin, to which marital union came five children, four sons, (1) William, (2) Joseph, (3) Samuel, (4) David, and one daughter, Martha.

His paternal great-grandfather was David Ramsey, born in North Carolina in Yadkin County in 1760 and married Jane McCaslin who was born in 1754, and died October 19, 1821, in Warren County, Tennessee, and migrated to Overton County, Tennessee in 1800, where David Ramsey died in 1805. To this union came eight children, four boys and four girls. In 1810 the widow, with her children, moved to Warren County, Tennessee, and settled south of McMinnville on Hickory Creek. Samuel Ramsey, their son, married Polly Stroud. He was born on April 25, 1798, and Polly Stroud was born December 23, 1803, and were the parents of six children: five sons, William, Joseph, Andrew Jackson, George Washington and David and one daughter, Martha.

William Ramsey, his paternal great-great-grandfather, of Scotch-English descent, settled in Pennsylvania and remained there a short time and then migrated to North Carolina and settled on a tract of land on the Yadkin River in Yadkin County.

In Warren County, Tennessee, a Ramsey descended from the Pennsylvania Ramsey met and married a King descended from the Virginia King. His Ramsey ancestor had sojourned in Virginia a year or so in the migration from Pennsylvania to North Carolina. George Samuel Ramsey, their descendant, who was born in Tennessee, in the expansion of the frontiers, settled at Muskogee, Creek Nation, Indian Territory, which became a part of the State of Oklahoma at the close of frontier expansion.

George Samuel Ramsey at his death left surviving as members of his immediate family, Ethel Kerr Ramsey, his wife, to whom he was married on July 2, 1934, and his brother, T. Foster Ramsey, of Winchester, Tennessee, and a sister, Mrs. Mollie Burger, of Cleveland, Tennessee, and a daughter, Mrs. Margaret Ramsey Smartt, with a grandson, George Ramsey Smartt, of Nashville, Tennessee.

Upon being admitted to practice law in Tennessee, he was taken into a law partnership with his preceptor under the firm name of Cross & Ramsey, which continued until the former retired and then the junior member continued the practice of law until the early part of 1906 when he was admitted to practice law in U. S. Courts of the Indian Territory at Muskogee and entered into a law partnership on the 31st day of January, 1906, with Nathan A. Gibson,¹ which continued until the latter part of the 1908 when he formed a law partnership with the late C. L. Thomas, which continued until Thomas' death in 1914, when the law firm of Ramsey, de Meules, Rosser and Martin, with branches at Muskogee and Tulsa were formed, later Judge M. E. Rosser, Sr. retiring therefrom, the Muskogee branch was discontinued and the firm in Tulsa continued as Ramsey, de Meules, Martin and Logan, until de Meules retired therefrom and it was then continued until his death under the firm name of Ramsey, Martin and Logan.

Prior to the erection of the State of Oklahoma on June 14, 1907, his first appearance in the United States Appellate Court in the Indian Territory was as an attorney for appellant in Bradley Real Estate Company vs. E. L. Robbins, et al, 7 Ind. Ter., Page 94, 103 Southwestern 779.

After erection of the State of Oklahoma and organization of its Supreme Court, George Samuel Ramsey participated in first oral argument had before said court at Guthrie, in case No. 8, 20 Okla. 49, 93 Pac. 748, Chas. H. Eberle v. John B. King, Judge, at 10 a. m. November 29, 1907. Attorneys for the petitioner were J. E. Wyand, Baker & Purcell and Thomas H. Owen, and for respondent, George S. Ramsey, all now deceased.

His first appearance in the United States Court for the Eastern District of Oklahoma was in Shults v. McDougall on Dec. 28, 1907, 162 Fed. 331, and in 8th Ct. 170 Fed. 529, on June 3, 1909, and 225 U. S. 561, 32 Sup. Ct. 704.

His father, prior to the Civil War, was affiliated with the Whig Party. During the Civil War he was a member of Company L. 11th (Holman's) Tennessee Cavalry, Confederate States Army, having enlisted on August 10, 1862 at McMinnville, Warren County, Tennessee. The musterroll for March and April 1863 shows him absent and sick. After close of the Civil War he was affiliated with the Democratic Party until during President Cleveland's time and from then until his death with the Republican Party.

¹ *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 19, 297-298.

George Samuel Ramsey, after reaching his majority, beginning with the election in 1896 until his death, affiliated with the Republican Party. In 1902 he was the nominee of that party for Member of the Court of Civil Appeals of Tennessee and led the other nominees on the Republican ticket and was an active leader in the party in that State and recognized as a leading and promising young lawyer.

From the time of his arrival in the Indian Territory he occupied a place of prominence, but as to politics was inactive, though retaining his status as a Republican and yet supporting a Democrat when he believed him better qualified.

On May 1, 1920 he was appointed by a Democrat Governor to fill a vacancy on the Supreme Court and qualified and held such justiceship until the close of September 30, 1920, when he resigned and retired to resume the practice of the law, being the first Republican after the erection of the State to be appointed or to occupy a place as Justice of the Oklahoma Supreme Court, but during a former Democrat administration (1915-1919) three republicans had been appointed and qualified and served as Members of the Supreme Court Commission. The opinions prepared by him on the Supreme Court are reported in Volumes 78 and 79 *Oklahoma Reports*. An opinion prepared by him for that Court, *Cressler v. Brown* (79 Okla. 170), has been referred to with approval by text book writers and followed by the Supreme Court of Oklahoma in numerous cases. He, with three or four other attorneys, contributed largely to the establishing of the case law of the State as to oil and gas rights under leases and Indian Allotted Land Titles.

Many complex and difficult legal questions arose with the erection of the State of Oklahoma, on account of rights arising under different code of laws in force in the two territories, including provisions of treaties with the different Indian tribes as to inheritance and titles and leases as to tribal land. The two territories combined including the membership of the Five Civilized Tribes, which was 101,209, under a special census taken in the Territory on June 30, 1907, had 1,414,177 inhabitants, and were practically 100% in excess of the population of any State or Territory at time of its becoming one of the States of the United States.²

On the Indian Territory side prior to erection of the State no organized local government existed such as counties, townships, and no public schools except in the towns and that only in a limited way. The Indian or Tribal schools were under supervision of United States Interior Department, the whites being permitted to attend under limitations. Bridges and roads were afforded only in a limited way through private agencies and with ferries on streams under Tribal Laws and on the Oklahoma Territory side, whilst there was county,

² See Table of Population of States at conclusion of this article.

township, town and city government, on account of limitations as to issuance of bonds and available taxes for such purposes, such development was in a primitive stage and such condition existed as to the school system. Paving and such public improvements as to drainage and conservation districts were in the same status. As to railroads and such transportation, same were in a large measure adequate.

With erection of the State under a modern constitution the construction of public buildings such as school buildings and court houses and street paving and installing modern public utilities, such as electric light systems and telephone lines, and exchanges received an impetus. In coal and asphalt and lead and zinc there had been development. The State with its existing population called for development as to schools and governments of townships, counties and cities. The problems of government and the development of commerce and business challenged the attention of local political leaders and the lawyer and the business man and the citizen.

He was an active member of the Muskogee Bar Association and the State Bar, its President in 1914-1915,³ and member of the American Bar Association from September 1, 1910 until his death and for a time a member of its council, participating actively in its organization. He occupied a place among the leaders of the bar, and for complex and different important legal questions which were to arise after the erection of the State he prepared and equipped himself. He was conversant with the opinions of the Supreme Court of the United States and of the Circuit and District Courts in which questions as to Indians had been determined. His investigation covered Indian Treaties and Acts of Congress and records and decisions of tribal courts and tribal customs and affairs from the beginning of the Republic insofar as same related to Indian titles and affairs, and was well informed as to their background in such matters.

Unassuming and without display and with modesty, but with energy and perseverance, he was so successful that he was recognized as one of the foremost leaders not only of the bar of the State but of the Southwest.⁴ Not of a class devoted solely to making money and independent and just in his own affairs he was careful to observe the highest and best ethics of the legal profession.

He delivered addresses before the State Bar of Tennessee and the Bar Association of his adopted State, and was in demand for such addresses.

Not in the employ of any particular client, in the general practice as a rule he devoted his attention to special cases. After a few

³ Vol. IX, *Okla. State Bar Assn.*, p. 1.

⁴ 96 Fed. (2d) 703.

years residence in the Indian Territory he had tried many cases in which vast sums were involved.

Not demonstrative and apparently not specially seeking to generally extend his circle as to friends, he had many and loyal friends and in turn was loyal and devoted to them. While the people probably didn't understand him as well as they may have, yet they had no occasion to dislike him. In his passing he leaves a career and a life in the new State covering a period of 35 years that entitles him to a fixed place in the history of the State. With the development of the new State, legal questions in every field arose in cases in the trial of which he participated, but practice in the last few years of his life was in a large measure in the Appellate Courts, and not devoted especially to fact cases and to efforts before juries, such cases being tried by other members of his firm.

A fine citizen and great lawyer has passed away.

Population of States as of date of becoming members under U. S. Constitution (listed in order from highest figure).

State	Admitted	(Nearest Census)		Population (next nearest census)	
		Population	Year	Population	Year
Oklahoma	1907	1,414,177*	1907		
Okla. Ter.		733,062			
Ind. Ter.		681,115			
Five Tribes	(6/30/07)	101,209**			
Virginia*	1788	747,610	1790		
West Virginia	1863	442,014	1870		
Pennsylvania*	1787	434,373	1790		
North Carolina*	1789	393,751	1790		
Massachusetts*	1788	378,787	1790		
Washington	Nov. 11, 1889	357,232	1890		
South Dakota	Nov. 2, 1889	348,600	1890		
New York*	1788	340,120	1790		
New Mexico	Jan. 6, 1912	327,301	1910	360,350	1920
Maryland*	1788	319,728	1790		
Oregon	Feb. 14, 1869	52,465	1860		
Wisconsin	1848	305,391	1850		
Maine	1820	298,335	1820		
South Carolina*	1788	249,073	1790		
Connecticut*	1788	237,946	1790		
Texas	1845	212,592	1850		
Michigan	1837	212,267	1840		
Utah	1896	210,779	1890		
Arizona	Feb. 14, 1912	204,354	1910	334,162	1920
Colorado	1876	194,327	1880	39,864	1870

*One of the original thirteen states, and included all territory now within West Virginia.

**Special Census.

State	Admitted	(Nearest Census)		Population (next nearest census)	
		Population	Year	Population	Year
Iowa	1846	192,214	1850	43,112	1840
North Dakota	Nov. 2, 1889	190,983	1890		
New Jersey*	1787	184,139	1790	346,399	1870
Minnesota	1858	172,023	1860		
Indiana	1816	147,178	1820		
Montana	Nov. 8, 1889	142,924	1890		
New Hampshire*	1788	141,885	1790		
Alabama	1819	127,901	1820		
Nebraska	1867	122,993	1870		
Kansas	1861	107,206	1860		
Tennessee	1796	105,602	1800		
Arkansas	1836	97,574	1840		
California	1850	92,597	1850	30,388	1830
Idaho	1890	88,548	1890		
Vermont	1791	85,425	1790	230,760	1810
Georgia*	1788	82,548	1790		
Louisiana	1812	76,556	1810		
Mississippi	1817	75,448	1820		
Kentucky	1792	73,677	1790		
Rhode Island*	1790	68,825	1790		
Missouri	1821	66,586	1820		
Wyoming	1890	62,555	1890		
Delaware*	1787	59,096	1790		
Illinois	1818	55,211	1820		
Florida	1845	54,477	1840	42,491	1870
Ohio	1803	45,365	1800		
Nevada	1864	6,857	1860		

*One of the original thirteen states.

ROBERT BEBB

" . . . florists are quiet men and kind,
With a sort of fragrance of the mind."

—Rachel Field.

By

CAROLYN THOMAS FOREMAN.

A modest and distinguished scientist was lost to the world in the death in Muskogee, on February 21, 1942, of Robert Bebb. His achievements which brought luster to the state of Oklahoma were part of a heritage from a family of statesmen, educators, and one nationally recognized in the field of botany.

In a party of emigrants who left their home in Llanbrynmair, Montgomeryshire, North Wales, in 1795, was a young unmarried man, Edward Bebb, who sailed aboard the *Maria* from Bristol for Philadelphia; after reaching there he pushed on to Cincinnati, arriving in 1796. As the land he wished to buy had not been surveyed, he squatted on Blue Rock Creek in Colerain township until 1801, when he was able to purchase a half section of land on the Dry Fork of the Whitewater in Butler County, Ohio.

Having arranged this important matter, young Bebb decided to return to Wales to marry Margaret Roberts, a childhood friend. Not having heard from the travelers, the young woman had been persuaded to marry a minister of the name of Owens, and they joined a party of emigrants in 1801; during the voyage to the United States the clergyman died and was buried at sea. His widow made her way to the home of her brother at Ebensburg, Pennsylvania. Two days after her arrival Edward Bebb unexpectedly arrived from his farm at Dry Fork, and he found that it would not be necessary to return to Wales, as he persuaded Mrs. Owens to marry him. After their wedding, on February 2, 1802, they walked to Pittsburgh and floated from there down the Ohio aboard a flatboat, or a broad-horn, to Cincinnati, arriving at their farm in time for spring planting.

The young people set up housekeeping in a two-story loghouse where, on December 8, 1802, their son, William Bebb, was born. Although pioneers on the frontier, the Bebbs saw that their son received an education; he was tutored in English, Latin and mathematics by a traveling schoolmaster. In 1826 he received a teaching certificate after an examination by a graduate of Glasgow University, and his first school was at the Paddy's Run district; later he taught at North Bend, the home of Gen. William Henry Harrison.¹

In 1825 William Bebb married Miss Sarah Schuck, a daughter of a wealthy citizen of the village. He and his wife started the Sycamore Grove Boarding School for boys; and accounts of this institution show it to have been the forerunner of many modern methods in teaching. While conducting his school Bebb studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1831. He was a justice of the peace, and civil and criminal cases were tried in the assembly room of the school; the students were required to be present during the trials, which proved an incentive for many of them to study law. Mr. Bebb was also a militia commander, and he was an inspiring sight in his regimentals, mounted on his black stallion, on the parade grounds.

Mr. Bebb gave up his school in 1832 and moved to Hamilton to practice law. He became active in politics as a Whig, and campaigned for William Henry Harrison in 1836 and 1840. William Bebb was elected governor of Ohio in 1846, the third governor born in that state; the Mexican War was very unpopular with northern Whigs because of the increase of slavery territory, but Governor Bebb considered that loyal support of the government was more important than party beliefs. In his final message in 1849 he declared that "the majority of the United States was against the extension of slavery into New Mexico and California, and that any compromise passed by Congress against the will of the majority

¹ *Ohio Journal of Science*, Vol. XLI, No. 4, July 1941; "The Saga of Paddy's Run," by Stephen R. Williams, pp. 316-19; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, New York, 1893, Vol. III, p. 140.

would 'cause the lightning to burst forth hereafter with more terrific and astounding effect.' "

In order to give legal guidance to a Welch colony in Tennessee which he had been instrumental in bringing to the United States, Governor Bebb and his family moved to Knoxville, where they were well received. However, when he returned to Illinois to make a few speeches for Lincoln, he was notified that he had better not return to Tennessee. His Welch colonists were scattered, his home was entered, looted, and a portrait of him as governor of Ohio was slashed with a saber.

Discouraged by the national situation, Governor Bebb retired from the law; he bought a large tract of land in Rock River County, Illinois, and moved there in 1850, going by way of the Miami and Erie Canal to Toledo, and by a lake boat to Chicago. President Lincoln appointed Governor Bebb a pension examiner, and he made his home in Washington from 1861 to 1869.

One of the five children of William and Sarah Schuck Bebb was Michael Schuck Bebb, who was born December 23, 1833; he grew up in Hamilton, where he began the study of botany in which subject he became distinguished. The lad was seventeen when Governor Bebb moved his family to his five thousand acre estate in Illinois which he named Fountaindale; Michael helped his brother-in-law drive a herd of short-horn cattle four hundred miles into Illinois, and the country over which they traveled opened up a new flora to the youth. Michael attended Beloit College at Beloit, Wisconsin, and his interest and enthusiasm in botany increased with the years. In 1857 he married Catherine Josephine Hancock, a connection of the celebrated Massachusetts family of that name; he and his wife lived in various sections of Illinois, where he made large collections of plants. He made a trip east in 1859 when he met the celebrated botanist, Dr. Asa Gray, and attended the American Association for the Advancement of Science at Springfield, Massachusetts.

Michael Bebb, with his wife and two children, moved to Washington, where he was employed in a government office; although leading a busy life through the war years, he pursued his favorite subject. He corresponded with and became the friend of many of the eminent botanists of the country. In 1867 the Michael Bebb family moved to Illinois to live on the Fountaindale estate which Governor Bebb had acquired. The venture was not always a success financially, but it gave Mr. Bebb an opportunity to develop into one of the noted botanists of the United States. He became the outstanding authority on *Salix*, and in 1873 he had a herbarium of 15,000 species, illustrated by more than 30,000 specimens.

Three varieties of willow were named for Michael Bebb by eminent scientists; in 1895, Prof. Charles Sprague Sargent of Harvard described him as "the learned, industrious and distinguished sali-



ROBERT BEBB

cologist of the United States to whom, more than to any one else of this generation we owe our knowledge of American willows.'"²

When Mrs. Bebb died, her son Robert, who was born in Washington August 20, 1863, was only two and a half years old; his sister Helen, a few years older, filled her mother's place to the best of her ability. The lad attended the Rockford, Illinois, High School for several years, and at the age of seventeen he rented the Illinois farm from his father.³

This farm consisted of two hundred and forty acres, and when Robert took possession he rebuilt stables, cattle sheds, pig pens and other necessary out-buildings. There was lots of pasture land and fine running water; the youth bought calves and a few cows at sales when he could get them at a reasonable price. He sold the cream and fed the milk to his hogs. Each year he fattened a pen of steers which he sold in Chicago at a profit.

All of the time he occupied the farm, he paid his father one-half of his cash returns for rent, and "Sister Nellie" received a small sum as his faithful housekeeper. The lad arose at four A. M., and worked eighteen hours a day. When his sister married he gave up the place; he came out with \$750.00, a large sum for him to have saved, and more than many older farmers had made in the same time.⁴

Young Bebb took a normal course and taught school in a German settlement in the Calumet district of South Chicago several years before becoming connected with the State Grain Inspection of Illinois. He later became a grain receiver's agent, technical work involving the grading of grain received in the Chicago market. This work was confined to the early hours of the day, and left him free to continue the avocation his father had loved and pursued. He botanized Cook County, Illinois, Lake County, Indiana, and Walworth County, Wisconsin, where for many years he maintained a summer home. He was also greatly interested in landscape architecture and horticulture.

On February 2, 1889, Mr. Bebb married Miss Florence A. Pine of New York State, a kindergarten teacher in Chicago. Their four children, born in that city, are: Mabel Bebb Potter, Maurice R. Bebb, Forrest Bebb and Anna Marion Bebb.⁵

Mr. Bebb made two botanizing trips through Oklahoma and Texas; and when the State of Illinois took over all of the grain inspection services, he bought, in 1910, a floral business in Mus-

² *The Botanical Gazette*, "Michael Schuck Bebb," by Walter Deane, February, 1896, pp. 53-66.

³ Letter from Mrs. Helen Bebb Hensch, Hinsdale, Illinois, to Dr. Milton Hopkins, Norman, Oklahoma, March 14, 1942.

⁴ Robert Bebb to his brother, Dr. Walter Bebb, of Tennessee, May 12, 1936.

⁵ Maurice and Forrest Bebb are interested in botany, and both went on collection trips with their father. Forrest Bebb is well known among horticulturists in the United States for his development of three new chrysanthemums.

kogee, Oklahoma, which he developed and enlarged through the following twenty years, starting with no professional experience. During many years the pressure of business kept Robert Bebb from pursuing his interest in botany, but after he retired, in 1936, he devoted much of his time to botanizing excursions in eastern Oklahoma and Hubbard County, Minnesota, where he and his family spent the summers. He continually added to his herbarium, and lined his study with cases containing the specimens he had collected. Mr. Bebb was a reserved and rather shy person, but once he learned that one was interested in his favorite subject, he would talk in a most entertaining and instructive manner.

In Oklahoma Mr. Bebb restricted his activities to the eastern part of the state which had been only superficially botanized, except by E. L. Little, Jr., in Muskogee County.⁶ Through the summer months Mr. Bebb made field trips to secure specimens. A favorite place of search for him was Braggs Hill, southeast of Muskogee, where he located many flowers that were new to him. During his vacation at the Bebb summer home at Nevis, Minnesota, in 1939, he discovered a large marsh in which he collected many bog plants, and that summer he added about five hundred numbers to his collection.

On June 5, 1939, Dr. G. L. Cross, head of the Department of Botany of the University of Oklahoma, wrote Mr. Bebb: "The entire eastern part of the state is rich floristically . . . and collections from [the area are] sparse, so that anything that you can contribute to our knowledge of the flora of those counties will be most acceptable."

Mr. Bebb wrote enthusiastically of specimens he had discovered on a prairie east of Fort Gibson, and through the years he urged Doctor Hopkins to join him on botanizing trips to his favorite haunts. From his letters one learns that Mr. Bebb was particularly interested in sedges, and he frequently corresponded with F. J. Hermann, Associate Botanist of the United States Department of Agriculture, in Washington, for determinations of his discoveries. He corresponded with officers of the Smithsonian Institution and with D. M. Moore, Professor of Botany at the University of Arkansas, as well as many other scholars devoted to this science.

In his letters to other botanists and curators of the large herbaria of the country, Robert Bebb showed the infinite patience and thoroughness with which he classified specimens; he was modest as to his ability, and if he had any doubt as to his determination he called upon some other botanist in whom he had confidence to confirm his classification. In December, 1938, Mr. Bebb had finished mounting 400 sheets, and his collection totalled 5375 sheets. He

⁶ Authority of Dr. Milton Hopkins, Curator of the Robert Bebb Herbarium of the University of Oklahoma, who very kindly allowed the writer access to correspondence with Mr. Bebb from 1938 to the time of his death. Unless otherwise noted, statements in this biography are derived from the above mentioned letters.

spent the winters doing such necessary work on his specimens, but when spring came he was far afield searching for violets, crucifera and other early arrivals. In May, 1939, he made a successful botanizing trip to Wagoner County, and later that month he wrote of the beauty of the flowers along the railroad tracks north and south of Muskogee where he gathered many interesting plants. He collected in the Arbuckle Mountains several times, and frequently returned to the prairie east of Fort Gibson which he described as "the richest piece of prairie for collecting that I had ever visited."

An interesting feature of Robert Bebb's work was his correspondence with Jason R. Swallen, Associate Botanist of the Division of Plant Exploration and Introduction of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, regarding cane in Oklahoma, and the department contains many Bebb specimens. A collection of sedges and rushes from Oklahoma and Minnesota was received with gratitude by the department and brought Mr. Bebb a letter saying it was "a very useful addition to the National Arboretum Herbarum."

Mr. Bebb collected fruiting specimens to combine with the flowers he had gathered earlier in the season, and he also preserved mature foliage from oaks, maples and other trees. By June 14, 1939, he added 835 items to his collections for the year. He usually made several sheets of his specimens in order to exchange with other botanists, and he was called upon several times to lend his sheets to students at the University who were engaged in writing theses on certain genera. He responded eagerly, and appeared delighted to be of service.

On February 16, 1940, from Washington, D. C., F. J. Hermann, of the Department of Agriculture, wrote to Mr. Bebb from Washington: "Not long ago I had an opportunity to review a good many of your Indiana Collections from the herbaria of the Field Museum and University of Wisconsin. . . I found your collections, because of their completeness and the adequacy of the data accompanying them, to be of very material help."

Through the winter of 1940 Mr. Bebb worked up his duplicates to send to the University of Oklahoma. On a botanizing trip to Braggs Hill on March 30 of that year, he discovered a new plum and a new saxifrage. That spring he botanized on Highway No. 10, where he found several specimens unfamiliar to him, among them a viola. In May, 1940, he visited River Park, Illinois, and located specimens of carex and two new violets, one white and the other blue. Near Talihina, Oklahoma, the same spring, he had found a violet new to him, and fifty other specimens on a trip of 240 miles. Robert Bebb's collection of violets numbered 117 specimens in 1939, so it was an event when he discovered a strange member of that family, and he always mentioned the fact in his letters.

During the summer of 1940 flowers were unusually abundant in the woods near Nevis, Minnesota; Mr. Bebb found the carex in fine shape and he got numerous specimens. He made a visit to

Itaska Park to consult with Dr. Buell, of the Botany Department of the University of Minnesota. In October Mr. Bebb went to Stilwell, Oklahoma, and south to Sallisaw, which he considered one of the most successful botanizing trips he had ever made. Highways No. 10 and No. 23 were botanized that autumn, and he wrote that collecting in Delaware County was very good; he found many composites and fine grasses, some of which were around six feet tall. On this expedition he discovered an oak which was new to him. In December Doctor Swallen returned to Mr. Bebb 175 sheets of grasses which he had determined, and he wrote that some of them were new to this state.

In May, 1941, Mr. Bebb and his wife visited his brother, Dr. Walter Bebb, in Tennessee; while there he went on numerous short collecting trips with such good results that he was able to report over a hundred numbers. He received permission to collect for scientific purposes in the Smoky Mountains National Park, and he checked his finds with those in the park herbarium.

With Doctor Hopkins, Mr. Bebb spent many profitable days botanizing, and he was perfectly happy with a vasculum on his shoulder, a press and a pick in his hands. Like his famous father, he was always concerned to obtain the finest possible specimens, and to press them with painstaking accuracy. He was never content with an off-hand identification of plants, but insisted on the most scholarly and accurate determination possible.⁷

On one occasion, when the two botanists were on a field trip, they were examining some interesting plants growing in a pasture; they started to dig some specimens when they were confronted by an old woman armed with a shot gun. She appeared illiterate, and Doctor Hopkins hesitated to reply that they were botanizing when she inquired what they were doing, as he feared that she would not understand the term. Mr. Bebb quickly realized the situation, and calmly told the woman that they were merely picking flowers. She put the gun down, leaned on it and said, "Tut, tut, tut! Two grown men and ain't got anything better to do than pick flowers." She left the botanists with great dignity, her scornful nose in the air, as if they were beneath her attention, slightly insane and wholly unworthy of her consideration.⁸

Doctor Hopkins held Robert Bebb in the highest esteem, and one one occasion wrote him: "You are such a great help to me, and I can always count on you for good material and good distributions of critical genera and species, and I can't tell you how much I value your cooperation and help."⁹

After Mr. Bebb had notified Doctor Hopkins that he intended to leave his herbarium to the University of Oklahoma, the latter

⁷ Dr. Milton Hopkins to Carolyn Thomas Foreman, October 14, 1942.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Hopkins to Bebb, March 19, 1941.

wrote him: "Your collections are so valuable and represent so much time that I should like to honor your name and your memory by calling the entire collection by your name . . . the Board of Regents will have to approve . . . you have done so much to foster the work of systematic botany in this state and your influence has been so wide-spread, especially among monographers in particular fields of work who, when Oklahoma is mentioned, think of you perhaps more than any one else, that it is very suitable and appropriate" to honor the collection with your name.¹⁰

During the last year of his life, although he knew his end was near, with supreme courage Robert Bebb continued work on his specimens, checking determinations he feared were questionable, mounting and placing plants of his spring collection, and corresponding with other botanists as to species.

Mr. Bebb died at his home, 414 South Twelfth Street, Muskogee, after a protracted illness, and his funeral services were conducted by the Rev. Thomas B. McSpadden of Bethany Presbyterian Church, followed by burial in Greenhill Cemetery. The Bebb herbarium was willed to the University of Oklahoma; it consists of 30,000 specimens; these added to the 100,000 specimens in the University, by vote of the regents, is now called The Robert Bebb Herbarium of the University of Oklahoma.¹¹

According to Doctor Hopkins, Mr. Bebb was "completely unaware of the new records for the Oklahoma flora which he had obtained, and which were found gradually as his personal herbarium was being inserted into that of the University." Included in the great gift to the University were the handmade solid walnut cases which had belonged to his botanist father, and which had been built from an old tree that stood on the Bebb farm at Rockford, Illinois.

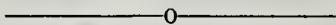
The Oklahoma plants in the Bebb Herbarium are particularly valuable because they are from a region which has been little botanized. Bebb added from fifty to sixty new records to those which had been collected in Muskogee County by E. L. Little, Jr. His complete herbarium extends the range of plants into regions where they were previously unknown. In addition, he discovered five plants which were completely new to Oklahoma flora, and which had never before been found south of the Ozark Area of Missouri and Arkansas. His specimens from states other than Oklahoma are valuable because they fill gaps of the central prairie region. The Bebb specimens are of historical value because they were collected by the son of one of the most distinguished amateur botanists of the 19th century. The name Bebb is a familiar one to all systematic botanists throughout the country. When Doctor Hopkins was working in the Gray Herbarium at Harvard, in the summer of 1942, he was informed by Professor M. L. Fernald, Director of the Gray Herbarium, that he could count himself one of the luckiest of all

¹⁰ Hopkins to Bebb, January 28, 1942.

¹¹ *Muskogee Phoenix*, May 1, 1942.

curators of herbaria in the country, because any collection of plants with the name Bebb on it was of significance, chiefly due to the fact that Michael Schuck Bebb (Robert's father) was such an outstanding student of North American Flora.

Because the yearly burning off of pastures and the plowing of thousands of acres of Oklahoma land have eradicated countless specimens of Oklahoma plants and flowers, the value of the Robert Bebb collection will be immensely increased year by year. His memory will be cherished by students, and he will be recalled by his many friends in Muskogee who admired and loved him.



THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

By Robert L. Williams

From the days of the explorer, trapper, Indian, trader, buffalo, the Texas Road, the California, Marcy, and Chisholm Trails, through the years of Indian wars and battles, down to the era of the various runs and openings to settlers, the story of Oklahoma illustrates adventure, romance, and interesting pioneer activity.

Coronado, La Harpe, De Soto, Nuttall, the Chouteaus, Albert Pike, Washington Irving, Bonneville, Chisholm, Worcester, Payne, Kingsbury, Byington, Harrell, Bacone, and Murrow, names every Oklahoman should have fresh in mind, with many others of equal or greater importance and no less engrossing accomplishments and deeds, are generally little known. More Oklahomans should be familiar with the work and the resources of the Oklahoma Historical Society and appreciate what a vital contribution it has made and is now making in its endeavors to preserve our history and make it available for use, study, and the promotion of knowledge.

The Society was founded on May 26, 1893, at the annual meeting of the Oklahoma Territorial Press association at Kingfisher. The following year another society was organized at the University of Oklahoma at Norman. In January, 1895, a charter was granted, creating the Society. Shortly thereafter an enactment by the Territorial legislature resulted in the consolidation of the two societies into one organization. With the Governor as an ex-officio member, the twenty-five directors of the Society are intended to represent the whole and different parts of the state, serving without pecuniary compensation or allowance for maintenance and traveling expenses. In 1929 the Legislature appropriated \$500,000 out of an accumulated public building fund for the erection of a building, including equipment and furnishings, for the Society and its collections, which was constructed under the joint action of the State Board of Public Affairs and the Board of Directors of the Society. An eminent historian has said, "The Society is now housed in an adequate building



OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING

of a class usually dedicated to similar purposes, surpassed by few and excelling in beauty and utility those of a great many other states."

Within its building is maintained a museum, Union Soldiers' Memorial Hall, Confederate Memorial Hall, library, newspaper collection, Indian and other archives, halls for World War organizations, an auditorium, and space for co-operating organizations, including the D. A. R. and the Eighty Niners. It takes care of rare books, newspapers, manuscripts, letters, diaries, pictures, statues, flags, and materials illustrative of the history of Oklahoma, to transmit to posterity knowledge of the lives and deeds of the explorers and pioneers and occupants of the Southwest, and collects typical specimens of the arts and crafts, and the legends and traditions of the Indian tribes. Information is afforded students, professional persons, writers, and many others by the co-operation of staff members through the use of its various collections.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma

The Society publishes a quarterly historical magazine, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, sending it free to its members. In its articles the reader is given a clear picture of the leading figures and most interesting phases of Oklahoma history. The public frequently finds it helpful in gathering relevant information. This publication, promoting an interest in Oklahoma history, is available in the schools, colleges, and public libraries of the state. A sample, free copy of *The Chronicles*, will be sent upon request to a person desiring to become a member of the Society.

The Library

The Library has a well selected collection of 20,000 volumes, devoted largely to the history, characters, industries, and resources of Oklahoma, the Indians, and the Southwest. The Society receives the publications of many historical and other learned societies located in both this country and abroad.

Collections

We have many valuable collections, such as the J. B. Milam, the T. N. Athey, and the Grant Foreman, all of which, with many manuscripts and other data, are available for the use of students.

Public Archives

The archives of the Society contain minutes, debates, the journal of the Constitutional Convention; approximately 1,520,000 items and 14,000 volumes of historical data from county seats, including 112 volumes of Oklahoma City records; 8,774 pages relating to the Union soldiers and their organizations from the old Union Soldiers' Home and also valuable Confederate records.

The Indian Archives Division

The Indian Archives division, depository for official federal Indian documents, has received 2,380,000 pieces and 2,100 bound volumes, dating from 1840, including records from twelve Indian

agencies and Indian schools of the state and private collections of Indian papers. Lawyers who use these records recognize their legal importance as to evidence relating to titles. Data is elicited frequently therefrom as to heirship, which is available not only to the abstracter and title examiner, but also to the heirs and those interested in having a valuable storehouse of accurate information.

The Union Soldiers' Memorial Hall

In this room are found pictures of Abraham Lincoln and his cabinet, and of leaders and generals on the side of the Union in the War between the States. An interesting display traces the development of the American Flag from its earliest beginnings. Many different relics illustrative of the War for the Preservation of the Union are on display.

The Confederate Memorial Hall

The Confederate Memorial Hall contains volumes of Southern History and objects and relics relating to Confederate history, ranging in size and character from a Minie ball to the large Confederate Flag carried by the Louisiana "Tigers." On the walls of this room hang photographs and paintings of Confederate generals, the President, Vice-President, and all the Confederate cabinet members and many prominent Southern men and women.

The Newspaper Division

The Society has one of the largest collections of newspapers in the United States, there now being in its files 19,000 bound volumes arranged alphabetically and chronologically in steel cabinets in a fire-proof room, in constant use by research students in preparing masters' theses, doctoral dissertations, and historical works. A large number of others have used them in securing proof of legal publications, clearing titles, and vital statistics, and in procuring evidence where notices published as a part of judicial proceedings and records have been lost by fire or otherwise.

The Society now receives 59 daily and 220 weekly newspapers for use and preservation, which are bound and catalogued. Approximately 900,000 index cards of such papers to facilitate research, are available.

Pictures and Maps

A number of pictures dealing largely with Oklahoma subjects may be seen, both in the art gallery and in the museum. An extensive collection of maps and charts, both printed and in manuscript, are in our archives.

Biographical Index

Under the direction of Grant Foreman a biographical index was started in 1937 by Works Progress Administration workers, to eventuate into a card for each Oklahoman about whom there is information in the library.

The Museum

Thousands of persons visit the museum collections each year, and great numbers of school children come, accompanied by their teachers, to inspect many interesting objects illustrative of the life of the pioneers, Indians, and explorers.

The Sequoyah Home

The Oklahoma Historical Society, with the co-operation of the Works Progress Administration, restored the log home of Sequoyah, the inventor of the Cherokee alphabet, and built over it a durable stone house and enclosed its grounds with a handsome and enduring wall.

Fort Gibson

The Society also co-operated with the State in the restoration of the old barracks and ammunition building at this historic fort. Assistance was given by our Director of Historical Research in the reconstruction of the log stockade on the former frontier site.

Rose Hill

The grave and family cemetery of the well known Choctaw, Robert M. Jones—promoter and patron of education, supporter of missions, merchant prince, planter, and statesman (delegate from the Choctaw Nation to the Congress of the Confederate States of America)—was restored under the direction of the President of the Society with the co-operation of a special committee, and the State Administrator of the Works Progress Administration.

Membership

The Society has been fortunate through the years in enlisting the interest of many of the outstanding men and women of our state as officers, directors, and members. The annual membership dues are \$1 which include an accompanying year's subscription to the quarterly historical magazine, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. The life membership cost of \$25 includes a life subscription to *The Chronicles*, with fifteen available back numbers of the magazine. Oklahomans and those interested in Oklahoma history and its preservation are invited to become members. A membership is an opportunity to assist in such preservation and to encourage wider use and knowledge of the Society's facilities, and to place one's name on the historical honor roll of the state. Applications for membership may be sent with the dues to the Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. A membership application blank will be sent gladly upon the request of those desiring membership, by the Secretary, James W. Moffitt.

RECENT ACTIVITIES OF THE TULSA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

By Louise M. Whitham

That Oklahoma young people can develop a deep interest in state and local history and in their community's problems; that they can make definite contributions to their townspeople by carrying on local research problems and that they enjoy "History" when it becomes a tool rather than an end in itself, is, I think, demonstrated in the story of two projects recently carried out in Central High School at Tulsa, Oklahoma. The following account is offered not only as an argument for giving High School students an opportunity to know their community better but as a means of putting Tulsa's re-study findings on record.

It seems incredible that a town which secured its incorporation papers in 1898 should have bits of disputed history, but the mystery of Tulsa's two "first post-offices" persisted until 1941. It was then settled by Central High School's classes in Community History, collectively known as The Tulsa Historical Society.

I *Tulsa Post-offices.*

Government records showed that the Tulsa post-office was officially established March 25, 1879 as a part of the Star Route which carried mail from Vinita, Indian Territory to Clovis, New Mexico. J. C. Perryman was Tulsa's postman from that date until 1885 but he first kept the mail in the home of his brother, George Perryman, on what is now East Forty-first Street.

J. M. Hall, who came with the Frisco railroad in 1882, relates in *The Beginning of Tulsa* how people were obliged to go or send for their mail to the Perryman place about three miles southeast of the Frisco depot.¹

The Daughters of the American Colonists in 1937 erected a fine stone to mark "the place where mail was first delivered in Tulsa," placing it on the highway 300 feet south of the old George Perryman house.

About a year later considerable publicity was given an effort to preserve the house itself, but the project was abandoned when stories were circulated that there had been an earlier postoffice. The old post-boxes were rescued from the Perryman barn and are now in the trophy room of Central High School. For a couple of years even the Daughters of the American Colonists thought they had made a mistake in setting up their marker without more thorough investigation. Pictures of two quite dissimilar log houses were brought to members of The Tulsa Historical Society with claims that mail had been given out from each of them.

Finally, members of the Historical Society determined to bring all these stories into the open and if possible to settle the question.

¹ J. M. Hall, *The Beginning of Tulsa*, p. 20.

Particularly impressive were claims in favor of the double log house (known to have been built by George Perryman's father, Lewis Perryman, long before the Civil War) at what is now 31st and South Rockford Streets. Members of the Historical Society, accompanied by Mrs. Lilah D. Lindsey, one of their adult advisors, drove to Skiatook to see if Mr. Green Yeargin recognized the picture of this house as the one to which he delivered the mail when he served as mail carrier on the Star Route. As he had made the second delivery of mail and the last under the government contract his verdict in the controversy must be accepted.

When shown the pictures of the three houses in the dispute, Mr. Yeargin was as much puzzled as anyone. He positively denied that he had ever taken the mail to a log house, but the picture of the George Perryman house "didn't look right." He remembered it as built of finished lumber, painted white, with a long porch across the front and not all around the house as shown in the picture. He said he thought the house was square and he distinctly remembered "the mean little creek" he had to cross at the foot of the hill when he turned in at George Perryman's.

Then it was recalled that the big porch and the two front rooms were additions built in the nineties. Further investigation proved that Green Yeargin had correctly described the George Perryman house on Forty First Street as it was until the additions were made. "The mean little creek" now runs in the storm sewer. The marker put up by the Daughters of the American Colonists still stands, and that phase of the controversy is settled.

The persons who had advanced argument in favor of the old log houses were of such standing that no one thought they had deliberately misrepresented. The truth of the matter was that we had not stopped to think how mail for the Tulsa area could have reached this point before the Government took charge of its delivery in 1879. With our careless ignorance of Indian history we had not realized that some of the families here had, even before the Civil War, been educated in the missions and in the Creek neighborhood-schools. Recently we have read some of the letters sent by them or received by them during the Civil War. Obviously they followed the same methods used by people everywhere who are remote from a government postoffice. A Mrs. Weir, almost a hundred years old, related that whenever a person from this locality went to the Creek Agency or later to Muskogee, he brought back all letters which were addressed to his neighbors, except those from Washington, D. C. As far back as she could recall the Perryman family had assumed this responsibility, and since there were no frame houses in the country before the middle seventies, the problem of Tulsa's two first postoffices was solved.

This research had value to the groups engaged in it not only because it was an exercise in historical technique but because the

young people began to appreciate how far Indian culture had advanced before the inrush of white settlers.

For Oklahomans the story of how the racial elements that make up our population came to be here; what they have done toward community adjustments, and what their potentialities are for harmonious neighborliness and cultural advancement is one of the most important "understandings" we can get, for we have in miniature the same sort of racial minority problems that vex the warring nations. If we ever reach a happy solution of this problem it will be because we have approached it from fact and not from ignorance and prejudice.

II *The Battle of Bird Creek.*

This realization of a period of history about which very little had been known led to another big project, —a thorough, re-study of the Civil War battles which took place in or near Tulsa county. The battle areas have been visited several times by members of the Tulsa Historical Society in company with their adult advisors: Mr. Dean Trickett, Mr. Charles Grimes and Mr. Thos. Meagher.

Mr. Trickett's series on "The Civil War in Indian Territory," published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, first stimulated student interest in the area. Before they secured their own copy of *The Official Records*, Mr. Trickett loaned his to them. Mr. Grimes' story will be included later in this account. Mr. Meagher has made a study of the flight of the loyal Indians from the Indian angle. Other prominent Tulsans have also aided the research.

Through Mr. Meagher an investigating group met Mr. Webb Tyner whose family, Cherokees, were living along Bird Creek when the battles took place, and who returned to that area after the war. He lives now on the banks of the Horse-Shoe Bend of Bird Creek so vividly described by Colonel Cooper in *The Official Records*.² Mr. Tyner told that when he was a boy people often found lead bullets in trees that were being chopped or sawed; that his neighbors had found all sorts of abandoned household utensils, parts of wagons, and eight-sided, long-barreled rifle barrels abandoned by the Indians in their flight.³ He showed the students an ancient salt-kettle that was the heirloom-trophy of his family. And then, very casually, he remarked, "Yonder is the hillside where Col. Cooper buried his dead the morning after the battle. I heard about it many times when I was a boy. Bob Childers helped dig the graves." Can you imagine the feeling with which the young people reread Col. Cooper's account of that burial? Before marking this location, search for some proof, such as remains, will be made.

Something decidedly personality-building happens to young people when they achieve things appreciated by their elders. There is

² Vol. 8, pp. 8-9.

³ Cf. Wiley Britton, *The Union Indian Brigade in The Civil War*, p. 61 "Most of them were soon armed with a long barrel rifle known as the Indian Rifle that used a round bullet that was quite effective at short range."

also something very wholesome in the cooperation of older citizens with young people. May I bear my testimony that the boys and girls who have shared in these enterprises are better citizens, have a greater pride in their locality, because they have studied its history. Several boys now in service have written back to know what the Historical Society is doing; many others continue to report bits of information. Richard H. Johnson sent two dollars for our memorial fund from his first navy pay check.

Working at a long-time project while carrying on class room chronological-study is not difficult. In fact, "discoveries" of new material about a given project come most unexpectedly and time must be given to check and evaluate these findings. Conclusions held tentatively must often be modified as new data are discovered so it is well to hold a project-study open, as it were, possibly for two or three years. New students quickly grasp work already done and are ready to "carry on."

This Bird Creek study has added a few items to the story as told by Cooper, Abel, Trickett, Britton and Debo; interesting details and identifications with known modern places. The burial spot is one. "Mrs. Van's (Vann) house on the Verdigris" where Col. Cooper sent the wounded on that morning after his men returned from the burials was identified by Mr. S. R. Lewis, kinsman of the Vanns, as the Hendee pressure station now owned by the Oklahoma Natural Gas Co. Two fords on ancient Indian trails used by the loyal Indians in getting to Bird Creek have been located.

Of course, all these items had been known to certain persons in times past but as our town's population changes rapidly and as much of it is of comparatively recent addition, rather few people here are aware that Tulsa County has any battlefields.

Probably the greatest public benefit of this project has been in creating a general interest by telling the story to other schools, to clubs and to some two thousand individuals. Currently, the effort is to raise funds to erect memorial and informational markers to be placed on the battlefield. The Indian Woman's Club is co-operating with the Historical Society in doing this. The publicity campaign opened December 9, anniversary of the battle, and the unveiling of the memorial is scheduled for May 30, 1943.

There seems reason to connect the battle with three peculiar mounds discovered by Mr. Charles Grimes. In a paper filed with the Oklahoma Historical Society, Mr. Grimes wrote:

October 6, 1942

My dear Mrs. Whitham:

Supplementing our conversation of a few days ago relative to certain earth works located on the NE/4 of the SW/4 of Section 33, Township 21 North, Range 13 East, Tulsa County, Oklahoma, you are advised that I purchased this land on March 23, 1910; that I have been the owner of and in possession of said land since March 23, 1910; that at the time I purchased this land the same was a virgin blue

stem prairie; that at the time I purchased this land and for several years thereafter there were three crescent shaped earthen embankments located about 100 yards from the north boundaries of said tract; that these embankments were approximately 15 or 18 inches in height and from 50 to 75 feet in length, and approximately five or six feet in width; that they were composed of top soil black-loam; that on or about the year 1930 or 1931 I secured a road grader and leveled these embankments down in order that they would not interfere with the cultivation of said land; that at that time I did not know in what manner and for what purpose they had been formed but since that time in reading the official records of the battle of Caving Banks as reported by Colonel Cooper, said battle being between the Confederates on one side and the loyal Indians on the other side, it is my opinion and belief that these embankments were made by the forces of Colonel Cooper as a protection against an anticipated attack because it is approximately two miles southeast of the horseshoe bend formed by Bird Creek where the battle occurred and on the shortest route he could have taken to get his wounded to the home of "Mrs. Van" (Vann) on the Verdigris River where hospitalization was secured.

You are further advised that I have talked to John Perryman, now deceased, one of the loyal Creek Indians, who took part in this battle, who called it the Battle of Bird Creek Falls.

Trusting that this information may be of use to you in the splendid work you and your class are doing in assembling all available facts into permanent form relative to one of the greatest battles fought on Oklahoma soil during the Civil War.

On the night of the eighth of December, Col. Cooper camped about five miles north of the scene of the battle. All he says of the ninth, the night after the battle, is, "the sun having set, the troops were withdrawn and marched to camp." There would seem to be no special point in his returning to the last camp, five miles from the battle area, especially when he had thirty-nine wounded men whom he expected to hospitalize at Mrs. Vann's on the Verdigris, and when a position, somewhat to the south of the battlefield and on the open prairie, could be easily defended. On the night of the eighth he had "formed and disposed (his command) so as to protect and defend the camp on all sides and remained under arms all night." He must have been as alert during the night of the ninth.

Allowing for erosion and time, it is possible that the mounds which Mr. Grimes describes may have been at least twice as high in 1861 as they were in 1930. They were curved toward the northwest and may well have served either as a defense against attack or as a protection for the wounded from the December winds.

Gradations of probability, possibility and proof can be understood in making first hand studies of locations, interviews and authentic source material. Our groups classified as *probable* their conclusion that Indian withdrawals to Kansas in 1861 and 1862 were more numerous than a casual reader of a general text might realize and that the main reason for the flights was the Indian's desire not to become involved in "the white man's war" rather than merely Opothleyahola's fear of revenge from the McIntosh faction for his part in the execution of Chief Wm. McIntosh in 1825.

This conclusion was reached after reading a documented study of Jesse Chisholm's life which was brought to class by a member who thought her kinsmen had been the guide for the removal party which fought at Bird Creek.⁴ The text stated: "Jesse Chisholm sent word throughout the central territory between the two Canadians on each side of the ninety-seventh meridian" . . . "Hundreds of Indians flocked to the meeting place and the long trek began." . . . "Jesse Chisholm conducted a large group of Indians from the territory between the present towns of Asher and Shawnee to a haven of safety on the Arkansas River" (present Wichita). No mention was made of this removal party being stopped by military forces, hence this was a removal separate from that led by Opothleyahola. Reading Thomas (Wildcat) Alford's story of the removal of his family to Kansas in 1862 also widened our idea of the scope of these migrations. His reasons for the family flight clearly picture the frame of mind of a would-be-neutral people caught in the cyclone of war.⁵ Our own delay in getting into the present struggle, our reluctant participation in it are all so like the experiences of the Indians who tried to evade the Civil War! The universal pattern of wars is reflected also in the burial of the unknown Confederate soldiers near Bird Creek. We shall have many burials in unmarked graves in strange lands before the present struggle ceases.

And now a word as to the location-clues which we have found. John Perryman, talking to Mr. Grimes, used the term, "The Battle of Bird Creek Falls." Captain Jackson McCurtain, reporting to Col. Cooper, wrote of it as "the High Shoal battle on December 9, A. D. 1861." D. N. McIntosh also reported on "the battle at High Shoal, Cherokee Nation, on the 9th inst."⁶ Whatever else may have changed along Bird Creek we may be very certain that the four foot fall is where it was eighty years ago.

The two largest "dry ravines from the east" empty into Bird Creek below the falls as also does Delaware Creek from the west. These three points of identification are in Sec. 29, Twp. 21, Rge. 13 E. and probably mark the extreme southern end of the battle area. The apex of the bend and the burial hillside are just north of the falls in Sec. 20. The mouth of Hominy Creek in Sec. 18 is half a mile north and half mile west of the burial spot and that may have been the northern limit of the engagement. We cannot be positive of that for with some 1500 Confederates engaged and about the same number under Opothleyahola the battle must have covered a considerable area. Col. Sims of the Fourth Texas Cavalry, C .S. Army, reported that his men had charged down both ravines and then, "we mounted our horses and advanced up the creek about 1 mile."⁷

⁴ T. U. Taylor, Jesse Chisholm, pp.

⁵ Thomas Alford, *Civilization*, pp. 9-12.

⁶ *Official Records*, pp. 21, 16.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Colonel Cooper speaks of the Battle of Caving Banks but that is not helpful in location for the banks of Bird Creek crumble easily at many points. Colonel Sims and others wrote of the Battle of Chusto-Talasah. We have yet to find any agreement among modern Cherokees concerning the meaning or location of "Chusto" but the "Talasah" part is a mis-spelling of Talasee, the name given in 1850 by the Bureau of Topographical Engineers to the settlement of Talasee (Creek) Indians near modern Tulsa.⁸ Colonel Cooper's term "Tulsey Town" is the first use of that name which we have found.⁹ Bringing the Indian term over into frontier English seems to have made much the same transformation as was made with the French *Nion Chou* which became American *Neosho*.

Having made as thorough a study as they could of the battles fought in and near this county the members of the Tulsa Historical Society raised the question, "Now that we have assembled this material what shall we do with it?" They felt they owed something to the community. That is why they are writing and talking about the battle story, buying an oil painting, seeking support to set up memorial and informational markers to challenge attention and future investigating groups. Reminders of the past! Lest we forget!

⁸ Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 151.

⁹ *Official Records*, p. 7.

INDIAN EXHIBITS AT PHILBROOK ART CENTER

By Mary Ann Rheam

Philbrook Art Center in Tulsa has recently opened four new exhibits in the Indian Museum. They are: the portion of the Spiro Mound material assigned to the University of Tulsa and lent to Philbrook¹; objects from the Delaware Big House, near Dewey on the Caney river, lent by Mrs. John T. Witcher; a collection of South-western Archaeology, lent by Mr. and Mrs. T. J. Darby; and a collection of 460 North American Indian baskets, recently given to Philbrook by Mr. Clark Field. All of the collectors are Tulsans.

Since its opening three years ago, Philbrook Art Center has had, as one definite objective, the building up of a comprehensive study collection of North American Indian objects, arts and crafts, with particular emphasis on the Indian of Oklahoma and the Southwest. This recent gift and the long time loans add materially to the museum's growing collection.

Spiro Mound is an interesting chapter in Oklahoma Archaeology. On display at Philbrook are two of the large effigy pipes, a number of large pieces of pottery, gorgets, fragments of encised shells, ear spools, shell beads, T shaped pipes, large conch shells, the highly interesting copper ornaments, a maskette, and fragments

¹ There are also exhibits of Spiro remains at the Oklahoma Historical Society and the University of Oklahoma.

of baskets, weaving, etc. The shells and copper show the possibility of trade with other peoples as far north as the Great Lakes and as far south as the Gulf of Mexico.

The Spiro Mound site is located on the second terrace of the Arkansas river, 10 miles northeast of Spiro, Oklahoma. The mound from which the specimens were recovered was a compound mound, two structures connected by a low saddle. The long axis was North and South.

Spiro art had characteristics of its own in spite of its resemblance to art work of other parts of the Southeast. It is, generally speaking, characterized by the use of human, rather than animals forms, by considerable naturalism, and by a generally bolder and more rugged style than is found in other parts of the mound building area. We draw these conclusions by viewing the objects on display; that they used buckskin for moccasins, made cloth of feathers, fur and milkweed fiber, and made the simple twilled mattings universally found in the Southeast. It is evident that they wore a great deal of ornaments and prized their beads, ear spools, copper pendants, pearls and carved shell gorgets highly.

The mound was known to people living near it for a number of years before excavation was begun and much fine material was looted and sold to museums and to private collectors outside of Oklahoma. Consequently no complete collection of Spiro material will ever be shown.

The Delawares brought the Big House, through a succession of moves in two centuries, to Oklahoma from New Jersey. They lived in Kansas for a while before making their last residence in Northern Oklahoma. "Big House" is a term meaning the house itself and also the religious ceremony of the Delawares. The Big House on the Caney river was destroyed in 1935 and the objects from it are now at Philbrook. In the collection are the center post with its two carved faces looking East and West, three side posts with the false face images painted half red and half black, the twelve prayer sticks, six plain and six with the spiral design, red paint dust, two tortoise shell rattles, the sacred drum sticks with their painted faces and the ceremonial fire drill.

The ceremony, which was held once a year and lasted twelve days, was very symbolical and deeply religious. It has not been held in recent years for various reasons, one, because poverty has driven them to abandon it. Loss of wampum, which at one time measured 128 Indian yards, is one reason for its discontinuance. Nearly all of the wampum has either been traded to other Indian tribes or sold to collectors and museums.

In the display case are large photographs of the Big House as it looked in 1920 and the ruins in 1935. Also displayed is a photograph of the detail of the center post which stands beside the case. "The Big House is regarded by the Delawares as the supreme reli-

gion among all forms of worship on the Continent. The center post with the carved faces of the two sides is the foundation, whose topmost end pierces the sky extending to the throne of the Great Spirit, whose right hand is resting on top of it as a staff to hold a great power given to the red man."²

The Darby collection of Southwestern Archaeology represents several centuries of culture from approximately 700 A. D. to 1300 A. D. Mr. and Mrs. Darby, members of the Tulsa Archaeology Society, have spent several seasons excavating on the Gila and Salt rivers in Arizona and in New Mexico. The principal part of the collection consists of pottery of Hohokam and Mimbres cultures, bowls, plates, ollas, burial urns, paint pots and ladles. There are also sandals, knots, braided rope, basket fragments and carrying baskets from the cliff dwellings and cliff shelters and numerous stone implements, axes, arrow straighteners, polishing stones and bone awls and obsidian points. The cultures have been identified by the University of Arizona.

We learn, from this exhibit, that the Hohokam people were agriculturists, that their sense of design was highly developed, (pottery types were fine red and plain buff) and that they cremated their dead. They used geometrical designs to decorate their pottery and human forms for their pictographs. Ornaments of shell and bone were exceptionally well made and abundant. Due to the fact that they cremated the dead, nothing is known concerning the physical type of these people.

Mimbres is a culture which evolved from the Mogollon culture. About 1000 A. D. their pottery changed to red on cream and to black on white. Mimbres is one of the most distinctive cultures in the Southwest, largely because of the remarkable designs found on the pottery. Two styles of decoration are commonly found; one is purely geometric, the other, highly conventionalized life forms, both of which are represented in the collection. The drawings are far superior to any other period of the Southwest.

The collection is displayed against a diorama background, suggestive of Mesa Verde, painted by Eugene Kingman. Adjacent to this display is an exhibit of Spanish-Pueblo architecture.

The collection of North American Indian baskets, given to Philbrook in July, 1942, by Mr. Clark Field, is primarily a study collection, representing every basket making tribe in the United States, and most of the basket making tribes of Canada and Alaska. One room has been especially designed for this exhibit and cases are arranged geographically.

Rarities in the collection include a Pawnee gambling basket, a Cherokee berry gathering basket, carried over the Trail of Tears, a Pennacook basket which is lined with a copy of the Boston Courier

² "A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony," by Frank G. Speck. Vol. II, *Publications of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission* (Harrisburg).

of April 2, 1835, a Catawba eel catching basket and many others. The collection, very wide in scope, contains the very finely woven grass baskets of the Aleuts and the moosehair embroidered baskets of Northeastern Canada. Every basket making tribe of Oklahoma is represented. Several unfinished baskets and the materials used are also shown.

The purpose of the exhibit is to show:

1. The wide distribution of basket making people.
2. The many uses of baskets and the adaptation of their shape to their use.
3. The variety of materials used both for structure and for color.
4. The different techniques employed by the basket maker.

Other Indian exhibits, now on display at Philbrook Art Center are: Indian Art of the Northwest Coast, lent by the Washington State Museum, Navajo blankets, Navajo and Hopi jewelry, Southwestern pottery, materials woven by students at the Sequoyah Training School, Tahlequah, California baskets and Peruvian pottery. Exhibits change from time to time and materials for them are taken from the museum collection and from long time loans to the museum from individual collectors.

ORGANIZATION, PURPOSES AND ACTIVITIES OF COUNTY AND LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Compiled by
ETHYL E. MARTIN¹

This article is intended to provide helpful suggestions for the organization of local historical societies and for the stimulation and promotion of the local societies already organized.

The article is not exhaustive. It is meant to be helpfully advisory. The general information should be adapted to meet local needs. From time to time additional material can be included in future articles. Suggestions for such additions will be welcomed by the State Historical Society.

Importance of Local Historical Societies

The importance of local historical societies lies in the fact that they serve as local centers of historical interest and their activities are a step in the direction of covering the whole field of local history more adequately.

From 1821, when the first county historical society in the United States was organized at Salem, Massachusetts, under the name of the Essex Historical Society (now known as Essex Institute),² the formation of local historical societies in the United States has con-

¹ See *Bulletin of Information*: No. 16 (Published at Iowa City, Iowa, in 1941 by the State Historical Society of Iowa).

² *Proceedings of the Essex Institute*, Vol. I, pp. 3-4.

tinued; but the periods of greatest activity have been associated with centennial anniversaries and patriotic events.

Form of Organization

The form of organization of a local historical society may be provided for by a constitution and by-laws or by articles of incorporation.

The business affairs of a local historical society are usually conducted by a board of directors or executive committee. Annual meetings are the general practice, though some local societies meet more frequently. At these annual meetings officers are nominated and elected, there are committee reports and other routine business, with minutes kept regularly and filed as a valuable index to material relating to the history of the locality. Following the business meeting a program of addresses or other features of interest to the general public is presented.

Membership

The provisions for membership are uniformly democratic. In general any person residing within the county or other area covered by the organization may obtain membership by application and the payment of the membership dues. Often there is provision for life membership after a certain number of years of active membership or upon the gift of a specified sum of money for the purposes of the society.

Purposes

The stated purposes of the local historical society are to collect, preserve, and disseminate the materials of local history. Letters and diaries relating to the life of the pioneers, early settlers, and distinguished citizens; old family Bibles containing genealogical material; account books containing data on prices and commodities; and other private papers or photographs in the possession of persons who may or may not recognize their historical value are secured through voluntary gift for permanent preservation. The important public archives of counties, towns, and villages are safeguarded from unwarranted destruction. Church records are preserved. Newspaper files and other local publications are kept for future reference. Provision is made for correct marking of historic sites by State agencies. In addition to these specific purposes, there is the general aim to promote and preserve a vital interest in State and local history.

Activities

The activities of local historical societies will vary with the initiative and resourcefulness of the leadership and the interest of the members. Undoubtedly interest can be stimulated by a greater variety in programs.

In addition to talks and formal addresses on the history of the county, an occasional pageant or historical play might attract more public interest. Forums on local history, panel discussions, quiz programs, and costume parties in connection with important State

or local anniversaries could be effective. Special programs provided by schools or churches could be encouraged and utilized at meetings of the local historical society.

Programs can be held in various sections of the county from year to year with features relating especially to that area. An occasional tour of the county with short historical talks about the places visited could be substituted for a meeting of the society. In some instances these tours could be extended into neighboring counties with a common historical background. Such tours could form a part of the observance of a county anniversary, such as the anniversary of its organization.

Where radio facilities are available and time can be arranged at regular intervals, such as once a month, interviews on pioneer life in the county or important events of local significance would attract many listeners. An occasional skit or dramatic presentation could be used to vary the program. There should be careful preparation of the material under the direction of an experienced person. At the outset it would be well to limit the period to fifteen minutes. Excellent programs of this type might find a commercial sponsor.

The activities of a local historical society should enlist the cooperation of the schools of the county. Teachers should be encouraged to give their pupils such projects as the collection of material and the writing of historical essays or stories about their county, their school, their church, or the community in which they live.

Finally, the local historical societies will find it advantageous to cooperate with the State Historical Society. Members of the staff may appear on programs, and requests for helpful suggestions will receive careful attention. The harmonious cooperation of all groups interested in a common purpose will result in unexpected accomplishments.

Property

The property of the local historical society consists of such materials as manuscripts, books, maps, museum items, portraits, paintings, and public archives.

The acquisitions of the local society can be cared for and displayed more adequately if funds are available for the services of a curator. Occasionally it will be possible to secure volunteer services of a trained person on a part-time basis.

A card catalogue of acquisitions should be maintained, indicating the name of the donor, the date of acquisition, and items of interest concerning the gift. The catalogue should be classified with guide cards indicating sections devoted to books, manuscripts, photographs, etc.

The proper care and recording of acquisitions is a matter of vital concern, since materials donated to a local or State historical society represent a "public trust." Much of the significance of a museum piece is lost if the data concerning its former use and ownership is unknown or forgotten.

Housing of the Society

Some few local historical societies have been fortunate enough to receive donations of a suitable building with an endowment fund for maintenance. More often quarters must be sought in a public building, such as the county courthouse, the public library, or the community building. Where space is available in a public library, the librarian serves as curator and has the necessary training for the proper cataloguing and care of the material.

One of the real problems of the local society is to find suitable housing under friendly auspices in a location which is easily accessible to the citizens of the community. In such quarters provisions can be made for interesting displays of historical material. Displays can be changed from time to time to stimulate and promote interest in the work of the society. Modern technical skill in lighting and arrangement can add materially to the effectiveness of these displays.

*The Relation of the Public Library to
the Local Historical Society*

Whether the local historical society is housed in the public library building or elsewhere, it should find cooperative assistance in the library in any search for material on State and local history. Since the publications of the State Historical Society are free to these libraries, it should be possible for them to supplement this collection with books and pamphlets bearing on the history of the local community and the State.

The public library can also perform a valuable service in the field of local history by collecting and preserving materials relating specifically to the life and history of the community. It may include (1) files of local newspapers and periodicals; (2) official publications (city ordinances, school laws, and reports of county officers); (3) city directories; (4) announcements, programs, and proceedings of local organizations (literary, scientific, political, educational, fraternal, and religious); (5) books and articles by local men and women; (6) photographs of prominent citizens and local scenes; and (7) clippings relating to the life of the community. All these collections furnish valuable source materials which will amplify and supplement the work of the local historical society.

*Relation of Local Historical Societies to
State Historical Society*

The State Historical Society furnishes speakers for meetings of the local historical society when such engagements can be arranged to fit into the regular work of staff members.

In turn, the local historical societies can make a real contribution to the State Historical Society in suggesting research projects, submitting suitable articles for publication, and promoting the general welfare of the State Historical Society in their respective communities. In fact, such local support of the endeavors of the State

Historical Society is one of the essentials in promoting the cause of State and local history in the State.

Publication of the Materials of Local History

Among the most active members of the local historical society are those who combine literary ability with historical interest. Such ability and interest should be sought and developed. Single articles or a series of stories on local history can be prepared for the local newspaper. Occasionally such writing will find avenues of publication in newspapers or magazines with wider circulation. Some of the material will be suitable for publication in historical magazines. The State Historical Society is always interested in an opportunity to examine such contributions, and many such stories have been accepted for publication. Whether published or not, all such historical material can be preserved in the files of the local historical society, the public library, or by the State Historical Society.

Printed or mimeographed leaflets can provide authentic information for the people of the community and the passing traveler. In the larger centers they can be made available through chambers of commerce and public libraries.

Suggestions to Local Historians

The local historian will find it advantageous to prepare himself by the study of methods and techniques used by some of the masters of historical writing. Perhaps it would be well to begin with such a basic source as Channing, Hart & Turner's *Guide to the Study of American History* (Ginn & Company, 1912). This book is out of print but will doubtless be found in many of the public libraries. Helpful guides to method will be found in Allen Johnson's *The Historian and Historical Evidence* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926) and in Homer C. Hockett's *Introduction to Research in American History* (Macmillan Co., 1931).

It is of primary importance that the historical writer should understand clearly the distinction between original and secondary sources of information. Original sources include all material preserved from the period under study—written or printed documents, survivals such as mounds and buildings, and relics in general. Secondary sources are historical writings based on original sources. The careful historian will consult original sources whenever they are available.

DISSOLUTION OF THE OSAGE RESERVATION

By Berlin B. Chapman

PART THREE

The first two articles of this series dealt with the unsuccessful attempts of the Cherokee Commission and of the Osage Commission in the early 'nineties to induce the Osage Indians to take allotments and sell their surplus lands to the United States. Attention was given to the thorny question of the tribal roll, the Osage Allotment Act of 1906, the Osage Allotting Commission consisting of Charles E. McChesney, Cassius R. Peck and Black Dog, and to some of the complaints made by the Osages against the Commission.

Part Three continues the story of the division of lands among the Osages, explaining the role of the cattlemen in the dissolution of the reservation, and the origins of the lottery plan by which the choice of lands for the Indians was determined.

An article in the *Wichita Eagle*⁹⁹ commenting on conditions on the reservations at the close of 1907 observed that "tract by tract the immense pastures of Oklahoma and Indian Territory have dwindled into only the Osage nation, sixty miles square, remains, and today with the allotment of the Osage Indians and the coming of statehood, the cattlemen [cattleman] sees this last feeding ground slipping away and he is making a death struggle to hold that portion which constitutes the best pastures." It appears that cattlemen had long used the northern part of the reservation as a pasture for Texas and other cattle, and were making an effort to allot the pastures to full bloods as third selections; that it was the aim of agents of the cattlemen to have the pastures allotted in compact form, with little if any regard for the character of the lands that became the property of allottees.

On December 14 McChesney addressed a nine-page letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs relative to the influence of these agents and the making of third selections.¹⁰⁰ He said that "in the case of full-bloods and incompetent Indians" it was the duty of the surveyors to show them suitable selections, and that in the second selections the great majority of the members of the tribe either filed on lands adjoining their first selections or filed the descriptions of lands which had been shown them by the surveyors. It was explained that most of the full bloods were selecting homesteads from their first selections, south and southwest of Pawhuska, and that agents of the cattlemen were inducing them to make third selections in other portions of the reservation. "Such agents are taking leases from the Indians upon their third selections as they may be filed," said McChesney, "and pay down to the Indian fifty

⁹⁹ Jan. 12, 1908.

¹⁰⁰ The letter, dated Dec. 14, 1907, is in the Indian Office, 98, 321—1907—313 Osage ..

dollars in cash, which purports to be a consideration for a lease for one year, but which in reality is a consideration to obtain the consent of the full blood Indians [Indian] to allow his third selection in the pasture country." It seems that many a full blood preferred to lay aside the plat of land given him by a surveyor of the Commission and substitute a plat given him by agents of cattlemen if thereby he received fifty dollars.

McChesney said that when lands adjoined the homestead or the second selection of an Indian, "he should be compelled to take that land in order that he may get his land in a body and enhance its value, rather than become the tool of cattlemen to make up their pastures." He stated that while the Commission did not refuse filings, in certain conditions it required the Indian to see the land in company of one of the surveyors before he was allowed to file. This procedure, said McChesney, "very much enrages the agents of the cattlemen" and the Indian "is also disgruntled." Before McChesney's letter reached Washington the difficulty was ameliorated. On December 16 eight men representing the cattle interests called on the Commission for a conference and explained that if their methods were in any way a hinderance to the work of allotment they would desist.¹⁰¹

McChesney's attitude toward the making of arbitrary selections is revealed in his letter of the next day in which he said that as a prevention of a like experience with other cattlemen he believed "it wise to refuse to file full-blood members of the tribe according to plats presented by outside interests. Such full-blood members should be filed," he said, "either from information obtained in our records or from plats given them by surveyors of the Commission, who may show them the land." It is not easy to determine to what extent the Commission and surveyors made selections for the Indians. The Osage Allotment Act did not prohibit the Commission from advising the Indians in the matter of making choice of land for their first, second and third selections, and the Office of Indian Affairs regarded it as the duty of the Commission to give the Indians sound and wholesome advice in all proper cases.¹⁰² Bird S. McGuire was of the opinion that "the Commission in a number of cases unquestionably arbitrarily fixed the homestead to suit themselves."¹⁰³

The fight between the agents of the cattlemen and the Commission became so intense that an attack was made on the membership of the Commission, with the result that the latter asked the Department of the Interior to investigate the entire affair. On

¹⁰¹ McChesney to Com. Ind. Aff., Dec. 17, 1907, OIA, 99,027—1907—313 Osage. A report of the conference, evidently taken by a stenographer, is in the Indian Office, Series A (Box 8), 7,392—1908—313 Osage.

¹⁰² Leupp to Bird S. McGuire, Dec. 26, 1907, OIA, *L. Letter Book 1019*, pp. 478-479.

¹⁰³ McGuire to Com. Ind. Aff., Oct. 2, 1909, OIA, 78,986—1909—313 Osage.

December 14, the day that McChesney dated his long letter in defense of the power of the Commission to control the selections of individuals, a letter signed by Frank Corndropper, a member of the Osage National Council, was addressed to the Secretary of the Interior complaining that the Commission was abusing its power. It was stated that some allottees, evidently the full bloods, had been compelled by the Commission to file on "the most worthless land on the whole reservation," while more unscrupulous persons, evidently mixed-bloods, were getting better lands by paying a stipulated sum in accordance with an agreement of serious and questionable character with which Peck and W. S. Hawkins, chief surveyor of the Commission, were connected.¹⁰⁴ Corndropper asked that an inspector be sent to the reservation to investigate the matter and that the Commission be not warned of the day nor the hour of his coming. Although an extract of the letter containing the complaint and request for an investigation was on December 24 forwarded to the Commission and a report was requested, the Office of Indian Affairs seems to have been little impressed with the charges against the Commission.¹⁰⁵

McChesney realized at once that the complaint was a strategical device of a disgruntled agent of the cattlemen, William M. Dial, who had tried to come before the Secretary of the Interior with hands of Esau. He was informed by Black Dog that on December 13 Dial had a complaint and was looking for full-blood signers. When Dial was called before the Commission and asked if he drafted the charges, he refused to answer, claiming that the Commission had no authority to investigate the matter. He stated, however, that he was in full sympathy with the charges; that he was in the location business to stay and would make as much money out of it as possible.¹⁰⁶ Thus closed the hectic days of 1907 and the new year opened with an investigation and examination of the events of the old.

On January 1, 1908, McChesney made his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in a letter of ten pages. The core of the matter, already treated at length in his letter of December 14, 1907, was the policy of the Commission to assist wherever possible the full-blood Indian in securing his third selection near by his first and second selections. "The shiftless and indifferent full-blood ele-

¹⁰⁴ Corndropper to Sec. Int., Dec. 14, 1907, OIA, 98,204—1907—313 Osage.

¹⁰⁵ The explanation seems to be contained in the following note filed with Corndropper's letter: "For Comr. If I mistake not Corndropper is a self confessed bribe taker. Perhaps you will recall his case. If not I will remind you. C. F. L. [Charles F. Larrabee]."

¹⁰⁶ According to McChesney, Dial admitted that he was "receiving \$25 for each lease on a third selection" secured for cattlemen. McChesney to Com. Ind. Aff., Jan. 1, 1908, OIA, Series A. *loc. cit.* It appears that agents sent out runners to Indian camps and that Indians were brought to the offices of the agents where they were given third selections in the cattle pastures. Such procedure antagonized the Commission, if it did not actually interfere with their work.

ment are the only members of the tribe," said McChesney, "who in any way object to this policy of the Commission. The objection of this element is based entirely upon the satisfaction of their immediate financial wants." He named the agents of the cattlemen as Dial and Sewell Beekman, intermarried citizens; George E. Tinker, a member of the tribe; and George Christman, a resident of the reservation. Could these agents have acquired confidence in each other, and pooled their earnings, they might have carried on a profitable business unmolested. But serious competition grew up between the two intermarried citizens and it became generally known that Dial was less prosperous than his rival.¹⁰⁷

McChesney commented at length upon the condition of affairs and in conclusion said that the time had arrived "when the selection and division of the lands of the Osages should be made either by the grafting locators or under the supervision of this Commission as prescribed by the Act of Congress creating the Commission. The Commission thought it was its duty to supervise such selections rather than to allow the real estate speculators to do so to the detriment of the full-blood Indians." As a matter of ready reference he said that the Commission had "a grade on each forty acre tract in the reservation which was made by our surveyors while in the field." McChesney denied the charges in the complaint and renewed the statement that the Commission at all times invited the closest inspection of all its acts.

When we consider Corndropper's reputation, McChesney's explanation, the conference of December 16, 1907, and Leupp's letter to McGuire ten days later, it seems likely that the Office of Indian Affairs would have been willing to trust matters on the reservation to the integrity of the Commission. But during the last days of December, Peck was the target of a half dozen complaints, similar to that signed by Corndropper, made in the names of Nah-she-walla, Me-ti-an-ka, Wah-shin-ho-tsa, He-se-moie, Clinton Big Heart and Frank Little Soldier.¹⁰⁸

About the middle of January in 1908 Jesse E. Flanders, a special officer, by direction of the Department of the Interior proceeded to the reservation. It was the tactics of his profession to come by stealth upon evil-doers and where possible take them in the very act. He spent a few days incognito on the reservation; he entered the office of the Commission where filings were being made, to observe the conduct of Peck and find out whether he was arbitrary and insulting. He represented himself to Dial as a party in search of some grazing land. Among other things he learned that

¹⁰⁷ Beekman claimed that his comparative success was because he was careful to make third selections adjoining second selections of allottees concerned, because he had adopted the policy of sending the Indians out to the surveyors to see the land desired to be filed upon, and because he paid the Indians more money down than Dial did.

¹⁰⁸ The complaints, addressed to the Com. Ind. Aff., are in the Indian Office, Series A, *loc. cit.*

Dial had a tribal roll purchased from Attorney A. B. Comstock who had secured a copy from Attorney Hardin Ebey.¹⁰⁹

In his report on Jan. 25, Flanders said: "The more I look into this matter the more firmly am I convinced that it is the object of the real estate dealers to file Indians without regard to their interests and with the sole purpose of filling out the large tracts on which they are securing leases for the cattlemen." He said that he did not believe that the Indians were dissatisfied and that he had been unable to discover evidence that Peck was filing Indians arbitrarily or that he was filing them on worthless land. "Summing up the whole matter as it now stands," he said, "it seems to me that the only truth contained in the charges is that there were copies of [the] allotment roll made and some of the real estate agents had them, but the rolls were given out by the stenographers without the knowledge of any member of the Commission."¹¹⁰

On January 20, Sam R. Criswell, a stenographer of the Commission readily admitted to Flanders that he had furnished a copy of the roll to Ebey and Christman. It appears that Ebey received the roll in October 1907, shortly after McChesney went to Washington on official business. It was a carbon copy of the one McChesney carried to Washington.¹¹¹ Criswell, ousted from his official position, attempted to explain the matter to Commissioner Leupp.¹¹² He stated that he understood that at the office of the local agent the roll was public and could be copied.¹¹³ He said that he knew several persons who already had the names and drawing numbers of all or a major part of the allottees, which they had received at the drawing¹¹⁴ and during the filings of second selections. The order of the third drawing had not yet been determined. One may well wonder what the roll contained that was shrouded in secrecy. It

¹⁰⁹ Flanders to Leupp, Jan. 21, 1908, OIA, Series A, *loc. cit.*...

¹¹⁰ Flanders to Leupp, Jan. 25, 1908, *ibid.*

¹¹¹ Four copies were made; William Z. Jerome, a fellow stenographer of Criswell, retained one which subsequently came into the hands of Ed[ward] Hayes, and the other was retained as an office copy. Affidavit by Criswell, Jan. 21, 1908, *ibid.* Jerome was saved from being dismissed for "conduct unbecoming an employee of the Government" since his position had been abolished and he was already outside the jurisdiction of the Office of Indian Affairs.

¹¹² Criswell to Leupp, March 4, 1908, *ibid.* Criswell said he charged Ebey fifteen dollars for the work and had not been paid.

¹¹³ On July 30, 1906, Agent Millard stated that there were applications from a number of persons to be permitted to take copies of the roll from the agency record, and he requested instructions in the matter. Millard to Com. Ind. Aff., OIA, L. 66,729—1906. In reply Commissioner Leupp said that it was not the practice to permit persons not connected with the service to obtain copies of annuity rolls or census rolls of Indians and that he thought it unwise to allow copies of the roll to be made. Leupp to Agent Osage Agency, Sept. 4, 1906, OIA, *L. Letter Book 891*, p. 44.

¹¹⁴ Beekman and Dial made lists of tribal members at the drawing. Beekman said: "He got right up in front and was taking down the numbers. I was more decent about it, and took the numbers from farther back". Record of a conversation Dec. 30, 1907, OIA, Series A, *loc. cit.*

listed the names of tribal members, numbered them consecutively, listed numbers drawn and announced at the public lottery, gave the sex of members, their ages and family relation, i. e. head, daughter etc. That was all; yet it was one of the secrets of the Commission and of the Office of Indian Affairs. Had the roll been a pearl of great price the law of supply and demand would have been invoked; and the land agents would doubtless have given Osage county a heritage of charter oaks.¹¹⁵

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs could not have gleaned much from Flanders' general report of January 31, 1908, not obtainable in the reports of the Commission.¹¹⁶ Flanders said that the Indians were receiving fifty dollars and the agents twenty-five dollars for making selections of 160 acres so as to enable cattle companies to block out large pastures, that runners were sent out to see Indians prior to filing, that it was only the shiftless class of Indians who were influenced by the sum offered, and that there was absolutely nothing against the Commission who were honest, hardworking and reliable men. He said Dial admitted that he wrote charges against Peck and had Corndropper and Nah-she-walla to sign them;¹¹⁷ he did not consider Dial "an honest or reliable man," even though he was a warm friend of Congressman McGuire and Agent Millard.¹¹⁸

The investigation seems to have put a quietus to complaints against the Commission. Larrabee said that it was the policy of the Office of Indian Affairs, especially with full bloods, to arrange selections in such manner as to give each Indian the largest possible contiguous acreage, where the quality of the land would permit. And he added that it was believed that the Commission would carry out the policy in such a way as to advance the interests of each Indian.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ In a letter to Leupp on Feb. 3, 1908, Flanders said that he was sending "copies of the rolls" which he gathered up from the land agents doing business in the vicinity. With the exception of the roll given by Jerome to Hayes, Flanders said that the copies were made from the one Criswell gave to Ebey. Flanders' letter and five copies of the roll are filed *ibid*.

Amateurs around the government depositories in Washington, D. C., are sometimes astounded at things persons in the government service sometimes try to keep secret. In Washington one quality of a successful research student is to know how to proceed when he is told, "You can't see that."

¹¹⁶ The report is filed *ibid*.

¹¹⁷ Nah-she-walla signed an affidavit that he had no complaint to make against the Commission for any reason. According to Flanders, Nah-she-walla and Corndropper admitted signing charges, not knowing the nature of them.

¹¹⁸ Flanders to Leupp, Feb. 3, 1908, *loc. cit*. Flanders added that he believed Dr. Hugh Scott "was sent here to frame up something against Mr. Peck, with the view of Doctor Scott getting his place." He observed that the pasture in which Beekman worked was nearer to most of the first and second selections of the full bloods than that in which Dial worked, and he partly attributed Beekman's success to that fact.

¹¹⁹ Larrabee to Corndropper, Feb. 25, 1908, OIA, *L. Letter Book 1033*, pp. 50-51.

According to Flanders, real estate agents had been "successful to a large degree" in locating Indians and securing leases on lands for the purpose of filling out large tracts for pasturage. Superintendent Hugh Pitzer on August 12, 1909, reported that "'locators,' middlemen and agents of cattlemen . . . did a very extensive and energetic business in the way of locating the Indians upon desirable grazing lands as their allotments, taking leases on the lands located and in turn leasing them to cattlemen, so that, in a word, when I assumed charge of this agency last March, the occupancy of all lands of the reservation by white men was under the informal, that is to say illegal, leases or contracts, and in a most chaotic state, highly unsatisfactory to the administration of affairs and financially detrimental to the Indians."¹²⁰ But the devices of the agents of the cattlemen were not altogether wicked. If full-blood Osages could select tracts readily leasable, indeed for cash, what more could they ask? They toiled not, neither did they spin. Pitzer observed that "very few full-blood Indians are devoting any of their time to agriculture or stock-raising," but that "a large majority" would live on the three quarter sections reserved at Pawhuska, Hominy and Gray Horse.¹²¹

Attention may now be turned to the process by which the three selections and the final division of land was made. At the time of the approval of the act of June 28, 1906, there were 1,350 first selections informally filed with the local agent, and these selections were by the terms of the act "ratified and confirmed."¹²² McChesney found that "in many cases" the Indians had understood that tentative allotments were only temporary and that they would be allowed to change the same upon final division of the reservation.¹²³ He said that the theory resulted in a very careless selection, arising from incompetent surveyors, or by selections being made without surveyors or maps. Real estate agents sometimes selected lands for the Indians with a view of leasing the same to cattlemen for pasturage. In some cases the Indian had never seen the land he selected and did not even know the general location of it.

To enable the members of the tribe to correct mistakes in descriptions of lands in their possession and under improvement, four surveying parties, under the supervision of W. S. Hawkins, were organized and placed in different quarters of the reservation. Each allottee was notified as near as possible of the date when the sur-

¹²⁰ Pitzer's report is printed and bound with a copy of *Indian Affairs, 1909*, in the Library of the Indian Office.

¹²¹ Pitzer referred to this state of affairs in his report for 1910, OIA, *Narrative Reports, 1910*. The camp at Pawhuska had a population of about four hundred.

¹²² Cf. Part Two of this series, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XX (Sept. 1942), p. 254. McChesney to Com. Ind. Aff., March 31, 1909, OIA, 25,231—1909—313 Osage. This letter constitutes McChesney's final report; it contains twenty-one pages and reviews the entire work performed by the Commission.

¹²³ McChesney to Com. Ind. Aff., Jan. 1, 1907, OIA, 579 Ind. Div. 1907. The letter reviews the work accomplished by the Commission to January 1, 1907.

veyors would be in the vicinity. In most cases the Indians were present at the time of verification by the surveyors. Of a total of 1,286 selections verified by the close of 1906, fifty-six were discovered to be in error. Of this number of errors, some were found to be six miles away from their allotments, and in one case the allottee was twenty-four miles away; but in the main the errors arose through mistakes of the surveyors in exact location or in mistakes in transcribing the descriptions to rolls. The error of most frequent occurrence was where an allottee had valuable improvements in the valley, but as a matter of fact his allotment as described was on the adjoining hill.¹²⁴ Upon discovery of these errors the parties were notified to come to the office of the Commission and upon proper showing, errors were corrected.

Aside from errors and mistakes the surveyors discovered a great many poor filings, especially by full-blood Indians who made them through misrepresentation or negligence. A large number of applications for change in filings were considered by the Commission and when sufficient equity was shown on the side of the allottee a change of the previous filing was granted. Ninety-eight changes were permitted by the close of 1906. It was found that certain forty-acre tracts contained a portion of the improvements of two or more members of the tribe. The Osage Allotment Act gave prior right of selection to the party having possession and owning improvements. In contest cases the Commission adopted the policy of allowing priority of improvement to govern only in case that the improvement of each party at that time was about equal. No disposition was displayed by contestants to gain the improvements of others without compensation for the same, and the Commission made its awards accordingly. A total of 183 contest cases were heard, wherein the parties appeared in person and by attorneys, and stenographic records were made of the proceedings. In his final report McChesney said that the Commission had "done its best to straighten out these tangles" in the first selections; but that the selection "is not now and never can be entirely satisfactory either to the Commission or to the members of the Tribe, for the reason that it was so informally and carelessly made." During the three months prescribed in the Allotment Act, 500 additional selections were filed with the local agent; and after September 28, 1906, the agent, under the provisions of the act, filed 379 first selection allotments for members of the tribe neglecting or refusing to do so. The first selections were practically completed by January 1, 1907 and were actually completed August 1. The selection aggregated 354,684.95 acres.

On September 30 the Commission raised the question of how far mistakes and errors arising in the first selections should effect and disturb the rights of members making second selections.¹²⁵ It

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ Peck to Com. Ind. Aff., Sept. 30, 1907, OIA, 79,845—1907—313 Osage.

was pointed out that after due notice surveying parties had been sent upon the selections of each member of the tribe to show him the boundaries of his selection and give him an opportunity to make any correction in the same; and that after August 1 the Commission had found it necessary to refuse to make further changes in the first selection in order that some stability might be guaranteed to the members of the tribe making second selections. It was recommended that the Commission be instructed that no change of the first selection should be made which would disturb the rights of a party making the second selection, unless it were shown by a preponderance of the evidence that such mistake in the first selection was made through no fault of the allottee but was chargeable to an officer of the government. And on October 3 the Commission was accordingly instructed.¹²⁶

In September 1906 McChesney closed a half-dozen-page letter of interrogatories with the following sentences: "When the roll shall be opened for the second and third selections, probably 300 members will be present, many of them to select the same land. What method, by lot or otherwise, shall be employed to determine the order of selection?"¹²⁷ In reply Commissioner Leupp said that the matter would be submitted to the Secretary of the Interior for decision.¹²⁸ A fortnight later Acting Commissioner Larrabee sent McChesney the following telegram: "In light of your experience and possible discussion of the subject since your return, what would you suggest as to the best method of making second selection. Report fully by mail as promptly as possible."¹²⁹

In a reply of October 1, McChesney said that there were two methods which suggested themselves to the white commissioners, as the fairest to be pursued in making the selection.¹³⁰ First, it was proposed to draw from a wheel the names of the entire tribe one by one, allowing each member his selection in the order drawn. It was observed that the general lottery system would give every Indian, full blood and half-breed, equal opportunity in the division of lands. To prevent the arrangement from becoming cumbersome it was observed that it would only be necessary for the heads of families to draw, of whom there were about six hundred, and that it would not even be necessary for the heads to be present, since the Commission might ask the Chief or an Indian boy to make the drawing for the several heads of families under the supervision of the Commission. It was proposed that after the drawing a limit be set for the filing of a proportionate number, according to the length

¹²⁶ Larrabee to Osage Allot. Com., Oct. 3, 1907, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 1003, pp. 208-209.

¹²⁷ Letter to Com. Ind. Aff., Sept. 4, 1906, OIA, Land 78,254—1906. The questions were to be taken up in conference when McChesney came to Washington. Leupp to McChesney, Aug. 30, 1906, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 890, p. 112.

¹²⁸ Leupp to McChesney, Sept. 13, 1906, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 893, p. 58.

¹²⁹ Telegram of Sept. 27, 1906, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 897, p. 218.

¹³⁰ McChesney to Com. Ind. Aff., Oct. 1, 1906, OIA, 10,908 Ind. Div. 1906.

of time set apart for making the second selection. "For instance," said McChesney, "the first fifty might be given the first week to make their filings, so many on such and such a day, and notices issued to the effect, and providing that if such filings were not made by the day named, that the Agent or the Commission, as agent for the Agent, will make the filings for such neglecting party."

Secondly, it was proposed that a drawing take place only where there was a controversy in which two or more members of the tribe desired the same land. In this method it was proposed to ignore dates of filing in order to give "the sluggish full blood Indian an equal chance with the wily part-blood. So long as no second member wants a certain tract of land selected by a first member,"¹³¹ said McChesney, "it is a question as to whether the first member should be called upon to draw. If there is nothing to draw for; if there is no dispute, is there a need for drawing? The choice between the two methods seems to depend upon whether or not there will be many or few pieces of land desired by more than one party. Regarding this no one can tell." On the whole McChesney was inclined to think the first method was better than the second. A few days later the Osage National Council, in special session, passed a resolution requesting that the second and third selections of land be made in the regular order in which names appeared on the official roll.¹³² Black Dog supported the resolution.

Commissioner Leupp was favorably disposed to the lottery system, considering it better than the accustomed practice which would give sweeping advantages to the able-bodied and active Indians, and those of mixed blood whose intelligence was superior to that of the bulk of the tribe. But he recommended a modification of the first method outlined by McChesney; he would have two wheels.¹³³ The names of allottees present, written on separate cards, should be put into one wheel, and a corresponding number of figures on separate cards should be placed in the other wheel. Thus if the drawing were to extend over a period of five days, and the names of fifty persons actually or constructively present went into one wheel on the first day, there should be another wheel containing numbers on separate cards running from one to fifty.

Leupp would not entrust the sceptre of fortune to the hand of the Chief, nor to the heads of families; indeed he considered that the clumsy hand of a child might prove nimble enough to stir the

¹³¹ "The simplest way", said an observer, "would be for each member to make his or her selection by written application and description to the Commission, to confirm or reject, and when two, or more, want the same land, then the names be put into a hat and first out, first choice—the defeated one, or ones, to look elsewhere". A. G. Hanback to Ryan, Nov. 21, 1906, 12,131 Ind. Div. 1906.

¹³² The resolution, under date of Oct. 5, 1906, was addressed to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs; it is in Indian Office, 10,908 Ind. Div. 1906. The first half of the roll is made up generally of Indian names; names in the last half are quite English and family names are given.

¹³³ Leupp to Sec. Int., Nov. 3, 1906, OIA, 10,908 Ind. Div. 1906.

ire of those who would inevitably wait long at the drawing for the calling of their names. He said that "two small children"¹³⁴ representing if possible opposing factions or bands in the tribe should be blindfolded and placed one at each wheel, where one could draw out a name and the other a number simultaneously, and that the name and the number should be called aloud and entered on the record. The allottee whose name came out simultaneously with number one should have first choice, number two second choice, etc. Leupp opposed all sales of preferences. In other words he maintained that when an Indian had drawn a number and taken his place in the order of opportunity, he should have no right to dispose of that advantage for gain, but "must hold fast to what has come to him." On November 7, Secretary Hitchcock approved the was given definite instructions in regard to carrying it into execution.¹³⁶

Part Four, which will conclude this series of articles, deals with the dissolution of the Osage reservation by division of lands among members of the tribe, under the provisions of the Osage Allotment Act of 1906. A description will be given of the lottery plan as carried out under the supervision of McChesney, Peck and Black Dog.

(To be continued)

EARLY HISTORY OF ARMSTRONG ACADEMY

By James W. Moffitt

In 1842 a forward step was taken when the Choctaw Council made provision for a comprehensive system of schools. Spencer Academy was opened in 1844 near Doaksville under the auspices of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. In that same year the Methodists established a school at Fort Coffee near Skullyville. Two years later they opened a school for girls called New Hope, also near Fort Coffee. The Council provided money for the support of the Goodwater, Pine Ridge, Wheelock, and Stockbridge schools, which had been founded earlier by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.¹

¹³⁴ Leupp said: "The idea of placing two children at the two wheels is to avoid any foundation for suspicion or collusion or favoritism shown to one band or faction over another. If one child simply drew names from the wheel, and those names were given a relative position on the preference-list in the order in which they were drawn, someone might raise the objection that the child had been instructed how to outwit the lottery in favor of his family's faction as opposed to the other faction. If the children were chosen from divers groups of Indians and make [made] to work simultaneously in the way I have indicated, the opening for suspicion on that head would be reduced to a minimum."

¹³⁵ Hitchcock to Com. Ind. Aff., Nov. 7, 1906, OIA, Land 97,838—1906. was given definite instructions in regard to carrying it into execution.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ Larabee to Osage Allot. Com., Nov. 9, 1906, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 910, pp. 53-56.

¹ Angie Debo, *Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, 1934), 60-61.

In 1844, when the Choctaws decided to establish a school for boys in the western half of Pushmataha District, the Reverend Ramsay D. Potts was selected to take charge of it. The American Indian Mission Association agreed to bear a third of the expense, while the Choctaw Nation made up the remainder of the cost of operation. In a letter to Captain William Armstrong under date of September 1, 1845, Potts described the school as being located "two miles south of the road leading from Fort Towson to Fort Washita, fifty-five miles west of the former and thirty east of the latter. It is near the dividing ridge of the waters of Boggy and Blue river and twenty miles north west of the nearest point of Red River."²

This school was given the name of Armstrong Academy in honor of the popular agent of the Choctaws, Captain William Armstrong.³ It was destined to become an outstanding center of the educational life of the Choctaws for a number of years. The academy really did not get under way until December 2, 1845, because the buildings were completed late.⁴ For the support of the school the Choctaw Council appropriated \$2,900 and the American Indian Mission Association \$1,000 annually.⁵ The school operated under the following trustees: Major William Armstrong, P. P. Pitchlynn, George W. Harkins, Thompson McKenney, and Robert M. Jones.

It was originally planned that the school should take care of thirty-five pupils, but because of the late start on account of the unfinished buildings it was not filled the first year. Of the thirty-three who were enrolled at the opening, twenty-four were full bloods. In their classes eighteen of them began with the alphabet, four with two letters, four with easy reading, three in McGuffey's *First Reader* and two in in the *Second Reader*. The school was attended only by boys and the manual labor plan, which was stressed, consisted chiefly in clearing and cultivating the farm which provided largely for the support of the school.⁶

Armstrong Academy had a good teaching staff: Potts was Superintendent; Mrs. Potts, Mr. and Mrs. P. P. Brown, Jr., and Miss Tabitha Chenoweth were the teachers; and H. V. Jones was the director of the farm. Eventually, several native assistants were added to the staff. This school had as its objectives the Christian-

² O. I. A., School File, A 2148 (The National Archives, Washington). This site is about three and one-half miles northeast of the present town of Bokchito in Bryan County. There was sufficient wood available and a good spring of water, items that were important factors in the choosing of sites in the early days. A small stream flowed through the grounds with enough volume of water to run a grist mill a large part of the year. W. B. Morrison, "Ghost Towns of the Choctaw Nation," *The Daily Oklahoman*, March 22, 1936.

³ Ramsay D. Potts to Isaac McCoy, Providence, Choctaw Nation, December 11, 1844, *Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of the American Indian Mission Association* (Louisville, 1844), 22f.

⁴ Frank Allen Balyeat, *Education in Indian Territory* (Ph. D. Dissertation, Leland Stanford, Junior, University, 1927), 128.

⁵ Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), 70.

⁶ Balyeat, *Education in Indian Territory*, 128.

izing and civilizing of the Choctaws on the manual labor plan. In an interesting report under date of September 11, 1849, Brown gives a graphic account of the academy:

In accordance with the instructions of the Board, I submit the annual report of the literary department of the Institution.

NUMBER OF PUPILS.—The whole number which have attended this session, including day scholars, beneficiaries, those boarded by their parents, and the various changes that have taken place from different causes, is sixty-five. The average attendance has been about fifty-five, which makes our number considerably larger than it has ever been before.

Of the number,

5 studied Algebra;

11 studied Emerson's arithmetic, 3d Part;

24 studied Emerson's arithmetic, 2d Part;

18 studied Emerson's arithmetic, 1st Part;

22 studied Fowle's Geography;

5 read in McGuffey's Fourth Reader;

30 read in McGuffey's Third Reader;

7 read in McGuffey's First Reader;

4 read in Webster's Spelling Book

54 attended to writing; all to spelling;

7 were day scholars;

6 were beneficiaries;

2 were boarded by their parents.

The others were all appropriation pupils, or pupils selected by the Trustees. Our regular number of appropriation pupils is forty five, and is never to exceed this. In this report I include all who have attended any portion of the session. Several changes have taken place; some from death, some from boys leaving school and not returning, and some from expulsions.

Order of Daily Exercises.—During the fall and winter, the first bell rang at 4 o'clock, A.M. for the boys to rise, whose duty was to build fires and sweep out the sitting room. At 5 o'clock all rose, and fifteen minutes after the roll was called. Breakfast took place at 6, after which the boys went to work. At 8 o'clock the bell called the boys together to wash themselves and prepare for school, which convened at half past 8. At 11, fifteen minutes recess was given for rest and recreation. From 12 to 1 an intermission took place for dinner. At 3 o'clock, P.M. another recess of fifteen minutes occurred, the same as in the morning. At 4 school closed, and the boys went to work until supper, which generally took place a little before sunset. After supper the boys assembled in the school room to prepare the morning lessons.⁷

The activities of the Armstrong Academy were directed by the Reverend A. S. Dennison, who succeeded Potts as Superintendent under the appointment of the American Indian Mission Association in 1854. Moffat continued to teach in the academy, serving at the time as pastor of the Philadelphia Baptist Church nearby.⁸

The young and inexperienced Dennison apparently gave up his school work after a brief period and was succeeded by Moffat as Superintendent. An insight into the life of this interesting academy

⁷ Letter from P. P. Brown, Armstrong Academy, Sept. 11, 1849, *The Indian Advocate*, (Louisville), IV (1849), 2.

⁸ *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the American Indian Mission Association* (Louisville, 1854), 19.

during this period is gained from the following letter written under date of August 20, 1855:

Dear Sir: It affords me great pleasure to lay before you and the general government the condition of our academy and station for the past year. Pleasure, for a gradual improvement among our pupils and the people under our charge is perceptible from year to year, but more especially the past. Indeed it remains no longer an unsolved question but that the aborigines of our country, with proper management, can be elevated high in the scale of civilization and moral intelligence.

Since my last report, no material change has taken place in our mission affairs. The mission family consists of myself, wife, and Miss Tabitha Chenowith. Our school and mission affairs have been carried on by us three, assisted a short time by a young man. I acted the part of superintendent, principal, teacher, and farmer.

During part of the winter our school was vacated for the purpose of repairing our buildings. One large building was re-covered. We are now having new chimneys built for two of our buildings. We contemplate building a new house for the use of teachers and other laborers.

The average number of pupils in attendance was forty-three, who were fed and clothed, and four day scholars. All the pupils, with one or two exceptions, made commendable progress in literature. The books studied were as follows: McGuffey's First, Second, Third and Fourth Readers; Webster's and Fowle's spelling books; philosophy, Smith's arithmetic; English grammar; elementary algebra and geography, writing and composition.

During a part of each day all the pupils labored on the farm. We raised about three hundred bushels of wheat, all of which was cut and threshed by the pupils. We planted about sixty-five acres of corn, which we think will yield, at the lowest calculation, fourteen hundred bushels. The oat crop was almost an entire failure.

Besides my labors at the academy, I have tried to impart religious instruction to the people around. As the fruit of my labor in this sphere, I have baptized thirty-six, on a profession of their faith in Christ, and have constituted one church. Our meetings are unusually well attended, and perfect order prevails.

Our mission affairs in the nation have been transferred from the American Indian Mission Association to the Domestic Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, located at Marion, Alabama. As soon as the domestic board can arrange the transfer, it will pay off all past debts, and send a sufficient number of laborers to conduct the affairs of the institution.

I cannot say that I believe that the present school system adopted in the nation is the best, but as considerable money has been expended in the erection of buildings, &c, it may not be better to advise any change in what has been done. But should the national government establish other schools, I would certainly advise the nation to make a change for the better, especially as this is an age of improvement.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

General D. H. Cooper,

A. G. Moffat, Superintendent.

Agent for the Choctaw Indian Nation.⁹

Later that year Armstrong Academy was turned over to the Cumberland Presbyterian Board of Foreign and Domestic Missions, under whose auspices it was conducted until the outbreak of war in 1861.¹⁰

⁹ Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Washington, 1855), 164-165.

¹⁰ Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), I, 214. For the subsequent history of this interesting academy see Morrison, *Military Camps and Posts in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1936), 134-135.

LEROY LONG—TEACHER OF MEDICINE

By Basil A. Hayes

CHAPTER 7

Political and medical society activities were mere side issues, however, with the young Dr. Long. His real great passion, first and last, was the acquisition of knowledge and the development of ability along the line of his chosen profession. As has been pointed out, surgery was just beginning to be developed by the medical professions of Europe and America. During the few short months when he was Demonstrator in Genito-Urinary Diseases at the Louisville Medical College and when he was officing with Dr. Kelly and beginning to get a start, he was not content to loaf. He put in his spare time studying bacteriology in a laboratory which had just been established in the medical school. This brought him into close contact with the work of Pasteur and Lister, and those who have known him well realize that Pasteur was enshrined in his heart as one of the world's greatest benefactors. Twelve years before Dr. Long's graduation, Lister had conceived the idea that germs were the cause of putrefaction and suppuration in wounds. He had read a paper outlining his theory before the Royal Society at Edinburgh, and in this paper he began a new science named by the president of that society "Microscopic Horticulture." Lister had gone on with his experiments, proving that by use of various antiseptics he could prevent suppuration in wounds, but until 1890 the process of surgery was so cumbersome as to make it impractical in most operating rooms; and in 1896, the very year Dr. Long settled in Caddo, made the following statement:

"Hence, I was lead to conclude that it was the grosser forms of septic mischief rather than microbes in the attenuated form in which they exist in the atmosphere that we have to dread in surgical practice. * * * * Nine years later, however, * * * * I was able to bring forward what was I believe absolute demonstration of the harmlessness of the atmospheric dust in surgical operations. This conclusion has been justified by subsequent experience. The irritation of the wound by antiseptic irrigation and washing may, therefore, now be avoided and nature left quite undisturbed to carry out her best methods of repair."

From this time forth the practice of surgery proceeded by leaps and bounds. Hospitals began to observe aseptic technique. Doctors began to equip themselves to do such necessary anatomical opening and closing as might be called for to rid their patients of various dread diseases, particularly in the abdomen. Aseptic dressings and suture materials began to be produced and put up in packages which could be relied upon to be sterile at the time they were needed. About this time the names of John B. Murphy of Northwestern University, George Crile of Cleveland, Howard Kelly of Baltimore, Ochsner of Chicago, and other great American master surgeons began to be broadcast across the length and breadth of the United States. The people began to wake up to the wonders which could

be done by competent hands and slowly lost their sense of horror at hospitals. Medical men in all parts of the United States aspired to be surgeons. Perhaps the best known name of this kind in the southwest was Jabez Jackson, of Kansas City, who was an old visitor to Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory. Not only was he a visitor but he had become an actual member of the Indian Territory Medical Association, reading papers before it and taking part in the discussion with members of this body. Binnie and Frick, of Kansas City, likewise traveled through the territories a great deal and were well known to the men practicing in Oklahoma. A. B. Bernays, of St. Louis, had done the first abdominal surgery west of the Mississippi in St. Louis in 1894, and the news spread throughout channels of communication until the people of Indian Territory became desirous of the possibilities of its healing efficiency.

To a trained anatomist like Dr. Long, this was the beginning of a great challenge. He made frequent pilgrimages to St. Louis, Kansas City, and Chicago, visiting the clinics of all well known doctors. In this way he not only met but became intimate with Murphy and Ochsner. He had done emergency surgery in North Carolina, such as strangulated hernias, and the minor operations which he had done early in his career in Caddo, without proper help or assistance, had slowly ripened his judgment and skill until now he was ready for the next great advance. His brother, Dr. Tom Long, had entered the medical school in New Orleans in 1897, and at the end of one year came to Caddo for a vacation. It was the custom at this time for students to practice between their years of training, and Dr. LeRoy Long found a location for his brother in Bennington, a small village near Caddo, where if he got into trouble he could call for help; and at the same time when Dr. Long needed assistance, he could use his brother. This encouraged him to attempt more surgery than the average general practitioner was able to do at that time. By reason of this and his frequent visits to clinics as well as his habit of reading medical literature during all of his spare time, he stood in the front rank of those who were prepared to do surgery as the specialty developed. In keeping with this desire for association with leading men of his profession, he was an original member of the "Tri-State Medical Association," a group of men from Missouri, Kansas, and Oklahoma, who met yearly and listened to scientific programs of unusual merit.

Dr. Fulton tells of an occasion in 1906 or 1907, when he and Dr. Long took their wives with them to Chicago and attended clinics. During the first two weeks Dr. Fulton made no notes of the lectures and one day in a casual conversation with Dr. Long, he remarked that he wished he had done so. Dr. Long replied that if he would get paper and pencil, he would give them to him from memory. Dr. Fulton eagerly got his paper and pencil, and Dr. Long dictated to him a transcript of the work which they had seen

for the past few weeks. Dr. Fulton has those notes today, and the detail which is contained in them is amazing. An example follows:

"Tuberculosis of Knee—Murphy.

Patient had treatment of two percent Formalin solution but tissues broke down and nothing farther along this line can be done.

Operation: The patella sawed into capsule, cartilages and all soft tissues removed. The patella wired together and wound closed after removal of much diseased tissue.

Drainage: Put in after entire field was mopped over with pure carbolic acid and again mopped over thoroughly for one minute with alcohol. The patella is wired with bronzed wire. Posterior splint with adhesive straps to hold foot into position. After forty-eight hours put on Buck's Extension. The great trouble is hemorrhage. Give six drops of adrenalin and repeat if necessary. As soon as wound is healed, begin x-ray. Expect ankylosis of joint. After one or one and one-half years will break up ankylosis and do an osseous flap operation. Later it is found that there was no tubercle bacilli but that it was a mixed infection. Think tuberculosis has disappeared. The above flap should be described as arthroplastic operation, consists of interposing fascia and fat between the joint surfaces and done after one and one-half to two and one-half years after bony union."

"Injury to Skull—Murphy.

Slow pulse. Indicates fracture of base. If below 40, almost certain to have fracture of base. Have seen pulse of 18 in fracture of base of brain. In case of hemorrhage from middle meningeal artery ligate at once with temporary number four catgut. Not tight enough to cause clot in artery but just tight enough to stop bleeding. Remove as soon as you trephine. Keep patient in bed (recumbent position) with head injury for six weeks. Getting up early contribute to epilepsy. All fractures at base do not die. Have known case of epilepsy twenty-two years after fracture of base. Treatment of all head injuries not operable is rest and ice cap to head."

There is page after page of this sort of thing; each title discussed in a brief and pungent paragraph, giving the essential features of the lecture.

A partial list of other clinics given by Murphy, Ryerson, Ochsner, and others, described from memory in the same accurate way as these two examples, is as follows:

The use of Gibney dressing for sprained ankle—Murphy.

Tuberculous foci of condyle of femur—Ryerson.

Tuberculosis of the prostate gland—A. J. Ochsner.

Appendicitis sinus after operation—Ochsner.

Tuberculosis of glands, Submaxillary—Ochsner.

Pyemia in a young man—Murphy.

Traumatic synovitis of Shoulder Joint—Murphy.

Glass in Arm—Murphy.

Bursa on Rib—Murphy.

Tuberculosis of Skin Ulcer—Murphy's Clinic.

Keloid Following Burn—Murphy.

Hydrops of Knee joint—Murphy.

Angioma of Wrist—Murphy.

Mastitis—Murphy.

How many men would be able to carry two weeks of lectures of scientific information in their heads, then sit down and dictate them to another man?

In McAlester, for the first time, he had the advantage of a hospital in which to work. This was the All Saints Hospital, an Episcopal institution, and here he was able to develop his own ideas of technique and management of patients. When he moved to McAlester, he had merely intended to continue his work as a general doctor, but slowly as his surgical ability was demonstrated, he did more and more of this and finally had to drop general work altogether because his surgical practice was so heavy that he had no time for making calls. Due to his keen interest in all forms of research, his constant searching of literature, and his fanatical desire to relieve his patients of suffering as much as possible, he began very early to seek ways and means for relieving patients of post-operative distention of the intestine. Early in his career it appealed to him as unphysiological to irritate the intestinal tract of a patient by means of a severe cathartic just before opening him up on the operating table. When he saw case after case of abdominal distention after operations, he became convinced that not only the pre-operative cathartic but the post-operative cathartic should be left off. Being very slow and deliberate in his reasoning, he took plenty of time to prove to himself the correctness of his belief before expressing his views to others. Meanwhile his own patients in McAlester were enjoying the benefits of surgery without undergoing the suffering of gas pains, which all other patients were suffering after operations. Finally along about 1910, he read a paper on this subject at the Tri-State Medical Association, and was violently disagreed with by the leading surgeons who heard him. Jabez Jackson was particularly opposed but two years later came to McAlester, looked him up, and said, "I have made this trip to apologize to you. I thought you were a fool, but I eventually tried your plan and proved to myself that you were right."

This plan was instituted among Dr. Long's patients in McAlester in 1910 and 1911. He was the first surgeon in America to withhold pre-operative and post-operative cathartics. All others were giving a preliminary cathartic the day before operation and were giving another three days after operation, and they continued to do this until 1920 or thereabouts. Today in practically every hospital in America, pre and post-operative catharsis is unknown. The logical outgrowth of this view is the withholding of cracked ice and cold water during the first two or three post-operative days. It also is the idea of LeRoy Long.

It is interesting to read in Dr. Long's own words how his mind reached the conclusion that cathartics should be omitted in surgery. This is from the Chairman's address, Section on Surgery, May 15, 1918, Oklahoma State Medical Association, Tulsa.

"I have called attention to the dangerous use of cathartics in appendicitis because that is a common—almost a daily sin that is being committed. Appendicitis being by far the most frequent acute abdominal condition beginning with pain, the greater number of disasters following the

giving of cathartics occur in connection with that disease; but I have seen the same thing in connection with a perforation of a gastric duodenal ulcer, in connection with an empyema of the gallbladder, in connection with intestinal obstruction, in connection even with ruptured extra-uterine pregnancy. There is another traditional and time honored procedure to which even some surgeons continue to bow down as if it were a mystic God to be worshiped, and that is the routine administration of cathartics after operations in the abdomen. They are especially anxious that this be done if there is a prolonged post-operative nausea, tympany, or abdominal distress; and as a result we too often see cases of over-looked acute dilation of the stomach, post-operative ileus, and only too frequently, death.

This fetich of giving a cathartic after operations is one before which all of us have at one time or another bowed down, and I must confess that it took me a long time to get away from it. It took a long time because it seemed that a departure from it would be an iconoclastic procedure fraught with some risk since many of our great clinicians carried it out as a routine procedure. I recall that on one occasion while attending the clinic of one of the widely known gynecological surgeons in an eastern city, I asked him about his practice in connection with cathartics after operations. He replied that patients operated upon in the morning were started on half grain doses of calomel hourly at midnight.

Just before this time I had the misfortune of having a case of post-operative ileus. I operated for the ileus and to my great joy, the patient recovered; that is, she recovered so far as saving her life was concerned; but she recovered with a crippled abdomen that will be an ever present menace for the remainder of her days. However, I felt so elated over my success that I reported the case at a medical meeting, calling attention especially to the technique employed. Sometimes afterwards in a moment of mature and honest reflection, I wondered how much the routine post-operative cathartic might have had to do with the production of the ileus. Thereafter, tentatively, at first, I began to drift away from this false fetich at whose shrine I had been trying to find a place to worship with the numerous throng always found before it. As I gradually learned the value of gastric lavage, of the colon tube for gas, of the hypodermatic use of small doses of morphine as necessary to keep the patient comfortable, of forgetting about the bowels moving for several days and then if necessary, a low enema of a few ounces of glycerine with enough warm water to make a pint—never over a pint—as I learned these things I renounced my allegiance to the foolish tradition of post-operative catharsis. Years have come and gone since that time but notwithstanding the considerable increase in the volume of my work, I have not had to record a single case of post-operative ileus nor have I had any reason to feel otherwise and am sincerely thankful that I have totally abandoned the procedure which I am convinced is fallacious and dangerous."

Finally in November, 1922, he contributed an article to "Surgery, Gynecology, and Obstetrics" entitled "Harmful Use of Cathartics After Abdominal Operations," in which he reviewed the evidence for and against the use of cathartics and presented overwhelming reasons why they should not be used. In this contribution he stated that for eleven years he had not used them and that he had not seen a case of post-operative ileus in all that time in his own work. For eleven years he allowed his judgment to ripen and his proofs to pile up before placing it before the entire world and putting it down as a settled teaching of surgery! This is characteristic of the conservatism of the man. Many other minor ideas of

his have been adopted by leading surgeons, such as large, heavy abdominal dressings which splint the abdomen and decrease the amount of morphine necessary for post-operative comfort. One of his guiding principles as a surgeon was that patients are entitled to be as comfortable and free from pain as possible while going through the ordeal of an operation.

Perhaps one of the finest things about the life of Dr. Long was his unexampled presence in the sick room. Twice every day and oftener if necessary, he made rounds, seeing each and every patient without fail and giving them an opportunity to describe their suffering to him personally. Being very methodical, he carried their names in a little booklet and always before leaving the hospital, he took the book out and checked down the list of names, being certain that he had overlooked no one. Never did he enter a sick room with a hurried manner and never did he fail to take ample time to make a complete examination of the patient as well as of the record made by the nurse during the time he was not there. It was his usual custom to first go to the nurse's desk, get out the patient's chart, and take it with him into the sick room. Here he would carefully look over the record, including the nurse's notes, the laboratory sheets, temperature chart, as well as the record of diet, elimination, and medication. Having satisfied himself about all these details, he queried the patient as to any particulars which seemed important. He then slowly and methodically made a complete examination, giving the patient ample opportunity to talk and listening gravely and attentively to everything which was said. This done, he took care of the wound or if it was not a surgical case, he wrote fresh orders, explained to the patient that he was making certain changes, bade him good day and departed. During all this time his gentle, kindly face expressed the utmost sympathy and concern for the patient, thereby impressing the latter with the fact that his case was being handled by a man in whom he could have implicit faith and confidence. Never did he allow office appointments or other calls to make him hurry away from these rounds. In modern times one often hears patients complain that they never see their doctor more than a moment after he operates upon them. Such was not the case with Dr. LeRoy Long, and the patient who once was taken care of by him remained so completely his friend that ever after he was difficult to satisfy with any other physician or surgeon.

Not only did Dr. Long handle his patients in this manner, but he taught every student who came under his influence to follow the same methods with the result that his teaching is written large on the lives of the people of Oklahoma through the men who are now treating them.

Meanwhile his zeal for knowledge had continued unabated and in company with a number of other leading surgeons of America,

he had gone to Europe in 1913, where he had visited clinics in Paris, Brussels, Berlin, and London under the leadership of Professor DeGormo, of New York City. Thus he became well acquainted with nationally known and even internationally known figures; and as ever, with each new addition to his knowledge, his horizon widened and his grasp of the practice of medicine and surgery were ever surer and more certain. What better training could a man have to take the leadership of a medical school in the forming? While he was doing this, the baby school was being formed in the western part of the state.

CHAPTER 8

Thus far we have been concerned with Indian Territory and the career of LeRoy Long as he practiced medicine at Caddo and McAlester. All this time, however, things were happening in the unsettled lands to the west of Indian Territory, and which were known as Oklahoma Territory. This country was opened to settlement on April 21, 1889, and along with the settlers came doctors of various kinds. About one year later a meeting was held in Guthrie for the purpose of organizing a Territorial Medical Association. The effort was unsuccessful and another was held in Edmond for the same purpose, but it likewise failed. Meanwhile three local societies had been organized and were functioning, one in Guthrie, one in Oklahoma City, and one in El Reno. Notwithstanding this, the Oklahoma Medical Journal was begun in January, 1893 at Guthrie by Drs. E. O. Barker, H. P. Halsted, and Joseph Pinquard. In March of that year, it published the following editorial:

"Is it not about time for the doctors of this Territory to organize a Territorial Medical Society? Every state and territory except Oklahoma has a successful medical society, and Oklahoma with three hundred or more physicians without a territorial society is behind the times. We as practitioners, if we hope to keep to the front and alive to the advance of medical science, must have a place where we can meet and exchange ideas and form more friendly and closer relations.

The Journal wishes to propound the following questions, and upon the answers will depend the organization of a Territorial Medical Society.

- Question 1. Doctor, are you willing to lend your presence and what other assistance you can to the organization of a Territorial Medical Society?
- Question 2. What place, in your opinion, would be the most satisfactory for the physicians to meet for organization?
- Question 3. In your opinion, what date would be most acceptable to the profession?

If sufficient answers are received, showing a desire on the part of the doctors of the Territory for an organization, we will issue a call through the Journal, at a time and place indicated by the answers to the foregoing questions.

We hope that each doctor will take sufficient interest to drop us a card immediately."

Evidently the appeal was successful and aroused a good response for in the next issue we find the following:

"Territorial Call of Physicians"

"The physicians of Oklahoma Territory will meet in Oklahoma City, on May 9, 1893, for the purpose of organizing a Territorial Medical Society. The answers to the questions in the last months Journal in reference to a territorial organization have been sufficient in number to make it advisable; a large number of physicians having responded with their approval of such a movement.

From the answers received, we find that the most suitable place is Oklahoma City, and the time May 9th.

In order to expedite business when we do meet, we will make the hour 3:30 P. M. at the Grand Avenue Hotel."

Accordingly, on the date specified, a group of doctors met in the commercial clubrooms of the Grand Avenue Hotel and organized themselves into the Oklahoma Territorial Medical Association. The meeting was called to order by Dr. W. R. Thompson, of Oklahoma City, and Dr. E. O. Barker, of Guthrie, was elected temporary Chairman. A committee of five on permanent organization was appointed by the Chair, consisting of Dr. C. A. Cravens, of Oklahoma City, Dr. J. A. Overstreet, of Kingfisher, Dr. W. B. Camp, of Tecumseh, Dr. N. W. Mayginnes, of Stillwater, and Dr. H. B. Halsted, of Guthrie.

The meeting then elected Dr. Delos Walker, of Oklahoma City, president of the new association. The committee on Constitution and By-Laws recommended the adoption of the constitution and by-laws of the Indian Territory Medical Society with the following changes; viz., the dues one dollar per year instead of two dollars per year. A scientific program was then heard and the meeting adjourned to convene again November 2nd and 3rd, 1893 at El Reno. Meetings were then held semi-annually in Oklahoma City, Guthrie, El Reno, Norman, and Shawnee, until 1904, at which time the Association was reorganized along the lines laid down by the American Medical Association; and six months later it was decided to dispense with the fall meeting and merely have one annual meeting in the month of May. The following men were the charter members:

W. H. Clutter, Oklahoma City; J. M. Carson, El Reno; W. H. Snow, Norman; E. J. Trader, Council Grove; N. W. Mayginnes, Stillwater; DeLos Walker, Oklahoma City; J. R. McElvain, Oklahoma City; T. A. Cravens, Oklahoma City; J. A. Hatchett, El Reno; H. P. Halstead, Guthrie; B. L. Applewhite, Tecumseh; S. M. Barnes, Stillwater; W. McKay Dougan, Perry; A. A. Davis, El Reno; J. A. Overstreet, Kingfisher; J. E. Fenlon, Norman; J. M. Still, Noble; C. D. Arnold, El Reno; A. H. Jackson, El Reno; C. B. Bradford, Oklahoma City; J. A. Ryan, Oklahoma City; E. O. Barker, Guthrie.

This Association continued to meet regularly until the year 1906, at which time it merged with the Indian Territory Medical Association to make one Oklahoma State Medical Association after statehood.

Meanwhile the men who were living inside Oklahoma City had visions of a medical school, both for the purpose of providing a place for the sons and daughters of Oklahomans to attend school as well as to enhance their own glory. Inasmuch as medical education was in a state of restricted freedom, there was nothing to prevent any group of doctors from uniting themselves and beginning a school, however small it might be. Medical education in North America had been slowly developing from colonial days, at which time physicians were usually clergymen for whom medicine was a companion profession. For more than a century and a half, there was no university north of Mexico City in which medicine was taught, but in 1800 there were five medical schools in the United States. They were as follows:

Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania.
Columbia College.
Harvard University.
Dartmouth College.
Transylvania College.

By 1860 these had increased to sixty-six in number, twenty of which disappeared during the Civil War.

The American Medical Association was first called together in 1846 and again in 1847, at which time it adopted the name it now carries. While it was first called together to advance the standards of medical education, nothing was done about it for many years; and the degree of doctor of medicine was granted by medical societies, who set up certain standards of preceptor training and examination for membership. In 1891 the Association of American Medical Colleges was organized. Harvard University increased the length of its medical course to four years during the following year, and in 1893 Johns Hopkins Medical School was founded. The American Medical Association published statistics on the medical school situation in 1900, and four years later created a permanent Council on Medical Education. In Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory during these years, there was little control over the practice of medicine. The right to practice was given into the hands of the secretary of the Territorial Board of Health. This secretary was appointed by the Governor of the Territory, who in turn was appointed by the President of the United States. Under such an arrangement political influence was naturally very strong and ordinarily the secretary of the Territorial Board of Health required no examination of those seeking to practice medicine or surgery nor did he even require a diploma from a recognized school of medicine. It is natural, therefore, that under such conditions medical men who attempted to uphold standards of practice were quite disturbed and made an honest endeavor to bring about laws for the protection of the public.

In spite of all this, however, the demand for doctors was great and the need was acute. In May, 1901, the Northern and Southern

Methodist Churches of Oklahoma county united and established Epworth University in Oklahoma City. Its first president was Reverend R. B. McSwain, and it began operations immediately in all academic subjects. It was even ambitious enough to establish a college of medicine, electing as members of the faculty Dr. A. K. West, Dr. H. Coulter Todd, Dr. Lea A. Riely, Dr. U. L. Russell, Dr. F. C. Hoops, Dr. J. A. Ryan, and Dr. W. J. Jolly. These members were chosen on July 6, 1904, and were instructed to begin functioning as a medical school regardless of equipment or apparatus. Dr. A. K. West was Dean and Dr. H. Coulter Todd was Secretary.

They opened school on September 7, 1904 with three students, and continued to operate until they merged with the University of Oklahoma. Not one of the three original students ever obtained a degree in medicine. The members of the faculty had no hospital to work in and used their private patients as teaching material. On paper it looked good, and the curriculum of the school reached a total of almost four thousand hours, requiring a four years' course. In its catalogue it said:

"The efficiency of its work is evidenced by its membership in the Southern Association of Medical Colleges."

By the second year, the faculty had increased to twenty men. The Out-Patient Department was on Reno Street between Hudson and Harvey Avenues. A civic minded woman named Kate Barnard assisted in the care of this clinic and when a patient came in, would call one of the faculty members to come down and take care of him.

In 1907 the College of Medicine separated itself from Epworth University. A corporation was organized, consisting of twenty-one stockholders, each of whom paid in one thousand dollars. With this money the Angelo Hotel, on the northwest corner of Sixth and Broadway, was purchased and equipped for the medical school. No salary was paid to the teachers, and all money from tuition was put into equipment. Each year the school became better equipped and furnished, and during the third year its faculty had grown to twenty-four men. The next year there were thirty teachers and during the following year the number rose to thirty-nine.

Meanwhile the University of Oklahoma, which had been founded in 1890, was conducting courses in chemistry, histology, anatomy, and embryology and calling them premedical courses. The number of these courses slowly increased, and in 1900 the President of the University recommended to the Board of Regents that these courses be known definitely as a group; that a school of medicine be established; and that Dr. L. N. Upjohn, a physician, be appointed as head of the premedical department, Director of Physical Culture, and Professor of Anatomy, at a salary of one thousand dollars a year. These recommendations were adopted. Six years later Dr. Roy Pilson Stoops, a local practicing physician, was made Acting Dean. A sub-department of Pathology and Bacteriology was estab-

lished in the Department of Botany. In 1908, Dr. Charles Sharpe Bobo, another practicing physician, was made Dean of the School. Along with him was Dr. Walter L. Capshaw, Professor of Anatomy, and Dr. L. A. Turley, Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology, to which was added histology and physiology. Dr. Turley was at this time the only full time member of the faculty of the School of Medicine and acted as assistant dean. Through his efforts a department of physiology was established in 1908, bacteriology in 1912, histology and embryology in 1920, biochemistry and pharmacology in 1924.

In 1909 the school was inspected by the Council on Medical Education of the American Medical Association, the inspection being made by Dr. Abraham Flexner. His report stated:

"Because of the requirements for admission, the faculty, the facilities for carrying on study, and the courses included in the curriculum, I recommend that the Medical School of the University of Oklahoma be given a rating of "A"."

During the summer of 1910, the burden of running the College of Medicine at Oklahoma City became too great for its faculty members; and a committee of the faculty, composed of Drs. Buxton, West, and Todd was sent to the authorities of the University of Oklahoma to ascertain if the University would take over the College of Medicine and make it a part of the University. The Board of Regents looked favorably on the proposition and entered an agreement with the authorities of the Epworth University College of Medicine, which agreement was as follows:

1. That the University of Oklahoma would accept students of the Epworth University without question as to their admission, requirements or previous work and allow these students to proceed with their medical education from the point where the records of the Epworth University showed that they had arrived.

2. That the University of Oklahoma issue to all graduates of Epworth University College of Medicine a diploma and a degree of doctor of medicine.

3. That in consideration of the above pledge on the part of the Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma, the Epworth College agreed to discontinue the medical school and all instruction in medical subjects; but that the stockholders of Epworth College retain all property belonging to it.

This agreement was approved by the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals and the Association of American Colleges, and established the last two clinical years of the medical school of the University of Oklahoma. The University of Oklahoma received forty-seven students in the various years of the medical course but no buildings, laboratories, clinics, or supplies. The Epworth College ceased giving medical instruction, and the University of Oklahoma assumed the moral obligation of the Epworth School. In carrying out this agreement, it became necessary that the office of Dean be moved to Oklahoma City. At the same time the school was given a "B" rating because of its weakness in clinical facilities.

(To be continued)

MINUTES OF THE
MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
of the
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
January 28, 1943

The annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, January 28, 1943, with Judge Robert L. Williams, President, presiding.

The roll call showed the following members present: Judge Robert L. Williams, Judge Thomas H. Doyle, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mrs. Jessie E. Moore, Hon. George L. Bowman, Dr. E. E. Dale, Hon. Thomas J. Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Hon. J. B. Milam, Mr. H. L. Muldrow, Judge Baxter Taylor, Mrs. John R. Williams and James W. Moffitt, the Secretary.

Hon. George L. Bowman discussed the matter of holding the annual meeting at Kingfisher, and moved that we dispense with the annual meeting this year on account of gas and rubber restrictions, which was set to be held at Kingfisher in May of this year. The motion was seconded and carried and the Board expressed regret to the people of Kingfisher that the war condition made it necessary for this action to be taken.

The Secretary read the minutes of the special meeting of the Board held at Tulsa, January 4, 1943, and there being no objection the minutes stood approved as read.

Judge Robert A. Hefner moved that all absentees be excused on account of the inclement weather. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Secretary read the report of the election of five Board members as follows:

In accordance with Section 2, Article 3 of the Constitution, the President and Secretary opened the ballots January 26, 1943, and with the Chief Clerk and Collector and Solicitor acting as tellers, the results were as follows: W. J. Peterson received 225 votes, Thomas H. Doyle received 235 votes, A. N. Leecraft received 242 votes, Edward C. Lawson received 230 votes, Mrs. J. Garfield Buell received 205 votes and Mrs. Edward M. Box received 134 votes.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved that the five receiving the highest number of votes be declared elected for the ensuing five year terms. Motion was seconded and carried.

Hon. George L. Bowman asked to be excused from further attendance at this meeting as he had an important committee meeting awaiting him in the legislature, which request was granted.

The Secretary reported the gift of two quilts for the museum, a memorial quilt from the Stonewall Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy containing the names of relatives of the members in World War II; and a victory quilt made by the Ladies Auxiliary of the Veterans of Foreign Wars Post No. 1857, each with a request that these quilts be framed. The President offered to furnish walnut lumber, if same which he had met specifications, for the frames if the Society would pay the transportation charges.

Hon. J. B. Milam moved that the Society pay the transportation charges on this lumber from the private funds of the Society. Motion was seconded and Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Vice President, put the motion which carried.

The Secretary stated that the Ancel Earp & Company had presented the notice of the premium due on the bond of the Treasurer of the Society in the sum of \$15.00.

Mrs. Frank Korn moved that the premium on this bond in the sum of \$15.00 be paid out of the private funds of the Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Robert L. Williams presented to the Society for the archives the following books, which had been secured through the efforts of Hon. Paul Walker and Judge J. W. Madden both of Washington, D. C.:

A volume containing the records of the Court of Claims, No. 21,139 in the case of the Delaware Indians vs. the Cherokee Nation and the appendix to the records in said case in the United States Supreme Court October 3, 1899; No. 337 United States vs. the Choctaw Nation et al. No. 338 Wichita Band et al. vs. United States et al. No. 339 Choctaw Nation et al. vs. United States et al. the attorneys being J. M. Wilson, George T. Barnes for the Choctaws and H. E. Payne for the Chickasaws. Also Congressional No. 17641, in the Court of Claims of the United States, the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations vs. The United States, the attorneys being Harry W. Blair, Assistant Attorney General, George T. Stormont and Wilfred Hearn. Also same number in the Court of Claims of the United States—The Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations vs. The United States of America, the attorneys being Carl McFarland, Assistant Attorney General, George Stormont and Wilfred Hearn. Another in the Court of Claims of the United States of America, petition filed July 8, 1931, and the Congressional No. 17641 The Choctaw and Chickasaw Nation, a brief and request on behalf of the Choctaw Nation.

Mrs. Frank Korn moved that Hon. Paul Walker and Judge J. W. Madden be thanked for this contribution to our library. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Blanche Lucas moved that the Board extend its thanks to the '89ers Association for the co-operation they have given us in preserving the history of the State. Motion was seconded and carried.

The question of accepting gifts of clothing, etc. for the museum was discussed, and Judge Baxter Taylor moved that a committee of three be appointed to consider these requests and make recommendations to the Board. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President appointed the following committee: Judge Baxter Taylor, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour and Mr. H. L. Muldrow, to serve in this capacity.

Dr. E. E. Dale presented an autographed copy of his address on the Cheyenne-Arapaho Country.

Mrs. Frank Korn moved that it be accepted and that Doctor Dale be thanked for this addition to the library. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore moved that the Board give Doctor Dale a memorial of appreciation for the books on the history of Oklahoma that he has written. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President read the following list of applicants for annual membership in the Society:

Elizabeth Boarman, Norman; Richard W. Burkhardt, Tulsa; Hugh W. Carden, Birmingham, Alabama; W. Max Chambers, Okmulgee; Boris B. Gordon, Washington, D. C.; T. B. Hall, Pawhuska; Gen. Stonewall Jackson, Camp Gruber, Okla.; Mrs. O. F. Leitner, Okarche; Doris Lee Looney, Tulsa; Mrs. W. V. McClure, Muskogee; Mrs. Edna Porter, Tonkawa; Mrs. George Rainey, Enid; Col. Horace Speed, Jr., Spokane, Washington; Mrs. Ernest Sullivan, Oklahoma City; Doris Loraine Turner, Tulsa; Violet Willis, Pawhuska and Seth Wilson, Pawhuska.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle moved that they be accepted and received as annual members of the Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. H. L. Muldrow, chairman of the Map Committee, reported that the only bid received for a map case for the library was that of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company, which was \$895.00 for an all-glass map case 44-7/8" by 65" by 43-3/4" deep, with eleven shelves.

Mrs. John R. Williams moved that this bid be accepted and the contract let to the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President announced that the map committee consisting of Mr. H. L. Muldrow, chairman, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour and James W. Moffitt would be continued to see that the contract with the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company was carried out.

Mrs. S. C. Wheeler and Mrs. L. P. Lawrence, sponsors of the quilt given by the Auxiliary of the Veterans of Foreign Wars appeared and were received and thanked for their quilt.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved that the quilts from the Stonewall Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Auxiliary of the Veterans of Foreign Wars be accepted and that each organization be thanked for these additions to the museum. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle asked to be excused from further attendance at this meeting, which request was granted.

Mr. H. L. Muldrow announced that he had secured for the library all of the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Indian Territory, all of Oklahoma Territory except two and all of the State of Oklahoma up to date.

The President announced that Governor Robert S. Kerr had presented an autographed copy of his inaugural address for the archives.

Mr. H. L. Muldrow moved that it be accepted and placed in the archives division of the vault, and Governor Kerr be thanked for same. Motion was seconded and carried.

Hon. J. B. Milam announced that Judge Robert L. Williams had secured copies of the joint meetings of the Bar Association of Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory up to September 17, 1904, and moved that he be thanked for his contribution to the library. Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Vice President, put the motion which had been duly seconded, and it was carried.

Hon. J. B. Milam presented to the Society a bound volume of the *Message of the Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation with declaration of the Cherokee people as to the causes which led them to withdraw from their connection with the United States*, the gift of Mr. Lester Hargrett of Washington, D. C.

Mrs. John R. Williams moved that it be accepted and Mr. Hargrett be thanked for this gift. Motion was seconded and carried.

Hon. J. B. Milam presented to the Society a Cherokee banner, showing the seal of the Cherokee Nation.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved that the banner be received and that Mr. Milam be thanked for this contribution to the museum, and that a committee of one be appointed to invite the other four nations of the Civilized Tribes to present like banners for the museum. The motion was seconded and carried, and the President appointed Mrs. Jessie E. Moore to convey this request to the Choctaws, the Creeks, the Seminoles and the Chickasaws.

Mrs. Frank Korn, chairman of the committee to secure miniatures of the "First Ladies of Oklahoma" reported that she had secured the promise of one miniature.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Treasurer, read her annual report and same was filed for preservation.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Treasurer, also read her report on the Robert L. Owen portrait fund.

The President presented Mr. Boris B. Gordon, the artist who painted the Robert L. Owen and the Robert L. Williams portraits.

Judge Robert A. Hefner moved that a committee of three be appointed, with Hon. J. B. Milam as chairman, to consider the purchase of the Robert L. Williams portrait. Motion was seconded and Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Vice President, put the motion which carried, and she appointed Mrs. Frank Korn and Judge Robert A. Hefner also on this committee.

The President appointed the following advisory committee on appropriation, in addition to the regular committee, Mr. H. L. Muldrow, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Mrs. John R. Williams.

Dr. E. E. Dale discussed the Indian material pertaining to Oklahoma, which is housed in the Indian Agency at Albuquerque, New Mexico.

The meeting was adjourned subject to the call of the President.

ROBERT L. WILLIAMS,
President.

JAMES W. MOFFITT,
Secretary

NECROLOGY

JOSEPH HUCKINS, Jr.

1870-1933

Joseph Huckins, Jr., born May 14, 1870 at St. Louis, Missouri, 12th & Olive Streets, and died August 24, 1933 at the original Huckins Homestead at Effingham Falls, New Hampshire, (interment at Oklahoma City), was the son of Joseph Huckins, Sr. and his wife, Augusta (Stock) Huckins.

His grandfather and grandmother were Nicholas E. and Nancy Shute Huckins of Effingham Falls, New Hampshire, and his father was a hotel man and for a time connected with the Parker House in Boston, Massachusetts and later in the hotel business at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D. C. and then with the Planters Hotel in St. Louis and the Palmer House in Chicago, Illinois.

Joseph Huckins III, son of Joseph Huckins, Jr. and his wife, Olive Mills Huckins, who died October 26, 1934, and was interred at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, comprise ten generations from 1620. A Huckins ancestor to whom trace is made back to 1620 through Robert Huckins is Charles E. Huckins of the Revolutionary War for whom a monument was erected in Woburn, Massachusetts.

The said Joseph Huckins, Jr. and his wife, Olive Mills Huckins, had two children, a son, Joseph Huckins III, who is an officer in the Military Service of his country in World War 2, and a daughter, Mrs. Glory Huckins Morris of Houston, Texas, active in U. S. O. Joseph Huckins III has a 17 year old daughter, Patricia.

Joseph Huckins, Jr. was chairman of the Citizens Advisory Capitol Committee, created by the Oklahoma State Capitol Commission to advise with said Commission in the construction of said Capitol building and he and the other members thereof rendered valuable service in said respect.¹

At the time of his death he was president of the Huckins Hotel Company which at that time operated the Huckins Hotel at Oklahoma City and six other hotels. Starting in the hotel business at the age of 17 years, he saw the family's hotel enterprise expand from a 60-room hostelry at Texarkana, Arkansas to the Huckins Hotel, Oklahoma City, the Vendome Hotel at Knoxville, Tennessee, Huckins Hotel, Sedalia, Missouri, Caddo Hotel, Shreveport, Louisiana, Westbrook Hotel at Fort Worth, Texas, and the Kemp Hotel at Wichita Falls, Texas, the Oxford Hotel at Enid, Oklahoma, the Marion Hotel at Little Rock, Arkansas, the Majestic at Hot Springs, Arkansas, the Paxton at Omaha, Nebraska, the William Len, Memphis, Tennessee and the Sir Francis Drake in San Francisco, California.

As his health began to fail and for that reason partially retiring from business activity, his brother, Marquand Huckins, Secretary of the Company, succeeded to the management of the Hotel at Oklahoma City and a brother, Paul G. Huckins, Vice President and Treasurer, succeeded to the management of the remaining hotels, except the Sir Francis Drake Hotel which was managed by his brother, Leon Huckins. A sister, Mrs. Horace Carpenter of Shreveport, Louisiana, also survives.

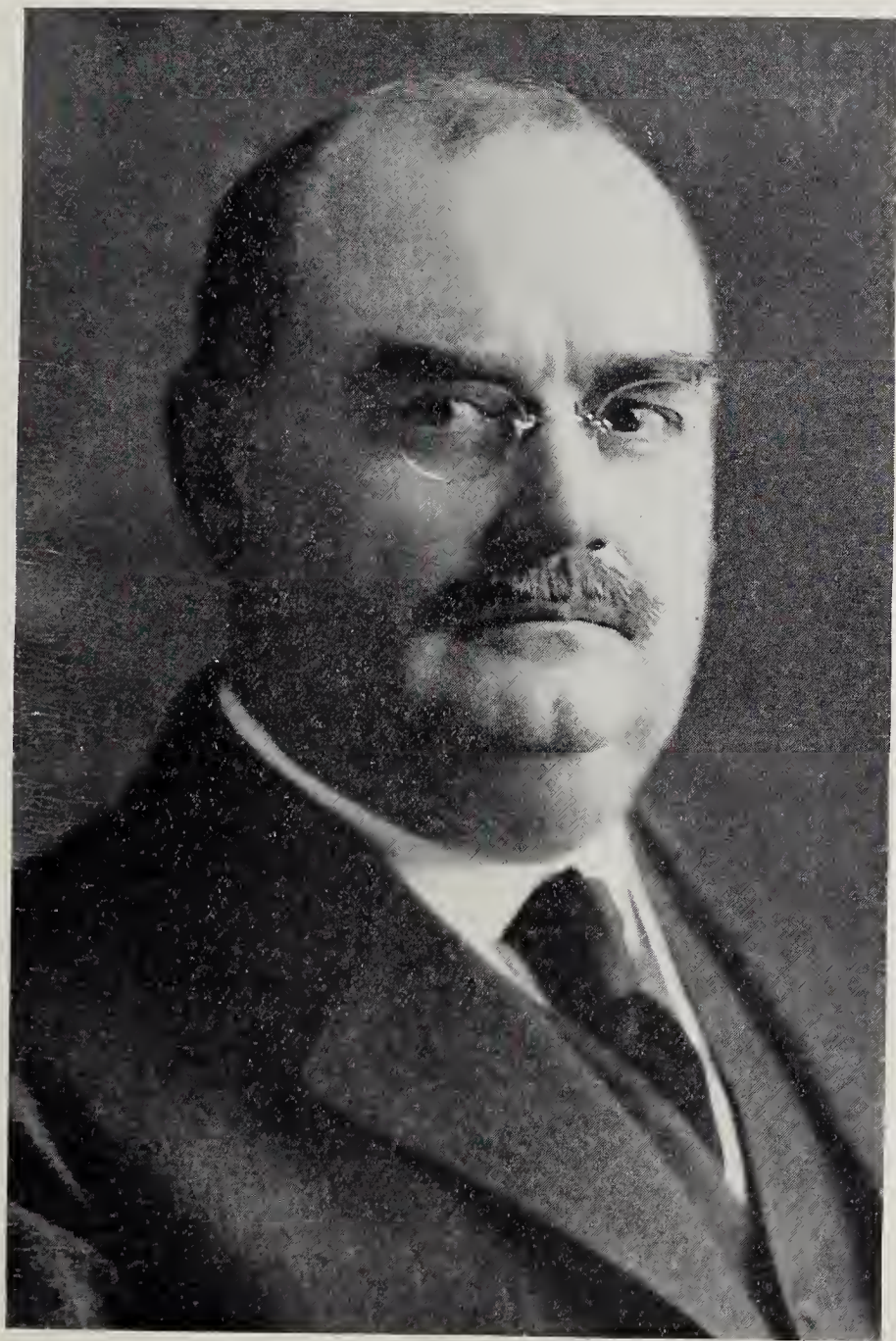
When the Oklahoma State Historical Building at Oklahoma City was constructed in 1929 he was a member of the Citizens Advisory Committee and gave advice and counsel in its successful construction.

During World War I he was a member of the Oklahoma County Council of Defense and participated in other Domestic Defense War Activities.

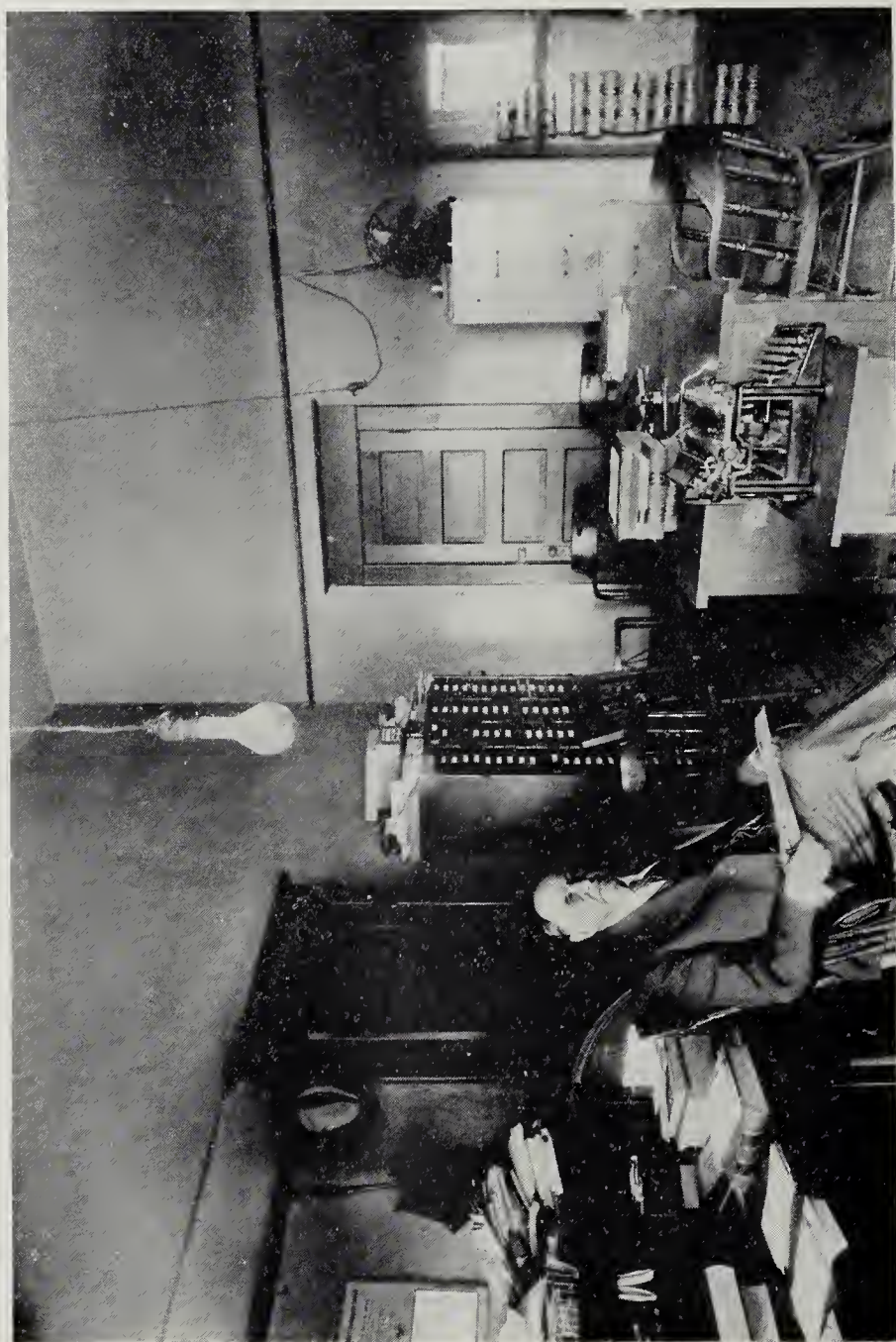
As a fine citizen, husband, father and brother he will be remembered.
Durant, Oklahoma

—R. L. WILLIAMS.

¹ Volume 5, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, p. 100-101; *Session Laws of Oklahoma* March 24, 1916-August 28, 1933, and page 34 ante.



JOSEPH HUCKINS, Jr.



JOHN HILL HARPER

JOHN HILL HARPER 1857-1942

John Hill Harper was born at Americus, Georgia, September 6, 1857. He departed this life on July 21, 1942.

Shortly after his birth his parents moved to southern Alabama, where they lived on a farm near Evergreen, Conecuh County, until after the close of the Civil War. They then moved to Titus County, Texas, where their son, John, received all of his schooling, which would probably correspond to a high school education. Not having the opportunity of a college education, he studied law in the office of Judge Wm. P. McLean¹ 1836; moved with his mother to Marshall, Texas, in 1839; attended private schools until seventeen years of age, and graduated from the law department of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1857; admitted to the bar in 1857 and commenced the practice of law at Jefferson, Marion County, Texas; member of the State house of representatives in 1861; resigned to enter the Confederate Army as a private; promoted to Captain and then Major, and served throughout the Civil War; again a member of the State house of representatives in 1869; was elected as a Democrat to the 43rd Congress (March 4, 1873—March 3, 1875) and was not a candidate for renomination in 1874; resumed the practice of law in Mount Pleasant, Titus County, Texas; member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1875; elected Judge of the Fifth Judicial District in 1884 and was not a candidate for re-election; a member of the first State Railroad Commission in 1891; resigned and moved to Fort Worth, Tarrant County, Texas, in 1893; resumed the practice of law; died in Fort Worth on March 13, 1924; interment in Mount Olivet Cemetery, at Mt. Pleasant, Texas. After some time spent in the study of the law in the offices of Judge McLean, he was admitted to the practice of law in the State of Texas on October 25, 1887. Shortly thereafter he removed to Bowie, Texas, where he opened a law office. He became attorney for the Fort Worth & Denver Railway Company, which company he represented for several years.

While residing at Bowie, Texas, he married Miss Mattie Lee Gwaltney, to which union three children were born, Earl and Irvin, his sons, and Frieda, his daughter.

In 1892² he removed to Belcherville, Texas, and was there engaged in the practice of law until 1894.

In those days the Indian Territory just across the Red River from Belcherville was growing and developing. Ryan, Oklahoma, was a Federal court town and in 1894 Harper went to Ryan, Oklahoma; was admitted to practice in the courts of the territory and there opened a law office³ and was there engaged in the practice of law until 1912. After bitter county seat fights, the county seat of Jefferson County was moved to Waurika, Oklahoma, and in 1912 Judge Harper, as he was now being

¹ William Pinkney McLean was born in Copiah County, Mississippi, August 9,

² J. H. Harper (as he was carried on the rolls of the Indian Territory Bar association) attended a convention of the people of the Indian Territory, held at McAlester on February 22nd and 23rd, 1900; on the evening of the 22nd, which was Washington's birthday, 1900, the Indian Territory Bar Association was organized and he became an original member of the Indian Territory Bar Association and the records show that he remained a member until it was merged in the Oklahoma Bar Association at Shawnee in December, 1904.

At the convention of the people of Indian Territory so held on February 22nd, adjourned over to February 23rd, 1900, a movement was set on foot to bring about statehood. The call for the convention having been issued on February 3, 1900, it met at 10:30 A. M. at McAlester on February 22, 1900. J. H. Harper was one of the two members from Ryan that attended the convention. The other member was L. T. Russell, who later removed to California. L. T. Russell, also attended the organization of the Indian Territory Bar Association.

called, moved with his family to the new county seat, where he lived until his death. At Waurika, Judge Harper practiced law continuously, with the exception of a period of four years during which he served as County Judge of Jefferson County, being elected to that office in 1928, and serving in that capacity for two terms.

As a practicing attorney he was especially proficient in pleading and practice. He was noted for his ability to preserve a record in the trial of cases for purposes of appeal. He was above the average in height, with a powerful physique, which, together with his stentorian voice, made him an impressive figure in the early day courts of southern Oklahoma.

John Harper was a man of strong convictions, outspoken in his views and fearless in support of them. As a public official he was capable, courageous and conscientious. Perhaps his salient characteristic, however, was his unquestioned integrity.

In addition to being admitted to practice in Texas and Oklahoma and in Federal district courts, he was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States.

He is survived by his two sons, Earl Harper, manager of Hale-Halsell Co., McAlester, Oklahoma; Ivin Harper, engaged in the insurance business Waurika, Oklahoma, and his daughter, Frieda Harper, a bookkeeper in the United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., his wife having preceded him in death.

A worthy citizen has passed away.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

—EARL PRUET.

WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN HUNT 1868-1942

William Tecumseh Sherman Hunt, son of Captain Oliver Perry Hunt and his wife, Eliza J. (McDowell) Hunt, born near Tuscola, in Douglas County, Illinois, March 1, 1868 and died in Los Angeles, California on November 12, 1942, where interment took place.¹

His ancestors on both the paternal and maternal sides fought on the side of the Colonies in the Revolutionary War, and said Oliver Perry Hunt was Captain of Company K, 125 Illinois Regiment on the side of the Union in the Civil War and was with General Sherman in his march to the sea.

He was: (1) a member of the Methodist Church, (2) a life member of Siloam Masonic Lodge, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, (3) a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, (4) of the Red Men, and (5) of the Knights of Pythias.

He was educated in the Public Schools of Tuscola and Lee's Academy, Arcola, Illinois.

He came to Oklahoma County in 1892 and located on a farm west of Britton and for nearly a quarter of a century was active in the affairs of Oklahoma County, Oklahoma. He was a delegate from District 29, comprising a part of Oklahoma City and said county, to the Convention to frame a Constitution for the State of Oklahoma, being elected as a Democrat, and in said Convention took an active part in creating the Senatorial District comprised of Oklahoma and Canadian Counties and in forming the same territory into a judicial district, and served on the following committees: (1) Municipal Corporations; (2) Privileges and Elections, (3) Impeachment and Removal from Office; and (4) Public Debt and Public Works.

During the sessions of the Convention, on December 24, 1906, he and Miss Mamie Virginia Shelton, a native of Alabama, were married and she and two sons survive him. To this union came two sons: William Shelton, born September 18, 1908 and Hal Hudson, born November 3, 1909,

¹ *Oklahoma City Times*, November 14, 1942.



W. T. S. HUNT



DAVIS HILL

and reside at the following places, respectively: 1309 Garden Street, Glendale, California, and 1215 Sanborn Avenue, Los Angeles, California, to which city their father and mother had removed from Oklahoma, their interest in public affairs in Oklahoma not abating.

A fine citizen, a devoted and faithful husband and father has passed to the other shore.

R. L. WILLIAMS.

DAVIS HILL 1863-1942

Davis Hill died May 24, 1942 at the age of 78 years, 8 months and 3 days, interment at Vinita, at which place he had lived since 1884. In said year he entered the Mercantile Business with his Uncle, William E. Little, and in 1887, having acquired his interest entered into a partnership with his father, George W. Hill and his brother, Robert L. Hill, under the firm name of Davis Hill and Company, which continued for more than fifty years, carrying on most of the time a retail business in hardware and clothing at Vinita and in hardware and drugs at Claremore.

On the organization of the Vinita National Bank in 1897, Davis Hill was elected cashier, and served in such capacity from 1897 to 1903, when he became manager of the Ratcliff-Sanders Wholesale Grocery Company. From 1905 to 1916 he was President of the Vinita National Bank.

He assisted in the organization of the Indian Territory Telephone Company in 1899, and was its Treasurer until its lines were taken over by the Pioneer Telephone Company in 1904, when he became a director of the Pioneer Telephone and Telegraph Company and so continued until same was absorbed by the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company.

In the early development of the shallow oil fields of the Eastern part of the State he participated in the organization and operation of several companies—among which were the Mustang Oil and Gas Company, the Rose Oil and Gas Company, and the Shamrock Oil and Gas Company.

In 1895 he established the Vinita Leader as a Democratic Newspaper in which he had an interest until 1903. In 1896 he was a member of the Democratic Executive Committee of the Indian Territory, and in that year as an alternate delegate attended the National Democratic Convention in Chicago. In 1900 he attended the National Democratic Convention at Kansas City as a delegate from the Cherokee Nation of Indian Territory.

He served several terms as a member of the city council of Vinita, and, in 1904, was chairman of the committee responsible for the building of its first waterworks and sewer system.

He also served several terms as a member of the Vinita School Board, and was chairman of the committee which arranged for the purchase of the buildings and grounds of the Worcester Academy in 1902, for the use of the city public schools.

He was a member of the State Board of Education, 1915-1918, inclusive, and retired therefrom in January, 1919. During this period said board was ex-officio a board of Regents for the Oklahoma State University at Norman, Womens College at Chickasha, Normal Schools at Edmond, Alva, Weatherford, Ada, Durant, and Tahlequah, and had supervision of the Orphanages at Pryor and Helena, the Deaf and Dumb Institute at Sulphur and school for the Blind at Muskogee, and also ex-officio constituted a Text Book Commission, among all of which duties his acts were characterized with diligence, fidelity, honesty and wisdom.

Davis Hill was of English, Scotch-Irish, and Cherokee Indian ancestry, born September 21, 1863, at Lafayette, Georgia, the son of George W. and Rachel (Davis) Hill. His paternal grandfather, Adam Hill, emi-

grated from Northern Ireland to the United States soon after the close of the American Revolution and before 1790 and settled in Abbeville District, South Carolina. His paternal grandmother, Nancy (Tourtellot) Hill, a daughter of Asa and Avis (Hines) Tourtellot of Pendleton District, South Carolina, traced her ancestry back to Roger Williams.

His maternal grandfather, Martin Davis, a son of Daniel and Rachel (Martin) Davis, was a grandson of Brigadier General Joseph Martin of Virginia, and Susannah (Emory) Martin, of Cherokee Indian descent, a daughter of William Emory, and a granddaughter of Ludovic Grant, both early traders among the Cherokees. His maternal grandmother, Julia Ann (Tate) Davis, a daughter of Samuel and Mary (Griffith) Tate, was a granddaughter of John Tate, who emigrated from Londonderry, Ireland, to North Carolina in 1763.

On November 28, 1888, Davis Hill married Frances Elizabeth Parks, a daughter of Thomas Jefferson and Maria Ann (Thompson) Parks, of Beattie's Prairie, Cherokee Nation. Mrs. Hill, ten children, and eleven grandchildren survive. The children are: Rachel Hill, Vinita; Maria Ann (Mrs. Walter Parker), Santa Ana, California; Frances Elizabeth (Mrs. Frank Austin), Glendale, California; Mary Davis (Mrs. Russell Mayberry), Vinita; Josephine A. (Mrs. John Oliver), Knoxville, Tennessee; G. Robert Hill, Vinita; James J. Hill, Norman; Col. W. P. T. Hill, U. S. Marine Corps, New River, N. C.; John R. Hill, Vacaville, California; and 1st Lieut. Orval H. Hill, U. S. Army Air Force, Tulsa.

The grandchildren are: John Davis Hill, George M. Hill, Mary Louise Hill, and Charles Edward Hill, Norman; W. P. T. Hill, Jr., New River, N. C.; Dorothy Ann Parker, Santa Ana, California; Davis C. Mayberry, and Wahlelle Mayberry, Vinita; Frank Davis Hill, Tulsa; John Hill Oliver, and Francis Elizabeth Oliver, Knoxville, Tennessee.

A fine citizen—he lived a long and exemplary life, devoted to his family, home and observing every reasonable requirement as to his duty to the public and his pioneer associates.

R. L. WILLIAMS.

LUKE ROBERTS

1868-1942

Luke Roberts, born September 5, 1868, at Gainesville, Texas, son of Nathan J. Roberts and his wife, Mary (Huett) Roberts, died on October 5, 1942, interment at Arlington, Texas on October 6, 1942.

His paternal grandfather was Stephen Roberts of Ashville, North Carolina, maternal grandfather, Roland Hewitt of Illinois; and maternal grandmother, Mary Irvin of Arkansas.

He was educated in the local schools at Grand Prairie, and the high school at Arlington, Texas and the Granbury College at Granbury, Texas. His vocation was that of a school teacher. He was principal of grade school, Goodlett, Texas 1891-1895; Superintendent school at Quanah and Chillicothe, Texas; Principal of Seventh Ward, Fort Worth, Texas 1897-1899; Superintendent of school at Altus, Oklahoma, 1899-1901; engaged in the Mercantile Business at Olustee, Oklahoma, 1901-1906.

He was a delegate to the Convention to frame a constitution for the State of Oklahoma from District 49 and served on the following committees:

1. Designate and fix salaries of employees.
2. Mines and mining, oil and gas.
3. Impeachment and removal from office.
4. Insurance.
5. Public health and sanitation.
6. Public Printing.
7. Counties and County Boundaries.
8. Liquor traffic (chairman).

He was Postmaster at Hollis, Oklahoma, and Editor and Publisher of the Hollis Post Herald; and Mayor of Lovington, New Mexico; President of Lovington School Board; Chairman Lovington Welfare Committee, and OWA Administrator for Lea County, New Mexico, and Editor and Publisher of the Lovington Leader.

He married Clara Myrth Creighton. He leaves surviving a daughter, Mrs. Gus C. Anders, 4316 Kenwood Court, Fort Worth, Texas.

In 1936 he was Secretary of the Lovington Chamber of Commerce, continuing to 1941, and after 1936 operated a ranch near Lovington.

He was active in the Rotary Club and Methodist Church and affiliated with the Democratic Party.

Funeral services were held on Tuesday, October 6, 1942 at Fort Worth; interment in the Arlington Cemetery; survived by his widow, Mrs. Clara Myrth (Creighton) Roberts and three daughters, Mrs. M. H. Woolridge, Altus, Oklahoma, Mrs. E. D. Vaden, Dallas, Texas and Mrs. Gus Anders, Fort Worth, Texas and a son, Paul Roberts, San Antonio, Texas and five grandchildren.

R. L. WILLIAMS.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The historian's task is to present every phase of life in its proper proportions. Human faculties have not hitherto been able to meet the requirement. The religious field, in particular, has been neglected. The local church records offer rich sources for topical research, both historical and sociological, especially well adapted for university dissertations. The church and board minutes reveal the historical background without which the present significance of the church is incomprehensible. To this the picture of the material growth as portrayed in the financial reports will be an excellent complement. The sociologist will find in the church register a mine of information regarding the church population without which any social analysis will be inadequate. The records of the auxiliary organizations will tell him how the church is meeting important social obligations. Such studies will lead directly to problems of social planning. Denominational, synodical, diocesan, convention, and associational records, hitherto fruitful sources of historical and sociological studies, reflect the attitudes of the church leaders. The time is now ripe to establish direct contact with the less articulate common man through the local church records. A county history, "in the broadest sense of the word," is no mean task. Sociological surveys of our communities are of vital importance. These local studies will serve as sound bases for broader surveys, state-wide, regional, and national.

The local church records lay bare the deep roots. What social forces find expression in the movement? Of what significance is it to our budding democratic ideals? How will it affect our future civilization? Such questions make it a fascinating field for the historian, the psychologist, and the sociologist. Incidentally, concentration of attention on the local church records will stimulate an appreciation of their value. Hitherto these records have at times

been indifferently kept and often scattered haphazardly throughout the community. Appreciation of their value will arouse a local pride, which will find expression in better record-keeping and adequate provisions for their custody and ready accessibility. These measures will be accompanied by the interested support essential to the social research of which we stand in urgent need.¹

What, then, of the past? To most of us it exists in two forms, school text-books and family reminiscences. We seldom confuse the two! One is as unreal as the other is personal. But in the attics and cellars of our homes, in church vestries, in warehouses and stores, in municipal offices, and often even in our libraries, lies unrecognized and completely abandoned the very stuff and substance of the past—original documentary accounts of the social life, business activities, cultural pursuits and political thought of earlier generations. The value and interest to the historian, to the political theorist, to the genealogist, the novelist, the playwright, and often, to the lawyer, are incalculable. The importance of preserving our historical material against loss, fire and carelessness need hardly be emphasized here, and several libraries already have collections of varying sizes, either by virtue of aggressive collecting or through the donations of interested members of the community. But no more than the first step in salvaging has been achieved if the papers have been removed to a permanent lodging place only to remain in boxes, crates and bundles in the library's storeroom. The problem of making such material available is not a simple one.

There will, of course, be several types of material in a historical collection, such as old newspapers, broadsides (notices of sales, playbills, advertisements, election banners, etc.), early maps and manuscripts. Much of this can be indexed, listed and stored in a manner similar to that practised in the handling of current material. But with the manuscript (i. e., the handwritten) documents and papers, we are confronted with new and sometimes baffling problems, because it is impossible to impose upon manuscripts the principles of library science which we are accustomed to using in ordinary library procedure.²

Members of the Kansas State Historical Society held their annual meeting at Topeka, October 20, 1942. Newly elected officers are: W. E. Stanley, Wichita, president; Kirke Mechem, secretary, and Mrs. Lela Barnes, Topeka, treasurer.

¹ J. Olsen Anders, "Local Church Records as Source Material," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* (Fayetteville), June, 1942, pp. 134-140.

² Elsie McLeod Murray, *Salvage Canada's Past* (Reprinted from *The Ontario Library Review*, August, 1942). Copies of this entire article may be obtained from the author, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, or from the Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Two unusually fruitful historical conferences have been rewarded by having their proceedings published in memograph form by the Rockefeller Foundation. The first gathering met April 17-18, 1942, in New York City. The second meeting was held in Lincoln, Nebraska, on June 25-27. Titles of the transcripts are *Proceedings: Conference on The Great Plains Area* and *Conferences on The Northern Plains*. Among those present were Richard Overton, Henry S. Commager, J. D. Hicks, Elmer Ellis, E. E. Dale, Watson Thomson, Louis Pelzer, Theodore C. Blegen, J. Frank Dobie, and Walter P. Webb. Helpful suggestions were made such as: Make records of folk songs and folk music; obtain and make available the original records of the censuses, the land offices, the railroad colonization bureaus; see that university courses are given on the region; compile a list of 100 key books on the region and publicize it by placing the books in every school and public library; write high school texts on the region and get them adopted; make maps to show social and cultural activities.

Under date of December 10, 1942, the National Committee on Conservation of Cultural Resources sent a release to all state chairmen on the collection and preservation of materials relating to the present war. The release has sought, among other things, especially "to point out the importance of the close integration of activities for the collection of records relating to the present war with existing general collecting activities, the possibilities that exist for making the present activities in war records collection the basis of a permanent program for the systematic contemporary selection and preservation of the sources for state and local history." In particular, the suggestion was stressed that the support of local camera clubs be sought in making and preserving pictorial record of the local war scene.

Out of the newspaper furore, started by the *New York Times*, as to whether American history ought to be compulsorily taught in all schools, and the nature of that teaching, has come a request from the Federal government to the American Historical Association to appoint a committee to consider and make suggestions for the teaching of history in colleges during the present war. The A. H. A. has responded by making the following: Miss Bessie L. Pierce, chairman; James L. Cate, Jakob A. O. Larson, J. Fred Rippy, S. William Halperin, Harley F. MacNair, and William T. Hutchinson.

Under the direction of Dorothy Moulding Brown the Wisconsin Folklore Society is making a systematic search for the folk tunes and balladry of the Wisconsin pioneers. Copies of these will be preserved in the manuscript department of the Wisconsin Historical Society. The School of Music of the University of Wisconsin has assisted in the recording of a quite large number of the song records.

The Kansas legislature in 1939 appropriated \$15,000 for the restoration of the North building of Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian Manual Labor School. The work was completed last spring and the fifteen rooms, furnished as of 1845-1850, were formally opened to the public June 14, 1942. The Kansas State Historical Society is to be congratulated, being present manager of the Mission. Cooperating with the Society are the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of 1812, the Daughters of the American Colonists, and the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society.

In 1932, the Superintendent of Miami County, Indiana, schools, planned the project of having graduates of the county schools select topics of local history for their graduating themes. These essays are now bound in sixteen large volumes with strong covers. Most of the essays are biographical sketches based on interviews of the students with old settlers still living. A more detailed study of the project may be found in Volume 19, Number 6 of the *Indian History Bulletin*, edited by Christopher B. Coleman.³

A. R. Kelly, Chief of Archaeologic Sites of the National Park Service of the Department of Interior, writes from 931 West Woodward Street, Denison, Texas, to say that the National Park Service will be interested in preserving archaeological and historical materials and sites from the area to be inundated by the waters of the Denison Dam. He will appreciate receiving information regarding old trails and landmarks within the area which has now been acquired by the United States Government.

Miss Bernice Mezzetti has been appointed by the Board of Regents of the University of Texas as Research Assistant in Texas History. Miss Mezzetti began her work on November 1. She will devote her time mostly to the preliminary work on *The Handbook of Texas*. All persons interested in Texas history are invited to submit topics which should be included in this encyclopedia of Texas history.

F. F. Latta, 2104 B Street, Bakersfield, California, makes the following inquiry:

For a number of years I have been trying to complete work concerning the outlaws known as the Dalton Gang, who were well known in this portion of California. Littleton Dalton, an older and law-abiding brother of the Dalton boys who comprised the gang, aided me for several years, but passed away a few years ago aged about 82.

Persons having information relative to the Daltons should write directly to Mr. Latta.

T. C. Richardson, Associate Editor, *Farm and Ranch*, Dallas, Texas, writes that he has just undertaken "an interesting and exciting task"—the preparation of the manuscript for a book for the

³ *The State and Local History News* (Washington City), January 1943, pp. 3-6.

University of Oklahoma Press, to be entitled *Cattle Trails and the Men Who Made Them*. Such a study, of course, involves history, geology, geography, biography, and an attempt to interpret the social and economic heritage from the time of the cavalier era. Editor Richardson will appreciate very much any assistance that anyone can give him on the above topics and in the way of source material. He published "Cattle Trails of Texas" in one of the early numbers of *The Texas Geographic Magazine*. Suggestions and source material should be sent directly to Richardson at the above address.⁴

In a letter dated January 16, 1943, Rollo G. Silver writes:

In my index of nineteenth-century Oklahoma book publishers, I hope to assemble all the available source material (biographical sketches, obituaries, etc.) so that students and bibliographers who want to know more about the publishers will know where to find the material. It seems to me that this would make a handy research tool and would serve as a complement to Mrs. Foreman's book.⁵ In other words, while she emphasized the history of the firms, I plan to assemble the material about the men who owned the firms. The completed work will not be very long since I shall list the references, not copy them.

The publication of the final list would, I think, bring out material which, at present, is not known.⁶

At the meeting of the London and Middlesex Historical Society at London, Ontario, Dr. J. J. Talman read a paper on the subject "Local History is National History." Quoting Victor Hugo's definition of local history, "The history of our villages is the history of our country in small pieces," Dr. Talman stressed the importance of community history in the understanding of the life of the nation.⁷

A new chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, organized recently, has chosen "General Robert E. Lee," as the name of this, the third unit in Oklahoma City. The membership, sixty-five in number, met Monday, February 22, 1943, for luncheon and election of officers. New officers are Mrs. Merton E. Ayres, President; Mrs. Richard A. Billups, First Vice President; Mrs. O. E. Hubbell, Second Vice President; Mrs. W. King Larimore, Third Vice President; Mrs. Michael Conlan, Fourth Vice President; Mrs. John G. Dougherty, Jr., Recording Secretary; Mrs. S. H. Stephens, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. S. S. Pate, Treasurer; Mrs. Howard N. Naylor, Historian; Mrs. Laura Pierce Kendall, Registrar; Mrs. A. W. Kerr, Custodian of Crosses, and Mrs. Anderson Johnson, Parliamentarian.

⁴ *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (Austin), January, 1943, pp. 266-271.

⁵ See Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936).

⁶ The author of this letter may be addressed as follows: Rolo G. Silver, Box 672, Brockton, Massachusetts.

⁷ *Western Ontario Historical Notes* (London, Ontario), December, 1942, p. 18.

The Clinton Daily News, March 7, 1943, contains a pictorial record of the men from Clinton and Custer County who are in camp or on the fighting fronts all over the world.

Nearly a week's time was required by the *Altus Times-Democrat* to distribute to their owners the pictures of soldiers, sailors and marines which were turned in for publication in the paper's 48-page tabloid *Service Men's* edition, issued October 25, 1942. Photographs were replaced in the folders in which they were received. The edition contained 525 pictures of service men.

The *Duncan Eagle*, announcing a *Service Men's Greeting* edition, copies of which will be sent to Stephens County men in the armed service, issued an appeal to contributors to include names and addresses on autobiographical sketches, not to drop pictures loose in an envelope and not to send in the folders on which photographs are mounted.⁸

The "Libke Troubadours," seven to 13-year old piano students of Frederic Libke, presented their fifth annual patriotic piano recital in the auditorium of the Historical Building on February 19, 1943. These unique piano recitals are in reality musical pageants in which the young performers, in costume, dramatize not only the themes of their individual pieces but at the same time weave the music into a coherent central story thread. American music is used exclusively, one of the larger purposes of these programs being to acquaint the audience with original works of American composers and to instill loyalty in the children for the music being produced in their own country. Works of more than 50 American composers have been heard in these series of programs. All of these music-plays have been patriotic in character with a background of American historical development. Because of the war, however, this year's program was especially appealing as it spread for children and grownups alike a dramatized musical picture of America's high destiny and invincibility on the homefront. Titled "Years of America," the curtains opened to disclose Uncle Sam, somewhat overwhelmed by repeated disasters, and chilled by emanations from the Spectre of Fear, who taunts him with rationed tin cans. By recalling various strategical years in America's history, Liberty leads Uncle Sam to a calm appraisal of the crisis confronting him, whereupon he recognizes his young friend Victory. With resurging energy Uncle Sam orders Victory to advance before the flag, and he finds all Americans eagerly awaiting his orders to follow where the colors lead. Greetings were extended by Joan Beals. The part of Liberty was played by Elaine Spencer; Joanne Huddart was Uncle Sam; Jacqueline Buchanan played the Spectre of Fear; Sondra Ann Mills took the part of Victory; and Harry Keeton as the Marine carried the flag. Other characterizations portrayed were Dorothy Maid-

⁸ *Sooner State Press*, November 21, 1942.

ment as "Priscilla"; Bill Irvin as the "Pirate"; Joyce Williams as "Betsy Ross"; Jane Miller as "Southern Belle"; Dorothy Jean White as "Mandy"; Tommy Saunders as "Old Black Joe"; Vivian Burns as an "Alaskan"; William Lankford, a "Chinese aviator"; Doris Ann Keeton, a "good neighbor from South America"; John Hall Dowling, an "Arkansas Traveler"; Joe Mills, an "Indian Scout"; and Myrna Skalovsky, a "Red Cross Nurse."

Oklahoma A. and M. College is presenting to the Oklahoma Historical Society a two volume set of manuscript materials entitled, "Selections from the Record Book, 1891-1941," dealing with the history of the first 50 years of the college.⁹ The two volumes are bound in buckram and are well indexed. The RECORD BOOK comprises three volumes prepared during the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the college, for the Centennial celebration of 1991. These volumes of history, philosophy, messages, and prophecy were purposely prepared for the Centennial celebration, but are "dedicated to those who on December 14, 2041 celebrate the 150th anniversary of the founding" of the college. They are in three-quarters blue Morocco leather binding, weigh 24 pounds, and are labeled in beautiful gold letters. The three volumes are preserved for the Centennial celebration and are not available for current use. Hence, the preparation of the three copies of SELECTIONS FROM THE RECORD BOOK, containing most of the materials of the RECORD BOOK except for pictures, programs, etc. Among those who wrote articles for the RECORD BOOK were Clarence Roberts, '15, editor of the *Farmer-Stockman*; Mrs. Elsie D. Hand, librarian, 1921-33; Frank D. Northup, who operated the college printing plant during the 'nineties; Dr. J. H. Connell, college president, 1908-14; Dr. Frank L. Rector, '02, who studied medical and health problems in 104 prisons; Dr. Robert H. Tucker, member of the college faculty, 1899-1908; J. Clay Woodson, '15, student active in athletic and other college events; Otis Wile, former editor of the *Daily O'Collegian*; Norris T. Gilbert, '98, Tulsa banker; Norman Shutler, attorney at Kingfisher; Icelle Wright, assistant librarian; Dr. Harry E. Thompson and Frank A. Waugh, two of the first faculty members; Samuel A. McReynolds, '02, who rescued the book of minutes of the first faculty from a rubbish heap; Frank J. Wikoff, prominent in securing the college for Stillwater; George W. Bowers, cadet captain of the 'nineties; Amie Neal Jamison, early student and daughter of the first director of the experiment station; Alfred Boyd, formerly dean of the School of Engineering; Edwin A. Jarrell, '96, whose parents donated absolutely free to the college forty acres of their homestead, including the ground where Whitehurst Hall stands; Richard G. Taylor, dean of the School of Engineering and for two months in 1923 acting president of the college. Two former presidents, Dr. A. C. Scott and Dr. J. B. Eskridge, took

⁹ Information furnished by Dr. B. B. Chapman, A. and M. College, Stillwater.

time to write their articles and letters in longhand. Also among the writers were T. J. Hartman, '98, Tulsa business man; Dr. George W. Stiles, '00, bacteriologist; J. H. Caldwell, 30 years professor of history in the college; and E. J. Westbrook, oldest in the service of the institution of the active members of the college personnel. Among those who wrote letters to the celebrators of 1991 were R. L. Owen, former United States Senator; Grant Foreman, historian; Jessie Thatcher Bost, first woman graduate; Nellie E. Bowman, director of the Tulsa Historical Society; E. E. Dale, head of the History department, Oklahoma University; Chester Gould and Dick Tracy of the Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate; Congressmen Jack Nichols, Mike Monroney, and Victor Wickersham; James E. Berry, Lieutenant Governor of Oklahoma; Dr. N. Conger, Dean of the School of Education; A. L. Crable, Superintendent of State Department of Public Instruction of Oklahoma; Reford Bond, Chairman of Corporation Commission of Oklahoma; Andy Payne, Clerk of Supreme Court and Criminal Court of Appeals of Oklahoma; C. C. Childers, Secretary of the State of Oklahoma; and C. H. Jane-way, Scout Executive of Cimarron Valley Council of Boy Scouts of America. Dean C. H. McIntosh, as "student Counsellor", wrote a letter as of December 14, 1991, describing the college aims and procedure at the time of the Centennial celebration. Vivian Cheatham Canode was chairman of a committee of students in the Oklahoma history class who wrote a history of the ownership of the lands of the campus. President Henry G. Bennett wrote a greeting to the Centennial celebrators of 1991. Dean Schiller Scroggs, chairman of the 50th anniversary celebration, wrote a letter to the chairman of the Centennial celebration. Dean C. H. McElroy, chairman of the Historical Packet Committee, wrote a letter to the chairman of the committee who opens the packet in 1991. Seventy campus organizations wrote a summary of their history for their respective organizations of 1991. The brunt of the collection and organization of the materials of the three volumes of the RECORD BOOK, and copies of selections therefrom, fell to the Oklahoma history students, where loyalty to the work was manifested throughout the year. At Honors Convocation, May 21, 1941, the History department awarded a life-time pen set to Lorene Affholder, in recognition of her excellence throughout the year in a history class of unusually fine students. The RECORD BOOK was prepared under the supervision of Oklahoma history students, alumni, and faculty. No group claims excessive credit for the success of this historical project, for it was a cooperative work of extensive ramifications.

Mrs. Harry B. Bullen of Stillwater recently presented the Historical Society with a framed photograph of one of the original series of ten bonds comprising the \$10,000 raised by citizens of Stillwater to aid in the establishing of A. and M. College there.

The photograph is 10 by 18 inches, the size of the bonds. Bullen came to Stillwater in 1889, engaged in lumber business, and lived there until his death in 1929. He bought No. 8 of the original group of the bonds and on payment of the same the bond was presented to him by the City of Stillwater. The photograph is of bond No. 8. The ten bonds were paid promptly at maturity. They are said to be the only issue of bonds of any municipality in the state of Oklahoma paid at maturity without refunding.

Mrs. W. M. Bottoms, Secretary of the '89ers writes as follows:

The '89ers greatly appreciate having a space to assemble and exhibit the many treasured articles so dear to the hearts of all '89ers, thus preserving the history of the Oklahoma pioneers in the Oklahoma Historical Society Building.

For arousing and maintaining the interest of the people there is nothing like the history of one's immediate locality. The '89ers, those who made the Run in 1889, the building of the community, the first government, clubs, social and civic, these and scores of similar topics are of very real interest to the lives of the people.

David L. Payne organized a colony for the purpose of opening and settling this beautiful country known as the "unassigned Indian lands" and we are the proud possessor of the large silk banner of this famous colony together with large pictures of Captain Payne and some of his co-workers, Captain W. L. Couch, H. H. Stafford, C. P. Wickmiller. We have assembled and framed many pictures of "the Boomers" as they were called. Pictures of their various camps and "on the march" made by the official photographer, Mr. C. P. Wickmiller of Kingfisher, Oklahoma. A generous gift which is greatly appreciated. We are proud of the Charter issued to "The Women of '89", May 2, 1911, by the State of Oklahoma, also, the amended charter, pen written, bearing 162 names of members, made to conform to the legal requirements of the State. Mrs. Virginia Cox Sutton's collection of more than two hundred framed photographs of '89ers are now being rearranged for exhibit in a special glass case. The presentation of a bronze plaque and a large picture of Mrs. Sutton was made by her daughter Mrs. Wallace A. Aiken of Enid, Oklahoma, on November 7, 1932. Many pictures of '89ers adorn the walls and many more will be added. Mr. Arthur H. Lippoldt has placed on display a most interesting collection of priceless furniture, pictures, china, and glassware which was brought to Oklahoma in 1889 by his grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Koehler who homesteaded one-half mile west of Dixon, Oklahoma. The Lincoln chair was willed to the '89ers by Mrs. Martha Flick, January 12, 1937. This was a favorite chair of the martyred President in the White House and was given to Mrs. Flick by the wife of President Grant a few years after President Lincoln's death. The letter box used by Mr. George A. Beldler, the postmaster in April, 1889; the old letter press owned by the late Mr. Jasper Sipes, the first election ballot used by Mr. Frank Trosper, and an old coffee pot used as an election ballot box, are historical items. Perhaps the most striking of the changes in fashions from the pioneer days, are shown in the wearing apparel: dresses elaborately trimmed, beaded capes, shoes, a baby dress all tucks and ruffles, a hat worn in '89, fans and jewelry, china, glass, silver, and decorative vases and statuary. All these were brought to Oklahoma in 1889.

The following report was made by Annie R. Cubage:

For the quarter ending January 28, 1943, the Museum has received the following accessions: a pen used by President Theodore Roosevelt in signing the Removal of Restrictions bill; a pen used by President

McKinley in signing the Act of Congress which made United States citizens of all Indians in the Indian Territory; a check given by Hon. R. L. Owen for a bond of \$1,000,000 as Fiscal Agent, Choctaw Nation; a congratulatory letter written to R. L. Owen on making the Federal Reserve Act a success. The pens, check and letter are the gifts of former Senator Robert L. Owen. Additional gifts are: a patriotic quilt, the gift of the Stonewall Jackson Chapter, U. D. C.; a metal hitching-post ring, the gift of John B. Fink; a silver Indian armlet, the gift of Hon. A. L. Livingston, Muskogee, Oklahoma; civic award—National Council of State Garden Clubs, gift of the Shawnee Redbud unit; application scrapbook, gift of the Shawnee Redbud unit; Victory quilt, gift of the Auxiliary V. F. W. Post 1857, Oklahoma City; the MacDowell Club collection containing six copies of *Captive Memories*, histories, Annual Report of the MacDowell Association miscellaneous clippings, and programs for the years 1941-42. Additions have been made by Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Robison, Wewoka, and others. Gifts to the photographic collection include: Ft. Smith & Western Railway (15 photographs), the gift of E. F. Gutenshon; E. A. MacDowell, MacDowell Club collection; Mrs. E. A. MacDowell, MacDowell Club collection; sixty-two photographs (Thoburn collection); bond, one of Original Series of ten issued by the town of Stillwater to secure A. & M. College, gift of Mrs. H. B. Bullen (photostat copy). The north end of the east gallery set aside for the '89ers Organization is being arranged by the committees from that organization. In an effort to better acquaint the museum-visiting public with the exhibits on the fourth floor, practically all the cases and pictures have been rearranged. During the year 1943 may our museum be "a source of inspiration illuminating the past and vivifying the present; may it fortify the spirit on which Victory depends."

Since December, 1942, Rella Looney has made a card index of the *Muskogee Daily Phoenix* for the period from December 7, 1941, the date of the attack on Pearl Harbor, to April 30, 1942, recording the names and activities of Indians and others in the service of the United States. She also reports the gift of a photograph of Dr. Grant Foreman to the Department of Indian Archives, on November 11, 1942. Dr. Foreman presented December 26, 1942, a collection of legal documents having to do with various contested cases which came before the Dawes Commission at Muskogee. As these papers were the property of Hon. John R. Thomas and Dr. Grant Foreman, they will be known as the "Thomas-Foreman papers." The following persons carried on research in this department during the period of this report: Dr. Carl Steen, Norman: "The Cherokee Insane Asylum"; D. H. Watson, Indian Office, Oklahoma City: "D. C. McCurtain"; Mrs. Hazel Loyd, Oklahoma City: "Inscriptions on Tombstones." Others carrying on research in the Newspaper Department were: C. M. Cruce, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Raymond Bean, Oklahoma City; Norman Kroutil, Yukon; S. L. Hargrove, Pittsburg, Kansas; Mrs. Wade Merritt, Oklahoma City; Gwen Perry, Oklahoma City; Mrs. L. E. Meek, Ponca City; Helen B. Herring, Prague; Mrs. Mary Cook, Greeley, Colorado; R. M. McClintock, Oklahoma City, according to Laura M. Messenbaugh. The collections of the Library have been enriched recently by a number of important gifts as set forth in the report of Edith Mitchell, Cataloguer.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society,
Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

I nominate for membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society:

1. Name _____

Address _____

2. Name _____

Address _____

3. Name _____

Address _____

4. Name _____

Address _____

Dues: Annual membership is \$1; life membership is \$25. The Oklahoma Historical Society sends *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* to its members.

Nominated by: _____

Address _____

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Date_____19____

To the Oklahoma Historical Society:

I hereby request that the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society elect me to Annual, Life, membership in the Society. In order to expedite the transaction, I herewith send the required fee \$_____.

(Signed) _____

P. O. Address_____

The historical quartely magazine is sent free to all members.

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP due (no entrance fee), one dollar in advance.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP fee (free from all dues thereafter), \$25.00. Annual members may become life members at any time upon the payment of the fee of twenty-five dollars. This form of membership is recommended to those who are about to join the Society. It is more economical in the long run and it obviates all trouble incident to the paying of annual dues.

All checks or drafts for membership fees or dues should be made payable to the order of the Oklahoma Historical Society.



JOHN BARTLETT MESERVE

The Chronicles of Oklahoma

Volume XXI

June, 1943

Number 2

JOHN BARTLETT MESERVE

By Grant Foreman

Once again the Oklahoma Historical Society is called upon to note the passing of another of its directors—one it can ill afford to lose. John Bartlett Meserve was elected a member of the Board of Directors on July 26, 1934, and since that time made himself an important member, whose efforts contributed materially to the conspicuous position achieved by the Society.

Mr. Meserve came to the board with high ideals and a valid sense of historical values. At the quarterly meetings, and on all other occasions, Mr. Meserve's judgment and advice were always constructive and sound. He had a high sense of the responsibilities of a director of this Society, and his counsel was always listened to with the respect to which it was entitled. He therefore became one of the most important members, and his loss will be grievously felt.

Mr. Meserve not only attended faithfully to the duties of a board member as long as his health permitted, but he often contributed excellent articles to the *Chronicles*. This work was principally in the field of biographical sketches of men whose stature gave them an important place in Oklahoma history. These adventures in biography entailed much labor and research for matter touching his subjects, which he had the capacity and zeal to incorporate in entertaining accounts with skill and literary competence that added much to the interest and scholarship of the magazine.

Mr. Meserve will not only be missed because of his high place in the councils of the Society, but his amiable, dignified personality and warm friendship, and his congenial contacts with the other members of the board accentuate the grief and feeling of loss with which we will all recall our friend.

Of distinguished lineage, John Bartlett Meserve, son of True Witcher Meserve and Atline Nancy Stearns Meserve, was born at Waterloo, Indiana, November 17, 1869, and went with his parents to Kansas the next year. His academic education was limited to high school. After his graduation, he taught school and read law for three years in the office of Burton and Moore, at Abilene, Kansas. Burton was at one time United States Senator from Kansas; Judge Moore, afterward district judge, was later annotater for the Supreme Court of Kansas. Mr. Meserve was admitted to the bar by the Kansas Supreme Court, and for ten years practiced law at Florence, Colorado. During his residence there he was city at-

torney, prosecuting attorney, and in 1903 was elected to the state legislature of Colorado. During that time also, on December 28, 1899, at Hutchinson, Kansas, he was married to Elizabeth Myrtle Broughton. Finding the elevation of Florence unfavorable to the health of Mrs. Meserve, in 1906 the family, then increased to three by the birth of a daughter, Naomi Helen Meserve, removed to Oklahoma and located at Tulsa, which continued to be their home, and where Mr. Meserve continued in the practice of law, except for a period of five years when he served as assistant United States District Attorney at Muskogee. His experience in this capacity covered the formative period of Oklahoma history, brought him many interesting contacts with the historical development of the state, and gave him an interesting participation in the solution of many undetermined questions of policy and Indian administration. Having acquired the vision of the government in its Indian policy, he aided in initiating and carrying through the courts much important litigation leading to the settlement of questions of profound interest and of wide application to Oklahoma's history.

After completing his service as assistant United States Attorney, Mr. Meserve returned to the general practice of law in Tulsa, during which time he assumed also the duties of attorney of that growing metropolis. Mr. Meserve's activities thus awakened and quickened his interest in Oklahoma history, giving him a broad and scholarly conception of historical values, with which he endowed the board on which he served with such conspicuous benefit to the Society. As a member of this board, it is a melancholy pleasure to testify to the sterling qualities and lovable personality of our departed member. One can not help feeling that he has left with us not only pleasant recollections but a heritage of good counsel and achievements by which he will long be remembered.

Mr. Meserve was a member of the Trinity Episcopal Church of Tulsa, the Sons of the American Revolution, and the Tulsa Club. He died on January 1, 1943, survived by his widow and his daughter, now the wife of Glenn Arthur Campbell of Tulsa. Funeral services were held for Mr. Meserve at the Trinity Episcopal Church at Tulsa, on January 4, 1943. Members of the board of directors of the Society attended to pay their last measure of tribute to their friend.

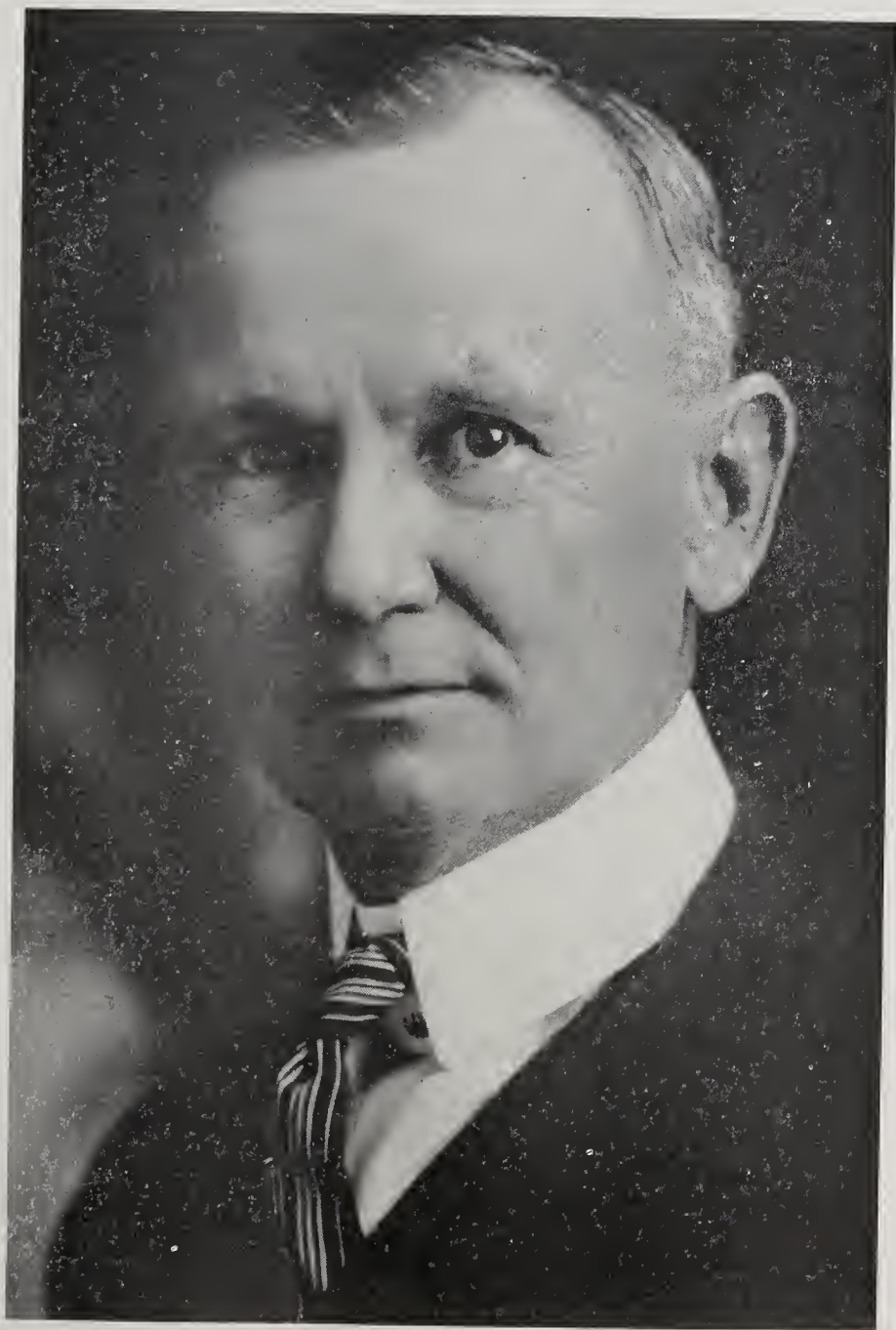
PHILIP ASHTON NORRIS

1863-1942

By Robert L. Williams

Philip Ashton Norris, born near Millers Grove, Hopkins County, Texas, on January 19, 1863, was the son of George W. Norris, born in Dallas County, Alabama, and Susan Trigg Norris, born in Estes County, Kentucky.

Susan Curl Crawford Arbery was his maternal grandmother. Her maternal grandfather, Robert Arbery, an English soldier in



PHILIP ASHTON NORRIS

General Packenham's Army, was captured at the Battle of New Orleans in 1815.

His father was in the twenty-third Texas Cavalry, Confederate States Army, as recorded in the Confederate Records at Washington, D. C.

Mr. Norris was at the time of his death, a life member of the Oklahoma Historical Society, becoming so in 1939, after having been an annual member for years prior thereto. At the time he filed application for his life membership, he stated that he desired to be on the honor roll of the Historical Society through a life membership, and was a strong supporter of the Historical Society.

His first marriage was to Alice McCormick of Rockbridge Baths, Virginia, in 1890, and from that marriage he is survived by two children, Mrs. Charles Nelson Berry and her two sons, Charles Nelson Berry, Jr. and Robert Norris Berry, of Oklahoma City; and Mrs. J. Kingsley Hall and her son, Lieutenant Philip Ashton Hall of San Marino, California.

Further surviving him are the surviving widow of his second marriage, Mrs. Josephine Sparks Norris, to whom he was married on June 21, 1905 at Shawnee, Oklahoma, and the following children of that marriage: Mrs. William G. Peterson, Frank C. Norris, Philip Ashton Norris, Jr., John C. Norris, Tom Randolph Norris and Mrs. Denver B. Davison of Ada, Oklahoma, and two sisters, Mrs. Lizzie Mitchell and Mrs. B. J. Mitchell of Greenville, Texas.

Two sons are in the military service in World War II, to-wit: First Lieutenant Philip Ashton Norris, Jr., stationed at Wilmington, Delaware in the United States Air Force Ferrying Command, and First Lieutenant Tom Randolph Norris in a troop carrier squadron stationed at Alliance, Nebraska. Another son, Harry Ashton Norris, was killed in a car-train crash December 24, 1933.

Philip Ashton Norris started his business career in a print shop at Daingerfield, Texas, and also clerked in a general store for W. B. Womack & Son, at Daingerfield, Texas, who was afterwards a prominent business man at Whitewright, Texas, as he had been at Daingerfield. For a number of years Philip Ashton Norris was bookkeeper in The First National Bank of Greenville, Texas, and from 1890 to 1904 was Cashier of The First National Bank of Commerce, Texas. He came to Shawnee, Oklahoma Territory in 1904 and became general manager of the Shawnee Cotton Oil Mill from that time until 1912. Before severing his connection in such capacity in 1911 he moved to Ada and from that time until his death his home was there and he had a part in practically everything of a commercial nature relating to said city and the civic enterprises therein. During practically all the time he had been President of the First National Bank of Ada, and after organizing the Choctaw Cotton Oil Company, was its President for many years. It was one of the largest cotton seed oil concerns of the southwest and is still operating with headquarters at Ada. He was also President of the

Lamar Cotton Oil Company of Paris, Texas, The Honey Grove Cotton Oil Company of Honey Grove, Texas; The Mount Pleasant Oil Mill of Mount Pleasant, Texas, the Sulphur Springs Cotton Oil Company of Sulphur Springs, Texas, and the Commerce Oil Mill, Commerce, Texas. For the last few years these concerns have been operated as Norris Mills, with general offices in Dallas. He was associated with Kay Kimbell in a string of oil mills at Lamesa, Big Spring, McKinney and Greenville, Texas.

During World War I he efficiently served as Federal Fuel Administrator of Oklahoma, without financial remuneration, and at the close of his services received commendation from the Federal authorities. On account of his ability, efficiency and character, his presidency of financial institutions inspired confidence. He manifested an active interest generally in farming and in industrial and commercial business.

He numbered many friends among the leaders in the commercial and financial world. He was a member of the Episcopal Church, Ada Lions Club, a 32d degree Mason and was a member of the Council of National Defense during World War I, and the Red Cross, a Democrat, and a member of the Oak Hills Country Club at Ada.

He finished the grade school at Daingerfield, Texas at the age of fourteen. With little formal education, on account of the result of the Civil War, he was self-educated to no mean degree and his proficiency in the English language was superior to that of many college graduates. His knowledge of the Civil War was comprehensive and inexhaustive. He continued to study, learn and lead as long as he lived. He was a remarkable man.

GENERAL JOHN JOSEPH COPPINGER COMMANDANT FORT GIBSON

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

John Joseph Coppinger, born at Cove of Cork, County Cork, Ireland, November 10, 1834, was appointed a captain in the Fourteenth Infantry, United States Army, from the state of New York, September 30, 1861. He had some knowledge of French and Spanish; no business training; he had given attention to tactics, field fortifications, and general reading of history.¹

As a young man Coppinger was a lieutenant and captain in the Army of the Pope in the Papal War against Victor Emmanuel. He was made a chevalier of that corps for gallantry in action at La Raca in 1860. At the outbreak of the Civil War he came to the United States and volunteered for service. Archbishop John Hughes had been induced by President Lincoln to visit Europe in behalf

¹ Adjutant General's Office, "Old Files," Maj. Gen. John Joseph Coppinger. According to the first edition of *Who's Who in America, 1899-1900*, General Coppinger was born October 11, 1834.



GENERAL JOHN JOSEPH COPPINGER

Photograph by U. S. Signal Corps

of the Union and he evidently met Coppinger while abroad, as he secured a commission for the young man when he came to this country.

When Louis Phillippe, Comte de Paris and the Duke of Orleans made a tour of the battlefields in Pennsylvania and Virginia they were accompanied by Captain Coppinger. The Comte de Paris served on the staff of General George B. McClellan in a Virginia campaign in the spring of 1862; after his return to Paris in July of that year he wrote a *History of the Civil War in America* which was translated into English and published in the United States.²

Captain Coppinger was wounded at the second battle of Bull Run on August 2, 1862, and was brevetted major June 12, 1864, for gallant and meritorious service in the Battle of Trevilian Station, Virginia; on October 19, the same year, he was brevetted lieutenant colonel for gallantry at the Battle of Cedar Creek, Virginia. Generals George A. Custer, A. T. A. Torbett and Philip H. Sheridan recommended Coppinger for brigadier general in 1864.³

Coppinger became a full colonel January 27, 1865, and was assigned to the Fifteenth New York Cavalry; he was mustered out of the volunteer service June 17, 1865, and the next year was transferred from the Fourteenth to the Twenty-third Infantry. While in this regiment he saw much service among the western Indians and received his commission as captain June 13, 1867, at Camp Three Forks, Ocoyhu, Idaho Territory. He was in the west from March, 1866, to November, 1868, and from April, 1869, to May 17, 1871.

During this period there was great dissatisfaction among the Idaho Indians owing to the delay of the government in dealing with them, and in carrying out stipulations in treaties made years previously.⁴ In 1868 the Indian war in that territory was about ended and an army officer in command reported: "Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the officers and soldiers participating in this frontier war." Governor D. W. Ballard wrote: "All honor and praise to officers and men of . . . the 23d infantry, who have participated in the Indian wars of Idaho."⁵ On December 1, 1868, Coppinger was awarded a brevet "for energy and zeal while in command of troops operating against hostile Indians in 1866, 1867 and 1868." At the age of thirty-four Coppinger was appointed colonel by brevet on May 17, 1869.⁶

Colonel Coppinger was in Monkstown, County Cork, Ireland, in the autumn of 1871, from where he asked additional leave because of the death of his "nearest relation," and the necessity to attend to some business. His company was still at Fort Boise, Idaho Ter-

² *The Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., November 5, 1909; *Lippincotts Biographical Dictionary*, Philadelphia, 1888.

³ AGO, "Old Files."

⁴ *Report* commissioner Indian affairs, 1876, pp. 248-49.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1868, p. 199.

⁶ Heitman, vol. 1, p. 327.

ritory, and Major General J. M. Schofield wired that he had no objection to the extension of leave. Coppinger had also been on duty at Cairo, Egypt, during his stay abroad.⁷

The year 1872 was a most unhappy one for Colonel Coppinger, owing to accusations against him printed in the *San Francisco Chronicle* of July 21. He asked for a court of inquiry from his station at Angel Island, California, to investigate the charges. He was accused of a flirtation with the wife of a newspaper man who represented a New York paper. Coppinger was described as a "dashing looking officer—bold and brilliant." The newspaper man attempted to have Coppinger dismissed from the army. The court of inquiry assembled in San Francisco on August 5, 1872, and Coppinger was temporarily relieved from the command of his company. He denied through the press the truth of the accusations, stating that the woman was innocent and deserving of the highest respect.

From Fort Reno, Indian Territory, May 5, 1877, Captain Coppinger wrote to the War Department asking to be sent abroad as an observer of military operations in Russia and Turkey, but Adjutant General Edward Davis Townsend did not approve. On March 20, 1879, Coppinger became a major in the Tenth Infantry, and he was Acting Assistant Inspector General at Fort Leavenworth, headquarters of the Department of Missouri. Coppinger was one of the army officers sent to Captain David L. Payne's camp of "Boomers" to order the leader not to cross the line from Kansas into the Indian Territory, warning Payne that his troops had orders to shoot.^{7a} He was promoted to lieutenant colonel October 31, 1883, and assigned to the Eighteenth Infantry. From October 2, 1886, to July 17, 1888, Coppinger was in command at Fort Gibson, Indian Territory.

Colonel J. J. Coppinger, when commandant of Fort Gibson, furnished the War Department, in 1888, with a detailed description of the buildings then in use at the fort. The commanding officer's quarters was a two and one-half story stone house of thirteen rooms; size 36 by 40 feet. Two frame houses stood on either side of above, each 36 by 60 feet, one and one-half stories high; one had twelve and the other thirteen rooms. These houses served as a double set of quarters for officers.

Barracks 23 by 154 feet, two stories high, contained ten rooms, barracks for two companies. Begun in 1845, it was completed during the Civil War.

Guard House on opposite side of parade ground from officers' quarters was one story frame of four rooms, 35 by 34 feet. A frame building of nine rooms, 35 by 34, served as a single set of officers quarters.

The hospital was two-story frame, fourteen rooms, 37 by 37 feet, with a wing 25 by 47, and a kitchen 14 by 16 feet.

⁷ AGO, "Old Files."

^{7a} Rister, Carl Coke, *Land Hunger* (Norman, 1942), pp. 82, 86.

Quartermaster store house of stone, 38 by 100, one story, four large rooms. Subsistence store house, also of stone, 34 by 80 feet, one story, four rooms.

Post bakery, frame, 19 by 57, one story, two rooms. Great oven. Blacksmith and carpenter shops in one story building of two rooms, 20 to 60 feet. Magazine was a stone building, 16 by 20, one story, one room.

One story building 20 by 90 feet, five large rooms, offices for commanding officer and quarters for unmarried officers. Large frame building, 24 by 80 feet, hay barn. Frame, 30 by 52, one story, 8 rooms, quarters of commissary & quartermaster sergeant. One large building of stone and frame was 13 by 206, quartermaster stables. Ice house, frame, 25 by 80 feet. A number of great cisterns.

Colonel Coppinger of General Pope's staff was married to Alice Stanwood Blaine, eldest daughter of Hon. and Mrs. James G. Blaine, at noon on February 6, 1883, in the new mansion of the family at 1500 20th Street, Washington, D. C. The ceremony was performed by Rev. Dr. Chappelle of St. Matthew's Church in the presence of a large group of friends of Mr. and Mrs. Blaine and army friends of the groom. A cabinet meeting was postponed so that President Chester A. Arthur and his cabinet might attend. Among the guests were General and Mrs. Sherman, Hon. J. Warren Keifer, Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Maine delegation in both houses of Congress with their wives, Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, the Chief Justice and other members of the Supreme Court, many foreign ambassadors.

The bride wore a white satin gown, *en traine*, a long tulle veil, and she carried a bouquet of roses and lilies of the valley. She was attended by her young sister, Hattie Blaine. The President and Hon. George Bancroft were admitted inside the white ribbon line reserved for the family. President Arthur escorted the bride to the dining room, where a sumptuous wedding breakfast was served. After a wedding trip north the bride and groom repaired to his station at Fort Leavenworth.⁸

During the time the Coppingers were stationed at Fort Gibson they were visited by Blaine, who suffered a severe illness at the post.

Passengers going to Fort Gibson were obliged to leave the train at Gibson Station and finish the journey by a horse drawn vehicle. In the spring of 1887 or 1888 Mr. Blaine and his family traveled from St. Louis in the private car of Mr. Richard C. Kerens; the car was switched to a side track at Gibson Station, where it remained during the sojourn of the distinguished visitors at the garrison. The party reached Gibson Station early in the evening and all of them, except Mr. Blaine who was not feeling well, were conveyed by army ambulance to the fort. They returned for him next morning, but

⁸ *The Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., Tuesday, February 6, 1883, p. 3, col. 5; George Frederick Howe, *Chester A. Arthur*, New York, 1934, p. 242.

not before Mr. George Shannon and his family had called upon him at the car.

Mr. Blaine was seriously ill, threatened with pneumonia, and a telegram was sent to Mr. Kerens in St. Louis asking him to send a doctor at once to the fort. Mr. Kerens arranged to take Dr. H. H. Mudd; after they started Coppinger wired that "Mr. Blaine is doing very well. Only slight fever. Pulse good, 80 per minute."⁹

A telegram to the Associated Press dated Fort Gibson, April 8, 1887, reported: Mr. Blaine is suffering from bronchial catarrh with fever of a remitting type . . . Charles P. Berne, Post Surgeon." There was no telegraph line from the post to the railway station, so the message was probably sent by a soldier on horseback. On April 10 the doctors reported their patient much better; he had a slight bronchial pneumonia but his fever was subsiding. Two days later Blaine was still improving, but the doctors insisted that he remain in doors at least a week longer. That day he was allowed to converse with his family for a short time; he was quite hoarse and not out of danger. His illness was caused by exposure on the trip west, as he had been called out on the platform at every station and took a severe cold. Blaine was up and dressed on the fifteenth and on April 19 he and his party arrived in St. Louis on the way to Chicago. He was said to be still ill and planned to remain three days with his son in Chicago.¹⁰

"Upon his return to Gibson Station, prior to leaving for the east, all of the party, consisting of Col. and Mrs. Coppinger, their two sons, Blaine and Connor, Mrs. Blaine, Miss Hattie Blaine, Mrs. Mary E. Dodge, a writer using the nom-de-plume of Gail Hamilton, and Mr. Kerens, called at the Shannon home."¹¹

The *Indian Journal* of Eufaula, Indian Territory, stated, July 7, 1887: "Col. Coppinger has a new sail boat, which he has named 'Jackdaw' (his baby boy's pet name). We have convenient opportunities for boat riding living on the bank of Grand river."

Mrs. Coppinger was called to Washington in January, 1890, to attend the funeral of her brother, Walker Blaine; on January 29 she was taken seriously ill of congestion of the brain in her father's home, the old Seward mansion on Madison Place, and died on February third.¹²

Colonel Coppinger arrived in Washington from Columbus, Ohio, the day before his wife's death. At ten a.m. on Wednesday, February 4, 1890, a brief service was held at the home of her parents after which her body was taken to St. Matthew's Church where

⁹ *New York Tribune*, Saturday, April 9, 1887, p. 1, col. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, April 10, 1887, p. 1, col. 5; April 13, 1887, p. 1, col. 3; April 15, 1887, p. 1, col. 6; April 20, 1887, p. 5, col. 5.

¹¹ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, "George Shannon," by Daisy Shannon, vol. X, no. 4, p. 551; *ibid.*, vol. X, no. 1, p. 32, "Events Among the Muskogees during Sixty Years" by C. W. Turner.

¹² Charles Edward Russel, *Blaine of Maine*, New York, 1831, p. 426.

Father Thomas Sherman, son of General Sherman, celebrated requiem mass; Cardinal Gibbons read the burial service and blessed the body; the choir chanted the Miserere. Mrs. Blaine was escorted by Colonel Coppinger; Secretary Blaine had a daughter on his arm and they were followed by James G. Blaine, Jr., with his other sister; Emmons Blaine with his wife; President and Mrs. Benjamin Harrison, Vice President and Mrs. Levi P. Morton and members of the cabinet.¹³

The remains were buried in Oak Hill Cemetery, Washington, D. C. Mrs. Coppinger was born March 18, 1861 and lived in Augusta, Maine, until her marriage. During her married life she had lived at Fort Leavenworth, Fort Assiniboine, and Fort Gibson. At the time of her passing the Coppinger home was on Governor's Island, New York. She left two sons, Blaine, six years old and Connor who was four.

On October 23, 1890, Colonel Coppinger was detailed to Paris, France, to obtain information and he remained there until April 25, 1891. He became a full colonel January 15, 1891 and commanded the Twenty-third Infantry.

The Bannock Indians became aroused when some lawless white men killed two or three of their tribesmen who were on a hunting expedition to the Jackson's Hole country, Wyoming. Governor Richards of Wyoming and the Indian agent at Fort Hall, Idaho, asked for troops because of the warlike attitude of the Indians towards the white settlers. A squadron of the Ninth Cavalry and a battalion of the Eighth Infantry under Major Adna R. Chaffee were ordered from Fort Robinson in July, 1895, to Market Lake, Idaho, where they took up the march to the scene of expected trouble. General Coppinger took part in this expedition, going from Omaha with Indian Inspector Province McCormick. The troops arrived at Jackson's Hole July 31, and engaged in returning the Bannocks to the Fort Hall Reservation, after which the excitement soon subsided. Jackson's Hole was the old hunting ground of the Bannocks but there "the last of America's big-game shooting was being reserved for those Americans who were wealthy enough to penetrate that country with the necessary transportation and equipment."¹⁴

General Coppinger, the United States district attorney of Wyoming and several army officers and McCormick met the governor of Wyoming to discuss the matter of the Bannocks hunting in the Jackson's Hole country and the Inspector reported: "I think I can safely say that I have discovered no disposition on the part of a single Indian to undertake for himself any revenge. . . There seems to be none of the soreness or sullenness that one would ordi-

¹³ *New York Tribune*, Monday, February 3, 1890, p. 7, col. 4; Wednesday, February 5, 1890, p. 5, col. 4.

¹⁴ William Addleman Ganoe, *The History of the United States Army*, New York, 1924, pp. 368-69; William Harding Carter, *The Life of Lieutenant General Chaffee*, Chicago, 1917, p. 119.

narily expect to see after the perpetration of such a dastardly, cowardly, preconcerted, outrageous crime as was inflicted upon these defenseless persons by the so-called law officers of Wyoming."¹⁵

During 1893, 1894, and 1895 a number of high officials recommended Coppinger for brigadier general; letters are on file in the War Department from General H. G. Wright and R. C. Kerens of Missouri, Governor J. S. Hogg of Texas, Governor C. A. Culberson of Texas, Senator S. B. Elkins of West Virginia and Hon. Robert R. Hitt of Illinois, and many others. William Russell Grace, ex-mayor of New York, stated that Coppinger had fought in thirty of the hottest battles in the Civil War.

The promotion of Coppinger to brigadier general April 25, 1895, vice General Wesley Merritt, caused unpleasant criticism as he was said to have been jumped over the heads of twenty-eight colonels.¹⁶

From Fort Clark, Texas, April 29, 1895, Coppinger acknowledged receipt of his commission as brigadier general. May 14, 1897, General Coppinger wrote the War Department from Omaha, Nebraska, that he would retire if given the same promotion as Generals Wheaton and Forsyth, parallel cases.¹⁷

He was hoping for active duty in case of hostilities in the spring of 1898, and wrote the War Department to that effect in spite of his near retirement for age. Early in May he was appointed a major general of volunteers in command of the Fourth Army Corps at Camp Wheeler, Huntsville, Alabama. This corps was organized at Mobile and in June had a strength of 20,816.¹⁸

General Coppinger was retired October 11, 1898, by operation of law of June 30, 1882. He died at his home, 820 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., November 4, 1909; of double pneumonia. Funeral services were held at St. Matthews Church and interment was in Arlington National Cemetery where he had selected his lot near the graves of old comrades. Pall bearers were Brigadier General Theodore Swan, General Robert M. O'Reilly, Admiral F. M. Ramsay, Brigadier General C. R. Edwards, Colonel Robert T. Emmet, Major David S. Stanley, Major Frank McIntyre, Chief Justice Harry M. Clabaugh, Hon. John D. Crimmins of New York, Captain Dudley Winthrop and Captain A. W. Perry. The Engineer Band played the funeral march. There was also a trumpeter.¹⁹

¹⁵ *Report* Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1896, pp. 57-9.

¹⁶ AGO, "Old Files," Albert M. Hamer, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, October 27, 1895, to Daniel S. Lamont, Secretary of War. "Army officers are kicking because Coppinger, a junior colonel, has been appointed to a brigadiership in the army . . . and it was through Mrs. Blaine's influence that he was appointed . . . An attempt to procure his promotion at the hands of President Harrison met a failure which led to a spirited quarrel between Harrison and Mrs. Blaine" (*Fort Smith* [Arkansas] *Elevator*, May 3, 1895, p. 2, col. 6).

¹⁷ AGO, "Old Files," Coppinger.

¹⁸ Ganoe, *op. cit.*, p. 372; *Nelson's Encyclopaedia*, New York, 1907, Vol. 3, p. 363.

¹⁹ AGO, "Old Files," Coppinger.

LEROY LONG—TEACHER OF MEDICINE

By Basil A. Hayes

CHAPTER 9.

Meanwhile events moved inexorably toward their final decree as to the destiny of LeRoy Long. As far back as 1899 he had read a paper before the Indian Territory Medical Association entitled "Merit Versus Time Requirement For Graduation In Medicine", thus stamping himself as one who was interested in medical education. It was generally known throughout the Indian Territory that his record in medical school had been of the very highest quality, because Dr. Fulton and others who were his friends had discussed it among themselves. The unusual energy and ability which he threw into the work of the Indian Territory Medical Association served to further spread this knowledge. When in his capacity as Chairman of the Choctaw Board of Health and later of the Indian Territory Board of Health, he was constantly called upon to pass upon the requirements of men practicing medicine in the Indian Territory, it was further evidence of his intense interest in the higher ideals of medical practice. As each succeeding year showed him growing stronger and stronger in his abilities, showed him producing better and better papers, and as he traveled to and from the great clinics with different members of the profession, it is small wonder that he was regarded by his friends and associates of the east side of this state as a leader in every form of medical activity. Finally when the two territories merged to become one state, shortly after he moved to McAlester and began to practice surgery, his name was spread over the western territory by being made Counselor-at-Large for the State Medical Association. From this point on his rise was more rapid than ever, and he was universally regarded as one of the most brilliant and successful surgeons in the state of Oklahoma.

In 1911 he was appointed by Governor Lee Cruce to be a member of the State Board of Medical Examiners. This position he filled until in 1915 he was appointed Dean of the Medical School by the Board of Regents of the Oklahoma State University, during the administration of Governor Robert L. Williams. Serving on this Board with him was another brilliant man who had made a mark in Oklahoma medical history. This was Dr. Francis Bartow Fite, of Muskogee, who had begun practicing in the Indian Territory on November 1, 1889, and who had had the distinction of training under Dr. John A. Wyeth of New York City.

Dr. Fite was a few years older than Dr. Long and was himself a man of great and brilliant attainment in medicine. He had received his training in surgery during the very period when Lister's teachings were first heard of in America, and therefore was an original exponent of the new science. Dr. Fite and Dr. Long had been friends for many years through their association in the In-

dian Territory Medical Association and when they were both made members of the State Board of Medical Examiners, their friendship became closer than ever. After serving as a member of the Board of Examiners, most of the time as President, for two years, Dr. Fite was then appointed a member of the State Board of Education. This was in 1913, and the State Board of Education at that time had jurisdiction over all the schools of the state, with the exception of the A. & M. College at Stillwater, and the problems of the State University occupied a considerable portion of the Board's time. It was their largest school and their costliest one; it had the most departments and the most political complications; and probably the most troublesome department of all was the class "B" medical school, located in Oklahoma City, which had never been particularly welcomed by the faculty at Norman.

Here as in so many other states, a wide gulf seemed to exist between medical education and other forms of education. Possibly this is because a medical school requires so much money to run it that the president feels that he must rob other departments in order to supply it. Certainly in the year 1915, the President of the University of Oklahoma had no conception of the requirements of a first-class medical school, because the amount of money allotted the Medical Department that year for student assistants and laboratory supplies was the magnificent sum of six hundred dollars. Such an amount would not run the smallest sub-division of one department, much less a full medical school! Likewise it seems difficult for professional groups in other fields of activity to understand the iron clad rules and regulations imposed on the medical profession by its own organization, rules and regulations in regard to educational requirements which are more strictly observed than possibly in any other field of human activity. Since this is true, medical men constitute a sort of closed group, having their own code of ethics, their own ideas of right and wrong, their own knowledge of the capabilities of their various members, and firmly resent any outside influence. This being the case, medical schools sometimes suffer because of the lack of understanding of state officials. Such officials may or may not include the administrative heads even of the universities sponsoring the school.

The struggling medical department of the University of Oklahoma was in just such a condition, being inadequately staffed, half maintained, and wholly misunderstood by all those who were in a position to do something for it. It stood in need of a champion in high circles who could combine the spirit of medical ethics with political power, and withal who could understand the financial and physical requirements necessary for the maintenance of a first-class medical school.

Dr. Francis Bartow Fite was just such a man. He was a typical doctor, who understood the viewpoint of the medical profession from the highest to the lowest quarters. He was an unusually

brilliant man, and he stood very high politically, being a member of the all powerful State Board of Education. He made up his mind that the cause of Medical education should no longer suffer in comparison with the other colleges of the University.

The President of the University at this time was Dr. Stratton Brooks, who apparently was not able to get the school organized and going. Dr. Fite revolved the matter over in his mind and discussed it with other leading physicians of both Oklahoma and Indian Territory. From his biography as written by Dr. LeRoy Long, I quote:

"With characteristic zeal, industry, and intelligence he took an active part in stabilizing the educational system of the state. He was intensely interested in the development of the Medical Department of the State University, which was then classed as a "B" grade or second-rate school. Due largely to his persistent efforts over a period of nearly two years, there was a change of administration of the school, after which its progress was satisfactory."

Dr. Fite evidently talked the matter over frankly with Dr. W. J. Jolly, who was the acting dean of the school. He and Dr. Jolly were friends and could face facts squarely as they were. They were both interested in the cause of medical education, and in the mind of each of them came the same idea. They talked it over and agreed upon it. At any rate, Dr. Long says:

"In 1913, Dr. W. J. Jolly, then acting Dean of the school, and I were guests at the LaSalle Hotel, Chicago, while attending a meeting of surgeons. In conversation one evening, he told me that my name had been mentioned in connection with the position and asked me if I would consider it. I thanked him but replied that I did not think I could.

A little later in the same year Dr. F. B. Fite, of Muskogee, who had been designated a member of the State Board of Education, then in charge of the University, spoke to me at some length about the matter, presenting reasons why I should be willing to serve. I was grateful, but I told him that I did not think I ought to agree to take the place.

In 1914 Dr. Fite called me by telephone. He said, "Long, the Board of Education meets tomorrow, and we are going to elect you Dean of the Medical School." I thanked him but told him that I could not accept. He insisted, and I told him that I would be up to see him on the next train, which would leave McAlester (my home) in half an hour. Arriving at Muskogee, I saw Dr. Fite at once, telling him that I appreciated his kindness and confidence so much that I had made the trip to thank him and to explain why I felt I should definitely decline. I pointed out that to abandon friends and clientele and a perfectly satisfactory work that I had spent years in building up would be a tremendous sacrifice; that I had no desire to be Dean of a "B" grade school, and that to do the work that would have to be done to advance it to "A" grade would mean additional sacrifices, worry, and expenditure of energy. He admitted the force of my arguments and was good enough to let the matter rest for the time being.

In May, 1915, I was again requested to serve. This time Dr. John W. Duke, of Guthrie, with whom Dr. Fite had been in communication, was spokesman. Great pressure was brought to bear. Appeal was made to my sense of duty to the medical profession. I hesitated and when I hesitated, I was lost (if I may employ a figure that I hope is not quite applicable) and the next day I was elected."

Ex-governor Williams, in commenting on this appointment, says:

"I had known Dr. Long for many years, not well but socially. I knew that he was a good man and bore a fine reputation among the doctors. When I became Governor and moved to Oklahoma City, I found that the medical school was not being run satisfactorily. Some doctors of Oklahoma City were using it for their own personal profit and did not particularly wish to see it improve. They knew that if it were made a first-class institution, they could not use it to increase their private practice and hence their income. The only hospital facilities they had were in a private institution belonging to one of the surgeons, who made his own interest paramount and, therefore, interfered with the proper teaching of the young men who were studying. I found that most of the boys of Oklahoma were going out of the state to take their medical courses. I talked to some of them and inquired why, and they told me that it was because Oklahoma only had a "B" grade school, which diploma was worthless to them. I made up my mind to correct this situation as far as possible. When I talked to the members of the State Board of Education about it, they recommended Dr. Long for the place. One doctor in particular recommended him. That was Dr. John A. Hatchett of El Reno. After learning of his qualifications and knowing that he was a good man as well as a good democrat, I insisted that he be appointed. Dr. Hatchett, Dr. Duke, and Dr. Fite all recommended Dr. Long. They said Dr. Long ought to move to Oklahoma City. They felt that the American Medical Association would give an "A" class rating to this school if we made him Dean. I wrote to the members of the Board of Education and asked them to meet at Norman. I asked them to get the resignation of the dean or I was going to veto their appropriation. In the meanwhile Long was to let us know whether he would take it or not. Finally he agreed that if we made him Dean and Professor of Surgery that he would come for three thousand dollars a year."

Contrary to the belief of many men who have thought that Dr. Long sought and obtained his appointment as Dean by political maneuvering, it was probably the hardest decision he was ever forced to make when he decided to leave McAlester and come to Oklahoma City. He had lived there for eleven years, during which time he had climbed out of the class of general practitioner into a strict specialty of surgery. During this time his income had increased until it was adequate for all his wants. Both he and Mrs. Long, as well as the children, like the town of McAlester, and were well and favorably known to all the inhabitants of the city.

Dr. Long was at this time forty-seven years of age, and it is difficult for a doctor to uproot himself at this age and become re-established in a new and different community. In spite of all the pressure that was put upon him by his medical friends, he hesitated and considered the move for a long time, discussing it with Mrs. Long and his brother, who lived in Denison, Texas. Dr. Tom felt that he ought to take it. He said, "You ought to go back and tell them that you are coming. Your boys are growing up, the University is close to you, and you will be in a bigger city. I regard it as an opportunity."

Finally one day the matter went far enough that he was actually offered the place. He called Mrs. Long and told her that he was coming home for lunch because he had some matters to dis-

cuss with her. He had hardly reached home when the telephone rang, and long distance informed him that Governor Williams in Oklahoma City, wished to speak to him. When he answered the telephone, the Governor urged him to accept the appointment and assured him of his complete and unqualified cooperation. Even so, Dr. Long held him off until he could come to Oklahoma City and investigate the matter more definitely. A few days later he came to Oklahoma City and agreed to accept the appointment.

This brought about a number of problems. He had to dispose of his home, and arrange for someone to take over his practice in McAlester. These matters required time and it took him some months, but he succeeded in getting Dr. George Kilpatrick, of Wilburton, to come to McAlester and take his home and office. Dr. Kilpatrick was an old friend of many years' standing who had made a European trip with him, and whose ethical principles and professional skill had won Dr. Long's confidence. He continued to practice in McAlester for a number of years until his retirement.

On May 28, 1915, a letter was written to Dr. LeRoy Long, in McAlester, Oklahoma, from Governor R. L. Williams. The letter head bears the name of A. N. Leecraft, Secretary to the Governor, and Ancel Earp, Chief Clerk. It read as follows:

"My dear Doctor:

I am advised by members of the Board of Education that on yesterday you were elected as Dean of the Medical College of this state to take the place of Dean C. R. Day, whose term expires on September 1, 1915. I want to congratulate the state on your election to this place. You will be officially advised of your election in due course by the President of the State University.

Dr. Fite was a member of the Board of Education and after I told him that you would accept the place, he evinced an enthusiasm and a determination to bring about your election at once so that you could make your preparations accordingly.

I hope to see the Medical School make great growth under your administration and it will give you a great opportunity. This puts you officially, in a titular way, at the head of the medical profession of the State and gives you a residence in the largest city of the State.

This is an honor that you merit and the public service that you render will be of great distinction to yourself and usefulness to the State.

Very sincerely your friend,

R. L. Williams."

On that same day another letter came to Dr. Long from the State Board of Education, reading as follows:

"Dear Dr. Long:

The State Board of Education yesterday elected you Dean of the Medical School to succeed the present Dean, Dr. Curtis R. Day. You are expected to begin service as Dean on September 1st. You will receive formal notice of your election from President Stratton D. Brooks of the University. I want to say that I am personally delighted with this action on the part of the Board and wish you the greatest possible success in the work.

Very truly yours,

Leslie T. Huffman,

Secretary, State Board of Education."

One thing stands out with crystal clearness in this whole matter. It is plain that Dr. Long was fearful of the political job and was much more concerned that he be made Professor of Surgery than that he be made Dean of the school. In looking through his correspondence and old papers, numerous places are found where his name is typed LeRoy Long, Dean, and where he added in pen, Professor of the Principles and Practice of Surgery and Clinical Surgery. He recognized that the tenure of office of a dean might be short; but if he were established in Oklahoma City as a surgeon, he would still be doing the thing he loved best after his political days were over.

CHAPTER 10.

One of the life long characteristics of Dr. Long was that he was slow to make up his mind, often times almost had to be pushed into undertaking a heavy responsibility but having decided to accept it, he threw himself into it with the courage of a lion and let nothing stand in his way until he succeeded in achieving it. When he finally agreed to accept the appointment and heard the news that he had been elected, even then he wondered whether or not he had been wise.

As a young man he had come west to get away from the medical school, the dissecting room, and the library. He had gone out into a raw and undeveloped country of fresh air and cattle and Indians. Now at last he had returned to the laboratory, the dissecting room, and the library, and was once more a medical school teacher.

With characteristic energy he took hold of his new task. He wrote to Dr. Stratton D. Brooks, President of the University, and asked him to meet him in Oklahoma City, so that they could go over the matter together. Dr. Brooks was slightly hostile and felt that the appointment of the new dean had been forced upon him, which indeed it had been. One wonders at this juncture why a president of a university is as well qualified or should feel as well qualified to choose the dean of a medical school as would be a committee of members of the profession itself. Medicine is a highly technical calling, and it is a universal opinion of doctors who know that it is impossible for the ordinary layman to evaluate the ability of a doctor. However Dr. Brooks may have felt, he soon adjusted himself to it and became a warm friend of Dr. Long.

They found that the school was indeed in bad shape.

"There were no full time teachers. The school was housed in temporary quarters at Norman and had no hospital except a leased one of forty beds, the owner reserving certain rights and privileges. (Rolater Hospital). The combined school and laboratory was a tiny room with but little more equipment than should be found in a physician's office. **** There was no X-ray equipment. There was no provision for biochemistry. **** Members of the staff personally furnished apparatus and instruments for examination, treatment, and surgical operations. **** I made it clear that I could not undertake the task without some definite provision for

improvement. The president of the University helped all he could with the limited funds at his disposal."

The above quotations are Dr. Long's own words, charitably describing the facilities which he found the medical school possessed of when he took the responsibility of being its dean. As a matter of fact, the facilities were even worse than they sound. The only real hospital service offered the students was a service provided in the Rolater Hospital, which had been leased by the University for a period of ten years at a rental of eight thousand dollars per year. The original plant consisted of the Rolater home, a large two-story dwelling and on the same grounds a small hospital. In this was an ordinary operating room. The University agreed to increase the bed capacity of the hospital to sixty beds, of which twenty-six were to be clinical beds and thirty-four private beds. The State also built two new operating rooms and established a dispensary and out-patient department in the basement of the hospital. They set aside a certain number of beds for the private use of Dr. Rolater, and granted him the use of the operating room at a specified time. The administrative offices, classrooms, and library of the medical school were in the home building, where the kitchen was used as a clinical laboratory. In addition to these facilities, Oklahoma City General Hospital, located at that time some four blocks from Rolater Hospital, allowed them twenty-five beds in the emergency department. All other hospital plants and dispensary beds were located so far away from the Rolater Hospital as to be of little or no practical value to students. They looked good on paper, but were not under control of the University in any sense and were not practical for teaching purposes.

After looking the situation over and learning exactly what he had to work with, Dr. Long went to the Capitol and consulted Governor Williams, who in turn authorized the Board of Affairs to take such steps as might be necessary to build and equip a chemical laboratory, to buy X-ray equipment, and to secure additional hospital and clinical facilities. Following this action, the City Hospital at Third and Stiles Streets, Oklahoma City, was leased and converted into a combination school and hospital, a clinical laboratory was built, and an X-ray plant was installed.

This much was done immediately and with the Governor showing so much interest in the project, Dr. Long felt encouraged. He moved his family to Oklahoma City and began work in real earnest, forgetting for the time being his own interests. It is true that he opened an office for the practice of surgery, but he was in it very little. He spent all the forenoon working in the school, planning for new improvements, and studying the problems he was having to meet. It must be remembered that he was not a school man primarily, and that he was not familiar with the most recent developments of medical school requirements, all of which constituted a batch of literature to be read and digested and correspondence which

must be undertaken in order to familiarize himself thoroughly with what was required in order to place the school on a firm foundation.

It was his greatest desire to obtain an "A" rating for the school, and in order to do this he knew that the fundamental equipment and hospital facilities required by the American Medical Association must be purchased and installed. Not only this but the Chicago officials of the American Medical Association must be convinced that the school was not merely a political football but rather an "A" rating, the standards thus set up would be maintained. A world of prejudice in Oklahoma City had to be overcome and the influence and help of these doctors (some of whom felt that the Governor had snubbed them in taking an outsider) must be lined up and put to work.

After the improvements began to go into effect and it seemed fairly certain that a new day was dawning for the school, Dr. Long went to Chicago, taking along with him Dr. A. L. Blesh. Here they met Dr. Arthur W. White, who was visiting in Chicago and who was a personal friend of Dr. Arthur Dean Bevin and Dr. N. C. Caldwell, President and Secretary respectively of the Council on Medical Education. At this conference the earnestness of these three faculty members was most impressive. They did not ask for advancement in rating, because they knew the school did not merit it. They only asked for patient advice and constructive criticism. Dr. Long says:

"I made the statement that as long as I was Dean of the school, the regulations and ideals of the Council would be carried out, that if any circumstances making that impossible should arise, *I would retire. That pledge has been kept.*"

As time went on, additions were made to the faculty. Entrance requirements and standards were raised. The Out-Patient Department was enlarged, the clinical facilities generally were improved. Up to the time of Dr. Long's appointment, the State had furnished such a small amount of support for the school that everyone was discouraged, and the clinics which were already organized in St. Anthony Hospital and other places were about to be withdrawn. Now after even a few months, they not only were not withdrawn but were greatly increased. A few months after his appointment, Dr. Long was able to say the following:

"In the work of the school the very first thing upon which emphasis is placed is efficient and systematic service on the part of the teaching staff. **** It is well understood by all, therefore, that men are on the faculty for but one purpose—to render acceptable service. As we see it, this is a basic essential, for an enthusiastic and able corps of teachers may make up to a great extent for lack of equipment and other facilities. **** In addition to the full-time men at Norman, we have here at Oklahoma City, fifty odd active members of the faculty, and there is a perfectly satisfactory esprit de corps. **** There are no bickerings, no jealousies apparent. **** We are endeavoring to impress upon the students that medicine is not a money-making vocation, but a profession that should be dedicated to service of humanity. We are trying to encourage them to have ideals, and to show them that if the medical man

will conscientiously work for the realization of an ideal based upon the traditional conception of altruistic service to his fellow being, the mere matter of making a living will take care of itself. We realize that this is a heavy undertaking, for all of us know, although we may blush with shame when we think about it, that the spirit of commercialism has, especially of late years, been too often manifest in the ranks of our profession. **** But some of us have enough faith to make us feel like continuing the job, for, God willing, we believe the time is not far distant when our work will bear abundant fruit, and those who have wandered away from the paths of professional rectitude and traded upon the misfortunes of the sick will be forgotten, or, worse, and perhaps more justly, remembered with undisguised disgust. **** Recently an arrangement was made through which a considerable sum of money is made immediately available in connection with the present needs of the School of Medicine. Temporarily, this will place us in a splendid situation. Through this arrangement we will be able to install all the equipment now needed both at Norman and Oklahoma City. At present we are operating two hospitals at Oklahoma City—University Hospital and University Emergency Hospital—with an aggregate capacity of 100 beds. In addition, we have clinical arrangements with St. Anthony's Hospital and with several maternity hospitals. This gives the School of Medicine excellent clinical facilities. **** The school is now supplied with all the required full-time professors, and, in addition thereto, we have a full-time pathologist and an expert anesthetist on salary in connection with the work of our two hospitals. After careful consideration, we believe we are justified in making the statement that our work in the School of Medicine, both at Norman and at Oklahoma City, is "A" grade, but we are in "B" grade, and we believe we are kept there mainly for the reason that the work of our clinical years is conducted in rented property. We do not believe that the Council on Medical Education looks with favor upon this temporary, unsettled situation of the school—an unfortunate, crippling situation for a department of the University of the great state of Oklahoma.

This brings us to the most important matter in connection with our most urgent need if we are to grow in the future. If Oklahoma University is to have a medical department of the kind she should have—a medical department of real merit and, withal, a source of greatest good to the people of the state, we must have a large clinical hospital at Oklahoma City. Our ideal is a three hundred bed hospital with an arrangement through which the counties of the state shall send the indigent sick and crippled and afflicted to us for treatment."

Accordingly, in January, 1917, a bill was introduced into the Legislature, providing for two hundred thousand dollars to construct a University Hospital to be used as a teaching institution for the medical school. It had been planned to have it introduced to the Senate but the Senate Hospital Committee refused to report favorably on the bill and recommended that "it do not pass."

Certain doctors in Oklahoma City were not in favor of the hospital, among them, Dr. J. B. Rolater, who was the owner of the hospital under lease by the school and which was being used as a teaching hospital at that time. The matter remained deadlocked for a time. Paul Fesler, who was working all the time lobbying for the bill, grew discouraged and said it was hopeless. Finally Dr. Rolater told Dr. Fite that if his lease could be allowed to run on, he would stop lobbying against the bill. The friends of the bill decided to allow it to run and Dr. Long requested and obtained

a rehearing before the Senate Committee in the Senate Chamber. It was held at noon and a large number of members of the faculty and students attended the hearing: I quote Dr. Long's words:

"With impassioned pleas and unanswerable logic, one after another presented the claims of the School of Medicine; and on that day we solemnly promised that if we could get help, we would remove the odious stigma of "B" grade. And then the members of the medical profession came to our assistance. The members of the Legislature were anxious to secure reliable information, and they received it from the physicians of the state. The struggle continued for longer than two months, when in March, 1917, just before the adjourning of the Legislature, the bill passed with an overwhelming majority. With this victory, the state of Oklahoma now had a class "A" school, whose entrance requirements were as high as any school in the country, whose graduates were receiving adequate instruction, and whose laboratories and equipment were up to the standard required by the American Medical Association. Not only this, but the poor people of the state of Oklahoma finally had a hospital to which they could come and obtain the best type of medical attention."

It was not all eloquence and unanswerable logic, however, which caused the bill to pass. The powerful influence of Governor Williams was on their side and even after the Senate had recommended that it not pass, the governor threatened to veto the college appropriation unless the bill was passed in three days. He says that organized medicine was not back of the bill to build the University Hospital. He says that he and Dr. Long did it. Most likely he is correct.

CHAPTER 11.

The new University Hospital was a box like structure built on the bare, treeless side of a hill southeast of the Capitol. It was considerably removed from other buildings of the city, but a street-car line ran past it and a paved street led to it, thus giving access from the city out that way. Not a dollar of the two hundred thousand dollars was spent for architectural beauty, but every penny went into useful construction for the service of the patients. In spite of its lack of adornment, however, the opening of the hospital and the granting of an "A" rating by the Council on Medical Education marked the dawning of a new day in the medical history of Oklahoma. Not only was Dr. Long and the medical faculty happy over this, but more than hundred students as well as leading members of the profession throughout the state were overjoyed that the goal had at last been reached. A great banquet was held at the conclusion of an all day celebration. Prominent officials of the state of Oklahoma and of the State Medical Association attended the banquet and one and all pledged their support and efforts in maintaining the standards of the institution. The banquet was in charge of the senior students of the school; and Dr. Leonard C. Williams, who was then from Pawhuska, was the toastmaster. Those doubting ones who had come to scoff, remained to praise; and the swift and impressive manner in which the new dean had accomplished the building of a first-class medical school constituted an enduring

monument to his ability and automatically made him the acknowledged leader of the profession in the state of Oklahoma.

The hospital was first opened for the reception of patients in August, 1919, and had a normal bed capacity of one hundred and seventy-six. During the next two years this capacity was greatly increased by the addition of an administration building and other repairs, making the total bed capacity at this time two hundred and seventy-six with twenty-five other beds which could be used in case of emergencies. It had well equipped laboratories and an X-ray department, as well as diet kitchens, work shops, and a laundry. Also its record system was well under way. Such an institution was large enough to require considerable personnel and organization. Dr. Wann Langston was appointed Medical Superintendent by Dr. Long; and Paul Fesler, who had begun his career as office secretary for the Dean and who had grown up with the institution so that he understood every phrase of its management, was made Business Superintendent.

The patients were divided during the first year into medical, surgical and obstetrical services; and beginning on July 1, 1920, a medical and surgical resident physician was on duty at all times with internes working under them in each department. The number of students had increased to one hundred and thirty-two, there being forty-seven freshmen, thirty-seven sophomore, twenty-four juniors and twenty-four seniors. The out-patient clinic still remained at the original emergency hospital at Second and Stiles, and the average daily attendance jumped from one hundred to one hundred and fifty patients. So much had this attendance increased that it was impossible to give them adequate attention with the help available.

There was yet one large hurdle to be negotiated. The work of the first two years was still conducted at Norman, and was groaning because of inadequate housing facilities. The number of students enrolling for medicine had shown a sharp increase, and Dr. Long earnestly wished to bring the entire Medical Department to Oklahoma City. He knew that it was far better if students could have all four years in one location so that they would be in contact with patients and instructors during their entire period of instruction. He was forced to wait on this matter, however, and had to satisfy himself with a slower growth. In 1921 the Legislature appropriated sixty thousand dollars for the building and equipping of a nurses' home. Prior to this time the nurses had been quartered in a dwelling some two blocks west of the hospital. Not only were their quarters terribly crowded, but it was quite inconvenient in cold or wet weather so that the hospital was forced to provide transportation for them under such conditions. The new nurses' home was built directly back of the hospital and when it was finished and the landscaping of the grounds began to take form, the University began to look its part in the appearance of the city

in general. At the same time the nurses' home was built, the old laboratory quarters between it and the hospital were remodeled into a convenient and well equipped dispensary. All this time the old dispensary had remained at Second and Stiles—practically a mile away from the hospital. Now for the first time the hospital, nurses' home, and dispensary were all in one unit, the only remaining task being to build a medical school and bring the work of the first two years from Norman to Oklahoma City.

By this time Dr. Long had shown himself not only to be a fine teacher and a splendid surgeon, but a capable administrator and organizer. Also his inherently clean mind and high ideals permeated the entire faculty and were radiating themselves out in every direction through the many contacts which his associates had with other physicians of the state. At this time there were only two fully equipped hospitals in the state and both were in Oklahoma City. One of these was his immediate creation. Owing to his acknowledged ability as a speaker and his numerous old acquaintances throughout the state, he was continually called upon to visit various sections of the state and to attend medical meetings. Every act of his life was to make concrete and actual the dreams which had been growing in his heart since his earliest boyhood; and as he visited the hospital each day and saw the long line of eager, suffering people looking to him and his assistants for help, many times his heart went back to the day of his own graduation when he took the Oath of Hippocrates and dedicated his life to the service of humanity. No doubt he thought more than once of the talks he had had with old Dr. McLean under the shade trees of his North Carolina home. No doubt he thought of the long hours he had spent driving across the country in the cold and the wet as he practiced in Caddo, preparing himself for the day when he could do an even greater work, which was to train other men to take his place.

During the years 1917 and 1918, in addition to carrying on the tremendous load of building the medical school, Dr. Long likewise was forced to carry on his part of a national war effort. As a member of the draft board in Oklahoma City, much of his time was taken up examining army recruits. As a result of his efforts during this emergency, he was made a lieutenant colonel in the medical reserve, heading Base Hospital Number 56, which was to be ready for immediate service in case another national emergency should arise. Fortunately, none did arise during the remainder of his lifetime.

In 1925 both he and the school suffered a severe loss, when Paul Fesler was offered the superintendency of the University Hospital of Minneapolis. Paul had not only been the Business Superintendent of the hospital but was invaluable in many ways, carrying the full details of hospital administration with no effort whatever. He was a perpetual missionary for the University Hospital, traversing the state from end to end, making contacts with legislators,

physicians, and others interested in the welfare of patients. He was a splendid representative when the Legislature was in session, presenting the cause of the University Hospital in language which legislators could understand, bringing them over and demonstrating to them the need for further funds in order to develop the institution which had been started. He made it a business to make friends among all the political groups who controlled the destinies of the state of Oklahoma, and lived his work day and night. Perhaps he, more than any other man, was responsible for the rapid growth of the medical school when it once got a break. Not only was he doing these things at home, but he was attending national meetings and soon became known to the American College of Surgeons as one of the most capable administrators in the nation. Eventually he grew to be too big for his position and was called to Minneapolis. His going left the entire load of public relations on Dr. Long himself, which was more than one man could properly attend to.

Along with the loss of Paul from the working force of the hospital, there were other losses. Dr. Archibald K. West, formerly Dean of the School and Professor of Medicine, passed away. Also did Antonio D. Young and Dr. Arthur A. Will, all loyal and devoted faculty members who had helped build the institution to what it was. Naturally their places were taken by younger men, but Dr. Long felt their losses as personal friends.

Meanwhile the institution continued to grow. A Soldiers' Relief Bill was passed by the Legislature in 1921, and among other things it provided for hospital attention for disabled veterans who could not obtain emergency care from the Veterans' Bureau. Working in conjunction with this fund, the third west floor of the University Hospital was fitted up as a soldiers' ward, which it remains today.

At this same time it became necessary to establish a Social Service Department of the hospital, and the first head of this department was Miss Virginia Tolbert, who had been formerly Dean of Women at the University of Oklahoma at Norman.

Among other activities of Paul Fesler and members of the Orthopedic Department was the formation of a Crippled Children's Society. This had a membership throughout the state and speedily became a very powerful organization. Mr. Lew Wentz, a multimillionaire, of Ponca City, became greatly interested in its work and thereby was induced frequently to visit the University Hospital and see the corrective work which was being done among these children. Finally he conceived the idea of a donation of a more permanent type and decided to build a children's hospital on the grounds adjacent to the University Hospital, so that the children could be cared for properly by members of the faculty. He proposed a donation of three hundred thousand dollars, which could be added to by the Legislature to build the kind of hospital which would be needed and to equip it properly. There were some doubts

and hesitation, some committee hearings and rehearings, some argument pro and con, but finally the Senate and House of Representatives agreed to accept his donation and furnish the necessary equipment and grounds to put it into effect. The result was the erection of one of the most beautiful children's hospitals in the country, located on the hillside east of the University Hospital and forming a part of the same institution. It has a capacity of three hundred beds, and the work in it is done entirely by members of the teaching faculty of the University of Oklahoma. Needless to say, it is continually filled by children from every county in Oklahoma.

Finally in 1927, the long sought appropriation was secured to make the medical school a complete unit with the University Hospital. The Legislature was induced to provide funds for the construction of a medical school building to be erected across the street from the hospital on ground already owned by the state. Dr. L. A. Turley, assistant Dean of the School, was appointed to arrange for the plans and after they were prepared, the building was constructed. On November 2, 1928, it was dedicated to the service of the people of Oklahoma. The dedicatory address was made by Dr. Jabez N. Jackson, old time friend and associate of Dr. Long, who at this time was President of the American Medical Association.

CHAPTER 12.

By the time the medical school building was completed, the name of LeRoy Long began to be known more and more throughout the nation. As he traveled about to medical meetings he was recognized as an increasingly important authority in the field of surgery. Medical school men everywhere knew that he had taken a school practically from the start and within ten years had turned it into a class "A" school of the first order. Also they recognized that when he stood on his feet to talk in a medical meeting, they were sure to hear something that was unusually good. By reason of this, honors of various kinds began to flow to him without his seeking them. In addition to his long time membership in the county and state medical associations with their corresponding affiliation in the American Medical Association, he was a charter member of the American College of Surgeons. Throughout his life he was very proud of this and worked at it without ceasing. Also he was a member of the Oklahoma City Academy of Medicine, the American Association for the Study of Goiter, the Western Surgical Association (a very exclusive organization), and the Association of Medicine of North America. He was a fellow and ex-president of the Oklahoma Academy of Science. Due to his knowledge of French literature, he was a member of L'Association des Medecins.

His only hobby was the reading of French literature, and he mastered the language entirely without help when he was located in McAlester. Feeling the need of reading a foreign language in medicine, he sent away and bought a correspondence course in French. After studying this for a short time, he was able to find

a young French woman, who was governess for the children of a fellow citizen in McAlester, and obtained a few lessons in pronunciation from her. From this time on, his interest in the language was so great that he continued to work at it until he read it as well as he read English.

An important movement which started under Dr. Long's fostering tutelage was the Oklahoma City Clinical Society. This movement began in the mind of Dr. Earl D. McBride, then President of the Oklahoma County Medical Society; but the first meeting of committee members which outlined the policies and the plan on which the clinics would be handled each year was held in the University Hospital under Dr. Long's chairmanship in 1930. From that beginning has grown a meeting which has assumed national importance and attracts annually five or six hundred doctors to Oklahoma City. During the past ten years it has had as lecturers practically every famous man of medicine in the United States. Up to the year of his death, Dr. Long had served on its Advisory Committee and as a member of its Executive Board.

In 1926 he grew weary and decided to take another European trip for a vacation. He and Mrs. Long left for a trip to France and were gone most of the summer. During this time with his complete knowledge of French, he was able to get around and enjoy himself much more than on his previous visit. One of the exciting experiences which he recounted with great pleasure was a visit to the University at Lausanne, Switzerland, where he happened to see Professor Roux give the last lecture of his university career to the class in medicine. In his story of this visit one could detect the feeling of one teacher of medicine sympathizing with another as his career closed.

When Dr. Long's party reached the amphitheater, he noticed that it was decorated with flowers and that there was a general atmosphere of gloom prevailing the place. The old professor was talking to the students and occasionally a tear would roll down his cheek. Dr. Long was introduced to the Professor's daughter, who whispered to him that her father was giving his last lecture to the medical class because he had reached the age of retirement and must stop his work. Dr. Long felt embarrassed and told her that he would withdraw, that he did not wish to intrude and would excuse himself. She would not hear of it, however, but insisted on introducing him to her father, who immediately snapped out of his gloom and gave a special operative clinic for the American visitors. At this clinic he used an American made Bard-Parker knife, which he demonstrated to the class and praised very highly. Turning to Dr. Long, he asked him if he knew who invented this knife. Dr. Long did not know.

"It was not a surgeon; he would be too stupid," said Professor Roux.

After the clinic, Dr. Long's party was invited to stay for a few moments visit, during which time he and the professor became fast friends, and for some years after this they exchanged correspondence.

Also on this trip he visited various historic shrines, wherein he learned much about the work of Pasteur and other great medical heroes, who had been his delight as he studied medicine and fought his way upward in the world of science. He reflected these moments of hero worship in his later speeches and passed on to students the inspiration he drew from the great examples of these men.

In 1925 he attended a meeting of the American College of Surgeons in Philadelphia. An important part of the program was the Hospital Section, where he was listed to speak. When his time came, he got up and held the audience spellbound by his discussion of fee splitting, which he termed a "traffic in helpless human beings." Column after column was devoted to his talk in the Philadelphia newspapers; and an interesting fact is that in spite of the distinguished names who were present and who talked on that occasion, more space was allotted to his remarks than to all the others put together. Dr. Long stated that there were probably thirty thousand men in the United States performing operations who used means "other than their knowledge in obtaining patients". "They perform quick operations that are not necessary," Dr. Long declared, "and after bleeding patients of every penny, send them out to die. Such surgeons put men and women on the operating table and carve them up before the patient has time to consult a specialist. In many cases where operations were really necessary, such surgeons have refused to operate until assured of their fee." He went on to say that the remedy lay with the Fellows of the American College of Surgeons, who were pledged to give their skill and time freely to the poor.

The reaction to this speech was widespread, and in some quarters not too good. Many surgeons resented it bitterly and wrote letters to him protesting against such an accusation. Newspapers conducted forum discussions on the issue, and the uproar was remarkable. Especially was it so since Dr. Long had not the faintest idea that it would ever be published. He was merely talking to a group of fellow surgeons, pleading with them to maintain the same high principles of ethics which he himself believed in.

Dr. Long was devoted to his wife and two sons. It was one of the great regrets of his life that he had been so busy in applying himself to the ideals of the practice of medicine that he had little or no time for his family. He often advised young men not to get too busy to be with their children, and it was a source of the greatest pleasure when he learned that both of his sons wanted to become doctors. He made no particular attempt to influence them; and, in fact, the younger one thought for a time of going into business but finally swung around to his father's occupation, and it was noticeable to Dr. Long's friends how pleased he was at

his son's decision. He sent them both through Oklahoma University, then through Harvard University Medical Department. Upon graduation he arranged for them to have the finest possible internships, and then gave them each a trip to Europe. When they came back to Oklahoma City to locate with him, his joy knew no bounds. The three of them associated themselves together, forming the Le-Roy Long Clinic, under which name the two sons still operate.

Dr. Long was a member of many organizations. He early joined the Methodist Episcopal Church South and remained a steadfast member of that body until the day of his death. He was deeply religious and served as a steward at St. Lukes Methodist Church in Oklahoma City, for a number of years. Because of his grave and kindly bearing and his eloquence when on his feet, he was often mistaken for a member of the ministry. One of his strongest personal friends was Reverend Forney Hutchinson, who was for a number of years pastor of the church in Oklahoma City. Many times they were seen together, making rounds calling on patients in the late afternoons, and often Reverend Hutchinson would come with him out to the medical school and University Hospital and stay while Dr. Long saw all his patients and wound up his work for the day. Early in his career he became a member of the Masonic Lodge and enjoyed it exceedingly. While living in Caddo, he became a member of the B. P. O. E., and the Woodmen of the World. He was a life member of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and for more than twenty years was District Governor of the American College of Surgeons. All these organizations claimed a portion of his time, in addition to other numerous medical groups to which he belonged.

Dr. Long's character was an interesting complex. Naturally he was timid and shy, above the average, yet when urged to undertake a thing by his friends, he would start into it and show the courage of a lion. On moral principles he never compromised; and when once he became convinced that medicine was a high calling whose ethics should be the highest in the world, nothing could shake him from that belief. This being the case, all his life he was bitterly opposed to fee splitting or to any of the unethical practices which were condemned by organized medicine. That is why being dean of the medical school appealed to him. Here he could put into practice all his principles and live them completely, as well as teach them to the oncoming generation of younger doctors.

That is why when he went to Chicago he gave his pledge that he would run the University Hospital in accordance with the highest principles of organized medicine and when he could no longer do so, he would resign. And that is why when circumstances arose making it impossible for him to maintain those standards, he did resign promptly and without hesitation.

In 1929 he made another trip to Europe, in company with his son, Wendell, this time attending a World Conference for Crippled

Children, held in Geneva, Switzerland. Before leaving Oklahoma City, a telegram came to him from Paul H. King, of Detroit, Michigan, which read as follows:

Dr. LeRoy Long, Sr., Dean,
University School of Medicine,
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

I have learned with great pleasure of your attending the Geneva conference. Anxious for you to preside morning session, Tuesday, July 30th. Theme: Examination and diagnosis of crippled children. Also to make remarks on subjects you may be in a position to make. Glad to have you wire acceptance.

In his telegram, Dr. Long replied:

Paul H. King,
Detroit, Michigan.

I had not intended to attend Geneva conference but since I will be in Switzerland at the time, I accept your kind invitation to preside morning session, Tuesday, July 30th.

When he delivered his remarks in French, there was great applause in the hall. The official interpreter of the convention was a young Swiss, who was immensely elated that an American could speak French.

After the conference, he and Wendell returned to France, and made a leisurely tour through that country. It was Dr. Long's desire to know how the ordinary common people of France lived and thought; and for this reason their tour included many small towns which are not in the ordinary paths of travel. They went to Grenoble, then to Avignon, Nimes, and Carcassonne. At Nimes was located the ruins of a vast Roman coliseum, and while the scenery was good, the food and wine were no good. One hot day while here, they searched in vain for a cool drink of water, wine, or any other thing which might slake their thirst. After a vain search, they were forced to be content with a very inferior fare; and in spite of his love for France, Dr. Long confided to Wendell:

"The best thing about these people is their language."

From here they went to Toulouse and Bordeaux. His American appetite was plenty strong and after a few days of privation, he was anxious for some kind of food similar to what he was accustomed to. Going into a restaurant, he asked the waiter for an order of fried ham. Apparently the waiter had never heard of such a thing. He offered boiled ham, stewed ham, and every other kind of ham except fried. Dr. Long trotted out his best French and after a lengthy discussion with many gestures, he took the knife out of the waiter's hand, showed him how to slice off a piece of ham, put it into a skillet, and fry it; and finally was served what he wanted.

Shortly after this Dr. Long's sociological interest played out, and he became once more interested in things pertaining to medicine. A few days later they reached Paris, where he could hardly wait until he had seen the Pasteur Institute. He reached it late in the afternoon, almost at closing time, but an old attendant courteously

admitted him and asked if he would like to visit the tomb of Pasteur. A man who had worshiped Pasteur all his life and who had come three thousand miles to learn more about him naturally would. So he was led along a lengthy passage to a dark, cellar-like opening closed by iron gates. After opening these gates, the attendant led them down some steps into another passage leading to a cryptlike enclosure built of masonry. In this room was Pasteur's grave and when the lights were turned on, one could read across the ceiling the words, "Faith, Hope, Charity, Science." Dr. Long stood for a few moments in rapt contemplation, then slowly turned away and followed his guide. Perhaps of all the moments spent in his busy life of achievement, of inspiration, of study, and of dreams, this was the highest single point he ever reached. He often referred to it in making addresses to students in later years. Of all the heroes that Dr. Long worshiped, Pasteur stood the highest; and when in the fullness of time, such success came to him that he could travel across the waters and stand at the grave of this, the greatest hero of all, his cup of happiness was filled.

One other high point stood out in his memory of this trip. This was a visit to the *Ecole des Medecins* of the University of Paris (Sorbonne). Among the ancient buildings of this institution there is a long pasageway, lined by the statues of great men who have attained fame in the history of French medicine. This passageway is known as the Hall of Lost Footsteps, and here again Dr. Long saturated his soul with the admiration and the inspiration of men whose names have marked the way by which all modern medical science travels.

CHAPTER 13.

By 1930 the medical school and hospital unit were completed and all that remained was to add to them from year to year as the population grew and as the demands increased. Also both Dr. Long's sons had finished their schooling and were now at home practicing with him. It appeared as if his life work was principally done, and he could enjoy the fruits of many years spent in careful and conscientious labor.

The faculty was well organized and composed of men quite capable in their various specialties. The student body was enthusiastic and was doing good work, with an increased enrollment at the beginning of each school year. The students had more opportunity for clinical observation than they were able to take advantage of. Everyone was united and was agreed that the school was a good one and that its Dean had the universal respect and admiration of all who knew him. Ordinarily under such conditions, one would assume that the Dean would continue on until the inevitable toll of age had drained his vitality and abilities to a point where he would automatically be retired.

Such was not to be the case, however, in the fast moving state of Oklahoma. A new governor was elected, the Honorable William

H. Murray, a member of the original constitutional convention and a stickler for exact interpretation of laws. He swept into the office with the backing of a host of malcontents, who believed that almost everything in the state was being run against the interests of the people and who wanted a change. As always, there was the usual turnover of State employees in the various departments of government; and an institution as large as University Hospital was not to be overlooked by those who were seeking places for patronage favors. Compromises became necessary for those who desired to remain in power; and the appointment and naming of employees, even including the medical and business superintendents of the hospital, were more or less taken out of the hands of the University authorities and delegated to those whose primary interest was that of repaying political obligations.

Dr. Long stood against such wholesale changing of employees. He took the position that a hospital was an institution which should not be disturbed any more than was necessary. While he recognized that certain non-professional jobs might have a change of personnel without particular damage to the institution, he did not like the idea of discharging faithful employees and replacing them with political hangers-on, whose only qualifications consisted of knowing the right people. He had always managed to weather the storm of previous changes of governors by simply remaining neutral, but this time he could not do so. A more or less constant barrage of criticism was directed at him and those responsible for the management of the University, including all its divisions. Most of this criticism was absolutely unjust and unfounded and consisted of rumors announced before committees wherein the accused had no opportunity for refutation. Conscientious citizens do not like to be thus pilloried, even though the things for which they are criticized can be fully explained as being proper conduct under the circumstances. As a rule, they never are given the opportunity to explain, and newspapers and other organs of publicity are never able to reach the same audience with their explanations as was reached in the original sensational article of criticism. For these reasons, it was a very trying time for Dr. Long and those of his associates who were laboring as hard as possible for the good and steady management of the University Hospital and Medical School.

Along with these troubles came the usual demand of disgruntled elements for a fuller share in the operation of the hospital. Osteopaths, chiropractors, and other groups of healers were alert to the opportunity and began to demand that they be allowed to use the hospital. Notwithstanding the fact that the University Hospital was built primarily for the benefit of the Medical School and was operated by the faculty without salaries for the benefit of students, these groups, who could not qualify under the American Medical Association rule for faculty appointments, were perfectly

willing to ruin the standing of the school in order to carry their point.

Their complaint became so loud that it reached the ears of the Governor, who in looking over the original bill which provided for the construction of the hospital, found that the wording of the law was of such a nature that in his opinion they were legally entitled to attend patients in the institution. Looking back over the incident, it would seem that if he had taken thought for the good and best interests of the state at large, he would have found some method of avoiding the issue rather than to have harmed the school in the manner which his interpretation seemed likely to do. Regardless of the merits of his interpretation, it was naturally ruinous to the medical school; because the moment such irregular practitioners were allowed to participate in the care of patients within its walls, the approval of the American Medical Association was instantly and automatically withdrawn from the school and its rating completely lost.

Dr. Long attempted to show the Governor and those advising him the error of such an interpretation. They were not impressed by his plan, however. The American Medical Association and the American College of Surgeons meant nothing to them; and in their rugged individualism, they felt that no one had the right to tell them how an institution in Oklahoma should be administered. For a few days the matter stood thus, while the faculty and students anxiously awaited the Governor's decision. Finally on July 27, 1931, came an executive order from the Governor, reading as follows:

WHEREAS, there exists in Oklahoma City a State Institution known as the University Hospital, which hospital is for the treatment of diseases and to supply remedies for sick and suffering citizens of the state and to aid such sick and suffering as by law may be consigned to said hospital by any means or methods that will relieve their suffering, and

WHEREAS, Mrs. W. O. Burgett was placed in said hospital Saturday morning, July 25th, and

WHEREAS, The medical physicians state that there is very little hope for her recovery, and

WHEREAS, Dr. LeRoy Long has stated to the Governor over the telephone that there is very little hope for her recovery, and

WHEREAS, The husband of said Mrs. Burgett, through the advice of her neighbor and friend who is a practitioner known as chiropractic, informs him that Mrs. Burgett needs a combined treatment of medicine and chiropractic methods, and

WHEREAS, it is essential that every method be used that would relieve suffering humanity and particularly this patient lodged in a state institution, and

WHEREAS, the said institution is a public institution and should admit all physicians, surgeons, and other persons having remedies recognized and licensed by law of the state of Oklahoma, and the denial of the right of the patient and her family to have such treatment is a discrimination in the law between regularly licensed and lawfully permitted attendance upon the sick,

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Wm. H. Murray, Governor of the State of Oklahoma, do hereby direct that the said hospital shall permit any chiropractitioner to treat the said Mrs. Burgett and that the said authorities

of said institution may be authorized to be present while such treatment is progressing to the end that they may know at all times the condition of the patient. This order is effective at once.

Done this the 27th day of July, 1931.

By the Governor of the State of Oklahoma

Wm. H. Murray.

Attest: R. A. Sneed, Secretary of State

Una Lee Roberts, Asst. Secretary of State.

On the same day the University Hospital management was served with this order, there appeared in the newspapers the following articles:

"Home concocted remedies are best for the ails and pains that emanate from "Green apple" aches and digestive rumblings of a severe order, quoth Governor Murray.

"For appendicitis, eat grapes, chewing up the hulls and swallowing the seeds whole," his dissertation on the ills of one's anatomy began.

"You can use raisins; soak them in water, don't boil them.

Unpolished rice makes for good teeth.

Use goat's milk for mineral matter to build up body substances.

Never eat roasting ears and sugary materials at the same sitting. It forms "choc" inside you. (He gestured that you might swell under such atmospheric conditions.) Boil your bananas; we always do."

Perhaps this last article was facetious and a concoction of a newspaper reporter. Whether it was or not, it indicated the general disposition of the governing authorities and the public at large to make a light joke of the issue between regular medicine and chiropractors.

Dr. Long could do nothing but comply with the governor's order because that was the law of Oklahoma. He made a desperate attempt to see the governor and get the order rescinded but had no success. He reported the matter to Dr. Bizzell, President of the University, and attempted to get him to do something about it. Dr. Bizzell was under tremendous fire from the same source, and no doubt was resenting the order as much as Dr. Long was; perhaps, however, he did not feel that the disapproval of the American Medical Association Council was as vital a matter as Dr. Long felt that it was. At any rate, it seemed impossible for him to bring the Board of Regents together and obtain their advice, so he suggested a waiting policy in the hope that eventually the matter could be straightened out.

Such a waiting policy was not possible for a man who had spent his life preaching and teaching ethical medicine and who had served on state board after state board, upholding those ideals. Nor was it possible for a man who had taken the oath of the American College of Surgeons and who had devoted his time and money in the cause of hospital standardization to temporize with such an issue in the slightest degree. More than all this, it was not in accordance with the pledge which Dr. Long felt that he had given to the American Medical Association officials when they granted an "A" rating to the school in the second year of his administration. He felt that his responsibility was primarily to them and to the medical profession rather than to the state of Oklahoma or

to its governing officials. Only in that way did he feel that he could discharge his obligation to the public. He placed the code of medical ethics higher than any other social responsibility and lived according to this to the very last of his official capacity.

Under such circumstances, therefore, there was nothing else he could do except to resign. In solitude, as was his custom, he thought the matter through and came to a conclusion. When he had finally decided on his course of action, he issued a call for a faculty meeting in the medical school auditorium. The meeting was held on the evening of August 7, 1931. When they had assembled, Dr. Long gave a history of the matter to them, laying the situation clearly before them and explaining that he could no longer be the head of an institution which admitted irregular practitioners on even terms with the members of the regular profession and which would inevitably bring about a loss of rating of the medical school. He assured them that he had no desire to resign under fire nor had he any criticism of anyone; that it was not his idea to beg for help or mercy but that if the people of Oklahoma wanted a medical school of that kind, he did not care to be identified with it further and, therefore, was sending in his resignation on the following morning. He had thought it out to the end and felt that he had to resign, because the Governor had by a formal executive order interfered with the fundamental functions of the school and hospital without giving its officials an opportunity to be heard. The College of Surgeons had already served written notice on Dr. Long that if this condition were not immediately corrected, the University Hospital would be removed from the list of approved hospitals. It seemed to be impossible to bring the Board of Regents together for official action to end the chiropractor's visits, and Dr. Long did not feel that it was right to allow the institution to operate further under such a handicap. He knew that his resignation would immediately bring official action by the Board of Regents, and that the issue would be settled. Moreover he had given his pledge to the American Medical Association that if they would grant an "A" rating to this College of Medicine, he would conform to their requirements; and that when conditions arose making it impossible for him to do this, he would resign. Under the present circumstances, he could do nothing else. He expressed his deep appreciation and gratitude to each and every faculty member for their loyalty and kindness in helping him to build up the institution which they were all so proud of. He told them that his resignation was going to the President of the University that evening and that he would now turn the Chair over to the Vice-Chairman of the faculty.

Following his announcement, there was a shocked silence for a few minutes, then some abortive discussion which simply expressed the feeling of helplessness in the mind of every man present. Some were in favor of resigning as a faculty; others felt that surely some

way out of the difficulty would be found; still others felt that the duty of the faculty was to carry on with the patients until some final ruling was given or until the patients were turned over to the care of other doctors. Resolutions of regret were expressed, though everyone knew perfectly well that there was no use asking Dr. Long to maintain his position as Dean under such circumstances.

The meeting soon adjourned, and he walked out of the medical school building, never again to return in an official capacity. On the following morning he wrote a letter to the President of the University at Norman, stating that because of the intolerable situation and the obvious unwillingness of the Board of Regents to take any early steps to correct it, he was placed in a position where it was impossible for him to properly perform the functions of the Dean of the School of Medicine. He further stated:

"After carefully, deliberately, and sadly thinking over the whole matter, I regret to have to advise you that under the circumstances it will be impossible for me to continue my duties. I, therefore, hand you my resignation from the position of Dean of the School of Medicine and from the position of Professor of Surgery and Head of the Department of Surgery, effective immediately.

I cannot tell you how much pain it gives me to take this step. There are many reasons why it is painful, not the least of which is the annoyance that it might temporarily cause you. You have always helped us in every possible way, and I am profoundly grateful to you. If under the stress of the present situation I have seemed to be impatient, I trust that you will understand the motives which have prompted me."

On the following morning he came over and removed his personal effects from the office of the dean. As he was walking down the stairway, one of the younger instructors met him, stopped and shook hands, and expressed his deep and lasting regret that the school was losing him. Dr. Long merely smiled, patted the young man on the shoulder and said, "The king is dead! Long live the king!"

A few days later the Board of Regents of the University met and elected Dr. Lewis J. Moorman as Dean of the Medical Department. Likewise a short time later a ruling was secured from the Attorney-General, holding that chiropractors could not be admitted to practice in the University Hospital without the approval of the Board of Regents. The issue was carried through the Supreme Court and is now settled forever. If the school loses its "A" rating, it will not be because of irregular practitioners bringing patients to the University Hospital.

After his resignation as Dean of the Medical School, Dr. Long threw himself heart and soul into the work of his clinic. His two sons were now with him, and the three of them speedily built up their private work to where it demanded all his time and energy. He continued to contribute articles to various association meetings, not the least of which was the Oklahoma State Medical Association. Not only this but he remained active in its Council and never once did he lose sight of the interests of ethical medicine nor did he

cease striving constantly for higher standards and better laws governing the practice in the state of Oklahoma. He was one of the leaders of the profession in finally persuading the Legislature to pass a Basic Science Law, which went into effect during the year 1936. A man of his prominence and attainment could not be otherwise than leader as long as he was active; and in the year 1934, he was elected President of the Oklahoma State Medical Association, thus showing that the profession of Oklahoma still had faith in him which they had always had regardless of the fact that he had given up his work in the medical school. Two years later his name was nominated for the Oklahoma State Hall of Fame, and on November 16, 1936, his accomplishments were placed in the permanent record of the history of this state in order that future generations might know that he had been one of the men who have led in building the civilization which future generations will know as the state of Oklahoma.

The only patient who was ever neglected by Dr. LeRoy Long was his most precious one; namely, himself. The driving urge which caused him to fight for more and more knowledge as long as he lived, and the ambition which caused him to attempt to do the things which made him stand out above other men was so stern and vital a part of his nature that it caused him even from his youth to overlook such important matters as rest and food. Moreover he never seemed content to do an ordinary amount of work, but invariably took on a load fully two or three times more than he should have attempted.

Such constant driving shattered his health in Louisville to the extent that he broke down and could not carry on in that city. The result of this misfortune was that he came West in an effort to build up his health and to feel stronger and better. Possibly he obtained a slight tonic benefit from change of climate and more outdoor air, but he had still not learned the important lesson which most men learn earlier in life. During the two months he spent in Atoka, he broke down shortly afterwards with a severe attack of typhoid fever, which laid him up for six or seven weeks. Then as soon as he was able to go back, he began to practice so hard and faithfully that it is a miracle he survived as long as he did.

It has been pointed out earlier in this narrative that he had a great habit of staying up late at night so that he could read and think without interruption. This being his habit, when he was able to stay at home he did not obtain enough sleep; and as everyone who has had experience in country practice has learned for himself, there were very few nights during the first ten years of his practice when he was able to go home and get a full night's rest. Besides working unduly hard and sleeping too little and eating too irregularly, he continually took on himself undue tasks in the medical organizations to which he belonged. This pulled him away from home a great deal, taking him into committee meetings in

smoke filled rooms, where the air was not good and sleep was the last thing he thought of. While yet a boy somewhere along the line, he developed the habit of smoking and enjoyed it greatly, so that during the last few years of his life he smoked a great deal.

As a result of all these things, there came a time when something must snap. He began to notice irregularities of his heart beats somewhere around the time when he moved to Oklahoma City. Finally during the year 1938, he began to notice that after unusual amounts of smoking, eating, or labor, he had an uneasy feeling in the region of his heart, which to his medical mind was a foreboding of trouble. In February of this year, he fainted while working in St. Anthony Hospital. He recovered in a few minutes, however, and that evening delivered a paper before a medical meeting. Two months later, he had another severe attack of pain in the chest and was forced to cease work and place himself under the care of a physician. It was clinically apparent that he had suffered a myocardial infarction and when the diagnosis was definitely made and he understood what was his trouble, he knew that his days were numbered and began trying to conserve his strength and take care of himself. His movements became very slow and deliberate, and he feebly picked his way down the sidewalk like a very elderly man. He did not climb stairs but invariably rode an elevator. Handicapped with such a disability he did less and less work in the operating room. His sons tried to shield him in every way possible, but like an old fire horse who smells the smoke, he could not always be held back; and there were times when he would get out of hand and do more than his strength would permit. He finally ceased to operate, however, because he felt that it would not be right for a man as sick as himself to assume such a responsibility.

In September 1940, he grew much weaker and was forced to remain at home. This was not such a hardship for him because he could still enjoy his books and thoughts. Day by day, however, he grew weaker and suffered more and more physical agony. Finally there came a time when he realized that he could not recover. From this time on, reading no longer interested him, and he had only his thoughts to live with. During the week before his death, he suddenly requested Mrs. Long to send for one of the younger physicians of the city, a friend who had formerly been his assistant. Mrs. Long thought he wanted to chat over old times and hesitated to send the message. He kept insisting, however, and told her that he must see this man because there was little time to lose. The next day he seemed a little stronger and renewed his request, so that she telephoned the message which immediately brought the doctor over. Upon his arrival, Dr. Long shook hands with him, made him be seated, and told him that he had sent for him to ask him to carry out a very special request. Tears came in his eyes but he brushed them away, saying, "I am being foolish now. Please pardon me." Then when he had regained his composure, he said,

"I am going to die in the next two or three days, and I have sent for you because you are familiar with the record of my service in the University Hospital. You have always been my loyal friend, and I want to ask you to write the record of my life." He said, "I have always lived honorably and ethically, and I do not want my record to be left in any other way."

He then gave a detailed history of the last few days of his official career as Dean of the Medical School, explaining his side of the controversy. His friend listened carefully, made such notes as were necessary, fixed the events in his mind, promised him that he would carry out the request, and attempted to reassure him that possibly he was not so ill as he thought. Dr. Long was not to be misled, however. He sadly shook his head and said, "No, I know that I am going before long. I am only concerned that my record will be clear for my boys and my family." He then seemed to be tired, and the doctor shook hands with him and left. Six days later he sank into a coma, from which he never roused.

His death occurred at 8:00 P. M. on Sunday night, October 27, 1940, the first night of the annual meeting of the Oklahoma City Clinical Society. His son, Wendell, happened to be President of the Clinical Society that year and was, therefore, detained at home for the greater part of the meeting. The other officers carried on the meeting, however, and at the County Medical Society banquet in honor of the President of the American Medical Association, a special eulogy to Dr. Long was delivered by Dr. L. S. Willour, of McAlester, who had been his friend for a long time and had been at one time associated with him.

The funeral was held Tuesday afternoon, burial being in Rose Hill Cemetery. Reverend Forney Hutchinson, of Shawnee, Oklahoma, another long time friend, came over and preached the funeral in St. Luke's Methodist Church. The Clinical Society arranged for special conveyances to bring the visiting doctors from their meeting place to the church and take them back. A large number of doctors from various parts of the state attended the funeral, and the church was filled with friends and patients from within the city.

In his funeral address, Reverend Forney Hutchinson pointed out Dr. Long's sterling worth and true character and held him up as an ideal man, who, when principle and self-interest collided, gave up self-interest and resigned his job rather than go against his life long principles. Expressions of regret were published in the County Society *Bulletins* of Oklahoma County Society and Tulsa County Society as well as in the *State Medical Journal*. Moreover, numerous letters of condolence and sympathy were received from his many friends everywhere. They all felt that they had lost a friend and that the nation had lost a great man.

Dr. Long's death occurred on Sunday, October 27th, 1940. On November 18th, Judge Robert L. Williams, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, wrote to the Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society as follows:

Mr. James W. Moffitt, Secretary,
Oklahoma Historical Society,
Historical Society Building,
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Dear Sir:

I herewith beg to hand you a letter which I have received from Paul A. Walker, Washington, D. C. and copy of the letter I wrote him relative thereto. I ask that you assemble under appropriate file the Dr. LeRoy Long papers and place this letter among them. Also take the matter up with his two sons who were doctors and whose offices are in the Medical Arts Building in Oklahoma City, the matter of assembling appropriate papers and putting them in such file in the archives of the society. . . .

It is essential that an oil portrait of Dr. LeRoy Long be secured and placed in the proper museum in the historical society building. . . . He was over 70 years old. He had rendered great beneficial and distinguished service to the state. It was whilst he was Dean of the Medical School that the site on which the medical department is located was set aside for such purpose, and all of the buildings and the greater part of the equipment therein were constructed and acquired whilst he was Dean of the Medical School. . . . When he came to the medical school as Dean, it was located in what was then known as Rolater's Hospital, a frame building—none of it fire-proof—and a building rented for such purposes. The medical school was then in the B class. . . . But before the close of 1918, before I went out of office as Governor of the state, I am sure the school was in the recognized A class. The medical school is a monument to his leadership. . . .

There should be a copper plaque placed on the appropriate wall in the proper building of the medical school commemorating his services, . . . as a physician and his valuable connection and leadership in the school. There is one as to Dr. Duke and other physicians on the walls of the appropriate building. . . . I take it that the medical association of the state will see that this copper plaque showing the date of his birth and the date of his death, the degrees received by him, his connection with the medical organization in the state, and especially with the medical school. . . .

I wish you would take up with his sons the question of selecting some one to write an article appropriate of his life and his services in the Indian Territory and the State of Oklahoma. . . .

Yours truly,

ROBERT L. WILLIAMS,

President of Oklahoma Historical Society.

Writing to Honorable Paul A. Walker, Washington, D. C. on that same date, Judge Williams said:

"My association with Dr. Long convinced me that he would never surrender a point that involved principle, though it might work a hardship on him."

As soon as the State Medical Association Council got together, they voted the necessary funds to provide for a bronze plaque, commemorating the life and services of Dr. Long, said plaque to be presented at the next State Medical Association meeting and to be erected in a well lighted spot in the hall of the Medical School building. They engaged Professor Joseph Taylor, Professor of Sculpture in the University of Norman, to make the plaque; and he together with a committee from the Association worked out the words which should go on it.

Meanwhile the Phi Beta Pi Fraternity, of the Medical School, voted funds to establish an annual lectureship, called the LeRoy Long Lectureship. Since Dr. Long was a member of this fraternity, it was hoped to perpetuate his name by bringing once a year a distinguished man from some part of the United States, who would come and lecture before the students of the University of Oklahoma. The LeRoy Long Lecture was given on February 7, 1941, in the Medical School Auditorium. The meeting was presided over by General Robert U. Patterson, now Dean of the Medical School, who introduced Dr. Basil A. Hayes, who gave a short eulogy of Dr. LeRoy Long. Following him came the lecturer, Dr. Ernest Sachs, of St. Louis, the topic of whose talk was "Surgery of Brain Tumor Today and Ten Years Ago." Alumni from the entire state of Oklahoma were present, and the auditorium was packed with those who had gone to school under this great man. No more solemn and impressive ceremony has ever been held in that auditorium.

In the following May, when the State Medical Association convened in Oklahoma City, a part of their regular program was the dedicatory exercises for the LeRoy Long plaque. They were held in the afternoon on May 19 as a special order of business. They too were held in the Medical School auditorium, and Dr. Henry Turner, President of the State Medical Association presided. On the platform were President W. B. Bizzell, of the University, Dr. Robert U. Patterson, Dean of the Medical Department, also Dr. J. S. Fulton, of Atoka, and Doctors Willour and Tolleson. Laudatory talks were made by Dr. Bizzell and Dr. Fulton, following which on behalf of the State Medical Association, Dr. Turner presented the plaque to Dr. Bizzell, as President of the University, with instructions to hang it in an appropriate place as a perpetual remembrance to the students of the man who had built the institution and had given so many years of his life to its growth and development. Those who go to the Medical School today and walk into its entrance hall will find a bronze plaque hanging on the north wall to the right of the entrance. Near its upper end they will see the calm and kindly features of Dean LeRoy Long, smiling down at them, while below his likeness appears these words:

LEROY LONG

1869-1940

Scholar and Surgeon

Dean and Professor of Surgery

1915--1931

Kind and Understanding Doctor

Builder of the Medical School

Courageous Leader of Ethical

and Scientific Medicine

Affectionately erected by the

Oklahoma State Medical Association

WILLIAM ALLEN COLLIER

1838-1922

By Robert L. Williams

William Allen Collier, son of Charles Miles Collier and his wife, Sarah Ann Cowles, was born in Hampton, Virginia in August, 1838 and died in McIntosh County, Oklahoma, on February 8, 1922.

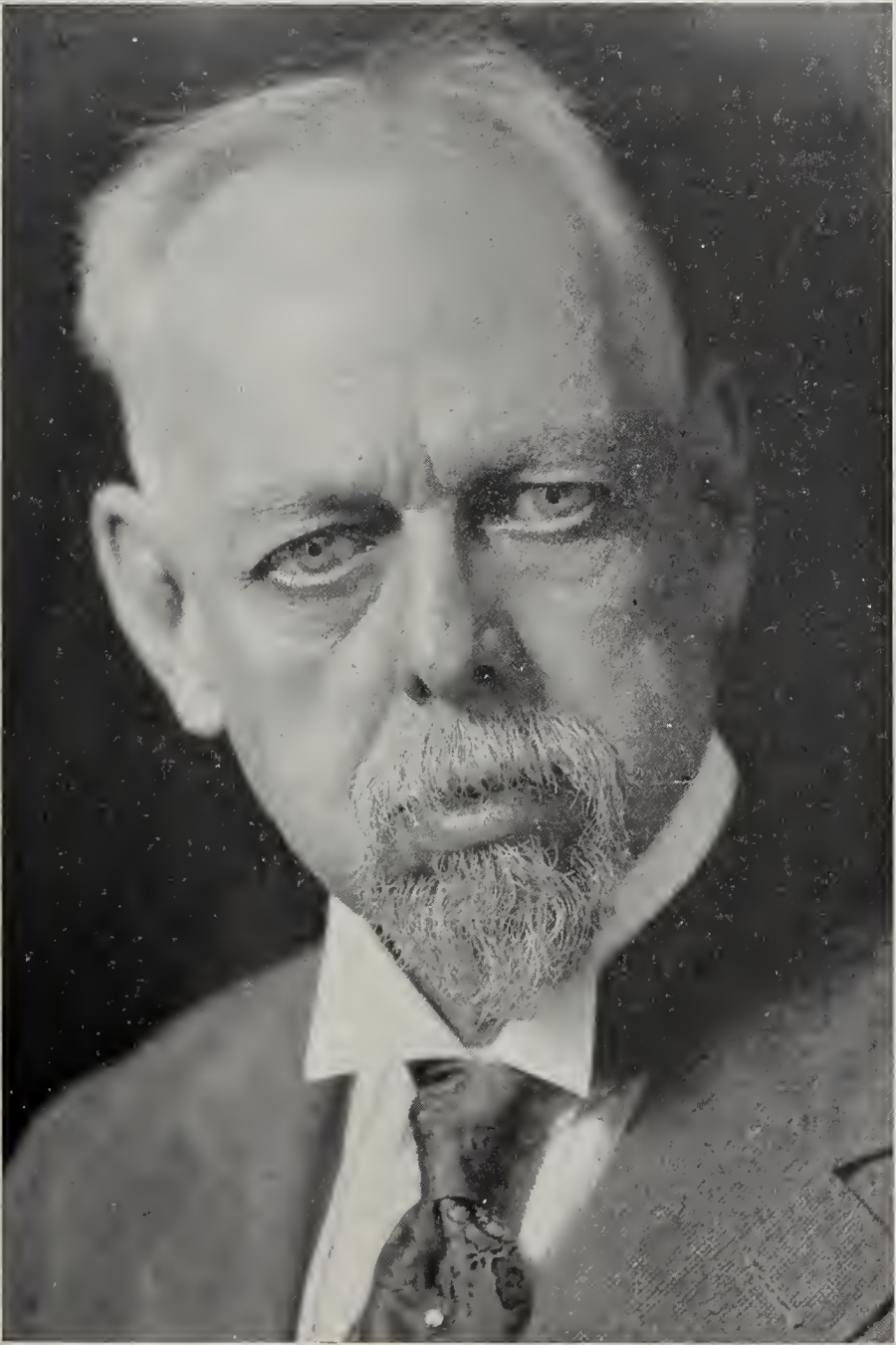
His paternal grandmother was Ann Marshall, a cousin of Chief Justice John Marshall.

He was educated at Hampton Military Academy, of which John B. Cary, the great educator, was President. His father and uncle, his eldest brother and another brother, Charles H. Collier, were Naval Officers in the service of the United States prior to the Civil War and he and the said brother, Charles H. Collier, were Naval Officers in the Confederate States Navy. A member of the Confederate States Congress caused him to be appointed as Cadet in the "Schoolship" *Patrick Henry* on the James River near Richmond (the Confederate States Naval School). He served as a midshipman in the Confederate States Navy under the command of Lieutenant Parker, remaining in the service until the close of the Civil War in 1865, when he located at Clanton, Alabama, where he and his brother, Charles H. Collier, taught school. He read law and began the practice of law at Clanton, Chilton County, Alabama, and became a leader of the bar. Later he moved to Birmingham where he engaged in the practice of the law and became a member of the firm of Bowman, Harsh and Collier.

After the declaration of the War against Spain in 1898, being advised that President McKinley would be glad to confer with him, he went to Washington and the President proposed to commission him (a former Confederate Naval Officer) for service in the United States Navy in the war against Spain, and on July 26, 1898 he was appointed to serve in the Navy as Assistant Paymaster with the rank of Ensign and served on the *Pompey*, one of the ships in the North Atlantic Squadron employed in blockade duty off the coast of Havana, Cuba, serving from August 8th to December, 1898. The *Pompey* was at Cardenas from July 14th until August 2, 1898, and then at the Isle of Pines until August 17th, 1898, arriving at Norfolk Navy Yards September 22, 1898.

He removed from Alabama to the Indian Territory in December, 1906 and located at Eufaula. Though past middle life at the time, he immediately became active in the practice of law and established for himself in the new country a reputation as an able and efficient lawyer.

In 1912 he was one of the delegates from Oklahoma to the National Democratic Convention held at Baltimore and prior to his removal from Alabama to the Indian Territory he had been a leader not only of the bar in that State but also one of the leaders in the Democratic Party beginning with the reconstruction era. He



WILLIAM ALLEN COLLIER

was appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the Supreme Court as a Supreme Court Commissioner, effective March 5, 1915, and held said office until the close of January 31, 1917. Prior to that time he had been appointed as Special Judge on the Criminal Court of Appeals where he prepared opinions in important criminal cases.

In 1919 he was appointed by the Governor as Pardon Attorney, in which office he continued until his appointment as a Justice of the Supreme court, where he served with distinction until the expiration of his term.

Opinions prepared by him as Supreme Court Commissioner and also as a Justice of the Supreme Court, to which he was appointed on November 5, 1920, are reported in Vols. 61-64 incl. and 79-81 incl., *Oklahoma Supreme Court Reports*.

Judge Collier was the only Confederate soldier who served as a Justice of the Supreme Court or as Commissioner of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma.

At the time of his death he was serving as County Attorney of McIntosh County to fill out an unexpired term to eliminate complications that had arisen in the County affairs. Though advanced in age, he performed the duties of the office ably and efficiently.

On the evening of Feb. 8, 1922 he died suddenly while attending to official business at Checotah, Oklahoma and interment was at Eufaula, Oklahoma. He was twice married. By his first wife he had two sons who died in infancy and three daughters who reached maturity, one preceding him in death. His other two daughters, Mrs. Inez Collier Gullahorn and Mrs. Alice Collier McKinnon, survive him and reside in Birmingham, Alabama. By his second wife he had two children, one daughter, Ruth Collier, and one son, William Allen Collier, Jr., both of whom reside in Oklahoma City, the son now being an officer in World War II, serving in the United States Navy.

About six feet tall, averaging in weight about 200 pounds, he was of distinguished and commanding appearance. For a man of his years, his record and achievements in Oklahoma were remarkable. A strong character loyal to his friends in any cause he espoused, he had the courtly bearing of the old days and was one of the last connecting links between the present and the civilization of the old South.

While not dogmatic, he had the courage of his convictions and believed in and practiced the rules of honor and integrity.

EARLY-DAY RAILROAD BUILDING OPERATIONS IN WESTERN OKLAHOMA

By Homer S. Chambers

Railroads are not so important to Oklahoma, or any similar section, in this era of oil-built paved vehicular highways and motorized truck- and bus-lines; but back in those dectic days about the dawn of the century they were the life-blood of any community. Consequently the acquisition of a railroad was the first "must" activity on the program of the commercial club, or head men, of every village, hamlet and town. There was a great deal of romance, therefore, in connection with the rail activity in the first decade of the century in which Oklahoma was net-worked with railroads. And there is nothing more romantic in that connection than the story of Ed L. Peckham,¹ who really started it all, and who, it is hoped by this recital of his accomplishments, may be proven worthy of a place in the state's Hall of Fame.

The dust of the great race for homes in the Cherokee Strip country, September 16, 1893, had scarcely had time to settle till the homesteaders and the business men of the new towns opened up began to clamor for railroads. Only three lines of rails crossed that vast empire—the Santa Fe, just a few miles inside its eastern border; the Rock Island, fifty miles or so to the west, and the Waynoka branch of the Santa Fe across the old counties of Woods and Woodward at the extreme west.

Not only in the Strip country was the railroad facilities meager, but a vast domain from the Rock Island west to the Texas line and south almost to the Kiowa-Comanche Indian reservation had never echoed the toot of a railroad locomotive.

¹ Edward Lockwood Peckham was born at Princeton, Illinois, September 5, 1859, son of Charles Jenkins and Mary Gray Peckham. Moved with his parents to Peru, Kansas, as a child. He spent most of his earlier years with relatives in California where he was educated. Returning to Kansas in early manhood, he studied law in the office of his father, Col. Charles J. Peckham (the elder Peckham attained the rank of Colonel in the Union army during the war between the states). After his admission to the bar young Peckham practiced with his father at Winfield till the opening of the Cherokee Strip when he homesteaded a claim adjoining Blackwell and associated himself with the law firm of Peckham, Brown & Pond, consisting of Col. Peckham, Virgil H. Brown, and Van R. Pond, with offices at Winfield, Newkirk, and Blackwell. Besides his law and railroad acivities, Ed L. was prominently identified with the oil business, being one of the organizers and chief owners of the Union Oil & Gas Co. of Blackwell. He also indulged in stock raising on a large scale, operating two or three well equipped farms. He was a prime mover in organizing the Kansas-Oklahoma Racing Circuit, and owned at his death about 50 trotters, including Synboleer, one of Oklahoma's finest, fastest. . . He was active in civic affairs of his home town and contributed of his means to many worthy enterprises there as well as in other towns where his companies operated, taking particular pride in giving, through the townsite company he headed, sites for churches and schools in numerous instances. . . At his death, Feb. 3, 1914, many fine and loving tributes were uttered and published in his memory. . . His survivors include the widow, Willie W. of Blackwell, and two sons, Miles, who lives in Texas, and Edward E., an employee of the Santa Fe Railroad at Los Angeles, Calif.

But agitate as these early settlers could, and did, they seemed to get no railroad construction gangs started in Oklahoma. True there were old-line railroad termini at Chilocco, Arkansas City, Hunnewell, and Harper, Kansas, all apparently poised and ready to spring into the new land, but for nearly five years there was no initial move in that direction by any of them.

Blackwell, in the heart of Oklahoma's finest agricultural county, and without a railroad, was one of the earliest and most vociferous clamorers for the extension of the Frisco or Missouri Pacific from Arkansas City, or the Santa Fe from Hunnewell. But there was, according to a rumor, which probably had a good deal of basis in fact, a tacit secret agreement among existing railroads at the opening of the Cherokee Strip country that there would be no more lines built or extended during the following years until absolute necessity called for them.

In the earliest days of Blackwell, Ed Peckham, with a homestead adjoining the town and a small law practice therein, became ardent in his demands before the small business men's club that this arrangement or agreement should, and could, be broken by the concerted and persistent efforts of every community so isolated as was Blackwell. Peckham kept hammering away at this idea for nearly five long years before he got a break, but when he did, things really commenced to happen. While he was negotiating for the extension of the Frisco from Arkansas City (and was about to succeed after many previous rebuffs), another group of Blackwell business men were in contact with an independent company which had projected a line from Cameron, Kansas (a Santa Fe terminus near Harper) via Medford to Guthrie, the territorial capital. This line, then already under construction toward Medford, was known as the Hutchinson & Southern, and before Peckham could close his deal for the Frisco, its promoters signed up to extend from Medford to Blackwell instead of Guthrie for a bonus of \$40,000,² which Blackwell quickly promised. On the heels of this, Peckham returned with authority to offer the Frisco to Blackwell for a bonus of half as much as that promised the Hutchinson & Southern, and Blackwell cheerfully signed up for its second railroad.

Previous to the inception of these negotiations, the Santa Fe, under the cloak of a local company, had started an extension of its Hunnewell branch southeast to Kay Center, a rival town a mile east of Blackwell, and had its roadbed practically completed, with rails laid as far as Braman, ten miles north of Blackwell. Upon learning that Blackwell had contracted for the Frisco and Hutchin-

² By the terms of the Congressional act opening the Cherokee Strip to settlement, the voting of bonds in the aid of railroad construction was prohibited. So Blackwell, being unable to raise this amount by voluntary subscriptions, voted water works bonds for something like that amount and let the H. & S. promoters install the plant (at a handsome profit to be sure, but, as Lady Grundy remarked at the time, "there's more than one way to kill a cat.")

son & Southern, the Santa Fe sent its attorney up from Guthrie with an offer to divert the Hunnewell extension into Blackwell for a bonus equal to that promised the Frisco. Blackwell by this time felt fully satisfied with prospective railroads and having previously offered the Santa Fe repeated chances to "talk turkey," declined to add further to its bonus obligations in both this and a subsequent offer of that road to come in for half the amount promised Mr. Peckham for the Frisco. But the Santa Fe was obdurate and sent back an offer to come into Blackwell—bonus or no bonus—if Blackwell would just furnish a local committee to help them get the right-of-way as cheaply and quickly as possible from Braman to Blackwell, which offer was accepted.

Meantime, Mr. Peckham upon closing his contract, immediately organized a construction company in association with J. L. Waite and W. P. Hardwick of Blackwell and W. C. Robinson of Winfield, Kansas, and quickly got construction under way. And so, at long last, from three directions, the big race was on to put the first steel rails into Blackwell. The Hutchinson & Southern, having a big start on the other two, a practically straight "between farms" line (hence little right-of-way delay) and a more favorable terrain to cross, was first into Blackwell—March, 1898. The Santa Fe was next, closely followed by the Frisco, which was handicapped by rougher topography and diagonal crossing of homesteads which met with much objection and hence delay.

Having reached Blackwell and made it the outstanding railroad center of northern Oklahoma, the Frisco, the Santa Fe, and the Hutchinson & Southern (acquired by the Santa Fe upon its completion) quickly and unanimously lost all interest in further extensions to other needy sections at that time. Not so Ed L. Peckham. Once the Frisco got started he had visioned its extension to Enid and beyond. He had pored over maps, studied the topography, pondered the census of towns, and the agricultural reports of that vast railroadless region west of the Rock Island, the extent of its rich cattle and stock ranges, and the great possibilities of the new country—the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache reservations—soon to be opened to white settlement. This region was clamoring for release from its transportation inconveniences and isolation. Mr. Peckham was firmly convinced that there was great need of new railroads if the western half of the future state was to take its proper place in the sun. Not only that, he firmly believed that the builders of such a road as he had in mind would profit from its construction.

Haunting the local newspaper office, whose publishers had come to share in his enthusiasm for the project, Peckham finally induced Smith Chambers,³ the senior member, to join him in an

³ Thomas Smith Chambers, a native of Indiana, educated in common and high schools of Iowa, came to southern Kansas in 1885 where he taught school in the winter and punched cattle in the territory on the old Humes ranch in the summer.

effort to sell the idea to some one with the ability to finance the beginning of such an enterprise. To finance even the start of building a railroad from Blackwell to Vernon, Texas,—which place they picked for its destination—a distance of 250 miles—they recognized as a herculean task, but somehow they mustered up the courage to believe they could do it—possibly because they were so deeply imbued with the virtue of the undertaking. And then, adding fuel to the fire of their will to accomplish the seemingly impossible, W. C. Robinson, the Winfield, Kansas, banker who had helped Peckham build the Frisco to Blackwell, being sold on the proposition, offered to advance them up to ten thousand dollars expense money to make the try.

So the pair of them, armed with this banker's good folding money and letters of introduction to some northern and eastern financiers, lit out for Chicago and then on to New York in quest of that which would be of portentous moment to all of Western Oklahoma if they found it—Capital, with which to construct a railroad across that roadless area.

Peckham, flushed with his recent exploit in maneuvering the Frisco extension to Blackwell, confident in the merit of the proposition he had to offer, and flanked by Chambers—the teacher, farmer, editor, who had punched cattle, hunted, and fished over western Oklahoma and was believed to know all the answers as to the security and desirability of an investment in a cross-territory railroad such as was proposed—reached the financial district of New York City in due time. There they were greeted—as they expressed it on their return—"with open palms" by bell-hops, waiters, and flunkys generally, but with the cold financial shoulder from owners of New York ducats particularly. Eventually, however, they gained entree to exclusive Manhattan Clubs, and proceeded to extol Oklahoma in general and their prospective railroad wares in particular to such financial big-wigs as would listen.

New York, they were politely but firmly told, however, was "making no investments in the west at this time." They did finally wangle out of a committee of prominent Knickerbockers a letter to the Mississippi Valley Trust Company of St. Louis with a recommendation that this company "might find it advantageous to investigate their proposition" at least.

Back to St. Louis came the rebuffed but undaunted pair and laid their proposition before President Breckenridge Jones and other officials of the Mississippi Valley Trust Company. These men heard them attentively and were so impressed by the Peckham and Cham-

Homesteaded a claim northwest of Blackwell where he farmed and taught school. Sold the claim and moved to Blackwell where he bought and consolidated a couple of newspapers which he and the writer operated till he joined the Peckham interests as right-of-way agent for the railroad. After the completion of the Railroad work he engaged in various enterprises—operating a townsite company, heading a bank, a hardware store, a newspaper, and finally moved to Oklahoma City where he died, April, 1925.

bers enthusiasm and intimate knowledge of the resources and future prospects of the territory to be exploited by the proposed road that they promised an early personal investigation of the proposition and inspection of the country so flatteringly portrayed by the Blackwell missionaries.

Very shortly thereafter, true to their promise, a committee from the Trust Company, headed by Mr. Jones in person, came to Blackwell and were taken over the proposed route by Peckham and Chambers. They found that the country was not only all that these men had represented it to be, but that the settlers and residents of the area were willing to help the construction with bonuses and concessions for right-of-way wherever possible. Mr. Jones and his committee returned to St. Louis and immediately got under way the organization of three companies to handle the proposition, as follows:

The Blackwell, Enid & Southwestern Railway Company, with Breckenridge Jones as president, and Ed L. Peckham, vice-president and general manager; the Bes Line Construction Company, of which Mr. Peckham became president and general manager; and the Frisco Townsite Company, with Mr. Peckham as president, Smith Chambers secretary, and Charles E. Hunter townsite manager.⁴ John W. Beatty, a Blackwell merchant, was named engineer (Beatty, incidentally, had previously engineered the location of the Mexican Central Railway). J. D. Love⁵ became Mr. Beatty's assistant, with Arthur Dunaway as head draftsman. Chambers was also selected as right-of-way agent and was right behind (and often in advance of) the surveyors, acquiring practically every bit of the right-of-way, either by gift or purchase, between Blackwell and Vernon, Texas.

Mr. Jones' associates in the pool to finance the road were: Henry Semple Ames, vice-president of the Mississippi Valley Trust Company; Adolphus Busch, of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Co.; Murray Carleton, president Carleton Dry Goods Co.; Henry Drummond, of the Drummond Tobacco Co.; and J. C. Van Blarcum, president of the Commonwealth Trust Company of St. Louis. Tentatively back of these men stood the Frisco railroad at first, but upon reaching Enid, and the managers of the road deciding to push it on to the southwest of Enid into what was considered "Rock Island territory," the Frisco withdrew its backing, temporarily

⁴ Charles E. Hunter was one of the Roosevelt Rough Riders in the charge up San Juan Hill in the Spanish-American war. Being too short in stature to meet military requirements, his enthusiasm and personal popularity got him in the Rough Riders through some special dispensation. . . In some published accounts of the building of the Bes Line he is credited with being the right-of-way agent, which, however, he was not, . . he was the Townsite Manager. His home was in Enid where he died and where his friends gave him one of the biggest funerals ever witnessed there.

⁵ J. D. Love was also a doctor, and after completing his work as an engineer in the location and building of the Bes Line and the Denver, Enid & Gulf, he settled at Nash in Grant county where he practiced medicine till his death a number of years later. His widow, Mrs. Alice Love, still lives in Nash.

stopping operations, which, however, were thereafter carried on with the active financial support and backing of the Mississippi Valley Trust Co. and its associates named above. Besides this, there was very strong pressure exerted by other interests to stop the road at Enid, but Peckham's will prevailed, and the road with a fresh start and renewed energy was pushed on to the southwest.

The road as projected by Mr. Peckham was to run almost due southwest from Blackwell through Enid, the county seat of Garfield county, to Arapahoe, then the county seat of Custer county, and thence almost due south to a juncture with the Fort Worth & Denver City Railroad at Vernon, Texas. The only other railroad to be encountered between Enid and Vernon was a recently extended branch of the Rock Island from Chickasha to Mangum in old Greer county, which was to be crossed at a station called Komalty in the Kiowa-Comanche reservation. However, when the Peckham road started work out of Enid, the Choctaw, Oklahoma & Gulf, with its western terminus at Weatherford, rushed an extension of that road on west reaching the west bank of the Washita river a few months in advance of the Peckham line, the crossing later being effected there becoming known as Washita Junction (now Clinton).

Congress had passed an act June 6, 1900, providing for the allotment of Kiowa and Comanche Indians upon lands of their reservation and the opening of the surplus lands remaining to selection and occupancy as homesteads by white settlers. The "Bes Line," as the Peckham road was familiarly called, was making strenuous efforts to reach these new lands prior to their opening to settlement. However, the delay occasioned by time out at Enid while the promoters were harassed by the withdrawal of financial support by the Frisco railroad, and other impedimenta used by other roads in trying to halt the road at Enid, prevented this. Difficult terrain through the gyp hills of Blaine county and three major rivers, the Cimarron and the two Canadians, to cross also contributed to the delay. So roadbed and track-laying had only reached Arapahoe by the date of the opening, August 6, 1901.

All previous openings of land to settlement in Oklahoma had been by the "horse race" method. But by proclamation of President McKinley on July 4, 1901, these new lands were to be awarded by lottery. Those wishing for a chance for a homestead were required to register their name and address and personal description in registration offices which were opened at El Reno and Chickasha, between July 10th and 26th. A drawing of these names was then held at El Reno commencing July 29, the selection of homesteads being in the order drawn, that is, first name out, first choice of land, etc. County seats were located at Lawton for Comanche county, Anadarko for Caddo county, and Hobart for Kiowa county. These townsites were subject to settlement in the usual method—first on a lot was entitled to it. So within 24 hours after the opening they were each cities of several thousand inhabitants.

In anticipation of this opening and its attendant rush of homesteaders and supplies, the construction company put another crew of surveyors on the line about the first of June, Col. F. C. Jonah, of St. Louis, having been made chief engineer. These crews, headed by John R. Beatty and J. D. Love as locating engineers, pushed the location and permanent survey with the utmost speed to the Kiowa-Comanche border which they reached and entered the last day of June—not being permitted to enter previously since all Indian allotments had to be completed and approved first.

Fast work was necessary here, since under the terms of the railroad's grant of right-of-way the line had to be projected without any previous reconnoissance, surveyed, and mapped, and the maps filed in the national and district land offices prior to the opening date—August 6th—to give notice to prospective entrants on the lands crossed by the railroad's previously granted rights in the premises. Happily the survey across the sixty-six mile reservation for the main line and for the townsite of Mountain Park,⁶ which was also segregated from homestead entry, was completed within ten days. Maps of the line were completed and filed in the Interior Department at Washington and approved and copies filed in the land office at Lawton August 5, just one day under the opening deadline.

Following the opening, construction was pushed rapidly through the proximately level reservation, with the only serious impediments being the necessity of blasting the roadbed through the few granite miles of the Wichita mountains, and relocating of the line between Rocky in Custer county and Roosevelt in Kiowa, swinging it to the west to reach Hobart, which had been designated as the county seat of Kiowa county. (The original survey had crossed the Mangum branch of the Rock Island at Komalty, seven miles east of Hobart, and on a straight line between Rocky and Roosevelt, and where it was thought the county seat would be located.) Hobart, to get the line changed, furnished the new right-of-way and a substantial bonus besides.

Between Mountain Park and Red River the terrain was so favorable that the surveyors were able to lay down the longest tangent on the entire Frisco system—26.75 miles. In the sixty-six miles across the newly opened reservation the townsite company, an auxiliary of the railroad company, established the towns of Roosevelt,

⁶ To the best of the writer's knowledge, Mountain Park was the only tract in that reservation outside of the county seats to be set aside by the government for townsite purposes, which action was taken upon the request of Mr. Peckham. The lots there were subject to entry the same as at the county seats. The writer, as a representative of the townsite company, was a member and secretary of the first townsite commission having general supervision of the town. A rival town (Snyder) established soon after a mile south of Mountain Park where the Bes Line was crossed by the Chickasha-Quannah branch of the Frisco, precipitated a bitter townsite fight in which blood was spilled on two or three occasions. At statehood a new county was created there with Mountain Park as the county seat, the county government later being voted to Snyder. The county was eventually dissolved.

Mountain Park, Frederick, and Davidson, the first named after the former President and the latter two after members of families of the financial promoters of the road, Frederick for a son of Van Blarcom, Davidson for A. J. Davidson, president of the Frisco. Other new towns on the road so named were: Eddy, for Peckham's son; Hunter, for Charley Hunter, townsite manager, and one of Roosevelt's famous Rough Riders in Spanish-American war; Breckenridge, for Breckenridge Jones; Drummond, for Harry Drummond; Ames, for Henry Semple Ames; Carlton, for Murray Carleton; Peckham (on the first extension from Arkansas City to Blackwell) for Col. Peckham, father of Ed.

The Blackwell, Enid & Southwestern was sold before it was finished to the Frisco railroad company, in February, 1902, the latter taking over ownership and operation after its completion, March, 1903.

Upon the completion of the Blackwell, Enid & Southwestern, Mr. Peckham and associates took over the financing and construction of the Denver, Enid & Gulf. This road, originally planned by the six Frantz Brothers, of Enid, to be built just from Enid to Guthrie, became a more ambitious enterprise in the hands of Peckham, and was not only completed from Enid to Guthrie, but extended also to the northwest, finally terminating at Belvidere, Kansas, connecting there with the Santa Fe, to which it was later sold.

The Peckham syndicate then built the St. Louis, El Reno & Western railroad from Guthrie to El Reno which was acquired by the Fort Smith & Western.

Oklahoma, and particularly the western part of the present state, owes a great deal to the foresight and determination of Ed L. Peckham. He started the great railroad building era, around the turn of the century, which resulted in the then Oklahoma Territory being crossed and criss-crossed by steel rails as no community had ever before or since witnessed in so short a time. It was he who broke the railroad ice with his determination to build on southwest from Enid. The Rock Island, whose claimed territory he was invading, put out a branch west from Enid to Ringwood, thence south, finally reaching its main line again at Waurika. The Choctaw, Oklahoma & Gulf, besides extending its line westward across the Peckham survey, started a branch north from Geary, through territory being traversed by the Bes Line, toward Kansas. Then the A. V. & W. reached Enid from Tulsa and extended on west to Avarad. The Kansas City, Mexico & Orient entered that section, practically paralleling Peckham's road from the North Canadian to the Texas line, while down in the newly open Kiowa-Comanche country a new road from Chickasha (later acquired by the Frisco) crossed southern Kiowa and Greer counties to terminate at Quannah, Texas.

Some of these new roads got almost immediately into financial difficulties and receiverships; others were abandoned. But the Peckham roads made money for their builders and have continued to

prosper under present ownerships. The Peckham syndicates were originally organized to expend four hundred thousand dollars, but in their total operations expended over four million dollars in Oklahoma, with profits fairly commensurate with such an expenditure. Which shows they were shrewd, both as to the time and place of their investment.

The building of these numerous roads as a result of Ed L. Peckham's initiative, created a marvelous transformation in those isolated sections west of the Rock Island. Large sums were expended for labor and supplies; new towns were built; new farms were opened up; new people came in by the thousands; markets were opened for the products of the farms and ranches, and supplies could be had within hours where formerly it had required days to make a trip to a railroad and return. As a consequence a new prosperity was soon being evidenced by new and better and more numerous homes, and barns, and implements on the farms; better conditions among the business classes, and greater happiness and contentment where theretofore had been isolation, loneliness, and a spirit of futility, in that sparsely settled region.

Mr. Peckham survived his railroad building exploits by less than a decade. From a small-town lawyer with a modest practice and easy responsibilities, he had plunged into this enterprise with no previous railroad training or experience and little as an executive. With high ambition and sacrificial energy he shouldered responsibilities, and plans, and duties, that doubtless shattered his nervous system and wearied his physical powers to a point where the reaction following the successful fruition of his colossal dream, proved fatal to that finely tempered, high-strung organism that had kept him going at tremendous pace through some fourteen or fifteen terribly strenuous years.⁷

⁷ The writer acknowledges indebtedness to Mrs. Peckham for some of the data in this narrative with which he was unfamiliar or which had escaped his memory. She lives in a comfortable brick home in a pleasant part of Blackwell not far from where the little two-room house stood on the old homestead in which she and Mr. Peckham lived their first few years in Oklahoma. She confesses a little wistfully that she lives "pretty much in the past" here, in the midst of nostalgic mementos and memories garnered through the years which have been fraught with both great happiness and great sorrow. The loss of her husband at the peak of his life and success, her adult (and only) daughter, and one of her sons (the latter by drowning) within the space of a few years, have left her feeling tragically alone in the world though surrounded still by many devoted friends. She feels that no history or narrative of early Oklahoma development has done justice or given proper credit to Mr. Peckham for what he did, in which sentiment this writer joins, and it is with great pleasure that this possibly imperfect story of Mr. Peckham's achievements is offered for the guidance of future historians and the hope it may bring some cheer to his widow in her lonely, declining years.

DISSOLUTION OF THE OSAGE RESERVATION

By Berlin B. Chapman

PART FOUR

This article concludes the story of the dissolution of the Osage reservation by division of lands among members of the tribe, under the provisions of the Osage Allotment Act of 1906. Previous articles dealt with the Cherokee Commission, the Osage Commission, the delicate question of removing certain names from the tribal roll, the Flanders investigation on the reservation, the role of the cattlemen, and the lottery plan approved by Secretary Hitchcock on November 7 for final division of lands among the Osages. The theme of the concluding article is the operation of that plan under the supervision of the Osage Allotting Commission consisting of Charles E. McChesney, Cassius R. Peck and Black Dog.

As the first selections of land were not completed by November 7, and as many contests were pending, the Osages had ample time to discuss the lottery plan before the Commission was ready to carry it out. Opposition developed, especially among the full bloods. On November 16 the National Council in a special session passed an act in the form of a referendum submitting to the citizens of the Osage nation, for consideration and endorsement, the method of making the second and third selections of land.¹³⁷ "You will therefore consider this question," reads the act, "and express yourselves by endorsing either the method used in making first selection, or the method adopted by the Secretary of the Interior, ('Lottery'). You can show your preference by signing one or the other of the enclosed papers."

The referendum took the form of six petitions.¹³⁸ A total of 364 names were appended to the petitions endorsing "the method used in making our first selection of land." To each petition was attached a counter petition endorsing the lottery plan. Not a signature was attached to the counter petitions, so that it appeared that among the tribe there was a universal sentiment in opposition to the plan conceived by McChesney and Peck, developed by Commissioner Leupp, and approved by Secretary Hitchcock. On February 11, 1907, Harry Kohpay, Interpreter for the Osages, transmitted the petitions to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs together with a list of seven reasons why the Indians opposed the lottery plan.¹³⁹ The reasons, vulnerable to the light of logic, set forth that the plan was not only unfair, but contrary to the Osage Allotment Act.

¹³⁷ The act of the Council is in the Indian Office, Land 23,641—1907.

¹³⁸ The petitions are filed *ibid*.

¹³⁹ It was said that the lottery plan would mystify the full bloods, that they regarded it as "a kind of gamble," that the plan would cause hardships and loss to many members of the tribe, engender many life-long feuds, hinder or prevent members of the tribe and their families getting their lands together, and that the plan was announced at a very late date. The list of reasons is in *ibid*.

On February 16 the petition and the list of reasons were submitted to the Department of the Interior for decision, particularly as to the question whether the lottery plan was clearly within the provisions of the act.¹⁴⁰ An early consideration was requested, since the Commission on January 8 had set March 11 as the date for commencing the drawing.¹⁴¹ The question was referred to Assistant Attorney-General Frank L. Campbell. In his reply on March 2 he referred to the provision of the act specifying a fair share in acres for each person, the power vested in the Secretary of the Interior, and he observed that the act did not prescribe a working plan or method for the actual procedure in making the selections, or prescribe the order in which any of the selections should be made.¹⁴² He said that these things were undoubtedly left to be governed by such regulations as might be deemed necessary to carry into effect the provisions of the act. And that reference to the *manner* of making selections was significant only as to the very things enumerated in the first paragraph of the act, which as stated "do not include *how* the actual work of making selections shall be done." Campbell was of the opinion that the lottery plan, as applied to the second and third selections, was within the authority of the act, if that method should be deemed best¹⁴³ in all respects for carrying out the provisions of the act. Campbell did not pass upon the broader question as to whether the plan was in violation of the statutes against maintaining a lottery. Secretary Hitchcock concurred in the opinion on the same day.

Attention may be turned parenthetically to the matter of improvements on land. Commissioner Leupp or Acting Commissioner Larrabee in a personal letter to McChesney on March 1 said in explaining the lottery plan and in reference to the Osage Allotment Act: "As I interpret it the priority of right of the Indians who have made improvements anywhere, or occupied any particular piece of land, will be recognized in the later just the same as in the first selections."¹⁴⁴ But Secretary Garfield held just the opposite view. He found that the act clearly confined the preference right to first selections and to the quantity of land that might be taken in those selections. He believed that if it had been intended to accord a preference right in connection with the second and third selections

¹⁴⁰ Larrabee to Sec. Int., Feb. 16, 1907, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 942, pp. 189-191.

¹⁴¹ Larrabee to McChesney, Jan. 14, 1907, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 929, p. 486.

¹⁴² The opinion, dated March 2, 1907, is in the Indian Office, Land 23,641—1907.

¹⁴³ In reply to Chief Ne-kah-wah-she-tun-kah's objections Leupp said: "I regard the wheel plan as the fairest method that can be devised for determining the order of the second and third selections, and feel sure that when your people fully understand the methods to be employed in carrying it out, they will withdraw their objections. . . . The wheel plan is absolutely fair and gives every one on the reservation, whether mixed-blood or full-blood, an equal chance to secure the best land." Letter of March 6, 1907, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 950, pp. 347-349.

¹⁴⁴ There is a part of the letter in Larrabee's letter to Sec. Int., March 15, 1907, OIA, 2297 Ind. Div. 1907; Leupp quoted part of the letter in his letter to Chief Ne-kah-wah-she-tun-kah, March 6, 1907, *loc. cit.*

the provision would have read very differently. He observed that the qualifying word, "first" was not omitted. "Having inserted that word," he said, "and having used it several times, it is evident Congress intended to limit the preference or prior right to the first selection."¹⁴⁵ Garfield noted that members of the tribe in possession of more land than they were entitled to for first selections were permitted to sell the improvements on the surplus land. Larrabee then agreed that second selections, in accordance with the wheel plan, were without reservation of any kind in behalf of any particular Indian.¹⁴⁶

During the spring of 1907 the full bloods held many councils and the mixed bloods advanced many schemes with reference to the manner in which second selections should be made. The former claimed a preference right of selection for themselves while the latter advocated, as McChesney said, a "Free for all," a "First come first served" policy. No compromise or agreement between the two could be effected. Because of the protest presented by Kohpay and because of certain oral representations made to the Office of Indian Affairs, the Commission had been directed on February 21 to postpone the first drawing until April 15 so as to give an inspecting officer time to confer with the Indians, explain the lottery plan to them, and endeavor to convince them of its wisdom, which was considered not an impossible task.¹⁴⁷ On April 3 McChesney was instructed to postpone the drawing until the inspector should have counceled with the Indians.¹⁴⁸ On the same day Larrabee urgently recommended that James McLaughlin be sent to the reservation for that purpose.¹⁴⁹ It was observed that the expenses of the Commission were about a thousand dollars a week, and that it was desirable that the drawing should take place as early as practicable. It was recommended that if McLaughlin could not obtain the consent of the Indians to the wheel plan that he should ascertain their wishes and report them with such recommendations as he deemed appropriate.

McLaughlin was accordingly sent to the reservation. On April 12, soon after his arrival, he was presented with a resolution of the

¹⁴⁵ Garfield to Com. Ind. Aff., April 6, 1907, OIA, *Int. Dept. Letter Books (Misc.)*, vol. 148, pt. ii. p. 592.

On October 4, 1907, Secretary Garfield approved a recommendation initiated by the Commission providing that buildings and other improvements which were permanently attached to the soil should become a part of the reality, and that an Indian rightly selecting a piece of land containing such improvements was legally entitled thereto; also that the former owners should not be permitted to remove them. Peck to Com. Ind. Aff., Sept. 30, 1907, OIA, 79,843—1907—313 Osage; Larrabee to Sec. Int. Oct. 2, 1907, *ibid.* Garfield's approval is written on Larrabee's letter.

¹⁴⁶ Larrabee to Emery Martin, June 10, 1907, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 979, p. 153.

¹⁴⁷ Larrabee to Osage Allot. Com., Feb. 21, 1907, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 944, pp. 68-69; Larrabee to Sec. Int., Feb. 21, 1907, *ibid.*, pp. 338-339.

¹⁴⁸ Telegram from Larrabee to McChesney, April 3, 1907, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 960, p. 165.

¹⁴⁹ Larrabee to Sec. Int., April 3, 1907, *ibid.*, pp. 163-164.

National Council stating that "the sentiment of the tribe is still against the 'Lottery Plan'", that it was believed that the second and third selections should be made in the same manner as the first selections, and that the instructions of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs allowing members to hold for second and third selections the improved lands held in excess of the first selection of one hundred and sixty acres had been favorably received. The resolution was signed by Chief Ne-kah-wah-she-tun-kah and 123 members of the tribe.¹⁵⁰

McLaughlin visited Hominy, Bigheart, Fairfax, and Pawhuska and gave practical illustrations of the wheel plan, "explaining its fairness over any other system that could be devised."¹⁵¹ On April 20 he reported that while there had been quite a change of sentiment in favor of the plan, its adoption by the tribe was rather doubtful. On April 26 Kohpay handed him a letter stating that the tribe were opposed to the method adopted by the Department of the Interior, that they were unable to agree upon a method for making the second and third selections, and suggesting that such selections be delayed until the roll was revised and approved by the Secretary of the Interior.¹⁵² Kohpay observed that in the meantime the reports of the surveyors could be used to find out what Indians, especially full bloods, had not selected first class lands for first selections and he urged that they be aided and encouraged in selecting such lands. On May 25 McLaughlin reported that he felt quite confident that the wheel plan was the most equitable system that could be devised for making the second and third selections. While there was no unanimity of feeling in favor of the plan,¹⁵³ he found that it was favored by a large majority of the Osages and he believed that it would be acquiesced in by all of them if not unduly influenced by designing persons. He recommended that second selections should not be permitted until after July.

On June 5 McLaughlin observed that since there was a greater number of attorneys located in the towns bordering on the reservation than the legal business of the community justified, that some might be employed by the Indians, and that the Commission might as a result be enjoined by an injunction from using the wheel plan.¹⁵⁴ As a matter of preparedness in case of injunction proceedings he

¹⁵⁰ McLaughlin transmitted the resolution to the Sec. Int., June 5, 1907; it is in the Indian Office, Land 52,902—1907.

¹⁵¹ McLaughlin to Leupp, April 20, 1907, OIA, Land 39,724—1907.

¹⁵² Kohpay to McLaughlin, April 26, 1907, OIA, Land 51,777—1907. Kohpay said: "Who was it that bought the reservation for the Osage tribe; did the so-called half-breed participate in the purchase of the said reservation? If not, why give them the equal rights with the full-bloods, and recognize those who could not show more than one sixteenth (1/16) Osage blood."

¹⁵³ *Indian Affairs*, 1907, 121. Some valuable papers of 1907 pertaining to the Osage Allotment were taken from the Land Files of the Indian Office and cards were left on which are written: "For Special Files, June 3, 1910". Courtesy of attendants and an individual search delivered only a part of these papers into my hands.

¹⁵⁴ McLaughlin to Sec. Int., June 5, 1907, OIA, Land 52,902—1907.

considered it desirable that the Commission be ready to adopt some other plan. And as an alternative he suggested "the order in which the tentative allotments were made." He said that nearly every Indian objecting to the wheel plan expressed his willingness to have the second selections made in that order.¹⁵⁵

On June 3 Acting Commissioner Larrabee addressed a letter of instructions to the Commission directing that the allotment be held at Pawhuska on July 8 and on the following days if necessary.¹⁵⁶ The name wheel and the number wheel were to be used but all names and numbers were to be put into the wheels at the beginning of the drawing. As soon as practicable after the drawing the Commission was to notify each Indian of the order of his selection and the earliest date when he would be permitted to make a filing. Since it was desirable that all persons should have ample time in which to choose selections, the first filing date was set for August 5. Fifty filings were to be accepted each day, except Sundays. Unless otherwise instructed, the third selections should be made in the same manner as the second.

According to instructions a public drawing occurred July 8-9 at the opera house in Pawhuska. A full-blood boy was blindfolded and revolved a keg called the "name wheel," drawing therefrom at each revolution a card containing the name of some member of the tribe. A mixed-blood boy was blindfolded, and from a revolving keg called the "number wheel" he drew at each revolution a card containing a number to correspond to the name drawn.¹⁵⁷ Many of the mixed-bloods were present, but the full bloods, as usual, showed little interest in the matter. McChesney reported on July 11 that the drawing had occurred without unusual interruptions, most of those present being apparently satisfied.

"To enable the full-blood and incompetent element to know what they were doing," said McChesney, "and to avoid informalities and mistakes which made the first selection so unsatisfactory, the Commission employed eight surveyors, each with an assistant acting as interpreter and teamster and located such surveyors in convenient

¹⁵⁵ Cf. *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Sept. 1942), p. 254. McLaughlin observed that this plan would leave many of the more prominent full bloods, including James Bigheart, until toward the end. He noted that the first 118 tentative allotments were taken by sixty-six full bloods and fifty-two mixed bloods. Acting Commissioner Larrabee said that the Office of Indian Affairs was "in entire accord with the views expressed by Inspector McLaughlin," that is, in case the Commission should be permanently enjoined from proceeding with the wheel plan. Larrabee to Sec. Int., June 17, 1907, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 980, p. 415. Measures were taken to resist any suit brought against the Commission. Act. Sec. Int. Wilson to Att.-Gen., July 5, 1907, *Int. Dept., Sec. File* no. 5—1, pt. 1, OIA, Osage; Larrabee to McChesney, July 5, 1907, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 985, p. 342.

¹⁵⁶ The letter, bearing the approval of Secretary Garfield under date of June 3, 1907, is in *Int. Dept., Sec. File, loc. cit.*

¹⁵⁷ McChesney to Com. Ind. Aff., March 31, 1909, OIA, 25, 231—1909—313 Osage.

districts over the Reservation.”¹⁵⁸ The surveyors assisted allottees in gaining descriptions of lands suitable for second selections and in obtaining correct descriptions of lands desired. When it came the turn of a member to file he appeared before the Commission, presented a description given him by a surveyor, whereupon if such land were vacant, he was allowed to file on the same. At the close of the second selection, October 11, 1907, the local agent made filings for twenty-three members of the tribe who had refused or neglected to do so. The second selections aggregated 355,078.65 acres.

Although the Commission had been instructed that there should be no exchanges of first selections even among members of the same family where such selections had been made prior to the passage of the Osage Allotment Act, no such restriction obtained in regard to the second selections.¹⁵⁹ After all second selections had been filed the members of the tribe were allowed until November 1 to exchange and interchange selections. This gave opportunity to group family selections and opportunity for an allottee to obtain any particular piece of ground, which for sentimental or other reasons might be of special value to him. During the period of exchange the more wily mixed-bloods and real estate agents with selfish interests, were on hand to furnish ample trade suggestions. As a precautionary measure both parties to an exchange were required to appear before the Commission. About five hundred exchanges were made.¹⁶⁰

Before the drawing for second selections began Commissioner Peck announced that he would submit to the Department of the Interior the question of letting one drawing suffice for both the second and third selection with the provision that in the third selection the order of the second selection should be reversed. According to the proposition the person holding the highest number in the second selection should file first, while the person holding the first choice in the second selection should file last. In other words, the first should be last and the last should be first. In recommending this plan to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on July 11 Peck observed that it would equalize the second and third selections and obviate the necessity for another drawing. But Acting Commissioner Larrabee was not yet ready to agree with him. “I think the original plan equally as fair,” he said in reply, “and that it will have practically the same effect; not that the numbers will be exactly reversed in an independent drawing, but that the total effect on the tribe will be equivalent to that. Then I think it will give more general satisfaction to the tribe to have an independent drawing for the third selections.”¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*; see also McChesney to Com. Ind. Aff., Dec. 14, 1907, OIA, 98,321—1907—313 Osage.

¹⁵⁹ Larrabee to Osage Allot. Com., Jan. 11, 1908, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 1023, p. 166.

¹⁶⁰ McChesney to Com. Ind. Aff., March 31, 1909, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶¹ Larrabee to McChesney, July 19, 1907, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 988, pp. 264-265.

On September 30 Peck explained that while the Commission did not wish to appear too tenacious in the matter, it was still their belief that the plan recommended July 11 would be the fairest and most satisfactory to the members of the tribe.¹⁶² The Commission, believing the matter not yet settled, had not informed the Indians that the Office of Indian Affairs passed unfavorably upon the plan. Peck said that the plan was "proposed to the Commission" a few days before the drawing and had appealed to them by reason of its fairness. The sentiment of the tribe was reported to be largely in favor of the plan. "I have heard no member of the tribe say," wrote Peck, "but that this method was the fairest that could be provided." In outlining arguments favorable to it he said that considerable work and some expense would be saved for the Commission, and a great deal of expense and trouble would be saved to the Indians because it would not be necessary for them to gather for another drawing; he said that "the plan will mechanically operate fairly and every man, as near as may be, will be given an average selection. If another drawing is held," he said, "some persons who received high numbers in the first drawing will be sure to receive high numbers in the second, and they of course, will be dissatisfied. The only class that will object at all to the determination of the order of the third selection in the above manner will be those who receive the low numbers in the second selection, but in as much as the second selection is so much more valuable than the third such persons have the advantage and there is no ground for their objections."

On October 9 Larrabee agreed with Peck that the plan was "eminently proper and fair" and he authorized the Commission to carry it out.¹⁶³ Immediately upon the completion of the second selection, cards bearing the name of each member of the tribe, with his or her filing number were delivered to the heads of the respective families. The making of third selections was similar to the making of second selections in reference to the functions of surveyors and the number of daily filings. The making of selections began December 9 and by February 10, 1908, the filings had been made.¹⁶⁴ Only thirteen members of the tribe neglected or refused to appear before the Commission. The third selections aggregated 355,400.76 acres. From February 10 until the close of the month allottees were allowed to exchange allotments as at the close of the second selections, and about the same number of exchanges were made.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Peck to Com. Ind. Aff., Sept. 30, 1907, OIA, 79,767—1907—313 Osage.

¹⁶³ Larrabee to Osage Allot. Com., Oct. 9, 1907, OIA, *L. Letter Book 1004*, pp. 304-305.

¹⁶⁴ McChesney to Com. Ind. Aff., Feb. 15, 1908, OIA, 12,048—1908—313 Osage.

¹⁶⁵ It was necessary to secure authority from the Office of Indian Affairs for persons to traffic in the different grades of selections. This was for the protection of incompetent allottees, and in accord with the recommendation of the Commission. McChesney said that "if it were generally known that the Commission had authority to make such changes we would be hounded, during Office hours, to that end." McChesney to Com. Ind. Aff., Feb. 11, 1908, OIA, 10,875—1908—313 Osage.

If the Osage Allotment Act contained a clause absolutely clear to lawyer and layman, it was the provision that the homestead selection of each member of the tribe should consist of one of his three selections, and not a part of two or three selections. In a letter of September 30, 1907, Peck explained that if the true construction of the provision obtained, great injustice would be done to the Osages and the homestead policy of the Indian administration would be contravened; that the allottees had made their selections believing generally that they would be permitted to choose the best land from any of their selections in making up their homesteads: that he had several cases in mind where allottees had made their first selections of bottom land, leaving out their buildings and orchards, which stood on higher ground, for their second selections; that such persons desired to make their homestead selections from their first and second selections so as to cover their bottom land and the upland containing their houses and orchards; that it had been the policy of about one-fourth of the Indians to make noncontiguous selections, taking eighty acres of bottom land in one locality and eighty acres of bottom land in another locality, expecting to make other noncontiguous selections adjoining their first and second selections so as to make 160 acres of contiguous land; that if the provision of the act should be correctly construed the allottees would be compelled to take as homestead selections two tracts of land separated by sections and perhaps townships.¹⁶⁶ He recommended that either through further legislation, or otherwise, the Indians be permitted to make such a selection of 160 acres out of their three selections as would tend to give them the best homesteads. Acting Commissioner Larrabee took up the matter with Acting Secretary Ryan and they agreed upon the practicability of permitting designation of homesteads in disregard of the express provision of the act.¹⁶⁷

In accordance with the direction of the Department of the Interior the Commission was instructed on October 28 to permit each allottee to select a homestead of 160 acres in contiguous legal subdivisions embraced in one or more selections, but where that was not practicable noncontiguous tracts in legal subdivisions of the largest number of acres available, aggregating 160, might be selected. The Commission was instructed to advise the Indians in every case to

¹⁶⁶ Peck to Com. Ind. Aff., Sept. 30, 1907, OIA, 79,766—1907—313 Osage.

¹⁶⁷ Larrabee to Sec. Int., Oct. 11, 1907, *ibid.*; same to same, Oct. 19, 1907, *ibid.* With the letters there is a memorandum, initialed "C. F. H. [Charles F. Hauke, Ch. Div. Ind. Aff.]", to the effect that selection of homesteads might be delayed and Congress asked to amend the act; but it concludes that "it is possible that the Congress could be prevailed upon to enact amendments which would not be in the best interests of the Indians. The present legislation as it stands is satisfactory in almost all particulars, except as to the selections of homesteads, and it would be dangerous to disturb it in any manner." The memorandum was to accompany the letter if so desired. However, it bears a note stating that, "This subject has been discussed with Judge Ryan. C. F. L. [Charles F. Larrabee]."

make such selections as would be most desirable for homes so far as it could consistently be done.¹⁶⁸ At the time of the filing of the third selections, allottees were requested to file their homestead designations. The filing of these designations was completed March 1, 1908. More than five-sixths of the members of the tribe, or 1,889, designated their first selections, 112 members designated their second selections, and 27 members designated their third selections as homesteads.¹⁶⁹ A total of 190 members designated their homesteads from two selections, while eleven members included in their homestead designations a part of each of their selections. The homestead selections aggregated 355,291.78 acres.

On March 18 Secretary Garfield directed the attention of Congress to the fact that the Osage Allotment Act did not provide that homestead selections should be made in contiguous tracts, and he said that in many instances such selections had been made of lands not contiguous. He explained that it was impracticable and adverse to allottees to confine them in choice of a homestead to any one of the selections.¹⁷⁰ His recommendations, embodied in a resolution, passed the Senate April 2.¹⁷¹ But the House Committee on Indian Affairs was slow to take action. On December 15 attorneys for the Osages said in a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: "If your Department will kindly call the attention of the Chairman of the Committee to the advisability of reporting this resolution out of the Committee and having it enacted into law, it would assist us in pressing the matter before the Committee."¹⁷² On January 4, 1909, Garfield accordingly called attention to the necessity of procuring the legislation at an early date.¹⁷³ According to the report of the Committee the Secretary stated "that unless this legislation is enacted it will be impossible for him to approve a large number of homestead deeds."¹⁷⁴ On February 27, a few weeks after the selection and division of the lands had been completed, the desired legislation became law. It provided that homesteads might consist of land designated "from any one or more" of the three selections.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁸ Leupp to Osage Allot. Com., Oct. 28, 1907, OIA, *L. Letter Book 1008*, pp. 63-64.

¹⁶⁹ McChesney to Com. Ind. Aff., March 31, 1909, *loc. cit.*

¹⁷⁰ Garfield to Speaker of House of Rep., March 18, 1908, *H. Documents*, 60 Cong., 1 sess., cviii (5377), no. 800.

¹⁷¹ *Cong. Record*, 60 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 4267-4268.

¹⁷² Letter by Kappler and Merillat, Dec. 15, 1908, OIA, 41,861-1908-313 Osage.

¹⁷³ Letter to James S. Sherman, *H. Reports*, 60 Cong., 2 sess., i(5384), no. 2181, p. 2.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1. In accordance with instructions the Commission on September 14, 1908, entered upon the preparation of the homestead deeds. The same were duly executed by Peter C. Bigheart, Principal Chief of the tribe, and were forwarded to the Department of the Interior for approval. On January 26, 1909, McChesney was authorized to have the deeds recorded in the Office of the Register of Deeds for Osage county, at tribal expense. Wilson to McChesney, Jan. 26, 1909, OIA, 3,628-1909-313 Osage.

¹⁷⁵ 35 *Statutes*, 1167.

It was the direction of the Office of Indian Affairs that after the three selections had been taken the remaining lands should be divided among the members of the tribe, giving to each his or her fair share in acres.¹⁷⁶ In accordance with its recommendation the Commission was instructed on October 2, 1907, that in the final subdivision of the lands among the members of the tribe five acres should constitute the smallest unit. They were instructed as far as practicable to consider the question of equity in making the division; that is, they were authorized to equalized the value of allotments in making the division of the lands as required by the Osage Allotment Act.¹⁷⁷ The final division was made in two parts. (1) There was set apart for each member of the tribe a tract of 160 acres or as many forty acre tracts as he might be entitled to. (2) Each member was given a fractional division consisting of such part of a forty acre tract as would equalize the per capita share. The order in which the division for the several families was made was determined by the number which the head of each family had drawn in the drawing for the second selection. The division for all members of a family was made at the same time.¹⁷⁸

The division of 160 acre tracts was begun June 29, 1908. Heads of families were given thirty days notice of the date on which the division would be made and were requested to be then present to make any suggestions which they might desire as to such division, and if such suggestions did not conflict with the interests of any other member of the tribe, the division was made in accordance therewith. Where practicable members of the tribe were given land adjoining their selections; otherwise the final division was made to each family, in a body, in unallotted country. The first part of the final division was completed October 24. Immediately thereafter the Commission entered upon the work of the final fractional division in accordance with instructions. An effort was made to approximate the share of each member within three acres of the actual per capita share. In general, the lowest subdivision was a five acre tract but in some cases two and one half acre tracts were allotted. About ninety-five percent of the fractional allotments were made

¹⁷⁶ Leupp to McChesney, Sept. 13, 1906, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 893, p. 56.

¹⁷⁷ Larrabee to Osage Allot. Com., Oct. 2, 1907, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 1003, p. 160. Near the completion of the work of allotment a member of the tribe made the following complaint: "If our lands are allotted to us in equal number of acres only, it will be one of the most unfair divisions that ever went on record in the U. S. . . . There is about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Osage reservation that is good farming land. the Older and more wealthy members of the Tribe had this land improved and in their possession. The act of Congress under which we are being allotted gave the owners of improvements first choice in allotment of course they selected the best. The more unfortunate members of the tribe had to take whatever they could get, be it good or bad, and it was more bad than good." Emery Martin to Sec. Int., Jan. 19, 1909, OIA, 5,694—1909—313 Osage. The wisdom of the law and the truth of the letter might be treated at length. But it is enough to note that foresight often enables the few to fare better than the multitude.

¹⁷⁸ McChesney to Com. Ind. Aff., June 29, 1908, OIA, 44, 416—1908—313 Osage.

to allottees adjoining their other lands or the lands of a member of their family so that the same might be used to advantage.¹⁷⁹ The fractional allotments were completed February 1, 1909. The final division aggregated 400,216.20 acres, each member of the tribe receiving approximately 179.5 acres.

The total area of the reservation lands allotted was 1,465,380.56 acres and the per capita share was about 657.41 acres.¹⁸⁰ McChesney, as special disbursing agent, disbursed the sum of \$82,201.24 in accomplishing the work of the Commission. "The expense of this allotment," he said, "borne by each member of the Tribe, is \$36.87, which would be equal to a tax of about one and one half (or less) mills on the average Osage estate." In his final report he said that in spite of efforts of certain real estate agents to create a sentiment hostile to the Commission and its work, the division of lands had progressed with little objection from allottees, and that the allotment had been completed to their general satisfaction. On February 1, 1909, the Department of the Interior directed that steps be taken to discontinue the services of the Commission not later than March 1. The Commission urged that the matter be reconsidered, and in accordance with its request an extension of one month was granted in which to close its work.¹⁸¹ The Commission was abolished March 31. The schedule of homestead designations and the schedule of the three selections were approved by the Department of the Interior November 19, 1908; the schedule of final division was approved August 2, 1909.¹⁸²

The town site and railroad lands may be briefly noted. In accordance with an act of March 3, 1905,¹⁸³ the lands of five town sites, Pawhuska, Foraker, Bigheart, Hominy, and Fairfax were sold at public auction to the highest bidder. The work was done by a Commission of three members,¹⁸⁴ and was completed in 1908. The sale of the town sites and the Osage Agency property left a balance of about \$400,000 to the credit of the tribe.¹⁸⁵ On December 14, 1906,

¹⁷⁹ McChesney to Com. Ind. Aff., March 31, 1909, *loc. cit.* Islands in the Arkansas River, belonging to the reservations, were surveyed and platted and the areas thereof transmitted to the Commission January 14, 1909. The islands embodied about 500 acres which were, so far as practicable, allotted to members of the tribe having approximate allotments.

¹⁸⁰ For each member of the tribe the funds amounted to \$3,928.50. *Indian Affairs 1910*, p. 47.

¹⁸¹ Valentine to Sec. Int., Feb. 17, 1909, *Int. Dept., Sec. File, loc. cit.*

¹⁸² The schedule of the tree selections shows the subdivisions selected as homesteads. The schedules are in the Indian Office, *Schedules of Allotments*, nos. 43-49. They are bound in seven volumes.

For legal construction of the Osage Allotment Act and subsequent acts of Congress, see Lawrence Mills, *Okla. Indian Land Laws*, (1924), Chap. 47.

¹⁸³ 33 Statutes, 1061.

¹⁸⁴ In the first instance the Commission was composed of Agent Millard, Special Indian Agent W. L. Miller, and a tribal member, Julian Trumbly. When it was reorganized May 27, 1907, McChesney was appointed in Miller's place.

¹⁸⁵ Report of Agent Millard, Aug. 13, 1908; the report is bound with a copy of *Indian Affairs 1908*, in the Library of the Indian Office.

the Commission was instructed that in making selections and allotments no deduction should be made on account of the right of way of the railroad companies; such selections and allotments, however, should be subject to the easement for such right of way.¹⁸⁶ But the next year Acting Secretary Ryan approved a recommendation providing that all rights of way of railroads legally acquired be reserved from all selections,¹⁸⁷ and on October 29 the Commission was instructed accordingly. The railroads reserved, in proportion, more of the first selection than any selection thereafter, for the reason that the lines had been constructed along creek and river bottoms.¹⁸⁸ According to the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1910* there were 5,178.53 acres reserved for church, town site and railroad properties.¹⁸⁹

Thus in the first decade of the twentieth century the Osages had their reservation dissolved by allotments, theirs being the last reservation of the thirteen in Oklahoma Territory to be blessed or afflicted by the widely accepted theory of private ownership of land. The doctrine of capitalism with its virtues of freedom of enterprise, competition and private profit, so inflated in the nineteenth century, has itself met keen competition in the twentieth century. The control, if not the ownership, by society of the means of mass production, including land, appears to be gaining headway. Among the powers of the earth the question of private versus communal ownership of land has not been given repose.

Whether the Osages were made happier and better by the new "way of life," introduced to them perhaps by imposition, by a race supposedly of superior culture may be easier for us to answer than for generations yet unborn who will read better than we the trend of times. Whatever will be the verdict of more mature vision than we now have, we can rest assured that the story of the dissolution of the Osage reservation of one and a half million acres will remain an interesting chapter in Oklahoma History.

¹⁸⁶ Larrabee to McChesney, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 921, pp. 186-187.

¹⁸⁷ Larrabee to Sec. Int., Oct. 22, 1907, OIA, 79, 769—1907—313 Osage. The approval is written on Larrabee's letter under date of Oct. 24, 1907.

¹⁸⁸ On the railroad lands see *Report of Com. Ind. Aff.*, 1908, pp. 115-116.

¹⁸⁹ The figures may be correct; but on the same page (p. 47) the date of the approval of the roll is incorrectly given and the absurd statement is made that approximately 404,924 acres remained unallotted.

THE FIRST INDIAN TERRITORY—OKLAHOMA BRANCH OF AMERICAN RED CROSS. THE FIRST OKLAHOMA STATE BOARD OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

By Fred S. Clinton, M.D., F. A. C. S.

The American National Red Cross was chartered by Act of Congress approved January 5, 1905, with Headquarters in Washington, D. C.

In 1905, Dr. Fred S. Clinton, of Tulsa Indian Territory, made application to the Executive Committee of the American National Red Cross at Washington, D. C. through their National Secretary, Mr. C. L. Magee for the establishment of a Branch of the American Red Cross in the Indian Territory.

With the cooperation of valuable friends in high places this Indian Territory Branch was completed early in 1906 under the authority of the National Organization. The *Red Cross Bulletin* for October, 1906 listed the Indian Territory Branch applying for membership. In the *Annual Report for 1906*, the Indian Territory Branch is listed in the "Roster of the Officers of the Various State and Territorial Branches" as follows, quote:

President	Dr. F. B. Fite	Muskogee	Indian Territory
Vice Presidents	Hon. D. H. Johnston	Milburn	Chief Chickasaw Nation
	Hon. John Brown	Sasakwa	Chief Seminole Nation
	Hon. W. C. Rogers	Skiatook	Chief Cherokee Nation
	Hon. Green McCurtain	Sans Bois	Chief Choctaw Nation
	General P. Porter	Muskogee	Chief Creek Nation
Secretary	Dr. Fred S. Clinton	Tulsa	Indian Territory
Treasurer	J. H. McBirney	Tulsa	Indian Territory

From 1905 on, the political ferment for statehood was quite active. So the newly organized Indian Territory Branch of the American Red Cross desired to avoid political activities or repercussions and took advantage of an act of Congress, approved January 5, 1905, authorizing an Officer of the Army stationed in a state or territory where a Red Cross Branch exists to be designated by the War Department to audit the accounts of the Branch upon the request of Red Cross Authority. The accounts were inspected, audited and found in order in Tulsa, Indian Territory, November 16th, 1906 by James Longstreet, 1st Lieutenant, 13th Cavalry, Recruiting Officer, Oklahoma.

Statehood seemed in the offing and changes in the political structure here and in the National Organization inspired cautious and conservative methods in developing this wonderful organization of trained voluntary service to suddenly distressed humanity, not otherwise provided for. When statehood arrived the jurisdiction and authority of the Indian Territory Branch of the American Red Cross was extended over the State of Oklahoma. On December 7, 1909 the American Red Cross promulgated the Revised By-laws

in *Circular No. 3*, issued by the Central Committee, January 1, 1910, titled "Instructions to the Officers of Red Cross Organizations". This outlined the expected reorganization to meet changing conditions. Much preparation and some education had paved the way.

The secretary of the Oklahoma Branch had full freedom of action at home and the complete confidence and magnificent support of the National Organization in the delicate task of shaping up to satisfactory completion a carefully chosen group of distinguished citizens for recommendation to be appointed by the Central Committee of the American Red Cross to membership of the first Oklahoma State Board of the American Red Cross, as follows:

President	Hon. Lee Cruce	Governor
Treasurer	Dennis T. Flynn	Oklahoma City
Secretary	Miss Kate Barnard	Oklahoma City
	M. S. Blassingame	Sallisaw
	William Busby	McAlester
	Seymour C. Heyman	Oklahoma City
	Charles Page	Tulsa
	H. B. Spaulding	Muskogee

"This was the first State Board in Oklahoma", according to Miss Robina Rae, Librarian, National Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

The Indian Territory Branch of the American Red Cross was the authorized representative of the National Organization in the Indian Territory and in the State of Oklahoma. Then came the first State Board which closed the peace time organization and brought in the first War Oklahoma State Board of Red Cross and the Tulsa Chapter. (Jurisdiction, counties of Tulsa, Creek, Pawnee, Osage, Rogers, Washington, Nowata.)

From
AMERICAN RED CROSS
Directory of State Boards and Chapters
March 15, 1916
Oklahoma

STATE BOARD		
President	Gov. R. L. Williams	Oklahoma City
Treasurer	J. J. McGraw	Ponca City
Secretary	Miss Kate Barnard	Oklahoma City
	M. S. Blassingame	Sallisaw
	Anton H. Classen	Oklahoma City
	Dr. D. M. Hailey	McAlester
	Charles Page	Tulsa
	H. B. Spaulding	Muskogee

From
American Red Cross
Directory of Chapters
 September 1, 1916
 Oklahoma

TULSA CHAPTER. (Jurisdiction, counties of Tulsa, Creek, Pawnee, Osage, Rogers, Washington, Nowata.)

CHAIRMAN	Roger Kemp	Tulsa
Vice-Chair.	J. P. Flanagan	Tulsa
Treasurer	Earl Sinclair	Tulsa Exch. Natl. Bank
Secretary	C. E. Buchner	Tulsa, Y. M. C. A.

From
 Tulsa County in the World War (History, 1919)
 Tulsa County Chapter

In December, 1917, and March 1918, a complete reorganization took place with the following officers and Executive Committee; E. R. Kemp, chairman; Clint Moore, vice-chairman; E. W. Sinclair, treasurer; W. L. Connelly, secretary; Mrs. R. L. McMinn, assistant secretary; C. E. Buchner, A. L. Farmer, T. J. Hartman, S. Jankowsky, W. R. Guiberson, W. S. Chochran, D. W. Franchot, J. H. Evans, Mrs. John R. Wheeler, Mrs. J. B. Robinson, Mrs. W. N. Sill, Mrs. E. G. Dawes, Mrs. W. I. Williams, Mrs. N. J. Gubser, Mrs. Preston C. West, and E. A. Wilcox, Rev. J. G. Reynolds, Broken Arrow; V. A. Schieffebusch, Sand Springs; Mrs. L. L. Wiles, Skiatook, and Mrs. Ord Neville, Jenks.

The above distinguished pioneers were endowed with vision, imagination, independence, intelligence, integrity, industry and willingness to give help to persons known to be in distress.

Comparatively few responsible people will volunteer to invest themselves, their time, talents, money and other resources in a new or old humanitarian enterprise in a new country to prevent or fight dirt, disease, distress, death or disaster in the manner of the Good Samaritan to prevent or mitigate the suffering and horrors inseparably associated with war, wrecks, storms, floods, fires, famine, earthquakes, riots, mine disasters, pestilence, cold, heat, and drouth at home and abroad.

The Christian character and practical democratic non-political principles practiced by the Red Cross is world wide and recognized among all intelligent people whether civilized or uncivilized.

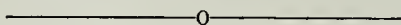
Will James says: "The great use of a life is to spend it for something that outlasts it." Florence Nightingale (1820-1910) the Angel of the Crimean War, the Lady with the Lamp, Jean Henri Dunant (1828-1910) the Founder of the Red Cross and Clara Barton (1821-1912) the unsung heroine of the United States Civil War and the Founder of the American Red Cross have through their sacrifice and suffering in providing professional and social service

to meet human needs in catastrophe during peace or war and in establishing organized humanitarian methods of saving lives earned the shining crown of Immortality.

Thus ends the first planned brief recital of the beginning of the great American Red Cross development in this rapidly expanding history conscious age.

To a proud citizen of this country the Tulsa County Chapter should be mentioned as a model and standard for any similar unit to adopt as working pattern in any highly developed and intelligent community.

Let us hope the little acorn planted in the Indian Territory—Oklahoma area in early 1905 will continue to grow into a mighty oak with many useful branches which flower and fruit like the 1943 Red Cross.



NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE DIARY OF SUE McBETH

A Missionary to the Choctaws, 1860-1861

Edited by Anna Lewis

This Diary was made available by Miss Mary Crawford of Lapawai, Idaho. Miss Crawford is a niece of Miss McBeth and at the death of her aunt, took over her work with the Nez Perce in Idaho. Miss McBeth collected historical materials and kept a diary with the idea of writing a history of the Choctaw missions and missionaries. She came to the Choctaw Nation as a missionary in the spring of 1860. She was sent to the Goodwater mission and here she worked almost a year and a half until the Civil War forced her to leave the Indian territory.¹ She never, however, lost her interest in the Choctaws. Students of Oklahoma history will be interested in the following selections from the diary which she kept at Goodwater:

"Good-Water"²

April 16, 1860 (Beginning of the Journal)

A few minutes ago I came down the long yard which separates my log cabin from the mission house, passing on my way the work room where Miss G. is teaching our Indian girls to sew and glancing in, saw their dusky faces around her at their work. Standing on my rude porch, looking down into the deep forest that skirts my home, I ask my self, 'Is this a reality or am I dreaming still? Dreaming as when in the long ago I sat upon rocks left bare upon the sands of the Ohio at low water. Rocks covered with hieroglyphics traces by Indians when their tribes possessed the land felt such sorrow for the vanished race and thought that if God spared me to be a woman I would go to the handful that remained and tell them of Jesus and show them the ways to a home from which they could never be driven out. But the sweet melodious voices of the Indian girls, singing "Happy Land," after they have folded

¹ See Anna Lewis (editor). "Letters Regarding Choctaw Missions and Missionaries," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City), vol. 19, 275ff.

² *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 10, pp. 511-13; vol. 11, p. 997; vol. 12, note p. 407.

up their work for the day, float out upon the still evening air. And even as I write they come trooping past my open window, with a shy glance at the stranger who has come among them, and I look into their black eyes, and dusky faces and feel through all my heart that is (this sentence is incomplete)

I must have a few days of rest after my long journey before entering upon my duties here and will as I promised begin a record of this chapter of my life so that if you should not see me again, dear Mother, (For our Father only knows when or how this chapter will end) You can read the story about which helps to fill up some of the lonely hours in the telling.

I left Keokuk in Feb. with the floating river ice. Our course down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Arkansas almost directly south and in less than two weeks I watched the changes of a season pass before my eyes. The trees, first in bud—then in leaf—the field and forests along the shores changing their shades of green until they were wore the deep green hue of summer. Wild flowers were blooming around Little Rock, and now the first object on which my eye rested as we neared Fort Smith was the pink blossoms of an orchard of peach trees in full bloom.

I climbed to the upper deck with a lady passenger from Fort Smith and stood looking eagerly out at the town. As soon as we were near enough to distinguish persons I saw dusky faces and picturesque forms among the groups gathered on the banks. "My Indians!" I recognized them with a thrill. "Aren't they Choctaws?" "Yes. Some of them. Fort Smith is on the line between Arkansas and the Indian territory. You know." When the boat-landed a number of citizens came on board. "Yonder is Judge Wheeler in the front-part of the boat," said the lady to whom I had spoken of the letter of introduction to him in my pocket. "I will introduce you to him if you wish." The Indians! Those were the objects of greatest interest as I walked beside the lady up the bank and through the town. The only Indian I had seen was that traveling troupe when I was a child, but those wore the native Indian costume. These were dressed as any other frontier people.

I was detained in Judge Wheeler's home.

Concerning the route which Miss McBeth took to reach Good-Water, she gives the following description:

"Crossing the Poteau, a small stream on the outskirts of Fort Smith, we left the states behind us and came into the Indian Territory. Wild flowers in great abundance skirted the walls, clover blossoms and violets greeted me like the faces of old friends.

After traveling about fifteen miles the boyish driver turned out of the road and drove up to a house at a little distance from it. "What are you going to do?" I asked. "Going to feed the horses. This is W—s; we always stop here," was the answer. "You will have to get out and wait awhile."

W—s, was a log house; part of it two story; a 'ne story addition, with a large porch in front, had been built at one side, and on this porch, and in the yard, lounged a number of rough looking white men, Indians, and negroes; white, Indian and negro children stopped their play to watch the new comers with the rest.

Mrs. W—, a pleasant faced, fine looking Indian woman, who spoke English very well, received us kindly in her sitting room. She had a visitor, a neatly even tastefully dressed young Choctaw girl, self possessed and lady like in her manners. She had just returned from school in the States.

Mr. W— was a Choctaw, but his wife was a Cherokee. We were not far from the borders of the Cherokee country, and nearly all the Indians I saw belonged to that tribe. "Is anything unusual going on?" "There's to be a ball tonight at Scullyville, a little distance from here," was the

answer, "and the most of them have come to go to it." "We will have to stay here all night," said the driver's voice at the door. "One of the horses is sick, and can't go on." I strongly suspected that he had heard of the ball, and wished to attend it, was the true reason; but there was no help for it; we must submit.

Taking little Susie W—, as a guide I walked over to the outskirts of Scullyville.³ I did not enter the village but I could see several quite pretty residences among the dwelling houses, several stores, a blacksmith shop etc. On our way we passed the village grave yard, with palings around some of the graves, and near it was a comfortable looking log school house, with a pretty play ground around it. The school was dismissed, as we came up. The teacher was a gentlemanly looking white man. The scholars were Indians and half-breeds and were dressed as well as children generally are in country schools in the States. "That is a private school," Mrs. W— told me on our return. "We have three schools within five miles; the other two are at Fort Coffee,⁴ and New Hope. The one at New Hope is a Methodist School."⁵

The Cherokees, as far as I have seen them, are a handsome race; tall, straight as an arrow, and finely formed; with regular features, black eyes, and abundant straight black hair. I had never seen a handsomer people. I thought as I watched the ball goers passing out and in through the house after supper, dressed in their best. Among them were several young girls, friends or relatives of Mrs. W—.

I spent the evening with Mrs. W— and the children. She is a woman of some education; very pleasant and communicative, and I had a long talk with her about her people.

I had a comfortable old fashioned bed, hung with barred blue and white curtains, in the room adjoining the sitting room, but sleep was impossible that first night in the Indian Country. The situation was too novel, and besides I had noticed that some the ball goers were intoxicated, and I dreaded their return. But they came home quietly enough a little before daylight.

Our route the next day lay through a hilly country, and our horses made slow progress. Once, one of them gave out entirely, and had to be turned loose to rest awhile. By nightfall we reached Gulliver's, our second stopping place. "Massa not at home, Mistis Neder," said the old negress who met us, "but dey'll done come soon," and presently "Mistis" and Indian woman rode up, on horseback with a child on her lap, and one behind her.

Two white mechanics who were building a house for G— came, after supper, into the room where I sat. They were father and son from the States; honest looking men. The father told me that he had been a church member before he came into the Nation. "Gulliver is a white man, isn't he?" I asked; for some of the half breeds I had seen were as fair as Europeans. "Yes, he is an Irishman," was the answer. "If a white-man marries an Indian woman he becomes a citizen of the Nation, and can have a share of the land. As soon as he is able he gets a slave or two and takes in more and more land. Some of the whites and half breeds have large plantations and are rich." "I saw several evil looking white men at W—s last night," I remarked. "Who were they?" "Wicked men who have broken away from the restraints of the States, I suppose the most of them were," he said. "These depraved whites are a curse to the Indians, and always have been."

Our route the next day lay partly through a pine country. Here and there we passed treeless hills, with large, smooth bowlders sprinkled down their slopes from top to bottom. On the way we met a traveling black-

³ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 10, p. 232.

⁴ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 10, p. 225.

⁵ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 10, p. 277.

smith or "Horse Doctor", his saddle bag of tools, and as one of our horses was lame he shod him anew.

All the way from Fort Smith we occasionally met Indians cantering along on their shaggy little ponies, sometimes we would meet them driving ox, or horse teams, and often caught glimpses of them walking through the forests; but we passed comparatively few houses. Sometimes we would travel for nearly a day without a sight of a human habitation, but here and there we passed sheep and goats grazing on the side, or smoke curling through the distance. The Indians do not usually build their houses by the road side, but behind clumps of trees at a little distance from it. A person only passing through the Nation, along the principal routes, would have the impression that the country is much more thinly settled than it really is, because he would pass near houses without knowing it.

Our driver knew the country, and where to find many of these farm houses, and sometimes when we were thirsty would turn aside to one and ask for water. The dwellings we saw were principally log cabins. The Indians around the doors looked clean and neat; with good honest-looking faces, full-blood Indians, the most of them were; speaking no word of English. We had to make known our wants by natural language.

Our station the third night had no "Mistis," only an old black "Aunty" to do the honors. I do not know which one of the evil looking whites I saw lounging around the house was the Master. These stage stations are not fair samples of the homes in the Indian country. There is too much of the vicious white element in them, and contact with that class of white men always demoralizes the Indian.

The beggar woman, a bold faced woman of about thirty years, she was one of our passengers. One of the lowest types of the "poor white folks" of the South. Smoking a pipe and talking incessantly—no matter if anyone answered her or not; singing hymns and negro songs through her nose when on the road, but setting a pitiful story at night as she begged for her lodgings. In a few days she had the floor of the stage covered with onions etc., which she had begged for her sick husband. Perhaps she was honest, but in the mornings after we had started, I could see her taking bits of jewelry, old ribbons, etc., out of her pocket, and stealthily inspecting them.

Our old broken down team made such slow progress, that we did not reach Boggy Depot until Saturday noon. This is a small village near the Boggy river, about ten miles from Wapanucka, the Mission of the Presbyterian Board among the Chickasaws. Here the stage left me and I took Judge Wheelers letter of introduction to the store keeper at Boggy. "You are just in time," he told me. "The farmer from Wapanucka comes in on Saturdays for their mail. He has not gone home yet and can take you out with him."

Mr. McCarty, the farmer Missionary, had come in on horseback and while I waited in the tavern until he procured a conveyance, I had a long talk with the landlady—an intelligent Indian woman who remembered the removal of her tribe from the Mississippi. "I was only twelve years old then," she said, "but I will never forget what we suffered on the road. It was in the winter and we were coming north, and we suffered so much from cold and hunger. A great many died on the road. My little brother died before we got here. We didn't want to leave our old homes," she told me, "but the Government made us. They wanted our land for themselves, and so they drove us out." She is not a Christian, but I could see that the old wrong still rankled, and filled her with deep seated suspicion of the whites.

Wapanucka is a long, three story stone building situated on an elevated wooded plateau, with a large sloping yard in front, and masses of

detached rocks cropping out from among the trees in the forest background. It is the most beautiful of all the Mission Stations I am told.

We reached the station a little before sunset. The sound of wheels had caught the quick ears of the Indian Children, and from every door and window little dusky faces peered out eagerly, and I walked up the yard under the battery of nearly one-hundred pair of bright black eyes. I could not help laughing as they came swarming around me at the door, it was such a novel sight to me, that crowd of Chickasaw children, speaking no word, but taking in every detail of the stranger's face and dress with their bright quick eyes.

At the door one of the Missionary ladies met me with a kiss. "Welcome to Wapanucka. We have been expecting you for some time. Dr. Wilson wrote us that you were coming," said Miss Culbertson. And I looked into one of the sweetest faces I have ever seen. Perhaps it looked lovelier in its surroundings, and purer and saintlier after the coarse dark faces I had met for a week, but those large dark eyes, and spiritual girlish face comes to me yet, like the memory of a pleasant dream.

That first night on the Mission grounds was a very pleasant one. The other Missionaries met me with a welcome which made me feel at once at home.

The buildings at Wapanucka were commenced by the Presbyterian Board in 1850,⁶ but the school was not opened until two years later. The Rev. Hamilton Balentine was the first Superintendent. In 1855 he was succeeded by the Rev. Charlton Wilson who remained four years. At the end of that time his urgent request, Mr. Balentine came back from the Creek country to supply his place for one year. Mr. Balentine was absent during my visit, but Mr. Wilson who had returned a short time previously to attend to some business connected with the mission, supplied his place. The Mission is laboring under financial embarrassments—I am told. If these are not removed, the present prospects are that the school will need to be discontinued.

On Sabbath morning, the rising bell awoke me and on going down I found the family assembled in the dining hall; the Indian children seated at several long tables, with a teacher at each end of the board. Everything about Wapanuck is scrupulously clean and neat; the bare floors and unpainted wood work scrubbed clean as hands could make them. When I went to my room after worship two of the larger girls were putting it in order. "We have them attend to the rooms," said Miss C—, for we could not find time to do so until after nine o'clock; we have to superintend the girls in the dining room."

I watched the pupils neatly arranging the rooms on the other side of the hall, and working in different parts of the house with as little noise as if the one-hundred girls and their teachers were only one small family. When their work was done, I saw them walking around, or sitting in the yard below, with their Bible's in their hands, studying their lessons, or quietly talking, and thought—what an immense influence these Indian girls must exert, when they return to their homes, and if they carry the grace of God with them in their hearts, how it will leaven the mass.

At nine o'clock they all went into Sabbath School. They met in the large school room for prayer and singing, and then each teacher took her own pupils to her school room. I went with Miss Downing, a lively little lady from the East; the little ones clinging to her hands as we walked through the halls and looking as if they loved her very much.

The children are taught in English in these Mission Schools. Their lesson was reciting the 55th chapter of Isaiah, and the shorter Catechism, and they recited very readily. At ten o'clock they went with their teachers into the large room used as a Chapel. Mr. Wilson preached to the In-

⁶ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 12, p. 402ff.

dians about five miles distant that morning but Mr. McCarty read a short sermon to the Mission family. Mr. Wilson preached for us at night.

"How quiet and peaceful this home in the wilderness is; shut out from all the world beside," I remarked to Miss McLeod, as we sat in her room that afternoon; not a sound reaching us save the twittering of the birds outside, or an occasional light step passing through the hall. "Yes," was the answer, "We have no temptations or helps either from outside the walls. We have to take up the cross, and if the burden draws us nearer to the Saviour, then indeed we are happy in our isolation. If it does not then must our lot be miserable."

I remained at Wapanucka until Thursday. I had read the life of Miss M. C. Greenleaf,⁷ a Missionary who had died in that institution some years previously, and one day while the other ladies were in school, I went to visit the little mission grave yard where she lay. It was on a hill side in the forest behind the house. I threaded my way through the grand old rocks, and among the stately trees until I came into the rude enclosure where slept Miss G—, and several of her Indian girls. What a solemn stillness reigned through the dim forest aisles around. Last resting place for one who left her home to die among the forest children.

Mr. McCarty was delegated to convey me to Good-water. Our conveyance was the only carriage—to my knowledge,—belonging to the missionary force in both the Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations. It had been a pedlar's wagon in the states, and the Missionaries made an oil cloth covering to protect them from the sun. The unsteady wheels needed to be watered frequently on the road to prevent the iron tires from slipping from the shrunk wood work; but with watchfulness and care it carried us through without mishap.

We spent Thursday night at the Bennington Mission station in the Choctaw nation. Here I met the first familiar face since I left Memphis. The Missionary teacher, Miss Mary Semple—a daughter of Dr. A. W. Semple of Stenbenville, Ohio,—was a school mate in the Stenbenville Seminary. How doubly dear that sweet young face looked in this land of strangers; and how I enjoyed that night spent with my friend.

Bennington had only a church and day school.⁸ The Mission house built of logs, looked like some of the old farm houses in the States.

The present Superintendent and pastor, the Rev. Charles C. Copeland was born in Dover, Vermont, Jan. 11, 1818. His parents were both pious people, who early tried to lead their children to the Savior. Mr. C—, was not more than fourteen years old when he became a Christian—as he hoped. While quite young his desires pointed to the ministry as his life work; but his health failing from over exertion, when he was about seventeen years of age, he felt that he was not able to obtain the necessary education, and concluded to devote himself to teaching. After attending a good school in Vermont, he, with several of his associates, went to New Jersey, where he taught successfully for some time.

While in New Jersey he became acquainted with Rev. Dr. W. Armstrong, agent for the American Board of Foreign Missions, and through him became deeply interested in the Choctaws, and decided to give himself to the work of a Missionary among them. In 1841 he bade farewell to his friends in Vermont, and shortly afterwards, in company with several others, started from Boston to the Choctaw Nation via of New Orleans.

He commenced teaching at the Stockbridge Mission,⁹ and began giving instruction in public on the Sabbath, which he continued while teaching. In 1843, Mr. Jared Olmstead, a licensed preacher who had labored, successfully, among the Choctaws for seven years, died at Norwalk. Mr.

⁷ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 12, p. 427.

⁸ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 16, p. 175.

⁹ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 10, p. 221.

Copeland was appointed to supply his place in the school at the station, and in the year following was married to one of the lady Missionaries at Wheelock.¹⁰

By the advice of his brethren in the Mission he began the study of Theology under the Rev. Alfred Wright of the Wheelock Mission.¹¹ He was licensed to preach in 1846 and four years later was ordained at Wheelock.

Feeling an earnest desire to devote himself more exclusively to the work of the ministry, on the removal of the Rev. Joshua Potter from the Mount Pleasant station,¹² then the most western station in the Nation. Mr. Copeland was appointed to that place and the five churches west of the Boggy river were committed to his care. Here he had long rides to meet his appointments; often being absent from home four days of the week.

Mount Pleasant was in an unhealthy location near the Boggy bottom, and Mr. C— suffered much from chills and fever. Bennington was nearer to the center of his field of labor, and when Mr. Lansing left that station in 1855, Mr. Copeland took charge of it, and has resided there up to this time.

In the ten years of his ministry he had received into the churches under his care two-hundred-and-eighty-two members on profession of their faith; had baptized two-hundred-and-three adults, and one-hundred-and-ninety-four children, and had preached more than one-thousand times. More than \$1000 had been contributed by his people to the cause of Foreign Missions. This did not include their contributions to their own schools and churches.

Mr. Copeland had now become perfectly at home in the Choctaw language. While camped with his people he was one with them; a true Pastor to his flock. They came to him in the most confiding manner and poured their joys and their sorrows into his willing ear, sure always of sympathy or help. His amiable and excellent wife is a true help mate for him in his many and arduous labors and he spoke gratefully of the help he had received from the native elders in his various churches, and the harmony which existed among them.

The next day's travel brought us to the Rev. O. P. Stark's station at Goodland where we spent the night. Goodland had only a church with a good Indian congregation, and a day school. It is very pleasantly situated; the church among the trees at a little distance from the Mission house, is used on week days for the school. Miss Mary A. Greenlee, of Fredericktown, Ohio, is the Missionary teacher at this station.

Goodland is about twelve miles south-west of Good-Water.¹³ On the road the next morning Mr. McCarty stopped to talk with an Indian on horseback, and the man came up the carriage and shook hands warmly with me, looking pleased as he spoke some words in Choctaw, "I told him you were a Missionary for Good-Water," said Mr. McCarty. "He is an elder in the church there." I noticed that Mr. McCarty and he appeared to understand each other very well, although Mr. McCarty lived among the Chickasaws. The Choctaw and Chickasaw languages are only different dialects of the same tongue.

The Choctaws, or properly "Chaktas," and Chickasaws were ancient allies, making in reality one nation. When first known to Europeans, these allied peoples occupied the territory on the left bank of the Mississippi, almost from the Ohio river to the Gulf. They belong to the great Chekta-Muskokee family, which, in early days controlled the whole

¹⁰ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 10, p. 222.

¹¹ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 10, p. 222.

¹² *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 10, p. 255.

¹³ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 10, p. 516.

country from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, and from the Gulf shore to the Apalachians.

The area of the Choctaw Nation at present is from one-hundred to one-hundred-and-fifty miles from north to south and about two-hundred miles from east to west. Several years ago the United States government leased from the Choctaws all their land west of 98°.

Late in the afternoon of Saturday, we came in sight of Good-Water. How eagerly my eye took in every detail as we emerged from the forest and drove slowly down the little slope, at the foot of which lay my future home.

June 12, 1860

We have had no rain for a long time and the heat is becoming intense. If it does not rain shortly, the present crop to which the people have been looking forward with such longing eyes, will be entirely destroyed. But, like the shepherd of Slisbury Plain, "it shall be rain if God pleases." He knows, and will do what is best.

The winters in this climate are usually mild and short, but last winter was unusually severe. The Indians lost a great many of their horses and cattle and were compelled to give out much of the corn they had reserved for their families in order to keep their stock alive, and, as corn is their principal breadstuff, many are even now lacking bread. A half breed Cherokee, the mother of one of my girls, was here today, and I had a long talk with her. She told me that many of those who had stock left after the hard winter were selling them to buy corn. They cannot get corn in the Nation now, and must send, or go for it, to the neighboring states, and many have no money to purchase it. She said she did not know what the people would do now if it were not for the missionaries. They are giving out provisions at the mission stations, feeding the destitute as far as it is in their power. Mr. Ainslie has been helping the needy among his people for some time, by loaning them corn and rice to be repaid when they can. None are sent away empty and yet we have to be careful for fear our own supplies should fail, and our own hungry ones be unfed. How plump and healthy our girls look beside some of their friends who visit them. And yet our fare is of the very plainest kind.

Mr. Jones has just returned from taking Mrs. Ainslie and her little son John, Miss Mary Semple, and Mr. Henry Hotchken to Pine Bluffs,¹⁴ on their way to the north. Mrs. Ainslie's health was failing so rapidly, and she could neither have the medical attendance, the nourishing food that she needs while she remained here, so she has returned to her father's home in the state of New York in the hope that change of climate and rest and other things suited to her condition may restore her. But I very much fear that it is too late. She has been a faithful missionary for years and her labors in this climate have been beyond her strength.

Mr. Hotchkin, a son of the first missionary at Good-Water is to accompany the ladies as far as Napoleon, where they will take the boat. Miss Semple has been here for the time for which she was engaged, but, if her health improves she expects to return in the autumn as Mr. Hotchkin's wife.

December 28, 1860

I have been so depressed in spirit for several days, I scarcely know why, a sense of impending danger, I scarcely know of what kind, seems to hang over me. I could scarcely wait for my letters (our post office was ten miles distant). I did not know that Mr. Reed had come until I went up to the mission house for supper. As I opened the door,

¹⁴ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 10, p. 225.

I saw him sitting by the fire. "Oh, you have no letters for me!" was my first thought. "Yes, I have though—quite a budget of them," and began distributing our mail matter. "One-two-three-four-five letters for Miss M—." "Oh! You are the Best-Man—" as I grasped them—he laughed—"Oh yes, I understand. I used to feel just-so when I first came into the Nation." "And you do not now? I do not think I get any better as I grow older." One letter from Rev. Ainslie (in New York with his dying wife) Mrs. A— still failing. The greater part of the letter filled with the political storm now raging in the states, fears it will break up our Mission. I had to go to my girls' prayer meeting after supper—but when it was over I went to Mr. R—. He promised to talk with me about the 'signs of the times'. "Now," I said as I drew up my chair to the bright wood fire. "I want you to tell me all about how this trouble in the United States is going to affect the Indians. I thought it would, in some way—but I could not tell how. I know nothing about politics." "Well, I think with Rev. A—, that the last days of the Choctaw mission and the Choctaws themselves draw to a close, but I do not think with him that it will be caused by Northern or Southern prejudice. You know that when the United States entered into the present treaties with the Indians, they were formidable enough to make conciliatory measures policy. Now they are a mere handful, a despised remnant and the United States considers their annuities a burden, and them an incumbrance on the rich lands they still call home, and, in the event of a rupture between the north and south both parties will feel at liberty to ignore his claims altogether. The United States has their money, and has loaned it to the states. In the contract the Indian is not recognized. The states are responsible to the United States alone." "So then their annuities will cease?" "Worse than that—the Indians hold their present territory from the United States government. If that is dissolved, he will no longer have a title to it." "But, Mr. Reed, surely they will not have the conscience to take this little territory—this last foothold from him. Where will they send him? Surely it is more than enough if they refuse to pay him for his old home in the south. They can never have the cruelty to do more?" He smiled. "Do you not know that conscience has very little to do with politics? They will not stop to question its right or its mercy if they want his land. We shall probably be the center of opposing forces. And between them the Indians and their mission be pushed out of existence." "And the Indians themselves—will they submit to this quietly?" "What else can they do? Naturally inefficient, and now enfeebled by famine. As for the missionaries themselves, I suppose that they will be given warning that their services are no longer needed and sent home." "But, do you think we will be interfered with this session." "If we are unmolested this session. I do not suppose we will be disturbed at all. But I think the probability is that the crisis will come to us in a few weeks or months at the most. We can do nothing but trust God and wait until it comes." This morning before he left, I said something about Spencer being a "permanent institution." "Yes," he said. "It may exist three weeks."

January 3, 1861

Received a letter from home, tonight, and read "THE PRESBYTERIAN" both frightened me with impending Civil War. I never knew so much about politics, the crops, and the price of corn, in all my life, as since I came here, and I hope never to know so much again—I had been thinking of the poor Indians only. Think most of them still, for my home can be reached as easily from the Indian country as from Ohio, that will matter little when I reach it. But how many of my dear girls are not prepared for the change, and how many of the mass have scarcely yet heard of the Savior. Some of the ladies anticipate violence, perhaps death, from the mob element that surrounds us, the border ruffians who came over to lynch Rev. A—. The greatest danger to the missionaries

is from them. They hate the missionaries because they reported them to the government for selling whiskey to the Indians. We are only four miles from the Texas line, where they have located their grog shops since they were prevented selling it in the Territory and they have threatened vengeance. The half breeds, as a class, hate the missionaries, because they are educating the 'tubbies' as they call the full Indians, and the 'tubbies' are taking the reins of government into their own hands, they are so much more numerous and the half breeds blame the missionaries for their warring powers and hate the 'tubbies'. Already 'vigilance committees' of the border ruffians and ungodly half breeds are forming. As soon as communication with the north is cut-off, and the troops withdrawn from the nation, we will then be at the mercy—I was going to say—of the lawless bands around us—when I was checked by a sweet thought of Him who numbers even the hairs of our heads, and without whose notice even a sparrow cannot fall to the ground. "Are ye not of more value than many sparrows?"

The Indians do not want to take any part in this trouble. "It is not our quarrel," they say. They are in council in Doaksville. Talk of declaring themselves independent, but what good will that do?

May 17, 1861

Miss Eddy arrived from Pine Ridge tonight to see us before we leave.¹⁵ Rev. Edwards received his walking papers yesterday from the 'vigilance committee' of Texans and half breeds, the same committee that visited Spencer. One of his people heard of their coming and told him. He had only time to saddle his horse and start for his life to the mountains. In less than half an hour after he left they were there with ropes to hang him. Miss E— said that they were assembled to visit Good-Water on Wednesday, the day that Rev. A— was at Spencer,¹⁶ but, for some reason, she did not know why their visit was delayed.

June 17, 1861

At Lenox Mission (Rev. Hobbes) up in the Kiamatia Mountains.¹⁷ We started (from camp) this morning while the stars were shining—a cake in our hands to eat for breakfast, as we rode along. Last night we had quite an audience at prayers. A white man who lived near our camping place, half a dozen nearly naked children, and two Indians.

¹⁵ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 10, p. 224.

¹⁶ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 8, p. 287.

¹⁷ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 10, p. 227.

NECROLOGIES

FRED A. PARKINSON

1868-1935

Fred A Parkinson, born in Pomona, Kansas on December 30, 1868, and died in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1935, was the son of John Parkinson and his wife, Ruhama (Jenkins) Parkinson, and educated in the local schools in the town of his birth. He located with his family at Muskogee in 1881, where he remained until 1884 and then at Red Fork in the Creek Nation he entered in the employ of his Uncle, James Parkinson, until 1886, when at Quincy, Illinois he became a student in the Gem City College and graduated therefrom in accountancy, after which he resumed his employment with his Uncle who had extensive interests as a merchant and livestock dealer and at Okmulgee he continued his employment until 1897, when he purchased an interest from his Uncle in a business at Wagoner and became a member of the firm of James and Fred A. Parkinson, the business being operated under the name of Wagoner Hardware Company.

In 1899 he was united in marriage to Miss Laura Trent, a daughter of W. C. Trent and his wife, of Muskogee, to which union came three children, two sons, Trent and Charles, and a daughter, Doris.

He was a Mason, Knight of Pythias, Elk and Odd Fellow and a member of the Democratic Party. From June, 1904 until the summer of 1907 he was Chairman of the Indian Territorial Democratic Central Committee. He had charge of the appraising work of the State School Land Department from 1909 to August 1, 1912, when he was appointed State Examiner and Inspector to succeed the late Charles A. Taylor and qualified on August 2, 1912 and was repeatedly elected as his own successor until he had held the office for thirteen years, when he resigned and became connected with the Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company as tax expert and tax accountant in 1925.

He always had a cheery greeting for everybody and people went to him not only for accommodations but consolations in their disappointment. He was a fine citizen and had many loyal friends.

—R. L. Williams.

Durant, Oklahoma.

EDMUND BRAZELL

1864-1942

Edmund Brazell, son of Dennis and his wife, Mary (Hennessey) Brazell, was born in St. Louis, Missouri on August 11, 1864, and died at Lamont, in Grant County, Oklahoma, on Wednesday, October 21, 1942.

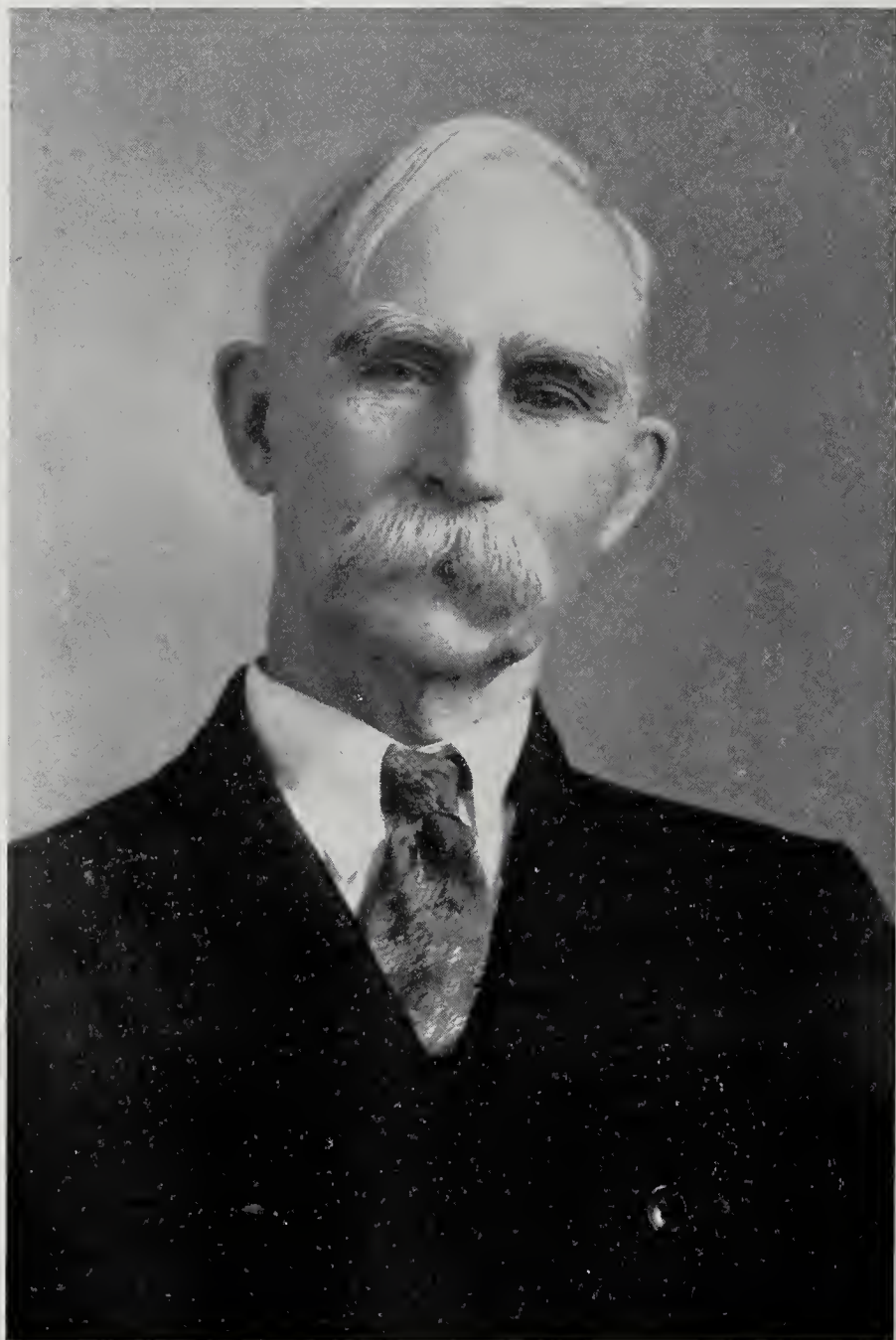
He completed a bookkeeping course in an academy in St. Louis and at 16 years of age went to Wyoming as a bookkeeper and later became foreman of a large cattle ranch.

A few years later he migrated to Kansas and located near Great Bend where he became active in all community affairs and pioneer activities. In the Alliance days in Kansas he aided in organizing the Barton County Alliance Exchange and was Secretary of that organization for several years and active in its incidental political affairs. Though a Democrat, his activities were to aid the party that supported the Farmers' Alliance.

He resided in Great Bend until the Cherokee Outlet was opened for settlement in 1893 and in the run for homes staked a claim three miles west and two miles south of the present Lamont townsite and it was in a large part through his activities that the town of Lamont is now in the present location, as he purchased the land upon which the town now



FRED A. PARKINSON



EDMUND BRAZELL

stands and through his activities, pioneered the building of a railroad through the townsite by securing contributions of \$25.00 each with the understanding that each contributor would draw a lot when the stipulated amount of money necessary to be raised to secure the construction by the Blackwell, Enid and Southern Railroad of a railroad running through it by Orlando which was incorporated under the laws of Oklahoma Territory on March 6, 1900, the franchise and stock being transferred to the Frisco on February 8, 1903 and a formal deed executed on July 29, 1907. This railroad was in its early organization planned to run from Blackwell, Oklahoma to Vernon, Texas.

On May 4, 1904, he was united in marriage with Miss Pearl Tebow, to which union three children came, Reid, residing at Alma, Michigan, Helen at Camp Grant, Illinois and Mrs. Ruth Konkell at Marshall, Illinois, all of whom with the wife and mother survive.

He organized the Lamont Rural Telephone Company and in a few years this project, through expansion and other rural organizations, grew until all Northern Oklahoma was linked in a rural telephone system.

The Ninth Senatorial District was composed of Grant, Kay and Osage counties, with two Senators, Edmund Brazell of Lamont and S. J. Soldana of Ponca City. Immediately after the erection of the State, Brazell took an active part in its formation and enactment of many of its important laws, which included the prohibition enforcement act, bank guaranty law, and many other acts passed for the enforcement of the Constitution. He was also a member of the Fourteenth Legislature from Grant County which convened on January 3, 1933 and adjourned on April 22, 1933.

He participated in the organization of the Wheat Growers Association throughout the Southwest, especially insofar as same had application to Oklahoma, Kansas and Colorado and also in the organization of the Federal Land Bank and aided as to the Intermediate Credit Bank for that district.

Active in politics, always as a Democrat, when he wasn't in Kansas and there he was a supporter of the party backed by the Farmers Alliance.

Ed Brazell was President and H. L. Heberling Secretary of the Interstate Construction Company which was organized in view of an extension of the Santa Fe Sub-line which stopped at Caldwell, Kansas, its objective point probably being Guthrie, or Oklahoma City. The Santa Fe had contemplated the building of such line and a part of right-of-way was secured and the company had sent out men to view out the way south of Lamont.

Ed Brazell was the youngest of seven children, six boys and one girl, his parents having been born in the County of Cork, Ireland, but came to America before they were married.

As a fine citizen, he was zealous for the interest of the people.

—R. L. Williams.

Durant, Oklahoma.

WILLIAM BRUCE ANTHONY 1871-1942

William Bruce Anthony, born in Bedford County, Tennessee, on January 9, 1871, was the son of Jacob L. and Martha (Bruce) Anthony, both families being well known in that State, their ancestors having located there in pioneer days. For some time the father was active in farming and milling and in the conduct of a lumber business, achieving more than substantial success in those connections. In 1900 with his wife he moved to Elida, New Mexico, and engaged in ranching on an extensive scale.

In the acquirement of an education he attended the local schools and later enrolled as a student at Terrill College at Decherd, Tennessee, and

graduated from that institution in the class of 1892 and subsequently enrolled in the Vanderbilt Preparatory School at Kingston Springs. He later engaged in teaching in the public schools in his native State and in 1895 came to the Indian Territory and located at Duncan, where he was Superintendent of the schools and then moved to Marlow where he held a similar position until he engaged in the newspaper business in the publication of the *Marlow Record*.

Prior to statehood he was for eight years Mayor of Marlow and at the erection of the State was elected representative in the lower House of the Legislature from Stephens County and twice re-elected. In December, 1910, he was made speaker of the extraordinary session of the Lower House of the Legislature, called to deal with the State Capital question. After the Supreme Court held the initiative bill for the removal of the capital was invalid and during the regular session of the legislature, he held the position of Chairman of the democratic caucus and floor leader of the majority. On April 2, 1909 he assumed his duties as Private Secretary to the Governor of the State, succeeding the late Joel M. Sandlin, who became Judge of the Superior Court for Logan County.

On the removal of the Capital from Guthrie to Oklahoma City, on the night of June 11, 1910, he made a hurried journey to Guthrie in an automobile and returned to Oklahoma City with the seal of the State. In this midnight ride, through a ruse, the seal was brought out of the capitol in a bundle of laundry, which enabled him to make the transfer of the seal in passing a cordon of deputy sheriffs guarding the Logan County Court House on account of an injunction which had been issued. The District Court issued an injunction against the removal of the office from Guthrie to Oklahoma City despite an election apparently changing the capital site.¹

He had been suffering from cancer for more than a year before he died in the American Legion Hospital at Norman, at which place he maintained the family home. Funeral services were held at 2:30 p.m., Saturday, August 12, 1933, in charge of Rev. A. Norman Evans, pastor of the McFarlan Methodist Church.

He was a member of the State Capitol Commission from its organization after May 23, 1913 until the completion of the capitol, and then became City Manager of Walters until 1923, when he joined the Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company organization and became assistant to the President of the Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company.

He was survived by his wife, who was Miss Sarah Shaw, a daughter of Thomas J. Shaw, whom he married on October 20, 1893, to which union the following children came: Shaw, and Curtis M., both of whom served in the 90th Division overseas during the World War I, Gladys, now Mrs. K. D. Jennings, Norman, Oklahoma, Miriam, now Mrs. R. D. Burton of Heavener, Oklahoma, Clarence, Bruce and John.

He was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, Masonic Blue Lodge, Scottish Rite Mason and a Shriner. He was identified with the National and State City Managers Association and President of the Oklahoma Municipal League and member of the Rotary Club.

Curtis Anthony, his son, at the time of his death was owner of the *Marlow Review*.

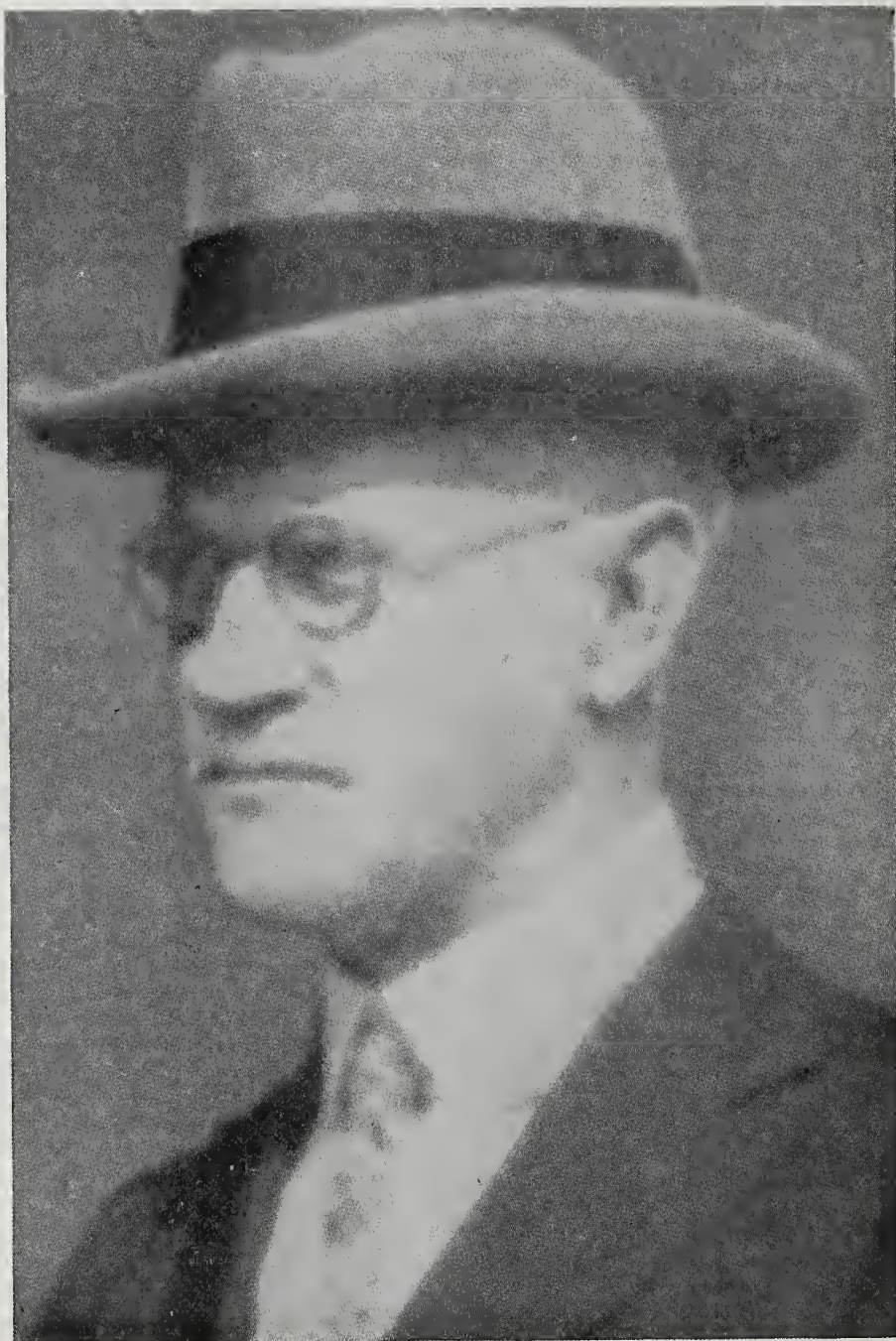
—R. L. Williams.

Durant, Oklahoma.

¹ *Daily Oklahoman*, Aug. 12, 1933; *Daily Oklahoman*, Apr. 22, 1914; *Lexington Leader*, Apr. 2, 1909; *Oklahoma South of the Canadian*, Vol. III, pp. 1125-1126; *Makers of Government in Oklahoma*, 1930, pp. 461-462; Vol. 5, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, p. 100-101; Vol. 21, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, p. 34.



WILLIAM BRUCE ANTHONY



B. S. SMISER

BUTLER STONESTREET SMISER 1862-1942

Butler Stonestreet Smiser, a great grandson of William Smiser, Sr., who came to New York State from Germany in the latter part of the 17th Century, accompanied by two brothers, Jake and Louis Smiser, and who later went to Kentucky, where said Louis Smiser located on the south side of the Ohio River below the Falls and installed and operated a saw mill, where Louisville, Kentucky is now located, which place or community was called Louis' Mill.¹

William Smiser, Sr. and Jake Smiser located in Oldham County, near LaGrange, Kentucky, where William Smiser, Sr. acquired and owned a tobacco and wheat farm and at his death his son, William, Jr., inherited the same and married Miss Sallie Fible, to which union came six children, four boys:— Jim, John, Jake and Gordon, and two girls, Sallie and Cora. In 1889 he died at the age of 96 years and his son, John, married Miss Eliza Bays, to which union came ten children, five boys:— John, Jr., Butler Stonestreet, Guthria, Sam, and five girls, Nora, Laura, Emma, Annie and Mamie. John, Jr. survives and the others are dead. Of the girls, Mamie died in infancy and Nora, later Mrs. A. C. Miller, died in New York City in 1834.

George Rogers Clark and his men landed on Corn Island in the middle of the Ohio River just below the falls on May 27, 1778 and later from there went on the Vincennes Expedition. In the winter of 1778-9 and spring of 1779 and later the families left on the Island moved to the Main Shore, "Fort on Shore", having been built by General Clark and in that Fort the settlers celebrated their first Christmas at the Falls of the Ohio in 1778. On the 17th of April, 1879 the first step was made toward establishing a town on the shore on the south side of the river in Kentucky when trustees were selected and ground laid off in half-acre lots and April 24th the time appointed for the drawing of the lots. On May 1, 1780 Virginia passed the Act to establish a town below the Falls of the Ohio "by the name of Louisville", the community where it was located then being called Louis' Mill was located where the town for which the trustees were selected was located and had been owned by Louis Smiser. President Jefferson appointed Meriweather Lewis to make the journey to the Pacific and selected William Clark as his companion officer. Clark, with some men, went on to join Meriweather Lewis at St. Charles, Missouri in the spring of 1804 and it was from there they proceeded on the journey to the north to the Pacific.

The first settlement in what is today named Louisville was in part from those who moved from Corn Island at the head of the Falls in the

¹ The wife of Butler Stonestreet Smiser, a daughter of Captain J. S. Standley² states that in the summer of 1886 her husband and she (still living) went to visit his relatives in Louisville, Owensboro, LaGrange, Skylight and Ballardsville, Kentucky and spent several weeks on the old family farm settled by his great grandfather, William Smiser, Sr. and learned from his grandfather, William Smiser, Jr., who was then 95 years old, in mind still alert and clear, where he had lived from his birth, and who stated to her that while some claimed that Louisville was named for Louis XVI it was in fact named on account of the location of the mill which was generally known in the community as Louis' Mill and the settlement generally referred to as Louis' Mill and as the village grew into an organized town it was called Louisville and so named in its organization.

The three Smisers came from Germany to America in the latter part of the century. William Smiser, Jr., the son of William Smiser, Sr. was the grandfather of Butler Stonestreet Smiser who was the son of John Smiser, oldest son of William Smiser, Jr. Original papers containing statements made by Mrs. Smiser are on file in the Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

² *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, X, 614, 617.

winter of 1778-9. Among the names of those who drew lots that were laid out when the original town was founded no name appears by the name of Louis or St. Louis or Lewis as a surname.

Butler Stonestreet Smiser, born July 6, 1862 and died in Atoka County, Oklahoma, on April 7, 1942, and his funeral services were conducted by Rev. C. A. McMillan of the Christian Church and the Rev. Mr. Burns of the Presbyterian Church, with interment in the Atoka Cemetery on April 11, 1942, his wife being a daughter of Captain J. S. Standley, and his wife, Alice Robinson Posey, and the following children and grandchildren survive him, to-wit:— A daughter, Mrs. B. F. Bryant, Atoka, Oklahoma, whose daughter, Norma Amelia Farnham, is buried at Muskogee, Oklahoma; a son Butler Stirman Smiser, 3011 Marigold Street, Ft. Worth, Texas; another son, Ira McDougall Smiser, 722 Stevens Avenue, San Antonio, Texas, whose son, Ira M. Smiser, Jr. of Caddo, Oklahoma, is in the Military Service of the United States; another son, Garnett S. Smiser, Route 4, Box 661, Phoenix, Arizona, whose daughters are Mrs. G. R. Snider, Pryor, Oklahoma and Mrs. Vern B. Brown, 2201 North Harvard, Tulsa, Oklahoma, Mrs. Brown having a son, Jerry Smiser, at Phoenix, Arizona and a daughter, Jackie Smiser, at Phoenix, Arizona; a son, Posey Baldwin Smiser, 1108 North Tyler, Little Rock, Arkansas, has a son by the name of Perry Baldwin Smiser, Jr., North Tyler, Little Rock, Arkansas; Verna Smiser died in infancy and was buried at Atoka, Oklahoma. Jerome Standley Smiser, 6615 Buffalo Speedway, Houston, Texas, whose sons, James Standley Smiser and John Wayne Smiser, reside at Houston, Texas.

In 1875 Butler Stonestreet Smiser's mother, who was the wife of John Smiser, died when he was 13 years old and he went to work on a neighborhood farm and during vacation time earned money with which to buy his clothes and to pay his school expenses, and graduating from the neighborhood school he then went to the West Kentucky College at Carrollton where he received a B. S. Degree and later at the State Normal School at Lebanon, Ohio, studied law and then taught school several years in Kentucky.

In September 1883 the Atoka School Board, through O. Herbert and Captain J. S. Standley, applied to West Kentucky College for a teacher and Superintendent of Atoka Schools. Butler S. Smiser having been highly recommended, accepted the position and arrived in Atoka and opened school September 10, 1885.

On January 24, 1886, Butler S. Smiser married Miss Nora E. Standley, daughter of Captain J. S. Standley and his wife, Alice Robinson Posey, who was the postmistress at Atoka but who resigned and became a teacher in the Atoka Schools. The marriage ceremony was performed on Sunday night, January 24, 1886 in the Atoka Baptist Church with Rev. J. S. Murrow as officiating minister.

After teaching two years in Atoka, Mr. Tom J. Phillips of McAlester solicited Butler S. Smiser to take charge of the McAlester School which he taught during the year 1887. In 1888 he, Smiser, was admitted to the Choctaw Bar to practice law and in 1890 after the establishment of the United States court in the Indian Territory was admitted to the U. S. Bar and practiced law for several years. In 1889 Captain J. S. Standley, the Choctaw Delegate to Washington, D. C., realizing the need of a newspaper which would be loyal to and faithfully present and represent the Choctaws' interest in pending matters solicited Butler S. Smiser's aid and co-operation in the proposition, and bought the *Lehigh News*, then edited by J. R. Perry, and the *Atoka Independent* owned by J. L. Phillips, and edited by H. F. O'Brien. These two papers were combined and the

publication of the *Indian Citizen* began with Butler S. Smiser as manager and editor.³

During the following year Captain Standley deeded his interest to Mrs. Butler S. Smiser and it was operated by Butler S. Smiser and his wife. For 17 years this publication upheld and defended the Choctaw Indians' interests. The paper gave Choctaw news in the Choctaw language and published the laws and political news and supported the Choctaw law prohibiting intoxicants in the Indian Territory. In its publication ads were rejected to the amount of \$300.00 per month. The *Indian Citizen* soon had a 3,000 subscription list and good advertising.

In 1901 Butler S. Smiser was appointed by Governor Green McCurtain as District Trustee for the third District and served until 1901 when Governor McCurtain appointed him to the office of Choctaw Townsite Commissioner to survey, plat and sell the land occupied by all towns in accordance with the terms of the Atoka Agreement as amended. Seventeen Indians were applicants for the position and Governor McCurtain said "Well, boys, I know you want me to appoint the best man to protect the Choctaws' interests, and I selected B. S. Smiser, Editor of the *Indian Citizen*. Indian can't handle white man like white man can. Smiser honest, sober man and educated to deal with white man. Most land in townsite held by white men. I think Smiser best man for job".

As Townsite Commissioner Butler S. Smiser enjoyed the distinction of holding the most responsible position the Choctaws could give with the largest salary. George Wise was Clerk and Dr. J. A. Sterrett of Troy, Ohio the member of the Commission on part of the U. S. Government until superceded by Thos. W. Hunter.

In 1905 Butler S. Smiser, after finishing his work as Townsite Commissioner, sold the *Indian Citizen* to Paul B. Smith and moved to his farm three and one-half miles east of Atoka. After ten years on the farm he yielded to his long desire to be a minister of Christ. He was Superintendent of the Atoka Christian Church Sunday School twenty-five years and had been supply pastor for two years. In 1914 he began his ministry in Iowa, but in 1915 accepted the pastorate of the church at Caddo, Oklahoma, where he spent four and a half years and led the congregation in paying off a \$2000.00 church debt. On Feb. 14, 1920 he was called to the church at Morris, Oklahoma and in September, 1925 he resigned and went to Laredo, Texas and after a few months, by unanimous vote, was called to Morris and closed his work there in 1931. When he took the Morris church, the church debt was \$4500.00 and a loan on the parsonage of \$2000.00 and left the church with only \$243.00 still due on the church and the parsonage debt was paid in full, completed in October, 1930.

John and Eliza Smiser had ten children:— William, John, B. S., Guthria, Sam, Nora, Laura, Emma, Annie and Mamie. John Smiser lived on his father's farm for several years where Butler S. Smiser was born. In the fall of 1869 John Smiser bought a large tobacco farm in Davis County near Owensboro, Kentucky and moved to his farm in 1869.

Butler S. Smiser, as a man of culture and literary attainments, left his impress upon the local history of that period and as a fine citizen and spiritual and religious leader will be remembered.

Durant, Oklahoma.

—R. L. Williams.

³ B. S. Smiser attended school near Owensboro, Kentucky, 1877-1878 and then West Kentucky College where he received a B. S. Degree 1878-1880, and then Lebanon, Ohio Normal school in 1881 and then taught at Mount Vernon, Kentucky in 1882, at Madisonville in 1883 and in 1884-1886 was Superintendent of the Atoka Schools, 1887 was Superintendent of the old McAlester school; Editor of the *Indian Citizen* beginning with Vol. 1, No. 1 and in 1905 sold same which included Vol. 16; County Clerk of Atoka County, Choctaw Nation, 1885; School Trustee Choctaw Nation 1897; appointment approved by Secretary of the Interior, through Thomas Ryan.

LUKE ROBERTS

1868-1942

After the sketch of Luke Roberts by R. L. Williams went to the press (see *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, June, 1943, pp. 110-111), the following information was received from his daughter, Mrs. G. C. Anders:

LUKE ROBERTS

Born September 5, 1868, Gainesville, Texas

Died: October 5, 1942, Fort Worth, Texas

Buried—Arlington, Texas.

Married (1)—Jessie Harper,

Born:

Died: April 4, 1904

Buried: Olustee, Oklahoma.

Children of this union—all living:

Mary (Mrs. M. H. Wooldridge, Altus, Oklahoma)

Clara (Mrs. E. D. Vaden, Dallas, Texas)

Paul—San Antonio, Texas

Jessamae (Mrs. G. C. Anders, Fort Worth, Texas)

Married (2)—Mrs. Clara Sewalt of Lovington, New Mexico, in 1925 who survives him.

This branch of the Roberts family is descended from four brothers, named David, Owen, John and Robert Roberts, who came from Radnor County, Wales, and who as "Headmen" in 1681 received from William Penn a "warrant for 40,000 acres for ye Welch People, to lie contiguous on the West Side of ye Schoolkill."

They brought over a colony of "Welch People" and settled them on the land on the Schuylkill River, which is now a part of the City of Philadelphia, Penn., but due to various factors, among which were trespassers and other claimants, the Welch people never got the whole 40,000 acres, but only a small part of it, and it appears that the colony never prospered as such but soon scattered to other parts of the new country, some of them drifting down south and west through Delaware, Maryland and Virginia into North Carolina, where they remained for several generations, and from where the family history is picked up with authenticity.

David Roberts

Married Violet Vanderford

Six children were born to this union, the eldest being:

Stephen Roberts

Born August 17, 1801, Iredell Co. N. C.

Died January 12, 1889, Montague, Co. Tex.

Married (1) Jemina Harrison of Asheville, N. C.

Ten children were born to this union, only 5 living to maturity, the eldest being:

Nathan Jackson Roberts

Born July 7, 1825, Asheville, N. C.

Died about 1874 or 1875, Dallas County, Texas.

Married (2) Mary Hewitt, daughter of Roland Hewitt of Illinois and Mary Irvin of Arkansas.

Luke Roberts was a child of this union.

Stephen Roberts and his clan came to Texas from North Carolina in 1858. With him came Nathan Jackson Roberts and his wife, Jane Roberts, and their 5 children. In a diary kept by John Clark Roberts, a brother of Nathan Roberts, concerning the emigration to Texas is found an entry dated July 28th: "Today we went about 8 miles and stopped at Taylor's Creek on account of extreme sickness. About two hours before sunset this evening my brother Nathan's child died. This was sad to chronicle, but sadder yet, on July 30th Mrs. Jane Roberts, the mother of the child, died at about 11 o'clock at night. After burying our dead we rested a while



LUKE ROBERTS

to try to recuperate our health, as this little village of Taylor's Creek on Crowley Ridge (evidently in Arkansas) seemed to be a fit place for us to recuperate. * * * * "We passed through Plano. Continuing South we pass on to the village of Dallas and set stakes in camp on the 28th day of September, 1858 * * and the next morning, got work with Gold & Donaldson, merchant millers, at Cedar Springs, 2 miles out from Dallas— Brother Van got a school at a little town called Reunion, about 2½ miles West of Dallas, thus enabling us to make our way very well."

After arriving at Dallas, the family began to separate. Nathan Roberts settled around Grand Prairie, Texas, where he taught school. He later moved to Cooke County, near Gainesville, Texas, where he married Mary Hewitt. Twins, Luke and Mark Roberts were born to this couple in Gainesville, Texas, the family moving back to Grand Prairie when the boys were about two years old, and where Nathan Roberts died.

Nathan Jackson Roberts, father of Luke Roberts, was a very learned and scholarly man, versed in Greek, Latin and the classics; he tutored and taught his younger brothers and sisters, all of whom were well educated.

Stephen Roberts, grand-father of Luke Roberts, was a true American pioneer, ever moving further West when his community became settled. It was customary with him, when he moved into a new frontier settlement, to have his own home used as a church and school-house until such time as new buildings could be built for such purposes. This characteristic seems to have been inherited by his descendants, who for the most part, have been honest, industrious and civic-minded people, believing in God, but fearing no man.

About the only other information I can add to that already published in the newspapers, was the fact that Luke Roberts was for a great number of years a member of the Board of Trustees of Southwestern University, Georgetown, Texas. (A Methodist College)
Fort Worth, Texas.

Mrs. G. C. Anders.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

April 29, 1943

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held in the Historical building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, April 29, 1943, with Judge Robert L. Williams, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: Judge Robert L. Williams, Judge Thomas H. Doyle, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mrs. Jessie E. Moore, Gen. Charles F. Barrett, Mr. Jim Biggerstaff, Hon. George L. Bowman, Judge Harry Campbell, Dr. Grant Foreman, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Hon. J. B. Milam, Mr. H. L. Muldrow, Judge Baxter Taylor, Mrs. John R. Williams and James W. Moffitt, the Secretary.

The Secretary presented the minutes of the meeting of the Board held January 28, 1943, and upon motion duly seconded, the reading of the minutes was dispensed with except as same may later at a subsequent meeting be called up for special consideration.

The President read a statement concerning the framed architectural drawings of the Capitol Building, the Historical Society Building and a study for the proposed Supreme Court Building, stating that it was the wish of the late Mr. Sol. Layton to present these to the Historical Society for preservation.

Hon. George L. Bowman moved that these drawings be accepted and that Mr. George Forsyth, his former partner, who conveyed these to the Historical Society, be thanked for his services in the matter. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Rebecca Finch presented a group picture of the First Convention of War Mothers Association in Oklahoma City, 1918, and upon motion of Dr. Emma Estill-

Harbour, duly seconded, it was accepted and Mrs. Finch thanked for her part in the donation.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore presented the citation of honor given Dr. Grant Foreman and his wife Carolyn Thomas Foreman for their research and writing in Oklahoma and southwestern history, as follows:

"The faculties of the University of Oklahoma hereby record their deep appreciation of Grant Foreman and his wife and co-worker, Carolyn Thomas Foreman, for their research and writing in Oklahoma and southwestern history during a period of more than thirty-five years.

By their scholarly investigations, their unflagging zeal for historical truth, and their imaginative grasp of the presentation of history, they have placed the citizens of their time and of the times to come under a lasting debt of gratitude. From their long association with the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians and their devotion to the story of those great and gifted peoples, they have developed among Americans a new appreciation of an interesting and often tragic history which had hitherto been neglected. To the record of the westward passage of the trail-maker, the hunter, the explorer, and the pioneer they have brought new and arresting interpretations. And by their collaboration in research they have established an inspiring example.

For all of these things the University of Oklahoma, through its faculties, expresses its gratitude and its admiration. April 17, 1943."

Mrs. Moore moved that it be accepted and framed. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. James R. Armstrong presented a book entitled *History of the Confederate Memorial Association of the South* and requested that it be placed in the Confederate Memorial room in the Historical Society Building.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore moved that this book be accepted with thanks and appreciation to Mrs. Armstrong and accordingly placed. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. H. L. Muldrow presented to the Society a document by Albert Pike, and also books as follows:

A. F. & A. M. Indian Ter. Grand Lodge

Proceedings of the 1st to 35th, 1874-1908. Bound in 8 Vols.

A. F. & A. M. Oklahoma Ter. Grand Lodge

Proceedings of the 1st to 16th, 1892-1908. Bound in 17 Vols.

A. F. & A. M. State of Oklahoma, Grand Lodge

Proceedings . . . 1st to 34th, 1909-1942. Bound in 34 Vols.

Royal Arch Masons. Indian Ter.

Proceedings . . . 1st to 19th, 1890-1908. Bound in 2 Vols.

Royal Arch Masons. Oklahoma

Proceedings . . . 20th to 53rd, 1909-1942. Bound in 5 Vols.

Knights Templar. Indian Ter. Grand Commandery

Proceedings . . . 1st to 17th, 1895-1911. Bound in 2 Vols.

Knights Templar. Oklahoma Grand Commandery.

Proceedings . . . 1st to 47th, 1896-1942. Bound in 6 Vols.

Royal and Select Masters. Indian Ter. Grand Council

Proceedings . . . 1st to 14th, 1894-1908. Bound in 1 Vol.

Royal and Select Masters. Oklahoma. Grand Council

Proceedings . . . 15th to 48th, 1909-1942. Bound in 3 Vols.

(The above material gathered and presented to the Society by:

Claude A. Sturgeon, Grand Secretary of Masons,

Guthrie, Oklahoma, and Past Grand Master,

James A. Lathim, Grand Secretary, York Bodies,

Muskogee, Oklahoma, and

Clarence Brain, Masonic Student,

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, and

H. L. Muldrow, Past Grand Master and Secretary of

Masonic Charity Foundation,

Norman, Oklahoma.)

Dr. Grant Foreman moved that those be accepted with expressions of appreciation to all parties gathering same, and Mr. Muldrow thanked for his services in securing this contribution to the library. Motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved that a committee of three consisting of the President, the Secretary and Mr. H. L. Muldrow prepare a list of persons to recommend for honorary membership in the Society. The motion was seconded and Dr. Harbour, Vice President, put the motion which carried.

Judge Baxter Taylor moved that Judge Orie L. Phillips, of the Tenth District United States Court of Appeals, Denver, Colorado, be elected as an honorary life member of the Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. John R. Williams transmitted a copy of the *House Journal of the First Legislature of Oklahoma, 1907*, autographed by Bill Cross, Secretary of State at that time; and *The History of the Packing Industry*, by Armour, gifts of Mrs. Mabel Stert from the library of her father, John R. Rose, deceased.

Judge R. A. Hefner moved that these gifts be accepted and Mrs. Stert thanked for this contribution to the Historical Library. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Secretary reported that Mrs. Hazel Lloyd had presented to the Society for the Virginia shelf a record of Marriage Bonds of Amelia County, Virginia, copied from original records for the *D.A.R. Magazine* by J. D. Eggleston; and a list of Seventy-five Revolutionary Soldiers buried in Monongalia County, W. Va., copied from the *National Historical Magazine*, Volume 74.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved that they be accepted and that Mrs. Lloyd be thanked for these gifts to the library. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Secretary reported the gift of five autographed copies of plays written by Tom McGee of Bison, Oklahoma.

Hon. George Bowman moved that they be accepted and Mr. McGee be thanked for this contribution to the library. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Secretary reported the gift of seven scrapbooks relating to Oklahoma in the Global War, December 1, 1942 to January 1, 1943, from the Oklahoma City Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Mrs. Frank Lucas moved that they be accepted with an expression of appreciation. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore called attention to the omission of an expression of thanks and appreciation to Mrs. Vera Wignall Bare, of Pauls Valley, for the gift of a collection of California sea weeds mounted in 1875, and the Secretary was instructed to make an acknowledgment of this gift.

Mrs. Frank Korn, committee on miniatures of the "First Ladies of Oklahoma," presented the miniature of Mrs. William M. Jenkins, gift of the family, and the miniature of Mrs. Paul A. Walker, sister and official hostess of former Governor Robert L. Williams.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved that they be accepted with an expression of thanks and appreciation. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President presented the following list of applicants for membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society:

LIFE: Benjamin Thomas Childers, Oklahoma City; William Edward Grisso, Seminole; Elmer Hale, McAlester; Thomas Justin Horsley, Wewoka.

ANNUAL: Dr. Elizabeth Borden, Oklahoma City; H. C. Canon, Calumet; Mrs. Andre B. Carney, Tulsa; Virgil Carter, Fairfax; Roy Brown Clark, Grandview, Washington; Edward Gibson Cornett, Oklahoma City; Norman A. Craebner, Chickasha; George Childers Crump, Wewoka; Samuel Hughey Davis, Davis; James Clarence Denton, Jr., West Point, N. Y.; Allen Y. Dunn, Reno, Nevada; William A. Dunn, Richmon Beach, Washington; Mrs. J. L. Edgecomb, Sayre; Ira Eppler, Seattle, Washington; Mrs. Edgar H. Glasscock, Seminole; M. J. Glass, Tulsa; Nelson N. Hayward, Oklahoma City; Mrs. M. Hendricks, Hominy; Charles F. Hewett, Tulsa; Ronald Edgar Hubbard, Frederick; Mrs. Frankie M. Igo, Chandler; Robert Melvin Jones, Oklahoma City; Alice M. Lagan, Enid; James Alexander Lathim, Muskogee; Mrs. H. T. Leach, Tonkawa; Mrs. Archie Lindsey, Guthrie; Lucius Walter Long, Jr., Lawton; Mrs. Lila Hayne Piper, Oklahoma City; Wayne Ellsworth Rowe, Lawton; John King Speck, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Otis C. Thomp-

son, Oklahoma City; Bessie Belle Truett, Enid; William E. Wann, Fairfax and Harold Franklin Winters, Broken Arrow.

Mrs. Blanche Lucas moved that they be elected and accepted for membership in the class indicated on the list. Motion was seconded and carried.

Hon. George Bowman moved that the Board go into executive session. Motion was seconded and carried.

Robert L. Williams, President.

James W. Moffitt, Secretary

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS of the Oklahoma Historical Society

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized at Kingfisher, Oklahoma, in May, 1893, by resolution of the Oklahoma Press Association. It was designated as a trustee of the Territory by act of the Third Territorial Legislative Assembly, in 1895. Its collections were located at the University, at Norman, from 1895 until 1901, when they were removed to Oklahoma City and installed in quarters furnished by the Carnegie Library. In December, 1917, the collections were transferred to new quarters in the state capitol.

Originally organized by the newspaper men of Oklahoma Territory, it was kept alive through the co-operation and moral support of the people of that profession for many years. In recent years it has come to appeal more largely to the general public, from which memberships have been coming in increasing numbers. It has been chiefly supported by appropriations made by the legislature.

The constitution of the Society, herewith submitted, was adopted at an adjourned session of an annual meeting, which was held June 25, 1921, and which has since been amended from time to time, without another general revision.

CONSTITUTION ARTICLE I.

Name. Object and Location

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Section 2. The purposes for which the Oklahoma Historical Society is organized and conducted are to preserve and perpetuate the history of Oklahoma and its people, to stimulate popular interest in historical study and research and to promote historical knowledge generally. To further these ends and, as the trustee of the State, it shall maintain a public library and museum in which it shall collect, arrange, catalog, index and preserve books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, letters, diaries, journals, records, maps, charts and other documents, photographs, engravings, etchings, pictures, portraits and portrait busts, statuary and other objects of art and other appropriate museum material with special regard to illustrating the history of Oklahoma and adjacent regions. It shall particularly aim to perpetuate the knowledge of the lives and deeds

of the explorers and pioneers of this region, with the collection and preservation of typical specimens of the arts and crafts of the pioneering period, the legends, traditions, histories and cultural standards of the Indian tribes with an appropriate collection of the handiwork of the same and also an archaeological collection illustrating the life, customs and culture of the prehistoric peoples. It shall disseminate the knowledge thus gained by investigation and research through the medium of printed reports, bulletins, lectures, exhibits or other suitable means or methods.

Section 3. The office, library and museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society shall be located at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

ARTICLE II.

Membership

Section 1. The membership of the Oklahoma Historical Society shall consist of five classes, namely: Annual, Life, Ex-Officio, Corresponding and Honorary.

Section 2. The annual membership of the Society shall consist of such citizens of Oklahoma as shall be elected or approved by the Board of Directors at any regular meeting thereof except that which last precedes the regular annual meeting of the Society, after the payment of the prescribed membership fee. Editors or publishers of newspapers or other periodicals who have contributed the regular issues thereof for one year shall be entitled to membership in the Society during the continuance of such contribution thereafter without the payment of the annual membership fee, upon signing a blank membership form to be furnished by the secretary of the Society.

Section 3. The ex-officio membership of the Society shall consist of the elective officers of the State.

Section 4. The life membership of the Society shall consist of such persons as shall have paid the prescribed life membership fee and have thereupon been duly elected by the Board of Directors.

Section 5. The corresponding membership of the Society shall consist of such persons, not citizens of Oklahoma, as may be distinguished for their zeal and efficiency in historical research and investigation and who may be so elected at any regular meeting of the Board of Directors of the Society.

Section 6. The honorary memberships of the Society shall consist of such persons as may be so chosen because of their distinction in literary or scientific attainments or notable public service and shall be elected only at the annual meeting of the Society and upon recommendation of the Board of Directors.

Section 7. The annual membership fee shall be one dollar and the life membership fee shall be Twenty-five Dollars. (As Amended January 23, 1929.)

Section 8. The privileges of membership may be withdrawn from any person at any meeting of the Society by a two-thirds vote of the members present, provided: that at least twenty days' notice

shall be given to the accused member, together with full specification of the charges upon which such action is based.

Section 9. (Adopted March 31, 1932) Only such members as have paid their annual membership fees and life members shall be entitled to vote for the election of members of the Board of Directors, provided that a representative of each newspaper in the State of Oklahoma, which exchanges its paper with the Oklahoma Historical Society for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, duly designated as such representative, shall be entitled to vote for the election of members of the Board of Directors and to participate in and vote on all matters at annual meetings.

ARTICLE III.

Officers

Section 1. The officers of this Society shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a secretary, a treasurer and a board of twenty-five directors; the Governor shall be an ex-officio member of the Board of Directors.

Section 2. Five members of the Board of Directors to serve for a term of five years, or until their successors shall have been elected and qualified, shall be elected annually by ballot from members of the Society in the following manner: Between the first and tenth of January of each year the secretary and the treasurer shall prepare and have printed, at the expense of the Society, ballots containing under appropriate heading the names of the five directors whose terms will expire during that year, unless otherwise directed in writing by such directors, and also all names of such other members of the Society as may be petitioned thereto in writing to be filed with the secretary by the first day of each year by twenty-five of its members who at said time are entitled to vote on such matter. Such ballot shall be by the secretary duly mailed to the address of each member of the Society, who shall cross out or mark out all names on such ballot except such as he or she may desire to vote for, not to exceed five, and write his or her name on such ballot on the opposite side and then duly mail same to the secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Provided, that any member duly qualified to vote may vote for any member of said Society, who is qualified to vote, by writing the name of such member on the ballot but in such manner as not to vote for more than five directors. On the fourth Tuesday in January, or as soon thereafter as practical, the President, a Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer shall meet and open said ballots, counting same and retaining the envelopes and ballots in a safe place until the next regular quarterly meeting of said Board of Directors, when said ballots, together with the envelopes and the result of said canvass shall be delivered with proper certificate to said board and said board of directors at said meeting, or an adjourned session thereof,

shall declare the five receiving the highest vote as elected directors of said Society. (As amended January 29, 1931.)

Section 3. Immediately after the adjournment of the business session of the annual meeting of the Society on each even-numbered year, the Board of Directors shall convene for the purpose of electing a president, two vice-presidents, a secretary and a treasurer for a term of two years or until their successors shall have been chosen and qualified, such election to be by ballot.

Section 4. In the event of a vacancy in the membership of the Board of Directors, the same shall be filled until the next regular election by the Board of Directors, when the name of the party appointed ad interim shall be placed on a ballot under an appropriate heading in the same manner and under the same conditions as is provided for the election of other members. (As amended January 29, 1931.)

Section 5. All officers and directors of the Society shall be required to qualify by subscribing to an obligation binding them to a faithful discharge of the duties imposed by their respective positions.

ARTICLE IV.

Duties of Officers

Section 1. The president of the Society shall preside at all meetings of the Society and perform such other duties as are incident to an executive officer.

Section 2. The vice-presidents of the Society, in order of their election, shall perform the duties of the president in event of the absence or disability of that officer.

Section 3. The secretary of the Society shall keep the records and seal of the Society, take and record the minutes of the proceedings of each meeting of the Society and of its Board of Directors, and conduct its correspondence. In conjunction with the president of the Society, the secretary shall make such report of its work and collections as may be required by law. It shall also be the duty of the secretary to collect all membership fees and keep a record of the same, transmitting the funds thus secured to the treasurer of the Society, and to perform such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Board of Directors. The secretary shall give bond in such sum as the Board of Directors may determine for the faithful performance of his duties.

Section 4. The treasurer of the Society shall receive and hold all funds of the Society and shall keep the account of the Society in its name in a safe banking institution. It shall also be the duty of the treasurer of the Society to keep a detailed account of receipts and expenditures and to hold the same subject to inspection by the officers and directors of the Society and to render a full report at the annual meeting of the Society and at such other times as may be required by the Board of Directors. The treasurer shall give bond

for the faithful performance of his duties as may be required by the Board of Directors, such bond to be filed with the secretary of the Society.

Section 5. Any officer of the Society may be removed for cause by a two-thirds vote at any regularly called meeting of the Board.

Section 6. Officers *pro tempore* may be chosen at any meeting of the Society in event of the absence or disability of the regular officers.

ARTICLE V.

Directors

Section 1. The Board of Directors shall be the governing body of this Society, with full and complete authority to manage, administer and control the affairs, moneys, property and effects. The Board of Directors may formulate and adopt such rules and regulations as may, in the judgment of the members thereof, be necessary for the proper conduct of the affairs of the Society, provided that the same shall not conflict with the constitution and by-laws of the Society.

Section 2. Meetings of the Board of Directors of the Society shall be held on the Thursday immediately following the fourth Wednesday of January of each year, and quarterly thereafter during the year. (As amended January 23, 1929.)

Section 3. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the president of the Society at the request of the secretary or upon that of three members of the Board, due notice of the same having been given five days in advance, together with a statement of the object of the meeting. Five members of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. The Board of Directors shall cause the secretary to prepare a written report of its operations to be submitted to the annual meeting of the Society.

Section 4. The Board of Directors of the Society shall have authority to determine the number and designation of the employes of the Society, except on cases wherein the same are prescribed by the by-laws of the Society, to select suitable persons to fill such positions and to fix the rate of compensations of each employe; unless such rates of compensation shall have been fixed by legislative enactment. The Board of Directors may require bond for the faithful performance of duty by any employe or employes and in such sums as may be justified by the circumstances. No member of the Board of Directors shall receive salary for services rendered, provided, however, that the treasurer of the Society may be allowed a reasonable compensation for the performance of his duties.

Section 4A: No member of the Board of Directors shall be eligible to be elected to any office which carries with it a salary, or designation as any employe which carries with it compensation, until

six months have expired from the date of the termination of his or her membership in such board. (As amended March 31, 1932.)

Section 4B. The absence of a member of the Board of Directors from three consecutive regular quarterly meetings of the Board of Directors shall operate to terminate the membership of such director from said board, provided that the attendance of such member at special board meetings during such period shall operate to prevent termination of membership; and provided further, that a written statement from such member that he was reasonably prevented from attending such board meeting may prevent the termination of such membership on such board. (As amended March 31, 1932.)

Section 5. The work of the Society shall be divided into departments only by laws duly adopted by the Society, but the Board of Directors shall have authority to assign to the head of each department so created a person whose special knowledge, training and experience shall be such as to qualify such person for the responsibilities of such position, provided, that, in making such assignments the line of demarcation in the matter of authority and responsibility shall be so clearly defined that there need be no occasion for friction or lack of harmony.

ARTICLE VI.

Meetings

Section 1. The annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society, after the year 1931, shall be held at such place or places and on such date or dates as may be determined by said Society, or its Board of Directors when the Society at an annual meeting or adjourned meeting thereof has failed to designate such place or time. (As amended January 29, 1931.)

Section 2. Special meetings of the Society shall be convened upon call of the president of the Society for the transaction of such business as may be specified therein and no other business shall be taken up for consideration at such meeting except by unanimous consent.

Section 3. Notice of all meetings of the Society shall be sent by mail to all members of the Society by the secretary, at least ten days in advance of such meeting.

Section 3A. The official organ of the Oklahoma Historical Society shall be published quarterly as *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, and until the Society at an annual meeting, or through its Board of Directors, provides for and designates an editor, a committee of three, consisting of two members of the Board of Directors and the secretary, shall be charged with its publication and editing, and copies of same distributed as directed by the Board of Directors. (As amended January 29, 1931.)

Section 4. Fifteen voting members, annual or life, shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business of the Society at any regular or called meeting thereof.

ARTICLE VII.**Amendments**

Section 1. This constitution may be amended at any meeting of the Society by a two-thirds vote of the members present, provided, that due notice of such proposed amendment be given in the form of a copy thereof to each member at least three months in advance of the date of such meeting.

Section 2. The by-laws of the Society may be amended or suspended at any regular meeting or special meeting called for that purpose by a two-thirds vote of the members present, provided, that the regular order of business may be varied at any meeting by a majority vote.

BY-LAWS

1. The officers of the Society, together with two other directors to be named by the President, shall constitute an executive committee, the duties of which shall be to exercise supervisory authority in matters of detail in case of emergency during intervals between meetings of the Board of Directors and to perform such other duties as may be assigned to it by the Board of Directors.

2. The President of the Society shall appoint the following standing committees:

(a) A committee on publications, consisting of three members, including the Secretary of the Society, to be charged with planning and arranging for the publications of the Society, subject to the approval of the Board of Directors.

(b) A committee on library and museum, consisting of three members, which shall be charged with the supervision of the arrangement of stock room and museum cases, purchase of additional equipment and the general control of the library and museum collections of the Society.

(c) A program committee, consisting of three members, including the Secretary of the Society, the duties of which shall be to arrange suitable literary and other exercises for the program of the annual meeting of the Society or other meetings at which formal programs are to be presented.

(d) A committee consisting of three members, including the Secretary of the Society, the duties of which shall be to arrange suitable exercises in each county of the state in which as many as five active members of the Society shall reside, to observe days representing historical events, in conjunction with other organizations in the state who will join therein. (As amended January 23, 1929.)

3. A clerk from the employes of the Society shall be designed as property clerk who shall keep a record in which shall be entered all donations or loans of property, when such loans shall have been authorized by the Board in writing to be received, and also all pur-

chases for the Society's collections, identifying same consecutively by number, title, date of receipt, name and address of donor or bailor, and other pertinent matter; also to prepare requisitions for signatures of proper officers of the Society for supplies for library and museum, and keep a record of all such purchases showing cost of each item and date of receipt, and shall have charge of all collections and property of the Society not committed specifically to the custody or charge of any other employe or officer or committee or commission of said Society, and perform such other duties as the Board of Directors may prescribe. Said clerk shall execute a bond payable to the State of Oklahoma in an amount to be fixed by the Board of Directors conditioned to faithfully discharge the duties of said position, and faithfully and reasonably account for all property committed to his or her care and custody. (As amended January 29, 1931.)

4. The Librarian of the Society shall have charge of all books, pamphlets, manuscripts, letters, files, maps, photographs, prints, etchings, pictures or portraits and other documentary material of whatsoever character and shall be held responsible for the proper arrangement, installation, cataloging and indexing of the same, subject to the supervision of the Board of Directors and its standing committee on library and museum; it shall be the duty of the librarian to prepare and submit an annual report of the operations of the department and brief reports of progress at more frequent intervals if required by the Board of Directors.

5. Employes of the Society who are charged with, or are responsible for, special lines of work shall file written reports thereof with the secretary of the Society at least ten days before each annual meeting and oftener if called upon to do so by the Board of Directors or its Executive Committee; and it shall be the duty of the Secretary to brief such reports and arrange essential details for the consideration of the Society or its Board of Directors.

6. At the last meeting of the Board of Directors of the Society preceding the regular biennial session of the State Legislature, there shall be appointed a committee on legislation, consisting of three members; the duties of the committee on legislation shall be to investigate and consider the needs of the Society in the way of financial support, make estimates for necessary appropriations and attend to the placing of the same before the legislature in due form for consideration and action.

7. Copies of all correspondence of the Society shall be kept on file, as also the original letters received, and such files shall be subject to inspection by the officers and directors of the Society at any or all times.

8. Books may be drawn from the Society's library only with the written consent of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors, provided: that nothing in this rule shall be construed to

prevent the Board of Directors from formulating the work of competent research students in active co-operation with educational institutions of recognized standing.

9. No employe of the Society shall be permitted to solicit or electioneer in the interest of or on behalf of the election of any person as a director of the Society or against the re-election of any director under penalty of immediate discharge from the service of the Society.

10. No manuscript, documents, relics, specimens or other articles belonging to the museum of the Society, or which may have been deposited therewith for safekeeping or exhibition, shall be removed from its quarters, provided; that nothing in this rule shall be construed to prevent the Society from making a temporary display at any exposition or fair or for educational purposes, with the approval of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors.

11. The order of business of the regular meetings of the Society and of its Board of Directors shall be as follows:

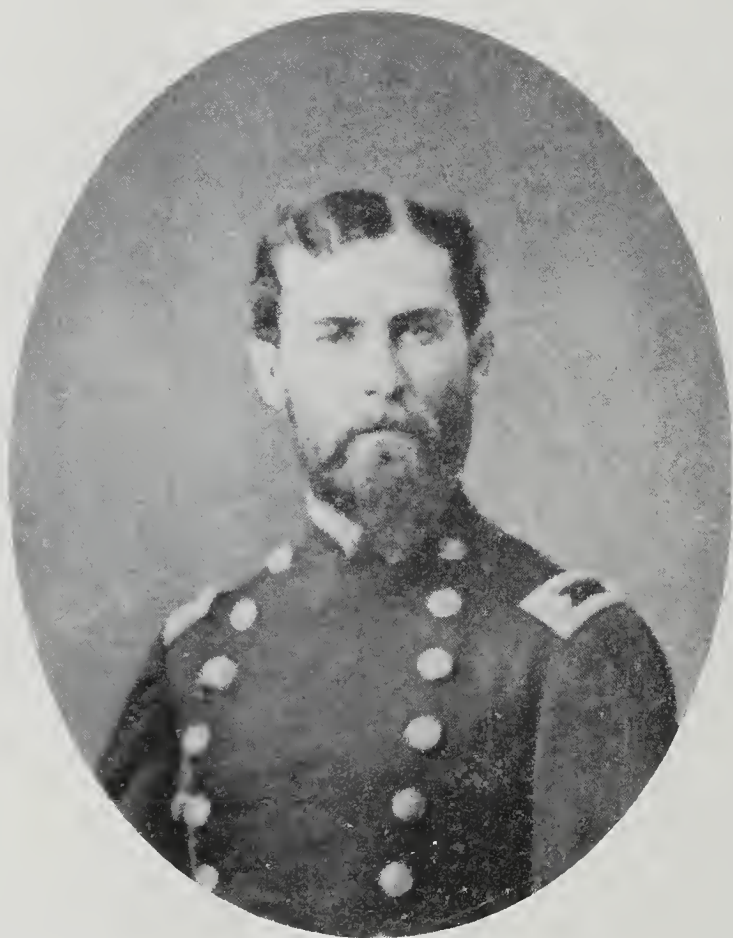
- (a) Calling of roll.
- (b) Reading of minutes of previous meeting.
- (c) Report of officers.
- (d) Report of standing committees.
- (e) Reports of special committees.
- (f) Reading of communications.
- (g) Unfinished business.
- (h) Election of directors or officers.
- (i) New business.
- (j) Adjournment.

It is hereby proposed that Section (one) 1, of Article (seven) VII, of the Constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society be amended to read as follows:

Section 1. This Constitution may be amended by a majority vote of the duly qualified members of the Society, at any regular annual election thereof or at any special election which may have been duly authorized and directed by vote of the annual meeting of the Society, the voting on such proposed amendment or amendments to be by a separate ballot but otherwise as prescribed in the election of directors, in Section 2, of Article III, of this Constitution, provided (1), that no proposition to submit any amendment or amendments to the same shall be submitted unless offered and supported by petition of not less than five per cent of the duly qualified members of the Society and, provided further, that due notice of the proposed adoption to such amendments be given in the form of a copy thereof, at least three months in advance of the date of such election.

Motion was seconded and carried.

(As amended April 19, 1934)



MAJOR LUCIEN LE COMPTE DAWSON
U. S. Marine Corps. Loyal son of J. L. Dawson.

THE LOST CAPTAIN

J. L. DAWSON OF OLD FORT GIBSON

By James Henry Gardner

When springtime comes in the Arkansas Valley of Eastern Oklahoma and the foothills of the Ozarks are painted with redbud and dogwood blossoms; when the meadows and the glens are carpeted with wild flowers and the purple martins have returned from their winter homes along the Orinoco and the Amazon; when the melodious notes of the woodthrush come forth like a benediction from the deep shadows of the wooded stream; when the song of the mocking-bird challenges admiration and the more refined music of the brown thrasher pours forth from a joyful heart; that is when the countryside about Old Fort Gibson shows its charm. So it did in centuries past before the first person ever visited these parts. It was the same in the springtime of the history of Indian Territory when the cantonment was founded. There were days of romance at Fort Gibson. Not all was drab and dreary at this post on the southwestern frontier. Where much of the record is missing, time fades the tints of the past. Fossils of ages before the present rarely reflect the world of sunshine and coloration in which they lived. History tends toward a similar result and may become the mere skeleton of life except for the preservation of the spirit of the time in art and literature. We wish that more were known of the events of cheerfulness, merriment, laughter and exhilaration that were undoubtedly experienced at Fort Gibson. Brief references to the orchestra, the horse-race track and other forms of amusement testify to the times of entertainment about the fort. Young folk fell in love and marriage bells rang out then as they do now.

The Arkansas has its source in the clear, cold, trout streams that ripple amidst the glacial boulders along the top levels of the front range of the Rocky Mountains, in Colorado. Having gathered sufficient volume and torrential power from its highland branches to carve its way in geological time through solid granite, it plunges through the Royal Gorge and then meanders lazily across the Great Plains on its course to the Mississippi. In crossing the semiarid region of the prairies, it absorbs collodial, red clays and alkaline minerals causing it to lose its salubrity. In times of flood, it takes on the aspects of a Missouri or a Hudson. But in dry seasons most of its water is absorbed in its sandy bed until it reaches Eastern Oklahoma where it is joined by the Verdigris and the Grand rivers. These two streams enter the Arkansas in close proximity to each other and from that point on down stream the river is navigable most of the year for boats of light draft. When explorers first came up the Arkansas and found that the stream split itself into three prongs, they could hardly tell which was the true Arkansas; at this

point their navigation ended. The locality became known as "The Three Forks of the Arkansas." It was here just above the mouth of the Grand River (then called "Neosho") that Cantonment Gibson (Fort Gibson) was constructed in 1824 and where the present town of Fort Gibson is now located, near the city of Muskogee. This old fort is the cradle of the history of Indian and Oklahoma Territories which were merged into the state of Oklahoma in 1907.

The geographic and physiographic location of Fort Gibson is at the southeast corner of what we call, in the parlance of the United States, "The West." Here the Ozark Plateau has its western boundary with The Great Plains. The line of demarcation between these two provinces is so sharply defined that frequently a farmer's fence marks the boundary between Ozark hills and the prairie country which extends on westward, with slight interruptions, to the Rockies. Southward from this locality and along the western limit of the Ouachita Mountains toward Red River, the topography soon merges into the Coastal Plains of the South which extend across Texas to the Gulf of Mexico. In the cultural variation of the people and of industry, the dividing line between the South and the Southwest extends in a southwesterly direction and runs between two nearby cities—Dallas and Fort Worth, Texas. So, in other terminology, Fort Gibson was located at the northeast corner of the Southwest. This fort was placed here for the protection of American Red Men and for the preservation of peace. It soon became the established headquarters for the whole of the United States regiment of the Seventh Infantry under the command of Colonel Matthew Arbuckle. Space does not permit to review here the history of Fort Gibson and its significance during the period of emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole) to Indian Territory in the early part of the nineteenth Century. Reference is made in the bibliography to the source of much information in that respect. We have wished only to sketch briefly the background for a biographical story of The Lost Captain.

In the various sections of the United States there have been celebrated persons who blazed the trails in advance of emigration. Depending on the magnitude of their services, they vary as one star from another in the galaxy of fame. Those of national reputation are well known. We are familiar with the adventures of Daniel Boone, Kit Carson, George Rogers Clark and other great explorers and soldiers who extended the frontier. There are others who served in more local geography in weaving the fabric of the history of the separate states. In many cases these were scouts for the United States Army and it is one of these with whom we are here concerned. The general is usually more noted than the colonel and the colonel obscures the major, but frequently it becomes of direct interest to review the exploits of the captain. He was often commanded to go with detachments into the hinterland and to write out his reports

for the records. Perhaps he was a lieutenant and, partially as a result of his exploits, was promoted to the rank of captain, as in the present case.

The lure of adventure and heroism appeals to youth in every generation as it did to this handsome, jolly, intelligent boy of Baltimore when he accepted appointment to the Army of the United States on August 13, 1819, at the age of twenty years. In January 1825, following a period in the Ordnance Department and a few years of service at Fort Smith, Arkansas, we find James Lowes Dawson a Second Lieutenant in the Seventh Infantry at Fort Gibson. In those days it was a long way from the head of Chesapeake Bay to the mouth of the Neosho in the distant west. This young soldier's country had sent him to an unsettled and little known region far from home. His primary education had equipped him above that of the average soldier of his day. He wrote in a clear business-like hand, used good English, spelled correctly and was capable as a surveyor of metes and bounds by use of traverse and compass. He had an excellent family background. He was a musician and probably was active in supplying instrumental music at the fort. He surveyed and laid out the race-track. In fact, his resourcefulness was called on for many extra services as a soldier at this post.

Sophie Elizabeth Baylor came to Fort Gibson in this period from Paris, Kentucky. Her father was Dr. John Walker Baylor, the fort's surgeon. The Bayers, like the Dawsons, were people of distinction in colonial history. More will be included later under the heading of family history, but it will be noted parenthetically at this point that Robert Emmet Bledsoe Baylor, who helped write the Texas Constitution and who was a founder of Baylor University in 1845, was a brother of Doctor Baylor. His niece, Sophie Elizabeth, was attractive, well educated and a bright addition to the personnel of the fort; this fact was not overlooked by the handsome young soldier from Maryland to whom she was attracted. They soon became lovers and *The Arkansas Gazette* of March 25, 1829, reported the marriage on the previous Friday, March 17, of Lieutenant James L. Dawson and Sophie E. Baylor. We shall now take up in chronological order the life and services of J. L. Dawson as our principal theme.

MILITARY SERVICE

War Department

The Adjutant General's Office

Washington, D. C.

January 18, 1934.

The records of this office show that James Low Dawson [error on middle name, it should be Lowes], was born in and appointed from Maryland; was appointed 3rd Lieutenant of Ordnance, August 13, 1819, accepted that appointment August 13, 1819, was retained as 2nd Lieutenant 7th

Infantry June 1, 1821, served as Regimental Adjutant, December 1, 1821 to May 16, 1825, promoted First Lieutenant May 1, 1824 and Captain April 30, 1833. He served continuously from August 13, 1819 to December 31, 1835, when his resignation was accepted by the President [Andrew Jackson]. No official record of his death has been found; an unofficial publication states that he died January 13, 1879.

He served with the 7th Infantry at Fort Smith, Arkansas, from October 1821 to January 1825 and at Fort Gibson from January 1825 to the date of his resignation.

While stationed at Fort Gibson, he was absent from his station as follows: at Washington, D. C., Aide to the General-in-Chief (Jacob Brown), May 1825 to August 1826; surveying military road to Fort Smith, November-December 1826; opening road to Little Rock, May-August 1827; accompanying the Chickasaw and Choctaw Delegation on their tour of the West, December 1830-January 1831; with company at Clark's Spring, July-September 1832; with Lieutenant Colonel Many's Command on tour of the southwest, May-June 1833 and on furlough from November 17, 1834 to the date of his resignation.

No information relative to the personal history of Captain Dawson has been found of record.

Signed, James E. McKinley
Major General,
The Adjutant General.

James L. Dawson opened the first officially surveyed vehicular road within the present confines of Oklahoma when he laid out the wagon-road from Fort Gibson to Fort Smith, Arkansas, in the months from May to August, 1827, now 116 years ago. He was then a First Lieutenant, twenty-eight years of age. This distinctive service alone deserves the perpetuation of his fame and the erection of a monument to his memory by the State of Oklahoma. In this day and time when we consider the marvelous system of paved highways that forms a network for transportation over the state, it is an honor of importance to have been Oklahoma's first road surveyor. Captain Pierce M. Butler from South Carolina, who was at this time twenty-nine years of age and a member of the 7th Infantry at Fort Gibson, was put in charge of construction of the road. Dawson and Butler thus share the glory of being the first road surveyor and road builder in this region. Butler was governor of South Carolina from 1836 to 1838 and in 1841 returned to Fort Gibson as agent of the Cherokee Indians. The Fort Gibson-Fort Smith road coursed by way of the Dwight Cherokee Mission where, in 1943, is located the oldest school in Oklahoma. Dwight Mission had been first opened among the Western Cherokees in Arkansas, having been closed in 1829 and, a year or so later, reopened in Oklahoma. It is now called Dwight Indian Training school, located near Marble City, in Sequoyah County, and maintained by the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.

We are indebted greatly to Dr. Grant Foreman of Muskogee, Oklahoma, for his extensive research and his exceedingly valuable publications on the history of Oklahoma; in several of these, refer-

ences are made to services of J. L. Dawson. These texts and their footnotes supply the basis for many a story of which this treatise is one. Reference is made here to a list of Dr. Foreman's books as first item in the bibliography to this article.¹

In December, 1830, following the passage of Congress of the Indian Removal Act, under the support of President Andrew Jackson, a delegation from the Choctaw Indians of Mississippi arrived in Indian Territory to look over the country that was to be the new home of their tribe. This party was conducted by George S. Gaines. After having ascended the Arkansas River to the mouth of the Illinois, Gaines sent messengers to Fort Gibson with the request to the commander of the fort that he send them an escort for their journey into the wild interior of what was to be the land of the Choctaw Nation. General Arbuckle responded promptly and sent them twelve mounted men under the command of Lieutenant J. L. Dawson, accompanied by the Army surgeon, Dr. J. W. Baylor. At this time the Lieutenant was a son-in-law of the doctor and we can imagine Sophie Elizabeth bidding her soldier husband and her father goodbye and wishing them good luck on the journey. (At this date, the Dawson's first child, James Lowes, Jr., was approximately one year of age.) They left on December 13, 1830, and did not arrive home until the middle of January 1831, having experienced some very cold and severe weather. On January, 29, Dawson wrote a report of this trip, addressed to Colonel Arbuckle. His description of the trip was printed in the *Arkansas Advocate* of Little Rock in the issues of March 9 and 16, 1831. Through the kindness of the Arkansas History Commission we have obtained a copy of this report and it is included herewith. (See *Appendix*.)

A report was written also by Gaines describing the experiences of this trip with the Choctaw delegation which was joined in Indian Territory by the Chickasaw delegation. This was published in the *Mobile Commercial Register*, March 7, 1831. The following paragraph is quoted from this article:²

Before reaching the mouth of the Canadian, the Lieutenant's command overtook us. The examination was intensely interesting; every-day novelties in country, an abundance of game, and fine weather to enjoy the chase, rendered each day and night joyous and happy. The Lieutenant and surgeon were both jolly soldiers and good hunters and entered into our hunts in the day and feasts and jollification at night with great spirit and zest. The buffalo now became plentiful and were daily killed for their humps and tongues. The rest of the carcass we found coarse and inferior to our beef.

¹ Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1926); *Indians and Pioneers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930); *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, The Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock (Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press, 1930); *Indian Removal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932); *Advancing the Frontier* (*ibid.*, 1933); *The Five Civilized Tribes* (*ibid.*, 1934); *A History of Oklahoma* (*ibid.*, 1942).

² Foreman, *Indian Removal*, p. 34. Also, Gaines Papers, Mississippi State Department of Archives and History.

In the above quotation, we get a glimpse of the personality of J. L. Dawson. He was a jolly fellow of spirit and zest and we suspect that when he laughed it was in strength and hilarity. We know that he was a man of quick temper and more than once was involved in quarrels which resulted in personal encounters. On August 11, 1830, he was tried by court martial at Fort Gibson at the instance of Captain B. L. E. Bonneville who was the explorer described later by Washington Irving³ and who at that time was stationed at the fort. Among other charges it was alleged that Lieutenant Dawson "Did beat Lieutenant C. J. Rains with a sword-cane." There were charges also that a proper accounting had not been made of Dawson's duties as assistant quartermaster. He was freed of most of the accusations but sentenced "To be suspended from rank, pay and emoluments for a period of three months." However, the commanding general (Arbuckle) overruled the Court and ordered him back to duty.⁴ This was a little over a year after the Lieutenant and Sophie Elizabeth were married. In connection with this trial, Dawson stated in his letter of August 14, 1830, to Major General Jessup that he did not "court secrecy, shrink from investigation or despair of acquittal by an honorable and impartial Court."⁵

On November 1, 1828, Dawson reported on the construction of a bakery at the fort and, on December 31 of the same year, the building of a stable and storehouse.⁶ The race-track continued to be used but suffered from the need of a fenced enclosure. Horse racing was reported under "Fall Campaign in the Far West" September 1, 1838, with this quotation from an eastern newspaper of the period:⁷ "The course was laid out some years since by Capt. Dawson and Capt. Moore of the 7th Infantry; and being unenclosed has suffered much injury by the roads crossing it in many directions, which timber and hay wagons have made." More is said about people in attendance and the races run.

On November 3, 1831, Dawson, then first Lieutenant, made his interesting report addressed to General Alexander Macomb, Washington, D. C., regarding his explorations up the north side of the Arkansas River, through the Creek Settlements to the mouth of the Red Fork (Cimarron), and thence back along the south side of the Arkansas to the fort. On this trip, accompanied by the Reverend Isaac McCoy of Union Mission, his chief objects were to map the

³ Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U.S.A.*, Crayon Miscellany.

⁴ Records from Judge Advocate General's Office, War Department, Washington, D. C.

⁵ Letter recorded May 7, 1830, Book 10, Quarter Master General's Office, Washington, D. C.

⁶ No. 205, Book 8, *ibid.*

⁷ Item dated Fort Gibson, September 2, 1838, appearing in *New York Spirit of the Times*.

course of the river and to fix more accurately the location of the point where the Cimarron empties into the Arkansas (near the present town of Keystone); to report also on the terrain, soil conditions, timber, springs, etc. along the borderland areas into which the Creek and Cherokee Indians were soon to be immigrated. His course up the river passed the vicinities of the present towns of Coweta, Broken Arrow, Tulsa, Sand Springs to Keystone, thence down the south side of the Arkansas by what are now Sapulpa, Jenks, Bixby, Haskell and Muskogee. He mentions much that is of interest to the student of pioneer history in this region. Twice he crossed the big "Osage Hunting and War Trail" that coursed from the vicinity of Clermont's Town (Claremore) southward across the Arkansas to the western stretches of the Canadian. Dawson was quite adept with the use of a hand compass and by counting the paces of his horse could define his course to agree closely enough with modern maps. We have previously published his report of this scouting trip.⁸

In the following year, 1832, Henry L. Ellsworth of Hartford, Connecticut, arrived at Fort Gibson as a member of a special, federal commission appointed by President Jackson to report on the nature of this wild and undeveloped section, looking forward to the settlement of the southern Indians in what is now Oklahoma. From Fort Gibson westward up the Arkansas to the mouth of the Red Fork, his party took the same course as the one described the previous year by Dawson. Ellsworth was accompanied by two celebrated guests on this trip: the English Author, Charles Joseph Latrobe and America's foremost man of letters, Washington Irving. All three of these explorers wrote classic accounts of this historic voyage fully describing the scenes and incidents of their loop through the unbroken prairies and the Cross Timbers.⁹ From the present locality of Keystone, accompanied by dragoons, they continued westward near the present towns of Cleveland, Pawnee and Stillwater, thence southward across the Canadian to the vicinity of Oklahoma City, then turned eastward through the Okmulgee district and back to Fort Gibson. At that time Sam Houston, with his Cherokee wife, lived near the fort. He met this famous exploring party at Fort Gibson. A little later the same year he mounted his horse and rode southward across the border into Mexico and to fame and glory in the Lone Star State. After his divorce in Tennessee, Sam Houston became for a period the Lost Governor, so to speak. James L. Dawson must have known him at Fort Gibson before he himself became "The Lost Captain." Houston staged a come-back but that was

⁸ James H. Gardner, "One Hundred Years Ago in the Region of Tulsa," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XI (June, 1933), pp. 775-81.

⁹ Irving, *A Tour on the Prairies*, Crayon Miscellany (1835); Charles Joseph Latrobe, *The Rambler in North America* (1835); Stanley T. Williams and Barbara D. Simison, *Washington Irving on the Prairie*, The Journal of Henry L. Ellsworth (1937).

something that Sophie Elizabeth's husband failed to accomplish. Houston marched forward in his career killing people by the hundreds, in the abstract sense, in his war on the Mexicans, whereas in Dawson's case fighting was too concrete and personal. Such is the irony of fate. In the one system men often become heroes while in the other they frequently yield up their own lives under the law or else become frightened, disgraced and humiliated beyond recovery. But this is running ahead of our story. On the current stage, Lieutenant Dawson is still living happily with his family and rendering important services with his regiment as a soldier, scout, surveyor and road bulider on the frontier.

Brevet General Henry Leavenworth, on being appointed Commander of the Southwest War Department, was stationed at Fort Gibson on February 12, 1834. For the protection of the immigrating Indians, he immediately began the establishment of fortified outposts west of the fort. He directed Dawson, who at this time had been made captain, to survey a road to the mouth of the Red Fork and to continue it from that point southward to the mouth of Little River. Under date of June 20, 1834, a report was made by the Captain to General Leavenworth in which he states that, "obedient to instructions," he had completed said road. He described the route and submitted a map of the road's course.¹⁰ The road followed up the Arkansas along the route of Dawson's traverse of 1831 and that of "A Tour on the Prairies" in 1832. On this road, below the mouth of the Red Fork and, on the north side of the Arkansas in what is now the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 2, T. 19 N., R. 10 E., Camp Arbuckle was established. Some of the old stone chimney bases are still observable at this location. It was named for General Arbuckle whom General Leavenworth had succeeded. Another post, Camp Holmes, was constructed near the mouth of Little River at the termination of the road. Camp Washita, near the mouth of the Washita, was established at this time with Captain James Dean in charge. Major George Birch commanded Camp Arbuckle and Captain J. L. Dawson was placed in command of Camp Holmes. The death of General Leavenworth occurred on July 21, only six months after his appointment and while on the dragoon expedition to the prairie Indians with Colonel Henry Dodge. General Arbuckle was then reappointed to his former command at Fort Gibson on September 9, 1834. It was apparently his opinion that these subforts were not necessary and they were abandoned forthwith.¹¹

In May and June, 1833, Dawson accompanied a military force under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel James B. Many into the interior country between the North Canadian and Red rivers. General Arbuckle instructed them to drive to the west any Comanche

¹⁰ Gardner, *op. cit.*, fn. No. 8, above.

¹¹ Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, pp. 114-15.

and Wichita Indians and to impress these tribes with the power of the United States. Captain Nathan Boone, son of Daniel Boone, was on this expedition comprised of soldiers and rangers. They advanced as far as the present site of Fort Sill.¹² During their expedition there occurred the greatest flood in the Arkansas, Grand and Verdigris rivers ever known previous to 1943. (On the evening of May 21, 1943, the Arkansas reached a stage of 48.47 feet at Muskogee; the highest on record for the 110 year period.) On November 13, 1833, the pioneers were filled with awe and amazement by the unprecedented shower of Leonid meteors. This date became widely known in North America as "The night when the stars fell."¹³

Under the previous heading of "Military Services," notation is made that in July-September, 1832, Dawson was with his company at Clark's Spring. This location was seven miles east of Fort Gibson and near Bayou Manard. Establishment of the camp there was due to sickness that prevailed at the fort; it was a move for health and recreation away from crowded conditions.

Captain Dawson furloughed from November 17, 1834 to the date of his resignation from the Army on December 31, 1835. At this latter date the second son of the Captain and Sophie Elizabeth, born at Fort Gibson, Eugene Wythe Dawson, was two years old while James Lowes, Jr., was six. From the date of his resignation through the next six years, the Captain attempted to succeed in the business world. Being trained as a soldier and scout, he was not experienced in other lines of activity. Moreover, he encountered the financial panic of 1837 with its widespread economic disaster. He entered the land and slave trade business and for a time the family was in Natchez, Mississippi, where the third son, Lucien Le Compte Dawson, was born in 1836. Dr. John W. Baylor and his family had also moved to Mississippi; he died at Second Creek, near Natchez.

Captain Dawson later purchased the Taylor Plantation in the Arkansas Valley below Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Sophie Elizabeth's mother came there to live for a while with her daughter and son-in-law. Later Mrs. Baylor joined her daughter, Mary Jane West, widow of Lieutenant West of the 7th Regiment, in Little Rock where Mrs. West opened a boarding house at the Old Ringold home. George Wythe Baylor (Sophie Elizabeth's brother) wrote¹⁴ that, "Here was probably as happy a family as ever gathered together under one roof when the Baylor children got together and displayed

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 104-7.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-8.

¹⁴ Manuscript on the "Life of John Robert Baylor," by his brother, George Wythe Baylor, dated at Uvalde, Texas, 1900 (Waco: Texas History Collection, Baylor University).

their musical talents in the home of Mrs. West." They had a large number of servants in addition to slaves hired out and there was a house full of boarders. With "Mrs. West at the piano, Henry with violin cello, John Robert with violin, Charley with the flute which he played exquisitely, Fanny with the guitar," George said that he himself "sawed with vigor on a small violin—a loud second." Friends joined them with flute and clarinet in the playing of many of the opera overtures and lighter music. This was in 1839-40.

In January, 1836, Captain Dawson purchased from David Thompson and John Drennen ten negro slaves and in consideration of the purchase he agreed by bond to pay Thompson and Drennen \$5,000 on January 1, 1837, and a like amount on January first of 1838 and 1839, a total of \$15,000. The slaves were warranted to be sound, healthy and temperate.¹⁵ Evidently the Captain met all but the last payment; an attachment was made on his property for that, in 1846.¹⁶ Apparently the Captain had other mortgages on slaves and by 1841 he was bankrupt. In 1838, the fourth child, Sophie Mary, was born at the Captain's plantation in Arkansas and in 1840, the fifth child, John Baylor, was born. During the winter of 1841, the Captain and his wife were in Washington, D. C., where he was attempting re-employment in government service and settling some of his financial troubles in New York. Some of the Dawson children had been left with Sophie Elizabeth's mother and her sister in Little Rock, while the parents were in Washington.

In 1842, General Ethan Allen Hitchcock was directed to visit Fort Gibson in order to report on conditions in the Indian Country. "General Hitchcock was a man of literary tastes and scholarly accomplishments, and kept a journal during his entire life which forms a voluminous chronicle of passing events."¹⁷ From his diary, under date of January 24, 1842, we quote the following paragraph which gives a clear picture of the status of the Captain and Sophie Elizabeth at this date, when he was forty-three and she was thirty-seven years of age:¹⁸

Mrs. Baylor (mother of Mrs. West and Mrs. Dawson) arrived at Fort Gibson last evening with her young daughter, Fanny, and with two of Captain Dawson's children. Mrs. West remained at Little Rock to dispose of some furniture preparatory to her finally leaving there. Mrs. Baylor has heard from Captain Dawson, who has gone to New York and made a final settlement of the miserable business with the land company. Mrs. Baylor says he is in very low spirits and that Mrs. Dawson writes in deep depression of the hard life in Washington where she is compelled to dress, go into company and wear smiles when her heart is ready to break. Mrs. Baylor says the Real Estate Bank (of Arkansas) had no right

¹⁵ See copy bill of sale and mortgage loaned to Grant Foreman by Miss Rebecca Bryan, Van Buren, Arkansas, on March 13, 1932.

¹⁶ *Arkansas Intelligencer*, September 19, 1846, p. 3, col. 2.

¹⁷ Foreman, *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, p. 10.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

to sell Dawson's negroes; that Dawson supposed them safe under a mortgage to Dr. Merrill of Natchez who became Dawson's security when they were purchased. I have heard that Dawson had mortgaged them to the bank. The family is in great pecuniary embarrassment, but this sort of trouble need never break the heart. Mrs. Baylor has come here to open a boarding house for officers.

The Captain was successful in finding a position in the Department of Indian Affairs and in June, 1842, was appointed Creek Indian Agent with headquarters near Fort Gibson. This returned him to his old "stomping ground" at the Three Forks. He had to meet the requirements of a bond as agent and a local merchant who operated an Indian trading store in the vicinity, Seaborn Hill, became his bondsman. "The Creek Agency at this time was located on the north bank of the Arkansas River nearly due north of where is now Muskogee. When Dawson became agent the buildings consisted of a double log cabin with two small rooms in the rear and kitchen, outhouse and crib. One of the rooms he used for his office; but he reported that the buildings were in a bad state of repair."¹⁹ Eventually the family moved into the Boni Hawkins residence.²⁰ There were no school facilities for the Dawson children but fortunately their mother was well educated and she began early to teach them herself. This she continued to do through the years of their growing up and under continued adverse circumstances. She was ambitious and in reality a resourceful, intelligent and remarkable person. The reader will be interested in knowing what eventually happened in the way of the careers that came out of this group of children, under her tutelage.

During the service of Captain Dawson from the date of his appointment as agent until July 8, 1844, more than fifty letters and reports were made by him to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He took great interest in promoting the welfare of the Indians under his supervision and in the education of their children. Sophie Elizabeth's brother, John R. Baylor, at the age of twenty-one in 1843, taught an Indian school near Fort Gibson under the direction of the Captain. We shall hear more of John R. Baylor in connection with a startling episode in the following year and in reference to his subsequent record of fame in the State of Texas. Baylor's report to his superior with respect to the Indian school is of sufficient interest in connection with this story to justify its repetition herein in full:²¹

¹⁹ Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 182-3. See, also, Dawson's letter to Armstrong, Office of Indian Affairs, I. T., misc.

²⁰ "Life of John Robert Baylor," *op. cit.*, fn. No. 14, above.

²¹ Item No. 45, supplied by J. Y. Bryce, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VI (September, 1928), pp. 372-3.

SCHOOL-HOUSE,

CUSSITA SQUARE,²²

September 5, 1843.

Captain J. L. Dawson, Creek Agent.

Sir: In obedience to your instructions, I came here on the first of July to ascertain if the number of scholars which could be procured would justify the establishment of the school, in conformity with the wishes of the Creeks who applied for it. I found, on inquiry, that a school could be formed of about twenty scholars—since increased to thirty-five. Some of them half-breeds partially taught, but chiefly full-bloods.

Since my arrival here, I have given close attention to their instructions; and their progress, though slow, has been such as to give hope and encouragement for the future. With those entirely ignorant of English, progress will necessarily be very slow; but a beginning has been made and the first great object advanced—that of subjecting them to habits of attention and discipline. These secured, the final object must be accomplished in due season. It is exceedingly difficult to get regular attendance, especially as the scholars must eat in the middle of the day, and there is by the present system no provision made for them. The Indian habits are so irregular that but few are enabled to bring provision with them. An arrangement by which one of the neighboring Indian families could give the children their noonday meal would be judicious. In the first outset, it is difficult to control Indian children, at best. If they are punished, they will not come back to school; and their parents consent with an ill grace, if at all, to punishment. So that everything at the outset is to be done by conciliation and policy, through the agency of the chiefs of the town operating on the parents. I feel confident, however, of mastering these slight difficulties and making the school efficient and useful.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. R. BAYLOR, Teacher C. R. (Creek Nation)

In April, 1844, a controversy was initiated between Captain Dawson and Seaborn Hill, his bondsman. Hill had previously been charged with selling whiskey to the Indians.²³ This was held as a serious offense by the United States Government and caused great difficulty on various occasions. To what extent it entered into the quarrel that resulted we do not know but in any case Hill notified the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that he was withdrawing his

²² The name Cussita (sometimes spelled Cahsita), used in the heading of this report, is a Creek word for a particular group or community of the tribe. In English terminology, the Indians referred to these tribal groups as "towns," such as Cashita Town, Coweta Town, etc. The Creeks who settled along the Arkansas in the locality about Tulsa and the present town of Sand Springs, and on up the river to the mouth of the Cimarron, were known as the "Lochapoka-town" Creeks who in Alabama had branched from the ancestral group known as the "Talsee-town" (sometimes spelled Talasee-town) Creeks. It was this latter term which became corrupted into "Tulsee-town" and finally into the copyrighted word for the present city of Tulsa. The name "Oklahoma," is a simple term in the Choctaw language, meaning "Red People," from the word "okla" meaning "people," and "humma" meaning "red." In the Indian language, the adjective follows the noun.—See, respectively, Angie Debo, *Tulsa from Creek Town to Oil Capital*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943); and Cyrus Byington, *A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 64, 1915).

²³ *Op. cit.*, fn. No. 17, above.

bond in behalf of Dawson. As a result, the Captain addressed the following letter to the Commissioner:²⁴

Creek Agency
17 April, 1844

T. Hartley Crawford, Esq.,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs.
Sir:

I have recently learned that Mr. Seaborn Hill, one of my securities, has clandestinely addressed you a letter requesting that I should be required to settle up my accounts and that he would no longer be responsible for me as bondsman.

I know of no reason beyond personal pique or the fact that he is about winding up his store in the Nation and leaving the country which has induced this step, but I will unite with him in soliciting that a new bond may be sent to Captain Armstrong with the necessary instructions that I may find new security. I hope my accounts for the first quarter of the current year may have reached you in safety.

I am Sir,

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

J. L. DAWSON
Creek Agent.

The trouble with Hill thickened in the attempt to arrange a new bond. The Captain was so hard pressed financially and the country in such bad shape generally in money and credit, that it was probably very difficult for the Captain to find a new bondsman and he received no cooperation from Hill. As a result, the Captain, accompanied by his friend and brother-in-law, John R. Baylor (Sophie Elizabeth's brother), became engaged in a fight with Seaborn Hill at the latter's store on the south side of the Arkansas on July 8, 1844. A desperate encounter ensued. Hill was a large, powerful man and according to a report made by George W. Baylor²⁵ (John R. Baylor's brother), who was at that time living with his mother at the fort, Hill was beating Captain Dawson over the head with a heavy cane. The Captain drew a derringer pistol and killed Hill by shooting him through the body. Immediately after the occurrence of this tragic incident, General Roly McIntosh, Principal Chief of the Creek Nation, dispatched by messenger a formal letter to Colonel R. W. Mason then in command at Fort Gibson advising him as follows:²⁶

Creek Nation, July 8, 1844.

Col. Mason,
Sir:

Two citizens of the United States, Captain J. L. Dawson and John Bailer have this moment been arrested by my authority—the former charged with the murder of Mr. Seaborn Hill at his residence in this nation, this morning—the latter with being his accomplice. As I have no jurisdiction over citizens of the United States I deem it my duty to report the arrest

²⁴ Filed in the Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, fn. No. 11, above.

²⁶ The National Archives, Washington, D. C. Records of the Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs.

to you and would respectfully suggest that a detachment may be sent to conduct him safely to the garrison. The prisoners will be kept at the Creek Agency till instructions are received from you.

Yours Sir,
With high respect,
Roly McIntosh (his mark)

Witness, Napo'l B. Hawkins, Clerk Creek Nation.

Colonel Mason immediately acknowledged receipt of the communication but, since it was then late in the evening, said he would reply the next morning, at which time he addressed the following letter to McIntosh²⁷

Headquarters Fort Gibson
July 9, 1844.

To Gen'l Roly McIntosh,
Principal Chief of the Creeks.
Sir:

In reflecting upon the subject of your note to me of yesterday respecting the unfortunate death of Mr. Hill, I think it useless to continue the arrest of Captain Dawson and Mr. Baylor charged with the murder of Mr. Hill, as the United States Court decided in Little Rock but a few weeks since that owing to some defect in the Law, they had no jurisdiction of such offenses committed in the Indian Country. I will however report the case to the United States District Attorney at Little Rock. Your prompt arrest of the individuals is another strong evidence of your friendship to the whites, and your desire to have the laws executed and the quiet and order of your land preserved.

Your friend and ob't servant,
R. W. Mason,
Lt. Col. 1st Dragoons.
Copy to James H. Prentiss,
Asst. Adjt. General.

Two days later, Prentiss addressed the following letter to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs (Western Territory) at the Choctaw Agency located at Skullyville which is now Spiro, Oklahoma, west of Ft. Smith, Arkansas:²⁸

Headquarters 2d Mil. Dept.,
Fort Smith, July 11, 1844.
8 o'clock A. M.

Capt. Wm. Armstrong,
Supt. Indian Affairs,
Choctaw Agency.
Sir:

By direction of Brig'r. General Arbuckle, I enclose for your information the copy of a correspondence between Lt. Col. Mason of the Army and Roly McIntosh, Principal Chief of the Creeks, in reference to the arrest of Captain J. L. Dawson and John Bailor charged with murder.

It is ascertained that these prisoners have made their escape from the Creeks and were yesterday seen on the north bank of the Arkansas near the mouth of the Saliceau, supposed to be on their way to Texas and expected to stop at your agency to-day.

²⁷ *Loc. cit.*, fn. No. 26, above.

²⁸ *Loc. cit.*, fn. No. 26, above.

You are doubtless aware that the defect in the law referred to by Lt. Col. Mason has been remedied by a late act of Congress restoring the jurisdiction of the U. S. Courts over offenses committed in the Indian Territory west of Arkansas.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
JAMES H. PRENTISS,
Asst. Adjt. General.

On the same day the preceding letter was written, Armstrong wrote the following letter to his superior in Washington:²⁹

Choctaw Agency
11 July, 1844.

T. Hartley Crawford Esq.,
Comm'sr of Indian Affairs.
Sir:

I have just been advised that J. L. Dawson and John Baylor his brother in law—murdered near Fort Gibson—Seaborn Hill. I have not heard the particulars—Roly McIntosh arrested these murderers and notified Col. Mason to take them in custody. Col. Mason declined doing so under an impression that the law had not been remedied giving jurisdiction in such cases in the Indian Country.

It is said that Capt. D. and Baylor are making their way to Texas—I will use every exertion to intercept and arrest (them). If anything further transpires you shall be advised.

In haste I have the honor
to be yours,
Wm. ARMSTRONG,
Act. Supt. W. T. (Western Territory)

THE LOST CAPTAIN

At this point James Lowes Dawson becomes The Lost Captain, lost in the services of the government and lost in the published historical records of Indian Territory. Not so, yet, to Sophie Elizabeth because she followed him to Texas.

Our interest was challenged to learn what become of Captain Dawson and where he ended his days. After much time and research, we finally traced him through his missing years and to his last resting place. The first record with respect to him after he and John R. Baylor fled to Texas is in a newspaper advertisement offering a reward for his apprehension.

We have not been able to locate a picture of the Captain. At some period, there might have been a daguerreotype of him but we have searched in vain for such among his descendants. The published notice, however, gives a partial description of him as follows:³⁰ "About 5 feet 10 inches high, fine-looking, dark com-

²⁹ *Loc. cit.*, fn. No. 26, above.

³⁰ *The Northern Standard*, Clarkville, Texas, for September 4, 1844, p. 3, col. 4. Also, a notice published in the *Telegraph and Texas Register*, October 23, 1844.

plexion, Roman nose and in all respects a man of genteel appearance."

In the flight across the border, John R. Baylor stopped at Marshall, Texas and lived with Col. Presley Maulding and family.³¹ There he became acquainted with Miss Emily Hanna, described as a beautiful young lady from Louisiana. They were married in Marshall and soon moved to Western Texas but we shall leave the career of this brother of Sophie Elizabeth for a brief discussion under a separate heading. Captain Dawson was under more momentum and headed for Matagorda on the Gulf where his family in due season joined him.³²

The Captain and his family seem to have left Matagorda after a brief residence there and to have moved to La Grange. They were gravitating toward the domicile, and probably the protection, of Judge Baylor, Sophie Elizabeth's uncle. He resided not far away at Gay Hill, near Independence, Texas, where at the latter place the Judge first founded and established Baylor University, in the Texas Republic. In February, 1845, the Governor of Arkansas issued a requisition on the President of the Texas Republic for the arrest of Captain Dawson who, it was stated, had resided for some time at La Grange. President Jones issued the order but the Captain escaped.³³

Captain Dawson with his capability, intelligence, education and experience was qualified to assist in some phase of legal work and it is possible that Judge Baylor made use of his services in this respect. At any rate, the Captain and his family continued to reside in that area until 1852. The fifth child, Frances Courtenay, who was destined to become a celebrity as an American novelist, and of whom more will be told later, was born on January 20, 1848, at Fort Smith, Arkansas, according to one published record,³⁴ but probably in error as to place and date. (See family history of the children.)

The next record we have of the Captain is in reference to his capture in November 1852, quoted as follows from the *Texas State Gazette*:³⁵

We learn from the *Houston Beacon*, that a lawyer of Lavaca (County) named Dawson, was arrested by a party from Arkansas, between La Grange and Hallettsville on the 8th instant, and after being heavily ironed, was carried through that place [Houston] en route to Arkansas. Dawson some

³¹ *Life of John Robert Taylor*, op. cit., fn. No. 11, above.

³² *Ibid.* and fn. No. 11, above.

³³ *Telegraph and Texas Register* for February 26, 1845 (Mirabeau B. Lamar Library University of Texas, Austin, Texas).

³⁴ Kunitz and Haycraft, *American Authors* (H. W. Wilson Co., 1938), p. 63.

³⁵ *Texas State Gazette* for November 27, 1852 (Mirabeau B. Lamar Library University of Texas, Austin, Texas).

years since murdered a man named Hill in a fight in Arkansas, fled to Texas and was demanded by the Governor of the former State but the demand was refused. [Probably by Sam Houston, President of the Texas Republic in 1844.] Hence the present proceedings.

The journey by steamboat from Houston, Texas, by way of the Gulf to New Orleans, thence up the Mississippi and the Arkansas to Little Rock, Arkansas, consumed considerable time. It must have been a sad trip for the Captain and one of great foreboding as to his future as well as the future of Sophie Elizabeth and the children. On arrival of the Captain and his escort, a newspaper of Little Rock on November 26 reported the incident as follows:³⁶

Captain James L. Dawson, who killed Mr. Seaborn Hill, a respectable merchant of the Creek Nation, July 1844, and for whose apprehension a large reward was offered by the friends of the deceased, was brought to this city on Wednesday night last on the steamboat *Exchange* in charge of Mr. Cleveland, Deputy U. S. Marshal for the Western District of Texas. He was indicted in the U. S. District Court of this state soon after the occurrence and was arrested under a writ issued by that Court, and [now] brought here for trial.

Searchers of the Little Rock newspapers of the period have failed to find that the Captain was ever brought to trial or to disclose anything pertaining to his escape. The plea was made in behalf of the defendant that his arrest was illegally executed and that he was in fact kidnapped in Texas.³⁷ This issue was carried to the Supreme Court and confirmed in behalf of the plaintiff in the July term of 1853.³⁸ This meant that the trial was due on succeeding dockets of the Pulaski Court.

Captain Dawson failed in his courage, as strong as it was, in not wishing to face the Criminal Courts of Arkansas. They were well known both then and later for their executions. The Captain's career was drawing to a sad ending. To him it seemed that the assured preservation of his life and freedom was the chief end to seek. Sophie Elizabeth remained under the wing of Judge Baylor in Texas, huddled the children about her and let circumstances take their course.

As for Lucien, he was determined to stand by his father regardless of the opinions of others because he honored and loved him greatly. A daughter of Lucien states that about this time her father went north with her grandfather. We find that Lucien joined the United States Marine Corps at this early age and later became famous as a major, taking part in the bombardment of Fort Fisher in the War between the States. But where was The Captain?

³⁶ *Arkansas State Gazette and Democrat* for November 26, 1852, p. 2, col. 1. Periodical Division, The Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

³⁷ *Arkansas State Gazette and Democrat* for December 17 and December 24, 1852. *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Arkansas Gazette and Democrat* for August 26, 1863, p. 3, col. 3. *Ibid.*

In 1853, the ages of the six children were James 24, Eugene 20, Lucien 17, Sophie 15, John 13, and Frances 9. Some of Sophie Elizabeth's brothers were officers in the Army, and she moved with them from post to post until the period of the Civil War; a good portion of the time she lived in San Antonio, Texas. Either here or some other place during this period, she obtained a decree of divorce and resumed her maiden name, becoming Mrs. Sophie Elizabeth Baylor. Three of the children also changed their surnames to Baylor. These were Eugene Wythe, Sophie Mary and Frances Courtenay, but James Lowes, Jr., Lucien Le Compte and John Baylor kept the surname of Dawson all their lives.

Sophie Mary grew up in San Antonio under the care and personal education of her mother. She became the wife of Major General John George Walker, C. S. A., with their home established in Winchester, Virginia. Ultimately her mother, her brother Eugene, and her sister Frances Courtenay came there to live in the Walker home. She and her mother, Sophie Elizabeth Baylor (Dawson) lived long lives together at Winchester and both were buried there. Sophie Elizabeth died in 1904 in her ninety-eighth year and her daughter Sophie Mary died in 1931, only three months short of ninety-three.³⁹

Children of the Lost Captain

The children of the "Lost Captain" were:

(1) James Lowes Dawson, Jr., was born at Fort Gibson in 1829. He grew up and died in Western Texas and for a period of his life lived in Montell, Uvalde County, in the home of John R. Baylor, his uncle. George Wythe Baylor, the only surviving child of John R. Baylor, says that he was well acquainted with "Cousin Jim" who was with his family a "good deal of the time." He states that Jim Dawson left no children.⁴⁰ A niece states that her Uncle James married late in life in San Antonio, Texas, and, according to her information, had daughters. The conflicting statements as to the marital status and children of this eldest son of Captain Dawson and Sophie Elizabeth have not been cleared up. Possibly there are descendants of James Dawson, Jr., living in San Antonio or elsewhere.

(2) Eugene Wythe Dawson, born at Fort Gibson in 1833, was never married. He became a major in the Army of the Confederate States of America and lived in the home of his sister (Sophie Mary) and her husband (General John George Walker), in Winchester, Virginia. We quote the following from a letter from Mr.

³⁹ Letters in 1941, from Stephen Decatur, 114 Fourth St., Garden City, N. Y., who married "Mammy's" granddaughter.

⁴⁰ Letter to writer, from George W. Baylor, Carrizo Springs, Texas.

Stephen Decatur 6th, who married a granddaughter of "Mammy" (Mrs. Walker).⁴¹

The statement⁴² that Frances Courtenay received her education from her mother (Mamacita) is undoubtedly correct. Mammy said she did also and that Mamacita taught all her children practically everything they knew. It would seem Mamacita was really a remarkable person, for her children were all highly educated. Every one of them spoke French and Spanish; they were all musicians of much more than average ability, Eugene being really a musical genius, writing music for publication. I used to see old John Philip Sousa quite often in the five years before he died and he frequently remarked how he remembered Eugene and what an extraordinary musician he was. Mammy's family used to speak French around the house to keep in practice. Eugene and Fanny lived there. I don't think I have ever seen another family with as high an average knowledge of literature, art, etc.

Correspondence with Janett Taylor Cannon, Secretary of the Kentucky State Historical Society, indicates that Sophie Elizabeth Baylor was educated at the Old Bourbon Academy founded in Paris, Kentucky, by an act of the Kentucky Legislature and organized in 1800. It had a high scholastic standard and several accomplished teachers in science, English and the classic languages. The Rev. John Lyle taught there before he established the Lyle Academy in Paris in 1806 as the first girl's school west of the Allegheny Mountains. At a later date, 1823, the celebrated compiler of school readers, William Holmes McGuffey, taught in the Bourbon Academy.

(3) Lucien Le Compte Dawson was born in Natchez, Mississippi in 1836. He married Mary Barnes Tyson of Philadelphia and lived in that city where their four children grew up. His history in the Marine Corps of the United States Navy is reported as follows:⁴³

Appointed from Texas; commissioned as second lieutenant, January 13, 1859; steam sloop *Hartford*, East Indian Squadron, 1859-61; commissioned as first lieutenant, 1861; San Jacinto, East Gulf Squadron, 1862; recruiting rendezvous, Philadelphia, 1863; steam frigate *Colorado*, North Atlantic Blockading Squadron, 1864-5; bombardment of and land assault on Fort Fisher, breveted major for gallant and meritorious services, Marine Barracks, Pensacola, Florida, 1865-6; Marine Barracks, Philadelphia, 1867-8; steam frigate *Franklin*, flag-ship European Squadron 1868-9. U. S. Navy Yard, Philadelphia, 1872.

(4) Sophie Mary Dawson was born December 13, 1838, while her parents were living on the old Taylor plantation in the Arkansas Valley below Pine Bluff, Arkansas.⁴⁴ Married, 1858, John George Walker, Major General, C. S. A. General Walker was in command

⁴¹ Letter from Stephen Decatur, February 15, 1941.

⁴² *American Authors*, *op. cit.*, fn. No. 34, above.

⁴³ Family records of the Dawsons, compiled by Charles C. Dawson, 1872 (Joe Munsell, 82 State St., Albany, N. Y., 1874). Notes copied by Mrs. Pauline Dawson Castleman, Leesburg, Virginia, 1941.

⁴⁴ "Life of John Robert Baylor," *op. cit.*, fn. 14, above.

of the Confederate troops in Arkansas and Louisiana in 1863. While her husband was serving during the war, she took a residence in Georgia, thinking it a safe place to reside for the duration but the house was burned to the ground and everything in it was destroyed by Sherman's men on their march to the sea. She lived from the reconstruction period until her death in September, 1931, in Winchester, Virginia. Being known in the family as "Mammy," while her mother, Sophie Elizabeth Baylor, was known as "Mamacita," is indicative of the years spent in the Spanish atmosphere of southwest Texas. The latter lived in Winchester with her daughter until her death. There were ten children born in the Walker family.⁴⁵ A granddaughter married Mr. Stephen Decatur, 6th, a great grand-nephew of the famous commodore who originated the fighting toast so frequently quoted in the present Global War, "Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong." In this connection, it is most interesting to note that Mr. Decatur's great grandfather was John Pine Decatur of Fort Gibson, whose body lies buried in the National Cemetery near the old fort. He died in 1832 and was doubtless well acquainted with Captain Dawson. "His tombstone was erected by Major George Birch who claimed the privilege of doing so as an intimate friend."⁴⁶

(5) John Baylor Dawson was born in 1840 while his parents lived on the old Taylor Plantation, Arkansas. He was not married. He grew up in Western Texas but died in early life in New Orleans, in 1867, at the age of twenty-seven.

(6) Frances Courtenay Dawson was born in 1844, according to the family records compiled by Charles C. Dawson in 1874;⁴⁷ however in *American Authors* by Kunitz and Haycraft, the birth date is listed as January 20, 1848. If the former date is correct, she would have been born while the parents were living at Fort Gibson and would have been between six and seven months old at the time, July 8, 1844, when the Captain made his flight to Texas. In 1896, she married George Sherman Barnum of Savannah, Georgia, at an age of either forty-eight or fifty-two.⁴⁸ Like Eugene and Sophie Mary, she had adopted the surname of Baylor. She wrote under the name of Frances Courtenay Baylor and is famed as an American novelist. Some of her books are in the rare book collection which we have seen in the Library of Congress, Washington. During the last twenty years of her life in the home of her sister, Mrs. Walker, she did not write but enjoyed instead a

⁴⁵ Letter from Stephen Decatur, January 7, 1941.

⁴⁶ Letter from S. Decatur, *op. cit.*, fn. No. 45, above.

⁴⁷ Family records of the Dawsons, *op. cit.*, fn. No. 43, above.

⁴⁸ *American Authors*, *op. cit.*, fn. No. 34, above.

life of leisure. She died while reading in the public library in Winchester, Virginia, on October 19, 1920.⁴⁹

The principal works of Frances Courtenay Baylor are entitled *On Both Sides*, 1885; *Behind the Blue Ridge*, 1887; *Juan and Juanita* (a story of two Mexican children), 1888; *A Shocking Example*, 1889; *Claudia Hyde*, 1894; *Miss Nina Barrow*, 1897; *The Ladder of Fortune*, 1899; and *A Georgia Bungalow*, 1900.

Genealogy of Captain Dawson

In Greenmount Cemetery of Baltimore, a fine monument was erected in memory of John Le Compte, the French Huguenot, who settled in Maryland about 1670. Charles Le Compte was a direct descendant of this noted person and his sister was the mother of Philemon Dawson, born in Dorchester County, Maryland about 1770. Philemon Dawson was a merchant sea-captain. He was married on May 22, 1794 to Jane Lowes who was a daughter of James and Ann Lowes of Whitehaven, Cumberland County, England. She was at that time a widow and is listed as Jane Henderson in Maryland Marriages, manuscript copies of the Maryland Historical Society. Seven children were born to this marriage, following in chronological order: Jane Lowes Dawson, James Lowes Dawson, Mary Ann Dawson, Martha Dawson, William Le Compte Dawson, Charles Le Compte Dawson and Emily Dawson.

The record-book of St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church of Baltimore in reference to baptisms in this period, page 385, shows that James (our Captain) was born on September 3, 1799, and baptized on April 7, 1800. At the time of his death on January 13, 1879, he was in his eightieth year.

The Captain spoke French fluently as has been observed in references to him by his grandchildren. This language was probably spoken most of the time in his home when he was a boy in Baltimore. The fact that he spoke French, that he was a fine musician and was a handsome man are about the only traditions in reference to him that were handed down to the descendants.

John Robert Baylor of Texas

Reference has been made previously to Sophie Elizabeth's brother at Fort Gibson, John R. Baylor. He was arrested as an accomplice of Captain Dawson on July 8, 1844 and fled to Texas with the Captain. He was then twenty-two years of age. What part he took in the encounter is not known but apparently no attempt was ever made to capture him from the land across Red River. He became a distinguished soldier in the Civil War. In 1861, he was made Lieutenant Colonel of a regiment organized in Texas

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, and fn. No. 34, above.

to protect the Southwestern Frontier for the C. S. A. This was the Second Regiment of Mounted Rifles stationed at Fort Clark, El Paso. He was ordered to take any posts in charge of the United States Government. His brother, George Wythe Baylor, was a first lieutenant in one of his companies. This regiment captured the entire battalion of the old Seventh Infantry, then stationed at Fort Filmore, New Mexico. Colonel Baylor later organized the Arizona Brigade in which his brother George became Colonel of his Second Regiment. General Baylor, on relief of this command, was elected a member of the Confederate Congress in Richmond, Virginia. He was born July 27, 1822 in Paris, Kentucky and died February 6, 1894, at his home in Montell, Uvalde County, Texas, where he was buried. The story of his life is described interestingly in a manuscript written in January 1900 by his brother, Colonel George, mentioned above; this is on file in the Texas History Collection of Baylor University of Waco, Texas. The Baylor University Library also contains a copy of *Baylor's History of the Bayers* by Orval W. and Henry B. Baylor. The interested reader is referred to this book for details of the genealogy and history of the Baylor family.

Sophie Elizabeth Baylor had six other brothers and sisters besides John Robert. Their mother's maiden name was Sophie Marie Weidner; born in Baltimore in 1784, died and was buried in August, 1862, in San Antonio, Texas.

George Wythe Baylor, son of John R. Baylor, lives in Carrizo Springs, Dimmitt County, Texas. He was at one time a member of Company A of the Texas Rangers, captained by his uncle for whom he was named. He was born on September 22, 1858, on the Camp Cooper Indian Reservation, Young County, Texas, where his father was for a time Indian Agent of the Comanche tribe. We have had interesting correspondence with him in reference to his father. He stated in his letter of December 15, 1940: "My father was born in Old Paris, Kentucky, in 1822. He was in Cincinnati at school when the Alamo fell. He quit school, borrowed a horse and pulled for Texas." (In 1836 John R. Baylor was fourteen years of age.)

It would be interesting to review further the history of the Baylor family but we must go on with the story of Captain Dawson.

Silent Years in the Blue Ridge

After Lucien Dawson left Texas to go north with his father in 1853, he immediately joined the Marine Corps (as a resident of the state of Texas) with the firm resolution that he would defend his father; that he would look after his welfare at every possible need and opportunity to the end. The Captain lived out the remaining period of his life in quietude and without notoriety in Westminster, Carroll County, Maryland. What he did in the way

of services in his solitary abode without any of his family around him, except for occasional visits by Lucien and his wife, Mary, or his visits to them at their home in Philadelphia, we do not know; neither do his living grandchildren. While they knew "Mammy" and "Mamacita" intimately, there was little said about their grandfather. Westminster is along the eastern boundary of the Blue Ridge Mountains in Maryland. Not far away to the southwestward is Winchester, Virginia, where Sophie Elizabeth lived in the home of General Walker.

It was reciprocal love, —this love of the Captain and Lucien—and the Captain's love for Lucien was undoubtedly very great and abiding. It is expressed in the letter that he wrote to Lucien's wife, Mary, during the Civil War.⁵⁰ This letter was addressed from Emmitsburg, Maryland, which is near Westminster and where Captain Dawson's sisters were educated. It is possible that he attended Mount Saint Mary's College there before he joined the Army but Rev. Hugh J. Phillips, archivist of the College, has not found record of it. The files of West Point Military Academy do not list him as in attendance there. His interesting letter follows:

14 Nov., 1864.

My dear Mary:

I had two letters recently from Lucien from Fortress Monroe, by which I learned to my very great surprise that he was again on board ship being attached to the Frigate COLORADO, for I had no other idea than that he was still in Philadelphia enjoying your society in his pleasant and comfortable home. In his last letter a few days ago, he informed me that a fleet was fitting out composed of frigates and monitors to attack some strong place of which I never before heard, but which I have since seen named in the CATHOLIC MIRROR published at Baltimore, as one of a chain of forts in Wilmington Harbor and since then I have seen in the Baltimore GAZETTE a notice of the COLORADO sailing from Hampton Roads but without stating her destination. Lucien in his first letter said something of the possibility of his going to New York based on something that dropped from the Commodore and as the notice I read did not intimate that the COLORADO had gone south, I am strongly in hope that they may have gone to N. Y. either to fit out or possibly to remain for without a land force to cooperate they could do nothing at Wilmington where the forts are not only many but very powerful. In the absence of facts we must rest as content as possible and never look on the dark side until it is presented to us. I therefore hope you will not unnecessarily fret yourself or take misfortune or interest by unduly anticipating its arrival. I had intended writing you very soon at all events, but hastened it at the request of Lucien, for although you are as Lucien says not fond of letter writing and are indebted to me in that line one letter, it will not affect my feelings nor lessen the kind interest and regard I shall ever feel for you more especially as you are alone and separated from Lucien, in which state although at home with your parents and friends, you will without doubt have many moments of anxiety and apprehension. Lucien tells me little Charley has grown very much and is a very fine child. I should like much to see him and wonder which branch of the family he takes after, tho' I should guess it was after yours, as there is in the expression of eye on that side, more intensity than there is in Lucien's. He has promised daguerrotype of him which I should be very happy to receive whenever you put him under their process, and hope you will send me one. This horrid war still lingers on without

⁵⁰ Original letter in possession of a descendant.

any prospect (I would say hope) of termination and what little hope there was seems now to be destroyed by the election of Lincoln for a second term; but let us still hope on for peace when with L. returned and his attainment of a majority you will be enabled to have a fine shore station at Phil. N. Y. or Washington with no more risks no more apprehensions.

This is a dark sleety gloomy day—the Blue Ridge stript of its foliage (but two weeks since tinged with every hue of the brightest dye) and now sombre and dark and brings to mind some of the gloomy passages of Ossian, and very soon every trace of vegetation will be gone and the white robe of winter will cover the earth. Tell Ned I have often wished him here to enjoy the fine shooting common at this season, there being abundance of pheasants partridge woodcock and jack snipe, tho it is possible he may never yet have had any practice in field sports, so healthful and delightful. The gentlemen hereabouts partake of the sport largely when the weather is fine.

I hope dear Mary this letter will find you perfectly well and hopeful on Lucien's account for I should very much regret a different state of things. You will be kind enough to give my kindest regards to your father and your mother whose hospitality I have not forgotten and remember me in the same spirit to Ned. Hoping to see you all again at some future time indefinite and uncertain though it may be.

Very affectionally yrs.

J. L. DAWSON.

In 1872 Captain Dawson was interviewed by Charles C. Dawson in regard to family history;⁵¹ this was while he was residing at Westminster. With respect to the period of his services in the Army, Charles Dawson quotes the Captain as saying: "It was a period of profound peace. The army in that period was something in the Shakespeare vein, 'The cankers of a calm world and long peace'; for there was no war except the Black Hawk War in the north and being the extreme south, my regiment took no part."

The nice "Dear Mary" letter is probably the last of date that we shall see of the Captain's communications. It is in the hand writing with which we have become familiar after reading many photostatic copies of his reports as a famous pioneer scout in Indian Territory. The letter is from a kindly and lonely man at peace with himself.

Captain Dawson was a member of the Episcopal Church in Westminster—the Church of the Ascension which still stands in active service. The Rector in 1942, Rev. Richard M. Lundberg, informed us that Captain Dawson became a communicant of that parish in the year 1871; the church records show that he died on January 13 and was buried on January 14, 1879, with services by Rev. Isaac L. Nicholson. But the Rector has not been able to locate the Captain's grave or headstone; neither has our friend, Mr. C. R. Gilmore of Tulsa, who kindly made a short search while briefly transient in Westminster in 1942. Mr. Gilmore located the records of the Captain's church membership and found a newspaper account of his death and burial. An account in the *Demo-*

⁵¹ Family records of the Dawsons, *op. cit.*, fn. No. 43, above.

cratic Advocate of Westminster (still publishing in 1943) under date of January 18, 1879, carried a story of the Captain's death, stating that he was buried on January 14, in the Westminster Cemetery. While this account contains errors in reference to the career of Captain Dawson, it is stated that "He was well informed in all branches of science and learning and that his rare conversational powers and his genial manner would long be remembered by his friends in Westminster." It refers to his having died at the Montour House after a brief illness with lung congestion and that his life had been "one of unusual interest and vicissitude with his having spent many years there in a quiet and secluded life." The last sentence of the article states: "His son, Major L. L. Dawson of the U. S. Marine Corps, was present at the funeral."

With reference to this biographical story of J. L. Dawson's life, we have tried to state the facts as we have found them in the various records without embellishing, temporizing or moralizing on the subject. In the words of Omar, "The moving finger writes and having writ moves on." We leave the various elements of romance and tragedy to speak their own drama, except to remark that the Captain in his declining years at Westminster, obviously relied on the conviction that while it is often the duty and obligation of the courts of law to punish, it is within the mercy and power of God, through appeal and intercession, to pardon. Furthermore, we applaud the sentiment that "The good that men do" should not be "interred with their bones."

Captain Dawson was a distinguished person whose notable services helped to frame the background of Oklahoma's history. In granting him due credit and fame, *The Lost Captain* is found.

APPENDIX

REPORT OF J. L. DAWSON ON HIS ESCORT OF CHOCTAW AND CHICKASAW DELEGATES IN INDIAN TERRITORY.

Dec. 1830—Jan. 1831.*

Cantonment Gibson, 29th Jan. 1831.

To Col. M. Arbuckle,
Com. Cantonment Gibson.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that in pursuance of your order of the 13th December last, I proceeded with the party of men under my command from this Post to the Illinois Shoals of the Arkansas, at which point I crossed that river, after remaining at Mr. Webber's [now Webbers Falls, Oklahoma] a short time to complete my outfit for a tour of service in the woods, by putting in good order the arms deposited at that place, intended for our service.

* This report is herewith printed with some corrections in the punctuations and spelling, without otherwise altering the text. It was copied by the Arkansas History Commission, from *The Arkansas Advocate* for March 9 and March 16, 1831.

From Webber's, I continued my route to the Delaware village where I arrived on the 15th. The river bottom on the west side of the Arkansas, at the Illinois Shoals, is about three miles in width where I crossed it, and in point of fertility, even surface and valuable timber, deserves to be noticed, as being in my estimation, the finest body of land of the same extent which I have seen west of the Mississippi. The Delaware village referred to is situated on a large creek, about one mile from its junction with the Canadian river into which it discharges itself from the north, and contains six or eight families. There is another of a larger size on the south side of the Canadian, some three miles above, the first mentioned and about fifteen or twenty miles below the Forks.

Having understood from Col. Gaines, in a conversation previous to his departure westward that he was desirous of making a particular examination of the bottoms on the right bank of the Canadian, I conjectured that the most probable chance of striking his trail would be to follow up the bed of the river, which was almost dry and easily forded at all points.

After marching up its bed some six or eight miles, I discovered a large trail on the bar and followed it out into the river bottom; from the appearance of an encampment found there, I judged it to be that of the Chocktaw party from which they had departed two or three days before. From this point the trail turned S. W. over a high ridge of mountains which we crossed—the mouth of the North Fork being visible from its summit.

After a march of ten or twelve miles through poor mountain land, we descended into the valley of a stout sized creek running N. and emptying into the Canadian. The bottoms of this creek are fertile and adjoin some rich well-timbered upland. Leaving this creek and pursuing the trail S. W. five or six miles farther through post oak flats and prairies which stretch along the Canadian, at an average distance from it of ten miles and to my surprise, I found the course of the trail suddenly changed to S. E. the prospect in front bounded by a lofty ridge. The size of the trail with the course rendered me doubtful whether it was that of the Chocktaws and, believing that if it was them I should find them on the Canadian, I pursued a S. W. course to that river, in hopes of either overtaking them at a point higher up or hearing of them from some Indian hunters.

Continuing my march up the bed of the river to a point thirty or forty miles above the Fork, I met a party of three Delawares, who were joined next day by the whole Delaware town returning home from a hunt west of the Washita. From them, I learned that there were no parties except Cherokees above me, that the whole country bordering on the river was burnt and that I could not subsist my horses. The want of food for them was severely felt, even at this early period, as I could find no cane nor anything else for them to eat except dry sedge. Finding that the condition of the country would not permit me to remain, determined to leave it and cross the head waters of the creek emptying into the Canadian, on which the Delawares assured me I would find plentiful food for horses, a circumstance which had induced the Chocktaw party to leave the Canadian at a point lower down. Knowing the necessity of making great speed to enable me to overtake the party and the importance of finding good range every night, I employed an old Delaware as a guide and striking across the country, a distance of about fifteen miles, again fell in with the trail I had left; and continuing our route S. W. ten miles farther, found the camp of the Chocktaws and Chickasaws who had joined each other at this point.



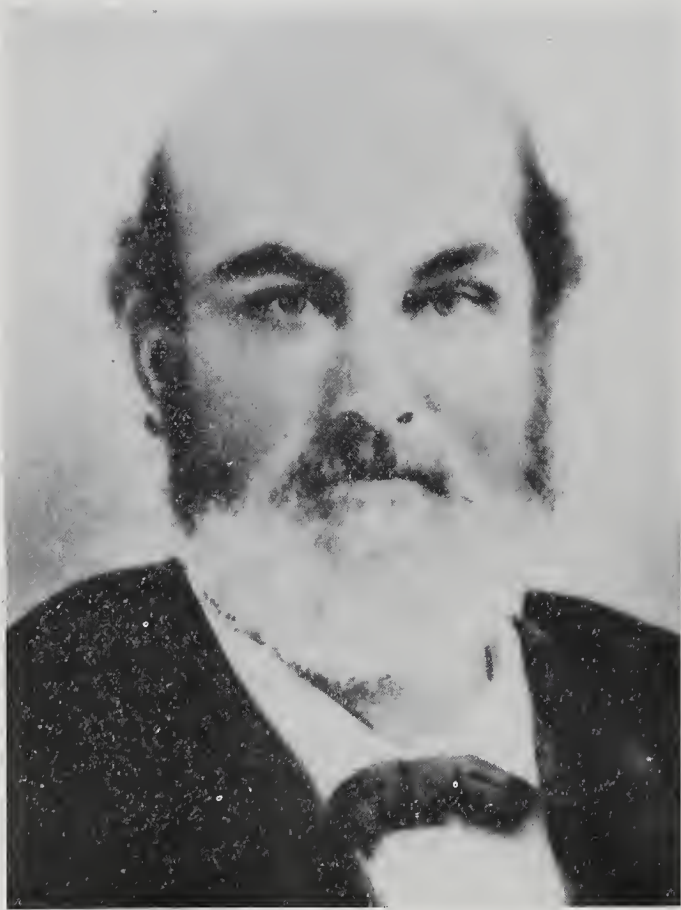
SOPHIE ELIZABETH BAYLOR
Wife of J. L. Dawson. In her late years at Winchester, Virginia.



SOPHIE MARY WALKER
Daughter of J. L. Dawson. In her late years at
Winchester, Virginia.



FRANCES COURTNEY BAYLOR (BARNUM)
Distinguished novelist. Daughter of J. L. Dawson.



GENERAL JOHN ROBERT BAYLOR,
of Texas.



GEORGE WYTHE BAYLOR
Resident at Carrizo Springs, Texas.
Son of General John Robert Baylor.

The Canadian river, at the place I left it, is nearly as wide as the Arkansas; the banks are exceedingly low yet the bottoms do not evince marks of overflow in many places; they are narrow in width, very brushy and not so fertile as the bottoms of the Arkansas, being of a more light and sandy character. The ridges approach very close on the outer margin of the bottoms; the timber consists of oak, ash, hickory, cedar and bois d'arc. It struck me as being very low in stature for bottom timber and but indifferent for the purposes of the agriculturalist. The navigation of the Canadian, I should judge to be tolerably good for light steam boats and keels during the spring season; the bed of the river is remarkably free from snags and sawyers and indeed from all such incidental obstructions. The channel is not strongly indicated by the action of the water and the sand bars are very extensive and flat, which will require the navigation of it to be made with great circumspection at any other time than the season of high water.

On the 18th, I resumed my march S. W. and traveled twenty-five miles through some small barren prairies and blackjack ridges, crossing several fine creeks with cane on them. During this day's march, we crossed a branch of the South Fork of the Canadian, on which we found another Chocktaw camp being the second we had passed during the day, and encamped at night on a small creek at a third of their camps. On the following morning, we pursued our route S. W. about four miles and then turned N. W., striking the Canadian again, and travelled up its bed about five miles. This day was the most intensely cold that I ever experienced.

The weather was so extremely severe that the party was obliged to halt once or twice during the day and kindle a fire to prevent them from becoming frost bitten; the wind blew so hard from the north and the drifting of the sand in the Canadian covered up the trail so rapidly, that the track of a horseman could not be followed ten minutes after he had passed. We were compelled to encamp at an early hour, on the north side of a bend of the river, where we found some shelter from the inclemency of the weather and where our good fortune supplied our horses with a small quantity of acorns which had escaped the ravages of the hunter's fire.

From the freshness of the trail, I conjectured that the party I was in pursuit of could not be far distant and, having fired a few signal guns, was promptly answered by a similar number from a camp on the opposite side of the river, about a quarter of a mile above. A messenger was despatched to ascertain what party it was and reported it to consist of 15 Cherokees, on their return from Washita, who had taken us for some of their own nation who were expected to join them. From them, I learned that the Chocktaws and Chickasaws were but a day's march ahead of us and, on the next morning, we continued our march by sunrise, on their trail leading out from the Canadian, following the ridges parallel to the river about twelve miles and at midday, found them encamped, on account of the severity of the weather, on a large creek running into the Canadian two miles below.

The ice formed during the preceding night was so thick that we had to cut a passage for a ford with axes. It was sufficiently strong to bear the horses but we could not force them to cross until a clear passage had been opened. I found the delegation stood in much need of a guide, as I had suspected, from the deviousness of their route and their selection for encampments.

The Delaware I had with me was accordingly employed as a guide to the whole party. The low condition of the horses rendered it absolutely necessary that we should find range for them every night. By

our estimate, we were now between 80 and 100 miles above the Forks, following the windings of the river which is here much reduced in width and different in aspect from what it is below. The mountains or ridges skirting the bottoms are much loftier; the bottoms are of a better quality, being higher and better timbered, presenting altogether a more pleasing country than we had seen on the Canadian above the Delaware village. It was desired by the agent for the Chickasaws that he should obtain a knowledge of the Canadian 100 miles higher up, extending into or beyond the Cross Timbers where the Executive believed a country suitable for the Chickasaws could be found, adjoining the western line of the Chocktaws, by which the Chickasaw treaty could be definitely carried into effect to the perfect satisfaction of all concerned. The burning of the country and rigor of the season had rendered the borders of the Canadian a perfect desert where neither man or horse could find subsistence; and, on the information furnished by the Delaware guide, the plan was formed of crossing the head waters of the Boggy and Blue Water, on a S. W. course towards the Washita. The whole party accordingly left the Canadian the third time and moved South four or five miles, thence S. SE ten miles through a heavy rain and sleet which finally compelled us to halt and encamp on a creek running into the Canadian below, on which we found a large quantity of fine bottom land and first rate timber. From this encampment, the Pine Mountains dividing the Red River and Canadian waters were visible. At this encampment, we remained a day or two, some of the delegation being the 25th, we struck our tents once more and traveled S. W. 15 miles through sterile prairie and blackjack ridges and encamped on a small river, which the guide called the Boggy. It proved to be the Eastern Branch of the Muddy Fork of the river. In the course of the next day, it was explored nearly to its source by which it was ascertained that it rises within 12 or 15 miles of the main Canadian, running about S. E. in its general course towards the Red river.

The bottoms of this stream are here free from overflow, very fertile and well timbered. While hunting near this point, we fell in with a hunting party of Creeks, among whom the Little King and several others of the Deresaux family were recognized. They informed me that another party of their nation had lost seven head of horses which were stolen by the Osages, between Washita and Blue Water. The party of Delawares I had seen on the Canadian corroborated this statement. They had seen the horses in the possession of the Osages who endeavored to palm them on the Delawares for Pawnee horses. They represented the Osages to be in a starving condition when they came to their camp, and scarcely able to travel from hardship and fatigue. While at the Creek camp, the Chocktaw head chief Nitakechi arrived with his speaker, accompanied by a deputation of Chickasaws. They held a friendly council with the Creeks, expressing a strong desire that a good understanding should exist between them and the tribes resident west of the Mississippi. From our camp on the East Branch of the Muddy Fork of Boggy, we traveled S. W. 15 miles and reached the W. Branch of the Fork where we made a halt. During this day's travel, we several times crossed a blazed trail, or what is known by the hunters as "Rogers Road." It was made by a party of men in the employ of Capt. John Rodgers of Fort Smith, who went over to the Washita a few years since to receive peltries from the Cherokees hunting on that river.

On the 29th December, we continued our route through prairie and post-oak land, S. W. 20 miles and reached what we believed to be Blue Water, but which we afterwards ascertained to be the Clear Fork of Boggy. The bottom lands of this stream are very rich and are covered by a luxuriant growth of cane and heavy timber; the exterior edge of the bottoms is skirted by a growth of bois d'arc or yellow wood, a half mile

in width. The soil in which it seems to flourish best is wet and swampy; it is said to dye a brilliant yellow and may at a future day be a source of considerable revenue to the Choctaws, as an article of commerce. Springs of excellent water abound in this region and it seems in all respects well adapted to the wants of a dense population.

On the day following, we made the east branch of Blue Water, crossing an extensive and elevated limestone prairie, some portions of which were very fertile, especially as we approached the river. The character of the country improved very much in the course of this day's travel, and the lands on this river may be rated as superior to any we had yet seen. Two of the Chickasaws lost the trail today, in hunting on the flanks of the party, and lay out all night.

At this place, the Delaware guide left us on his return to the village. He represented that on the west branch of Blue Water, we should find a magnificent water-fall, and as we were all desirous of seeing it, we left the east branch of Blue Water for the falls, the Chickasaws accompanying us with reluctance. They had for sometime previous evinced a good deal of caprice and dissatisfaction; and before we commenced our march, the old chief, Colbert, came to the tent of the Agent, Col. Reynolds, and expressed a desire of proceeding no farther west, urging that the Choctaws should go on without them. They wished, as their chief represented, to go down the Blue Water to its junction with Red River, cross that river and examine the country on the south side in the Mexican territory. The Agent informed the old chief that he was without authority to leave Col. Gaines, or to explore any other lands than those belonging to the Choctaws or the United States, and represented to him that even should the Chickasaws like the Mexican land the United States had no authority to cede it, nor would a negotiation for its purchase be likely to terminate for several years. He perceived, no doubt, the object of the Chickasaws who wished by showing an unwillingness to look at the Choctaw land, to strengthen the chances of inducing the government to make a powerful effort to obtain for them by purchase from the Choctaws a portion of their country, as a separate independency. They will not, they say, amalgamate with the Choctaws as one nation, though they are anxious to receive them; they contend that government has obligated itself to give them lands of their own and thus their national pride, or the ambition of their chiefs, will be powerful obstacles in the way of the Executive whose policy is no doubt to unite them with the Choctaws.

The Choctaws and Chickasaws held a talk while we were on Blue Waters, respecting a purchase of a portion of the Choctaw country, but the result was unsatisfactory, the Choctaws manifesting an unwillingness to accede to their wishes. The information obtained by the delegation in relation to the country leaves no doubt of its being sufficiently extensive to support five such nations as the Choctaws and Chickasaws united.

Matters being temporarily adjusted by the firmness and decision of Col. Reynolds and the conciliating advice of Col. Gaines, the former of whom informed the Chickasaws that he could not follow them in exploring the Mexican lands, we departed from the east branch of the Blue Water, passing through rich prairie and high post oak upland some 10 or 12 miles about southwest, when our guide, at this time one of the Chickasaws, taking advantages of the absence of Cols. Reynolds and Gaines, suddenly turned South and kept this course five miles. This was no doubt done by the orders of the old chief, Colbert, who it was believed from politic motives lost no opportunity of throwing every difficulty in the way of our advancing farther west.

In the course of the evening, we had a heavy fall of rain, sleet and snow which continued during the night. From having changed our course from S. W. to south, two of our party lay out all night, with but one blanket and nothing to eat, on a dry ridge.

The creek on which we encamped is a branch of the west fork of Blue Water, having fine bottoms with some cane and good timber. On the following day, the weather was very cold and everything covered with a heavy sleet, rendering the country as beautiful as it was desolate. Our horses were almost starving in the midst of plenty, the little cane they were induced to eat, producing such severe attacks of colic that they would lay down and roll about to ease their pain.

At midday the two lost Chickasaws having joined us, we moved camp about three miles over to the west fork of Blue Water, the cane there being much thicker and the chance of the horses finding some of it not covered with sleet, more flattering. The snow and sleet now covered the earth about 5 or 6 inches in depth, and we were obliged to cut our way through the cane for nearly half a mile, the sleet having matted it into a perfectly dense mass. The falls we were so desirous of seeing had been left some 8 or 10 miles to the right, by the fault of our guide.

The Chickasaws did not break up their encampment when we did, but followed us the day after we parted for the Washita. The country between Blue Water and Washita is generally prairie of a fertile character, elevated and rotting. It abounds with limestone rock. Nothing in the whole range of natural scenery can be more beautiful than the country between these two rivers (Boggy, Blue Water) and Washita, embracing as it does every object and every variety of character which can please the eye, from the undulating prairie to the more majestic highland, diversified by beautiful groves of timber, which skirt the numerous streams flowing through it. Even in winter, when stripped of its verdure, it is remarkably picturesque. But when covered with a rich profusion of vegetation and abounding with wild horses, buffalo, antelope and deer, it must assuredly be one of the most delightful regions to this continent.

The country on the Washita is not in some respects so inviting as the bordering on Blue Water. The bottoms are very rich, though more light and sandy, than those of Blue Water. Cane is less abundant and the marks of overflow in some places show themselves. The water of the Washita river is reddish and muddy, caused by the nature of soil through which it flows, while that of the Blue Water is clear and palatable; it is very appropriately designated by the Indians as Little Red River, from its miniature resemblance in all respects to the larger river of which it is a tributary.

The point at which we struck the Washita was computed to be 40 or 50 miles below the Cross Timbers; its width may be rated at about 100 yards; it heads, as I was informed by a hunter well acquainted with all that country, very near to the Canadian, and is at one point not more than 12 miles from that river. It runs through the Grand Prairie for 80 miles or 100 and then enters the Cross Timbers, running a general course of about S. E. the Timbers; its head waters, I was informed, approach very near to the Washita River where that stream leaves the Cross Timbers; thence they run nearly parallel about S. E. but diverge as they approach the Red River, their mouths being at least 30 miles apart.

We had proposed exploring the Washita to its mouth, but the Indians were becoming desirous of returning eastward, fearing lest by a continuance of vigorous weather, or by the Pawnees, they would lose their horses. Accordingly, we left Washita the day after our arrival there, intending to fall back on Blue Water, but by the unskillfulness of our guide, the day being cloudy, we made an error and in order to find range were obliged to encamp again on the Washita about 8 miles below, having travelled during the day, S. E. and S. W. 15 miles, passing through a piece of mountainous, timbered land, extending down the prairie between Blue and Washita from N. E. to S. W. This piece of country is said to resemble the Cross Timbers in character. We were exposed during this

day's route to another heavy sleet and snow. Our horses were declining very rapidly and the best hunter had difficulty in killing meat for subsistence. The Chickasaws again manifested signs of discontent, and did not follow the Chocktaws and their own agent, when they with my own party left Washita for Blue Water. We did not march, however, more than ten miles eastward, before the rain compelled us to encamp on a small prairie branch of Blue Water.

On the next day, we continued our route eastward 6 miles and encamped below the Forks of Blue Water, probably 10 miles below where we crossed it on our route westward, to wait for the Chickasaws we had left on Washita. In the afternoon, Pitman Colbert and a Chickasaw named Seely [Sealy] arrived at our camp and represented that the Chickasaws who were behind had on their route towards us seen a Pawnee concealed partially behind a tree in a thicket, apparently watching the movements of the party; and that as soon as he perceived himself discovered, he crept back out of sight and fled.

The Chickasaws wished to give chase but were restrained by Major Colbert and, on following our trail a short distance farther, they saw where a party of 50 or 60 more Pawnees had crossed our trail and had turned down the direction we had gone. They found several small articles strewed on the ground, indicative of a hostile disposition on the part of the Pawnees; and, fearing lest our party might be taken by surprise, had detached the two men referred to, to notify us of the circumstance and put us on our guard. They requested that a small detachment of men might be sent back to meet them on their route towards us, to aid them in case of necessity. Five or six Chocktaws and my detachment immediately saddled their horses, but just as we were about mounting, the Chickasaws were seen approaching.

During the night we took such precautions for our safety as circumstances seemed to require, by posting a small guard round our camp and sending two men to watch the ford of the river on the back trail. Morning, however, found us unattacked; and we continued our route S. E. about 15 miles and encamped on a small branch of the Blue Water. On this creek, we found Mr. Mayes and Mr. Criner, who reside on James Fork of Poteau and were trapping for beaver. They had caught but a dozen and, as the weather was too cold to promise much farther success, they were induced by Cols. Gaines and Reynolds to accompany the delegation as far as Kiamiche, Mr. Mayes being employed as a guide.

We were now within a short distance of the mouth of Blue Water, which I felt desirous of seeing as well as the mouth of the Washita, with the view of affording you particular information as to their local advantages for the establishment of a garrison at one of these points, should such a measure be decided on by the Executive; an event likely to result from the obligations of the Chocktaw treaty, which in general terms seems to indicate such a step, in promising to protect them from "foreign invasion and domestic strife." As the Washita does not furnish an abundance of cane and is within a short distance of the Pawnee villages, it is probable that the Chocktaw settlements will not for several years advance beyond Blue Water.

There is ample room for the whole nation in the portion east of Blue Water, which will fill up with settlements first, as the winter range for stock is unexhaustible and as it will be more inaccessible and less exposed to depredation than the country on the Washita.

From the general character of the two rivers, I should infer that the Blue Water was most healthy (though both are no doubt sufficiently so) and a Post at the mouth of Blue Water would be on the frontier of the Chocktaw settlements, from which, it would in times of scarcity by failure of navigation, draw abundant supplies for its support. From the favor-

able reports, which have been made in relation to the efforts now making for clearing out a channel through the Red river raft, it is extremely probable that the difficulty of supplying a Post above that point will in a short time be removed and, with it, an insuperable objection to its establishment ceases to exist.

In many points of view, a position on the Canadian river would, as you first suggested, be of more service than on the Red River at the mouth of Blue Water; provided, however, that the navigation of that river is found by examination to be practicable for Steam-boats or keels, to the point where it is proposed to locate a Garrison, viz., the exterior edge of the Cross Timbers.

A Post at that point would effectually check the depredations of the Osages on the Chocktaws, situated as it would be between those nations and, exactly on their southern war-trail, would measurably secure the Choctaws from the incursions of the Pawnees, especially on the Western side. The near approach of the water courses of the Red River, on which the mass of the Chocktaws will settle, to the Canadian at the point referred to, would no doubt enable the Garrison on the Canadian to give effectual protection to the Chocktaws on their western and northern frontiers.

There are, however, some objections to a Post on the Canadian river, which are not, in my opinion, perfectly counterbalanced by its advantages; a garrison there would of course supercede that proposed to be established on Blue Water, and of course there would be left a wide space unprotected in the cordon of posts which are intended to protect the frontier, extending from the gulf of Mexico to the lakes, viz., from Cantonment Jessup to the Canadian.

The unsettled state of Texas and the character of a portion of its inhabitants require that some check should be held on disturbances likely to grow out of the disorganized state of its population who have already been in collision with the authorities of Arkansas. That country has been for years the refuge of adventurers, both white and red, on whom it is necessary a strict watch should be kept. A Post at Little River and another at Blue Water would, in my opinion, in conjunction with the Garrison at this Post, effectually guard the whole frontier from Cantonment Jessup to the Missouri, afford protection to the Chocktaws on all points, southern, western and northern, and prevent any smuggling which would be likely to be carried on between our own people and the Mexicans. The influence of agents and the garrison here will no doubt put an end to the wars between the Osages and Pawnees, by which so many other tribes are drawn into collision; if they are not induced to become agriculturalists, a mode of life which the increasing scarcity of game and their necessities must in a short time compel them to adopt.

From all the observations I was enabled to make personally or the intelligence I could derive from others, I feel warranted in the opinion that the Red and Canadian rivers make more southing than they are represented to do on any of the maps I have seen. The former inclines very much southward from the Boggy and resumes its general course above Washita. The latter inclines to the south about 20 miles above the Forks and resumes its course westward about the Cross Timbers.

As your order required me to leave the delegation and return to this Post, after we had crossed Blue Water on our return eastward, I commenced my march on the 10th January, accompanied by Ass't Surgeon Baylor, one private soldier in addition to my own command, and the Capt. King of the Chickasaw delegation; the latter returning on account of severe indisposition. From Mr. Mayes, I learned that a N. E. course would strike the Panther Fork of Boggy, which I intended to follow up

to its source, cross the ridge and strike the head of the south Fork of the Canadian.

We accordingly commenced our route on that course and, on the 2d day, crossed the Muddy Fork of Boggy, passing through some delightful limestone prairie, not inferior to first rate alluvial land, and through a very brushy piece of upland, before striking Boggy.

Knowing that the country between Boggy and Blue Water, low down those rivers, was of this description, I conjectured that when we left Blue Water we were lower down that river than our informant, Mr. Mayes, had anticipated, and that his directions would lead us below the mouth of Panther Fork. On the next day, I varied the route to N., passing over the spur of the Pine Mountains, in which Jack's Fork of the Kiamiche, & C., take their rise, through a heavy fall of snow. We travelled this day about 15 or 18 miles by the aid of a compass which we several times found much influenced by beds of iron ore, in passing through the mountains. Finally, we fell into a valley and struck a large creek running S. E. into Boggy or Kiamiche, being a creek of which Mr. Mayes had spoken to us, but which we conjectured to be the head of Panther Creek, as we had struck the last cane on it, and found a valley opening out to the N. E. This valley we followed for 5 miles, crossing a dividing ridge, so slightly elevated that it required close observation to define it; and we struck the head of a stream then believed to be the south Fork, from the course of it, and shortness of the dividing ridge, which Mr. Mayes had told us, in speaking of the ridge between South Fork and Panther Fork, could be crossed in 20 minutes.

We continued up this valley on a N. E. and E. N. E. course for 30 or 40 miles, when it gradually began to veer most eastward, which led me to believe that it was Jack's Fork. On the next day, it turned suddenly E. SE. and E. and we came in sight of the Potatoe Hills, which I recognized and found, as I had conjectured the day before, that I was on Jack's Fork. The valley referred to above is of a triangular shape. The Big Creek, which runs into Boggy or Kiamiche, Jack's Fork and South Fork take their rise in it, being divided from each other by small ridges not more than a mile in width. Had I taken up the N. W. arm of the valley, I should have struck the head of South Fork; the Panther Fork of Boggy we had left some 6 or 8 miles to the left. We were several times without provision at this point but our good fortune afforded timely relief. The game had all gone south on account of severe cold. From Jack's Fork, I should have returned on Capt. Philbrick's trail but for the condition of my horses, which required that they should find range every night. The country between Jack's Fork and Fort Smith was familiar to me and I took that route.

For 10 or 12 days before reaching this Post, the whole party were compelled to walk half the time, and I was finally compelled to leave one of my horses and a mare of Dr. Baylor's at the dividing ridge between the Red and Arkansas rivers, as they were perfectly incapable of proceeding farther.

At James' Fork of the Poteau, I hired an Indian to pack out corn for the horses left behind, one of which belongs to the U. S. The severity of the weather since I left them renders it doubtful whether they are alive.

Very respectfully, Sir,

Your ob'td. serv't.,

J. L. DAWSON.

Lt. 7th Reg't Infantry.

Oklahoma and Indian Territory as Embraced Within the Territory of Louisiana, Over Which the Laws of the United States Were Established

By Robert L. Williams

The Treaty of Cession of Louisiana¹ to the United States of America, by the French Republic, was signed at Paris, France, by Robert R. Livingston and James Monroe on part of the United States, and Barbe Marbois for the French Republic, on April 30, 1803, and ratified² at Washington, D. C., on October 31, 1803, and proclaimed³ on the same date. Act of Congress, October 31, 1803, authorized the President not only to take possession of same but also to employ any part of the army and navy to maintain order therein, to protect the inhabitants thereof in the free enjoyment of their *liberty, property and religion*. (Emphasis supplied.)

Act of Congress, March 26, 1804, (Sections 12 and 13) provided that as to all of the Province of Louisiana except that part included in the Territory of Orleans (now the State of Louisiana) the executive power then vested in the Governor of Indiana Terri-

¹ "The Lower Mississippi Valley, over which France exercised sovereignty by right of discovery in 1683, was called 'The Province of Louisiana,' of which New Orleans was the capital, and was governed by officials sent from Paris, without any charter. Louis XIV granted a monopoly of trade and commerce for the term of fifteen years to Anthony Crozat, September 14, 1712, but it was surrendered in less than two years. A similar grant was made to 'Company of the West,' September 6, 1717, which was surrendered in 1730. France ceded that portion of the Province of Louisiana, including that portion lying east of the Mississippi River, and the City of New Orleans, and all claims of France thereto west of that river, to Spain, November 3, 1762, although Spanish rule was not asserted until 1769, and it was retroceded to France by the treaty of San Ildefonso, October 1, 1800, which was confirmed by the treaty of Madrid, March 21, 1801." —Francis Newton Thorpe, *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws*, 1492-1903 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1909), vol. 3, 1359.

² "This treaty was laid before the Congress of the United States by President Jefferson, at a session which he had called for the 17th of October, 1803. After stating in a message the negotiations which had resulted in the purchase of the sovereignty of Louisiana, he said 'Whilst the property and sovereignty of the Mississippi and its waters secure an independent outlet for the produce of the Western States, and uncontrolled navigation through their whole course, free from collision with other powers and the dangers to our peace from that source, the fertility of the country, its climate and extent, promised in due season important aids to our Treasury, an ample provision for our posterity, and a wide spread for the blessings of freedom and equal laws.'—*Ibid.*, vol. 3, 1359.

³ Governor C. C. Claiborne as representative of the President issued proclamation declaring that the government previously exercised over the province by France and Spain had ceased, and that of the United States over same established, and that the President was authorized to take possession and occupy the territories ceded by France and to maintain in said territories the authority of the United States, and to employ any part of the army and navy for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion. —*Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 1364; Act of Congress, October 31, 1803, Stat. at Large, II, p. 248.

tory should extend to and be exercised by him in all of said area, designated as the District of Louisiana; with the governor and judges of said Indiana Territory to establish in said District of Louisiana inferior courts and prescribe their jurisdiction and duties and make all laws deemed conducive to good government therein and not inconsistent with the Constitution and Laws of the United States, to continue in force until altered, modified or repealed by said governor and judges, the laws of Indiana Territory not being extended over the District of Louisiana.

In Act of March 2, 1805, by Sections 1 and 2 thereof, a form of government was provided within and for the Territory of Orleans, located immediately south of said District of Louisiana, its laws to be "In conformity with the ordinance of Congress, made on the 13th day of July, 1787," said ordinance not being extended over or made at any time to apply to the area embraced in the District of Louisiana, which included the present area of the State of Oklahoma, except Greer and Beaver counties as same existed under the Territory of Oklahoma.

Act of March 3, 1805, provided for a form of government over the said District of Louisiana thereafter to be known and designated by the name and title of the Territory of Louisiana; its executive power to be vested in a governor, to be commander-in-chief of the militia, superintendent ex-officio of Indian Affairs, etc., with a secretary, (both to be appointed by the President), the latter to record and preserve all papers and proceedings of the executive and all legislative acts and proceedings; and in case of a vacancy in the governor's office, the secretary to act as governor. The said legislative power is to be vested in the governor and three judges of said territory or a majority of them, to establish inferior courts in said territory, prescribe their jurisdiction and duties and make all laws deemed conducive to the good government of the said territory and its inhabitants, with proviso that no law should be valid if inconsistent with the Constitution and the laws of the United States or placed any person under restraint, burden or disability on account of his religious opinions, professions, or worship, in all of which he should be free to maintain his own and not be burdened by those of another and with further proviso that in all criminal prosecutions trial should be by a jury and in all civil cases in controversy of value of as much as \$100.00, trial should be by a jury, either party requiring it. The judges are to hold annually two terms of court in said territory at such places in districts as would be most convenient to the inhabitants thereof, with the same jurisdiction as possessed by such judges of the Indiana Territory and to continue in sessions until all the business pending before it should be disposed of and with the further proviso that "The governor shall proceed from time to time, as circumstances may re-

quire, to lay⁴ out those parts of the territory in which the Indian title shall have been extinguished into districts, (emphasis supplied) subject to alterations as may be found necessary" and appoint there-to such magistrates and other civil officers as deemed necessary with their authority to be regulated and defined by law; and further that the laws and regulations then in force in said district (territory) at the commencement of said Act and not inconsistent with the provisions thereof, were to continue in force until altered, modified or repealed by legislative act, with the further proviso that the said Act of March 26, 1804, entitled "An Act erecting Louisiana into two territories and providing for the temporary government thereof "insofar as same may be repugnant to this act, shall from and after the 4th day of July next (1805) to that extent be repealed, on which said 4th day of July (1805) this said act would commence and have full force and effect.

The Congress by Act of June 4, 1812, (U. S. Stat. II, p. 743) enacted that the said Territory of Louisiana should thereafter be called Missouri Territory with a territorial government as therein provided.

As to the lands embraced within the present bounds of the State of Oklahoma, excluding Greer County and Beaver County as hereinafter described, which was ceded to and set apart for the Chickasaw, Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek and Seminole Indians, and for other Indian tribes in the Indian Territory set apart for the exclusive use and occupancy of Indians, whatever laws framed and made for the government of the whites therein as were by treaty stipulation or otherwise thereby ceased to operate in the said Indian country, the re-settlement of the Oklahoma Territory after the purchase or acquirement of the *completed* title of such lands from the Indians, did not have the effect of re-investing or restoring such laws over the said area with any effectiveness or validity, and the Spanish and French laws theretofore in force over the said area embraced within the bounds of Oklahoma, previously in effect accordingly also ceased to be in effect thereafter, except as to the preservation of any existing right, vested under the Constitution of the United States. (Emphasis supplied.)

France and Spain in January 16, 1804, delivered the posts of Upper Louisiana, constituting tht part of Louisiana north of Latitude 33 and west of the Mississippi River and extending west to the unknown east boundary of the Spanish possessions and on north to the Pacific Ocean. Captain Amos Stoddard formerly in

⁴ Blackburn v. Oklahoma City, 1 Okla. 292, 33 Pac. 708; McKennon v. Winn, Id. 329, 33 Pac. 582; St. L. & S. R. Ry. Co., v. O'Laughlin, 8th Ct. 49 Fed. 440; Pyeatt v. Powell, 8th Ct., 51 Fed. 551; Jones v. Seasongood & Co., Apr. 17, 1893, 149 U. S. 777, 13 Sup. 1049; Jones v. Cunningham, Oct. 24, 1892, Id. 1048; Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma*, p. 273; *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIV (March, 1936), pp. 22-44.

command in Kaskaskia in the Northwest Territory, became governor and received possession of Fort Esperance and at St. Louis, Mo., and continued in such capacity until November 8, 1804, and until succeeded as governor by General James Wilkinson; and Captain James B. Many, with a body of troops, received possession of Arkansas Post, and the Spanish Commandant, Ignace El Leno, as he delivered possession, fired a salute to the Spanish flag as it was run down, and another to the stars and stripes (United States flag) as same was hoisted and first floated over that area.⁵

The District of Louisiana, created by said acts of March 26, 1804, and March 3, 1805, to be thenceforth known and designated by the name and title of Territory of Louisiana, and in Act of January 4, 1812, designated and thereafter to be known as the Territory of Missouri, was by the governor of the Territory of Indiana, on October 1, 1804, divided into district and bounded as follows:⁶

- (1) District of St. Charles: Territory north of Missouri River.
- (2) District of St. Louis: Bounded by the Missouri River on the north and on the south by Plain Creek (south of St. Louis), from its mouth to its source, thence by a due west line to the fork of the Merimack (Maramec), called the Arenean, thence down said fork to the settlements on that river, and thence by a due west line to the western line of Louisiana, (The Spanish possessions).
- (3) District of St. Genevieve: Bounded on the north by the last described boundary * * * on the south by Apple Creek, from its

⁵ *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIX (June, 1941), p. 119; Louis Houck, *Spanish Regime in Missouri* (Cape Girardeau: Neater Bros., 1910), II, 341; Josiah H. Shinn, *Pioneers and Makers of Arkansas* (Genealogical Pub. Co., 1908), p. 97; Shinn, *History of Arkansas*, (Richmond: B. F. Johnson Pub. Co., 1905), pp. 56-7; Dallas T. Herndon, *Highlights of Arkansas History* (Little Rock: 1923), p. 15.

⁶ Messages and letters from William Henry Harrison, (Vol. 1, Indiana Historical Collections, Vol. 7); Thomas Jefferson Papers, first series (Vol. 10, No. 52, March 31, 1804) as to division of Louisiana Territory and the Districts; Harrison to Jefferson, & Jefferson Papers, 2nd series, (Vol. 42, No. 78, 79, June 24, 1804), suggestions for Division of district of Louisiana, population data, discussion of Militia; Jefferson to Harrison, Jefferson Papers, 1st series, (Vol. 10, No. 119) Jefferson's recommendations for division to be established, July 14, 1804; Proclamation of Governor Harrison dividing district of Louisiana into sub-divisions, October 2, 1804 (Vincennes Indiana Gazette, October 2, 1804, as to divisions; Harrison to Jefferson, November 6, 1804, Jefferson Papers, 6th series, (Vol. 10, No. 88, p. 110), District of Louisiana divided into five districts under direction from Jefferson; Resolutions by citizens and militia officials of St. Louis thanking Harrison and Indiana officials for government accorded the district during their residence. Petition of the Governor, judges and Secretary of Indiana Territory, November 10, 1805, for payment for their services, in connection with government of the District of Louisiana (House of Representatives, Collection No. 9, 1805-07), signed by William Henry Harrison, governor, Thomas T. Davis, Henry Vanderburgh and John Griffin, Judges and John Gibson, Secretary, having convened in September, 1804, in their Legislative capacity and after a lengthy session completed a code of laws for the District of Louisiana, which were in due time promulgated by the Executive of the territory and the courts of Justice having been regularly holden in the District, and the session of the general court in May, 1804, having continued two weeks.

junction with the Mississippi, to its source, thence by a due west line to the Western boundary of Louisiana, (to Spanish possessions).

- (4) District of Cape Girardeau: Between the last described boundary and that which has heretofore separated the commanderies of Cape Girardeau and New Madrid there shall be another district to be called Cape Girardeau.
- (5) District of New Madrid: All that part of the District of Louisiana that lies below the District of Cape Girardeau, which comprised what now constitutes Arkansas and the Southern part of Missouri below 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude.

On June 27, 1806, the governor and judges of the Territory of Louisiana laid out the South and Western part of the said District of New Madrid into a new district under the name "District of Arkansas" in which the court of general quarter sessions should be held and kept on the last Tuesday of March, June, September and December yearly and every year, to commence on the same day, the several courts in the said district to possess the same rights and powers as other courts of the same denomination of the Territory.

The District of Louisiana as then geographically described embraced all the territory within the bounds of the State of Oklahoma except that within Greer and Beaver counties, as same existed under the Territory of Oklahoma, Greer County embracing the territory between Prairie Dog Town Fork of Red River north and the lower fork on Red River to the south, and as to Beaver County that area now within Cimarron, Texas and Beaver counties, as same exist under the State of Oklahoma. Prior to the Mexican Revolution of October 4, 1824, all the territory within the said Greer, Cimarron, Texas and Beaver counties was described as being within the Spanish possession.⁷

On December 31, 1813, the Governor, Council and Assembly of the Territory of Missouri enacted and provided that all of that portion of the territory "bounded north by the south line of the county of Cape Girardeau, east of the main channel of the Mississippi river;

⁷ "The first colony of Europeans within the present limits of Texas was planted by Robert Cavalier, le Sieur de la Salle, near the entrance of Matagorda Bay, February 18, 1685. La Salle had found his way from Canada to the Mississippi River and had descended to the Gulf of Mexico in 1682, returning the way he came. Going back to France, he filled out naval expedition and sailed July 24, 1684, from La Rochelle, for the mouth of the Mississippi. Failing to find it, he established a colony at Marquis of Laguna, then Viceroy of Mexico, sent an armed expedition to take possession of the country, and in 1691 Don Domingo Teran was appointed Governor of Coahuila and Texas, with instructions to establish agricultural colonies under military rule. France, however, never ceded her claim to Texas, and it having been transferred to the United States by the treaty of 1803 ceding Louisiana and its dependencies * * * the controversy was continued until closed by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848." —Thorpe, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 3475; Maud L. McMullin, *Child's Story of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Modern Pub. Co., 1941), pp. 21, 44, 52, 89, 93, 119.

south by a line commencing in said river opposite the lower end of the island laid down in the navigator as number nineteen; thence a direct line to strike White River at the mouth of little Red River, thence up Red River to the western boundary of the Osage purchase; thence northwardly on said line to the south line of the county of Cape Girardeau, shall compose a county, and be called and known by the name of the county of New Madrid."

And further enacted that all of that portion "Bounded north by the south line of the county of New Madrid; east by the main channel of the Mississippi river; south by the thirty-third degree of north latitude or northern boundary of the state of Louisiana, westwardly by the western boundary line of the Osage purchase, and by a line to commence upon the river Arkansas, where the boundary line of the Osage purchase intersects the same; thence in a direct line to the main source of the Wachita (Ouachitas); thence south to the northern boundary line of the state of Louisiana, or thirty-third degree of north latitude, shall compose a county, and be called and known by the name of county of Arkansas."

On December 15, 1818, the Governor and Judges of the then Territory of Missouri further enacted and provided (1) that all that part of the County of Arkansas as bounded "Beginning at the mouth of the little Red River, and running from thence on a direct line to the Arkansas river, where the Plumb bayou intersects the said red river, then up said river to the north-western corner of the Quapaw claim, then with said road to the south fork of the Saline Creek, then up said creek to its head, then west to the Indian boundary line, then with said line or lines to the north east corner of the Cherokee claim, at a place called Bodwell's camp, then with said Cherokee claim to the little Red River, then down said river to the beginning," was laid off and erected into a separate county to be called and known by the name of the county of Pulaski, and all that portion of the County of Arkansas, (2) as bounded "Beginning at the west boundary of the Quapaw claim, at a place where Michael Boon's road crosses the same, then west on said road to the south fork of the saline creek, then up said creek to its head; then due west to the Indian boundary line, then with said boundary south with said Indian boundary line, until a due east line will intersect the head of the north branch of Little Missouri, then down the Little Missouri to its mouth, then with the Ouachitas river to the mouth of the Saline creek, on the boundary line of the Quapaw Indian claim, then with the Quapaw boundary line to the place of beginning, is hereby laid off and erected into a separate county, to be called and known by the name of Clark county," and (3) all that portion of the County of Arkansas bounded as follows, to-wit: "Beginning on the Ouachitas river, at the mouth of the Little Missouri, then up the Little Missouri to the three forks, then up the north fork to its head, then due west to the Indian

boundary line, then with said line or lines to the Great Red River, then with the Indian boundary line or lines of the said State, to the Ouchitas river aforesaid, then up said river to the beginning, is hereby laid off and erected into a separate county which shall be called and known by the name of Hempstead county."

Places as designated for holding court in the respective counties were: of Pulaski, at the house of Samuel McHenry, and of Clark at the house of Joseph Barkman, and of Hempstead, at the house of John English, and to continue to be held at said places during the temporary government of the territory or until some other place or places is designated by law.⁸

Act of March 2, 1819, created a separate territory out of the boundaries of the Missouri Territory to be called the Arkansas Territory and established a temporary government.⁹

On April 1, 1820, Miller County, Arkansas, was formed out of the territory of Hempstead County, and later it was proved that a large part of the county as described was in the limits of Texas and within the bounds of tract ceded by United States to the Choctaws by Treaty of October 18, 1820, 7 Stats. 210, Vol. 2, p. 191, Kappler's *Indian Treaties; Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 19, pp. 37-54.

On October 8, 1820, the County of Crawford was formed from the limits of Pulaski County and on October 13, 1827, out of a portion of Crawford County and the lands lying beyond the southwest corner of Missouri, not within bounds of created counties and lands acquired from the Osage Indians, called the Loveley purchase, as embraced in what was termed an addition to the Western boundary of the Territory of Arkansas, the County of Loveley was also created, but as same was later covered by the Cherokee Treaty of 1828 in lands ceded to the Cherokees, Lovely County was abolished on October 7, 1828, in the formation of Washington County.¹⁰

Act of June 30, 1834 (Chap. CLXI, Statute 1, 4 United States at Large, p. 729), provides for the regulation of trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and the preservation of the peace on the frontiers with further proviso for designated parts of territory the United States to be deemed the Indian country, and "all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi, and not within the states of Missouri and Louisiana, or the territory of Arkansas, and also, that part of the United States east of the Mississippi

⁸ Act of June 1, 1812, Thorpe, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 2139.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 261-4.

¹⁰ Fay Hempstead, *A Pictorial History of Arkansas* (St. Louis, 1890). Much of what is now in the state of Oklahoma fell in the District of New Madrid with possibly a slight slice of the northern portion of the state of Oklahoma in the District of Cape Girardeau. See William R. Shepard, *Historical Atlas* (7th ed., 1929), pp. 202-3; *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIX (September, 1941), pp. 269-83.

river, and not within any state to which the Indian title has not been extinguished, for the purpose of this act, (is) be taken and deemed to be the Indian country.”¹¹

Act of March 30, 1802, 2 Stat. at Large, 139, was in substance carried into Act of 1834, 4 Stat. at Large, 730. Treaties between any Indian nation or tribe and the Federal Government were discontinued by Act of 1870, Ch. 120, 16 Stat. at Large, p. 544, Sec. 177, title 25, U.S.C.A., but said Section 177 was included in the revision of Statutes of 1878, 49 Fed. Supp. pp. 206, 215.

Section 24 states that for the sole purpose of carrying said act into effect that all that part of the Indian country west of the Mississippi River, “bounded north line of lands assigned to the Osage tribe of Indians, * * * east to the state of Missouri; west, by the Mexican possessions; south, by Red River; and east, by the west line of the territory of Arkansas and the state of Missouri, shall be, and hereby is, annexed to the territory of Arkansas; and the residue of the Indian country west of the said Mississippi river shall be, and hereby is, annexed to the judicial district of Missouri; and for said purpose the several portions of Indian country east of the said Mississippi river, shall, and are severally annexed to the territory in which they are situate,” and under Chapter CLXII provision is made for the organization of the department of Indian affairs to be placed under the Superintendent of Indian affairs with organization of Indian agencies, under the direction of the War Department. (Act of July 9, 1832, C. 174, Sec. 1, 4 U. S. Stat. at Large, 564.)

Under Act of Congress of June 30, 1877, it was provided for attaching the territory now embraced in State of Oklahoma except Greer County and Beaver County, as same then existed, to the United States Court for the Western Judicial District of Arkansas; and by Act of January 6, 1883, that part lying north of the Canadian River and east of Texas and the One Hundredth Meridian, and not occupied by the Creek, Cherokee and Seminole tribes, was annexed to and made a part of the Judicial District of Kansas, the United States district courts at Wichita and Fort Scott being given original and exclusive jurisdiction over all offenses committed in that territory against any of the laws of the United States, and by the same Act that part not annexed to the District of Kansas, and not set apart to and occupied by any of the Five Civilized Tribes, was annexed to the Northern District of Texas, and also jurisdiction given to the United States District Court at Graham, Texas, over offenses committed within the limits of that part of the territory named against the laws of the United States.¹²

¹¹ Bates v. Clark, 95 U. S., 243; *Expart Crow Dog*, 109 U. S. 556, 3 S. Ct. 396, 399, 27 L. Ed. 1030; Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma*, pp. 42-45.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 278-81; *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIX (March, 1941), pp. 82-93, and (September, 1941) 269-83.

Courts were held at county seats of Miller and Loveley counties, within the present bounds of Oklahoma¹³ and until said counties were changed or abolished.¹⁴

In the Indian Territory, on account of Forts Gibson, Wayne, Towson, Washita, Arbuckle, Cobb, and other forts located within its borders, connections through United States mails with St. Louis, Memphis and such other points, reasonable contact with outside points was available more so than as to points south of Red River.¹⁵

On account of the Creek and Seminole nations participating in the Civil War on the side of the Confederate States, at its close said tribes in 1866 in the treaties with the United States were induced to sell the western half of their land in the Indian Territory for thirty cents an acre (3,250,560 acres for \$975,166) and the Seminoles to give up their entire reservations in the Indian Territory of 2,169,080 acres for fifteen cents an acre (\$325,562) and to buy at fifty cents an acre another reservation from the United States out of the land taken from the Creeks, the said land to be utilized for the purpose of settling other Indians thereon and small tribal bands were later out of said land given greatly reduced holdings along the eastern border of the land surrendered by the Creeks and Seminoles. The Osages received a large estate located east of the Arkansas River, and from the Red River on the south to the Cherokee Outlet the Comanches, Kiowas and Katakas (Kiowa-Apaches) as one group of the Indians of the Plains and the Cheyennes and Arapahoes as another group, in grants were given large holdings. After all reservation assignments had been made an area of more than 2,000,000 acres remained which was bordered on the east by the Pawnee, Iowa, Kickapoo, Shawee and Pottawatomie lands, and on the south by the Canadian River, and on the west by the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation, and on the north by the Cherokee Outlet, not only being the heart of the Indian Territory but considered by the "boomers" demanding its opening as the most valuable part.¹⁶

By amendment to the Indian Appropriation Bill of February 28, 1877, the Sioux Indians were prohibited from moving to Oklahoma and by an enactment of February 17, 1879, (20 U. S. Stat. 1879, 295), Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona tribes were also barred. Under the Act of June 30, 1834, and August 18, 1856, unauthorized white men were not permitted within the Indian Territory, the first intrusion calling only for expulsion with admonition not to return but by the second a fine of \$1,000.00 followed. The ceded land to the Creeks and Seminoles was still a part of

¹³ *Ibid.*, XI (December, 1933), p. 1105.

¹⁴ Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-1.

¹⁵ *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIX (March, 1941), pp. 82-93 and (September, 1941) 269-83.

and within the bounds of the Indian Territory and it was from this land that intruders, among whom the Department had treated Payne and his followers, were as such expelled.

On January 31, 1889, the Creek Council accepted an offer for the settling of the claims of said Indians, growing out of the relinquishment of said land to the United States for \$2,280,000, which agreement was approved by an Act of Congress on February 15, 1889, to which was attached a rider stipulating that in the event any homesteader should intrude within the said region prior to its opening by law, he should forfeit his right to establish a homestead claim, this act being passed by the House on February 23, 1889, and signed by President Cleveland three days before his going out of office.

In the same month of February, 1889, an act of Congress was passed accepting the Seminole offer, of the sum of \$1,912,000 as an additional compensation to that paid in 1866, for the cession of their said land and that bill also carried a rider similar to that in the said Act of February 15, 1889, penalizing those claiming homestead rights through going on the land before its being opened for filing by law. The Bill having passed the House on February 27, 1889, was approved by the Senate and signed by President Cleveland on March 2, 1889, and twenty-one days later President Harrison issued a proclamation throwing open the entire Oklahoma district, embracing said lands ceded by the Creeks and Seminoles," at and after the hour of twelve o'clock noon on the twenty-second day of April," 1889, and the land was opened on said date, the title to the said ceded lands having been completed so as to place it in the public domain subject to be homesteaded. Within that area as well as that of the Cherokee Outlet and the Apache and Cheyenne reservation civil courts had not prior to that time been established or held in which rights of the citizens other than Indians could be finally litigated.

FROM BRUSH ARBOR TO BOSTON AVENUE

The First Methodist Episcopal Church, South,
in Tulsa, Indian Territory

By Fred S. Clinton, M.D., F.A.C.S.

The Indian Territory¹ was a part of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, and was selected by the U. S. Government in 1832 as a permanent home for various Indian tribes then living east of the Mississippi River. By 1834, Congress had set aside definite reservations for the largest tribes, and under treaty the Cherokees, Creeks, Choc-taws, Chickasaws and Seminoles were being removed from Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida and North and South Carolina.²

In those states the Five Civilized Tribes above mentioned had their own organized government, homes, schools, churches, and the increasing demands of the white man resulted in their removal west of the Mississippi River, regardless of the Indians' wishes or inconveniences.³

The General Conference⁴ which met in New York City, May, 1844, authorized the organization of an Indian Mission Annual Conference. The time for the organization meeting was set for October 23, 1844; the place selected was Riley's Chapel, Cherokee Nation, about two miles from Tahlequah, the seat of the Cherokee National Council. Bishop T. A. Morris presided at the organization meeting, having arrived October 4, 1844. In less than a year, it joined fourteen other annual conferences in adopting a separate and distinct and ecclesiastical connection to be known as the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and set May 1, 1846, as the day for the first session of the first General Conference of this new organization or jurisdiction.

The second Annual Conference, being the first under the new order, met at the Indian Manual Labor School in the Shawnee nation (now a part of Kansas), October 13, 1845, Bishop Joshua Soule presiding.

It required rare courage, great confidence and spiritual conviction and understanding on the part of those pioneers to meet and master the most critical⁵ hour the Indian Mission Conference ever faced, since its organization in 1844. Enoch M. Marvin was

¹ Sidney H. Babcock and John Y. Bryce, *History of Methodism in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: 1935), Vol. I, pp. 13-16.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

elected a Bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at the General Conference at New Orleans, in 1866.

Bishop Marvin was appointed to hold the Indian Mission Conference. He set the time September 12, 1866, at Bloomfield Academy, Chickasaw Nation, in the only building left after the recent war, suitable to hold the Conference.

The Board of Missions and all the Southern Church finances were in the most desperate condition. There was no money and no credit, but this did not alter their predetermined course and action. In spite of every discouragement, they would live up to their established tradition of unswerving loyalty to this great responsibility and opportunity for pioneers.

In the face of this threat of disaster, Bishop Marvin said, "Fear not, I will guarantee \$5,000 for this Mission and send it to you in regular payments as the year advances. Our work must go on."

"To Bishop Capers belongs the honor of enterprising missions to the Indians. To Bishop Marvin belongs the honor of saving the mission in the hour of its greatest peril."⁶

What would make these, or other ministers about to be mentioned, complain?

"Neither tribulation, nor distress, nor persecution,
Neither famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword,
Neither life, nor death, nor angels, nor principalities,
Neither powers, nor things present, nor things to come,
Neither height, nor depth, nor any other creature."

The 48th Annual Conference met at Vinita, Indian Territory, November, 1893, Bishop Joseph S. Key in the chair, M. L. Butler, Secretary.⁷ E. B. Chenoweth was received from Colorado by transfer and sent to Tulsa, Indian Territory, to establish a church.

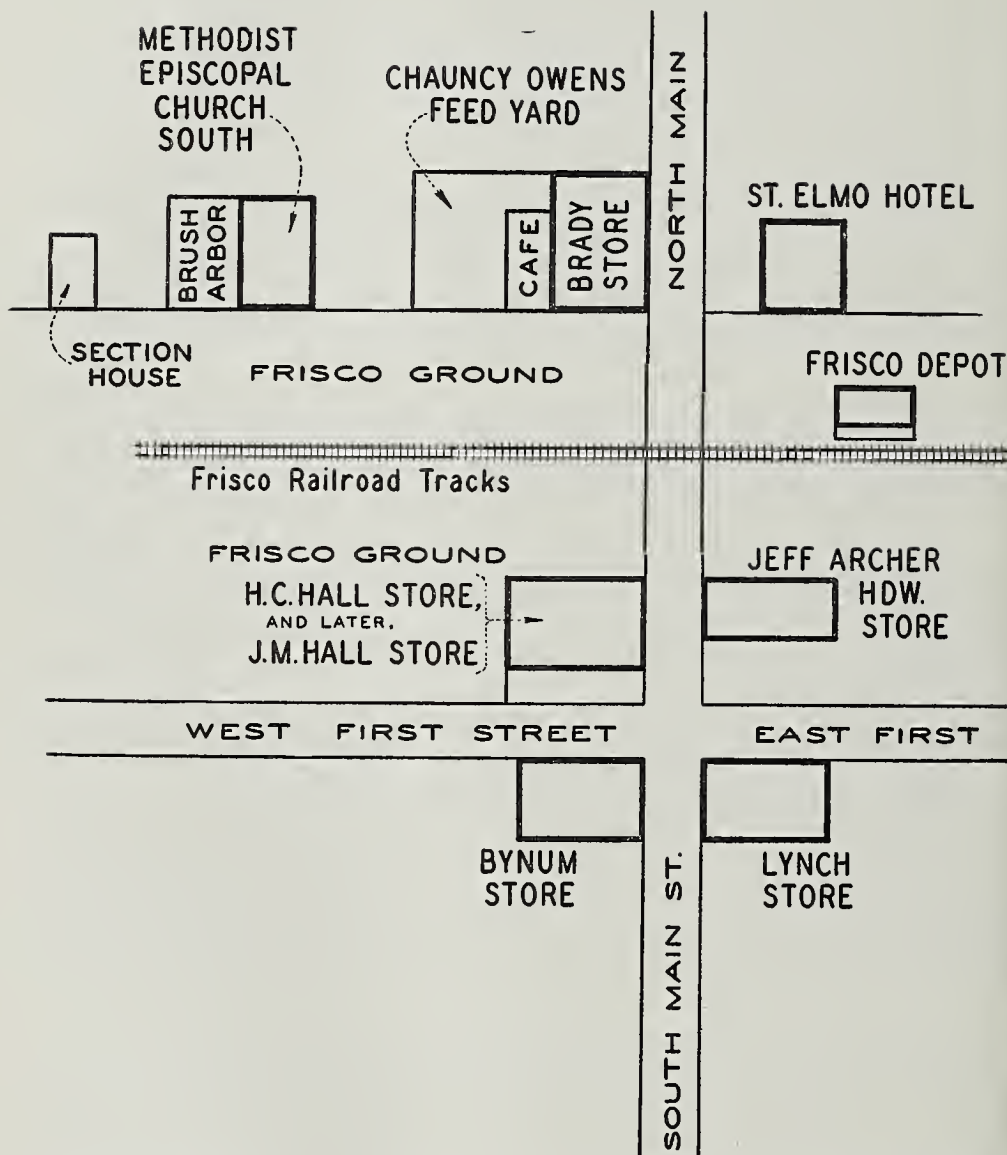
Reverend Chenoweth arrived early in November, 1893, and plunged into his work and was the preacher, architect, builder, and general factotum. He soon adjusted himself to the new environment. In 1927 Reverend Chenoweth, responding to an inquiry from the writer, wrote the following letter, which is given in full, for from start to finish it is a heroic and eloquent story simply told.

Rev. E. B. Chenoweth
Ward 11 State Hospital
Pueblo, Colorado, Apr. 8, 1927

Dr. Fred S. Clinton
Suite 823 Wright Bldg.,
Tulsa, Oklahoma
My dear Dr. Clinton:

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 154-55.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 260. (E. B. Chenoweth, first pastor, appointed at the Vinita Conference, 1893).



PLAT OF TULSA, I. T., 1893, SHOWING LOCATION OF METHODIST
EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH

Sketch by Lon R. Stansbery and Fred S. Clinton
Delineation by Walter L. Perryman

Your letter of March 24th, 1927, reached me yesterday and though late, and dependent wholly on memory, I will make some immediate effort toward answering. I will simply give you some hurried outline of conditions, and state a few facts for you to make what use of them you may be able. It was at the Conference held the Fall of 1893, at Vinita, that I was sent to Tulsa; then a part of the old Indian Mission Conference Territory. The new R. R.'s just built from Kansas to Texas etc. and the Frisco which had been built from Mo. as far as Sapulpa with Vinita, Claremore, Tulsa, Red Fork and other stations and switches for the accommodation of the native stock men and their renters together with recent government recognitions and actions, had developed new hopes and aspirations accompanied by several small white settlements. Chief of these were Claremore, Tulsa, Red Fork and Sapulpa on the Frisco line. Tulsa was merely a R. R. Station and small trading post.

When I arrived there in Nov. 1893 there was one small two story frame hotel, one drug store, one barber shop (run by Sterling McAllister), one dressmaking and milliner shop (run by his sisters), one blacksmith shop, and the general stores of R. N. Bynum, Price and Gillette, Lynch Bros. and the Brady's store, which was located on the north side of the R. R. and was conducted by Tate Brady and his parents. The hotel also was on the north side, the depot on the east side the road from Brady's, all else was on the south side the track. There were then about 35 or 40 families in or accessible to Tulsa. There was a mission of the Presbyterian church supported chiefly by the Perryman Bros. Geo. and J. M. who were wealthy Creek cattlemen.

This gives you about all I found on reaching Tulsa after having driven from the Southwest corner of Colorado to the Conference at Vinita with my wife and our baby boy; behind a team of western ponies with an old spring wagon and camp outfit as our possessions.

The only place I could find on arriving that I could rent to move into, was a little 8x10 plain box shack one mile north of the depot, on the river bank in the Perryman woods pasture. This I secured for \$1.00 per month. Here we moved and spent the winter and most of the first year.

At the Vinita Conference Bro. J. Y. Bryce was reappointed P. E. to the Muscogee District and he had given me some suggestions which together with his early visit to hold Quarterly Conference and aid in our organization were most helpful.⁸

I had visited in most of the accessible homes and found Sterling McAllister and his two sisters (their father pastor in Mo.), the Bradys (Tate, his father and mother), J. M. Crutchfield and wife (a Cherokee cattleman living 1½ miles northeast of the depot), also the Forsythe brothers and families, teaming and contracting; also Noah Gregory and family south of Red Fork, Creek stockman, had all been or were holding membership in former homes or locations. All these I found most approachable and anxious for our church; and I proceeded to cultivate a general Sunday school spirit among them and their friends, and soon we were proud of our efforts, though limited for lack of house room and equipment.

During the spring and summer of 1894 we worked along as best we could until we finally succeeded in raising enough to buy a lot on the north side the R. R., west of Brady's store, then we procured posts and timbers and built a brush arbor which we seated with borrowed lumber

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 375, lines 18 and 30. (E. B. Chenowith, P. C., and J. Y. Bryce, P. E., First Methodist Episcopal Church, South).

on R. R. ties. Here we held a very happy and successful meeting, as well as our regular and other services. In the meantime, we planned ahead with the Ch. Ex. Board (Bishop McMurry then Sec'y.) and with the efforts of our membership and friends succeeded in securing enough plain boxing lumber and other material to build and equip a plain box house 32 x 40 on the lot we had secured there west of the Brady store. Here we found ourselves at home and happy. But while we had been busy, there had been other movements going on in the matter of new corners and buildings which had taken to the more approachable and beautiful south side which had been blocked out and was rapidly building up; and in the course of a short period we felt we were not where we could keep up with the movements and our efforts were turned to securing a more promising location. That we secured was, as I remember, about one block east and another south of the old depot.

After securing this choice lot we soon moved the building from the north side across the R. R. and up the hill onto it. Here I spent the remainder of my three years at Tulsa in most pleasant and profitable service and fellowship with our own membership and the constantly increasing population. One of my first public services, I performed at Tulsa, was to conduct the funeral service of Bro. J. M. Crutchfield which was as an opening wedge of fellowship thereafter. Most of the time I was at Tulsa I had regular appointments once a month also at Red Fork, and at the National School Chapel at Sapulpa. I also held services and protracted meetings at numerous other places about the country using brush arbors and school houses as the settlements were growing up. All these associations continued a constant feeder to Tulsa and the work there.

Trusting the aforesaid may be of some suggestive aid, I remain at your service,

Most sincerely your Bro.
E. B. Chenoweth

In 1927 Mrs. Lola B. Hunt furnished the writer this history of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, South:

"In the autumn of 1893 my father, mother and we two children (sister Donna and I) immigrated from Springfield, Mo. to Tulsa, Indian Territory, Creek Nation. Tulsa was just a little country village of about 350—400 inhabitants, one railroad, the Frisco."

"On our arrival here we made inquiry if there was an M. E. Church South, being told there was none we (my father, Dr. Brewer, my mother and I) put our letters in the M. E. Church which was located North of the Frisco track on Main St. (We were from St. Pauls M. E. Church, South, of Springfield, Mo.) This was in October, 1893, but the same autumn the Bishop in Colorado sent Rev. E. B. Chenoweth from Cortez, Colo. to Tulsa, I. T. He made the trip overland in a light wagon drawn by two ponies. I don't remember how long it took them (his family consisted of himself, wife and baby Paul) to make the trip, but they arrived before the holidays. Rev. Chenoweth made inquiry if there were any South Methodists in town. Someone told him that Dr. Brewer's were, he immediately started in search of us. Upon arriving at our house he introduced himself and stated that he called to see us about changing our membership should he organize a South Methodist Church. My father and mother consented and that same year Reverend Chenoweth organized the M. E. Church South which is now the Boston Avenue M. E. South. He was offered the use of the Presbyterian school house for holding the service, and also given one Sunday in each month for services. I don't just remember the date of organization, but we organized with seven members, as follows,

Dr. F. L. Brewer, Mrs. Mary M. Brewer, Lola G. Brewer, Mr. and Mrs. George Forsythe, Reverend Chenoweth and wife; as far as I know I am at present the only charter member of the Boston Avenue M. E. Church South.

"Our congregation grew under the leadership of Reverend Chenoweth, he being pastor three years. Bro. J. L. Lamar was the presiding elder at one time, he living at Checotah had to make his trips overland in a buggy, there being no direct way by rail as now, and of course, no automobiles.

"Brother Chenoweth had to ride the circuit (or walk part of it part of the time, especially when the Arkansas River was ugly). Red Fork, Oklahoma, was one of his charges and many times he walked the Frisco railroad bridge to his charge and back at night, which was a little dangerous in the early days, but he never faltered and it is largely due to his devotion to his work that we as a church have had a good beginning. It is needless to say we had a struggling existence, for several years.

"Our pastor's first home was a very humble affair, it being a dug-out. It was on a lot situated on the west side of town or northwest rather, on what is now North Cheyenne Avenue. My father donated to the church a plot of ground (which was really a half block) situated just North of the Frisco tracks and just a bit west from Main Street. My father also donated lumber and furnished some of the laborers, and with the other members' help, and outside friends of the church, we managed to get a box structure erected to serve as a church house, our first real parsonage was a box structure also, consisting of two rooms. It was situated in the vicinity of the dug-out at that time. North Cheyenne was just a country road, as we had but few streets in those days.

"We organized a Sunday school also with Mr. J. B. Sledge, superintendent. I don't remember the secretary nor treasurer. Dr. Theo. F. Brewer held quarterly conference under a brush arbor before we got our church built. Mrs. Ida Conway was teacher of the boys ranging from 10 to 12 years of age, and I was teacher of the girls of the same age.

"Later our congregation outgrew the little church and it became necessary to have larger quarters. Some objected to the location and it was finally decided to sell the land where the church was and buy somewhere else. My father and I went to see Mr. T. E. Smiley in regard to selling us fifty feet of land where the Robinson hotel now stands, and Mr. Smiley willingly offered to sell us fifty feet for one dollar per foot. We reported this, but some said it was too much. This was during Reverend Webster Full's pastorate, so Dr. Brewer and I went to see Mr. George B. Perryman (a wealthy Creek Indian) in regard to some land for a church lot. Mr. Perryman was very generous; he offered to give to the church a plot of ground that extends from what is now 5th street south to 7th street, and from Boston avenue to Detroit avenue. We reported this to the church, but some objected, saying it was too far out of town, and under the hill, and strangers coming wouldn't know the church was there. They bought a lot on East 2nd street and moved the frame structure there, and in time bought a parsonage close to this location. Later then the church bought a lot on the corner of East 2nd street and Cincinnati Avenue and built a nice little brick church building which we were very proud of in that day and time. There the church remained until Boston Avenue M. E. South was built. It is built on part of the ground Mr. Perryman offered to give us several years previous. Reverend W. B. Palmore dedicated Boston Avenue M. E. South.

"In the early days we hadn't very many men in our congregation that would assist in Sunday school work and at one time Miss Emma McAllister was Sunday school superintendent. Later Judge L. M. Poe was superintendent, also at one time Mr. J. R. Cole was superintendent. Several years Mr. Carl Duffield was superintendent.

"The Women's Missionary Society was organized in the early days of the church. My mother, Mrs. Mary M. Brewer, was president at one time, as were Mrs. Conway and Mrs. Ben Colley, etc. The pastors in all these years were as follows: Rev. E. B. Chenoweth, Rev. Webster Full, Rev. J. M. Porter, Rev. A. S. J. Haygood, Rev. C. W. Myatt, Rev. A. M. Brannon, Rev. J. H. Ball, Rev. Alfred Franklin Smith, Rev. J. E. Carpenter, Rev. Percy Knickerbocker, Rev. L. S. Barton and the present pastor, Rev. John A. Rice."

Mrs. Lola Hunt, in letter dated July 24, 1943, to the writer said:

"The arbor was just a common ordinary arbor, square, not so very large, for as you know Tulsa was just a small place at that time. It was on the plot of ground my father donated to the church, built by donated labor. Brother Chenoweth, our first pastor, always helped. There were no blocks here then, but this land was what would have been a block situated just north of the Frisco track just off the corner of North Main street. Brady's store was on the corner. I believe the arbor was built in the summer of 1893.

"The church was built in the winter and spring of 1894. My father bought one block of land from old "Uncle" Bob Childers, situated just north of the Frisco R. R. tracks on what is now Boulder avenue, for church purposes. The building was a box structure 32 x 40 feet, one story. It was used for school purposes during the week. Mrs. Hatcher, Minister Chenoweth's sister, was the first teacher. Miss Edith Cogswell taught the last school in 1897. I can't say what the building cost, as my daddy furnished part of the material and it was unplanned lumber brought in from the saw mills; he furnished some of the laborers and some donated their help and Brother Chenoweth always helped to do the work, so you can see it didn't cost a lot in real money. There were three windows on each side of the building, the pulpit was in one end of the building, and one door in the other.

"My mother was the first steward of the church, and Mrs. Chenoweth was the first president of the Missionary Society. The members who joined on our organization day in November, 1893, in the old Presbyterian school house were Reverend and Mrs. E. B. Chenoweth, Dr. and Mrs. F. L. Brewer, Lola Brewer, Mr. and Mrs. George Forsythe and Mrs. George Chaney.

"Our first pastor was Rev. E. B. Chenoweth who was sent from Cortez, Colo. in November, 1893. He had a wife and baby, Paul. Our family took them in our home, until my daddy gave them land on which Brother Chenoweth made a dug-out and lived in it until daddy helped pay for enough native lumber to build a two room parsonage on this same land. The very day they moved into the parsonage, the dug-out caved in, so you see they surely needed a house.

"After all this time, the trustees sold the block of land my daddy gave them, and bought a lot from Dr. Wilson over on 2nd and between Cincinnati and Detroit, and moved the little box church building on this lot. Later they sold this property and bought a lot from Pat Coyne on the corner of 2nd and Cincinnati avenue, on which they built a pretty little brick church.

"We were needing a larger, better building, and in 1897 my father and I went to see Mr. George B. Perryman about some land to build our church on. He was very generous; he offered us all the land from Main to Detroit, and from 5th to 8th, but the rest of the trustees would not have it. In after years they bought a lot off of the same land that they once refused as a gift."

The second M. E. Church, South, was begun August, 1901, at the corner of 2nd and South Cincinnati. Dr. C. W. Myatt was sent to Tulsa to build that church. The church owned the lot and parsonage before Reverend Myatt was assigned to Tulsa. The completed building cost more than \$7,500. The building committee consisted of Reverend Myatt, Dr. W. M. Wilson and Dr. Fred S. Clinton. This church was occupied from 1901 to 1907, and the ground was sold after that for \$17,500. Part of this money was given to the Tigert Memorial, now Centenary Church, and part to Boston Avenue Church.

The next advance was the purchase for \$4,500 of a lot on the southeast corner of Boston and 5th streets. The church erected here was occupied from 1907 to 1928. Members of the building committee were J. R. Cole, jr., chairman, H. R. Cline, Dr. Fred S. Clinton and W. L. Britton.⁹ This property was sold to Mr. Waite Phillips for \$110,000. He erected the Philcade Building, and later disposed of it to the Stanolind Oil Company.¹⁰

Boston Avenue M. E. Church, South, built at 13th and Boston, was occupied in 1929. This is an entirely modern church, of which Dr. John A. Rice, said, "The spiritual growth of the leaders of Boston Avenue Church is indicated by a comparison of their original plan and conception of what the Church ought to be, and the structure as it stands today. The idea of a modest Church and Sunday school combined on a hundred foot corner lot off the main thoroughfare grew within a few years to the inspiring creation now completed, occupying the most commanding site in the city covering a whole block 225 by 218 feet. Boston Avenue, the longest and widest boulevard in the city, makes a 30 degree bend at 13th, another through street, which ties into it, thus enabling the Church to stand athwart this double highway and dominate Boston Avenue throughout its length. The tower is in the exact middle of the street. The size of the lot has lent itself to lovely landscaping. After most careful research the present location was selected and complete plans were

⁹ Churches in Indian Territory, census for 1890, see table, Appendix A.

¹⁰ For other references on the history of Methodist Church work in Oklahoma, see *National Geographic Magazine*, LXXXIX (March, 1941), p. 308; Angie Debo, *Tulsa from Creek Town to Oil Capital* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943), p. 108; *Tulsa Herald* (Boston Avenue Methodist Church ed; Tulsa: July 21, 1939); Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1929), Vol. 1 and 11.

outlined for everything needed in a modern church down to the minutest detail."¹¹

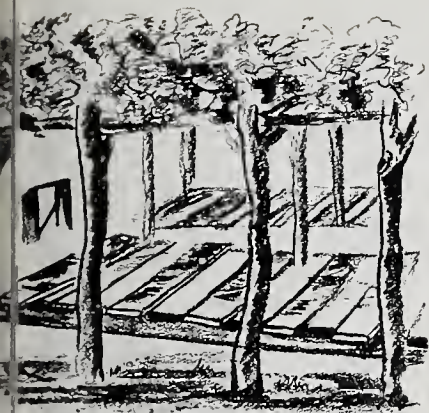
In the spring of 1925, Dr. Rrice named the following members of a building committee which was confirmed by the quarterly conference: C. C. Cole, chairman; H. G. Barnard, L. R. Stansbery, V. P. Rader, C. P. Yadon, J. R. Cole, jr., C. E. Duffield, R. P. Brewer and Dr. F. S. Clinton; Mesdames F. P. Walter, J. D. Hagler and J. M. Gillette. In the fall of 1927, the campaign to raise funds was organized, with J. R. Cole, jr., as chairman.¹²

The information presented in the foregoing is for the use of the present and the future generations. The writer is fortunate in having witnessed this marvelous development of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Tulsa, since 1893; and further, in having witnessed the magnificent achievement in the building of the present Boston Avenue Methodist Church, occupied since 1929; and again, in having witnessed a reunited denomination. To have been a part of this evolution, and now to have reviewed it, has been a thrilling experience. While this half century of growth in Christian service and culture in the Indian Territory and Oklahoma may be a surprise to many readers, let us remember the words found in John 14: 12:

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do; because I go unto my Father."

¹¹ *A Twentieth Century Church*, Boston Avenue, 1929, pp. 4, 13 and 23.

¹² The writer wishes to express his sincere appreciation to the following, for their assistance in the preparation of this article: Dr. H. Bascom Watts, Rev. J. H. Ball, Marianna M. Carsten, Angie Debo, Walter L. Perryman, Mrs. D. H. Aston, Miss Nettie Huggins, Lon R. Stansbery, R. A. McKim, Mrs. Lola Hunt, Midwest Printing Company, Mrs. L. C. Pruitt (now deceased), George Mowbray and Cecile Davis, Jr. It is a privilege and a pleasure to make further acknowledgments. My wife, Jane Heard Clinton, has encouraged me and co-operated in every manner; and Miss Muriel H. Wright has rendered invaluable assistance in the publication of "From Brush Arbor to Boston Avenue." I am deeply appreciative.—Fred S. Clinton.



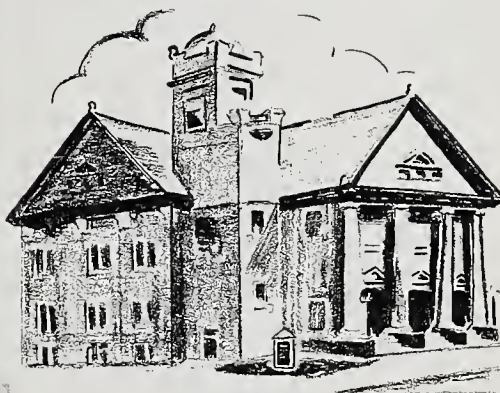
1893-1894



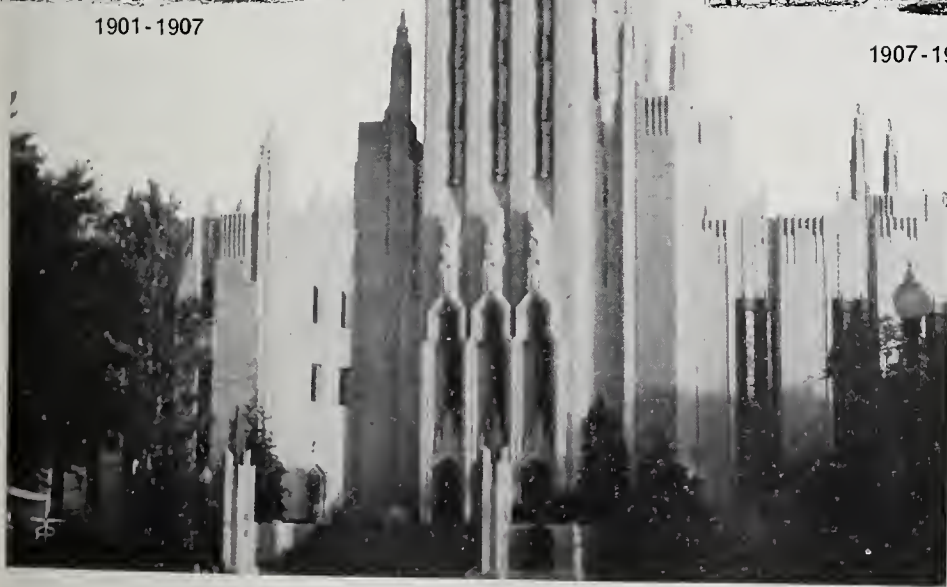
1894-1901



1901-1907



1907-1928



STONE CHURCH, 1929—

FROM BRUSH ARBOR TO BOSTON AVENUE
THE FIRST METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH. SOUTH
IN TULSA, INDIAN TERRITORY

BY FRED S. CLINTON, M.D., F. A. C. S.

DRAWINGS BY MARIANNA M. CARSTEN

CENTRAL PHOTOGRAPH BY WENDELL S. DUGGER

LETTERING BY WALTER L. PERRYMAN

APPENDIX A

Table Showing Churches in the Indian Territory, Census of 1890:*

DENOMINATIONS	Organi- zations	Churches and Halls	Members	Value of Property
Methodist Episcopal, South	275	261	9,693	\$59,600
Baptist, South	181	166	9,147	35,765
Disciples of Christ	82	50	1,977	3,550
Presbyterians in U. S. A.	70	68	1,803	39,763
Roman Catholic	17	17	1,240	5,850
Cumberland Presbyterians	53	52	1,229	11,645
Methodist Episcopal	32	32	838	9,750
Church of God	16	16	811	1,200

* *Universal Cyclopaedia* (New York City: D. Appleton & Co., A. D. Johnson, 1900), Vol. VI, p. 218.

APPENDIX B

Since its founding in 1893, the following pastors have served the First Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and its successor, the Boston Avenue Methodist Church, to 1943, in Tulsa:

1893-96	E. B. Chenoweth	1910-14	P. R. Knickerbocker
1896-97	Webster Full	1914-22	L. S. Barton
1897-98	J. M. Porter	1922-27	J. A. Rice
1898-1900	A. S. J. Haygood	1927-31	C. M. Reves
1900-03	C. W. Myatt	1931-34	Charles Grimes
1903-05	A. M. Brannon	1934-39	Forney Hutchinson
1905-08	J. H. Ball	1939-43	H. Bascom Watts
1908-10	Alfred Franklin Smith		

The following have served as presiding elders since the founding of the church:

1893-94	J. Y. Bryce	1917-19	J. M. Peterson
1894-95	C. M. Coppedge	1919-21	D. H. Aston
1895-96	J. F. Thompson	1921-22	J. R. Abernathy
1896-99	J. S. Lamar	1922-23	W. J. Johnson
1899-1903	N. E. Bragg	1923-27	New Harris
1903-07	C. M. Coppedge	1927-31	L. S. Barton
1907-09	J. B. McDonald	1931-35	C. D. Montgomery
1909-11	S. G. Thompson	1935-39	L. L. Evans
1911-13	G. C. French	1939-41½	Phil Deschner
1913-17	J. H. Ball	1941½-43	V. A. Hargis

PRESENT STAFF:

Church staff:

H. Bascom Watts, D.D., Pastor
 Rev. Roy G. Percival, Associate Pastor
 Rev. Paul D. Mitchell, Pastor in Cuba
 Mrs. David H. Aston, Church Secretary
 Miss Nettie J. Huggins, Financial Secretary
 Marvin E. Reeher, Minister of Music
 Mrs. John S. Kolstad, Organist
 Mrs. W. C. Byers, Church Visitor
 Mrs. Frank Martin, Hostess

Administrative officers:

Presiding Bishop, Charles C. Selecman, D. D., Oklahoma City
 District Superintendent, Rev. V. A. Hargis

Trustees:

Summers Hardy	J. R. Simpson, Chairman	V. P. Rader
E. B. McFarlin	J. H. Gardner Vice-Ch.	W. M. Wilson
Theodore Cox	C. C. Cole, Secretary	E. B. Howard

Board of Stewards:

L. C. Clark, Chairman
 Russell S. Rhodes, Vice-Chairman
 Clarence W. Low, Secretary
 M. L. Cooley, Treasurer
 Rupert S. Klaus, Chairman, Finance Committee

Church School:

Forrest M. Darrough, Chairman, Board of Christian Education
 Virgil S. Tilly, General Superintendent
 J. C. Abernathy, Secretary
 V. P. Rader, Treasurer

Woman's Society of Christian Service:

Mrs. Bert C. Hodges, President
 Mrs. M. H. Watts, Vice-President
 Mrs. Forney Hutchinson, jr., Mrs. Robert Faulkner, Secretaries
 Mrs. Raymond Courtney, Treasurer
 Mrs. W. B. Norman, President, Wesleyan Service Guild

Choir:

Earl Barrett, President
 Lucie Barton, Vice-President
 Mrs. Floyd N. Jondahl, Secretary
 Verna Swafford, Treasurer

A CREEK PIONEER

Notes Concerning "Aunt Sue" Rogers and Her Family.

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman.

One of the most brilliant women of the Creek Nation was Mrs. Susannah Drew Rogers who was usually called "Aunt Sue" by her many friends and admirers. Mrs. Rogers belonged to a distinguished Creek family being the grand daughter of Chief William McIntosh and a great niece of Chief Chilly McIntosh.

For charge of treason to his tribe in signing the treaty giving up their country to the whites of Alabama in 1824, General McIntosh was executed. In a pathetic letter signed by Peggy and Susannah McIntosh, his widows, at Line Creek, Fayette County, May 3, 1825, addressed to Col. D. G. Campbell and Major J. Merriwether, U. S. Commissioners, it was stated: "When you see this letter, stained with the blood of my husband, the last drop of which is now spilt for the friendship he has shown for your people, I know you will remember your pledge to us in behalf of your nation . . . you would assist and protect us . . . here I am, driven from the ashes of my smoking dwelling, left with nothing but my poor little naked hungry children, who need some immediate aid from our white friends; and we lean upon you, while you lean upon your government . . . I tried to get a horse to take my little children, and some provisions to last us to the white settlements."¹

The parents of Susannah Drew Rogers were William Drew and Delilah McIntosh Drew. Her father's elder brother, John Drew was a partner of Sam Houston in a store they kept during Houston's sojourn among the Cherokees in the Indian Territory. The sisters of Mrs. Delilah McIntosh Drew were Rebecca and Hetty McIntosh. They had one brother, D. N. McIntosh, the second son of Gen. William McIntosh and his wife Susannah. Chilly, the eldest son of the General, died near Fame, Oklahoma, which was about ten miles west of Checotah, and was buried in the McIntosh cemetery near Fame, as was D. N. McIntosh.

When Lafayette visited Alabama he entered the state at Fort Mitchell, on the Chattahoochee River; his coming excited great enthusiasm and he was escorted by several hundred people among whom were a number of Indians. He was welcomed by Chilly McIntosh with fifty naked and highly painted Creek warriors. Lafayette was seated in a sulky which was drawn up hill by the Indians to the place where he was greeted by the Alabama delegation.²

¹ "Indian Affairs," *American State Papers*, Vol. 2, p. 763.

² Thomas McAdory Owen, A.M., LL.B., *Annals of Alabama, 1819-1900* (Birmingham: 1900), p. 677.

William Drew's father died when he was a little boy; his mother had a long Indian name which Aunt Sue could not recall. William, while still very young, was caught in one of the concentration camps in which at that time the Indians were being collected to be sent west; he was brought to Indian Territory with the first party of Indians before the McIntosh Creeks came. While William was still a lad he was taken by some Frenchmen just west of the Arkansas line to act as English interpreter for them. The party was captured by Osage Indians and the Frenchmen were all murdered on Grand River but young Drew was later returned to his people.

The Drews were part French, the correct spelling of the name being Drieux. It was misspelled at the time the census of the Indians was made. There were three of the Drieux brothers; Aunt Sue's grandfather who died in the old nation; one who returned to France and the third who lived in New Orleans where he owned a drug store. This man always used the correct spelling of his name and remonstrated with his brother for spelling it the English way. The Drews went into the Cherokee Nation from the French colony in Louisiana. Aunt Sue said they never did any manual labor in their lives.

When the Drew family arrived in the West they settled north of the site of Vian, on Vian Creek near the old Military Road that connected Fort Smith and Fort Gibson. It was there that Aunt Sue was born August 15, 1844. Her full blood Cherokee grandmother had settled in the hills back of Vian and one of the little girl's first memories was of her family making maple sugar in that vicinity.

The Drew's home was not far from Dwight Mission where they attended church; the first death the child ever saw occurred at the Mission when the wife of the Rev. Worcester Willy died. The clergyman not only closed his wife's eyes in death but made her coffin and preached her funeral sermon when the Reverend Stephen Foreman was prevented by heavy snow from reaching the mission.³

Mr. and Mrs. Drew moved from Susannah's birthplace when she was three or four years old and at the time of the birth of her sister Kate they were living on Illinois River. Drew owned a store in the Creek Nation north of the site of Muskogee and north of the Arkansas River. In locating the Drew plantation of 1200 acres Aunt Sue said it was in sight across and above the mouth of the Verdigris River by one standing on top of Confederate Hill. The three daughters of General William McIntosh lived in that vicinity which became known as the McIntosh settlement. Aunt Sue's grand-

³ Rev. Worcester Willy, *A Tale of Home and War* (Portland, Maine: 1888), pp. 47-49.

mother, Susannah McIntosh who lived on a high hill near the Verdigris, owned two Negro families who worked her land. The child spent part of the time with her grandmother. When the family fled to Texas at the beginning of the Civil War they took their slaves with them but were obliged to abandon their live stock. William Drew died in April, 1860, at the age of sixty-three, in Texas, where he was buried.

Susannah first attended school on a plantation in Texas after which she was taken to Huntsville, Alabama, to enter a private school and she was there when the war started. Later she attended the State Normal School at Holly Springs, Mississippi.

According to Mrs. Rogers her grandfather McIntosh had two wives—Peggy, a Cherokee, and Susannah, a Creek, for whom Aunt Sue was named. "Two Indian wives graced his home, Susannah Coe, a Creek woman and Peggy, a Cherokee. Residing at another plantation home some fifty miles distant and which he owned, was a third wife, Eliza, a daughter of Stephen Hawkins . . . Chilly McIntosh, eldest son of Chief McIntosh and Eliza, his wife, was born . . . about 1800."⁴

Chilly was one of the signers of the treaty of February 12, 1825, for which his father was killed but he escaped owing to his light complexion; Menawa and the other avenging Creeks took him for a white man and allowed him to leave the house where the slaying took place. Chilly was an intelligent man of good manners who had much influence with his tribesmen; his portrait was painted by John Mix Stanley in June, 1843, but it was burned when the Smithsonian Institution was destroyed in 1865. The artist described Chilly as speaking, "English fluently, and has seen much of civilized life, having spent much time in Washington transacting business with the heads of Departments in behalf of his people. He is among the first men of his nation."⁵

Roley McIntosh, chief of the Lower Creeks, the brother of William, lived with his mother on her plantation overlooking the Verdigris River until it was burned by Northern soldiers. After the death of General McIntosh Roley married his widow. The family fled to Texas and Roley who was an old man made his home there; he served as chief of the Creeks many years and died in 1863. He was buried in the McIntosh cemetery in Marion County, Texas, about four miles from Jefferson. There is no "D" in the Creek language, according to Aunt Sue, so the Indians were unable to pro-

⁴ John Bartlett Meserve, "The McIntoshes," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, X (September, 1932), pp. 313-14, 320.

⁵ Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *The Indian Tribes of North America* (Frederick Webb Hodge, editor) (Edinburgh: 1933) Vol. XV, No. 4, pp. 266, 269, 272 note 14; J. M. Stanley, *Portraits of North American Indians* (Washington: 1852), pp. 13-14.

nounce the name Roderick, and called their chief "Roley." The McIntoshes all had some education but they were conservative and always spoke Creek unless forced to speak English.

From Union Mission, March 22, 1830, the Rev. W. F. Vaill wrote the editor of the *Religious Intelligencer* telling of some of the Indian pupils: "Besides these [John Davis and Henry Perri-man(sic)] there is the third young man in my school, son of old Gen. McIntosh . . . Has been married and lost his wife, Though very young, and in darkness herself, yet on her dying bed, she exhorted her husband to join the praying people . . . The last winter he joined my school . . . A more industrious scholar I never taught . . ."⁶

Aunt Sue saw Sam Houston in Texas when she was a little girl. She was with her family at Matagorda Beach where they were having their Negroes roast oysters for a picnic dinner when Houston and his party arrived and her father introduced his family to the General.

Aunt Sue stated that Ben Hawkins married Rebecca McIntosh, the eldest daughter of General William McIntosh by his wife Susannah. Hawkins was killed when he was returning from Mexico with a patent to lands in that country. His home was in Cass County near Jefferson, Texas. Hawkins' widow married a white man named Haggerty. She had two daughters, Louisa Hawkins, who married James Scott, and Anna Hawkins the wife of Sam McFarland.

In 1866, Susannah Drew and her aunt Rebecca McIntosh returned to the Indian Territory from Texas. They followed the Texas Road, crossing Red River at Crowder's Ferry and the Canadian at North Fork Town. They hired some Cherokees to build a hewed log house for a ranch home. They remained in the Territory until November when they returned to Texas. In 1867 Susannah brought her mother and their Negroes back to the Territory. She related that it required almost a year to drive their hogs north to their home.

After the death of his first wife, Sarah Ann Adair, William Penn Adair on December 8, 1868, married Susannah Drew ("Aunt Sue") at her home on North Fork River; Colonel Adair lived at the mouth of Spavinaw Creek, east of Adair and Aunt Sue said it was their home for seventeen years. Col. William Penn Adair who stood six feet two in his stocking feet, had dark eyes and wore his hair long. He was a quiet, reserved man, a fine lawyer who always won his suits.

⁶ *Religious Intelligencer*, Vol. XV, No. 4, p. 62, cols. 1-2.

Adair was a prominent Mason; when the Flint Lodge No. 74 was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Arkansas on November 9, 1853, he became the secretary. He was a senator from Flint District of the Cherokee Nation during the years 1855, 1857 and 1859. He represented the Saline District as a senator in 1871. In 1861 when Stand Watie organized a company to support the Confederacy William Penn Adair served in Company D. In 1862 the Second Cherokee Mounted Volunteers was recruited and Adair was made the colonel.

After the Civil War the Southern Cherokees sent a delegation to Washington in 1866 to adjust their affairs; the group was made up of Richard Fields, John Rollin Ridge who had gone east from his home in California, Saladin Watie, Elias Cornelius Boudinot and William Penn Adair. By an agreement entered into between the Shawnees and Cherokees in 1869 the Shawnees were adopted into the Cherokee tribe; this agreement was negotiated by and between H. D. Reese and William Penn Adair who had been appointed delegates by the National Council.⁷

Colonel Adair made a notable address before the Indian Agricultural Society at Muskogee in October, 1878. A Cherokee historian described him as "magnetic, logical and frankly agreeable, the ablest and most brilliant of all Cherokees" while a white historian said he was "a shrewd lawyer and generally regarded as a leader among his people." He never attained the chieftainship of his nation but he was elected assistant chief in 1879.⁸

He represented his nation in Washington many years and soon after his marriage he and his bride left for Washington. Aunt Sue remained in the capital city all of 1868 and 1870 and they spent part of every year there for twelve years.

When they first arrived in Washington they stayed at the National Hotel or the Metropolitan Hotel until they could find an apartment. It was necessary for Adair to have a large room where meetings of the Cherokee delegates could be held. They lived in apartments on Twelfth and on K streets.

Colonel and Mrs. Adair were in Washington when President Andrew Johnson went out of office. They attended the inaugural ball at the time General Grant became president and frequently visited the White House as General Grant was very fond of Colonel Adair.

Mrs. Adair lost her sight suddenly while crossing Grand River on a ferry and she spent the months from October to May, 1873

⁷ Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Oklahoma City: 1921), pp. 143, 148, 180, 267, 272, 296.

⁸ Editorial, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, IV (September, 1926), p. 255.

or 1874, in an infirmary in Baltimore to have her eyes treated. Her young sister Jessie Drew went to Washington with Colonel and Mrs. Adair to help care for the latter after she lost her sight. Colonel Adair took Miss Drew to the White House to meet President Grant. "When they came back to where we were living I had a roomful of company. We asked Jessie what she thought of the President but she would not answer, just hung her head. Finally Colonel Adair said 'Jessie, why don't you answer?' After a pause she looked up and said, 'He has no raising.' We asked her what she meant and she replied, 'Why he never asked me to sit down.'"

Mrs. Adair related that she was invited to go through the South with General Grant's party when he was touring the country but she was detained at Chouteau by the death of her cousin's baby. She came to Muskogee to buy a little casket as they could not be had in Chouteau in those days. While she was in Patterson's store she heard a train whistle and Major Robb, manager of the store, told her it was President Grant's special train. Mrs. Adair hurried to the depot and asked the agent for permission to return to Chouteau on that train as she was in a great hurry. When the train stopped at Muskogee President Grant appeared on the back platform to speak and when he saw Mrs. Adair he called out, "There is an old friend of mine. Come right up here, Mrs. Adair." She explained about the baby's death and the President gave her permission to travel aboard his special train.

Mrs. Adair knew President Hayes and she went to see him to ask him to see that Colonel Adair's Osage fee was paid. While waiting to talk to the President, Mrs. Hayes came into the room and visited with her, and Aunt Sue thought her a pretty woman. She asked many questions concerning the Indians; wished to know if it was difficult to keep them from having uprisings. When she asked what the Indians looked like Mrs. Adair told her that she was an Indian; Mrs. Hayes appeared astonished and said: "Why you are more cultivated than any one I have met in a long time."

Mrs. Adair met both Garfield and Arthur; she was on her way from Vinita to Claremore when the message came that President Garfield had been shot. "I sat right down in the station and wrote a long letter to Dr. Garnet of Washington. I told him that the delegates must make a strong fight against giving up the Indian Territory. They wanted to open it to white people and make a state of it. I wrote that the white people were more savage than the Indians since they had killed their president. Dr. Garnet published my whole letter in the Washington paper and I didn't like it. I never liked publicity."

Colonel Adair died in Washington at the age of fifty, October 21, 1880. Several years later his widow was married to William H.

Rogers, a white man in Muskogee. Her second husband was the son of John Rogers, founder of Fort Smith. Her brother-in-law, Buck Rogers, named W. Buckner Rogers, after the missionary, built a home on the Honey Springs battle field in 1870. The house was a large story-and-a-half building north of Honey Spring about twenty-five feet from the Texas Road. The stone structure still standing on the battle field was Roger's smoke house. In this hospitable home, many people passing up and down the Texas Road were entertained. Persons traveling from Muskogee to Eufaula usually broke the journey there and spent the night with the Rogers family. Robert L. Owen, Frederick B. Severs, the Stidhams, the Graysons, the Crabtrees and many others enjoyed the comforts of Roger's home. "Uncle Buck and Aunt Kate" at one time lived at Fishertown where Mr. Rogers operated William Fisher's gin. Buck's brother Tom lived about a half mile north of him on the Texas Road. At the time the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad reached Muskogee in 1872, Buck Rogers built large ovens there and baked bread for the men who were building the road.

William F. McIntosh (son of Chilly) lived north of Honey Spring on the south side of Big Elk Creek, where he kept a toll bridge. Mrs. Delilah McIntosh Drew also kept a toll bridge on Little Elk Creek, about half a mile from her home which was a mile east of Checotah.

In the cemetery half a mile north of Buck Roger's home were buried Delilah McIntosh Drew, Jessie Drew (sister of "Aunt Sue"), the wife of Tuxie Carey, four children of Mr. and Mrs. Buck Rogers, and Tommy Scott. In connection with Roger's place was an orchard that extended from his home almost to the Missouri- Kansas & Texas Railway.

Mrs. Rogers' husband died in 1889. His estate amounted to about \$100,000 and his will was hotly contested by his heirs who instituted suit to break his will by which he left the greater portion of his property to his widow.⁹ Fourteen lawyers were employed in the case: Messrs. John H. Rogers, James F. Read, B. H. Tabor,

⁹ "Last Monday the following, as the will of the late Captain Wm. H. Rogers, was filed by Mr. J. B. Forester, attorney for Mrs. Rogers, executrix:

'Know all men by these parents (sic): That I, Wm. H. Rogers, of the City of Fort Smith and State of Arkansas, now temporarily residing at Muskogee, in the Creek Nation, Indian Territory, being in sound mind and memory, and being desirous of making disposition of my estate, while I am able to do so, do make and establish this my last will and testament, . . .

'Second, it is my wish that my beloved wife, Susan M. Rogers, be the sole executrix of this my last will and testament.

'Third, I hereby give, devise and bequeath to my said wife, Susan M. Rogers, all of my estate, real, personal, and mixed of every description, where the same may be, either in the Indian Territory, or in the State of Arkansas, of which I may die

R. T. Powell, R. W. McFarlane and T. L. Browne for the contestants; Messrs. B. T. Duval, W. M. Cravens, J. S. Little, C. B. Neal, W. W. H. Clayton, Jos. Forrester and Robert L. Owen for the contestees. The contest tried in the circuit court of Greenwood district resulted in breaking the will.¹⁰

Mrs. Rogers was appointed clerk of the supreme court of the Creek Nation and records in the Oklahoma Historical Society show that she was serving in 1894, 1895 and 1897. She was one of the commissioners appointed to represent the Creek Nation in the matter of determining who were citizens of that tribe in order that certificates of allotment might be issued to them. The other commissioners were J. R. Gregory and Abraham Kernels.¹¹

Mrs. Adair helped officiate at the birth of the late Will Rogers; she gave him the name of her noted husband and he appears on the "Authenticated Rolls of 1880, Cherokee Nation, Cooweescoowee District as No. 2340 Rogers, Col. W. P. Cherokee 7m male."¹²

On her ninety-first birthday Mrs. Rogers traveled in a manner she had never tried before. She was invited to make a flight by Mr. L. L. Rupert, manager of the Muskogee airport, in his little Taylor Cub. She was pleased with the experience and exclaimed that she would ride in any plane she could climb into. Later in the day she took a second ride through the courtesy of Mr. Frank Phillips of Bartlesville who sent his luxurious cabin ship for the express purpose of giving "Aunt Sue" pleasure. The ship, a new 78,000 Boeing ten passenger, all-metal plane, carried aloft Mrs. Rogers and her guests, Father A. C. Taeyaerts of the Church of the Assumption; Mrs. John G. Lieber, her foster daughter, and Howard Lieber; Mrs. Ed Merrick, cousin of Mrs. Rogers; L. C. Gen-

seized and possessed, or entitled to, and to have and to hold to the said Susan M., her heirs and assigns forever.'

"Mr. Rogers also willed to his widow 'all of his real estate of every description; all of the money, all bonds, bills, stocks, mortgages and choses in action which may belong to me and may be due me at my death. . . ' He bequeathed to his sister, 'Margaret Chollar, the brick house and lot in the city of Fort Smith . . . in which she is now living, and also to convey to my neice, Mary Anderson, daughter of Emma Johnson, my youngest sister, one of my tenement houses in Fort Smith . . . '

"Witness my hand this seventh day of September, A. D. 1889.

"Wm. H. Rogers.

"Dr. James O. Callahan and Ben T. Duval certified that this will was signed in their presence by W. H. Rogers . . . this seventh day of September, A. D. 1889. . . . Ben T. Duval, Jas. O. Callahan." —*Fort Smith Elevator*, October 18, 1889, p. 3, col. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, October 10, 1890, p. 3, col. 4.

¹¹ Indian Archives, 35054 "Creek Pastures & Stock"; 30712 "Foreign Relations—Creek-Seminole File"; 35664 "Creek Principal Chief;" in Oklahoma Historical Society.

¹² Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

try and Francis Bardon, Associated Press representatives; Paul A. Bruner, managing editor of the *Muskogee Phoenix* and *Times-Democrat*, and Ed Nelson of the Phillips Company. The plane was piloted by Clarence Clark.¹³

Mrs. Rogers was always present at the Old Settlers meeting held annually during the Muskogee State Fair. It gave her great pleasure to meet her old friends and her usual enquiry was "Is there any one here older than I am?" On learning that she held the place of honor she would settle down to a day filled with satisfaction.

Mrs. Rogers died April 4, 1939, at the home of Mrs. John G. Lieber, 333 Fredonia Street; her funeral rites were conducted at the Church of the Assumption by the Rev. A. C. Taeyaerts on the morning of April 15 and she was buried in Greenhill Cemetery, Muskogee. She was survived by four nieces; Mrs. Lieber, Mrs. Pearl Morrow, also of Muskogee; Mrs. J. C. Wise, Wainwright, Oklahoma; and Mrs. Jesse Parker, Washington, D. C.; a nephew, Buck Rogers, and a grand-nephew Howard Lieber.¹⁴

¹³ *Muskogee Phoenix*, October 15, 1935, p. 1, col. 1 and p. 2, col. 6.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, April 5, 1939, p. 1, cols. 2 and 3. Material not otherwise cited was obtained in interviews with Mrs. Rogers.

WILDLIFE ON THE T-5 AND SPADE RANCHES¹

Part I

By Ralph H. Records

"I always thought that the Eagle Chief country was a great resort for wild animals," Laban S. Records often remarked. As a cowhand he first saw this country in September, 1878, when he helped drive Oliver Ewell's herd from Dodge City to the Ewell-Justis range on that stream.² The following year he rode for the T-5, and during the winter of 1879-1880, hunted and trapped on the Eagle Chief and Cimarron.

During the 'eighties he was on the Spade ranch at least five years and frequently saw the Eagle Chief. Because of its perennial springs of fresh water, excellent stands of timber, buffalo grass on the open range, and blackjacks in the sandhills, the variety of wildlife was marked. At one time or another he saw deer, antelope, bear, beaver, one buffalo, panther, coyotes, lobo wolves, prairie chicken, quail, curlew, turkey, and wild horses. Marion Hildreth, a cowhand who rode for Dave Greever, whose range was west of the Glass mountains, south of the Cimarron, once told Laban that he killed two elk with his Winchester one winter during the 'seventies. Records also learned that another small band of elk ranged the broken country at the head of Driftwood Creek in southwestern Barber County, Kansas, at the same time.

While riding the line on the T-5 from April to December, 1879, Laban Records saw evidence of competition between the Indian and white man for possession of the wildlife. One day the cowhand came upon a large unfinished dugout near a heavy stand of timber. An old, barkless ridgelog, supported at the ends by posts, was visible. In front lay the skulls and horns of two oxen. Atop a small mound south of the dugout was a shallow grave. One day he took a spade and uncovered the remains of a large Indian. Laban said that the tibia bone was several inches longer than his own. The Indian's lower jaw, which was unusually large, and the teeth, were in good condition. Laban scraped out the loose bones and found long glass beads, a few shirt buttons, and two bullets. One was fired by a muzzle-loading rifle, and the other by a cap-and-ball six-shooter. In relating this experience, Laban said, "It might seem strange that I could tell the kind of gun that fired the bullets. The rifle bullet showed impressions of the cloth, on which the

1. The material in this article is based on the recollections of a cowboy of the 'seventies and 'eighties.

2. Interview, Ralph H. Records with Miss Evelyn Ewell, Kiowa, Kansas, June 27, 1937. Eagle Chief Creek is a branch of the Cimarron, running through Woods, Alfalfa and Major counties, Oklahoma.

bullet was laid, when the ramrod drove it down the barrel. The other bullet carried the marks of the iron ramrod which was used to load the six-shooter." The cowhand believed that at least two white men shot the Indian and buried him, but that this Indian and others had killed the oxen.

When Laban told the cowhands on the T-5 what he had unearthed, Jim Buzzard, who rode the south line, said he found some graves near the mouth of the Eagle Chief. He dug into one with a spade and uncovered a skeleton and the steel ribs of a parasol. The cowhands in mock seriousness accused him of defiling the grave of a squaw. Laban found a tomahawk near the Eagle Chief, which was a calumet, a ceremonial pipe of peace. It had a bois d'arc handle, which was neatly wrapped with copper wire.³ He was greatly surprised to find a cow bell. He took the bell to camp but no one could tell him how it got there.⁴

In the spring of 1879, Laban Records rode up Table Mound and found the skeleton of an Indian pony and the remnants of an Indian saddle. Although the bois d'arc stirrups were well preserved, one of them had a bullet hole through it, which might explain how the pony lost its life.

The open glades in the blackjacks, east of the Eagle Chief, was a favorite gathering place for wild horses during the late 'seventies and early 'eighties. Some were mustangs and many others were horses that had escaped from ranches in the Outlet and from the horse herds that came up the Texas trail. When Laban rode the line along Pool Creek, a tributary to the Eagle Chief, he frequently watched a band of horses watering there. They watered every other day. The band remained hidden in the timber while the stallion rushed out in the open, waved his tail, and made for the timber again. He repeated the maneuver once more. Then like a flash the herd ran from the timber and jumped into the creek rolling and pawing and drinking the black water they had stirred up.

The cowhand saw this same herd exercising by running in a great circle about twenty miles in circumference. Although they were seldom seen, their course was marked by a cloud of dust. A cowhand on the T-5 used a ruse and captured a mustang colt. He rode in front of the colt which was unable to keep up with the herd. It followed the cowboy to camp. He later sold it as a pet for \$10. A group of cowboys once tried to wind the adult animals by chasing them in relays. They were too hardy and too wily ever to be captured in this fashion. The old stallion ran at the rear

3. The relic is in the possession of Mrs. Oliver Campbell, Okeene, Oklahoma.

4. The bell had originated in the settlements or from a domestic herd years before the cowhand found it.

of the herd unmercifully biting the laggards to keep the band intact. When he suddenly cut through the middle of the herd, squealing at a great rate, the horses scattered into the breaks and canyons and were soon lost to view.

Jim Buzzard who rode for the T-5 found three large bay horses grazing on the green winter grass on the Eagle Chief in the winter of 1879. Since they were very wild, he permitted them to get a good look at him and then rode away. He repeated this strategy for a number of days. Having accustomed them to seeing him, he drove a number of saddle horses to mingle with the three bays. When they made friends with one another, they were all driven to the corral at the ranch house. Before Laban left the T-5, two of the horses were broken to work and the third one was trained to lead by halter.

As the summer of 1879 wore on, a large number of branded horses joined the wild band near the Eagle Chief. They, too, had been attracted by the good water, grass, and shade. But the Cheyenne Indians found them. The mounted Cheyennes formed a line north of the blackjacks and drove them south across the Cimarron. Frank McAlester, of Kiowa, Kansas, a horse trader, heard that the Indians had the horses on the North Canadian above Fort Reno. So he got into touch with all the men who had lost horses from their herds on the Texas trail and secured power of attorney to recover the animals. He presented his papers to the commanding officer of Fort Reno and asked him to help recover the horses. When the horses were turned over to the trader, he started the herd toward Kiowa, Kansas. He had no wagon outfit, hence no supplies. He got to the camp on the T-5 in time to eat supper, and was asked to stay all night but refused. He was afraid, if he stopped, that the Indians might overtake him and stampede the horses. McAlester told the cowhands on the T-5 that the Indians showed him some relics which they had taken from the site of the Custer massacre. He tried to buy a drum but the Indians would not part with it.⁵

In the late summer of 1879, the T-5 herd and camp were transferred to the southern portion of the range south of the Cimarron. When provisions ran low, the cook, Jim, took the wagon and drove to Kiowa, Kansas, for new supplies. Suspecting that Cheyennes were hunting nearby, Records told Jim to take his Winchester. He had gotten but a few miles north of the river when a file of Potawatomi Indians, returning from an unsuccessful buffalo hunt, hailed him. Jim, paralyzed with fright, sat and looked. Then he jumped to the ground and started to unhitch a horse, deciding that he would ride for his life. The Indians were too close. Jim

5. The cowhand did not put much credence in the story.

stood in a trance, expecting to die in his tracks. What a sense of relief came over him when the leader of the band asked for something to eat! Quick as a flash, grateful Jim gave the half starved Indians his entire lunch. The Potawatomes had passed out of sight and Jim was well on his way before he recalled having a gun and ammunition. When he finished his long, lonely trip and related his experiences to the T-5 cowhands, Fayette Thomas and Records realized that Jim's big stories—he was an old plainsman and buffalo hunter—"were hatched in his infertile brain."

Thomas and Records had observed that the cook was worried about Indians, weeks before the T-5 outfit left their summer camp on the lower Eagle Chief. Now he was more apprehensive than ever. Even the tame Potawatomes wearing "stove-pipe" hats had increased his fears. So the two cowhands who rode the line together and knew him best took pains to keep all Indian discussions out of Jim's hearing. He was a satisfactory cook, and the cowhands were in the saddle from daylight to dark. Neither one of them had any stomach for cooking under such circumstances. So they made no mention of the fact that they had heard the distant boom of a gun from time to time. But George McDonald did comment once at supper time. Records nudged him and said, "Jim might stampede and leave us."

A week passed. McDonald rode in and blurted out that he saw tracks of three Indians at a spring on his line. "Jim looked as if he was about to faint. I saw that something had to be done to counteract the awful dose McDonald had given him," the alarmed cowhand recalled. So he said, "George, they may have been bear tracks." George replied sharply, "Do you think I don't know Indian tracks from bear tracks? They were on white sand in the bed of the creek and they had lain down to get a drink."

Records countered, "How do you know there were three? It may be one Indian came three times."

McDonald continued, "One was barefooted, one wore moccasins, and the other one had on Government shoes."

Records said, "George, you say one was barefooted?"

"Yes," George replied.

"Oh, they were poor folks!" said Records.

George snapped at his interrogator, "You are trying to make me out a liar. I don't allow anyone to call me a liar to my face!"

Thomas laughed and Jim coming out of his trance joined him. Records soon got George out of Jim's presence and explained to him that he was trying to reassure Jim and keep him from running away.

Within a week, A. G. "Gus" Johnson, owner of the T-5 herd, drove down from Dodge City in his surrey to make an inspection. Jim asked for his pay and rode away with Johnson, excusing himself with the assertion that he had a claim in Western Kansas and that his six-months' leave of absence was about to expire. Jim's flight left the cowhands the delicate operation of preparing their own breakfast before daylight, and of cooking supper by lantern and fire light. Johnson dispatched Frank Tracy and George McDonald to Wolf Creek in Northern Texas to bring his new herd of 2,500 steers to the T-5.

For a day or so Barrett, Buzzard, Thomas, and Records were left to do all the riding. Luckily George Cunningham rode up looking for work, and they hired him. Then Barrett and George rode one line; Fayette and Laban Records the other. While the latter pair were riding together in the Cimarron bottoms, Fayette killed a large buck deer with his six-shooter. The deer were out in the grassy flats to escape the flies that attacked them in the brush. Then the men had venison for several days. In the meantime Fayette foundered on venison and became too ill to ride for a few days.

Laban rode the line alone. Shortly after dinner one afternoon he saw two horsemen approaching from the south about a mile away. They were also in the grassy flats where deer came to lie. He saw flashes of sunlight from their old Long Toms or buffalo guns.⁶ He knew they were Indians for the guns were pointed to the right, and not to the left, as white men would carry firearms, and their posture was unlike that of white men. Recounting his experience, Laban said that when a few moments later three other Indians rode through "a buffalo pass in the sandhills only fifty yards to my right, my blood nearly froze." He suddenly recalled at the time, what two Government scouts, Mike Meagher and C. M. Scott,⁷ told the cowhands of the T-5 earlier that summer: "When you see an Indian, either shoot or run."⁸

Laban believed it was unsafe to do either. He chose to bluff the three Indians. The other two were about fifty rods apart, less than a half mile away, and riding directly toward him. It was not pleasant to think about the two Indians with the buffalo guns.

When the lead Indian at the pass signaled Laban to approach he spurred his horse toward them and jerked his six-shooter. This

6. The Long Toms or Big Fifties were effective up to a mile in distance.

7. Meagher was killed in the so-called Talbott raid in Caldwell, Kansas, December 17, 1881. G. D. Freeman, *An Incidental History of Southern Kansas and the Indian Territory* (Caldwell: G. D. Freeman, 1892), pp. 361-372. C. M. Scott later resided near Arkansas City, Kansas until 1910. A letter from Mrs. C. M. Scott of Manhattan, Kansas, to L. S. Records, February, 1938.

8. Meagher and Scott quoted J. D. Miles, Cheyenne-Arapaho agent at Fort Reno.

bold action stopped the Indians in their tracks, and the cowhand's horse nearly rubbed noses with the lead Indian's mule when he stopped. The grip of the cowhand's six-shooter rested on the saddle horn, and he had the Indians covered. At first glance he was relieved to note that the lead Indian had his Winchester in its scabbard fastened to his saddle under his leg, and that the two young bucks on the horses apparently were unarmed. At the second glance he observed that the leader was a dirty dark old fellow with short scraggly hair.⁹ It was obvious that the Indians were unfriendly, for they had not greeted him with "How, John." For a few moments they looked one another over before uttering a word.

The old Cheyenne was the first to speak. "You Agency?"¹⁰

Laban replied, "Yes."

Again the Indian asked, "Wohaw Agency?"¹¹

Laban again replied, "Yes."

Then the Indian growled savagely, "You Texan!"¹²

"Yes," was Laban's reply.

The Indian said, "Wohaw Texan?"¹³

Laban said "Yes" for the fourth time with obvious and intentional contradiction. Although the Indian knew Laban was lying, he was not sure whether it was sheer bravado or evidence that other white men were nearby.

Then Laban asked, "Where are your soldiers?" The Cheyenne replied, "Camped thare," and pointed to a grove of cottonwoods on Big Sand Creek. "I knew he was spoofing and I told him so," Laban afterward recalled. "Then I heard the tramp of horses' feet behind me."

The Big Fifties had arrived! Laban continued his story: "I gave my horse the steel. He made a terrible jump and wheeled

⁹. Indians who cut their hair were not obliged to wail for departed relatives. But it was a sign of mourning. See George Bird Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians: Their History and Ways of Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923), II, pp. 161-62.

¹⁰. The Indian wanted to know whether or not the cowhand was an employee of the United States Indian Agency at Fort Reno.

¹¹. Wohaw meant cattle. He asked if the T-5 herd belonged to the Government Agency.

¹². The Cheyenne and other south Plains Indians disliked Texans. See Lawrie Tatum, *Our Red Brothers* (Philadelphia: J. C. Winston & Co., 1899), pp. 107-130; Thomas C. Battey, *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians* (Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, 1875), pp. 238, 239-40.

¹³. The Indian asked whether the cattle were from Texas.

around to the left of the five Indians and prevented them from maneuvering me between them. Their Big Fifties pointed away from me, . . . and I had them covered."

The five Indians talked Cheyenne, and Laban supposed they were planning to exterminate him. Then feigning great anger, he said, "Look here, old Toppy, who are you?"

The Indian said, "Me scout!"

Laban looked down at the Indian's mule and haw-hawed in a loud, derisive manner. Scouts used mules only in the mountains. The Indian made a grabbing motion at the cowhand, and with a rasping, snarling tone in his voice said, "Catch white man!"

Laban pointed his finger at the Cheyenne and said, "You catch white man?"

"Yas," the Indian answered.

Affecting a smile of confidence, the cowhand said, "You had better get busy; you'll find plenty of them to catch!"

A changed expression came over the Indian's face at once. Mellowing his voice and demeanor he meekly asked, "Heap white men?"

"You will think 'Heap white men' before you're through," Laban Records remarked with growing confidence.

"Whare?" the Indian asked.

"Everywhere," Laban said, and pointed up and down the Cimarron with a sweep of the arm.

Then the Indian asked, "Whare you camp?"

Pointing at a huge sandhill, the cowhand confided, "Get on top of that sandhill; then see my camp." The camp was in the opposite direction. This seemed to close the interview, and the Indians started on their way without giving a friendly word or sign.

Laban started off at an angle, watching the Indians out of the corner of an eye, until he passed behind a sandhill. Then he rode as fast as the horse could go across the river bottom toward the main herd. Later when recounting the incident, he said, "I looked back in time to see the Indians top the sandhill, then wheel their mounts and look for me. I took off my hat and waved to them to let them know I had put one over on them."

After riding a few miles, Laban Records joined Buzzard and Cunningham and related his experiences. It almost unnerved Buzzard, and he refused to take his turn riding alone. He admitted

that Indians frightened him when he saw them in the settlements. So Cunningham said, "I'll take the lone ride myself."

Buzzard and Records rode slowly toward camp and gathered up a new bunch of saddle horses that had been turned out only that afternoon. It was dark when they approached camp, and Bill Dunlap came afoot to meet them. He was terribly excited. "Is that you, Records?" he called.

"Yes," was the reply.

"I tell you, I'm glad to see you alive!" Dunlap shouted.

The cowhand was as surprised to see Dunlap as Dunlap was to see him. Dunlap had been on the Ninnescah in Southern Kansas all summer with Johnson's herd of grub ears and had just marketed them at Wichita.¹⁴ When he arrived at the T-5 tent, Fayette Thomas was the only one there. He foolishly turned all his saddle horses loose and left himself afoot.

Dunlap explained why he was so excited. "Shortly after I turned the horses loose, Thomas and I were sitting in the tent talking when an old Cheyenne Indian walked right in. Thomas grabbed his Winchester and I jerked my six-shooter. When we saw that the Indian didn't have a gun in his hand, we didn't shoot. The old Indian was as much surprised as we were!"

This account astonished Records, for he believed that he had prevented the Indians from finding their camp. He was further amazed when Dunlap told the rest of the story: "We looked out and saw four other Indians mounted. In a moment the Indian and I were outside the tent. Then the old Indian saw Thomas' buck hide and said, 'How much?' 'Four bits,' Thomas replied. The Indian pulled out a half dollar and pitched it to Thomas. Then he rolled the deer skin, tied it to his saddle and mounted his mule."

The old Indian addressed Dunlap again, "Little black-eyed man belong here?"¹⁵

"Yes," Dunlap replied. (He added when he told the story later, "I knew he meant you, Records.")

The Indian continued, "He heap mean. He kill Indian!"

Dunlap asked, "Did he kill an Indian?"

The Indian replied, "No, me hog-tie him!"

¹⁴. The cowhand explained that Mexican cattle raisers cut the ears of their cattle to a stump as a means of marking them.

¹⁵. Laban Records' eyes were dark blue.

Dunlap countered, "You didn't leave him hog-tied on the prairie, did you? The coyotes will eat him."

His anger mounting, the Indian said, "Coyotes no eat him. He too mean. Me be back in three sleeps and git him!"

This was the Indians' cue to be on their way. They rode in a northwesterly direction from the camp. Dunlap observed that the Indians were distinctly unfriendly. They had not saluted the T-5 men with a "How, John," or said "How" when they left. It had been just a year since the exciting reports of how Dull Knife's Northern Cheyenne were sweeping through the cow country, raiding and killing.

After regaling one another with their summer's experiences, Dunlap told Records that he was wanted at the T-5 headquarters, which was at least ten miles north of the Cimarron. Dunlap took charge of the tent camp for a day or so. Bill Hudson, general manager of all the T-5 herds, had received Johnson's new herd which had just arrived from the northern Texas Panhandle. This herd had to be close-herded, to accustom them to the range and to prevent them from infecting the native stock with Texas fever. Records filled his war sack with his curios and personal effects of ten years' standing and took the Indian trail across the Cimarron. They had set a northwesterly course and pursued it. Arrived at the headquarters camp, Laban soon found that the cook, Jack, was filthy, careless, and lazy. Instead of walking to a clear spring to get water for cooking, he dipped the ruddy water from the Eagle Chief—it was up now—and cooked dried peaches in a crock and served them that way. Dunlap was present. He grabbed the crock from the table and heaved it and the contents into the Eagle Chief, and warned Jack if he ever set out food like that again he would get something he would long remember. Shortly after noon one day Laban collapsed in his saddle from ptomaine poisoning. But the horse that he was riding always made for camp when the reins were relaxed. The old cook saw the stricken cowhand and dragged him to a pallet in the headquarters log house, got a concoction in a cup and said, "Drink that; it will either kill or cure, for you'll be dead in a few minutes anyhow." "I drank every drop of it," Laban afterward remarked. "In a short time I threw up everything but my boot heels." Two days later Jack told the recuperating cowhand that he had made an emetic out of a heavy solution of salt and hot water.¹⁶

Not many days had passed when the first bleak wind of winter arrived. It was about four in the morning. Hudson, being in charge again, waked everybody at once. As they ate breakfast,

¹⁶. The headquarters ranch house was a mile west and a half south of Carmen, Oklahoma.

he issued orders and assignments. Four men were sent with a wagon and supplies to make a new line dugout at the head of Sand Creek. Laban was told to proceed southeast as far as the river, if need be, to catch the southward drift of cattle. He put on all the clothes he had and buckled his six-shooter outside. "But I did not anticipate meeting a panther," he added in telling his experience. It was four o'clock in the afternoon before he overtook any stragglers, thirty longhorns traveling due south. He soon headed them north again into the teeth of that cold wind. They had not gone far when a game trail was sighted, leading directly to a grove of elm, hackberry, and cottonwoods near some barren sandhills. One of the elms must have been six feet in diameter, and had a great spread of top. It was so pleasant to be out of the wind that the cowhand slackened his horse's pace to a slow walk.

Yet the wind was howling through the tops of the trees. For that reason the cowhand paid no attention to the noises of scratching and clawing on the opposite side of the great elm. In a moment a limb three or four feet in length struck him on the head. Later when telling the incident, Records said, "I looked up and saw a panther less than six feet above me. His big yellow eyes were fixed on me, and he was switching his tail like a cat making ready to pounce on a rat. I spurred the horse up the sandhill, grabbing my six-shooter at the same moment, and fired."

The big brute was in action himself: he had leaped from one limb to a higher one and to another still higher, trying to keep above his quarry. When the cowhand whirled, he noticed that one of the panther's hind legs was helpless. Spitting like a cat, the noise sounded more like the snort of a horse. Records' horse was frightened and reared on his hind legs when the man tried to shoot. The second shot was a miss. The third shot brought the panther to the earth, rolling, clawing, and kicking. George Cunningham, sent from the new line dugout to help Laban with his cut, saw the panther pitch out of the tree. Cunningham tried to prevent Records from making a close-up examination, however, his advice was disregarded. Records found that the first shot struck the panther in the flank and came out the ball of the foot without breaking the skin between the two perforations. The fatal bullet shattered a great tooth and the lower jaw and went into the hollow of the neck. The panther was skinned and the pelt displayed at the T-5 headquarters; it was mole-colored and the body length was six feet.

By the first of December, the line dugouts had been established. Hudson asked Records about taking charge of the ranch headquarters for the winter. It would require several long trips to Caldwell for grain and provisions, constant rehauling to the line camps,

looking after the extensive properties at the ranch headquarters, and taking care of the work and saddle horses. Records afterward explained, "I declined the offer, because the T-5 did not feed their employees well, and most of their horses were pretty rough old pelters."

He bought the horse from which he had shot the panther and rode to the south fork of the Ninnescah (Kansas) to visit his brother, Frank, who was holding the Records' herd with the P. H. Chapin herd.¹⁷ Frank Tracy, who was also leaving the T-5 to visit his sister and her family at Wichita, proposed that Laban Records join him on a hunting and trapping expedition on the Eagle Chief and Cimarron during the winter. The proposal was accepted.

Part II

Both men¹⁸ were fully acquainted with the fauna of the region. Each morning for over a week, while riding his line near a chain of sandhills during mid-summer, 1879, Laban saw buzzards alighting nearby. Each time he rode to the spot and found the remains of a deer that had been killed and eaten during the night before. The tell-tale marks of a panther were obvious: the hide was torn at the center of the back and pulled each way so as to expose the flesh on the shoulders and hindquarters. The cowhand also found where a panther lay on the bank of the Cimarron. Tracks on the sand below revealed that a coyote had approached. The panther jumped and missed but gave chase. They ran in circles that became smaller and smaller until the two animals were almost twisted into a knot. Then the wily coyote cut straight away and eluded the panther.

At the mouth of a small creek, confluent with the Cimarron's north bank, Laban was surprised to find beaver. He did not know what they were at first, for their heads were bobbing above and below the surface of the water at a great rate. Suddenly one of them left the water and ran into tall grass. Then another started up the bank. Laban explained, "I killed it with a shot from my six-shooter. I was ashamed, for it was a beaver and there were only two. They were fishing. By stirring up the mud, the fish were forced to come to the surface for air."

The two hunting partners took over an old abandoned T-5 dugout northwest of Fairview near the Glass Mountains. They took advantage of the first rainy day to reload their empty six-shooter and rifle shells. Tracy poured several pounds of powder on a blanket lying on their bunk. A fire burned in the fireplace. It

17. The Chapin herd was in Barber County, not far from Medicine Lodge.

18. Frank Tracy and L. S. Records.

was slow work extracting the exploded caps from the empty shells, for they were using their pocket knives. Laban heard Tracy say "I'll fix 'em," but he did not look up.

Laban said, "I was sitting on the bunk between the fireplace and powder pile. Suddenly there was a terrible explosion. Fire, smoke, and dust filled the dugout and coals of fire hit me. I jumped to my feet, shook live coals from my clothing, and saw others burning holes in the blanket all around the powder."

He quickly smothered the fire on the bunk and saved the powder supply. "Then I turned to see what Tracy had done," he continued. "He had filled two empty shells with water and placed them in the fireplace, thinking the steam would blow out the primer caps."¹⁹ A few days later, while both hunters were in the dugout, a Cheyenne Indian walked in and said, "How, John," and asked for something to eat. Laban answered him in the sign language, for the Indian had used it.

Laban continued, "I soon convinced him that we also were looking for something to eat and had nothing to hand out. Then the Indian asked if there were many deer. I told him they were few and far between. He sat for a few moments facing us, as if in a deep study, then suddenly said, 'How,' and shot out the door. He was as quick and flashy as a panther."²⁰

The hunters crossed the Cimarron to the north and found another unused T-5 dugout which had a fireplace and a chimney. Only a few shovelful of dirt were needed to patch the roof. They dragged enough firewood by ropes fastened to their saddle horns to last all winter. They poisoned coyotes by mixing tallow and strychnine, which was poured into small holes in blocks of wood,²¹ which were staked fast to the earth in a semi-circle facing the camp. The carcass of a small animal was attached to a rope and dragged along the course of the blocks. "Sometimes we found a dead coyote with his nose lying against the block. More often, when the poison began to take effect, the coyote staggered away and went far before death overtook him," Laban Records explained.

When coyote pelts gave out, the trappers shifted to the Eagle Chief and went after opossum and raccoon. Opossum were found in brush heaps and small holes in the ground. Raccoon were found in hollow trees, which the men cut down. Finding a large tree

¹⁹. Brass shells were cheaper in the long run. They could be reloaded many times, and buying powder, shot, and priming caps in the bulk kept down expenses.

²⁰. This Indian friendly attitude was in striking contrast to that of the five who met the cowhand a few months before.

²¹ Evan G. Barnard ("Parson" Barnard), *A Rider of the Cherokee Strip*, E. E. Dale, ed., mentions poisoning coyotes. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936), pp. 117-18.

marked by claws and traces of dried mud, Tracy climbed it with the aid of a rope and yelled, "This hole is full to the top with raccoons." He wanted to shoot them. His partner told him not to do so, for he would ruin the fur, but to drop them down one at a time (they were curled and sound asleep twenty feet up the tree), and he would club them to death. Seven were dispatched, and they concluded that this was the proper way to hunt raccoon. Apparently the animals had been feeding in the night on snails, fish, crayfish, hackberry seed, and roots of certain plants and shrubs.

While the hunters were in the second dugout, Tracy's brother-in-law, Hank Heizerman, Wiley Cowen, a former cowpuncher, and Charlie Collins, son of one of their neighbors, drove over to the camp to visit. They had sold and delivered two wagon-loads of shelled corn to the T-5, which they had raised on their farms along the Cowskin near Wichita, Kansas.

The visitors turned all their horses loose, but the hunters staked out two of theirs. Something stampeded the visitors' horses before anyone had gone to bed. Cowen and Tracy got on the two horses and overtook them at Kiowa. Up to the moment when the horses stampeded, the four men regaled each other with interesting experiences. Surmising that Cowen and Tracy would be gone most of the day, for they had waited until morning, so as to follow the trail, Heizerman said to Records, "Let's go huntin'." Heizerman was a peg-legged Pennsylvania Dutchman. After they had walked from early in the morning until four in the afternoon, and had not seen anything "worth shooting," Records lamented how tired both of them were. But he was surprised to hear Heizerman say with a hearty laugh, "Just think of the fun we're havin'."

When the guests prepared to leave the next morning, their hosts told them if they drove through a certain blackjack grove, where acorns lay thick upon the ground, they might get a shot at a deer. Tracy let Charlie Collins use his Number Eight shotgun.²³ He and Records rode to the opposite side of the timber and dismounted, one at each of the two entrances. When Records heard Collins shoot, he rode back toward him. Collins saw him coming. He waved his hat and yelled, "I killed the biggest buck I ever seed!" When the wagons came up, Heizerman motioned to Records and asked, "What was the first thing Collins said when he shot the buck?" When the cowhand told him, Heizerman laughed hard and said, "That's all I wanted to know." Then he began to torment Collins, and the three drove away in high spirits and good humor.

²². This heavy-duty muzzle loading gun belonged to F. A. Records, Laban's brother. He used it in hunting deer and geese.

The hunters rode up the Cimarron and established a third camp. This one was near blackjack timber, and deer were to be their specialty now. This particular grove covered at least a hundred acres, acorns were in profusion, and Records noticed that the small bushes were twisted and broken by the antlers of deer. He rode back to Tracy and told him that he had found where all the deer were. The hunters knew that the deer could be found eating acorns at daybreak. They took great care to approach the feeding grounds against the wind. It was not long until they had a large supply of venison for themselves, and four deer to sell.

It was late in December, and fur-dealers in Kansas City had sent their agents out to the cow camps. The men at the T-5 ranch headquarters knew where the hunters could be found. Presently a trader drove up and paid two dollars and a half apiece for the deer, and promised to buy as many more at the same price when he made a second trip to the camp. He bought some of the furs, and Records offered to sell him his large panther hide. He would not set a price on this pelt, but told him to take it along. When the trader returned, he paid fifty cents for the pelt. Fur-buyers objected to the thickness of the panther skin; it was too difficult to dress down. The cowhand wished that he had kept the skin.

Before the trader called a second time, the panther had discovered the deer's gathering place and was killing them. The deer became so shy it was exceedingly difficult to stalk them. Tracy verified the assumption early one morning when he entered his hideout in the blackjack grove. He heard something running through the leaves and underbrush. He investigated and found a pile of leaves and trash as large as a shock of hay. With fingers on both triggers of his old "Number Eight," he poked the muzzle of the gun into the leaves and shoved them aside. There lay a deer carcass. He applied a liberal dose of strychnine from the bottle he carried and recovered the carcass. The next morning the hunters found the bones picked clean of flesh. They rode over the country, looking for a dead panther, but never found one.

During the general roundup of 1880 Frank Garretson asked Records if he had been hunting in the Eagle Chief country during the previous winter, and if he had poisoned a panther. Garretson had found one, apparently a victim of poison. The two hunters continued their partnership with varying degrees of success until the first of March. Tracy may have returned to the T-5, but Records rode to Medicine Lodge and worked for Charlie Curry about a month.²³ Then he went to the Spade Ranch and rode for Frank Bates the next four years.

²³. Curry had acreage near Medicine Lodge. He had barns, corrals, feed lots and a slaughterhouse. His father-in-law, a Mr. Petit, was proprietor of a butcher shop in town.

The cowhand took a great interest in everything alive. This interest or talent was acquired and cultivated by close association with all kinds of animals seen at one time or another on the great open ranges. During the long lonely hours on night-herd, or while riding the line by day, he had ample time to reflect on the meaning of their sounds and movements. He saw and heard and understood much about the ways of animals. He saw the first prairie dog towns in the summer of 1878 when he was traveling to Dodge City in a wagon.²⁴ "The farther west I traveled, the larger and more numerous they were," he recalled. He observed that these quick, cunning little fellows preferred the short buffalo grass country on the high divides. If perchance bunch grass and blue stem began to crowd their towns, they fought the encroachment by cutting it down. If they failed, they moved to higher and drier ground. The dogs had discovered by experience that coyotes hid in the tall grass before daybreak and snapped up the first dog to get within reach of them. One solitary buffalo wallow filled with a rank growth of blue stem grass was an ideal place for a coyote to hide.

During the summer of 1879, while riding his line on the T-5, and when a hard wind was blowing, the cowhand rode straight across a large prairie dog town. While the dogs were barking at the intruder, the cowhand's horse flushed a coyote from a wallow only a few steps away. As the coyote ran, he grabbed up a prairie dog without slackening his speed. To keep it from biting him, the coyote threw the dog into the air again and again, catching it as it fell. When he missed a try, he ran a few rods and looked back. Seeing that he was not being chased, he retrieved it and loped away. Apparently the prairie dog was dead by then.

Rattlesnakes were also feared by the small dogs. Records once said:

"I have seen them try to enter a prairie dog burrow. A number of dogs gathered around him, and first one and then another grabbed the snake by the tail and pulled him back. I have often seen prairie dog burrows sealed tight with dirt. If a snake succeeded in getting into the burrow for the purpose of swallowing the small puppies, the dogs filled it completely with solidly packed earth. This spot was often visited and kept clear of grass. When a dog approached, he stood on his hind legs with his front paws thrust high, uttered a screeching cry and went away. Each dog town had one burrow that must have extended to the water level, for the presence of coarse pebbles and sand indicated the great depth of the burrow."

Records learned that coyotes play tricks on one another like human beings. Like the lobo wolf, they have various calls and signals by day as well as by night. The following incident was told by the cowhand:

²⁴. Sam Taylor, Hiram Moore and the cowhand drove from Peru, Chautauqua County, Kansas, to Dodge City to seek employment with cowmen in that area.

"While on herd one day, I saw a coyote trying to trail something. But the scent proved to be too vague to follow. He finally gave up, then trotted upon a knoll and sent up a lonesome howl and repeated it at intervals. In a few moments I heard a coyote's short quick 'yip' in a hollow. The lonesome fellow turned his head in that direction, and then sneaked down into the tall grass beneath the knoll. I frequently heard coyotes serenading, when I stood guard on night-herd, and the country seemed to be filled with them. Other nights I never heard a sound. One night, when coyotes were howling far and near, an old lobo wolf within fifty yards of me sent up his big coarse howl. The coyote chorus stopped, and I never heard another whimper out of them that night. By their silence, the coyotes must have agreed that this was the lobo's night."

The cowhand was of the opinion that the mother coyote did not suckle her young; if so, it was for only a very brief time. For he watched one prepare a solid, smooth surface at the mouth of a den by rolling and walking on it. Then whatever she caught was carried to this glossy surface, chewed into fine pulp and dropped on it. The whelps came out and lapped it up. This procedure continued until they were able to hunt for themselves.

Coyotes became bold and cunning when snow lay on the earth. During the winter of 1881 a great snow fall covered the ranges and collected in the small gulches, hollows, and streams several feet in depth. When the skies cleared, the cowhand rode out from the Spade headquarters dugout followed by Shep, a faithful and intelligent shepherd dog.²⁵ They had not gone far when a coyote sighted the dog, and fell in behind him. If Shep turned on him, he ran just hard enough to elude the dog's teeth. While looking back, the coyote ran into a deep snowdrift and Shep overtook him. For a few seconds it was a game of snap-grab-and-dodge. It was "a fifty-cent circus while it lasted, but the coyote made his getaway." The cowhand warned the dog to save his energies, for they might meet a great cattle drift. This was exactly what happened. Laban talked to Shep in the same manner and tone of voice he used when speaking to Foreman Fling or any other cowhand in the Spade outfit. The dog paid no further attention to the coyote when it trotted behind him again.

The lone cowboy and Shep with his furious barking turned back the great drift, which must have been 20,000 head. They met the great column head-on at four in the afternoon, and the last stragglers were turned six hours later. When the sun set in a cloudless sky, and the wind hushed, a crust formed on the surface of the snow terribly lacerated the dog's feet. Then the cowhand told Shep to sit down and bark without moving. This he did. But his

²⁵. A cowhand who occupied the line dugout on the northern edge of the Spade ranch gave Records the shepherd dog. The man went under an assumed name. He passed as Frank Stephens, but was in reality Bill Counts. He left Ogallala, Nebraska, after having a gun fight in a saloon.

bark brought howls from coyotes. He was told to lie down and keep quiet. He did so.

Laban had to ride farther than before. When Shep lost sight of him, he sent up a mournful howl which tuned up the coyotes anew. They understood a cry of distress and they began their short, sharp, bantering calls which all plainsmen recognized as a warning of an attack. Laban hastened back and told Shep not to howl anymore, for he would have trouble with the coyotes. He stopped his howling, but barked occasionally at small bunches of longhorns. Laban continued this story:

"When the roar of bellowing cattle and the crunching of frozen snow ceased, I recall the almost overwhelming sense of loneliness and helplessness that came over me. I lifted my eyes toward the beautiful, blue dome of heaven, and it was studded with a myriad of sparkling stars. Suddenly within a few rods of me, I heard the most unearthly howl ever throated by a coyote. A short distance beyond him another one sent up the vicious call—the call to the kill—and it was repeated again and again as it passed far into the distance. The old rascal near me had heard Shep's cry for help. He had investigated but found that he would need help to dispose of Shep. The coyote had called the whole pack to come. Shep had worked so hard and faithfully for me, I was determined not to leave him to be torn to pieces by those sneaking coyotes, even if I had to lie by him in the snow all night."

The cowhand knew the dog could not travel on his lacerated feet, but he knew old Roach was stout and gentle and would offer no objection to carrying Shep, providing his master could get him on behind him. The cowhand decided to try it. He said, "Shep, let's go home." Shep got to his feet and looked up wistfully. Then the cowhand said, "Give me your paws." The dog rested on his back joints and raised his fore feet as high as he could. The cowhand took hold of the legs well above the paws,—they were too lacerated to touch,—lifted and swung the heavy dog astride old Roach, behind the saddle. His hind legs rested on the horse's hips, and he tucked his front paws under the man's arms. "Hold tight, Shep," ordered Laban. As they rode homeward when Shep dozed off to sleep and the grip of his front paws relaxed, Laban said, "Brace up, Shep, and have some style about you." The dog's hug would tighten again.

At midnight Laban helped Shep into the dugout and to the fireplace. Fling started up in his chair, saying, "What in the world has been keeping you?" The hungry cowhand replied, "There's been a hot time in the old town tonight." Fling called Dutch George from the lean-to, and he prepared supper for both Laban and Shep. While the cowhand ate, he told Fling about the great cattle drift and the coyotes. In the meantime, Shep ate his food by the fireplace. The thoughtful cowhand greased the dog's paws, and by morning he could bear his weight on them.

Shep stayed at the ranch headquarters for two years and greeted the cowhands as they rode in from their lines at noonday and at nightfall. He also was present at their leave-taking. One day a farmer and cattle raiser from Southern Kansas drove up and took dinner with the Spade outfit. He saw Shep and wanted him. When he was ready to drive away, Laban said, "Shep, you can go with him." Shep walked to the man, and he helped him into the spring wagon. Laban spoke again, "Shep, get up in the seat." The dog obeyed, his owner remarking, "He will be worth more to me than a hired man." As they drove away, the cowhand took his last look at Shep.

During his life on the ranches, Laban Records learned much about the ways of the lobo wolf. When hunting jackrabbits they scattered. When one of them picked up a scent, he stopped. The others closed in from all sides and formed a circle around the besieged rabbit. But a few remained outside the circle, for they knew that a jackrabbit could leap high. But the rabbit never escaped. When a wolf clamped his heavy jaws on the victim, the other lobos rushed in and grabbed off the portions of the rabbit hanging from the captor's mouth.

Wolves have not hesitated to attack a whole band of wild mustang horses. But the horses never ran. They formed a circle, heads facing out, the colts remaining inside the circle. If a wolf came too close, the mustang might grab him with his teeth and beat him to death with his front hoofs. If a horse were overtaken before joining the band, the powerful fangs of a wolf would hamstring the animal above the hock joint and it would become the prey of the wolf pack.²⁶

Wolves have been seen stalking antelope. A small herd of antelope on a high divide caught sight of a lobo sneaking toward them. When they saw others approaching from different directions, the antelope sentry gave the danger signal and the band was off at full speed. The antelope buck ran in the lead and gauged his speed so as to keep the fleeing herd bunched. The wolves ran in a string with the speediest one leading the way. When one of the antelope became badly winded, it began to bleat, and the lead wolf increased his speed and fixed his eye on the kill. The antelope buck then dashed back with his head low and crashed head-on with the lead lobo, sinking his horns into the wolf's body. The buck shook his head sharply to free his horns, and left the badly wounded wolf. The scent of blood stopped the wolf pack, which

²⁶. The cowhand did not get close enough to witness this incident, but saw evidences of it while on the great ranges. An Osage half-breed, Bill Connor, witnessed it and it was verified by plainsmen and cowhands whom Records met.

rent him into pieces and devoured him. The antelope band escaped because of the bold strategy of their leader.²⁷

Ira Howell, whom Laban met on one of the great round-ups, told of seeing a pack of lobo wolves kill a calf. They converged on the small herd and formed a half-circle about them so as to pack them together. The lighter calf was forced to the outside. One wolf dashed between it and the herd, stopping in front of the calf and facing it while the others drove the cattle over the hill out of sight. Then the whole pack came back on the run, closed in from all sides, grabbed the calf, tore it to pieces and devoured it in a few minutes. Laban remarked, "There were too many like him on the range." Another time, he made the following observations:

"The young badger was the prettiest of all the animals I saw on the range. . . . Once I saw a half dozen playing round the mouth of a den. Because the badger failed to refill the holes he dug when he unearthed nests of young gophers, cowboys usually held the badger in low esteem. Many horses and cowhands have been injured by horses stepping into the holes. I myself suffered a broken arm, cracked ribs, and an injured knee from such falls. However, the badger's virtues exceed his vices.

"One will never find a live rattlesnake near a badger's den. The badger stuns the snake with his hard spade-like claws and finishes it off by piercing its vital organs with his teeth. When the badger runs he looks like a tumbleweed, and it takes a nimble cowpuncher afoot to keep up with one. The badger's hide is four sizes too large for his body, and his enemy cannot get a firm grip on him. But his nose is a vital and tender spot; it has to be to enable him to scent a nest of young gophers two feet under the surface of the ground.

"Once I saw two male badgers engage in a fierce duel when one of them meddled too much in the other's affairs during mating season. They circled round in a bantering manner, then stood on their hind legs and carried on a very scientific boxing match. Blows from their heavy claws rained harmlessly off their heads. Suddenly one succeeded in striking the other's nose: he fell, tucked his nose under his body, groaned and moaned and sighed like a badly hurt child."

Wild turkey abounded on the open ranges. Early one spring when the owners of the Spade ranch, Bates and Payne, were reorganizing their partnership, Laban sighted a flock of wild turkey walking single file up Sand Creek. He secured the small single shot Ballard rifle at headquarters and started after them. But they had scattered and hidden until further search seemed futile. Then a huge gobbler took to the air. The hunter fired a shot and a bunch of feathers floated from the bird. Ultimately he found the

27. Part of this episode was witnessed at a long distance, but the complete description of such struggles was assembled from accounts related to the cowhand by two very reliable and experienced plainmen who had hunted buffalo in the 'sixties and the early 'seventies. Ben Lampton and J. D. McCarty gave the best accounts. The cowhand met both these men while working for the Comanche County Pool in 1878.

wounded bird and killed him. Bates and Payne stopped work to weigh and measure him. They remarked, "The people back home will be amazed at the size and weight of the turkeys that grow wild in this country."²⁸

Jim Denton, who also rode for the Spade outfit, roped a bear and dragged him to a cottonwood tree where he pulled the animal off the ground and strangled him. Denton was proud of that skin.

Most interesting of all the birds seen on the ranges, was the curlew. During the 'seventies and 'eighties Laban said that he saw vast numbers of curlews feeding on bugs and beetles that harbored under cow chips. Long of neck and leg and bill—the latter was curved and had a knot on the end—the curlew used the bill as a fulcrum when it pried up the edge of a chip. When the birds had finished working a great area, the spring winds swept the loose chips into buffalo wallows and hollows and made huge piles of them. Many a seasoned cowhand, unable to make camp at night, has slept in the open prairie near a large flock of curlews. As likely as not, he was scared out of his wits "when these birds cut loose with their piercing cry just at daybreak." One can imagine his joy when he opened his eyes and saw these lovely birds moving all around him. The curlew was so equipped that it could live on the range better than any other native bird. For many years our observer watched these birds going north in the springtime, but he did not recall seeing them return in the autumn. Today the curlew has almost vanished; but this is also true of the great ranges of the Old West.

²⁸. Frank Bates and Payne were from Elmira, New York. Bates had established his residence in Wellington, Kansas. These two men established their ranch in 1877.

HISTORY OF CATTLE RANCHING IN EASTERN OKLAHOMA

By Norman Arthur Graebner

Oklahoma has played a leading role in the development of the ranching industry on the Great Plains of the United States. The broad prairies of Western Oklahoma, because of their central position on the plains and their verdant terrain, became an important cattle raising country. The two chief cattle trails led from Texas to the railroads of Kansas across this region, and therefore any story of the great cattle drives is in a sense a story of ranching in Oklahoma.

In the literature dealing with the ranching industry, however, little attention has been directed to the importance of cattle raising in Eastern Oklahoma, the land of the Five Civilized Tribes. Also this region, because of its rich grasslands and ideal climate, was well suited to the development of a great livestock industry. Indeed, until the Civil War cattle raising remained the chief economic pursuit of the Five Tribes and was exceedingly important until the end of the century.

When the Five Civilized Tribes moved westward during the 1830's, they brought with them an old tradition of pastoral life. These Indians had begun raising livestock with the early infiltration of the Spanish and French into their original homeland. At the time of their migration they had achieved a highly developed pastoral economy with large herds of cattle and hogs.¹ Quite naturally they resumed this culture in the West, particularly along the rich river bottoms of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers, where soon after their arrival large farms could be found well stocked with cattle and hogs.

The unique communal land system of the Five Tribes afforded them limitless opportunity for the grazing industry. The domain of each tribe was owned by its citizens in common, and under no circumstance could an individual obtain title to it. Land was abundant and available to any tribal member. While the grass in the uplands was not luxuriant, the range was extensive. It was a stock raising country, and the mild winters made possible the "roughing through" of stock without grain or fodder. So fertile was the region that when the government in the fall of 1833 called for bids to furnish meat and grain to the immigrant Choctaws, George W. Harkins, a Choctaw, had sufficient corn and stock of his own raising to fill the contract, though he had been in the country less than

¹ See Angie Debo, *Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*, 26, 40.

two years.² Already in 1839 the Cherokee Nation could boast of twenty thousand head of cattle, three thousand horses, and fifteen thousand hogs.³ Unfortunately, the Five Tribes, particularly the Chickasaws, suffered from frequent depredations of the Shawnees, Kickapoos, and other roving bands, who saw in the herds a convenient source of food and draft animals.

Since there was little demand for cattle beyond the needs of the Indians themselves, and no attempt to market the surplus, the herds for almost two decades multiplied rapidly. Then suddenly the great overland migration to California in the early 1850's opened a market for the surplus stock. Travelers poured across Indian Territory, some going from Fort Gibson along the Arkansas to the Cimarron, and thence westward to Santa Fe, others moving along the Arkansas and Canadian rivers as far as the present McLain County, and then in a southwesterly direction along the Marcy route to New Mexico.⁴ Cattle buyers visited the Indians, purchasing their cattle to supply the California market. The tremendous new demand drove up the price of meat, bringing sizeable fortunes to those who had cattle to sell, and distress to others.⁵ The Choctaws especially profited because of their location on the route to California. Travelers had to purchase a supply of corn and beef sufficient to take them at least to San Miguel, New Mexico.⁶

That cattle herds trailing northward crossed Indian Territory during the fifties is demonstrated by the experience of Captain R. B. Marcy. While this famous explorer was traveling through the Choctaw and Chickasaw country in the summer of 1854, he saw at Boggy Creek a drove of one thousand cattle being driven from Texas to Missouri and Illinois. "They were very beautiful to look at, symmetrical in figure, with sinewy limbs, and very long sharp pointed horns." Marcy reported that the drivers were skillful riders who rode a small, but thick-set and powerful horse bred in Mexico.⁷

At the end of the fifties the raising of livestock had become a thriving industry among the Five Civilized Tribes. In 1859 a yoke of oxen brought fifty dollars, cows ten dollars apiece, and horses twenty dollars a head. The little effort and outlay required in stock raising yielded a large margin of profit. Great herds of cattle grazed on the open range in all parts of the country. Cattle raising had become, wrote George Butler, the Cherokee agent, the "leading

² Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 96.

³ Thomas Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains, and in the Oregon Country*, in Reuben Gold Thwaites (editor), *Early Western Travels*, XXVIII, 127.

⁴ Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma*, I, 214.

⁵ Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 81.

⁶ Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma*, 73.

⁷ Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, 141.

occupation with some of the largest farmers.”⁸ The number of cattle in the Cherokee Nation, the agent reported, were 240,000 head, while horses and mules numbered 20,000. Cattle were left to roam at will over the range, but sheep, which would have been exposed to the attacks of wolves, and the better saddle horses were herded or corralled.⁹

Yet this prosperity was shortlived. In 1861 the devastation of the Civil War fell upon Indian Territory. Of all the ravages inflicted upon the Five Tribes, none seems more severe and cruel than the despoilation of their fine herds of cattle. The state of utter disorganization of Indian Territory rendered law enforcement impossible, and cattle stealing became after 1862 a wide-spread frontier industry, practiced by civilians and troops alike.¹⁰ Soldiers stationed in the region naturally looked to the Indians for their food supply. Union and Confederate troops began the spoilation, falling first upon the cattle of the Cherokees and Creeks, then also upon the Chickasaw and Choctaw herds. Irresponsible roving Indians were induced to aid in the destruction. When rumors of unnecessary exploitation reached Washington, the federal government took steps to protect the stock of loyal Indians. The Indian agents were instructed to administer the sale of stock to the army at a fair profit to the Indians.¹¹

At the close of the Civil War, the cattle stealing in Indian Territory had become a systematic and even respectable business. “Cattle brokers,” the thieves were called. The national government had passed laws imposing heavy penalties for stealing, but the profits of this nefarious business were enormous, and civil authorities and courts connived at the activities of the “brokers.” Even the agents were rendered powerless. Cattle thieves, wrote Superintendent Sells, would drive the cattle from the range in Indian Territory to the southern border of Kansas, and sell them at a nominal price to Kansas dealers, who in turn would drive them on to northern markets. Law enforcement was out of the question. The Seminole agent at Neosho Falls, Kansas, George A. Reynolds, in writing to Sells, stated that the people of Kansas were growing so rich on stolen cattle that they would not cooperate with officers of the law. Reynolds reported that threats had been made against his life because of his attempts to check these depredations.¹² Not only were stolen cattle taken to Kansas, but for several years after the war droves of cattle poured out of Indian Territory to

⁸ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1859, 172.

⁹ Thoburn, *op. cit.*, 262.

¹⁰ See Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian under Reconstruction*, 73-97.

¹¹ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1865, 269-270.

¹² Thoburn, *op. cit.*, 342-3.

Fort Smith and Little Rock.¹³ A conservative estimate of the losses sustained by the Five Tribes was placed in October, 1865, at 300,000 cattle, valued at more than four million dollars.¹⁴ Only by the prompt and summary action of United States troops was cattle stealing finally stopped.

Eastern Oklahoma, and especially the country of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, was infested by organized marauders until the nineties. One gang organized during the winter of 1872-1873 became so troublesome that Chief William Bryant of the Choctaws ordered a district chief to destroy it. Forty men were arrested and fifteen were immediately tried and shot. Another gang, said to have had one hundred members, operated in San Bois County in 1884. It committed so many depredations that Chief J. F. McCurtain of the Choctaws called out the militia to aid the civil officers. During the nineties the Carpenter gang organized, with the aid of unsuspected confederates, a system of "thief runs," by which cattle were stolen from the small stockmen along the Red River and its branches, driven through the southern counties to the Washita, and thence on to Kansas or New Mexico.¹⁵

When after the Civil War the Indians of Eastern Oklahoma sought to rebuild their livestock industry, they were affected by the development of the great range cattle industry which spread gradually from the Rio Grande to the plains of Montana. Texas had escaped the destruction of the war. During the early months of the conflict this great ranching country supplied beef for the southern population, but following the Union successes along the Mississippi in 1862 Texas cattle could no longer be sent to the East. The great herds for which there was now no outlet increased in numbers, and at the end of the war Texans returning to their homes found their ranges thickly covered with herds of fine cattle. But while the South offered no market, beef was commanding high prices in the North and East. This situation led inevitably to the northern cattle drives, so distinctive a feature of the range cattle industry of the American plains.

The first drives in 1866 followed the East and West Shawnee trails across the Chickasaw, Creek, and Cherokee Nations, some herds even crossing the lands of the Choctaws. The drovers, however, met determined resistance at the Kansas boundary below Baxter Springs. Because the cattle of Kansas and Missouri had contracted Texas fever from the southern range stock, farmers in these states had banded together to prevent their entry. Unable to cross the border, some drovers sold their herds and returned to Texas, while others turned back into the Cherokee country to await

¹³ Debo, *op. cit.*, 92-3.

¹⁴ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1865, 286.

¹⁵ Debo, *op. cit.*, 192-3.

the winter. A solution to the problem was found in the next year when the great drives, numbering eventually over a third of a million cattle a year, chose the more westerly trails to the railroads of Kansas, thereby avoiding the Kansas settlements.¹⁶

Although the long drives by-passed also the domain of the Five Civilized Tribes, Texas cattle continued to invade eastern Oklahoma in large numbers. There could be found vast lands capable of sustaining large herds. Cattle could be driven leisurely from range to range, pasturing for weeks on the lush grasses of the Indians. These delaying tactics were dictated by the harsh quarantine laws of Kansas and Missouri which permitted the entry of Texas cattle only during the winter months.¹⁷ The principal chief of the Cherokees declared not long after the war: "Large herds will often move but from three to five miles per day, and zigzag all over the country, so that they take in their course the finest grazing; so that, while only claiming to pass through, they actually spend the greater portion of the summer and autumn in grazing over the Indian country."¹⁸ By moving slowly across the grazing lands of the Indians, the drovers would not reach the Kansas border until their herds would be permitted to cross. Moreover, they could fatten their cattle on the way. As a result, tens of thousands of Texas cattle crossed Indian Territory and grazed on Cherokee lands, consuming the pasturage of the Indians and exposing their cattle to Texas fever.

The tribal governments soon made an effort to stop this practice. The Cherokee in December, 1867, levied a tax of ten cents per head on all animals driven through their Nation; other tribes followed with similar laws. But when the Cherokee tax was increased in 1869; petitions appeared before Congress claiming that the tax violated the laws of the United States. The Indians based their defense on an act of June 30, 1834, designed to "regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontier," which stated that if any person should drive or maintain, without permission, horses, mules, or cattle on land belonging to an Indian or Indian tribe, such person "shall forfeit the sum of one dollar for each animal of such stock."¹⁹ Many Indians actually considered their laws a concession to the cattlemen. The Senate committee which investigated the petitions upheld the action of the Indians. The Choctaws then in 1870 imposed a tax of fifty cents per head on all cattle, horses, and mules passing

¹⁶ For an excellent discussion of this controversy see Edward Everett Dale, "Those Kansas Jayhawkers, a Study in Sectionalism," *Agricultural History Journal*, II (October 1928), No. 4; see Dale, *Cow Country*, 19-39.

¹⁷ *Senate Report*, No. 225, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.

through their country.²⁰ They realized little from the tax, however, as the main cattle trails passed farther to the west.

In a later controversy between the Creeks and the cattlemen over a transit tax, the Secretary of the Interior sustained the claims of the Indians. But Judge I. C. Parker of the United States court in the west district of Arkansas held that this tax of the Creek Nation interfered with the rights of Congress to regulate interstate commerce.²¹ To no avail delegates of the Five Tribes in Washington pointed out the leniency of their laws when compared to those of Kansas and Missouri.²² For years the Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws were powerless to defend themselves against cattle drovers, while cowmen found it far cheaper to winter their herds in the Cherokee Nation in spite of transit and grazing taxes than to graze their cattle on the northern plains.²³ Consequently the herds from Texas continued to increase.

Since the Indians could not keep Texas cattle off their domain, attempts were made to speed the herds on their way. Bills to achieve this object were introduced in the Cherokee National Council in 1874, and drovers were warned not to cut hay for feed or allow their cattle to mingle with the native stock.²⁴ Yet in that year alone ten thousand alien cattle for which no tax had been paid were grazing on Cherokee lands.²⁵ A Chickasaw law required all herds to move at least eight miles per day or be subject to a fine of one dollar a head, although drovers were permitted, upon the payment of a fifteen cent fee, to pasture their stock over an area of one mile on each side of the trail.²⁶ When the Choctaws decreased their transit tax to ten cents per head in 1882, they added an additional charge for wintering stock or loitering on the trail, an exemption being made for migrating families crossing the Nation with less than twenty head.²⁷

Even more serious than the drovers were those cattlemen who attempted through some guise of legality to maintain permanently large herds of cattle on the public lands. Numerous laws were passed by the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Cherokees to prevent such intrusion. The Choctaws in 1870 prohibited a citizen from leasing any portion of the public domain to a non-citizen for

²⁰ Act of October 27, 1870, cited in Debo, *op. cit.*, 143.

²¹ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1884, 31.

²² *House Misc. Docs.*, No. 110, 42 Cong., 3 Sess., 1.

²³ *Senate Report*, No. 225, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., 1.

²⁴ Cherokee National Council *Proceedings for 1874*, *Litton Cherokee Papers*, 1874-1889 (Oklahoma Historical Society, *Indian Archives*), 2-5.

²⁵ John F. Lyons to Hon. Dennis Bushyhead, September 1, 1874. D. W. Bushyhead Correspondence, 1871-1874, *Cherokee National Files*, XXIV, No. 6, Frank Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma.

²⁶ *Constitution and Laws of the Chickasaw Nation*, 1899, 180.

²⁷ Act of November 2, 1882, cited in Debo, *op. cit.*, 143-4.

grazing purposes. After 1880 non-citizens residing in the Nation were allowed to maintain stock for home consumption only, while any citizen who harbored intruder cattle by a false claim of ownership was to be punished by fine and whipping. Every sale of stock by a non-citizen to a citizen involving more than fifty dollars had to be recorded by county officials. An act of 1888 prohibited the renting of pastures for grazing purposes, and every citizen was forbidden to admit Texas cattle into the Nation except in November and December; however, this act was repealed the following year.²⁸ All of these laws failed to keep intruder cattle out of the Choctaw Nation.

Chickasaw laws, similar to those of the Choctaws, were equally ineffectual. When huge pastures were established, the tribal government restricted the size to one square mile, hoping thereby to discourage Texas cattlemen; but this restriction, too, failed of enforcement. Acting in accordance with the treaty of June 22, 1855, designed to protect the Indians from intruders, federal authorities tried to evict the cattlemen. In 1886 an effort was made to eject 150,000 cattle belonging to intruders in the Chickasaw Nation, but over 100,000 were removed before the Indian agent and his assistants arrived. During further delays occasioned by federal demands upon the agent, the intruders were able to arrange spurious sales of about 25,000 head to Indian citizens in spite of Chickasaw laws prohibiting such sales.²⁹

The Creeks also hoped to exclude foreign cattle by limiting the size of a pasture to one square mile, though they permitted the leasing of additional land. A further law of 1892, however, restricted the large pastures to a region within ten miles of the Nation's borders, and required stockmen to obtain the consent of settlers residing within one half mile of the proposed enclosure. For every acre enclosed there was a charge of five cents. Cattle could be brought into the Nation only between January and March of each year, and only upon the payment of two dollars per head.³⁰ This law was so liberal that the cattlemen continued to flock to the Creek Nation. In 1894 sixty-one individuals and partnerships had enclosed more than one third of the three million acre reserve.³¹

The Cherokees never adopted an acreage tax, but relied for many years upon the prohibition of pastures exceeding fifty acres, and upon the drovers' tax to maintain their public domain. Yet intruders drove their herds upon the public domain and kept them

²⁸ Various act of the Choctaw Nation, cited in *Ibid.*,

²⁹ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1886, 157.

³⁰ *Constitution and Laws of the Muskogee Nation*, 1893, 116-119.

³¹ Thirteenth Lake Mohonk Indian Conference *Proceedings*, *Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*, 1895, 73.

there for months and even years without any effort to conceal their identity. In 1884 stockmen of the Illinois District wintered their cattle in Indian Territory, even refusing to pay the drovers' tax until a new growth of grass appeared in the spring.³² Prejudice against intruding cattlemen was heightened by the tactics of men like C. M. McClellan, who first claimed Cherokee citizenship, and, when deprived of their cattle by Indian officials, changed their claim to United States citizenship and appealed to the United States Indian agent for protection against Cherokee laws.³³

In 1892 a drastic change in the law placed a tax of one dollar per head (reduced in 1895 to fifty cents) upon all cattle driven through or allowed to remain in the Cherokee Nation. Cattle could be introduced only from December to March, while people employed in the Nation were, with few exceptions, to pay a monthly tax of one dollar per head on all cattle grazing on the public domain.³⁴ The leasing of the Outlet west of the 96th meridian to the Cherokee Strip Livestock Association during the eighties further complicated Cherokee cattle laws.³⁵ Although the Outlet was a separate region, it was part of the Cherokee domain. This region, however, is beyond the scope of this treatise, as the Outlet lay largely in Western Oklahoma and its story belongs to the history of the Great Plains.

In spite of the difficulties accruing from the intrusion of foreign cattle after the Civil War, there was in progress simultaneously a successful effort on the part of the Five Tribes to rebuild their own livestock industry. Not all of their herds had been destroyed by the war, and the intrusion of Texas cattlemen brought large numbers of Texas cattle. These were supplemented by Devon, Durham, and other improved breeds, resulting in herds of higher quality than the wild steers of Texas.³⁶

Severe winters and scorching droughts often caused havoc among the herds. In the extreme cold and deep snows of the winter of 1874-1875, for example, the Indian livestock suffered piteously.³⁷ When prolonged drought a decade later dried up many of the small creeks, all efforts of the Indians to dig wells could not prevent

³² John L. Martin to Principal Chief Dennis W. Bushyhead, July 17, 1884. D. W. Bushyhead Correspondence, *Cherokee National Files*, XXIV, No. 78, Frank Phillips Collection.

³³ Special message of J. B. Mayes, June 7, 1888, in *Cherokee Advocate*, XIII, No. 3. *Litton Cherokee Papers*, 1874-1889.

³⁴ *Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, 1893, 292-4.

³⁵ For a discussion of the leasing of the Cherokee Outlet, see Edward Everett Dale, "Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, V (March, 1927), 58-78.

³⁶ General Council of Indian Territory *Proceedings for 1875* (Oklahoma Historical Society, *Indian Archives*), 64.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 99.

the loss of hundreds of cattle.³⁸ This frightful summer was followed by an exceptionally severe winter. Even the Red River froze bank to bank, depriving cattle of both water and feed. Over fifteen per cent of Indian livestock died from exposure.³⁹ The following two years, so destructive to the cattle industry of the Great Plains, saw further deprivations to Indian stockmen, the recurring droughts and terrible winters often prompting an owner to sell his herds. Yet even these setbacks did not prevent the steady growth of the livestock industry.

In the decade following the Civil War the herds of Indian Territory citizens began to mount in number, soon far exceeding the number of intruder cattle. The country of the Chickasaws and Choctaws offered perfect grazing land. According to J. F. McCurtain, Principal Chief of the Choctaws, the number of cattle in his Nation increased from 15,500 in 1870 to 65,000 in 1880, thus passing the high pre-war figure of 1860.⁴⁰ Other nations enjoyed similar increases of livestock. While estimates varied greatly, Indian Territory in 1884 was credited by the Indian agents with having over 700,000 cattle. Of these, the Cherokees claimed a quarter million, followed by the Choctaws and Creeks with 170,000 and 150,000 respectively.⁴¹

Dew M. Wisdom, an agent in Indian Territory, wrote in the later nineties to Secretary of the Interior W. A. Jones of the importance of the abundant pasture lands to the livestock industry of the region. His report, in part, follows:

The pastures, magnificent in area and luxuriant in grass, stocked to repletion with long-horned bovines transported from the alkaline plains of Texas, present an animated pastoral scene of picture worthy of the pencil of that grand old Roman who wrote the Georgics. The owners of these pastures are practically assured that if "all flesh is grass" the converse is true also that "all grass is flesh," and the result is that our great prairies waving with native hay, are transmitted into fat cows and steers, which in turn are converted into golden nuggets that a Klondike miner might envy, and he could safely cast aside his pick and shovel in the northern glaciers and sigh to return to sweat and bleed for gold in the savannas of the West.⁴²

Until the introduction of barbed wire during the seventies, the fencing of the great public domain presented a difficult problem. The use of the public lands demanded restrictions to safeguard the rights of the individual. Each nation compelled the stock raisers to build fences to prevent livestock from destroying crops. Early

³⁸ "Interview with Andy Addington, April 2, 1937." *W. P. A. Indian-Pioneer Project for Oklahoma*, Frank Phillips Collection.

³⁹ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1884, 100.

⁴⁰ *Report on the Productions of Agriculture as Returned at the Tenth Census* (June 1, 1880), 41.

⁴¹ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1884, 308-9.

⁴² *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1897, 146.

legal provisions demanded that a fence be ten rails high, and the laws tended to become more stringent. For the Cherokees during the 'seventies a fence of posts four and one half feet high, and not more than eight feet apart, set two feet into the ground, and properly boarded with sawed planks or split railing, easily met the regulations. In addition, five foot picket fences, four and one half foot worm fences,⁴³ or stone fences with a three and one half foot base were all acceptable. Even ditches with perpendicular walls, and live hedges less than three years old with no large gaps would also fulfill the requirements. The laws prescribed the minutest details. The nails and fencing had to be of a designated size, the allowable width of openings in hedges varied with their distance from the ground, and ditches serving as fences had to be kept free from grass lest the animals be enticed to cross over.⁴⁴

The coming of barbed wire and the enclosing of huge pastures, often the result of taking undue advantage of grazing privileges, presented new problems and necessitated further restrictions. The Cherokees in 1882 forbade all wire fences unless they were of seven strands, securely fastened to posts set within sixteen feet of one another. Slats not more than five feet apart had to be added later.⁴⁵ J. B. Mayes, Cherokee Principal Chief, admitted that this stringent law was a "very peculiar one" intended to prevent the establishment of large grazing areas. Although the law made it the duty of the sheriff to cut all wire fences not conforming to law, it was tacitly understood that he was to damage no pastures of less than fifty acres.⁴⁶ The Chickasaw attempted to prevent the exploitation of the public lands entirely by forbidding all fencing on the public domain,⁴⁷ while the Choctaws hoped to accomplish the same result by demanding a corridor of twenty-five feet between all enclosures to prevent the merging of several pastures into one.⁴⁸

In spite of the many fences and fencing regulations, Indian Territory continued to have the aspects of an open range. With large numbers of livestock freely roaming about, branding became imperative. Every Cherokee citizen who held over fifty head of cattle was compelled to register his brand in the clerk's office. All cattle roaming on the public domain without a brand were re-

⁴³ Often worm fences needed rebuilding every year since instead of using rails, the Indians used brush which deteriorated very rapidly. See "Interview with Zeke Acorn, October 4, 1937." *W. P. A. Indian-Pioneer Project for Oklahoma*, Frank Phillips Collection.

⁴⁴ *Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, 1875, 232-3.

⁴⁵ *Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, 1893, 350.

⁴⁶ J. B. Mayes, Principal Chief, to H. Balentine, Vinita, I. T., August 2, 1890. *Cherokee Letter Press Books*, XIV, No. 241, Frank Phillips Collection.

⁴⁷ *Constitution and Laws of the Chickasaw Nation*, 1899, 243.

⁴⁸ *Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation*, 1894, 271.

garded as strays, and were sold by the sheriff after due notice.⁴⁹ Every effort was first made to find the owners of cattle. The Creeks required notice of stray stock to be posted for six months,⁵⁰ while at least one entire page of every issue of the *Cherokee Advocate* was devoted to the description of lost animals.

The land system of Indian Territory, while it facilitated the development of a cattle industry, also led to the rise of cattle barons. Enterprising citizens either by using the lenient pasture laws to the best advantage or by evading them entirely, were able to accumulate huge ranges on which they pastured their own herds, or leased portions to owners of Texas cattle for large sums. Thus were laid the bases of many Indian fortunes. Wilson N. Jones, a mixed blood Choctaw, held the title of cattle king in Indian Territory.⁵¹ Others, however, as the Cherokees, Nathaniel Skinner, Sam Houston Mayes, and John Campbell, were close competitors, as was also George Perryman of the Creeks who reputedly held a tract of 100,000 acres.⁵²

The Dawes Commission, appointed in 1893 to induce the Indians to give up tribal ownership of land, in its report before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs in 1896, directed attention to the large tracts of public lands fenced and held by individuals of the Five Tribes, or leased by them to cattlemen. In the Creek Nation, whose rich upland prairie was deemed "unsurpassed by any in the United States," it was shown that twenty-three individuals were holding 174,000 acres of pasture land, the pastures ranging from two thousand to twenty thousand acres. Similar conditions existed in the Cherokee Nation. Much of this land had been leased to Texas cattlemen.⁵³ It was such evidence, in part, that led Congress in that year to continue the work of the Dawes Commission.

A typical scheme employed to lease a large tract of Creek land is illustrated by the lawsuit of one Clarence Turner, filed in the United States Court of Claims to recover damages for the destruction of his pasture fence by members of the Creek tribe. Blackstone and Turner, two mixed blood Cherokees, organized a company of one hundred Creeks residing in the Deep Fork District. The organization assumed the name of Pussy, Tiger and Company, Pussy and Tiger being two prominent Creek Indians. These one hundred men were to receive \$100 a year from Blackstone and Turner after

⁴⁹ *Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, 1893, 185.

⁵⁰ *Constitution and Laws of the Muskogee Nation*, 1893, 112.

⁵¹ John Bartlett Meserve, "Chief Wilson Nathaniel Jones," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIV (December, 1936), 420-422.

⁵² H. F. and E. S. O'Beirne, *Indian Territory; Its Chiefs, Legislators, and Leading Men*, 38.

⁵³ Foreman, *History of Oklahoma*, 290.

the pasture was established, a total of \$10,000. Turner agreed to furnish the capital necessary to fence the pasture. In accordance with the Creek laws, the judge of the district called for a vote on the question of the proposed pasture of 100,000 acres. The influence of the hundred members of the organization was enough to insure a majority.

A lease was accordingly granted on October 6, 1889, to Pussy, Tiger and Company, who agreed to build a barbed wire fence around the land described. Blackstone and Turner then contracted with Daniel Wagoner and Son, Texas cattlemen, for a lease to the new pasture, in consideration of \$27,500 to be paid annually to Blackstone and Turner. Of this amount, \$10,000 was to be paid in advance to erect a fence. The building of the fence began in 1891, but when sixty miles had been built, a number of other Indians learned of the scheme and destroyed the fence. Turner returned to Wagoner and Son the money advanced to build the fence, and sought to recover it from the Creek Nation. Failing in that, he brought suit in the United States Court of Claims.⁵⁴

With the turn of the century the livestock industry of eastern Oklahoma assumed a more modern aspect. Cattle no longer moved along the trails from the plains of Texas across Indian Territory. As early as 1895 the third session of the legislature of Oklahoma Territory declared that Oklahoma had ceased to be an open range grazing country, and that stock must be confined to pastures.⁵⁵ Range conditions continued for a while in the eastern part of the state, but as the Dawes Commission continued its work of allotting the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes, the open range began to disappear. White settlers rapidly filled the unoccupied lands. Soon came the transition to enclosed pastures of smaller area, and with it the introduction of stocky, well-bred cattle to meet the demands of more intensive grazing. Thus a great range livestock industry, unique in its development under the communal land holding system of five small Indian nations, gradually became lost in a checker-board of grain fields and livestock farms.

⁵⁴ Incident cited in *Ibid.*, 290-1.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 263-4.

PRESERVATION OF INDIAN PICTURES

By Stanley Vestal

People never tire of pictures of old-time Indians, for they are associated in our minds with the heroic age of the pioneers. Moreover, their costumes are colorful, and their way of life strikes a romantic note. A camp scene showing smoking lodges, a papoose in its cradle, a warrior on horseback or posing in his native costume are always interesting. Pictures of Indians appear in our magazines as regularly as the years roll by. Everyone has an Indian picture or two.

But the historic value of these old photographs is not always appreciated. Up in your attic, probably, in that old trunk of letters and knick-knacks may be the portrait of some famous chief, of a treaty camp, or a dance no longer practiced. That photo of the beef issue, of the old-time agency, or the mission school, may be the only record of the time and place it illustrates. Sooner or later, someone who does not know what it means will burn it. You should send it to the State Historical Society in Oklahoma City, for permanent preservation. Attach a sheet of paper, giving whatever information you have as to the subject of the photograph, the time it was taken, and the place. Oklahoma will be grateful.

Now, when everybody is combing his home for scrap to aid in the war effort, is a good time to sort out those old records and put them where they cannot be destroyed. Even if you do not know what a photograph shows, historians may be able to discover that. Send it in, and give your descendants a fuller knowledge of the good old days. Writers, artists, educators will profit by your gift, which will help them to present a truer and more interesting picture of the past.

BOOK REVIEW

Colonists of Carolina in the Lineage of Hon. W. D. Humphrey by Blanche Humphrey Abee, Tampa, Florida. William Byrd Press, Inc., Richmond, Virginia.

This volume is interesting to both genealogists and historians since it presents many detailed accounts of little-known localities and of distinguished families, mainly Scotch and English, prominent in the affairs of the southern seaboard states.

The author, Blanche Humphrey Abee, was regent of Ft. McHenry Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, D. C., 1940-42. For the same period, she was Calendar Editor, Washington Branch, National League of American Pen Women. She was one of those receiving an award for meritorious work in the production of *Colonists of Carolina*, at the Annual Award Party of Pen Women at Washington, in 1939. The author had been previously honored and awarded a "Certificate of Merit in Genealogy" by The Institute of American Genealogy, Chicago, Illinois, and elected a "Fellow" of that institution in March, 1939.

The following excerpts from reviews in nationally known publications attest the value of Mrs. Abee's *Colonists in Carolina*:

"There are twenty-eight chapters and these give the history of the Humphrey family. . . . and the part they had in the early activities of the state. They are found in the early Colonial Wars, and later in the Revolutionary War, early settlers of the country filling honorable public positions of trust. . . . In Part II is a short history of Duplin County, N.C. In this we have the Thomas family, John Miller, one of the founders of the first Presbyterian church in North Carolina, the Kinnear, Kenan, Routledge, Lockhart, Mercer, and Ivey families. Judge Humphrey's mother was Marenda Anne Thomas. Chapter XXVII tells of the Thomas family connections who have served in the County of Duplin and State of North Carolina in Colonial Assembly, United States Congress, and Confederate Congress."—*National Historical Magazine*, published by the Daughters of the American Revolution, October, 1939.

"In her effort to make her book an interesting contribution to genealogical history, the author bases most of her statements on 'data obtained directly from the court records' and uses their original phraseology whenever possible. Our main interest in this work is the fact that apparently many of the lines in the lineage of Judge W. D. Humphrey, through whose financial assistance this book was made possible, lead to Virginia. . . . Imposing lists of services rendered North Carolina are given under the headings of Humphrey and Thomas family connections in public life in the county and state. . . . The volume is handsomely printed and well indexed. . . . It is another welcome addition to the rapidly increasing list of books on local history and genealogy in the South."—*William and Mary College Quarterly*, Historical Magazine (January, 1939), Vol. 19, Series 2, pp. 109-10.

—Muriel H. Wright.

NECROLOGY

VIRGINIA STAFFORD HANDCOCK
1859-1943

Virginia Stafford Handcock (Mrs. Numa F.), the daughter of A. J. and Cornelia Price Stafford, was born in what is now Winston-Salem, North Carolina, on July 15, 1859. After the death of her father, who as a Confederate soldier, was killed in battle in the war between the states, his widow with her two young children, Virginia and Jack, moved to Lexington, Kentucky. The mother obtained a position on the teaching staff of the Sayre Female Institute of that city, thereby being enabled to support herself and her two small children. Mrs. Handcock received her education at the said institute and after her graduation taught in girls' schools in the states of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee.

On November 14, 1896, she married Numa F. Handcock of Reidsville, North Carolina, at Winston-Salem. Immediately thereafter the young couple set out for the Indian Territory to make their permanent abode, the groom having previously established himself west of the Mississippi River, first at Little Rock, Arkansas, and later in Indian Territory. They were met in Vinita by the late Dr. Francis Bartow Fite, a pioneer physician and surgeon of Eastern Indian Territory and afterwards Oklahoma, and Dr. Milton K. Thompson who for many years has been and now is an active eye, ear, nose and throat specialist of Muskogee. The Handcocks first settled in Pryor, Indian Territory, but soon thereafter moved their residence to Muskogee where they continuously resided the remainder of their lives, except Mrs. Handcock, shortly prior to her death, which occurred on March 6, 1943, spent the last few months of her life in the city of her birth with her only daughter, Mrs. Allen K. Owen of Winston-Salem. Mrs. Handcock's remains were returned to Muskogee and on Wednesday, the 9th of March, 1943, were laid to rest in the family plot in Greenhill City Cemetery at Muskogee by the side of the graves of her husband who died September 8, 1938, and her son Allen, who died at an early age.

The list of pallbearers which follows, both active and honorary, discloses a wide circle of friends: Active, Dr. Charles Edward White, Paul Rowsey, Dr. Pat Fite, E. A. Graham, William Jones Cook and George Leopold; honorary, Marshall Cook, E. D. Sweeney, W. E. Rowsey, Grant Foreman, Ned Grubbs, Charles W. Mandler, Fred Wendroth, Benjamin Martin, Dr. M. K. Thompson, James L. Wagner, and Dr. Halsell Fite all of Muskogee; M. D. Green, Oklahoma City; William O. Beall, David F. Dickey, William Cochran and Col. Clarence B. Douglas, of Tulsa.

Mrs. Handcock was a charter member of General Forrest chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy and also a charter member of the St. Pauls Methodist Church of Muskogee. She made many friends and numerous were her acts of charity though not known, except to herself and the donees. Among the many who admired the beautiful and noble qualities of this fine Christian woman is our former United States Senator, Robert L. Owen, who was one of the early residents of Muskogee and whose official residence is still Muskogee, but who now lives in Washington, D. C. Upon learning of the death of Mrs. Handcock he sent the following telegram: "Washington, D. C. March 8, 1943. Benjamin Martin, Muskogee, Oklahoma. My sympathies to the friends and family of Mrs. Handcock whom I deeply honored for her angelic disposition in loving other people. Robert L. Owen."

—Benjamin Martin.

Muskogee, Oklahoma.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD
OF DIRECTORS OF THE
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

July 29, 1943.

The regularly quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held in the Historical Society building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, July 29, 1943, with Judge Robert L. Williams, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: Judge Robert L. Williams, Judge Thomas H. Doyle, Mrs. Jessie E. Moore, Gen. Charles F. Barrett, Hon. George L. Bowman, Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, Hon. Thomas J. Harrison, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mr. H. L. Muldrow, Hon. W. J. Peterson, Judge Baxter Taylor, Mrs. John R. Williams and James W. Moffitt, the Secretary.

The Secretary presented the Minutes of the Board meeting held April 29, 1943, and upon motion of Hon. George L. Bowman, duly seconded, the reading of the minutes was dispensed with except as same may be called up for special consideration at a subsequent meeting.

The President presented the following from Mr. John B. Fink, Oklahoma City, relative to the Diamond Oil Jubilee Celebration of the discovery of crude oil through the Drake well "drilled in" August, 1859, near Titusville, Penna.:

The Titusville, Pennsylvania, *Herald* for August 24, 25, 27 and 28, 1934, and for February 11, 1942 (the issue for August 27, 1934, containing a reprint of the *Herald* for June 14, 1865). The *Herald* was the first daily paper in the oil region, Titusville being the birthplace of the oil and gas industry.

The Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, *Press* (Illustrated) for August 25, 1934; also, a sheet from the *Press* (Feature Section) for March 31, 1935.

Franklin and Oil City, Pennsylvania, *News-Herald* for March 11, 1935.

Pictures of the Old North Side residential Section in Allegheny City, Ridge Avenue.

The Oklahoma City News for December 20, 1936.

Hon. George L. Bowman made the motion that these be accepted and Mr. Fink thanked for this contribution to our collection of material on the oil industry. Motion was seconded and carried.

The following papers were also given to the Society by Mr. Fink:

The Clinton, Oklahoma, *Daily News*, Sunday, April 13, 1941, The Pioneer Achievement Section Edition.

The Daily Leader, Okemah, Oklahoma, Special Pioneer Edition, May 17, 1940,

The Daily Leader, Guthrie, Oklahoma, Sunday, April 20, 1941, The Eleventh '89ers Annual Celebration Edition.

The San Francisco News, Feb. 15, 1939, World's Fair Edition.

The United States News, May 29, 1939, Washington, D. C.

The Daily Oklahoman, April 23, 1939, Golden Anniversary Edition.

The Daily Oklahoman, State Fair Edition, Sept. 25, 1939.

The New York Times, April 30, 1939, on the World's Fair.

The Dallas, Texas, *Morning News*, Sunday, June 13, 1937. Souvenir Edition, Greater Texas Pan American Exposition, 2d Year, 1937.

Tulsa, Oklahoma, *Tribune*, Sunday morning, Oct. 8, 1939. 20th Anniversary Greater Oklahoma Feature Edition.

Southwest Times Review, Fort Smith, Arkansas, July 19, 1936, Special Lake Fort Smith Dam Completion.

The Daily Oklahoman, State Fair Edition, September 24, 1939.

Hon. George L. Bowman made the motion that these be accepted and Mr. Fink thanked for this donation to our newspaper collection. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President announced that Mrs. Lutie Hailey Walcott, retiring Confederate Pension Commissioner, had given to the Society a file of back numbers of *Chronicles of Oklahoma*; also the Minutes of the Board of Confederate Pension Commissioners; a picture of the Confederate Pension Commissioners, and a picture of the Confederate Home at Ardmore; and that

Mr. R. R. Owens, State Budget Officer had presented six volumes of *The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies* and a box of Confederate Pension records.

Hon. George L. Bowman made the motion that these be accepted and Mrs. Walcott and Mr. Owens be thanked for their services in transmitting these to the Historical Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Upon motion of Hon. George L. Bowman, and seconded by Judge Baxter Taylor, the Board voted to ask permission of the Governor to have the Minutes of the Capitol Commission copied for the records of the Historical Society, and requested the Governor to make necessary arrangements that such may be done.

Mrs. John R. Williams presented the portrait of Albert L. Welsh, one of the '89ers, the gift of his wife and of their son, Francis R. Welsh, both of whom were present, and moved that it be accepted with thanks of appreciation. Motion was seconded and carried.

The Secretary transmitted for the library, an autographed copy of William Jennings Bryan's *The First Battle*, presented by Lewis Calvin Gish, and upon motion of Judge Baxter Taylor, duly seconded, the gift was accepted and thanks extended to Mr. Gish; and provided further that the volume be bound.

Mrs. Elizabeth Townsend Smith presented a scrapbook containing sketches of members of the armed forces from the Olivet Baptist Church, in Oklahoma City.

Hon. George L. Bowman moved that this scrapbook be accepted and Mrs. Smith thanked for this gift. Motion was seconded and carried.

The portrait of the Reverend E. D. Jeter, a pioneer Baptist minister, was presented by the following members of his family; A. C. Jeter, Denver, Colo., Miss Tommie Jeter, J. B. Jeter, A. D. Jeter, Mrs. E. M. Kelley, Miss Josephine Jeter, Paul Jeter, Mrs. Lewis Vermilion, Mrs. W. J. Lawrence all of Oklahoma City and the Reverend Deyo Jeter, Sapulpa.

Upon motion of Hon. George L. Bowman, duly seconded, the picture was accepted.

Mr. H. L. Muldrow presented the following list of persons recommended for honorary membership and made the motion that they be elected:

Claude A. Sturgeon, Grand Secretary of Masons, Guthrie;

James A. Lathim, Grand Secretary of York Bodies of Masonry, Muskogee;

Dave H. Wilson, Past Grand Master of Masons, Muskogee;
Clarence Brain, Masonic student, Oklahoma City;
Rabbi Joseph Blatt, Rabbi, Temple B'Nai Israel, Oklahoma City;
Rt. Rev. Msgr. Gustave Depreitere, pastor, St. Joseph's Old Cathedral, Oklahoma City;
Chancellor M. A. Nash, Board of Regents for Higher Education in Oklahoma;
Mrs. Jasper Sipes, the widow of the former President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City;
Dr. C. Q. Smith, President of Oklahoma City University;
Rt. Rev. Thomas Casady, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church Diocese of Oklahoma;
Bishop Charles C. Selecman, Oklahoma City area of the Methodist Church;
Most Rev. Francis C. Kelley, Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of the State of Oklahoma, which includes Oklahoma City and Tulsa;
Dr. I. N. McCash, President Emeritus of Phillips University, Enid;
Dr. Forney Hutchinson, Pastor of St. Paul's Methodist Church, Shawnee;
Dr. Urban de Hasque, Historian of the Catholic Diocese of Oklahoma.
Motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

The Treasurer presented her report for the second quarter, which was ordered received and filed.

The President requested Judge Thomas H. Doyle, President Emeritus, to take the chair.

Mrs. Frank Korn made the motion that the balance of \$99.05 in the Robert L. Owen portrait fund in the Tradesmens National Bank be transferred to the Robert L. Williams portrait fund. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President then resumed the chair.

The President presented the following list of applicants for membership:

LIFE: Frank C. Norris, Ada; Mrs. William M. Smartt, Nashville, Tenn.; and Dr. L. S. Willour, McAlester.

ANNUAL: Clarence Snyder Bassler, Stillwater; Robert A. Beaty, Durant; Jack Bell, Cincinnati, Ohio; Mrs. W. M. Bottoms, Oklahoma City; Clarence Brain, Oklahoma City; Eck E. Brook, Muskogee; Irene Brook, Muskogee; Harry Wirt Carver, Wewoka; S. E. Chapman, Kingfisher; R. George Cunningham, Miami; John Hutchinson Cook, Trenton, N. J.; Wayne G. Delavan, Bronson, Kans.; Dennis Edward Donovan, Oklahoma City; William A. Draves, Milwaukee, Wis.; Ralph A. Driskill, Pauls Valley; Hicks Epton, Wewoka; Thomas Buford Frensley, Ardmore; Lafayette Alva Harrell, Fairfax; James Monroe Kennedy, Oklahoma City; H. R. Kurz, Enid; Mrs. F. W. McKelvy, Bartlesville; Claude Morgan March, Oklahoma City; Wharton Mathis, Clayton; Osborn Fisher Muldrow, Ardmore; Willis A. Murray, Oklahoma City; Irving Perrine, Oklahoma City; Franklyn D. Phillips, Durant; Lt. Col. Charles Addison Pursley, San Antonio, Texas; Edgar Sandlin, Ardmore; John W. Shleppey, Tulsa; Bert Steinsiek, Clayton; Daisy Authula Stilley, Mannsville; Mrs. Pearl Trosper, Oklahoma City; Dr. Guy Burton Van Sandt, Wewoka and Pres. John Samuel Vaughan, Tahlequah.

Mrs. John R. Williams made the motion that they be elected and received into class indicated in the list. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President read a letter from the Cox and Bartlett Desk Company, offering a set of steel shelving, which would fit into the newspaper file room, for the sum of \$275.00, of which amount \$69.50 is to be paid when the shelving is delivered and installed, and \$205.50 to be paid after January 1, 1944.

Hon. George L. Bowman made the motion that this offer be accepted and the steel shelving be purchased under these terms. Motion was seconded by Mrs. John R. Williams, and carried unanimously.

Mr. H. L. Muldrow reported that it would probably be thirty days before the map case would be delivered. He also reported on repairing the maps, quoting one bindery company, but as the price was high he was asked to make another report at the October meeting.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore reported that the daughters of the late Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn had presented a collection of his papers and books to the Society.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle made the motion that these be accepted and that Dr. Thoburn's daughters, Miss Mary Eleanor Thoburn and Mrs. Jeanne Thoburn Wyss be elected life members of the Society. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Frank Korn, which carried.

The President reported that the records of the Sac and Fox Indian Agency which had been stored at the Pueblo Agency at Albuquerque, New Mexico, had been transferred to the Oklahoma Historical Society through the efforts of Senator Elmer Thomas and others, and that they had been received by the Society.

Hon. W. J. Peterson made the motion that Senator Elmer Thomas and the others aiding therein be thanked for their services in this matter. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Baxter Taylor made the motion that a list be compiled, of casualties of those from Oklahoma in World War II, listing the deaths by counties, to be published in *The Chronicles*. Motion was seconded and carried.

Hon. George L. Bowman made the motion that the meeting stand adjourned subject to call of the President.

Robert L. Williams,
President.

James W. Moffitt,
Secretary.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

JAMES W. MOFFITT, *Editor* MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Associate Editor*

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THE SECRETARY

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ARTHUR NEAL LEECRAFT

1866-1943

By A. H. Ferguson

Arthur Neal Leecraft was born at Union, South Carolina, November 22, 1866. He was the son of Captain Benjamin Leecraft and Susan Elizabeth (Stowe) Leecraft. His mother was a daughter of Colonel Samuel Neal Stowe, M. D., who had served on the staff of General Robert E. Lee, during the Civil War. The Confederate swords carried by Captain Leecraft and Colonel Samuel Neal Stowe are now in the treasured possession of their descendant, Brigadier General Walter Alexander Dumas, U. S. A. The sword of Captain Leecraft, an emblem of rank, was used to denote authority, but useless as a means of warfare, for it was originally the property of a Masonic lodge and put into military service in the dark days of the Confederacy when such equipment was greatly needed. The sword of Colonel Stowe is of finer steel. The scabbard still shows the damage done to it when it was in the air while he was giving command and his horse was shot from beneath him. The sword escaped injury but the scabbard was badly dented.

Colonel Arthur Neal Leecraft was proud of his ancestors, the story of the clan having been traced authentically back for one thousand years. The name Leecraft—modernized—was originally a “place name” and has gone through many changes in spelling, but as proven by church records in the old cathedrals of England, it was originally spelled Leaycroft and meant simply “the house (croft) on the Leay (Lea-hill)” in feudal England to distinguish it from surrounding homes. In 1304, there was a village named Leaycroft in County Suffolk England which was the family home. The family name was Arundell or Arendall, a score of different spellings, the original one being De Hirondelle, the name having come from Normandy with William the Conqueror.

The surname Leaycroft (Leacraft, LeCraft or Leecraft) was adopted by younger sons of the family at a very early date, the coat of arms and crest being illustrated and described in various books of heraldry as used in 1666, although the French branch of the family used the same with several quartering at a much earlier date.

Some of the members of this family fought with the Crusaders, some for Queen Mary of Scotland and some against her. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, they were active in her defense when Philip of Aragon with his mighty Armada threatened to invade England. However, most of the Leecrafts belonged to the landed gentry. The church records prove that as a family they had deep religious convictions. When James I of England (James 5th of Scotland), son of Mary and Lord Darnley, ordered the Westminster Assembly



COLONEL ARTHUR NEAL LEECRAFT

to translate the Bible, and when the Church of England (Episcopal) was organized, Leecrafts were among the first to enter its list of avowed adherents.

Leecrafts are listed as members of the Virginia Company which did so much in colonizing not only Virginia and Bermuda but also contributed permanent settlements farther up the Atlantic coast.

A Leecraft was Governor of Bermuda when George III of England, in his Teutonic stubbornness destroyed the last semblance of independence in Bermuda. The Leecrafts who had long owned a fleet of boats used in commercial shipping, moved lock, stock, and barrel to islands to the south, living at various times in Barbados, Antigua and Martinique and sending their cargoes to ports along the American mainland. The family finally came to the mainland of the colonies to live ever after. Two brothers settled in New York City, one in Beaufort, South Carolina, and one, Captain Benjamin Leecraft, in Beaufort, North Carolina. The last named became the ancestor of Colonel Arthur Neal Leecraft. He arrived there on his own boat, and speedily became one of the largest land-owners in the province.

He married Susan Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Malachi Bell, and his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Coale. When the Revolution came Colonel Bell and Colonel Coale promptly entered the army on the side of the Colonies. Colonel Benjamin Leecraft joined with Biddle in Philadelphia as Captain and Leecraft as Mate in shipping. Benjamin Leecraft I was killed in a sea battle off the coast of Bermuda and was buried at sea.

His widow and children remained in Beaufort, North Carolina, and there his sole surviving son, Benjamin Leecraft II, married Mary Fuller, descendant of the Mayflower Fullers and also a descendant of the Belcher family of Massachusetts, whose grandfather, Edward Fuller, came to North Carolina from Connecticut. Benjamin Leecraft II had several descendants, among whom was Dr. Lafayette Leecraft and from whom came Benjamin Leecraft the third, who married first his cousin, Mary Elizabeth Arendell, and upon her death, married Susan Elizabeth Stowe, of which marriage were born six children:

1. Arthur Neal Leecraft, the subject of this sketch.
2. Albert Stowe Leecraft who married Mary Ann Chew.
3. Charles Fuller Leecraft, who died in early childhood.
4. Bessie Holland Leecraft, who married DeBerry Glenn Dumas, who became the parents of Brigadier General Walter Alexander Dumas.
5. Daisy Leecraft, who was twice married, first to Rev. Edwin Eugene Moody and second, to Frank Sims Moody.
6. Walter Benjamin Leecraft, who married Mildred Rudolph Pratt.

The first Marshal of the Southern District of the Indian Territory was Charles L. Stowe who was a member of the Leecraft family. Colonel Leecraft's father came to Sherman, Texas, in October 1870, from North Carolina. He died when Colonel Leecraft was about thirteen years old. While a mere lad Colonel Leecraft went to work in a drygoods store (the Star Store) in Denison, Texas, and supported his widowed mother and two brothers and two sisters.

Arthur Neal Leecraft married Lelah Maupin on January 9, 1893. Lelah Maupin was the daughter of John Maupin and Helen Eastman Maupin, who had a strain of Chickasaw Indian blood. John Maupin was a member of Quantrell's band in Missouri.¹ In 1895, Colonel Leecraft moved to Colbert and opened a store there which has been operated ever since, now known as the Leecraft Mercantile Company. He was married under two ceremonies, the first in the Indian Territory according to the Chickasaw law, and later in the First Presbyterian Church at Denison, Texas, according to the laws of the State of Texas. To this marriage, four children were born, namely: A son, Bertram M. Leecraft, now living in Colbert; Mrs. H. L. Williams (Mildred Leecraft) of Durant, Oklahoma; Mrs. Floyd E. Maytubby (Frances Leecraft) of Oklahoma City and Corporal Donald S. Leecraft, now stationed at Camp Hood, Texas. Mrs. Maytubby is now the wife of the present Governor of the Chickasaws, Floyd E. Maytubby.

Colonel Leecraft was head Consul of the Woodmen of the World of Oklahoma from 1919-1921 and afterward a member of the National Legislative Committee of the Woodmen of the World. He was active in the affairs of the Chickasaw Nation, serving on committees relating to its schools and representing the Nation by appointment of the Chickasaw Legislature in matters before the Indian Department at Washington. He was a member of six Legislatures of the State of Oklahoma, as follows:

11th Legislature from Jan. 4th to Mar. 24, 1927;
Extraordinary Session from Dec. 2nd to Dec. 29, 1927;
12th Legislature from Jan. 8th to March 30, 1929;
Extraordinary Session from May 16th to July 6, 1929;
13th Legislature from Jan. 13th to Apr. 11, 1931;
14th Legislature from Jan. 3rd to Apr. 22, 1933;
Extraordinary Session from May 24th to July 15, 1933;
16th Legislature from Jan. 5th to May 11, 1937; and
17th Legislature from Jan. 3rd to April 29, 1939.

He was private secretary to Governor Robert L. Williams, beginning with January 11, 1915 and serving until he became a member of the Board of Affairs on July 1, 1916, of which board he was made Secretary. When he became a candidate for State Treasurer in 1918 he resigned as a member of the Board of Affairs. He was nominated at the primary election and elected in the general election in November, 1918 and qualified as State Treasurer in Jan-

¹ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XVI (September, 1938), p. 308.

uary, 1919 and served throughout the term of four years. While he was Secretary to the Governor in 1915, during an ad interim, for a few days, he was appointed and served as Highway Commissioner. On March 27, 1919, he was appointed as a member of the Fraternal Insurance Board and served during the period he served as Treasurer. He was also appointed and served as trustee of the Oklahoma State Teachers Retirement and Disability Fund in May, 1919. On Feb. 1, 1923, he was appointed on the Governor's Staff as a Colonel. For a short period, while private secretary to the Governor, he was secretary of the Capitol Commission.²

He was a member of the Board of the Oklahoma State Historical Society for over three decades. On March 6, 1920, he was appointed and served on a committee which arranged for the publication of a quarterly magazine known as the *Oklahoma Chronicles*.³

He was active in Fraternal matters in Oklahoma for many years. He was a 32nd degree Mason, a member of the Odd Fellows, serving as Grand Master from April, 1911, to October, 1912, and was also a member of the Knights of Pythias. He was a member of the Sons of the American Revolution and had held various offices and honors at the hands of that organization.

Colonel Arthur Neal Leecraft loved his fellow man. He made it a rule in public office, to be as kind and considerate of his political enemies as his friends. He had no real enemies, so far as he was concerned. He was a member of the Presbyterian Church and was for eighteen years an Elder in the First Presbyterian Church in Durant; prior to that he had been an Elder in the Oklahoma City and Colbert Churches. Many times he represented the local Presbyterians in the Presbytery, Synod and General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church. It was through his influence and upon his invitation that the General Assembly of the Church came to Durant in 1918. He was devoted to his Church and gave it his support in every way possible. He attended its courts, served on committees, taught in the Sunday school, and discharged every obligation and duty committed to him by his church with fidelity and ability. He served for more than a quarter of a century as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Oklahoma Presbyterian College in Durant. During a large part of that time he was Secretary of the Board and he carefully, accurately, and painstakingly kept the minutes of the proceedings of the Board.

The outstanding characteristics of Colonel Leecraft were his gentleness toward all men, his manly courtesy, his unflinching cheerfulness, and his unwillingness to engage in strife, or harbor hatred or ill-will toward anyone. He patterned his life after Him who came not to be ministered unto but to minister.

² *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXI (March, 1943), p. 35.

³ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, I (January, 1921), p. 3.

For a large part of his life he was in public office, as Secretary to the Governor, on the Board of Affairs, State Treasurer, and a member of the State Legislature. The last few years of his life, because of failing health, were spent quietly at his home in Durant, Oklahoma. However, his fine courtesy, his sunny disposition and his love for his fellow man never failed him. He lived to the ripe age of seventy-six. His was a good, a fruitful life. After a prolonged illness, on the night of August 10, 1943, paraphrasing the words of another, the faithful heart that had beaten high in the service of his fellow men, grew faint and failed, and the white stars watched until morning. Interment was by the side of his wife in the cemetery at Sherman, Texas.

OKLAHOMA WAR MEMORIAL—WORLD WAR II

By Muriel H. Wright

This Memorial is presented in *The Chronicles* that the people of the State and its future generations may hold in honor and remembrance the men from Oklahoma who have given their lives in answer to the high call of the United States for bravery, faith and courage in the present war. Those who have left their homes here to enter the armed forces of our great Republic in this far-flung conflict have given Oklahoma a place in the making of World history.

The compilation of data for this memorial record and its publication was authorized by the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, in its quarterly meeting held on July 27, 1943. The biographies of one hundred and twenty-seven men from Oklahoma who have died in the service of their country presented in this magazine, with names arranged in alphabetical order and information given in tabulated form, have been compiled from data received up to October 1, 1943. Material for the biographies of many other Oklahomans who have died in the service, beginning with the bombing of Pearl Harbor, has been placed as a part of the permanent record of the Historical Society and will be published in forthcoming issues of *The Chronicles*.

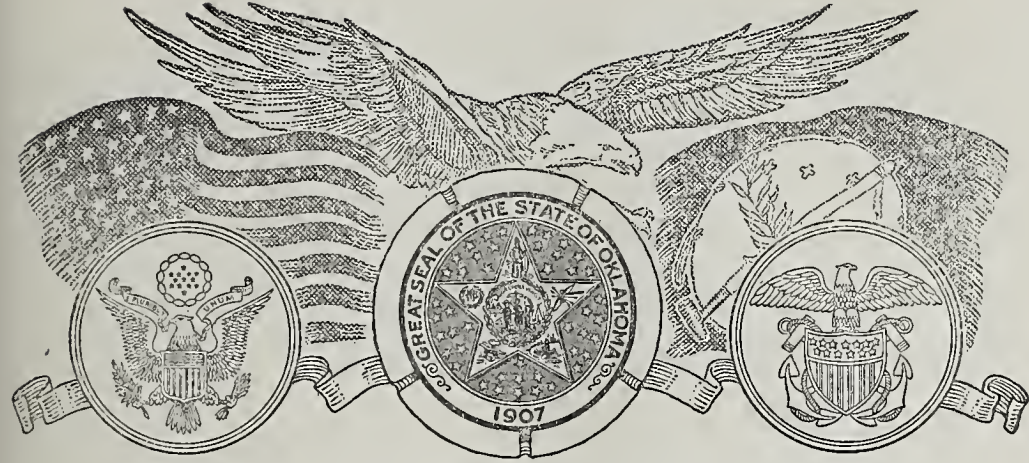
The co-operation and ready response received in replies to letters sent out by the Editorial and Research Department of the Historical Society have made possible the assembling of data for these biographies. Newspapers of Oklahoma—fifty-two dailies and two hundred and twenty weeklies—received and preserved in the Newspaper Files of the Historical Society have been searched for the names of men who have died in war service up to the summer of 1943, the press reports having thus greatly expedited the compilation of the first list of biographies in the comparatively short time since the work was authorized by the Board of Directors.

When the name of a deceased service man is located, a personal letter is addressed to either his parents or a relative or a friend, requesting data on his life. This letter is accompanied by a regular form on a postal card to be filled in with his full name, home address, birth date, enlistment date, rank and branch of service, decorations, date and place of death, brief additional remarks and the address and relationship of the person signing the card. Upon the return of this complete record, the card is placed on file as an original document in the War Memorial collection. Much additional material is also being returned and filed as a part of the collection, including photographs, special newspaper clippings, citations from the War Department, copies of personal letters, as well as extended life sketches in manuscript by parents and relatives.

The gathering of information for the Oklahoma War Memorial, World War II, is an important part of the work of all departments in the Society. A card index of the following publications and newspapers is being made for use in the Library, beginning with December, 1941, and covering all news items on men and women in the service from Oklahoma, including a special listing of the war casualties: *The Journal* of the Oklahoma State Medical Association; *The Journal* published by the Oklahoma Bar Association; *The Daily Oklahoman*; and *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*. A special card index is kept daily, of all casualty reports from the armed forces, appearing in *The Tulsa World*. Clippings of press reports from Oklahoma City's daily papers are being made and preserved, giving the activities of men and women in the service from over the state and a special file of death notices of men in the service from Oklahoma. Through the co-operation of Glenn W. Nolle, Department Service Officer, American Legion of Oklahoma, with offices in the Historical Building, the Society's Editorial Department is now being supplied with copies of the casualty lists for Oklahoma, which the War Department recently began releasing every week from the theaters of the war.

Special acknowledgment is due those who have been actively interested and have assisted in the compilation of the biographies: Rella Looney, Archivist of Indian Archives in the Historical Society, for her research in locating names of deceased service men in the state press and for typing letters of inquiry; Mabel F. Hammerly for typing letters of inquiry and copying material loaned; Annie M. Canton for clippings of death notices of enlisted men appearing in the Oklahoma City daily newspapers; C. S. Harrah, Chief Clerk of the Soldier's Relief Commission, and James W. Moffitt, Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, for their suggestions in the preparation of the manuscript for publication.

Attention called to any errors or omissions in the following biographies, by a letter addressed to the Editorial Department, Oklahoma Historical Society, will be appreciated.



OKLAHOMA WAR MEMORIAL—WORLD WAR II

PART I

LLOYD EDGAR ACREE, Aviation Ordnanceman, Third Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Tulsa, Tulsa County. Mrs E. A. Acree, Mother, 1148 North Main St., Tulsa 6. Born July 31, 1920. Enlisted October 16, 1940. Decoration: Navy Cross for extraordinary heroism while serving a U. S. warship. Died October 12, 1942, and buried at sea, near the Solomon Islands.

JACK V. ALLEN, Technical Sergeant, U. S. Marine Air Corps. Home address: Norman, Cleveland County. Mrs. Virgie Allen, Mother, Rt. 2, Norman. Born April 20, 1918. Enlisted March, 1937. Decorations: American Defense Medal for service in Hawaii; Asiatic-Pacific Campaign Medal; Order of the Purple Heart. Died December 8, 1941, Wake Island.

MARSHALL J. ANDERSON, First Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma County. Mrs. Ray R. Anderson, Mother, 116 S. W. 32nd St., Oklahoma City. Born June 1, 1915. Enlisted November 14, 1939. Decorations: Distinguished Service Cross; Order of the Purple Heart. While descending by parachute from his crippled plane, he was machine gunned by the enemy. Died January 19, 1942, Philippine Islands.

TREMAN BARBER, Second Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: McAlester, Pittsburg County. Mrs. Beulah Barber, Mother, 307 East Seneca, McAlester. Born December 20, 1915. Enlisted August, 1940. Entered training at Spartan Field, Tulsa; received wings at Kelly Field; instructor at LeMoore Field. Died March 9, 1942, in training airplane crash, LeMoore Field, California.

CHARLES THOMAS BARDON, Seaman, Second Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Bixby, Tulsa County. Mrs. Eula Bardon, Mother, 216 North Frisco, Tulsa 6. Died December 7, 1941, in action at Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

WILLIS G. BENCH, First Lieutenant, Pilot U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Coweta, Wagoner County. Charles Bench, Father, Rt. 1, Coweta. Born March 15, 1918. Enlisted September, 1938. Captain in Oklahoma National Guard, Fort Sill; Captain in Air Corps, November, 1940. Died June 8, 1942, when his plane was forced down in the South Pacific.

HERMAN BLEDSOE, Mess Attendant, Second Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Lookeba, Caddo County. Mrs. Dora Haynes, Sister, Lookeba. Born September 6, 1920. Enlisted November 24, 1939. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart, posthumously. Died December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

JACK BRENNER, First Lieutenant, Pilot, U. S. Naval Air Corps. Home address: Okmulgee, Okmulgee County. Martin Brenner, Father, 1324 East 8th, Okmulgee. Born October 21, 1917. Graduated 1939, U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland. Died December 27, 1942, bomber crash, Salton Sea, Imperial Valley, California.

THOMAS A. BRITTON, Corporal, U. S. Marine Corps. Home address; Carter, Beckham County. Mrs. A. Y. Britton, Mother, Carter. Born July 4, 1916. Enlisted November 16, 1938. Graduated Carter High School, 1934. Continued study by correspondence courses. Expert rifleman, sharpshooter and marksman. Captain's Orderly, U. S. S. *Nevada*. Died December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

J. R. ("JIMMY") BROOKS, JR., Second Lieutenant, 7th Photo Signaling, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Muskogee, Muskogee County. J. R. Brooks, Father, 414 North 14th St., Muskogee. Born July 29, 1915. Enlisted February 19, 1942. Died March 6, 1943, when his converted P-38 photographic plane crashed and burned, Peterson Field, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

LOY RAYMOND BROOME, Signalman, Third Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Sapulpa, Creek County. Mrs. L. M. Brown, Mother, 130 West Lincoln, Sapulpa. Born July 4, 1916. Enlisted January 7, 1938. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Enlisted when eighteen and served enlistment period in the U. S. Army; stationed at Fort Ringgold on the Mexican Border three years, subsequently enlisting in the Navy. Died December 7, 1941, on board the U. S. S. *Arizona*, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

LEE WALTON BRYAN, Seaman, Second Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Boswell, Choctaw County. Mrs. Bessie A. Bryan, Mother, Boswell. Born November 2, 1923. Enlisted May 20, 1941. Died August 24, 1942, at sea.

JOHN L. ("BUD") BURHUS, Captain, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Eufaula, McIntosh County. J. E. Burhus, Father,

Eufaula. Born October 7, 1911. Enlisted October, 1938. Service in 180th Infantry, Oklahoma National Guard. In charge of air corps bases, New Caledonia. Died August 31, 1942, New Caledonia, South Pacific.

CARHART JEROME ("JERRY") CARHART, Corporal, Field Artillery, U. S. Army. Home address: Tulsa, Tulsa County. E. G. Carhart, Sr., Father, 148 North Tacoma, Tulsa. Born November 2, 1916. Enlisted February 3, 1941. Graduated Tulsa Central High School. Attended Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater. Serving in 160th Field Artillery, 45th Division. Died December 8, 1941, returning as passenger to Camp Barkeley, in automobile wreck, Haskell, Texas.

GEORGE KENNETH CARIKER, Electrician, First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Monroe, LeFlore County. W. W. Cariker, Father, Monroe. Born February 13, 1919. Enlisted August, 1937. Died August 24, 1942, Solomon Islands.

DUANE CLAPHAM, JR., First Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Norman, Cleveland County. Mrs. J. C. Clapham, Mother, 490 Elm Ave., Norman. Born January 23, 1916. Enlisted August 12, 1939. Decoration: Meritorious Medal of the Army, Navy and Air forces, First Grade, A Class, received posthumously from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek of China for distinguished service. Graduated 1938, University of Oklahoma; Second Lieutenant in Reserve Officers Training Corps. Active duty at Fort Sill; entered U. S. Army Air Corps, and received wings at Kelly Field, May, 1940; selected in January, 1941, to attend high stratospheric flying school, Dayton, Ohio, and was one of five best in this school; sent to England for observation work in April, 1942; returned to the United States and continued to serve the U. S. Air Corps until December, 1941; released by the Army to work for an aviation company as test pilot; sent to India to supervise the assembling of planes, to test and deliver them to the Chinese government. Died April 17, 1942, in airplane crash landing Karachi India.

CLAUDE ALBERT CLEMENS, Seaman, First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Talala, Rogers County. Mrs. Ella Hendricks, Rt. 2, Nowata. Born February 15, 1919. Enlisted April 12, 1940. Served in 7th Division aboard the U. S. S. *Arizona*. Died December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

RAYMON D. CLEMENT, Second Lieutenant, Transport Pilot, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Muskogee, Muskogee County. Mrs. Joe McMullen, Mother, 2121 East Okmulgee, Muskogee. Born December 15, 1913. Enlisted October 15, 1940. Graduated University of Oklahoma School of Law, 1938. Trained as aviation cadet, Olmsted Field, Middletown, Pennsylvania. Died March 5, 1942, Army Transport airplane crash, Stuart, Florida.

WALTER OVERTON COBURN, Seaman, First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Tulsa, Tulsa County. Mrs. Frances Moor, Mother, Rt. 8, Box 192, Tulsa. Born September 16, 1920. Enlisted April 12, 1940. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart posthumously. Died December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

AULTON A. COLLINS, Staff Sergeant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Muldrow, Sequoyah County. Ben H. Collins, Father, Muldrow. Born May 2, 1919. Enlisted January 20, 1941. Died June 8, 1943, flying as Chief Engineer in a training flight, bomber crash, ten miles east of March Field, Riverside County, California.

STEPHEN WARREN CONGER, Corporal, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Ada, Pontotoc County. Mrs Ada W. Conger, Mother, 119 North Mississippi, Ada. Born February 14, 1911. Enlisted December 1, 1941. Radioman in B-17. Died November 29, 1942, on search mission out of Hawaii, plane crashed into mountainside; buried at Post Cemetery, Scofield Barracks, Territory of Hawaii.

ARTHUR LEE COULTER, Seaman, First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Jefferson, Grant County. Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Leon Coulter, Parents, Jefferson. Born October 29, 1916. Enlisted November 8, 1940. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart, posthumously. Died December 7, 1941, aboard U. S. S. *Arizona*, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

JOHN E. ("JACK") CRUTHIRDS, Private, First Class, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Heavener, Le Flore County. Mr. and Mrs. Wayne Cruthirds, Parents, Heavener. Born April 6, 1921. Enlisted October 4, 1939. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart, posthumously. Graduated Heavener High School, 1939. Gunner and bombardier. Died December 7, 1941, Hickam Field, Territory of Hawaii.

VERON R. DARBE, Private, U. S. Marine Air Corps. Home address: Waynoka, Woods County. Mrs. Irene Darbe, Mother, Avard. Born April 28, 1920. Enlisted January 24, 1942. Second Marine Air Group, 21. Died July 18, 1942, in action, Waipahu, Oahu, Territory of Hawaii.

HAMILTON DARNEAL. Private, Field Artillery, U. S. Army, Home address: Spiro, Le Flore County. Mrs. Sophia Stewart, Mother, Rt. 2, McCurtain. Born April 26, 1918. Enlisted August 31, 1938. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Died April 23, 1942, in action Philippine Islands.

BILLY REX DAVIS, Fireman, Second Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Elk City, Beckham County. Walter R. Davis, Father, Elk City. Born November 3, 1922. Enlisted November 10, 1940. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Graduated Elk City High

School, 1940. Member of Methodist Church. Died December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

JAMES B. DAVIS, JR., Aviation Radioman, Second Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Allen, Pontotoc and Hughes counties. Mrs. James B. Davis, Sr., Mother, Rt. 2, Allen. Born February 1, 1921. Enlisted August 12, 1939. Died March 8, 1942, on duty Navy patrol, airplane crash, Tongue Point, Oregon.

CHARLES W. DAVISON, Private, First Class, U. S. Marine Corps. Home address: Poteau, Le Flore County. C. H. Davison, Father, Poteau. Born September 15, 1923. Enlisted May 31, 1941. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Died November 22, 1942, in action, Guadalcanal, Southwest Pacific.

WOODROW L. DICK, Second Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Claremore, Rogers County. W. E. Dick, Father, Claremore. Born January 27, 1919. Enlisted April 26, 1941. Served with 53rd Pursuit Group, Panama Canal Zone, spring of 1942. Died December 5, 1942, in airplane crash, flying as an instructor in combat tactics with 305th Fighter Group, Woodville, Florida.

BILL LESTER DRIVER, Radioman, Third Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Sentinel, Washita County. Edgar E. Driver, Father, Sentinel. Born July 2, 1917. Enlisted January 14, 1939. Graduated Sentinel High School, 1938. Died December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

BILLIE JOE DUKES, Seaman, First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Marietta, Love County. Mrs. James C. Hayes, Mother, 1511 McCormick, Denton, Texas. Born October 16, 1921. Enlisted June 1, 1939. Died December 7, 1941, U. S. S. *California*, Pearl Harbor; buried on Red Top Hill overlooking Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii.

KENNETH LEROY DUNAWAY, Electrician's Mate, Third Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Blackwell, Kay County. John Wesley Dunaway, Father, Blackwell. Born August 26, 1926. Enlisted October 11, 1940. Died December 7, 1941, on duty aboard the U. S. S. *Arizona*, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

PAUL H. DUNCAN, Sergeant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Ardmore, Carter County. Mrs. Lue Ola Duncan, Mother, 437 N. W. 26th St., Oklahoma City. Born June 14, 1922. Enlisted September 21, 1940. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Sailed November 1, 1941 on the *President Coolidge* and arrived at Manila November 21, 1941. Died January 23, 1942, in action, Philippine Islands.

ROBERT P. EDWARDS, Sergeant, U. S. Marine Air Corps. Home address: Tulsa, Tulsa County. Mrs. Pearle Austin, 2151 Elmwood, Tulsa. Born February 12, 1918. Enlisted 1936, U. S. Army; 1939,

joined the U. S. Marine Air Corps, learned airplane mechanics; sent to Hawaii where he became co-pilot and gunner on dive bomber. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart, posthumously; two citations from U. S. Navy. Died December 8, 1941, manning machine guns in airplane before the take off, Wake Island.

JOHN CHARLES ENGLAND, Ensign, U. S. Navy. Home address: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Mrs. H. B. England, Mother, 1708 South 4th St., Alhambra, California. Born December 11, 1920. Enlisted spring, 1940. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart, posthumously. U. S. S. *England*, a Destroyer Escort vessel, named in his honor, posthumously, and launched at San Francisco, California, September 26, 1943. Attended Taft Junior High School, Oklahoma City; graduated as President of Senior Class Alhambra High School, California, 1938; leader in dramatics, Junior College, Pasadena, graduating in 1940. Naval officers' training course on board U. S. S. *New York*, with cruises in Carribean and Cuban waters, and on board U. S. S. *Prairie State*, graduating as Ensign in June, 1941. Special training for communications officer, Communication School, Noroton Heights, Connecticut, completing the course September 7, 1941. Assigned to U. S. S. *Oklahoma*, sailing for Hawaii, October 3, 1941. Died December 7, 1941, on board the U. S. S. *Oklahoma*, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

EDGAR ARTHUR FANSLER, Seaman, First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Welch, Craig County. Mrs. Mary E. Fansler, Mother, Welch. Born April 5, 1920. Enlisted December 26, 1939. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart, posthumously. Served in First Division. Memorial services held for him in Welch Baptist Church February 1, 1942, first service-man deceased to hold this honor in Craig County. Died December 7, 1941, on board the U. S. S. *Arizona*, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

WESLEY RUDOLPH FEWELL, Aviation Machinist Mate, Third Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Ringling, Jefferson County. Mrs. G. L. Fewell, Mother, Ringling. Born July 23, 1923. Enlisted May 26, 1941. Graduated Zaneis High School, 1941. Assigned to U. S. S. *Saratoga*. Died August 24, 1942, on special duty aboard U. S. S. *Enterprise*, Battle of East Solomon Islands.

ROBERT CLAY FLORENCE, Seaman, First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Paoli, Garvin County. Zack Florence, Father, Paoli. Born January 1, 1917. Enlisted January 3, 1940. Died February 4, 1942, on board U. S. S. *Houston*, Battle of Java, the Netherland Indies.

ERNEST M. FLOWERS, Private, U. S. Army. Home address: Meeker, Lincoln County. S. M. Flowers, Father, Meeker. Born November 18, 1918. Enlisted March 17, 1941. Served in 753rd Tank Battalion. Died August 14, 1942, automobile accident, Camp Bowie, Texas.

HOWARD PAUL FONVILLE, Private, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Ardmore, Carter County. Mrs. Howard Fonville, Mother, 203 A North West, Ardmore. Born July 14, 1915. Enlisted July 1, 1942. Photographer on B-25, 309 Bombardment Group, 376 Bombardment Squadron. Died November 24, 1942, military airplane crash, Columbia, South Carolina.

ODIE B. FOX, JR., Second Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address. Purcell, McClain County. Mrs. O. B. Fox, Sr., Mother, 1701 East Maine St., Enid. Born October 11, 1916. Enlisted January 1, 1941. Graduated, B. S. E. E. degree, Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater, 1939. Flight instructor at Randolph Field until transferred to Enid as tactical officer and flight instructor. Died May 12, 1942, airplane crash, near Breckinridge, Oklahoma.

ROBERT S. FULTON, Sergeant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address. Hugo, Choctaw County. Robert J. Fulton, Father, Hugo. Born September 14, 1922. Enlisted January 21, 1942. Decoration: Citation of Honor, U. S. Army Air Forces. Had previously enlisted in Company F, 180th Infantry, U. S. Army, September 19, 1940; honorable discharge September 21, 1941. Died June 12, 1942, airplane crash, Sarasota, Florida.

WILEY COY GOFF, Scaman, Second Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Lamont, Grant County. William Finest Goff, Father, Lamont. Born March 27, 1917. Enlisted March 22, 1941. Died December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

ROBERT E. L. GREEN, Private, First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Poteau, Le Flore County. Mrs. Ellen Gentry, Mother, Rt. 1, Poteau. Born February 7, 1922. Enlisted January 9, 1941. Served in Battery C, 693rd Field Artillery Battalion. Died May 3, 1943, Cantonment Hospital, Ft Sill, Oklahoma.

EARL H. GRIMES, First Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Norman, Cleveland County. Mrs. Earl H. Grimes, Wife, 325 South Crawford, Norman. Born May 11, 1896. Enlisted June 10, 1942. Veteran World War I, Sergeant, 352 Ambulance Company, U. S. Army. Died November 15, 1942, Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana.

LOUIS ERLE GRIMM, Ensign, U. S. Naval Air Corps. Home address: Muskogee, Muskogee County. Mrs. L. S. Grimm, Mother, 1214 West Okmulgee, Muskogee. Born July 26, 1919. Enlisted December 5, 1941. Naval Aviation Instructor. Died March 25, 1943, in line of duty at Livermore Flying Field, Livermore, California.

TED W. HAMPTON, JR., Seaman First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Okemah, Okfuskee County. T. W. Hampton, Sr., Father, 2490 Chestnut Ave., Long Beach, California. Born April 27, 1922.

Enlisted July, 1939. Died December 7, 1941, on board U. S. S. *Arizona*, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

STERLING W. HANCOCK, First Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Ardmore, Carter County. Dr. B. W. Hancock, Father, 127½ West Main, Ardmore. Born May 16, 1921. Inducted January 5, 1942; commissioned at Brooks Field, San Antonio, September 6, 1942; received notice of promotion to first lieutenant just before his death. Student electrical engineering three years, Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater. Died December 11, 1942, accident in a routine flight, Key Field, Meridian, Mississippi.

RAYMOND D. HARMON, Private, U. S. Army Coast Guard. Home address: Coweta, Wagoner County. Mrs. Mary J. Harmon, Mother, Coweta. Born April 15, 1919. Enlisted February 12, 1941. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Died January 6, 1942, on guard duty Corregidor Island, Manila Bay, Philippine Islands.

ALVIN HARTLEY, Gunner's Mate, Third Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Woodville, Marshall County. Mrs. Evy Hartley, Mother, Kingston. Born May 10, 1922. Enlisted April 15, 1939. Died December 7, 1941, on board the U. S. S. *Arizona*, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

PAUL F. HAWKINS, Second Lieutenant, Pilot, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Ponca City, Kay County. Mrs. F. O. Hawkins, Mother, 440 South Elm, Ponca City. Born June 2, 1918. Enlisted September, 1940. Received his wings at Barksdale Field, Louisiana, April, 1941. Pilot 38th Bomber Group, 70th Squadron. Died March 20, 1942, airplane crash, near Greenfield, Indiana.

GROVER A. HELTZEL, Private, U. S. Marine Corps. Home address: Vinita, Craig County. Mrs. Beulah Heltzel, Mother, Rt. 4, Vinita. Born February 11, 1922. Enlisted October 10, 1941. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Died August 7, 1942, South Pacific.

LLOYD A. HEWETT, Sergeant, U. S. Marine Air Corps. Home address: Maysville, Garvin County. Mrs. Eunice Hewitt, Mother, Maysville. Born November 17, 1917. Enlisted December 4, 1939. Graduated Maysville High School; attended East Central State College, Ada, 1937-38; graduated U. S. Marine radio operator's school, San Diego. Expert with pistol. Died April 23, 1942, airplane crash, Miami, Florida.

CLIFFORD DALE HILL, Seaman, Second Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Hennessey, Kingfisher County. Mrs. Mary Hill, Mother, Hennessey. Born November 15, 1922. Enlisted January 20, 1940. Diploma in radio. Died December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

DENNIS HISKETT, Fireman, First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address Pocasset, Grady County. Mr. and Mrs. James L. Hiskett, Parents, Nebraska City, Nebraska. Born August 17, 1921. Enlisted March 22, 1940. Died December 7, 1941, on duty aboard the U. S. S. *Oklahoma*, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

FRED HOLASEK, Sergeant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Prague, Lincoln County. Mrs. Frances Holasek, Mother, Prague. Born September 15, 1917. Enlisted January 12, 1942. Died October 7, 1942, bomber crash, Nashville, Tennessee.

EUGENE P. HOLSEY, Private, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. J. H. Holsey, Father, Rt. 1, Yuba City, California. Born January 1, 1920. Enlisted December 1, 1941. Attended Oklahoma City schools. Trained for air corps, Chanute Field, Illinois. Died July 7, 1942, bomber crash, Wendover Field, Utah.

RALPH R. HUGHES, First Lieutenant Training Division Battalion 701, U. S. Army. Home address: Norman, Cleveland County. Roland Hughes, Father, 502 Alameda St., Norman. Born May 4, 1913. Commissioned from University of Oklahoma, Second Lieutenant, Reserve Officers Training Corps, 1938. Called August 16, 1940. Graduated University of Oklahoma. As a Cadet Major in senior year, won a saber for having best trained battalion in Reserve Officers Training Corps at the University. Died January 8, 1942, Fort Knox, Kentucky.

JOHN F. HUNT, JR., Captain, Field Artillery, U. S. Army. Home address: Seminole, Seminole County. Mrs. Olene C. Hunt Wife, 723 North 17th, Lawton. Born December 13, 1913. Called to active duty 1938. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Graduated Business Administration, University of Oklahoma, 1936. Died January 15, 1942, in action with General Douglas MacArthur's forces, Bataan, Philippine Islands.

JAMES MONROE JOHNSTON, JR., Seaman, First Class U. S. Navy. Home address: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma County. Mrs. J. M. Johnston, Sr., Mother, 2834 N. W. 41st St., Oklahoma City. Born February 20, 1923. Enlisted November 26, 1940. Died October 11, 1942, Battle of Cape Esperance, Guadalcanal.

DAVID E. JONES, Private, 60th C. A. Bat. L., U. S. Army. Home address: Tishomingo, Johnston County. Mrs. Winifred Pace, Mother, 705 West Kiowa, Marlow. Born July 26, 1921. Enlisted February 10, 1941. Died January 2, 1942, Fort Mills, Corregidor Island, Philippine Islands.

ALFRED PAUL KELEHER, Ensign, U. S. Navy. Home address: Sterling, Comanche County. M. P. Keleher, Father, Sterling. Born December 31, 1918. Enlisted February, 1941. Was on the

return journey from a very important and highly successful mission in the service. Died August 20, 1942, Panama Canal, Panama.

JAMES DENNIS KELLEY, Ship Fitter, Second Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Seminole, Seminole County. James F. Kelley, Father, Seminole. Born April 7, 1921. Enlisted August 9, 1939. Graduated Bowlegs High School; lettered in football and a member on the staff of school paper. Died December 7, 1941, on board the U. S. S. *Arizona*, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

BERLYN MARCONI KIMBREL, Torpedoman, First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Red Rock, Noble County. Mr. and Mrs. Robert Lee Kimbrel, Parents, Red Rock. Born July 22, 1914. Enlisted February 12, 1935. Decoration: Silver Star Medal December 16, 1942. Completed high school and two years of college at Northern Oklahoma Junior College, Tonkawa, Oklahoma. Member of Tonkawa Chapter of De Molay. Attended U. S. training schools at Coronado Island, California, and Newport, Rhode Island. Member of the crew U. S. S. *Roper* on first mid-winter cruise of the U. S. Navy to Alaska, 1936, a monument now standing on the shore of Resurrection Bay to commemorate this cruise. Member of the crew of U. S. S. *Hammann*, (1) on round-trip cruise Brooklyn, N. Y., to north coast of South America: (2) escort convoy duty to Newfoundland, Greenland and Iceland, 1941; (3) escort and active combat duty in the Pacific, taking part in the first battle of the Coral Sea, May 8, 1942, the *Hammann* crew being specially mentioned in a radiogram for bravery in helping to rescue the crew of the sinking, burning Aircraft Carrier, U. S. S. *Lexington*; (4) while doing rescue work and giving medical aid to the crew of the fatally crippled Aircraft Carrier, U. S. S. *Yorktown*, in the Battle of Midway Island, June 6, 1942, the Destroyer *Hammann* was struck by a torpedo from an enemy raider and sunk. Died June 6, 1942, on board the U. S. S. *Hammann*, Battle of Midway Island.

D. T. KYSER, Seaman, Second, Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Muskogee, Muskogee County. Mrs. Hailey Kyser, Mother, 335 Fredonia, Muskogee. Born September 28, 1923. Enlisted July 7, 1941. Died December 7, 1941, on duty, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

ROBERT W. LAMON, Staff Sergeant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Shawnee, Pottawatomie County. Mrs. R. W. Lamon, Mother, 615 North Dorothy, Shawnee. Born August 22, 1918. Enlisted July 1, 1940. Died August 15, 1942, airplane crash, Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

ROY E. LEE, JR., Private, U. S. Marine Corps. Home address: Calumet, Canadian County. Roy E. Lee, Sr., Father, Calumet. Born May 19, 1921. Enlisted September 10, 1940. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart, posthumously. Six months after the war will be awarded posthumously, the American Defense Service

Medal for service on board the U. S. S. *California*, and the Asiatic-Pacific Campaign Medal. Died December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

JAMES LETELLIER, Chief Petty Officer, U. S. Naval Air Corps. Home address: Perry, Noble County. P. E. Letellier, Father, 431 Birch St., Perry. Born March 27, 1908. Enlisted 1926. Member Christian Church. Served with 5th Division as Pilot, Naval Air Station, Anacostia, D. C. Principal duties ferrying airplanes from coast to coast. Died January 16, 1942, airplane crash caused by ice when landing (as instructed) on Phantom Lake, near Abilene, Texas.

PAUL LETELLIER, Corporal, Field Artillery, U. S. Army. Home address: Perry, Noble County. P. E. Letellier, Father, 431 Birch St., Perry. Born May, 1916. Enlisted 1933. Served in Oklahoma National Guard. Stationed at Camp Barkeley, Texas. Died January 16, 1942, airplane crash, Phantom Lake, near Abilene, Texas, with his brother, James Letellier, both returning to their respective duties from the burial of their brother.

JAMES EDGAR LIVENGOOD, Private, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Weatherford, Custer County. Mrs. J. E. Livengood, Mother, Weatherford. Born January 31, 1916. Enlisted June 1, 1942. Stationed at Chanute Field, Illinois, serving as a squadron mechanic. Died September 11, 1942, in automobile accident, near McPherson, Kansas.

CHESTER HAYES LOCKE, Aviation Machinist's Mate, First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Panama, Le Flore County. Mrs. Gertrude Locke, Wife, Panama. Born August 3, 1906. Enlisted June 22, 1926. Awarded Good Conduct Medal and Pin November 24, 1936, and October 1, 1940. Had first enlisted June 2, 1925, in U. S. Naval Reserves. Died March 9, 1942, Darrell Island, Bermuda.

B. D. LOWERY, Seaman, First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Muskogee, Muskogee County. Mrs. Elsie L. Bunch, Mother, Rt. 5, Muskogee. Born July 23, 1916. Enlisted December 23, 1941. Died August 24, 1942, in attack by enemy aircraft, somewhere on the Pacific.

JAMES EDWARD LUNA, Seaman, Second Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Seminole, Seminole County. Joe W. Luna, Father, 132 South 8th St., Seminole. Born January 7, 1922. Enlisted October 5, 1940. Died December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

FRANK LYON, JR., Fireman, Third Class, U. S. Naval Reserves. Home address: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma County. Frank Lyon, Father, Norman. Born September 28, 1919. Enlisted December 27, 1941. Participated in six day battle of the Coral Sea. Fatally injured June 6, 1942, at the finish of the four day campaign of

Midway Island. Died June 7, (or 8), 1942, and buried at sea between Midway Island and Hawaii.

ROBERT HAROLD MARKLEY, Second Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Nardin, Kay County. Arthur H. Markley, Father, 4425 Iowa St., San Diego California. Born July 23, 1920. Enlisted January 1, 1941. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Graduated Spartan Field, Tulsa; received wings Kelly Field; sailed for Hawaii September, 1941. Died December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

GORDON L. MARSHALL, Private, First Class, U. S. Marine Corps. Home address: Skiatook, Tulsa and Osage Counties. Mrs. Silas Marshall, Mother, Portland, Colorado. Born September 8, 1920. Enlisted June 26, 1940. Decorations: Posthumously awarded the President's citation of "the Wake Island detachment of the 1st Defense Battalion, U. S. Marine Corps under command of Major James P. S. Devereaux, U. S. Marines," January 5, 1942; the Expeditionary Medal and Wake Island Clasp, August 7, 1942; Order of the Purple Heart, August 7, 1943. Member First Presbyterian Church, Skiatook. Graduated Skiatook High School. Promoted January, 1941, to Private, First Class, First Defense Battalion under command of Major James P. S. Devereaux, U. S. Marines. Sailed February 15, 1941, from San Diego for Pearl Harbor on U. S. S. *Enterprise*. Served on Johnston, Palmyra and other outlying islands constituting America's first defense line. Arrived Wake Island in August, 1941. Died December 23, 1941, Wake Island.

TOMMY HENRY MATLOCK, Aviation Mechanic's Mate, Third Class, U. S. Naval Reserves. Home address: Sulphur, Murray County. N. J. Matlock, Father, Sulphur. Born October 5, 1921. Enlisted August, 1941. Died October 26, 1942, on board U. S. S. *Hornet*, in the Pacific.

HARREL K. MATTOX, Private, First Class, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Shawnee, Pottawatomie County. Mrs. Willie B. Mattox, Mother, 716 North Kickapoo, Shawnee. Born September 24, 1921. Enlisted September 1, 1939. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Served in a reconnaissance squadron. Died December 7, 1941, Hickman Field, Territory of Hawaii.

JACK C. MAXEY, Private, First Class, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Ada, Pontotoc County. Mrs. Mattie Maxey, Mother, 726 East 17th St., Ada. Born May 14, 1920. Enlisted November, 1940. Attended Oklahoma Military Academy, Claremore, 1937-38; graduated Ada High School, 1939. Bombardier, 79th Bombardment Squadron, Manchester, New Hampshire. Died March 5, 1942, airplane crash, off Barnegat Light, New Jersey Coast.

GARRETT H. McCALLISTER, Second Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Shawnee, Pottawatomie County. Mrs. M. E. McCallister, Mother, 1012 Jefferson Place, Shawnee. Born October 24, 1918. Enlisted November, 1940. Decoration: Distinguished Service Cross. Co-pilot in Battle of Midway Island. Memorial Plaque, Resthaven Cemetery, Shawnee. Died June 4, 1942, Battle of Midway Island.

ERNEST OLIVER McGEHEE, First Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Enid, Garfield County. W. E. McGehee, Father, 831 East Pine, Enid. Born September 16, 1919. Transferred from the British service to the U. S. Army Air Corps as First Lieutenant September, 1942. Member First Methodist Church, Enid; graduated Enid High School, 1937. Joined office staff of Vacin Flying School, Woodring Field, Enid, serving as office manager to May 18, 1941, when he resigned to enlist under the British Government as a ferry pilot with the Royal Air Force; commissioned as Second Officer and promoted a short time later to First Officer. In October, 1942, was in charge of operations on a flying mission, with the Eighth Air Force. Died October 19, 1942, airplane crash, British Isles.

MICHAEL MARTIN McKOSKY, Seaman, First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Talihina, Le Flore County. Mrs. Ethel McKosky, Mother, Talihina. Born June 12, 1922. Enlisted November 18, 1940. Died December 7, 1941, on board U. S. S. *Arizona*, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

AARON LLOYD McMURTREY, Seaman, First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Durant, Bryan County. Mr. and Mrs. Ernest McMurtrey, Parents, 1310 West Cedar St., Durant. Born February 14, 1914. Enlisted October 4, 1940. Died December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

JESSE B. MITCHELL, Private, First Class, U. S. Marine Air Corps. Home address: Shidler, Osage County. Mrs. Katherine E. Mitchell, Mother, Shidler. Born July 20, 1922. Enlisted April 20, 1942. Pre-law student at University of Oklahoma. Radio gunner on dive bomber. Died December 20, 1942, in accident, San Diego, California.

GEORGE S. MOORE, JR., Private, First Class, U. S. Marine Corps. Home address: Tishomingo, Johnston County. Mrs. George S. Moore, Mother, 2288 Comstock St., "Linda Vista," San Diego, California. Born September 17, 1919. Enlisted August 2, 1940. Decorations (posthumously): Order of the Purple Heart; American Defense Medal; Asiatic-Pacific Campaign Medal. Served as clerk, Headquarters Company, 4th Marine Corps, Shanghai, China. Arrived Philippines a few days before the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Died December 24, 1941, from wounds received in action, Marvilles, Bataan, Philippine Islands.

ALLEN NEWTON, Private, U. S. Marine Corps Reserves. Home address: Welling, Cherokee County. J. A. Newton, Father, Rt. 4, Stillwell. Born February 23, 1921. Enlisted May 28, 1942. Great-grandson of the late Judge Riley Keys, signer of the constitution of the Cherokee Nation, 1839, and a judge of the courts (Tahlequah District, Circuit and Supreme) of the Cherokee Nation for many years. Transferred from San Diego, California, to an island in the South Pacific. Died January 31, 1943, in the South Pacific.

RALPH R. NORED, Second Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Poteau, LeFlore County. Mrs. G. C. Nored, Mother, Poteau. Born July 27, 1920. Enlisted November 7, 1939. Served in Field Artillery from November 7, 1939, to January 1, 1942. Graduated as flight officer from Ellington Field, Texas, November 10, 1942. Died January 6, 1943, airplane crash, near Tallahassee, Florida.

ERNEST "ICK" NORMAN, Private, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Eldorado, Jackson County. Mrs. W. P. Brewer, Sister, Eldorado. Born May 31, 1919. Enlisted June 10, 1941. Reported missing on May 7, 1942. Reported as Japanese prisoner January 30, 1943, in the Philippines. Died June 11, 1943, in Japanese prison camp, Philippine Islands.

VICTOR WILLARD OGLE, Seaman, Second Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Clinton, Custer County. Mrs. India Ogle, Mother, Rt. 3, Clinton. Born August 15, 1917. Enlisted October 22, 1940. Died December 7, 1941, on board U. S. S. *Arizona*, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

ROBERT H. PEAK, Private, U. S. Marine Corps. Home address: Okmulgee, Okmulgee County. Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Norman T. Peak, Parents, 310 North Central St., Okmulgee. Born February 17, 1924. Enlisted July 15, 1941. Decorations (posthumously): Order of the Purple Heart; American Defense Medal with Fleet clasp for service aboard the U. S. S. *Oklahoma*; Asiatic-Pacific Campaign Medal for service in the Asiatic-Pacific Area. Graduated Okmulgee High School, 1941. Died December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

ALONZO PEARCE, JR., Seaman First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Muskogee, Muskogee County. Alonzo Pearce, Sr., Father, 315 West Henrietta St., Kingsville, Texas. Born November 5, 1920. Enlisted August 1, 1940. Attended Muskogee High School and Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater. Member of high school and college bands. Served on U. S. S. *Arizona*. Died December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

PETER WAYNE PERRIER, Second Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Disney, Mayes County. P. N. Perrier,

Father, Disney. Born September 28, 1920. Enlisted January 16, 1942. Died August 20, 1943, airplane crash, Ellington Field, Texas.

LEWIS WILLIAM PITTS, JR., Seaman, Second Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Muskogee, Muskogee County. Lewis W. Pitts, Sr., Father, 320 South 15th St., Muskogee. Born February 25, 1913. Enlisted January 7, 1941. Graduated Central High School, Muskogee, 1932. Radio operator U. S. S. *California*. Died December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

PAUL PITTS, Second Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Poteau, Le Flore County. L. D. Pitts, Sr., Father, Poteau. Born November 6, 1920. Enlisted February 12, 1942. Cadet in Air Corps. Died February 2, 1943, airplane crash on night flight, Bedford, Virginia.

T. C. REYNOLDS, JR., Ensign, U. S. Naval Air Corps. Home address: Valliant, McCurtain County. Mr. and Mrs. T. C. Reynolds, Parents, Valliant. Born February 24, 1914. Enlisted October 24, 1937. Graduated Valliant High School, 1931. Attended University of Oklahoma; Second Lieutenant, Reserve Officers Training Corps. Had made rank of Lieutenant, Junior Grade, but to outbreak of War had not received commission. Died December 16, 1941, airplane crash, near Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

LOUIS RIDER, Private, U. S. Army. Home address: Muskogee, Muskogee County. Frank Rider, Brother, 1803 Augusta, Muskogee. Born January 29, 1907. Enlisted March, 1940. Had served as Sergeant, Motorcycle Company, 180th Infantry, 1925-31; Sergeant, Battery D. 189th Field Artillery, 45th Division, 1931-34; and was serving in Headquarters Company, Fort Dix, New Jersey. Died December 9, 1942, Delaware Hospital, Wilmington, Delaware.

CLEO ROGERS, Sergeant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Boynton, Muskogee County. Mrs. Della Leist, Mother, Boynton. Born October 23, 1922. Enlisted August 4, 1941. Graduated Wainwright High School, Muskogee County, 1941. Died March 20, 1942, in automobile accident, Luke Field, near Glendale, Arizona.

JOHN RICHARD ROGERS, Carpenter's Mate, Second Class, U. S. Naval Reserve. Home address: Gracemont, Caddo County. Mrs. John Rogers, Mother, Gracemont. Born May 3, 1912. Enlisted June 16, 1941. Died January 8, 1942, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

STANLEY IRVIN ROOKER, Fireman, Third Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Tuttle, Grady County. C. V. Rooker, Father, Tuttle. Born April 19, 1923. Enlisted December 27, 1940. Died February 18, 1942, St. John's, Newfoundland.

JOHN A. RUSSELL, Corporal, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Shidler, Osage County. Arlie J. Russell, Father, Shidler.

Born October 8, 1920. Enlisted June 27, 1940. In training at Sooner Flying School, Okmulgee, Oklahoma. Received wings posthumously. Fatally injured in training airplane crash near Okemah. Died July 27, 1942, Okemah Hospital, Okemah, Oklahoma.

ROBERT B. SANDLIN, Staff Sergeant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Wagoner, Wagoner County. Mrs. Henry Sandlin, Mother, Wagoner. Born February 19, 1916. Enlisted October 15, 1942. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart, Posthumously. Had entered the U. S. Army, September 15, 1940, with mobilization of the National Guard. Transferred to Air Corps October 15, 1942. Radio operator on bomber. Died December 20, 1942, on bombing raid of Ruhr Valley, Western Europe.

RICHARD CALVIN SCHINDLER, Apprentice Seaman, U. S. Navy. Home address: Dawson, Tulsa County. E. C. Schindler, Father, 205 South Booth St., Dawson. Born July 26, 1924. Enlisted December 8, 1941. Died January 23, 1942, in the Pacific.

FERLIN FONZO SHIPMAN, Seaman, First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Guthrie, Logan County. Mrs. Olive Fisher, Mother, 315 South 16th St., Guthrie. Born May 12, 1917. Enlisted January 3, 1940. Turret gun trainer. Serving on board U. S. S. *Houston*. Died February 4, 1942, in action, Java Straits.

WILLIAM A. SIMS, Second Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Cement, Caddo County. Mrs. T. M. Sims, Mother, Evergreen, Alabama. Born April 27, 1918. Enlisted May 1, 1941. Junior at University of Oklahoma; member A. O. fraternity. Received wings and commissioned Brooks Field, Texas, December 10, 1941. Died May 27, 1942, airplane crash, Lakeland, Florida.

BEN F. SLACK, JR., Second Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Vinita, Craig County. B. F. Slack, Sr., Father, 418 East Grand Ave., Ponca City. Born December 12, 1920. Enlisted July 14, 1941. Made instructor of advanced flying, Foster Field, Victoria, Texas. Died April 23, 1942, airplane crash, Burleson, Texas.

RICHARD H. SMEDLEY, Private, First Class, U. S. Marine Corps. Home address: Cushing, Payne County. Gordon L. Smedley, Father, 2209 Irwin Ave., Ft. Worth, Texas. Born July 16, 1922. Enlisted December, 1939. Had served as member of the Texas National Guard, Company A, stationed at Fort Worth. Sailed from San Diego, California, January 7, 1942. Died March 7, 1942, Pago Pago, Samoa: buried at Arlington National Cemetery, Fort Myer, Virginia, April 21, 1942

EDGEELL I. SMITH, Staff Sergeant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Binger, Caddo County. Arthur Earl Smith, Father, Binger. Born April 24, 1919. Enlisted July 2, 1940. Graduated Binger High School, 1940. Graduated glider pilot. Died Septem-

ber 15, 1942, airplane crash, Lubbock Army Air Base, Lubbock, Texas.

J. W. SMITH, Private, First Class, Field Artillery, U. S. Army. Home address: Norman, Cleveland County. Mr. and Mrs. Rufus Smith, Parents, Rt. 5, Norman. Born February 13, 1919. Enlisted February 5, 1941. Stationed with 45th Division, Camp Barkeley, Texas. Died May 11, 1943, O'Reiley General Hospital, Springfield, Missouri.

ORVILLE STANLEY SMITH, Ensign, U. S. Navy. Home address: Albert, Caddo County. Mrs. Y. Y. Smith, Mother, Albert. Born June 13, 1916. Enlisted October 19, 1934. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart, posthumously. Graduated Iraan (Texas) High School as Valedictorian of his class. After one year in the Navy, passed entrance examinations to the U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, entering July 9, 1936, and graduating June 6, 1940. Stationed on U. S. S. *Arizona*. Died December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

EARL FRANK SMOCK, JR., Gunner's Mate, Third Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Tulsa, Tulsa County. Mrs. Sabra Smock, Mother, 1005 South Rockford, Tulsa. Born October 28, 1918. Enlisted September 13, 1939. Highly commended for work at the machine guns, U. S. S. *Astoria*, August 27, 1941, and later assigned to big guns. Graduated Tulsa Central High School, 1939. Member Oklahoma National Guard. Died August 9, 1942, on board U. S. S. *Astoria*, Guadalcanal, Southwest Pacific.

OTIS O'NEAL SPENCER, Staff Sergeant, U. S. Army. Home address: Muldrow, Sequoyah County. Mrs. T. J. Spencer, Mother, Muldrow. Born March 22, 1920. Enlisted October 14, 1939. Sailed for England, July 21, 1942, and later sent to North Africa, serving with 87th Quartermaster Division. Died May 27, 1943, in action, North Africa.

CLEALAND DUANE STANLEY, Aviation Ordnance Man, First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Chelsea, Rogers County. Guy E. Stanley, Rt. 2, Chelsea. Born November 29, 1919. Enlisted January 5, 1940. Died October 17, 1942, Territory of Hawaii.

LEROY STILWELL, Gunner's Mate, Third Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma County. Roy Lee Stilwell, Father, Capitol Hill Station, Oklahoma City. Born June 26, 1923. Enlisted November 26, 1940. Died October 12, 1942, on U. S. Cruiser *Boise*, Esperance Bay, Guadalcanal.

ROBERT CECIL STRATTON, Aviation Cadet, U. S. Naval Reserve. Home address: Stillwater, Payne County. Robert Stratton, Father, 409 Ramsey St., Stillwater. Born February 5, 1920. Enlisted August, 1941. Member First Presbyterian Church, Stillwater.

Attended Oklahoma A. & M. College, School of Engineering, Stillwater. Died June 10, 1942, naval airplane accident, Pensacola, Florida.

THOMAS CALVIN THOMPSON, Cook, Second Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Healdton, Carter County. T. W. Thompson, Father, Brownston, Illinois. Born January 13, 1918. Enlisted October 8, 1936. Gunner, First Class, on U. S. S. *New Mexico* before his transfer to submarine duty. Died January 26, 1942, on Submarine S-26 in Pacific waters, Panama Canal Zone.

CECIL LEON TODD, Petty Officer, Third Class U. S. Navy. Home address: Poteau, Le Flore County. Mrs. Heit Vandiver, Sister, 8461 Zaman Ave., Los Angeles, California. Born August 1, 1918. Enlisted February 28, 1940. Had enlisted in the U. S. Army, February 26, 1936, and served three years, for two years of this time as military police. Died December 7, 1941, on board U. S. S. *Peary*, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

ALBERT DANVERS TRUAX, Torpedoman, First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Shidler, Osage County. Mr. and Mrs. William A. Truax, Parents, Shidler. Born July 11, 1917. Enlisted June, 1936. Apprentice Petty Officer, Second Class, November 9, 1936; Class A School Ordnance, January 8, 1937. Asiatic service. Died February 15, 1942, Corregidor Island, Philippine Islands.

BENJAMIN FRANK VASSAR, Seaman, Second Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma County. Mrs. Vesta Vassar, Mother, 219 S. E. 43rd St., Oklahoma City. Born February 23, 1923. Enlisted January 9, 1941. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart, posthumously. Died December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

STANLEY POHILL VIRGIN, Chief Electrician's Mate, U. S. Naval Reserve. Home address: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma County. Mrs. Anne H. Virgin, Wife, 937 S. W. 36th St., Station 9, Oklahoma City. Born January 4, 1900. Enlisted May 14, 1941. Assigned to U. S. S. *Jacob Jones*, Destroyer; stationed in Iceland four months. Died February 28, 1942, in the North Atlantic.

ALBERT LEWIS WARD, Seaman, First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Sapulpa, Creek County. Mrs. I. H. Gault, Guardian, 200 South Mounds, Sapulpa. Born January 26, 1921. Enlisted December 7, 1939. Member Church of the Nazarene. Graduated Sapulpa High School, 1939. Served in a print shop, learning linotype. Died December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor, Territory of Hawaii.

WILLIAM ROBINSON WARNER, Aviation Cadet, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Drumright, Creek County. Dale Warner, Father, Drumright. Born May 14, 1920. Enlisted February, 1942. Died February 6, 1943, in airplane crash, returning to field on

completion of his last cross country night flight in basic training, Goodfellow Field, San Angelo, Texas.

WALTER CARL WEATHERLY, Second Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Duncan, Stephens County. Mrs. Emma Weatherly, Mother, 1008 Mulberry, Duncan. Born December 29, 1918. Enlisted February 5, 1941. Decoration: Air Medal, posthumously. Senior in School of Business Administration, University of Oklahoma. Died February 24, 1943, in airplane crash landing that saved the lives of his two crewmen, Panama Canal Zone.

JOHN WHITT, JR., Seaman, Second Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Blair, Jackson County. Mrs. J. C. Whitt, Rt. 1, Blair. Born November 16, 1924. Enlisted December 8, 1941. Died April 26, 1942, in accident while attempting to anchor a naval balloon, Moffett Field, California.

WILLIAM WARREN WILKINS, Corporal, Field Artillery, U. S. Army. Home address: Tulsa, Tulsa County. Mrs. Ella Mae Wilkins, Mother, 1514 Center, Collinsville. Born May 22, 1920. Enlisted September 16, 1940. Served in 160th Field Artillery, 45th Division. Died December 8, 1941, in automobile accident, Haskell, Texas.

JOHN WOODALL, Private, U. S. Army. Home address: Wagoner, Wagoner County. James Woodall, Brother, Wagoner. Born April 29, 1916. Enlisted September 16, 1940. Served in Company A, 180th Infantry, 45th Division. Died December 27, 1942, Camp Pine, New York.

WELDON W. WOODS, Aviation Cadet, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma County. Mrs. B. F. Davis, Mother, 1115 N. E. 58th St., Oklahoma City. Born July 29, 1916. Enlisted June, 1941. In basic training as pilot, Air Base, Lemoore, California. Died February 11, 1942, in airplane crash, returning from routine training flight, Lemoore, California.

ELMER YOCHUM, Private, First Class, Engineers, U. S. Army. Home address: Porter, Wagoner County. Mrs. Susie L. Yochum, Mother, Hardtner, Kansas. Born July 26, 1911. Enlisted April 28, 1941. Decorations (posthumously): Order of the Purple Heart; Distinguished Service Cross for action during Battle of Bataan. Died January 26, 1942, in action, Philippine Islands.

LIBRARIES AS WAR INFORMATION CENTERS¹

By Gerald Naseath

Within the last year or year and a half, a number of libraries in this state have been designated as War Information Centers by the American Library Association, while three of them have been called Key Centers of Information by the United States Office of Education.¹ It is the purpose of these centers to make available to all citizens information concerning the war. One of the key centers is the library at A. and M. College. While this paper is concerned primarily with the problem of the War Information Center, it should concern representatives of all libraries, because today they are all dispensers of war information—all libraries are centers of war information whether officially designated as such or not.

Despite the fact that our staffs are leaving for better paying war jobs, our book budgets are dwindling, and even our patrons are becoming less faithful, it is our task to provide our public with the best information about the war, its causes, and the results we are hoping for. Many Americans, including librarians, have vague notions concerning the problems our country, our economic structure, our government, and our international obligations. When I reflect upon the aimless wanderings of our international policy at the end of World War I and the resultant struggle which culminated in the present war, I cannot help hoping for a much more intelligent and forceful approach this time. Our libraries have a grave and definite responsibility in marshalling all forces for the right.

In discussing a few of our specific subject problems, let's begin at home. Our War Information Center has collected a number of items containing meat-saving recipes, sugarless cookery, suggestions for wartime cooks, and helps for the army cook. These recipe books have "sold" like hot cakes among our Stillwater wives. I am still impressed by the recipes for the army cook; they are good ammunition for stopping the perennial complainer about short rations. People, too, have become increasingly aware of nutrition problems, finding them challenging when considered along with ration points and threatening price rises. The center is well fortified with items issued by the Federal Government, A. and M.'s Experiment Station and any number of food producing agencies. To mention just a few: Robbins' *Meat Saving Recipes*, *Nutrition Study Kit*, issued by General Mills; *Diets of Families of Employed Wage Earners and Clerical Workers in Cities*, by Hazel Stiebeling; *Recipes to Match Your Sugar Ration*, by the Bureau of Home Economics.

¹ Adaptation of an address delivered before the Oklahoma Library Association, May 19, 1943 at the annual meeting in Oklahoma City.

Our government has advised strongly this year the planting of victory gardens. Some of our attempts look pretty pale, while others are real gardens; needless to say, they are well watered now. Gardeners too are interested in how books can advise them, so each year we cull the *Library Journal* and *Publishers Weekly* for their best suggestions. We have supplied ourselves further with the best bulletins of the Department of Agriculture, our Department of Home Economics and our Experiment Station.

Our first fever over civilian defense has evaporated. We are no longer apprehensive of a sudden air raid tonight or tomorrow, with resultant fire and destruction. Nevertheless, our responsible citizens intend to remain alive to the possibilities of enemy infiltration, hence they still wish to keep abreast of trends and developments in civilian defense. Therefore, our library must keep a file of the latest bulletins of the Office of Civilian Defense, as well as lists of local and state civilian defense workers, for emergency reference. Not only has the OCD published much, but many state and city defense councils have published excellent guides and bibliographies.

War is a great breeder of intolerance and bigotry. One of the most serious accusations hurled against the axis has been their treatment of the Jew and the minority nations. The intolerance of our enemies has caused us to be more aware of our own failings, our own treatment of the negro, minor religious groups, and even the Jew. We have been warned by events in other countries of what might happen if we were to let some of our less savory ideas get away with us. The American public must continue to study the problems of minority groups. They should read, for example, Gustavus Myers' new book, *The History of Bigotry in the United States*, and Louis Adamic's *From Many Lands*. We should make available these books and many others; we might do well to invite contributions from many of the organizations interested in the welfare of lesser groups. For one instance, the Jewish Welfare Board sends us some new items each month.

I remarked earlier how important it is that we approach the end of this war intelligently. We must not consider it a trite remark to say that we cannot win the war unless we win the peace that follows. It is encouraging to note that Congress is beginning to give some thought to postwar problems, although to date their thinking has been pretty much home-centered. It is certain that the library will have a definite part in the rehabilitation of the veteran after the war. Already at A. and M., for instance, it is possible to complete a major in occupational therapy, including one course on the work of librarians in rehabilitation. A faculty Committee of Vocational Rehabilitation is busy preparing for the returning veterans, in order to give them the right kind of college work. A

member of our college faculty engaged in this work, who has also had experience at Ohio State and Dartmouth, says that our library at A. and M. is as well prepared in basic books on vocational rehabilitation as any library with which he is acquainted. The work we are doing in our library in this connection is typical of that which is being done and will be done by libraries throughout the state and points the way to one of the valuable services the library can give during the remainder of the war and the postwar period. Our readers will want to study these problems, as well as any attempts to forestall a repetition of the economic fluctuations and depressions we experienced before this war. Certainly some of them will want to read the recent report of the National Resources Planning Board.

It is equally important to consider the questions of world economic relations and our place in the international structure. We might urge the public to read carefully, for example, Nicholas Spykman's *America's Strategy in World Politics*, trying to determine whether we Americans can any longer isolate ourselves and divorce ourselves from the problems of other nations. It has failed to work recently, and perhaps those days are over forever. If so, it is high time that all Americans give consideration to their new place in the world. They must study more carefully the proposals of various leaders for a world federation, international police, a rigid world economy. Perhaps it would be advisable to revamp the League of Nations on a more firm foundation, giving it our support this time. Perhaps Louis Adamic has the problem solved in his *Two-Way Passage*. Maybe the old bridge maestro, Ely Culbertson, has settled everything in his contribution, *World Federation Plan*. Over a hundred organizations in this country are already studying this tremendous question; it is doubtful whether any of them will solve everything, but their findings should be of some help. Many of their publications are free for the asking and may be just the answer to some of the questions put by our patrons. It is not a laughing matter, but one affecting the future of the world; it is our duty to interest our patrons in studying these problems and to furnish them with whatever ammunition they need.

Our War Information Center in Stillwater (which we have called by the familiar name of Wicky) has been motivated by these problems. It may interest you to know how we have organized this collection, and how we have met some of our problems.

We organized Wicky because it was the wish of the Office of Education and our college administration that we do so. We placed Mrs. Murphy in charge, requesting as many members of the staff as possible to contribute of their spare time to the project. A number of faculty and townspeople also donated many valuable hours, partly to servicing the public and also to the preparation of a large clipping file. It is true that we might have carried on Wicky

through our normal processes, cataloging the books, placing the pamphlets and other ephemeral material in our verticle file, and supplying Miss Campbell in the Documents Room with multiple copies where needed. Since we feared that this might interfere with our normal services, and since we hoped that by making Wicky a separate entity, we might make it more useful, we established it adjacently to our Loan Department in the Main Library. We built a long desk, with deep filing shelves, making it possible to afford easy access to a quantity of pamphlet material. We placed little emphasis on the processing of this material, simply stamping it with our mark of ownership and preparing a brief author and subject file, which was placed beside the War Information desk, and not filed into the public catalog.

We set out to secure as much good free material as we could, and in multiple copies when possible. We selected a number of public service organizations, and wrote them for their publications, explaining our purpose in asking. Most of them responded in a gratifying manner. Many of the others sent price lists, since their material was more expensive. We began to watch the *A. L. A. Booklist*, the *Library Journal*, *Publishers Weekly*, *Wilson Bulletin* and others for suggestions of free and reasonably priced material which would fit well into our collection. Always we tried to keep in mind the probable needs of a war-minded people.

Our one large buying campaign centered about the list entitled "The Citizen and Defense," published in the *Library Journal* for January 1, 1942, a four-page list on many of the subjects I have mentioned and many more. As far as funds permitted, we secured five or ten copies of each item; most of this material circulated well.

All told I believe that we spent about \$300.00 in buying books and pamphlets for the War Information Center. We tried when practicable to secure five or ten copies of each item, so that we might circulate them adequately. When they cost too much, of course we were more modest in our buying. It may be no surprise to you to be told how difficult it is to secure some ephemeral material. It is a job in itself to establish the publishers and addresses of much of it, not to mention the endless correspondence and financial transactions to complete the securing of the material.

By means of newspaper publicity and booklists, we advertised the material available in Wicky, and strove in all respects to complement the work so ably performed by the Oklahoma Library Commission. I might mention that we built a special exhibit box, which could be filled with materials concerning any phase of the war effort and shipped to anyone asking for it for cost of transportation only. For a time, we concerned ourselves about the return of all material lent, but we have come around to the view that it is

ephemeral material, to say the least, and is expendable in wartime; if it didn't come back, some one probably is making good use of it.

To summarize our remarks, the fact remains that the library is a potent force in the shaping of public opinion, in determining the course of future world development. Therefore, librarians must continue to provide information about all aspects of the war, by supplying themselves with reports, bibliographies, digests, magazine articles, clippings, government documents, maps, pictures, discussion outlines, and anything which will promote further understanding. It is necessary to emphasize the preparation of subject bibliographies, for without them the splendid material we may have collected will be poorly publicized. So let's renew our enthusiasm for the task to which we have all dedicated ourselves, let's give the people the best we can and as quickly as we can.



MRS. FRED S. CLINTON

THE HYECHKA CLUB

By Fred S. Clinton, M. D., F. A. C. S.

The narrator has had a lively interest in The Hyechka Club since its beginning and believes that its history merits recording and documenting in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Members of the Club in the past have been interested and its members today are interested in building and supporting a city and a state as cultural centers in which to rear patriotic and God-fearing children worthy of the loftiest ideals. Instead of a brief history, this band of music lovers is entitled to a full sized, two volume publication to report adequately all that they have given to the education of young people along cultural lines and to the wealth of Tulsa and the State of Oklahoma as expressed in the leadership and influence of the known and unknown contributors. Looking over the names of world famous artists that have appeared on its early programs and in its annual Spring Festivals, the words of Warner Van Valkenburg are a fitting tribute and introduction even to this brief history of Tulsa's pioneer organization of music lovers:¹

"I AM MUSIC.

"I am the hymns of the Christian Martyrs in the catacombs; I am the songs of thanksgiving of the kneeling Pilgrims; I am the fugues of Bach, and the oratorios of Handel and Haydn; I am the magic flute of Mozart; I am the immortal symphonies of Beethoven; I am the throbbing messages of Schubert and Schumann; I am the nocturnes of Chopin and the folk melodies of Dvorak; I am the rhapsodies of Liszt and the music-dramas of Wagner; I am the voice of Peter Tchaikowski, crying in the wilderness; I am Brahms and Richard Strauss, and Verdi, fulfilling the command of destiny; yea I have breathed upon the harps of MacDowell and Cadman, and have sung of a new world in the west. I am Music."

The Hyechka Club was organized on October 20, 1904, in Tulsa, Indian Territory, when the city counted a population of about 3,500. The Creek Indian generic word "Hyechka" (pronounced Hi-yeechka) for "music" was appropriately selected as the name of this pioneer music club in a growing community within the boundaries of the old Creek Nation. The Club colors chosen were white and Nile green and the flower, the white carnation.

Since its organization The Hyechka Club has joined the Oklahoma Federation of Women's Clubs, 1905; General Federation of Women's Clubs, 1908; National Federation of Music Clubs, 1913; Oklahoma Federation of Music Clubs, 1917; and was a charter member of City Federation of Music Clubs, 1925.

A group of musicians were called together on the organization date, by Mrs. W. N. Robinson, meeting in Mrs. Will L. Short's studio located in a suite over J. L. Sells' Drug Store, 110 South Main Street. The following persons were present and constituted

¹ See Appendix A for program lists of artists who have appeared in Tulsa, under the auspices of The Hyechka Club.

the charter members of The Hyeckha Club: Mrs. Wallace N. Robinson, Mrs. Fred S. Clinton, Mrs. J. R. Cole, Mrs. C. E. Strouvelle, Mrs. Will L. Short, Mrs. Maude D. Sifers, Miss Fidele Berry (now Mrs. C. J. Hindman), Miss Ottie Howard (now Mrs. Wade H. Walker), Mrs. Oscar R. Howard, and Mrs. John A. Haver.

Of these, Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Hindman are the only two charter members remaining in Tulsa. Mrs. Strouvelle resides in Galveston, Texas. Mrs. Will L. Short is in Chicago. Mrs. Sifers is in Oklahoma City. Mrs. Wade H. Walker is in Long Beach, California. And Mrs. W. N. Robinson and Mrs. J. R. Cole have passed to their reward. Mrs. Wallace N. Robinson visited many capitals of the world, its numerous centers of art and music, having studied and taught both at home and abroad. She was a teacher, singer, and director and gave generous support to all cultural and literary endeavors.

The charter members, as individual pioneer musicians for years had prepared the way for those who were to come after. They sought to encourage the introduction, teaching, and use of better music in the home, the church, the schools, meetings, conventions, and assemblies, as music is one of the fine arts and calls for beauty, expression, imagination, emotion, discipline, and work.

Mrs. Fred S. Clinton (Jane Heard) was elected the first president, and reelected annually until March, 1921, when on motion by Mrs. D. C. Acosta she was honored by being elected Life President, which position she has actively and satisfactorily filled to date.

Other officers elected at the organization meeting were, as follows:²

Vice President, Mrs. Oscar Howard; Secretary, Mrs. John A. Haver; Treasurer, Mrs. Maude D. Sifers; Librarian, Mrs. Will L. Short.

Executive Committee: Mrs. Fred S. Clinton, Mrs. W. N. Robinson, Mrs. J. R. Cole, Mrs. O. R. Howard.

Program Committee: Mrs. C. E. Strouvelle, Miss Fidele Berry (Mrs. C. J. Hindman), and Maude D. Sifers.

Arrangement Committee: Mrs. W. N. Robinson, Chairman, Mrs. Maude D. Sifers, Mrs. W. R. Short, Mrs. J. A. Haver.

The need of an organized effort to systematize methods of popularizing and promoting a wider diffusion of and interest in good music as a spiritual and cultural asset in this new community was readily recognized. The leadership accepted the challenge, the members of Hyeckha forming the advancing phalanx of music and Christian culture in Tulsa, Indian Territory.

It was through constant effort of the President and various Hyeckha committee members who visited the public school board meetings, and the Superintendent of Public Schools that music was

² See Appendix B for names of Executive Committee chairmen and the vice-presidents, past and present, from The Hyeckha Club records.

adopted and taught, with credits allowed, in the school system. The efficient course in Tulsa's public school music attests the wisdom of those early pioneering efforts, the rewards of which come in a wider musical appreciation and culture. Hyeckka Club is the mother of music in northeastern Oklahoma. The Club's constitution has furthered this far-reaching program, as follows:

MEMBERSHIP

There shall be nine classes of membership, namely: active, privileged active, active associate, non-active, associate, honorary, life, choral and student, symphony. Active membership shall be divided into the following departments, namely: piano, organ, voice, violin, harp, flute, cello, whistling, literary, and choral.

OFFICERS

The officers of the Club shall include President, First Vice President, Second Vice President, a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, a treasurer, a reporter, and a librarian.

EXECUTIVE BOARD

The affairs, business, and property of this organization shall be managed by an executive board which shall exercise general supervision thereover.

The Executive Board shall consist of all officers, including the immediate past president, First Vice President, the chairman of each of the several committees, and four other members elected by the Club for a two-year term of office, who have been former members of the Board, two being elected each year to fill the vacancies of the two retiring members.

The regular meetings of the Board shall be on the second Monday of each month; and they shall report all meetings to the regular meeting of the Club for general approval.

The following officers of Hyeckka were elected for 1943-1944:

Mrs. Fred Severs Clinton, Life President, Miss Marguerite Gavin, First Vice President; Miss Helen Shoup, Second Vice President; Mrs. Dan M. Reed, Recording Secretary; Mrs. George B. Stanley, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. E. W. Fowler, Treasurer; Mrs. A. Garland Marrs, Reporter; and Mrs. J. N. Hunter, Librarian.

Executive Board: Miss Marguerite Gavin, Chairman; Mrs. A. O. Buck, Mrs. Fred Severs Clinton, Mrs. Rex W. Evans, Mrs. E. W. Fowler, Miss Ida Gardner, Mrs. L. T. Gibbs, Mrs. Janice Snider Gibson, Mrs. Harry W. Gowans, Mrs. W. B. Hudson, Mrs. J. N. Hunter, Mrs. C. B. Harter, Mrs. Egon Koehler, Martha Belle Lynch, Mrs. A. Garland Marrs, Belle Vickery Matthews, Mrs. Dan M. Reed, Priscilla Striker, Nelle Garbutt Spindler, Miriam Spindler, Miss Helen Shoup, Mrs. George B. Stanley, Mrs. H. M. Thralls, Mrs. Earl Willson, and Mrs. Loy Wilson.

Hyeckka commenced early in its career to have open meetings and soon introduced the Spring Music Festival. In 1907, Mrs. Fred S. Clinton appointed Mrs. Robert Fox McArthur and Mrs. C. E. Strouvelle as committee to prepare and recommend the first program for a Spring Festival of music in Tulsa under the sponsorship of the Hyeckka Club. The following report of artists was received and adopted and given in 1907: Mrs. W. N. Robinson, soprano,

Tulsa; Mr. Joseph Farrell, basso, Kansas City; Miss May McDonald, Pianist, Kansas City; Miss Wilma Tyler, harpist, Chicago.

The Second Spring Festival was in 1908. Madame Schumann-Heink (1861-1936), whose rich contralto voice thrilled all her listeners as she sang "Great Is Jehovah, the Lord, for Heaven and Earth Testify to His Great Power," gave everything from the majestic oratorio to the dainty ballad and soothing lullaby, with equal power and charm.³

In 1909, many felt that Hyeckha had ample talent to give the Third Spring Festival of Music. Mrs. W. N. Robinson consented to take charge with Mrs. W. B. Frederick and Mrs. Ora Lightner Frost on her committee. It was said that the Grand Theater had never before held so many people who had paid entrance fees on that May night when the curtain was raised. Little tots stepped a fairy-like dance around the May-pole and charmed the audience. Young society women and men, trained by Mrs. Perry N. DeHaven, danced a colonial minuet in costume, a lovely picture. Mrs. Alfred Franklin Smith conducted a chorus. Two-piano and four-piano numbers aroused spirited applause. Mrs. W. N. Robinson, Mrs. A. F. Smith, and Mr. Louis Emery were the soloists of the evening, and also appeared in trios, to the delight of the audience.

In 1911, the Hyeckha Club presented the New York Symphony Orchestra, Walter Damrosch, Conductor, assisted by Florence Hinkle, soprano; Christine Miller, contralto; Albert Quesnel, tenor; and Arthur Middleton, basso, together with the Hyeckha Chorus under the direction of Mrs. W. N. Robinson.

No more beautiful sight has greeted lovers of music present than the first glimpse the audience had of the Hyeckha Chorus when the curtain arose the night of May 23, 1911. Mr. Damrosch praised the training and assembled singing of this organization, and told Mrs. Robinson that "it was the best chorus he had directed on his tour since leaving New York."

On January 31, 1942, the following telegram and answer may be of interest to many: "Walter Damrosch, New York. Hyeckha Club brought you and New York Symphony Orchestra to Tulsa in 1911. As President then and now we salute you on your eightieth anniversary for your matchless contribution to musical education. (signed) Mrs. Fred S. Clinton, President Hyeckha Club." Answer: "Walter Damrosch is deeply grateful for your lovely remembrance on his eightieth birthday."

The Tulsa Chamber of Commerce organ, *The Tulsa Spirit*, (September, 1916), recorded that "The Ellis Grand Opera Company" had secured an under-written contract for \$20,000 for two perform-

³ Clarence B. Douglas, *The History of Tulsa* (Chicago and Tulsa: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1921), Vol. I, p. 225.

ances, October 30 and 31, 1916, with Cleofante Companini as Director. By request of the Chamber of Commerce, The Hyechka Club assisted in presenting the two performances,—Bizet's *Carmen* with the artists Geraldine Farrar, Helen Stanley, and Lucien Muratore; Verdi's *Il Trovatore* with the artists Emmy Destin, Louise Homer, and Alma Peterson.

One of the fine achievements of the Hyechka Club was that of taking over the University of Tulsa Symphony Orchestra during the season of 1932-33, George C. Baum, Conductor. Soloists were Percy Granger, pianist; Gordon Berger, baritone; Irene Peabody, soprano; E. Robert Schmitz, pianist.

The great pride and joy of Hyechka has been the large, well organized and industrious Junior Hyechka. From this group is developing greater culture and musicianship and the fine arts in this growing art center. These juniors are a stimulating demand on the seniors to maintain highest standards. They also constitute a dependable source of desirable members for the parent organization.

One of Oklahoma's greatest citizens, the late Miss Alice M. Robertson, wrote the President of the Hyechka Club, "The Hyechka Club has done more for the cultural life of not only Tulsa, but Oklahoma, than any other single influence in the State." The use of the Club's student fund has enabled a number of talented students to complete their musical education and become self-supporting because of this needed help. Also the Club assists students who, by reason of fine musicianship, have been given scholarships.

Each season an inspirational concert is given for the students by a young American artist. Each year the Club delights in carrying sunshine into the hearts and homes of some of the less fortunate from funds derived through the Annual Good Cheer Concert given just before Christmas.

The civic work of the Club is varied and under the direction of the Civic Committee is presented to the following homes: Children's Home, Juvenile Boys' Home, Junior League Crippled Children's Home, Tulsa Boys Home, Frances Willard Home, and other needy places when possible.

A few of the many distinguished members of Hyechka may be briefly noted here. Roberta Campbell Lawson (Mrs. E. B. Lawson) was a native-born Delaware Indian, citizen of the Cherokee Nation, a former student of Hardin College, widely traveled, and a member and officer of numerous clubs, State and National. Mrs. Lawson was elevated to the high office of President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, 1935-1938. Owner of one of the finest collections of authentic Indian art and relics in the United States, Mrs. Lawson expended her time and energy in the diffusion of knowledge concerning American Indian music, art, religion, and legends.

Mrs. Susanne Barnett Strouvelle, a native Creek Indian, was accorded the honor and privilege of naming the Club. Mrs. Strouvelle was the foster daughter of Miss Alice M. Robertson, missionary, teacher, and first Congresswoman from Oklahoma, and the second Congresswoman elected in the United States. The missionary-teacher mother of Miss Alice, Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson, supplied Mrs. Strouvelle with the name "Hyechka". Mrs. Strouvelle was the first Creek citizen to receive an allotment of land in the Creek Nation. At present, she is an inter-nationally traveled musician, educated and cultured, a representative of the American Red Cross, residing at Galveston, Texas.

The Hyechka Club was honored when the district including Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas and Oklahoma, of the National Federation of Music Clubs, was named "The Hyechka District." This distinction was a tribute to one of The Hyechka Club's most capable and loyal members, Mrs. O. L. Frost, whose ability was recognized by the National Federation of Music Clubs in her election as an officer in that organization.⁴

Serving as Vice President, Central Region, National Federation of Music Clubs, Mrs. W. A. Goforth is doing a fine work in this area which covers fourteen states. She is chairman of the National Federation's Editorial Board of *Music Clubs Magazine*. Mrs. Goforth addressed the first open meeting of The Hyechka Club, October 6, 1943, on the subject "Music in a Post War World." Her presentation was stimulating, informing and inspiring.

Mrs. W. H. Crowder, long time member of The Hyechka Club, suggested the Belles and Beaux Concert. The following account of this unique entertainment appeared in the January issue of *Music Clubs Magazine* (Volume XXII, 1943, No. 3, p. 17):

"A CONCERT FOR THE BELLES AND BEAUX OF YESTERYEAR

"For the past twenty years an annual feature of the Hyechka Club of Tulsa, Oklahoma, has been a concert for the Belles and Beaux of Yesteryear, for the old people of the city and vicinity. This is held in the recreation hall of a large church, transportation for the guests is furnished by Club members, the musical program is composed of known favorites of the belles and beaux, ice cream and cake are served at the close of the afternoon program, and decorations of potted plants and cut flowers are supplied from the conservatory of an associate member, supplemented by donations from florists. After the musical program these plants and bouquets are given to the oldest belle and beau present, the one having the largest number of children or grandchildren, the one having come the greatest distance to attend this occasion, the youngest grandparent, and for various other reasons. In fact, the giving of prizes continues until the stage is bare of decorations. A photographer then takes pictures of the guests and their festive floral awards. Mrs. Fred Severs Clinton, life president of the Hyechka Club, is told by children and grandchildren that the elderly guests await with keen anticipation their own annual concert.

⁴ *The History of Tulsa, op. cit.*, p. 225.

"In this day when well-deserved emphasis is being placed upon youth, let us not overlook that attention which our elders covet and merit."

Mrs. J. Warren Burgess, Chairman of the Department of Fine Arts of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, delivered an inspirational address to the officers and committees of Hyeckha Club on the 4th of October, 1943, at the Annual Luncheon, held in the Boston Avenue Methodist Church. Word comes to members of the Club that Mrs. Burgess is doing a great work throughout the Nation.

An outstanding, active member of The Hyeckha Club, Mrs. Robert Fox McArthur, has done a monumental, pioneer work in Tulsa and Oklahoma. It was through her efforts that a magnificent pipe organ was installed in Convention Hall, in April, 1915, and dedicated under the auspices of The Hyeckha Club.⁵

During the Grand Opera seasons of 1924 to 1931, Mr. J. R. Cole had active charge of the management, for which The Hyeckha Club expressed appreciation at the time.

The Hyeckha Club by invitation prepared and presented the musical program and conducted the dedicatory exercises for the opening of the Auditorium at Philbrook Art Center, on October 15, 1941. Nelle Garbut Spindler is the Hyeckha representative (1943-44) to Philbrook. The Club has been happy in its new home in the Art Center. It is hoped that transportation will soon be restored so that members can return and continue to enjoy all that music has to offer here in the delightful surroundings.

At the close of the spring season 1943, the report of the retiring chairman of the Executive Board of The Hyeckha Club, Mrs. W. H. Gowans, revealed that this organization had given over six hundred records and four standard pianos to Camp Gruber, and one piano to the Naval Air Base at Norman. This was just a part of the Club's contributions to the War activities. Since that time, the Club has made contributions to the Red Cross and purchased War Bonds.

The wide influence of The Hyeckha Club has been beneficial to all who desire and seek improvement,—“Tastes are cultivated, manners refined, views broadened, and natures spiritualized.” It has been love of music and the arts that has prompted the great work of this one of Tulsa's pioneer organizations.

“Of all the arts beneath the Heaven,
That man has found as God has given,
None draws the soul so sweet away
As Music's melting, mystic lay;
Slight emblem of the bliss above,
It soothes the spirit all to love.”

These words of the poet James Hogg (1770-1835) recall to the writer's mind his own words in a response to a toast to “Love,” many years ago:

⁵ *The History of Tulsa, op. cit.*, p. 225.

FINALE

Love is the only fixed star that shines by day as well as by night. It illumines the world. Love rocks the cradle of the infant, thrills the youth, inspires the matured and crowns the aged with hope as well as sheds its radiance upon the "quiet tomb." It charms alike the peasant and the prince and compels all regardless of class or caste to worship sometime at its shrine. Love is the poet's dream, the musician's melody, the artist's inspiration, the sculptor's idol, the philosopher's reverie, the logician's Waterloo.

It gives life to memory, light to hope, and wings to imagination. It is the invisible hand that unites us with God and makes possible a common destiny for all men. By it we may enshrine in enduring esteem those whom kinship or association have made dear.

After thirty-nine years, your unofficial reporter has presented this narrative from personal information, with references.⁶ It is his hope that some one having an interest in the humanities, education and music will write and publish a work devoted to the cultural contributions to this community and to the State by the members of Hyeckha through their influence as teachers and leaders. No one can measure the influence of any other person. It is like the all-pervading fragrance of a sweet flower on the gentle breeze.

⁶ See Appendix C for Bibliography other than references cited in the foregoing. The writer desires to express his appreciation to the following persons, for assistance and co-operation in the preparation of this article: Mrs. W. A. Goforth, vice President, Central Region National Federation of Music Clubs; Angie Debo, Author; Max Morgan, of the Morgan Company, Engravers; Norman M. Hulings, President Philbrook Art Center; John H. Barhardt, Manager, Civic Department, Chamber of Commerce. It is a privilege and pleasure to acknowledge the valuable aid and wise counsel of the writer's wife, Jane Heard Clinton. Sincere appreciation is also expressed to the officers, editors and staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society for their invitation, encouragement and co-operation in this labor of love. —Fred S. Clinton, Tulsa, November 25, 1943.

APPENDIX A

The following artists have appeared in Tulsa under the auspices of The Hyeckka Club:

First Festival, 1907:

Mrs. W. N. Robinson, soprano
Joseph Farrel, basso
May McDonald, pianist
Wilma Tyler, harpist
Emil Sokoloff, violinist

Second Festival, 1908:

Madame Schumann-Heink, contralto
Frederick Wallis, basso

Third Festival, 1909:

Tulsa Musicians, directed by Mrs. W. N. Robinson

Fourth Festival, 1910:

Mary McCausland, violinist, St. Louis, Mo.
Assisted by Hyeckka Members

Fifth Festival, 1911:

New York Symphony Orchestra
Walter Damrosch, Conductor

Soloists:

Florence Hinkle
Arthur Quesnel
Christine Miller
Arthur Middleton

Sixth Festival, 1912:

Victor Herbert Orchestra
Victor Herbert, Conductor

Soloists: Agnes Kimball
Clara Drew
John Finnegan

Frank Croxton
Charles Washburn
Evan Williams

Ethel Tozier

Seventh Festival, 1913:

Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra
Emil Oberhoffer, Conductor

Soloists: Luella Chilson Ohrman
Barbara Wait
Joseph Schenke
Henry J. Williams

Arthur Middleton
Richard Czerwonky
Cornelius Van Vliet

Eighth Festival, 1914:

Hyeckka Members, assisted by Tulsa Musicians

Ninth Festival, 1915:

New York Symphony Orchestra engaged for Ninth Spring Festival, but unable to fill date for which they contracted. The Hyeckka Club then decided to declare the forthcoming opening concerts of the Tulsa Municipal Organ in Convention Hall the Ninth Festival.

Tenth Festival, 1916:

Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra
Emil Oberhoffer, Conductor

Soloists: Leonora Allen
Jean Cooper
Albert Linquest

Gustave Holmquist
Cornelius Van Vliet
Richard Czerwonky

Eleventh Festival, 1917:

Mme. Amelita Galli-Curci

Twelfth Festival, 1918:

No Festival on account of war.

Thirteenth Festival, 1919:

Scotti Grand Opera presented
 "L'Oracolo" (Leoni)
 "Cavalleria Rusticana" (Mascagni)
 "Madam Butterfly" (Puccini)
 Antonio Scotti, General Director
 Carlo Peroni, Conductor

Artists:

Antonio Scotti, baritone	Francis MacLennan, tenor
Florence Easton, soprano	Orville Harrold, tenor
Francesca Peralta, soprano	Millo Picco, baritone
Mark Kent, mezzo-soprano	Louis d'Angelo, baritone
Jeanne Gordon, contralto	Giordano Paltrinieri, tenor
Charles Galaher, basso	

Fourteenth Festival, 1920:

Scotti Grand Opera presented
 "Tosca" (Puccini)
 "La Boheme" (Puccini)
 Antonio Scotti, General Director
 Carlo Peroni, Conductor

Artists:

Antonio Scotti, baritone	Millo Picco, baritone
Florence Easton, soprano	Paolo Ananian, basso
Marie Sundelius, soprano	Mario Laurenti, baritone
Ruth Miller, soprano	Giordano Paltrinieri, tenor
Mark Kent, mezzo-soprano	Giovanni Martino, basso
Orville Harrold, tenor	Louis d'Angelo, baritone
Mario Chamlee, tenor	

Fifteenth Festival, 1921:

La Scala Orchestra
 Arturo Toscanini, Conductor
 Milan, Italy

Sixteenth Festival, 1922:

Titta Ruffo, basso
 Miss Lillian Gillette, soprano

Seventeenth Festival, 1923:

Xerxes
 Local talent directed by
 William Dodd Chenery

Eighteenth Festival, 1924:

Chicago Civic Opera presented
 "Cleopatre" (Massenet)
 Conductor, Ettore Panizza

Artists:

Mary Garden	Alexander Kipnis
Myrna Sharlow	William Beck
Alice D'Hermanoy	Jose Mojica
Georges Bakalanoff	Gildo Morelato
Desire Defrere	Herman Dreben
Incidental Dances by Anna Ludmilla and	
Corps de Ballet	
"Mefistofele" (Boito)	
Conductor, Giorgio Polacco	

Artists:

Feodor Chaliapin	Kathryn Browne
Edith Mason	Forrest Lamont
Myrna Sharlow	Lodovico Oliviero
Maria Claessens	Jose Mojico

Incidental Dances by Anna Ludmilla and
Corps de Ballet

Nineteenth Festival, 1925:

Chicago Civic Opera presented

"La Gioconda" (Ponchielli)

Conductor, Giorgio Polacco

Artists: Rosa Raisa

Augusta Lenska

Flora Perini

Antonio Cortis

Alexander Kipnis

Gildo Morelato

Desire Defrere

Lodovico Oliviero

Giocomo Rimini

Antonio Nicolich

Incidental Dances by Miles Shermont, Dagmara,

Nemeroff, Romany and Corps de Ballet

"Boris Godunoff" (Modest Moussorgsky)

Conductor, Giorgio Polacco

Artists: Feodor Chaliapin

Gladys Swartout

Elizabeth Kerr

Jose Mojica

Forrest Lamont

Virgilio Lazzari

Edouard Cotreuil

Lodovico Oliviero

Augusta Lenska

Flora Perini

Romeo Boscacchi

Guiseppa Minerva

Alice D'Hermanoy

Gilda Morelato

Antonio Nicolich

Twentieth Festival, 1926:

Carolyn Powers Thomas, violinist

Soloists: Kathryn Brown, contralto

Rudolph Ganz, Conductor

St. Louis Symphony

Twenty-first Festival, 1927:

Chicago Civic Opera presented

Aida (Verdi)

Conductor, Giorgio Polacco

Artists: Rosa Raisa

Augusta Lenska

Florence Misgen

Charles Marshall

Edouard Cotreuil

Virgilio Lazzari

Giacomo Rimini

Lodovico Oliviero

Incidental Dances by Miles, Shermont, Samuels

and Corps de Ballet

La Traviata (Verdi)

Conductor, Roberto Moranzoni

Artists: Claudia Muzio

Charles Hackett

Richard Bonelli

Alice d'Hermanoy

Jose Mojica

Desire Defrere

Giovanni Polese

Antonio Nicolich

Anna Correnti

Gildo Morelato

Incidental Dances by Miles, Shermont, Samuels

and Corps de Ballet

Twenty-second Festival, 1928:

Il Trovatore (Verdi)

Conductor, Henry G. Weber

Artists: Rosa Raisa

Alice d'Hermanoy

Giacomo Rimini

Antonio Cortis

Eugenio Sandrini

Albert Rappaport

Virgillio Lazzari

Cyrena Van Gordon

Incidental Dances by Misses Chapman, Finholt, Letteaux,

N. Smith and Ballet

Rigoletto (Verdi)

Conductor, George Polacco

Artists: Charles Hackett	Desire Defrere
Richard Monelli	Eugenio Sandrini
Edith Mason	Lodovico Oliviero
Anna Correnti	Antonio Nicolich
Chase Baromes	Alice d'Harmanoy
Lorna Donne Jackson	Lucille Meusel
Gildo Morelato	

Incidental Dances by the Ballet

Twenty-third Festival, 1929:

Chicago Civic Opera presented
 Lohengrin (Wagner)
 Conductor, Henry Weber

Artists: Chase Baromeo	Marion Claire
Marie Olzewska	Rene Maison
Robert Ringling	Desire Defrere
Thais (Massenet)	
Conductor, Roberto Moranzoni	

Artists: Mary Garden	
Marie Claessens	Antonio Nicolich
Ada Paggi	Jose Mojica
Cesare Fornichi	Eugenio Sandrini
Julia Barashkova	Alice d'Hermanoy

Incidental Dances by Muriel Sutart, Julia
 Barashkova, Harriet Lundgren, Messrs. Caton, Arshansky,

Twenty-fourth Festival, 1930:

Chicago Civic Opera presented Carmen (Bizet)
 Conductor, Emil Cooper

Artists: Rene Maison	Ada Paggi
Eugenio Sandrini	Chase Baromeo
Antonio Nicolich	Edith Mason
Marie Olszewska	Desire Defrere
Thelma Votipka	Guiseppe Cavadore

Incidental Dances by Harriet Lundgren, Edward Caton,
 and the Ballet
 Lucia di Lammermoor (Donizetti)
 Conductor, Frank St. Leger

Artists: Richard Bonelli	Theodore Ritch
Margherita Salvi	Alice d'Hermanoy
Lodovico Oliviero	

Twenty-fifth Festival, 1931:

Chicago Civic Opera presented Mignon (Thomas)
 Conductor, Emil Cooper

Artists: Coe Glade	Margherita Salvi
Chase Baromeo	Jenny Tourel
Tito Schipa	Desire Defrere
Eugenio Sandrini	
Cavalleria Rusticana (Mascagni)	
Conductor, Roberta Moranzoni	

Artists: Claudia Muzio	Antonio Cortis
Jenny Tourel	Desire Defrere
Constance Everhart	

Incidental Dances by June Runyon and the Ballet
 I Pagliacci (Leoncavallo)
 Conductor, Frank St. Leger

Artists: Charles Marshall	Richard Bonelli
Hilda Burke	Giuseppe Cavadore
Mario Fiorella	

A Musical Extravaganza based on "My Oklahoma," composed by Mrs. Chas. E. Bush and orchestrated by Geo. C. Baum, was presented under the direction of Daisy Maude Underwood with Hyeckka members participating. Orchestra Series, 1932-33:

Four concerts by the University of Tulsa Symphony Orchestra, Geo. C. Baum, Conductor. Soloists, Percy Ganger, pianist; Gordon Berger, baritone; Irene Peabody, soprano; E. Robert Schmitz, pianist.

- 1936: St. Louis Symphony
Vladimir Golschman, Conductor.
1940: Cinema, "They Shall Have Music" with Jascha Heifetz

SOLOISTS PRESENTED

- 1907, Emil Sokoloff, violinist
1908, Frederick Wallis, basso
1909, Edward Baxter Perry, piano lecture recital
1912, Harry Evans, basso,
Otto Fischer, pianist
1914, First Fall Festival—Madame Louise Homer, contralto
1915, Zoellner String Quartette
Irene Jonani, soprano
Wilbur Boughton, pianist
Edward Kreiser, organist
Christine Miller, contralto
Marie Caslova, violinist
John McCormack, tenor
Donald McBeath, violinist
1917, Fritz Kreisler, violinist
Amelita Galli Curci, coloratura soprano
1918, Pasquale Tallerico, Pianist
Gertrude Hale, pianist
Sala, cellist
Martin Richardson, tenor
Salvi, harpist
1919, Moses Boguslawski, pianist.
Mrs. Edward MacDowell, pianist
Arthur Nevin, baritone
Oscar Seagle, baritone
Mischa Levitski, pianist
1920, Georgette La Motte, pianist
Madame June Reed, violinist
Grace Fisher, violinist
1921, Anna Lee Hamilton, soprano
Marjorie Dwyer, pianist
1922, Otto Fisher, pianist
1922, Titti Ruffo, basso
Yvonne D-Arle, soprano
1923, Tandy MacKenzie, tenor
Caroline Thomas, violinist
1924, Twentieth Anniversary.
Harry Evans, basso
Patti Adams Shriner, pianist
1926, Josef Noll, pianist
Paul S. Carpenter, violinist
1928, Herbert Witherspoon, lecturer
1929, Louise Florea, soprano
Harriet Ware, composer
1931, John Alden Finckel, violoncellist
Alice Starkey Finckel, pianist
1932, Frank Mannheimer, pianist

- 1936, Grace Campbell, pianist
Ann Jackson, pianist
- 1937, Porter Heaps, organist
Esther Johnson, pianist.
- 1941, E. Robert Schmitz, pianist
- 1942, Mary Louise Beltz, contralto
Willa Mae Kelly, pianist

APPENDIX B

The Hyeckka Year Book shows Mrs. Fred S. Clinton president from 1904-5 to 1943-44, and a member of each succeeding Executive Committee. Here also is shown every First Vice President and Chairman of the Executive Committee:

Mrs. O. R. Howard, 1904-7
Mrs. J. R. Cole, 1907-12
Mrs. John Roy, 1912-13.
Mrs. Dennis H. Wilson, 1913-14
Mrs. W. B. Frederick, 1914-15
Mrs. O. L. Frost, 1915-16
Mrs. W. G. Williamson, 1916-17
Mrs. C. J. Hindman, 1917-20
Mrs. Ned C. Rigsbee, 1920-22
Mrs. F. B. Dillard, 1922-23
Mrs. E. E. Clulow, 1923-27
Mrs. John D. Freeman, 1927-31
Mrs. W. B. Hudson, 1931-36
Mrs. D. H. Reedy, 1936-37
Mrs. C. G. Spindler, 1937-41
Mrs. H. W. Gowans, 1941-43
Miss Marguerite Gavin, 1943-44

The Standing Committee Chairmen, 1943-44:
Arrangement: Mrs. C. B. Harter, Chairman
Program, Miriam, Spindler, Chairman
Membership, Janice Snider Gibson, Chairman
Civic, Mrs. Egon Koehler, Chairman
Attendance, Mrs. Helen Shoup, Chairman
Telephone, Mrs. Earl Wilson, Chairman
Radio, Martha Belle Lynch, Chairman
Memorial, Belle Vickery Matthews, Chairman
Music Week, Mrs. Rex Evans, Chairman
Choral, Mrs. H. M. Thralls, Chairman
Student Membership, Mrs. L. T. Gibbs, Chairman
Junior Symphony Orchestra, Mrs. W. B. Hudson Chairman
Philbrook, Nelle Garbutt Spindler, Chairman
Representatives of the City Federation of Music Clubs:
Mrs. Fred Severs Clinton, Miss Marguerite Gavin, Mrs. Loy Wilson.
Hyeckka Chorus, George C. Baum, Director.
Junior Symphony Orchestra, George C. Baum, Director.

APPENDIX C

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ESTABLISHMENT OF THE IOWA RESERVATION

By Berlin B. Chapman

This article is the counterpart of my study, "Dissolution of the Iowa Reservation", which appeared in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, December, 1936. It is commonly known among students of Oklahoma history that the Iowa reservation was set apart by an executive order of President Chester A. Arthur in 1883. However, the evolution of the executive order, the process of determining the location of the Iowa reservation, and the activities of persons associated therewith, is a hitherto untold story. It is the purpose of this article to relate how a portion of the Iowa tribe in Kansas and Nebraska removed to Indian Territory, and located on the reservation that acquired their name.¹

The Iowas in 1868 were about 245 in number. They occupied a reservation of 16,000 acres in southeastern Nebraska and northeastern Kansas, to which reservation they had a good title. A half dozen men in Congress from Nebraska and Kansas in a letter² to Superintendent Hampton B. Denman on June 13 stated that this reservation, the reservation of the Sacs and Foxes of the Missouri which joined it, and the Otoe and Missouri reservation, were so located as to retard settlements in the very best portions of their States, and that it was a matter of great importance to their people to have the Indians occupying the reservations removed and the reservation lands brought into market in some shape. "We would be very glad", the letter reads, "if you would in some way, so arrange as to get fair treaties made with these Indians, by which they will be removed, and their lands brought into market."

Denman on June 15 advised the Commissioner of Indian Affairs³ that he had reason to believe that it was the desire of the Sacs and Foxes of the Missouri and the Iowas to treat for the sale of their respective reservations and to remove into the Indian Territory. He explained that they were entirely hemmed in by white settlers who were clamorous for their lands. The local agent on December 28 reported⁴ that the two tribes requested that they be allowed to send delegations to Washington for the purpose of making a treaty with the United States, with a view of disposing of their lands and removing, either to the Indian Territory, or to the new reserve north of Nebraska. The Department of the Interior permitted delegations

¹ Students in my Oklahoma history classes in the Oklahoma A. and M. College assisted me in writing this article; I am also indebted to the Payne County Historical Society who made the contents of this article the subject of a lively discussion, March 8, 1942. In Washington, D. C., I profited by the consistent interest of Senator Elmer Thomas in promoting research in Oklahoma history.

² The letter is dated June 13, 1868 and is in OIA, N. Supt., I. 13-1869.

³ Denman to N. G. Taylor, June 15, 1868, *ibid.*

⁴ C. H. Norris to Denman, Dec. 28, 1868, OIA, N. Supt. I. 18-1869.

United States Indian Service,

Head and City Agency,

Indian Territory June 30th 1882.

Wm. H. Rice

Commissioner of Indian Affairs

Washington D. C.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that the Iowa Indians of whom I mailed you an enrollment the 20th inst have this day informed me that they have been out West of the Sac and Fox Reservation and selected lands situated in Townships 14-15-16-17 North and Range 1-2-3 East, making Deepfork river the South line and the Red fork of the Minnesota the North line, comprising an Area of about 15 miles by 20 miles.

They say they have been a long time without any home, and are very desirous that the Government should secure them a home on the above described lands, or such a part of it as the Government may deem best.

These Indians show a disposition to try to make themselves home, and they want 'Schools' to send their children to, as soon as they can become located

United States Indian Service,

Agency,

....., 188 .

I would respectfully recommend that these Indians be located on such portions of the above lands, as the Department may deem advisable, I will await your instructions before taking any further action on the premises

Yours very respectfully

Geo. H. Carter.

At. S. Indian Agent-

to be sent accordingly. At Washington on February 11, 1869, Denman and Thomas Murphy, representing the United States, concluded a treaty⁵ with them in which it was agreed that the Saint Louis and Nebraska Trunk Railroad Company and the Atchison and Nebraska Railroad Company might purchase the lands of the Iowas on certain terms. The treaty stated that the people of the Iowa tribe were desirous of selling their lands and of removing to a new and permanent home in the Indian Territory. Article eight of the treaty provided that a new home there, including twenty-five sections of land, should be selected for the Iowas by a delegation of the tribe, and sold to it in like manner and on like terms with the reserve to be provided for the Sacs and Foxes,⁶ according to the treaty. Article eight also provided that the Iowas should remove thereto as soon as practicable, but not, unless with their consent, before the spring of 1870. President Johnson transmitted the treaty to the Senate on February 17, 1869.

In council on October 8 or 9 the chiefs, headmen and other members of the Iowa tribe, thirty-six in number, adopted and signed a petition addressed to the President and the members of the Senate, earnestly protesting against the ratification of the treaty. The petition set forth that the treaty was made without consultation with the tribe, that it was contrary to the well known sentiments of a large majority of the Iowas, and that the price named therein as compensation for the lands was less than half their market value. The wives and mothers of the Iowas, many of them being present at the council, desired to enter a protest against the ratification of the treaty. Twenty-two of them signed a statement to that effect, which statement was attached to the petition. In forwarding the petition to Commissioner E. S. Parker on October 18, Superintendent Samuel M. Janney remarked that the Iowas were greatly dissatisfied

⁵ The treaty is in OIA, Treaty File.

⁶ Article two of the treaty provided that as soon as practicable after the ratification of the treaty, a delegation of the Sacs and Foxes should be sent to the Indian Territory by the Secretary of the Interior, accompanied by such officer of the Department as he should designate, who should select there a new reservation for the permanent home of the tribe out of the lands recently purchased by the United States for the settlement of Indian tribes thereon, which new reservation should include 20,000 acres and should lie adjoining or near the new home to be selected for their brethren, the Iowas. The article also provided that if the selection should be approved by the Secretary of the Interior he should sell such new reserve to the Sacs and Foxes at the price per acre which the United States paid for the same, and should cause the tribe to remove thereto as soon as practicable, but not without their consent, before April 1870.

Article three provided that the United States should be reimbursed the cost of the new reservation out of the proceeds of the sales of the lands of the Sacs and Foxes in Nebraska and Kansas, at such time as might, in the opinion of the Secretary of the Interior, considering the wants and interests of the tribe, be most expedient. It was agreed in article fourteen that any amendments to the treaty which might be made by the Senate, not changing the amounts to be received for the lands of the Sacs and Foxes of the Missouri and the Iowas or the payments to be made to either tribe, were thereby accepted and ratified in advance.

with the treaty. In his annual report Parker could hardly recommend its ratification. On February 4, 1870, President Grant requested the Senate to return the treaty to him, and it was not ratified. During the next half dozen years the question of the removal of the Iowas to the Indian Territory was one of only minor importance.

In a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on December 25, 1876, S. M. Irwin stated that he had recently held a council with the Iowas, and had found all of them looking forward to a sale of their lands and a removal to the Indian Territory.⁷ Three days later three chiefs and two headmen of the tribe addressed a letter⁸ to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs saying in part: "It having been frequently proposed to us to dispose of our present reservation, and remove to the Indian Territory, and as that seems to be the desire of the Government, and the neighboring whites are urging it, we have this day agreed upon a visit of observation to that territory, with a view of removing our tribe thither if after examination we believe it to be for our best interests; Provided the government will furnish funds for payment of our traveling expenses, without encroaching upon our annuities." The inclination of the tribe to remove appears to have rested primarily on the hope that a change of location would to some extent free them from the "curse" of lawless whites. According to Acting Commissioner S. A. Galpin no funds, except those of the Iowas, were available for sending a delegation of the tribe to the Indian Territory.⁹ During the summer of 1877, the Iowas reached a unanimous decision that they would not send a delegation to the Indian Territory to select a location for the tribe, so long as it must be done at their own expense.¹⁰

On March 12, 1878, thirty-six Iowas addressed a petition¹¹ to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs requesting permission to send a delegation of their tribe to the Indian Territory at their own expense for the purpose of examining the country with a view of settling there. The signers stated that they believed eventually they would be removed to the Indian Territory. Between March 12 and 17 sixteen Iowas, representing in the main that part of the tribe in favor of improvement and education, signed a protest¹² against the use of their funds for paying the expenses of a delegation to the Indian Territory. Those signing the protest desired to remain on the reservation they occupied.

⁷ The letter is in OIA, Cent. Supt. I, 4—1877. Irwin sent the letter to Senator John J. Ingalls of Kansas who forwarded it to the Office of Indian Affairs with a note stating that he hoped the suggestions therein would receive early and favorable consideration.

⁸ The letter is dated Dec. 28, 1876 and is in OIA, Neb. K. 1-1877.

⁹ Galpin to Agt. M. B. Kent, June 8, 1877, OIA, (Large) *Letter Book* 136, p. 281.

¹⁰ Kent to Com. Ind. Aff., Aug. 20, 1877, *Ind. Aff.*, 1877, p. 141.

¹¹ The petition is in OIA, Neb. K. 122—1878.

¹² The protest is in *ibid.*

On September 24, Acting Commissioner W. M. Leeds in a letter¹³ expressly stated that the Sacs and Foxes at the Great Nemaha agency who desired to remove to the Sac and Fox agency might do so, with the understanding that if they went they were not to return. It may not be improper to imply from the letter that the same privilege was thereby extended to the Iowas. At any rate in less than three weeks about a dozen Iowas were at the Sac and Fox agency. Leeds on October 24 stated that they would be permitted to remain there.¹⁴ On May 29, 1879, twenty-two Iowas set out for the Sac and Fox agency¹⁵ without securing formal permission to do so. Before the close of the year the Office of Indian Affairs decided to curb this renegade form of migration.¹⁶ Almost one half of the Iowas were strongly contesting every movement toward the abandonment of their reservation. By September 4, 1880, forty-six Iowas were enrolled at the Sac and Fox agency and during the next year as many more set out for that agency. For nearly a decade after 1881, the removal of the Iowas to the Indian Territory was a subject much discussed, but in a practical sense no removals occurred.

At least a year from the autumn of 1879, the Office of Indian Affairs looked coldly on the migration of the Iowas to the Indian Territory, and tended to induce those who had left their reservation to return to it.¹⁷ In the spring of 1882, Secretary S. J. Kirkwood was willing for a delegation of the tribe to come to Washington for consultation at their own expense,¹⁸ if it should be found, among other things, that there was a strong likelihood of the removal of such of their members as desired to maintain their tribal relations to the Indian Territory. A delegation of the tribe went to Washington and expressed a willingness to examine the lands in the Indian Territory and if satisfied therewith to remove from their reservation. On January 8, 1883, four headmen of the Iowas in a petition¹⁹ to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs asked that \$500.00 from the funds of the tribe be used by seven members of the tribe in defraying expenses from the Iowa reservation to the Indian Territory for the purpose of looking at the country with a view of se-

¹³ Leeds to Kent, Sept. 24, 1878, OIA, (Large) *Letter Book 144*, p. 232.

¹⁴ Leeds to Agt. Levi Woodard, Oct. 24, 1878, OIA, (Large) *Letter Book 144*, p. 336.

¹⁵ Kent to Com. E. A. Hayt, June 2, 1879, OIA, Neb. K. 468—1879.

¹⁶ Hayt to Kent, Sept. 4, 1879, OIA, (Large) *Letter Book 150*, p. 508. Note the tolerant attitude expressed in the letter by Acting Commissioner E. J. Brooks to Agt. J. W. Griest, June 12, 1879, *ibid.*, p. 344.

¹⁷ Kent to Com. Ind. Aff., July 12, 1880, OIA, Nebr. K. 925—1880; Brooks to Kent, Aug. 9, 1880, OIA (Large) *Letter Book 172*, p. 435; Kent's rpt. of Oct. 6, 1880, Ann. Rpt. Bd. Ind. Commissioners 1880, p. 75; Ind. Aff. 1880, p. xliii.

¹⁸ Kirkwood to Com. Ind. Aff., March 2, 1882, OIA, *Rec. Letters Sent*, No. 28, p. 149.

¹⁹ The petition is in OIA, F. 3631—1883. At the same time four headmen of the Sac and Fox Indians at the Great Nemaha agency addressed a similar petition to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

lecting a future home. The Interior Department complied with their request, but tacked on a statement that this authority should be subject to the proviso that all the Indians at the Great Nemaha agency belonging to the Iowa and Sac and Fox tribes should remove to the Indian Territory to join their people there.²⁰ The Iowas in Nebraska and Kansas then decided to remain where they were, but about July they began agitating the question of removal again.

It is proper at this point to inquire how the limits of the Iowa reservation in the Indian Territory were determined, and for whose benefit the reservation was set apart. On June 30, 1882, Agent Jacob V. Carter reported that the Iowas at the Sac and Fox agency, about eighty-eight in number, had that day informed him that they had been out west of the Sac and Fox reservation and "selected" a tract of land extending from the Deep Fork of the Canadian to the Cimarron, and situated in "Rang 1-2-3 East".²¹ "They say they have been a long time without any home", said Carter, "and are very desirous that the Government should secure them a home on the above described lands, or such a part of it as the Government may deem best." Carter recommended that they be located on such a portion of the lands as the Interior Department might deem advisable. The Office of Indian Affairs was willing to endeavor to provide suitable lands in the Indian Territory upon which to locate the Iowas, provided the whole tribe were willing to remove thereto, and to consent to the sale of their reservation.²²

On April 17, 1883, Carter stated that the Iowas in the Indian Territory had been encouraged to settle on lands west of the Sac and Fox reservation and that about fifty more Iowas were expected to join them during the summer.²³ In a letter²⁴ to Commissioner Hiram Price on the same day, Special Agent Eddy B. Townsend said of the Iowas in the Indian Territory: "These Indians are peaceable and industrious, and would, I believe, make for themselves permanent fields and homes if permitted to do so, but the uncertainties surrounding them, as regards their location, must inevitably discourage and demoralize them; more especially in view of the fact that other Indians are living upon and claiming lands west of this Res. and that more are coming all of which is calculated in their estimation to damage their prospects as to a Res., and permanency." Townsend urged the importance and justice of their having set apart for them, at the very earliest possible day, lands which should be recognized as their own. He recommended that there be set apart for them a tract of land, the width of three townships, bounded

²⁰ Sec. H. M. Teller to Com. Ind. Aff., March 3, 1883, OIA, *Rec. Letters Sent*, No. 31, pp. 260-261; Com. H. Price to Agt. H. C. Linn, March 9, 1883, OIA, *F. Letter Book*, vol. 83, pt. ii, pp. 412-414.

²¹ Carter to Price, OIA, L. 12246—1882. The Iowas were residing on this tract.

²² Price to Carter, July 11, 1882, OIA, L. *Letter Book* 98, pp. 470-471.

²³ Carter to Price, OIA, L. 7395—1883.

²⁴ OIA, L. 7553—1883.

on the east by the Sac and Fox reservation and on the north and south as stated in Carter's letter of June 30, 1882.

Three months later a petition²⁵ signed by thirty-three chiefs and headmen of the Iowas at the Sac and Fox agency was addressed to Price, earnestly requesting that prompt steps be taken to sell their land at the Great Nemaha agency, and to procure a home for them in the Indian Territory. Price was satisfied that it would encourage the Iowas who were determined to remain in the Indian Territory, to give them a title of some kind to the lands they occupied. He prepared a draft of an executive order²⁶ for the Iowas, covering the tract described by Townsend, but specifying that the tract, in width, should extend from the Sac and Fox reservation to the Indian Meridian. He incorporated a clause stating that the tract should be set apart for the permanent use and occupation of "the Iowa and such other Indians" as the Secretary of the Interior might see fit to locate thereon. On the tract were some 240 Otoes and Missourias who were unwilling to return to their reservation, which Price considered undoubtedly insufficient, owing to the character of the land and limited area, to support a larger number of Indians than were already there. For this reason, and the fact that the area of the proposed reservation was larger than the requirements of the Iowas demanded, the provision for "other Indians" was incorporated in the draft of the executive order.²⁷ Price considered it probable that the Iowa reservation in Nebraska and Kansas would, before many years be sold, when the Iowas residing thereon would join their brethren in the Indian Territory, making the number of Iowas there some 220. He also thought that the assignment of lands in Oklahoma district to Indians would tend to defeat David L. Payne and others "in their annoying raids" into that portion of the Indian Territory. On July 31 the Acting Secretary of the Interior transmitted the draft of the executive order to President Arthur, who signed it August 15. The lands described therein were henceforth known as the Iowa reservation in the Indian Territory.²⁸ The reservation comprised 279,296.57 acres of land, ceded to the United States by the Creeks in 1866.

In July, Price expected that Congress would be asked to confirm, by patent or otherwise, the title of the Iowa reservation in the Indian Territory to the Indians designated in the executive order.

²⁵ The petition is dated July 18, 1883 and is in OIA, L. 13506—1883.

²⁶ The executive order is in OIA, *L. Letter Book 115*, p. 282; Kappler i, 843-844.

²⁷ Price to Sec. Int., July 30, 1883, OIA, Executive Order File, Aug. 15, 1883; same to same, Dec. 6, 1883, *S. Ex. Docs.*, 48 Cong. 1 sess., i(2162), no. 18, pp. 2-3; same to same, May 3, 1884, OIA, *L. Letter Book 125*, pp. 149-152.

²⁸ The Iowa reservation lay between the Deep Fork of the Canadian River and the south bank of the Cimarron River; and extended from the west boundary of the Sac and Fox Reservation (about two miles west of Chandler, Oklahoma) to the Indian Meridian. This tract is now included in adjoining parts of Lincoln, Payne, Logan and Oklahoma counties.

In his opinion the lands of the reservation should be secured to these Indians by a more permanent title so that they might have assurance of not being removed, except by their free consent. He prepared the draft of a bill²⁹ authorizing the President to cause a patent to issue to the Iowa tribe of Indians for the lands in the reservation, declaring that the United States would hold the same for the period of twenty-five years, in trust for the sole use and benefit of the Iowa tribe, and such other Indians as the Secretary of the Interior might see fit to locate with them, and that at the expiration of the said period the United States would convey the same by patent to the Iowa tribe, in fee, discharged of said trust and free from all charge or incumbrance whatsoever. The Senate tied up the issuance of a patent to the Iowas with the sale of their lands in Nebraska and Kansas. The Iowas in the Indian Territory desired Congress to confirm the executive order reservation to the Iowas in lieu of these lands. They earnestly petitioned³⁰ that Congress confirm that reservation to the use of the Iowas exclusively and that it be not shared in by any other Indians. The Interior Department submitted the matter to Congress. The effect of the executive order was not changed by Congress and the provision therein regarding "other Indians" continued to trouble the Iowas and was soon to involve the Tonkawas.

We may now review the events that led to the location of the Tonkawas on the Iowa reservation in the Indian Territory. In 1875 the Tonkawas numbered less than 150 souls. They had no reservation but were at Fort Griffin, Texas, under the supervision of military authority. On May 10 the commanding officer at Fort Griffin recommended that they be given a reservation in the Indian Territory.³¹ The Secretary of War on November 13 earnestly requested that the Interior Department take some action with a view of placing them on a reservation. A month later Commissioner John Q. Smith suggested that a home might be selected among the Kickapoos for them or that they might be removed to New Mexico. But it was found that there were no funds available for the removal of the Tonkawas. Indian appropriation acts from 1876 to 1878 provided annually a sum of \$2,000 or \$2,500 for their benefit, with the provision that no part of such funds should be applied to their removal from the vicinity of Fort Griffin to any Indian reservation.³²

²⁹ The bill is in *S. Ex. Docs., loc. cit.*, pp. 3-4. President Arthur transmitted it to Congress December 17, 1883.

³⁰ The petition is dated April 16, 1884, and is in OIA, L. 8101-1884.

³¹ "Tonkawa Indians at Fort Griffin, Texas" *H. Ex. Docs.*, 44 Cong. 1 sess., xii (1689), no. 102.

³² Indian appropriation acts from 1879 to 1883 provided annually a sum between \$3,000 and \$4,800 for the support of the Tonkawas at Fort Griffin, but made no mention of their removal.

In a communication³³ to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on July 4, 1879, Acting Agent J. B. Irwine observed that the Tonkawas had no land or reservation. He submitted that the first requisite in encouraging them in the arts of civilization was to provide them with land and a home that they could call their own. Acting Commissioner E. J. Brooks deemed it inadvisable to make any arrangement for their permanent abode at any place other than in the Indian Territory. On September 24 he requested Irwine to report fully upon their disposition to remove to and locate upon some suitable lands to be thereafter selected for them in the Territory.³⁴ The Tonkawas were not favorably disposed towards such removal. Their principal objection to settling in the Indian Territory was their great fear of their enemies, the Comanches, at whose hands they had severely suffered. On October 7 Irwine reported that before making a decisive answer to the proposition of their removal, the Tonkawas suggested that a delegation of five or six of their principal men be sent to examine the country selected for them, and return and report to their people the advantages of the transfer.³⁵

Commissioner E. A. Hayt on January 23, 1880, instructed Irwine to take a delegation of not more than five Tonkawas and proceed to the vicinity of the location "recently selected by the Poncas and Nez Perces, at a point on the Salt Fork near its junction with the Arkansas River".³⁶ Hayt suggested that the lands in the angle formed by the north boundary of the Ponca reservation and the east boundary of the Oakland reservation, be explored with the object of selecting a permanent location for the Tonkawas. Between February 16 and 23 Lieutenant R. N. Getty and a delegation of five Tonkawas examined the country extending from Kansas to the Ponca reservation, and lying between Turkey Creek and the Indian Meridian. Getty was favorably impressed with the soil, timber, water and climate of this tract of country.³⁷ In his opinion the township directly east of the Oakland reservation would have been an excellent location for the Tonkawas. The delegation however, with one exception, were not pleased with the locality because of the proximity to tribes larger than the Tonkawas,³⁸ the coldness of the climate and the scarcity of game. The Tonkawas said that they were all born and raised in Texas and did not wish to leave that State, even though the Indian Territory was a much better country for agricultural purposes. They were confirmed in their disposition to remain in Texas by the hope that State authorities would ultimately

³³ OIA, Cent. Supt., I. 1546—1879.

³⁴ Brooks to Irwine, Sept. 24, 1879, OIA, (Large) *Letter Book* 167, p. 307.

³⁵ Irwine to Com. Ind. Aff., Oct. 7, 1879, OIA, Cent. Supt., I. 2204—1879.

³⁶ Hayt to Irwine, OIA, (Large) *Letter Book* 169, pp. 212-213. Nez Perces occupied the Oakland reservation.

³⁷ Getty to Irwine, March 3, 1880, OIA, Cent. Supt., I. 156—1880.

³⁸ It was observed that Indian tribes were so numerous in the Indian Territory that the Tonkawas, if there, might all be killed, one by one, while out hunting, and no one would ever know who killed them.

donate them lands on which they could permanently locate. Indeed this hope appeared to be so well founded that on April 23 Commissioner R. E. Trowbridge stated that no further steps would be taken at that time by the Interior Department toward the selection of lands for the Tonkawas.³⁹

In his annual report⁴⁰ for 1882 Acting Agent Elias Chandler stated that the Tonkawas had no reservation, and were dependent to a great extent upon the whims of the landowners in the vicinity of Fort Griffin. He noted however that they were well contented and apparently had a horror of the idea of being removed to the Indian Territory. On December 5 he reported that they were willing to remove there, provided they could secure a reservation remote from the Comanches and Kiowas, and near to a military post.⁴¹ Commissioner Price thought it advisable that some definite arrangement should be made for the permanent location of the Tonkawas. On March 29, 1883 he stated that if the plan met with their approval, Chandler might take one or two of their chiefs to the country lying west of the Sac and Fox reservation, between the Deep Fork of the Canadian and the Cimarron, and also to that portion of the Cherokee Outlet in the vicinity of the Ponca, Pawnee and Otoe reservations, to select a suitable place for the location of the tribe.⁴² However, the proposed visit to the Indian Territory was not made, because on April 12, Price explained that there was no money available to remove the Tonkawas there, even though a suitable location should be chosen for them.

For almost a year it appeared that the Tonkawas were destined to live on the Quapaw reservation. On December 17, Agent Daniel B. Dyer reported that a portion of the Quapaws expressed a willingness to allow the Interior Department to use two or three thousand acres of their lands as a location for the Tonkawas, the price thereof to be fixed by the government.⁴³ The Tonkawas on February 2, 1884, signed a statement⁴⁴ that they would remove to these lands as soon as it should be the pleasure of the government to complete its preparations for their removal. The Indian appropriation act⁴⁵ approved July 4 provided \$10,000 for their support, civilization and instruction, and for their removal to a reservation in the Indian Territory. Five days later Price recommended that they be removed to the Quapaw reservation, but Secretary H. M. Teller stated that their removal should not be started until definite arrangements had been made for their location on that reservation or upon such other

³⁹ Trowbridge to Irwine, April 23, 1880, OIA, (Large) *Letter Book* 169, p. 674.

⁴⁰ *Ind. Aff.*, 1882, p. 147.

⁴¹ Chandler to Com. Ind. Aff., Dec. 5, 1882, OIA, C. 22295—1882.

⁴² Price to Chandler, OIA, (Large) *Letter Book* 173, p. 299.

⁴³ Dyer to Price, Dec. 17, 1883, OIA, L. 23119—1883.

⁴⁴ The statement is in OIA, 5039-03-266, Gen. Service.

⁴⁵ Act of July 4, 1884, 23 *Statutes*, 91.

lands in the Indian Territory as might be finally selected for them. More definite arrangements were reported as made for locating the Tonkawas upon the Quapaw reservation, and on August 21 the Acting Secretary of the Interior granted authority for their removal there.⁴⁶ The letter granting this authority went to the Office of Indian Affairs, but upon request it was returned to the Office of the Secretary of the Interior and cancelled. Further negotiations with the Quapaws did not remove their opposition to the location of the Tonkawas on their reservation. On September 20 Teller and Price agreed that the Tonkawas should be removed to the Iowa reservation in the Indian Territory.⁴⁷

The Iowas were no more willing than the Quapaws to share lands with the Tonkawas. On October 16, six days after the Tonkawas left Fort Griffin, Agent Isaac A. Taylor reported that he felt sure that if the Tonkawas were settled on the Iowa reservation, the main body of the Iowas would not remove to that locality, and that even the Iowas in the Indian Territory would leave their reservation.⁴⁸ On October 22, Price pointed out that according to the executive order setting apart the reservation, the Tonkawas had the same rights there that the Iowas had.⁴⁹ Price expected however that the Tonkawas would be so located as not to interfere with the comfort and convenience of the Iowas.

The Tonkawas, ninety-two in number, arrived at the Sac and Fox agency October 22 or 23 and were located on the Iowa reservation. The Iowas at that agency on October 27 addressed a letter⁵⁰ to Eddy B. Townsend, relative to the recent location of the Tonkawas, saying in part:

It was done without our consent and we were not even informed of their coming until we saw them at this place on their road to our reservation. We regard this as an injustice to us and earnestly protest against those Indians being located on our lands. As you are well aware, there is but a small percent of that entire Reservation suitable for farming purposes—no more than our tribe can utilize when our relatives now in Nebraska remove to these lands set apart for us. The remainder of our Reservation is broken, upland prairie and sandy, timbered ridges. Again injustice is done us just at this juncture of time, as our tribe has signed a petition praying for the sale of our Reservation in Nebraska and the purchase of this Reservation in the Indian Territory, and while this change of our home is in process—to thrust into our midst and upon our lands a tribe of strange Indians, and dividing the lands for which we were

⁴⁶ M. L. Joslyn to Com. Ind. Aff., Aug. 21, 1884, OIA, *Rec. Letters Sent*, No. 36, p. 478.

⁴⁷ Price to Sec. Int., Sept. 20, 1884, OIA, *Rpt. Book 49*, pp. 560-561; Teller to Com. Ind. Aff., Sept. 20, 1884, OIA, *Rec. Letters Sent*, No. 37, p. 208.

⁴⁸ Taylor to Price, Oct. 16, 1884, OIA, L. 20192—1884. Taylor recommended that the "entire Oklahoma country" be set apart by executive order for the settlement of the Tonkawas and other Indians thereon.

⁴⁹ Price to Taylor, Oct. 22, 1884, OIA, *L. Letter Book 130*, pp. 396-398.

⁵⁰ Letter of Oct. 27, 1884, OIA, C. 22049—1884.

negotiating—seems to us an unnecessary and unjust disregard of our feelings and our rights. We have ample means to pay for all our lands here and regard it a safe and wise investment to exchange our valuable lands in Nebraska for cheaper lands in this country which will eventually become more valuable. We earnestly ask you to use every means in your power to prevent a division of our Reservation, with the Tonkawa Indians and ask that as soon as practicable they may be removed from our lands.

An act⁵¹ approved March 3, 1885, made provisions whereby the Sac and Fox and Iowa reservations in Nebraska and Kansas might be sold and the Indians residing thereon be removed to a reservation or reservations to be secured for them. The act authorized the President to issue a patent to the Iowa tribe declaring that reservation lands secured for them should be held by the United States in trust for their sole use and benefit. Taylor on March 17 recommended, for the welfare, happiness and advancement of both the Iowas and Tonkawas, that Oklahoma lands be set apart for the occupation of the latter tribe. In his estimation the Iowas could utilize all the good agricultural lands of the Iowa reservation, which lands he estimated at ten percent of the reservation. Commissioner J. D. C. Atkins on April 3 suggested that the Tonkawas be located near the boundaries of the reservation in such a manner as to enable the Interior Department to set aside a separate tract of land for their occupation, leaving the balance of the reservation to be patented to the Iowa tribe, should they elect to sell their lands in Nebraska and Kansas and remove to the Indian Territory.⁵² He recommended that an inspector or special agent be instructed to hold a council with the Iowa tribe for the purpose of ascertaining whether they were willing to accept the terms of the recent act of Congress for the sale of their lands in Nebraska and Kansas, and that he be authorized to inform them that if they so desired, they could be located on the Iowa reservation in the Indian Territory and receive a patent for the same, less a sufficient quantity of land for the requirements of the Tonkawas. The Acting Secretary of the Interior promptly approved the recommendation.

Atkins on April 4 directed Taylor to designate the location on the Iowa reservation that would be most desirable for the Tonkawas, having regard for their wants and the convenience of the Iowas. Taylor accordingly designated a rectangular tract of land,⁵³ where the Tonkawas were then located, embracing about 45,000 acres in the southeast corner of the reservation, just west and northwest of the present site of Chandler. As late as April 17 Atkins contemplated the continued occupation of lands of the Iowa reservation by the Tonkawas.⁵⁴ By April 20 he was led to the conclusion that to

⁵¹ 23 *Statutes*, 350.

⁵² Atkins to Sec. Int., April 3, 1885, OIA, 1606 Ind. Div. 1885.

⁵³ Taylor's report of April 10, 1885, and map submitted therewith, are in OIA, Gen. Service, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁴ Atkins to W. H. Robb, April 17, 1885, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 135, pp. 15-21.

keep them on the reservation would result to the disadvantage of both the Tonkawas and the Iowas and possibly in a failure to obtain the consent of the latter tribe to sell their lands in Nebraska and Kansas and settle together in the Indian Territory.⁵⁵ Two months later the Tonkawas set out for the Oakland reservation, known thereafter as the Tonkawa reservation.

It comes not within the province of this study to trace the history of the councils held with the Iowa tribe in Nebraska and Kansas and in the Indian Territory with a view of consolidating the tribe on the lands of the Iowa reservation established by executive order in 1883. It is enough to observe that the Iowas in the Indian Territory favored such a union, and that in July 1885 the male adults of the tribe in Nebraska and Kansas refused, by the narrow margin of one vote, to sell their lands as proposed in the act of March 3 of that year.⁵⁶ The act was amended in 1887. But so far as lands in the Indian Territory were concerned nothing had been done under its provisions when in May 1890 the Iowas on the executive order reservation signed an agreement relinquishing to the United States all their right, title and interest in and to the lands of that reservation.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Atkins to Sec. Int., April 20, 1885, OIA, *Rpt. Book 51*, pp. 606-609.

⁵⁶ "Sac and Fox and Iowa Indian Reservations", *S. Ex. Docs.*, 49 Cong. 1 sess., iv(2336), no. 70.

EDUCATION IN THE CHEROKEE NATION

By Abraham Eleazer Knepler

The history of the Cherokees from the time of first contact with the explorers and colonists from Europe until tribal dissolution in 1906 was featured by the unusual attitude of an Indian group in voluntarily acculturating itself to occidental civilization. Although they resented the encroachments of the newcomers in America, the Cherokees realized, as did few other Indian tribes, that to fight them was futile. Instead, they began adopting the ways of the colonists in order to survive and prosper, regarding education essential in all walks of life.

There were three important phases in formal Cherokee educational history. First, came the missionaries, at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. Encouraged by the Federal Government and aided by the invention of a native alphabet by Sequoyah (a Cherokee), their emphasis was upon Christianizing and civilizing the Cherokees, and upon discouraging the perpetuation of the indigenous culture. Following the Cherokee exodus to the west in 1838-39, a unique self-maintained public school system was established, supplanting mission education in importance. This public school system continued the process of acculturation, although not very successfully among the full-bloods. The United States began to assume control over educational affairs in 1898, preparatory to dissolving the government of the Cherokee Nation. Managing the schools jointly with the Cherokees, it effected a number of reforms in the public schools which were finally absorbed into the public school system of Oklahoma.

INDIGENOUS EDUCATION

Absence of Restraint

Contemporary observers of native American Indian customs generally agree that the manner of rearing children has been characterized, as a rule, by the absence of harsh methods. Parents, the mothers especially, were "most kind and indulgent"¹ to their children.

Among the Cherokees the unwillingness to exercise authority in dealing with children was but a natural consequence of their intense love of liberty. The concept of liberty pervaded the whole of Cherokee life, and constituted the essence of Cherokee political and social organization.²

¹ Mark Catesby, *Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands*, II, xv.

² John Haywood, *Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee*, pp. 272-73. Such liberty, however, did not apply to women. The position of women seems to have been virtually that of tolerated slaves, although the clans were matrilineal, and sometimes outstanding women ("Beloved Women") possessed considerable influence

With a point of view that sounds surprisingly modern, the Cherokees opposed strong disciplinary measures for their children. They were motivated by the belief that "reason . . . will guide their children, when they are come to the use of it, and before that time they cannot commit faults. To chastise them would be to debase the mind, and blunt the sense of honour, by the habit of a slavish motive to action."³

The Cherokee concept of freedom did not terminate with childhood. For the male, it was constant. In manhood, according to one authority, "Command, subordination, dependence, were equally unknown: and by those who wish to possess their confidence, persuasion is avoided, lest their influence should seem a sort of violence offered to the will. They have no punishment but death. They have no fines, for they have no way of exacting them from freemen."⁴

Such an absence of overt disciplinary control over children might be thought to lead to the development of unbridled, unruly individuals and to social chaos. Such does not appear to be the case. The Cherokee government was an orderly one. The continued kindness of generations of parents to their children in itself is a partial answer to the point. Furthermore, the peaceful and kindly disposition of the adult Indians among themselves discredits the belief that the children would be apt to grow up into socially noxious individuals. The picture that one writer has drawn of the Mississippi Choctaws might with equal truth be said to apply to the Cherokees:⁵

But little restraint, parental or otherwise, was placed upon their children, hence they indulged in any and all amusements their fancy might suggest. . . . They were but little acquainted with the principles of right and wrong, having only as their models the daring deeds of their fathers in war and the chase, they only yearned for the time when they might emulate them in heroic achievements; and one would very naturally infer that these boys, ignorant of all restraint from youth to manhood, would have been, when arrived at manhood, a set of desperadoes, indulging in every vice and committing every crime. But not so. No race of young people ever grew up to manhood in any nation who were of a more quiet nature and peaceful dispositions than the youths of the old Mississippi Choctaws. They seldom quarreled among themselves even in boyhood, and less, when arrived to

in the tribe. Women were not permitted to engage in many ceremonials or in meals in connection with them. The ownership of separate property by women, on the other hand, gave them a measure of independence which mitigated the hardships of the death or not infrequent change of mate. Timberlake's *Memoirs*, pp. 65-66; 70-71; Haywood, *op. cit.*, pp. 278, 279-80; Charles Lanman, *Letters from the Alleghany Mountains* (New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1849), pp. 94-95; McKenney and Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* (Philadelphia: D. Rice & Co., 187?), I, 36-37; *Laws of the Cherokee Nation, Enacted by the General Council in the Year 1829*, p. 13.

³ Haywood, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ H. B. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians* (Greenville, Texas; Headlight Printing House, 1899), pp. 215-16.

the state of manhood. To them in youth as well as in advance years, as to all of their race, the dearest of all their earthly possessions from childhood to manhood, from manhood to old age, and from old age to the grave, was their entire and unrestrained freedom; and though untrammelled by mortal restraint, yet there seemed to exist in their own breasts a restraining influence, a counter-acting power, that checked the ungoverned passions of their uncultivated natures through life, and kept them more within the bounds of prudence and reason, than any race of uneducated people I ever knew.

It was this traditional Cherokee attitude toward their children which constituted perhaps the most difficult of the many problems faced during the history of Cherokee education.

Coupled with their shyness and hostility to the non-material white civilization, was the tendency of the full bloods to cling to their own traditions as much as possible, especially where the rearing of children was concerned. The full bloods, therefore, were least responsive to the educational efforts of the missionaries, the national schools, the public schools and the government schools.

Even where they were not hostile, and were willing to admit the benefit of education, the conservative element was not disposed to exercise compulsion or too great authority to have the children attend school. "Even if they perceive their [schools'] importance," wrote David Z. Smith, Moravian missionary, the full blood Cherokees did not "exercise any control over their children, so that these will not attend, unless they themselves get interested in them."⁶

POSITIVE EDUCATIONAL METHODS

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that there were no social checks upon individual behavior. Education was achieved through legend, precept, example and sanctions. The responsibility for the training of Indian youth usually rested with the clan. Since the Cherokee clans were matrilineal, and since it was rather common for the male to abandon one mate for another,⁷ the father's role in the education of his children tended, on the whole, to be a somewhat negligible one. The mother, the maternal uncles, and the old men of the tribe were the child's important mentors.

Precept was embodied in many of the numerous legends, as well as in the more formal orations and exhortations by tribal elders. When the children became old enough to understand, the old men would teach them, or would "indoctrinate"⁸ them, in the religion and morals of their people. The myths and legends were often clearly intended to convey a moral. Indeed, it appears that part, at least, of these legends were invented, or the parent myth was begun, to convey moral instruction to the young folk who listened to them.⁹

⁶ Report . . . *Indian Affairs*, 1844, p. 401.

⁷ Timberlake's *Memoirs*, p. 65; Haywood, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

⁸ William A. Phillips, "Sequoyah," *Harper's Monthly*, 41; 543, September, 1870.

⁹ J. W. Powell, editor, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Nineteenth Annual Report*, in introduction to Mooney's "Myths of the Cherokee": "It would appear that the parent myth usually begins as a trivial story or fable, perhaps."

The legends and accounts of commendable deeds performed within the lifetime of living members of the tribe, and in which the narrator may have had a part, were intended to incite the young braves to the performance of similar deeds. An example of this type of education, which had for its purpose the emulation by the youth of the deeds of their elders, was reported by an early traveler in the Cherokee country in connection with the rehearsal of a ball play dance and a community gathering. The latter had been convened to stir up enthusiasm for a ball game which was to be played the next day with a neighboring Cherokee town.¹⁰

The ball plays and the ceremonies connected with them served not only to hand down customs and traditions to the younger generation, and to develop skill and strength, but served also to inculcate a sense of honesty and fair play. As the result of one player's attempt to win a game by cheating—so the legend goes—the ball, when he had thrown it, stuck in the sky. The ball turned into the appearance which the moon now has, “to remind the Indian that cheating and dishonesty are crimes. When the moon becomes small and pale, it is because the ball has been handled by unfair play. They therefore for a long time never played at this game but on the full moon.”¹¹ The players would be admonished by their chiefs to play fair, that the Great Spirit might not be offended with them. However, around the turn of the eighteenth century, or shortly after the beginning of the nineteenth, the customs were already being disregarded, and the tradition was already lost.¹²

Exhortations to the young men to be brave and good as were their forefathers were employed also as part of the religious ceremonial when the Cherokees believed the Great Spirit to have been offended and they wished to appease him by good deeds. The traditional history of their wars would be repeated by the wise men and doctors, the great chiefs would talk of their courage and virtues, and the young men would be urged to follow in the noble footsteps of their predecessors.¹³ At the same time that the ceremonial sought desirable moral behavior it also served to hand down the unwritten traditions of the tribe.

To help their children achieve the virtues extolled by the tribe, the parents sought to have transmitted to them the characteristics of the creatures or plants which personified the particular virtues. Describing such practices among southern Indian tribes generally,

¹⁰ William Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogulges or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Choctaws* (Philadelphia: James and Johnson, 1791; London: reprinted for J. Johnson, 1792), p. 364.

¹¹ Haywood, *Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee*, p. 285.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 285-86.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 264; letter of Gideon Blackburn to Jedidiah Morse, *Panoplist*, 3: 567-68, May, 1808.

Adair noted that, for a warrior, the first rudiments consisted of a bedding of panther's skin, the panther being endowed to a greater degree than his fellow beasts with the qualities of smell, strength, cunning and agility.¹⁴

Since the female was expected to be shy and timorous, she must lie on the skin of a fawn or a buffalo calf.¹⁵ And when in 1826 the wife of Reverend Samuel A. Worcester, missionary, had given birth to her first baby—a "meal-sifter"—the Indian women who lived near the mission advised Mrs. Worcester to feed her infant daughter on cockle-bur brew so that things would stick in her mind.¹⁶ Cockle-bur and jimson weed were commonly regarded as effective remedies for a bad memory.¹⁷

Young men were advised by their elders against eating the part of any animal which appeared to correspond to the "sinew that shrank" of the ancient Jews. Much of a young man's agility was attributed to the strength of that part of the thigh. If the corresponding portion of an animal were eaten, one would become weak where strength was most needed, and consequently would become unfit for the hunt. As for the old men, there was no harm in their eating it, since they were "worth nothing at any rate."¹⁸

Harm to the child could come from many sources, the Cherokees knew. To guard against one of these sources, for example, certain clans had a taboo prohibiting any child from mentioning its own name until it had arrived at a marriageable age. Bad luck was believed certain to follow the violation of this rule,¹⁹ probably because the utterance of the name might enable an enemy or an evil spirit to make use of it in a manner injurious to its owner.

The use of sanctions played an important part in what might be called the remedial side of character education. One of the most effective types of sanctions in regulating behavior is ridicule. Among the Cherokees ridicule proved a powerful instrument of social control, at least until the influences of white civilization began to make themselves felt. Such a procedure was employed in punishing a person guilty of a petty crime "to which our [western] laws annex severe punishment, but their's only an ironical way of jesting."²⁰ The Cherokee punishment was to "commend the criminal before a large audience, for practising the virtue opposite to the crime, that

¹⁴ *History of the American Indians*, p. 421.

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁶ Althea Bass, *Cherokee Messenger* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), p. 68.

¹⁷ W. R. L. Smith, *The Story of the Cherokees* (Cleveland, Tennessee: The Church of God Publishing House, 1928), p. 25.

¹⁸ *Cherokee Phoenix*, July 15, 1829.

¹⁹ John D. Benedict, *Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma* (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1922), I, 44.

²⁰ Adair, *History of the American Indian*, p. 429.

he is known to be guilty of. If it is for theft, they praise his honest principles; and they commend a warrior for behaving valiantly against the enemy, when he acted cowardly; they introduce the minutest circumstances of the affair, with severe sarcasms which wound deeply."²¹ The "sweetened darts" of satire struck home "so good naturedly and skillfully, that they [the culprits] would sooner die by torture, than renew their shame by repeating the actions."²²

The more material type of education and training was achieved through example, repeated imitation and practice. Often the material and the moral phases of the training were closely interrelated. The teaching of the young in the arts of warfare and of getting food, furthermore, were saturated throughout by a note of encouragement from the tutors.

At a very early age, the Indian boys generally were given miniature bows and arrows as playthings. As they acquired strength, they were encouraged to shoot at birds, squirrels, and small game. Praise greeted the first evidence of success, and a ceremony usually marked the occasion.²³ As the boys grew older, they began to hunt larger game, and the first success again was celebrated. Elders in the tribe would now counsel the youth regarding the chase and his own future, and also regarding the reverence and obedience to be accorded the aged.²⁴

A description of the early training of a prominent Cherokee will aid in giving a clearer picture of indigenous Cherokee education: In order to continue to live the free hunter's life to which he was accustomed, the father of Major Ridge, weary of the hostile incursions of the whites, removed to the mountains along the Tennessee river, where game abounded. There Major Ridge was taught "to steal with noiseless tread upon the grazing animal—to deceive the timid doe by mimicking the cry of the fawn—or to entice the wary buck within the reach of his missile by decorating his own head with antlers. He was inured to patience, fatigue, self-denial, and exposure, and acquired the sagacity which enabled him to chase with success the wild cat, the bear, and the panther. He watched the haunts, and studied the habits of wild animals, and became expert in the arts which enable the Indian hunter at all seasons to procure food from the stream or the forest."²⁵

²¹ *Loc. cit.*

²² *Ibid.*, p. 430.

²³ Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Company, 1851-57), II, 50.

²⁴ George Henry Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America*. Translated by Christian I. LaTrobe (London, 1794), I, 63.

²⁵ McKenney and Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*, I, 369-70.

At the age of twelve, young Ridge was ready to leave "this primary and parental school"²⁶ and to advance to a higher grade of study. A rite was performed formally dedicating Ridge's future to the life of a warrior. The Great Spirit was invoked to indue him with courage and good fortune. The assistance of an old warrior was solicited for the ceremony which was to make young Ridge "dreadful." The martial exercises which were part of the youth's training had such an effect upon the impressionable Major Ridge that, when only fourteen years of age, he volunteered, against his parents' wishes, in an expedition against a fort of white Americans in Tennessee.²⁷

For the girls of an Indian tribe life was busier. As they grew up, they were gradually instructed in the manifold tasks which devolved upon the adult woman. First the girls served as assistants in the housekeeping work,²⁸ later learning the agricultural and other duties which were expected of them. And just as the boys learned the traditions of the tribe from the old men, so were the girls taught the tribal customs by the old Cherokee women.²⁹

It is evident that although the Cherokees had no formal system of indigenous education, they did have definite ideas as to how children ought to be reared. The most characteristic aspect of indigenous education, and one which was to constitute a serious problem to later educators, was the unwillingness of the parents or guardians to exercise authority over the children. Yet there were instruments of moral and practical education in Cherokee society. Education was the clan's responsibility, the child's teachers usually being the mother, the maternal uncles and the old men of the tribe. Legend, precept, example and imitation were the means of providing education for the youth, while sanctions played the role of a corrective educational agent.

GOVERNMENT EDUCATION POLICY Basic Government Policy

Government policy towards the education of the Indians has been, until lately, a fairly uniform one with respect to its object, namely, to discourage the perpetuation of the native culture and to encourage the substitution of the western.

From a government standpoint, such a policy was advisable as the cheapest and safest way of subduing the Indians, of providing a safe habitat for the country's white inhabitants, of helping the whites acquire desirable land, and of "civilizing" the Indians so that, by changing their basic economy, they would be content to live with less land. Education, therefore, was a vital complement of the government's land policy.

²⁶ *Loc. cit.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 370-71.

²⁸ Loskiel, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

²⁹ *Memoirs of Narcissa Owen, 1831-1907* (Washington? 1907?), p. 9.

To a certain extent the educational policy might be said to have been motivated by a spirit of benevolence. Yet if this were the sole or chief motive, then to explain the government's land policy in the same light would be difficult indeed. Other motives, as indicated, provided a very powerful spur to action, and sometimes, to inaction. Whatever the motives, however, the government very evidently was interested in the education of the Indians.

Missionaries saw their opportunity in the anticipated change from a basically hunting civilization—in those tribes where it was basic—to a basically agricultural one. It had been a difficult matter for the missionary to begin working on the heathen Indian, only to have the Indian nonchalantly leave for the hunt when the season rolled around. It left the missionary with a keen sense of disappointment at seeing all of his preliminary labors come to naught, and at realizing that he would have to start all over again next time, should he be in a position to return at a later date.³⁰

The Cherokee Indians were divided in their attitude towards education and western civilization, as has been seen. The sentiment in favor of education and other aspects of white civilization, was the prevailing one among the more articulate portions of the population.

The Government was disposed to rely on the missionaries to spread the benefits of education and civilization which, of course, included the propagation of the Gospel. Under the circumstances, the choice appears to have been a shrewd one. The Government encouraged missionary endeavors on the one hand, and on the other encouraged the Indians to welcome the missionaries.

The American colonial government inaugurated the policy which was later followed by the United States government. The Committees on Indian Affairs of the Continental Congress suggested on February 5, 1776 "that a friendly intercourse between the people of the United Colonies and the Indians, and the propagation of the Gospel, and the cultivation of the civil arts among the latter, may produce many and inestimable advantages to both; and that the Commissioners for Indian Affairs be desired to consider of proper places, in their respective Departments, for the residence of Ministers and Schoolmasters, and report the same to Congress."³¹

The Continental Congress had already taken steps the previous year towards the education of the Indian by appropriating five

³⁰ Isaac McCoy, prominent Baptist missionary, made a fervent plea for an agricultural life for the Indian very largely on these grounds (see his pamphlet, "Remarks on the Practicability of Indian Reform, Embracing Their Colonization" (Boston, Lincoln & Edmands, 1827; second edition, New York: Gray and Bunce, 1829). In *College Pamphlets*, 1395; 10-11, Rare Book Room, Yale Library.

³¹ *American Archives*, (Washington: M. St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force, 1843), IV, 1662.

hundred dollars for the education of Indian youth at Dartmouth College, New Hampshire.³² George Washington had expressed himself as desirous of having Indian youth educated, particularly in having them learn to read and write, and to master "the arts and the blessings of husbandry."³³ In this connection he declared himself willing to have the Seneca Indians send nine youths to be educated under his direction.

Early Treaty Provisions

It has been pointed out in official publications and elsewhere that the first treaty providing for any form of education for the Indians was that made with the Oneida, Tuscorora and Stockbridge Indians on December 2, 1794.³⁴ An added significance attributed to this treaty in educational history is that "it is not only an early imitation of the newly-constituted government's policy of establishing an educational trust fund as a part of every settlement with the Indians, but that it is also the first congressional appropriation for vocational education in the United States."³⁵

The treaty provided for the establishment by the United States of a complete grist mill and saw mill, and declared:³⁶ "The United States will provide, during three years after the mills shall be completed, for the expense of employing one or two suitable persons to manage the mills, to keep them in repair, to instruct some young men of the three nations in the arts of the miller and sawyer."

Yet the fact has been overlooked that, at an earlier date, the Cherokee Indians requested, and treaty and subsequent provisions intended to provide for, the instruction of the Cherokees in a number of vocational skills.

The treaty of Holston, concluded in 1791, took notice of this wish of the Cherokees. After the conclusion of the treaty of Hopewell in 1785 the treaty commissioners had urged that the Cherokees be compensated for the settling of a section of their lands by whites, and suggested that "a small sum could be raised on the unlocated lands, as well as from those already settled; and which, if appropriated to the purpose of teaching some useful branches of mechanics, would be of lasting advantage. Some of the women have lately learnt to spin, and many of them are very desirous that some method

³² *Ibid.*, II, 1879.

³³ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 166.

³⁴ *Report . . . Indian Affairs*, 1885, LXXVII-VIII; *ibid.*, 1899, 1, 2; Charles Penney Coates, *Indian Vocational Schools of the Pioneer Missionaries* (A Quadri-centennial Narrative), pamphlet (Glendale, California: The Franklin Press, 1937), pp. 10-11.

³⁵ Coates, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

³⁶ Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, II, 38.

should be fallen on to teach them to raise flax, cotton, and wool, as well as to spin and weave it."³⁷

Accordingly, the Holston treaty of 1791 promised that the United States would, from time to time, furnish farming tools gratuitously to the Cherokees and would also, "to establish a certain mode of communication," send not more than four persons to the nation who would become qualified to act as interpreters and to assist the nation "to a higher degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters."³⁸ While the specific word "instruct" was not employed, the treaty provisions had practically the same implications as those in the treaty with the three nations. Similar provisions to those in the Cherokee treaty were contained in the earlier treaty with the Creeks, concluded on August 7, 1790.³⁹

The delegation of Cherokees to Philadelphia in 1791-92 to seek an increase in the Holston treaty annuity, expressed the desire for having in time for the next season the agricultural implements promised in the treaty, and also, for having stationed among them a counsellor and protector.⁴⁰ They needed these, they said, because game was fast disappearing, and because, in lieu of game, corn must be planted and cattle raised. Toward this end, the delegation told the government, "We desire you to assist us."⁴¹

The wishes of the Cherokees were soon complied with, a temporary agent, Leonard Shaw, being sent to them in February with instructions to learn the language and to teach them agriculture and such other practical arts as the agent knew or could acquire.⁴² Thus it is seen that the treaty of Holston made possible the instruction of the Cherokees in vocational skills several years before the conclusion of the treaty with the Oneida, Tuscarora and Stockbridge Indians, while the Creeks at an even earlier date concluded a treaty which made it possible for them also, if they wished, to obtain vocational instruction.

Official Encouragement of Cherokee Education

While progress was slow at first, the government gave constant encouragement. President Washington, in a "Talk" to the Cherokee Nation dated August 29, 1796, and delivered by the Indian agent, Dinsmoor, urged the Cherokees as a whole to do what some of them had already done, to adopt an agricultural civilization. President Washington said:⁴³

³⁷ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 39.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 125; Kappler, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

³⁹ *American State Papers, op. cit.*, p. 82; Kappler, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁴⁰ *American State Papers, op. cit.*, pp. 205, 245.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 247.

⁴³ *Cherokee Phoenix*, March 20, 1828.

The agent had been directed to procure all the necessary apparatus for spinning and weaving, and to hire a woman to teach the use of them. He will also procure some plows and other implements of husbandry, with which to begin the improved cultivation of the ground which I recommend, and employ a fit person to show you how they are to be used. I have further directed him to procure some cattle and sheep for the most prudent and industrious men, who shall be willing to exert themselves in tilling the ground and raising those useful animals. He is often to talk with you on these subjects, and give you all necessary information to promote your success.

As an incentive, Washington promised medals to those who best followed his instruction. According to his message, the President regarded the adoption of an agricultural life as important not only for the Cherokees, but even more so for its experimental value as determining the lot of the other Indian nations.

If the experiment should succeed, the Government would be encouraged to give the same assistance to all of the other Indian tribes in the country. Should it fail, the Government might "think it vain to make any further attempts to better the condition of any Indian tribe,"⁴⁴ since the richness of the soil and the mildness of the climate rendered the Cherokee country most favorable for the undertaking that was to determine the future Indian policy of the United States. Evidently the Cherokee experiment was regarded as a success, for, as will be seen, the general Indian policy of the United States—in its direction, at least—was closely modelled upon that of the Cherokees. For their own part, the Cherokees later acknowledged themselves greatly indebted to Colonel Dinsmoor and other government agents for instruction in the arts of civilized life, especially spinning and weaving.⁴⁵

It was apparent to many Cherokees that an adjustment to changed conditions was necessary if they were to survive. The adjustment was a basic one, and for that reason the readiness with which so many of the Cherokees accepted it was in itself remarkable. From now on most of the men were to give up the hunt entirely, if they had not already done so. No longer was agriculture to be primarily a woman's occupation.

Although the information is reported as coming from a government official (Colonel David Henley), there is nevertheless little reason to disbelieve the applicability to a large section of the Cherokee population of the statement that "they could understand that the best way to increase and preserve their numbers would be to dwell in peace and to accustom themselves more and more to the manners of the white people."⁴⁶

⁴⁴ *Cherokee Phoenix*, loc. cit.

⁴⁵ *Missionary Herald*, 27: 82-83, March, 1831.

⁴⁶ "Report of the Journey of the Brethren Abraham Steiner and Frederick C. DeSchweinitz to the Cherokees and the Cumberland Settlements (1799)," in Williams, *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country*, p. 460.

At no time did there appear to be a long-range government policy predicated on the belief that the whites might be restrained, that the Cherokees might somehow be protected from the pressure of the white population on their borders. To be sure, treaty agreements provided for some protection of the Cherokees against intruders. But the government obviously foresaw the demands for continued cessions of Indian land as the frontier impinged more and more insistently upon Indian Territory. The encroachments of the whites upon their territory in the eighteenth century had already produced a scarcity of game. The government took it for granted, and described the Cherokees as coming to believe, that the only alternative was for them gradually "to order their manner of living to that of the whites, for if they should continue to live as heretofore, they would deteriorate and would be despised, as is now the case with the Catawbias, who formerly were, also, numerous but were now a very small and despised nation."⁴⁷

The Cherokees who were coming to accept this point of view were, according to the Brethren's account of their meeting with Colonel Henley, beginning to take the view that the government had good intentions toward them, and they were wont to express thanks on that account.⁴⁸

Colonel Henley informed Steiner and DeSchweinitz that the previous summer [1798?] three hundred plows and as many pairs of cotton carding combs had been sent to the Cherokees, and in order to encourage them to raise wheat a man had been sent to them to erect a mill at government expense. Also, the Cherokees had availed themselves of the facilities of the government factory or trading post established in their territory to sell the cotton they had raised.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ *Loc. cit.* The Catawbias, a tribe located in what is now southern North Carolina, was reduced to a population of 250 in 1784, and to 110 in 1826.

A similar point of view was expressed by Charles R. Hicks when, in 1818, he told Ard Hoyt, American Board missionary, that many of the people were anxious to receive instruction, especially as they had been convinced that their existence as a people depended upon an agricultural civilization. "The experience of the last 20 years, in which they have turned their attentions to agriculture and less to hunting, he [Hicks] says has convinced them that they can live much more comfortably by tilling their land and raising stock than they can in their old way. They find also that their new way of living tends to increase their population. While they lived in their old way, moving from place to place in search of game through the whole winter, thus exposing their women and children to many privations and hardships their numbers were constantly diminishing: but since they have provided homes for their women and children where they can be warm and have enough to eat the whole year, they are increasing like the white people. This remark respecting their increase was intended to apply simply to those families that have for several years pursued agriculture." (*Brainerd Mission Journal*, American Board Missionary Letters, Cherokees, V. July 15, 1818).

⁴⁸ "Report . . . of the Brethren . . .," Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 460.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 459-60.

The Government and its Indian agents lent considerable aid and advice to the Moravian missionaries who for some time had been attempting to establish a mission among the Cherokees. The agents voluntarily undertook to plead before the Cherokees the cause of the missionaries, at the same time giving the missionaries practical advice as to how to approach the Indians most effectively. After the Indians had given their consent to the establishment of the mission, a permit from the Secretary of War effected the final approval for the undertaking.⁵⁰

General Congressional Appropriations.

In 1802, Congress appropriated fifteen thousand dollars "to promote civilization among friendly Indian tribes."⁵¹ On February 21, 1822, reporting the annual disposition of the fund, John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, told the Senate that while no distinct account had been kept by the Treasury Department of its disposition, it was believed that the fund had been expended principally through the Cherokee, Creek, Chickasaw and Choctaw agents for such items as spinning wheels, looms, agricultural implements and domestic animals.⁵²

It was probably from the 1802 appropriation that, for the encouragement of agriculture, the United States furnished to the Cherokees from time to time ploughs, axes, corn hoes and grubbing hoes amounting in value each time to about five or six hundred dollars. Informing the Secretary of War in 1810 that the Cherokees were again calling upon him for equipment, Colonel Meigs, Indian agent, estimated that "in the course of the last four years they have had to the amount of, in these articles, about 1100 dollars."⁵³

Meigs added that it had been usual for the Federal Government to grant something to defray the cost of management of schools in the nation, and that the previous year two hundred and fifty dollars had been granted for the purpose. The money had been divided between two schools, the larger school receiving one hundred and fifty and "the other principal School" receiving one hundred dollars.⁵⁴ While Meigs is not more specific in this communication as to the beneficiaries, the Moravian Mission school at Springplace is known to have received in 1809 a grant of one hundred dollars,⁵⁵ in addition to eighteen school books and three Bibles presented by

⁵⁰ Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions among the Southern Indian Tribes of the United States*, pp. 59-60.

⁵¹ *American State Papers*, Indian Affairs, 11, 325.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 326.

⁵³ Letter of Col. R. J. Meigs to Wm. Eustis (copy), January 22, 1810, Office of Indian Affairs, Old Records Division, "Cherokee, 1810."

⁵⁴ Meigs to Eustis, January 22, 1810.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, May 10, 1811, Office of Indian Affairs, Old Records Division, "Cherokee, 1811."; Schwarze, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

Colonel Meigs.⁵⁶ The larger sum very probably went to the support of one, or perhaps both, of Gideon Blackburn's Presbyterian mission schools.⁵⁷

Meigs was authorized by the Secretary of War to expend four hundred and fifty dollars in the course of the year, in the support of schools and the purchase of agricultural tools, in such proportion for each as he might deem expedient, if, in his opinion, "the continuance of such gratuitous aid from the Government, is beneficial to the public interest."⁵⁸

Meigs replied with regard to the "gratuitous aid" that he thought a continuance of it for the time being was "for the public interest," but that he doubted whether the funds "ought not within a short time be discontinued, that they [the Cherokees] may learn to depend on themselves."⁵⁹ Evidently the experiment which had been undertaken during Washington's administration was proving to be so successful that their Indian agent thought the Cherokees would soon be able to stand on their own feet, while under an economy and a culture which but a short while ago had been alien to them. Indeed, it was still alien to all but an important minority, but the future held forth great promise.

The pioneer work for another important experiment was soon to be undertaken among the Cherokees. In granting approval to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1816 to establish a mission and school among the Cherokees (provided the consent of the natives were obtained), the United States government laid down conditions which were essentially the same as those which in 1819 were to be promulgated into a law governing the federal educational relations with all the Indian tribes under the jurisdiction of the United States. In turn, the general appropriation or "civilization fund" act of 1819, in its provisions for Indian vocational education and for general federal aid for Indian education, reveals itself as a probable precursor of the Morrell and Smith-Hughes features of federal grants to encourage vocational and agricultural education throughout the United States.

⁵⁶ Eustis to Meigs, February 16, 1810, Office of Indian Affairs, Old Records Division, "Cherokee, 1810"; Schwarze, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁷ Reference to other Cherokee educational activity about this time, apparently under private auspices, is contained in Meigs' "Itemized Account", undated, Office of Indian Affairs, Old Records Division, "Cherokee, 1810", referring to "Cash paid for Richard Fields to Esq. McEwen on acct. of a letter of credit to enable him to support the School—\$82.56." Whether Cherokees benefitted from a school conducted in a room at the Knoxville barracks is not indicated from the letter of Derry Ryan to Meigs, January 12, 1812 (*ibid.*, "Cherokee, Knoxville, 1812"), in which it is stated that Ryan's unnamed employers wished him to continue the school which he had conducted there for nearly two years.

⁵⁸ Eustis to Meigs, February 16, 1810.

⁵⁹ Meigs to Eustis, March 9, 1810, *ibid.*, "Cherokee, 1810."

At the order of President Madison, the Secretary of War informed Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury, the representative of the American Board, that the agent for Indian Affairs would be directed to build in the nation a comfortable school, and a house for the teacher and those who might board with him, and that the number of school buildings would be increased as conditions justified such procedure. Seeking to encourage the agricultural, mechanical and domestic arts, the Government promised to furnish two ploughs, six hoes, and six axes "for the purpose of introducing the art of cultivation among the pupils." When there would be enough girls enrolled at the school, and a female teacher capable of teaching them to spin, weave and sew, had been engaged, a loom, a half dozen spinning wheels, and as many pairs of cards would be furnished. It was stipulated that should the enterprise be abandoned, the buildings and equipment might be used by any other approved teachers. In return, the President sought simply an annual report of the school's progress and its future prospects.⁶⁰

It should be noted that the Government intended to use education not merely to "civilize" the Indians and to obtain land cessions thereby, but intended also to induce their removal altogether by offering educational advantages at the place to which they might remove. In view of the later role of the missionaries in obstructing government attempts to remove the Cherokees, it may come as somewhat of a surprise that the missionaries, although aware of the aforementioned purpose of the government, and of the part they were expected to play in furthering it, nevertheless appeared only too glad to take advantage of the opportunity.

A considerable number of the Cherokees had removed to the other side of the Mississippi as a result of various inducements. The earlier emigrants to the west had gone there to escape the white man's civilization and to live their accustomed type of life, which white encroachments on their hunting grounds had made difficult in the east. Those emigrants who had voluntarily followed them, often left for other reasons, and were not particularly averse to the introduction of western ideas. Some even desired them. Possibly the attitudes of many of the earlier settlers were also changing, as were those of their younger generation.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Letter of W. H. Crawford, Secretary of War, to Cyrus Kingsbury, May 14, 1816, in *Annual Report, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 1832, pp. 175-76 (also quoted in part in *ibid.*, 1816, pp. 10-11); Cyrus Kingsbury to Samuel Worcester, May 5, 1816, *American Board Missionary Letters, Cherokees*, VI, 3.

⁶¹ A council of several western and eastern tribes was called by the western Cherokees in 1823-24 for the purpose of forming an Indian confederacy, one of the objects being to exchange their precarious hunters' life for that of an agricultural civilization (Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers; the Story of the American Southwest before 1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), pp. 189-90, 193.

It was thought important by the Government to encourage the establishment of a school among the western Cherokees. While the school would thus serve to westernize even those who may have removed to escape "civilization," the primary purpose seems to have been to tempt additional numbers of eastern Cherokees to remove across the Mississippi. For this purpose, it was necessary to induce a mission society to establish a successful school among the western Cherokees. The Government was willing to go to considerable lengths to encourage the establishment of a school.

Colonel Meigs, the Cherokee Indian agent, therefore suggested to Cyrus Kingsbury in 1817 that the American Board, already conducting a successful school in the eastern Cherokee country, establish a similar one among the western Cherokees. Relaying this as confidential information, Reverend Kingsbury informed the Board that "The object in the Government would be to get as many of these people over there [west of the Mississippi], as possible."⁶²

According to Thomas L. McKenney, it was upon his initiative, while he was head of the Indian Bureau, that around 1817 and 1818 missionaries were urged to solicit Congress for funds to assist them in their activities among the Indians.⁶³ It was an auspicious time for the missionaries to stress their cause, since it was in this decade that a "great religious awakening"⁶⁴ took place in America, resulting in the formation of many mission, Bible and tract societies. The movement made itself felt in a revival of interest in Indian education and civilization. The work of the mission stations already in existence furnished convincing support of the demand for federal assistance.

As a result of the efforts at this time, the House Committee of the United States Congress reported on January 22, 1818:⁶⁵

We are induced to believe that nothing which it is in the power of Government to do would have a more direct tendency to produce this desirable object [civilization] than the establishment of schools at convenient and safe places amongst those tribes friendly to us. . . . In the present state of our country one of two things seems to be necessary. Either that those sons of the forest should be moralized or exterminated. Humanity would rejoice at the former, but shrink with horror from the latter. Put into the hands of their children the primer and the hoe, and they will

⁶² Letter of Cyrus Kingsbury to Samuel Worcester, June 30, 1817, American Board Missionary Letters, Cherokee, VI, 9-10.

⁶³ Thomas L. McKenney, *Memoirs, Official and Personal, with Sketches of Travels among the Northern and Southern Indians; Embracing a War Excursion, and Descriptions of Scenes along the Western Borders*. (2d ed.; New York: Paine and Burgess, 1846), I, 35.

⁶⁴ Alice C. Fletcher, *Indian Education and Civilization*, 48 Cong., 2 sess., Sen. Doc. 95, U. S. Bureau of Education, Special Report, 1888 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), p. 162.

⁶⁵ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, II, 151.

naturally, in time, take hold of the plow, and as their minds become enlightened and expand the Bible will be their book, and they will grow up in habits of morality and industry, leave the chase to those whose minds are less cultivated, and become useful members of society. The committee believe that increasing the number of trading-posts, and establishing schools on or near our frontiers for the education of Indian children, would be attended with beneficial effects both to the United States and the Indian tribes, and the best possible means of securing the friendship of those nations in amity with us, and, in time, to bring the hostile tribes to see that their true interest lies in peace and not in war; and therefore the committee report a bill.

The first general appropriation act for Indian education was passed the following year—on March 3, 1819—the annual sum appropriated becoming known as the “civilization fund.” This act provided as follows:⁶⁶

For the purpose of providing against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes adjoining the frontier settlements of the United States, and for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilization, the President of the United States shall be, and he is hereby, authorized, in every case where he shall judge improvement in the habits and condition of such Indians practicable, and that the means of instruction can be introduced with their consent, to employ capable persons of good moral character to instruct them in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and performing such other duties as may be enjoined, according to such instructions and rules as the President may give and prescribe for the regulation of their conduct in the discharge of their duties.

An annual sum of ten thousand dollars was appropriated.⁶⁷ In President Monroe’s opinion the proper agencies through whom, or in cooperation with which, the fund was to be administered were “benevolent associations, or individuals, who may choose to devote their time or means, to effect the object contemplated by the Act of Congress”:⁶⁸ in other words, missionary societies.

The rules drawn up in connection with the distribution of the fund specified that it was indispensable for those seeking allotments to provide instruction not only in reading, writing and arithmetic, but also, in the case of boys, in practical agriculture and mechanic arts, and in the case of girls, in spinning, weaving and sewing. The Government promised to assist in the erection of necessary buildings as well as in contributing to the current expenses of the approved institutions.⁶⁹ Additional regulations issued by the Department of War on February 29, 1820, provided for government contributions to each institution proportionate to the number of pupils at each, consideration also being taken of the expense of the establishment and the degree of success attained; contributions of two-thirds of

⁶⁶ *U. S. Statutes at Large*, III, 516-17.

⁶⁷ *Loc. cit.*

⁶⁸ Circular of War Department, September 3, 1819, in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, p. 201.

⁶⁹ *American State Papers, loc. cit.*

the cost of erecting necessary buildings; and requirement of an annual report.⁷⁰

The act, it is to be observed, was intended not for all Indians, but for the Indian tribes closest to, and therefore most likely to resent and to suffer from the intrusion of the whites. The point was reiterated in the circular of September 3, 1819, that it was "indispensable that the establishment should be fixed within the limits of those Indian nations who border our settlements."⁷¹

Although no part of the appropriation had yet been applied by the beginning of 1820, the Government was well disposed toward the mission schools of the Cherokees, Secretary of War Calhoun referring to two flourishing mission schools⁷² in their midst and describing the Cherokees as a people who exhibited a more favorable appearance in this respect than any other tribe of Indians.⁷³

The attitude taken by Calhoun with respect to the indigenous culture of the Indians ought to be noted here. Calhoun felt that, in view of their propinquity to white civilization, the Indians near the border settlements should be brought gradually under the authority and laws of the United States, or else they would "insensibly waste away in vice and misery."⁷⁴ It would be impossible with their customs, he contended, for the Indians to exist as independent communities in the midst of civilized society, and, therefore, they ought not to be considered as an independent group of people. Instead, said Calhoun, "they should be taken under our guardianship; *and our opinion, and not theirs*, ought to prevail in measures intended for their civilization and happiness. A system less vigorous may protract, but cannot arrest their fate."⁷⁵

Missionaries and others engaged in educating the Indians were expected to impress upon the Indians the attitude that the Government held "friendly and benevolent views" towards them, and that it was to the advantage of the Indians to yield to the wishes of the government in its policies for their civilization and happiness.⁷⁶ The missionaries and teachers were reminded that a contrary course of conduct on their part could not fail to incur the displeasure of the government, since the Government's object could not be effected, nor peace be preserved, "if the distrust of the Indians as to its [the Government's] benevolent views should be excited."⁷⁷ Except

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁷² These were Brainerd (misspelled "Brainard" in the *American State Papers*), maintained by the American Board, and Springplace, maintained by the Moravians.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁷⁵ *American State Papers*, loc. cit.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁷⁷ *Loc. cit.*

on the issue of Indian removal, the missionaries in the Cherokee country were not disposed to challenge the Government's opinion as to what was best for the Indians.

President Monroe's surprise visit to the Cherokee mission schools in 1819 served to cement even more firmly the friendship between the government and the missions, and perhaps contributed also to improved relations between the Cherokees and the Federal Government. Monroe expressed particular admiration for the Brainerd plan of vocational instruction and of boarding the children with the missionaries as though they were all members of one large family.⁷⁸ The President regarded the plan as "the best, and perhaps the only way to civilize and Christianize the Indians,"⁷⁹ although previous to his visit, we are told, he did not believe in the practicability of Indian "reform," holding all efforts to civilize and Christianize them as almost useless.⁸⁰

How prominent a place the Cherokee educational experiment held in the eyes of the Federal Government may be gleaned from the fact that in 1823, out of a total sum of \$11,838 distributed among twenty one Indian schools in the United States, five mission schools among the Cherokees had received \$2,850 or nearly one-fourth. One of these schools, however, was located among the western Cherokees in Arkansas (Dwight Mission, founded in 1821, later moved to Oklahoma). In addition to the Cherokee mission allowance, a number of Cherokees were benefited by the allowance to the Foreign Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut of \$1,438 (which sum is included in the total appropriation mentioned for Indian education from the civilization fund).⁸¹ Whatever expenses were incurred by the mission societies over and above the amount allowed by the government, were paid by the societies. So great was the desire for education by Indians throughout the country that the sum appropriated was soon proving inadequate, and demands were made in the 1826 report of the Indian Bureau for an increased appropriation to accommodate all who could qualify under the act.⁸²

CHEROKEE TREATY EDUCATION FUNDS

Besides the allowance of funds for Cherokee education from the general appropriation for Indian education, the United States

⁷⁸ Brainerd Mission Journal, May 27, 1819, American Board Missionary Letters, Cherokees, vol. V; letter of Ard Hoyt to Jerh. Evarts, May 28, 1819, *ibid.*, VI. 40; Sarah Tuttle, *Letters and Conversations on the Cherokee Mission* (Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Union, 1830), I, 58-61.

⁷⁹ Brainerd Mission Journal, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁰ Tuttle, *op. cit.*, I, 58.

⁸¹ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, II, 587. The expenditure beyond ten thousand dollars was due to the accumulation in the civilization fund of previously unexpended sums. (See, also, Grant Foreman, "Dwight Mission," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XII (March, 1934), pp. 42-51.)

⁸² Fletcher, *Indian Education and Civilization*, p. 165.

had designated a specific fund for Cherokee education. In 1819 the Government agreed to lay aside a portion of the Cherokee lands, the money from the sale of which was to go into a permanent tribal school fund for the eastern Cherokees. The money was not a grant. It belonged to the Cherokees, being the revenue from the sale of their own lands reserved for a school fund. Fifteen square miles was set aside for the school fund, the money derived being invested by the United States in federal and state bonds, and the interest forwarded annually to the Cherokees, to be applied, under the direction of the President of the United States, in a manner which in his opinion was best calculated to diffuse the benefits of education.⁸³

By the treaty of 1835, the school fund was increased by the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, making a total school fund of about two hundred thousand dollars. The President could require a report whenever he so desired, and could correct any abuses in the application of the fund. The Cherokees reserved the right, after two years' notice, to withdraw their funds by and with the consent of the President and the Senate, and to invest them as they deemed best. In addition, fifty thousand dollars was to be expended in the support and education of needy orphans.⁸⁴

A new basis for apportioning school funds was undertaken with the conclusion of the treaty of 1866, which provided that a minimum percentage of all Cherokee funds be for educational purposes. Thirty five per cent of the proceeds of all Cherokee funds, or of funds that might thereafter accrue from the sale of their lands, were to be applied to the support of the common schools of the nation and for other educational uses. The apportionment of fifteen per cent of the total fund income for an orphan fund meant that an additional portion would be used for education, since the orphan fund was to be used in the education and maintenance of the orphans. The rest of the fund income was to be employed for the general governmental purposes of the Cherokees.⁸⁵ How ironical that a people so recently considered as uncivilized and therefore to be removed from the limits of the United States proper, should be appropriating for education so large a share of its total governmental revenue!

The sources of the school fund provided by treaty were supplemented by an act of Congress on August 7, 1882, which provided that the proceeds from the lease of salines in the Cherokee territory were to constitute an addition to the nation's education fund.⁸⁶

⁸³ Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, II, 177-78, 179.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 443-44. The school fund should not be confused with the general fund of the tribe similarly invested by the United States, and the interest upon which was applied annually by the Cherokees for the ordinary expenses of government.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 949.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 214-15.

In addition to the permanent school fund provisions, Cherokee treaties with the United States usually contained other provisions pertaining to education. By the 1828 treaty for the removal of the Western Cherokees from their home in Arkansas to lands beyond the Arkansas Territory, the United States agreed to pay to the western Cherokees two thousand dollars annually for ten years, the money to be spent for education "in letters and the mechanic arts" under the direction of the President of the United States.⁸⁷ The same treaty provided for payment to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, for the construction of school buildings and improvements in the new Cherokee country to compensate for the loss of their establishment at the abandoned Dwight Mission in Arkansas.⁸⁸ It bestowed, too, a grant of five hundred dollars to George Guess, Sequoyah, for his invention of the Cherokee alphabet.⁸⁹ To assist the eager Cherokees in employing the alphabet for their education and enlightenment, the United States promised to pay one thousand dollars to the Western Cherokees toward the purchase of a printing press and sets of Cherokee and English type.⁹⁰

While the 1835 treaty of removal committed the United States to protect the Cherokees from unwelcome invasion, it specified that the provision was not intended to prevent the residence among the Cherokees of useful farmers, mechanics and teachers.⁹¹

After the Civil War, the missionaries prepared to resume the educational work which had been interrupted by the conflict. The treaty of 1866, which renewed the possibility of peaceful and constructive activity among the Cherokees, also enabled the missionaries to return. The United States agreed to reimburse to a certain extent the mission societies which had lost property as a consequence of the actions of Union agents or troops.⁹² Mission organizations were granted the right to use and occupy a quantity of land not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres, for missionary and educational purposes.⁹³ The Civil War having contributed its heavy toll to the total number of orphans in the nation, the 1866 treaty provided that bounties and arrears for service due deceased Cherokee volunteers in the Union army, if still unclaimed by heirs after two years, would be applied to the foundation and support of an asylum for the education of Cherokee orphans. The asylum was to be under the control of the Cherokee National Council, or of such mis-

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 289-90.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

⁸⁹ *Loc. cit.* Sequoyah was at this time a member of the western Cherokee Nation.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 442.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 950.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 946.

sion society as the Council might designate, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.⁹⁴

An unusual provision of the 1866 treaty was the payment to Reverend Evan Jones, a Baptist missionary, of three thousand dollars from Cherokee funds "as a slight testimony for the useful and arduous services" he had rendered, his religious and educational work among the Cherokees having begun in the early 1820's.⁹⁵

REMOVAL AND GOVERNMENT EDUCATION POLICY

Attempts to settle the Indians west of the Mississippi gained fresh momentum in the third decade of the last century. Such attempts usually incorporated suggestions that education be provided for the Indians in the new homeland. But it was not until the advent of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency that removal efforts were to bear important fruit.

An outspoken advocate of Indian removal, President Jackson urged that in setting apart for the Indians an area west of the Mississippi, the Federal Government should encourage the educational activities of missionaries among them. In his first annual message, December 8, 1829, Jackson told Congress that west of the Mississippi "the benevolent may endeavor to teach them [Indians] the arts of civilization, and, by promoting union and harmony among them, to raise up an interesting commonwealth, destined to perpetuate the race and to attest the humanity and justice of this government."⁹⁶

Expressing confidence in the eventual removal of all Indians to the west under his administration's Indian policy, Jackson in his third annual message, December 6, 1831, again touched upon the matter of education. The removal of the Indians beyond the limits and jurisdiction of the states to which they were unwilling to become subject, did not place the Indians "beyond the reach of philanthropic aid and Christian instruction,"⁹⁷ Jackson stated. On the contrary, he made these assurances:⁹⁸

Those whom philanthropy or religion may induce to live among them in their new abode will be more free in the exercise of their benevolent functions than if they had remained within the limits of the States, embarrassed by their internal regulations. Now subject to no control but the superintending agency of the General Government, exercised with the sole view of preserving peace, they may proceed unmolested in the interesting experiment of gradually advancing a community of American Indians from barbarism to the habits and enjoyments of civilized life.

Upon their removal to the west, the Indians eventually began or continued to receive missionary instruction along educational as

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 949.

⁹⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁹⁶ James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896-99), II, 458.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 555.

⁹⁸ *Loc. cit.*

well as religious lines, a phase of their education, by the way, which has continued among the Cherokees and other Indian tribes to the present day.

MANUAL LABOR SCHOOL PROPOSALS

Missionary schools had been in existence among the Western Cherokees for nearly a score of years before the main portion of the Cherokee Nation emigrated to the west. The work of Dwight Mission School, the pioneer educational institution among the Western Cherokees, drew the particular admiration of federal officials—especially with respect to its system of vocational education. Although the United States had no direct control of Cherokee educational funds, the western Indian agent in 1838 suggested that the Cherokees expend their school fund by establishing schools on the same manual labor plan as at Dwight. “There is no way that I could safely recommend its application,” he said, “as upon the manual labor system.”⁹⁹

Pursuing the idea of a manual labor school in the Indian country supported chiefly by the Indians themselves, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs projected a plan for a school to supplant the Choctaw Academy, in Kentucky, at which boys from a number of tribes, including the Cherokee, were being supported from tribal funds. Expecting the Choctaw Academy to cease functioning as an Indian school within twenty months, the Commissioner suggested the abandoned military post at Fort Coffee as a site for the school. The Government was prepared to contribute two thousand dollars annually to the school from the civilization fund. At the proposed school, manual labor and farming were to be taught “as indispensable branches of instruction to any good end,” and workshops were to be established and mechanic arts taught eventually. Instead of being a school for boys only, as was the Choctaw Academy, the new school was to train both boys and girls. Of this proposed innovation the Commissioner said:¹⁰⁰

The girls, who ought never to number less than one-half the pupils, should learn to sew, spin, and weave; and, as we progress, it would be an excellent feature in the plan to lay in the materials for clothing the whole school, which the girls, under proper tutition and direction, should make up.

The school was to be for those only who had already received instruction in the elementary branches of education, and was intended to receive students from tribes in the Indian country west of the Mississippi. Although situated in the Choctaw Nation, the school would be near the boundary line, and convenient for Cherokees, Creeks, Senecas, Shawnees, Seminoles, and perhaps even the Chick-

⁹⁹ *Report . . . Indian Affairs*, 1838, p. 513.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 1840, p. 244.

asaws and Osages.¹⁰¹ While other tribes failed, at the time, to react favorably to the Commissioner's suggestion, the Choctaws undertook to establish their own manual labor school, following very closely the recommendation of the Indian Office.¹⁰²

CONCLUSION

Except for the disbursement of funds to private or mission schools from the civilization fund,¹⁰³ the United States Government exercised practically no control over Cherokee education until after the passage of the Curtis Act in 1898, although local conditions at times endangered the independence of the Cherokees. Regarded as more advanced than other Indian tribes, the Five Civilized Tribes were considered as "Tribes for which the Government need make no educational provisions."¹⁰⁴ Less than a decade later, when the work of dissolving the governments of the Five Civilized Tribes was begun, the transition from tribal to federal control of Cherokee education was an important phase of the process. Until transition, the Government's important educational relations with the Cherokees consisted of encouraging mission education, both morally and financially, and of providing the funds for a national system of self-directed public education. The relations were predicated upon the government policy of weaning the Cherokees from their indigenous mode of living and of bringing about, as quickly as possible, the Christianization and civilization of the Cherokees.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 1843, p. 368. For references to Fort Coffee Academy, Choctaw Nation, see Joseph P. Folsom, compiler, *Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation* (New York: Wm. P. Lyon & Son, Printers and Publishers, 1869), pp. 78-81; J. Y. Bryce, ed., "About Some of Our First Schools in Choctaw Nation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VI (September, 1928), pp. 354-94.

¹⁰³ So much of the civilization act as pertained to the annual appropriation was repealed by an Act of Congress in 1873 (17 Stat., p. 461; *Report . . . Indian Affairs*, 1885, p. LXXIX).

¹⁰⁴ *Report . . . Indian Affairs*, 1889, pp. 394-95. Other tribes for whom no governmental educational provisions were deemed necessary were the Indians in Indiana, Maine and New York, and the Chippewas and Munsees in Kansas.

¹⁰⁵ This article is an adaptation of "Digest of the Education of the Cherokee Indians" by Abraham Eleazar Knepler, Chapters II and IV of his dissertation for the Ph. D. Degree from Yale University, in 1939. M. H. W., ed.

THE HOME FOR THE INSANE, DEAF, DUMB AND BLIND OF THE CHEROKEE NATION

By Carl T. Steen, M. D.

No state in the Union has a more colorful history than Oklahoma, although much of that history could be encompassed in two lifetimes. Eastern Oklahoma has had an especially large part in a story which is intriguing, enlightening, tragic; built upon the hopes of a people brave and resolute, and determined against terrible odds to make their country a desirable place in which to live.

At the time our chronicle opens, the two groups of Cherokees had already come to the lands assigned them in the Indian Territory and had merged, in 1839, as the Cherokee Nation. The group known as the "Western Cherokee" had migrated west first, at an early date; the other group known as the "Eastern Cherokee" had remained in Georgia, opposed to the inequalities of the treaties with the United States, until enforced removal. The government of the Cherokee Nation, West, was democratic in type, with two houses of the legislature, called the National Council, and an executive, or principal chief, with courts, departments and lesser divisions of the typical state.

Early settlers, aside from the tribesmen or citizens of the Cherokee Nation, included missionaries, educators and tradesmen. Many of Indian descent were also found in these same walks of life, having been educated in the Eastern States though their interests had remained with their countrymen in their own Nation. As a result, many Cherokees of this class were highly favored in the matter of social attainments and had great influence upon the life and manners of their people. While politics, as in any democracy, was played with considerable earnestness and vigor, still altruism seemed to be a dominant feature in the Cherokee Nation, as evidenced by the establishment of churches, schools, orphan asylums, and lastly, an insane asylum.¹ No matter how religious, how well educated, a community may be there are still those who are orphans, and those who are dependent for other reasons, illness, indigency, insanity. All of these must be cared for. The safety of the state, the comfort of the individual, demand no less.

THE FIRST INSANE ASYLUM

Around Tahlequah, which is still an educational center in Eastern Oklahoma, the Cherokees built their early schools of higher learning and within a radius of several miles were other units of the social scheme. The Male and Female seminaries were a few

¹ Letter of W. A. Duncan to the Editor of *The Cherokee Advocate*. See *Appendix*.

miles out of Tahlequah and the National Jail and the printing office of *The Cherokee Advocate*, the national newspaper, were located in the town. The jail appears in our story later, while *The Advocate* was one of the principal means of news dissemination and of social integration. Under provisions of an act of the Cherokee National Council, in 1866, orphans were cared for in the two seminary buildings until a permanent site was selected for the Cherokee Orphan Asylum.²

About six miles south of Tahlequah, a site was selected for the Home for the Insane, Dumb, and Blind of the Cherokee Nation, the only organized Indian nation that seems to have found it expedient to establish a home or refuge for its insane or mentally defective. On October 31, 1873, an act was passed authorizing the establishment of a home for these people, including, also, the indigent, the blind, and the deaf. A committee, consisting of D. W. Bushyhead, National Treasurer, S. S. Stephens, Superintendent of Public Instruction, together with the Board of Trustees of the Orphan Asylum, met in December, 1873, to select the permanent sites for the two institutions which were to be established as soon as possible. The following news item appeared in *The Cherokee Advocate* for December 20, 1873:³

The Board for permanently locating the Orphan Asylum as also the "Home" for the Insane, Blind, etc., created by an Act of the last Council, have, we believe, performed this duty, by locating the Orphan Asylum at the Old Lewis Ross place, generally known as the Grand Saline [present town of Salina, in Mayes County], about forty miles from Tahlequah on the Grand River, for which place or improvement they pay \$28,000, and also by locating the "Home" on the improvement of Lewis Ross, Jr., about six miles from Tahlequah, for which they pay \$1,200. Thus, the much vexed matter is settled beyond appeal.

The Indian Appropriation Act passed by Congress and approved on February 14, 1873, provided the necessary funds for the establishment of the two institutions.⁴ On the order of the Cherokee National Council, proceeds from the sale of Cherokee lands to the Osages amounting to \$100,000, were to be set apart; \$80,000 to be invested as a part of the Cherokee orphan fund and \$20,000 to be expended for the buildings and other improvements necessary in establishing the Orphan Asylum. Likewise, proceeds from the sale of the Cherokee Strip lands in Kansas under the Treaty of 1866, amounting to \$100,000, were to be set apart for an asylum for the insane, deaf and dumb, blind and indigent persons of the Cherokee Nation; \$75,000 of the amount to be invested as a separate fund

² Act of the Cherokee National Council, signed by Wm. P. Ross, Principal Chief, November 1, 1866, Indian Archives, No. 128, p. 125, Oklahoma Historical Society.

³ *The Cherokee Advocate*, December 20, 1873, p. 3, col. 2. The "Old Lewis Ross Place" at the Grand Saline included a large, handsome brick residence.

⁴ Indian Appropriation Act approved February 14, 1873, Section 4, *Revised Statutes—Indian Affairs* (2nd ed., compiled by the Indian Bureau; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879), p. 79.

The remaining \$25,000 was to be used in its establishment, \$20,000 for land and improvements and \$5,000 for furnishings. The last mentioned sum was appropriated for the purpose intended, by the National Council and approved December 5, 1875, by Charles Thompson, Principal Chief.⁵

The affairs for this "Home" or Asylum were to be in charge of a board of trustees composed of the principal chief, the assistant principal chief, the national treasurer, and three trustees appointed by the principal chief, by and with the consent of the Cherokee Senate, and whose terms of office should expire with that of the principal chief appointing them. The board would appoint the steward, under bond, whose term of office was to be the same as and its interest semi-annually applied to support the institution. that of the board appointing him. He was to have general supervision over everything, and administer to the sick such treatments as were prescribed by the medical superintendent. He was to keep all accounts and records and make reports to the board of trustees not later than October of each year.

Every applicant for admission to the asylum, should by himself, guardian or friend, present to the steward an application in writing showing cause of admission, and that he was destitute of means of support, and had no relatives able, or willing to be burdened with his support, and the same was to be certified to under oath by two respectable citizens, who were to report the same to the board of trustees for final action, and they might call upon the medical superintendent for his opinion and examination of the patient. However, any insane person might be admitted upon proof of his insanity. If the friends of any lunatic refused to do so, any citizen might suggest to the proper authorities that the person be confined in the asylum.

The building was probably begun in 1874, for in that year the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs stated that "the Cherokee Asylum is also being built, which will supply a home for the blind, deaf, dumb, insane and indigent of the Nation." The repeal of all laws granting pensions to any person whatsoever, after January 1, 1875, was effected by the National Council in 1875. Previously needy persons had been granted pensions, but the asylum was now to take care of this type of citizen.

FIRST MEETING OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

The Board of Trustees for the Insane, Indigent, Blind, Deaf and Dumb met in Tahlequah February 9, 1876. Those present were: Principal Chief, Charles Thompson; Assistant Principal Chief, D. Rowe; Trustees, S. Foreman and L. Keys, and Wilson Sanders, who

⁵ *Cherokee Papers* 1874-1889, pp. 122-23, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

had taken the place of Jas. Sanders, first appointed but who died before the meeting had convened. Foreman was chosen secretary and W. J. Miller acted as secretary pro tem.

By October of 1876, progress on the building was far enough along to warrant placing some one in charge. "Wilson Sanders was placed in the asylum as a suitable person," and it was agreed to pay him for his services at the rate of ten dollars per month. The next day, October 5, L. Keys moved that the unfinished work upon the asylum building reported by the inspecting committee be now acted upon and that the building be considered finished and that it be accepted, and the amount retained be paid to the parties concerned.

At the meeting of December 5, 1876, John A. Foreman was elected steward at a salary of four hundred dollars per year, with his bond fixed at five thousand dollars. Dennis W. Bushyhead moved to set aside ten thousand dollars with which to start the asylum in 1877. Paragraph 10 of the by-laws of this meeting read: "It shall be the duty of the steward to secure the services of some member of the Gospel to hold religious services, or preach in the asylum every Sabbath, or as often as practicable." In January, 1877, a contingent fund of \$3,000 was set apart for the purchase of furniture, groceries, wagon and team, and to build a smoke house. This particular wagon and team figured in nearly every report until 1893, when it disappeared and was replaced the same year by another.

OPENING OF THE ASYLUM

Finally, on February 13, 1877, the steward was authorized to notify *The Cherokee Advocate* that the Asylum would be opened March 1, the following notice appearing in this weekly paper, February 28:

Opening of the Cherokee Asylum for the Insane, Deaf,
Dumb and Blind.

The Asylum for the Insane, Deaf, Dumb and Blind will formally open its doors for the admission of these unfortunates, for whose benefit it was erected, on tomorrow, March first. The appointment of Dr. E. Poe Harris as physician to the institution gives general satisfaction, and since it has become known that the inmates are to be under his supervision medically many who are not so perfectly disabled as to be entitled pensioners, but who are suffering from serious and chronic affections, are desirous of being admitted for the purpose of submitting themselves to his treatment. The doctor's reputation as a physician is a sufficient guarantee that those placed under his charge will receive the best medical attention, and if relief is possible, they may expect it.

The Advocate seems to have been somewhat overly optimistic in regard to Dr. Harris, as he was replaced by Dr. W. T. Adair in December of this year. However, a petition was presented to the board of trustees asking for the restoration of Dr. Harris, but no action was taken.

THE STEWARD'S FIRST REPORT

Steward John A. Foreman made his report October 1, 1877, as follows:⁶

To the Hon. Board of Trustees
for Deaf Dumb &c Asylum
Gentlemen.

I have the honor to herewith submit my first written report of doings at the Asylum. . . There has been received as inmates of the Asylum since its opening on March 1st 1877 the following No towitt during Mar. 4 Apr. 3. May 2. June 1. July 2, Aug. 3. Sep 7 Total 22. Males 14. Females 8.

Their complaints as follows. Genl. Debility 1. Rheumatism 2. Blind 11. Cripples 4. Insane or Idiots 3. Consumption 1.

Four of the blind have left the Asylum the 2 first viz J. Davis and Polly Brogan. have been reported and acted on. of the last Richd Fool left for treatment elsewhere by another Doctor. Nellie Peacheater went home on leave of absence, to Return in one week, but as she slipped her clothes out, she has not disappointed us, by putting in an appearance since.

I would hereby have to suggest, that a change be made in the manner of receiving inmates into the asylum, and that such lines be drawn, as will prevent the Asylum being made a hospital, or other than a home for our Homeless Unfortunates. For it is easy to see that many who have come here are well supplied with both friends and relatives. More than that it is of the greatest importance that a law should be made compelling those who wish to live here to enter into an agreement, to remain and be subject to the rules and By laws of the Asylum, and not allowed to leave unless by permission, or by recommendation of the Physician, discharged as being capable of making a support.

Levi Keys followed as steward on October 5th, following the resignation of Foreman on the previous day. Dr. W. T. Adair put in a claim for six months' salary on April 2, beginning December 4, and ending June 4, 1878. The expenses for the year of 1878 amounted to \$5,415.23. The third year of the institution's existence was marred by an act of nature. A storm passed over the Asylum on November 8, 1879, while the inmates were at dinner in the basement, harming no one but so damaging the building that it was necessary to remove the occupants to the National Jail at Tahlequah, although the committee investigating the situation had recommended that they be taken to the Old Doctor Ross place near the Orphan Asylum.⁷

IN THE NATIONAL JAIL

Dr. Adair, in his report of October, 1880, said in part: "In consequence of this asylum building having been undergoing repairs for some months past, . . . we have been compelled to ask accommodations at the National Jail Building in Tahlequah. . ." It was found necessary to discontinue receiving patients and a notice to that effect stated: "Friends and relatives of the inmates on hand will be permitted and are invited to receive them at their homes for the time being while necessary repairs are being completed."

⁶ Cherokee Archives, Frank Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*

Another change in the steward's position was made November 24th, 1879, when B. W. (Blue) Alberty and his wife were made steward and stewardess. *The Cherokee Advocate* of the day commented: "The Insane Asylum under the present management will soon be self supporting. Mr. Alberty has the will and the ability to do a good work where he is, and then he is aided by one of the best consorts in the world. Such is the general expression and we can't help but mention it. Praise to those who deserve it never amounts to flattery." Apparently *The Advocate* had unbounded optimism, not unlike many and probably all administrators of government who continually chase that will o' the wisp, the self supporting State institution. In this case some justification may be felt, because in his report to the trustees, S. Foreman, secretary, reported that under the present board an annual saving of over twelve hundred dollars was shown. The committee report for 1880 showed that the amounts received by Alberty, the steward, totaled three thousand dollars and found that to some extent the labor of the patients and employees made the institution self supporting.⁸

COMPILED LAWS OF 1881

The laws of the Cherokee Nation were first compiled and published in 1821, in Georgia. Several volumes represent the compiled laws during the existence of the Cherokee government in the Indian Territory. It was necessary in making up these compilations to employ both a translator and a compiler since the laws were printed in both Cherokee and English. In addition, the annual session laws of the National Council were often published in pamphlet form. Chapter XI of the *Compiled Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, published in 1881, under the title "An Act in relation to the Asylum for the Blind, Insane and Others," is divided into five articles which relate to the organization, duties of the trustees, duties of the steward, admission of persons and miscellaneous provisions.⁹

In this year, also, we find that among the items listed for which appropriations were requested were loans made by the steward to the Asylum, and also bank loans to offset the deficiency caused by the light appropriation of \$1,500 for the year. Evidently the appropriations committee had taken the word of the board of trustees too seriously, in the matter of the Asylum's being self supporting. As the steward's salary was only sixty-two dollars and a half per quarter, it would seem that his good nature was being thoroughly tested.

William H. Hendricks was made steward on January 1, 1882, and retained the position until November 15, 1883. It was in February of the latter year that he needed some fence rails, but no one cared to split them as they had to wait until the National Council met to get their pay. He suggested to Principal Chief Bushy-

⁸ Cherokee Archives, Frank Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma.

⁹ Treasure Room, University of Oklahoma.

head that he be permitted to sell three head of inferior grade steers for forty dollars in order to raise the money immediately. The Chief quite properly told him to consult the board of trustees. Thus early a tendency to "have George do it" is manifest. Quite a turnover in personnel was experienced this year. Among the articles needed for the first quarter were flour, pepper, coal oil, soda crackers, soap and "ridding combs."¹⁰

The number of patients, on the average, was twenty-two. The following is an excerpt from a report:

Some patients take pride in doing some work about the place. Others are entirely helpless and require constant attention, as is the case of a man now in the institution whose mental and phisical (sic) condition is such as to render him entirely helpless, and to such an extent that he does not realize, or obey the calls of Nature, and consequently it has become necessary to employ a man to wait on him constantly. It is a peculiar case and repugnant in the extreme, so that it has been very difficult to employ any person to take care of him for any length of time. Such cases as this cause considerable expense, and should be provided for by an ample contingent fund.

It was believed that as the medical superintendent in the Nation furnished his own supplies his salary should be increased from \$250 to \$500 per year. There had been twelve deaths since the establishment of the asylum. One of these was "articulo mortis" when she entered, and lived but a few days. From the following comments, it is seen that the modern idea of a hospital for the insane was not the idea in the minds of the Cherokee people in early days:

The Asylum is not intended as an infirmary for those who are poor and unable to pay a physician. Many are admitted under the head of decrepitude (sic) purely with a desire to obtain medical treatment. On these cases the law should be very expelicit (sic). A young person cannot be decrepit. Inmates should be regular in habits, have regular exercise, and should not be allowed to straggle over the country ad libitum. They should be so managed as to forbid a free and unrestrained intercourse between the sexes.

The first year of Robert Wofford's service as steward, he had, by practicing true and close economy, kept within the appropriation, a truly economic and business feat. The appropriation for the year was \$3,332.94. During the year it had been found necessary to construct two substantial wooden cages and place them inside the north-east cell room, for the safe keeping of the more unruly and unmanageable inmates, at such times as it became necessary to restrain them from harm. Also of some importance, there had previously been no protection to the plastering, or walls or window panes. At the board meeting of January 4, 1884, the steward was "instructed and required not to permit any minister of the Mormon faith to preach at the asylum, but to solicit ministers of other denominations

¹⁰ Frank Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma.

to preach'' as often as they could to the inmates of the asylum. The secretary was authorized to have published in *The Cherokee Advocate* the following preamble and resolutions:

The steward of the Blind Asylum has complained to the board of trustees that the relatives and friends of the inmates and other citizens, look upon the asylum as a public house, where they may come, eat, sleep and lounge at pleasure, visit the different rooms occupied by the unfortunates without permission, and whereas, . . . Therefore, resolved that we respectfully request the friends (and others) that their visits be made any other day than the Sabbath, unless it be to attend religious worship, . . .¹¹

In 1886, a list was made of those competent and not competent. This competency referred to whether or not the patient was able to be trusted with any funds which might be placed within his care through any means. Of the twenty-one patients, five men and nine women were found to be not competent. The expenses were kept within the appropriation for this year also, but there was a note of skepticism in the report of the board of trustees, for said a notation: "Repairs have been suggested so often by the Board and ignored by the Nat'l Council it seems needless to refer to it again. It will require not less than three hundred dollars and there will be a loss to the nation and a wrong done the inmates if this is not taken care of."¹²

Crops for the year were almost an entire failure, but ten tons of prairie hay had been secured. The same span of mules, presumably, was still in service and must have seen about nineteen years' work. It was suggested that in addition to the regular appropriation for the next year that an additional \$300 be allowed for the purchase of instruments of restraint.

The Female Seminary building having been destroyed by fire in the spring of 1887 and the institution temporarily discontinued, Dr. Adair's salary was cut and, of course, he was somewhat dissatisfied. The matter was referred to the Principal Chief, who this time referred the debatable question to the National Council for settlement. The first copy of the *Tahlequah Telephone*, dated June 10, 1887, commented favorably upon Dr. Adair's rights in the matter, and felt that his full salary should have been allowed. Under the Cherokee law, the "Medical Superintendent" was paid \$1,000 from the school fund, \$250 from the Asylum fund and \$250 from the general fund.¹³

The annual report for 1887, by Dr. Adair, as "Medical Superintendent of Cherokee High Schools [Seminaries], National Prison and Asylum for the Indigent, Insane and others," published in the

¹¹ Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

¹² Frank Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma.

¹³ *Laws of the Cherokee Nation* (Tahlequah: National Advocate Print, 1881), p. 326.

columns of *The Cherokee Advocate*, made the following statement concerning the Asylum:¹⁴

The Asylum for the Indigent, Insane and Others.

No one who has seen this Institution, but will agree that it is by far the most beautiful of our public institutions. It is located about six miles south of Tahlequah—to the extreme west terminus of the range of mountains known as the "Park Hill" range of mountains. At present it is under the care of Mr. Robert Wofford, as Steward—Mr. Wofford has acted in the capacity of Steward for four years—and his time expires during the sitting of the next regular session of the National Council. Mr. Wofford has done a good work for the Nation in his management of this institution. There has been some repairing to this Asylum during this past year. There is, however, further repair needed there. The three rooms of its Basement and two of its Hall ways should be refloored. This done the institution could be said to be in excellent condition both as to comfort and sanitary condition. The building is always kept clean and nice, having like the other public Institutions regular intervals for washing and scouring. The enclosure is always clean and free from trash and debris—is set with beautiful shade trees, regularly trimmed and kept. The yard is large and laid out in walks, with choice flowers bordering and fringing the side walk. The fencing around the enclosure is new and substantial.

There are now belonging to the Institution as inmates 20—of these there are two absent—one on leave and the other without leave. Present at the Institution 18—eight males and ten females.

We would suggest that the Steward be allowed an extra hand about the place as a sick nurse. There are three or four of these inmates who require constant care of a good, strong, able bodied nurse—one that is able to manage these persons.

The report of Dr. Adair to the Board of Trustees for the same year, made mention of the inmate absent without leave, Josephine Rider, from Canadian District: "We learned that she is improved to such an extent—that she will not return again, as an inmate—Let her go—and joy be with her. The buildings are in good condition with the exception, perhaps, of the floors in the basement. The dirt underneath, coming in contact with the planks causes them to rot and decay—thus viciating, the air circulating in the basement." He then added a postscript about the inmate "absent on leave": ". . . a fact, a pleasant fact, that little George, has been able to cancel his expense to the institution by finding a home, and a person able, and willing to be burdened with his support— We say George, Go in peace, and joy go with you—your honorable Board has blessed this union, of George and his Bride, severed his connection, with our Institution—and placed him upon a level, with his neighbors—and we trust he will ever be mindful of his obligations to his country, in a substantial way. . ."¹⁵ The steward, concerning the floors mentioned by Dr. Adair, remarked: ". . . Thus causing the floors to rot, and to give out a musty, unhealthy odor filling the air, that is circulating through the basement with a poisonous effluvia."

¹⁴ *The Cherokee Advocate*, October 12, 1887, p. 2, col. 7 and 8.

¹⁵ A neighbor's daughter had fallen in love with Little George. The neighbor kindly approved of the match and the two were married, a very satisfactory way out for George, it would seem.—Minutes of Board of Trustees, Blind and Insane Asylum, No. 686, p. 167, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

A total of 24 patients was treated in 1888. L. R. Gourd was secretary of the board of trustees, and was re-elected for the following year. He evidently had qualifications other than penmanship as his writing is barely decipherable. Robert Wofford was steward, while Dr. Jo M. Thompson was the medical superintendent. Robert L. Owen was Indian Agent at this time, with jurisdiction over the Five Civilized Tribes.¹⁶

In 1890 there were three deaths among the inmates. An extra hand was recommended at a salary of fifteen dollars per month, "as a good and efficient female nurse cannot be obtained for constant work for a less amount." The crops were only moderately good on account of the drouth; there were forty six hogs and twenty six head of cattle; the mules were old and completely broken down, and had been condemned by the board. The expenses for the year were \$72.53 per patient, or 21 cents per day.

On November 16, 1891, Silas D. Clark was elected steward replacing Wofford, who had served eight years. Colonel Johnson (C. J.) Harris was now Principal Chief. The first typewritten letter in the files appeared in 1892, when an insurance company informed the Principal Chief that the policy on the Asylum was cancelled because the company was not allowed to write policies on insane and poor asylums. The Orphan Asylum and the Seminaries were not subject to the above restrictions. This year saw a population of 34 at the asylum, the highest of any number recorded. Governor Steele, of Oklahoma Territory, reported six idiotic and six insane in Oklahoma Territory.¹⁷

The Asylum, while free from politics in the main, nevertheless had some value in this regard. The stewards were usually selected with considerable care and served faithfully. Silas D. Clark resigned on September 30, 1893, on account of illness of his wife, and John R. Meigs was placed in his stead for a period of about ten months. The place had become rather badly run down and the new steward's report was not very reassuring. He found it advisable to make a special report at the outset, as well as an inventory of property found at the time he took over. As his report seems to sum up the situation very well it is given, together with the inventory:

Special Report, John R. Meigs, to C. J. Harris, Principal Chief, Cherokee Nation:

1. No crops made or attempted. A man has been arranged with for the entire cultivation next year, upon reasonable terms, by which the Nation will not be out any expense.
2. The condition of the inmates is about as favorable as could be expected, excepting that they could be made more comfortable with better

¹⁶ Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Union Agency, 20th Annual Report, Frank Phillips Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

¹⁷ Territorial Auditor, J. T. Lawhead, to Gov. George W. Steele, Frank Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma.

provision of necessary suitable bedding. Suggest and recommend early attention to bedding and wearing apparel.

3. Some early action should be taken to relieve the institution of the care and custody of unauthorized inmates. "P. S." a white U. S. citizen, with no claims to Cherokee citizenship whatever—and "Jonas" the colored adopted Cherokee Freedman who is at the Asylum without "due course of law."

4. Resupplying the Asylum with another wagon and team for hauling firewood and water. A new stable is needed as the old ones are about rotted down.

5. Repairs on the Asylum buildings are needed, such as furnace grates for both male and female wards. Replacement of broken window panes, cistern pumps and pipes and c. in bath rooms, water shed on the roof, and many of the doors.

6. Recommend special committee of the Council at the earliest date to inspect and suggest needed repairs.

7. Recommend that indebtedness authorized by the Board of Trustees be covered by necessary appropriation.

The following is schedule of property and effects found and inventoried, as belonging to that institution on August 19, 1893: "No work mules on the premises or to be found; no farm wagon on the premises or to be found; no wagon harness on the premises or to be found; there were no provisions of any kind found at the institution; there was no money turned over as belonging to the Institution."

The Principal Chief had informed the party making this inventory that the appropriation had been exhausted, and that no warrant could be issued to defray the necessary expenses of the said asylum. Expenses to September 30, 1893, were itemized and amounted to \$391.31, including supplies furnished by the steward and the merchants of Tahlequah. In January of 1894, the Senate Office Committee recommended that the deficit be taken care of and a bill appropriating \$429.50 was approved by Principal Chief Harris.¹⁸ An appropriation in the previous December provided for new mules, wagon and harness. The year 1894 also had its deficit of \$121.30.

Oklahoma had in the meantime attained Territorial status, and in 1891 had contracted for her insane to be cared for at the Oak Lawn Retreat in Illinois. By 1895, the burden of transportation had become so great that the contract was given to a company within the state and the patients were returned. The non-citizens of the Indian Territory, those who had been permitted to live in that country, and by no means trespassers, had trouble with taking care of their unfortunate. This state of affairs had been noted by different agents in their reports to Washington. Dew. M. Wisdom, in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, on September, 1897, recommended: "That an asylum for the care of the insane white people, or, in other words, citizens of the United States, be founded in this territory and supported by congressional legislation or ap-

¹⁸ Frank Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma.

propriations . . . The number of insane in the Territory exclusive of Indians, who ought to be confined, will approximate 200, upon the assumption that there are about 400,000 non citizen residents in the Territory.”

An abortive attempt to meet this need was made in a contract with St. Vincent's Hospital in St. Louis, which ran from about 1905 to 1909.¹⁹ The insane of other Indian tribes than the Cherokees had been provided for in 1899 by the building of an asylum at Canton, South Dakota, which served until June 30, 1933.²⁰

J. M. Sanders was in charge of the Cherokee Asylum, beginning with August 16, 1894, Sam Manus taking over October 1, 1896. It seems likely that A. N. Lowery might have served for a short time in between, but of this we are not quite clear. The secretary of the board of trustees was W. E. Johnson.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES ABOLISHED

Under act of the Cherokee National Council December 7, 1898, and approved by the President of the United States, the Board of Directors was abolished and with it the law providing for the appointment of a steward for the asylum, and leaving the management and control of the institution in the hands of the then steward and the medical superintendent.

The United States was gradually assuming more power in the directing of Indian affairs, and in his report of October, Mr. Manus, in some doubt, but feeling his responsibility nevertheless, addressed the Principal Chief, S. H. Mayes. “Therefore,” said Mr. Manus, “feeling it my duty to report to some authority, I very respectfully make this my report to you and through you to the Natil. Council.”

Abstracted, the report read, somewhat lugubriously: The building needs some repairing—the roof leaks, the gallery was blown down by the storm some months ago. Some ten foot high steps leading to the second floor and the main hall are not safe for ascent or descent. The yard fence is about rotted down. Need some more bedding. Stoves are old but will last . . . 10 inmates, 5 each male and female. 2 died, 1 male pneumonia, 1 female, female trouble. Expenses by the steward \$1442.67. There was a deficiency of 67 cents. There were 6 head of cattle, 1 wagon, team and harness, 2 turning plows and 1 double shovel plow.²¹

THE DAWES COMMISSION

In the year 1899, Tams Bixby, as acting chairman of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, made a report dealing with a very important movement, affecting all members of these tribes, viz.,

¹⁹ 33 Stat. at Large, p. 539.

²⁰ Fifty Fifth Congress to Seventy Second Congress, inclusive.

²¹ Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

the formation of a part of the Indian Territory and the assignment of many of their former responsibilities, as well as of their privileges, to the United States. Agreements were to be made with each separate tribe, covering questions interesting to it only, and each tribal government held an election for ratification. The Cherokees were somewhat slow to take the suggestion, but finally an agreement was "produced" January 14, 1899. Cherokee allotments were agreed upon, each enrollee was given 120 acres of land, and all the titles were guaranteed by the Federal government. The agreement of this year was modified somewhat the next year, when with Bixby still as acting chairman, a discussion of and revision of the agreement of the year before was taken up and the following provisions made:²²

57. The following land shall be reserved from the general allotment herein provided:

* * * *

(v) Forty acres for the Cherokee Insane Asylum . . .

* * * *

59. (Public Buildings): The buildings of the Cherokee Insane Asylum, together with 40 acres of land upon which they are now located, to be selected by the Commission, shall be conveyed to the United States gratuitously to be used by it for the maintenance of an asylum for the Insane of all classes within the Indian Territory and the United States shall make appropriations of money necessary to provide suitable accommodations within said institution for the insane of said Territory, and to maintain the same in a manner commensurate with such purpose, and all insane Cherokee citizens shall be cared for in such institution free of charge.

* * * *

62. Whenever a state government is established, including the Cherokee country, the Cherokee Asylum and the School for the Blind, Deaf and Dumb Children, with all property pertaining thereto, may be transferred by the United States to such state government.

The steward serving at least for a short time was T. F. Wagoner (or perhaps Wagnon), in 1900, and J. George Wright was Indian Inspector. The Principal Chief, T. M. Buffington, had some difficulty in getting insurance on the Asylum in the amount of \$5,450, but by distributing it among five companies he was able to obtain policies to run for a period of two years. At the same time the Orphan Asylum was able to get \$7,333 in one company and \$10,000 in another.²³ Evidently the Asylum had reached a new low in desirability as an insurance risk. Ironically, perhaps, the year 1903 saw the burning of the Orphan Asylum and found the National Jail being prepared the second time for the reception of the inmates of the Asylum, this time to make room for the orphans. For pure

²² 7th Annual Report of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, Appendix No. 1, pp. 40-1. (Final agreement with the Cherokee Nation was incorporated in the Act of Congress approved July 1, 1902 [32 Stat., 716], and ratified in a special election on August 7, 1902, held in the Cherokee Nation, by a proclamation of T. M. Buffington, Principal Chief. This act provided that forty acres be reserved at the site of the Cherokee Insane Asylum. Title to the property remained in the Cherokee Nation.—M.H.W. ed.)

²³ Frank Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma.

dogged adherence to a principle the insurance companies were not to be outdone, for immediately after the orphans had moved into the buildings vacated by the insane, a policy of \$4,000 for a period of three years at the rate of \$150, was possible, according to a clause in the policy, which stated that "The Insane Asylum is being used as an orphans' home at the time of the contract."

In 1902, the resignation of Henry Houseberg was chronicled. He had made a good superintendent, according to *The Advocate*, and the inmates were well cared for. Matt Sanders was elected to take his place and it was predicted by the same paper that he would fill the position with credit to himself. Such is the attitude of all good newspapers.²⁴ The last of the stewards took over his duties on the third Monday in November, 1903. According to the Cherokee Agreement with the United States, the Interior Department was now in charge of the Asylum and the local representative was John George Wright.²⁵ Funds were still appropriated by the Cherokee National Council with the approval of the President. The steward, E. W. Alberty, used in 1904, an appropriation for the repair of the Asylum which was now domiciled in the Old National Jail. Bids for furnishing material and making necessary repairs found S. M. Latimer low bidder, for \$1,809.30. The repairs were to be completed by April 30.²⁶

It was during this year, 1903, that the Cherokee Orphans' Home, at Salina, burned. The fire occurred November 17, and on November 19, most of the orphans were moved to the Whittaker's Orphan Home, where they remained for six months, and from which place they were removed to the Insane Asylum Buildings, the inmates of this latter having as indicated been moved to the National Jail. This move must have occurred about April of 1904, as we find: "We, the undersigned, received from E. R. Alberty the sum of \$2.00 each for hauling our load of goods from the Insane Asylum to the National Jail, the new asylum." Then followed the names of twelve signers.²⁷

The Cherokee Advocate, January 9, 1904, quoted Mr. Alberty as saying: "There are at present 18 persons confined in the asylum. Their clothing is good, sufficient to keep them warm, as is also the bedding, but the building is sadly in need of repair, especially the windows, as they are nearly paneless." Jack Spaniard, the oldest inmate, was one hundred and eight years old, while the youngest was only eight.

²⁴ *The Cherokee Advocate*, April 19, 1902, p. 2, col. 4.

²⁵ Grant Foreman, "J. George Wright," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XX (June, 1942), pp. 120-23.

²⁶ Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

DESCRIPTION OF INSANE ASYLUM AND NATIONAL JAIL

In the Grant Foreman Transcripts (Vol. I), one finds this description of the situation, as outlined by Joe S. Coppock, November 9, 1904, who had been assigned to the task of making a survey of the boarding institutions in the Indian Territory:

The Insane Asylum Reservation, five miles south of Tahlequah, now used as an orphanage, 40 acres at \$25 per acre. The building is brick, three stories, 40x148 feet. On the first floor is the kitchen, dining room, assembly room, sitting room for boys, one for girls, and a store room. Second floor: eight large, four small rooms. Third floor: eight large, five small rooms, thirty one rooms in all, accommodating offices, employees and eighty orphan children.

The Insane Asylum is now in the National Jail at Tahlequah. This is a two story and basement stone building, of four rooms to the story, or a twelve room building suitable for jail purposes. The value of the former Insane Asylum property is estimated to be worth \$22,500, while the jail in which they are now located is estimated at \$8,500 with two lots. There is remaining in the Insane Fund Account \$8,500.

In his report of November 1, 1905, Alberty said, "Health of the inmates is good—not one being sick. Have done the best we could without help of some things we needed. Expenses kept within the appropriation, 16 inmates. . ." The salary list of October included the medical superintendent, Dr. R. L. Fite, \$19.44; steward, \$50; matron, \$18.75; laborer, \$30; cook, \$15; washwoman, \$15. This is the first typewritten report found, and henceforth a duplicate copy was made of all accounts, quite an improvement over the old handwritten sheets. The above is a fairly typical salary sheet for the latter years of the asylum. An average month was \$148.19; the year \$1,778. Other expenses for 1905, maintenance, wood and stove costs amounted to \$1,607.67, or a total of \$3,385.67.²⁸

The salaries for 1906 ran about the same, but there was an increase in the over all expense, which ran the amount up to \$4,064.40. Considerable repair work accounted for much of this increase.

LAST YEAR OF THE ASYLUM

The expenses for the last year of the Asylum were \$3,679.21. E. W. Alberty was still in charge and Dr. Fite was medical superintendent. William C. Rogers was Principal Chief. His duties had been reduced to more or less perfunctory action. Statehood for Ok-

²⁸ *Ibid.* (In 1914, William C. Rogers, last elected principal chief of the Cherokee Nation, was authorized to sell and convey the forty acre reserve and all buildings of the former Cherokee Insane Asylum to the United States for \$5,000. The institution was placed under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior to be conducted as an industrial school for restricted, orphan Indian children of Oklahoma, an appropriation of \$25,000 being made by Congress for the year, for continuation and maintenance of the institution. An act of Congress in 1925 changed the name of the school to "Sequoyah Orphan Training School," in honor of the celebrated Sequoyah, inventor of the Cherokee alphabet. This institution has had many improvements and is one of the well known Indian schools in Oklahoma to-day.—M.H.W. ed.)

lahoma and Indian territories was in the offing. Chief Rogers did not even call a meeting of the National Council because he felt the expense unnecessary. Frank Frantz was Governor of Oklahoma Territory. The two territories were admitted as one state on November 16, 1907. On May 22, 1908, ten patients from Cherokee county arrived at Norman. This represented the last of the people which the Cherokee Nation had so valiantly assisted through trial and misfortune due to mental ailments. Not all of the inmates of the Asylum had been insane by any means, but in later years, at least, it seems that the proportion had risen. It is difficult to state the exact proportion, but the ten patients coming to the sanitarium at Norman, must have been more than half the total inmates as the census of recent years at the Cherokee Asylum ran about eighteen.

Throughout the life of the institution the stewards had played the major part in the management of the unfortunates. Their wives, also, had on small salaries, and we can imagine by considerable skimping, helped in the process of getting this large family through on the minimum expenditures. When appropriations ran out the steward had to dig down into his own pocket or ask the banks, merchants and laborers for funds and supplies to tide over to another meeting of the Council. Through it all one rarely finds where any of these servants of the people made any complaint not fully justified by the circumstances.

The medical superintendents also must have had no small degree of worry, trial and tribulation. Having to furnish their own supplies and with the meagre salary allowed them they must have been hard put many times to take care of this very troublesome type of patient. The nursing situation was probably their most difficult problem, with many untidy patients and no way of combating infections. In fact, at that time, people still wrote of "healthy pus."

It is interesting to note that all the inmates were considered as custodial cases and cures were not expected, although benefits might be gained. The Asylum was just that—a place of refuge.

APPENDIX

Cherokee Advocate, Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, Saturday, August 24, 1872, Vol. 3, No. 18-122, W. P. Boudinot, Editor.

LETTER OF W. A. DUNCAN TO EDITOR CHEROKEE ADVOCATE
Mr. Editor.

The Orphan Asylum is a new thing in our country. There has been but little said about it. And some of the people seem not to understand how it is. I will try to explain it. But I will say two or three other things first.

1. Our people should be true to one another. They should have confidence in one another. They should all know whatever is done by the National Council. They should, also, feel free to speak, and to interchange their views about the affairs of the country.

2. Every Cherokee loves his country. He loves its soil, its sunshine, its streams. He loves his people also, and would be glad to see them happy and prosperous. And every one is willing to labor for the good of his country. But the main thing is to find out what is best. It is by examining things and talking about them, then the Nation may find out what is best.

3. It is the whole people then make the National Council. They pick out, in each of the nine districts, five of the wisest and best men they can find there. They send those men to Tahlequah every fall. And those men do not go there on their own business. They are the guardians of the whole country. And they are to inquire and find out what is best for the whole country. And when they find out what is best, they then say it shall be that way. This is called making law. And a law in this way, is just the same as if it had been made by the people. Because the Councilors act for the people, and their act is the act of the whole people. And in Council they also speak for the whole people; and their voice then, is the voice of the people. It is thus that the people make their own laws.

The Council, at its last session, passed a bill to establish the Cherokee Orphan Asylum. They thought this would be best. They had for a long time noticed the old orphan system. And it appeared to have some faults. Under the system the orphans did not receive as great benefit as was desirable. This had been the opinion of wise men for a long time. Mr. H. D. Reese had been Superintendent of the schools for a number of years. He had noticed the schools with a great deal of care. And in a report which he made to the National Council, he said, there ought to be an Asylum started for the Orphans. And this was the opinion of the Councilors last fall.

So the Cherokee Nation has now an Asylum for the orphans. But this Asylum don't belong to me, nor to you. It don't belong to this church nor the other church. It belongs to the whole Cherokee people. All have an equal interest in it. Every one should do his part to build it up, so as to make it to the greatest amount of good. It ought not to be treated like a lone tree in a prairie. One traveller will go by that tree and break a switch. Another one will go along and break a branch. A wagoner will drive along, and chop into the side of it. At last another comes along and builds a big campfire at its roots. And in a short time the tree is dead. But the Asylum should be treated like a flower garden. Every one should do his part to make it grow, flourish and bloom, so as to lend a charm to the entire Nation. It should be warmed with the heart's truest feelings, and made light by gentle smiles and generous words.

The Asylum is intended to be a home for the orphan. And it is the intention to make it a good home. It must be a far better home for them than they can find any where else. They eat three times a day. Every one eats as much as he wants. And the table is about as good as we generally see in the country. And all persons about the place eat at the same table, and eat of the same victuals with the pupils. There is no exception in this case. It is intended to clothe the pupils comfortably, but not with extravagance. But I will tell more about the inside arrangements of the Asylum in another paper. I will close this paper by making a few general remarks.

Our little Nation is not wholly out of sight. Some stars are so little and so far away that some men cannot see them. But there is one eye that sees them. It is the eye of God. God put those little sparks up there to do their part in lighting up the universe. So God sees our little nation. He intended that our influence, small as it may be, should be felt among the great nations in shaping up the affairs of the world for a better state of things. So good men, too, are looking at us. A bad heart makes the eye so dark that a person can see no good in any thing. But a good heart so gives light to the eye, that a man will see the smallest good, though it be a long way off. And good people are looking upon us from every way. They see the good we are trying to do, and are glad to give us encouragement. Fond eyes are turned toward us from the big cities of the "pale face;" and from the shores of the two great seas they are looking at us. They want to see what we are going to do by way of improvement. And they are glad when they see that we are doing what we can to educate our people and to make them good, and wise and great. But many of the people at a distance know but little about the Indians. They think the Indians are yet as they were two hundred and fifty years ago. And whenever they hear the Indians mentioned, they at once think of great scarey savages, like the pictures they have put into their books—like the pictures they drew around the picture of John Smith, with great war-clubs and tomahawks in their hands. And they think all the Indians are of their sort. This is the way they get wrong views of the Indians. People are always more ready to tel lof evil, than they are to tell of good. And the newspapers ready to tell of evil, than they are to tell of good. And the newspapers Indians. But they are slow to tell of the good that is here. Now this is not fair. In this way the best person in the world might be made a very bad one, to those not acquainted with him. And not only so. But some of the papers do really tell stories on the Indians. And they do this on purpose to hurt the Indians. They want all the people that read their papers to believe that the Indians are all ignorant, lazy and vicious. And then they argue that because the Indians are this way, they ought to have their houses and lands taken away from them. This is bad reasoning. And it is reasoning for a worse purpose. How would they like to have the same reasoning applied to themselves. Their lawyers say, "It is poor rule that worketh not both ways." I presume they would not like it at all. What if the world should adopt the rule that every lazy, ignorant, and wicked man should be compelled to leave his house and lands for some one else? Don't you think in such case, many a white man in every state would have to "get up and dust?"

W. A. Duncan.*

* *Cherokee Papers* 1815-1874, pp. 229-234, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

LITERARY ACHIEVEMENT MEDALS

Oklahoma A. and M. College is enriched by deposit in the Library of three gold medals, the first to be offered for literary achievement in the College. These beautiful awards of valuable size and rare beauty are a complete collection offered by Alexander Covington Magruder, first professor of agriculture and horticulture in the College. Kate Neal won the first medal in 1893, George W. Bowers the second in 1894, and Arthur W. Adams won the third medal in 1895.

The first two medals were offered in freshmen contests in declamation, and the third medal was given for the best oration written and delivered by a junior on an agricultural or scientific subject. Miss Neal and Mr. Bowers are living. The medals will be on permanent display in the library.

The story of the medals and their collection grew out of the preparation of a three volume Record Book of manuscript materials. It was prepared by an Oklahoma History Class, alumni and friends of the College in 1941, for the centennial celebration in 1991. A two volume set entitled, "Selections from the Record Book," was presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

SEMI-CENTENNIAL OPENING OF THE CHEROKEE OUTLET

One of the most spectacular and best advertised single events in the history of Oklahoma was the opening of the Cherokee Outlet, popularly called the "Opening of the Cherokee Strip," on September 16, 1893. Owing to World War II, the general semi-centennial celebration of this Opening, which had been tentatively planned with special programs and colorful pageantry, was not held this year in the Strip lands, a tract now included in thirteen counties and parts of counties, lying between the eastern boundary of Osage County and the 100th Meridian, in Northern Oklahoma.¹ Newspapers in the region, however, carried interesting historical accounts and feature stories commemorating this fiftieth anniversary. Golden Anniversary editions were published by *The Alva Review-Courier*, *The Perry Daily Journal* and *The Helena Star*. The latter, the weekly paper printed at Helena, Alfalfa County, Gaylord

¹ For history on the Cherokee Outlet see the following articles: Joe B. Milam, "The Opening of the Cherokee Outlet," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, IX (September, 1931), pp. 268-86, (December, 1931), pp. 254-75, and X (March, 1932), pp. 115-37. Also, Berlin B. Chapman, "How the Cherokees Acquired the Outlet," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XV (March, 1937), pp. 30-49; "How the Cherokees Acquired and Disposed of the Outlet," *ibid.*, (June, 1937) pp. 205-25, (September, 1937) 291-321, and XVI (March, 1938), pp. 36-51.

T. Newby, Editor and Owner, carried an interesting display of local and historical notes including a short article on "The Name 'Cherokee Strip.'"

The following letters written by A. M. Thomas of Tonkawa to a daughter in Colorado, who was a small child at the time of the Opening of the Cherokee Strip, were contributed to the Historical Society by Homer S. Chambers, a resident of Tulsa and contributor to *The Chronicles*. In making this contribution, Mr. Chambers in part wrote (1941):

"These letters tell the story of an early day family and community with fidelity and are so typical of the early Strip days as to be worthy, I think, of a place in our historical archives. Mr. Thomas, the writer, was one of the first set of county commissioners of Kay County elected after the Opening, and has been active ever since in the political, civic and agricultural affairs of his community. He still owns his original homestead (on which there are a few producing oil wells now) but lives in Tonkawa, the past year being in very poor health. In the second of these letters, particularly, there is a heart-throb in practically every paragraph, and as I read this number and my mind goes back to those hectic days, a lump rises in my throat as each stark incident in this recital is retold."

Mrs. Niles North, Arriola, Colo.
My Dear Girl:

Tonkawa, Oklahoma
December 31, 1929

When you were visiting us recently you asked me to write some of our early experiences in Oklahoma for your memory book, so here goes:

"THE OPENING OF THE STRIP"

On the 10th of September, 1893, I came to Arkansas City on the train and there met my father who had preceded me with a team and wagon.

As all of the old settlers will remember, we had to register and swear that we were half white, fully free and various other things before we were even permitted to make the race into the Cherokee Strip. The registration booth was south of Arkansas City and if I remember correctly, about a quarter of a mile from where the railroad crosses the state line. The population of Arkansas City at that time was without doubt the greatest in its history, for around every place that water could be had or where there was a vacant lot, one could find a camp of boomers in wagons or tents awaiting the strip opening.

We lined up for this registration on Monday and the fashion was then to divide your group, part of them staying in line and holding the place until they got through and the others taking out water and provisions for the parties in line.

The first two days of this registration one would not dare to leave his place in the line or someone else would have it when he returned. After the second day, however, the "would be" settlers formed an organization out of the lines by which each tenth man was designated captain of that particular squad of ten men. It was his duty to see that no one "soonered" in on that squad. I happened to be the tenth man in one bunch and it fell to my lot to sleep on the ground rolled up in a blanket on that particular night. On Friday I made it through and got my certificate which entitled me to try to beat somebody else to a claim in the "Promised Land."

I should have said in the beginning that there were four in our party. My father, my brother, a man who had been working for us and myself made up our group.

On Friday evening, the 15th of September, we moved out of Arkansas City and camped that night at the northwest corner of the Chilocco reservation. This camp was crowded in every direction for a half mile for the reason that it was about the only place along the state line that water was obtainable.

We had only a team and wagon in which to make this race and we provisioned the wagon with four days' rations for ourselves and the team and filled a barrel, which we had obtained, with water.

The morning of the 16th we broke camp and drove west along the state line to the west bank of Bitter Creek, where a dim trail took off into the strip to the south. The entire distance from the corner of the Chilocco reservation to the ridge on the west side of Bitter Creek and as far west from that as we could see was one solid mass of wagons, buggies, carts and horsemen. As the hour approached for the opening, this entire distance from the reservation to the ridge was a solid line of horsemen standing knee to knee as far as the eye could see. Back of this line of horsemen were the carts and buggies and lighter vehicles of every conceivable description. Then came the heavy wagons with their covers, driven by old men or the women of the families in most cases.

The cavalry was in front of us, one to about each quarter of a mile along the line to see that no one crossed the 100-foot strip before the hour of noon.

A rather distressing incident occurred, we learned afterwards. At the west corner of the Chilocco reservation, about three minutes before noon, a man, who was slightly deaf and whose mount was very excitable, either by intention or accident, made a break for the open prairie. He was ordered to come back but did not heed the order and the Lieutenant in charge of a nearby squad ordered a soldier to shoot at him with the result that the rider was killed. This soldier faced the courts in Newkirk the following year but was acquitted.

The sound of this gun apparently precipitated the race. From where we stood on top of this hill we saw the race start to the east of us and spread out like a vast fan. The soldier in front of our division fired a six-shooter at about the time we could see the bunch to the east starting. Then we were off.

There was some rather amusing things happened along this line. One that I recall was that of a woman standing the front ranks among the horses, and I wondered what was going to happen when the race started. She wore the regulation sunbonnet and carried an umbrella. When the rush began, she jerked off her sunbonnet, grabbed a handful of her skirts and made as pretty a foot race as I have ever seen. When she was sure she had gotten over the line, she sat down, stuck her flag in the ground and raised her umbrella. As far as I know she proved up on her land.

I drove the team in this race and to say that we went about as fast as a wagon ever went is putting it mildly. We followed the dim trail and were ahead of the other wagons. Before we had gone half a mile, the horsemen were all out of sight and the lighter vehicles had mostly disappeared, with a few overturned, the horses running away and belongings scattered all over the prairie.

The prairie had been burned off the night before or early that morning and in places was still burning. There was a haze of smoke all over the country.

We followed this dim trail almost to where Blackwell now is and crossed the Chikaskia River. As nearly as I can remember the ford was located near the corner of what was afterwards known as the Rube Kerns' place. Now there are two or three oil wells on either side of the road.

By the time we reached the river, the horsemen were "ganged up" in groups of two to five on this bottom land and each was sure that he had been there first.

After crossing the river we went south without a trail or land mark until finally we intersected the trail where it crossed Stink Creek, north of the present townsite of Tonkawa, about the middle of Section 15-26-1 West. We then followed the trail to the Yellow Bull crossing on the Salt Fork which was located west of where Tonkawa now stands. There was a cabin on this Indian allotment at the Yellow Bull crossing and also a spring of fresh water. The stream from this spring was so small that it would take about three to five minutes to fill a cup.

That night, September 16, settlers drove in from every direction to this spring to get water and were lined up all night long trying to get enough water to wet their tongues. We had the barrel of water in our wagon out of which we watered our team and managed to make out, although the water was warm and stale. I had to sit on top of the barrel until midnight to keep the thirsty travelers from appropriating what little water we had left.

None of our party was fortunate in finding a piece of land on which to stop that did not have from one to a dozen already there, on account of the speed with which the horsemen came.

The next day, Sunday, September 17, the sun came up in a round disk, red and angry looking and the wind began to blow from the south. As the day advanced the wind reached the velocity of a gale, and the dust and sand were so thick we could scarcely see one hundred yards. Many of the people who had camped at the spring that night and who failed to get even a contest on a piece of land, and even some who thought they had staked a claim, were so tired and disgusted with the barrenness of the country, and the wind and dust, that they immediately took out for Kansas and civilization.

It was necessary for my brother and the other one of our party to return to eastern Kansas, so about noon on the 17th of September we broke camp at the Yellow Bull crossing and started for White Eagle station on the Santa Fe, in company with some acquaintances who had set up with us at the camp the night before.

The trail led across the present townsite of Tonkawa and I remember an old farmer, who was among the acquaintances mentioned above, calling my attention to the fresh mounds the gophers had dug, saying, "Look at that ground! I wouldn't give a dollar for a whole township of it. I will go back to Kansas and stay there five years and buy 160 acres, if I want it, for five or six hundred dollars." The last I heard of this friend of mine, he was still back east and he never did have the five or six hundred dollars to buy the farm that he talked about.

These two parties took the train at White Eagle station and father and I went on to Arkansas City through what is now Ponca City, Kildare and Newkirk, which were at that time nothing but tent cities. In Arkansas City we loaded up with enough provisions, hay and grain to last for a week or more. We then started back southwest across the prairie down through where the Dilworth Oil Fields now are. We followed the old trail to the place where Blackwell now stands. I think this was on Wednesday following the opening.

We crossed the river east of what is now Blackwell at an old ford, but there was no water in the river, it being dry and sandy. Some enterprising genius had foreseen the lack of water and had set up a sand point and pitcher pump and furnished all and sundry, weary and thirsty travelers with water at the price of ten cents a bucket. I have no idea who this man was, but he was certainly a Napoleon of finance at the time.

Coming into Blackwell from the east, we found a bunch of surveyors surveying the townsite of Blackwell. Having a slight acquaintance with one of the boys, he told me that they were surveying government land, which I believe was called the Potts eighty, at least it was the eighty acres on which the First National Bank now stands, which is located on the southwest corner. He also told me that if we wanted a town lot we could stake some when they got to a certain point to the north of where they were then. Each one of us was entitled to four lots.

A young man by the name of Ball was with father and me at that time so we took these lots. As nearly as I can remember at the present time, they were somewhere just south of where the Frisco railroad crosses the river.

We camped there that night, and since I had a set of carpenter tools I was anxious to get a job. Ball was a kind of carpenter also, so we took a piece of a packing box and stuck a stake in the ground with the following inscription, "Thomas and Ball, Contractors and Builders." After we had made camp, we went up town; that is where the city well and the bank corners are now. On the way up there we encountered a couple of young men who had a tent and an old army printing press and we learned that they intended to publish a newspaper. The name of this paper, as I recall, was to be "The Blackwell Record."

Of course, being newspaper men they "hit us up" for some advertising, and in that issue of the paper appeared a card "Thomas and Ball, Contractors and Builders." This to my certain knowledge was the first newspaper ever published on the ground in the town of Blackwell. It came off the press on Friday morning, September 22, 1893. It was a small paper, probably sixteen inches by twenty-two. It was published by H. S. Chambers and I am not sure, but I believe his partner's name was Nall.

Ball and I got a job of work helping built a restaurant which, aside from the township office, was the first building built in the town of Blackwell. As I recall, it stood about the middle of the block north of the First National Bank.

The dust made by teams and men was about ankle deep on Main Street and nearly as bad on all the other streets, and the wind blew a hurricane all this time. Ball picked up a fourteen by twelve plank and started around the building. The wind upset him, crippled him up and he had to quit work for that afternoon. The dust was so thick that when I drove a nail, I struck at where my fingers were and hammered at the nail by guess.

The only place to eat at this time was in a tent, which was full of dust and sand, and with every mouthful one got about as much sand as "grub." There weren't any clean faces in that country then. On the Saturday night following this, there came a glorious rain which laid the dust and things were much more pleasant.

A few days later, however, I learned of a vacant or abandoned claim on the south side of Salt Fork west of Tonkawa and immediately went down and settled on it, by making temporary improvements in the way of a dugout.

Your loving Dad,

A. M. THOMAS.

Mrs. Niles North,
My Dear Girl:
Arriola, Colorado.

Tonkawa, Oklahoma,
April 30th, 1930.

In a former letter I described the incidents of a race on September 16, 1893, and its results. After obtaining the claim that was afterwards our home, I went back to Iola, Kansas, the latter part of November, 1893, and hauled off a little wheat crop that we had there and received thirty-four cents a bushel for most of it; paid up what debts I could and prepared to leave for the new land.

On January 2, 1894, I hitched the team to the old wagon, loaded in about ten bushels of shelled corn, about half a hog, the only one that we had, and with \$10.50 in my pocket, started by myself for Oklahoma. I had three horses with me and it took me six days to make it to where Tonkawa now is. I had in the wagon a little folding rocking chair, an old ramshackle cooking stove and a few joints of pipe, which was the stock of furniture we owned at that time. I left your mother and you and Ruth at the old home in Kansas. You were two years old at that time and as Ruth was born the first of December, 1893, she was only a month old. The first of February, your mother and you children came to Arkansas City to your Aunt Fannie's on the train, where I met you. I think it was the fifth of February we left Arkansas City, a cold wintry day, in a wagon and started across the prairie for the new home.

I had bought a sod plow for \$10, on time, and had it tied on the wagon and a trunk rather badly battered held all of the clothing for you two children and your mother, and I might add that I was wearing all the clothing I had, which consisted of a pair of overalls and a canvas coat. The trip was made from Arkansas City to where Tonkawa now is, that day, and it is needless to say that it was a long, cold, hard trip on mother and you babies.

We camped there that night in an old Indian cabin and the rats were so thick around there that they kept you terrified most of the evening. The next morning we forded the river and took across the country, without any road or track to go by, for the claim. We arrived at the dugout, which was about 12x14 feet, and took stock of our earthly possessions which consisted of a wagon more or less dilapidated and the before mentioned sod plow and three horses, with some chain harness, an old cook stove and a few boxes for chairs. When we counted up the cash, we had twenty-five cents in money and no prospects to get any more anywhere. This in mid-winter without even a spear of grass, dry or any other way, in sight. We had to haul water in a barrel from the spring where Tonkawa now is for use, which is about eight miles. Of course, I had a box of carpenter tools, but no one had any money to buy lumber with or build houses and the settlers were not yet coming into the country.

We got settled in there and that day or the next I took the sod plow and plowed a little patch of the best sod I could find around there and cut it up in chunks and covered the board roof of the dugout with it. We had traded for some wheat on an Indian allotment and had some straw to feed the horses and fill a bedtick to sleep on. The bedstead was some pine boards nailed together, without springs, and was rather a crude affair. The table was likewise made out of pine boards and home-made and for light we had a No. 2 lantern. If you remember the floor was of dirt and the walls were the same. When you got out of the wagon and looked around at that place and your mother wanted to take your coat off, you said: "No, let's go home. I don't like this place." And it took you quite a while to get used to the idea of staying in a hole in the ground like that.

After we had been there a week or two, we ran out of coffee, sugar, and of course, never had any milk and about everything to eat that we had was flour and a little meat. We were then getting our mail at Blackwell, nineteen miles away. One morning I got up early and told your mother that I was going to Blackwell to do a little trading and she wanted to know what I was going to trade and I told her that I had some lots up there and plenty of nerve. I went to Blackwell and traded four lots that I had, for seven dollars worth of groceries and five dollars in money, and when I came home I had three packages of Arbuckle's coffee and that old coffee mill that you now have that your mother gave you as an heirloom, a wash board and tub and a big piece of Battleaxe tobacco, for I had been out of tobacco for two weeks and had been out of money for more than that.

You will better appreciate the condition in which we were in if you can visualize the landscape as it was then. There was not a house or dugout of any kind in sight from there, and only two between our place and where Tonkawa now is. I expect you wonder what we thought and what we did. We did not think much about the condition of affairs, but we had come there with the determination to stay. I had taken some boards and penciled crude signs on them and stuck them up wherever there was a crude trail, notifying any who might pass that I was a carpenter and ready to work at almost anything. Along the latter part of February there came one of the biggest snow storms we have ever had in the thirty-six years that we have lived in Oklahoma. Fortunately it found us with enough cottonwood wood that we had swiped off the limbs and fallen timber along the river to last us through the cold spell.

Your Uncle Howard was staying with us at that time and when that snow fell we started out with the intention of getting a rabbit or something of fresh meat. We walked all day in that snow, knee deep, and never even found a rabbit track, so you see the country was pretty bare.

A few days after this snow fell and while it was still very deep, a man built a house over just south of Tonkawa and got word to me some way that he wanted me to help him put the roof on, so I got on one of the horses early one morning, bareback, and went over there and put in the day nailing shingles on his house. There was snow on the ground and nasty. I had intended to get home early as I knew your mother would be uneasy, but along about four o'clock the scaffold we had put up broke and let all of the men down except myself. The owner of the house was badly hurt by the fall and kind of half crazy and I thought he was going to die, so I stayed with the bunch until pretty late that night, before I started home and when I did get home your mother was just about crazy for fear I had got lost on the prairie. I got one dollar and a half for this day and night's work and it was the first money I earned in Oklahoma.

A little while later I got to build a house a mile south on the Fulton place. You will remember that house as it still stands to this day. A story and a half high, fourteen by twenty-eight feet completed, and I built it for twenty-eight dollars. Then I got a house to build of the same size for Marion McGaha, which was five miles away, and I got twenty-eight dollars for building it. That was too much money and I was rich.

In the meantime, your grandfather had sold an equity that he owned in Kansas and he, your Uncle Howard and Uncle Jim had come down to the Indian lease by Tonkawa. Your Uncle Howard had the claim, which you know very well, at that time, and the school land was to lease. Neither he nor I had a dollar in the world but we bid on the lease on the west half of the school section, one quarter at thirty-five dollars a year and the other at twenty-five a year. We had no idea where we would get the

money but we were determined to get by in some kind of way, so by the first of April your Uncle Howard and myself controlled 640 acres in that vicinity and about all we had was our nerve. We also had an interest in and lease on 320 acres that lays now joining the townsite of Tonkawa on the west, and your Uncle Jim and grandfather lived there that first summer.

The townsite of Tonkawa was laid out in May of that year and between trying to break sod and raise a crop on the Indian lease, your Uncle Jim and myself did some carpenter work. Built a few houses whenever we could get a job and, in fact, covered the country for ten miles around pretty thoroughly with our box of carpenter tools working for any kind of price we could get, from seventy-five cents a day, for ten hours work, up, often walking five miles night and morning. The summer was dry and hot. We managed to plant a little sod corn, and the hot winds cooked it, likewise the kaffir corn we had. The corn we planted on the allotment did not make decent fodder, but we had to cut it up for fodder through the winter and hauled it the eight miles from where Tonkawa is out to our place.

When your grandfather came down from Kansas, he brought a couple of cows and some chickens, and they were the source of a lot of trouble for we had no fences of any kind. We managed to lay up a kind of log pen that answered for a chicken house and mother tried to raise some chickens, but the coyotes were so thick and impudent that she did not have much luck. One moonlight night, they made a mass attack on the chickens and she got out, together with your Uncle Howard, with some broomsticks and clubs and actually clubbed the coyotes away from the chickens. We raised nothing this year that amounted to anything but got some of the ground plowed and managed to sow a little wheat. The next year was just as bad. We had no grain to feed the horses and would go out early in the morning and plow sod until about ten o'clock and then unhitch and unharness our horses and turn them loose to grass. Then catch them up again about two o'clock and plow with them until they got so weak they could not pull the plow. Then we would unhitch and cold hammer the shears for the next morning.

The next year we raised a little more and your Uncle and myself ran a threshing machine all summer and let your mother herd you kids and one cow and stayed by herself in that dugout while we were trying to get enough money to buy a few clothes and groceries we needed.

The third year we raised a crop and built the house, got a little fence and kept on going. Of course, from that time on, you have a fair recollection of how we got along.

I am writing you this little note that you may see the kind of time we had in our younger days and all I can say to you is that if you and the rest of the kids had as much nerve as your mother and your dad had, there is no reason why you should not succeed. The most of the younger people at the present time are troubled with "Can't's," but there is nothing impossible if you make up your mind you are going to do it.

I have no apologies for the things I did not do and no boasts to make for the things I did, and only wish that I had the youth and strength to tackle a proposition in the same manner in which I did this one and I must say, too, that your mother certainly had strength and nerve and a whole lot of patience to go through the years of hard work and sacrifice that she did, raising the family that she did under conditions as they existed at that time. If these experiences, put down in cold type, will do you children any good, it will have accomplished its purpose.

Affectionately,

A. M. THOMAS.

Mrs. Niles North,
Arriola, Colorado.
My Dear Mable:

Tonkawa, Oklahoma,
September 15, 1933.

As in a former letter I described to you some of the early day experiences, I thought it might interest you to know something further about other conditions and problems that were encountered after we moved on the place.

You will recall that your mother and I moved on there to stay permanently in February, 1894. The place, of course, was nothing but a bald prairie. There were no schools, churches or roads. The school laws of the territory required that before we could organize a school district and obtain any public school funds, we must have held at least three months of school. The funds for holding the three months had to be obtained by subscriptions from the settlers and, in April or May, 1894, we went to work on this proposition and took up a subscription to pay a teacher. To the best of my recollection, the salary was five dollars a month. The school was held in a dugout on what, I believe, was known as the Shanefeldt place.

After we had certified to the proper authorities that we had held this school, our school district was organized and we had a winter term of school during 1894-5, taught by Mrs. Chas. Nix in her residence on what is now the North Herbig place, just across the road from the Cottage Hill school house. The next year, in the fall of 1896, we voted bonds and built the old Cottage Hill school house, the lumber for which we hauled from Ponca City.

The first church and Sunday School that we had in that neighborhood was held on the place now owned by Jim Smith, which we always termed the "Dad" Chambers place. This was in the summer of 1894, and we continued to have Sunday school and church until the new school house was built in 1895.

In the winter of 1895 the first death occurred in our neighborhood and the question of a cemetery came up. Mr. Stalnaker, whom you remember, suggested that we lay out a cemetery on the southwest corner of his place, which we did, and in the spring of 1896 the county surveyor came out and platted one and one-quarter acres on the Stalnaker place and one and one-quarter acres on the place owned by C. J. Anderson adjoining it, which made two and one-half acres in the cemetery. It was called the Riverview Cemetery and was the first regularly platted and laid out and duly recorded country cemetery in Kay County. Some of the towns in the county, notably, Newkirk, laid out cemeteries before this, but no country communities platted and laid out cemeteries before this time.

During the winter and summer of 1895-6, Mr. H. A. Moulton conceived the idea of building a church in that neighborhood and proceeded to raise the money by subscription, and I believe solicited funds in every town from Wichita to Guthrie and of every one that he met. By early fall of 1896 he had accumulated enough money to pay for most of the lumber needed to build a church and the church was begun in October, 1896, and completed and ready for occupancy by December. The first Christmas tree you ever attended was put on in this old church on Christmas eve of 1896. I might add that this church, as far as I know, was the first country frame church that was built anywhere in the Cherokee Strip. There were a number of other country churches built at that time or before, but were all constructed either as dugouts or sod houses. To old Mr. Moulton, Uncle Dave Phillips, Timothy Chambers, W. L. Stalnaker and your Uncle Jim is due the credit for the construction of this church. There were other churches built in the towns around about in the summer of 1894-5 or one or two years before this was done, but at that time people could not go

to town in fifteen minutes as they can now, so it was necessary to have Sunday schools and churches where they could get to them.

You might be interested in knowing something of conditions and early history of the town of Tonkawa, as that was the only town you ever knew for a number of years. The present townsite was homesteaded by Eli Blake and Wiley Gregory and in the early spring of 1894, they, together with T. H. Martin, organized, under the Federal law covering the public domain, a townsite company and employed a civil engineer, Elmer Chapson by name, to survey and make a plat of the original townsite of Tonkawa. The plat shows that this was done from April 15 to April 25, 1894, and the town was opened for settlement at that time. The Townsite company gave certificates of purchase for the lots, but could not give deeds until certain formalities required by the United States Government were complied with. The first building on the ground of the new townsite was a little grocery store brought in by C. H. Martindale and was moved from a claim about four miles northwest of town.

During the summer of 1894, B. F. Robison, Mr. Truesdale and a few others, organized a Baptist church and a church was built on the site of the present Baptist church. Also the school district was organized and a frame school building was built that summer on the site of the public school building as it now stands in the town. The townsite was sandy, dirty and a few straggling stores, etc., were scattered around in the town.

The petition for a postoffice was written at the camp of the old Yellow Bull crossing in October, 1893, or a short time after the race, and was circulated among the settlers in this vicinity during the fall of 1893. Eli Blake and H. L. Wile wrote up the petitions which were granted by the Post Office Department a short time afterwards, and Eli Blake was named the first postmaster at about the time the town of Tonkawa was platted. The postoffice, for a time, was in Blake's residence on what is now Twelfth Street in Tonkawa, but was later moved up in the block west of Main Street.

During the summer of 1894, the roads were being changed from trails across the prairie to section lines as the settlers came in and plowed up their land or built fences, as the case might be, on their claims. The Yellow Bull crossing was closed that summer and we had to come up the hill west of Tonkawa where it was very steep and difficult to get up. We who lived west of town had a makeshift ford at the mouth of Deer Creek that we used a great deal. In the fall of 1894, there was a general election of county officers. From September 16, 1893, until this time, all officers of the county and township were appointed by the then governor of the Territory, whose name was Renfrow. Mid-summer of 1894 the political conventions were held for the nomination of the various county officers, and I was unfortunate enough to be selected for the Republican Convention as their candidate for county commissioner in this district and was elected at the election held in November of 1894. The following spring, through my influence and on petition of a number of residents of the town of Tonkawa, the road on the half-section line south of town was laid out as a county road and now the paved road south out of Tonkawa. We managed that summer to get this road open and to fix a makeshift ford across the river near where the bridge now stands.

In the fall of 1895, September to be exact, I managed to get an appropriation out of the bridge fund of the county to build a bridge and we built the old pile bridge across the Salt Fork River. You are, no doubt, kicking about the taxes at the present time. For your information, the entire road and bridge fund the commission had to use from July 1, 1895, to July 1, 1896, was \$3,820. The bridge four hundred and forty feet long across the Salt Fork River at that time, cost \$1,990.

A year later we were enabled to get a bridge built across the Chikaskia River northeast of Tonkawa which gave us a chance to get out in that direction to Ponca City on fairly good roads. It must be remembered that, up to this time and for a year or two later, there was no work done on the highways except such as absolutely had to be done in order to get over them with a wagon and team. There were no graders or other road machinery at that time.

Recounting these incidents in which I had a part, I want to say that the same things with variations, occurred in every neighborhood in the Cherokee Strip and that the cooperation of the people as a whole made it possible for us to go ahead with whatever degree of success we attained. Great credit is due to every one who participated in the development of this part of the country. One of the lessons from this experience which the present generation can learn is that there are no obstacles so large, no difficulties so great but what may be overcome by cooperation and intelligent application to problems in hand.

Affectionately,
A. M. THOMAS

Tonkawa, Oklahoma
February 16, 1934.

Mrs. Niles North,
Arricola, Colorado.
My Dear Mable:

In my letter of September 15, 1933, I gave you what information I could with reference to the early days in our neighborhood from the time of the opening up until 1896. All of this is largely a local matter pertaining to that neighborhood and to finish off the items, many of which were mentioned in my last letter, I am supplementing it by this letter today.

The town of Tonkawa, the opening of which was mentioned in my former letter, was at this time a lively little place and in 1896 had one general store, a hardware, a drug store, three groceries, two saloons, and a feed and livery stable. It is to be remembered that at this time automobiles or any other transportation except team and horseback, were not in use. For the benefit of those who have forgotten what a feed yard means, will say that it was a corral containing probably two or three city lots with sheds all around to put the teams in. They always had a supply of grain and baled hay to feed the stock, and quite often had a small room with a stove in it and bunks on one end for sleeping accommodations for the freighters and teamsters.

At this time and until three years later, 1898 to be exact, all our communications with the outside world were carried on by star and freight route from Ponca City. The crops we raised in this part of the country until 1897 did not justify the construction of railroads, but in that year we raised an immense crop of wheat, much of it making better than fifty bushels to the acre, and a good crop of corn at the same time. This induced the building of railroads in here and the Santa Fe, or a subsidiary of it, built a road from Hutchinson, Kansas, through Medford to Blackwell, which brought our railroad facilities a little closer than they had been. As I recollect it, the crops of 1898 were all hauled to Blackwell and part of the crop of 1899.

In 1899 a party of Tonkawa boosters, headed by T. H. Martin, Mr. Richards and Mr. Gregory, organized what they called the Santa Fe Construction Company and induced the Santa Fe railroad to extend their line from Hunnewell, Kansas, to Blackwell and on to Tonkawa. If my recollection serves me rightly, the first wheat shipped out of Tonkawa

was in the fall of 1899. From then on we had our own railroad at Tonkawa. By this time the town had nearly doubled in population and business, but there was a great deal of dissatisfaction among the property owners where the right-of-way came into town and a number of lawsuits followed the extension of the right-of-way of the tracks and depot. This was the end of the Santa Fe branch and still is. Up until the construction of this railroad all the lumber, coal and supplies of all kinds for the construction of houses, graneries, etc., throughout this section of the country, was hauled by teams from Ponca City and often there would be a hundred or one hundred and fifty teams on the road between this point and Ponca City, hauling in grain and bringing out materials.

I cannot remember exactly when a telephone toll line was built into the town, but the best of my recollection is that the Pioneer Telephone company ran a single line in here and had a pay station at the corner drug store where Freeman's drug store now is, in the summer of 1896. They also built an exchange for the town about the time the railroad came in here or a little before and, as I recollect it, the first telephone exchange office was upstairs on the corner where the Odd Fellows hall now stands. The first rural telephones in this part of the country was an old three-phone telephone system that we had on the farm out there, connecting our place with your Uncle Jim's and your grandfather's places and was run most of the way on wire fences. We put in this little country system that began nowhere and ended nowhere, in 1899. Your Uncle Jim and I agitated for three or four years the construction of a rural system that would connect us with the telephone exchanges of the county. We finally succeeded in organizing the Farmers' Mutual Telephone company in the spring and summer of 1903 or 1904, and built a line connecting the towns of Billings and Tonkawa with the farmers all along taking stock in the company and putting in telephones. After we got this rural telephone started, it grew very fast. Before the organization of this rural system for the farmers, we had a number of interviews with the managers of the Pioneer company in an attempt to induce them to build rural lines in this part of the country. This they refused to do unless we paid the cost of the line at an exorbitant price, or what looked like an exorbitant price at that time, for the telephone service.

After the organization of this rural line, we had to have somewhere to stop, and our first telephone exchange was a central office in M. G. Kreger's store for the rural lines. This was very unsatisfactory, and another line being built for the farmers resulted in the demand for an exchange, which the Farmers' Mutual finally built in 1904 or 1905. Later on, the necessity of putting in extensive repairs on the telephone exchange and the maintenance of something like one hundred miles of rural line became unwieldy, the stockholders, who were farmers, generally disagreed on about every point necessary to conduct a telephone company, which immediately increased the rates of the rural lines from seventy-five cents a month to a dollar and fifty cents and also eliminated all free talks between the towns which the Mutual had formerly maintained, so another cooperative effort of the farmers went to the bad. In the meantime, from the period of 1896 on, the town and country continued to grow and prosper at an amazing rate and, from a little hamlet of a block and a half of business, by 1907 the town had grown to three blocks of business and a number of residences, and had acquired the construction and maintenance by the Territory of Oklahoma of the University Preparatory school, which, as you know, is located at the east end of Grand Avenue.

This school, as I recollect, was constructed about 1901-2, and, if my memory serves me rightly, the first school was held beginning in the fall of 1902. Great credit is due to Honorable Jim Wilkin, also to Dr. Goodman, Eli Blake, T. H. Martin and W. W. Gregory for the push and enterprise

that made it possible to obtain this educational institution. I like to think that I had some influence in the political campaigns immediately preceding this development which enabled us to elect Mr. Wilkin to the Legislature and that I had a small part in this improvement.

According to my recollection, an effort was made by an organization headed by Lincoln McKinley of Newkirk, who organized a small company, and in the summer of 1901 drilled one or two wells southeast of Newkirk. They had a showing of oil at eight hundred feet. This, at that time, was looked upon as a sort of crazy venture. However, we boys in this corner of the county got the fever and, in company with some parties who lived in Billings, your Uncle and I organized the Northern Oklahoma Oil Company; took a few leases, bought a star rig and drilled a couple of wells on the townsite of Billings. This was in 1902-3, but on account of the inadequate machinery and small knowledge of the formations we were unable to drill deep enough to get any results. Some years later than this, I think in 1912, or somewhere along there, the oil fraternity began to prospect in earnest and brought in a field south of Billings and drilled several dry holes over that territory. However, before this time, I think about 1903-4, the Blackwell Oil and Gas Company was organized at Blackwell and proceeded to drill some four or five wells at that time and brought in a very good gas well in the northwest corner of Blackwell. I am uncertain as to the years in which these things happened, but well remember that it was in the years 1902 to 1905.

The development and exploration for oil and gas was very much handicapped by the geological reports of some geologists of that period who contended that a well drilled sixteen hundred feet was the end of the world and really an impossibility. As late as 1912 one promising geologist stated that it was useless to prospect for oil west of the Santa Fe railway's main line. Events since then have proven that a great many cut and dried scientific principles have been proven false.

In 1921 the Marland Oil Company drilled a well eight miles south of Tonkawa which precipitated a big drilling campaign which resulted in heavy oil production in the Three Sands oil field and on our old homestead. The Three Sands field, commonly called, south of Tonkawa, derives its name from the number of producing stratas that were encountered. The first was a gas sand at eleven hundred feet; an oil sand at sixteen hundred feet, another at nineteen hundred feet and at twenty-three hundred feet; and still another at twenty-nine hundred feet, with the best sand of all at four thousand feet, which resulted in the construction of as many as four and sometimes five rigs on one location. This was the most prolific field in point of production that had been discovered in the Mid-Continent area at that time. This field has been producing for a period of eleven years and is still paying a good dividend to those operating. The resources of oil in this part of the country are by no means exhausted if the geologists of the present day are to be believed.

Looking back over the forty years that are covered by these letters to you, the change from a bare prairie to the paved roads, the modern houses, both in city and country, the rapid means of transportation and communication by telephone and railroad are almost more than one can comprehend and to you, who are in the height of your prime of life, it falls the lot to carry on the civilization and improvements that we have accomplished up to the present time.

Affectionately,
A. M. THOMAS.

CONTRIBUTORS OF ARTICLES IN THE CHRONICLES, SEPTEMBER AND DECEMBER ISSUES

W. S. Campbell, who writes under the nom de plume of Stanley Vestal, is Professor of English at the University of Oklahoma and the author of *Mountain Men*, *Kit Carson*, *'Dobe Walls* and other historical works.

Berlin B. Chapman is a member of the history faculty of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, and has contributed articles to *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* and *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*.

Fred S. Clinton, M. D., F.A.C.S., pioneer physician of Tulsa, Oklahoma, is writing a series of articles depicting different phases of the development of that interesting city.

A. H. Ferguson, Attorney at Law, is a resident of Durant, Oklahoma, a fellow elder in the Presbyterian Church and a long time friend of the late Colonel Arthur N. Leecraft.

Carolyn Thomas Foreman, Muskogee, is the author of *Oklahoma Imprints* and of biographical articles which have appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Her latest book, *Indians Abroad*, is just off the University of Oklahoma Press.

James Henry Gardner is President of the Gardner Petroleum Company, Tulsa, Oklahoma, a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and the author of articles appearing in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* and other journals.

Norman Arthur Graebner, a member of the faculty of the Oklahoma College for Women is now serving his country in the armed forces of the United States at Camp Wolters, Texas.

Abraham E. Knepler, a contributor to *The Chronicles* in a previous issue, is head teacher and acting principal of the Home School, Warrenville, New Jersey.

Gerhard B. Naeseth, Associate Librarian, the Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, Oklahoma, is now serving his country in the Seabees at Camp Peary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Ralph H. Records is Professor of History at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, and a contributor to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* and other historical journals.

Carl Steen, M. D., is a member of the staff of the Central Oklahoma State Hospital, Norman, Oklahoma.

Robert L. Williams, Durant, Oklahoma, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, has contributed biographical and other historical articles to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*.

BOOK REVIEWS

Land Hunger: David L. Payne and the Oklahoma Boomers. By Carl Coke Rister. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942. Pp. XIII, 245. Twelve Illustrations, Bibliography and Index. \$2.75.)

Dr. C. C. Rister, head of the University of Oklahoma History Department, explains the make-up of his book in the preface: "In the first three chapters the author presents Payne during his years in Indiana and Kansas when he was being conditioned in mind and body to meet the hard experiences of Oklahoma invasions. There is in Chapter IV a sketch of the Indian settlements after the Civil War incident to Indian Territory reservation assignments and to the origin of the Boomer Movement. The next eleven chapters are devoted to the high tide of the Boomer Movement while Payne was its leader, a period of field operations. Payne's death in 1884 brought to the front his able friend William L. Couch, who was leader of the Boomers until the final success of their movement." The author also states that he "has sought to portray Payne, the principal actor, objectively, and not to condemn or condone his many acts and motives."

The Unassigned Lands, a heart-shaped area of more than 2,000,000 acres and later the nucleus of Oklahoma Territory, engaged the attention of prospective settlers in the 1870's. Not until late in 1879 did David L. Payne—Civil War Veteran, former Kansas Legislator and recent assistant doorkeeper for the National House of Representatives—influenced by E. C. Boudinot, build up a sufficient following to become the recognized leader of the Boomer Movement. Payne, big, bombastic, intrepid, sought again and again to establish permanent settlements in the forbidden land, but each time the intruders were removed by federal troops. But the intruders would not be restrained when it was found that eviction could be their only punishment. Boomer insistence that good, arable land should not be denied land-hungry whites inspired public approval and led to the historic opening of April 22, 1889.

To the Indians, David L. Payne and the Oklahoma Boomers were a desperate and uncultured band of frontier ruffians, the dregs of Kansas and adjoining states; to the railroad corporations, a tool of exploitation; to the cattlemen, hated rivals; but to the home-seekers they were the vanguard of a commonwealth. This study of Rister's will not change pre-conceived notions on the importance of the Boomer Movement but from the wealth of material left by active participants, government reports and newspaper accounts he has presented dispassionately the Boomer Movement. Students of western history, generally, and Oklahomans, particularly, will welcome this newest addition to Professor Rister's studies of the southwest.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

—J. S. Clark

The Progress of Pan Americanism: A Historical Survey of Latin American Opinion. Translated and Edited by T. H. Reynolds. Introduction by George H. White. (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1942. Pp. 418. \$3.00).

The unique system of expressing the political and economic viewpoints of Latin Americans by their own words in translation, yet without tiresome longevity, has been developed by Dr. T. H. Reynolds, Head of the History Department, Oklahoma A. and M. College. This system was manifest in his *Economic Aspects of the Monroe Doctrine*, but especially in his book, *As Our Neighbors See Us*. His new book is a continuation of this series. It contains twenty-five chapters, divided into three parts: The Progress of Pan-Americanism; Pan-Americanism and the World Conflict; and Economic Aspects of Pan-Americanism.

With the axis threat to the British empire came the coincidental development of the good neighbor policy of the United States toward the Latin American nations. And the role of the southern neighbors is steadily becoming of greater importance. Witness how Argentina, being neither foreign invader nor belligerent, occupies a place of world interest.

The reader of *Progress of Pan Americanism* not only refreshes his memory by words of Cordell Hull, but finds cardinal viewpoints of such men as Dr. Miguel Angel Campa, Secretary of State of Cuba; Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan-American Union; Rodolfo Garcia Arias, Minister of Foreign and Cultural Relations of Argentina; Dr. Ricardo Alfaro, Former President of the Republic of Panama; Herman Laborde, Ex-Secretary of the Mexican Communist Party; Luis Robalino Davila, Publications of Central University, Quito, Ecuador; and Antonio Planchart Burgillos, Doctor of Political and Social Sciences in the Central University of Venezuela. Although some of the sources dip back into the nineteenth century, the book deals primarily with events since the year Franklin D. Roosevelt and Adolph Hitler came into national power, and the good neighbor policy was launched.

The greatest challenge to historians of this era is to evaluate fairly, and without bias, the two sides of a raging world controversy. On either side a patriotic leaning now brings the writer applause from his countrymen, but will bring down on him the condemnation of cooler thinking generations of the coming century. In this dilemma there is no safer procedure for historian and layman than to examine carefully the cause of each country as set forth by official spokesmen, realizing of course that no leader represents the views of more than a part of his nation. Well chosen official and educational sources will always command the respect of investigators; on that fact rest the merits of this book.

Some critics may contend that Dr. Reynolds relied too much on the writings of one authority, Dr. Rafael Castells Mendez, for Argentina's attitude toward the world conflict. Others may say that the Mexican oil question receives too much attention. But few will overlook the skill with which selections were made amid voluminous literature. It is unfortunate that a part of the first edition passed the bindery with the table of contents and index omitted. Appropriate illustrations and helpful bibliographies are included.

—Berlin B. Chapman

Oklahoma A. and M. College.



EDWARD FERRIS McKAY

NECROLOGY

EDWARD FERRIS McKAY

1876-1943

Edward Ferris McKay was born in Plains, Pennsylvania, August 5, 1876, and died in Washington, D. C., July 4, 1943. His interment was in Memorial Park Cemetery at Oklahoma City on July 7, 1943. Survivors are his widow, Florence Danson McKay, and his son, Dr. Edward D. McKay, Captain in the United States Army Medical Corps, Fort Sam Houston, Texas.

Edward F. McKay's ancestry is traced to Alexander McKay, who emigrated from Scotland in 1736 and fought in the American Revolution. On the maternal side, he was a descendant of Samuel Ransom, a captain in Washington's army, who lost his life at the Wyoming Massacre, July 3, 1778.

His father was Augustus Frank McKay, who, as a young boy served as a page in the House of Representatives during the Lincoln Administration, and later became a successful physician, practicing his profession in Pennsylvania and the mid-western section of the United States. After a brief stay in the Dakota Territory in 1883, the father changed his residence to Superior, Wisconsin, where young Edward McKay became an original member of the Boy's Useful Club, predecessor of the Boy Scouts of America.

During his nineteenth year, Ed McKay was a student at The Junior Preparatory School at Park College, Parkville, Missouri. He then joined his family which had moved to Chicago, attended Englewood High School and was graduated in 1897 with an excellent scholarship and athletic record.

After this graduation, he became a reporter for the *Colorado Springs Gazette*, and later was made Managing Editor of the *Colorado Springs Telegram*. As time would permit, he took special courses at Colorado College and studied law under the direction of Judge John W. Sleeper, a prominent attorney in the City.

In 1903, he married Florence Danson of Chicago, Illinois, whom he had known as a classmate at the Chicago Englewood High School. Three years later, at the instance of C. E. Sharp of Woodward, Oklahoma, now a resident of Oklahoma City, Mr. and Mrs. McKay moved from Colorado Springs to Woodward. There Mr. McKay owned and operated the *Woodward Dispatch*.

During the year 1907, he was publicity manager for the Honorable J. E. Love, the first Chairman of the State Corporation Commission. Thereafter, he sold the Woodward newspaper, moved to Guthrie and took a position with the State Corporation Commission. In the meantime, he continued his law studies, and in 1910 was admitted to practice by the Supreme Court of Oklahoma.

He remained in the employ of the Commission from 1907 to 1918. The next two years he spent in Bartlesville, Oklahoma, serving as an efficiency expert for Cities Service. From 1920 to 1923 he was again in the employ of the State Corporation Commission, and on June 1 of the latter year became Secretary of the Oklahoma Utilities Association, remaining there until 1935. Subsequently, he was connected with the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce. In 1938 he came to Washington, D. C., as Secretary and Legal Assistant to Paul A. Walker, member of the Federal Communications Commission, in which capacity he served until his death in 1943.

Mr. McKay had a variety of interests, but his great love was writing. He distinguished himself as an analyst with keen critical faculties and ability to express his ideas clearly and effectively.

He was especially interested in the history of Oklahoma, and in his personal files are numerous papers which he prepared, relating to the development of the Sooner State. In this same collection, there are poems and short stories which he wrote, done with no thought of publication, but for the sheer joy he derived from writing. Typical of his poetical style is the following which he wrote to his wife on the date of his twenty-fifth wedding anniversary:

MY CHOICE

A quarter century has passed,
 Yet what a little while
 Has seemed the time that I have lived
 Beneath your gracious smile.

If I could choose the music
 In which I'd e'er rejoice,
 'Twould be the same I've loved so long—
 The music of your voice.

If I could choose the flower for
 My future, all the way
 'Twould be the lovely daisy that
 Bedecked our wedding day.

If I could choose the sunbeam that
 I'd have from heaven above,
 I'd live for alway in the light
 Of the sunshine of your love.

If I could choose again, today,
 And live my life anew,
 I'd care to do it only if
 I might, again, choose YOU.

Edward F. McKay possessed sterling qualities of character which commanded the respect of people and made him friends wherever he went. One hundred twenty-five years ago his grandfather, E. A. McKay, adopted seven rules as a guide to his life. Upon attaining his majority, the grandson subscribed to these same rules and consistently practiced them. As stated in the records of the McKay Family they are:

1. I shall endeavor at all times to be employed, though I may not receive as much for my services as I might wish.
2. I shall avoid all extravagance in dress, endeavoring at the same time to wear such apparel as shall be decent and becoming.
3. I shall hold myself aloof at all times from the society of the vile of *both* sexes.
4. I shall abstain wholly from the use of intoxicating liquors of whatsoever name or nature until such time as the same shall be deemed absolutely necessary for the preservation of health.
5. I shall avoid speaking evil of others when not in their presence.
6. I shall never permit myself to speak lightly of the Holy Bible or of the Christian religion.

His favorite hobby was collecting autographs of noted people, and one of his prized possessions was an album inherited from his father, bearing the signatures of about five-hundred prominent persons from Lincoln to Roosevelt.



DAVID BURDETTE BLUE

From his earliest days, Mr. McKay took an active part in civic affairs. Wherever he lived he became a useful citizen and made valuable contributions to the community. In Oklahoma where he resided for many years, he was a leader in the Chamber of Commerce, was a member of the Men's Dinner Club, and for a time was a member of both the Executive Board of the Boy Scouts of America and the Red Cross Board. He was an elder in the First Presbyterian Church of Oklahoma City for more than twenty-five years, and for approximately the same period was sponsor of the Junior Church.

He became a charter member of Amity Lodge, No. 473, A. F. & A. M., of Oklahoma City, in 1917, by transfer from Woodward Lodge, No. 189, where he had taken his first Masonic degrees. In October, 1932, he took the degrees in the McAlester Albert Pike Lodge of Perfection.

He was an active and long time member of the Oklahoma Society Sons of the American Revolution, serving as its State President in 1921. For many years he presented the S. A. R. Citizenship Medal to the Oklahoma schools which his son attended. In 1942 he also presented to the Oklahoma City Edgemere School a copy of THE AMERICAN'S CREED, personally inscribed and signed by its author, the late Honorable William Tyler Page.

Always keenly interested in the law, he maintained active membership in the Oklahoma Bar Association until his death in 1943.

After coming to Washington in 1938, he devoted much time to the work of the Oklahoma State Society. Following his death, this organization paid a glowing tribute to Mr. McKay, which reads in part as follows:

"In the passing of Edward Ferris McKay, America has lost a great patriot, his family is deprived of association with an ideal husband and father; his business associates are without the wise and loyal counsel of a keen intellect of the utmost integrity and his friends are the poorer for missing the cheerful Christian comradeship of a man who was in every inch a model that the world might pattern by.

"Here was a man who measured up to the best of anybody's standards, who loved to do for others, who never was too busy, nor too tired, to work for his state, for his friends, for the underprivileged or for a Christian cause.

"The Oklahoma State Society of Washington, D. C., mourns his passing. He will be long remembered as a great citizen, a zealous patriot, a loving neighbor, a faithful friend and a true Christian."

—Paul A. Walker

Washington, D. C.

DAVID BURDETTE BLUE

1886-1943

David Burdette Blue was born at Pleasanton, Kansas, on January 3, 1886, the son of John Frederick and Mattie Price Blue. He died at Tulsa, Oklahoma, on May 17, 1943, at the age of fifty-seven years. So began and so ended the full life of a great humanitarian who held the respect of all who were privileged to know him.

Mr. Blue received his elementary and high school education in the Pleasanton and Coffeyville Public Schools and was graduated from the University of Kansas in 1905 with a baccalaureate degree in law at the age of nineteen. He came to Oklahoma two years later and began the practice of law at Bartlesville, subsequently becoming the first City Attorney of that city, an office which he held for a number of years.

On October 12, 1911 he married Violet Catherine Kroenert of Arkansas City, Arkansas. To them were born two sons: David Burdette Blue, Jr., and John Frederick Blue. In the summer of 1932, John met with a fatal accident. David, now a Captain serving with the United States Army at Ft. Lewis, Washington, is the father of a son, David Burdette Blue III. Besides Mrs. Blue, of Tulsa, and David, other members of Mr. Blue's immediate family are a half-sister Mrs. Grace B. Brydon of Bloomington, Maryland, and a half brother Fred O. Blue of Charleston, West Virginia.

In 1917, Mr. Blue associated himself with the late H. V. Foster and gave up the general practice of law to become General Counsel for the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company, one of the leading oil exploration and producing companies of the Mid-Continent Area. To the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company he devoted the remainder of his life with a passionate interest that ultimately made it a unique Company with unshakable bonds between employers and employees. His keen personal interest in each and every employee went hand in hand with his devotion to the development of the company itself.

In 1926, Mr. Blue became Vice-President and General Manager of the Company. Shortly after this time the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company became active in the Seminole Area and was responsible for the drilling of several discovery wells there. In 1928, this Company drilled the deep discovery well in the Oklahoma City Field. In 1935, Burdette Blue became President and General Manager of the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company in which capacity he served until that Company was merged with the Cities Service Oil Company on August 1, 1941. From that date until his death, he continued to serve the Cities Service Company in a legal advisory capacity, but removed his residence to Tulsa and established law offices in the National Bank of Tulsa Building, with the firm of Ramsey, Martin and Logan.

Burdette Blue's contributions to the advancement of Oklahoma were numerous. He was the thirteenth President of the Kansas-Oklahoma Division, Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association. Serving his second term in that office, in the several months prior to his death, he had devoted almost his entire efforts to the promotion of sound secondary recovery practices, rules, regulations and laws. These matters he felt to be of pressing importance not only to the oil operators and the State, but to the Nation as a whole, particularly because of the war emergency.

Mr. Blue's leadership in the affairs of the petroleum industry followed many avenues. He was one of the organizers of the Osage Oil and Gas Lessees Association and maintained an active interest and leadership in that Association's affairs throughout the years. He was long an active member of the Independent Petroleum Association of America and served as Chairman of that Association's Public Relations Committee for a number of years. He also was a member of the American Petroleum Institute and maintained an active interest in its affairs.

Mr. Blue was a member of the American Bar Association, the Oklahoma Bar Association, the Tulsa County Bar Association, Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity, and a 32nd degree Mason. He was a Life Member of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The friends who mourn the passing of Burdette Blue are countless. His sympathy, understanding, and warm humor made him an outstanding personality whose place cannot be filled by any other man. He was a friend of Labor, a practical business man with a great heart, a student who could quote the Poets or discuss political trends with equal accuracy. The memory of this man will live in the minds and hearts of his friends.

—MARTHA TOBIN HOKE

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma



MAJOR EUGENE MORTIMER KERR

MAJOR EUGENE MORTIMER KERR

1869-1943

Major Eugene Mortimer Kerr, son of Col. Eugene Mortimer Kerr and his wife, and the grandson of Col. Thomas Kerr and his wife, of English ancestry, was born at Granville, Ohio, on November 11, 1869 and died at Muskogee, Oklahoma on July 16, 1943; interment in Green Hill Cemetery in Muskogee, Oklahoma.

Major Eugene Mortimer Kerr was married on November 21, 1894 to Edith L. Dill, daughter of Wallace C. and Adelia Anne Dill. To this union were born two children, to-wit: Eugene M. Kerr, Jr., and Catherine Kerr Gillespie who died in 1935, leaving a son, Bernard Gillespie, Jr., now a Lieutenant in the United States Army Air Corps stationed in North Africa. The widow, Edith L. Dill Kerr and the son, Eugene M. Kerr, Jr., now occupy the family home at 1625 Elmira Street, in Muskogee.

Major Kerr and his family removed from Columbus, Ohio to Muskogee, then Indian Territory, on November 8, 1904, where he became associated with the late Col. Wm. E. Decker in the publication of the Muskogee Democrat. Col. Decker later disposed of all his interest in said paper to Major Kerr and removed to Fort Smith where he published a newspaper for a number of years until he retired and moved to Los Angeles, California where he soon thereafter died.

Major Kerr served as a Member of the State Legislature in both the house and senate and also for years was a member of the Board of Regents of the Oklahoma State University, of which for a time he was President, and also he was a member of the State Welfare Commission and of the State Budget Committee and performed many tasks of public service. He rendered great service to the state in a budget capacity. During World War No. 1 he was appointed by the Governor as a Major in the National Guard and in connection with the Adjutant General was an executive officer in the administration of the selective draft. In the latter part of the war he was notified that a commission would be issued to him as a Major in the United States Army in such a capacity as would take him to Europe, but the Armistice and the close of the war prevented the consummation of that service.

John Kerr, an ancestor, with three associates, located the State Capitol of Ohio at what is now Columbus. In 1812 they donated to the State two ten-acre tracts of land each for public buildings and agreed to build thereon structures that would cost not less than \$50,000.00. The offer was accepted by the Legislature and carried out and Columbus became the Capital of the State on December 1, 1817.

His father, the first Eugene Mortimer Kerr, was a Colonel in the Federal Army during the Civil War and in command at Camp Chase, a military prison near Columbus and years after the war, Major Kerr promoted an annual custom of decorating the graves of Confederate Soldiers who were buried there. The father of Major Kerr died while he was only four years of age and the widowed mother removed to Chicago but the change so affected the child's health that he was sent back to his grandmother with whom he made his home until his health improved. Young Kerr apprenticed himself to a brick mason whom he served faithfully for five years and was considered to be an unusually skilled mechanic in the art, but he never followed it as a business.

He entered Central College and sold books and chopped wood to secure means for his support while in the college and with a neighbor boy, Fred Dill, who later became his brother-in-law, went west and during the late 80's and early 90's the two boys were in Denver, Dill securing employment as bell-boy and later becoming assistant clerk at the Brown Palace Hotel and Kerr became a reporter on the *Rocky Mountain News*, and at the opening of the Cherokee Outlet was assigned there as a reporter and later joined in the run and staked a claim about eight miles from Enid and lived in a sod house but after such pioneering he returned

to Ohio and became a reporter on the *Columbus Press* and in 1899 a member of the staff of the *Columbus Citizen* and also correspondent for the *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune* and was associated with and a friend of Warren G. Harding who was a State Senator.

He became active in politics and identified himself with the Ohio Democratic organization, his first appointment in the public service in Ohio being on the Columbus Civil Service Commission.

Major Kerr, after acquiring control of the *Muskogee Democrat*, also acquired control of the *Muskogee Times* and consolidated the two papers as the *Muskogee Times Democrat*, which during the World War he sold to the Phoenix organization.

The last fifteen years of Major Kerr's life were spent in handling estates including the Okmulgee Democrat, Riverside Oil Company, the Exchange Trust Company and others. In 1932 he became associated with the Oklahoma Natural Gas Company as a public relations advisor and was so employed at the time of his death.

He had serious trouble from an impaired heart for twenty years, and on July 16, 1943 he was severely stricken while at the Tulsa Office of the Oklahoma Natural Gas Company. He was rushed to a local hospital and later removed to a Muskogee Hospital and then removed to the family home, then later to the Mayo Clinic at Rochester, Minnesota and then to a Lodge in Minnesota and back to the hospital and then his home again at Muskogee.

He was a member of the Presbyterian Church, of all the Muskogee Masonic Bodies, the Chamber of Commerce, the Muskogee City Council and Hospital Board. He had responded to any and all public calls before he responded to the call of the great reaper, after having spent a useful life.

—ROBERT L. WILLIAMS

Durant, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

October 28, 1943.

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held in the Historical Society building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, October 28, 1943, with Judge Robert L. Williams, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: Judge Robert L. Williams, Judge Thomas H. Doyle, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mrs. Jessie E. Moore, Hon. George L. Bowman, Judge Harry Campbell, Dr. E. E. Dale, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Mr. H. L. Muldrow, Judge Baxter Taylor, Mrs. John R. Williams and James W. Moffitt, the Secretary.

On motion duly seconded the absentees were excused on account of other engagements or the gas and tire rationing restrictions.

Mr. H. C. Jones appeared before the Board and presented the request of the '89ers Association for the use of the Women's Patriotic Room for the monthly meetings of the Association.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle made the motion that the matter be referred to the committee on that room of which Judge Robert A. Hefner is chairman. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President introduced Judge C. Ross Hume of Anadarko, one of the members of the Society.

The President transmitted to the Society the uniform of Col. Lorenz Rodke, a member of the staff of Governor Williams and a group picture of Governor Williams and his staff at the laying of the corner stone of the Capitol November 16, 1915, the gift of Col. Rodke's daughter, Mrs. Marie Rodke Bailey, of Ada, Oklahoma.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour made the motion that this uniform and picture be accepted and that Mrs. Bailey be thanked for this contribution to the Society. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle made the motion that the Secretary be instructed to have the picture framed and also to secure the identity of each person in the picture. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that the Society request Gen. Pat Hurley to contribute his portrait for the art gallery. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President transmitted three books for the Library, the gift of Dr. Urban de Hasque of Manchester, Oklahoma, i. e. (1) *The Oklahoma Sacramental Wine Case*, (2) *History of the Catholic Churches in Oklahoma, 1874-1940* and (3) *St. Rose of Lima Parish Bulletins 1933*.

Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that these be accepted and that the President be requested to express the thanks and appreciation of the Society to Dr. Urban de Hasque. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President also transmitted the framed picture of the building in Kingfisher, Oklahoma, in which the Historical Society was organized in 1893, the gift of Hon. George L. Bowman.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour made the motion that this picture be accepted with appreciation and Mr. Bowman be thanked for his contribution of the picture of this memorable building. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President read a contract of gift by Sgt. Thomas V. Connor, presenting a buffalo robe overcoat and a large photograph of an "Old Scouts' Reunion."

Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that these be accepted with thanks and appreciation, and that the picture be framed. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. H. L. Muldrow presented the *Proceedings of a Conference of Grand Masters*, held at Philadelphia, June 1, 2, and 3, 1909, the first conference of Grand Masters held in the world.

Judge Thomas A. Edwards made the motion that this book be accepted and Mr. Muldrow thanked for this contribution to our collection of Masonic material. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Frank Korn in behalf of Mrs. M. Alice Miller, of El Reno, Oklahoma, presented the portrait of her husband, Dr. Charles Miller, to the Society, and requested that it be hung near her portrait and the case of books in the library which she had given to the Society. Mrs. Miller was assured that her request would be complied with. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President read the presentation of gifts from the files of Douglas H. Johnston, last elected Governor of the Chickasaw Nation, also gifts from her own collection, all contributed by Mrs. Juanita Johnston Smith, the daughter of Governor Johnston, consisting of photographs of Chickasaw subjects and people and newspaper clippings presented through the office of Miss Muriel H. Wright for listing the historical data on the pictures for the research department. The collection included a tin, money box that had belonged to Jane Hawkins Factor, great grandmother of Mrs. Smith.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore made the motion that these be accepted with thanks and appreciation. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle moved that a resolution be adopted expressing condolence to Gen. Charles F. Barrett and his family in their bereavement over the recent death of Mrs. Charles F. Barrett, and copy be forwarded to them. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President called attention to the passing of Col. Arthur Neal Leecraft and the sketch on his life, which will appear in the December issue of *The Chronicles*. A motion was made and seconded, expressing appreciation for his valuable services as a member of the Board of Directors for many years. Tributes were made to his memory by different members of the Board present.

The Secretary presented the minutes of the meeting of the Board held July 29, 1943. Upon motion of Judge Thomas A. Edwards, duly seconded, they were accepted as read.

The Secretary presented a letter from Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, relative to the Fort Gibson property, as follows:

"I find that I will not be able to attend the meeting on next Thursday, therefore I would like to make a report on our Fort Gibson property.

"I drove to Fort Gibson last Sunday afternoon, stopping at Muskogee for Dr. Grant Foreman to join me. We made an inspection of the property and find it to be in fair condition, with some improvement made by our tenants, Mr. and Mrs. Fronsberger, except the roof. The leak that we had repaired some time ago is still causing trouble, and we directed Mr. Fronsberger to see if the men who made the repairs would not give it some attention, even though we paid them for their additional work. However, if they will not attend to it we will have some one else make the repairs.

"Mr. and Mrs. Fronsberger are taking good care of the premises and are glad to co-operate with us in any recommendations that we make. I believe that I am speaking for the committee in recommending that they be retained as custodians of the property, and I believe that they would like to have the privilege of staying there at least one more year.

(Signed) Thomas J. Harrison."

Judge Robert A. Hefner reported that all outstanding claims against the Robert L. Williams portrait fund had been paid and that there remained a balance of \$14.92, and made the motion that this balance be transferred to the private funds of the Society. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Blanche Lucas and carried.

The Secretary called attention to the gift made by Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, a painting by Carl Sweezy, the Indian artist, representing a peyote ceremonial tepee. Upon motion duly seconded, the Secretary was requested to have it framed and the amount paid out of the transferred fund.

The Secretary presented the following list of applicants for membership:

LIFE: T. Jack Foster, Norman and David D. Price, Oklahoma City.

ANNUAL: Mrs. Phoebe W. Addison, Weatherford; E. S. Anthony, Norman; Mrs. D. H. Aston, Tulsa; T. R. Benedum, Norman; Wallace Brewer, Lookeba; George M. Brown, McAlester; Lowell C. Brown, Norman; J. A. Burkhart, College Station, Texas; Harold Bash Carey, Oklahoma City; John Richard Cavnar, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Harry W. Clegern, Edmond; Benjamin C. Conner, Tulsa; Harold S. Cooksey, Norman; Mrs. Hugh Cooper, Oklahoma City; James S. Downing, Norman; Prof. Mattie Driskill, Weatherford; Mose W. Endicott, Norman; Dr. James H. Felgar, Norman; Miss Hyla Ford, Norman; John W. Foster, Norman; James D. Fulton, Muskogee; Russell A. Gideon, Tulsa; L. L. Gill, Shawnee; Sam G. Hale, Norman; E. C. Henderson, Norman; Mrs. Clarence J. Hindman, Tulsa; Judge Justin Hinshaw, Norman; Clyde M. Holliday, Norman; Norman M. Hulings, Tulsa; Robert Walton Hutto, Norman; Ernest B. Jackson, San Marcos, Texas; Jerry B. Jeter, Oklahoma City; G. B. Johnson, Norman; Philip C. Kidd, Norman; Mrs. William A. Kraus, Bartlesville; James A. Lathim, Jr., Fort Sill; Herman E. Lautaret, Norman; F. F. Lindley, Oklahoma City; Dr. W. T. Mayfield, Norman; Henry P. Meyer, Norman; Frank O. Miller, Norman; Mrs. Edna Muldrow, Weatherford; Prof. W. K. Newton, Norman; Rev. Ernest F. Nolte, Kingfisher; Mrs. J. M. Owen, Oklahoma City; Robert Lee Owen, Tulsa; W. H. Patton, Norman; Mrs. Ed L. Peckham, Blackwell; Fred Reed, Norman; G. M. Roberts, Norman; Jasper Roberts, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Mary Rodgers, Konowa; Mrs. Edith Barrows Russell, Oklahoma City; Harry B. Rutledge, Norman; Robert D. Shaw, Tulsa; E. F. Sherman, Norman; Mrs. Alpheus L. Spencer, Norman; George W. Tarter, Norman; Dr. H. V. Thornton, Norman; J. V. Tully, Oklahoma City; Paul W. Updegraff, Norman; Dr. Andrew B. Walker, Norman; Mrs. A. L. Welsh, Oklahoma City; Mrs. L. G. West, Oklahoma City; M. G. Wicker, Oklahoma City; Lester A. Wiedman, Norman; Dr. G. A. Wiley, Norman; Dr. W. M. Wilson, Tulsa; and Dexter Woods, Oklahoma City.

Hon. George L. Bowman made the motion that they be elected and received as members in the class indicated in the above list. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. H. L. Muldrow, chairman of the membership committee, was commended for his success in securing new members.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore reported progress in her endeavors to secure banners from the Choctaws, the Chickasaws and the Seminoles.

Mr. H. L. Muldrow, chairman of the map committee, reported that the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company informed him that it would be unable to furnish the map case as provided by action of the Board January 28, 1943. Mr. Muldrow made the motion that a committee be appointed to make other purchases to conserve this fund. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President appointed Mr. H. L. Muldrow, Judge Robert A. Hefner and Judge Baxter Taylor, to serve on this committee, for the purchase of other equipment in lieu of the map case.

Judge Robert A. Hefner moved that the committee on repairing maps be continued. Motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore made the motion that the said committee be authorized to purchase museum cases if funds are available. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President announced a vacancy on the Board occasioned by the death of Col. Arthur Neal Leecraft.

Mr. H. L. Muldrow nominated Mr. Thomas G. Cook, of Buffalo, Oklahoma, as a member of the Board to succeed Col. A. N. Leecraft.

Judge Thomas A. Edwards seconded the nomination.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle made the motion that the rules be suspended and the Secretary be instructed to cast the ballot for Mr. Cook. The motion was seconded and unanimously carried and the Secretary cast the ballot. Mr. Cook was elected director.

The President read a letter from Dr. Grant Foreman, tendering his resignation as a member of the Board of Directors.

Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that his resignation be accepted with regrets, and that Dr. Grant Foreman be elected Director Emeritus for life. Motion was seconded and carried.

Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, of Muskogee, be elected to succeed Doctor Foreman on the Board, which was duly seconded.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle made the motion that the rules be suspended and the Secretary instructed to cast the ballot of the Board for Mr. Mountcastle. Motion was seconded and unanimously carried. The Secretary cast the ballot of the Board for Mr. Mountcastle as director.

Mrs. John R. Williams presented a picture of the missionaries Rev. Walter Roe and his wife and Rev. Frank H. Wright at the Seger Indian School at Colony Indian Territory.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour made the motion that this picture be accepted with appreciation and that it be framed. Motion was seconded and carried.

The President appointed the following committee to supervise framing these pictures: The Secretary, Mrs. Annie R. Cubage and Mrs. Frank Korn.

Hon. George L. Bowman made the motion that the Governor and the State Board of Affairs be requested to lend temporarily and for a reasonable length of time the minutes of the State Capitol Commission and of the Citizens' Advisory Capitol Commission to the Society, to be copied. Motion was seconded and carried.

The meeting on motion duly seconded stood adjourned subject to the call of the President.

Robert L. Williams,
President

James W. Moffitt,
Secretary

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