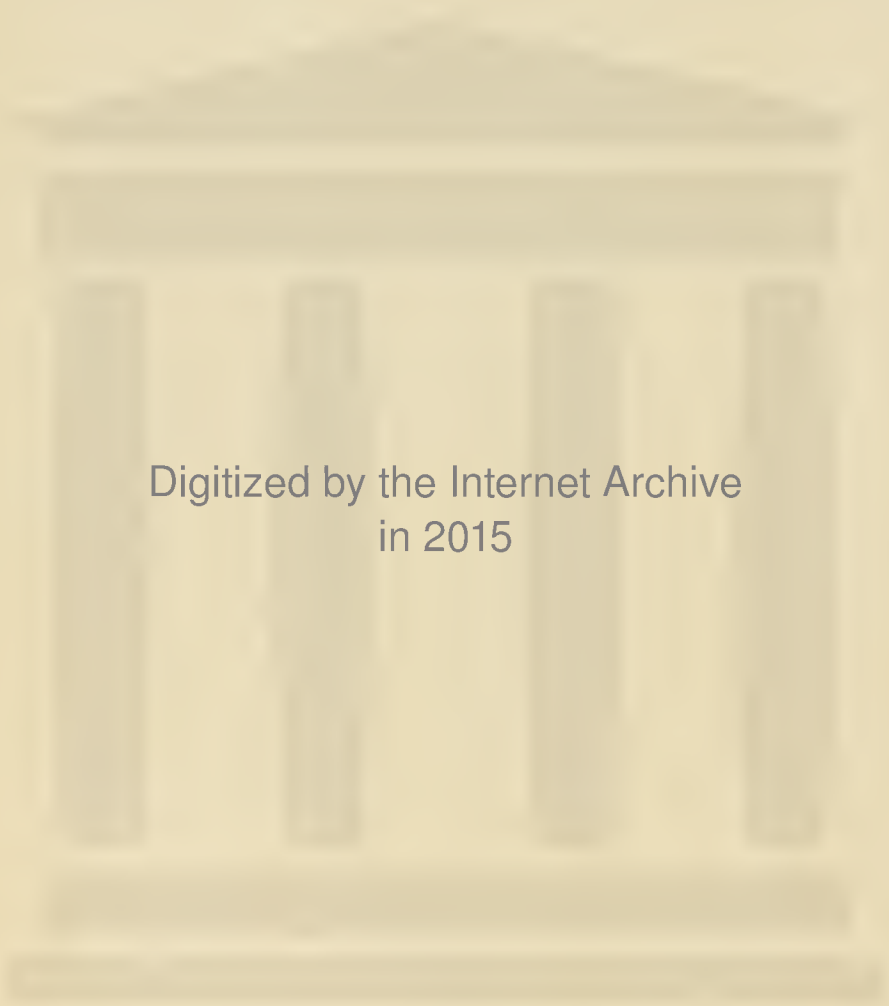


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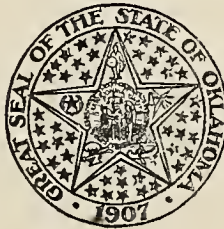
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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

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WOMEN TEACHERS IN OKLAHOMA 1820-1860

*By Ethel McMillan*¹

INTRODUCTION

Some pages of our American history offer no satisfaction for immediately the relation with the Indian people who were here before our arrival arrests attention. Yet the story of Christian missions among the Indians is one that does give deep satisfaction, and should be cherished. To Oklahomans, it is of particular interest since we are the beneficiaries.

The constructive work of the women teachers sent by the Protestant churches among the Southeastern Indians had become so integrated into their better living that with the removal of these tribes under Government supervision from east of the Mississippi River, many of these devoted instructors accepted the hazards implied and cast their lot even with the transplanting. Others new in the work joined them. Consecrated to the aims of the task ahead, they came as pioneers to this western land with joy in their hearts, so sure were they in the hope of teaching and carrying on the art of Christian living.

Satisfying results from the labors in such missions as Springplace, Brainerd, and Valley Towns among the Cherokees, Elliot and Mayhew among the Choctaws, Monroe among the Chickasaws, and Asbury among the Creeks, led to the determination to carry the work of Christian education among the Indian people west of the Mississippi.

LIFE AT UNION MISSION

Union Mission among the Osage Indians, the first mission within the bounds of Oklahoma, was established under the auspices of the United Foreign Missionary Society in 1819, only two years after

¹ Ethel Brewer McMillan is Chairman of the Committee on Pioneer Women and Research, in Delta Kappa Gamma Society of Oklahoma, a national honorary association of women teachers, which has as one of its purposes the preservation of the records of the pioneer women teachers in Oklahoma. This article in *The Chronicles* is contributed by Miss McMillan through her painstaking search through the historical records to find the names and something of the labors of those women who served as teachers in the Indian Territory from 1820 to 1860. A native of Dover, Mason County, Kentucky, Miss McMillan began teaching in Purcell, Oklahoma, soon after statehood. She came as a teacher to Culbertson School in Oklahoma City at its opening in 1910, and served as its principal from 1919 until her retirement in 1947. As an outstanding honor student, she graduated from Midway School for Girls, Woodford County, Kentucky; is a graduate of the University of Oklahoma, and has her master's degree from Columbia University, New York.—Ed.

the organization of the Society among the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches. When it was proposed to establish a station west of the Mississippi, the Reverend Epaphras Chapman and Job P. Vinall were appointed to select the site. After months of travel the country of the Arkansas Cherokees was reached in July of that year.² Here finding that the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions had already planned to establish a station in this region, they pushed on west to the Osage country now a part of Oklahoma.³

Under the guidance of Captain Nathaniel Pryor and some of the mixed blood French-Osage employees in the fur trade living at the Three Forks of the Arkansas, a location was chosen in this well favored region where the Arkansas, the Neosho and the Verdigris rivers unite.⁴ Today the site of Union Mission may be found on the west bank of the Neosho or Grand River about seven miles southeast of the town of Chouteau in Mayes County.⁵

This initial effort in a movement of such consequence in Oklahoma's development, the success or failure of which was to influence the entire enterprise, justifies the presentation of interesting phases of the story of this first mission because it furnished something of the pattern for other missions and tribal boarding schools which were to follow in this region. It is our purpose to catch a glimpse of the contribution of the early women teachers of Oklahoma. Herein we find the first offering.

² "On July 13, 1819, Epaphras Chapman and Job P. Vinall, after visiting Brainerd and making the long journey, reached the Arkansas Cherokees. Then advanced to junction of Poteau and Arkansas River [Ft. Smith], where a joint council was held with Cherokees and Osages (with) introduction most favorable. A station was selected as seat of Mission about 25 miles from junction of the rivers."—*Missionary Herald*, 1821, p. 25.

³ The plans of the American Board, under the management of the missionaries and their assistants, Alfred Finney, Cephas Washburn, James Orr, and Jacob Hitchcock, resulted in the establishment of Dwight Mission in what is now Polk County, Arkansas, north of the Arkansas River. The first church services here were held in May, 1821, among the Arkansas Cherokees, better known in Oklahoma history as the Western Cherokees. These people had voluntarily migrated some years before, from the Cherokee country east of the Mississippi to this region in Arkansas, and numbered about 2,000 to 2,500 in 1820. By terms of their treaty with the U. S. in 1828, they settled in Northeastern Oklahoma in the country later organized as the Cherokee Nation. The operations at Dwight Mission were suspended in 1829, and the mission re-established on the site of Nicksville, near present Marble City, in Sequoyah County, Oklahoma. Except for a period of about twenty years beginning with the War between the States, Dwight Mission continued in operation under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), until 1948.—Ed.

⁴ On their return down the Arkansas, both Cephas Washburn and Job Vinall were stricken with fever and had to remain at Fort Smith. Mr. Vinall died after a lingering illness, and Mr. Washburn made the long journey back to New York alone.—Ed.

⁵ Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), Vol. I., p. 190.

Fortunately there is preserved in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society the original Journal of Union Mission in manuscript from which we get the day by day life of a group of people, some of them strangers to each other, accustomed to the environment of one of the advanced cultural sections of our country, starting on a journey to the wilds of an unknown new land, and held together only by the common purpose of serving a people whose needs were great.

Highly important to this accomplishment was the need to develop and sustain wholesome relations among themselves under privations no one could have foreseen, for buildings had to be erected with but few of the simplest tools, food provided and prepared by no one but themselves and all other common place necessities respected, meanwhile vigorously laboring for acceptance by this unknown people, the Osages.

The next spring, April, 1820, saw the company of twenty-one carefully selected persons who were to man this first mission to be established in Oklahoma gathered in New York City for several days of inspirational services and the ingathering of generous donations and supplies.⁶ It was indeed appropriate that pause should here be made for this was the inauguration of the movement for the cultural development of a State whose potentialities were perhaps vaguely sensed. There is something of a prophetic nature in this record of one of the members who later wrote, "We have increasing evidence that the mission is about to excite a general interest in the churches, and needs to be only distinctly known to receive the support of all the friends of Zion in the region through which we have passed."⁷

On April 20th, the journey began by way of Philadelphia and overland to Pittsburgh where the embarkation was made in two keel boats propelled by oarsmen. Stops were made along the Ohio where hospitality and generous support were poured out. The Mississippi River was reached with a sense of well-being and there were no serious difficulties until in the vicinity of Memphis, where the White River had to be entered in order to get into the Arkansas as the only means of reaching the destination. In early summer, low water with the oarsmen pulling up-stream retarded progress. Muddy river water had to be used for drinking water, and mosquitoes infested the adjacent swamps, so that a virulent form of

⁶ *Missionary Herald*, 1821, p. 25.

⁷ *Union Mission Journal*, p. 9.

malaria soon wrought havoc.⁸ After seventeen days of suffering Dolly E. Hoyt's life was over. Four days later the stricken travelers landed at Little Rock. The next day Susan Lines died.⁹

With all members of the party in such low state of health nothing remained but to stay in Little Rock and await recovery. Some of the men went on ahead and arrived at the chosen site on the west side of Grand River in November, 1820, where they began the work of felling trees in the forest and building. By mid-December it was judged sensible for the rest of the party to re-embark on the Arkansas in the faithful keel-boats. All went well for a time but shoals appeared and there was no chance to row until the water deepened, so mooring was made in as sheltered a harbor as could be found and a dreary month endured before sufficient rise in the stream allowed the completion of the now forlorn journey which had begun so auspiciously. In the journal is recorded in meager words their arrival at the station site on "Lord's Day February 18, 1821," eloquent in under statement.¹⁰

There must have been ready a building of some sort for we find that on March 10th, there is much rejoicing over having moved into their new cabins. By May, a boat load of supplies from Cincinnati was landed, including a quantity of clothing for Indian children, from the Union Mission Society of Philadelphia in which

⁸ Members of Mission: Rev. Wm. F. Vaill, North Guilford, Conn.; Rev. Epaphras Chapman, East Haddam, Conn.; Dr. Marcus Palmer, Greenwich, Conn.; Stephen Fuller, Farmer, East Haddam, Conn.; Abraham Redfield, carpenter, Orange Co., N. Y.; John Milton Spaulding, stone-cutter, Colchester, Conn.; Wm. C. Requa, farmer, and teacher, Tarrytown, N. Y.; Alexander Woodruff, blacksmith, Newark, N. Y.; George Requa, farmer and teacher, Tarrytown, N. Y.; Mrs. Arsenath Vaill, wife of Rev. Vaill, Mrs. Hannah E. M. Chapman, wife of Rev. Chapman; Miss Susan Lines, Reading, Conn.; Miss Eliza Cleaver, Litchfield, Conn.; Miss Clarissa Johnson, Colchester, Conn.; Miss Mary Foster, New York; Miss Dolly E. Hoyt, Danbury, Conn.; and Miss Phoebe Beach, Newburgh, N. Y.—*Missionary Herald*, 1821, p. 25.

⁹ Union Mission Journal, p. 25, gives this record:

"We have in her life a bright example. Her activity and zeal, her rational piety, her ardent friendship, her devotedness to Christ, endeared her to our souls. This morning about 11 o'clock we interred her precious remains on the bank of the river in as eligible a situation as we could find and with Christian decency. . . . For the information of the passing stranger whose eye might chance to fall on this little hillock and enquire, 'Whose grave is this?' we left the following inscription:

Dolly E. Hoyt

Member of Union Mission

Age 23, A. D. 1820 (July 21)."

In the same record we find: "What excellency is removed from the earth in the death of Sister Hoyt and Sister Lines! They were eminently qualified for mission work and we trusted that God had sent them thither to labor for the perishing Indians. . . ."

The *Missionary Herald* of 1821, p. 26, also notes that, "The two young women who were removed so early from their disinterested labor possessed the most excellent character and promised a great usefulness. They were also remarkable for health and vigor of constitution."

¹⁰ Union Mission Journal, pp. 49 and 54.

had been placed the sum of \$450. Further building was pushed, vegetables planted, and fields made ready.

By September 1, 1821, the school was ready to begin, and what an auspicious day, for this was Oklahoma's first school. The Osage people were not sure that the white man's way of living was for them, so they ventured the opportunity for the girls first. The results justified their risking, ere long, the fate of the young braves and even giving consent for two of the most promising lads to go to the school in Cornwall, Connecticut.

Privations continued to be great, sickness returned with no Peruvian bark to combat what they recognized as malaria; war between the Osages and Cherokees over conflicting claims brought turmoil, but the work of the Mission moved steadily forward even to the establishment of a farming settlement a few miles away, later known as "Hopefield."

Perhaps the greatest comfort to the overworked women was the completion of an ample sized kitchen, for until then their difficult labor in cooking had all been done with little or no shelter.¹¹ So an open fire with chimney, attached hooks, and swinging crane, all under a good roof afforded much relief even though there was no source of servant assistance among the Osages. Even with this relief it is noted the women were so burdened that without further adjustment their lives would have been sacrificed so it was decided to separate the household into groups that cooking and eating might be facilitated. It was this realization that brought the decision to seek further relief by bringing in the Indian women and girls to assist in the domestic labors. The men were especially relieved to receive from the mill-wrights; after great labor and expense, the mills for sawing and grinding for the work appeared to be well executed. Perhaps greatest pride in material achievement was in the spring-house reported on May 23, 1923, as completed with structure substantial and workmanship excellent. Also the surrounding surface well paved.¹² Skilled artisans had accompanied the missionary group from the East.

Throughout the records one senses the constant demand upon the resources of all members of this group of men and women carefully chosen for their intelligence, cultural background, spiritual attainment, promise of physical stamina, skills, and strength of character. As glimpses of these sacrifices are caught, not only in deaths enroute, but in the day by day endurance through the years of following the determination to bring light to the Indian people, we sense that all of their abilities were sometimes not sufficient. The break came with Eliza Cleaver when she was found wander-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 189, 206, 250.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 176.

ing over the prairies with mind so disordered as to make her return home imperative.¹³ On one occasion illness was so prevalent that only Mary Foster remained in health. Even Doctor Marcus Palmer, the physician, was seriously ill for weeks. The desire for a vegetable diet as an unspeakable blessing was expressed. The Reverend Chapman was released by death on January 6, 1825.¹⁴

Not only illness stalked abroad but further discouragement came when just as marked progress was being shown in the development of the children entrusted to the mission, often they were taken away. Devotion to their interests is manifested at a time when stress of illness was severe and, though Clarissa Johnson was stricken, she gladly adopted a baby girl left as a waif.

The original Journal, which gives often the day by day story of Union, was written by the Reverend Wm. F. Vaill, the Superintendent. Becoming modesty is displayed throughout the recordings in that reference to himself, Mrs. Vaill, and daughter Elizabeth, is attractive by its almost total absence. This but enhances the realization of the strength and wisdom of the direction continually present and the quality of the never failing support of wife and daughter. For such problems as these pressed for immediate solution: How present their purpose to the adult Osage that respect and confidence might be secured with the pledge of his children in the school? Mastery of the language was vital with no interpreter available, yet it was accomplished so well that a primer in their own language was soon in the hands of the mission children.

Loss of the iron important to the completion of the grinding and sawing mill was reported as having occurred somewhere on the banks of the Arkansas River where it had to be left because low water prevented the boat coming nearer. Realizing the risk involved in such a journey, Mr. Vaill set out in a canoe, paddling down the stream until he found the iron located near the mouth of White River. He arranged for its delivery, and made the long trip back to Union by horseback.

Just as the crops gave promise of rich harvest, floods swept them away. Another season there was no corn because the rain failed. Hunger among the Indians prevailed. How to divide justly with them the valuable store of flour and meal had to be decided. As war between the Osages and Cherokees came close, how to sustain fair relations between these enemies and themselves that protection

¹³ *Missionary Herald*, 1821, p. 136.

¹⁴ Union Mission Journal, p. 260: "It was peculiarly painful parting with Sister Chapman as she did not expect to return to the Mission. A day or two before she had grave stones erected over the remains of her deceased Husband. They were wrought in plain, neat style with this inscription: 'In memory—Rev. Epaphras Chapman—who died 7 Jan. 1825—Aged 32—First Missionary to the Osages—"Say among the heathen the Lord reigneth."'"

to the children entrusted to their care might not fail, pressed for answer. On such decisions hung the fate of the Mission.

Meanwhile Chief Claremore whose Osage village was in the vicinity gave much needed aid and encouragement, displaying a wisdom and integrity worthy of his station. When shown the appointments of the mission and sensing the benefits that were being taught his people, he exclaimed, "Don't be discouraged, my son, my people will soon see the superior advantages of your way of living."¹⁵

As proof of this judgment it is recorded that second Chief Tally influenced by his wife, left his son, later called Philip Milledoler, with some reluctance and a second boy, a relative whom the mission named Robert Moore. These lads were soon content in their new surroundings and began at once the mastery of English, as well as the adjustment to manual labors. As the mother returned to mark their progress it was observed that her influence commanded not only their highest respect but that of all present, rivalling the ability of many a more advantaged parent.¹⁶

Progress is further evidenced by the coming of Indian women and girls not otherwise connected with the station to labor "at the various branches of domestic business." Many of these learned to spin and weave. Also numerous men and boys were engaged to work in the fields and some asked questions concerning God and religion.

Aside from the definite achievement of their goal, for the school was growing steadily and Mr. Chapman was getting response to his presentation of the ideals of our way of life to the Indians of the villages in the vicinity, encouragement came in the establishment close by of Cantonment Gibson, April, 1824, for this afforded not only protection but contact with the outside world.

Thus is seen that neither drouth nor heat, flood nor famine, sickness nor death, not even war, served to destroy the life of Union Mission. Only the departure of the Osages to newly assigned lands in what is now Kansas closed its doors in 1833. As though extending a final gesture of respect for having wrought so well, before its walls had fallen, it became the first home of the first printing press sent to the Indian Territory, that instrument which counted so much for the advancement of learning.¹⁷ And so the way was paved for the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 118, 120, 124.

¹⁷ The Oklahoma Library Association and the Oklahoma Press Association celebrated the centennial of printing in Oklahoma on October 11, 1935, with the erection of a handsome granite marker on this historic site, bearing the inscription: "On these premises Union Mission, the first mission in Oklahoma, was founded in 1820 by Rev. Epaphras Chapman. The first press was established in 1835 by Rev. Samuel Austin Worcester." "Centenary of Printing in Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (September, 1935), pp. 251-4.

coming of Missions to the Indians soon to be removed from east of the great river.¹⁸

THE TEACHERS AND THEIR QUALIFICATIONS

The drive to give youth its chance to reach highest development along lines most useful has been in the heart of mankind through the centuries. In no situation has it expressed itself with such cost as when able women teachers imbued with this urge left their places among their own people and went to a race recently uprooted from its ancestral lands and thrust against its every desire and right into a strange one.

As the rising tide of the spirit of missions arose what qualities should be looked for in those to be sent as teachers to live and work with this weary, distraught people struggling to adjust to an unknown country with their hearts still in the homeland from which they had been torn?

Certainly strong minds, stable emotions and stout bodies with the implication of educations as liberal as the time afforded. Also that combination of abilities, traits, and appearance as would assure immediate personal acceptance, was especially important when relations had to be established without a common language. And surely a professional preparation adequate to meet the challenge of an unknown teaching situation.¹⁹

Also highly necessary were those characteristics which make for patience under trial, judgment under stress, industry under fatigue, and cheerful outlook under discouragement—all in such balance as to exemplify attainment which a people eager for a better life would desire, and so blended as to accomplish the great purpose of Christian missions, the acceptance of the teachings of the Master Teacher.

Yet such were the times that the work of women of these highly valued qualities was apparently taken for granted by the responsible men of that day who seemed to assume that this was a man's world.

¹⁸ "Today all that remains of this one time thriving mission are a few mounds here and there that mark building sites now overgrown with trees and scattered about are piles of stone that were foundations, door steps and walks. A grim reminder more impressive than all this are the graves of several members of this intrepid group of frontier missionaries. On a hill about two hundred yards northwest of the building sites are the marked graves of those who gave their lives that Indians might learn of God." —Morris L. Wardell, "Protestant Missions among the Osages," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. 3 (September, 1924), p. 289.

¹⁹ "Instructions from Methodist Board of Missions: Especially in the selection of teachers, you will have strict regard to their literary, moral, and religious character. It is greatly to be desired that all persons who may be employed in the different departments shall be such as afford an example of morality and piety in every respect worthy of imitation. . . . Grace, discretion, self-denial, and perseverance—First Methodist Mission in the Choctaw Nation. *Outposts of Zion*, (Cincinnati, 1864), p. 45.

With no evidence of intended disrespect or lack of deserved recognition, it is recorded by one in administration of mission affairs that on traveling for the first time in the western bounds of Chickasaw settlement, there was in the party a brave young woman of Ohio of undaunted spirit, and much promise, enroute to take a teaching position on the very edge of the frontier. Identity of this courageous soul is lost because no name is given.

Again on the occasion of dire need of teachers in the Choctaw Nation, it is written that fourteen lay helpers and teachers had arrived, "nine of whom were unmarried females from Lowell, Massachusetts, and other places, all seemingly in the spirit of their work and competent for it."

Great surprise was also expressed by the same writer on finding at the Koonsha Female Seminary at Goodwater, Choctaw Nation, on the occasion of his visit in December, 1844, that in the absence of the superintendent, the Reverend Ebenezer Hotchkin, his wife had for an extended period and, in most cheerful spirit, conducted all its affairs with a high level of efficiency.²⁰

Let it not be lost sight of that these teachers and the wives of the superintendents, who were largely from New England, were responsible for the well being of the young people of the mission not only in their knowledge of the fundamentals of an education in English, in their practice of moral and religious principles, and in the refinements of living well together, but for the preparation of food and its serving, for the dishwashing and laundry, for the making of clothing and the nursing of the sick, and for teaching the skills of housekeeping. Regardless of their breadth of vision and strength of character certain emotional bias was present, especially on the question of slavery. It soon became evident that the labor of the Negro in kitchen and laundry was a necessity, but this implied the payment to the Indian master for such service. To those brought up where the abolition movement was cradled such recognition was abhorrent, yet the conformity was made, and in 1859 when the American Board of Missions withdrew support because of the slavery issue but few teachers and missionaries left their stations at this time.

Perhaps the most difficult adjustment in such restricted environment was that of harmony of relations with one another, but all had to sense that on no other basis could the enterprise be prevented from bogging down in personal friction. How well the aspirations of these able, devoted women were realized is shown in the results.

²⁰ Quoting from report of Ebenezer Hotchkin on Goodwater Mission, "I feel under obligation to say that the zeal and fidelity of the teachers both in and out of school is above any commendation I could bestow."—Commissioner Indian Affairs, *Report 1853*, p. 180.

THE FIELD OF LABOR AMONG THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES

All these qualifications with no remuneration in salary greater than one hundred dollars annually.²¹ Then whence came the recompense? From that source which has afforded rich returns to all teachers of all peoples, the results as demonstrated in the contributions to society of the young people taught. As these are surveyed the price paid seems not to have been too great.

1. *Among the Choctaws:*

Such confidence between the mission teachers and the Choctaw people had been established before their removal from Mississippi that many of the teachers later came west and continued their work in the Indian Territory. As early as 1820, the desire and need for education had become so well recognized that the Choctaw leaders agreed to apply all their annuities, due under the terms of earlier treaties with the United States, for the building and maintenance of schools in their country.²² It was reported that no people had ever applied so large a part of its revenue for this purpose. The spirit of this action was followed by the Choctaws in the organization of their government under their written constitution and laws in their nation west and a comprehensive school system was made possible that became notable in the history of education in Oklahoma.

This system was based on the national boarding schools, three for boys and four for girls, established by laws of the Choctaw General Council which provided the buildings and approximately

²¹ Teachers' salaries in the public schools and seminaries in the Cherokee Nation, and generally in the neighborhood schools of the other nations, compared well with salaries paid teachers in the States. In 1838, salaries paid in the twelve public schools in the Choctaw Nation (one teacher schools, paid from the Choctaw educational funds due under the treaties) ranged from \$500 to \$833.33 for a school year of six to ten months, respectively. Salaries of mission teachers remained comparatively low though all expenses of travel to the missions and for regular leave-of-absence to the States were borne by the various Mission Boards; and all daily living expenses (board, room) at the mission schools were furnished free.

Schools among the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole offer an unusual history of education in Oklahoma. These five large tribes have become widely known as the "Five Civilized Tribes" because of their early advancement. Each succeeded in organizing its own government in the form of a republic operating under the title of "Nation," with a written constitution and laws. The Choctaw Nation was the first organized under a constitution in 1834, the first written within the borders of Oklahoma. All of the country within the borders of the present state (except the Panhandle and the northeastern corner—Ottawa County) was owned by the Five Civilized Tribes until 1866: the Choctaws held all of Southern Oklahoma by patent from the U.S.; the Cherokees, northeastern Oklahoma and the Outlet lands across the northern part of the state; and the Creeks, the central portion to the western boundary. These lands held in fee simple by these three tribes, later joined by the Chickasaws and the Seminoles, greatly strengthened their respective governments and institutions.—Ed.

²² H. B. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians* (Greenville, Texas, 1899), pp. 163-4; *History of American Missions to the Heathen*, published by Spooner & Howland (Worcester, 1840), p. 87.

three-fourths of the amount needed for the maintenance of each school annually. The supervision of each was placed in charge of a superintendent, teachers, and their assistants appointed by one or another of the Protestant mission boards (Presbyterian, Methodist, or Baptist) that contracted to operate the institution. Choctaw citizens appointed to the Board of Trustees under the auspices of the General Council selected the pupils to attend the boarding schools and inspected the work at stated intervals.

The schools thus established and operated were highly valued, for there not only the fundamentals of English were acquired, but sewing, knitting, artistic needlework, and principles of housekeeping were the achievements of the girls; while the boys obtained in addition to literacy, knowledge of farming, livestock raising, and manual arts.²³ Moral and religious instruction was always implied.

As these young people returned to their homes there arose a demand for neighborhood schools, and "Saturday and Sunday Schools" in which not only the children were taught but the adults also. These were conducted largely by those who had attended the mission boarding schools.

Thus throughout the nation learning was disseminated and an eager desire for its higher phases soon prevailed. In response to this need Spencer Academy for boys was established by the Choctaw General Council in 1841. Though Spencer was first under the direction of the Council, the Trustees soon asked the Presbyterian Mission Board to take charge, and the school became noted in the history of the Choctaw Nation, West.²⁴ In 1842, the General Council established Fort Coffee Academy for boys and a school for girls (later called New Hope) under the direction and supervision of the Methodist Mission Conference; also, at the same time, three seminaries for girls (Iyanubi, Chuahla, and Koonsha) were placed under the direction and supervision of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions.²⁵ Armstrong Academy for boys was established by the Council in 1844, and placed under the supervision

²³ The law of the General Council in 1842, providing the organization of the Choctaw boarding schools, stated: "Sec. 6. Instruction in Agriculture and the Mechanical Arts shall, in the Male schools, be combined with the instruction in Letters; and in the Female Schools, in addition to Letters the pupils shall be instructed in Housewifery and Sewing, &c."—*The Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation* (Printed at Doaksville, 1852), pp. 31-4.

²⁴ "Spencer is a beautiful place. Everything in and around the Academy is in most perfect order and the institution would do credit to any in the States. Many of the leading men in the churches and of the government have been pupils of Spencer. From its halls an influence has gone out which has been felt in blessing in every part of the Nation."—Anna Lewis, ed., "Diary of a Missionary to the Choctaws," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVII, No. 3 (September, 1939), p. 445.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

of the Baptist Missionary Association (in 1857 taken over by Cumberland Presbyterian Board).²⁶

The most promising young people who were "prepared in their studies" were sent east to college for further educational advantages. Any people so imbued with the determination to follow the light brought by such torchbearers as the missionary teachers proved to be, in due time achieved that distinction of culture and refinement which placed them high among the Indian tribes and enabled them to make worthy contributions to the leadership of the State Oklahoma of which they became citizens.

2. Among the Chickasaws:

The Chickasaws sold their home lands in Mississippi to the United States in 1832, and five years afterward entered into a treaty with the Choctaws, by which they purchased the right to settle in the Choctaw Nation with full rights and privileges as citizens of this Nation. A western tract was set aside as the Chickasaw District under the constitution and laws of the Choctaw Nation, but the plan led to dissatisfaction and the eventual separation of the two tribes with the establishment of the Chickasaw Nation west of the Choctaws, by the terms of a joint treaty in 1855. The Chickasaws then set up their own government under a written constitution and laws, and provided for the establishment of their own school system patterned like that of the Choctaws. All financial matters having to do with the two peoples had been kept separate from the beginning of their union in the West. As early as 1846, the Chickasaws had considered the matter of establishing their own boarding schools with their annuities and orphan and educational funds due them in the sale of their Mississippi lands. By 1854, there were four Chickasaw boarding schools in operation: the Manual Labor School for boys, and two schools for girls—Bloomfield and Colbert—, under the supervision of the Methodist Mission Conference; and Wapanucka Institute for girls, under the supervision of the Presbyterian Mission Board. In 1857, provision was made for the establishment of Burney Institute for girls, which was opened two years later under the auspices of the Cumberland Presbyterian Assembly. Handsome buildings were erected especially at Wapanucka and at the Manual Labor School. The high quality of the spirit of the teaching staffs and the students among the Chickasaws was notable.²⁷

²⁶ *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 214.

²⁷ Kappler, *Indian Affairs—Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, p. 361; *Constitution and Laws of the Chickasaw Nation*, published in 1860.

"In 1903 George Beck, School Supervisor for the Chickasaw Nation, made the following statement in his report for Wapanucka Academy: 'The mission schools of which the academies are the direct successors left a very strong impression for good upon those who attended them, and it is not uncommon to hear men of middle age and past eulogize them in high terms on account of the personal character and qualifications of those in charge of them and the superior instruction and training which they afford.'"—Muriel H. Wright, "Wapanucka Academy, Chickasaw Nation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII, No. 1 (March, 1934), p. 426.

3. *Among the Creeks and Seminoles:*

The Creek and Seminole people were not as early receptive to Christian missions because relations with the United States government had given them a prejudice against any overtures made by white people. In time this was overcome and such schools were received with no disappointment from the venture. The plan followed was like that organized in the Choctaw Nation. Appropriations from annuities and educational funds due the Creek Nation by treaty provision with the United States were made by the tribal Council, with the supervision of the boarding schools in hands of superintendents and teachers appointed by the mission boards of the various churches. Koweta Mission was the first of such institutions among the Creeks, opened in 1843.²⁸ This as well as the noted Tullahassee Mission opened in 1850 was under the supervision of the Presbyterian Mission Board, both schools attended by boys and girls. Asbury Manual Labor School for boys and girls, under the supervision of the Methodist Mission Conference, was established by the Creek Council and opened in 1850.²⁹ Day schools were also operated by the Creek government at some of their principal tribal towns, the teachers being generally appointed through recommendation of the mission boards.

The Seminoles were a part of the Creek Nation until the Creek Treaty of 1856, which provided that they settle in a country set aside for them in the western part of the Creek Nation. The first day school among the Seminoles was opened in 1844, near the Seminole Agency. The first Seminole boarding school was opened at Oak Ridge Mission in 1848, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Board, and a great work accomplished.³⁰

4. *Among the Cherokees:*

Before the main removal of the Cherokees from east of the Mississippi to the Indian Territory in 1839, mission schools established by the American Board had flourished among the Western Cherokees: Dwight, Fairfield, Forks of the Illinois which was transferred to a new site called Park Hill in 1836. From the first printing press set up at Union, thence moved to Park Hill with its founding, came pamphlets, hymns, and portions of the scriptures, in the native Cherokee with the use of the Sequoyah syllabary and in English, which were widely circulated among the people. In September, 1839, the Cherokee Nation was established in the Indian Territory under a new written constitution, and a system of public schools was organized,

²⁸ Rev. Robert M. Loughridge, "History of Mission Work Among the Creek Indians from 1832 to 1888," in Ms., Library of Oklahoma Historical Society; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Report of the Reverend R. M. Loughridge Regarding the Creek Mission," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1948), pp. 278-84.

²⁹ Virginia E. Lauderdale, "Tallahassee Mission," *ibid.*, pp. 285-300.

³⁰ Kappler, *op. cit.*, p. 569; Loughridge Ms., *op. cit.*



(Photo by Mitchell-Byfield
from daguerreotype)

ANN ELIZA WORCESTER
(Mrs. William S. Robertson)



of which the Reverend Stephen Foreman was appointed the first Superintendent in 1841. These public schools were operated under the control of the Cherokee National government, separate from the mission schools. Yet there was always complete harmony in the matter of the appointment of teachers from those who were active in the work of the Christian churches or who had attended the missions. This is accounted for by the able direction of such gifted Cherokee leaders as Chief John Ross, Assistant Chief George Lowry, Chief Justice Jesse Bushyhead, and others who had been friends of the first mission schools east of the Mississippi River in the Carolinas, Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama (Baptist, Presbyterian, Moravian, Methodist). With the founding of the Cherokee government West, the law required a special request and approval of the National Council before any additional mission could be established in the Nation. Thus, Dwight, Park Hill, New Springplace and Baptist, both of the latter founded early in 1839, remained purely missionary in organization and maintenance, under the auspices of the respective mission boards.³¹

As soon as the common schools were well founded the demand for higher learning justified the establishment of two seminaries, one for young women and the other for young men. Excellent buildings were erected and tribal officials were sent to New England for teachers. Graduates from Mt. Holyoke and other well known colleges were chosen, and the two seminaries were opened with due formalities and festivities in the vicinity of Park Hill in 1851.

As further evidence of the influence and work of the able missionary teacher, the National Council of the Cherokee Nation had made provision for the publication of a newspaper, *The Cherokee Advocate*, which at once greatly stimulated education and progress. This was the first newspaper in Oklahoma, the first issue appearing on September 26, 1844.

Not only the educational and governmental matters of the Cherokees were managed by themselves, but even their annuities were received and paid out by their own officers. The ability to speak and write English was common and many were able to conduct business with implied formalities. Educated and prominent men were not uncommon, the professions being well represented. Farms were improved and standards of living raised. Many of the homes were presided over by women of intelligence, grace and refinement. Carefully selected libraries of classic and current writings were to be found. Churches were numerous and thriving.

By the time of Statehood, from the Five Civilized Tribes came a United States Senator, congressmen and many state and county officers. Our State's representatives in Statuary Hall at the

³¹ Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Oklahoma City, 1921), pp. 121-30, 225-59.

National Capital are the famous Sequoyah and Will Rogers, both of Cherokee descent.

CONCLUSION

Indian blood of all tribes accounts for much which has placed Oklahoma creditably before the public today. Many who have achieved literary acclaim are of Indian descent.

The rapid and substantial development of the state cannot be accounted for until the curtain on the stage portraying the drama of the Territory's mission schools is drawn aside and we see in part the role played by its women teachers.

Many of their names are out of reach. Even the grave stones of those who died in the midst of their labors are lost among the briars and brambles of neglected burial places and there is no tablet or monument to do them honor. Yet who shall say they are gone? Does not their spirit still descend from teacher to learner? And those so imbued dare not falter lest that heritage which brings youth into the realization of its best be lost. Thus the vision that is America is preserved.

Had the price paid by the mission teacher been too great? Before that is answered who shall estimate the value of the contributions?

NOTE A: Key to map on opposite page, giving locations of principal missions, tribal boarding schools, and seminaries with date of establishment of each of the Indian Territory before 1860 (not including public day schools in the Cherokee Nation, nor neighborhood schools in the Choctaw and other nations).

(1) Union Mission, 1820, and Hopefield 5 miles north, 1823. (2) Dwight Mission, 1829. (3) Wheelock Mission, 1832, and Wheelock Female Seminary, 1842 (in operation 1949 as Wheelock Academy). (4) Park Hill Mission, 1935, and Park Hill Mission Press, 1836. (5) Fairfield Mission, 1829. (6) Pine Ridge Mission, 1835, and Chuahla Female Seminary, 1842. (7) Stockbridge Mission, 1837, and Iyanubi Female Seminary, 1842. (8) Goodwater Mission, 1837, and Koonsha Female Seminary, 1842, with Goodland Mission, 1848, northwest about 20 miles (in operation 1949 as Goodland Indian Orphanage, 2 miles southwest of Hugo, Choctaw County). (9) Spencer Academy for boys, 1841 (opened 1844). (10) Armstrong Academy for boys, 1844 (opened 1845). (11) Fort Coffee Academy for boys, 1842, and New Hope Academy for girls 5 miles southeast, 1842, both in vicinity of Choctaw Agency or "Skullyville." (12) New Hopefield, 1827. (13) Koweta Mission, 1843, and Koweta Manual

OUTLINE MAP OF OKLAHOMA

Showing

Indian Nations before 1860

Giving locations of principal mission stations, tribal boarding schools, and seminaries (See Note A for Legend of Names as indicated by numerals).

Map showing the outline of Oklahoma and the locations of principal Indian Nations before 1860. The map includes major rivers (Red, Arkansas, Canadian) and tribal territories (Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole). Numbered locations (1-24) indicate mission stations, tribal boarding schools, and seminaries. A legend in the bottom right corner explains the numbering system.

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Legend:

- 1. Principal Mission Station
- 2. Tribal Boarding School
- 3. Seminary
- 4. Principal Mission Station
- 5. Tribal Boarding School
- 6. Seminary
- 7. Principal Mission Station
- 8. Tribal Boarding School
- 9. Seminary
- 10. Principal Mission Station
- 11. Tribal Boarding School
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- 13. Principal Mission Station
- 14. Tribal Boarding School
- 15. Seminary
- 16. Principal Mission Station
- 17. Tribal Boarding School
- 18. Seminary
- 19. Principal Mission Station
- 20. Tribal Boarding School
- 21. Seminary
- 22. Principal Mission Station
- 23. Tribal Boarding School
- 24. Seminary

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- 12. Seminary
- 13. Principal Mission Station
- 14. Tribal Boarding School
- 15. Seminary
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- 12. Seminary
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- 16. Principal Mission Station
- 17. Tribal Boarding School
- 18. Seminary
- 19. Principal Mission Station
- 20. Tribal Boarding School
- 21. Seminary
- 22. Principal Mission Station
- 23. Tribal Boarding School
- 24. Seminary

Labor Boarding School for boys and girls, 1847. (14) Tullahassee Manual Labor Boarding School for boys and girls, 1848, best known as "Tullahassee Mission," in vicinity of Ebenezer Baptist mission opened in 1833. (15) Baptist Mission and Printing House, 1839 (in operation 1949 as Bacone College, Muskogee). (16) Oak Ridge Mission, 1848. (17) Asbury Manual Labor Boarding School for boys and girls, 1848 (in operation 1949 as Eufaula Boarding school for girls). (18) Wapanucka Academy for girls, 1851. (19) Chickasaw Manual Labor Boarding School for boys, 1850. (20) Bloomfield Seminary for girls, 1852 (in operation 1949 as Carter Seminary at Ardmore, Carter County). (21) Colbert Institute for boys and girls, 1854 (first located at Perryville, moved west to headwaters of Clear Boggy and renamed Collins Institute). (22) Burney Institute for girls, 1859. (23) Crawford Seminary (Methodist, for boys and girls among Quapaw), 1843. (24) Methodist mission school for Choctaw girls vicinity of Shawneetown, 1838. (25) New Springplace Mission, 1838.—Ed.

APPENDIX

Perhaps mankind should be content with oblivion, provided it has had a part in the uplift of humanity. Yet all long to be held in remembrance, and those who have received the benefits of valued service desire that those who were our benefactors not join the ranks of the unknown. In that spirit these sketches of the work of women teachers in the missions and schools of the Indian Territory from 1820 to 1860 are offered.—E. McM.*

1. Record of those whose service is rather fully recorded:

EVERY, MARY. Daughter of Deacon Joseph Avery of Conway, Massachusetts. Came to Park Hill as teacher in 1839. Henry C. Benson, a newly arrived Methodist missionary to the Choctaws in 1843, visited Park Hill, and afterward wrote that he found this school well housed in a good frame building amid uplifting surroundings, and presided over by this interesting and accomplished young woman. Married the Reverend R. M. Loughridge on December 4, 1846. Continued her fine influence in her husband's work at Koweta Mission and when he became superintendent of Tullahassee Mission in 1848. Mary Avery Loughridge died on January 25, 1850.

BURNHAM, ANNA. Born at Lenox, Massachusetts, in 1781. Departed for mission work at Mayhew east of the Mississippi River in Sept. 1822. Arrived on December 13th. Returned home on leave in 1828. After several months of rest resumed service at Yoknokchaya east of the river. Came with the immigration of the Choctaws to Clear Creek in 1833. Taught with

* The names and data presented here were found by Miss Ethel McMillan in her careful search throughout the sources used in the compilation of this contribution to the history of women teachers in Oklahoma before 1860, and are not to be taken as a complete listing of all those who served in the period of 1820 to 1860.—Ed.

Rev. and Mrs. Alfred Wright on the opening of Wheelock Academy, also at Pine Ridge. The records of 1837 show her work continued.

CARR, ANGELINA H. Wife of superintendent at Bloomfield, in Chickasaw Nation. Was responsible for the kitchen and dining room and for instruction in fancy work. Also taught a Bible class on the topic plan. From the sale of the needlework of the girls one hundred volumes had been supplied to the library with money on hand for fifty more. Also thirty dollars had been given for benevolent purposes. This is of record in 1856.

CHILD, PRISCILLA G. Taught more than three years at Iyanubi. Left in February 1856 for Wheelock Academy. Later became the second wife of the Reverend Cyrus Kingbury.

CLOUGH, EUNICE. Born at Bradford, New Hampshire in 1803. Departed from Boston Dec. 1, 1829; arrived at Mayhew east of Mississippi River Jan. 11, 1830. Came with the migration of the Choctaws arriving at Bethabara near Eagletown on October 27, 1832. Transferred to Lukfata near Broken Bow on July 13, 1835. Records show her to have been there in 1837. Was the first teacher of Allen Wright, distinguished son of the Choctaws, and according to custom gave him the English name. Her marriage to Noah Wall occurred in 1838. A grand daughter was the wife of T. J. Hogg, a member of the House from Roger Mills County in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth sessions of the Oklahoma State Legislature.

EARLE, ELIZABETH W. Taught at Armstrong Academy in 1859. Is of interest particularly because of what was regarded as her brilliant marriage in 1860 to Colonel Robert M. Jones of the Choctaw Nation, who was a man of intelligence, splendid appearance, great wealth, and wide influence as a Southern planter and trader, serving as Choctaw delegate from the Indian Territory to the Confederate Congress at Richmond, Virginia, during the War between the States.

EDDY, CLARA W. A native of New York State, educated at Emma Willard School at Troy, New York, a handsome woman with brilliant mind. Came to Tullahassee Mission, Creek Nation in 1852, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Board, and thence in 1854, to Wapanucka Academy, Chickasaw Nation, where she taught the beginners and small girls in a log cabin room separate from the main building. Aside from regular classroom studies, she taught them singing, sewing, and knitting. When Wapanucka was closed at the outbreak of the War between the States, Miss Eddy transferred to Chuahla Seminary, at Pine Ridge, Choctaw Nation, the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury, Superintendent. When this school closed late in 1861, she went to Little Rock, Arkansas, where she remained until 1866. In that year, she returned to Boggy Depot to teach the children of the Principal Chief and Mrs. Allen Wright in whose home she lived. On the re-opening of the public neighborhood schools in the Choctaw Nation in 1867, she taught the school at Boggy Depot, and some years later taught at Caddo for several terms. Her purpose as a teacher was to give thorough understanding as far as the subject was pursued, stressing always Christian life and principles. Boys and girls were well taught under her supervision, and many of them became prominent and useful citizens in the history of Oklahoma. It was said of her: "She was not only good but faithful." Died at Boggy Depot April 27, 1884. Her grave is in the Wright family burial plot in the cemetery at Old Boggy Depot, in Atoka County.

GAMBOLD, ROSINA. Is closely related to the success of mission schools in Indian Territory because of her inauguration of the career of the woman teacher among the Cherokees before their removal to Indian Territory. To North Georgia she came in 1805 from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where she had presided over the Moravian Seminary for young ladies, founded in

1749, the first school of its kind in the American colonies. This institution has continued and its cultural influence particularly in musical festivals is nationally recognized. Mrs. Gambold and her husband, Brother John Gambold, took over the Moravian mission among the Cherokees at Springplace in Georgia. From the immediate response of love and respect offered by the Cherokees and her delight in them, she must have been a natural teacher with most attractive personality and excellent preparation. Such was the esteem in which Mrs. Gambold was held that in the official report to the American Board from the school at Cornwall, Connecticut, in commendation of Elias Boudinot, the Cherokee youth, as a student, it was pointed out as a distinction to both that he was first taught by Rosina Gambold. Happiness and satisfying results continued to repay this able worker until death came in 1821. That Mrs. Gambold was a botanist of distinction should not be lost sight of. Upon the visit of a naturalist from Portugal in her garden at Springplace, Georgia, were found many medicinal and exotic plants besides others of attraction, all of which she identified by their Linnean names. The spirit of her work has continued in the church at Oaks, Delaware county, Oklahoma, where the mission was established as New Springplace in 1842.

GREENLEAF, MARY COOMBS. Born in Newburyport, Massachusetts of sturdy ancestry. Offered her services in middle life as a teacher in the Indian Territory. Was accepted because of ability in mind, body, and character. Came in May, 1856 to Wapanucka Academy among the Chickasaws. Interesting letters to friends at home are preserved which tell of her deep interest in the life of the school and of her admiration of the beauty of the prairie country. Became eminently useful at once and gave her life within a year in caring for the stricken girls during a scourge of intestinal disease. Her sacrifice became an inspirational tradition of the much loved school.

GOULDING, HARRIET. A faithful and successful teacher at Chuahla Seminary, Pine Ridge Mission, Choctaw Nation, for ten and a half years, who was compelled in 1856 to discontinue her labors presumably because of ill health. Her home was in Ware, Massachusetts.

HESTER, ELIZABETH FULTON. Daughter of the Reverend Defau T. Fulton was born in 1839, in North Georgia where her father had served as a missionary preacher among the Cherokees. Educated in Southern Masonic Female Seminary, Covington, Georgia. Came as a teacher in 1857, for the children of Mr. and Mrs. Aaron Harlan at Tishomingo where she also served in the mission work of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. After her marriage to George B. Hester, her home was at Boggy Depot where her husband was a prominent merchant and trader. She was active in the work of the Methodist Church and Sunday school at this place, and taught the neighborhood school here for several terms during the War between the States. Out of twelve Indian boys who came under her instruction as a teacher, five afterward served as chiefs in their nations. Her later years (died 1929) were devoted to philanthropy and to activities as a leader in the Methodist Church in her home town of Muskogee where she was one of the founders of the Day Nursery School. Her daughter, Daisy Hester, became the wife of Hon. Robert L. Owen, a citizen of the Cherokee Nation, and first U. S. Senator from the State of Oklahoma.

HITCHCOCK, NANCY BROWN, of Eastbury, Connecticut, came to Dwight Mission on December 23, 1821, and soon became the wife of Jacob Hitchcock who was steward at Dwight forty years, including his service after the mission was located in Oklahoma. At the outbreak of the War between the States, they withdrew to Iowa. Later Mrs. Hitchcock returned to the Indian Territory where she spent the remainder of her life. She died at

Park Hill in 1875. Two sons, Dr. Daniel Dwight Hitchcock and Isaac Brown Hitchcock were prominent in the Cherokee Nation.

JAMES, MARIA. An assistant teacher at Dwight Mission, always highly valued. In the war between the Osages and the Cherokees, 1817-1822, as an Osage child, she was taken captive by a Cherokee and later placed in this mission where she became a loved and respected young woman. Married William Pettit in 1841. In her widowhood returned to Dwight to educate her six children. Her life was so useful that John W. Robe, a later superintendent at Dwight, wrote in 1918, "Had no work been done by this old school than to educate Maria James, it was well worth all it cost." Her Osage relatives were later found and she lived among them in Pawhuska during her last years. Worcester Pettit, a son, filled the office of chief justice of the supreme court of the Osage Nation in Territorial days.

LOCKWOOD, CASSANDRA SAWYER. Daughter of a Congregational minister. Born in New Hampshire in 1809. Liberally educated for that day at Ipswich Seminary in Massachusetts. Accompanied her husband, the Reverend Jesse Lockwood, to Dwight in 1833, where his death came within a year. Mrs. Lockwood remained at Dwight until the spring of 1835 when she returned to her old home in New England on account of the illness of her infant son. She died in 1840. Made a remarkable contribution in letters written in 1838 to the young women of Ipswich Seminary, in which she described conditions of travel during the long journey from Boston, clearly depicted life at Dwight including recognition of the caliber, refinement, character, and education of the mission teachers with observation as to the spirit manifested throughout the mission with the resultant influence not only upon the young people but upon the Cherokee women. Her estimate of the value of the introduction of civilization and Christianity among these people was that the dangers and difficulties were matched by the expediency and importance of the undertaking.

McBETH, SUE L. Born in Ohio of Scottish pioneers, educated at the school for young women in Steubenville, Ohio. Came to Goodwater among the Choctaws in 1860, from Fairfield, Iowa. Taught the older girls academic subjects and all types of household skills after class hours. Gathered data for a history of mission schools. This material came to the Oklahoma Historical Society through a niece, Mary Crawford. In this, Miss McBeth commented on the full rich singing voices of the Choctaws and their soft, beautiful language, also their quiet dignity. On the outbreak of the War between the States, went to the Nez Percés of the Northwest, where many years were spent in their service. At time of death was writing a Nez Percés grammar and dictionary which are now in the Smithsonian Institute.

McCORMICK, Harriet. Born in Cossackie, New York. Entered mission service at the age of twenty. Transferred to Goodland Mission, Choctaw Nation, in 1854 upon death of Mrs. O. P. Stark, to take over the well established school. Two years later married the Reverend O. P. Stark. Was recognized as a successful teacher for twelve years and a worthy successor of the first Mrs. Stark. She was a devoted mother to her three step-children and reared eight sons and daughters of her own. Death came October 3, 1910, in Paris, Texas, at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Kate Stark Skinner.

McKENZIE, Mrs. J. W. P. The teacher of the first school in the Territory opened exclusively for girls. This was in 1836 in the Choctaw Nation, at Shawneetown, in McCurtain County. Her school is said to have been a model of its kind. Elementary subjects and domestic arts were taught. Later, Mrs. McKenzie assisted her husband, the Reverend McKenzie in a Seminary of interest for older boys across the Red River at Clarksville, Texas.

MONTGOMERY, HARRIET WOOLLEY. Arrived at Harmony Mission (Western Missouri among Osages) in 1821, from her home in New York City. She married the Reverend Wm. B. Montgomery in 1827, at Harmony, and immediately journeyed to Union Mission and thence to New Hopefield, by horseback. Mrs. Montgomery's wonderful personality renewed the spirit of the workers at Union and put stamina into the venture at New Hopefield. Her service of more than ten years was highly valued. She died of intermittent fever on September 5, 1834, at Union, having come here with friends after the death of her husband of cholera at New Hopefield in August.

ORR, MINERVA WASHBURN. A Native of Randolph, Vermont, and sister of the Reverend Cephas Washburn. Entered the service of the American Board in August, 1819, and came to Eliot Mission, Choctaw Nation, in Mississippi, in January, 1820. She became the wife of James Orr who was also in the service of the American Board, and together they made no small contribution to the establishment and success of Dwight Mission in Oklahoma. There she died in 1852.

ROBERTSON, ANN ELIZA WORCESTER. Daughter of Ann Orr Worcester, of Bedford, New Hampshire, and the Reverend Samuel A. Worcester. Born at Brainerd, Tennessee, first mission among the Cherokees East, November 7, 1826. Educated at St. Johnsbury Academy, Vermont. Appointed by American Board of Missions as a teacher among the Cherokees in 1846. Married the Reverend W. S. Robertson of Tallahassee Manual Labor School among the Creeks, April 16, 1850. Served long and valiantly as assistant superintendent, teacher and translator at Tullahassee Mission, Creek Nation. Translated into the Creek language, the New Testament and the historical parts of the Old Testament. Assisted in the preparation of all books published by her husband and with two Creek hymn books and two Catechisms prepared by the Reverend R. M. Lockridge. Compiled a Creek Song Book of sixty songs in the native language and two songs in English. First woman in the United States to receive the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, an honor bestowed by Wooster University, Ohio. Mother of Alice Robertson, much loved teacher in Indian Territory, and Oklahoma's first Congresswoman.

SEMPLE, MARY J. Began her long career of forty years of service among the Choctaws at Wheelock Academy in 1857. Taught in several places among the Indian Schools where her duties were well discharged. Became the wife of Henry W. Hotchkin, son of the early missionary the Reverend Ebenezer Hotchkin, and continued her work as teacher. Instrumental in founding the Presbyterian College for young women at Durant. Mother of the Reverend Ebenezer Hotchkin of Durant, namesake of his grandfather, and a member of the House in Eighteenth State Legislature of Oklahoma.

SMITH, ESTHER. Born at Harrisburg, New York. Entered mission service among the Cherokees from Royalton, Vermont, in 1825. Arrived at Dwight in 1826, as teacher of boys. Transferred to a day school for girls at Fairfield where she taught until released by the Mission Board in 1853. Was then employed by the Cherokee tribal authorities and remained with them until near the close of the War between the States. In 1843 Henry C. Benson, who was in charge of Methodist Missionary work among the Choctaws recorded the favorable impression of the work being done by Miss Smith as he visited her class room while enroute through the Cherokee Nation. Repaired to Ft. Gibson in 1865, where she died soon afterward.

STARK, MRS. OLIVER PORTER. Daughter of Matthew Selfridge, Allentown, Pennsylvania. Entered the mission field as a teacher in 1847, at the age of twenty, soon after her marriage to the Reverend O. P. Stark, native

of Newburgh, New York. Opened her first school at Goodland Mission, Choctaw Nation, under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, in a small side room of her log cabin home in 1850. Two years later, the rapidly growing school was moved into the newly erected church building which housed it for many years. Mrs. Stark was described as a "heavenly woman," and her fellow teacher, Miss Arms, writing of her said, "When I first saw it [Goodland], it seemed as if it must have dropped from the clouds into the heart of the forest, and that Mrs. S[tark] had dropped with it." She died at Goodland September 15, 1854, leaving four children, her infant daughter dying fifteen days later.

STETSON, ELLEN. A greatly loved and highly esteemed teacher of Dwight Mission. Born at Kingston, Mass. in 1783. Arrived at Old Dwight in Arkansas in 1821 and took charge of girls. On removal of station to present site went with it retaining charge of girls. Under her influence a captive Osage child was brought up and became a valued assistant teacher of the Mission, bearing the name of Maria James (q.v.) in honor of a friend of Miss Stetson back East. Conducted a Benevolent Society for Cherokee women to which they came punctually some walking miles, the older girls acting as interpreters. It is recorded that she had an uncommonly vigorous and comprehensive mind and that her piety was decided, earnest and practical, exerting an influence deeply and extensively impressive. Miss Stetson died at Dwight Mission after twenty-seven years of service.

THOMPSON, NANCY. Came out from New England, though born in Virginia, to teach among the Cherokees before they came west. Emigrated with them from Georgia in 1839. Continued with zest the labor she loved until age sent her back to her people in the East. Hunger for the old life caused a return to the Cherokee youth where a new school more than a mile from Park Hill was opened to which she walked each day. In 1849 transferred to the new mission of Tullahassee in the Creek Nation where her remarkable judgment and keen common sense were of aid in the kitchen, the laundry, the school room, or in nursing the sick. Lived in Centralia, Illinois, during the War between the States. Returned to Tullahassee in 1866. Resumed her work and was able to continue to her 91st year. Died in 1880.

WALL, TRYPHENA. Born in Mississippi, daughter of Noah and Lucy Folsom Wall who was daughter of Nathaniel Folsom of Rowan County, South Carolina, and his fullblood Choctaw wife. Tryphena was schooled at Mayhew Mission in Mississippi, and came west with her family in the removal to the Indian Territory. Beautiful in character and personality, she was the first young woman among the Choctaws who had attended the early mission schools chosen to teach the public school at New Mayhew, in what is now Bryan County, Oklahoma, under appointment of Captain William Armstrong, U.S. Agent to the Choctaws, in 1839. Official records of 1841 state that "She was devoted to her work and exerted herself according to her best skill." Married in 1842 Charles F. Stewart of Connecticut, a trader in the Choctaw Nation. Died January 27, 1849, leaving four small children who were reared in New England with advantages. Her remains lie in the old graveyard at Doaksville. The stone bears the simple inscription "Tryphena."

WARD, ESTHER HOYT. A teacher at Park Hill, born at Willston, in what is now eastern Alabama in 1826 of distinguished ancestry. Reverend Ard Hoyt, missionary of the American Board to the Cherokees before removal, was paternal grandfather. Major George Lowry, Assistant Chief of the Cherokee Nation at a crucial period who rendered valuable service of far reaching influence, was maternal grandfather. Married James Ward who had begun a promising career in the Moravian mission school at New Springplace when he was foully murdered early in the War between the

States. With her own five young children and an orphan child of the mission, by sheer determination, Mrs. Ward made her way to St. Louis and on to Salem, Illinois, where in a few days her life ebbed away. The bereft children were cared for and schooled by the Moravian church and finally re-united in Oklahoma.

WASHBURN, ABAGAIL WOODBURN. Of Randolph, Vermont, was married to the Reverend Cephas Washburn October 6, 1818. Came with her husband to the Western Cherokees for the founding of Dwight Mission near Russellville, Arkansas. Transferred to the new site of Dwight Mission in Indian Territory in 1829. Remained until released in 1835 after which her home was made in Arkansas.

WHITMORE, ELLEN R. Of Marlboro, Massachusetts. Educated at Mt. Holyoke Seminary. Came to Park Hill as principal of Cherokee Female Seminary at its opening in 1851. Was highly intelligent and attractive. Did much to establish the school on a firm basis. Influenced the selection of an able successor on her marriage in 1852 when she accompanied her husband Warren Goodale to Hawaii.

WORCESTER, ANN ORR. Born September 21, 1799, in Bedford, New Hampshire. College classmate of Mary Lyon founder of Mt. Holyoke. A person of marked ability, spiced with wit. Married the Reverend Samuel A. Worcester in July 1825. Arrived at Brainerd Mission, Tennessee, October 1825. Came west to the Cherokee Nation. Arrived at Dwight May 29, 1835. Lost her few treasured possessions by the sinking of the boat in the Arkansas River. Was a strong influence in the cultural uplift centered at Park Hill. Became the mother of Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson and the grandmother of Alice M. Robertson.

WORCESTER, SARAH. Second daughter of Ann Orr Worcester and the Reverend Samuel A. Worcester, born at New Echota, Cherokee Nation, Georgia. Educated at Mt. Holyoke, assistant principal at Cherokee Female Seminary at Park Hill on its opening in 1851. A beautiful young woman, tall and commanding in appearance, with a queenly bearing. In 1853 married Daniel Dwight Hitchcock, a graduate of Bowdoin Medical College. Died on June 30, 1857 and is buried in the Missionary Cemetery at Park Hill.

WRIGHT, HARRIET BUNCE. One of the most intelligent, attractive, and advantaged women who came to Oklahoma as a mission teacher. Born of well endowed New England parents at Wethersfield, Connecticut, July 19, 1797. Early orphaned, her home was first in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and then for a number of years in Charleston, South Carolina, with a sister, wife of the noted Doctor B. M. Palmer. Well schooled and fortunately associated, she taught with a high degree of success in the work of the Presbyterian Church at Charleston, and assisted in founding the first Sunday school there. Married in 1825 to the Reverend Alfred Wright. They came at once to Goshen, Mississippi, in the mission service of the American Board among the Choctaws, and later came west with them in 1832, experiencing many of the hardships on the "Trail of Tears." Assisted in founding and operation of Wheelock mission in 1832, and in the founding of the first school there. With the establishment of Wheelock Seminary for girls at this point in 1842 she became the principal, and yielded an influence in this position for many years over Choctaw girls and young women for which she was so eminently fitted. She assisted by personally copying in long hand much of the monumental work of her husband in his translations of portions of the Bible and other writings which appeared in forty-one published volumes in the Choctaw language. Remained at Wheelock two years after the death of Doctor Wright in 1853. Died in Madison, Florida, in 1863.

WRIGHT, HARRIET NEWELL MITCHELL. Daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James Henry Mitchell, of Dayton, Ohio. Came as a mission teacher under the auspices of the Presbyterian Board in 1855, from Dayton to Goodwater among the Choctaws, and in 1859, after her marriage, served for a time as matron and supervisor of the girls at Wapanucka Academy, Chickasaw Nation. In 1857, married the Reverend Allen Wright, a distinguished Presbyterian minister of the Choctaw Nation, who represented his people, the Choctaws, after the War between the States in the difficult questions arising therefrom and in the making of the new Treaty of 1866. In these discussions at Washington, D.C., he applied the name "Oklahoma" by which the State is now known. Mr. and Mrs. Allen Wright reared eight sons and daughters and two nephews, all of whom became well educated men and women who made constructive contributions to the culture and development of Oklahoma. Of these, the sons, Eliphalet N. Wright, M.D., was an able physician and surgeon, and Frank H. Wright, D.D., a Presbyterian minister of distinction, while Alinton Telle, a nephew was an able attorney. Muriel H. Wright (Alpha Chapter, Delta Kappa Gamma), our well recognized Oklahoma author and historian, is a granddaughter.

2. Record of those whose work is more or less sparsely recorded:

AIKEN, MISS. In 1856 left Chuahla Female Seminary at Pine Ridge near Doaksville, to become matron at Wheelock Academy. Death came soon thereafter. She is commended as a woman of excellent spirit whose counsel and example were highly appreciated.

ARMS, HARRIET. Of Conway, Massachusetts, came to Pine Ridge in the Choctaw Nation in 1842. Here taught Allen Wright, who became one of the most distinguished Choctaws.

BALLENTINE, MARY J. HAYAMAN. Assisted her husband, the Reverend Hamilton Ballentine in conducting Wapanucka Academy which opened in the Chickasaw Nation in October, 1852. It is recorded that she loved her work and gave her life for it.

BARNES, NANCY WOODBURY. Born at Beverly, Massachusetts. Departed from New York December 12, 1836, for service among the Choctaws. Arrived at Bethabara in 1837. Taught at Eagletown also. Tryphena Wall Stewart (q.v.), the beautiful Choctaw girl who became a teacher of her own people) was under the instruction of the excellent Mrs. Barnes of Eagletown for a time.

BELDEN, MISS C. M. Died at Goodwater, Choctaw Nation, in 1849. Came into service in 1845.

BENNETT, HANNAH. Instructor in needlework in Chuahla Female Seminary for girls at Pine Ridge, among the Choctaws in 1853. Industry and achievement by these forty girls and Miss Bennett are reported showing 358 garments made. Of these 213 were pairs of pantaloons and 62 shirts, 20 fine ones. Records of 1856 declare her to have been "a devoted and efficient instructor of girls at Pine Ridge" who had to discontinue because of ill health.

BIGELOW, NANCY C. In 1853 was lone teacher in the classroom at Wheelock Academy among the Choctaws, the others having left because of illness. In 1859 was in service at Wapanucka Academy in the Chickasaw Nation, having also taught at Colbert Institute, Chickasaw Nation. Her home was in New London, Connecticut.

BURNS, MARY J. Came from Dayton, Ohio, to Wapanucka Academy soon after its opening in 1852 as an instructor in sewing and knitting. Adopted a four year old Chickasaw child whom she named Mary Bowd. This little

girl was educated in the public schools of Ohio and at Western College at Oxford. Returned as a teacher among her people though she loved and honored her Ohio family and through the years went to visit them. Mary Bowd as Mrs. Hightower, is buried at Tishomingo.

DANA, MRS. A. B. Came to Wheelock Academy, an advanced school for girls in the Choctaw Nation established in 1842. After some years as the "indefatigable and successful senior teacher," failure of health caused her resignation in 1853. She was a sister of Mrs. Cyrus Kingsbury.

DONNER, MISS I. Died at Goodwater in 1849. Her grave alongside that of Miss C. M. Belden (q. v.) is in the old cemetery near the site of Goodwater (Southeast of Hugo, Choctaw County). The two young women died only a few days apart, and the tombstone at each grave bears the same words: "Here lies a Missionary."—Ed.

FINNEY, SUSAN WASHBURN. Sister of the Reverend Cephas Washburn. Married the Reverend Alfred Finney and together they labored in helping to establish Dwight Mission. After Mr. Finney's death in 1829 Mrs. Finney continued her labors until her death in 1833. Three little girls were left and were taken back to New England to relatives by Cassandra Sawyer Lockwood when she returned to her native home.

FOREMAN, ERMINA NASH. Eldest daughter of the Reverend Stephen Foreman. Schooled at Mt. Holyoke. Taught at Cherokee National Female Seminary in 1855.

GASTON, MISS C. A. Came from an excellent school in Illinois to Iyanubi, Stockbridge, Mission, in 1856. Her work is recorded as characterized "by faithful devotion to the promotion of the temporal and spiritual interest of those under her care." Was there as late as 1859.

GREENE, MISS HARRIET M. A young woman of Pennsylvania who was a teacher of academic subjects at Wapanucka Academy for young ladies at its opening in 1852, having been transferred from Creek Nation.

HALL, LOIS W. Of Fall River, Massachusetts, schooled at Mt. Holyoke. Came from North Bridgewater, Mass. Had also taught from 1840-51 in Fall River, Mass. Upon the marriage of Ann Eliza Worcester in 1853 became her successor as assistant principal of Cherokee Female Seminary. In 1855 her health having failed, she returned to Massachusetts.

JOHNSON, HARRIET. A native of Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Taught from 1848-52 at Roxbury, Boston, and Mt. Holyoke Seminary, Mass. Came to Park Hill as principal of Cherokee Female Seminary for young women in 1852 upon the suggestion of Ellen Whitmore, its first principal. Married the Reverend Loughridge on October 5, 1853. Together they labored among the Creeks.

JOHNSON, MISS S. J. In 1856 was closing her fourth year in good and effective work at Bloomfield Academy, Chickasaw Nation. Her hands were said to fly as nimbly and to be as ready and willing in domestic labor as her mind in literary achievements.

JONES, MRS. J. F. Came to Wapanucka Academy from New York in November, 1854. In 1855 married Theodore Jones. Transferred to Creek Nation in 1858 at Tullahassee, thence to Goodwater. Among the Choctaws eleven years, till September, 1865.

KER, SARAH. One of earliest teachers at Wheelock. Taught a day school at Wheelock in 1840. Joined staff at Wheelock Seminary on opening in May, 1843.

LEE, MISS. A teacher from Pennsylvania at Wapanucka, Chickasaw Nation, in 1860 when the War between the States brought the temporary closing of this academy.

LOUGHRIDGE, OLIVIA D. HILLS. Teacher at Selma, Alabama. Married the Reverend R. M. Loughridge December 6, 1842. Immediately set out by steamer down Alabama River, thence via Mobile, New Orleans, and the Mississippi and the Arkansas rivers, arriving at the Verdigris Landing, Creek Nation, Indian Territory, February 5, 1843. Began teaching in log cabin at Kowetah Mission some months later, with enrollment of 20 children. In spring of 1844, she continued teaching and had charge of ten boarding pupils (expenses paid by parents) who were taken into the family with the erection of a large dwelling of seven rooms. Having given directions for the care of her two children, one of them an infant, she died September 17, 1845, "trusting alone in the merits of her Crucified Redeemer." Her grave was on a hillside near Kowetah Mission, under a large, bending oak.

MERRILL, ELIZABETH A. Of Stratham, New Hampshire arrived at Eagletown, Choctaw Nation, in December, 1835. Returned home in April, 1838, released from mission service.

ORR, JULIA F. STONE. Became the second wife of James Orr in 1854 whose service at Dwight was long. Mrs. Orr came from Marietta, Ohio, as a Mission teacher.

PILKINGTON, MRS. FRED. Assistant to her husband who was in charge of Colbert Institute, Chickasaw Nation, in 1856. Was commended as competent in domestic affairs, especially in garment making and in teaching this skill.

POTTS, MRS. RAMSAY D. With her husband under the direction of the Baptist Church opened a mission school called Providence in the Choctaw Country some twelve miles west of Ft. Towson, in 1835. Beginning in 1844 Mrs. Potts for ten years assisted her husband in the direction of Armstrong Academy.

REDFIELD, PHEBE BEACH of Newburgh, New York, and her husband Abraham Redfield, were members of the original Union Mission Party who reached the Grand River station in February, 1821. They were married within a month after arrival. In March, 1836, their services with the Mission terminated and their home was made in Deerfield, Vernon County, Missouri. Mrs. Redfield died in 1866. A son, David, was living in Ardmore, Oklahoma, in 1918.

ROSS, ELIZA JANE. Daughter of John Golden Ross and Eliza Ross. Born in the Cherokee Nation East October 29, 1826. Graduate of the Moravian Seminary for young women in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Taught at Cherokee National Female Seminary.

TALBOTT, MARY. At New Hope in the Choctaw Nation during the winter of 1852-53. The school was devastated by whooping cough and pneumonia. Here Mary Talbott was not only responsible for teaching but took over the care of the sick. Through her untiring efforts all but four recovered, tho "many were brought to the brink of the grave." Then it is written that "notwithstanding the deep suffering and affliction the school was not neglected." No surprise is felt on reading that Mary Talbott died.

TAYLOR, LUCY. In 1837, near Providence, south and east of present Hugo in Choctaw Country, taught the second Baptist school for girls among the Choctaws.

THRALL, CYNTHIA. A mission teacher under the American Board, of Windsor, Connecticut, born December 13, 1791, arrived at Dwight July 28, 1825. After nine years of service died at Dwight August 17, 1834.

WILLIAMS, MRS. LORING M. Came with her husband with the immigration of the Choctaws on October 27, 1832, from east of the Mississippi River where they had been in charge of a mission. Re-established this service at Bethabara on the Mountain Fork River, the following March. A daughter, Louisa M. Williams, joined them on December 16, 1834; taught until her release on September 20, 1837.

WOODWARD, HELEN E. Had discharged her trust at Wheelock in 1856 "with great fidelity and a good degree of success."

3. Record of women teachers in the Indian Territory, whose service is accounted for by mere names, dates, and places, listed with home when found, school, nation, date and church or other organization under whose auspices each served. The date listed is that of the record in which the name was found. Many of these teachers entered the mission service before the date listed and remained for years.

Name—Home	School	Nation	Date	Organization
Ainslie, Mrs. George	Spencer.....	Chickasaw.....	1853	Presbyterian
Allen, Mrs. James L.	Wapanucka.....	Cherokee.....	1852	Presbyterian
Avery, Pauline	Cherokee Sem.....	Choctaw.....	1853	Cherokee Nation
Bacon, Miss—N. Y.	Wapanucka.....	Chickasaw.....	1852	Presbyterian
Backus, Elizabeth—Conn.	Koonsha.....	Choctaw.....	1853	A.B.C.F.M.
Baker, Mrs. Clara M.,—Mo.....	Armstrong.....	Choctaw.....	1859	C. Presbyterian
Barnes, Corrine E.	Sallisaw.....	Cherokee.....	1859	Cherokee Nation
Barber, Miss—N.Y.	Wapanucka.....	Chickasaw.....	1860	Presbyterian
Beach, Phoebe—N.Y.	Union.....	Osage.....	1820	Presbyterian
Boynton, Elizabeth	Ebenezer.....	Creek.....	1837	Baptist
Bruce, Zorade	New Hope.....	Choctaw.....	1859	Methodist
Breed, Mrs. Sarah A.	Pine Ridge.....	Choctaw.....	1849	Presbyterian
Bushyhead, Carrie E.—Cher. Na.....	Muddy Springs.....	Cherokee.....	1859	Cherokee Nation
Butler, Mrs. Lucy A.	Fairfield.....	Cherokee.....	1839-49.....	A.B.C.F.M.
Butrick, Mrs. Daniel S.....	Mt. Zion.....	Choctaw.....	1839	A.B.C.F.M.
Byington, Mrs. Sophia N. (Mrs. J. N.)	Iyanubi.....	Choctaw.....	1841-49.....	A.B.C.F.M.
Byington, Mrs. Cyrus—Ohio	Iyanubi.....	Choctaw.....	1860	Presbyterian
Burthol, Jane	Gunter's Prairie.....	Cherokee.....	1859	Cherokee Nation
Chamberlain, Mrs. Jason D.—Maine.....	Iyanubi.....	Choctaw.....	1853-60.....	A.B.C.F.M. and Presbyterian
Chapman, Mrs. Hannah—Conn.....	Union.....	Osage.....	1820	Presbyterian
Chenworth, Tabitha	Armstrong.....	Choctaw.....	1853	Baptist
Churchill, Elizabeth F.	Creek.....	1834	Baptist
Cleaver, Eliza—Conn.	Union.....	Osage.....	1820	Presbyterian
Copeland, Mrs. Abigail	Wheelock.....	Choctaw.....	1949	A.B.C.F.M.
Copeland, Cornelia (Mrs. Chas. C.)	Norwalk.....	Choctaw.....	1949	A.B.C.F.M.
Colton, Marcia	Spencer.....	Choctaw.....	1853	Presbyterian
Colburn, Mary D.	Creek.....	1834	Baptist
Cotton, Miss M.—Mass.....	Wheelock.....	Choctaw.....	1845	A.B.C.F.M.
Culbertson, Miss—Penn	Wapanucka.....	Chickasaw.....	1859	Presbyterian
Curtis, Mary M.—Mass.	Koonsha.....	Choctaw.....	1853	A.B.C.F.M.

Name—Home	School	Nation	Date	Organization
Dada, Harriet—N.Y.	Iyanubi	Choctaw	1856-60	A.B.C.F.M. and Presbyterian
Dameron, Martha	Sugar Valley	Cherokee	1859	Cherokee Nation
Davidson, Miss J.	Koonsa	Choctaw	1860	Presbyterian
Denny, Miss M. E.	Koonsa	Choctaw	1852	A.B.C.F.M.
Diamant, Miss E.	Koonsa	Choctaw	1859	Presbyterian
Dickinson, Mary	Chuahla	Choctaw	1846	A.B.C.F.M.
Dickinson, Caroline	Wheelock	Choctaw	1848	A.B.C.F.M.
Day, Mrs. Mary L.—N. Y.	Dwight	Cherokee	1841-49	A.B.C.F.M.
Denny, Miss M. E.	Koonsa	Choctaw	1853	A.B.C.F.M.
Dolbear, Cornelia	Wheelock	Choctaw	1845-49	A.B.C.F.M.
Downs, Miss S. J.	Wapanucka	Chickasaw	1859	Presbyterian
Downer, Miss C. L.	Koonsa	Choctaw	1845-49	A.B.C.F.M.
Downing, Miss	Koonsa	Choctaw	1860	Presbyterian
Dukes, Mrs. Nancy C.—Choc. Na.	Kalih Tuklo	Choctaw	1859	Choctaw Nation
Dwight, Elizabeth—Choc. Na.	Chuahla	Choctaw	1859	Presbyterian
Dwight, Emily—Choc. Na.	Iyanubi	Choctaw	1846	A.B.C.F.M.
Edmonds, Mrs.—Choc. Na.	Kalih Tuklo	Choctaw	1860	Choctaw Nation
Edwards, Mrs. John	Spencer	Choctaw	1853	Presbyterian
Edwards, Jerusha	Mt. Pleasant	Choctaw	1848	Presbyterian
Edwards, Mrs. Rosanna—Penn.	Wheelock	Choctaw	1860	Presbyterian
Fay, Catharine—Ohio	Koonsa	Choctaw	1848-53	A.B.C.F.M.
Farquharson, Janet	Spencer	Choctaw	1853	Presbyterian
Foster, Mary—N.Y.	Union	Osage	1820	Presbyterian
Foster, Miss E.	New Hope	Choctaw	1854	Methodist
Folsom, Mrs. Anna	Bok Tuklo	Choctaw	1841	Choctaw Nation
Folsom, Harriet—Choc. Na.	Armstrong	Choctaw	1859	C. Presbyterian
Foote, Mrs. Abby J.—Conn.	Bloomfield	Chickasaw	1859	Methodist
Fox, Caroline A.	Koonsa	Choctaw	1859	Presbyterian
Frye, Cynthia T.	Sweet Springs	Cherokee	1859	Cherokee Nation
Gaines, Mrs. S. G.	Mt. Fork	Choctaw	1846	Choctaw Nation
Gaston, Miss C. A.—Ohio	Iyanubi	Choctaw	1859	Presbyterian
Giddings, Eliza	Dwight	Cherokee	1848	A.B.C.F.M.
Green, Hanah M.	Wapanucka	Chickasaw	1852	Presbyterian
Guyman, Mrs. Jane	New Hope	Choctaw	1858	Methodist
Hall, Lydia S.	Iyanubi	Choctaw	1844-49	A.B.C.F.M.
Hail, Mrs. S.—Tenn.	Manual Labor	Chickasaw	1860	Methodist
Hamill, Mrs. Martha B.—Tenn.	Colbert	Chickasaw	1859	Methodist
Hannah, Mrs. David W.	Ft. Coffee	Choctaw	1850	Methodist
Hancock, Miss E. Y.	Koonsa	Choctaw	1859	Presbyterian
Hicks, Victoria—Cher. Na.	Briar Town	Cherokee	1859	Cherokee Nation
Hibbard, Sarah H.	Going Snake	Cherokee	1844	Cherokee Nation
Hitchcock, Julia S.—Cher. Na.	Dwight	Cherokee	1848-60	A.B.C.F.M.
Hitchcock, Mrs. Jacob—Conn.	Dwight	Cherokee	1821-49	A.B.C.F.M.
Hobbs, Mrs. S. L.	Lenox	Choctaw	1859	Presbyterian
Holmes, Nannie—Cher. Na.	Lee's Creek	Cherokee	1859	Cherokee Nation
Hollingsworth, Jennie	Chuahla	Choctaw	1852	A.B.C.F.M.
Holt, Eliza	Wild Horse	Cherokee	1859	Cherokee Nation
Hoyt, Dolly E.—Conn.	Union	Osage	1820	Presbyterian
Hoyt, Miss E. D.—Cher. Na.	Muddy Springs	Cherokee	1844	Cherokee Nation
Hotchkin, Mrs. Ebenezer—Penn. (née Philena Thacher)	Koonsa	Choctaw	1841-56	A.B.C.F.M.
Hotchkin, Miss E. M.—Choc. Na.	Koonsa	Choctaw	1853	Presbyterian
Hotchkin, Miss A. J.	Living Land	Choctaw	1856	Choctaw Nation
Hughes, Miss M. S.—Ark.	Manual Labor	Chickasaw	1856-60	Methodist

Name—Home	School	Nation	Date	Organization
Ima, Belinda—Choc. Na.	Boktuklo	Choctaw	1859	Presbyterian
Ish, M. I.—Creek Na.	Asbury	Creek	1854	Methodist
Johnson, Clarissa—Conn.	Union	Osage	1820	Presbyterian
Johnson, Miss S. J.	Bloomfield	Chickasaw	1859	Methodist
Jones, Mrs. A. D.	Mt. Fork	Choctaw	1946	Choctaw Nation
Jones, Mrs. T.	Iyanubi	Choctaw	1860	Presbyterian
Kendall, Eliza C.—Mass.	Chuahla	Choctaw	1859	Presbyterian
Ker, Sarah	Wheelock	Choctaw	1841-49	A.B.C.F.M.
Keyes, Harriet M.	Iyanubi	Choctaw	1844-49	A.B.C.F.M.
Kingsbury, Electra M. (Mrs. Cyrus)	Chuahla	Choctaw	1841-53	A.B.C.F.M.
Lee, Miss S. O.—Long Is.	Spencer	Choctaw	1860	Presbyterian
Lewis, Mary—Creek Na.	Tulahassee	Creek	1850	Presbyterian
Libby, Mrs.	Wheelock	Choctaw	1860	Presbyterian
Lilly, Mary (Mrs. John Lilly)—Penn.	Oak Ridge	Seminole	1848	Presbyterian
Lines, Susan—Conn.	Union	Osage	1820	Presbyterian
Lovell, Lucy E.—Conn.	Wheelock	Choctaw	1857-60	A.B.C.F.M. and Presbyterian
Lovell, Mary W.—Conn.	Wheelock	Choctaw	1857-60	Presbyterian
Martin, Miss E. S.	Bloomfield	Choctaw	1856	Methodist
Maris, Mrs.	New Hope	Choctaw	1848	Methodist
Mathers, Miss S. A.—Penn.	New Hope	Choctaw	1857-60	Methodist
McCater, Mrs. John C.	Wapanucka	Chickasaw	1859	Presbyterian
McClure, Electra	Iyanubi	Choctaw	1841	A.B.C.F.M.
Meek, Mrs. E. G.	New Hope	Choctaw	1845	Methodist
Moffatt, Mrs. Eliza J.	Armstrong	Choctaw	1853	Baptist
Malloy, Miss M. J.	New Hope	Choctaw	1860	Methodist
Moore, Hannah	Dwight	Choctaw	1841-48	A.B.C.F.M.
Morehead, Miss N.	Koonsha	Choctaw	1859	Presbyterian
Morrison, Miss E. L.	Spencer	Choctaw	1853	Presbyterian
Mosely, Delia	Webber Falls	Cherokee	1859	Cherokee Nation
Newton, Mary H.	Forks of Ill.	Cherokee	1830	A.B.C.F.M.
Ranney, Charlotte T. (Mrs. T. E.)	Fairfield	Cherokee	1849	A.B.C.F.M.
Reid, Isabella (Mrs. Alexander)	Spencer	Choctaw	1849-53	Presbyterian
Rice, Miss	Creek Nation	Creek	1834	Baptist
Robinson, Mrs. M. C.—Ky.	Manual Labor	Chickasaw	1860	Methodist
Root, Mary Ann	Chuahla	Choctaw	1848	A.B.C.F.M.
Paine, Mrs. F. M.—Tenn.	New Hope	Choctaw	1858	Methodist
Paine, Miss M. C.—Mo.	New Hope	Choctaw	1860	Methodist
Palmer, Sarah A.	Park Hill	Cherokee	1830's	A.B.C.F.M.
Potter, Mrs. Joshua	Mt. Pleasant	Choctaw	1848	Presbyterian
Pitchlynn, Lavinia—Choc. Na.	Eagletown	Creek	1840	Choctaw Nation
Pruden, Miss H. E.	Wheelock	Choctaw	1855	A.B.C.F.M.
Sawyers, Frances	New Hope	Choctaw	1852-56	Methodist
Scannell, Mrs. M. J.	New Hope	Choctaw	1859	Methodist
Shelden, Ann Harriett—N. Y.	Cherokee Sem.	Cherokee	1857	Cherokee Nation
Shellenburger, Maria—Ohio	Wapanucka	Chickasaw	1852	Presbyterian
Slate, Juliet—Penn.	Chuahla	Choctaw	1848	A.B.C.F.M.
Sorrells, Elizabeth	New Hope	Choctaw	1854	Methodist
Stanilaus, Clara—Penn.	Wapanucka	Chickasaw	1852-59	Presbyterian
Stidham, Elizabeth—Creek Na.	Tulahassee	Creek	1850	Presbyterian
Steele, Ellen N.	New Hope	Choctaw	1854-56	Methodist
Steele, Miss—Tenn.	Wapanucka	Chickasaw	1859	Presbyterian
Strong, Celia C. (Mrs. John C.)	Mt. Pleasant	Choctaw	1848	Presbyterian

Name—Home	School	Nation	Date	Organization
Tackitt, Virginia—Ark.	New Hope	Choctaw	1859	Methodist
Thompson, Miss S. R.—Penn.	Wapanucka	Chickasaw	1851	Presbyterian
Trammell, Elizabeth	New Hope	Chickasaw	1852	Methodist
Tracy, Miss—Conn.	Wheelock	Choctaw	1846	A.B.C.F.M.
Turner, Anna F.	Wapanucka	Chickasaw	1852	Presbyterian
Vaill, Mrs. Arsenath—Conn.	Union	Osage	1820	Presbyterian
Vogler, Dorothy Rende	New Spring Place	Cherokee	1849's	Moravian
Whitcomb, Mercy—Maine	Wheelock	Choctaw	1853-60	A.B.C.F.M. and Presbyterian
Wiggins, Mrs. Nathaniel—Long Is.	Spencer	Choctaw	1860	Presbyterian
Wiggins, Miss S. B.—Long Is.	Spencer	Choctaw	1860	Presbyterian
Willey, Mary Ann	Dwight	Cherokee	1848	A.B.C.F.M.
Williams, Mrs. L. M.—Conn. (née Matilda Loomis)	Bethabara	Choctaw	1837	A.B.C.F.M.
Wilson, Mrs. C. H.—So. Car.	Wapanucka	Chickasaw	1859	Presbyterian
Winshy, Mrs. David H.	Iyanubi	Choctaw	1844-49	A.B.C.F.M.
Young, Mrs. R. J.—Penn.	Spencer	Choctaw	1860	Presbyterian

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PRESBYTERIAN MISSION SCHOOLS AMONG THE CHOCTAWS AND CHICKASAWS 1845-1861

By William L. Hiemstra

SCHOOLS

Presbyterian missionaries received the opportunity to conduct schools among the Choctaws and Chickasaws in the Indian Territory through the invitations of the tribal councils. These were extended first to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and later to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church (Old School).

The National Council of the Choctaw Nation in 1845 offered to transfer Spencer Academy to the care and direction of the Presbyterian Board. The offer was accepted; and the school, which had been established by the Choctaws three years earlier, was opened by the Presbyterian Board in February 1846 with sixty pupils.¹

In 1859 the missions and schools of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (a missionary organization with large Congregational support) were turned over to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.² This transfer took place because the American Board had become increasingly dissatisfied with the attitude toward slavery held by the Presbyterian missionaries in their employ. Because of this transfer several schools, organized and

¹ Ernest Trice Thompson, *Presbyterian Missions in the Southern United States* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1934), p. 144.

(The first mission stations of the American Board in the Choctaw Nation, West, were Bethabara and Wheelock established in 1832. Choctaw missions in Mississippi were closed by 1834. In 1838, there were twelve schools in operation in the Choctaw Nation with teachers appointed by the Choctaw Agent, U.S., and salaries paid by Choctaw treaty stipulation. Of these twelve schools, five were located at mission stations with the missionary in charge of each appointed as teacher. Missions in operation [1838], each with a school, were: 5 Presbyterian [American Board], 4 Methodist, 4 Baptist. A special committee of Choctaw citizens was appointed during the meeting of the General Council in 1841, to select the site and contract for the erection of a boys' school in the nation, west. This school was established as Spencer Academy, that took the place of the noted Choctaw Academy at Blue Springs, Kentucky, which had been the outgrowth of a Baptist Indian mission school in operation at that place in 1818. The buildings at Spencer Academy were completed and the first pupils admitted to the school in 1844. It was operated as a national academy until placed under the supervision of the Presbyterian Board two years later. Spencer Academy was noted in the education of Choctaw boys in the history of the Nation, West.—Ed.)

² The Presbyterian Historical Society of Philadelphia, Pa., possesses an extensive file of unpublished missionary correspondence and reports. This source will be cited: Mission Reports, Box number, volume, and page.

conducted by Presbyterian missionaries, came under the care of the Presbyterian Board.³ The schools transferred were Iyanubbi Female Seminary at Stockbridge Mission, near Eagletown, the Reverend Cyrus Byington, Missionary;⁴ Chuahla Female Seminary at Pine Ridge, near Doaksville, the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury, Missionary and Superintendent;⁵ Wheelock Female Seminary at Wheelock Mission, the Reverend John Edwards, Superintendent; Koonsha (Kusha) Female Seminary at Goodwater, the Reverend George Ainslee, Superintendent.

All these schools were supported from Choctaw tribal funds and from mission board contributions. An Act of the Choctaw General Council on November 29, 1842, had provided a system of public boarding schools in the Choctaw Nation.⁶ The sum of \$6,000 was due the Nation annually from the United States for educational purposes under the treaty made at Washington, D.C.,⁷ in 1825, besides additional sums for education by the terms of other treaties, in lieu of payment for their tribal lands given up by the Choctaws to the United States. Contracts between the Choctaw General Council and the mission boards for the annual support of the larger tribal boarding schools was made on the basis of three-fourths of the amount to be supplied by the Choctaws and one-fourth by the Mission Board. The total cost of operating Spencer Academy was approximately \$10,000 per annum, of which the Choctaws paid \$6,000. The annual contribution by the Presbyterian Board often exceeded the sum stipulated by contract, averaging \$3,000 a year for Spencer during a period of fourteen years up to 1860. The annual sum of \$2,000 was allowed out of the U. S. Indian Civilization fund, usually paid out directly to the Mission Board.⁸

The Choctaws have been noted in their history for their strong interest in education, as early as 1820 having devoted all their tribal annuities for schools established under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions. The first missionaries among the Choctaws and the Chickasaws had been encouraged to begin mission work because of the desire of the people of these two tribes to secure schools for their children.

³ The various missionaries who supervised schools reported to the Indian agent concerning their work. This information was transmitted by the Indian agent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. This source will be cited: *Indian Affairs* year, and page.

⁴ *Indian Affairs*, 1855, p. 156.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁶ This Act of the Choctaw General Council in 1842, also provided for the establishment of Fort Coffee Academy for boys and a seminary (later called New Hope) for girls under the supervision of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. In 1844 Armstrong Academy for boys was established under the supervision of the Baptist American Indian Mission Association.—Ed.

⁷ Mission Reports, Box 9, II, p. 501.

⁸ *Indian Affairs*, 1860, p. 360.

The Chickasaws in 1852 gave evidence of their great interest in a good school system. In that year, to improve the buildings, they appropriated five thousand dollars more than called for by their contract with the Mission Board and with the Department of Indian Affairs. They wanted facilities for one hundred pupils, and accordingly added another thousand dollars for additional school-rooms.⁹

In many ways the people of the Choctaw and the Chickasaw Nations proved their interest in education. They discouraged truancy. They sacrificed the services of the children at home in order that they might attend Spencer Academy or another boarding school. It was not uncommon for hundreds of parents and friends to be present at commencement exercises in May of each year. The examinations held prior to commencement lasted "twenty solid hours", according to a government witness.¹⁰ Samuel M. Rutherford, Acting Superintendent of the Western Reserve, reported concerning the students of Spencer Academy that "whatever they had learned at all, had evidently been taught thoroughly."¹¹

Year after year the schools had capacity enrollments. This is proof that citizens of the nations were pleased with the schools and their curricula. However, it must not be inferred that all the Choctaws and Chickasaws wholeheartedly supported the educational program controlled by Presbyterian missionaries. Many of the minority groups were indifferent. Although some did not endorse the schools, they were not actively antagonistic.¹² The Reverend S. O. Lee of Spencer Academy characterized the more radical members of the anti-school minority among the Choctaws in early 1860 thus:¹³

There are those in the Nation who would be glad to see all the schools broken up in order to keep the mass of the people in ignorance, that they might retain their influence the more easily, for, with the increase in intelligence among them the full-bloods are rapidly gaining their place in influencing the affairs of the Nation.

⁹ Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, *Annual Report*, May 1852, p. 819. (The first mission among the Chickasaws in Mississippi was Charity Hall established under the auspices of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in 1819. In 1821, the Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Synod of South Carolina and Georgia established Monroe Mission among the Chickasaws, four schools being in operation in 1826. After the removal to the West, three boarding schools were opened in 1852, under provisions of the Chickasaw Council: Wapanucka Institute for girls, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Mission Board; Chickasaw Manual Labor School for boys, and Bloomfield Academy for girls, under the auspices of the Methodist Church. Colbert Institute [later Collins] was established at Perryville in 1854, by the Methodist Church. In 1859, Burney Institute for Chickasaw girls was opened under the auspices of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.—Ed.)

¹⁰ *Indian Affairs*, 1852, p. 423.

¹¹ *Indian Affairs*, 1847, p. 940.

¹² Mission Reports, Box 12, I, p. 71.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found>

The mixed bloods had achieved an early prestige but the education which the fullbloods secured at the schools conducted by the missionaries enabled them to hold a strong position and control in the affairs of the Nation. During the year 1860 approximately five hundred students were enrolled in Choctaw schools operated under the supervision of the Presbyterian Board. Of this number 167 were "boarding scholars."¹⁴

It is evident that the missionaries were impressed with the native ability, talent, and character of the Choctaws and Chickasaws. The curriculum maintained by the various schools reveals that the Indian was regarded as one who had not received opportunities for cultural advancement through Christian education; in no case was the Indian believed to have been born with inferior mentality. The studies pursued in the higher classes in the Choctaw schools were:¹⁵ "Reading, Writing, Orthography, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography, United States History, Algebra, and English Composition." Some of the textbooks used were:¹⁶ "Swift's First Lessons in Natural Philosophy, Greenleaf's Mental Arithmetic, Comstock's Youth's Book on Astronomy, Emerson's Historical Catechism of the Bible, and Gallaudet's Natural Theology."

Some time was found every day except Sunday for vocational instruction. The girls received "constant instruction in needle, household, and all kinds of work that properly fall to the share of woman in civilized domestic economy."¹⁷

The boys were required to spend two hours and a half every day except Sunday in agricultural and mechanical labor under the direction of their teacher. Most of the schools operated small farms on which some grain and many kinds of vegetables were grown. Orchards supplied a variety of fruit. Sufficient pork and beef was raised so that very little had to be purchased. The various subsidiary interests of the schools provided the Indian boys with abundant opportunities for manual labor.¹⁸

Classes were held from 8:30 in the morning to 1:30 in the afternoon. The schools "were daily opened and closed with religious exercises."¹⁹ Throughout the day the students were required to speak the English language exclusively. Very seldom was a Choctaw word spoken except when friends visited the students.²⁰

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹⁵ Mission Reports, Box 12, I, p. 227.

¹⁶ *Indian Affairs*, 1846, p. 348.

¹⁷ Mission Reports, Box 12, I, p. 227. (The Act of the General Council in 1842 [*Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation*, 1869, p. 80] provided: "Instruction in Agriculture and the Mechanical Arts shall, in the male schools, be combined with instruction in letters; and in the female schools, in addition to letters, the pupils shall be instructed in housewifery and sewing, &c."—Ed.)

¹⁸ *Indian Affairs*, 1859, p. 571.

¹⁹ *Indian Affairs*, 1848, p. 501.

²⁰ *Loc. cit.*

Religious instruction was not slighted. Schools were opened daily with prayer and Bible reading. On Sundays all students were required to attend Sunday School where they read and memorized passages from Scripture and the Shorter Catechism. Brief devotional periods were scheduled for every evening after supper.²¹

The religious education which formed an integral part of Indian school instruction was neither novel nor extra-ordinary. To foster Christian education was characteristic of many educational institutions, including those supported by the state government. At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the University of Mississippi held in Oxford July 12, 1848, "...it was . . . definitely settled that the University should have stamped upon it such religious and moral character in its work as would be acceptable to the Christian people who compose a large majority of the people of the State of Mississippi."²² The majority of the Board of Trustees at the same meeting favored "...the introduction of the Evidences of Christianity into the curriculum and establishing the University on a basis distinctly Christian."²³

All students preparing for the ministry were admitted without tuition.²⁴ Students were required to attend prayer services and the closing exercises of each day were closed with prayer by the President.²⁵

TEACHERS

Responsibility for the success of the missionary schools devolved upon the teachers. Most of the teachers were young women, the majority of whom came from the northeastern section of the United States. Doctor Cyrus Kingsbury believed that the women instructors would provide a beneficent influence and a cultural atmosphere.²⁶

In the mid-nineteenth century travel facilities from New England to the Indian Territory were neither luxurious nor safe. The long journey was made by boat and stagecoach. After the teachers arrived it was readily apparent that there was more than enough work for each adventurous spirit.

In addition to teaching several classes, the teachers were expected to supervise the domestic chores of the students in kitchen and

²¹ *Indian Affairs*, 1859, p. 567.

²² *Historical Catalogue of the University of Mississippi 1849-1909* (Nashville: Marshall & Bruce Co., 1910), p. 7.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²⁴ Florence E. Cambell, "Journal of the Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the University of Mississippi 1845-1860." University of Mississippi Thesis, unpublished, University, Mississippi, 1939, p. 98.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

²⁶ Mission Reports, Box 9, II, p. 549. (See article on "Women Teachers in Oklahoma, 1820 to 1860," in this number of *The Chronicles*.—Ed.)

dining room. They were also pressed into service for Sunday School instruction.

Such a rigorous weekly routine in a new country where malaria was prevalent and epidemics spread from the river ports in the east often contributed to a physical breakdown of the teachers. Some would sufficiently regain their health during the summer vacation so that they were able to continue their work in the fall. Many who came as teachers spent years in the Choctaw and the Chickasaw schools.

The men who served the schools as teachers or superintendents were expected to take a part in the church work of the Mission. Overwork resulted from this requirement of dual service.

SCHOOL PROBLEMS

As a consequence of the great amount of work to be done, there was a constant shortage of teachers because few could maintain such a strenuous schedule. This condition in turn had its effect upon the morale and scholarship of the students. For this reason Ainslie wrote on June 14, 1860, "It is ruinous to our schools to have strangers every year."²⁷

The schools were annually faced with an epidemic of some variety. Diseases of various kinds thrived in the Indian Territory where the climate was "liable to sudden changes, and rapid succession of great extremes of heat and cold."²⁸ Typhoid fever was a frequent visitor. During the autumn of 1853, ". . . the institution [Spencer Academy] was severely tried by sickness, and as many as four of the pupils have been removed by death."²⁹ Mr. Hobbs of Lenox wrote on May 18, 1860, "We have had sixty cases of measles within the last five weeks."³⁰

In addition to the problems of a teacher shortage and epidemics, the schools faced the problems of occasional truancy, gossip, recalcitrance, and internal dissension.³¹

NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS

In discussing the subject of Mission Schools, mention must also be made of the common or neighborhood church schools. These units were integral parts of the system for public instruction among the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. The schools enrolled "day scholars" only, and were invariably located near the church in a particular district. The missionary wives frequently served as teachers, although some Indians also taught. The Indian Agents

²⁷ Mission Reports, Box 12, I, p. 117.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

²⁹ Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, *Annual Report*, May 1854, p. 18.

³⁰ Mission Reports, Box 12, I, p. 106.

³¹ Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, *Annual Report*, May 1855, p. 18.

were favorably impressed with the accomplishments of the neighborhood schools.³²

MISSION SCHOOL INFLUENCE

The various schools exerted a good influence upon the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. A developed mind, capable of exercising sound judgment, was the acquisition of the average student who absorbed a normal proportion of that which the schools offered. A moral stability, fostered by Christian instruction, is not to be minimized even if it be judged upon a basis of pragmatic principle.

The schools encouraged habits of industry by precept and example. These habits reaped benefits for the Indian in his economic life. It is likely that the Indian Agent could report an increase of cotton and of wheat production in the Choctaw district in 1854 because of better husbandry sponsored by the schools.³³

The Reverend S. L. Hobbs of Lenox Mission spoke of the improved conditions of the Choctaws in 1859. He wrote, "We are happy to see the general improvement of our people in their houses, apparel, and working utensils. Six years ago there was but one wagon in the settlement [Lenox]; now there are fourteen, and oxen to work them."³⁴ The schools must be given at least some credit for an improved economic condition. Dr. Ernest Trice Thompson said that "... from the church and school there came a stream of ministers, physicians, legislators, judges, lawyers and teachers to serve their nation."³⁵

The schools also aided the Church. The Christian atmosphere and environment present at the schools made the students more susceptible to the message of the missionary. It was the original policy of the mission boards that the schools should, among other things, serve as a "feeder" for the Church. Neither the leaders of the Indian Councils nor the U. S. officials in the Indian Office objected to the frankly prejudiced educational policy of the Presbyterian Board, which is summarized in an utterance of the Reverend James B. Ramsey, Superintendent of Spencer Academy, who said in a report of 1846 to the Indian Agent:³⁶

"We look forward to the time when Spencer Academy will furnish a thorough English and classical education to Choctaw youth—such as will fit them for eminent usefulness. In the training of these youth, we shall ever aim, as the very highest point of education, to imbue their minds with sound religious principles. To this end, the facts and doctrines of the Bible shall be industriously taught to every pupil; and every means used, also, to form him to correct manners and industrious habits.

³² *Indian Affairs*, 1858, p. 558.

³³ *Indian Affairs*, 1854, p. 136.

³⁴ *Indian Affairs*, 1859, p. 574.

³⁵ Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

³⁶ *Indian Affairs*, 1846, p. 352.

CONCLUSION

The educational program of the Presbyterian missionaries was notably successful. However, the unsettled conditions in the Indian Territory due to the War between the States made all kinds of mission work exceedingly difficult. The schools were forced to close because most of the teachers returned to the North during the summer of 1861. Some of the schools were reopened under the supervision of the Presbyterian boards shortly after the war.³⁷

³⁷ For an excellent treatment of this subject consult Natalie Morrison Denison, "Missions and Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., Among the Choctaws, 1866-1907," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume XXIV, No. 4 (Winter, 1946-47), pp. 426-448.

LEWIS FRANCIS HADLEY:
"THE LONG-HAIRED SIGN TALKER"

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

According to the *Handbook of American Indians* the sign language is a system of gestures used by the Plains Indians for communication among tribes speaking different languages and who live between the Missouri River and the Rock Mountains, and from the Frazer River in British Columbia to the Rio Grande. The sign language appears never to have been used west of the mountains except among the Nez Percés and other Indians who were accustomed to periodic hunting trips on the plains.

Tribes of many different stocks within the area of the vast plains were constantly moving about in pursuit of buffalo herds and were thus brought into friendly or hostile contact with different peoples; the necessities of nomadic life resulted in the development of a system of gesture communication, which for ordinary uses almost reached the perfection of a spoken language. The wild denizens of the upper Missouri found no difficulty in talking on any subject with Comanches or Kiowas from the border of Texas. The Crows, Cheyennes and Kiowas are considered the most expert in the use of the sign language and "In fluent grace of movement a conversation in the sign language between a Cheyenne and a Kiowa is the very poetry of motion."

Several officers of the United States Army who were experts on the Indian sign language published works on that subject. In 1881 a philosophic and comparative presentation, written by Colonel Garrick Mallery, was issued in the *First Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*.

Mallery wrote that "in no other thoroughly explored part of the world has there been found spread over so large a space so small a number of individuals divided by so many linguistic and dialectic boundaries as in North America." Colonel Richard I. Dodge says in a letter:

The embodiment of signs into a systematic language is, I believe, confined to the Indians of the Plains . . . almost all of the Indians east of the Sierras have some little smattering of it. The Plains Indians believe the Kiowas to have invented the sign language. . . . Kiowas were general go-betweens . . . they held an intermediate position between the Comanches, Tonkaways, Lipans and others of Texas, and the Pawnees, Sioux, Blackfeet, and other northern tribes.

In 1880 he thought the Kiowas were the most proficient:¹

The Comanche acquired it in Mexico, taught the Arapahoes and Kiowas, and from these the Cheyennes learned it.

It is asserted that some of the Muskoki and the Ponkas now in the Indian Territory never saw the sign language until they arrived there. Yet there is some evidence that the Muskoki did use signs a century ago, and some of the Ponkas still remaining on their old homes on the Missouri remember it. . . .

Major General Hugh Lenox Scott became the greatest authority on the sign language during his years of service among the western Indians. From the time of his graduation from the Military Academy in 1876 he was engaged in Indian expeditions or duty among the red men of the Plains, where he settled many serious troubles among the Indians by diplomacy. In 1897, while serving at the Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington, he wrote a book on the sign language.

Oklahoma can lay claim to an expert on the sign language, although he had very little support from the government in his undertakings. Lewis Francis Hadley was engaged in compiling a Modoc dictionary in 1876.²

In August of the following year Hadley compiled a long vocabulary of the Quapaw and Ponca languages. The lists of words are arranged in three columns on the pages headed English, Quapaw, and Ponca, which cover seven pages.

In 1882 Hadley wrote, "A Quapaw Vocabulary and the Quapaw and Ponca Compared. Also The Mystery of the Ponca Removal and the troubles Quapaws were subjected to on account of the mystery *underlying the Removal of the Poncas*, by Ingonompishi, late Clerk of the Quapaw Nation, 1882." This document consists of a number of historical notes concerning the origin and sad fate of the Quapaw Indians. In this connection Hadley wrote:³

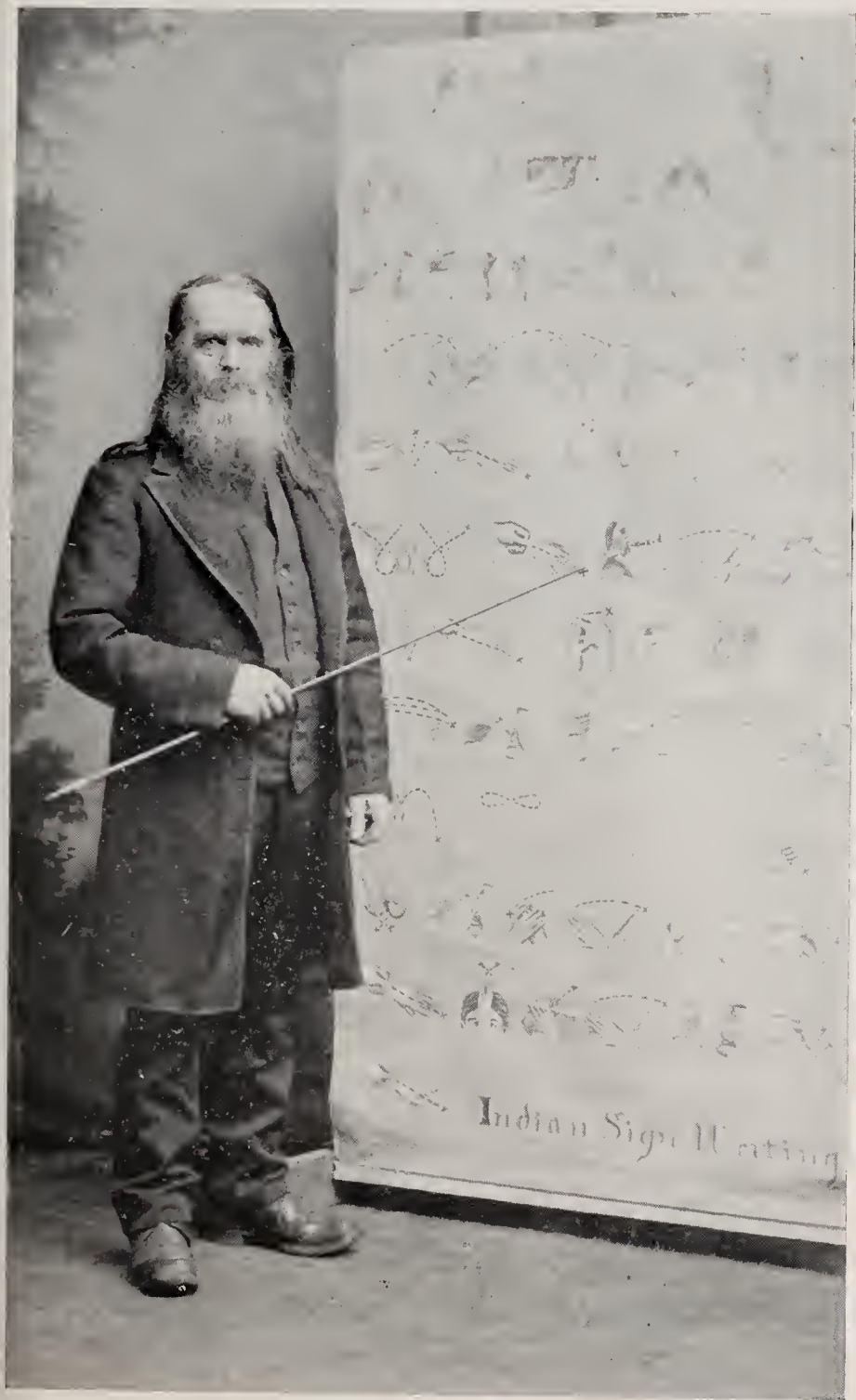
It was to aid the good Quapaws in making their grievance known to the government, that I was adopted into the tribe and became their clerk. I remained in that capacity until the matter was fully settled, and

¹ *First Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1879-80 (Washington, 1881), pp. 263, 311, 316, 319. It is said by authorities that the best practical treatise on the subject is Captain W. P. Clark's *Indian Sign Language*, Philadelphia, 1885.

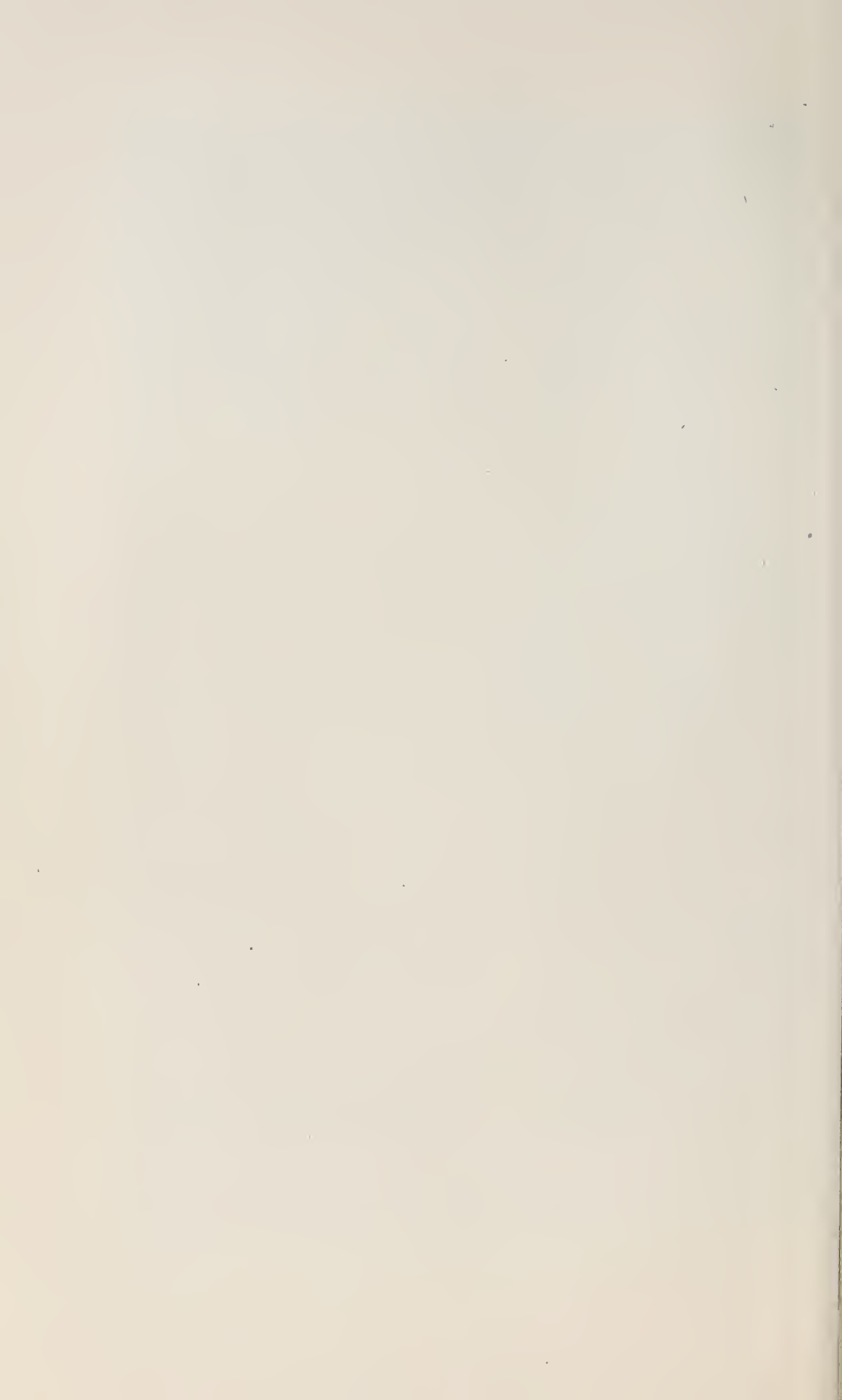
William Dunbar, the celebrated naturalist who settled at Natchez, was interested in the sign language of the Indians and attempted to connect it with the Chinese (John R. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley*, [Washington, 1911], p. 355; Harnett T. Kane, *Natchez on the Mississippi* [New York, 1947], p. 50).

² This vocabulary is contained in three copy books, a total of sixty-nine pages, and in Manuscript No. 551 in the Bureau of American Ethnology.

³ Bureau of American Ethnology, Manuscript Vault, *Catalogue No. 918*; James Constantine Pilling, *Bibliography of the Siouan Languages* (Washington, 1887), p. 30.



LEWIS FRANCIS HADLEY



the assurance given—that they should be no longer disturbed—That the remnant of the Tribe should hold their land. I came out of this fight so poor that I have not been able to take time to write up this vocabulary until now. L. F. H. —Commissioner Schurtz straightened this matter out I. E. "put his foot on it."

Hadley did not confine his efforts to making a Quapaw vocabulary, but also compiled seven pages of Uchee words, and in 1882 he filled thirty-one foolscap pages with Shawnee words. Both of these works are to be found in the Bureau of American Ethnology.⁴

Hadley became involved in a matrimonial venture with Mi-ti-ti and in 1882 he wrote the following letter regarding the affair:⁵

Mititi was probably the oldest and best looking woman in the tribe, had buried all of her family and wanting to marry.

Your humble servt. was an adopted citizen fighting against certain schemes against the Quapaws, while the schemers were trying to dispute my rights as I was not married (*sic*) into the tribe.

Hence Mititi was working for my interest as well as her own, she knew I was in the market and sent me word she wanted to marry me.

As I did not want a woman near a hundred years old I had to decline the tempting offer and in such a way as not to give any offence.

Hence the following letter was prepared with *great care* on my part after which it was submitted (*sic*) to the interpreter, and we both worked at it untill (*sic*) he pronounced it *correct*, and as it is probably the best idea I can give of the structure of the Quapaw language I hereby sacrifice my pride, and disclose the anxious longings of two lonely old souls upon the holy altar of Science.

In 1882 Hadley was teaching drawing at the Cherokee Male Seminary in Tahlequah, and the following year he is said to have taught at the Cherokee Orphan Asylum at Salina.⁶ One of his pupils at the Male Seminary was Joseph M. Thompson, member of a prominent Cherokee family. He was born in the Chickasaw Nation in 1865, and when he was three years old his parents returned with

⁴ No. 1005 Uchee; No. 29 Shawnee Words. In January, 1894, J. Owen Dorsey collected from Lewis F. Hadley, assisted by George Redeagle, twenty-three pages of Quapaw words.

⁵ From the Kiowa Indian School, Anadarko, Oklahoma Territory, on March 18, 1891, Superintendent G. P. Gregory wrote to T. J. Morgan, Commissioner Indian Affairs:

"I carefully examined the paper placed in my hands regarding the adoption of Louis Hadley—the long-haired sign talker—into the Quapaw tribe.

"I find them to be only an account or record of a council formally adopting Mr. Hadley and his wife.

"This report was written by Mr. Hadley and the signatures are all in his hand. There is no evidence whatever except his word to prove the genuineness of the document. He asked me to delay writing you until he could procure further and more satisfactory evidence. This he has failed to do." (The National Archives, Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C. Letters Received, 1891/10888).

⁶ Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives Division, *Indian-Pioneer History*, Vol. 46, pp. 489-92.

him to the Cherokee country, where the lad was educated. He had a talent for drawing, but did not pursue that art after his graduation until he retired as a physician in 1937, when he painted portraits of Sequoyah, the outlaw Tom Starr, the famous Sioux Red Cloud, and General Stand Watie. Judge J. T. Parks of Tahlequah was a student in the Male Seminary from 1882 to 1884, and he recalls Hadley as a teacher of drawing there. Judge Parks states: "All teachers at that time were Professors, and to maintain that dignity they wore Prince Albert coats and derby hats."

From Arkansas City, Kansas, October 19, 1885, Hadley wrote to James Constantine Pilling in Washington regarding his different vocabularies in answer to a letter from Pilling. In his letter Hadley wrote:

In reply will say, in regard to the Cherokee vocabulary &c that it is *imperfect and unreliable*. But is waiting opportunity for correction. The bulk of the work was given by intelligent pupils at the Cherokee High Schools. Yet much of it is valuable grammatical matter (Copied from manuscript now lost) Orriginal in Cherokee Characters these are and have been copied *eroniously* one character being mistaken for others &c.

After learning more of the matter and trying to correct the same I found that which I valued most needed to be thourally overhauled by some Cherokee Schollar of more than ordinary learning therefore I can make an entire new collection *cheaper* and in view of my experience *much better* than to try to dóctor the old one.

Hadley gave a long description of the vocabulary and mentioned additional grammatical matter copied from a manuscript found in the Vann Library which he said was lost. He also promised to send to Pilling a large Quapaw vocabulary which was to be returned to him on demand. He added:⁷

. . . . I have a great deal of matter in my dialects and am constantly getting more. . . . For instance I have a Choctaw Dictionary of several

⁷ Bureau of American Ethnology, *Catalogue No. 1353*. In 1878 the first steamboat, "Aunt Sally," arrived at Arkansas City on June 25, amid wild excitement among all of the citizens (*The Traveler*, [Arkansas City, Kansas], July 3, 1878). Eight years later a cargo of flour was landed at Fort Smith, direct from Arkansas City, aboard two barges towed by the "Kansas Miller." The distance was 570 miles. This steamer, built at St. Louis, passed up the river in July, 1885, and this was her first trip down. The boat was owned by Bliss and Wood of Winfield, Kansas, Searing & Mead and the Arkansas City Roller Mills, and was built expressly for the flour trade in the upper Arkansas. That was the first cargo ever brought down by steamer, and Captain E. S. Bliss thought it fully demonstrated the feasibility of upper Arkansas navigation (*Fort Smith Elevator*, July 2, 1886). T. M. Finney (Wahshowahgaley), *Pioneer Days with the Osage Indians West of '96* (Bartlesville, Oklahoma), 1925, pp. 45, 46, 48.

hundred pages But Mr. Allen Wright published a like work before I put mine out.⁸ It is tied up in two packages and in my Boat.

So lately I collected perhaps two hundred Potawatomie words, "just to be doing" Such small collections seem to me of little or no value as no object was in view. But I did copy about three 3 lines of the usual Heading of Friendly letters one to another among intelligent Indians it is in Chepewa (which is understood by Potawatomies Ottawas &c.) This I will send to you in another letter. (I value such myself.)

I do not wish to intrude worthless matter for the sake of seeing a long list of my labors in print. But such as you can use I will gladly send. I am absent from my books &c now (They are on a Boat on the way to New Orleans) therefore I *cannot* enter into details. . . .

I have also many vocabularies which I copied from the U. S. survey of Roads to the Pacific. All of which you can, or may have obtained long ago. But allow me here to tell you that I found the *Pani wholly eronious* it is in two dialects neither of which was recognized by pawnees a few weeks since and I had to rely on the sign language.

I visited the *Tonkawas*. 2nd Chief Charley had me write out a list of *Indian* names I kept a copy, this I *showed to the first Chief*. Now it seems that this making known of *Indian* names is sacrilidge so to speak, and 2nd Chief Charley wanted me to tell "all the Tonkawas in Council" that I did not know who gave me the *Indian* names to clear him; as I could not do it, I called on the Sub Agt and told him about it and that I had promised Charley I would not tell the Council who gave me the names. I would give him (charley) the slip, and so along in the night I went away, leaving Charley to face the Council without any "Liar" to help him out.

I have written you this to inform you of the superstition in regard to white people knowing Tonkawa *Indian* names. The Sub Agent was himself surprised But showed me a Ration list wherein the column headed "Indian Name" was blank. Tonkawas deny their Indian names. Agt told me that when any person dies among them they drop that name out of the language, and Charley said I "must never repeat any Tonkawa names" He gave me the name "Mi-nau-wa-tce-li" Deerfast and I found it quite appropriate on the night when I waided the Chicaski River leaving him to face the angry Tonkawas without the aid of one to tell a pack of lies to clear him of an indiscretion in a matter of that nature.

My address is *uncertain* Being on a Steam Boat, often laid up away from any Post office But at present on Steamer Kansas Millers, Arkansas City Kansas.

From Anadarko, Indian Territory, on September 1, 1887, was issued *A List of Primary Gestures in Indian Sign Talk*:

Only 19 copies of these proofs are printed, one for each o (*sic*) my Patrons. None will be sold. They are for corrections adsitions (*sic*)

⁸ Allen Wright, Choctaw scholar, preacher, and statesman, was born in Mississippi in 1826. He immigrated during the Choctaw removal to Indian Territory in the winter of 1833-34. He graduated from colleges in the East and on returning home, served his people until his death in 1885. The Rev. John Edwards described Mr. Wright as "a man of large intelligence, good mind, an excellent preacher. . . . No other Choctaw that I ever met could give such a clear explanation of difficult points in the grammar of the Choctaw." He made a translation of the Chickasaw constitution and laws, published in book form in 1873, and in 1880 he issued his "Chahta Leksikon."—(Frederick Webb Hodge [ed.] *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, [Washington, 1912], Part 2, pp. 975-6).

improvements, and criticisms by Indians; after which extended works, and A Magazine in Hand Taling (*sic*) may be expected. Titles are omitted (*sic*) for want of sufficient type.

To those who have aided me with money; I tender herewith my sincere thanks. A Magazine in Sign-talk will obtain a wide (if not large) circulation among the Curious in all lands. The Diagram can be reduced and transferred in any size or color. Shall We control it? As you say. I am ready to serve you. Yours Respectfully, Lewis F. Hadley.

This small book, which the writer discovered in the Library of Congress, is now preserved in the Rare Book Division of that institution. It is made up of several hundred crude designs in white on a black ground on paper which has printed on the back "Number of Vouchers" and which Hadley probably secured from the Indian Agency. While the book is crude it must have required unlimited patience to make it.⁹

The following advertisement was printed in the *Muskogee Phoenix* April 19, 1888: "Indian Hand Talking [3 black pictures of signs] (Wild Indians read the above on sight.) The inventor of the sign diagrams needs philanthropists to help him give reading matter in sign language to 207,000 Indians who can never hope to read our letters. . . . For particulars address L. F. Hadley, care U. S. Indian Agt., Muskogee, I. T."

In November, 1889, Hadley was living in a tent between the Red Store and the old hotel in Anadarko. The front of his tent displayed a strip of canvas bearing a notice in the sign language.¹⁰

Israel G. Vore, whose life was spent among the Indians of Indian Territory and the Plains, wrote that he had been investigating the sign language at different times for four years: "I know exactly how expressive and inspiring it is. It does not represent letters or words, but things. It is very meager—God's truth can neither be proclaimed or illustrated in it. The very idea to those who understand it is absurd. I am no missionary—No Minister of the Gospel—No Writeist, — . . . the fault of my education. I graduated among the Indians of the Indian Territory, — my studies never reached grammar. . . ." For an account of Vore see Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Israel G. Vore and Levering Manual Labor School", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1947), pp. 198-217.

On December 31, 1890, when Judge C. Ross Hume, at the age of twelve, reached Anadarko with his parents, he recalls that Hadley was living in a cave in the side of a hill near the old Masonic Hall and Mr. Robert L. Boake, a former Indian trader, informed him that Hadley was still in the town in 1893, and that he remained there perhaps another year. In a letter dated January 7, 1947, Judge Hume wrote:

Mr. Boake had been a trader's clerk at Cantonment, among the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians, among whom the sign language was court language for intertribal conversations, and is now probably the best sign talker of all white men now living here.

⁹ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints* (Norman, 1936), p. 254.

¹⁰ Authority of Mr. Ralph Cleveland who arrived in Anadarko in November, 1889.

He told me that he and another clerk visited Hadley often, and did talk to him in the sign language. Many of the signs of Hadley were wrong, and his delineations of them were from the view of the Speaker rather than that of the person spoken to; i. e. the front of the hand would appear in gesture where the back of the hand appeared to party spoken to.

That Hadley had wide interests is suggested by an article in the *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah) on October 27, 1880, copied from a Fort Smith newspaper saying:

There is a strange looking craft now afloat below the wharf, under process of construction, by equally as strange a looking genius. At his request we boarded his vessel and listened to the explanation of its object. He (Hadley) has some new theory of propelling appliances, which if ever put into successful operation cannot fail to work radical changes of a very economical, safe and useful nature.

The present vessel, although designed in the main to improve and illustrate his plans for more enlarged and extensive application will answer for a trading boat, a pleasure trip boat, or a transport in low waters. Mr. Lewis F. Hadly (*sic*) the owner, builder, inventor, mate and pilot of this 12 by 30 foot craft, has lived on this frontier for over thirty years. He seems to be an inventive genius and a natural draughtsman, and has taught drawing in the schools of the Cherokee Nation. He has spent a season or two in the survey of the Arkansas channels above this point and has complete charts hundreds of miles above here.¹¹

And he now desires to put his inventions into practice. He has studied upon it for years, and has worked to accumulate means to effect that purpose. His accumulation have (*sic*) been so slow that his impatience has (*sic*) got the better of him, and he has invested every cent of his earnings and has deprived himself of the comforts of life to get it thus far along, and trusts to find in this community some monied friends to assist him in completing it. We would commend his undertaking to the serious attention of any one interested in useful and profitable invention, and we think the inventor can demonstrate its feasibility. It was ever thus with genius. . . .

An interesting picture of Hadley was furnished the writer by an early resident of Fort Smith:

He was thick-set rather than "stout"—and had let his hair grow so as to be received among primitive Indians without suspicion I recall well his first call. It was in the evening, and my brother and I had gone to bed. Presently my mother came up and told us we might . . . dress and come down stairs to hear Mr. Hadley's stories. . . . My mother brought him a cup of tea, and some apple pie and cheese, and watched him—with horror—put the cheese into his tea and stir it as he talked. Then he took a sip, looked a little queer, and set down the cup. My mother said "Mr. Hadley, I'm afraid you didn't mean to put that cheese into your tea—Let me get you another cup." "Oh, I beg your pardon. I thought it was sugar—You see on the reservations we have only brown sugar. . . ."

¹¹ Although a search was made in the files of the Corps of Engineers, Washington, D. C., nothing was discovered regarding Hadley's survey of the Arkansas River. Mrs. Louise Cook of the Newspaper Department, Oklahoma Historical Society checked the *Fort Smith Elevator*, the *Cheyenne Transporter* and the *Cherokee Advocate* for material about Hadley. Mr. E. R. Dabney of the library staff of the University of Texas made a thorough search in the great newspaper collection in that institution without results.

[Mr. Hadley] had first become interested in the sign language as a philologist while he was traveling in the West, and was so interested in trying to find the origin of the different signs that he gradually gave up one after another civilized customs and tried to identify himself more and more with the Indians. As he did so, he also came to realize how inadequate to their needs the Indian schools were. They taught the children Christianity; they also taught them all the complexities of "civilized" life, so that when they returned to the hogans they had nothing in common with their parents and either relapsed into "Savagery" or left home altogether.

Mr. Hadley's passion was to Christianize what we then called the "blanket Indians"—He believed that if the sign language could be reduced to writing, our Lord's parables (which strongly appealed to the Indians) and the elements of Christian faith could be spread among the most primitive tribes, those who never came near the Agencies. He began experimenting with the pictures, and as he had no writing materials he used margins of newspaper—or bits of brown paper—anything he could get hold of.

He purposely made his drawings as simple and crude as possible, as a child would draw them, so that no line or detail would distract from the idea. Then he would go to the agency, or to any Indian gathering, get into talk with one of the men, and show him, say, the parable of the Good Samaritan. He would explain that the dotted line was the road, that X was the place the hand was walking to—and in a minute the Indian would pick up the scraps of paper, laugh, and begin to talk the whole thing off on his fingers. Then he would laugh again, say, "That good talk," and there you were.

Mr. Hadley wanted most to print small paper fliers that could be easily distributed—but he had no money. The Reverend George F. Degen, rector of St. John's Episcopal Church in Fort Smith, and Mrs. Degen set themselves to provide a fund for him, and Mrs. Degen spent one whole summer traveling in New England, speaking to various missionary societies in an effort to collect funds. She aroused great interest and secured enough to print Hadley's dictionary. But such a project needed a sustained drive and a convinced body of people to keep it up, and Mr. and Mrs. Degen, devoted as they were, could not spare time or money to keep the crusade up year after year, so Mr. Hadley had to give up his scheme and take to teaching.

To our minds, he was potentially one of the great missionaries of all times, like those famous names associated with India and Africa—but he did not have a national missionary society behind him. He had traveled all over the West, out to the Pacific coast, and I think into Canada—always on foot, going from one tribe to another. He spoke twenty or more different languages, and had discovered for himself that Indians from Alaska to South America used substantially the same sign language, and that members of tribes who had not one spoken word in common could communicate by the signs. He had been formally adopted into at least one tribe, and could introduce himself by his Indian name, In-go-nom-pa-she (accented on the first syllable).

He told us how repugnant it had been to him to adapt himself to Indian customs, how he had gagged when he ate with the primitive tribes and saw . . . the stew handed about in a chamber-pot though he knew it had been distributed from an agency and that the Indians thought it a very convenient dish, and had no idea what it was intend for. How each one put his hand into the stew and pulled out what he fancied, and

if he did not like it tossed it back into the pan for someone else to sample. . . .

Mr. Hadley's explanations of some of the signs were interesting:

. . . . the sign for an Indian, indicating that his skin was dark; for a white man, a straight line drawn horizontally across the forehead ("he wears a hat"), and for a Negro, the two signs combined "he has a dark skin, but he wears a hat"); there was the liar ("he has two tongues"); and there were the three personal pronouns as he interpreted them, the "I" with dignity, perhaps a little pomposity, the "you" gestured with courtesy and emprossment, and the "he" just a toss of the thumb over the shoulder, very casually, "the other fellow," nobody to bother about. To look at the dictionary and watch him translating it was an education itself. He had been much puzzled by the sign for a horse, the Indians could not explain it, and it took him months of travel and observation . . . to come across the Canadian Indians' hand travois and conclude that it had finally been adapted to horse-hauling; but the old sign for the dragging travois had been kept, to serve for transportation. . . .

Mr. Hadley lamented that he never expected to get his hands really clean again after his years with the Indians. They were seamed with fine black lines, like a mechanic's, and he wore with indifference such clothes as were given him. His tent stood on a vacant lot on Fourth Street—or possibly Third—between Sycamore and Garrison Avenue in Fort Smith.

Another informant who remembers Mr. Hadley very well, although he was only a lad when the man visited his parents' home in Fort Smith. He recalls that:

He was a very unusual character and I imagine that he made a lasting impression on all who met him At that age I was naturally impressed by the fact that he always lived in a tent when he came to Fort Smith. The tent was always cluttered as, in addition to his living equipment, he had a printing press and a large stock of wood blocks for the making of cuts for his sign language pamphlets.

Mr. Hadley's ambition was to print the New Testament in sign language, starting with the Gospels. I have no idea how far he got. All that I remember seeing are two pamphlets containing the Lord's Prayer¹² and the Sermon on the Mount. . . . Mr. Hadley cut the pictures and lettering in the blocks himself, and I remember him saying that a high degree of artistic skill was not only unnecessary, but probably harmful. He reasoned that the Indians themselves made crude drawings and that they would accept crude drawings by others more readily than more finished work. He said that he never visited a new town or encampment that his pamphlets did not arouse the greatest interest. The Indians would crowd around, and as soon as he handed them a pamphlet one would hold it while another read it off to the group in signs.

One of his difficulties was the necessity of paraphrasing biblical English into terms the Indians could understand, and then arranging it for transposition into signs. . . . Mr. Hadley worked almost entirely among

¹² In the magazine *Twin Territories* for October, 1902, there is a copy of the Lord's Prayer in the sign language, "arranged by Prof. Hadley, who labored for many years among the wild tribes." This pamphlet consists of 12 pages, Illustrated (including portfolio), Jesse L. Rader, *South of Forty* (Norman, 1947), pp. 141-42.

the "blanket Indians" of the western part of the Indian Territory, who were not reached by the missionary or educational services of the more settled east. . . . He believed that to gain the Indians' confidence it was necessary to live with them and as much like them as possible. For that reason he wore his hair long, but he thought the adoption of Indian dress an unnecessary affectation. He found his greatest trial in the Indians' lack of sanitation, particularly in the preparation and serving of food, but to achieve his objective he schooled himself to avoid any outward sign of repugnance. I think that by the time we knew him he was more at ease among Indians than among white men. During his occasional visits to Fort Smith he was usually busy in his tent carving new woodcuts, setting them up for his press and printing more pamphlets. . . .

A lesson in *Sign-Talk*, designed to show the movement of the hands in the "Indian Gesture Language", written by In-go-nom-pa-shi [Lewis F. Hadley] was issued at Fort Smith, Arkansas, in 1890.¹³

Hadley's most ambitious work was issued at Chicago in 1893. The title is: "*Indian Sign Talk. Being a Book of Proofs of the Matter Printed on Equivalent Cards Designed for Teaching Sign Talkign Indians as Much English as can be explained through the Medium of Their Almost Universal Gesture Language by In-go-nom-pa-shi Author of Several Vocabularies of Indian Languages. Copyright secured by Lewis F. Hadley.*"

In the preface to this book Hadley wrote that when the Bureau of American Ethnology issued its voluminous report on the sign language in 1880, he became interested and determined to drop the collection of Indian words on which he had worked several years and devote himself to the investigation of the gestures called Sign Talk. He considered that by such means the adult Indian could be educated in any matter that could be explained in their sign language. Hadley wrote:

After having engraved the first crude diagram of the gestures while yet among the Indians, printing nineteen copies of the 684 cuts each with a paper knife (writing their equivalent with a pen), I saw they were entirely too large and too poorly executed to become practical or acceptable.

Therefore, I determined to try to find friends who could furnish the means while I could do better work. Then it was that I went to Fort Smith, Ark. This was the beginning of the interest shown by Rev. George F. Degen and his wife, Mrs. Edith M. Degen.

They advanced the money to purchase blank types, on which I engraved nearly 4000 diagrams which are known as BLACK TYPE. These were the first practical font, enough to print the "Sermon on the Mount" at one impression. The above parties also made a way for me to pay expenses while at work on this second set of wooden types. When the black types

¹³ Hadley stated that sign talking Indians numbered about as follows:

"Arapahoes and Cheyens in the Indian Territory 6,500

"Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches at Wichita, I. T. (*sic*) 2,923.

"Wichitas, Caddoes and Delawares at Anadarko, say 600

"Ponchas, Otoes, Iowas near Ponca, I. T. 800

"Pawnees, Sac & Fox, Kaws and Osages, I. T. 4,500."

INDIAN HANDS TALKING.



TALK. In a general sence. Snapping the fingers from the mouth, and at the same time throwing the hand forward as shown by the diagram. (The movement is shown by the dotted line; stops: by an X).



TALK-ed. Snapping the words towards the parties. addressed, or refferd to. As talk-ed to him, to them; told him, or them, to tell another to talk,



TALK-ed, to , told me, tell me. Also, (with a little licence) tell, or show me how, the way, &c. Snaped towards the heart, signifies an impression on the concience. Talked to my heart.



INDIAN HANDS TALKING. 2.

TALK-ed-ing. The open hand palm up, in front of lips, thence outward, on a level, and a little to the right. is a northern, or prairie sign; and suggests the freedom of such, having no obstruction in sight: and nothing to be restrained.



TALKING in council, has a similar conception. The open hand palm up, near the lips, being carried to the left, thence in a jerky manner, on a level curve to the right; as shown above.



TALKING, as in conversation. This comes from the same source, and suggests a free interchange of ideas, back and forth.



TALKING with the Hands. See Title. I cannot give the conception having run out of sorts. I give one more talk.



PRIVATE TALK, such as I would like to have with my Patrons, is indicated by snapping the fingers and thumb of the right, under the extended open left hand. *SAMPLE PAGES. By L. F. Hadley.*

were ready, two ladies (who are still my principal helpers) advanced money for type, and printing, with which I had quite a quantity prepared. But my friends were not pleased with the general appearance of black prints.

Then I had some pieces printed by photo process, and the consequence was, that both whites and Indians preferred the ordinary style of diagrams, and the black prints were never well received.

. These are simply books of proofs, and only 75 copies are saved. They are not for sale, being reserved for such as have been or may become interested in the development of the sign language.

Without doubt, Gesture Language is older than intelligent speech and exists to some extent, among all nations.

My idea is that the Indian Sign Language is of a natural growth; a creation of necessity. When we recognize the hundreds of their distinct languages, to say nothing of the numerous dialects of each, we must perceive that no one Indian tongue could be very widespread.

And the circumstances of the Western plains and mountain Indians who followed Buffalo from one feeding ground to another over vast regions of country would tend to bring different tribes into the same locality, and as they could not understand each other's words, it is but natural to suppose that some means of communication would grow to become intelligible.

The *Indian Sign Talk* contains 268 large octavo pages of designs or positions of the hands with dotted lines showing movement of the hands, printed on one side only of each sheet. This is followed by examples of Black Type and other styles of sign talk. One page is devoted to the Indians' Little Star, another to Wolf and White man. The Nineteenth Psalm and the Lord's Prayer cover several pages of the volume and the whole displays an enormous amount of patience in compiling the work.

A published biography in the Bureau of Ethnology states:¹⁶

Lewis F. Hadley, who has adapted the Indian Sign Language to print, for teaching wild adult Indians, is of Quaker parentage. He was born in the town of Salem, Massachusetts, about sixty years ago. His mother was sister to the widely known preacher Saphronia Page, a woman noted for womanly loveliness, as well as for her quiet, persistent energy and earnestness in Christian service. L. F. Hadley became one of the earlier stenographers of the country, and when in the prime of manhood became interested in the investigation of our wonderful Indian Sign Language. His friendly heart discerned, in this remarkable invention of our savage countrymen, the road to a noble field for his life work. "I never for one moment doubted my mission," he writes. "The moment it dawned upon my mind that I was making pictures of gestures that wild men could read, I raised my eyes and my thoughts heavenward, and vowed solemnly that if God would permit me to live long enough I would yet give them reading matter in these signs." He gave himself up to a life of privation, hardship and exposure of all sorts, living among the wildest Indians while he studied their use of their sign-gesture language, and collected the signs and gestures in his truly graphic pictures from both northern and southern tribes (and it is important to note that he found the same signs and used gestures for intercommunication among them all). His method of drawing the first position of a sign and indicating any second position or gesture by a dotted line ending with a star, was quickly understood by the sign

talking Indians, and by faithful tests he fully proved that even the wildest of them recognized their familiar sign and gesture language thus presented to them. While among the wildest of the wild Kiowas he printed his first book of pictured signs and English equivalents from blocks he had made and cut with a common knife.

Words would fail to describe what these years among wild, hunted, poverty stricken savages signified to a gentleman like L. F. Hadley. But the complete success of his invention for teaching the Indians, with the Indians themselves, has made all that seem endurable. His difficulties have not been with the despised Indian.

When his work was brought to that point where the sympathy and help of civilized, enlightened philanthropists and Christians were needed to perfect it, so that it should become practically available for wide use by other workers among the Indians, his troubles began. Of these days of struggle he says: "My effort to earn the needed funds was a failure—an attack of malarial fever left me ten years older than I ought to be. From that time to this I have existed—how I cannot tell. . . . I have not gone hungry, I certainly have not gone well clothed. . . . I have not sponged my keeping. . . . I said truly I have existed by some manner of means, not as I would, but as I could."

Yet during these years of wearing struggle with extreme poverty, still working upon his manuscript for a sign point dictionary, while trying vainly to reach the hearts of Christ's people in behalf of the ignorant heathen, untaught adult Indian; this man, now growing old, has developed his work to perfection. After twelve years, full of thrilling vicissitudes, sustained by marvelous self-devotion and an indomitable aim, Lewis F. Hadley now holds in his hands, revised and corrected, the completed manuscript of seven hundred signs and gestures (all that are known to the Indians) with their English equivalents, arranged in dictionary order, ready for stereotyping and publishing, in a shape that will make the practical use of the Indian sign language, for civilizing and Christianizing purposes possible to white teachers and missionaries among any of the wild tribes.

He has also prepared a set of charts with corresponding cards, containing drawings of each separate sign with English equivalents. These he has tested and finds perfectly successful for the special purpose of teaching the Indians the meaning and pronunciation of English words and phrases. The Indians especially welcome the charts and cards. The next step, dependent upon the generosity of those interested, is the preparation of the Sign diagrams in electrotype.

This done, the charts and cards could be printed in any needed quantity, and, funds permitting, the dictionary, essential for the preparation of religious and other instructive matter in the signs, could be published.

The word, education, has been perhaps unwisely used to indicate the result hoped for in the use of the sign print for aiding in the civilization of the wild adult Indians already far beyond school age. It is indeed too late to educate them by any method.

The house, owing to our criminal negligence in the past, is already built up in barbarous style. But we may open windows admitting free light and air to the stifled groping souls within. In other words we may by this method, the only one that promises any success with this class of Indians bring them to the practical use of the English language, and convey necessary religious and civilizing instruction to their darkened minds. Can we afford to do less for these, our heathen, whom in their

pliant youth we defrauded of the schools and churches pledged by treaty with their fathers?

L. F. Hadley writes: "I have brought the work I was called to do to the point of successful completion: God must, and will supply the next man or woman who will carry it forward according to His appointment. . . . I am old now and do not feel it safe to attempt much more on my own responsibility But I long to be away among my red friends teaching them through this clear, flexible, comprehensive medium the hope of eternal life. . . . But further work waits for the means to print. I am trusting in God and in his Christian philanthropists to provide what is needed to accomplish this."¹⁴

In *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians*, by James Mooney, he mentions " . . . a few words and sentences printed in phonetic type in a little paper called 'The Glorious Sun', published at irregular intervals in 1895 at Anadarko by Lewis D. (*sic*) Hadley. . . ."¹⁵

Ernest Thompson Seton became interested in the sign language and on December 16, 1916, wrote Dr. Frederick Webb Hodge of the Bureau of American Ethnology that he was sending him "the Hadley Sign Language Dictionary or as he calls it the 'Book of Proofs'" Mr. Seton said further:¹⁶

I suggest that you get the originals from the Library of Congress to see just what was contained in the two small books. Last night I called on Miss [Alice] Fletcher and Francis LaFleche. LaFleche did not wish to undertake the editing, said he was not competent, though he gave some evidence of accurate sign knowledge then and there. He strongly advised me to focus on Chenenne code, which he considers the best and said that a Cheyene (*sic*) Indian named Cleaver Warden, a full blood, living at Cheyene Agency, Oklahoma, is amply qualified to correct my Sign Language, if I either go to him in Oklahoma or pay him to come to the East, Washington for example. It would be a week or ten days hard work, but I certainly do like the idea of sticking to the Cheyene code, particularly as they had made it almost entirely a one-hand code. . . . If I brought young Warden to the East, I think it would be best to work with him in Washington. . . .

A letter from Seton to Hodge, dated December 20, 1916, written at Greenwich, Connecticut, contained a bibliographical note on Hadley as follows:

HADLEY INDIAN SIGN PRINTS. About twenty-five years ago there lived in Anadarko, Indian Territory, an enthusiastic missionary named Lewis F. Hadley, known to the Indians as Ingonompashi.

He made a careful study of the Sign Language in order to furnish the Indians with a pictigraphic writing, based on diagrams of the signs;

¹⁴From *Friends Review*, Vol. 45 (1891-92), pp. 533-34.

The Indian Sign Language and the Invention of Mr. Lewis F. Hadley, as applied to the Speedy Christian Civilization and Education of the Wild Adult Indians was written by Miss Axtell and printed by the Western Label Company, Chicago, 1891. This small brochure consists of eleven pages. Pages eight and nine were written by Mr. Hadley on the subject of Indian Education. Pages seven, nine and ten contain illustrations of Hadley's method of sign talk.

¹⁵*Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* . . . 1895-96, Washington, 1898.

¹⁶Bureau of American Ethnology, *Catalogue No. 3424*.

and meant to be read by all Indians, without regard to their speech. He mentions the Chinese writing as a model and parallel.

He was backed by Mrs. Harriet T. Platt, of Lake Forest, Illinois, and her sister, Miss Juliet L. Axtell, who supplied the financial support and worked for many months on the cuts, the types and the printing of the various publications.

In pursuance of his plan, he published the following:

1887 List of Primary Gestures in Indian Sign Talk.

Only 19 copies were printed. . . . It was intended as a prodrome to "*extended works and a magazine in Hands-talking.*" It consists of 63 pages with 684 crude woodblocks of white lines on black ground, illustrating signs alphabetically arranged, but without captions or text of any kind, except the explanation on the title page, abridged as above. He refers to the following as his councilors; Rev. George F. Degen, Rector of St. John, Fort Smith, Ark., and Edith M. Degen, same address.

He made a Sign Language font of 4000 types for use in his projected work. He maintained that 110,793 Indians were at that time sign-talkers and proposed to teach them by Sign Language publications.

1890. *A Lesson in Sign Talk*, designed to show the use of the line showing the movement of the hands in the Indian Gesture Language, by In-go-nom-pa-shi, Fort Smith, Ark., 1890. Copyrighted by Lewis F. Hadley, 12pp. A portrait of him by himself is on p. 11, inscribed "In-go-nom-pa-shi, Drawn by himself at 60 years."

It devotes 3pp to general discussion of Sign Talk. . . . with 12 poor illustrations in white line, also a Scripture text with 15 signs drawn, The Lord's Prayer with 55 drawn signs and on p. 12, the Indian Little Star, a novel version of "Twinkle Twinkle" rendered in 97 drawn signs.

1893. *Indian Sign Talk*. Being a Book of Proofs of the matter printed or equivalent cards designed for teaching sign Talking Indians as much English as can be explained through the medium of their "Universal" Gesture Language, by Ingonompashi, copyrighted May 15, 1893," only 75 copies are saved.

Mr. Seton says only four of the last mentioned books are so far accounted for. This book of Hadley's is an elaborate dictionary printed on one side of 268 octavo leaves. It has nine pages of preface and there are a total of 577 signs; about 800 illustrations, two pages of appendix. The story of "Wolf and the White Man", texts, and the Nineteenth Psalm.

Seton wrote:

This is the most ambitious work extant on the subject of Sign Language, but seems to be quite unknown to most ethnologists, and is not in any library, so far as I can learn, except the Library of Congress and the New York Public Library. . . . Cards comprising the dictionary part were issued to the extent of 100,000 in sets of 571 each, and the reading matter on cards to the number of over 27,000.

Hadley also issued eight sets of cards in envelopes on Biblical subjects. These cards number 87 and have over 1000 illustrations of signs.¹⁷

¹⁷ Bureau of American Ethnology, *Catalogue No. 3424*.

William Tomkins, in the introduction of his book *Universal Sign Language of the Plains Indians of North America*,¹⁸ wrote that "Next to the work by Capt. Clark, this is the foremost contribution of the study of Indian Sign Language, particularly as it contains several hundred graphic illustration."

Although a diligent search was made by the writer, no further mention of Lewis Francis Hadley was discovered.¹⁹ Where he spent the remainder of his life and where he lies buried must remain a mystery until some one comes forward with more information on his life.

¹⁸ San Diego, California, 1929.

¹⁹ The author has been greatly helped in her research for this article by Mr. Lester Hargrett, Curator of the Thomas Gilcrease Foundation, Tulsa, Oklahoma. Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Assistant Curator, Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Pennsylvania, graciously copied Miss Axtell's article about Hadley in the *Friends Review*, and cited several other places for possible material concerning him, for which the writer wishes to express her sincere gratitude. Miss Minnie M. Rumsey, Chicago, Illinois, was particularly helpful in allowing the writer to copy various papers from the effects of her late aunts, Mrs. Harriet Platt and Miss Julia L. Axtell of Lake Forest, Illinois. Research about Hadley was made at the Library of The University of Chicago by Mrs. Elizabeth O. Hogg, Jr., Reference Librarian; by the librarian of the Free Library of Philadelphia; by the Chicago Historical Society; by Miss Nell Steele, librarian of the Lake Forest Library, Lake Forest, Illinois; Miss Elizabeth G. Weeks, secretary to the headmaster of Moses Brown School, Providence, Rhode Island, and Mrs. Charles L. Gladding of the same institution, were most kind in searching the records of the Meetings of New England and suggesting other places for research. Miss Esther Usher, assistant librarian to The Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts, searched the files but failed to find the record of Hadley's birth. City Clerk Augustine J. Toomey, Salem, Massachusetts, wrote May 11, 1948: "We have combed our records thoroughly from 1658 through 1840 and can find no record of" Lewis F. Hadley.

One informant believed that Hadley was a graduate of Cambridge University, but a thorough search by the librarian of Pembroke College disclosed that no person of his name had ever matriculated in Cambridge. To all of these kind persons who gave of their time and strength to help in locating material concerning Hadley the writer is most grateful.

EXPERIENCES AT THE OPENING OF OKLAHOMA 1889

*By Robe Carl White**

Sometime in the month of March, 1889, President Harrison issued a proclamation throwing open to white settlers, for homestead purposes, about two million acres of rich land located in the central part of what was then known as the Indian Territory. This tract had been purchased from the Creeks and the Seminoles after the Civil War, and was the first of the so called Indian lands thrown open to homesteaders. The region was popularly known as the "Oklahoma Country," afterward (1890) organized as a part of Oklahoma Territory now included in the western part of the state by the same name. The Proclamation for the Opening created great interest and excitement throughout the nation, particularly in the states bordering on the old Indian Territory. The date of the opening was fixed at twelve o'clock, high noon, on Monday, the 22nd day of April, 1889. Thousands of people planned to make the run into the Oklahoma Country, all with the hope of securing for themselves a quarter section of land or some town lots.

The United States army was placed in charge of the tract to be opened to settlement and assigned the duty of ousting from within its limits all white settlers, except government officers and employees, and to keep them out, as well as all others, until the signal to enter was given at noon on April 22nd. Troops patrolled the area and the boundary on all sides. This plan of preventing everybody from entering until a certain hour produced a spectacle along its borders never before equalled.

Days and weeks before the Opening date thousands of land seekers poured to the border from every direction, each wanting to be the first in line for the start of the great race for land. They treked across the adjacent hills and prairies in every kind of vehicle—open wagons, covered wagons, buggies, carts, carriages, buckboards drawn

* Hon. Robe Carl White, Attorney, long prominent as a leader in the political and civic life of the nation and his home city of Muncie, Indiana, has served in the positions of City Attorney and Postmaster (1907-12). Appointed Assistant Secretary of the United States Department of Labor at Washington in 1921, he served in this position under three Presidents—Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. In this work, he was a leader in framing the U. S. immigration and naturalization laws, visited European countries several times to study labor conditions, and served under appointment as unofficial observer for the U. S. at the League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland, in 1928. He is the author of many articles on immigration and naturalization, one of his recent articles having been published in pamphlet form titled, *Communism, Foe of Religion and Labor*. (Ft. Wayne, Ind., Christian Educational Foundation, 1946).—Ed.

by horses, mules and oxen. Also there were many horseback riders and pedestrians. Some farmers had their families with them, as well as some household goods, farm tools and equipment and livestock. Many days before the date of the opening, the northern boundary presented a continuous line of camps of these prospective homesteaders waiting for the signal to enter. It was a motley crowd of farmers, artisans, adventurers, cowboys and western and eastern bad men all mingled together.

The plan devised by our government for the Opening may have looked good on paper, but as so often happens it failed, partially at least, in actual practise. Thousands of men evaded and slipped by the Army patrol, located desirable sections of land, then hid out until the hour of the opening, when they emerged from hiding, staked out the previously located claim or lot and thus were in possession when the honest homeseekers arrived. This class of men later became known as "sooners." Oklahoma had so many "sooners" the name stuck and today the state is known as the "Sooner" State. The "sooners" proved the source of and caused much trouble in the ensuing months.

Also, there was another more or less numerous class of "sooners". Various government officials serving the new territory, appointed many men as deputies of one kind or another, such as Deputy U. S. Marshals. Some of these Deputies resigned shortly before the noon hour on April 22nd, then stepped out and staked a choice claim or lot for themselves.

My home town of Iola, Kansas, was all agog over the coming "run" for Oklahoma land. For weeks prior to the Opening nothing else was talked about. At the time I was teaching a country school in Allen County. My school would close about the time fixed for the Opening, and I had no plans as yet for the summer. The run for the land appealed strongly to my already well developed spirit of adventure and I found the desire to witness and take part in this the greatest land rush of all time, was all compelling. I was not old enough to file on a homestead, but I wanted to witness the settlement of new and virgin territory and see cities rise Phoenix-like from the open prairie.

Angelo Scott, a brother of Charles F. Scott, owner and editor of the *Iola Register*, was named U. S. Commissioner at Oklahoma City. Also I was told that Angelo and his brother, W. W. Scott, planned to establish and publish a newspaper in the new town of "Oklahoma," and that most, if not all the help needed would be recruited from home folks. George Smeltzer, a brother-in-law of Angelo, and a good friend of mine, was hired as print shop foreman, and Bert McNeil, a printer, as well as several other home folks. As I recall, George and Bert entered Oklahoma in advance of the opening date.

In addition to the interest aroused by this newspaper enterprise, one of our prominent old soldier citizens, a Mr. Jones—his first name I have forgotten, but he was widely known under the sobriquet of "By God Jones"—was named U. S. Marshal. Mr. Jones appointed a number of local men as deputies. How many I never knew, but as our town "wag" put it, "Half of the men in Iola had gone to Oklahoma as deputy U. S. Marshals." Between the newspaper enterprise, the U. S. Deputy marshals and those who went as home seekers, of which class there were many, there occurred a regular exodus from Iola to Oklahoma.

I applied to the Scott Brothers for some kind of a job on the newspaper they proposed starting in Oklahoma City. I was hired as a cub reporter and general utility man. My school closed on Friday before the Opening and I boarded the midnight train for Arkansas City, where I had arranged to meet four home town boys who were going to the new town of Oklahoma, more as a lark than to get lots, although all were over legal age.

The Santa Fe Railroad, leading south from Arkansas City, traversed the eastern part of the new territory. The north line of the Oklahoma Country at that time was some sixty odd miles south of the Kansas state line with what was known as the Cherokee Strip lying between. I met the boys Saturday morning as planned. We found Arkansas City packed and jammed with homeseekers, thousands of whom were waiting to board the first trains for Oklahoma, Monday morning. During the day we learned that one or more freight trains would leave for the land of promise to the south, Saturday night. We went into a huddle and concluded that our chances of boarding the first trains Monday morning looked dubious indeed. Some one then made a bright suggestion, "Why wouldn't it be a smart move if one or two of us stole a ride down on a freight train tonight. They could drop off at the Oklahoma station, hide out until Monday noon, then walk in and stake a lot for each of us and hold them until we all arrived." The upshot was we agreed to try it. Lute Northrup, a son of our banker, and John Foust, son of our County Judge, volunteered to make the try. By great good fortune we located a freight car, bound for our town of Oklahoma, that had an unlocked end door or window and plenty of room inside. We did some tall hustling around and that night we smuggled the boys inside the car, together with supplies, and later watched the train pull out.

Monday morning we three boys left in Arkansas City found it impossible to get aboard the first or second passenger trains leaving. Every coach was packed and jammed with a motley crowd of men—even the tops of all coaches were crowded. The first train was scheduled to reach the line of the new country on or before the opening hour. We managed to get on board of the third train and arrived around five o'clock, p. m., at the Oklahoma station, now known as Oklahoma City.

It was my first trip into the Indian Territory. The topography of the Cherokee Strip is quite similar to that of Kansas, mostly open rolling prairie. After crossing the present northern line of Oklahoma it is more hilly, more rugged. The wagon trail across the "Cherokee Strip" followed alongside the railroad and could be traced from our train by the bleaching bones of animals that had perished on the way in former days. We saw remnants of deserted camps near the boundary where thousands of homeseekers had lived while waiting for the opening hour.

We were met at the depot by Lute Northrup, who told us that John Foust was holding a lot for each of us, a few blocks west, on what he called "Main Street," that we must hurry if we expected to hold them as thousands of men were pouring into town, all looking for lots. The fact is, nearly ten thousand men arrived during the first three days. As we left the depot with Lute, I kept looking for Main Street, but couldn't see a street or anything that looked like a street. All I could see was a lot of tents arranged in a haphazard way, much like some one had thrown a handful of white dice out on the open prairie. When we reached the lots we found the boys had staked out and roped off five lots; then they had run a rope around them on which they had hung a crude homemade sign marked "Oklahoma Mercantile Co." The crowds hunting lots, on seeing the sign, would rush on past. The boys had erected one fair sized tent and scattered came equipment over all of the lots. I had not expected them to stake a lot for me, but since they had, the boys thought I should try and hold it.

We were most anxious to hear about the experience of Lute and John since we left them in the freight car at Arkansas City. They said:

We reached Oklahoma City, Sunday, and had no trouble in getting out of the car on the outskirts of the proposed town. We thought we were about the only ones sneaking a ride on our freight train, so you can imagine our surprise when we saw scores of men getting off the train at the same time we did. It seemed that two or more jumped down from every car and scurried for cover. We had no particular trouble in finding a hiding place. We scouted the townsite and found that the town was to be located west of the railroad, with streets running east and west. We found a road leading west from the railroad, just north of the depot, which someone had marked as "Main Street." This was about all we learned so we decided to try for lots on this street and trust to luck. This morning, on the stroke of twelve noon we emerged from our hiding place and along with many others, rushed out along the street marked "Main Street." We took the first unoccupied space we came to and took possession. You know the rest.

During the first few days chaos reigned. All was hustle, bustle and confusion. Men and more men poured in by the hour all seeking town lots. No civil or city government. For days there was nothing for men to do except to wait until some kind of a city government was created and a survey of streets and lots agreed upon.

Until these things were done no one could be sure that his lot abutted on a street, or would be found to be in the middle of some street. During this interim, men just milled around, attending town meetings, watching street fakirs and medicine shows, of which we had many, or rushing off to wherever any excitement loomed. We boys joined in this pastime although I spent much of my time in and about the newspaper location.

The town was under U. S. martial law. As I recall, we had five or more companies of Infantry, with a like number of Cavalry, under Captain Stiles, encamped on the high land and a few blocks northeast of the Santa Fe Railroad depot. The Army maintained some kind of patrol both night and day. Men were permitted to go armed. It was a common sight to see men with ammunition belts strapped around their waists with one or two .45's stuck in their holsters. Neither was it unusual to see men carrying rifles.

The law required all lot owners to make some permanent improvements on each lot within a specified time. This caused unprecedented building activities immediately following the election of a mayor and the settlement of surveys for the town site. Store buildings, houses and shacks of all kinds and descriptions began to appear as if by magic. Carpenters, mechanics and artisans of all lines worked day and night. No building restrictions, no sidewalks, no streets graded. Every fellow his own architect. The result was grotesque. Main Street became our principal business street and was the dividing line between the north and south sides. The main residential district was on the north side, located on the high lands extending from Main Street north. The honkey-tonk district, dance halls, cribs, dives and gambling dens were located mostly on the south side. Gambling houses centered on the street fronting the railroad and depot and extended south from just below Main Street for four or five city blocks and was called "Gamblers Row." Every kind of gambling could be found on "Gamblers Row"—chuck-a-luck, roulette, black jack, bird cage, poker games, crap tables, keno rooms. Street fakirs, medicine shows and con-men filled the open spaces in front of "Gamblers Row."

This section of town was crowded night and day and the gambling rooms at night were packed with humanity. It was a feverish atmosphere and excitement ran high. When you stop and think that several thousand men (very few women) were collected together within a very few days and from all parts of the country, and that the great majority had nothing to do except to hold down their lots, it is no wonder that games of chance attracted great crowds. A dog fight in a street would attract a huge crowd of men within a few minutes, to say nothing about fights, gun fights, lot jumpers and arguments of all kinds.

We boys—George Smeltzer, Bert McNeil and I—had been raised in the little town of Iola, Kansas, where open vice was un-

known, just one pool hall with three tables, no minors allowed and no blind tigers. Personally, I never had seen gambling of any kind, except little side bets on sporting events. Most boys and men love crowds and excitement, therefore, one can readily imagine the thrills we got out of the activities and hustle and bustle incident to making of a city of ten thousand people. We wanted to see it all and did.

I recall our first tour of "Gamblers Row." We entered one of the larger gambling rooms in lockstep formation and pushed our way through the crowds swarming around the various gambling tables. One of the first sights that attracted my attention was a large green baize covered table in the center of the room. The table had a two or three inch rail similar to a billiard table and it was pyramided with money—gold, silver and paper money. I never before had seen so much money. I could scarcely turn my eyes away from it and the one man who sat guarding it. This man sat at one side of the table with two .45's in front of him while he calmly and coolly watched the crowd that pushed and crowded against the table. I noticed that his hands were never far away from his guns. I did not realize at the time, but I have no doubt now that all that money in front of him was just about as safe as it would have been in the Bank of England.

Scott Brothers secured two business lots on the north side of Main Street, a block west of the railroad, upon which they quickly erected a one-story, frame building on the east lot, in which to house their newspaper and job printing plant. The building was fairly commodious and contained a power plant, a big Campbell press, several job printing presses and offices. The job presses were put in operation by hand as soon as installed in order to accommodate the great demand for dodgers and hand bills.

The first edition of the newspaper *Oklahoma Times* was soon issued. It was not much of a paper and printed under great handicaps. If my memory serves me rightly, it consisted of four pages only, and was run off on the Campbell press operated by hand and sold on the streets for twenty-five cents (.25) per copy. Incidentally, I understood at the time and I still believe that this was the first newspaper actually printed and published in the new Oklahoma Territory. The *Oklahoma Times* was an evening paper. Later the name was changed to *Oklahoma Journal* and published as a morning daily.

LOT JUMPERS

It seemed no time at all until the town was over run with a class of men called "lot jumpers." These men, a reckless and rough class, worked in pairs or groups. They appeared well organized. Apparently they sought out lots or claims held by men known

or suspected of being "sooners," then at an opportune time they would come in force and undertake to oust the owner and take possession of his lot. Always this brought on fights—many gun fights—, litigation and much excitement. All summer long "lot jumpers" were the source of constant trouble.

One evening about dusk I was sitting out on my lot giving serious thought as to whether I should try and hold it, and if so, what kind of improvements I should make on it, when I noticed the peculiar action of two men approaching from the west. They were tough looking characters. Each wore a long handle bar moustache, carried a pup tent and roll on his back and had an ammunition belt with holsters and six-gun slung around his waist. These men would stop in front of each lot, size up the occupants and the layout, then pass on to the next lot and go through the same performance. I had a hunch they were "lot jumpers" looking for a particular lot, and that that lot was mine. I had made no improvements, not even a tent on the lot and I felt certain the word had spread that I was under legal age. When these two men stopped in front of my lot I turned my back to them. Sure enough, they not only sized me up, but without saying a word walked on the lot past me, unslung their packs and started to put up their tents. By that time two of my tent mates had come over to help me in case of a fight. I knew it was up to me to order them off. I admit their appearance, and especially their guns, had me scared blue, however, I mustered up my courage, put on as bold a front as possible and told them they must get off of my lot. They looked up at me and said, "You know sonny, you are not old enough to hold this lot, now go away and let us alone. We don't want to hurt you." A big crowd soon gathered around. My friends joined me in trying to persuade them to leave, but they insisted that I was barely nineteen years of age and that they were going to stay on the lot. I knew they were right about my age and this fact took much of the fight out of me. However, as "Rex Beach" once said, "After arguing back and forth for half an hour or more we finally compromised" by my vacating the lot and giving them possession. Thus ended my homestead venture in Oklahoma.

George Smeltzer, print foreman for Scott Brothers, had a lot on the north side of Main Street, directly across the street from my old lot. After being ousted by the two "lot jumpers," I moved over and bunked in the tent with George and Bert McNeil for the remainder of the summer, or until I left for home in September.

My days and nights were full. Not a dull moment. The town was in a continuous state of excitement and was a beehive of activity. To convert, within a few months, a tent city of thousands of people located on the open prairie, into a city with permanent buildings, was a great undertaking. Lots and many streets had to

be surveyed and boundaries fixed; streets leveled and graded, a civil government established; buildings erected; sidewalks, drainage, lights and water provided. During the first summer and fall Oklahoma City rose from the prairie like the fabulous Phoenix bird of yore. It did not rise without trouble, of which we had a plenty, and of every variety.

FIRST MAYOR OF OKLAHOMA CITY

At the start we were under U. S. martial law, but shortly thereafter through a series of town meetings a voluntary civil city government was formed, with a mayor, city police and a few municipal officers. W. L. Couch, a prominent "boomer," was selected as temporary mayor to serve until May 1st, at which time the first city election was held and at which Mr. Couch was duly elected Mayor, for a period of one year. From the first there was intense and bitter rivalry between South and North Oklahomans, which brought many conflicts. Then, too, there was almost daily trouble arising over boundary lines, lot jumpers, political arguments and the general cussedness of men. Many of these disputes involved gun-play. I was kept busy covering such incidents for my newspaper. Many curious episodes occurred during the summer, some laughable, some tragic. I might add that all proved extraordinarily interesting and exciting to my inexperienced self.

WOMAN LOT JUMPER

A man on a lot on the south side of Main Street, almost directly in front of our newspaper office, erected thereon a little 10 by 12 frame building, with a door and window in front. Later he rented the building for a period of one month to a woman for a candy store. On the termination of her lease she refused to give possession and claimed the lot was hers. The owner appealed to the Mayor for help and three policemen were detailed to put her out. When the policemen entered the shop, the woman began to scream. Her screams could be heard for blocks, and immediately brought a rush of men from every direction. Within a few minutes an excited and milling mob filled the street for a block in every direction, all pushing and crowding towards the candy store to see what was causing the woman's screams.

I happened to be in the office at the time and in order to better see and hear what the commotion was all about, I climbed out on the front window sill where I had a full view of the mob and the police. From my vantage point I relayed to Mr. Scott and the office force the events as they took place. Failing to persuade the woman to vacate the premises peacefully, or to stop her screams, the policemen picked her up, carried her out and dumped her in front of the door. The police were none too popular anyway and the screams of the woman seemed to infuriate the mob against them. I heard ribald shouts and curses. The outcries were taken up

and it looked like serious trouble was in the offing. I suggested to Mr. Scott that he had better call Captain Stiles, which he did. In the meantime, the three policemen had backed up against the building, drawn their guns and were holding the mob at bay. Some one up in front yelled for a rope. Almost immediately from somewhere on the outskirts of the mob a lariat appeared and was started towards the front. The mob was fast getting out of control. The repeated cries of "hang 'em," "kill 'em" seemed to drive men into a frenzy, and it looked as though violence and bloodshed could not be avoided.

I was anxiously watching for the appearance of the soldiers and just as the lariat was fairly started towards the front, a squad of soldiers in charge of a dapper lieutenant came marching down Main Street towards the mob. When the squad reached the railroad tracks we could hear the lieutenant bark a command, "Fix bayonets, double quick. MARCH," and on they came. Someone yelled "The soldiers are comin!" The cry was taken up by the mob. Immediately every fellow started a wild scramble to get away. The squad came marching on and reached the candy store without touching a man. The mob melted away like mist in the sun. The soldiers took charge. The incident closed without a single act of violence. It was a splendid example of the power and effectiveness of a few well disciplined men over a mob of two or three thousand men. It taught me a lasting lesson.

As previously stated, the Scott Brothers had secured two lots on the north side of Main Street. The first building to house their newspaper was erected on the east lot. The west lot was used temporarily as a storage place for supplies and materials of various kinds. Later they cleared this lot preparatory to the erection of a second building. Angelo Scott was U. S. Commissioner, and one morning soon after the lot had been cleared, Angelo received a telephone call a few minutes before the Santa Fe train left for Guthrie, asking him to come to Guthrie on this train. Mr. Scott did not question the authenticity of the message and left per request. The entire office force was on duty at the time. Within a few minutes after his train had pulled out of the station, several men with a big wagon load of lumber drove up on the vacant lot and began to unload the lumber on our lot. One of the boys in the office saw the performance and shouted, "We have lot jumpers." Some one shouted, "Come on boys! Let's stop them and put them off." We all rushed out and started to throw the planks off the lot. The lot-jumpers objected and tried to prevent us by grabbing one end of the boards we were carrying away. Then there were "tugs of war" all over the lot. For some reason, the "lot jumpers" did not resort to any rough tactics or gun play, but simply tried to prevent us from taking the boards away.

Winnie Scott, one of the brothers, before coming out to join us in the fracas, called the soldiers and asked for help. Several hundred men had gathered around to watch the battle of boards. Just as the "tugs of war" were becoming rather vicious, up marched a few soldiers. They dispersed the crowd and took charge of the "lot jumpers," their wagon and lumber, and the incident was closed. Later we learned that the telephone message to Scott from Guthrie was a decoy message, and made in order to get the Commissioner out of town while the "lot jumpers" operated.

FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION

By the first or middle of June our town presented a more or less metropolitan appearance, many streets were graded, some sidewalks made, many fair sized business houses erected, a few public buildings for public officials and many homes completed.

About this time our Mayor and some civic leaders met and decided that it would be a fine move and be good advertising for the city to put on a huge Fourth of July celebration. Our newspaper approved and boosted the idea and the proposal met with universal approval. The coming celebration was advertised throughout the territory and surrounding states. The railroad ran excursion trains into the city on that date; committees were appointed. It was to be a great gala event, with fireworks, bands, parades, baseball game, horse races, bronco busting. A large number of Indians, as I recall from the Osage tribe, were engaged to parade in their native costumes and put on some of their native dances. The race track, a one-half mile straightaway and the baseball diamond were located on high ground east of the railroad tracks, not far from the present State Capitol grounds, and a short distance north of the U. S. Army Encampment. A large, covered wooden grandstand, with a seating capacity of about three thousand was erected at the finish line of the race track and an open bleacher stand, seating several hundred, was built for baseball fans, just north of the main grandstand.

Thousands of sightseers and others poured into the city from every direction. The town overflowed with visitors.

The Indians established their tepee village east of the city near the river. The village, especially at night with its bonfires, the beating of tomtoms for the Indian dances proved a main attraction. The festivities started in the forenoon with band music and parades. The Indians with their bright colored blankets and native head dress and their Chiefs riding spotted ponies made a beautiful and colorful picture.

In the afternoon the big event was the horse races, preceded by ball games. Wanting to see the baseball game, a number of us went to the race track grounds early and secured seats on the

top row of the bleachers. By turning our heads we could look down on the main entrance to the big grandstand. Before the ball game was finished, thousands of people rushed to get seats in the grandstand. One of the boys suggested that we had better go if we wished to secure seats. George Smeltzer said he would go on ahead and get seats for all. Even then the grandstand looked like it was filled to capacity. We stood up trying to find George in the crowd at the gate. While we were looking we were horror stricken to see the big grandstand shake and weave and crash to the ground. It was a terrifying sight. We rushed down and over to the scene of the disaster. Men, women and children were screaming and trying to fight their way out of the debris. People on the outside pushing and shoving to get through the gates. Before we could push our way through the crowds we heard an army bugle and the soldiers came marching in. In less than no time a cordon of soldiers was thrown around the grandstand, the crowds on the outside pushed back and an orderly plan of rescue established.

In my capacity as a newspaper man I was permitted to enter and help in the rescue work and to get the names of the injured and dead. Vehicles of all kinds were used to convey the injured to improvised hospitals down town. As I now recall, there were three deaths and over one hundred injured. The catastrophe threw a pall over the town and made a sad ending to our holiday celebration.

A block or so south of the grandstand there was a high knoll from which a good view of the wreckage could be had. Soon after the soldiers arrived on the scene, twenty-five to thirty Indians in full native costumes rode their spotted ponies up on this knoll where they stopped and stoically watched the soldiers handle the crowds and rescue the injured. The Indian group silhouetted against the sky would have made a beautiful and striking "Remington" picture.

During the first few weeks following the Opening the population of Oklahoma City was almost entirely men. It was some time before the wives and families began to arrive. What few women there were at first, were mostly wives or concubines of gamblers and women from honkey-tonk districts. It amazed me to find how quickly women of this type flocked in. Later, Mayor Couch made a segregated district for this class and designated one day a week on which the inmates were permitted to come up town and do their shopping. On these days it was a common sight to see a number of open carriages with a driver, driving up and down our business streets, each with one or two attractive and smartly dressed women in the back seat smoking cigarettes. I had seen "grannies" smoke corncob pipes, but this was the first time I ever saw women smoking cigarettes. These equipages attracted much attention, and incidentally the cigarette smoking made a spicy news item.

Our newspaper office was the mecca for all things, odd, new or unusual in the reptile, wild animal and bird life of Oklahoma. Whenever a man killed or captured an unusually large snake he would come lugging it to the office. Almost daily we had callers with centipedes, tarantulas, snakes, lizards, and wild animals. One day a farmer drove up in a big wagon with a full grown mountain lion in a wooden crate.

I have often been asked if I had ever witnessed a gun battle in which men were shot down and either killed or wounded. No, I never actually saw a man shot. I have often been on the scene shortly after the shooting, and once or twice just before the shooting started, but I was never present during the shooting. I thought I saw the start of a gun duel, once, but later learned I was mistaken. Perhaps the incident is worth recording if for no other purpose than to show what a fellow's imagination can do to him under stress of excitement.

An all night restaurant, called "Fatty's Restaurant," was located down an alley in "Gamblers Row." The city while putting in a drainage system, dug a four or five foot ditch or trench through this alley. The ditch remained open for several weeks with the dirt piled up on each side. For the convenience of persons going to "Fatty's Restaurant," the city had placed long loose boards on top of the ridge of dirt. Our paper was at that time a morning paper. I worked day time. My two tent-mates worked at night, George Smeltzer, a short heavy-set man, was print foreman and Bert McNeil, a tall slender, six footer was a printer. They both worked until the small hours of the morning, or until after the paper had gone to press. Rather than spend an evening alone, I often stayed around the office until the boys quit work. One morning George suggested we get a bite to eat before going home. The only place open at that hour was "Fatty's." We found Fatty in his cashier's cage near the door. We were the only customers. After eating and while standing chatting with Fatty we heard some kind of a commotion in the alley. We could hear men coming down the alley fussing and swearing. We waited, and in lurched six or eight men, all armed, and took seats at a table. They were loud and boisterous. Suddenly one of them called the fellow across the table from him, a "S—of a B—" and he wasn't smiling. The fellow grabbed the sugar bowl, raised it above his head and flung it across the table at his accuser. As he threw, every man pushed to his feet and drew his gun. I remember seeing the sugar pouring out of the sugar bowl and the drawn guns and that was enough for me. My chums and I had the same urge at the same time and that was to get as far away as possible from the shooting and in the quickest time possible. We went out of the door as one man. In our haste we forget the open ditch and all tumbled in. We hurriedly scrambled out of the ditch and started on a dead run for our tent,

some blocks away. Every shot, we thought we heard, spurred us to greater speed. It was a wild run and a fast race, that ended in a dead heat—the short fat man, the tall thin man and myself, all landed at our tent at exactly the same time. As soon as we were rested we began speculating on the number of killed and wounded. Each fellow was positive that he had heard a regular fusillade of shots as he went out of the door and fell into the ditch, which meant of course a number of wounded at least.

The next morning when I went to check up and get the facts, I was surprised to find that no one had heard a thing about any shooting scrape. I then called upon Fatty who told me there had been no shooting; that three men in the bunch were Deputy U. S. marshals and when the rukus started they had stepped in, disarmed the boisterous ones, stopped the row and all left without any further disturbance.

The Mayor, soon after assuming his office, issued an order making it unlawful for men to carry guns within the city limits. This order decreased the number of gun fights. Thereafter, gun fights were limited mostly to clashes with marshals or policemen while in the discharge of their duties, and even such incidents soon became infrequent. Life fast settled into that of the average mid-western town. The thrills and excitement of my work grew less day by day.

I have always thought I was fortunate in deciding to take part in the great Oklahoma land opening in 1889, and that I was especially fortunate in that I landed in Oklahoma City. I saw life in the raw and many new things, all interesting and many educational.

During the days of martial law I saw the U. S. Army in action. Many nights I lay in my bunk listening for the bugle call of "taps" at night and the sounding of the "reveille" in the morning, and at midnight how I loved to hear the clanking of sabers and the creaking of saddles as the mounted soldiers rode past on their way to change guard. It was enchanting and brought me many a dream of romance, conquest and glory.

I saw ox drawn wagons loaded with government supplies and materials destined for the government forts and reservations go plodding along Main Street to the roads leading west. At one time I counted twenty-five yoke of oxen hitched in front of three closely coupled, heavily loaded wagons.

I saw the life of the "Wild West" at first hand. I visited the surrounding country and talked with the homesteaders and viewed their sod houses and shacks, stock and crops. I also hunted deer and wild turkey on government reservations and made trips to Guthrie and Kingfisher.

I saw and took part in the organization and the start of the building of Oklahoma City. I was not old enough to vote, yet I was deeply interested and attended the town meetings called for this purpose and met the leading characters. I cannot now recall the names of many, but I do remember Angelo Scott, for whom I worked, and Captain Couch, General Weaver, Adams, Hammer and others. "Cap. Couch," as he was called, was a picturesque, western cattleman type; tall and straight, with long black hair. He wore a broad brimmed sombrero and rode a beautiful bay horse. He and his horse made a striking picture as he rode through the streets.

"Gamblers Row" and honkey-tonk district, with their crowds of gamblers, con-men, three-card-monte men, street fakirs and gunmen, were a continuous source of excitement and thrills. My duties required a weekly visit at least to those districts. In this way I became fairly well acquainted with the owners and operators, and big shot gamblers, from whom I gained much knowledge of life in general. The top men, with few exceptions, were smart, intelligent, courteous and broad minded. During my long life I have found it to be generally true, that the truly top men in all lines of endeavor are more courteous, considerate and kindly than those under them. In government, one will find that it is the bureaucrats and underlings who are arrogant, snippy and rude, rather than department heads.

I left Oklahoma City for my home in Iola, Kansas, on September 10th, 1889, and never saw the town again until the summer of 1929, when I flew in from Kansas City and saw it from the air before landing at the Air Field. I was amazed to find a city of about 200,000 people with skyscraper buildings, beautiful parks and streets, imposing State Capitol buildings and grounds. I was lost. The only familiar landmark remaining was the Santa Fe Railroad and station, and even they were greatly changed. Little did I dream while spending the summer of 1889 in Oklahoma City that I was camping almost directly over the third largest oil pool in the world.

When I think about the great State of Oklahoma as it is today, with its beautiful cities, towns and public parks; its educational and philanthropic institutions, and the great strides it has taken in the development of its oil, water power and other natural resources, and then compare it with what it was in the spring of 1889, I am proud to know that as a young man just starting out in life I had the great fortune to take part in and play a role—although a minor and insignificant role indeed—in its origin and its initial start to greatness.

THE OPENING OF OKLAHOMA

*By James K. Hastings**

My old home in Ohio, was near Lake Erie. On leaving there on April 8th, 1889, two weeks before the Oklahoma opening date, the ground was covered with many large snow drifts. As we ran south and west, a dreary cold landscape was to be seen. We saw our first peach blossoms at Vincennes, Indiana.

Across Missouri to Springfield accommodating loafers both white and colored were backed up against the depot buildings at every stop, perhaps to prevent them from toppling over on the train. At Springfield, I bought a saddle pony and with a friend started on the remainder of the journey towards the opening.

We forded many dashing streams as we journeyed out of the Ozark Mountains and the state of Missouri. We spent a day with friends at Baxter Springs in the southeastern corner of Kansas, to rest our mounts. Then we journeyed down the so called "Neutral strip" between Indian Territory and Kansas, towards Arkansas City.¹ There were many large herds of cattle being held on the territory side of the line and giant pens of last year's corn stored in the farm yards on the Kansas side, where the farmers' wives complained that they could get no eggs, for all the hens were too fat from the abundance of corn.

We generally stayed at farm houses on the journey along the line. The charge was small for us and our horses, for the farmers did love company and it was custom to take in travelers. At Arkansas City, it was bedlam, for many were making last minute purchases, before going into a land of no stores.

That portion of the present state of Oklahoma, first occupied by the white man, was opened for settlement on April, 22nd., 1889, at 12 o'clock, noon. It was a small section, near the center of the present state and was later divided into six counties. It had been

* James K. Hastings staked a quarter section at the western end of present Payne County in the run on April 22, 1889. Since 1905, he has lived in the vicinity of Stillwater. He was Payne County surveyor from 1905-07, and 1911-12 inclusive.—Ed.

¹ The so-called "Neutral Strip" here referred to the real Cherokee Strip, a two mile strip of land from east to west north of the southern boundary of the State of Kansas that belonged to the Cherokees and was sold to the United States by the terms of the Cherokee Treaty of 1866. The Cherokee Outlet was popularly though erroneously called the "Cherokee Strip" at the time of the opening of this region in 1893. The name "Neutral Strip" was applied from that of the *Neutral Land*, a tract of 800,000 acres in Southeastern Kansas sold to the Government by the Cherokees in 1866.—Ed.

ceded to the Creek Indians and later for a consideration, deeded back to the Federal Government. Before its opening, it had for long been leased at a low rental, to the cattlemen and these latter threw every obstacle possible, in the way of its being set aside for homestead entry. The act opening it was passed in the closing days of the 50th Congress, when it was slipped through as a rider to the Indian Appropriation bill. The measure was signed by President Grover Cleveland on March 3rd., 1889. Many of the friends of the measure were not aware that it had passed, until the appearance of President Benjamin Harrison's proclamation issued on March 23, 1889, setting the day and the hour of the opening.

Before this for ten years, prospective settlers had attempted to take up homesteads there, under leadership of men like David L. Payne and W. L. Couch, but had been driven out by the U. S. Cavalry. Such "Boomers", as they were called, were familiar with the choice tracts, from hunting trips made into the country and some of them had selected pieces of land to which they later laid claim when it was opened. After the opening we spoke of our holdings as claims, until we had proved them up after five years of residence.

When the opening day approached, the government sent troops into adjoining lands in an attempt to keep order and restrain any who would enter the land ahead of the opening date illegally. Some of these troops were placed at Arkansas City, Caldwell and Hunnewell, on the south line of Kansas, where the state was bordered on the south by the Cherokee Strip or Outlet, some 60 miles wide and south of this in turn, lay the lands to be opened.

There was an immense gathering of the land hungry from every state in the Union, that flocked to the towns like Arkansas City for weeks before the opening date. Here the cavalry attempted the hopeless task of holding back the overly zealous ones and keeping all men out until the legal date for entering. A few days before then, they permitted the crowd to go a few miles down the road in the Strip each day towards the promised land. One purpose of this was to keep the horses that might be used in the race, exercised and fresh for the great day. Each night the soldiers established an ineffective picket line south of their camp to hold back the crowd.

Two of us boys, (George Fairbanks and I), barely past 21 years of age, rode down the highway from Arkansas City to the Strip line on Friday afternoon, April 19th. The big crowd was some miles ahead of us. We were riding our two cow ponies and I can remember, that when we came to the Strip, we sat on our horses for some minutes, debating what we should do. We should have had a quantity of food along, but did not. My friend had worked on a ranch the summer before on Chikaskia creek, in what is now Kay county and he was sure that we would be taken in there, so we started across the trackless prairie. We reached the ranch after

dark, only to find that the ranch ownership had changed hands and the new owners had no room for us. They let us have food, but could not spare grain for our horses. That night, our horses stood in a dug out stable munching hay and we got corn for them some way. The Chikaskia was running like a mill race, bank full and all night the prospective settlers were rafting their wagons across it below us, their work lighted by monster bonfires on either bank. We slept near our horses to protect them and may have had the bed of some hogs, for when I threw out my hand in my sleep, it rested on the warm side of one. The next morning, instead of attempting to cross the creek, we followed down its bank to the Salt Fork of the Arkansas and the Santa Fe's bridge across that stream in the Ponca reservation. This stream was out of its banks and past fording and many of the crowd gathered there were frantic with the fear that this barrier was going to prevent their getting down to the line in season to get a free home.

On our way down to the bridge, we had passed a herd of two thousand head of cattle close herded, possibly to keep them from mixing with the passing settlers' stock. A little farther on we saw an Indian farmer, plowing a fenced garden. It was fine black soil and we stopped to talk to him, but he would have none of us. He may have thought that the white man was intruding on his people.

At the railroad bridge over the Salt Fork, the people were in a turmoil and the officer in command of the cavalry there was in a pickle too. His men were due at the line in time to give the signal for the people to enter the new land.

In that day, cavalrymen still wore blue together with big boots that reached to their knees and carried carbines and side arms, with blankets and mess kits. The horses could have swum the stream if herded across, but it was risky to attempt to carry a heavily loaded man in swift water, so in desperation, the officer in command, obtained the permission of the railroad to tear down the nearby stock shipping pens and floor the railroad bridge between the rails. This was done in short order and we led the horses over, keeping them between the rails. Each of us as we passed was permitted to put a quarter into a cigar box held by a cavalryman at the bridgehead. I never learned what it was for. When it came to the wagons, as many men as could get a hand on one, would close in and run it over bumping along on the ties. The ticklish job was getting it down off the high grade without upsetting it. Every little while, we had to suspend operations while a freight train passed, as the railroad was pouring trainloads by the score of lumber and other supplies, onto sidings in the land to be opened.

Those of us that were mounted, came in for some unfavorable comment, as we stood a better chance of getting land, than those that were encumbered by a wagon and too much equipment.

After we got away from the river, we rode on south to the crossing of Red Rock creek on the Otoe reservation. Nearby was a store for the Indians. The bridge over the creek was guarded by an Indian police, who would have delighted modern day movie fans, for he "toted" as we called it then, a big .45 on his hip and was determined that the wagons of the land hungry ones, should not crowd onto that bridge too fast and break it down. I chatted with him for a few minutes and he admitted that the great Chief Joseph of the Nez Percés Indians had once been confined there, following an Indian uprising in the northwestern states some years before.

After we crossed the bridge, we went into camp near the creek, under the big cottonwoods that were just leafing out. We spent a restful night and a quiet Sunday resting our mounts for what was to come. At dark Sunday night, we saddled and rode on southwest to a hilltop, where we staked out our ponies and spread our blankets under the stars. A warm south wind was blowing and the skies to the south of us, reflected the lights of myriads of campfires of the Sooners who were down there to dispute possession to those of us who were planning a legal entry on the morrow.

We awoke to a most gorgeous morning on the high prairie, after sleeping like logs, only two weeks after the snow and ice of my old Ohio home. The morning was too good to be true, with its booming of the prairie chickens in the timber south of us and a meadow lark calling to us from every post of the Santa Fe's right of way fence beside the road. After breakfast we rode on southwest, two boys in a great company of covered wagons, filled with hopeful boomers, who evidently anticipated a home of their own and no more renting.

There was a degree of nervousness or panic displayed on that occasion, that was seldom or never seen before. A party of a dozen or more wagons would come along evidently from some neighborhood in a nearby state, the drivers would stop to rest and feed their teams. After the horses were unhitched and feed put out, the men would see the passing crowd and feel that they were being left behind, so would hitch up their half fed teams and again join the throng of contenders in the approaching race.

As the sun got higher and the fateful hour of the Opening approached, I suggested to my friend that it was folly to stay with that great crowd, so we turned due south and soon we were wholly alone. Later, my friend said, "Look, look Jim, see the deer", but as I had been tramping the pavements of a great city not long before and was a true tenderfoot, I looked the other way, determined to not be caught. A few minutes later, I too saw a bunch of perhaps a dozen deer with their white tails wig-wagging as they passed on my side. These wild folk were being driven out by the sooners down below. Every patch of timber or creek we passed, had its red buds flaunting

their magenta flags at us, as we worked down to the line. After an hour or more of travel, we came to some dugouts on a creek bank, (the remains of an old Z. V. line camp,² we learned later), with numerous men standing about. These men proved to be the dumbest parties we had ever met. Apparently, they knew nothing about the line or any corners and we had to accept it. Soon two men on fine horses rode up from the south and dismounted to rest their horses. We learned later, one was a St. Louis business man, who had had a cattle ranch in the land to be opened. He told us that he thought that all of his cattle were out of there.

When the hour of noon approached, we were too far from the crowd to hear any bugle calls, nor did we have a rollicking cavalryman on one of Uncle Sam's big bays, to yank a carbine from a scabbard under his leg and fire into the air, as at the later Cherokee Strip opening, but we did stroll down to a stone having numerous notches on its four corners and one man for long years since prominent in our county, (A. Jack Hartenbower), leaned over the stone and set a stake, beyond it, saying as he did so, "Gentlemen, I take this claim for mine." The rest of us started south, not at a furious gallop, for there was little speed left in our mounts. At twenty-five minutes past one o'clock, I set my stake in a creek bottom place some miles below and the great opening for me, was over. Two of us got onto the same quarter section, but it was so plain that I was there first, that there was no trouble. My bay cow pony was soon staked out and fell to on the lush grass all about my camp fire. Will it look childish to add, that to this day after over a half century has elapsed, the smell of a camp fire's smoke nearly overpowers me with homesickness? Men are seldom happier, than when after a grueling journey such as that had been, they obtain what they seek.

Another night under the stars with little time for dreams of the home that I was to found, or of the great state we were forming and of which I would be a citizen. In the morning, I was awakened by a wild turkey gobbler, strutting his stuff on the slope above me and calling to his harem.

As men drifted past during the following days, I found that I was only six miles from the nearest siding of the railroad, where a town would be located, first named Alfred and later, Mulhall. Soon, I learned who would be my neighbors. One no older than I, had been a renter in Kansas and had driven down to the line with his mules and farm wagon and then tied one mule to the wagon and riding the other bareback with a work bridle, had gotten a claim a mile down the creek from me. The next morning, he went back and brought in his outfit. I helped him build his log cabin later, to get the use of his team to break some sod on my claim for a garden.

² "Z. V.," was a ranch in the Cherokee Outlet, on the southern border.

We reveled in melons and green corn that summer, though we called the latter "roastin' ears", after the custom of our neighbors.

Lacking funds to develop my homestead, I worked on the streets of Guthrie, the territorial capital, with pick and shovel. For this we received 15 cents an hour and worked a 10-hour day. There was no talk at that time of an 8-hour day, or a 40-hour week, with wages of one dollar or more an hour. In late July, money came from home and I bought a team, wagon and harness, then loaded a load of lumber and some groceries, covered it all with my folded tent and started for the claim twenty-four miles away on an August afternoon. That summer, we often had hard rains from the north late in the afternoon or night, following two or three days of strong winds from the south. One such storm came up late that afternoon, as I left the trail to follow the ridges, so as to not have to cross the creeks. As the night drew on I drove by lightning flashes and when the mules reared up at the light on some water-covered flat rocks, I knew that I was home. I stopped them and unharnessed, stored the harness under the wagon and picketed the team by ropes on their front feet, for fear that the new ropes around their necks might shrink and choke them. I then crawled under the folded tent on the lumber and slept the sleep of a tired homesteader.

The urgency of getting back to the claim, was emphasized by the activity of claim jumpers. Soon thereafter, I had my claim shanty up and was ready for a visit from my mother and five year old sister. We spent a hilarious month, followed by the family moving out. Since which time, we have sunk our roots deep into Oklahoma. The State has been very gracious to us.

NEIGHBORS IN THE CHEROKEE STRIP

By Clara B. Kennan*

My father, A. A. Kennan, made the run at the opening of the Cherokee Strip, September 16, 1893, starting from the south side, near Marshall. The next morning after staking a claim, when he found there were four other flags on the same place, he went on to Enid and in due time bought stake rights to a quarter section eight miles east and two miles south of Enid. After he had filed on the claim and had constructed a half-dugout, he returned to Rogers, Arkansas, for my mother, Rosa, my brother, Harry, and me. I was a year old the day he made the race, and Harry was sixteen months older. Next spring he moved us out to our new home.

My parents had married at twenty, and at twenty-four they still had a part in the nursery and fruit-growing establishment of my enterprising Grandfather Kennan and lived in one of the houses on his place. They thought that getting a claim in the Cherokee Strip would bring them greater opportunities and give them a chance to make their own way. Grandfather agreed for he wanted to establish a nursery sales yard out there and furnish the Strip settlers with trees, with our father serving as salesman. Father had had some work at Masonic College, and both he and Mother were intellectually inclined, and were ambitious. Their home had been in a wooded, watered region, and they knew nothing of how to live on the arid prairie. They struggled with drought and hard times for three years on their claim in the Strip, just like the other settlers. They stayed three more years for good crops and comparative prosperity.

The stories of their adventures in the Cherokee Strip are a tradition in our family. Our mother taught a Sunday School class in the first Sunday School established in the neighborhood. Our father helped promote the holding of a "protracted meeting" in Add Pickerill's barn loft, and at the end of the meeting, when a Christian Church was organized, he became one of the elders, at the

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age of twenty-five. He was clerk at some of the elections, and he always took part in the debates on current questions at "Literary," held in the school house, after there was a school house. Old neighbors tell me that our mother was so gay and full of fun that she was a sure cure for the "blues", which were a frequent ailment among the settlers in the first three years of drought.

Aside from furnishing the fruit trees, perhaps the greatest contribution our family made to the community was through our well of good soft water. This well was dug the second year we were there, and it had a bountiful supply of the best water, a rarity in those parts then. Neighbors came for miles around and hauled water away. Our parents were happy that they could share this luxury with those whom they thought were the finest people in the world. These neighbors were steadfast friends through many hardships and, as prosperity came, shared the pleasure of their good fortune. It was because their neighbors began leaving the country that our parents sold the claim and left the Strip in 1899. Without the neighbors, life in the Strip would be unthinkable.

A recent survey shows that of the children of our immediate neighbors, on our section and the two adjoining sections on the north and south, respectively, sixteen have gone to college, most of them taking college degrees. They have become teachers, geologists, agriculturists, and ministers, or are established in good businesses, and are leaders in their communities. As far as I know, practically every family has prospered to at least a reasonable degree, and has continued among the good citizens. To know these neighbors is to know a cross-section of the Strip settlers. I will tell you something about several of them.

THE ALBERT WADE FAMILY

Albert Wade lived on the far side of the section south of us. Dollie, his wife, was the first woman our mother met after she came to the Strip. She was lonesome, and from the start loved Dollie, a bride of a few months. For more than a year we hauled water in barrels from the Wade's water hole, chasing out the snakes before dipping up the water. In November, their little son, Earl, was among the first children born in the township, the child of another family preceding him by a few hours. Arrangements had been made for the event when mother dropped in for a visit a few hours before, so she took Mrs. Wade's baking of light bread home with her to finish. When she returned with the bread next day, the baby Earl was there. Father and Mr. Wade did their harvesting together. Since Mother and Mr. Wade shared the same birthday, June 20, and as this was during harvest season, it was easy for the families to get together on this date to celebrate, and they did each year.

Albert Wade was a school teacher, having attended a little college in Southwest Missouri, near Neosho. He rode horseback to

and from his school, which at first was on beyond Luella some miles from our place. There was a little box "bachelor shack" of a school-house, eight by eleven feet in dimensions, with a bench running all around the wall on the inside for seats, and desks made from *Lion* and *Arbuckle* coffee boxes (wooden) nailed up on sticks. The three Riley children and three Kelley children who made up half his school, all loved him. He was tall and handsome and strong. After school at home in the late afternoons, he would frequently work putting up hay as long as there was light to see. Clerical in ability and enterprising, Albert Wade took over the work of tax assessing in the neighborhood. In those days the assessor went about over the Territory and inspected all property. He earned money to pay his own taxes in this work. In later years, in partnership with his son, he engaged in ranching and raising pure bred cattle, and their registered herd became well known in Oklahoma.

THE FRANK PICKERILL FAMILY

The two Pickerills from Kansas were sons of a preacher. Frank's family consisted of his wife, Ida, and three little daughters, Lola, Ura, and Nina,—like stairsteps. Add Pickerill's wife was a bride of a few weeks when she first came to the Strip. Frank's claim was on the northwest corner of the section north of us and Add's on the northeast corner of the section south of us. They exchanged farming implements and work, and passed our dugout frequently, so we came to know them among our first neighbors. Both men were hearty in their friendliness and enthusiasm. Invariably they called out their greetings as they drove past, "Good morning, good morning, good morning!" Both could rattle off glibly the land numbers of all the neighbors' claims with much assurance. Ida could do this as well as the men, and Mother was much impressed with her talent. There were very poor gardens in the sod the first year. When Ida's mother from Old Oklahoma sent her a big mess of green beans, Ida said she wanted to invite us over to help eat them, but she had no good "side meat" to cook with the beans. We did have some, so we took it along and both families had a feast.

Mother and Mrs. Pickerill arranged the first Fourth of July picnic, over on Skeleton Creek, which was bone dry. There the neighbors met and got acquainted. Frank took along song books and everybody sang. After that we had Sunday school every Sunday afternoon at some settler's house. Frank always led the singing, beating time with the same hand in which he held the "word book." It was a mystery how he read the words! He and Father and Mr. Kelley promoted a "protracted meeting" the second fall, holding it in Add's barn loft, and they were elected the elders of the church.

At Pickerill's, too, we had our first Christmas tree. It was a dead peach tree from Pickerill's orchard, lost in the drought. Frank cut it down and nailed a brace on the end to make it stand up. Ida

and Mother wound the trunk and limbs with long narrow strips of white wrapping paper, and hung it with popcorn strings and colored paper chains. It was beautiful!

Frank was a Populist and liked to dabble in politics. In the Free Silver campaign of 1896, he was election judge for Patterson Township, and our father was a clerk. Frank Pickerill had a "big" frame house with two rooms downstairs and two half-story rooms up. There was also a sod kitchen at the rear where Mother and we children visited Ida and the girls all day while the Free Silver election was in progress.

Ida Pickerill was the school teacher. She hitched up "Old Nig," put the three little girls into the hack, and drove to the granary or other shack which served for the school before school houses were built. Nina was just a baby, so she was left at Kelley's on the way to school, and picked up on the way home at night. Ida's salary of \$25.00 a month for the three months session helped tide her family over. Mother marveled at Ida's lack of fear, especially around horses. When good crops came, one of the first things the Pickerills bought was an organ. How we all did sing to the accompaniments on that organ!

THE JESSE T. BUTTS FAMILY

The members of the Butts family were natives of Missouri who had gone to Texas and thence to the Strip. When we first knew them they rode in chairs in their wagon because spring-seats cost money. They lived to be bankers and capitalists. Father first met Jesse T. Butts on a bitter cold day in early spring when he had started out to sell fruit trees. By the time he reached their house it was too cold to go farther, so when Mr. Butts asked him to stay and have dinner, he did. Talk was on religion and politics, mostly religion. When the protracted meeting was held in the barn loft the next fall, Mr. and Mrs. Butts joined the church, in which he became a leader. Our mother liked Mrs. Butts very much. Mrs. Butts always made the Communion bread marked off in neat little "bite" squares, each one just right for a Communion portion. After church every Sunday, Mrs. Butts gave what was left of the bread to her youngest, Earl, and me, to eat. Her older sons were Archie, Eddie (who died young), and Claude (who was killed in an accident after he was grown). Orville was born in the home in the Strip. Mr. Butts farmed his claim and a school-lease quarter, and operated a sorghum mill where we had our cane made into molasses in season. In the spring of 1897, with crops looking fine, he got a job with Cunningham and Cropper in Enid, travelling over the Territory in a cart selling farm machinery. He borrowed a set of single harness from Jake Long, his neighbor, until he could buy his own. His salary was \$45.00 a month out of which he paid his expenses. That was a good salary. He was wonderfully successful at this work, and collected

every cent from his sales before the following New Year. He moved to Enid, and later became a banker and his sons after him were also bankers. He served one term as Mayor of Enid.

THE ELI ROBERTS FAMILY

The Eli Roberts family lived on the claim just north of ours, east of Enid. They were from Iowa, where they had had a productive, well-furnished farm. When Mr. Roberts heard that the Cherokee Strip was to be opened, he sold out in Iowa, loaded his household goods and his fine horses and cows into railroad cars, and set out for Oklahoma Territory. When he got as far as Wichita, Kansas, he learned that the Opening had been delayed. He stopped off there to wait, and was soon offered a portion of land which is now in the heart of the city of Wichita, for two of his fine teams, but he did not take up the offer. During the run into the Cherokee Strip, he staked his claim near ours, but there were seven other stakes on the tract. It was not until two years later that he won the claim, his case being decided in his favor because he had plowed the first sod on the quarter section.

Meanwhile, he had shipped one of the first carloads of lumber into North Enid and had built a house. Drinking water was scarce. His oldest daughter, Mary, was sent each day across the street with a bucket of milk to trade to Mrs. Dalton (the mother of the notorious outlaws) for a bucket of drinking water. When Mr. Roberts won his claim, he tore down the house in North Enid and rebuilt it on his new land. He always farmed a quarter section of school land or two in addition to his own claim. He raised fine crops of water melons, and the children had a good time selling them at the roadside to passers-by for a nickel or a dime each. Mrs. Roberts squeezed juice from the extra melons and made vinegar and sold it. She taught our mother how to make substantial shoes for us children out of the backs of old overalls, using several thicknesses as soles. Mr. Roberts and our father harvested their crops together.

It was to the Roberts's home that Mother fled with us children when she once saw a "cyclone cloud" headed toward us from the southwest. Mr. Roberts, who already had his team hitched up to the wagon, piled all of his family and us three into the wagon and stood ready to make a run out of the path of the cyclone had it come our way. However, the storm turned just before reaching us, and we were safe. The Roberts' children were Earl, Roy, Mary, Florence, Nettie, and Ella. Max was born in the new home in the Strip. Mrs. Roberts was a cousin of Dorr Feldt who invented the comptometer. Before her marriage, she had taught school, and Mr. Roberts had taught mathematics in a college for a time. They later left Oklahoma, and went west where they were successful in ranching and in the orchard business.

THE JOHN RILEY FAMILY

In July after our parents reached the Strip, they were glad to hear that a country store and post office were to be established just four miles from us, to the southeast. John Riley, a native of Missouri who had lived in Texas, was in charge. He asked to have the new post office named *Lula*, in honor of his daughter. But the authorities in Washington varied it to *Luella* to avoid confusion with another post office named *Lela*, elsewhere in Oklahoma Territory. Besides Mr. and Mrs. Riley and Lula, there were three boys, Claude, Ernest, and Johnny, the baby who was born in Missouri, the spring after the Cherokee Strip was opened. At this time, Mr. Riley was about forty, somewhat older than the average settler. He was tall and had curly dark hair and grey eyes, and was very determined. He was experienced as a surveyor, and during the first three hard years he often left Mrs. Riley and the children to see after the claim and the store and post office while he made trips to lay out town sites elsewhere, or do other surveying to earn additional expense money. At the time of the run, he had failed to get a claim, but he went on to Enid and put in a restaurant, with a grocery store in connection. Soon he traded for his claim near us. Next spring he rented out his building in Enid for the first jail in town, and went to Missouri to join Mrs. Riley at her mother's home to be present when Johnny arrived. When he returned, Mr. Riley tore down his building in Enid, moved the lumber to the claim, and rebuilt the house for the store and post office. A public spirited man, Mr. Riley helped establish schools for his children, and he took part in the church and "Literary" programs when they were established. He became prosperous in the development of oil in Oklahoma and Texas.

THE SOL GRIM FAMILY

Sol Grim and his large family lived south of Luella. He was about fifty years old. He doctored horses and carried the mail from Enid to Luella twice a week. He was full of dry humor and had a wealth of stories about his experiences while freighting through the West in connection with the building of the Transcontinental railroad. He was born in Missouri, had pioneered in Nebraska, and had begun freighting as a boy. He was a wagonmaster in 1866, for J. A. Adkinson, in company with Henry Cassidy and Bert Hazlip. His first task was to haul telephone poles from Fort Sanders to Fort Steel, a distance of 120 miles. The Indians were at war in those days, and one of his brothers was killed in the fighting. He saw other men shot down by the Indians, and once his own wagon train was attacked near Fort Laramie. He told of an early experience when he was snowed in at Pole Creek until food ran out and the cattle died of starvation. The men almost starved, too, for the cattle were too thin to be killed for food. In Julesburg, he had played pool with Kit Carson several times, and his path had crossed the paths of Buffalo Bill and General Grant. He would sometimes tell us these

stories, but he liked best to sing humorous songs to doleful tunes. One of them was "My Gal She Upset, and the Wagon Did Spill." He had exhausted his land rights in Nebraska long before the Cherokee Strip opened. But pioneer life attracted him, and he came to this country at the Opening, leased a quarter of school land and improved it. He had nine children, and already had several grand children when he came to the Strip. Later the grandchildren totaled fifty. He prospered, and later moved to Day County where he was elected County Treasurer. Some of his children's names were Sylvester, Dave, Belle, Nora, Myrtle, and Bessie. Sylvester Grim is now Judge of Cleveland County. Belle was Mrs. Daharsh, who with her husband also lived in the Strip.

THE DOCTOR VIRGIL WOOD FAMILY

The Doctor Wood family had the claim on the northeast corner of our section. We did not pass their house in going to Enid, Luella, or church and school. Yet we came to know them eventually. Mr. and Mrs. Wood were both born in Georgia but were reared in Hempstead County, Arkansas. He had taken his medical course at Louisville, Kentucky, after he was married, teaching school between sessions to earn expenses.

When Old Oklahoma was opened in 1889, Doctor Wood made the run on April 22, but failed to get a claim. He already had four children, and the day after that opening twins were born to his wife, a girl and a boy, who were given the names of *Okla* and *Homa*. He moved his family to Norman where he established a good medical practice. He took part in two later openings, but not until the Cherokee Strip was opened did he secure a claim. He had a house built, and on October 20, 1893, Mrs. Wood and five of her seven children moved to the claim. She was the first woman in that part of the country. Doctor Wood remained in Norman at his practice, and some of the children attended school there. In the spring, the rest of the family moved to the claim, after which Doctor Wood set up his office in Enid, coming out to the farm two or three times a week. As County Physician for a year, he attended the notorious outlaw Dick Yeager when he was wounded and captured and lay in the Enid jail. Doctor Wood was also a member of the Pension Board, and in 1898 he became a member of the Territorial Legislature. He was a Republican and a Baptist. About this time, he organized a Baptist church at Bellevue, and was a deacon for the rest of his life. He moved his office to the farm after two years in Enid, and then he was able to take part in "Literary" and other community affairs.

His wife was a remarkable woman. Sarah Wood lived on the claim that first fall and winter with no way to get mail and groceries from Enid, ten miles away, except by help from passers by. There were very few settlers near before the next spring. She over-

saw the development of the claim, using hired help when she could get it, but doing much of the work herself with the help of the children when no other was available. The children were Beulah, Minnie, Edna, Robert, Okla and Homa, and Virgil. Two others, Dudley and Verda, were born on the farm. About 1900, the Wood family sold out and moved to Blackwell to send the children to school. They became educated men and women, and are useful, prosperous citizens. The boys became geologists and later were established in the oil business for themselves, under the firm name of Broswood Oil Company. Doctor and Mrs. Wood lived to a ripe old age. When she died, a woman's circle of the Baptist Church at Blackwell was named in her honor. When Doctor Wood died, it was said, "The poor people of Blackwell have lost their best friend."

THE HOWARD FAMILY

The Howards were a large family who lived south of Jim Hart's, on our way to Luella. Before the Opening, Mr. Howard had built a sod house on a lease in Old Oklahoma. When he won his claim in the Strip, he took all the lumber parts out of the first "soddy" and hauled them to his Strip claim to use in constructing the new "soddy". Meanwhile his boys were growing, and he soon had to build a second "soddy" in the same yard to take care of the family. Mr. Howard and his sons rented and farmed additional land, raising large crops. One claim he rented belonged to Miss Hogue, a fine school teacher who lived just west of the Howard place. He helped Father dig our good well. And when a building, formerly the home of the *Tribune-Democrat*, was moved out from Enid to the corner of Miss Hogue's claim for a school house, Howard helped build the seats for it and became a director on the School Board. The school was named Belleview, and his only daughter, Belle, claimed that it was named for her. Maybe it was.

One of the most interesting stories that attached to the Howards was how Mr. Howard's mother entered the Cherokee Strip and staked her claim on the day of the Opening. Already a grandmother with grown grandchildren, she wanted land of her own. One of her sons, who was making the race himself in a wagon, put her in the back end of his wagon, tied up in a featherbed. He had things fixed so he could push her out when he came to a good claim for her, but he did not stop running his team toward the place he had picked out for himself. His mother got a good claim on Skelton Creek, having brought stakes with which she marked her land. She also had matches, cooking utensils, kindling, and food with her. She started a fire and soon set up house-keeping at her new home.

THE AUGUST FROEMMING FAMILY

August and Johanna (Lizzie) Froemming had the claim that cornered ours on the southwest. They were Germans, jolly, hard-working, and were well-liked by the settlers, non-German and all.

August was born in Wustrow, Province Hanover, Germany. At eleven he had come with his family to Hanover, Kansas, and at twenty-two he staked his claim in the Cherokee Strip. Meanwhile, in Kansas, he had acquired a threshing machine and a teacher's license. The latter he never used. He constructed a dugout on his new land, and lived there the time necessary to hold it. In season, he would go back to Kansas to work in the harvest and earn money with his thresher to "build up on his claim." Two years after the run, he married in Kansas and brought his wife overland to his place in a covered wagon, trailing a single buggy behind, on which were a coop of eleven chickens and a dog, their only livestock except the span of mules hitched to the wagon. With the money he had earned and brought with him, he built a nice little, square house and a granary. Then for two years the young couple lived on practically nothing, like the rest of the neighbors, until the good crop came. In August, 1895, when their little son August was born, grass fires caused by lightning in a dry storm without rain, threatened the little square house where Lizzie and the new baby lay. August swiftly carried water from the well, two bucketsful at a time, to pour on the grass around the house to keep it from catching fire. He succeeded, and the house and family were saved. The family grew, prospered, and made first class citizens.

THE J. V. CONIGHAN FAMILY

It was J. V. Conighan who, in the first months after the Opening, took a barrel of water with him whenever he went visiting. And the water was always welcome, so scarce was it in those days. He had a well in a ravine half a mile from his house, and a good wagon and two water barrels, excellent equipment that many settlers lacked. It was he, too, whose first house, a temporary shack, was stolen and completely moved away one night soon after the Opening while he was gone to Hennessey to get his family and household goods. At that time, there were some unprincipled men who had gathered at Enid for loot at the Opening, and the Conighans' house was much nearer town than ours. Conighan's daughter Cora has told me that on their way to Enid from Hennessey she saw thirty-seven dead horses that had either been ridden to death in the run or had died for lack of feed and water. The grass had been burned off the land. Conighan had known the lay of the country through this region, and at the Opening he was able to come directly to the claim he wanted. His friends, the Hairs and the Kecks who made the run with him, secured claims adjoining. His son, LaVerne, followed the party into the Strip, driving a loaded Peter Schultzer wagon and a span of mules. According to previous plans, he drove to the place where the trail crossed Skelton Creek and waited there until the men came for their supplies. Later, Conighan became a county commissioner. In 1919, his daughter Cora was appointed the first Democratic vice-chairman for the County. An oil well was drilled one time on the Conighan

farm, but it was a dry hole, so their prosperity came from the wheat fields.

THE WILL KELLEY FAMILY

The Kelleys were from Kansas. They did not make the run for a claim, but came down the following spring in company with Add Pickerill, and leased a tract of land. They had a loaded covered wagon, which the two Kelley boys, Chester (13) and Clyde (9) drove. The family rode overland in the house which was built on another wagon and was completely furnished with bed, stove, table, and chairs. They stopped at Frank Pickerill's place and stayed for awhile, and then moved on over toward Luella to their lease. Here was a dugout, but the family lived in the house on the wagon until Mr. Kelley could get lumber and build a little house. Besides the boys, the Kelleys had Zella, who was fifteen when they came to the Strip. The Kelleys came pretty "well fixed", and never did have as hard a time as some of the settlers. For the young folks pioneering was all a grand lark. They bought a croquet set and the neighbors would come and play in evenings until dark. But Mrs. Kelley was homesick and lonesome, and would sometimes sit in the house and cry instead of playing croquet. One year Mrs. Kelley kept Nina Pickerill during the day while Mrs. Pickerill taught school, and that was some company for her. Afterward, she had another little girl herself, whom she named Marie. The Kelleys were good church workers, he serving as elder or deacon from the time the church was established. After a few years they left the Strip and moved to Custer City, where they settled permanently.

THE SATER FAMILY

The Saters from Kansas lived north of Frank Pickerill, two miles nearer Enid than we did. They attended our church and belonged to our neighborhood. Mrs. Sater stayed on the farm with her two little boys, Ampie and Archie, while Mr. Sater clerked at Buttry's store in Enid to earn expenses, working in the store except when he needed to be plowing or sowing wheat or harvesting and threshing. One day Ampie, the oldest son who was about eight, was kicked in the head by a horse. Mrs. Sater hurriedly hitched up the hack, loaded her boys in, and drove the eight miles to Enid to a doctor. An operation was performed and the child apparently recovered, but several months later suddenly died. A daughter was born to the Saters soon after this, and they later moved to Enid.

THE TAGGART FAMILY

Several miles "south and west" of us, as the people there would have said, lived the Taggarts, F. K. (Frank) and Bill. They were from Missouri, but had made the run from the south boundary because some of their brothers were already living in Old Oklahoma, near Hennessey, before the Opening of the Cherokee Strip.

They brought along from Kansas some fine grade Percheron mares and geldings. When the Taggarts found that these animals adapted admirably to the climate in the Strip, and to pulling the gang plows and other machinery necessary, they purchased a registered Percheron stallion, a son of Champion "Casino," and a few years later bought registered mares. Along with their farming operations, they raised pure-bred Percherons and sold the stallion colts at a good profit. During the time our family was in the Strip, we knew the Taggarts largely because of their fine horses, but as was customary, they were friends, too. The Taggarts also raised Shorthorn cattle, and helped promote the livestock shows at Enid which were instrumental in forwarding the livestock industry in Garfield County. After Mr. Bill Taggart died in 1921, I am told, F. K. moved to Enid, selling the Shorthorn cattle but keeping a few Percheron horses on the farm. He became County Clerk.

THE HART FAMILY

Our father, A. A. Kennan, met Will Hart at the line on opening day, shortly before the run. Will was related to some Harts whom Father knew in Arkansas. Later, when he went out to his claim on which he had bought the stake rights, there was Will Hart on the claim adjoining on the east. He and Will camped together and helped each other build their houses. Next spring, they met at Maysville by prearrangement and made the trip out west together in their covered wagons with their families. Will was a bachelor when he got his claim, but by spring he had Dee, his bride from the Indian Territory. Will had a good wagon and span of big mules, and through the years he was a good neighbor, though he never gave much thought to public affairs. After two years, Jim Hart, Will's father, moved out and bought the claim cornering Will's on the southeast. Jim Hart had a big family of girls, who added to the gaiety of the young people in the neighborhood and furnished some of the bachelor settlers with wives.

HENRY KONEKA

Our nearest neighbor for some time was Henry Koneka, a German bachelor, who lived on the quarter-section south of us. He had a one-room box house and kept hens and cattle. After a few years he married, but his wife did not speak nor understand the English language. Koneka was a good man, and he and Father exchanged work at harvest time, and the two families helped one another as they could. However, there was a language and mores barrier here which did not exist between us and some of the other German neighbors.

ED MYRTLE

To the west of us when we first went to the Strip was Ed Myrtle. Myrtle was a Bohemian and, like Henry Koneka, a bachelor. He

was a slender, dark man, whose earthly possessions seemed to consist of one dun-colored mule. He apparently had much leisure time and no worries. After awhile he sold his claim, and the Lockridges moved there.

THE LOCKRIDGE FAMILY

The Lockridges were welcome neighbors because they had five children for us children to play with. Their house was small, but Mrs. Lockridge was a good housekeeper and always kept the place as neat as a pin. The children were Nellie, Carrie, Frank, Ernest, and little Annie Ruth. Ernest was exactly my age, both of us having our birthdays on the anniversary of the opening of the Strip, September 16. Father and Mr. Lockridge used to help each other at harvest time. Mr. Lockridge did not join the church until after we left the Strip. This had cut us off from sharing part of our Strip life with the Lockridges since Sunday was visiting day and also church day. But they were good folks and we were fond of them.

MRS. HAMMOND

Mrs. Hammond was our first teacher at Belleview School. I say *our* because when school opened there in 1896, Mother and we children attended. Mother wanted to review and take the examination for a teacher's certificate so she could teach like Mrs. Pickerill, and help out with the family income until there was a crop. She took us children along with her to school. Mr. and Mrs. Hammond lived about two miles south of Belleview. They were from Kansas where she had taught before she was married. They had two teams of of milk-white ponies. One pair had "moon-eyes," or "glass eyes," as they were called. Mrs. Hammond rode one of the ponies to school when her husband was too busy to bring her. She was a good teacher with enough experience and good sense to adapt her school to the needs of the time. The children there were from many states and other sections of the country. Some of them had a few school books and scarcely any were able to buy more. Mrs. Hammond had them pool the books and portioned these out with lesson assignments, two families using one speller or one reader when needed. She did not object to Harry and me attending with Mother, even though I was only four and Harry five. She organized the literary society that fall, and arranged so all the community could take part. The society was called "Literary" and at the meetings there was always a "paper" and a debate, besides "speeches" (we now call them "readings") by young and old. I made my own debut at "Literary" in a four-line "speech." My hair had been rolled up on rags to make my white fuzz into curls for the occasion. During the Presidential campaign in 1896, the men debated "Free Silver" and other momentous questions. By the time school was closed in late spring, crops were looking better. Mother did not take the teacher's examination, and Mrs. Hammond did not teach any

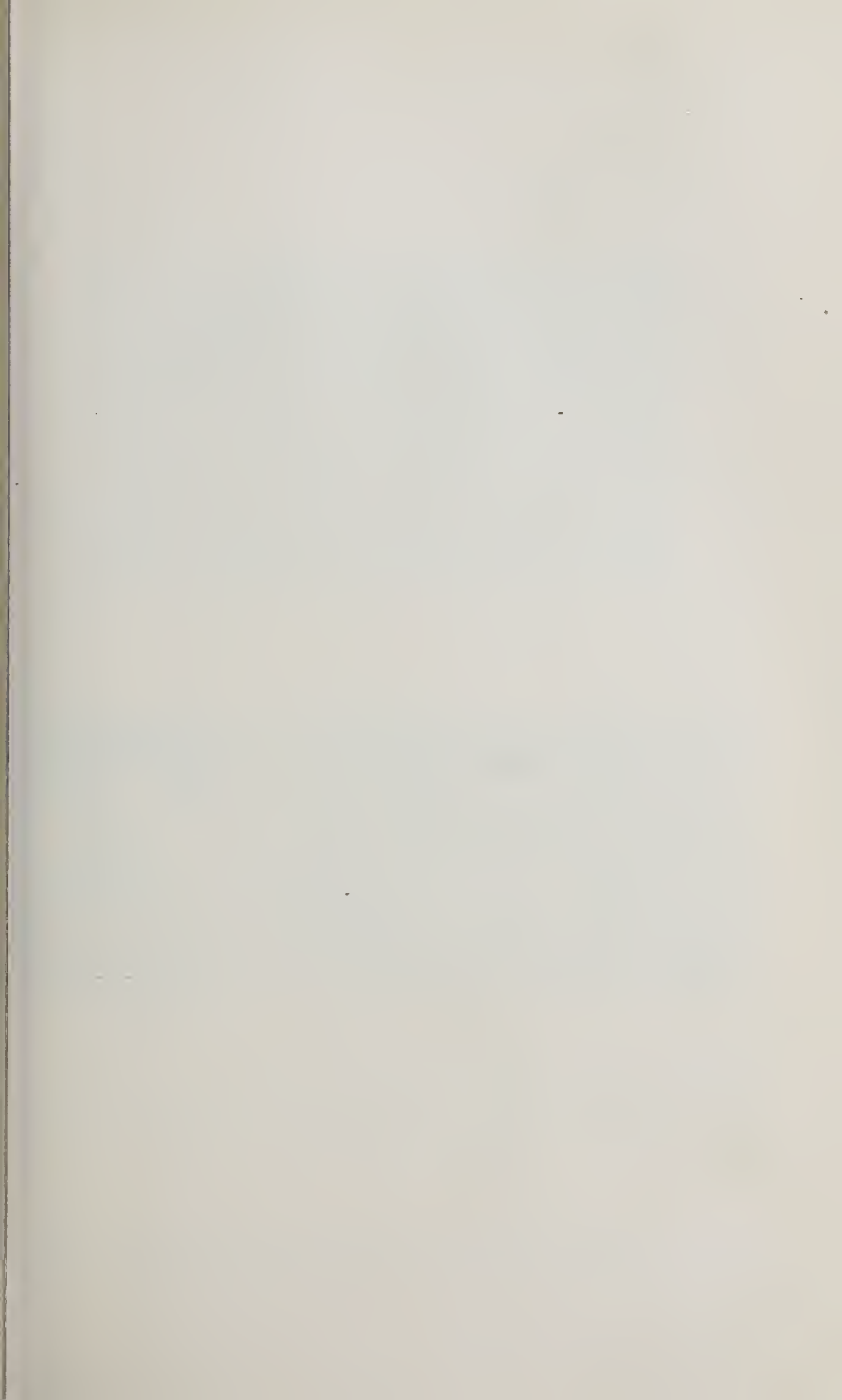
more. It was generally understood that a married woman taught school only if there was no crop and the income was essential. Otherwise she was needed more at home. Mrs. Hammond was long held in affection and esteem by all in the neighborhood. I had a letter from her less than ten years ago, when she was living over the border in Kansas. She said that she and Mr. Hammond had kept the white horses until they died of old age because they had made the crops for them feeding only on pasture and hay in the early days before there were any grain crops.

THE HELBERG FAMILY

West of Frank Pickerill's lived the Helbergs, a German family. They were an admirable and serious-minded family, well-liked by all the settlers. In later years they were well-to-do, but they lived very meagerly during those first three years, like many others. The Helbergs were instrumental in getting the German Lutheran Church of Patterson Township located at the northeast corner of the section west of us. After the building was constructed, the German people in the vicinity held church and school here. After crops began, German families from Kansas came to the Strip, attracted by letters from their friends who were already settlers there. They settled in our neighborhood if they could find a place, to be near the church. We liked all of our German neighbors individually. But they had a common bond in their language and traditions, which we could not share. En-masse they seemed clannish and strange to us, even as we must have seemed strange to them when we and our first neighbors gathered in a crowd. When our beloved friends of the earliest days, sold out to the German settlers and moved away, we too sold and moved away.

OTHERS

Other neighbors come to mind, people who were friends and who meant much to us and the community in early days. Among them, I recall the Warhursts, Raineys, Goddards, Boduses, Clarks, Hopkines, Tompkinses, Atwoods, Lessingers, Dumonts, George Collet, Harry Taylor, Tom Johnson, Benton Roberts, Willie Shattow, and many more. But some other writer will have to carry the story on from here.

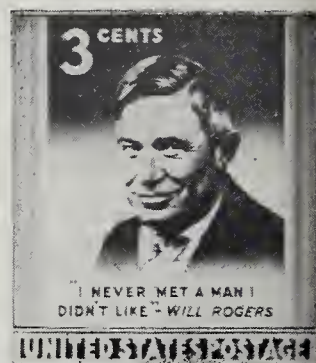




A Rejected Design for Indian Centennial Commemorative Stamp, 1948



Indian Centennial Commemorative Stamp, 1948



Will Rogers
Commemorative Stamp,
1948

OKLAHOMA'S TWO COMMEMORATIVE STAMPS

By George H. Shirk

Although 1948 saw the Post Office Department issue more than the usual number of special commemorative stamps, Oklahoma was especially favored in that of the 29 special issues two were in honor of Oklahoma subjects. In addition, an Oklahoma city was designated in each instance as the point where the stamp would be first placed on sale.¹

It is customary in philatelic circles that a special ceremony be held in connection with the first day of use of a new commemorative stamp. One or more post offices, usually post offices related to the event being commemorated or the subject matter of the stamp, are designated as the office where the issue will first be placed on sale.

Only once before had Oklahoma been so honored. In 1922 the Post Office Department issued a new set of regular stamps to replace the issue that had been current, with modifications, since 1908. The 14¢ denomination in this series featured an Indian as its center design. This stamp was first placed on sale at Muskogee on May 1, 1923. Twenty-five years later Oklahoma was again in the philatelic spotlight with its two commemorative issues, the Indian Centennial Commemorative, and the stamp honoring the late Will Rogers.

INDIAN CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATIVE

Muskogee had been selected as the location for the 16th annual convention of the Oklahoma Philatelic Society; and the committee in charge, working with Muskogee citizens, was anxious to have the Society's annual convention meet in conjunction with a proposed Indian celebration to be held in October. The dates for the Philatelic Society's convention were announced as October 15th to 17th, intended to follow by one day the Indian celebration.

The committees in charge of the two events worked in close conjunction, and it was at once realized that the period of history intended to be honored by the Indian Centennial celebration could be best commemorated on a nation wide basis by a special stamp. The Oklahoma Philatelic Society was enthusiastic, and a joint committee

¹ Acknowledgment is gratefully made to Mr. Sol Glass, Washington Representative of the Bureau Issues Association, without whose generous assistance this article would not have been possible.

headed by Mr. C. N. A. DeBajligethy was appointed to develop the project.²

Plans were laid before the Honorable Elmer Thomas, U. S. Senator from Oklahoma, and the Honorable W. G. Stigler, Representative from the Second Congressional District. Representative Stigler first made an effort to interest the Post Office Department in issuing on its own volition a stamp honoring the event. He was advised that the commemorative stamp program for the year was such that further issues could not be considered.

Representative Stigler then introduced, on February 19, House Joint Resolution 329. This was followed by a similar resolution, S.J.R. 189, introduced in the Senate by Senator Thomas. This resolution read:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, to commemorate the centennial celebration of the Trail of Tears, the Postmaster General is hereby authorized and directed to issue a special postage stamp bearing the likeness of the great seals of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians in Oklahoma: Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole. Such stamp shall be issued in the denomination of 3 cents and for such a period, beginning October 15, 1948, as he may determine. Such special stamp shall be placed on sale in Muskogee, Oklahoma, one day before it is made available to the public elsewhere."

The Senate Resolution received action prior to the one introduced by Mr. Stigler and passed the Senate on March 15, 1948. In view of the favorable action by the Senate on S.J.R. 189 Mr. Stigler, in order to expedite matters, asked the House to substitute the Senate measure for that of his own, which was done.

The resolution was approved by the President on May 4, 1948, and became *Public Law 515* of the 80th Congress.

On May 5, 1948, the Post Office Department announced, along with other matters, that the stamp would be issued as instructed by the legislation. A further announcement on September 13th described the stamp and made known the place and date of its first day sale.

R. L. Miller, designer for the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, prepared four models. These were submitted informally to Senator Thomas, who in turn passed them on to the Muskogee Centennial Committee with the request that a selection be made. The chosen design was submitted to the Post Office Department on July 14, 1948, and on July 15 it was approved by V. C. Burke, Acting Postmaster General.

² In addition to Mr. DeBajligethy, General Centennial Chairman, the Indian Centennial Board was composed of the following members: Harry Ogden, President; S. F. Ditmores, Vice-President; Marie Hayes, Secretary; Ross Susman, Treasurer; L. W. Duncan, E. B. Maytubby, Dr. N. K. Leathers, Tom Tarpley, Carl Krepper, Earl Boyd Pierce, and Charlie Cobb, Directors.

An Act to Procure a National Seal.

Be it enacted by the National Council, That the Principal Chief be, and he is hereby, authorized to procure a National Seal, for the use of the Cherokee Nation, to be

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used by the Principal Chief, and such Officer as may be designated by law, in the sealing of documents. And the expense of said Seal shall be paid out of any funds in the National Treasury, belonging to the National Fund, not otherwise appropriated; and the Principal Chief is authorized to draw Warrants accordingly.

Be it further enacted, That the said Seal shall bear the following device, viz:—In the centre thereof there shall be a seven-pointed star, surrounded with a wreath of oak leaves, and in the margin of said Seal shall be the words: "Seal of the Cherokee Nation," "Sept. 6th, 1839," and the following Cherokee characters: GWYᐱ Dᑭᑦ; and the said Seal shall be one and a half inches in diameter.

Approved:

LEWIS DOWNING,

Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation.

Tahlequah, C. N., December 11, 1869.

The central design of the stamp is an outline map of the State of Oklahoma on which, in white Gothic, are the words: "Indian Centennial Cherokee Chickasaw Choctaw Muscogee Seminole". To the left arranged from top to bottom are the seals of the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw Tribes, and on the right in the same order are the seals of the Muskogee and Seminole. Between these two groups of seals and below the State border is the wording "The Five Civilized Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 1848-1948". Just below is a ribbon on which appears "United States Postage" in white Gothic. In the lower right corner, in white modified Roman, is the denomination "3¢".

Photographs of the five seals were taken from available documents bearing original impressions and were submitted to the Bureau by the Post Office Department.³ The map of Oklahoma was taken from the March, 1941, issue of the National Geographic Magazine. The sash appearing as a background was taken from a photograph of a typical Indian sash submitted by the National Museum.

Engraving was done by two members of the staff of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. The vignette and seals were executed by C. A. Brooks, and Axel W. Christensen did the numerals and lettering. The proof drawn from the completed die was approved September 9 by Jesse M. Donaldson, Postmaster General.

On September 14, 1948, a printing order for 50,000,000 copies was placed with the Bureau. A total of four printing plates of 200 subjects each (divided into 4 post office panes of 50 stamps each) were prepared for use on the rotary presses. The first pair of plates, numbers 23920 and 23921 were sent to press September 27 and the remaining pair, plates numbered 23922 and 23923, were first

³The old die of the Cherokee Seal from which the impression for the commemorative stamp was taken shows two discrepancies when compared with the description of the Seal given in the text of the original law approved on December 11, 1869, by Lewis Downing, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation. The original manuscript of this law is now on exhibit in the Museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society, a crude drawing of the Seal on a separate slip of paper having been attached to the original manuscript page after the law was written. This law giving the legal description of the Seal is also found in *Laws of the Cherokee Nation* (Tahlequah; Cherokee Nation. National Press.—Edwin Archer, Printer, 1870), "An Act to Procure a National Seal," pp. 83-84. The two discrepancies are: (1) the letters "Sep." for the abbreviation "Sept."; (2) in the Sequoyah type for the two words signifying "Cherokee Nation," the fourth character is "yi" instead of the character "hi" given in the original law. The syllable "yi" used as a suffix indicates the locative designating simply "a place." The syllable "hi" appearing as a suffix also indicates the locative but in the sense of a collective plural, in this instance apparently referring to the Cherokee people as a whole or as a nation. The Sequoyah characters on the old die when rendered in their corresponding English syllables are "Tsa-la-gi-yi A-ye-li." The Sequoyah characters given for the Seal in the original law when rendered in their corresponding English syllables are "Tsa-la-gi-hi A-ye-li." For further reference to the history of the Cherokee Seal, see Muriel H. Wright, "Official Seals of the Five Civilized Tribes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (December, 1940), pp. 363-66.—Ed.

used on October 4, 1948. The first delivery of the new stamps to the Muskogee postmaster was made October 4.

In honor of the first day of issue ceremonies were held on the steps of the Muskogee postoffice. Harold Cartwright, postmaster, presented souvenir albums containing a sheet of the Centennial stamps to each of the Five Tribes.

J. M. Bell, Philatelic Agent, Washington, D. C. represented the Postmaster General, and was in charge of the first day sale of the stamp and cancellation of outgoing mail with the special "First Day of Issue" cancellation. Stamp collectors and others interested in the new stamp were invited to send in to the Muskogee postmaster self addressed envelopes in quantities not to exceed ten, for the affixing of the stamp and cancelling with the first day cancellation. Requests were received from all over the United States, and on the day of issue a number of philatelic specialists and out of state dealers arrived with thousands of specially designed envelopes for use in mailing. A total of 1,120,000 stamps were sold at Muskogee on the first day of issue, and 459,528 pieces of mail were dispatched bearing the first day cancellation.

WILL ROGERS COMMEMORATIVE

Shortly after his death on August 15, 1935, requests began to pour into the Postmaster General for a special commemorative stamp honoring Will Rogers. The Oklahoma Philatelic Society, along with local stamp clubs in Tulsa, Oklahoma City and other groups, adopted formal resolutions petitioning the Post Office Department for such an issue. On June 28, 1941, a special cachet sponsored by the Oklahoma City Stamp Club in honor of the dedication of Will Rogers Field was applied to outgoing Oklahoma City air mail.

Passage of time only increased the demand, and on July 10, 1947, Honorable W. G. Stigler, Representative from the Second District, introduced in the House of Representatives Joint Resolution 235, directing the Postmaster General to issue on 4 November 1947, the 68th anniversary of Will Roger's birth, a special stamp honoring the great American.

The resolution did not reach final action, but it served its purpose in again impressing upon the Post Office Department the need for this commemorative. The Postmaster General, on February 10, 1948, announced the program for the 1948 commemoratives, and the Will Rogers stamp was included. On March 16, 1948, Postmaster General Jesse M. Donaldson announced that the stamp would be issued on Will Rogers' birthday, November 4, 1848, at Claremore.

Charles R. Chickering, designer for the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, prepared three models. The center portrait was from a photograph furnished the Post Office Department by the Washing-

ton Star. J. Waldo Fawcett, in his Washington Star philatelic column of January 31, 1949, states that "the portrait of Will Rogers used in producing his commemorative was made by an unknown Hollywood photographer, it showed the famous cowboy philosopher with a stray lock of hair hanging over his forehead—a detail eliminated by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing artist."

The three designs were submitted on May 26 to the Post Office Department, and on the same day selection was made and the selected model was approved for the design of the stamp by Joseph J. Lawler, Acting Postmaster General.

The central design of the stamp is a portrait of Will Rogers, above the wording "I Never Met A Man I Didn't Like"—Will Rogers, in dark Gothic. Above the portrait is the denomination "3 cents" in white Gothic. The central design is framed on the left and right by narrow draperies. Lettering in shaded Gothic "United States Postage" on a dark background panel completes the lower border.

Engraving was done by two members of the staff of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. Matthew D. Fenton did the portrait and side draperies, and Axel W. Christensen did the outline frame, lettering, and numerals. The die proof was approved by the Postmaster General on October 1, 1948.

A printing order for 60,000,000 copies was placed October 11, 1948, and four plates, each with 280 subjects (4 post office panes of 70 stamps each), were prepared for use on the rotary presses of the Bureau. The first pair of plates, numbers 23943 and 23944, went to press October 20, 1948; and the remaining pair, 23945 and 23946, were placed in use on the press run of October 25. The first delivery of the new stamps was made to the Claremore postmaster on October 25.

The Claremore ceremonies incident to the first day of the sale of the new stamp opened at 10:30 A.M. on November 4, 1948, with a memorial service at the Tomb of Will Rogers. This was followed by a parade and addresses by Governor Roy J. Turner and the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General, Walter J. Meyers. In a special ceremony Third Street in Claremore was renamed Will Rogers Boulevard. The celebration closed with a dance at the Armory sponsored by the Will Rogers Round-up Club.

On behalf of the Postmaster General, Mr. Meyers presented souvenir albums, each containing a sheet of the stamps autographed by the Postmaster General, to Governor Turner, the Will Rogers Memorial and the Claremore Chamber of Commerce. Like albums have been presented to the two sons and the daughter of Will Rogers, who were not present at the ceremony.

Herbert S. Chamberlin, Assistant Superintendent, Division of Stamps, Post Office Department, was in Claremore to supervise the first day cancellation. Philatelists and others interested were given the privilege of sending to the Claremore postmaster prepared envelopes, not to exceed ten in number, so as to have the special stamp affixed and postmarked on the first day of sale. Envelopes and requests for "first day covers" poured in from all over the United States, and on the first day of sale 1,012,460 stamps were sold at Claremore. A total of 450,350 envelopes bearing the special "First Day of Issue" cancellation were dispatched. In addition to the official first day cancellation, a number of collectors, after purchasing the stamps in Claremore, drove to Oologah, the birthplace of Will Rogers, and secured unofficial first day postmarks from there.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

INDEX PUBLISHED FOR *THE CHRONICLES*, VOLUME XXVI (1948)

Members of the Oklahoma Historical Society and all others receiving *The Chronicles* regularly can secure the published Index for Volume XXVI, 1948, compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Clerk Archivist by addressing a request to the Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma.

FRENCH MERCI GIFTS ON EXHIBIT IN THE HISTORICAL BUILDING

One of the recent outstanding events in the Historical Society was the exhibit of the French Merci gifts to the State of Oklahoma, in the auditorium of the Historical Building for the week beginning Monday, February 21, 1949. Fully 15,000 visitors came to see the more than 2,500 gifts sent by the people of the Provinces in France as a token of appreciation for the part that the people of Oklahoma have had in America's assistance to France since World War II. Unpacking the gifts, checking, and placing them on display in the auditorium was a tremendous task in charge of Mrs. C. E. Cook, Curator of the Museum, assisted by Mrs. Rella Looney, and Nealy L. Tilly, Custodian of the Building. At the close of the exhibit, a selection of the gifts was made to be placed on permanent display in the Museum on the Fourth Floor. The rest of the gifts were apportioned and given to other organizations, schools, and institutions throughout the state, under direction of a special Committee of Control appointed by Governor Roy J. Turner. Members of the Committee were: the Reverend Ray E. Snodgrass, Chairman, Enid; Tony Green, Enid; D. D. Raimier, Corn; Fred M. Scott, Seminole; E. N. Puckett, Enid; Raymond Roberts, Tulsa; K. F. Woodward, Okmulgee; Mr. and Mrs. Jack Williams, Beaver; Roy J. Pierce, Chickasha; Art Reiss, Yukon; Art Thielen, Enid; Ed E. Kitchens, Enid.

The French Merci car loaded with the gifts had arrived in Oklahoma City and had been brought to the front of the State Capitol the morning of February 18, 1949, when an impressive presentation ceremony was held with the display of the American, Oklahoma, and French flags, attended by the Marine Corps Color Guard, a unit of the State Guard, and the National Guard band. In behalf of the State, Governor Turner accepted the car of gifts presented by Hon. Lionel Vasse, Consul General of France, who came from New Orleans for this special ceremony.

O.H.S.—NEWS LETTER

The Oklahoma Historical Society's "News Letter," the first number of which was issued in December, 1948, has been made possible through the recent purchase of a fine, electric mimeograph machine in the Secretary's office. The "News Letter" is appearing every month for the purpose of telling items of interest relating to the Historical Society. The first issue pointed out that more than 50,000 visitors came to the Historical Building in 1948, upward of 15,000 of this number being highschool and college students. The March "News Letter" reported that 300 new members have joined the membership rolls of the Historical Society recently, as a result of the membership campaign inaugurated in November by the Secretary, Doctor Charles Evans.

APPROPRIATION FOR MARKING HISTORIC SITES IN OKLAHOMA

House Bill No. 267 appropriating \$5,000 for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1950, and June 30, 1951, for the purpose of constructing and erecting historical markers commemorating important historical events and sites in Oklahoma, was approved and signed by Governor Roy J. Turner on April 7, 1949. The authors of this bill in the State Legislature are Representatives John E. Wagner of Lincoln County, R. Rhys Evans of Carter County, Harold Garvin of Stephens County, and Howard Lindley of Major County. The work will be carried on through the Department of Highways co-operating with the Oklahoma Historical Society's Committee for the Marking of Historic Sites, of which Maj. Gen. William S. Key is Chairman. The Bill provides that the Historical Society shall have authority to select sites for the erection of the markers and to prescribe the inscriptions of historical data for each marker, as well as to determine the type and character of each.

RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Founding of Stillwater: A Case Study in Oklahoma History.
By Berlin Basil Chapman. (Oklahoma City: Times Journal
Publishing Company, 1948. Pp. xii, 245. Illustrations, Maps,
Appendix, \$3.00.)

This book makes the first historical use of "restricted records" in the War Department concerning the last serious raid of the Boomers into Oklahoma; makes the first historical use of names listed in the First Territorial Census of Oklahoma, 1890; demonstrates how unprinted records in the National Archives can be used in tracing the history of early towns in the western half of Oklahoma; and presents heretofore unused sources on the founding of the Oklahoma A. and M. College.

About half the sources used by the author are available only in Washington, D. C. He was enabled to visit these sources because of a grant from the Research Foundation of the Oklahoma A. and M. College, which has the copyright of the book. The thoroughness of the work, evidenced by footnotes and bibliography, will satisfy the most demanding scholar. There is a good index.

"Payne's Oklahoma Colony," consisting of over 300 armed men, established a settlement at Stillwater in December 1884. A thousand troops were at Stillwater, or en route there, when William L. Couch, Boomer leader, surrendered to Colonel Edward Hatch. The first two chapters of the book and the appendix, containing official reports of army officers and Couch, are a distinct addenda to Rister's *Land Hunger*.

The emphasis of the book is on the years, 1889-91, during which Stillwater was founded. Records of the General Land Office, and materials in the Oklahoma Historical Society and Kansas Historical Society are used to tell how the Stillwater vicinity was settled in the Run of April 22, 1889, how a townsite was selected by the Stillwater Town Company in May, and the town organized in June of the same year.

The intricate workings of the provisional city government, 1889-90, are described. Use is made of the minutes of the city council and contemporary newspapers. The charter of the provisional government and some of its ordinances are in the book.

A part of the book attracting national attention deals with the First Territorial Census of Oklahoma, Population, 1890, a special census taken in seven counties to determine representation in the

territorial legislature. In 1921 the United States census of 1890 was destroyed in a Washington fire, and the printed volumes of the census do not record names of persons. The portion of the special census dealing with "Stillwater City," is in the appendix of the book. It lists 569 persons, shows that 63% of the children under the age of ten were born in Kansas, and shows other trends in the western movement. The special census is in the Oklahoma Historical Society, and has been microfilmed.

Debo's *Prairie City*, and Scott's *Story of Oklahoma City* span the development of towns founded in Oklahoma Territory, but Chapman's contribution is the first book-length study of the founding of a town in Oklahoma Territory. Early towns in that territory were founded on government owned lands. Foreman's *Muskogee* and Debo's *Tulsa* deal with towns that grew up in Indian Territory on Indian lands, not on government lands.

A reader well informed on the founding of Stillwater knows the pattern on which many towns in Oklahoma Territory were established. This includes schools, churches, social events, and the work of a federal board in allotting a townsite.

The book is a guide to archival materials on the founding of scores of early towns in the western half of Oklahoma. For these towns, boxes of townsite papers, letter books, etc., parallel those cited by Chapman, often being on the same shelf. The book merits a place in every library of Oklahoma history.

T. H. Reynolds

Oklahoma A. & M. College

Persimmon Hill. By William Clark Kennerly as told to Elizabeth Russell. University of Oklahoma Press, 1948. 253 Pp. Binding in attractive boards, 8 octavo.

This book consists of 250 pages of intrigue to any reader who cares to indulge in reminiscent history. It is a charming saga of the Kennerly and Russell families through a period of almost ninety years.

Born in 1824 and dying in 1912, Clark Kennerly, heir to much of the wealth and fame that came through the blood-strain of General George Rogers Clark and his broad relations with the great names like Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and their satellites, lived through a period most remarkable in this republic.

Persimmon Hill was Clark Kennerly's home in St. Louis for seventy years and because of his sterling graces, lofty life and high honor, the story of his home and his family reveals all the lights and shadows of the social order, the manners and customs, the high adventure and the wealth of wonderful events which converted St. Louis from a town of 5,000 in 1912, to a great, throbbing center of commerce, emigration and political leadership. The close of Ken-

nerly's active life as recorded in Persimmon Hill, with the Civil War, St. Louis had become one of the great communities of America.

There is laid out in detail, perhaps too much detail, the births, family connections, marriages, and resultant influences of the Kennerly family with the historical family figures of General George Rogers Clark, General William Clark, the Sougrains, the Hancocks, and all of the outstanding lives they touched in their daily pursuits and exploits. In stretching out these connections the author discloses connections as we have pointed out, with Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and most every powerful name in Virginia of the first thirty and forty years of its life after the revolution. Many of these names may be in the shadow but are so charmingly placed that the reader, if he has learned to revere these famous characters finds a calm pleasure in seeing them come and go in the dim light of one who almost touched them.

So you are led out by this volume to meet persons and places that made St. Louis the center of an early, marvelous history. A happy personal touch is offered as old school habits and customs; dress and manners are portrayed with a gentle and loving pen. One wants to go to the old field schools, to attend the gay parties, to make blissful excursions on Mississippi boats and meet with the gracious beaux and belles of the ante-bellum period.

Much of the history written here has been written before with more emphasis and detail than this volume offers. It is one of those volumes that could have been left out so far as rigid, positive history is concerned. Yet, to one who likes to revel in a world where fancy frames pictures of genuine and happy deeds of a worthy people, this book will prove not only popular but a genuine blessing.

—Charles Evans

Oklahoma Historical Society

Jeff Milton. A Good Man With a Gun. By J. Evetts Haley. University of Oklahoma Press, 1948. With drawings by Harold D. Bugbee. 417 Pp. Octavo bound in handsome board. Illustrated. Price \$3.00.

This book issued by Oklahoma University Press belongs to that group which brought before the book lovers of the country such fascinating volumes as *George W. Littlefield, Texan*, by Haley; *Western Words* by Adams; *The Horse of the Americas* by Dinhardt; and *No Man's Land*, by Rister. The University of Oklahoma Press chooses to call this list of many books from its splendid workshop, Books for a Western Bookshelf.

As long as the human heart responds to deeds of daring and adventure, life told here of Jeff Milton will appeal to thousands of readers. Recent surveys of the motion picture industry disclose

that the "westerners" with their dash and fury bring out the greatest crowds and ring the cash register of the box office longest and loudest.

This story as told by Mr. Haley is nothing more than the tale of a man who wandered far afield from the birth in the governor's mansion in Florida at the beginning of the Civil War. As Jeff Milton grew in years and stature a tremendous flair for adventure grew with him; this embellished with personal encounter, matching of wits with outlaws and criminals, the use of adopting the law of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" even to the point of murder, he moved into the Wild West and lived its life for more than fifty years.

It is said that Charles Dickens was seen looking intently out a window in London, was asked what he saw. He replied, "A man". His companion made question, "Why such interest in a man?" Dickens replied, "If I could trace the complete life of that man I would write my best book." Since proof of this is given in this volume as you follow Mr. Haley at times with breathless interest as he delineates the experiences, the emotions, the grim serenity, the alluring dare-deviltry and sublime honor and justice found in this Texas Ranger, scout, peace officer, killer and lofty minded character, Jeff Milton, you understand the worth of the statement made by Dickens.

Mr. Haley while having Milton and his friends tell their own stories, also pictures the lands and peoples of Texas, Arizona and Old and New Mexico with those raw and rough days when the great Southwest was a region of strange mysticism and the home of high adventure. He uses a pen of western stamp and his style is as breezy and bold as the winds from the Rockies. His own language is as pointed and powdery as Jeff's. It makes of such good reading that if there is red blood in the reader's veins the hours spent with this book will have no weight.

Mr. Haley, the author, has a ranch at Spearman, Texas, and it is known that he spends much of his time on this ranch in the saddle. He is rated by those who know him best as "much of a man" for he can ride and rope with the best of 'em. Haley secured his education at West State Teachers College and the University of Texas. His books that have brought him national recognition are: "The XIT Ranch of Texas and the Early Days of the Llano Estacado," "Charles Goodnight, Cowman and Plainsman," and "George W. Littlefield, Texan."

The printing and binding of this volume is up to the high standards of the University of Oklahoma Press which has brought it the highest respect of book-makers of quality throughout America.

—Charles Evans

Oklahoma Historical Society.

NECROLOGIES

ALGER MELTON

1874-1947

A man of culture and eminence once said in my presence, "I have told my son that upon my death should he desire someone to speak before an audience, whether it be at my funeral or upon some other occasion concerning my life, by all means respect this wish of mine, and that is, to permit none to tell of my reputation and character without he knew me well and had proved his friendship and care for me through many years of close contact." This is a part of the under current that sweeps through the souls of most men.

Alger Melton and Robert L. Williams shared mutual views, endeavors, and purposes through many years. Judge Williams loved everything that was related to Alabama, his native state, and Alger Melton was of Alabama lineage. Among the papers left on the desk of Judge Williams at his death, April 10, 1948, was found the draft for a necrology of Alger Melton. This unfinished sketch must have been the last contribution Judge Williams was permitted to give to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*.¹

Those who have read *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* through its twenty-eight years of existence must know that this quarterly journal was the "apple of the eye" of the President of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Judge Williams, through the many years which he gave in its service. He wrote many necrologies and he believed, and perhaps rightly so, that biography is the best history. The meticulous method he employed in working out these necrologies was revealed in his endeavor to pay a righteous tribute to Mr. Melton.

Judge Williams wrote the following to Mrs. Melton: "I was grieved to hear of the death of Alger. When he was sick at Sherman I went over to see him and he was convalescing then, so he would come down to the hotel and we would talk for a long time." It is interesting to note that almost four months from the day of this letter Judge Williams died in the City of Sherman, Texas. To continue an extract from his letter to Mrs. Melton he said: "I ask you to send me all the data you can and I shall have it published in the Oklahoma Historical Magazine, and also send me a small photograph of him. I want to do everything possible to preserve his name forever in the history of the State."

With this letter there were nine or ten sheets of memoranda gathered from every source possible reaching as far as to Senator Elmer Thomas in Washington, Baylor University, University of Texas, George Evans of Chickasha, Editor of the *Chickasha Express* for thirty-five years, and others. Out of tribute to these two men who walked along the road of life together many years, and in trying days were not divided, and in death scarcely separated, these statements and notes will be used as laid out by Robert Lee Williams.

¹ This contribution on the life of Hon. Alger Melton has been compiled by Doctor Charles Evans from an unfinished manuscript by the late Judge R. L. Williams and from biographical notes that he had gathered and filed in his office at Durant.—Ed.

Alger Melton, the son of Washington P. Melton and Lucy (Trammell) Melton, was born October 10, 1874 at Jefferson, Texas. Washington P. Melton was born in Taladago County, Alabama, and his wife, Lucy (Trammell) Melton was born in Dadeville, Alabama. She was the niece of Colonel David Browning Culbertson. Believing that no man or woman could be well launched in life unless it was revealed they came of "good stock," the notes state that Colonel David Browning Culbertson was born in Troup County, Georgia, September 29, 1830; educated at Brownwood College, admitted to the Bar in 1853; moved to Texas and settled in Jefferson, Marion County, in 1856. He was made a colonel in the Confederate Army and was elected to Congress March 4, 1875, served for twenty-two years and declined renomination; he was appointed in 1897, by President of the United States, to codify the laws of the United States and served in this work until his death in Jefferson Texas, May 7, 1900. To accent further the remarkable strain of blood found in the veins of Alger Melton, the notes point out a thing of worthy consideration of every reader that this Colonel Culbertson had a son, Charles A. Culbertson, who was Governor of Texas and honored by that State with four terms in the United States Senate.

Washington P. Melton and his wife Lucy Trammell Melton had the following children: Mrs. Frances Gillespie, Mrs. Lula Bills (deceased), William L. Melton, Adrian Melton (deceased), Earl Melton (deceased), E. B. Melton and Alger Melton, the subject of this necrology.

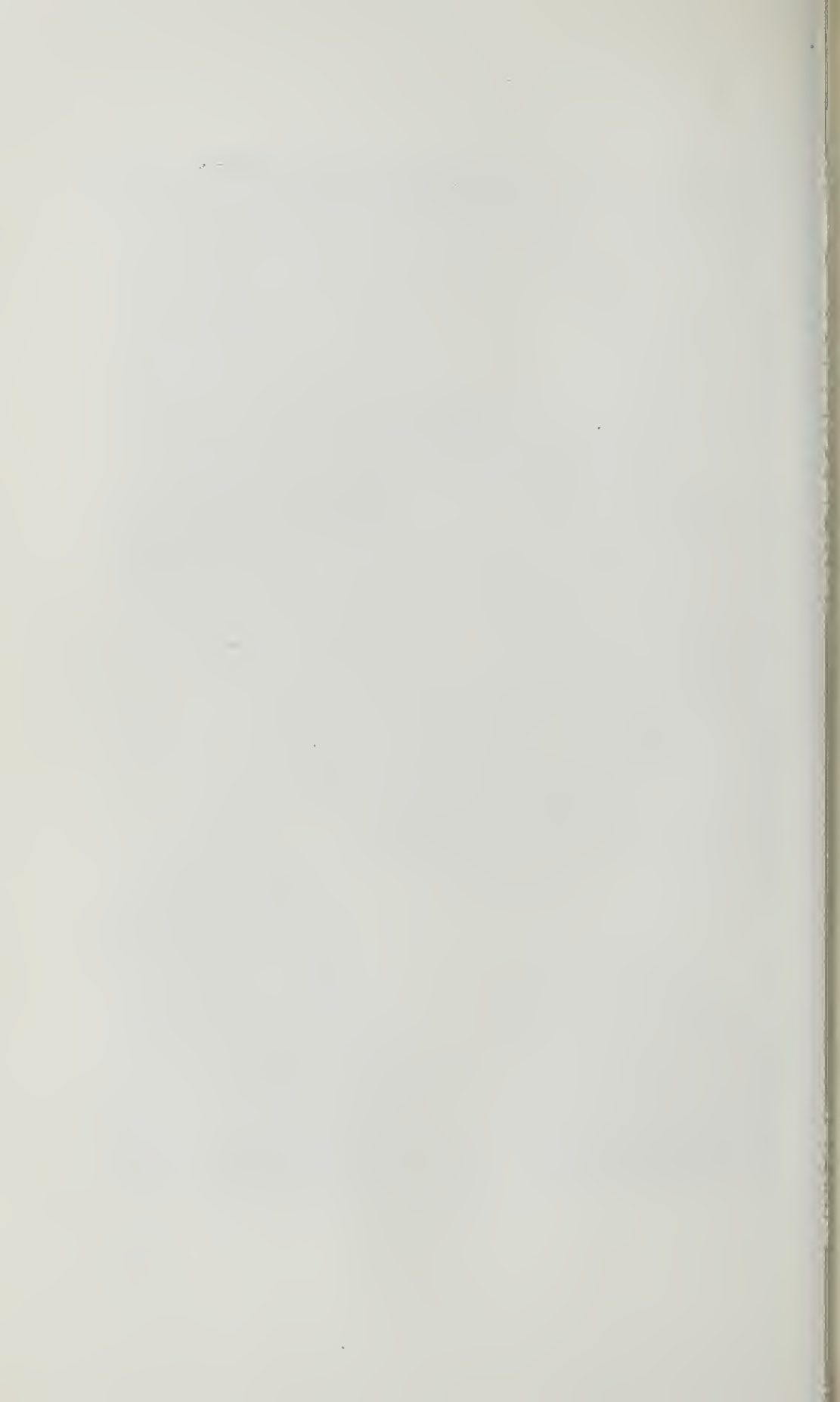
Alger Melton was educated in the public schools of Texas and at Baylor University at Waco. He was admitted to the Bar after studying law in the University of Texas and at once came to the Oklahoma country and established residence in Chickasha. He immediately became the center of interest because of his keen intellect and eagerness to serve his community. After an experience as clerk and general assistant in the office of the law firm of Davidson and Riddle, he formed a partnership with Reford Bond which continued with changes through a period of almost fifty years. When Chickasha was incorporated in 1900, the town honored him by making him the first City Attorney.

Mr. Melton married in 1909 Miss Cora Hamilton, who through the vicissitudes and fortunes of the splendid career of her husband always proved the center and chief force of his life. The father of Mrs. Melton was Morgan A. Hamilton and her mother was Jennie H. (Todd) Hamilton, both deceased.

The story of Mr. Melton's service to the community and to the State is one of continuous and exalted trust and attainment. His father, a veteran of long service in the Civil War, his lot cast in the State of Texas, he was by tradition and in principle a sterling Democrat. In 1914 the Bar of Grady County made him their president. He had attracted the attention of the whole State and upon the call of the Oklahoma Democrats he became Chairman of the State Central Democratic Committee in 1914. At that time he was the outstanding champion for the candidacy of Justice Robert Lee Williams for governor. He was chosen by the Williams' group to become chairman of the Williams' candidacy for governor and led this campaign to victory. Judge Melton was never a self seeker; his life was in the law and he moved steadily upward until 1931 the legal forces of the State made him President of the Oklahoma Bar Association. While receiving honors at the hands of Oklahoma he delighted most in serving Chickasha and Grady County. In 1919 he was made President of the Chickasha Chamber of Commerce. The public schools of the City were dear to him and he served as President of the Chickasha School Board for years.



ALGER MELTON



While mild and gentle of nature he loved his fellowmen, and the Lions Club and the Chickasha Country Club honored him as a charter member. His church never called without he answered. He was a teacher in the Sunday School of the Christian Church of Chickasha for many years.

The last several years of his life Judge Melton had been a partial invalid but in an hour of hope and convalescence he journeyed to Sherman to visit his daughter, Mrs. Ruth Colwick and there in the City of Sherman he died on Thursday evening, December 11, 1947. He passed away in the Wilson N. Jones Hospital of Sherman, Texas, the same hospital in which Judge R. L. Williams was confined and died, just four months later almost to a day.

Chickasha paid him every honor a city can give a beloved citizen. He was survived by his wife, Mrs. Cora Hamilton Melton and one daughter, Mrs. Ruth Melton Colwick of Sherman, Texas. He was placed to rest in Rose Hill Cemetery after memorial services in the afternoon of Sunday December 13, 1947, in the First Christian Church of Chickasha.

In the conclusion of this tribute, as at the beginning it is fitting to place a testimonial of the life of Alger Melton by a man who had walked and talked with him through thirty years and more. Mr. George H. Evans, Editor of the *Chickasha Express* had this to say of his friend and neighbor:

"The elements were so mix'd in him that Nature might stand up and say to all the world: 'This was a man.'

"Our friendship with Alger Melton dated back to November, 1903. For several years we sat at the table with him in the dining room of the old Early hotel. Others in the group included Ben F. Morgan, Frank M. Bailey, B. B. Barefoot, J. D. Carmichael, Lawrence Mills, P. J. Harbour, 'Mac' Bishop, C. Fecheimer, Myron Humphrey and C. H. Caneman. Five of them are left and only three remain in Chickasha.

"All through the years we had occasion to know Alger intimately. For more than 20 years he was our near neighbor. Our close association with him in community activities, in which he took a prominent part, extended over four decades. His public spirit and aggressiveness made him a leader in all movements for the larger development and betterment of our community and county. This column wouldn't hold the story of his manifold, useful civic services. Though his profession made heavy demands upon him, he was never too busy to give the community a generous share of his time.

"Alger Melton didn't belong to Chickasha alone. In more than one way, he left his impress upon the state in which he lived over 48 years. He was one of Oklahoma's outstanding lawyers. As president of the State Bar Association and a member of the governors for a number of years, he devoted much attention to the advancement of his profession. In 1914 he was campaign manager for Robert L. Williams, elected as third governor of Oklahoma. During the next four years he was chairman of the Democratic state central committee.

"Alger had a brilliant mind and more tender emotions than he manifested, except to intimates. In his home he was the soul of gentleness. Both in private and public life he measured up to the highest standards. A man of his virile, outspoken type could hardly fail to have enemies, but they were far outnumbered by friends whom he 'grappled unto himself with hoops of steel.' Like all men he had faults but they were over-shadowed by his virtues. In appraising his life, it can be truly said, 'Well done, good and faithful servant.' "

—By Charles Evans.

PHILIP COLFAX ROSENBAUM 1867-1947

Philip Colfax Rosenbaum, who came to Oklahoma Territory in 1890 and was connected in important capacities with the early military affairs of the Territory, died at his home near St. Louis, Missouri, on March 19, 1947. He was in his eightieth year.

He was born in Staunton, Augusta County, Virginia, on October 3, 1867, the son of Louis and Sarah M. (Neal) Rosenbaum, and the youngest of their three children. His father, of Jewish descent, was born in 1810 in the ancient and picturesque town of Klattau (Klatovy), Bohemia, then a province of Austria-Hungary, and now included within Czechoslovakia. One of twenty children, Louis Rosenbaum emigrated to the United States before 1847. Nothing more is known of Louis Rosenbaum's family or his life before he came to this country.

The mother of Philip Colfax Rosenbaum was of Scottish-Irish Presbyterian ancestry, and was born near Georgetown, Madison County, New York, in 1827. Sarah Neal went with her parents to Kalamazoo County, Michigan, where she met Louis Rosenbaum, to whom she was married in Kalamazoo on October 30, 1847.

The Louis Rosenbaum family had an interesting history. For a number of years they lived in the pioneer settlements of Southwestern Michigan: about 1849 in Niles, Berrien County, and about 1852 in Kalamazoo. Some time before the War between the States, probably in the late 1850s, the family, now increased to four, moved to Knoxville, Tennessee, where Louis Rosenbaum opened a store and where they were living when war broke out in 1861.

When word was received that Confederate troops were marching to occupy Knoxville, the Rosenbaums, with thousands of other civilian Union sympathizers in that area, fled the zone of military operations to territory safely within the control of Union troops, and were sent under military escort to Washington, D. C. Here they lived for several years, close to the battle lines, practically under army discipline, much of the time in a virtual state of siege, and through the noise, uncertainty and tension of the campaign the Confederate General Jubal A. Early waged in July, 1864, for the control of the Capital.

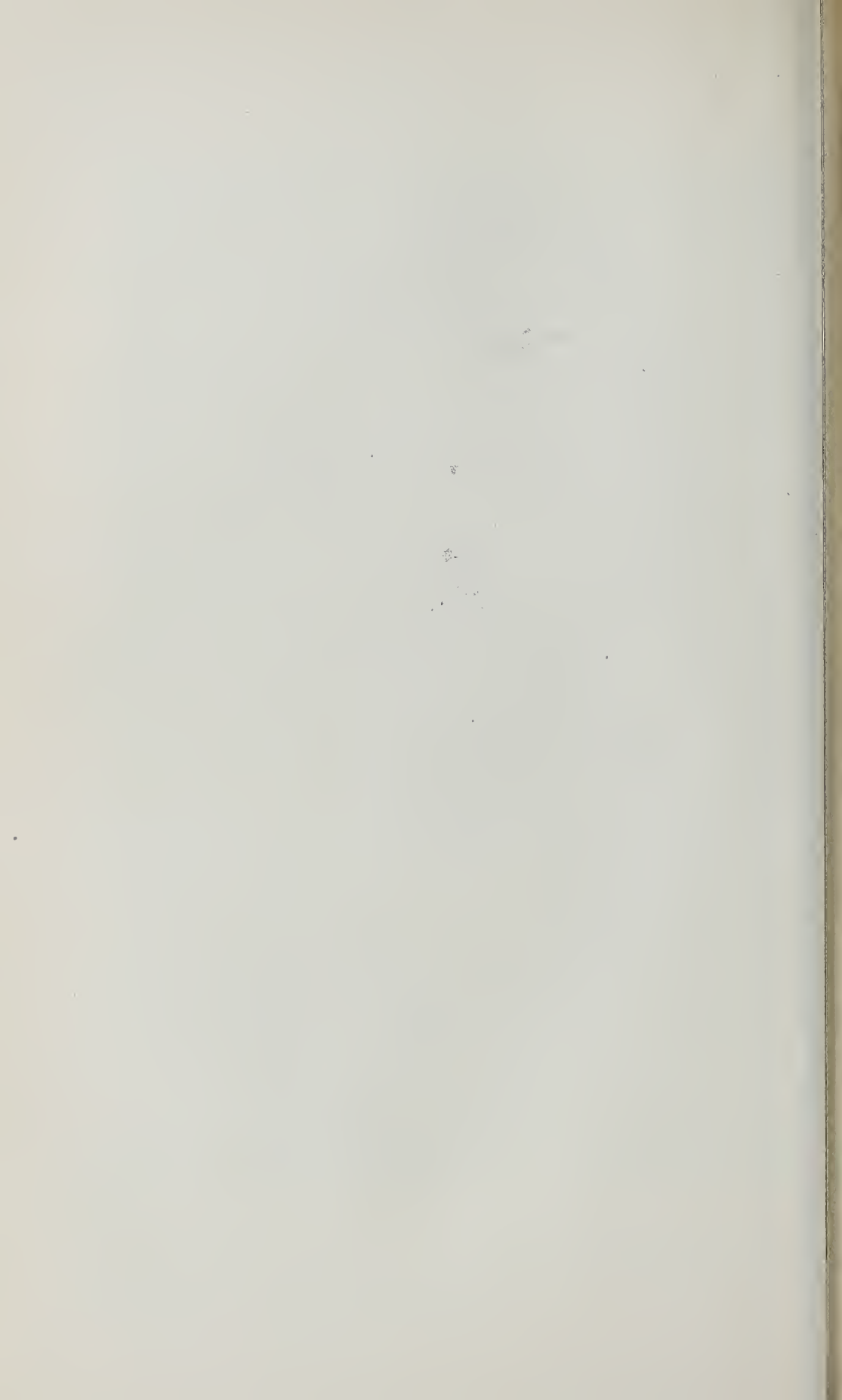
When the war ended in April, 1865, Louis Rosenbaum, who preferred to live farther south, moved his family to Staunton, Virginia, where Philip was born. However, the unsettled conditions and hardships that beset Virginia after the war prompted the family to move back to Washington, where they remained five or six years, during which young Philip was employed at the Capitol by an official now remembered only as "the judge," and where he attended a Lutheran church, the nearest house of worship. Ultimately the family returned to Staunton.

Soon after their return to Staunton Philip was employed on his brother David's farm near there for about two years; and at the age of fifteen also acted as postmaster at a resort in the Virginia mountains. In Staunton Philip attended Hoover Military Academy, a private school operated by Captain H. L. Hoover, and Dunsmore Business College. Later he was sent to Otterbein College at Westerville, Ohio. About that time he became interested in music.

Philip's father died on September 3, 1888, near Roanoke, Virginia. The next year, when news came of the opening of Oklahoma, Phil began to "read up" on the Territory, soon decided it was a good place for a young man, and made plans to move there.



PHILIP COLFAX ROSENBAUM



In 1890 he came to the booming new town of Guthrie, the Territorial capital, and soon opened a real estate office and general insurance agency at 114 West Harrison Avenue. Early in September, 1893, he prepared to join the "run" into the Cherokee Strip. This "run" took place on September 16, 1893, and Rosenbaum succeeded in staking out a "good lot," in the already platted townsite. However, he gave his lot to a man with a large family who were almost destitute; and for some years thereafter, whenever one of this grateful family came to Guthrie, which was frequently, it was with fresh vegetables for Philip Rosenbaum.

Since his days at the Hoover Military Academy Rosenbaum had been interested in military matters, and in 1894 he was active in organizing the first company of the Oklahoma Territorial National Guard, Company A of Guthrie, and was elected its commander. By June 12, 1894, he had organized the twenty-piece First Regiment Band, a resplendent group, of which he was appointed commanding officer by the governor.

On July 7, 1894, Governor William C. Renfrow, a Democrat, appointed Rosenbaum, a Republican, quartermaster general (or, as Rosenbaum called himself, supply officer) of the Territorial National Guard, with the rank of major. On July 10, 1897, Governor Cassius M. Barnes, a McKinley appointee, promoted him to the office of adjutant general, with the rank of brigadier general. At the time he assumed office, at the age of twenty-nine, he was said to be the youngest adjutant general in the national guard establishment.

At the beginning of the war with Spain in the spring of 1898, Rosenbaum volunteered for combat duty and "succeeded in capturing a first sergeancy only in the [first] Indian Territory company." Later he said he served during the war "with the First Territorial Volunteer Infantry." He seems also to have "figured in the organization of the second company of [Indian] territory soldiers sent to the front during the war." In 1899, after the war, he seems still to have been considered adjutant general of Oklahoma Territory. About this time, however, he claimed Wagoner, Indian Territory, as his residence. Apparently that made him ineligible for office in Oklahoma Territory, and he resigned.

In 1904, the year of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis, Missouri, Philip Rosenbaum went there to live, and remained there the rest of his life. He went into the advertising and publishing business, and in 1919 established an advertising letter service which he operated until 1939 when he sold his interest and retired. From 1908 to 1912 he was a member of the St. Louis Republican City Central Committee. Soon after going to St. Louis he married Miss Frances Hoover of Chicago. In 1927 he moved from the city to a country home at Larimore Hills, near Spanish Lake, St. Louis County. Mrs. Frances (Hoover) Rosenbaum died on September 29, 1936; and on June 18, 1942, he married Mrs. Lillie (Leary) Fritts of St. Louis, who survives him. While Rosenbaum had been in poor health for several years prior to his death, he died rather unexpectedly at his Larimore Hills home. He was buried in Mount Sinai Cemetery, on Gravois Road, St. Louis County.

Rosenbaum retained a life-long interest in military affairs and music. He had considerable vocal talent. His close friends were mostly among those who had had military experience. He had a notable collection of pipes. He was a member of numerous fraternal and civic organizations, among them the Royal Arch Masons (Indian Territory Jurisdiction), which he once served as Grand High Priest; Missouri Lodge No. 1, A. F. & A. M.; St. Louis Camp No. 33, United Spanish War Veterans, which he once served as Commander, St. Louis Co-operative Club, of which he was an honorary life member.

Rosenbaum was an interesting and entertaining talker, and later in life frequently told about the "tough times," claim jumping and killings in Oklahoma and Indian territories when he lived there.

By Frederic E. Voelker

St. Louis, Missouri.

JOHN TAYLOR GRIFFIN

1883-1944

That Oklahoma can produce strong men, men of vision and business competence who rank with the best in the country, was demonstrated by the late John Taylor Griffin, a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He was a living symbol of what the new era in Oklahoma history and her resources had to offer the world.

We had lived through the old era of primitive business methods when such enterprises as the Turner Hardware Company and the Patterson Mercantile Company, the largest between Kansas City and Texas, pointed the way for current business. These were the days before banks were known here, when these enterprises were the people's banks as well as merchandising marts, until they gave way before the new era that came with statehood.

It was with the dawn of this new era that John T. Griffin, an obscure young man of Houston, Mississippi, came to the Indian Territory equipped with a high school education in Mississippi and a course in a business college in Poughkeepsie, New York. He arrived in 1902 in Durant, Indian Territory; shortly thereafter he obtained employment as bookkeeper in a local bank and later with the Hale-Halsell Grocery Company, which brought him to McAlester. With this company he acquired some of the principles of grocery merchandising and became acquainted with the needs and customs of local consumers throughout the Indian Territory. With this equipment he ventured into the field on his own responsibility in a small business in the village of McAlester. Here he got the feel of business management and responsibility that invited him to explore larger fields of enterprise. Later, on October 1, 1908, he organized the Griffin Wholesale Grocery Company, which he afterward removed to Muskogee.

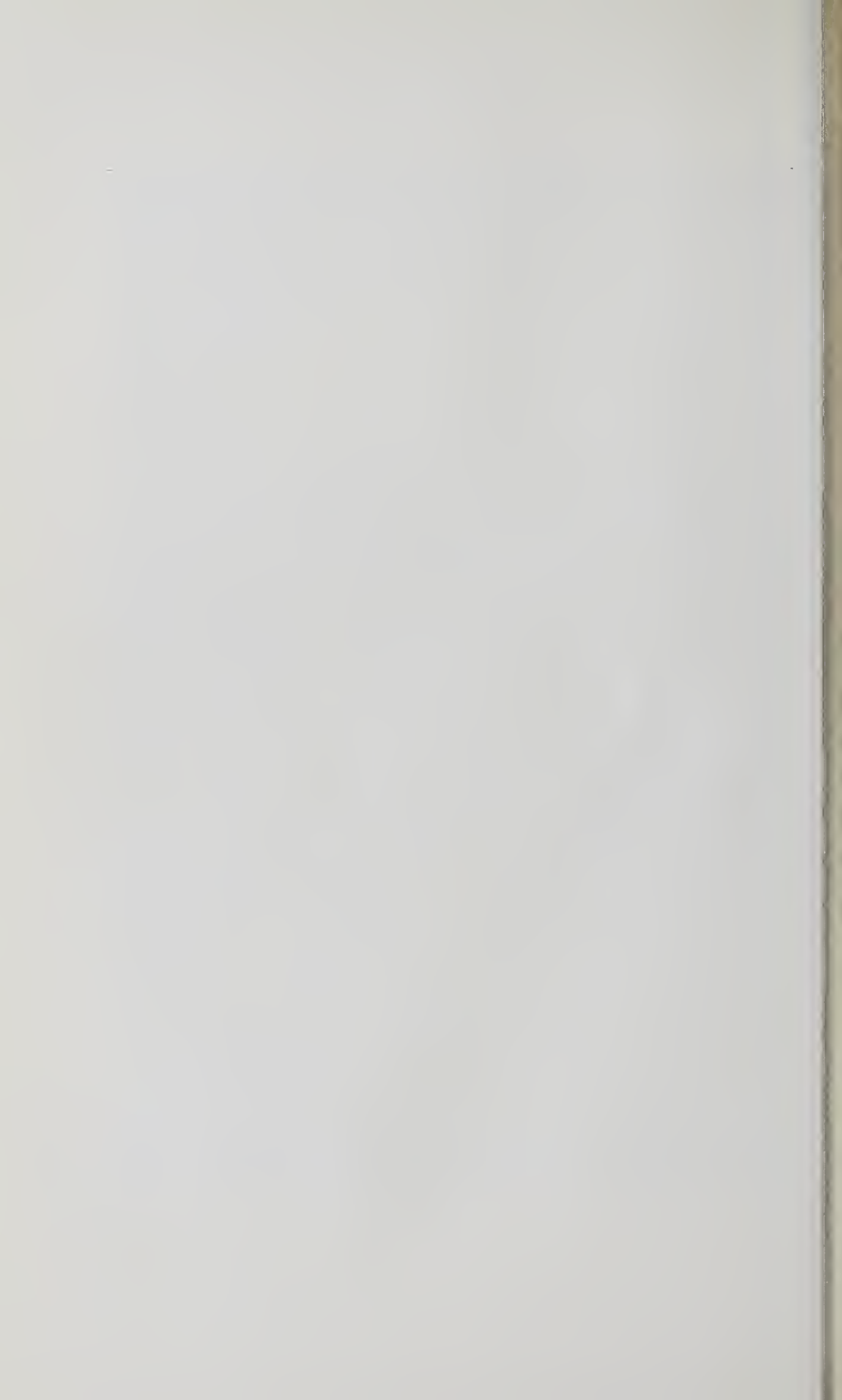
Mr. Griffin's career from this time on is a story of progress and continued expansion much too long and detailed to relate within the limits of this sketch; but after thirty-three years, guided by the highest standards of business sagacity conformable to the sternest rules of rectitude, he won for himself a high place in the confidence of all elements wherever his contacts were felt or known.

At the time of his death in Muskogee on September 14, 1944, Mr. Griffin was the head of a business empire that embraced the huge Griffin Grocery Company with a staff of 102 salesmen operating throughout the southwest, with branch houses in McAlester, Pryor, Oklahoma City, Okmulgee, Lawton, Antlers, Tulsa, in Oklahoma; Denison, Texas, Fort Smith and Rogers, Arkansas, and Joplin, Missouri. His was not only the largest wholesale grocery company in Oklahoma and the Southwest, but one of the largest in the world.

The Griffin company provided a market for the crops from thousands of acres of Oklahoma lands and thus insured steady profits to hundreds of farmers with whom contracts for the the output of their labors were entered into by this great firm. The company was responsible also for



JOHN TAYLOR GRIFFIN



the introduction of new crops and new sources of revenue to the farmers. It pioneered in the canning of peas and spinach and other vegetables little known at the time to Oklahoma farmers and which brought them handsome returns. The Griffin company also encouraged new enterprises for the farmers by the operation of the Denison Peanut Company, the largest firm of the kind in the Southwest. Canned goods and vegetables by the hundreds of thousands of cases, candies by the thousands of pounds, formed part of the output of this huge enterprise. It made syrups on a large scale—enough in one year to fill 300 car loads in containers.

By his high standard of business and citizenship Mr. Griffin earned for himself a lasting place in the esteem of Oklahoma people, and particularly in Muskogee, where he was best known and admired and where he could always be counted on to promote enterprises intended to advance worthwhile philanthropies and efforts for the public good. At a time when it was much needed Mr. Griffin donated an iron lung to the Muskogee General Hospital.

Mr. Griffin served as president of the Muskogee Community Chest and the Muskogee Chamber of Commerce, chairman of the Muskogee County drive for funds for paralysis sufferers; president of the Oklahoma Wholesale Grocers' Association, member of the Master Builders Association of John Brown Schools, director of the Oklahoma School for Crippled Children and member of the Board of Stewards of the St. Paul's Methodist Church of Muskogee. He was chairman of the board of directors of the Citizens National Bank of Muskogee and principal stockholder of the Durant National Bank of Durant, Oklahoma. Mr. Griffin was a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society and a contributor to the society of funds used in the reconstruction of the old buildings at Fort Gibson.

In addition, Mr. Griffin built radio station KTUL in Tulsa, operated by the Tulsa Broadcasting Company, of which he was president, and he owned a substantial interest in the Oklahoma City radio station KOMA and was president of the corporation that operated that station; he was also a director of the Beaver, Meade and Englewood railroad, a subsidiary of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas road.

Mr. Griffin was married on April 30, 1912 to Mary A. Toole of McAlester, Indian Territory who died on January 4, 1936, survived by their two children who survived their father on his death: a charming daughter Marjorie, now Mrs. James C. Leake, and a son John T., Jr., who has assumed the head of the Griffin business empire with a competence much in the pattern of his brilliant father.

The subject of this sketch was born on January 5, 1883. After a long illness, at the age of only 61, in the prime of his useful life he died at his home in Muskogee. Funeral services were conducted at St. Paul Methodist Church in Muskogee by the Reverend Doctor L. S. Barton of Tulsa, after which interment was made in Oak Crest Cemetery at McAlester, beside the mother of his children after appropriate services there.

Mr. Griffin was a pioneer of historic proportions and his career illuminated and defined a field of opportunity in Oklahoma for the guidance and encouragement of others. When an obscure young man without influence as Mr. Griffin was when he came to the Indian Territory can carve out such a career as his, it is an inspiration to all young men, and not because he left an estate of nearly two million dollars in value, but because he gave employment directly to nearly a thousand people, and indirectly and in various ways gave employment to other thousands, he made himself a public benefactor of historic stature whom it is a pleasure to honor on these pages. This brief record of his life not only adds luster to this magazine but it gives point and significance to sketches

of Oklahomans whose memories are cherished by the Oklahoma Historical Society, and whose lives are deemed to have earned for them suitable acknowledgment in *The Chronicles*.

By Grant Foreman

Muskogee, Oklahoma.

MRS. R. L. FITE

1862-1946

Mrs. R. L. Fite, née Nancy Katherine Daniel, passed away on the eighty-fourth anniversary of her birth, December 26, 1946, in Tahlequah, known in her youth as the Capital of the Cherokee Nation. With her passing, another great Cherokee joined those who had gone on before—Dennis Bushyhead, Robert L. Owen, W. W. Hastings, Will Rogers, Sallie McSpadden, and a host of others illustrious in Oklahoma history.¹

Nothing can add to or detract from the useful and eventful life which was the lot of "Aunt Nannie" as she was affectionately known to her friends, who number thousands. Not only the prominent, the rich and influential, but the unfortunate and forgotten, all found comfort, solace and pleasure in her friendship. She was a loyal and faithful friend and a formidable but generous enemy. She had few enemies, however, and even those who regarded themselves as enemies, recognized her high regard for truth and fair play. Perhaps this attitude is best expressed by one whose opinions differed from hers, "It was impossible to be her enemy. You might be her opponent and disagree on issues, but she was so square and fair that you could not long be her enemy".

She was born under the most tragic circumstances. It was during that fratricidal strife, when brother was against brother, father against son, the calamitous and disastrous War between the States. The Cherokee people were divided. First one army, then the other, invaded the prosperous Cherokee Nation, and when the smoke of battle had cleared, a scene of utter destruction was left. Many of the Cherokees who by tradition and past history were Southern, cast their lot with the South and joined the forces of the capable leader, Stand Watie.

Carter Daniel was in this group. He was a Captain in General Stand Watie's regiment. His family had left their home, which was just across the river from Ft. Smith, and were on the way seeking safety among other Cherokees who were southern sympathizers, living at the time temporarily in the Choctaw nation on the Texas border. On a cold Christmas night of 1862, in a chinked log cabin, which had only a puncheon floor, if it had any floor at all, near Skullyville in the Choctaw Nation, Mrs. Daniel gave birth to twin girls: One twin and the mother died; the other twin, Nancy Katherine, lived to serve two nations long and well.

After the War was over, the father, crippled from a battle wound, health broken by hardships and exposure, returned with his three little daughters to his home. The house was gone, burned to the ground, livestock driven off—almost complete desolation. With the help of two faithful negroes, old slaves of his, he began rebuilding but was soon overtaken by death. The three orphan girls were cared for by an aunt.

¹ It was intended that this article be prepared by J. Berry King, a long time friend of Mrs. Fite, but owing to illness he was unable to do it. The material for the article was furnished the writer by Mr. King and Mrs. Smullen.



MRS. R. L. FITE

Later, when the Cherokee Nation, in its wisdom, planned to care for its orphaned children in the home built for them at Salina, Mrs. Fite lived there. There are many who have heard her speak in highest praise of the training and care which were given to these orphaned children.

A few years before her death, Mrs. Fite wrote this to a friend, "Looking back over the vista of years, I can say with all candidness, that if there is anything good about me, if I have accomplished anything worth while in my life, no matter how small, I owe it, in large measure, to my early training at the Cherokee Orphan Asylum".

In 1879, Nancy Katherine Daniel enrolled in the Cherokee National Female Seminary, graduating in 1880 along with six other Cherokee girls. After teaching school for three years, she married Doctor Richard L. Fite, July 16, 1884. Doctor Fite was just graduated from Southern Medical College in Atlanta, Georgia. (Southern Medical College was later merged with Emory University.) These young people established their home in Tahlequah where they spent the rest of their long and useful years.² Doctor Fite died January 1, 1938. They were the parents of eight children, four of whom are still living: Captain Houston B. Fite, M.C., U.S.N., Augustus W. Fite, Doctor Denman W. Fite, Bristow, Oklahoma, and Kathryn Smullin, Tahlequah.

Mrs. Fite found time in her busy life of rearing her family to keep herself informed on the affairs of the day. When in the early part of this century, the Cherokee Nation was absorbed into the State of Oklahoma, Mrs. Fite gave her undying love and devotion to Oklahoma. She always stood for what she thought was right. She was a leader in asking for full political privilege for women and lived to see this objective achieved.

Mrs. Fite was a fluent speaker and much in demand at club meetings, political gatherings and other occasions. She was first vice chairwoman for the Democratic party in her state and was selected as a delegate to the National Democratic Convention in San Francisco in 1920; also selected as delegate to the Chicago Convention in 1940.

She was a staunch and loyal Presbyterian, a stalwart worker in every movement to benefit her community, her state and her nation. She was an active member and served as an officer in the State Federation of Women's Clubs. She was inducted into the "Hall of Fame," November 16, 1939, by the Oklahoma Memorial Association at its annual Statehood Day banquet.

Mrs. Fite has written her own record—a record which any and all of us may well emulate. Her influence is so much a part of Oklahoma, that so long as there is an Oklahoma there will be evidence that "Aunt Nannie" lived and worked here. If any epitaph be needed, she has written her own. In an address she made in 1940, eulogizing General Stand Watie, she made this statement, "I am a strong believer in predestination. I believe to be a leader, one must be ordained before birth and by an unchangeable purpose". It may well be said that Nancy Katherine Daniel was predestined to be a leader, a charge and a destiny which she fulfilled to the utmost.

When honors were bestowed upon her, as they were on many occasions, she accepted them humbly, no feeling of conceit or arrogance was evident—rather she had an attitude that every honor carried with it a corresponding responsibility. In accepting the honor, she assumed the attending responsibility.

² Their beautiful home, "The Shadows", at Tahlequah is now the Methodist Orphanage.

On one occasion Mrs. Fite said, "I feel now like Tennyson must have felt when he wrote that immortal song:

"Sunset and evening star
And one clear call for me
And may there be no moaning at the bar
When I put out to sea.

"Twilight and evening bell
And after that the dark
And may there be no sadness of farewell
When I embark".

A great soul, a great woman has passed on. Oklahoma is a better place in which to live because she gave her love and talents here.

—By Eula E. Fullerton

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

ALBERT RENNIE

1863-1948

Oklahoma lost a prominent citizen in April when Albert Rennie passed to his reward after a long and useful life. Mr. Rennie was born in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, January 1, 1863. He was educated in the public schools of his native country and later studied law at Osgoode Hall in Toronto. Coming to the Indian Territory in 1883, he engaged as a cowboy for his brother James Rennie of White Bead Hill until April 22, 1889, when he made the run from the south bank of the South Canadian River, into the Oklahoma country. With other men he declared 160 acres of land, a townsite which he named Noble in honor of Hon. John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. Rennie began the practice of law at Purcell and he held the following offices: postmaster of White Bead Hill and Noble at the same time; U. S. Commissioner under Judge Isaac C. Parker at Fort Smith, Arkansas; U. S. Commissioner under Judge Foster, District of Kansas; U. S. Commissioner under Judge James M. Shackelford at Wewoka, Purcell, and Pauls Valley; assistant to William B. Johnson at Ardmore. He had been sworn in as a citizen of the United States and admitted to the practice of the law by Judge Shackelford.

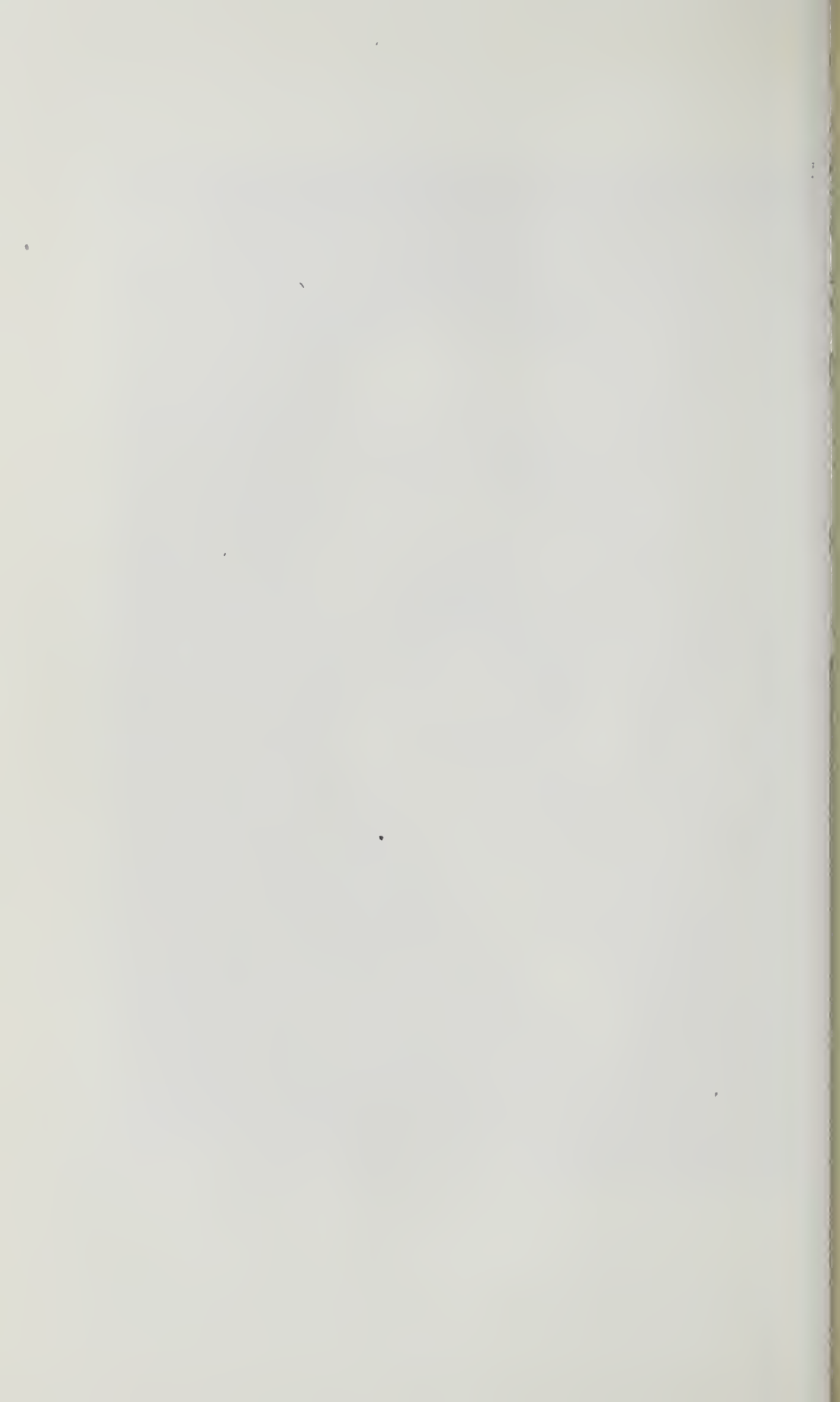
When he moved to Ardmore in 1893, he was married to Miss Laura Matthews. Two years later they moved to Pauls Valley where Mr. Rennie became known as an able and prominent attorney. He tried many important civil and criminal cases and proved his thorough understanding and knowledge of the law.

Mr. Rennie served as secretary of the first Indian Territory Republican organization and was always a leader in the community. He was a member of Valley Lodge, No. 6, F. & A. M., of which he served as Master. He was also a member of Ardmore Chapter, R. A. M. He was chief patriarch of Ardmore Encampment and Noble Grand of the subordinate lodge of I.O.O.F. He organized the Knights of Pythias lodge at Pauls Valley, serving as the first chancellor commander and later as captain of the uniformed rank. He was also a member of the Woodmen of the World.

Albert Rennie lost his sight in 1936 and through the succeeding years his faithful wife read to him volumes of history and other matters that



ALBERT RENNIE



held his interest as long as he lived. On April 16, 1948, after a long illness, his family and friends bade him farewell. He is survived by his wife, three sons, Albert M., Melville A. of Pauls Valley, and David A. of Midwest City; three daughters, Miss Florence of the home, Mrs. Anabeth Hanlon of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Mrs. Edith Hamilton of Anadarko. Nine grandchildren and two great-grandchildren also survive.

Services were held for Mr. Rennie in the First Presbyterian Church of Pauls Valley on Tuesday, April 20, 1948, and interment was in Mount Olivet Cemetery at Pauls Valley.

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

Muskogee, Oklahoma.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

February 24th, 1949.

The quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, February 24, 1949, with Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, President presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, General W. S. Key, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Hon. Thomas J. Harrison, Hon. George L. Bowman, Hon. Harry Campbell, Hon. Redmond S. Cole, Dr. E. E. Dale, Hon. Thomas A. Edwards, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Hon. R. M. Mountcastle, Hon. H. L. Muldrow, Hon. Baxter Taylor, and Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary.

Hon. George L. Bowman made the motion that absentee members be excused as having good and sufficient reasons for their absence. The motion was seconded by Judge Thomas A. Edwards and passed unanimously.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, the President, said: "At this time we will have a memorial service dedicated to Judge Thomas H. Doyle. We will first have a moment of silent prayer."

The President said: "Judge Doyle was your friend and my friend, and he was interested in the Oklahoma Historical Society. He was willing always to do everything in his power to help and aid this Society. I first met him at the Democratic Convention in 1908, and from that time on he was my friend. He helped me in my work when I was preparing for my masters degree and again when I was working on my doctorate. With the death of Judge Williams, and the question of the presidency arose, it was Judge Doyle who told me to follow the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society and take my place as president. I have lost a good friend, you have lost a good friend, and we shall miss Judge Thomas H. Doyle."

Mrs. Jessie Randolph Moore: "When Judge Doyle died, the State of Oklahoma lost one of its greatest citizens, and the Oklahoma Historical Society one of its greatest friends.

"Judge Doyle was one of Oklahoma's best known jurists and early statesmen, and no member of Oklahoma's judiciary achieved greater prominence. He was a master in criminal jurisprudence and many of his decisions blazed a trail in criminal law in the new State of Oklahoma and the United States. A prominent member of the Bar of Boston, Massachusetts once said to me: 'Do the people of Oklahoma realize that Judge Doyle is one of the most influential jurists in Criminal law in the United States; that his opinions are used in all courts and are part of the curriculum of the Harvard University Law School?'

"My first association with Judge Doyle and the Criminal Court of Appeals was in January 1914 when I was employed by the Clerk of the Supreme Court and Criminal Court of Appeals as a deputy. During the many years I served the Criminal Court of Appeals, as a deputy clerk and later as the Clerk, Judge Doyle was my friend. He advised me of many things I needed to know to make my work more efficient. The most important of his suggestions was that I study law, which I did. Many other

acts of kindness followed throughout the years, and Judge Doyle extended the same gracious kindness and consideration to every person associated with the Criminal Court of Appeals. Judge Doyle was a noble gentleman in public and private life. His nobility made him kind and one always associated him with everything that was fine.

"My first association with Judge Doyle as a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was in January, 1920, when I was elected a member of the Board. Judge Doyle's long service as a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society has been a real contribution to the building of this State institution to its present position of usefulness to the State of Oklahoma. His level-headed wisdom has enabled us to by-pass many an obstruction and solve many problems. He was always one of the members of the Board who represented the Historical Society in the Oklahoma Legislature, and, knowing the sterling integrity of Judge Doyle and the other members of the Budget Committee, we were given what we asked for, since the Committee felt assured that the money would be wisely administered. The Oklahoma Legislature appropriated one half million dollars to construct the Historical Building as they were confident there would be no graft with Judge Doyle, Judge Williams, and other influential members of our Board of Directors' Building Committee at the helm.

"In closing this personal reminiscence I would leave you this thought: Judge Doyle was, above all things, a friend to man, Christ's definition of a Christian, and he has left a friend in every man, woman and child who touched his life as he passed this way.

"'We know not where His islands lift
Their fronded palms in air,
We only know he cannot drift
Beyond his Father's care.'"

Mrs. Anna Brosius Korn: "Judge Doyle has just left his home for that place of silence that Shakespeare described 'as the undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveler returns.'

"Vincente Villam says: 'every human being is bound for that destination. God in His wisdom has provided different schedules for exit of each one and kept them in profound secrecy unless the irreverent hand of man intervenes no one knows his time of departure.

"Judge Doyle was ready for his departure saying: 'Lord, here am I, take me.' We whose time is yet to come call out to him 'Hail and farewell, dear friend.'

"Judge Doyle was a man of great ability and integrity, an able jurist. He served on the Criminal Court of Appeals of Oklahoma for many years and opinions that he wrote are engraved upon the statutes of this state as testimonies of his knowledge and interpretations of the laws of the land. He was a public servant in a broad sense, loyal and sincere in his obligations with unselfish devotion to highest principles. He seemed to grow in stature with each succeeding year.

"I have had pleasant relationships with Judge Doyle for forty years and more frequent contacts with him the last thirty years in activities of the Democratic Party and as directors of the Historical Society. I always found him fair in his analysis of questions affecting the general good and in his decisions.

"The side of Judge Doyle's nature that appealed to me was his Irish wit. He had many stories in his repertoire that seemed to fit every occasion, and he liked a good story as well.

"Judge Doyle was a champion of Statehood and went with a group of citizens to see President Theodore Roosevelt in effort to procure statehood for the two territories and were rewarded for their efforts.

"He went with a committee from the Historical Society on a tour of states to obtain plans for construction of this Historical Building which is a Memorial shrine to the people of Oklahoma, and a mecca to us who serve the Society in good fellowship.

"He was a charter member and director of the Oklahoma Memorial Association and helped to design its seal.

"Sad Is The Parting."

"This life is all good-bye
There is scarce a day we do not say,
'Good-bye' to some dear friend
The happiest day, the longest way
Must each come to an end.

"Good-byes, the solemn need not be
Mixed with regretful tears,
If underneath our feelings rests
The eternal hope that cheers.

"We meet, we greet, we learn to love
And then we separate.
The time when we shall reunite is
Upon the Saviour's call. We wait."

Hon. R. M. Mountcastle: "In thinking of Judge Doyle, a poem comes to my mind which will have to be paraphrased a little because it is entitled 'Soldier, Rest' and I think it applies to Judge Doyle 'Jurist, Rest'.

"'Jurist, rest! thy warfare o'er,
Sleep the sleep that knows not breaking;
Dream of battled fields no more,
Days of danger, nights of waking.
In our isle's enchanted hall,
Hands unseen thy couch are strewing,
Fairy strains of music fall,
Every sense in slumber dewing.
Jurist, rest! thy warfare o'er,
Dream of fighting fields no more;
Sleep the sleep that knows not breaking,
Morn of toil, nor night of waking.'"

"In truth and in fact, Judge Doyle was a soldier. He fought a courageous, intelligent and zealous fight for freedom for those charged with crime. He recognized that one of the foundations of our Government and way of life is that a man is entitled to be tried on whatever the charge, before a jury of his peers and to be given the safeguards that are thrown around him by our Constitution. And in that respect at least he was as much a soldier in time of peace and in time of domestic turmoil and transition as was or is a soldier fighting in his country's uniform. His opinions are a monument to his thinking and he, the pioneer that he was, blazed the trail for a sound judiciary in this State."

Judge Redmond S. Cole: "I suppose there are times in the lives of all of us when we do not seem able to find the words to properly express our feelings. One of my best friends has passed on. I knew Judge Doyle intimately for approximately thirty-eight years. The longer I knew him the more I liked him. We were very close friends. He was a great jurist,

a learned lawyer and a high minded citizen. The State and this Society have suffered an irreparable loss."

Judge Thomas A. Edwards: "Others present have spoken of the great public service of Judge Doyle, of his outstanding work in the single statehood movement, of his eminent judicial record on the Criminal Court of Appeals, and of his aid in the building up of this Society. I can not add to those eulogies. His efforts in those matters are in our history, and have contributed much to the welfare of this State.

"What I want to say about Judge Doyle is on the personal side. We were acquainted for forty years, and, for six years, were closely associated as colleagues on the Criminal Court of Appeals. We had our offices next door to each other, and were in almost daily contact and conference. He was well informed on public questions and world affairs, and had a prodigious memory. He could quote freely from the classics, the founding fathers, and other great men in our national life. He had a wealth of stories and anecdotes of incidents and early day characters in the State which he could recount with a keen sense of humor. He was a Catholic, devoted to his Church, but there was no intolerance or bigotry in his makeup.

"While he had long experience on the Court, having been a member since its creation, and was thoroughly familiar with its decisions, yet, in conference, while I served with him, he never evinced the slightest indication that he felt in anywise superior to, or that his opinions and views were more weighty than those of his colleagues. He always believed the members of the Court were equals.

"He was kind, courteous, and considerate. In arguments before the Court, on appeals, it often happened that near relatives of those convicted would be present, and to them Judge Doyle was always extremely kind and sympathetic.

"On the ordinary contested points on appeals, on which the Judges might differ, he would discuss and aid in working out an agreement, in a spirit of give and take. But, on the fundamental constitutional rights of an accused person, if he believed that these had been denied or materially abridged, he did not waiver. He insisted that these rights must be preserved and protected in all circumstances. Many times, in conference, I have heard him say, in substance: 'It is too bad that this case must be reversed, but it clearly appears the defendant here has been denied his constitutional rights. This is not a question of guilt or innocence, but a question of a fair trial according to the law, and, guilty or innocent, it is our duty to see that he has that fair trial.'

So,—' Keep the Judges firm, the statesmen pure,
Till in all lands and through all human story
The path of duty be the way of glory.' "

Dr. E. E. Dale: "Because I am a teacher I knew Judge Doyle only in my meetings with this Board. I learned to admire him as a very able lawyer, a just judge and an honorable Christian gentleman at all times. Oklahoma is very much richer because Judge Doyle lived in it and poorer because of his passing."

Hon. H. L. Muldrow: "I have listened with a great deal of attention and respect to the wonderful things you have said about Judge Doyle. I want to call attention to one instance in his life that shows his generous heart that perhaps some of you are not familiar with. A member of the Criminal Court of Appeals completely broke down in health. He was one

who stood high as a brilliant man, as a lawyer and a jurist. He had nothing of this world's goods and for approximately three years Thomas Doyle did all the work that would have fallen to this other judge of the court and the sick man drew the pay. There is a creed that will lift a man to the eternal gods in the great hereafter."

General W. S. Key: "My relation with Judge Doyle has been largely confined to our mutual service on this Board but for twenty years I felt honored to sit around this table meeting with such great souls as his.

"I have admired his strong convictions and I have most of all admired the sometimes aggressive spirit in making his points and I used to wonder if Judge Doyle and Judge Williams were not really in their differences great friends. I got to know them so well that my admiration increased for both of them. I think the last time Judge Williams was reelected to the presidency of this Society, Judge Doyle made the nomination, and that pleased him very much and pleased the man he nominated even more. It emphasized the bigness of his heart and I am happy to join those of you who knew him more intimately officially and in his private life, in paying him tribute."

Judge Baxter Taylor: "There is no state in the world more interesting than the state of mind. In my acquaintance for many years with Judge Doyle he was most interesting as a man. I think Judge Doyle is one of the few really superior men produced by this commonwealth. He was superior in personality. Personality is that which is indefinable and rich is he who has it, poor indeed is he who has it not. So many men who are endowed with strong mentality are lacking in personality. The great men of our country have not always been men of superior mentality but have had that indefinable something which carried them forward as leaders. Tom Doyle was that sort of man, delightful to talk with, congenial. To me he was especially agreeable. May I say here and you don't know what my politics are, I never had occasion to disagree with him politically in my life. A man of tremendous understanding of the fundamentals of government and of political parties in America, who had a vast understanding and knowledge of men, both those in history and those contemporaneous with his life.

"I felt just a little jealous here recently. I would not detract from any good or worthy man who has passed on but along about the time of the passing of Judge Doyle in this community another good man passed. While in personality I repeat that Doyle towers in my mind as vastly superior to this particular man. While a great deal was said in the papers about this kind character, not so much was said about Judge Doyle. Editorially one of the papers paid a compliment to one but forgot much or omitted much that contributed to what Doyle has done. They forgot his efforts in the early days when these people were desirous of statehood; he went up to Washington among the leaders. The chairman of the committee on statehood was Senator Beveridge from Indiana. Doyle made the principle address urging single statehood and it made a tremendous impression. By force of his personality it went a long way to achieve the common purpose of single statehood."

Judge Harry Campbell: "I have been a little reluctant to make any talk here because of these wonderful tributes. My first acquaintance with Judge Doyle was in 1894, but all down the years I was never intimate with him. I never had a case in the Criminal Court of Appeals. I don't remember reading one of his opinions. I know more about him as a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. What impressed me was his intense interest in the organization."

Dr. Charles Evans: "On the death of Judge Doyle we immediately took action here and sent a tribute in the name of the Board and in the name of the staff in the way of emblems of love. I have gotten in touch with Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Martin, the only daughter, and have informed them of my desire to write a biographical sketch of Judge Doyle for some future issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. They accepted my offer and I shall go forward and prepare this with great care and love."

General W. S. Key made a motion that the Board of Directors request Mr. and Mrs. J. Frank Martin to present to this Society, for a place in the Hall of Fame Gallery, a portrait of their father, Judge Thomas H. Doyle. The motion was seconded by Judge Baxter Taylor and passed unanimously.

Mrs. Anna B. Korn presented to the Board of Directors and the Historical Society the following pictures as a gift from the Daughters of Democracy of Oklahoma City: The presentation of the Oklahoma State Flag to the National Council of Daughters of 1812; two pictures of Thomas Jefferson: Monticello, home of Thomas Jefferson and Jefferson's Civic Creed. Hon. George L. Bowman moved that these pictures be accepted. Hon. H. L. Muldrow seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Hon. Thomas A. Edwards presented the book, *East Tennessee and the Civil War*, by O. P. Temple. Mrs. Anna B. Korn moved that this gift be accepted. Hon. Redmond S. Cole seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

General W. S. Key presented a letter written in 1851 from Fort Washita by Mrs. M. A. Marcy. Dr. E. E. Dale moved that this letter be accepted by the Board and Mrs. Jessie R. Moore seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Hon. H. L. Muldrow presented a biography of the ranking Mason of the world, Hon. John Henry Cowles, Sovereign Grand Inspector General in Kentucky and Sovereign Grand Commander of THE SUPREME COUNCIL (Mother Council of the World) of the Inspectors General Knights Commanders of the House of the Temple of Solomon of the Thirty-Third Degree of the Ancient and Accepted Rite of Freemasonry of the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States of America. It was also suggested by Mr. Muldrow that Hon. John Henry Cowles be given Honorary Life membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mrs. Anna B. Korn made the motion that the biography be accepted and that Mr. Cowles be made an Honorary Life member. Hon. Thomas J. Harrison seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported on the campaign being carried on by the Society for contact with the general public and acquainting the people with the Society and its possessions and functions. He introduced the News-Letter, which is a new organ of the Society and in presenting the list of applicants for membership he reported that the number of new applicants far exceeded the number of any other quarter in the history of the Society.

The Secretary presented the following list of applicants for membership: LIFE: Paul S. Anderson, Claremore; W. T. Andreskowski, Ryan; Laurence E. Beattie, Ardmore; Joseph B. Champion, Ardmore; Charles E. Cook, Jr., Cherokee; Curtis B. Cunningham, Clinton; Joe L. Duer, Woodward; Albert Eaton, Weatherford; Ray H. Lindsay, Pauls Valley; R. Violet Sturgeon, Hennessey.

ANNUAL: E. R. Abbott, Oklahoma City; Lynn Adams, Oklahoma City; Paul V. Annadown, Sulphur; W. D. Baird, Oklahoma City; Willis R. Banker, Muskogee; Berle O. Banks, Lawton; Lawrence E. Banks, Lawton; Walter J. Baze, Chickasha; J. H. Belvin, Durant; James G. Binkley, Oklahoma City;

W. Glenn Bennett, Oklahoma City; Joe Benton, Nocona, Texas; Homer H. Bishop, Seminole; Mrs. C. F. Bliss, Jr., Tahlequah; James Bounds, Hugo; James J. Boyd, Ardmore; Garnet Brooks, Ardmore; Odell Brooks, Tulsa; Carl L. Brundage, Oklahoma City; Ned Burleson, Prague; Mrs. Ferrol E. Butts, Covington; W. H. Campbell, Chickasha; George S. Carfield, Stillwater; Claude C. Chambers, Seminole; Claude M. Cochran, Okemah; Olive Cogdill, Chickasha; Nelson L. Cornwell, Coyle; Glenn W. Cosby, Miami; Mrs. Edith Coykendall, Arnett; Mrs. Martha B. Cullen, Muskogee; Mrs. Dorothy J. Dotson, Norman; Byrd Love Draughon, Marietta; Stanley L. Drennan, Los Angeles, Calif.; George M. Dunn, Cherokee; Fred B. Eichling, Porum; Ellis N. Fair, Heavener; Mrs. D. H. Fleetwood, Edmond; Phoebe Freelin, Anadarko; Jesse M. Gaskin, Tonkawa; Eunice Goble, Stillwater; James Robert Graves, Westville; C. M. Griffiths, Miami; Carl H. Guild, Sr., Shidler; Georgene Hale, Shawnee; D. S. Harris, Drummond; Daniel G. Hart, Caddo; Walter L. Hart, Pauls Valley; Leroy V. Hester, Oklahoma City; Wm. L. Hiemstra, Paterson, N. J.; Robert M. C. Hill, McLoud; J. P. Jenkins, Washington; Mrs. Joe V. Johnson, Ponca City; H. Dale Jordan, Oklahoma City; Frank Kesler, Oklahoma City; Ephriam S. Kilpatrick, Elk City; Mrs. Raleigh Kobel, Sallisaw; John S. Lawson, Clayton; Ray Ledbetter, Ponca City; Marcel F. Lefebvre, Okmulgee; Elton W. Lehew, Guthrie; Mrs. J. F. Lennon, Pawhuska; Mrs. Agnes Leonard, Pawhuska; Bertha Lindsay, Earlsboro; William D. McBee, Oklahoma City; David R. McKown, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Orial Jane Mahaffey, Logan; Cora Manley, Norman; Wilmer R. Manor, Anadarko; John Frank Martin, Oklahoma City; James C. Matheney, Okmulgee; Dewey L. Mathews, Tonkawa; John A. Maupin, Oklahoma City; Ralph J. May, Oklahoma City; Edward T. Mayes, Seminole; Edd F. Milligan, Geary; Evelyn C. Moore, Granite; Mrs. J. V. L. Morris, Alva; Ethel Newberry, Pawhuska; George E. Norvell, Tulsa; Arthur A. Odell, Tulsa; F. Keith Oehlschlager, Yale; Pauline A. Payne, Lindsay; Edward N. Pearson, Oklahoma City; Charles Pepin, Enid; B. J. Peterson, Hay Springs, Nebr.; H. Milt Phillips, Seminole; William Garfield Phillips, Skiatook; Lewis Pickens, Canton; Guy M. Pritchard, Cushing; Mrs. Harold Ramsey, Edmond; I. O. Rambo, Yale; Arthur S. Risser, Blackwell; Ralph W. Robe, Tulsa; Matthew S. Robertson, Pawhuska; Elmer C. Robnett, Henryetta; George W. Royce, Wilburton; Harold R. Sanders, Stillwater; Mollie Scism, Walters; Mrs. Mary E. Seaman, Tulsa; Fred W. Sellers, Mangum; Mrs. John Shartel, Oklahoma City; Roger Shields, Yale; S. A. Shirey, Arnett; Ida Auchmoody Smith, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Winfield J. Smith, Edmond; Mrs. Vera V. Smith, Washington; Joe Allen Stamper, Antlers; Henry O. Stark, Oklahoma City; H. L. Stone, Oklahoma City; Esra R. Vornholt, Okarche; J. R. Waltrip, Pauls Valley; Finis E. Walker, Lone Wolf; James A. Walker, Miami; Gregory R. Waters, Hugo; C. E. Watson, Tulsa; Mrs. L. G. West, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Henry O. Williams, Muskogee; H. Clay Willis, Fairview; Thomas R. Wilson, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Carl S. Woodward, Edmond; Frank L. Wormington, Miami.

Mr. George L. Bowman made the motion that each be elected and received as members of the Society in the class indicated in the list. Mrs. Anna B. Korn seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary stated that the exhibits from the French Merci Car were now being prepared for exhibit in the Historical Building. He pointed out that the final disposition of these articles had not been determined by the Committee Chairman, Rev. Ray E. Snodgrass of Enid.

General W. S. Key made a motion that the following resolution be passed by the Board of Directors:

Be it resolved by the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society that we believe that the contents of this car from France, presented to the State of Oklahoma, has its most rightful place in the historical

building of this State. This building was dedicated for the purpose of keeping Oklahoma's history, and we believe that very careful consideration should be given to this proposal before these possessions are sent over the State. The Historical Society, as trustees of all the people of the State, should have the repository of these articles.

Hon. R. M. Mountcastle seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

General W. S. Key stated that the Society had submitted a list of one hundred specially selected historical sites, and that Miss Muriel H. Wright of the Editorial Department, was now in the preparation of writing a sketch of each site indicating the history and value of the particular spots. General Key further stated that the Legislature plans to introduce a bill appropriating \$10,000.00 for the purpose of erecting historical markers in the State of Oklahoma, and proposed the following resolution in connection with these historical markers:

Be it resolved by the Board of Directors in session, February 24, 1949, that we respectfully petition the Legislature to give earnest support to House Bill No. 267 relating to the setting up of historical markers at points and places where great events have taken place in Oklahoma. All States in America with pride in their history have done, and are doing this. Oklahoma is as rich in the story of its pioneers and subsequent heroes as any other State in the Union. We further respectfully request that the proposed Bill No. 267 vest authority in the Oklahoma Historical Society for the selection of the type and character of the markers to be erected.

Judge Redmond S. Cole made a motion that the above resolution be adopted. Hon. Thomas J. Harrison seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Dr. E. E. Dale stated that in connection with the historical markers, the University of Oklahoma had done much research on historical spots in Oklahoma, and had compiled a sketch on each of the spots, together with a map showing the location of these historical sites. He reported that this material could be made available for use of the project by the Historical Society.

The President appointed Hon. Thomas J. Harrison and Hon. R. M. Mountcastle as a committee to look into the matter of Dwight Mission, and determine whether or not it might be purchased by the Historical Society, in view of its historical background.

Hon. Thomas J. Harrison reported that he has been for some time interested in the Union Mission located in Mayes County, because of its historical significance. This mission is near Fort Gibson Dam and may at some future time be accessible for purchase by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Judge Baxter Taylor placed before the Board the name of T. E. Braniff of Oklahoma City as a contributor to the fame of the State of Oklahoma in aerial navigation, and made the motion that Mr. Braniff and his family be invited to give to the Society his portrait. Mrs. Anna B. Korn seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

President Harbour presented the name of Dr. W. B. Bizzell, former president of Oklahoma University for many years, for a portrait in the Society's gallery. The motion was made by Hon. R. M. Mountcastle that the request be made and the motion was seconded by Dr. E. E. Dale and passed unanimously.

Relative to the placing of the portrait in the galleries of the Historical Society it was moved by Judge Baxter Taylor that hereafter only such portraits will be given a place that are requested by the Board of Directors sitting in regular session. Hon. R. M. Mountcastle seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported on the Appropriation Bills for the Oklahoma Historical Society presented to the Legislature now in session. The Secretary also reported on the Bill now before the Legislature providing for a Revolving Fund for the Society to publish pamphlet material, and stated that assurance had been given by the Chairman of the Senate and House Committees that these Bills would have passage.

The President reported the need of an addressograph machine for the use of the office of the Society.

General W. S. Key moved that an addressograph machine be purchased out of the regular funds, if available, but if not, the private funds to be used. Dr. E. E. Dale seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported the following gifts had been received:

An old cedar churn more than one hundred years old and used in the Indian Territory by Mrs. Emma Gill Cooper, presented by Mrs. H. B. Rowley, Kiowa, Oklahoma; a Spanish sword blade that was plowed up on a farm in Alfalfa County in 1899, also a red projectile point found on the same location which was the site of a battle that was fought between the Spanish and Indians, presented by the Minnesota Historical Society; these were first presented to the Minnesota Society by a former resident of Oklahoma, Arthur B. Brobst; a Japanese deep sea diving helmet that was brought out of a Japanese "Booby Trap Cave" at Yokasuka, Japan in 1944. This was secured at a great risk by Colby H. Hodges of the U. S. Merchant Marines and presented by him to the Society.

A large oil portrait of Stanley Draper was presented by the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce; also an oil portrait of John De Lano was presented by his wife; three photographs, scenes of Oklahoma City in 1889 were presented by Sidney L. Stine, Toledo, Ohio.

Hon. George L. Bowman moved that the gifts be accepted and that a vote of thanks be sent to the donors. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Anna B. Korn and passed unanimously.

The President stated that a re-election was necessary for the directorship now held by Judge Redmond S. Cole who was elected to fill the unexpired term of Judge Robert L. Williams. Judge Harry Campbell moved that Judge Cole be re-elected by the Board of Directors. Hon. R. M. Mountcastle seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

General W. S. Key moved that Hon. H. L. Muldrow, Hon. R. M. Mountcastle, Mrs. Blanche Lucas and Dr. E. E. Dale also be re-elected for another term on the Board of Directors. Mrs. Jessie R. Moore seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President reported that the Annual Meeting of the Historical Society would be held on May 26th, 1949, in Stillwater, and stated that under the direction of the Society and Dr. B. B. Chapman of Stillwater, everything was being done to make it the best possible meeting.

The President appointed a committee composed of Hon. George L. Bowman, Mrs. Anna B. Korn and Dr. Evans to select an outstanding citizen of Stillwater to make the address at the Annual Meeting.

General W. S. Key stated that Dr. Grant Foreman of Muskogee had offered to the Society a valuable Indian painting by one of the best Indian artists. Hon. Thomas J. Harrison moved that this picture be accepted. Judge Harry Campbell seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Hon. George L. Bowman made a motion that the sum of \$100.00 be given over from the Special Fund to the account of Petty Cash. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Mrs. Anna B. Korn stated that plans were now being shaped for the Semi-Centennial of Oklahoma and that the Oklahoma Memorial Association, as set forth in its State charter, must assist in shaping the program for the 1957 celebration. She moved that the Oklahoma Historical Society go on record as approving and supporting the Oklahoma Memorial Association in its work toward directing the development of the Oklahoma Semi-Centennial celebration in 1957. Hon. George L. Bowman seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

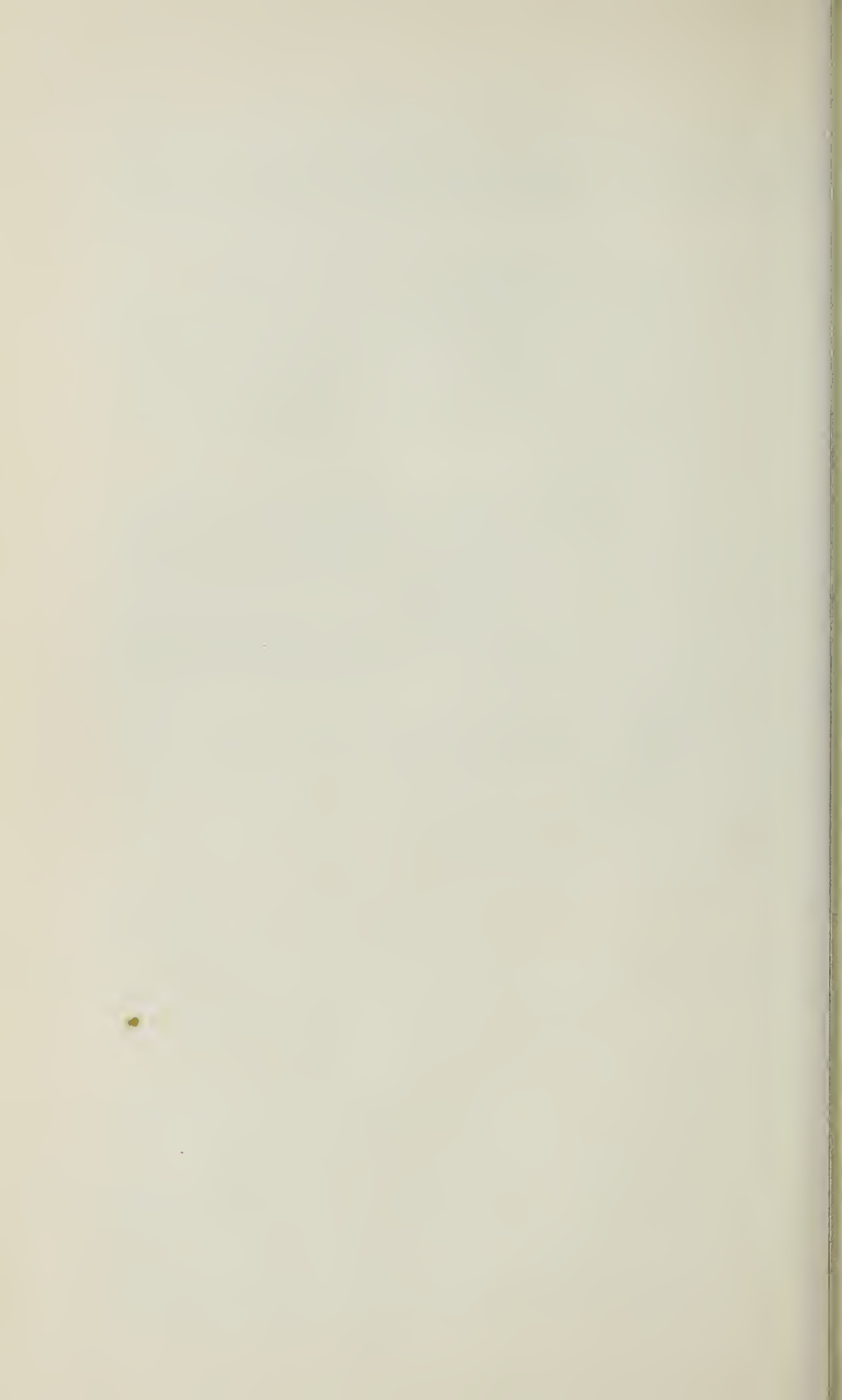
The Secretary reported on the Rose Hill farm property owned by the Society, and the fact that a bid had been received for the sale of this land. He reported that he had written Mr. John Craig of Idabel asking that he make an appraisal on this property. It was the opinion of the Board of Directors that the matter of placing the property for sale be held in abeyance until a letter had been received from Mr. Craig, and until the next meeting of the Board on May 26, 1949.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore made a motion that Miss Martha A. Mulholland, Chief Clerk pro tempore, be elected as permanent Chief Clerk of the Oklahoma Historical Society. General W. S. Key seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Dr. E. E. Dale made the motion that the meeting be adjourned subject to call by the President. Hon. R. M. Mountcastle seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

EMMA ESTILL-HARBOUR, *President*

CHARLES EVANS, *Secretary*.



THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

DR. CHARLES EVANS, *Editor* MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Associate Editor*

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JUDGE THOMAS H. DOYLE

By Charles Evans

Someone has said that when a great man dies a people mourn, but when a good man dies a people weep. In the passing of Judge Thomas H. Doyle the people of Oklahoma both wept and mourned at the loss of a man who was both great and good. On the morning of his funeral I passed through the corridors of a great hotel where gather from day to day all types of Oklahoma's citizenship. I came upon a group of men embracing all of those elements—high and low, rich and poor, patrician and plebian—who had learned of Tom Doyle's death. I paused to hear one man of the group, a man of leadership and high in the activities in State, say:

"Through many years I have met little and large men in the various avenues of service to the State. I have watched and weighed their action, but at no time have I ever met any man of Oklahoma who seemed to embody more of the virtues of honor, strict integrity, ability in his sphere of action, and above all, a fearlessness and courage to defend the right than I found in Tom Doyle".

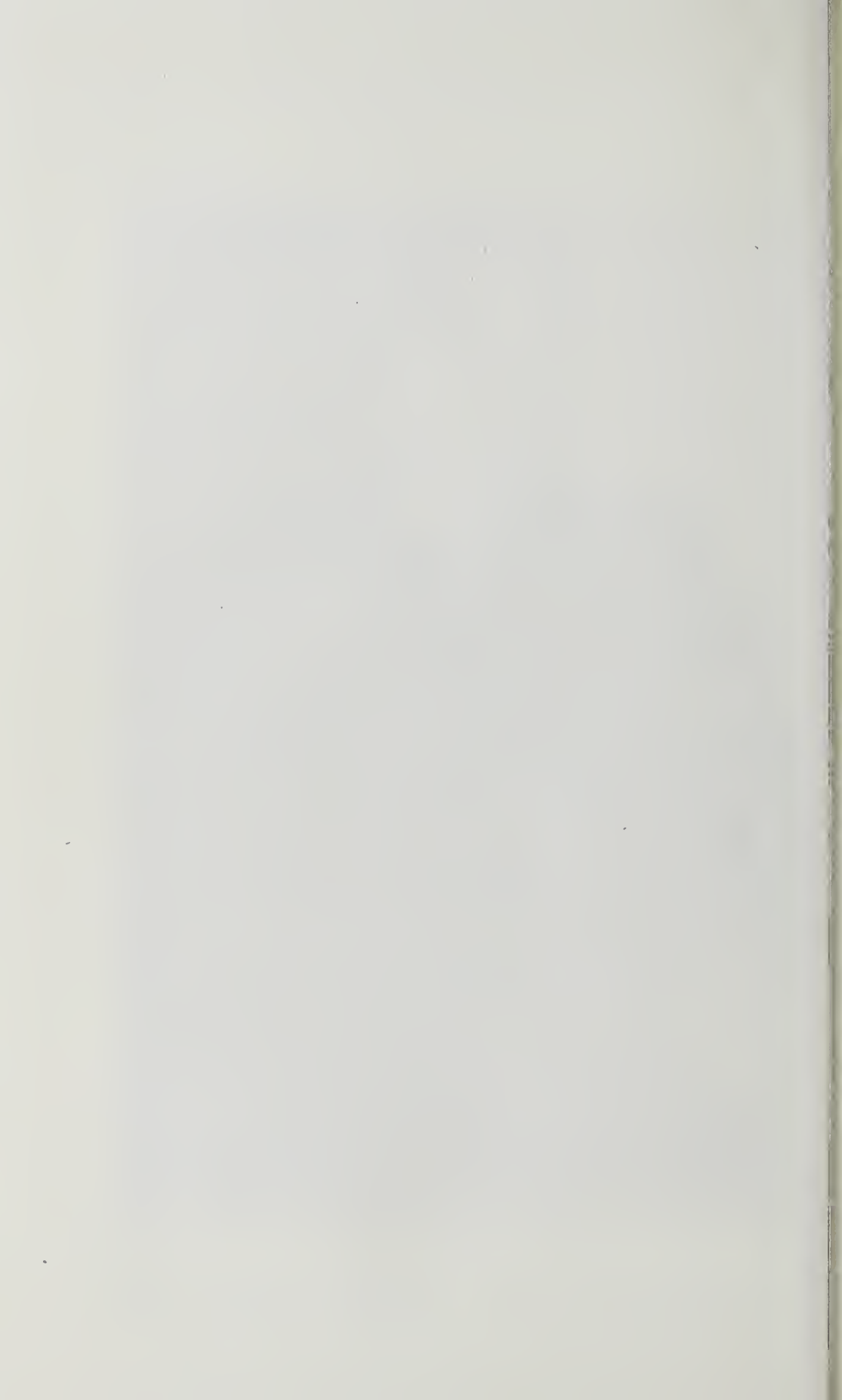
Here in the general atmosphere of Oklahoma I discovered the real tribute the people of this commonwealth was paying to a man who had served it with his whole mind and soul through many years.

Tributes like this are too often perfunctory. They recite in dry detail some deeds of a man or woman which are shot through with cold facts and dates and seem to be set in a slot where they can be labeled as a mere necrology. Not a word that is said here must be construed in this manner. This is not the sketch of a life by the Editor of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, a journal by the way, that owes much of its vigor and high repute to the devotion, protection, and recorded history of its pages to the plans and the pen of Judge Doyle. Every word here is written in terms of love to a man whose life was known to the writer for forty years. If I had not admired him as a valiant jurist, statesman, a moulder and defender of the home, church, school, government of the plain common people of Oklahoma, I would have loved him as a friend. So, while history demands some details of recorded facts concerning his life shall be placed here, I wish however, to confess that this is no mere obituary.

Thomas Henchion Doyle was born near Uxbridge, Massachusetts, December 21, 1862. He was the son of John and Johanna (Henchion) Doyle, who found themselves a part of that great emigration from Ireland, coming to America, a land of hope and freedom, to escape the oppression and persecution the land of Erin had



JUDGE THOMAS H. DOYLE



received at the hands of English kings and lords through many years. Among all the gifts God has bestowed upon this greatest nation of the earth, the United States of America, perhaps none has surpassed the presentation by England of that stream of blood sent here by its oppression of that irrepressible, freedom-loving, ambitious race of genius known as the Irish. Tom Doyle gloried in the blood and the strength of his race. From the tip of his toes to the crown of his head he looked and was an Irishman at his best. His sturdy form, his square ruddy face, his sparkling, clear blue eyes, with fearless, commanding poise, he stood squarely upon his feet and none had to look twice to discover that here was a brother of the O'Donnells, the Emmetts, and even the poetic Goldsmiths, who in peace and war have equalled, if not surpassed, any men upon the earth in their devotion and genius for liberty.

Judge Doyle's mother, Johanna (Henchion) Doyle died in Massachusetts. There were five children and Judge Doyle being the eldest spent the first seventeen years of his life in and about the Massachusetts County of Worcester. The Bay State has always led America in education so young Doyle had the benefit of excellent public schools. Graduating from Whitin's Academy at Northbridge, Massachusetts, his father, John Doyle, about that time concluded to move west and located in Osage County, Kansas. Young Doyle feeling the need for more education attended for some time the University of Kansas. In order to give his family better support in the trying years of drouth and famine in Kansas, he entered the employment of the Fort Scott and Gulf Railroad and was a trainman for two years. Under a severe ordeal he became a student of law under Judge Benson in Ottawa, Kansas and was admitted to the bar in that county in 1893. He was marked by sterling ability from the first, and in a little while had accumulated enough money to start a banking institution under the name of Doyle and McDonald in Harris, Kansas. Finding that law was a jealous mistress he sold his banking interest and moved to Garnett, Kansas where he remained until 1893. Oklahoma beckoned him and he was one of that determined group who gave Perry, the county seat of Noble County, Oklahoma, its birth. For, on the day that town was fashioned, the law firm of Stone and Doyle offered to the people of Perry and that vicinity legal service. From day to the day of his death all the powers and noble purposes of Tom Doyle have been given to Oklahoma. He afterwards became a partner of Judge Barrett and the firm was known as Doyle and Barrett. Needless to say, he not only prospered as a lawyer but he became, with his Irish thrift and business acumen, a large property owner in Perry and even extended his holdings into Kansas and Kansas City.

It would follow as night the day that his love for liberty and justice, with his powers as a jurist and his ability as an eloquent

young leader, that his people sent him as their representative in 1897 to the Oklahoma Territorial Legislature and kept him there for two terms. In the Fourth General Assembly of this Territorial Legislature he was elected speaker pro tempore and Chairman of the Judiciary Committee. He was the first leader in Oklahoma in legislative counsels to fight land-lordism. He became the author of the Free Range Bill under which act about \$100,000 was added to the school funds by making cattlemen pay for the use of the territorial lands. Here began his long career as a defender of the plain people against the selfish "hog" in high places. He put through a bill at this time for providing for a non-partisan board to have charge of the leasing of school lands. As chairman of the committee on jurisprudence he authored House Bill No. 1 in the Fifth Territorial General Assembly which provided for the setting aside of a board of equalization because that board had revealed that they were not serving the people, but the avaricious and autocratic cattlemen. These remarkable and fearless marks of leadership widened his circle of influence and service so that when the great struggle came for moulding and founding the State of Oklahoma, Doyle was in the larger part made the foremost leader. Whether the Indian Territory and the Oklahoma Territory should be admitted to the Union as separate states or to be joined and admitted as a single state became the passionate struggle. It not only embraced the earnest thought of a territory with its one and a half million people, but rose to such national heights that it through many years claimed much of congressional action in Washington and it secured the attention of all America. As some admirer has said, "It surpassed anything of the sort in the range of politics when Thomas H. Doyle became the commanding figure in his devotion for single statehood."

The birth of any one of the forty-eight states will always command the historian to stop and pay tribute. History, in tracing the annals of man, finds no spectacle—in peace or war—that moves the thinking mind more and to higher heights, than to behold thousands of men and women demanding of their leaders to carve out for them and set up a unit of government, giving to them and their children, the rights of a free state. It was a great scene in Washington on January 26, 1904 at ten o'clock a. m. when in the Nation's Capital, there appeared before the House Committee on Territories having before it the Robinson Bill, providing for the admission of Oklahoma and Indian Territory into the Union as a single state, one Thomas H. Doyle of Oklahoma, who had been chosen to state the case and make the plea for single statehood. Around him were his co-partisans, C. G. Jones, J. H. Maxey, Jr., Roy E. Stafford, Clarence B. Douglas, G. A. Henshaw, A. Grant Evans and many others. Sitting opposite and opposing single statehood were: Bird S. McGuire, Territorial delegate to Congress, Sydney Clarke, J. W. McNeal and others in sympathy with them.

Doyle arose and began by sketching the growth of the two territories. He revealed that all growth and action of all the people, from the earliest years, as related to this territorial development, had looked toward one state. Pointing to the great common seal, fashioned by the Oklahoma Territorial Legislature, he said: "These representatives of the white and red races standing there beneath the scales of justice symbolize the intended union of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, and is emblematic of equal justice to all. Beneath are the words: 'Grand Seal of Oklahoma Territory'."

He deftly revealed the profound culture and worth of the people he represented, pointing out that there was a state university, an agricultural mechanical college and a teachers' normal school and a system of good public schools flourishing throughout this region. He hurled with vivid power at the committee the fact that never before in the history of America had any State entered the Union with 1,600,000 population which would permit it to rank at once as the twenty-third State.

He overwhelmed the committee members upon every point of their questioning. Mr. Thayer of the Committee asked if the people of the Indian Territory were self restrained or could govern themselves. Doyle replied:

"Yes, sir. I say to you that I believe when a man stands up, as Mr. Clarke did here, and pictured those people as law-breakers and outlaws, and said they were represented by such a type of people as Bill Starr and Cherokee Bill, as he did, he does it without any reason of any kind or character. They have as beautiful cities as there are in any part of the West. You find the American home in every one of the four-hundred towns in the Indian Territory. You find men just as brainy in every respect, following the profession of the law before those courts as you do in your State of Massachusetts. You find a class of merchants there are equal to any people. You see them here among you as they come before this Committee."

There is no room in this article to cover the remarkable strength, dignity and appeal of this address of Judge Doyle as he plead for the rights of the citizenship of the people of the Territory of Oklahoma and of the Indian Territory. Suffice it to say that as one who has dedicated and devoted his life to the education of youth, looking toward that essential climax in every student's life whereby he comes from the schools a loyal and defensive citizen, it is in my opinion that this address should be published in pamphlet form and be given into the hands of the present and future teachers of our public schools. It can not and could not be surpassed as an influence for glorifying and enlarging the minds of the youth of this State in devotion to their institutions.

Congress on June 14, 1906 set up an Enabling Act providing for single statehood. History moved quickly and on November 16, 1907, Oklahoma entered the Union as the forty-sixth state and no

man played a better part in this great governmental drama than did Thomas H. Doyle.

It naturally followed that the first governor of the State, Charles N. Haskell, appointed Doyle a member of the Oklahoma Criminal Court of Appeals. Then began a record that has not been surpassed and seldom equalled in any state as presented in this man serving on one court through a period of forty-one years, save four. There will be no attempt made here of setting forth the pre-eminent forces that Judge Doyle disclosed as a jurist in Oklahoma. If any man, woman or child desires to study and know how a man won the esteem and confidence and tribute from a whole state so that at the end of every six years for many terms they kept him by their votes a justice of the Criminal Court of Appeals, let them come to Oklahoma City and enter the Capitol and study the archives of that court. The secret of it all lies in his character. He studied and knew the rights of the common man even to the point of the low and under-privileged and he dared with an honest Irish heart to speak for them so well and so true that his decisions have been honored in every state in the Union and the King's Bench of England declared, as they used his decisions, that none had been better and wiser.

Like all valiant citizens, while Judge Doyle made the law his chief shrine in worthy spheres, yet he gave to all the forces of the social order his deepest interest and able service. He early became a working member of the Perry Commercial Club, took great interest in the Modern Woodmen of America, enjoyed the highest respect and leadership in the Ancient Order of the United Workmen, and the Society of the Redmen honored him as did the Select Knights of the Catholic Church. Perhaps his greatest devotion along this line revealed itself in developing the strength, growth and character of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He found in his very nature the zeal, the pride of blood, the keen joy of being an Oklahoman, and above all, an American that made him interested in every phase of human history. He read every book, he gathered from every source within his range, light on Oklahoma. As early as January 1, 1917, he was elected on the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He became its president and served in every capacity whereby his loyalty and ability to make this institution permanent, forceful and progressive could be used. He served on the committee that shaped and directed the erection of this splendid granite and marble structure known as the Oklahoma Historical Building, one of the very finest of its kind in the United States. An address delivered by him in March, 1938, at the presentation of the busts of Will Rogers and Wiley Post by Mr. Frank Phillips of Bartlesville, sets forth in warm and clear tones his pride in his State and his lofty conceptions of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He said:

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38. Doyle, H. 1926

The Oklahoma Criminal Court of Appeals in session, 1926.
Left to right: Thomas H. Doyle, E. S. Bessey, Thomas A. Edwards

"States are not great except as men may make them. No State in the Union has progressed so rapidly in all that pertains to civilization as has our own beloved Oklahoma. A State can perform no more graceful act than to make public records of the deeds and accomplishments of its famous sons. Many of the incidents of Oklahoma history are epic in their proportions. The Oklahoma Historical Society is distinctively a State Institution, organized for the purpose of assisting the State to perform its recognized duties in the field of history. Its collections, library and other possessions are public property, freely accessible to all under such restrictions as are necessary to insure their preservation."

His personal devotion to the details as forming and shaping its By-Laws, in developing the legal rights of the Society, the direct encouragement of the officers and secretary and members of the staff, discloses his hearty Celtic blood and nature. He visited the halls of the Society, inspected the rooms, and above all, took time to sit and talk with its workers. Each one, in every department, knew that they had not only a director in Judge Doyle, but they had a friend. It would be an interesting picture to present, if it were possible, revealing Tom Doyle as he greeted some member of the staff with the grace and urbanity of a prince of the realm, meeting with the staff member, in whom he found the worth of a king or queen. To the average American, especially those of stubborn English blood, maybe this is hard to understand.

Of course Judge Doyle was a democrat in politics and a devout Catholic. The Catholic Church had nourished and befriended his blood so he gave it every good impulse of his religious nature. Catholicism gave him, as he deserved, the highest tribute they could pay him a simple unassuming devotee. Just here should be said that every man is strengthened and exalted in his religious nature by no greater force than he receives from a faithful and religious wife.

Judge Doyle married Miss Rose O'Neil in Kansas City, Missouri, in 1893 and out of this marriage was born a child, now Mrs. J. Frank Martin of 136 Northwest Eighteenth Street, Oklahoma City. Mrs. Doyle died on July 15, 1936. Judge Doyle lived his subsequent years in the home of his daughter. It must be recorded here that perhaps no son or daughter ever gave more devotion to a father, or gave daily evidence of the love they bore him than did this daughter and her husband.

Judge Doyle had scarcely retired from public office before he began to lose that virility which had sustained him in the heavy work through almost seventy years. Death found him seasoned in the faith, ready and willing, and with undaunted eyes, on the morning of February 6, 1947. Immediately church and state began to pay tribute to his long life and splendid service, and they expressed profound distress upon his passing. *The Daily Oklahoman* in an article defined his character as a jurist by saying: "He

warned the State against depriving an individual of inalienable rights."

The funeral service was conducted by Right Reverend John M. Connor, and hundreds of representative citizens and friends heard from the eloquent lips of the priest the story of how the church loved him and the State honored him.

One of the highest tributes that can be paid a man was offered by the present Legislature of Oklahoma. Meeting in session on the 24th of February, 1949, a resolution was adopted eulogizing the life and service of Judge Thomas H. Doyle. It was signed by Hon. Walter Billingsley, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

At the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, February 24, 1949, a testimonial service was held in Judge Doyle's honor. It may be perhaps that some discerning reader will find the most splendid tributes to Judge Doyle in the Minutes of the February 24th meeting, as found in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1 (Spring, 1949), as they read of his life lived near and with the eminent directors of this Society who knew him long and well.

So runs the life of an American, born in obscurity of good Irish blood and who rose to high estate and honor because of his faith in God and his zeal for liberty.

Perhaps this sketch may not run true, according to critics as to the usual necrology or obituary. If this is so, the writer delights himself with the conviction that he has carried out his purpose. These words were written by a man who has had the privilege of knowing every governor of the State of Oklahoma, from first to last, and some of them intimately. He has watched these and others leaders move upon the stage of Oklahoma history through almost a half a century. No figure has impressed me more deeply and moved me to better tribute than Judge Thomas H. Doyle. Above all things, he was my defensive friend. One of the splendid periods of my life's work was largely the creation of his personal devotion and faith in me.

As I passed out of the Cathedral on the occasion of his funeral, I said to a man at my side, a splendid man and a former governor of Oklahoma, "This world outside will never be the same to me again."

I hope this article may never be considered a tract or a paper. It has been my attempt to be wholly historical or factual and I believe the record will sustain every record paid him as a jurist, political leader, a churchman, a moulder of the social order of Oklahoma, a father and a friend. But, if any mistake has been made, let it be attributed to the devotion of a friend for a defensive friend.



Main entrance and stairway to the Oklahoma Historical Building completed in 1931, plans having been selected by the Building Committee of which Judge Thomas H. Doyle was an active and deeply interested member.



THOMAS PRYOR GORE

THOMAS PRYOR GORE 1870-1949

By Charles Evans

Goldsmith said: "Such is the patriot's boast where ere he roam, his first best country ever is at home."

It is the observation of history that however far fame and power may take a man, death returns him to the land of the people he loved best. On Friday morning, March 18, 1949 the body of Thomas Pryor Gore, the renowned and beloved son whom Oklahoma had honored through long years, was received by those who love him well for final rest in Oklahoma soil.

Ex-Senator Gore was born in Webster County, Mississippi, on December 10, 1870. He was the son of Thomas Madison and Caroline Elizabeth Wingo Gore. It is interesting to note that while his father spent many of his years as a farmer yet he became a successful lawyer late in life.

Senior United States Senator from Oklahoma, Elmer Thomas, announced the death of Ex-Senator Gore before the United States Senate and pointed to his former colleague, "Ex-Senator Gore as one of the marvels of modern times." This was all together true, because he was the first blind Senator to enter the United States Senate and entering there, became one of the foremost leaders in the greatest deliberative body upon the earth.

Nature had bestowed upon him genius for though becoming blind at eleven years of age he revealed signal brilliancy in his high school and state normal school life. He looked in upon political life early as a page boy in the Mississippi Legislature. He set his mark toward the law and after three years of teaching to secure money he entered law school and finishing began his remarkable career. Senator Gore like many other splendid Oklahomans moved to Oklahoma through Texas. He ran for Congress as a young man in one of the Congressional Districts of Texas but was defeated as he espoused the Populist movement.

In 1901, Mr. Gore moved to Lawton, Oklahoma, which was ever afterward his permanent residence. His Lawton neighbors sent him to the Territorial Council and soon, throughout the territories, young Gore became known as one of the most eloquent and able thinkers in the two territories on matters of government. On November 16, 1907, Oklahoma entered the Union and four men came forward and offered their services to the young commonwealth for nomination in the Democratic primary for the United

States Senate: Robert L. Owen, Henry M. Furman, Roy Hoffman, and Thomas Pryor Gore. Owen and Furman received the highest number of votes, but due to an agreement whereby the eastern part of the state should have one Senator and the western part another, Mr. Furman withdrew though he had received a larger vote than Mr. Gore, and Mr. Gore and Robert L. Owen were elected by the First State Legislature as the United States Senators from Oklahoma.¹

There is no need to dwell upon the career of this man. The archives at Washington and all the records of Oklahoma from 1907 to 1937 reveal no more matchless figure. United States Senator Saltonstall of Massachusetts pictured him in the Senate Chamber as one of the most remarkable statesman of any time. Eloquent beyond the measure of explanation, features of noble cast, his figure of most graceful mold, voice resonant and persuasive, he stood in the chief forum of the United States as a Webster of his day and fearlessly defended the rights of the common man.

Senator Gore was re-elected by the Second Legislature for the term 1909-1915, as United States Senator from Oklahoma. In the elections of 1914, the people of Oklahoma voted directly for United States Senator for the first time. Senator Gore was the Democratic nominee and was elected by the people in this year for his third term as United States Senator from Oklahoma (1915-1921). He fearlessly opposed the entrance of America in 1917 to the first World War. He knew when he did that, the people of Oklahoma would defeat him, which they did in the general elections in 1920. But the people called him back to their service in 1930, and he was sent again to the United States Senate, (1931-1937). In 1936, again he knew that he was throwing himself across the path of what is termed the "New Deal" but he told his friends that he would rather follow his conscience than follow any man. So again he was defeated and was ever afterward inactive in politics except on the lecture platform and on occasions when he was called throughout America to defend a great cause.

The reader of a sketch like this would insist upon an answer to the question, "How without sight could a man arrive to such heights of learning and commanding debate?" The answer is a glorious one. In 1900, Mr. Gore married Miss Nina Kay and she

¹ The First State Legislature convened in November, 1907, and under the Law, with the Democratic members in the majority, elected the Democratic nominees as the first United States senators from Oklahoma. Since Oklahoma had been admitted to statehood in an odd numbered year, the first terms for the two senators were of unequal length: The "long term" would expire on March 3, 1913; the "short term," on March 3, 1909. To decide which of the two senators should hold these terms, lots were drawn. Senator Gore drew the short term, and thus entered the campaign for re-election in the first regular state elections in 1908.—Ed.

through all the years after was literally the Senator's eyes. If Thomas Pryor Gore became a marvel of modern times, none the less was Nina Kay Gore, his wife, who supplied him not only with the inspiration that only a wife can give but his reading, his notes, and that meticulous service with only a faithful, competent secretary can offer. Here it may be said that the Oklahoma Memorial Association has elected Nina Kay Gore to enter the Hall of Fame in this State November 16, 1949.

His death took place May 16, 1949, in his Washington home. On Friday afternoon, March 18, Honorable Luther Harrison with eloquence paid tribute to this distinguished Oklahoman before a large audience including the Governor of the State and other dignitaries in the Street and Draper Funeral Home, at Oklahoma City. The body rests in a special crypt in Rose Hill Cemetery, Oklahoma City, there to await a final decision on the part of the family as to where shall be his final resting place. He had expressed at one time the hope that his final abode would be on the top of Mount Scott, overlooking his Lawton home and the long sweep of the hills and valleys of Oklahoma he loved so well.

EARLY DAYS IN THE C & A.

By Thomas A. Edwards*

The history of a particular time, a place, or a people, is not limited to accounts of battles, the important acts of governments or rulers, nor of the spectacular accomplishments of individuals or the masses. History further comprehends the commonplace, the unheralded, the intimate folkways of the humble, the social customs, manner, economics and way of life of the common people, and the doing of all those little things which affect their well being. So, if the incidents which I have here noted appear to be frivolous, please bear in mind that they are a part of the leaven in the ingredients which make history.

In March, 1898, just out of school and green as a gosling, I came out of the brush of Arkansas, bound for the land of opportunity—the Cheyenne and Arapaho country in western and southwestern Oklahoma.¹ I came down via the Frisco to Wister, there I took the “Choctaw Route” to the end of the rails at El Reno.² It was a rough and rugged trip; coal smoke, dust, and cinders bil-

* Thomas Allison Edwards has served as a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society since February 2, 1926. As a contributor to the quarterly journal, his poem “Lost History” undernath a view of the ruins of an old post building at Fort Gibson appeared in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 1 (March, 1931). Judge Edwards is author of two books of verse, *Oklahoma Verse* (Cordell, 1921), and *Geronimo et al* (Cordell, 1939). He graduated from the University of Arkansas in 1897. In Oklahoma Territory, he was elected and served as County Attorney of Washita County (1900-05). He was elected District Judge of the 17th District of Oklahoma, serving from 1914 to 1925. He was elected Judge from the Southern District on the Criminal Court of Appeals in 1924 and in 1930, and served as the presiding Judge on this Court to 1937. In his service on this Court and as a member of the Board of Directors of the Historical Society, Judge Edwards was associated in warm friendship for a period of twenty-five years with the late Judge Thomas H. Doyle, President Emeritus of the Board of Directors, to whose memory a tribute appears in this number of *The Chronicles*.—Ed.

¹ The Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation was allotted in severalty to the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians, and the surplus lands opened to white settlement on April 19, 1892, adding 3,500,562 acres to Oklahoma Territory out of which six counties were formed. These counties are now included in nine counties and parts of counties in the state: Ellis, Roger Mills, Beckham, Washita, Custer, Dewey, Blaine, Kingfisher, and Canadian.—Ed.

² This was originally the Choctaw Coal & Railway Company incorporated in Philadelphia by eastern capital in 1887, for the development of coal lands in the Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory. Construction of this railroad was begun at Wister Junction on the St. Louis & San Francisco Railway, building westward toward a junction with the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway near McAlester. Later, construction of the same Railway was begun at El Reno eastward, and regular train service was running between that point and Oklahoma City in February, 1892. The same line eastward from Oklahoma City to McAlester was constructed in 1894. Subsequently, the Choctaw Coal & Railway Company became a part of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway, now operating (1949) as an east-west line through Oklahoma.—Ed.

lowed into the open windows of the old out of date day coaches which made up the train. It was stop and start, jerk and jolt, from 2:00 p. m., when we left Wister, till even up midnight when we reached the old depot away out on north side of El Reno. At the conductor's call of "All out", the few passengers, including myself, alighted. A hack had met the train and almost everyone entered it for the ride uptown, but not I, for "two bits" was not to be squandered on such a luxury.

As I walked away, a young farmer joined me. He informed me that he had just got to town and had come down to see the train; that he lived about seventy-five or eighty miles west, in Washita County. He said that he was returning the next day with a load of freight, and invited me to spend the remainder of the night with him at the wagon yard. I readily assented. As we walked toward town, we passed near a group of houses about the base of the old water tower. From them came the screech of a fiddle and the sound of dancing.

"What's that", I asked. "Oh, that," he said, "Well, they say that's a honkytonk." However, "honkytonk" was not the word he used.

My new friend had a bed in his wagon, and we slept well. The next morning, the manager invited us to fry our bacon and eggs and make coffee on the big stove in the camp-house of the wagon yard.

This was a new and strange country to me, but nothing to worry about. I was just old enough to vote, had four silver dollars in my pocket and some personal belongings in an old oil cloth valise which I carried. Every prospect was pleasing and not even man was vile.

For some ten years, a great movement of prospectors, settlers, and transient travelers in and out of Oklahoma had been going on. Most of this movement was by covered wagon since there was no railroad for two hundred miles or more west of the north and south line of the Rock Island which passed through El Reno. To accomodate this traffic, wagon yards had been established at practically all the towns and villages in this section. A wagon yard, at that time, held an important place as a public utility. It was the depot, the bus station, the airport, the hotel, and the general meeting place for this movement. It furnished shelter and refreshment for man and beast at a moderate cost. The rivalry among the yards was keen, the managers vying by courtesy and accomodation for the good will and trade of settlers, freighters, and travelers.

After breakfast, my friend executed some special buying errands, and, together, we proceeded to load his wagon with spooled

barbed wire. At ten o'clock, heavily loaded, we departed westward across the Fort Reno Reservation, a route much as Highway 66 now runs. We had a three horse team, two hitched abreast, and a third, also abreast on the right, as a helper. This was often done by drivers when the load was heavy for the usual two horse team. We meant to reach the South Canadian River by nightfall. That old devil, South Canadian, unbridged and with few safe fords, was the bane of the west and southwest country. A sudden headrise, in which a wall of water would sweep down its almost dry bed, frequent high water, dangerous quicksand in the channel, and its wide, deep, yielding sand approaches made it an object of dread. Not infrequently, teamsters would camp on its banks for days waiting for it to subside so that it could be crossed. On our route, it could be passed by two fords, the Lump Mouth crossing, just below the present railroad bridge, and the Powder Face crossing, two or three miles farther down stream. These fords were named for Indians who had allotments near them.

We chose the Lump Mouth crossing, and reached it near sundown. Several wagons were already camped there when we arrived. This was a favorite camping spot; the hills came down near the river, a little stream of good water trickled across the road, and wood for camp fires was handy. Campers were generally friendly and helpful to each other, exchanging information and supplies, talking politics and religion with more moderation than did the zealots in the pulpits at home.

We cared for our team, ate our frugal supper, and retired early. I heard the "chomping" and "stomping" of the horses, the chirping of the night birds; then, it seemed only a few minutes, I heard the stir of the campers feeding their horses and preparing breakfast. Customarily the wagon drivers, by doubling their teams, helped each other in getting across the river and up the sandy banks. All stayed until the crossing was behind. On this morning, when the last wagon was over in the direction it was going, there was a word of thanks, a wave of the hand, and then the trip continued.

Leaving the South Canadian, we pulled through the sand flat and up to the prairie level. We were now in the Wichita Reservation, not yet open to settlement and without white inhabitants. The way was a fair country road, and we made very good time. We passed near "Rock Mary", a small mountain, capped with stone, jutting up out of the prairie. This landmark was so named by the officers of Marey's troopers, who passed here, I believe, in 1853, as an escort for a numerous party of emigrant gold seekers bound from Ft. Smith, Arkansas, to California. The name honored Mary Conway, of the emigrant party, a niece of the then governor of Arkan-

sas.³ In the late afternoon, we crossed Cobb Creek, into the little Indian village of Colony, in Washita County. A young woman, on a black horse, loped through the street. This was Lizzie DeLesdernier, later Mrs. John R. Williams, now a member of the Board of the State Historical Society. This Indian agricultural outpost of Colony was set up by John H. Seger in 1880. From this point on, the country was dotted with the small houses and dugouts of the homesteaders.

The sun had turned well toward the horizon when our weary team crossed the rickety wooden bridge on the Washita River. Then, sensing the nearing end of their trip, they put forth extra effort in pulling the heavy load up the long slope to the high prairie, across an outcropping of sandstone and gypsum, carpeted with a mixture of blue stem and bunch grass. Before us stood Cloud Chief, the county seat, named for Cloud Chief, a Cheyenne Indian, who had an allotment near by. Just off Main Street, we stopped at the hardware store of Henry Berry, where sod plows, harrows, cultivators, planters—all of the one row walking type—lay scattered about. Adjacent, stood a great rick of cedar and oak posts, all illegally cut from the Indian reservations. There, too, was a huge pile of spooled barbed wire, into which we dumped our load. While the employecs unloaded and checked our wagon, I walked up to inspect the town.

Indulge now in no illusions of grandeur. Twelve or fifteen small frame buildings, most of them of the box type, each with the inevitable false front, made up the business section. A bit of narrow, rattly board sidewalk in front of a building was a distinction. These buildngs housed two general merchandise stores, two restaurants, a barber shop, two livery stables, and two saloons. The saloons were the best equipped and best kept establishments there. Facing the others, stood the town's hotel, fitly named "Iron Hotel" one story, armored on the outside with sheets of corrugated galvanized iron.

The court house—Ah, that courthouse! It was set in the middle of the naked square. There was not a tree nor a shrub, and no walks save a dirt path from the business section more than a half block away. No other building was near, except that small place of convenience, now politely referred to as a "Chic Sales." This Temple of Justice, a scant one story, some sixteen by twenty feet in dimensions, was of sadly warped cottonwood lumber. Those who know the vagaries of a green cottonwood plank know well that no other material can equal the twists and turns, both side-wise and edgewise, it makes in drying. There were no partitions inside this building, yet it housed the County Clerk, Treasurer,

³ Grant Foreman, *Marcy and the Gold Seekers* (Norman, 1939), pp. 144 and 215.

Sheriff, and the Superintendent of Schools. In addition, it had two small, iron cells for prisoners. It doesn't seem possible.

Residence houses were some twenty in number—of one, two, and three rooms. There were, also, twenty-five or such matter of dugouts and half dugouts. The construction of dugouts is well known. The half dugout differs in that about half of it projects above the ground, it has a wooden roof, and may have windows at the ground level for light and ventilation. The town's population did not exceed three hundred.

A bit of verse, descriptive of the town as of that time, runs thus:⁴

OLD CLOUD CHIEF

Cloud Chief sits on her old gyp hill,
And hot winds blow as hot winds will;
The sun beats down with a fervent glare
On the gullied street and dusty square;
The ragged row of cottonwood shacks,
Where the horses gnaw at the hitchin' racks;
Gnaw and paw and fight the flies,
Or sagging stand with sleeping eyes.

Here's big George Gordon a tendin' bar
As cowmen gather from near and far,
Their snaffles jingle, the saddles squeak,
For the Williams riders from Turkey Creek,
The Hughes boys down on the Washita
And rustlers out of the Kiowa;
The rollicking crowd of Quarles and Teel,
Chaps and boots and spur at heel.

A poker game or a bit of fun
A cussin' some herd law son of a gun;
On the vacant lots the nesters meet,
With a little jag of cotton or wheat,
Butter and eggs and prairie hay;
The livest town in the C & A.
The night grows old—the street is still,
Cloud Chief sits on her old gyp hill.

It was almost night when we left the town and drove to my friend's claim. There he lived with his wife and two small sons in his dugout home. The next day, I heard that, about fifteen miles southwest, near the line between Washita County and the Kiowa Country, a newly organized school district was building a small school house and needed a teacher. I borrowed a horse and rode down there. I found several men completing a box house and installing some plank seats. Among them were the school board members. They welcomed my application for the school, and asked me to begin the following Monday. We agreed on a salary of twenty-five dollars per month. They suggested a place where I

⁴ Thomas A. Edwards, *Geronimo et al* (Cordell, 1939), p. 19.



Sod house north of Cloud Chief in 1898.



View of the town from Court House Square,
Cloud Chief, Washita County, 1898

might secure room and board, and there I arranged for a small cubicle in a garret and agreed on five dollars per month for "room, board, and washing." The next day I was at Cloud Chief for my temporary teacher's license. On inquiring for the County Superintendent, I was informed that he was over at the Two Brothers Saloon. At my look of surprise, my informant confidentially told me that the Superintendent could carry more liquor than any other two men in the county.

My school duly opened. I taught everything from ABCs to highschool subjects. My enrollment was about thirty. It seemed the product of every school book printing outfit in the nation was represented, from Webster's Blue Back to McGuffey's latest. This school site is about two and one half miles southeast of the present town of Roeky, in a very fine agricultural section. The building faced a section line, leading down to the north boundary of the Kiowa Reservation, a mile or so distant.

Except for a few roads and trails, that country must have been in the same condition it was when, in 1541, Coronado passed not too far away. This was a delightful spring. I borrowed a horse on Saturdays and Sundays and rode about the country. The settlers were fencing their claims, breaking the sod, and planting corn and kaffir in the furrows. Cotton would be planted a little later. The Kiowa Reservation was dotted with mesquite timber which reached a height of about twenty feet, crooked, gnarly, and knobbed. The boles of these trees made lasting fenceposts, the other parts made good fuel. This timber was a veritable godsend to the settlers. Though the cutting and removal of it was highly illegal, yet, without exaggeration, I believe, that during the three months I taught there, a thousand loads of this timber passed my school for use of the homesteaders.

Occasionally, some settler would sell or trade his homestead and move back to Texas, to Arkansas, or to the Chickasaw country from whence he had come. Like the children of Israel sighing for the fleshpots of Egypt, they couldn't stand the hardship necessary to build a new home here. I recall one old fellow, a sort of ne'er-do-well, with a large family, who, though he had never owned a bit of land before, sold his choice claim for five hundred dollars. He told me that he just wanted to get back to Jack County, Texas, to be near his relatives. He added that he believed that the day would come when farms in Washita County would sell for one thousand dollars. Some time ago, at a partition sale, I saw this identical farm sell for twenty-five thousand dollars.

The people here were a cross section of any good farming community of the states adjacent on the north, east, and south. For their social life, they had box suppers, picnics, debating societies, and other gatherings. They had established schools and

organized churches. In the summer season, revivals and other protracted meetings, held under brush arbors, were common. Denominationalism was strongly stressed in the church meetings. Church debates were not at all unusual. On one Sunday afternoon I attended a baptismal ceremony at a farmer's pasture tank. It was a beautiful spot, the grass extending down to the edge of the clear, warm water. Some eight or ten were immersed. One big, red faced farmer, when led down to the edge of the pool, turned to the rather large concourse of spectators, and said, "Friends, I suppose you are wondering why I am being baptized. You all know that I have been immersed before, and have been a member of a church for years. But, when I was baptized before, it was because of the remission of sins, now I am being baptized for the remission of my sins."

When my school was over, I located at Cloud Chief. I had done some pre-law study at the University of Arkansas, and had been privately reading and studying law for three years. Now, I wanted to review, preparatory to taking the bar examination. The owner of an empty dugout allowed another young fellow and me to occupy it rent free. Each of us borrowed a cot and a blanket from the sheriff, and we set up batching quarters. Bacon, eggs, sorghum, bread and coffee made up the standard diet. Water for domestic purposes came mainly from cisterns. For the public, it was drawn from a dug well at the corner of the court house square. Due to a strong impregnation of gypsum, this had a bitter, disagreeable taste, and also a purgative effect. Many ribald stories were current of transients and their first acquaintance with gyp water.

The northwest quarter of the county remained practically unsettled and subject to homestead entry. Almost every night, homeseekers, who had inspected and chosen a place on this unsettled land, would camp about the town, making homestead application early the next day. I had learned to prepare these "filings," and made several dollars doing so. The usual charge for making up a set of these papers was one dollar.

In the latter part of July, an "Institute" was conducted for those who expected to teach school. It lasted two weeks as a general review of all subjects to be taught. About sixty prospective teachers enrolled. The town could not accomodate that many, so those who lived in the vicinity commuted by horse and buggy or horseback. Others scattered around in the homes of the town or on nearby farms, some brought their equipment and camped out. Thus all were cared for. Any one who taught school automatically became a "Professor", so the title of "Professor" was heard as generally as is the title of "Judge" at a bar association meeting. Among those who came to this Institute was a tall, gangling, spare



Teachers' Institute, 1898, photo taken on River north of Cloud Chief.
Edward Everett Dale with white hat in hand, to right and near small boy.



Little Hope School in May, 1898, near present Rocky, Washita County.
Teacher Thomas A. Edwards standing in doorway.

built, soft spoken, young man who had been something of a cowboy in old Greer County, and now was seeking something easier. He is well known today as Doctor Edward Everett Dale. He has a national reputation as a prolific writer on historical subjects, long time head of the Department of History at the University of Oklahoma, and a member of the Board of Directors of the State Historical Society. Another Professor was Tom Robinson, by far the best dressed man at the Institute. A white tie and a cord on his eyeglasses gave him distinction and made him something of a Beau Brummel, though I don't doubt that he will deny this soft impeachment. On the evening, near the close, the entertainment committee staged a debate between him and me. It was hilarious, but the judges tactfully decided that they could not decide on the winner. For many years now, Tom Robinson has been an outstanding citizen of Altus, and a leading lawyer in southwest Oklahoma. Thirty years after that debate, his son, T. Murray Robinson, and my son, Leverett Edwards, were partners and successful lawyers in Oklahoma City.

Early in September, I learned that the Territorial District Court would soon open a term at Cheyenne, Roger Mills County, about seventy miles away. Thereupon, I arranged to go there to take the bar examination. A friend let me have his horse and buggy to make the three day round trip from Cloud Chief. At the time fixed, I was on the road early. A one horse vehicle presented quite a problem. The roads, as beaten out, had paths for two animals. The center ridge was rough, so a horse hitched to a one horse vehicle could not walk on it, but must use one of the beaten paths. This put the wheels out of the usual tracks, and on the high turf at the sides.

From Cloud Chief, my route was through the village of Cordell, much smaller than Cloud Chief, thence west. For some ten or twelve miles out from Cordell, the road was fair. After that, it became a trail which wound around to cross the canyons and little streams. At the time, it was necessary to prospect up and down these to find a place to get over. I did all I could to conserve the strength of my horse, but, late in the afternoon, he was about fagged out. I selected a level spot near a little stream and called it a day.

I staked my horse on a good spot of grass, and fed him well with corn that I had brought with me. Then I ate some canned food I had brought, pulled a pile of grass for a bed, and, with a light lap robe for a cover, was soon in the land of dreams. This was no hardship; I had slept on the prairie before and rather liked it. It must have been about midnight when I awoke to the howling din of some coyotes not far away. My horse was trembling and frightened, and came up close as if for protection. I had a heavy Colt pistol, and let go with a couple of shots. The coyotes must have

left because I heard them no more. This camping place was about on the edge of the present Elk City oil field.

The next morning, I got away on an uncertain trail, heading in a northwesterly direction. Soon, I met a settler on horseback, Jack Bullard, who told me that if I continued west I would soon strike a fair road to Cheyenne. (Bullard was elected sheriff of Roger Mills County a few years later, and was killed in a gun fight with outlaws.) I found the road as directed, and, about noon, topped the red hills overlooking the town of Cheyenne—a ragged little place, hardly the size of Cloud Chief.

I went to the courthouse and entered an upstairs hall where court was in session. John C. Tarsney, a man of fine legal attainments, and a most courteous gentleman, was presiding. A total stranger, I worked my way down the crowded aisle to the rail around the space reserved for lawyers and litigants. There I spoke to a lawyer who was not engaged, and told him I wanted to be examined for admission to the bar, and asked him to call my request to the attention of the Judge. In a few minutes, when there was a lull, he did so. Soon the Judge announced a recess until afternoon; then stated that he was informed an applicant for admission to the bar was present. He asked me to come forward. I approached the bench, and the Judge asked me a few formal questions, as to my age, place of residence, education, and the extent of my legal study. He said that he would appoint Mr. Temple Houston, of Woodward, Mr. C. O. Blake, of El Reno, and Judge McMurtry, of the local Bar, as a committee to examine; that the Committee could use the court room as soon as those present had passed out.

When only a few persons were left, a tall, rugged faced man came over to me, held out my hand, and said, "I am Temple Houston. This is Mr. Blake, and this is Judge McMurtry." We exchanged greetings, and conversed briefly. Houston then said, "Let's get through with this examination, I've got to get something to eat." We had remained standing—he then turned to me and asked abruptly: "What's the Rule in Shelly's Case?" I had been poring over Blackstone for several years, and knew it almost by heart. That one was easy to state, but is considered really difficult to explain. My answer, in substance, gave the rule as announced by Lord Coke a long time ago. "Is that right, Blake?" Houston inquired. "Yes, I believe it is", Blake answered. "Well, that's all I want to know," said Houston, "I've been hearing of that damn rule all my life. I don't know yet what it is, and I don't know what that answer means. But, if Blake says it's right, it is. I recommend we report this candidate for the Bar as well learned in the law and qualified for admission. Blake, you draw up the report. Let's go."

When court reconvened, it developed that there was nothing more for trial that day. The Judge said, "Gentlemen, the committee has recommended Mr. Edwards for admission. He will come forward." I did so, and was directed to take the witness chair. The Judge, I am sure, winked at the members of the bar as he announced that there were no matters requiring the attention of the court, so all the members of the bar present were added to the examining committee, and would further examine the applicant. They gleefully proceeded to do so. Each lawyer present had his favorite subject. If any had a question on which he was uncertain, he proceeded to recite the facts, and then asked for a statement of the law and the proper procedure. Among those present was John B. Harrison, much later, and for a long time, a member of the state Supreme Court and a Chief Justice. Also present, was Charles Swindall, who, himself, had been admitted to the bar only six months earlier. Later, he was a District Judge, and then a member of the Supreme Court. I was much relieved when this was over. Judge Tarsney smilingly informed me that the examination was satisfactory.

On my return to Cloud Chief I opened a small office and held myself out as a lawyer. The County Bar consisted of two elderly men, a somewhat younger county attorney, and another young fellow who had lately been admitted to the bar. The total law library of the town consisted of a few sets of the Oklahoma Territorial Statutes, a Justice of the Peace form book, a copy of Sayle's Texas Statutes, and a copy of Blackstone. That was all, so it followed that our new law practice was largely by ear.

The Judges of Oklahoma Territory were appointed by the President. Their duties were to act as trial judges in the district courts in the various counties; then, at stated times, they would meet as a Supreme Court at the Capital. Acting as a Supreme Court, they would decide the case appealed from the various district courts. However no judge would participate in any case in which he had acted as trial judge. The first set of judges was appointed by President Harrison; then, as vacancies occurred, or the court was enlarged, succeeding presidents would make appointments. At first, high class lawyers were appointed; later, it seemed that the appointees were not so well qualified. These judges would go from their comfortable chambers in the counties of their residence, out to the primitive and ill furnished county seat towns such as Cloud Chief, Arapaho, Taloga, Cheyenne, Grand, and others to hold a term of district court at least once a year. On such trips, the accommodations were meager, and the judges would be uncomfortable and inclined to be irritable and arbitrary. Anxious to get away, they would snap out a ruling on a motion or demurrer almost before an attorney could state it. It took little showing

to get a change of venue from these outlying counties to the home county of the judge.

Soon after my admission to the Bar, a new member of the court was appointed. He came from Illinois, and established his residence and headquarters at El Reno. Washita County was in his district. He set an early date in March for his first term at Cloud Chief, and ordered the sheriff to provide a proper place. The sheriff was at once in a swivet. The only place he could secure was a cheaply constructed store building on a side street, with flimsy outside walls and no ceiling on the sides or overhead. The doors and windows fitted poorly, and had crevices all around. One could look upward and see the sky in places through cracks between the shingles. There were no heating arrangements whatever.

The sheriff did the best he could. He had a little platform built at one end of the room for the judge and clerk. Seats for those who might attend were prepared by laying planks across bases. He secured a small table for the judge and another for the clerk. Three small, smoky, kerosene stoves were found, one placed near the judge's table, one for the clerk, and one in the space provided for the lawyers. A real touch of luxury was a borrowed office chair for the judge. For the lawyers and officials, a dozen cane bottom chairs had been rented from the furniture store. In warm weather all this could be endured; but the weather was perverse and willed otherwise.

A hack from El Reno brought the judge and his retinue to Cloud Chief the late afternoon before the day set for the court to convene. The party put up at the Iron Hotel. The judge, fresh from Illinois, had never been in this particular section before. He didn't like it. He had never been in contact with these yokels from Palo Pinto, Van Zandt, and Jack County, Texas, nor their equally crude brethren from Izzard, Yell, and Polk County, Arkansas, nor their compatriots from the Chickasaw Nation. He didn't like them. He didn't like the hotel. He didn't like the back-house out behind. He didn't like the food. In fact, he didn't like anything except the quart of monogram rye the proprietor brought him to soothe his jangled nerves.

The judge did not sleep much. All night long the wind blew. Loose sheets of iron on the hotel slapped, and rattled, and banged. The town dogs, a goodly number, barked and yapped and fought. Court was to convene at ten o'clock. It was a cold and backward spring, little remnants of snow still lingered in shaded places. The wind was gusty, raw, and mean. Loose papers and tumbleweeds skipped across the square, down the streets, and piled up against houses and wire fences. The Judge, with his overcoat buttoned and the collar turned up, came into the dreary place the Sheriff had provided. He proceeded to dress down the Sheriff, Neal Morrison,

for not having made better arrangements. The Sheriff, however, convinced him that this was the best he could possibly do. So the Judge reluctantly sat down, with his overcoat on and the little oil stove at his feet, and ordered the court opened. As the call of the docket began, he cut short any attempt by the lawyers to argue any matter.

As person came in or went out, the door was continually opening and closing. Dust sifted in and fell, like snow, on the tables and records. Now and then some extra strong gust of wind would shake the building. After court had been open for perhaps an hour, and as the door was opened, a strong gust of wind toppled to the floor a lamp which had been sitting on a table. The temper of the Judge had been rising, and this was the last straw. He jumped to his feet, and shouted, "Bailiff, adjourn this damn court!" Then, turning to the sheriff, he said, "Tell your infernal Board of County Commissioners there'll be no more court here until they provide a suitable place." Within an hour he was on his way back to El Reno.

In the act of Congress, providing for Indian allotment in severalty, and for the opening to white settlement of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation, the country was divided into counties designated by letters. The right to name the counties was reserved to the people of the respective counties after they had settled. A half section of land was set apart in each county for the county seat. This county seat reservation in "H" County, later, Washita, was about ten miles east of the center of the county, and, upon it, the town of Cloud Chief was located.

Later, A. J. Johnson and J. C. Harrel, who had homesteaded at the geographical center of the county, secured patent for their land and laid out the town of Cordell. The Territorial Law provided for the removal of county seats by petition to the Board of County Commissioners and by election ordered by such Board. As early as 1896, an agitation for removal of the county seat from Cloud Chief to Cordell had been begun. The first attempt by petition was nullified by an injunction suit. The Cordell adherents renewed the attempt, and, early in 1900, another petition was filed with the Commissioners. After some legal jockeying, the election was ordered and held. Cordell had a fair majority for removal, so Cloud Chief began further legal action. The County Attorney, who was permitted to engage in private law practice, was employed by Cloud Chief. A temporary injunction, or restraining order, forbidding the Commissioners to declare the result of the election or to order the removal, had been secured. This order would expire unless an appeal was filed in the Supreme Court at a fixed date. The necessary record for this appeal was prepared in time, and the County Attorney delivered it to his son with instructions to take it to Guthrie

and file it. If taken by messenger, it could be filed in time, thus keeping the injunction alive. For some reason, the young man failed to get the papers to Guthrie in time, and, as a consequence, the injunction expired.

There was now nothing to prevent the Board of Commissioners from canvassing the election returns, declaring the result, and ordering the removal. When news of this situation reached Cloud Chief, a great roar of anger went up. That night, a lawless group seized the young man and tarred and feathered him. Threats against the County Attorney were so ominous that he put a Winchester in his buggy, left the country and never returned.

A few days later, in August, 1900, the Board completed the steps necessary to the removal. Several heavy teams were sent to transport the books, records, and equipment, including the court house, from Cloud Chief to Cordell. The situation was tense. One man set his gun outside his door, declaring that he would shoot the first man who attempted to molest the County property. A neighbor took the gun and hid it. When the movers arrived at Cloud Chief, a crowd gathered around them, murmuring threats. I recall one big, pugnacious, Cloud Chief partisan who cursed the movers in fervent tones, daring them to lay a finger on anything there. These movers were no weaklings. They made no answer, engaged in no arguments, but backed up to the door, and quickly loaded the records and equipment. Then they hitched a log chain to the frail court house and pulled it down. Within a couple of hours everything was ready to go. If anyone had led a resistance movement, it might have been different. By late afternoon, the books and records were stored at Cordell, and the lumber from the old court house, and the equipment was piled up on the vacant square there.

There was still some contention that the removal was illegal. Soon, however, Judge Irwin, the regular judge for this district, set a term of court to be held at Cordell. At about the same time, the Chief Justice assigned Judge McAtee to hold a term of court at the same time, his order directing the term to be held at Cloud Chief. It was the law that only one district court could be held in a county at one time, and it must be held at the County Seat. It was a ticklish situation. Neither the judges, the officers, nor the lawyers knew which was the legal court. The judges did not like each other, personally or officially. The two courts were regularly opened for three days, but each avoided trying any contested cases. Finally, on the afternoon of the third day, Judge Irwin gave up, and started back to El Reno, taking his entourage with him. He directed the hack driver to go by Cloud Chief and to stop at the Iron Hotel. There, he directed his bailiff to go into the Hotel and tell Judge McAtee to come out, that he wanted to see him. Judge McAtee sent back word that it was as near from the hack to the Hotel as



Present Washita County Court House,
Cordell, Oklahoma



Court House at Cloud Chief, Washita County, built in 1894. View in 1898.

it was from the Hotel to the hack; if Judge Irwin wanted to see him, he could come into the hotel. Judge Irwin, in high dudgeon, ordered the hack to drive on.

There was an aftermath to this county seat controversey. The partisans of Cloud Chief had all along contended that the Territorial law for removal of county seats did not apply to county seats which had been established by Congress. Early in 1904, the United States Supreme Court so held in a case from one of the western territories. Although Cloud Chief had dwindled away, it still had some pugnacious adherents who hired new lawyers and filed a mandamus suit in the Territorial Supreme Court. This Court issued a writ ordering all county officers to remove their offices from Cordell to Cloud Chief within thirty days. I was County Attorney at the time. We considered the matter, and decided that we had no legal defense. A few leading citizens of Cordell met, and, without publicity, sent a committee of three to Washington City to see what could be done. This committee succeeded in getting a special act through Congress, ratifying the election of 1900. This act was signed in duplicate by President Theodore Roosevelt, James S. Sherman for the Senate, and J. G. Cannon, Speaker of the House. One of these original copies was given to Cordell. It was framed and displayed in the County Clerk's office, but was destroyed by a fire in 1910.

FIRST CONSOLIDATED SCHOOL LAW IN THE UNITED STATES

*By Frank D. Northrup**

On one of our cross country trips we pulled up behind a loaded school bus slowly climbing a long hill. Impatient to reach our night's destination I used some words that might have been interpreted as wishing such vehicles off the road.

"You should object to school buses," the lady mildly remarked. "It cost you plenty to put them where they are."

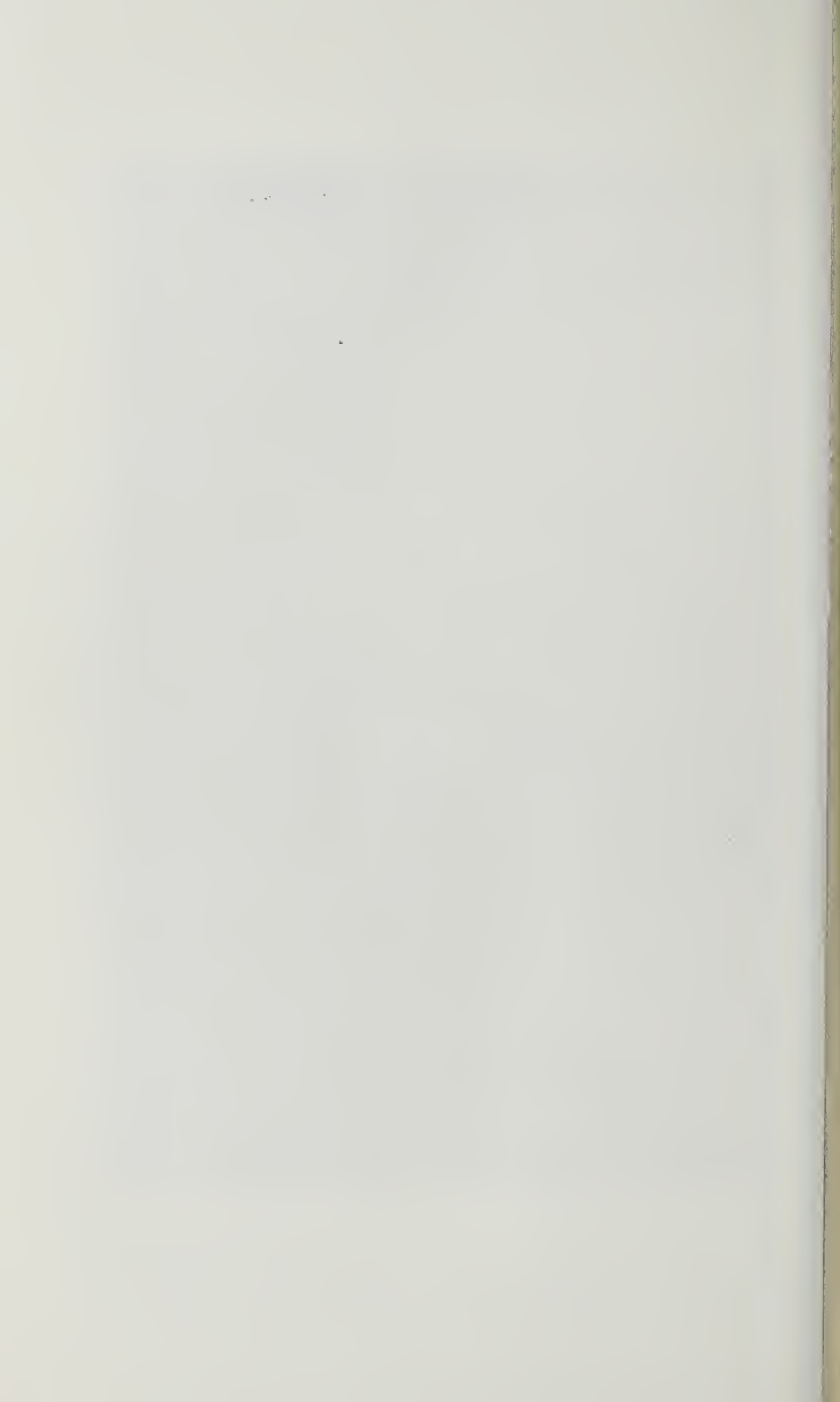
That merited rebuke took my mind back a long, long way—more than forty years in fact. It was in the June first issue of the *Oklahoma Farm Journal* published in Oklahoma City by the late John Fields¹ and myself that we introduced the idea of consolidated

* Frank D. Northrup, native of Massachusetts (B. 1870) and Kansas schooled, is a pioneer Oklahoma editor and publisher who served as Director and Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1903 to 1914. He first came to Taloga, Dewey County, Oklahoma Territory, in 1892. He settled in Stillwater, in Payne County, where he was printer, reporter, and co-owner of *The Stillwater Gazette*, 1893-1898. At the opening of the Cherokee Strip on September 16, 1893, he made the run and secured a claim that he proved up. He is a veteran of the Spanish-American War, 1898. In 1899, he installed the printing plant in Oklahoma A. and M. College, and was its first Superintendent of Printing. As founder of the *Southwest Farmer-Stockman* at Stillwater in 1901, he merged it with the *Oklahoma Farm Journal* at Oklahoma City, 1902, and was co-owner and publisher until 1915. His other interests included activities as dealer in oil and gas leases and oil producer; President of Choctaw Oil Producing Company, Tulsa, and Vice-President of Midwest Oil and Gas Company, 1916-1919, which he says was a period of unhappy memories. He served in the U. S. Internal Revenue Bureau from 1923-1927. He was editor and co-owner of the *Enid, Oklahoma, Events*, 1928-35; and was associate editor and business manager of *Daily Times-Star* at Alameda, California, 1936-1939, in association with the late H. G. Spaulding until the sale of the institution. His present home is in Bush Hills, Oklahoma City.—Ed.

¹ John Fields (1871-1935), Oklahoma editor and a Republican political leader, was born in Iowa and reared in Pennsylvania. He graduated from Pennsylvania State College in 1891, and became a technical expert in chemistry. He served as Assistant Chemist in Pennsylvania State College and Experiment Station in 1891-1894, and as a technical expert in New York in 1895. He became Assistant Chemist at Oklahoma A. and M. College in 1896, was promoted to Chemist in 1898, and was Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station and Agent for the College from 1899-1906, at Stillwater. He was editor and co-owner of the *Oklahoma Farm Journal* and *Southwest Farmer-Stockman* from 1906 to 1915, and editor of the *Oklahoma Farmer* until 1924. He was the Republican nominee and made the campaign for Governor of Oklahoma in 1914 and in 1922. During World War I, he served as an assistant to the National Food Control Administration, in charge of publicity and superintendence of grain production. He was Vice-President and a director of the Farmers' National Bank of Oklahoma City, 1924-1926, and was made Vice-President and director of the Federal Land Bank and the Federal Intermediate Credit Bank at Wichita, Kansas in 1926. He was an experienced, well-known lecturer on agricultural topics before farmers' and bankers' conventions. He wrote numerous bulletins on agricultural chemistry and allied subjects, published by the Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station, and was author of the volume *Sure Food Crops*.—Ed.



JOHN FIELDS, Editor, *Oklahoma Farm Journal*
Office in Oklahoma City, 1911.



country schools for Oklahoma and started a campaign that was to last for more than five years. The problem that initiated the idea should be of some historical interest. As is true in probably all movements toward progress, self-interest touched it off. The *Farm Journal* was rapidly making a place for itself on the new farms of the then Oklahoma Territory, its circulation extending to all sections of it. Business was going ahead in a satisfactory manner, including the circulation which was growing at a pleasing rate. But there was a "fly in the ointment."

In many of the farm homes were children who had completed such schooling as the little districts, with their inadequate equipment and, often, inferior teachers, could give them and it was from the parents of these children that letters came, sometimes a few, often many, each day, requesting a change in their address because, they regretfully said, it was necessary to move to town, or to some one of the school centers in the state, to educate the children. Most of these letters were pitiful, others courageous in that these parents who had fought the sun and the winds, the tough sod and the blackjacks, to make a home for themselves were now to tackle another type of pioneering—making a living the best they could in town and, nine cases in ten, living in a small house. They protested bitterly but what else was there for them to do? The children could not be allowed to grow up in ignorance. Comparatively few of such families had progressed far enough financially to provide for their children in town while they remained on the land.

The situation was disturbing and, I recall, more than mildly distressing. When a farm owner moved, a farmer-stockman moved; a community builder, soil improver and major local taxpayer moved. A cash cropper, without financial interest in the soil, the farm buildings and fences, moved in. The community and the state lost. The *Farm Journal* lost a valued subscriber and its advertising patrons a potential customer. All this was a subject for frequent discussions and Fields and I desperately sought methods to overcome it. Then in the June 1, 1906, issue of the semi-monthly *Farm Journal* appeared the first of literally hundreds of editorial appeals for "country schools that will provide the same advantages for country children that the cities and towns have." Little did we know the magnitude, or should I say, difficulties, of the job we started. Could we have foreseen the five and one-half years just ahead, and the personal and financial gestures necessary to bring to a successful conclusion I still believe we would have had the courage to take the campaign on. The "little red school house" was regarded as a sacred tradition and, even in a new country where it was little more than a temporary open-seamed shack or a hole in a creek bank, and comparably furnished. The time-honored sentiment to cling to it was hard to shake off. Any program for a change would be fighting a proud and noble ancestry of a

great school system. The going was tough, criticism equally tough. It was a contest of endurance every progressive step of the way and we learned early that even many well-informed persons hesitate to embrace a new idea. When that idea touched education the battle, I think, is understandable.

But farm mothers, women who had endured the hell on earth through the years of keeping house in covered wagons, tents, dug-outs and leaky, crudely boarded shacks, braved the winds and dust, the heat and cold, to a modicum of comfort and security, were made of sterner stuff. These new homes, so dearly won, were theirs and they had no desire to leave them for uncertain living in towns. If they could get adequate schooling for the kids at home to heck with the so-called sacredness of the little red school house, or those with no color at all, which was the case in a majority of them. Their letters which came by the hundreds gave us the courage to take up the battle in earnest. They also supplied the front line base for the final showdown. This militant group received at intervals instructions that were not printed in the *Farm Journal*. Men, fewer in numbers, but with influence in their communities were kept in touch with.

The June, 1906, proposal for consolidated schools was followed up intermittently that year, creating little sentiment. At least the reaction was not as favorable as we had hoped. Not discouraged, the January 1, 1907, number of the *Journal* came out for "A State School System," the first paragraph urging consolidated country schools. The article was timely in that the State Constitutional Convention was in session and groping for what it hoped would prove to be an adequate school system, and we were hopeful that the suggestions would help. I still think they and others that followed did. Anyway, our reference to consolidation was not given much verbal thought. But progress was being made and before the end of the year there were consolidations in several communities—one in each of the following counties: Grant, Pawnee, Payne, Kiowa and Custer. Each of these communities had been visited by Fields whose talks had much to do building the needed sentiment. The children were transported by wagons; poor roads made trouble and the gas-powered bus was not yet a public utility. There was no specific State law for these schools. Their patrons built them and, events proved, they were pleased with the reformation.

Country parents were still writing those distressing letters and moving to town. Tenantry was growing. Increasing numbers of readers made it imperative that our campaign never cease, the newer ones needed the information. An occasional old subscriber would write us to give the folks a "rest on the school business," and it had to be explained to him that there could be no rest and

would not be long as new readers were added to the subscription list. Nobody could have been more weary with it than we but there was but one place to stop. How long it would take to reach it we didn't know. Then one morning early in 1908 a prominent farmer and cattle man considerable distance from his trading town, dropped in. He was bitter about the school problem. "My children have got to have more education and I can't afford to break up my start in a good business and move to town," he told us. "I can't afford two households. What I am going to do?"

It developed that he had tried to effect a consolidation of several small districts in order to include higher grades but had failed for lack of co-operation. Here was a prospering young farmer with a promising future (time proved him all of that) who saw that future disrupted because of inadequate country schools. There was nothing we could do at the moment but he did add to our determination to put an extra punch in our school plan. Within two hours after he left we clarified the proposal, making it definite, a principle which was adhered to until the finish. Here is the proposition that appeared in the following issue of the *Farm Journal*:

Whenever a school district comprising an area of not less than twenty-five square miles shall have been established within the state and a building containing not fewer than three rooms suitable for school purposes shall have been built and a graded school employing not fewer than three teachers shall have been conducted for one term of not less than six months, there shall be paid by the state to such school district, upon properly certified application of the board of directors, an amount of money not exceeding one-half the cost of such school building; Provided, that not more than \$2,500 shall be paid by the state to any one such school district. To provide the necessary funds, state school bonds bearing five per cent interest shall be issued as required and such bonds shall be purchased at par by the board of school land commissioners and paid out of the \$5,000,000 permanent school fund, the interest on such bonds to be paid out of funds arising from general taxation of all property within the state.

Using the proposed appropriation of \$2,500 from the school fund as bait we put on all the pressure possible in 1908. Fields was making a minimum of 150 speeches annually, fully three-fourths of them before rural groups, and omitted no opportunity to get in a plug for the school plan. Sentiment in the country was building up fast, a fact that comparatively few town and city folks knew. It is a curious fact that none of the larger city newspapers, and but few country weeklies, noticed it and only such politicians as lived in the rural districts recognized it as a force to some day be reckoned with. Leaders in both of the major parties passed it up with a shrug, if indeed, they gave it a serious thought. This fact will be noted in the letter of Dr. A. C. Scott in this article in which he states that "little note of it has been taken," yet he, as an educator kept in closer touch with educational trends than most. Yet by now an average of more than 1,000 copies per county

of the *Farm Journal* were going, by paid-in-advance invitation into farm homes.

It was the fact that the proposal failed to penetrate political minds that provoked the decision to take the question into politics. The only way to do this, we decided, was for Fields to declare himself a candidate for Governor and make it his leading issue. He was a Republican by belief and inheritance. Knowing that the state was almost certain to be Democratic, and being totally unknown in party politics, he tried to make himself think he could be a Democrat. He just couldn't do it and came out as a Republican. It was a hopeless gesture, so far as the nomination was concerned. On that score we did not deceive ourselves. But the purpose was accomplished. Running third in a field with such well-known men as Governor T. B. Ferguson, Joseph W. McNeal, and C. G. Jones, was a showing of strength sufficient to force each major party to include the consolidated country school proposal in their platforms. Both planks were written by Fields, for the Democratic platform, through a friend. But platforms being platforms, leaders of both parties did not take this one too seriously at the time, but pressure from the country proved such that the legislature elected in 1910 passed the measure.

In the meantime, through the years 1908, 1909, 1910, the proposal was influenced for the better by certain leading educators, heads of the state institutions of higher learning and, also, of leaders in the schools of the larger cities. A notable instance is that of Dr. Chas. Evans, now Secretary of the State Historical Society, then head of the Ardmore schools, who in 1908 brought Mr. O. J. Kern, an Illinois school man, into Oklahoma where he spoke to the Oklahoma Educational Association, injecting needed enthusiasm into teachers of the state. Illinois was making a limited experiment in consolidated schools, as was one district in Indiana, both of which we were watching closely. But the teachers, then even more than now, had no means of spreading propaganda, however good, to the people as a whole and whatever efforts they made was sporadic and, eventually died of inactivity.

In putting the school proposal into politics, an editorial in the December 15, 1909, issue ended with the following paragraph:

If this is politics, then the *Oklahoma Farm Journal* is in politics, and in it to the full limit of its resources, until those who run the state, whether Democrats, Republicans, or Socialists, show at least a few symptoms of giving thought to assisting country people develop and build schools in which all the children of the state may obtain an elementary education, and in which the teaching of agriculture may be something more than a time-consuming bluff.

This is what in today's street venacular would be called "sticking our necks out." The challenge had its intended effect. The

proposal was in the lap of the Legislature. A mere handful of legislators, all from the country, gave this problem practically all their time and energy, and supported by letters inspired by the *Farm Journal*, and Fields and me individually, succeeded in getting the measure to the Governor—the measure written by Fields. Naturally, there were the usual amendments that self-important members felt called on to make, though not too much change was made. Somewhere along the way from the Governor to the statute book errors in transcriptions were made to render the measure invalid—no money could be appropriated. We had our own opinion as to what happened but no proof. So disgusted, mad, and all but completely disheartened with the loss of more than three years of diligent effort, our belts were given an additional hitch and the fight went on.

In the meantime came the following letter from the late Dr. A. C. Scott, former President of the A. & M. College and one of the State's foremost educators and citizens:

EDITOR OKLAHOMA FARM JOURNAL:

And so the bill in aid of consolidated schools was finally passed, in the closing hours of the legislative session! Little note of it has been taken but in my opinion it is the best, the most important, and the most far-reaching measure in the interest of education that this legislaure or any other of our legislatures have enacted into law; and in connection with the provision for a state board of education it will undoubtedly mark an epoch in the educational history of Oklahoma. To be sure, not quite the amount of money desired is pledged to the purpose; but the provision is ample for everything that can be done with it within the next two years, and by that time, I predict that public opinion will be so overwhelmingly committed to the plan that no legislator will stand against it.

For the whole question is this: Why should not the sons and daughters of the farm have the same advantages of education, at their own homes, that the sons and daughters of the town have? The answer is: They should. And the only way to bring this about is such a consolidation of forces by small districts as shall make possible the grading of the schools and the addition, as circumstances justify, of grades above the common school work, until the educational opportunities of the country are equivalent to those of the town.

But, Mr. Editor, one of my chief purpose in writing this letter is to say that this great measure is the victory of the *Oklahoma Farm Journal*. It is true, thousands of farmers have contributed to, and in a measure forced, the result. But the *Oklahoma Farm Journal* started the storm, furnished the thunder, and greased the lightning! Almost single handed and alone it created the sentiment which was powerful enough to override all obstacles and secure the enactment of this most beneficent law; and it and its editor most richly deserve the congratulations and thanks of the farmers and, for that matter, of all the people of the state.—A. C. Scott, Oklahoma City, March 22, 1911.

Then came two years more of the same work to which was added a determination to take the proposal to the people. To that end men were employed to circulate petitions. Names in sufficient

numbers were gained but never used, since the end was reached without. For this work Fields and I paid more than \$10,000, a lot of money in 1911. Anyhow the half of which was mine seemed a lot.

Now there was help that counted. More of the politically minded, progressive citizens, had given the matter thought, and liked what they learned. They were a force which made our works more pleasant. Teacher groups, too, more openly supported the proposal. Elected to the 1912-13 Legislature were a number of its strong supporters: Senators Curren of Kay County, Tucker of Carter County, and Representatives Lemon of Grant County, Woodward of Kiowa, Pruitt of Caddo and Harry Cordell of Washita, each a power. Again the bill was prepared in our office, which was a rallying point. When the bill came to a vote in the closing hours of the Legislature a front page editorial, nicely timed, and in 12-point type instructed our country folks just what to do. They did it and members of each house told me later that on a single day more than 10,000 letters were delivered to them in the Wright building, corner Second and Broadway, Oklahoma City, where they met. Final vote was pleasing to John Fields and me and worth the fight of more than five years. It was: Senate, 30 to 11; House, 65 to 16. Governor Cruce signed the bill in March 1913.

The courageous farm mothers and fathers—mothers come first here and were the most potent fighters—now had the money and the law for their schools. The system was immediately put into operation, the new State led the United States in what is now a universal country school system and which, by the way, uses that slow bus which annoyed me on the road.

As an indication that victory did not cause us to lose our sense of perspective, the following editorial was published in our April 1, 1913, number, *Oklahoma Farm Journal*:

UP TO YOU NOW

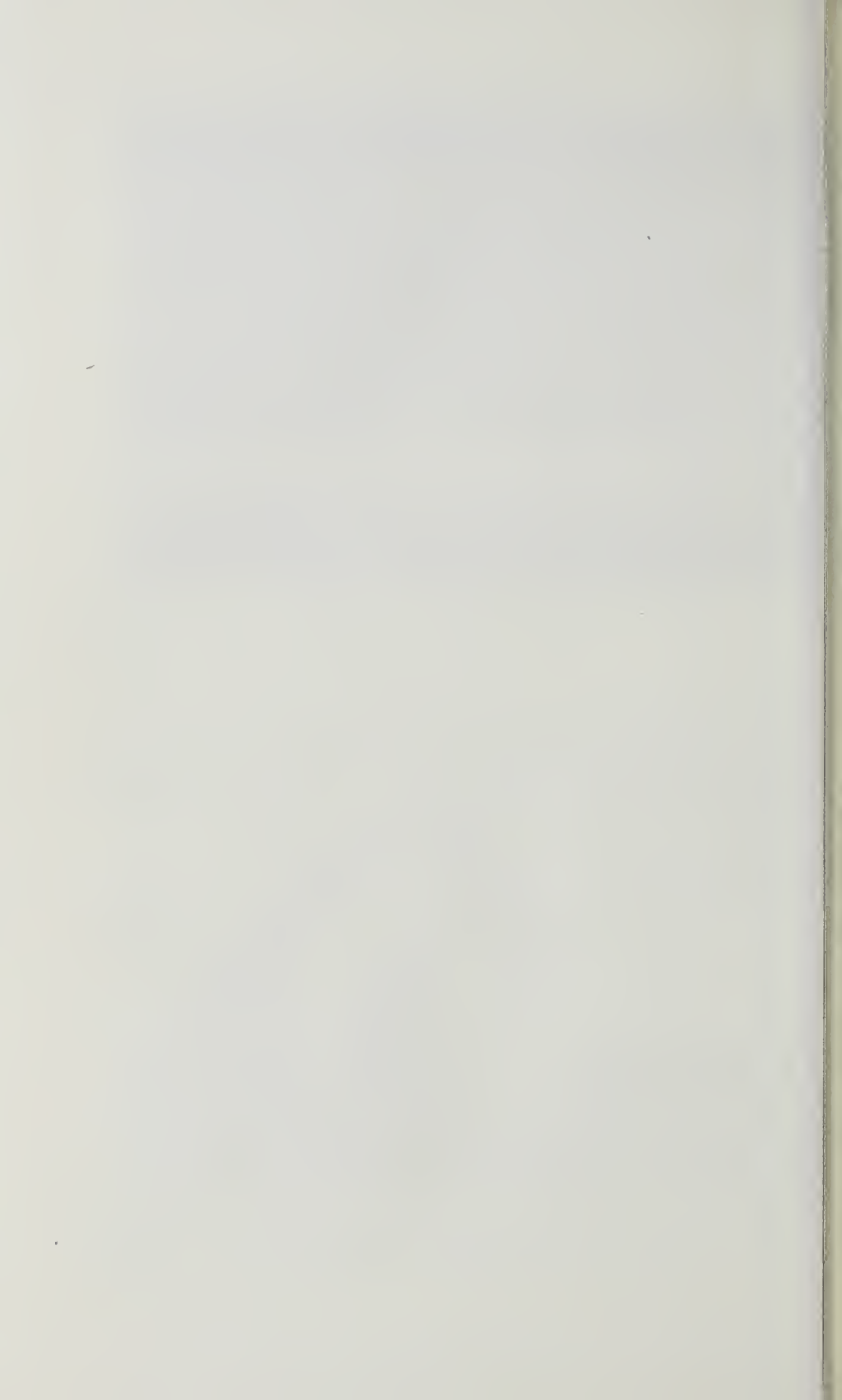
The problem of improved rural schools has been solved by the passage of House Bill 149. This merely means that the state has recognized the principle that the elementary schools of the state need improvement—that the system needs to be changed to fit modern conditions—that state funds should be spent for improving the people's schools as well as for buildings and maintaining colleges. But the people of each community must for themselves determine what they will do, if anything. There are large areas in the state where the consolidation of schools is impracticable, because of physical conditions of the locality and the financial condition of the people. Something must in time be done by the state for these localities. But at least half of the state's area is of a sort which makes the consolidation of schools most desirable. And wherever these conditions exist and the people generally are willing that graded schools may be built and maintained, the good work should go forward. There is no use in attempting to force the building and development of better schools on unwilling people. But those who do not



Consolidated school building in Oklahoma



Typical school house built in districts after
Oklahoma became a state in 1907



want such schools themselves ought at least to prefer that other farmers have them and have help from the state in building them, rather than that the proceeds from the Public Building Lands should all be spent for purposes of but little benefit to country children. The *Journal* will continue doing all that it can in helping this good work along, by supplying all the information obtainable and telling of what others have done. But it will not attempt to force consolidation of schools on communities which don't want it. Resources amounting to about \$2,500,0000 have been safely set aside to help build such schools. A thousand communities will quickly see the opportunity and make use of it. Those which do not will be no worse off than heretofore, and no better. It's up to you, folks.

[Signed]: John Fields.

CRIPPLED CHILDREN IN OKLAHOMA

By Earl D. McBride, M. D.*

When the writer of this article was discharged from the United States Army in January 1919, he came to Oklahoma City with the intention of practicing general surgery. Upon his arrival several Oklahoma City doctors who knew Mrs. McBride, Pauline Wahl, in her earlier years, proposed that he take over the practice of Doctor L. Hull, who had died during his Army service as the result of influenza and pneumonia. Doctor Hull had taken his training at the Hospital for Ruptured and Crippled in New York City and had practiced orthopaedic surgery in Oklahoma City since about 1915. The writer felt as many general surgeons feel, that orthopaedic work was about the last special field he would want to enter. However, at the insistence of Mrs. Hull and a mutual good friend, Doctor A. B. Chase, the writer took over Doctor Hull's orthopaedic surgery on the second floor of the Colcord Building.

At this time orthopaedic surgery was new. The public knew little or nothing in the accomplishments of this special field of practice. The writer soon found that he was deficient in the knowledge of orthopaedic surgery for small children and therefore returned to New York City and entered a service in the Hospital for Ruptured and Crippled, under the tutorage of the renowned orthopaedic surgeons, Royal Whitman and Virgil Gibney.

Upon return to Oklahoma City it was fully realized that much good could be done for the under privileged crippled children if they could be found for treatment. At first no one seemed to be

* Earl Duwain McBride, M.D., is the author of two volumes: *Disability Evaluation* (4 edition, J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1949) and *Crippled Children and Orthopaedic Nursing* (C. B. Mosby Co.). In addition, he has contributed forty-six scientific articles published in medical journals. Doctor McBride, born in 1891 at Severy, Kansas, came to Oklahoma with his family in 1899. He attended Epworth University (now Oklahoma City University), graduated (B.S.) from the University of Oklahoma in 1912, and completed his medical course and graduated (M.D.) from Columbia University in 1914. He began practice of medicine in a small town in Oklahoma in 1914. In 1917, he entered U. S. Army service in World War I, and was stationed with the British Army, American Women's War Hospital at Paignton, England. After discharge from the service in 1919, he came to Oklahoma City, and devoted himself exclusively to orthopedic practice from 1921. Doctor McBride became Instructor in Orthopedic surgery in the University of Oklahoma School of Medicine in 1927, and later was Assistant Professor of Orthopedic Surgery.

As Chairman of the Editorial Committee of the American Academy of Orthopaedic Surgeons, he was sent to London, England, in June, 1947, to attend a meeting for the editorial interests of the *Journal of Bone and Joint Surgery*. On May 26, 1949, Doctor McBride left San Francisco by air for the Far East, as civilian orthopedic consultant for the Surgeon General. His work will include a lecture and instructional course for the staff of the U. S. Army hospitals in Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, and in Tokyo, Japan.—Ed.

especially interested. Fortunately, Miss Mildred Hamlin, who was the writer's first secretary and the daughter of Charley Hamlin, a member of the Oklahoma City Rotary Club, saw to it that the writer soon became a member of this Club. Leonard Bailey was President of the Rotary Club in 1919 and 1920. He was deeply interested in boys' work and had appointed Walter Dean, prominent businessman, and later Mayor of Oklahoma City, as Chairman of the Boys' Work Committee. The writer approached Walter Dean with reference to crippled children. A meeting was held with several of his Committee and it was decided that they knew of only two or three crippled children in Oklahoma City. One was a newsboy who sold papers on the corner of Broadway and Main Streets, near what is now the Tradesmen's National Bank.

One day during the year 1920 the writer observed a little fellow about eleven years old, who was walking down the sidewalk on Northwest Fifth Street, tiptoeing on one foot. His marked limp was obviously from a severe attack of infantile paralysis. This boy appeared to be such a good example of the type of case that could be improved by orthopaedic surgery that the writer could not refrain from making an investigation. It was found that this boy's parents were very poor and they had never been told that surgery could be of benefit to him.

The boy was taken to Walter Dean who offered to pay his hospitalization and the operation on his foot was done. Within a few months the boy's foot was straight and he was walking with only a very slight limp. Mr. Dean and his Boys' Work Committee were so favorably impressed that they bought this boy a new suit of clothes and a nice hat and took him to the Rotary Club luncheon. The enthusiasm spread throughout the entire membership of the Club and the Crippled Children's Committee was formed as a subcommittee of the Boys' Work Committee, of which Mr. Dean was chairman. The Committee was composed of George Curtis, Chairman, Dan O'Hearn, Tom Roach, Cy Anderson, James Devine, and Doctors Horace Reed, Harry Sorrels, Everett Lain, C. N. Gould and Earl D. McBride.

The first work of the Committee was to consider an investigation of the Oklahoma City Schools for crippled children. The doctor members of the Rotary Club were authorized to visit each of the public schools and examine children for poor posture and various physical defects. Many abnormal conditions were found. Mr. A. C. Parsons, Superintendent of the schools in 1921 and 1922, was enthusiastic about carrying out these clinics within the schools.

There were two families who were extremely interested in doing something for crippled children. One was that of Mrs. J. E. Donaldson and the other, that of Mrs. W. L. Kitchens. Mrs. J. E. Donaldson had a son, Paul, whom the writer had treated for a

tuberculous hip. Mrs. Kitchens had a son, Billy, with cerebrospastic paralysis, who was confined to a wheel chair, but was making fine progress in school, except that he could not attend regularly because he was unable to walk. Also, Mrs. Fred Nowlin, wife of Doctor Nowlin, dentist, was interested in a special school for crippled children. These women, together with Mr. Parsons and others, developed the idea of a special school for crippled and under privileged children as a part of the Oklahoma City school program. The Crippled Children's Committee of the Rotary Club sponsored this project and the doctors of the Club and other doctors of the City, including Doctor Cloudman, School Physician, enthusiastically entered into this activity to the extent that the William Jennings Bryan School was established about 1922. It was located at 1148 Northwest Eighth Street, Oklahoma City.

The activity of the Crippled Children's Committee of the Rotary Club was chiefly that of making some visits to the schools of the City and arranging for examination of children for surveying the number of crippled children and the number of children with poor posture and other physical defects. This Committee discussed the necessity of having a new state-wide society for the care of crippled children. At the meeting of Rotary International 1920, attention was directed to crippled children's work on a national scale. Rotary International had become interested through the activities of the Rotary Club in Toledo, Ohio, which undertook the treatment of a boy without arms or legs in the year 1915. His name was Alva Bunker. This boy was provided with artificial arms and legs and was given advantages of education by the Toledo Rotary Club. Later the boy came out on the stage at one of the International Out of this original incident the International Society for Crippled Children was developed by Rotary International. The Children's Hospital at Elyria, Ohio, previously had been established through the interest of the Rotary Club in that City. A man who had been in charge of that institution for sometime, was well known as "Daddy" Allen.

In 1922, the writer approached Governor William J. Holloway of Oklahoma, and explained the necessity for the care of crippled children to him. In turn, Governor Holloway talked with a number of the legislators and a meeting was held in September, 1922, at the Huckins Hotel, to determine how a law might be provided. A commission was discussed and it was decided that the Commission should be headed by the State Public Health Officer and that the Dean of the School of Medicine should have an important part in this Commission. The plan was not adopted. In 1923, Representative Allen Street, of Oklahoma County was chiefly responsible in securing the enactment of the first State law (Senate Bill 311) for crippled children. This bill was signed by M. E. Trapp, President of the Senate, Murray F. Gibbons, Speaker of the House of Representa-

tives, and Governor J. C. Walton. The law provided that crippled children could be committed to the University Hospital through the County Judge. The medical staff of the University Hospital was to provide treatment. No doctor was allowed any compensation for his services.

Paul Fesler, Superintendent of the State University Hospital at that time, was much interested in crippled children. He gave his support and help in interesting the Rotary Club in this matter. On September 12, 1922, Mr. Fesler made a four-minute talk on crippled children before the Rotary Club, and at a committee meeting later on, it was decided to recommend that other Rotary Clubs throughout the state organize crippled children's committees and hold crippled children's clinics. Letters were written to the various clubs nothing was done because no one seemed to know just how to go about the right procedure.

In November, 1922, the writer attended a National meeting of the American Orthopaedic Association in Toronto. At this meeting Doctor Stern, an orthopaedic surgeon of Cleveland, Ohio, showed a motion picture in which the Rotary Club of Cleveland was holding a crippled children's clinic, with Doctor Stern as the medical examiner. The picture showed Club members in teams of two each going to different vicinities. They brought the crippled children assigned to them into the clinic, and returned them to their homes. The film showed social workers consulting with the parents and later in the picture the child was shown as it was in the hospital and then after it had been dismissed, greatly improved. Permission was given the writer to bring this film to Oklahoma City.

On February 12, 1923 the Crippled Children's Committee of the Rotary Club endorsed the suggestion that this motion picture be brought to Oklahoma City for the Rotary Club and representatives of other Clubs to see.

On March 6, 1923, George W. Curtis, Chairman of the Crippled Children's Committee, together with the members of the Committee and the writer met at the Liberty Theatre through the courtesy of Allen Street, owner of the theatre, to see the showing of this picture. This aroused much enthusiasm, and everyone was eager to accomplish something of the same work in Oklahoma.

Letters were written to the various Rotary Clubs explaining how a clinic might be held as shown in this picture; and how Rotarians might survey and locate crippled children in their districts, and later bring them into the clinic. It was requested that the writer assist in these clinics by serving as orthopaedic surgeon to examine the children.

The first clinic was held in Ardmore on October 1924. At this clinic 125 children were examined by the writer, assisted by Doc-

tor Andrew Cowles and Doctor Walter Hardy of Ardmore. The Clinic was held in the Hardy Sanitarium. At noon luncheon the Ardmore Rotary Club raised \$7,000 in about ten minutes. Following this meeting, the writer traveled to Ardmore once a month for more than one year, holding clinics and operating on crippled children. John Dexter of Ardmore, District Governor of Rotary in 1925, called especial attention to crippled children at the Annual District Convention in Ponca City. Following this, the writer was asked to go to Pawhuska where the second clinic was held on May 12, 1925. Then a clinic was held at Cushing, another at Stillwater, another at Duncan; and in all fourteen clinics were held, with the writer as examiner, before any definite organization was established.

The writer and others realized that there should be some central organization known as the Crippled Children's Society. The Tuberculosis Society had been successful and at that time Heber Hickson was the Director of this Society. Upon request of the writer and the Rotary Club Committee, Mr. Hickson agreed to act also as Secretary for the Oklahoma Crippled Children's Society although there was really no organization set up at the time. It was the plan, however, to develop the Society by memberships throughout Oklahoma for the establishment of a definite organization.

From 1923 to 1924, the Crippled Children's Committee of the Rotary Club were composed of the following men: George Curtis as Chairman, Joseph Blatt, D. C. Patterson, W. T. Sorrels, William Guthrie, M. L. Crowther, Gus Houek, Heber Hickson, Faye Thompson, Charles W. Sims, George Woodworth, Everett W. Hill, John D. Thomas, Paul Fesler, Charles Knight, John Prest, Earl Snedeker, Charles Poole, and Doctors Looney, Earl D. McBide, Leslie Westfall, Harry Lamb, and M. M. Rowland.

During these years the William Jennings Bryan School for Crippled Children had been established in Oklahoma City. A number of children had been treated at the University Hospital, but the writer was not yet established as a member of the staff of the University Hospital. In September, 1923, a crippled children's clinic was established at what was then called the Baptist Hospital, now Mercy Hospital, at the corner of Twelve Street and Walker. A clinic was held once each week and all doctors in the state were invited to send crippled children to this clinic. Doctor W. M. Dickson, who had previously owned this hospital, and sold it to the Baptist Church was also interested in this clinic in respect to the general surgery of children. The writer continued his work throughout the state holding crippled children's clinics during 1923 and 1924. One day in January 1924, a child came to St. Anthony's Hospital for treatment under his care. This child, a little

girl, needed a brace for her foot. At Rotary Club one day, the writer sat by Earl Bridges, and made the statement there was a child at St. Anthony's Hospital who was greatly in need of a brace and the mother was without funds to purchase it. Immediately Earl spoke up and said that he would be glad to pay for it. The amount was about \$35.00. The writer refused to take money from Earl, but suggested that Earl see the mother and give the money to her and then the brace would be made for the child. Earl did this and became intensely interested in this child and in crippled children in general.

At the meeting of Rotary International in Cleveland, Ohio, in June, 1924, Earl Bridges attended this meeting and assigned to the Crippled Children's Committee round table. He was very enthusiastic, and upon his return home in Oklahoma City, proposed that a meeting be held at once and a Society for Crippled Children be organized which would be state-wide. He explained that Mr. Lew Wentz in Ponca City had been interested in crippled children for some years; and that Mr. Arthur Capper in Kansas was doing this work through his newspaper. An enthusiastic effort was begun toward organizing this Society. In 1925, A. A. Brown, E. T. Overand, Fred Letts, Fred Unland, Earl Bridges, Charlie Hamlin and Doctor A. C. Hirshfield were added to the Rotary Club Crippled Children's Committee.

On July 20, 1925 the Board of the Rotary Club, on a motion by Tom McGee, seconded by Sam Shelbourne, endorsed the program outlined by the Crippled Children's Committee, of which Earl Bridges was acting Chairman, in the organization of the State Society for Crippled Children. Allen DeShong of Ardmore, who had done much work along this line was very enthusiastic about this organization. On September 24, 1925 a meeting was held of the Crippled Children's Committee and other interested persons, to organize this Society. Allen DeShong was present, together with several men from Ardmore. At this meeting a motion carried to invite Mr. Lew Wentz to join in the organization of this Society. In reply Mr. Wentz said he would join and help organize the Society, provided an efficient secretary could be obtained. In the meantime, a temporary secretary for the work had been provided by the International Society. His name was Harry Howett. An office was established and he came to this City to act temporarily until a permanent secretary could be provided. The Oklahoma Society for Crippled Children was organized on September 24, 1925.

On November 2, 1925, "Daddy" Allen, Secretary of the International Society for Crippled Children, in charge of the International Rotary Club Hospital at Ayr, Ohio, was invited to speak to the Oklahoma City Rotary Club. He came to the state in November, and was entertained first at Oklahoma City, then at Ponca City by Mr. Wentz and the Miller Brothers of the 101 Ranch. He

aroused the enthusiasm of every member in the new organization. On December 7, 1925, a Ford Coupe was provided by Fred Jones and the Rotary Club for the Oklahoma Crippled Children's Society. For 1925 and 1926, George Woodworth, Doctor William Bailey, J. R. Barton, Harry Gilstrap and Harvey Everest were added to the Crippled Children's Committee. Mr. Howett was still Secretary of the Crippled Children's Society.

On February 1, 1926, Joe N. Hamilton, Principal of the Ponca City Schools, came to Oklahoma City to be Secretary of the Oklahoma Crippled Children's Society. His salary of approximately \$5,000 a year was donated by Mr. Wentz. Mr. Wirt Franklin of Ardmore provided office space free of rent in his Franklin Building at 217 Northwest Second Street, Oklahoma City.

The crippled children's clinics have always been a most important feature of the program. Usually they are sponsored by a civic club such as Rotary, Kiwanis or Lions Clubs in the state cities. Announcements of the clinics are published locally by the Society.

On the specified date the clinic staff, usually from Oklahoma City, or Tulsa, are gathered up by Mr. Hamilton at an early morning hour and delivered to the designated location in the city where the Clinic is to be held. The party consists of one or two orthopaedic surgeons; a plastic surgeon, the local county health doctor and nurses, the special service personnel of the State Crippled Children's Society, the Vocational and Rehabilitation representative and members of the sponsoring club. In some clinics as many as 125 to 150 children are examined. Usually, however, the number is from 25 to 60.

A record is made of each case. The attending surgeon's recommendations are made to the parents through the Social Service Office of the State Crippled Children's Hospital and Crippled Children's Society. Miss Kitty Shanklin, now Mrs. C. R. Rountree, was in charge of Social Service at many of the early clinics.

In 1926 and 1927, Mr. Lew Wentz became very interested in affairs of the State. He was appointed member on the State Highway Commission. He gave all of the salary paid him in this office to the Crippled Children's Society. Through his influence the Crippled Children's law was broadened and the State Hospital for Crippled Children was built in 1927. Mr. Wentz, provided the school building in connection with the hospital which was located just East of the University Hospital on the campus of the Medical School of the University of Oklahoma. Mr. Wentz, personally attended many of the crippled children's clinics and provided refreshments and entertainment for the children.

The Crippled Children's Act as amended in 1927 made it possible that hospitals other than the University Hospital could ac-

cept orthopaedic or plastic cases for treatment. It provided for a one-tenth mill levy in each county, the proceeds from which were set aside in a Crippled Children's fund. Thus, any afflicted child under twenty-one years of age could be provided treatment in a hospital.

In 1935 the Act was again amended. A Commission was established for administration of the program. This commission was composed of the State Superintendent of Health, Dean of the University of Oklahoma School of Medicine, and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. An Executive Secretary was appointed by the President of the University of Oklahoma. Thus, the organization was finally established very much as originally planned at the beginning of the movement.

The 1935 Act further provided for a Committee on standardization, composed of five doctors appointed by the Governor to approve hospitals, physicians and surgeons to treat cases under the act. The appointments were made by Governor Marland in 1935 as follows: Doctors Morris Searle of Tulsa, W. N. Browning, of Waurika, Pat Fite, of Muskogee, Earl D. McBride, of Oklahoma City and J. F. Park, of McAlester.

There were three classes of hospitals provided: (1) crippled children's hospitals; (2) general hospitals; (3) standard hospitals. This plan made the Oklahoma law for crippled children one of the most complete plans for such work throughout the Nation. It has been used as an example as other States have enacted legislation for a similar purpose.

The adoption of the Federal Social Security Act made a further provision necessary and, in 1935, Initiative Petition 155 was adopted which was known as the Oklahoma Security Act. It called for one-half of one per cent of the two per cent sales tax to be allocated to a fund known as the State Assistance Fund and expanded on the treatment of afflicted children under the direction of the Oklahoma Public Welfare Commission.

In 1941 the Crippled Children's Act was rewritten and Senate Bill 13, (Session Laws 1941) is the basic law under which the crippled children's work operates. There are over 62 hospitals authorized to admit children under the act.

The State Crippled Children's Hospital was established in 1927. The hospital provided beds, pediatric, orthopaedic and plastic cases. The Chief of Staff was Doctor LeRoy Long, Dean of the Medical School. Other members of the Staff were Doctors W. K. West, S. R. Cunningham, C. R. Rountree and the writer. Doctor Don H. O'Donoghue was the first Resident in Orthopaedic Surgery. Doctor Howard B. Shorbe and Doctor R. L. Noell followed. In 1936 the legislation provided for a full time Professor of Orthopaedic Surgery and Doctor Paul Colonna of New York City accepted the posi-

tion. Many Residents have been trained in this institution and are now among the leading orthopaedic surgeons nationally. Doctor John F. Burton developed the Plastic Surgery Service. More than 83,291 children have received treatment in the Crippled Children's Hospital from 1927 to 1949.

In 1925, the writer established a hospital in connection with the McBride Clinic. The name was "The Reconstruction Hospital". It was located at 717 North Robinson Street. In 1938 a new building was constructed at the corner of Northwest 10th Street and Dewey, and the name was changed to the "Bone and Joint Hospital." A crippled children's ward was provided and the institution was approved as a crippled children's hospital under the Crippled Children's Act.

In 1926, Elias Margo, Orthopaedic Surgeon joined the Staff of the Reconstruction Hospital. In 1937 Doctor Wm. K. Ishmael, was added to the Staff as an Internist and Specialist in Arthritis and Rheumatic diseases. Early in the year of 1938 Doctor Howard B. Shorbe, was added as an Orthopaedic Surgeon. The present Staff of the Bone and Joint Hospital includes in addition to the original Staff mentioned above; Doctor Lucile Spire Blachly, Dietary Specialist in the Division on Arthritis, and Doctors J. R. Stacy, William L. Waldrop, and Russell D. Harris as orthopaedic surgeons. This hospital has 81 beds for orthopaedic cases. A solarium is especially arranged with 15 beds for small children.

The Oklahoma State Orthopaedic Society was established in 1947. The members of this organization at this time (April, 1949) are: Doctors Samuel T. Moore, Elias Margo, Howard B. Shorbe, Robert L. Noell, L. Stanley Sell, D. H. O'Donoghue, Charles Rountree, W. K. West, William L. Waldrep, James C. Amspacher, J. R. Stacy, Robert Holt, John Florence, John Dague, Russell D. Harris, all of Oklahoma City; Doctors Frank Stuart, Ian MacKenzie, Wade Sisler, John E. McDonald, Charles Brighton, all of Tulsa; Doctors Pat Fite and P. E. Johnson, both of Muskogee; Doctors Charles Graybill, of Lawton, and L. S. Willour, of McAlester, Oklahoma.

It is interesting to recall that when suggestions were made thirty years ago to give crippled children in Oklahoma special attention, the reply at first was that there were very few of these children even in Oklahoma City. Now, we have twenty-four orthopaedic surgeons in the state, all of them busy daily seeing patients who are injured or deformed in one way or another. The citizens of Oklahoma should be proud of the accomplishments in the work for cripples.

It may be said with acclaim that the citizens of Oklahoma have provided generously for the crippled child and, also, the crippled adult. Citizens of the State may well be proud of the great good that has been accomplished in the field of orthopaedic surgery in Oklahoma.

THE OKLAHOMA COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

By Anna Lewis*

In the autumn of 1907 when the last American frontier was conquered and the new State of Oklahoma was created, a forty-sixth state took her place beside the old thirteen. Oklahoma's population coming from every state in the union was a heterogeneous group. The predominating political influence came from the South and the Southwest. When the First State Legislature met, the problem of establishing schools was one that perturbed the law makers, due to the fact that Oklahoma Territory had already established the University, the Agricultural and Mechanical College, and three normal schools, while the Indian Territory, richer in natural resources, had no state-supported school. There were several tribal schools. These had been supported by tribal funds; but now tribal government had ended and, to adjust this difference, the State Legislature was faced with the problem of establishing schools in the eastern half of the state, the old Indian Territory part, to offset the western half. Out of that situation the Oklahoma College for Women was created.

In May, 1908, the First State Legislature passed the act creating the college:

Section 1 of this act reads: "An Industrial Institute and College is hereby created for female students in the State of Oklahoma."

Section 2 gives the purpose: "The purpose of said college shall be to give instruction in industrial arts, the English language, and the various branches of mathematics, physical, natural, and economical science with special reference to their application in the industries of life, and to that end there shall be established a sufficient faculty for teaching the above branches and such arts and sciences as are related thereto."

Section 3: "The institution shall be known as the Oklahoma Industrial Institute and College for Girls and shall be an institution incorporated under the laws of Oklahoma, and the government thereof is hereby vested in a board of regents to be known as the Industrial Institute and College Board of Regents. Said board shall consist of the superintendent of Public Instructions of the State, who shall be ex-officio president of the board: The President of the Board of Agriculture and three others to be appointed by the governor and confirmed by the Senate, two of whom shall be women."

Section 4: "Such college, by its regents, may take title of real estate and enter into contracts, locate buildings and do all things necessary to make a college effective as an educational institute."

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Section 5: "The full course of study in the institution shall embrace not less than four years, and the college year shall consist of not less than nine calendar months, which may be divided into terms by the Board of Regents as in their judgment will secure the object for which the college was founded."

Section 13: "All white female citizens of Oklahoma between the ages of twelve and thirty-five, who shall pass a satisfactory examination in reading, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, and United States history who are known to possess a good moral character may be admitted to all the privileges of the institution."

Several influential members of Oklahoma's first legislature were from the South and believed in separate education for women. The school they had in mind to duplicate or in some respects model after was the Mississippi State College for Women. The Oklahoma College for Women was the fifth institution of its kind to be established in the United States, that is, it was the fifth tax supported state institution for women.

The Second Legislature in March, 1909, located the new "Industrial School" at Chickasha in what was a part of the old Chickasaw Nation. The original campus consisted of twenty acres. This twenty acre tract reflects the early history of the Indian Territory. When the Chickasaws, along with the other of the Five Civilized Tribes, accepted land in severalty and dissolved their tribal government, Nellie Sparks, a Chickasaw girl, was given the land southwest of the City of Chickasha as her tribal inheritance. Nellie Sparks died while she was attending William Woods, a college for girls in Missouri. So in memory of her and in order that other Oklahoma girls might be educated nearer home, her father, the late J. B. Sparks, an old cattle man, gave twenty acres of her allotment for the establishment of the "Oklahoma Industrial Institute and College for Girls." The first dormitory on the campus was given the name of Nellie Sparks Hall.

The Oklahoma Industrial Institute and College for Girls opened its doors, or its borrowed doors to students September 7, 1909, but few came. For the first two years the I. I. & C. had no home. The Act creating the College in 1908 carried an appropriation of \$100,000 for the erection of a building, but since the Legislature did not decide upon a location that year, nothing could be done in the way of a building. As soon as the College was located in Chickasha, enthusiastic citizens of the City and the newly appointed Board of Regents believed that the best interests of the school would be served by opening the institution at the earliest possible date, though the Legislature had made no appropriation for teachers' salaries. But with the aid of the citizens of Chickasha and the Chamber of Commerce the college opened. A special session of the State Legislature was called in January, 1910, at which time funds were appropriated. The high school building and the city churches of Chickasha offered class rooms and they were accepted. The

students, most of them, came from Chickasha anyway so no dormitory was needed. In September, 1911 after two years of pioneering, I. I. & C. began its third year in a building of its own, the building which is now known as the Administration Building. This one building was the "College." It was dormitory, laboratory, and administration building until December, 1913. In that year the first dormitory was completed but it was not occupied until 1914.

During the first years of the College it was difficult for the authorities to decide just what should be the character of the institution. This was the age of vocational schools and colleges. The trend of education was toward the practical and useful. The aims of the institutions outlined in the first catalogue are:

"The aim of this school is to give to the girls and young women not only a literary education on a par with a University course but also such an industrial education as will make them useful, economical, scientific queens of our American home.

"The high mission of this institution demands high standards—The college will seek not only to improve the intellect and morals of the girls, but will strive in every way to prepare them for home makers, leaders in social, civic, industrial, and educational affairs. Through the influence of this literary and industrial education combined, through the cultivation of the useful arts and esthetic graces the I. I. C. hopes to bring to the home with their future arbiters, not only economy, comfort and convenience but harmony, culture, and refinement."

In September, 1911, when the I. I. & C. moved into its own quarters, a new President was in charge, James Alexander Moore of Alabama having succeeded H. B. Abernathy, the first President. The curriculum was reorganized, or organized on a Junior College basis. The Prospectus for students in 1911 gave the purpose of the institution:

"Education must be both General and Specific:—General, in qualifying each individual for his common destiny and preparing him for participation with all mankind in the heritage of human experiences:—Specific as fitting each individual for the particular sphere he shall occupy.

"It may be said that every phase of life that concerns women, every office and service that may need her, the Oklahoma Institute and College seeks to open to her, to fit her for. In the University, the Oklahoma girl has the opportunity of rivaling her brother in advance work along broad lines: in a normal school she may prepare herself for teaching: in the Industrial Institute and College she is offered the means of fitting herself for the perfect home maker, the efficient office woman, the trained worker, the expert artists, and the Cultured Woman."

Institutions are products of experiences and must invariably change as conditions change, if they are to achieve their purpose and the college authorities attempted to adjust the institution to these changes.

The first three years the College struggled under many handicaps, political and financial. As in all other new states and new

institutions political influencees were hard to keep out. The Board of Regents was discontinued in 1910 by legislative act, and the Institute was placed under the State Board of Education. The Legislature was, after having established the school, not very generous in its appropriations. The name "Industrial Institute" attached to a college was a handicap, the word "Industrial" having been applied in some states to institutions of correction. The college administration labored long trying to make it clear to the public that the school was both a college and an Industrial Institute, "Institute" in the sense of an educational institute. In one of the early catalogues the following explanation and apology are made for the name:

"Aside from this being a college, it is an industrial institution. The training is industrial in that it is vocational, practical and helpful as a means of livelihood. Only girls of the highest moral character are admissible to this splendid industrial training. Other institutions have no monopoly on the word 'Industrial' and instead of being a humiliation it becomes the I. I. & C's chief glory."

But even this was not convincing and the name was considered by many to be a serious hindrance, especially after some incorrigible girls were sent to the institute by county judges who did not know that it was a college.

So as early as 1912, the governing authorities decided that the name should be changed to "The Oklahoma College for Women," and after that time all catalogues and publications used this name. But not until 1916 was the change made official by an act of the Legislature.

In 1912, also when the name was changed to Oklahoma College for Women, the course of study was revised provision now being made for a four year college. There were two courses of study, one leading to an academic degree, the other to a technical degree. Along with the college work there was still a four year preparatory school which continued to be the most important part of the college as far as numbers. With the new school year came a new President, J. B. Eskridge of Texas.

In the catalogue for 1912 the aims of the institution are restated as follows:

"The Oklahoma College for Women is offering a combination of both classic and technical education designed to meet the particular needs of women alone. Training for both head and hand is the dominant idea, and the object of every endeavor is to give young women of Oklahoma a well-rounded education that shall equip them for usefulness in every walk of life."

The college authorities realized now that there was nothing new in the fundamental problems which confronted women. They were the same now as in the past and would continue to be the

same—that is, an adjustment to the world in which they lived in order that life might yield a maximum of satisfaction and development.

An old idea that was inherited or handed down from the Female Seminaries of the eighties and the nineties was that of “uniform dress” which was required for a few years. The catalogue gave this explanation, “In order to promote safe and sane ideas in matters pertaining to dress, a uniform will be worn on Sunday. The uniform will be neat and attractive, of good material but not expensive. The right is reserved to require a uniform for week if deemed wise.” This regulation was later deemed wise and in 1914, the catalogue gave as the main purpose of the change, “democracy”, on the campus: “The richest girl cannot be distinguished from the poorest by her dress”. For a few years dress regulations were emphasized but that phase soon passed.

The most important period in the history of the College in the matter of growth and development came between the years 1914 and 1926. It was during these years that the college developed into an accredited and recognized Liberal Arts College. The first step in this development was the coming of a new President in 1914, G. W. Austin. He was a man with vision. He believed in the education of women; he wanted to build a woman's college, a college in fact as well as in name which was in accordance with the trend of public opinion of the day. He believed that economic independence for women was most desirable and believed that a college education was an important asset in obtaining that independence. There was now less political influence in the College, and its administration was given a free hand in raising the standards. In order to bring the quality of instruction up to meet requirements, the preparatory school was organized with a separate faculty, and the four year college course was reorganized and strengthened. The faculty increased in number and in academic training. The student body grew also in number and came to college better prepared to do college work.

The first degrees were given in 1915. The class was small, of course, only two students having sufficient faith in the future of the College to continue the four years' work. But the College had granted a degree. This gave encouragement to others.

The President, in 1915, sought the recognition of the North Central Association of Universities and Colleges, and each year thereafter until 1919, when recognition was obtained, a petition went in to the Association asking either for an inspection or for definite information on steps to be taken next in order to obtain the rating of an accredited college.

In President Austin's report to the committee on recognition he states that in 1917 the legislature "appropriated \$100,000 for buildings and the school was so much appreciated that not a single vote was cast against the appropriation," and that he was sure the coming legislature, 1919, would be equally generous. The appropriation made in 1917 was used to enlarge the one dormitory, Nellie Sparks Hall, and to build a central heating plant. In 1919 the legislature was as generous as the President had anticipated; a Fine Arts building, another dormitory, Frances E. Willard Hall, and the President's home were erected.

The Fine Arts Department was now becoming one of the important departments of the college. This part of the College has fulfilled the aims and ambitions of its founders. Not only has it trained public school teachers in music and dramatics, but it has given the state an uplift in the appreciation of music and dramatics. As Oklahoma was a pioneer state, music and art had been neglected. The "sooners" and the "89'ers" had no time to give to culture; they had been too busy building up a state, now they were ready to accept it.

Along with this new growth and recognition, a separate Board of Regents, some members of which were women, was created by the Legislature in 1919. The creation of a Board of Regents for the college aided materially in the development of the College. Such a Board had more time and felt more interest in the College. The State Board of Education had more than a dozen schools and it was not always willing to distinguish between a college, a normal school, and a preparatory school.

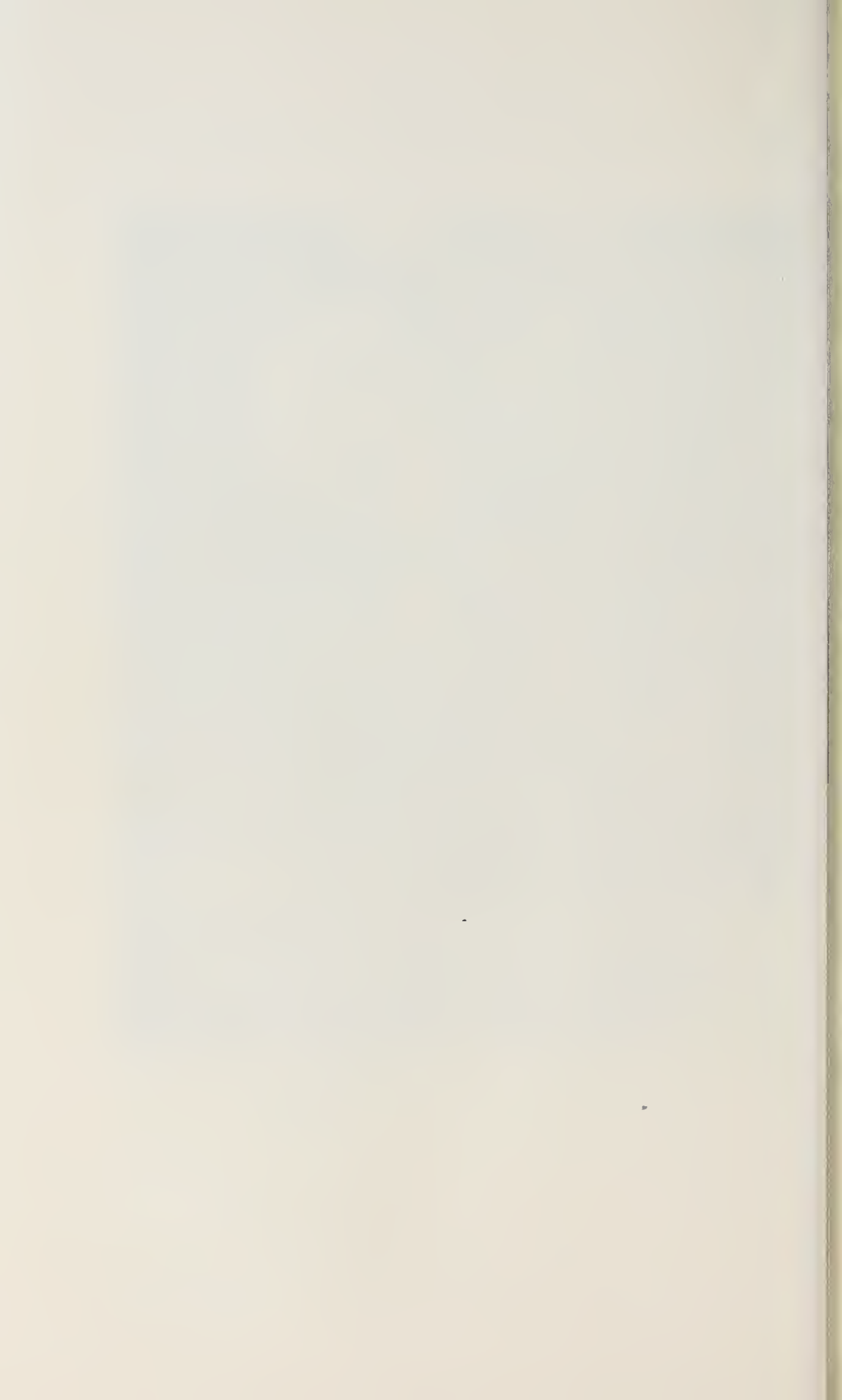
As the College grew, the preparatory department decreased in number. Since Oklahoma now had more and better high schools there was no demand for the preparatory school and after 1926 it was abolished altogether.

President Austin died in the autumn of 1926 but the College was fortunate in having as his successor another able administrator, President M. A. Nash. Dr. Nash continued the work of building both internally and externally. Since the Oklahoma College for Women was the chief institution for women's education in the state, college authorities sought and obtained recognition of the American Association of University Women; this was obtained 1929 and in the same year the College became a member of the Association of American Colleges and Universities. The alumnae of the College are working with the American Association of University Women in all parts of the State with gratifying results for themselves and for the College.

While recognitions were being obtained from these college rating agencies for its educational standing, the material side of



ADMINISTRATION BUILDING
Oklahoma College for Women at Chickasha



the College, also was growing. In 1925 a Science and Home Economics building was erected. This building was later designated as Austin Hall, as a memorial to the former president, G. W. Austin. Then followed an Infirmary, a Home Management house, a Physical Education building, and four additional residence halls. These residence halls were built with self-liquidating bonds. The College had outgrown the original twenty acre tract and additional land was purchased. The student body continued to grow in number and now nears the thousand mark.

One of the aims of the college authorities has always been to keep the College democratic, recognizing the fact that expenses of an education should be kept within the range of the girls of Oklahoma. For that reason board and room have been exceedingly reasonable and fees have been kept at the minimum. This is one way in which the College had justified its existence. Education has been placed within the reach of all the girls in the state that have the will to accept it.

After these forty years of an existence which has not been exactly pioneering, but has been that of adjustment to meet the needs of the women of Oklahoma, the College has made a definite place for itself. It is not an easy matter to give a clear and unbiased estimate of what the college has contributed to the educational and cultural life of the state, or to know to what extent the aims of the founders are being fulfilled. The College has furnished its share of teachers to the state, in both the high schools and the grade schools. Though not primarily a teacher's training institution, teachers are trained. The teaching profession being one of the oldest professions for women, naturally many of the graduates of Oklahoma College for Women entered this field and some have achieved distinguished results. Some graduates from each class have gone on into graduate school in the University of Oklahoma and other universities. Their achievements have reflected honor upon their Alma Mater. Then in the field of scholarship the College has not fallen short of the aim of its founders.

In 1943 when President M. A. Nash was chosen by the Governor of Oklahoma as Chancellor of the Board of Regents for Higher Education in the State, Doctor C. Dan Proctor became President of the College. President Proctor has continued well the work started by the last two presidents. The College now has a campus of seventy-seven acres with a total of 21 buildings on the campus proper, a golf course and stables. The College lodge to which students go for outings and picnics is located upon the college farm which is about two miles from the campus. Also the Department of Biology maintains an experiment station there for the study of Oklahoma animal and plant life.

When the government disposed of its war properties at Borden Hospital the College obtained several additional buildings, including a speech clinic, ceramics building and several small buildings which were moved to the campus. Several buildings and nine acres of land belonging to the government at Borden are also a part of the college property. These buildings used by the College are for conferences and group meetings off the campus.

The two newest additions to the campus are the Student Union and the Library building. The Student Union was built with self-liquidating bonds. This building is the most beautiful on the campus. The Library which has been needed for many years will add greatly to the efficiency of the college. Under the leadership of President Proctor, the College has reached such a place in its development that its future is assured as one of the leading women's colleges in the country.

To an increasing degree we are witnessing today what seems to be a new woman with new interests, new responsibilities, and new ways of doing things. Since the establishing of the College woman has been given the franchise, and is taking a more active part in the political and social problems of the state and nation; and in order to accept this responsibility she must be prepared. The training for leadership in civil life is not a matter of knowledge alone but of morals, of habits, of attitudes, of standards and ideals. College authorities, in giving the aims of the institution from the time of its beginning until the present, have assumed that mind, body and soul have been admitted to college, and that the extra-curricular activities of the student are important matters and are to be directed and guided. The problems of student life on the campus are controlled by student government, and leadership has been encouraged and advanced.

Possibly no single contribution to the State has been more marked than the ideals of leadership and independent thinking sponsored by this college. In a woman's college leadership become the natural accomplishment of women. It is a leadership that carries on into the economic and political field beyond college.

So in scholarship, in home training, in leadership and in the fine art of living, the institution is giving back to the State of Oklahoma good interest on the money which has been invested in the Oklahoma College for Women.





THE TWIN MOUNDS, Payne County, 1949.

THE SITE OF THE BATTLE OF ROUND MOUNTAIN, 1861

By Angie Debo

Through most of the South the traveler is always aware of the storied sites where Americans matched Americans in the most calamitous of all our wars. But Oklahoma was in that conflict, too; and while the great decisive battles were not fought on its soil, no other area felt the war so much in terms of human tragedy. Why then are its sites so largely unmarked and unregarded?

The events are familiar enough. As soon as the war started, the United States abandoned the Indian Territory and the Confederacy took over. The Five Civilized Tribes made alliances with the new government, sent their representatives to its Congress, and enlisted their citizens in its armies. But a considerable body of conservative fullbloods refused to make the shift. They gathered up their property and their families and assembled in a great camp under the Creek leader, Opothle Yahola. Then, as they attempted to move out, they were attacked by a Confederate force of Texans and Indians. Two battles were undecisive, but in a third the Union Indians were completely routed. They fled through a blizzard to the protection of Union forces in Kansas, where they remained in refugee camps, suffering indescribable privations until Federal troops—including their own men—finally recaptured the Indian Territory.

In contemporary records the first of these three battles—fought on November 19, 1861—is designated as the Battle of Round Mountains or the Battle of Red Fork. Twenty-two years later when the War Department published the reports of the Confederate officers, the editor grouped them under the title, "The Engagement at Round Mountain."¹ One would like to establish the site; for it was the first Civil War battle fought within the present state of Oklahoma.

The white settlers that came to the present Yale vicinity in the land rush of 1893 soon developed a tradition that it had been fought on their soil. The "Twin Mounds" west of Yale in Payne County formed a conspicuous landmark, and at a place on Salt Creek just north of the Pawnee County line the plow turned over objects that could have been the debris of a battlefield and an abandoned Indian camp. This evidence was sufficient to influence Joseph B. Thoburn, the State's first historian. In his first history of Oklahoma, a small volume prepared as a school text at state-

¹ *War of the Rebellion: Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1883), First Series, Vol. VIII, p. 4.

hood, he located the battlefield as "Probably within the present limits of Pawnee or Payne counties."²

Then in 1915 Annie Heloise Abel, drawing entirely on documents in Government archives, published the first of her three great volumes on the Civil War in the Indian Territory. Here³ she reproduced a map drawn by Special Indian Agent John T. Cox and enclosed in a report he sent from Fort Gibson under date of March 18, 1864. It was an excellent map, showing much more familiarity with the Indian Territory and military movements there than the crude sketches that accompanied the War Department publications.⁴ And it showed a careful tracing of Opothle Yahola's route: a camp at the junction of the Deep Fork and the North Canadian north of the present Eufaula; a trail, with camping places marked, up the Deep Fork and then across the country to the mouth of the Red Fork (Cimarron); and the "Battle of Red Fork" (erroneously dated November 15) in the angle formed by the confluence of the Cimarron and the Arkansas, north of the present Keystone. This seemed to settle the location. Thoburn accepted it,⁵ and so did later historians: Muriel H. Wright,⁶ Grant Foreman,⁷ and the present writer.⁸ No doubt it would have remained there except for the researches of a young real estate agent in Stillwater.⁹

² Joseph B. Thoburn and Isaac M. Holcomb, *A History of Oklahoma* (San Francisco, 1908), p. 62 n. In a second edition of this text (Oklahoma City, 1914) a location "within the present limits of Osage County" is probably a slip.

³ Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland, 1915), p. 263.

⁴ *War of the Rebellion*, Atlas (Washington, 1891-95), Plates CXIX and CLX.

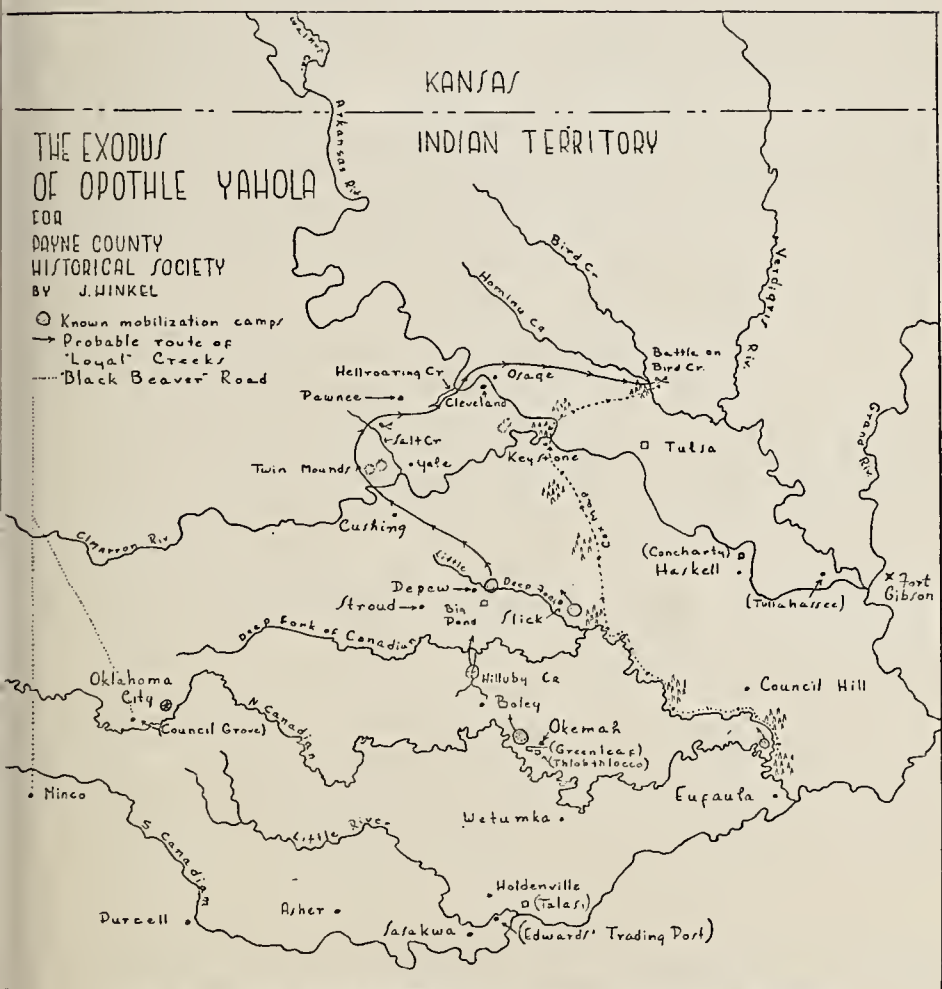
⁵ Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma* (New York, Chicago, 1916), I, 290.

⁶ Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and its People* (New York, 1929), I, p. 325.

⁷ Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1945), pp. 105-6.

⁸ Angie Debo, *Tulsa: From Creek Town to Oil Capital* (Norman, 1943), pp. 25-26.

⁹ The site of the "Battle of Round Mountain" fought in 1861, the first engagement in the Indian Territory during the War between the States, is important in the marking of historic sites now under way through the Historical Society's Committee for Marking Historic Sites, of which Maj. Gen. Wm. S. Key is Chairman. The exact site of this battle, though settled beyond supposed reasonable doubt with the publication of the map by John T. Cox, in 1915, has always been one in question. As mentioned above in footnote 2, by Doctor Debo, Joseph B. Thoburn was the first among Oklahoma historians to point to its probable location, in 1908. John B. Meserve in his biography of "Chief Opothleyahola" mentioned the "indecision as to the precise location of this battlefield, whether near Yale or at a place about a mile north of the present town of Keystone, in Pawnee County, Oklahoma," writing in 1931 (see *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 4, p. 447). In the Indian Archives of the Historical Society, the file of John B. Meserve's original correspondence contains letters from James H. Hale, a pioneer citizen of Pawnee, dated 1931, stating that he believed that Opothleyahola's route north to Kansas in 1861 followed the western trail known as the "Shawnee Trail," which would indicate the location of the "Battle of Round Mountain" farther west than the Keystone site.—Ed.



Map showing probable route followed by Loyal Creeks
on the way to Kansas in 1861.

As a dealer in farms John H. Melton had learned of the battlefield tradition, and as a leader of boy scouts he had tramped over the terrain. Fortunately he was unfamiliar with the Cox map and the conclusions of historians. He began to collect affidavits from old settlers, and to present his findings to the Payne County Historical Society. He was encouraged by the president, Berlin Basil Chapman of the history faculty of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, who felt that all possibilities should be explored before the case was closed. The historians were incredulous, but Melton's persistence forced them to reexamine their evidence. Then they realized that except for the Cox map, the Yale site was as reasonable as the Keystone. Finally at the request of the present writer and through the agency of Dr. Chapman, the Research Foundation of the college procured a photostat of a statement made by the Confederate Creek leaders in 1868.¹⁰ This document had lain in the files at Washington, and had never before been examined by Oklahoma historians. And strangely enough it built up a strong case for the Yale site.

At a meeting of the Payne County Historical Society on March 6, 1949 Dr. Chapman presided over a panel discussion in which Dean Trickett and James H. Gardner, Tulsa historians, Miss Wright, Mr. Melton, and the present writer presented their findings. No conclusion was reached; but Ola J. Rogers, longtime resident of Cleveland, presented the first evidence of an exact location of the Keystone site. The Society, therefore, adopted a resolution advocating the most extensive publicity in an attempt to uncover additional data. As a part of this policy the writer was requested to sum up the evidence so far amassed.¹¹ The present paper is the result of this request.

The first question is: What did the Union Indians want? This may have a bearing on their subsequent movements. Fortunately this is easy to answer. The evidence is complete and overwhelming that they were determined to remain neutral. James Scott, an aged Creek who had been ten years old at the time of the exodus, explained it thus in 1937:¹²

"Opuihli Yahola's heart was sad at all the war talk. He visited the homes of his followers or any of the Indians and gave them encouragement to face all these things, but above all things to stay out of the war. It was no affair of the Indians."

The Shawnee, Thomas Wildecat Alford, who heard the Civil War story told and retold in his childhood, wrote of the decision

¹⁰ The National Archives (Washington), Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received, Choctaw, C-676/1868 (Enclosure), Statement relative to the Exodus of Ho-poith-la-yo-ho-la and his followers from the Creek and Cherokee Country in the fall and winter of 1861 and '62. Cited hereafter as "Statement."

¹¹ For copy of resolutions see *Stillwater News-Press*, March 7, 1949.

¹² Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma (Norman), WPA Project S-149, Interview with James Scott, March 29, 1937. Cited hereafter as WPA Project S-149.

made by the Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, Piankashaws, and others living in the western part of the Creek country.¹³

"This is no fight of ours. It is between the whites—no good comes to us from war—let them fight their own fight."

This is the way it appeared in 1862 to Baptiste Peoria, who was sent from the Osage agency in Kansas to investigate the situation.¹⁴

"A good many Indians complained . . . that they were compelled to dig up the hatchet and fight their Great Father, after they had agreed to remain neutral . . . Opothleyoholo said he would have nothing to do with it . . . [He] warned them over and over again that bad white men were getting them into trouble."

A stronghold of this "Loyal" faction was on the southwestern Creek frontier near the present Holdenville. Here the Creek town of Talasi formed an agricultural community at the mouth of the Little River; and James Edwards, a white man married to a Creek woman, kept an important trading post there. The famous mixed-blood Cherokee scout, Jesse Chisholm, had married Edwards' daughter, and from this place and a post he had established farther up the South Canadian near the present Asher, he carried on his trading ventures with the wild tribes of the Southwest. A few miles above Edwards' trading post, near the present Sasakwa, was a Shawnee settlement. Far up the river near the present Purcell, a band of Delawares had settled under the leadership of the great scout, Black Beaver.¹⁵

Here in the West away from the pressure of their Confederate-dominated governments the "Loyal" leaders met and called an inter-tribal council of their faction. Miceo Hutke of Talasi and Bob Deer and Joe Ellis, Shawnees, then made a perilous journey to Kansas in September, 1861, where for the first time they managed to make contact with Federal officials. They carried an oral message¹⁶ from the council and a letter—dated August 15, 1861—from Opothle Yahola and Otkarharsars Harjo (usually known as Sands), second chief of the Creeks in the Canadian River District, who had refused to join the South with his tribe. The letter carried a desperate appeal for the protection promised the Indians in their treaties with the United States.¹⁷

"Now I write to the President our Great Father who removed us to our present homes, & made a treaty, and you said that in our new homes we should be defended . . . and should we be injured by any body you

¹³ Thomas Wildcat Alford, *Civilization* (Norman, 1936), p. 6.

¹⁴ Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1862, p. 174.

¹⁵ Alford, *Civilization*, p. 1; T. U. Taylor, *Jesse Chisholm* (Bandera, Texas, 1939), pp. 26-29; W. B. Morrison, "Fort Arbuckle," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VI (1928), 27. For location of Talasi see Frank Gouldsmith Speck, "The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town," *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania), II (1907), Part 2, map.

¹⁶ National Archives, Indian Affairs, Creek 1861/B787.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1861/B484.

would come with your soldiers & punish them. but now the wolf has come, men who are strangers tread our soil, our children are frightened & the mothers cannot sleep for fear We want you to send us word what to do. We do not hear from you & we send a letter, & we pray you to answer it"

The answer they carried back was written by E. H. Carruth, a former educator among the Seminoles, who had been commissioned by Senator Lane of Kansas to negotiate with the Indian tribes. It stated: "I am authorized to inform you that the President will not forget you. Our armies will soon go South and those of your people who are true and loyal to the Government will be treated as friends."¹⁸ Sands, Micco Hutke, Bob Deer, and some Seminoles and Chickasaws—also from the western frontier—then managed to make their way again through that faction-torn border with a second appeal for help. This time they were willing to join a Federal expedition to drive out the Confederates. As Sands expressed it through his interpreter:¹⁹

"Wants to get with U. S. Army so that I can get back to my people Wants the Great Father to send the Union Red people and Troops down the Black Beaver road and he will guide them to his country and then all his people will be for the Union—That he cannot get back to his people any other way—. . . . At the time I left my Union people I told them to look to the Beaver Road until I come. Promised his own people that the U. S. Army would come back the Beaver Road and wants to go that way—The way he left his country his people was in an elbow surrounded by secessions and his people is not strong enough against them for Union and that is the reason he has come up for help."

All these actions have an important bearing on our problem. Sands' reference to the "Black Beaver Road" is clear. When the Union garrisons had abandoned the military posts in the Indian Territory at the beginning of the war, they had called on that intrepid Delaware to guide them to Kansas. They started from a place near the present Minco and cut north across the prairie on the approximate route of the present U. S. Highway 81. This apparently was the trail followed by the "Loyal" delegates to avoid interception.

In the 1930's Thomas Ulvan Taylor of the University of Texas engaged in the most careful research on the life of Jesse Chisholm. From surviving members of the family he learned that in 1861 the famous scout conducted a company of Union Indians from the area between the two Canadians in the present Pottawatomie, Seminole, and adjoining counties. Word was sent out through all the settlements and the Indians flocked to the meeting place near his store at the old Chisholm Spring, two miles east of Asher. They loaded their possessions on pack horses or on travois made by attaching a platform on trailing poles fastened to each side of the

¹⁸ *War of the Rebellion*, First Series, Vol. VIII. p. 25.

¹⁹ National Archives, Indian Affairs, Special Files, No. 201, Southern Superintendency, 1861/C1400.

pony. At least seven members of Chisholm's own family were in the exodus. They stopped at the present site of Wichita, Kansas, where a creek still bears the name of Chisholm.²⁰

Taylor talked with a few survivors of the journey in 1939, but unfortunately he did not learn what route they took. Did they cut straight north toward the Arkansas? There is some slight indication on Cox's map that they did. In that case they would have passed close to the Twin Mounds. Or did they turn west to the "Black Beaver Road"? This seems the more probable. Jesse Chisholm had a third trading post at Council Grove, on the North Canadian about six miles west of the present Oklahoma City;²¹ and it is known that a group of Shawnee and other Indians who fled to the north early in 1863 made their rendezvous there.²² And when Chisholm returned to the Indian Territory at the close of the war with a stock of goods for the Council Grove trading post, he followed the faint trace of the "Black Beaver" route.²³

But whichever track they traveled, it is clear that the Confederate occupation had driven the "Loyal" faction to the extreme western edge of civilized Indian settlement. One cannot tell from the story of Taylor's informants whether their flight preceded or followed the greater exodus under Opothle Yahola. The latter was already in motion when Sands was pleading for reinforcements down the "Beaver Road." And there is evidence that this party, too, was driven far to the west.

In the council with United States officials at Fort Smith at the close of the war, Sanford Perryman was the spokesman of the "Loyal" Creeks. In summing up their case he said, "we commenced moving out west for our safety, trusting in the Great Spirit for protection, and hoping also that He would send us aid through the means of our Great Father at Washington."²⁴ Eight years later John B. Jones, United States agent to the Cherokees, informed the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: "They tried to avoid a fight, to make their way peaceably to the union army in Kansas, by a far western route."²⁵ Neither of these men would have been likely to refer to a journey from the mouth of the Deep Fork to

²⁰ Taylor, *Jesse Chisholm*, pp. 177-79, 184, 192.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. xviii, 25.

²² Alford, *Civilization*, pp. 6-8.

²³ Taylor, *Jesse Chisholm*, pp. 193-94, statement by James R. Mead, the founder of Wichita, who was Chisholm's partner and accompanied him on the trip; Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma*, I, 311, on authority of George Chisholm, adopted son of Jesse, who also was in the caravan. These freighters' wagons left a scar on the prairie deep enough to guide the first cattle drives from Texas to the railhead at Abilene, Kansas; and the "Black Beaver Road" thus became the famous Chisholm Trail of the cow country. See *Jesse Chisholm*, pp. 83-84.

²⁴ Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1865, p. 328.

²⁵ Quoted by Abel, *The Amercian Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist*, p. 268, note 545.

the mouth of the Cimarron through the heart of the Creek settlements as a movement "out west" or "a far western route." Perryman in fact had grown up at Tulsa.

There is little doubt, however, that one large group did gather at the mouth of the Deep Fork. Opothle Yahola's home was in the vicinity, north of the present Brush Hill community, and a dense settlement of his compatriots lay between the North and the South Canadian. James Scott and other elderly Creeks interviewed in the late 1930's distinctly stated that there was a mobilization camp there.²⁶ But Scott himself belonged to Greenleaf Town, a settlement south and southwest of the present Okemah,²⁷ and his people made their rendezvous farther up the rivers. He remembered the events very clearly:²⁸

"I did not fully realize or understand why I was given orders to round up the cattle. I wondered at the vast amount of cattle being killed and the meat being dried, the pork being cooked down At all the homes of the neighbors, I saw all sorts of preparations As time passed, the neighboring Indians gathered and joined with the other Indians at Helluby [*sic.*] Creek, northwest of what is now Boley.

Scott then went on to tell how the two camps merged:

"We were joined by other groups and we in turn joined other larger groups. These were the Indians that Opuithli Yahola had mobilized near the junction of the North Fork and the Deep Fork of the Canadian River, near the present town of Eufaula. . . . I was given the task to help drive the cattle, but I relinquished my job over to the older boys when we joined the main body."

Where was the union effected? Historians relying on the Cox map have assumed that the party from the west moved down to join the great camp at the mouth of the Deep Fork. But exactly the opposite could have occurred. The lower Deep Fork was unsafe. On August 1 or 2, Albert Pike, who had negotiated the Confederate treaties with the Indians, had authorized the Creek citizen, James M. C. Smith, to raise and command a company of Creek volunteers to be stationed at North Fork Village, at the present Eufaula "to act as a police force, watch and apprehend disaffected persons, intercept improper communications, and prevent

²⁶ WPA Project S-149, James Scott; Joe M. Grayson, September 24, 1937. The writer has a similar statement made by Robert Kelley.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Katie Williams, June 26, 1937. This informant stated that after the war "those Indians that had parted came together again" "on the very spot where the present Greenleaf Indian Baptist Church is located"—on Section 21, Township 11 North, Range 9 East. A less exact location is given in Speck, *Taskigi Town*, map.

²⁸ Malucy Bear, an aged woman of Greenleaf Town, also stated in 1937 that the gathering took place on Hilluby Creek—*Ibid.*, Malucy Bear, October 25, 1937.

the driving of cattle to Kansas.”²⁹ This company was raised soon after, and apparently for some time it remained in the vicinity. No wonder the “Loyal” Creeks had been driven to the far west for the forwarding of their “improper communications” with the Federal officials in Kansas. It would seem to have been even more essential to move their herds and their families north by the same circuitous route. And now the Payne County Historical Society’s “new” document from the Government archives supports the view that the lower camp moved up the Deep Fork, or at least that the two groups met each other half way.

This is a sworn statement made at Washington by Smith, D. N. McIntosh, who commanded a regiment of Creek volunteers, and Tim Barnett, a prominent mixed blood, who operated a trading house near the present Wetumka.³⁰ One cannot accept all their arguments, for their statement was prepared to defeat certain claims of the “Loyal” faction; but they were participants in the events they related, and certainly familiar with the locations involved.³¹ Their account begins:

“About the first of August, A. D. 1861, Ho-poith-la-yo-hola commenced gathering his people into Camp on North Fork of Canadian, a few miles above Thlobthlocco or Greenleaf Town in the Creek Nation. The ‘Talk,’ put out among the people was, that the Country would soon be over-run by a great army from the North, which would sweep over it like a besom of destruction: that the ‘Old Chief’ would lead his people, with their flocks and herds, into the Wilderness, westward, out of the track of the army; where they could remain in peace and safety until the storm of war should be over.”

The statement goes on to tell how Colonel Douglas H. Cooper, the Confederate commander, went to the Creek council ground, near the present Council Hill, and that messages passed back and forth between him and the “Loyal” party in a futile effort to make peace.³² “This was about the 1st of October 1861.” An attempt was made to hold “a friendly council” at Thlobthlocco, neighbor town to Greenleaf; but when the Southern delegates arrived there, “It was ascertained that Ho-poith-la-yo-hola had moved his Camp to some point above the ‘Big Pond,’ near the head of Deep Fork of Canadian.”

²⁹ *War of the Rebellion*, First Series, Vol. VIII, 719-22, Pike to J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of War of the Confederate States, December 25, 1861.

³⁰ At least that is implied in the Cox map; and it is known that he owned a trading house there immediately after the war—Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941), p. 202.

³¹ Three prominent Cherokees also signed the statement, but their knowledge of the events was restricted to a later phase of the campaign—“Statement,” p. 10.

³² This statement is supported by Cooper’s official report, *War of the Rebellion*, First Series, Vol. VIII, p. 5; a letter from Chief John Ross of the Cherokees to Opothle Yahola and his associates, September 19, 1861, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, II (1924), 170-172; and WPA Project S-149, Minda G. Hardin, March 25, 1937.

This certainly refers to the Little Deep Fork rather than the Deep Fork, for the "Big Pond" was about six or seven miles south-east of the present Depew.³³ Opothle Yahola's route in cutting across the country to this new location can only be conjectured; so far as the writer knows, there is no record of an established trail in that direction.³⁴ Apparently for part of the distance he followed up the Little Deep Fork, for a Euche named Willie Tiger quoted his grandfather as saying that the Euche joined him at a mobilization camp near the present Slick.³⁵

Cooper then moved up to "Brown's Creek near Sells' Store, on the North side of Deep Fork"—a location that has not yet been determined—and attempted again to negotiate. Then he moved up the stream to Opothle Yahola's camp, "but found it deserted and a large trail leading in a Northwestward direction toward the Red Fork of the Arkansas, apparently a week or more old. This trail was followed, and finally on the 19th day of November 1861, Hopoith-lo-yo-hola's Camp was discovered a few miles North of Red Fork near a place called 'Round Mountains' in the Cherokee Country."

This certainly makes the Twin Mounds a most probable site. True, they were not in the Cherokee country. The boundary, which had been fully surveyed in 1849-50 and apparently was well known to the Indians, followed the present Payne-Pawnee County line. But the meaning seems to be that the camp near the Round Mountains was in the Cherokee country—which is in complete accord with Yale neighborhood tradition.

When Cooper made his official report of the campaign in January, 1862, he made no attempt at exact location.³⁶ He said that on November 15 his forces,

"... in all about 1,400 men, were moved up the Deep Fork of the Canadian of Hopoeithleyahola's forces. The camp, which had been abandoned, was found, and the trail from it followed ... until the 19th of the month named, on which day some of the disaffected party were seen and a few prisoners taken. From those prisoners information was obtained that a portion of Hopoeithleyohola's party were near the Red Fork of the Arkansas River, on their route towards Walnut Creek, where a fort was being erected, and which had for some time been their intended destination in the event of not receiving promised aid from Kansas before being menaced or attacked."

One should not strain a point here, but it can be noticed that Walnut Creek in Southern Kansas is almost straight north of Yale. Probably Cooper was mistaken about Opothle Yahola's in-

³³ Muriel H. Wright has identified this location through her researches into the history of the Euche Indians.

³⁴ See for example the trails marked in *War of the Rebellion*, Atlas, Plates CXIX and CLX.

³⁵ WPA Project S-149, Willie Tiger, February 24, 1937.

³⁶ *War of the Rebellion*, First Series, Vol. VIII, p. 5.

tended destination—the “Loyal” Indians actually moved east into the Cherokee settlements—but he naturally judged it from the location in which he found them.

In 1923 the reminiscences of Captain June Peak of Dallas were published in the *Dallas Morning News*. A white man who fought with the Texas troops, he knew very little about the Indian Territory background, but he seemed to remember some of the circumstances of the campaign. Peak said that Cooper moved his command to “Dwight Mission southwest of Fort Gibson”—probably a reference to Tullahassee Mission, northwest of Fort Gibson.³⁷ Here rumors came in of large concentrations of “Osages” in the northwest; and Cooper sent Peak and nineteen other picked men out that way on a scouting trip. They left camp about September 1, and marched up the Arkansas “several hundred miles as far as the Big Bend.”

One would like to establish a positive location of this “Big Bend” or “Horseshoe Bend” of the Arkansas. It is often mentioned in contemporary accounts. There was a Cherokee community there at least as early as 1852, which was usually referred to as “Skiatooka’s settlement.”³⁸ Later in the campaign Cooper made “a forced march” from this settlement to Tulsa in one day. There was an important Osage trail leading to it from Bird Creek.³⁹ These references indicate the bend near the present Cleveland; and this inference is supported by the testimony of Mr. Rogers and of Judge Redmond S. Cole of Tulsa. When Mr. Rogers came to the vicinity in 1895 there were a few old apple trees in the narrow valley east of the river at the present Osage, and old settlers said they had been

³⁷ Colonel Douglas H. Cooper’s activities in the spring and summer of 1861, during the organization of the Confederate military forces in the Choctaw and the Chickasaw nations, indicate that Captain June Peak’s reference to “Dwight Mission” was an error for *Asbury Mission*, the location of which was southwest of Fort Gibson, about 1½ miles northeast of present Eufaula in McIntosh County, formerly within the boundaries of the Creek Nation. (See editorial note on “Personal Reminiscences of Captain June Peak,” Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People*, Vol. II, p. 836.) Asbury Mission or Asbury Manual Labor School, a Creek boarding school under the supervision of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and North Fork Town located less than a mile away were important places in the activities and operations of the Confederate interests in the Indian Territory during the spring and summer of 1861. The Creek Treaty and the Choctaw-Chickasaw Treaty, in the alliance of these nations with the Confederate States, were both signed at North Fork Town on July 10 and July 12, 1861, respectively. June Peak as a boy of sixteen years was a member of the Texas Volunteers, organized by Captain William C. Young of Sherman, that had a part in the taking of Fort Washita by the Confederate troops in April, 1861. Later, Peak joined Colonel Cooper’s regiment as it proceeded north from the Choctaw and the Chickasaw nations into the Creek Nation. Asbury Mission was near the main traveled Texas Road and certainly would have offered a most convenient and comfortable stopping place in the midst of friends for Colonel Cooper and his men before his main camp headquarters were established at Concharta on the south side of the Arkansas River, in the Creek country.—Ed.

³⁸ Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1852, p. 403.

³⁹ *War of the Rebellion*, First Series, Vol. VIII, pp. 12-13.

planted before the Civil War. This seems to establish a pre-war Cherokee settlement; for those Indians had to surrender that portion of their land immediately after the war, and the Osages, who succeeded them, would not have planted orchards. Judge Cole who is associated with the Gulf Oil Company, states that when he came to Tulsa in 1923, oil men generally referred to the field in the loop of the river west of Cleveland as the Big Bend.⁴⁰

From this well known place on the Arkansas, the scouting party turned south. They learned of a large force being organized several days' ride to the southwest by Opothle Yahola, "an Osage." They accordingly marched into the "Osage" country, under pretense of searching for Kickapoos and Lipans. There they were "very courteously received and pleasantly entertained, though we were not fooling Opothyola." They then returned and reported to Cooper, who immediately started in pursuit of the Union leader.

In spite of its geographical and ethnological impossibilities this account does place Opothle Yahola in approximately the same location as the Smith-McIntosh-Barnett statement. When Cooper learned that the Union Indians were concentrating at some distance to the southwest of a "Big Bend" in the Arkansas River above Tulsa, he certainly would not have sought them at the mouth of the Deep Fork.

One should be able to deduce the probabilities of Opothle Yahola's route and the place of the Red Fork crossing from the recognized trails of the area; for the blackjack-postoak jungle that covered it must have made difficult going for a large company of men, women, and children with their loaded wagons and herds of cattle. Washington Irving found it even for men on horseback like traveling "through forests of cast iron." But unfortunately our knowledge of pre-Civil War trails is incomplete.

Opothle Yahola could have followed a known trail to the Keystone site. There was an old Osage hunting and war trail leading south from the mouth of the Cimarron River; and in 1834 the United States had blazed a military route—which was never used—in the same approximate direction to the mouth of Little River.⁴¹ On the other hand the present writer has found no direct evidence of any pre-Civil War trail passing the Yale site. There was a favorite buffalo hunting ground on the prairie west of the present Cushing, but the trails leading to it have not been traced.

⁴⁰ Ola J. Rogers and Redmond S. Cole to Angie Debo, Personal Interview, Stillwater, Oklahoma May 26, 1949. The white homesteaders designated the loop of the river west of Ralston as the "Big Bend," but this apparently had no reference to an early Cherokee settlement by that name—Paul V. Boone to Angie Debo, Personal Interview, Stillwater, May 26, 1949.

⁴¹ James H. Gardner, "One Hundred Years Ago in the Region of Tulsa," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XI (1933), p. 773.

There is, however, some slight indication that the Twin Mounds were accepted in those early days as a recognized landmark. In 1848 Lieutenant Abraham Buford with a company of dragoons had explored a wagon route to Santa Fe along the north side of the Cimarron, following in the Yale vicinity the approximate route of Highway 51. This road was never used; but it was shown on the Government map of the Creek-Cherokee survey. Here west of a creek and just south of the trail is *one* conspicuous round hill in the exact location of the Twin Mounds on Salt Creek.⁴²

In the years immediately following the Civil War the important Shawnee Cattle Trail from the Texas ranges to the Kansas railheads passed through the vicinity. It derived its name and its approximate route from an earlier trail to a Shawnee settlement south of the Canadian. Contemporary maps show it passing about six miles west of the mounds and three or four miles west of the supposed battle site.⁴³ By 1883 the maps showed another trail from the Sac and Fox agency in the vicinity of the present Stroud to the Pawnee agency at Pawnee and on to Kansas; it followed up Salt Creek east of the mounds, and passed about two miles east of the supposed battlefield.⁴⁴ Homesteaders who came a few years later remember a trail crossing the Cimarron almost directly south of the mounds, skirting them on the west, and veering slightly west of north to cross Salt Creek by an old ford at the exact traditional battle site.⁴⁵ A completely grassed over trace is still visible over the bank north of the ford. Thus with all these north-south routes crossing the area, it is at least probable that a pre-Civil War trail lay in the vicinity.

The various accounts of how the two forces met seem hopelessly confused. The first known report of the fight is found in a letter to Chief John Ross of the Cherokees by Moty Canard and Echo Harjo, the legally constituted chiefs of the Creeks. These men, of course, headed the government that had made the Confederate alliance, and from which Opothle Yahola's faction had withdrawn its support.⁴⁶ It is fairly certain that both had been with Cooper during the engagement. The letter was written from Coneharty—north of the present Haskell—to which Cooper's forces had retired immediately after the battle; and the date is November 25, the day after they arrived.

This letter states that Echo Harjo went into the camps of his estranged tribesmen the evening before the battle and talked with

⁴² *House Executive Documents*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 104, map, "Boundary of the Creek Country."

⁴³ Commissioner of the Land Office, *Annual Report*, 1876, map, "Indian Territory."

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 1883.

⁴⁵ Affidavits in possession of John H. Melton: Andrew Little, April 23, 1949; S. T. Kerby, May 1, 1949.

⁴⁶ Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, pp. 124, 143-47.

them in an effort to make peace; but they repelled his overtures (more probably his threats) and stated that they were relying on help promised by the Cherokees. As for the fight itself we are told only that it took place "at Red fork," and that the chiefs were very unhappy over the fratricidal strife.⁴⁷

James Scott remembers that Opothle Yahola's moving column was first ordered to halt by a McIntosh slave.⁴⁸

"He rode the length of the wagon train issuing these orders. Many of our men answered, 'We are not going to stop; we are on our way.' The negro had accomplished his duty and returned to his comrades. Seeing that we could not be detained, our pursuers made the attack. The attack was made on a hill side and I would not know where this hill is now or about where it was. Our women, children, and some of the men were sent on with the wagons, teams, and cattle. The rest remained to check the attack. The men hid behind the bushes, trees, and large rocks. The enemy making the up-grade attack could not successfully accomplish anything. Our men gave the chase and returned with a captured flag. I have no knowledge of the results of obtaining the flag or what became of it."

Captain Peak, whose errors of fact almost disqualify him as a witness, says that as Cooper was marching against Opothle Yahola, the latter, "who was by no means destitute of scouts, kept himself informed as to our movements and he came to meet us. We met early one morning in October at Round Mountain. The day was spent in skirmishing, without any losses or advantage to speak of on either side."⁴⁹ The statement of the Southern Creek leaders after relating the discovery of the enemy camp near "Round Mountains," goes on to say:

"Here a Company of Texans, without orders, rode after dark into Ho-poith-lo-yo-ola's Camp, and were driven out by his men and followed to Col. Cooper's Camp, with the loss of their Captain and several others killed, several wounded and taken prisoners. The hostile Creeks and Seminoles were there repulsed and made their escape under cover of the darkness."⁵⁰

Cooper's official report states that "After crossing the Red Fork it became evident that the party was near and the command was pushed rapidly forward." Here the question occurs: If the crossing had been at a recognizable place on the river such as its mouth, would he not have stated that fact? He does describe the terrain, and strangely enough he does not mention mountains or even hills.

"About 4 o'clock p. m. some camp smokes were discovered in front a short distance and the enemy's scouts seen at various points. A charge was ordered to be made by the detachment of Texas cavalry . . . upon the

⁴⁷ Unfortunately this document cannot be quoted; it belongs to an important collection not yet open to the public.

⁴⁸ WPA Project S-149, James Scott.

⁴⁹ "Personal Reminiscences of Captain June Peak," *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People*, Vol. II, p. 836.

⁵⁰ "Statement," p. 3.

camp, which, however, was found to have been recently deserted. Other scouts, being discovered beyond the camp, were pursued by the Texas troops about 4 miles, when they disappeared in the timber skirting a creek, upon which it was afterwards ascertained the forces of Hopoeithleyohola were then encamped. While searching for the fugitives the troops were fired upon by the concealed enemy, and 1 man was killed. The enemy immediately appeared in large force, and our troops, rallying and forming, succeeded in making a stand for a short time, when the efforts of the vastly superior force of the enemy to outflank and enclose them caused them to retire towards the main body of our forces."

Meanwhile, "So soon as the firing was heard at the position of the main body the Choetaw and Chickasaw regiment was formed and advanced towards the enemy." By this time the "exceeding darkness of the night rendered the relative position of our foes and friends uncertain," and the two forces advanced within sixty yards of each other before they opened fire. A "short but sharp conflict" followed, during which the Choetaws and Chickasaws were reinforced by Texans and Confederate Creeks. They fought dismounted and thus suffered few casualties, but "many" horses were hit. Then "the firing of the enemy ceased, and under cover of the darkness he made good his retreat." Cooper then sent a detachment of Texans and Choetaws "to examine the ravine in front and on the flanks, when it was found that the enemy had left the field and retreated in the direction of their camps. . . . Soon after daylight on the 20th the main camp of the enemy was entered, and it was found that they had precipitately abandoned it."⁵¹

Captain M. J. Brinson of the Texas detachment that first engaged Opothle Yahola's forces wrote his report six days after the battle, but it yields no additional details. Captain R. A. Young of the Choetaw-Chickasaw regiment—whose report is dated November 30—adds a "prairie," which "was on fire at my right" as he advanced from the Confederate camp to meet the Union Indians.⁵² Captain Peak also remembers a prairie and a fire. After the day's skirmishing they "went into camp for the night on a level prairie, covered with sedge grass waist high, beginning to dry considerably." They made a corral with their wagons and placed their horses and mules inside; but about one o'clock they found themselves surrounded by fire, while the enemy was "raining bullets and arrows into our confused rout." They abandoned all their provisions, "a dozen or so wagons, scores of mules, and fifteen or twenty dead and wounded men" as they hastily retreated to "Dwight's Mission."⁵³

⁵¹ *War of the Rebellion*, First Series, Vol. VIII, pp. 5-6.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15. The editor of this compilation (*War of the Rebellion, Official Record*) erred in placing a second report of Young's here; the latter refers to the second battle.

⁵³ "Personal Reminiscences of Captain June Peak," *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 836.

Thus we have the terrain from eye witness accounts: "Round Mountains" marking the location but untouched by the fighting; a creek skirted with timber, where the Union Indians were camped, and where the Confederates were repulsed; a ravine "in front and on the flanks" and a prairie, where the two forces met in the darkness close to Cooper's camp; and—if a boy's memory can be trusted—a hillside with "bushes, trees, and large rocks." And since the identification must depend partially on the debris of the battlefield, the losses also must be noted.

Peak's "fifteen or twenty" Confederate casualties shrink to six men killed and four wounded in the chiefs' letter to John Ross, and the same number are listed by name and rank in Cooper's official report. The Southern Creek statement adds "several wounded and taken prisoners" by Opothle Yahola's warriors when they drove the Texans back from their camp. Their bodies were found when the abandoned camp was entered the next morning; "and from appearances, [they] had been tortured, and their skulls mashed by the squaws with their hominy pestles." Probably there is no truth in this atrocity story; certainly Cooper does not name these victims in this casualty list. As to the Union losses, the two Creek chiefs reported conservatively that "several" of the enemy had been killed. Cooper, anxious to claim the victory in an indecisive engagement, swelled this estimate to "about 110 killed and wounded." He also found in Opothle Yahola's "precipitately abandoned" camp "the chief's buggy, 12 wagons, flour, sugar, coffee, salt, &c., besides many cattle and ponies." Wiley Britton, whose Indian Territory military service in the Union army did not include this campaign, followed Cooper's report rather closely in *The Civil War on the Border*, but when he came to this incident he reduced the spoils to "a few old ponies and broken wagons, which were worthless."⁵⁴

Both parties claimed the victory, but both withdrew immediately from the vicinity. Cooper arrived at Concharty on the 24th, a date that rules out neither the Keystone nor the Yale site. The march from the latter place seems difficult but not impossible. One can give him five days by assuming that he left in the morning and arrived at night. He believed Opothle Yahola was on his way to Kansas, but the old leader, apparently reluctant to leave the Indian country, sought refuge with his Cherokee friends. The route he took rules out the Keystone site if we are correct in locating the Big Bend at Cleveland; for according to the Southern statement he "crossed the Arkansas and moved down" to that settlement.⁵⁵ As Sanford Perryman put it, "We . . . resumed our jour-

⁵⁴ Wiley Britton, *The Civil War on the Border* (New York and London, 1890), pp. 164-67. To compare with the account he wrote from his own knowledge see *Memoirs of the Rebellion on the Border*, 1863 (Chicago, 1882), p. 440.

⁵⁵ "Statement," p. 4.

ney north, and crossed the Arkansas, and camped in the Cherokee nation."⁵⁶ He could have followed an established route; as early as 1843 there was a well known "Osage crossing" just above Cleveland, and an important hunting trail following up a creek—apparently Hellroaring Creek—to the west a few miles and then turning south.⁵⁷

Cooper soon moved from Concharty up to Tulsa. Opothle Yahola moved from the Arkansas to "Shoal Creek" (Hominy Creek), the Confederates worked around to their north, and a second battle was fought at a known site on Bird Creek. The rest of the campaign has no relation to the place of the first engagement.

This disposes of all known accounts from those who were present at the battle. Other evidence comes from the traditions and relics found at the sites.

There are numerous "Round Mountains" and creeks in the vicinity of Keystone. Here Mr. Rogers' location is based on the testimony of the late J. C. Byers, who came to the present Osage County in the early 1870's, and who always showed a keen and intelligent interest in local history. In 1876, he said, he found remains of wagons near the high round hill in Section 13, Township 20 North, Range 8 East, and believed it to be the battlefield.⁵⁸ Another hill in the vicinity could account for the plural—"Round Mountains"—and a creek fits Cooper's description of the terrain. The location—three miles north and six miles west of Keystone, and northwest of the great loop of the Cimarron—is far enough up the river to account for the failure of contemporary writers to mention the mouth, and yet close enough to harmonize with the Cox map.

One cannot disregard Byers' testimony simply because it stands alone. And there is even the possibility that more may be obtained. But thanks to Mr. Melton's indefatigable efforts more evidence has been collected to support the Yale site. The most convincing comes from the Pawnees, who settled there when they acquired the land from the Creeks and Cherokees in 1876.

Thomas Pratt, now eighty-seven years old, remembers "that many years ago" his uncle, Little Chief, told him if he "would go to Salt Creek at the place of the ford" he "would find many things." He "did that" and found "various iron pieces," such as "parts of stoves, wagon irons, cooking things, lying near the

⁵⁶ Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1865, p. 329.

⁵⁷ W. Julian Fessler (editor), "Captain Nathan Boone's Journal," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VII (1929), p. 66.

⁵⁸ Ola J. Rogers to Angie Debo, Personal Interview, Stillwater, Oklahoma March 6, 1949.

creek," and "similar things for about 1/2 mile southward from the rocky ford along the north side of the creek." His uncle told him "that during the fight that had occurred there . . . the people who had wagons and camp things had pushed their enemy back to the south—fighting all the way to the little branch located on the north side and at the base of the Twin Mounds and that they had fought among the rocks of this little creek." The old man knows nothing of the Civil War or of Opothle Yahola, only that his uncle had known "some of the Indian Scouts who accompanied the soldiers at the time of the battle."⁵⁹

T. S. Kerby, an eighty-four-year-old white pioneer, who still lives on his farm near the Twin Mounds, came to the Pawnee reservation early in 1893 to assist the Indians in improving their farms. "Early one morning in about the last week of August just before the opening of the Pawnee lands for white settlement," he and a well-known Pawnee named Nelson Rice stopped at the home of another Pawnee, John Brown, who lived near the Salt Creek ford. "During our brief visit . . . Rice pointed to the flat low-land bordering Salt Creek on the north just east of the ford, and made the statement that that was where the big fight was, to which John Brown agreed, and they told me then that an Indian fight had occurred there during the Civil War. I did not ask them what Indians were fighting."⁶⁰

Other white men connected this Indian tradition of a battle with the known fact of Opothle Yahola's exodus. Andrew W. Little, a Cushing attorney, remembers the story told by his father, William R. (Billy) Little, who came to the vicinity in 1880 and worked as a cowboy on the Pawnee reservation. Part of the time he was employed by the United States agent, Major Edward Hale Bowman—whose daughter he eventually married—to take charge of the cattle issued to the Indians. He and his cowboys lived in a log cabin just north of the Twin Mounds. Here he said that he discovered:

"At a place on Salt Creek . . . about four miles Northwest of the . . . Mounds and near the border of Payne and Pawnee Counties, but in Pawnee County, many pieces of broken wagons, metal tires used on wagons, metal harness buckles, pieces of broken dishes and pottery, iron cooking utensils, indian bows and arrows, bones apparently of human beings, and numerous other articles, and between this place and the Twin Mounds a few of such articles were found."

Little reported his discovery to Major Bowman. Bowman investigated for himself and then instructed Little to bury the bones, and gather up a wagon load of the irons to be used in the Government blacksmith shop at the Agency. When his young employee asked for an explanation, Bowman told him a story very inaccurate in detail, but definitely linking the site with Opothle Yahola.

⁵⁹ Affidavit in possession of John H. Melton by Thomas Pratt, April 16, 1949.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, by S. T. Kerby, May 1, 1949.

Years later Bowman told the same story to Andrew Little, his grandson.⁶¹ A fight, he said, had occurred there

" . . . during the early part of the Civil War, when a band of Creek Indians who were in Texas, and sympathetic to the Union Forces [had been] chased out of Texas by Texas Rangers and Rebel Indians; that this Band . . . under Chief Opoethle Yahola . . . crossed the Cimarron River South of the . . . Twin Mounds and camped some few miles distant on Salt Creek, . . . their pursuers being some miles behind; that during the night the Creek scouts posted on the Twin Mounds, and South, reported that their pursuers, Texas Rangers and Rebel Indians were getting close and that they expect a battle soon; . . . that during the battle which followed, commencing the next morning when the Creeks were attacked . . . that the Creeks were defeated . . . many being killed and wounded, and those who survived fled North to Kansas."

When the white homesteaders came to the site in September, 1893, they found the same tradition, but so far it has been impossible to trace it to any firsthand knowledge. W. E. Hohimer, now deceased, attempted it in a letter he wrote in 1928 at the age of eighty-two to the Oklahoma Historical Society. He had talked with Billy Little, and his account of the battle is substantially the Bowman-Little story; but he located the battlefield on the authority of the Creek citizen, "Goob" Childers, whom he had known at Red Fork, now a part of Tulsa, in 1887.⁶² It is probable that Childers was with Opoethle Yahola's party, but he died in 1885,⁶³ and even disregarding this discrepancy in dates, it would have been difficult for Hohimer to identify the place from a conversation at Tulsa.

But when the settlers describe the relics they found at the site, they are on safer ground.⁶⁴ Even now one can find fragments of dishes, thick ironstone china highly colored with blue; pieces of cast iron cooking pots; crockery, sometimes showing the handle or neck of a jug; wrought-iron nails; perhaps a rusted lock from a chest or trunk, even the barrel of a musket.⁶⁵ These are on both sides of the old ford on Salt Creek. Here is an ideal location for the main camp of Opoethle Yahola, the camp from which the Texans were driven back at the beginning of the battle, the camp which Cooper found abandoned the following morning. A few articles have been found on the mounds themselves, a few lying between; these, however, are probably no more numerous than

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, by Andrew W. Little, April 28, 1949.

⁶² A copy of this letter, dated May 29, 1928, is in the possession of John H. Melton.

⁶³ *Indian Journal* (Muskogee, Indian Territory), August 27, 1885.

⁶⁴ Affidavits in the possession of John H. Melton: R. H. Murphy, March 17, 1947; John Jackson Atteberry, December 27, 1948; Robert Z. Carlisle, December 29, 1948; Roxy Mae May, February 21, 1949; Harriett M. Bishop, March 19, 1949. The frequent mention of "pottery" in these accounts apparently refers to crockery, rather than Indian pottery.

⁶⁵ The writer visited the site May 2, 1949 with Mr. Melton and Mr. Harold W. Straughn of Stillwater. The field west of the creek was freshly plowed, and many such fragments were exposed.

one could discover in any rural area in Oklahoma. Several graves found by early settlers on the mounds are accounted for by the fact that the Pawnees had a burial place there after they settled in the vicinity.⁶⁶

One would surmise that Cooper's camp was near the ravine that skirts the north side of the mounds; and the fighting that James Scott remembered could have taken place among the huge rocks along its sides. But if there were bones of horses on the prairie where the Confederates finally drove off their pursuers, or if there is even a modicum of truth in Peak's report of abandoned wagons, the remains were not impressive enough to attract notice.

Most of the accounts of the early white settlers contain a tradition of buried treasure. According to the story told to Billy Little by Major Bowman, the Union Creeks "had been paid a large sum of money in gold coin by the Government while in Texas," which they hid before the battle. Andrew W. Little remembers that "back in about 1900 quite a party of men, my Father being one of them, made quite a search to locate it." Another old resident recalled "that strange indian would come here and go to the vicinity of the Twin Mounds and dig and search."⁶⁷

Improbable as this legend seems, it does help to connect the site with the Creek exodus; for there is a persistent Creek tradition that Opothle Yahola did in fact start out with a large sum of money, which he buried somewhere along the route.⁶⁸ One can state positively that he had not received any recent payment from the United States. The regular annuities to his tribe had been cut off by the war; and in any case they would have been paid to the constitutional Creek government, not to an influential private citizen. He might have buried some money of his own, for in happier days he had been a very rich Indian; or he might even have buried some money entrusted to him by humbler tribesmen. As to the place, that is lost in the mists of time.

The present writer does not feel the same uncertainty about the location of the battlefield. For the Keystone site we have only the Cox map and the supporting evidence of Mr. Rogers, but for Yale we have the eye-witness account of the Southern Creek leaders, a formidable list of probabilities and inferences, a somewhat confused tradition by Pawnee and white settlers unfamiliar with the history, and impressive remains of an important camp ground. To this one historian at least, the evidence is conclusive.

⁶⁶ Interview with S. T. Kerby by John H. Melton, Harold W. Straughn, and Angie Debo, May 2, 1949. Mr. Kerby was employed in digging the Pawnee graves.

⁶⁷ Letter from Andrew W. Little to John H. Melton, November 3, 1948.

⁶⁸ WPA Project S-149: Minda G. Hardin, March 25, 1937; Mary Grayson, July 22, 1937; Joe M. Grayson, September 24, 1937. It is possible that this tradition of a buried "treasure" arose from the fact that several of the Creek towns buried sacred objects used in their ceremonials, before they set out on their exile.

"NEWS FOR THE CHOCTAWS"

By James D. Morrison

Charles De Morse, the father of Texas journalism, carried this item in *The Northern Standard* for May 20, 1848.¹

NEWS FOR THE CHOCTAWS

We understand that a newspaper press is about to be established at Doaksville; Mr. Ball, heretofore a Merchant in that place, having passed through here, yesterday morning, on his way to New Orleans for materials.

The "Mr. Ball" of the news item was D. G. Ball, publisher-to-be of the *Choctaw Telegraph*, pioneer newspaper in the old Choctaw Nation. Doaksville was the prosperous business and political center of the Choctaws which had grown up near Fort Towson in the southern part of the Nation. Little has been found concerning the life of Ball. Editor De Morse mentioned him occasionally in the columns of the *Northern Standard*, the first time in the summer of 1846 when the Mexican War was getting under way:² "By Mr. Ball of Doaksville, who left New Orleans on the 30th ult., and arrived in Town on Monday last, we learn that Troops were pouring into the City, from the upper Country."

Another item of the following winter strengthens the impression that Ball, pioneer publisher of the Choctaw Nation, and De Morse, pioneer Texas editor, were friends:³ "We are indebted to Mr. Ball of Doaksville for a late Washington Union." Ball's name appeared in a *Northern Standard* advertisement which ran through the summer and fall of 1846. He had been part owner of thirty-six cords of "Bois d'Arc Wood, at the mouth of Boggy on Red River, and sixteen cords, at Horse Prairie, on the bank of Red River."⁴ In the early 1850's Ball moved to Clarksville, Texas, and entered the hotel business. The editorial column of the *Standard* carried this item about the "Clarksville Hotel", whose advertisement in the same number was signed "D. G. Ball."⁵ "Clarksville

¹ Clarksville *Northern Standard*, May 20, 1848. For an account of De Morse and his contacts with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations see James D. Morrison (ed.), "Notes from the Northern Standard", in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIX, pp. 82-93, 269-283.

² Clarksville *Northern Standard*, June 10, 1846; James D. Morrison, ed., "Notes from the Northern Standard," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (March, 1941), p. 90.

³ Clarksville *Northern Standard*, December 11, 1847.

⁴ *Ibid.*, July 15 through October 10, 1846.

⁵ Clarksville *Standard*, March 12, 1853. As the controversy over slavery developed, De Morse found it advisable to drop *Northern* from the name of his paper. Beginning with the issue of October 23, 1852, the title of the periodical was simply *The Standard*.

Hotel - We call attention to the advertisement of this well kept house." Nothing further has been discovered concerning the life of the publisher of the *Choctaw Telegraph*.

The editor of the *Telegraph*, when it appeared, was one of a famous Choctaw family. His name was Daniel Folsom, great-grandson of Nathaniel Folsom who founded the Choctaw branch of this family. Born in the Choctaw Nation in Mississippi, Daniel Folsom had removed at the time of the Choctaw migration. His home was at Doaksville for several years; he died in Blue County, Choctaw Nation, the date being unknown.⁶

The initial issue of the *Choctaw Telegraph* was probably printed under the date of November 2, 1848.⁷ None of the first twenty-four numbers are known to exist. The extant copies are in the Library of Congress, and it is these which were the chief sources of information for this study.⁸ Written on the margin of many of these numbers is the name of Peter Force, American archivist and historian of the mid-nineteenth century, whose collection of historical material was sold to the Library of Congress just before the Civil War for \$100,000.⁹

A typical issue of the *Telegraph* was almost entirely in English, despite the announcement in the prospectus to the effect that one half would be in Choctaw and the other in the English language. Each of the four pages contained five columns. The editorial page was usually the second and would be perhaps half in Choctaw;

⁶ Elizabeth Knowles Folsom, *Genealogy of the Folsom Family* (2 vols.; Rutland, Vermont, 1938), II, 848. The *Choctaw Intelligencer*, successor to the *Choctaw Telegraph*, listed Daniel Folsom as an officer of the Choctaw Division of the Sons of Temperance, June 20, 1850. (Daniel Folsom, aged thirteen, was enrolled at the Choctaw Academy, Blue Springs, Scott County, Kentucky, and was listed in attendance in the first report of this school in November, 1825. In September, 1829, he was one of six Choctaw boys selected by Colonel Richard M. Johnson, founder of the Academy and member of Congress from Kentucky, to return to their homes in Mississippi. This was in compliance with the rules of the school on attendance, each boy to be supplied a "suitable outfit" of clothes and a pony upon leaving for their homes in the Choctaw Nation. The selection of the boys was in the nature of graduation, and each was given a commission of recommendation signed by the Reverend Thomas Henderson, Superintendent. For an interesting account of this famous Indian school, see Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, No. 4 [December, 1928], and Vol. X, No. 1 [March, 1932]. —Ed.)

⁷ The *Fort Smith Herald*, November 8, 1848, remarked editorially: "We have received the first number of the Choctaw Telegraph, printed in Doaksville, Choctaw Nation, edited by Daniel Folsom, a native, and published by D. G. Ball. It is neatly printed on a super-royal sheet and is well edited. We extend to them the right hand of fellowship. May it prosper."

⁸ These were read from microfilm. Acknowledgment is due the Frank Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma, and the Librarian, Southeastern State College, Durant, Oklahoma, for the use of their microfilm readers. Not only are Numbers 1 through 24 missing, but also Numbers 28, 29, and 47. Microfilm of the *Telegraph* are in the files of the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Library of Southeastern State College.

⁹ *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1933), VI, 512-513.

occasionally part of page one would also contain articles written in the Indian tongue. All important announcements were in both English and Choctaw, but the advertisements, headings, and most of the paper were in English.

The subheading on page one stated that the *Telegraph* was "A Family Journal: Devoted To the Interest Of Our Race, Agriculture, Education, Morality and General Intelligence, &c.&c."¹⁰ Subscription rates were on a sliding scale "At Three Dollars per annum if paid in advance; three and a half dollars if paid at any time within six months; or four dollars if payments be delayed until after the expiration of the year."¹¹ The terms of advertising were one dollar for the first insertion of a "square" of ten lines, fifty cents for each subsequent insertion. Ten lines for a year could be run for twenty dollars, the charge decreasing proportionately for a greater number of lines. Further specifications were that "No personally abusive articles will be admitted at any price" and "All letters must be Post Paid."

Nine men were named as agents for the *Telegraph* by this statement:¹²

The following . . . gentlemen, will render a favor by acting as agents for this paper.

T. McKenny, Choctaw Agency.
Col. R. Humphreys, Fort Washataw. [sic]
A. Robinson, Eagletown.
Jno. H. Heald, New Orleans.
Wm. H. Douglass, Shreveport, La.
C. F. Stewart, Mayhew, C. N.
Jacob Folsom, W. Bend " "
L. Gooding, Ft. Washita. [sic]
E. Upshaw Esq., Paris[,] Texas.

These were all prominent men of the Red River region. It is not known whether any of them were backers of the paper or not.

¹⁰ This is in agreement with a "Prospectus for the '*Choctaw Telegraph*,' *A Weekly Journal to be Published in Doaksville, Choctaw Nation*" which stated: "The undersigned proposes to commence as soon as *three Hundred* subscribers can be obtained, a *Weekly Paper*, under the above title, to be devoted to the advocacy and dissemination of Morality, Education, Agriculture and general Intelligence—one half in the Choctaw and the other in the English language. Our sheet will be as the publisher designs, a Family Newspaper (neutral in religion and politics) . . . The '*Telegraph*' will be furnished to subscribers, at *three dollars in advance*. . . mailed every Thursday morning. All letters, on business with the office, should be addressed to D. G. Ball, *Doaksville*, Choctaw Nation, post paid. D. Folsom, Editor." —*Indian Advocate*, November, 1848, as quoted by Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835-1907* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1936), 151-152.

¹¹ *Choctaw Telegraph*, May 3, 1849. Hereafter, any date cited alone will refer to the *Telegraph*.

¹² *Ibid*.

The evidence is to the contrary as this quotation from an editorial, just before publication was discontinued, will illustrate.¹³

The publisher has not received *two hundred* dollars, during the past year; the consequence was, that he had to go in debt for the greater portion of his paper, and for his board. At the expiration of this volume, there will be due the office, between seven and eight hundred dollars. And will our friends remember us?

If the *Telegraph* had been strongly backed by men of the caliber listed as its agents, it is hard to believe that the paper could have reached such financial condition as this item indicates.

Who were these agents? Of some we have rather complete information; of others we know nothing. "T. McKenny, Choctaw Agency" was, of course, the most prominent citizen of the Skullyville community in the northeast corner of the Nation.¹⁴ "Jno. H. Heald, New Orleans" was a former partner in the well known firm of Berthelet, Heald, and Company. Robert M. Jones, Choctaw tycoon of the times, was the "Company." Heald was not connected with the partnership at this time but was in the Crescent City as a member of the firm of Moses Greenwood and Company.¹⁵ "C. F. Stewart, Mayhew, C. N." was a prominent merchant of Connecticut birth. His establishment was located at the crossroads where the Fort Towson-Fort Washita road was cut by a north-south road from Fort Smith to Beal's Ferry on Red River.¹⁶ "L. Gooding, Ft. Washita" and "Col. R. Humphreys, Fort Washataw"

¹³ December 6, 1849.

¹⁴ "T. McKenny" should not be confused with the Thompson McKinney who was principal chief of the Choctaw Nation, 1886-1888. "Recollections of Peter Hudson," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, X, 513; Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1934), 167. ("T. McKenny" was a misspelling for "T. McKinney" or Thompson McKinney, of Skullyville, for whom Principal Chief Thompson McKinney (1886-88) was named. Thompson McKinney of Skullyville served as School Trustee and held other responsible positions in the Choctaw Nation before the War of the States. His daughter, Susan Priscilla McKinney, married Victor M. Locke, Sr., and they were the parents of several children, among them Ben Davis Locke, Edwin S. Locke, Mary Locke (now Mrs. C. E. Archer of Antlers), and the late Victor M. Locke, Jr., Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation 1911-17.—Ed.)

¹⁵ Clarksville *Northern Standard*, July 1, 1848. Editor De Morse made this comment: "We call attention to the card of Moses Greenwood & Co., in our advertising columns. Mr. Heald who has lately associated himself with the firm, is the former partner in the firm of Berthelet Heald & Co., lately existing at Doaksville and Fort Smith. We need not say a word in respect to the mercantile capacity, integrity and accommodating spirit of this gentleman, to any one who ever had business with him, when living in this section of the country; but to those who never had; we will take the responsibility of recommending the House, as one of the best in New Orleans, with which our planters or Merchants could make business arrangements." By 1853 Heald had become the senior partner in the firm of Heald, Massie, and Co., 35 Natchez Street, New Orleans. Clarksville *Standard*, October 15, 1853. For a summary of Heald's life see Muriel H. Wright, "John Hobart Heald," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. 3 (September, 1924), pp. 311-318.

¹⁶ Muriel H. Wright, "Tryphena," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (June, 1931), pp. 180-194; *Telegraph*, November 29, 1849. An advertisement for "Beale's Ferry" ran in the Clarksville *Northern Standard*, July 3, 1852.

pose a little problem. It is likely that L. Gooding was related to G. C. Gooding, longtime post sutler and postmaster at Fort Towson, and held a similar position at the more westerly post.¹⁷ "Ft. Washita" must have been the military center the site of which was selected some fifteen miles above the mouth of the Washita River by Zachary Taylor in 1842. "Fort Washataw" might then refer to the temporary post built three miles above the mouth of the Washita by the Leavenworth Expedition in 1834.¹⁸ As for the other agents, they were undoubtedly men of prominence and integrity in each of their respective communities.

The frontier newspaper of that day performed a number of public services; the *Telegraph* was no exception. One of these services was the frequent publication of lists of letters left unclaimed by the addressees in the Doaksville post office. In May, 1849, the Doaksville postmaster ran a list of one hundred thirteen names for whom mail was being held. Listed were such well known Indian families as Wade, Colbert, Dwight, Folsom, McKinney, Pitchlynn, and Garland.¹⁹ A midsummer list of eighty names included "Female Stockbridge," Alfred Wright, and "Geo. Washington."²⁰ In the fall a similar list of thirty-four names contained those of Jackson Kemp, Martha Ann Kemp, Lucina Nail, and "P. P. Pitchlynn 3," all prominent Indian families.²¹

One difficulty of frontier life was the maintenance of an adequate mail service. Editor Folsom complained of the "Express Rider" between Fort Towson and Fort Washita because of his exorbitant charges for carrying "letters, papers, &c., to and fro." He requested that the "Quarter Master at Fort Washita" in-

¹⁷ G. C. Gooding was at Fort Towson nineteen years. *Choctaw Intelligencer*, October 15, 1851. An "L. S. Gooding" is mentioned in the Gooding family Bible as marrying "Matha [sic] Woodridge Oct 20th 1859 in Paris Texas." This Bible is in the possession of a granddaughter of G. C. Gooding, Mrs. J. E. Plank of Grant, Oklahoma.

¹⁸ W. B. Morrison, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1936), 72-75, 81-92. (In 1930, Mr. and Mrs. James Y. Bryce and Muriel H. Wright visited and erected temporary markers on many historic sites in eastern and southern parts of Oklahoma. The site of Camp Washita was near an old spring about 200 yards south of the Rock Creek Crossing, about two miles from the mouth of the Washita River, on the east side, in Township 7 South, Range 7 East, Bryan County, now inundated by Lake Texoma. For an account of the 1930 tour, see J. Y. Bryce, "Temporary Markers of Historic Points," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, No. 3 [September, 1930].—Ed.)

¹⁹ May 3, 1849.

²⁰ Stockbridge was the mission station founded by the Rev. Cyrus Byington in 1837, and named by him for his birthplace in Massachusetts. This mission was near Eagletown in present McCurtain County. In 1842, the Choctaw General Council established Iyanubbi Female Seminary at the mission station. The name "Stockbridge" for this location remained in common use for some years. See, "Recollections of Peter Hudson," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 4 (December, 1932). (The expression "Female Stockbridge" listed in the *Telegraph* referred to the "Female Seminary" at Stockbridge Mission.—Ed.)

²¹ October 11, 1849.

investigate the case and find a more suitable man.²² Evidence of the fact that Doaksville was a frontier crossroads is found in the schedule for the arrival and departure of the mails. An item like this was printed in most issues:²³

Eastern—Arrives every Wednesday & Saturday at 6 o'clock P. M., departs every Thursday and Monday at 6 o'clock A. M.

Southern—Arrives every Thursday at 6 P. M., departs Friday at 6 A. M.

Northern—Arrives every Friday at 10 A. M., departs the same day at 1 P. M.

Other public services were weather reports, items on the condition of Red River with regard to navigation, mention of the arrival and departure of river steamers, and notices of the spread of epidemic diseases. The final issue of the *Telegraph* reported some cases of the dreaded cholera as near to Doaksville as the Red River town of Shreveport.²⁴ Nearly every number carried an item similar to the following:²⁵

The Weather and River.—The weather continues disagreeable and cloudy, with alternate changes of rain and snow, though every now and then a fair sky—furnishing a glimpse at Old Sol, but for only a short while. The River is in fine boating order. The Texas, Capt. Clayborne, came up Tuesday morning last, laden partly with commissary stores for Fort Towson, and goods for this place. The Texas is a new boat, strongly built, and is in every other way well adapted for running in Red River. And from the experience in boating on this river and the accommodating conduct of Capt. Clayborne, that he will no doubt prosper [*sic*]. Success to the Texas Red River Packet.

An item in August of 1849 referred to the "unprecedented rains" of the past spring and summer. Since the rains had ceased, the editor expressed hope for a more favorable season "than was anticipated a few weeks since" to allow every farmer to "secure a good supply of hay and fodder."²⁶

There was little of what the modern reader would call "sports" in the *Telegraph*, but perhaps this item would come under such classification:²⁷

A Ball-play comes off on the fourth ultimo, near the Dividing-ridge, between Musholotubbi and Apukshanubbi Districts; fifty select men from each District compose the players. The play was arranged by Mr. Thompson McKinney.

²² September 20, 1849.

²³ July 19, 1849.

²⁴ December 20, 1849. The August 23, 1849, edition had reported: "The cholera is abating throughout the United States."

²⁵ December 20, 1849.

²⁶ August 16, 1849.

²⁷ July 26, 1849. Among the various activities of Thompson McKinney was included that of sports promoter.

Crimes committed in the region naturally received notice in the frontier paper. Notice of the killing of Colonel Benjamin Love in the western part of the Nation first appeared in the issue for July 19, 1849. Other notices culminated in an article which explained in detail the method of the murder. This was derived from a confession made by a Shawnee Indian arrested for complicity in the crime.²⁸ Robbery of the "Post Office Store" in Doaksville was reported in the autumn of 1849, eighty-five dollars being taken from the post office and twenty-five or thirty from the store.²⁹

One cause of violent death, then as now, was liquor. Evidently the light horsemen, law enforcement officers for the Choctaw Nation, had killed some whisky runners who resisted arrest during this period. Editor Folsom, in answering the question as to whether the "Light horsemen are justifiable in taking the life of a person, who having whisky . . . and resisting the efforts of the officer, from taking and destroying it," quoted in full a Choctaw law of 1834 on the subject. The law stated that if any person refused to allow his "ardent spirits" to be destroyed by the Light Horsemen, he did so at his own risk; if such person were killed, the Light Horsemen were protected by the laws of the Nation. The editor continued, after quoting the law, to remark that "no less than three persons [have] lost their lives in the past three or four weeks" because of "whisky encounters."³⁰

Since one of the avowed purposes of the *Telegraph* was to propagate moral influences among the Choctaws and Chickasaws, much space was given to letters and articles on temperance and religion. Two letters from a correspondent who signed himself "J." will serve as examples. "J." estimated that three hundred barrels of whisky were sold annually at Preston, just across Red River in Texas and above the mouth of the Washita. He dwelt at length on the evil effects of whisky and the good effects of temperance.³¹ In this connection it is only proper to note that when the Choctaw Division of the Order of the Sons of Temperance was organized in Doaksville, both the editor and publisher of the *Telegraph* were listed among its officers.³² And in the November 29, 1849, edition was an editorial which urged all "advocates of

²⁸ August 16, 1849.

²⁹ October 25, 1849.

³⁰ July 19, 1849. These deaths were not all caused by the efforts of the Light Horsemen to enforce the law. Several were the result of brawls caused by drunkenness.

³¹ August 23 and October 11, 1849.

³² June 20, 1849. Officers elected were: H. P. Hadden, O. S.; Daniel Folsom, I.S.; Sampson Folsom, A.C.; Jas. M. McLeod, C.; D. P. Lanius, T.; S. M. Willard, F.S.; D. G. Ball, A.R.S.; W. L. Poalk, R.S.; Rev. John Carr, W.A.; Rev. Samuel Corley, W.P. The significance of the initials used for the offices can only be surmised.

temperance" to take a firm stand in opposition to the intemperance which was wont to accompany the payment of the annuities.³³

Many items of a religious nature filled the columns of this frontier weekly. One quaint example of a notice of religious worship was:³⁴ "The Rev[.] Mr. Noble will preach in town next Saturday evening, at early candle lighting." A Choctaw New Testament, just published by the American Bible Society under direction of the Rev. Alfred Wright, was the subject of one fairly long article. It ended:³⁵ "Our hearts are like the ground was this summer when there was no rain, hard and dry. Give us thy Spirit like rain from above, so that this good seed, thy holy word, may fall upon hearts softened as the earth after a shower."

The "Bible Society of the Choctaw Nation" was organized in the fall of 1849 at Spencer Academy, Choctaw boys' school a few miles north of Doaksville. The Reverend Cyrus Byington presided, and Daniel Folsom was named on the Executive Committee. The *Telegraph* printed the complete Constitution of the Society, as well as a Resolution of the Presbyterian General Assembly advocating support of the American Bible Society.³⁶ Editor Folsom also took part in the organization of a "Union Tract Society" during the summer of 1849, being one of a committee of three which reported on the best methods to be used in evangelizing the Choctaws. He was also elected to the board of managers along with Cyrus Byington and Peter P. Pitchlynn.³⁷ In November the appointments

³³ November 29, 1849. The editor stated: "As the annuities approach, the apprehension, naturally arises in the minds of all sober and law abiding citizens; that as intemperance is wont heretofore to prevail, to a greater extent then, than at any other time, and the law is less regarded—that some corresponding effort should be put forth, to suppress its encroachments, both by civil authorities and the persuasionists. The annuities seem to be viewed by some as the annual arrival of a period, at which time, they are at liberty to give the greatest scope, to their inebriate disposition."

³⁴ *Ibid.* This was probably John S. Noble, Methodist missionary at what was called Robinson's school.

³⁵ September 13, 1849. This item may have been quoted from a religious publication, perhaps a tract of the American Bible Society.

³⁶ October 4, 1849. Officers elected for the Choctaw Bible Society were: Alfred Wright, president; Joseph Dukes and N. Cochnauer, vice-presidents; Caspar R. Gregory, secretary; John P. Kingsbury, treasurer; Alexander Reid, Henry K. Copeland, Daniel Folsom, John P. Kingsbury, and Caspar R. Gregory, executive committee. A letter, July 9, 1941, from Margaret T. Hills, librarian of the American Bible Society, states that the Bible Society of the Choctaw Nation was active until 1860 and was listed through 1871.

³⁷ May 17, August 9, and August 23, 1849. Officers of the Union Tract Society were: Cyrus Kingsbury, president; Alfred Wright, vice-president; Charles Fishback, secretary; John P. Kingsbury, treasurer; Alexander Reid, Joseph Dukes, Cyrus Byington, Daniel Folsom, and P. P. Pitchlynn, board of managers.

of the Methodist Indian Mission Conference were listed in full detail, this item being taken from the *Cherokee Advocate*.³⁸

Choctaw educational matters were also reported fully, an evidence of the desire of the editor and the publisher to carry out the stated aims of the periodical. It was the practice of the Choctaws and Chickasaws to send their best young men east to college. A tragic item in illustration appeared in the issue of the *Telegraph* dated May 3, 1849, when resolutions of respect from the "Athenaeum Literary [Society] of Deleware [sic] College," were printed concerning the death of "our much esteemed fellow student, and brother member, Wm. F. Howell, of the Choctaw Nation." Accompanying those of the literary society were resolutions of the student body as a whole; these stated that all would attend the funeral and, "as a testimonial of respect for the memory of our beloved brother," would wear "crape on the left arm for thirty days."³⁹

Announcements concerning the times of the examinations at the various Choctaw boarding schools, as well as the resulting reports of the trustees, were published.⁴⁰ July and early August, 1849, were very rainy so that high water prevented even the school trustees, who conducted the examinations ordinarily, from attending some of the inspections. The *Telegraph* reported that a number of citizens expressed the "highest gratification at the elacrity [sic] and correctness, given by both girls and boys, to the

³⁸ November 29, 1849. For the Choctaw District, N. M. Talbert was presiding elder; Fort Coffee and New Hope, W. L. McAlister; Doaksville, John H. Carr; Robinson school, J. C. Noble [sic]; Moshulatubby, Erastus B. Duncan, John Page; Kiameshia, Isaac Chuknubbc; Chickasaw, Ezekiel Couch; Chickasaw Academy, Wesley Browning; Porto school and Circuit, Dixon H. Lewis. Others were to be supplied at Doaksville, Fort Coffee, and Brushy.

³⁹ This young man was the son of Dr. Calvin C. Howell and his wife, ncé Rhoda Pitchlynn, sister of Peter P. Pitchlynn. They resided at Eagletown at this time. Mrs. Laura Howell Youngblood of Davis, Oklahoma, was kind enough to show us some letters written by this young student before his untimely death in Delaware. Mrs. Youngblood is the daughter of the late Dr. Thomas P. Howell of Davis and a niece of the William F. Howell here mentioned.

⁴⁰ May 17, 1849. "There will be an examination of the following schools, on the days specified, previous to the vacation of the terms, viz. Armstrong Academy, Tuesday July 24, 1849; Iyanubbi Female Seminary, Friday, July 24 [sic]; Koonsha Female Seminary, Friday, June 28; Pine Ridge Female Seminary, Saturday, July 28; Norwalk Male Seminary, Monday, July 30; Wheelock Female Seminary, Tuesday, July 31; Spencer Academy, Thursday, August 2; Choctaw Academy, near Robinsons, Saturday, August 4. The parents and friends of the students, are requested to attend at the places, and on the days above mentioned.

G. W. HARKINS, Trustec."

(The "Choctaw Academy" mentioned above was opened in 1847, near the home of Captain Robinson (a Choctaw), a day's ride from Spencer Academy, probably east near Little River. This was a neighborhood school at first hut grew into a boarding school under the auspices of the Methodist Church South and continued as such until the early 1850's. This "Choctaw Academy" should not be confused with the noted Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, which was operated under the auspices of the Baptist Association in that state until about 1847.—Ed.)

various complex questions propounded in connection with the recitations." The singing was reported to be improved. Some "very nice needle work" at the "female schools" was offered for sale, the proceeds to be used for "benevolent purposes."⁴¹ In the fall there appeared the complete report of the trustees, Thompson McKinney, George W. Harkins, Forbis LeFlore, and Robert M. Jones, as made to the General Council of the Choctaw Nation.⁴²

With the exception of two academies, the trustees generally expressed satisfaction with the work done in the schools of the Nation. At Norwalk Male Seminary they found that the scholars did not evidence much knowledge of books. Since they blamed this lack on the teacher, "Mr. Pitkin," the trustees reported to the Council that a request for Pitkin's removal had been dispatched to Alfred Wright.⁴³ Dissatisfaction with the work done at Spencer Academy was expressed in these words: "We . . . regret to say that our expectations have not been fully realized in the attainments made by the students in the knowledge of books." Attention was called to the fact that the students taught by "Miss Dutcher," however, had done well. The trustees were of the opinion that the lack of progress at Spencer could be blamed on the frequent changes in the teaching staff which had just occurred.⁴⁴ They finally recommended that the Academy be divided into two parts, being convinced that there were "too many Choctaw youth,

⁴¹ August 2, 1849.

⁴² October 18, 1849. This report is also found in *The Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1849, pp. 1104-1107.

⁴³ October 18, 1849. There was another reason for the dissatisfaction of slave owners like Robert M. Jones with the work of "Mr. Pitkin," as this item from the *Northern Standard* for July 2, 1850, will explain: "The Choctaw Missionary, Mr. Pitkin. In a previous number we came out and exposed the abolitionism of this gentleman, and further than that we have nothing against him, and as we understand that he is uneasy concerning his personal safety in visiting this part of Texas; we take this occasion to say to him that he is perfectly safe. — We think Mr. Pitkin's fears are unfounded, and we promise him that he shall be perfectly safe, whenever he shall see proper to visit us.

"We have no fears ourself whatever in visiting the Nation; no more than we ever had, and should feel perfectly safe in Mr. Pitkin's own beat, and we wish Mr. Pitkin to feel as comfortable as we do. — Mr. Pitkin we believe is the only individual in a hundred miles of us who understands the repairing and tuning of pianos, and as most of these instruments in Clarksville need his assistance; we take this occasion to invite him over. Come over Mr. Pitkin. Come over and see us; and bring your friend the younger Kingsbury." Kingsbury was the editor of the *Choctaw Intelligencer* who had answered previous editorial attacks in the *Northern Standard* charging the missionaries to the Choctaws with preaching abolition. The editorial quoted and the others mentioned were not written by Charles De Morse as he was making an extended visit to the East at the time.

⁴⁴ October 18, 1849. Alexander Reid and almost a complete new staff had just succeeded the old superintendent, James B. Ramsey, and his co-workers. Spencer Academy had been established to take the place of the Choctaw Academy operated by Richard M. Johnson in Kentucky. At this time Spencer was under the supervision of the Presbyterian Board of Missions. "Recollections of Peter Hudson," *op. cit.*, pp. 518-519.

thrown together at this institution, to learn to speak the English language as speedily as if there were fewer."⁴⁵

Superintendent Alexander Reid of Spencer Academy answered the charges of the trustees with a letter quoted in full by Editor Folsom. Admitting that Spencer had not come up to expectations, Mr. Reid argued that the difficulty had been lack of harmony among the teachers; that this situation had now been corrected by the replacement of the former superintendent and his staff; and that the new staff was composed of congenial personnel who would work together for the good of the common cause. He finished his plea with these lines:⁴⁶ "Let the friends of education and religion among your people, cordially co-operate with us, and all will be well. If you are not prepare to do this, then *prove us for one year longer*—we ask no more at present, *only let us alone.*" The plea of Superintendent Reid was heeded. The Choctaw school enjoyed a prosperous twelve years under his supervision, the outbreak of the Civil War marking the end of his administration.⁴⁷

During the winter of 1849-1850 the *Telegraph* published an item concerning the neighborhood schools of Pushmataha District. Three "superintendents of the neighborhood schools of Pushmataha District," George Folsom, William McCoy, and P. Battiece, announced that four schools were to be established in the District. One was to be at "Yaknachukma Fields" or Goodland; a second at "Bennington, near Rev. R. D. Potts;" another at "Lubboon Bokfalaya [Long Creek] settlement;" and the fourth at "Winchester near Chickasaw Dist. line." For the support of each school one hundred dollars annually was available for three years. For the same period forty-nine dollars annually was appropriated for a "Sunday school at or near Vttoka, on Boggy." Folsom, McCoy, and Battiece concluded their announcement with this explanation:⁴⁸

In conclusion, we are sorry to say, that with the small sum of \$1347, it is not in our power to meet the numerous applications that have been made to us for schools, and though we are doubtful whether our arrangements will be satisfactory, in general or not. It is nevertheless, the best that we can do. [*sic*]

Affairs of state occupied much space in the *Telegraph*. An item of early October, 1849, called the attention of readers to the fact that "General Council . . . had organized, and would proceed immediately to the discharge of their duty." At the same time the editor stated that he would "be pleased to hear of the Council pass-

⁴⁵ October 18, 1849.

⁴⁶ October 25, 1849. The italics are Reid's.

⁴⁷ Robert Elliott Flickinger, *The Choctaw Freedmen* . . . (Pittsburgh, 1914), 24.

⁴⁸ December 6, 1849. For an explanation of "Sunday school" see Debo, *Choctaw Republic*, *op. cit.*, 61 f.

ing a resolution, offering a stone for the Washington Monument."⁴⁹ The next issue printed a full report of the activities of the council:⁵⁰

The General Council, which convened on the 3rd, adjourned on the 13th, inst., being in session ten days. A feeling of harmony appeared [sic] to pervade both branches of the Council, and an [sic] union of action among the members, to labor for the benefit of their country.

The first day the Chiefs delivered their Messages. The two succeeding days were occupied, principally in presenting petitions, the reports of the different schools, and appointing Committees.—After the several Committees were organized, upon Schools, Laws, & Claims, they retired to a convenient place, when the petitions, &c., were taken up in order and read. Whereupon such laws were drafted, as seemed to be required, and presented to the House of Representatives [sic] and Senate, for their approval.

The establishing of Schools for the education of the youth, seems to be the grand object among our people. Numerous petitions were presented in favor of more schools, saying, "we are very poor, yet we want schools."

During the session, very interesting lectures were delivered upon the subjects of agriculture, temperance, education, &c., by the members. And every morning before proceeding to business, prayer was offered by one of the members.

Some important laws were passed, against Gambling, Bigamy, &c., and requiring all marriage ceremonies to be performed by the law. A marriage ceremony performed, contrary to the provisions of this act, either by a Captain or a minister of the Gospel, he is liable to be fined twenty-five dollars. A white man living with an Indian woman without being lawfully married, is required to marry her, or else leave the Nation, and forever stay out of it.

There was quite an interest taken in the election of District officers. Alfred Wade, was elected National Judge, Brazil Leflore Treasurer, Lewis Garland Auditor, for Apvksinubi District. Brashears Turnbull Supreme Judge, William Harrison Treasurer, Jonathan Cogswell Auditor, for Poshimataha District. Canada McCurtain Supreme Judge, James Trahan Treasurer for Mosholatvbi District. George D. James Treasurer, Henry McKenney Auditor for Chickasaw District.

We will publish the laws as enacted by the last Council, as soon as we can, in a pamphlet form.

The last two editions of the *Telegraph* contained thirty-eight of the laws passed by this session of the General Council. They were printed in Choctaw only. Following most of these laws was the name of the "anumpa ikbi" or "law maker" who was author of each. The name of the *Telegraph* editor followed No. 31, "Taniel Fvlsom" being the Choctaw form. After No. 35 was "Labvt Chons" for "Robert Jones;" attached to No. 36 was "Wilim Pichlin anumpa ikbi;" to No. 37, "Sampsin Fvlsvm;" to No. 23, "Chisi Wal" for

⁴⁹ October 11, 1849. The Council must not have met in Doakville because Editor Folsom obtained the information for this item from "a letter received of a friend."

⁵⁰ October 18, 1849. No auditor was named for "Mosholatvbi District;" no judge for the Chickasaw District.

Jessie Wall, brother of Tryphena Wall Stewart of Mayhew; to Nos. 25 and 29, the phrase "N Kukna anumpa ikbi," for "Nicholas Cochenauer, legislator."⁵¹

Another Choctaw item in November, 1849, concerned the payment of the annuities:⁵²

VLHPITA ANOWA HOKE

Tesimba nitvk 11 ma Poshimataha Vlhti hvt vlhpita chi hoke. Tesimba 18 ma Apvkshinabi Vlhti hvt vlhpita chi hoke. Micha nitak hullo chito nitak fehna, Lukfoata aivlhpita chi hoke.

Freely translated, this announced that annuities were to be paid for Pushmataha District on December 11, for Apukshunnubbi District on December 18, and at Lukfata on Christmas Day.⁵³ The annuity weather was not of the best, as the editor duly noted:⁵⁴

The Weather.—We have had for the last week, a true specimen of old winter, which usually commences in this country about annuity time, by raining, snowing, halling, and freezing. We are far from envying, just at this particular time, any of the pleasantry [*sic*] that may have been anticipated, by those attending the annuities.

Fire was an enemy, as well as friend, of this frontier community. Choctaw homes, business and government buildings, and schools were invariably constructed of wood and easily destroyed by fire. One loss from this cause was hinted to be of incendiary origin: "The Senate house in the nation, was burnt down on the third inst. It is not known by whom or the cause for which it was done."⁵⁵

Miscellaneous items of varying dates included notice that "Gen. Belknap of the U. S. A." was in Doaksville en route to Fort Towson on a tour of inspection; a charge of fraud against the "firm of Daniel Safferans & Co., who have been merchandising

⁵¹ December 13 and December 20, 1849. The Choctaws used phonetic spelling for words and names taken into their language from the English, substituting for sounds which did not occur in their alphabet such as D, J, and R. Other examples than the names given are: "Aktoba" for October; "Tesimba" for December; and "Chisus Klaist" for Jesus Christ. See Cyrus Byington, "A Grammar of the Choctaw Language," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 1870, XI, 317-367; and Cyrus Byington, *A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language* (Washington, 1915).

⁵² November 22, 1849.

⁵³ Lukfata, meaning "white clay," was located halfway between the present towns of Idabel and Broken Bow in McCurtain County, Oklahoma. "Recollections of Peter Hudson," *op. cit.*, 512 f. A note in the *Telegraph* on December 13, 1849, may explain what region was served by the payments at Lukfata: "It is desired by the Commissioners, to meet on the 20th of the present month, at Lokfoata depot, those orphans, residing on Little River, Mountain Fork, and Iyanvbi, that they may be identified as the proper persons to receive their portions of the orphan's fund. The orphans and their heirs are requested to be present on that day." Payments for Mushulatubby District were made at the Choctaw Agency or Skullyville, across the mountains from Doaksville.

⁵⁴ December 13, 1849.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* This item was also repeated in Choctaw: "Tesimba nitak 3 ninak osh Sinit chuka vt luat kinafo tok miashke, kana hosh michi kia ikakostini cho miash ke."

in the Nation;" the suggestion of the "Rev. Anson Gleason, of Charlestown New Hampshire" as a fine man to be the new Agent for the Choctaws; and mention of the marriage of C. F. Stewart, agent for the *Telegraph* at Mayhew, to "Miss Juliette Slate, both of Connecticut."⁵⁶

In the absence of national press associations the country weekly of this period filled many of its columns with news, features, and anecdotes lifted from exchange magazines and papers. The *Telegraph* was no exception. Some scattered headlines will give an expression of the contents of these borrowed items: "Singular Discovery of a Homicide" was a rather morbid horror story; "The Lungs", an explanation of the nature and functions of those organs of the human body; "Protect Your Sheep," a method of training a sheep dog; "Poetry of Science," an attempt to popularize the study of science; and "Studying a Child's Capacities," psychology of a century ago.⁵⁷

Most of the humor was also copied from the exchanges. A typical example was headed "A Desperate Race. A Story of the Early Settlement of Ohio." It was in the classic American frontier mold. A frontiersman, entertaining a group with an account of his youthful experiences, droned on and on about a certain Indian battle of his career. Finally, he related, he found himself alone and all of his companions killed, surrounded by hostile redskins. His rifle was broken and an Indian was only a few yards away with a loaded rifle. One hearer, unable to contain his curiosity further, blurted out, "And the Indian?" To which the frontiersman replied, "Fired and killed me!"⁵⁸

Most matter on pages three and four of each issue was invariably advertising. Under "Professional Cards" in May, 1849, there appeared a single one, that of "Dr. Walner" who "respectfully offer[ed] his services to the public generally." Instead of the used car advertisements of modern papers there were occasional notices offering a carriage or wagon for sale.⁵⁹ After the withdrawal of J. H. Heald from the firm of Berthelet, Heald, & Co., this advertisement appeared over the names of the two remaining partners.⁶⁰

NOTICE. ALL persons indebted to the late firm of *Berthelet, Heald & Co.*, or to *Berthelet & Jones*, who have not settled their accounts, within the

⁵⁶ May 3, October 4, October 11, and November 29, 1849.

⁵⁷ July 19, 1849.

⁵⁸ July 26, 1849.

⁵⁹ May 3, September 6, and November 29, 1849. The carriage offered for sale was "A New and Splendid Double-harness Carriage Made of Fine Materials, and well adapted for this Country, which will be disposed of on accommodating terms." An advertisement offering a wagon and draft animals for sale read: "FOR SALE. A first rate *Wagon*, two yoke of *Oxen*, and *Three Horses*: For reference, enquire at this office."

⁶⁰ November 29, 1849.

last 12 or 18 months, are respectfully solicited to make arrangements to pay up by the 1st. of January next, either in *Cash, Corn, Cotton*, or in any way most convenient to themselves.

Those who do not, cannot expect further accommodation, neither will it in any instance, be granted.

BERTHELET & JONES.

Other advertisements in a typical issue were for the "Post Office Store;" the "New Orleans Type Foundry and Printer's Depot;" and a number of periodicals such as "Sears' Pictorial Dollar Magazine", which labeled itself the "Cheapest Periodical in AMERICA!", and the famous "*GODEY'S LADYS' BOOK*."⁶¹

As mentioned previously, the publisher was in dire straits by December of 1849, for he was owed four times as much as he had collected.⁶² In an attempt to increase circulation and attract more advertising, Publisher Ball announced reduced subscription rates in the last number of the *Telegraph* printed. The new rate would be two dollars yearly and the hope was to increase the number of subscribers to five hundred.⁶³ The fifty-second number, dated December 20, 1849, had this item: "There will not be any paper issued from this office next week, Christmas." But in spite of the efforts of friends, the *Telegraph* never appeared again.⁶⁴

Details of the transaction have not been found but the property of the *Choctaw Telegraph* was sold to new owners early in 1850. The name was changed to the *Choctaw Intelligencer*. The new publisher was L. D. Alsobrook; the new editors were J. P. Kingsbury and J. E. Dwight.⁶⁵ A period of more than five months elapsed between the last issue of the *Telegraph* and the first issue of the *Intelligencer*, which was dated June 6, 1850.⁶⁶ Thus ended the

⁶¹ July 19, 1849.

⁶² December 6, 1849.

⁶³ December 20, 1849. "*Terms Reduced*. The terms of subscription to this paper, has been reduced to *two dollars, per annum invariably in advance*."

⁶⁴ In the number dated December 13, 1849, an editorial note seemed to indicate that the paper might be able to get on its feet. The editor wrote: "We are truly thankful [to] our friends and greatly encouraged by the new additions to our subscription list, that are daily coming in. And are especially under obligations to the generous friend, who sent us five new subscribers."

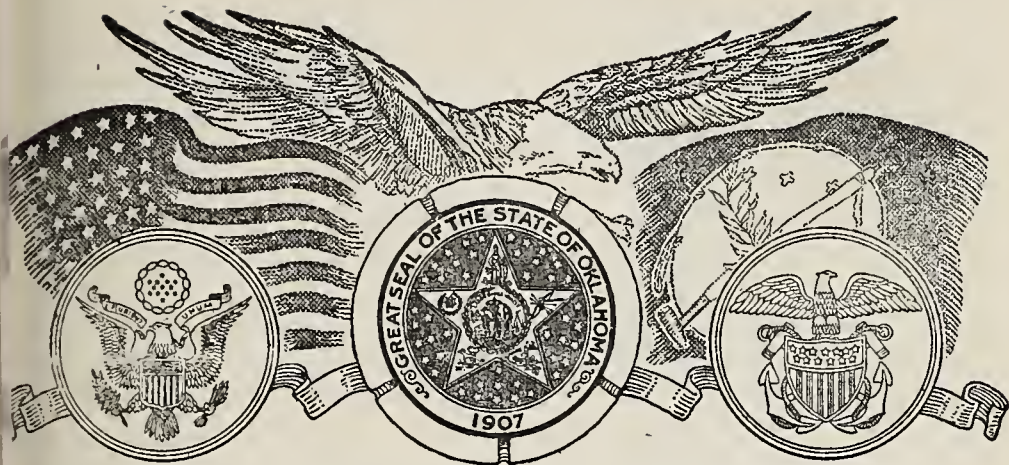
⁶⁵ *Choctaw Intelligencer*, June 13, 1850.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, June 27, 1850. "The Mississippi Girls Forever. Three dollars were received here a few days since, in [payment] of subscription to the former paper, although its publication had ceased for nearly six months. The young lady accompanied the money with the request that, whenever another paper should be published, it might be sent to her as a subscriber, and we most cheerfully comply with the request."

existence of the *Choctaw Telegraph*, pioneer newspaper in southern Oklahoma, a paper whose aims and ideals were high and worthy of emulation by the modern press of the same region. It is fitting that we let the editor of the *Telegraph* state those ideals as a closing paragraph for this study. He wrote only a few weeks before his paper ceased publication:⁶⁷

The practicability of publishing a paper and the necessity of one in the Nation, as a means of communication, we believe, is not now doubted by any: and to aid in supporting national interests, and in developing the resources of the country, together with the proper regard for morality, temperance, education, industry, &c.; a paper is indispensable.—And in giving our attention to these subjects, we will also try to make the *Telegraph*, as far as possible, a welcome visitor at the fireside of the farmer, by presenting such a variety of instructive and amusing reading, as the literature of the day, and that our position will admit—giving a prominent place in its columns to whatever we may meet with of value, or calculated to advance the interest of agriculture.

⁶⁷ December 6, 1849.



OKLAHOMA WAR MEMORIAL—WORLD WAR II

Part XIX*

HARVEY BIRD BUNGARD, Sergeant, U. S. Army. Home address: Henryetta, Okmulgee County. Mr. and Mrs. H. C. Bungard, Parents, Paden, Oklahoma. Born December 11, 1921. Enlisted June 30, 1939. Decorations: Combat Infantry Badge; Silver Star with Oak Leaf Cluster; Order of the Purple Heart with Oak Leaf Cluster. Graduated from High School, Wilson Consolidated School, in May, 1939. Trained in service at Fort Bliss, Texas, and Fort Riley, Kansas. Served in 112th Cavalry (motorized), Pacific area. In active combat in New Guinea; awarded Silver Star and Purple Heart medals for meritorious service under heavy machine gun and rifle fire from the enemy on Leyte Island, and subsequently was in combat on Luzon Island, Philippine Islands. Died March 29, 1945, in action while on patrol near San Mateo, Bulacan Province, Luzon, Philippine Islands.

RANDOLPH D. BURCHFIEL, First Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Bristow, Creek County. Elizabeth Burchfiel,

* The purpose of the Oklahoma War Memorial—World War II, in addition to the publication of brief biographies of the State's war dead in *The Chronicles*, is the preservation of a record of the interests and achievements of each one of those who gave their lives in the service of their country in World War II. These records in the Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society will hold their memory in honor and will be preserved for all researchers who may be interested in the history of Oklahoma in the future. Many records have been completed and have been placed on file in the War Memorial. Some are still to be completed, replies having not yet been received to letters of inquiry sent out by the Editorial Department in the Historical Society. We ask that at any time additional data are received by parents and relatives of any of Oklahoma's war dead such records be sent in to be preserved with those already on file. We urge parents and relatives to send a copy of the photograph of their Oklahoma boy lost in the war service to be preserved with his records in the Historical Society. Part XVIII, Oklahoma War Memorial—World War II appeared in *The Chronicles*, Vol. XXVI, No. 1 (Spring, 1948).—Muriel H. Wright.

Wife, Bristow. Born May 31, 1917. Enlisted August 6, 1941. Decorations: Presidential Citation; Air Medal with two Oak Leaf Clusters; Order of the Purple Heart awarded twice; five bronze Battle Participation Stars, and Pre-Pearl Harbor and S. T. O. ribbons. Graduated from Bristow High School in May, 1934. Died April 13, 1945, in action, Neihiem, Germany.

ERNEST WILLIAM BURK, Private First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Gore, Sequoyah County. Mrs. Flora Marie (Burk) Flood, Wife, Manteca, California. Born October 15, 1920. Enlisted November 14, 1942. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart awarded posthumously. Attended grade schools. Died February 10, 1945, in action at Novalichee Dam, near Manila, Luzon, Philippines Islands.

JAMES RALPH CLUCK, Private, U. S. Army. Home address: Broken Bow, McCurtain County. Mrs. Susan Cluck, Mother, Broken Bow. Born November 27, 1925. Enlisted July 11, 1944. Graduated from Broken Bow High School in May, 1944. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Member of Methodist Church, and of Boy Scouts of America. Awarded Good Conduct Medal. Due Philippine Liberation Ribbon with two bronze Battle Participation Stars. Arrived on Mendora Island, Philippine Islands, in January, 1945, and after six weeks advanced training was assigned to Co. C, 19th Infantry Regiment of the 24th (Victory) Division, as Assistant Browning Automatic Rifleman, serving in combat during March and April 1945. Died May 8, 1945, in action on patrol northwest of Davao Mindanao Island, Philippine Islands.

MELVIN L. COATS, Private, U. S. Army. Home Address: Minco Grady County. Mrs. Zelma Coats, Mother, Minco. Born November 4, 1922. Enlisted June 5, 1944. Graduated from eighth grade, Parish Hill, Oklahoma. Assigned to replacement center in Germany. Died March 5, 1945, in action in Germany.

MELVIN COBLE, Corporal, U. S. Marine Corps. Home address Kingston, Marshall County. Mrs. Corley Coble, Mother, 612 West Main, Ada, Oklahoma. Born April 30, 1921. Enlisted June 4, 1942. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Served overseas 12 months and after furlough home returned to duty in Pacific area. Died February 20, 1945, in action on Iwo Jima, Volcano Islands, Western Pacific.

FLOYD WEBSTER COULTER, Private First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Muskogee, Muskogee County. Elsie Coulter, Sister 419½ North 5th Street, Muskogee. Born January 26, 1912. Enlisted February 12, 1943. Member of Episcopal Church. Died September 24, 1944, in action in Italy.

HAROLD O. DAKE, First Lieutenant U. S. Army. Home address Chelsea, Rogers County. Mr. and Mrs. George C. Dake, Parents Chelsea. Born January 8, 1922. Enlisted June 10, 1942. Decoration

Bronze Star with Oak Leaf Cluster. Died April 18, 1945, in action on Ie Shima Island, Japan.

ROBERT A. D. FRANCY, Private First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Broken Arrow, Wagoner County. Mrs. Clara S. Francy, Mother, Broken Arrow. Born May 24, 1926. Enlisted July 27, 1944. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart awarded posthumously. Attended rural schools in home county. Served in the armed forces less than ten months. Died May 5, 1945, in action on Luzon Island, Philippine Islands.

OSCAR LYNN FRENSLEY, Captain, U. S. Army. Home address: Duncan, Stephens County. Mr. and Mrs. Frank W. Frensley, Sr., Parents, 910 Hickory Street, Duncan. Born October 4, 1918. Enlisted June 19, 1941. Decorations: Order of the Purple Heart; Silver Star. Graduated from Duncan High School in 1936, and from the University of Oklahoma in 1941. Member Reserve Officers Training Corps. Member of Baptist Church. Activities: High School Band drum major, wrestler, organizer Independent Men's Association; worked early as newsboy, and during University days and vacations employed in drug store and as pipe-liner with oil company. After enlistment served in Panama Canal Zone sixteen months. Served as Battery Commander, C Battery, 87th Armored Field Artillery, and was with the American First Army on D-Day in the invasion of France, June, 1944. Died August 2, 1944, in action near Boisbenatre, in the Battle for St. Lo, France.

LLOYD EDWARD GIBSON, Private First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Yale, Payne County. Mrs. Laura Gibson, Mother, Springdale, Arkansas. Born May 4, 1926. Enlisted July 26, 1944. Graduated from eighth grade, Eagle School, in May, 1940. Member of 4-H Club, and Eagle Sunday School. Six months in training, then sailed for duty in Pacific area. Commended for bravery by his commanding officers when he volunteered to move ahead of his company under heavy fire from the enemy. Died May 13, 1945, in action on Mindanao Island, Philippine Islands.

JIM BOB GOINES, Private, U. S. Army. Home address: Bixby, Tulsa County. Mrs. Lizzie Goines, Mother, Bixby. Born September 9, 1926. Enlisted November 13, 1944. Completed eighth grade at Leonard, Oklahoma, and attended High School at Bixby. Awarded Sharpshooter and Expert Rifleman medals. Died May 31, 1945, in action on Mindanao Island, Philippine Island.

LEMUEL E. GONDLES, Private First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Skiatook, Osage County. Mrs. Lillie B. Gondles, Mother, 523 South Linwood, Skiatook. Born August 17, 1923. Enlisted March 4, 1943. Graduated Skiatook High School in May, 1942. Member of Church of Latter Day Saints. Died March 7, 1945, in line of duty at Saarlautern, Germany.

ALVA J. GREGORY, Private First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Monroe, Le Flore County. Mrs. Noco Gregory, Mother, Monroe. Born March 7, 1925. Enlisted July 27, 1943. Died September 13, 1944, of wounds received in action at Brest, France.

CALVIN KENNEDY HEDRICK, Staff Sergeant, U. S. Army. Home address: Okmulgee, Okmulgee County. Mrs. Polly Pearl Hedrick, Mother, 316 South Muskogee Ave., Okmulgee. Born June 4, 1922. Enlisted May 15, 1943. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Attended High School at Wilson, Oklahoma, and was lettered in football. Received wings in November, 1943, and served as Paratrooper in the 17th Airborne Division. Sailed for duty overseas in August, 1944, and began combat on January 1, 1945, with General Patton's Third Army. Died January 7, 1945, of wounds received in action in Belgium.

OLIE LEON LADD, JR., Private First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Calera, Bryan County. Mr. and Mrs. O. L. Ladd, Parents, Calera. Born December 25, 1925. Enlisted June 8, 1944. Decoration: Combat Infantry Badge. Graduated from High School at Achille, Bryan County, in May, 1944. Member of Boy Scouts of America. Served in the Armored Division. Died May 13, 1945, in action on Okinawa, Ryukyu Islands, East China Sea.

BILLY CHARLES MCLEOD, Private First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Blair, Jackson County. Mrs. M. H. McLeod, Mother, Blair. Born February 11, 1925. Enlisted June 6, 1943. Graduated from Blair High School in May 1943. Member of Methodist Church. Volunteered for American Air Force; received cadet training at the University of Nebraska and at Kent State College, Ohio. Transferred to 290th Infantry, 75th Division, sailed for duty overseas in November, 1944, and went into combat in the Battle of the Bulge on December 24, 1944. Died December 26, 1944, in action in Belgium.

ODIS O. ROBERTSON, Staff Sergeant, U. S. Army. Home address: Blackwell, Kay County. Mrs. Bertha Robertson, Mother, Blackwell. Born March 18, 1921. Enlisted November 5, 1942. Decorations: Combat Infantry Badge; Order of the Purple Heart. Attended Blackwell High School. Died December 1, 1944, in action near Aachen, Germany.

CLAUD C. TROSPER, Private First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Stilwell, Adair County. Mrs. Ellen E. Trospers, Mother, Bunch, Oklahoma. Born September 22, 1922. Enlisted March 31, 1943. Decorations: five Battle Participation Stars; Order of the Purple Heart. Attended Kentucky District School, Adair County. Died August 1, 1945, in action on Luzon Island, Philippine Islands.

REX L. WOOD, Sergeant, U. S. Army. Home address: Manitou, Tillman County. Mr. and Mrs. Sherman Wood, Parents, Manitou. Born September 23, 1920. Enlisted in October, 1942. Died July 19, 1944, in action in Normandy, France.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Founders Day, May 26, 1949, Stillwater, Oklahoma

The annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened May 26, 1949, in Old Central, A. and M. Campus, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Following registration of members and visitors from 9:00-9:30, the Board of Directors held a short business meeting from 9:30-10:00 o'clock.

Due to the shortness of time, the President, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, authorized the Secretary to omit the regular procedure of reading the Minutes of the last annual meeting because it had been published in the Summer issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* in 1948.

The President also requested the Secretary to omit the regular roll call of the Board members, but to check the list and show in the Minutes all members present; those who were absent with good and sufficient reasons; and those who were absent and had failed to notify the Secretary.

The following Board members were present: Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Harry Campbell, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Judge Redmond S. Cole, General W. S. Key, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Mrs. Frank Korn, Hon. George L. Bowman, Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, Hon. Thomas J. Harrison, Hon. Jin Biggerstaff and Dr. Charles Evans, the Secretary. Judge Baxter Taylor and Judge Thomas A. Edwards did not attend the business meeting, but were present at the open session.

Hon. R. M. Mountcastle of Muskogee sent a telegram regretting his inability to attend the meeting because of business in court.

A letter was received from Dr. I. N. McCash, stating that he was engaged in Church services and would be unable to attend the meeting at Stillwater.

Hon. Thomas G. Cook of Buffalo sent a letter telling of the death of one of his trusted employees which would not permit him to attend.

Hon. Hal Muldrow of Norman was excused on account of illness.

The Founders Day Meeting developed such interest among members of the Staff of the Society that many were in attendance. Those who enjoyed the program were, Mrs. Jean Cook, Mrs. Helen Gorman, Mrs. Grace Ward, Miss Hazel Beaty, Mrs. Edith Mitchell, and Mrs. Louise Cook, who, in the absence of Dr. Evans' Secretary, Mrs. Dorothy Thurston, reported the minutes of the business session of the Board.

Hon. George L. Bowman made the motion that absentee members who had notified the Secretary be excused as having good and sufficient reasons for their absence. The motion was seconded by Hon. Thomas J. Harrison and passed unanimously.

The Secretary presented the following list of applicants for membership:

LIFE: Frank Buttram, Oklahoma City; Fannie L. Glenn, Hugo; E. E. Kitchens, Enid; Everett S. Lain, Oklahoma City; Mrs. John Frank Martin,

Oklahoma City; Joseph T. Martin, Oklahoma City; Lloyd Noble, Ardmore; Reynold Patzer, Oklahoma City; E. N. Puckett, Enid; A. Schuler, Chickasha; Mrs. R. M. Vliet, Oklahoma City.

ANNUAL: Mrs. C. R. Anthony, Oklahoma City; Otis G. Bacon, Frederick; Mrs. Frances Baker, Ft. Worth, Texas; Roscoe C. Baker, Enid; W. A. Baldwin, Blanchard; Mrs. Lula J. Bell, Durham; Robert E. Bell, Norman; Mary Louise Boescher, Houston, Texas; J. M. Bradshaw, Cheyenne; Earl J. Brown, Wilburton; F. A. Buckingham, Enid; Mrs. Jodie T. Burnett, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Edwin W. Burch, Sr., Oklahoma City; Hiram A. Butler, Boise City; William E. Butts, Nash; John R. Callaway, Pauls Valley; Mrs. Willard Carver, Oklahoma City; Mary Elizabeth Choate, Stillwater; Adelia Clifton, Oklahoma City; H. C. Coyne, Drumright; Ila Cranmer, Cherokee; Mrs. C. D. Dillman, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Willa Dusch, Stillwater; Mrs. Cranfill Fowler, Oklahoma City; Raymond Gardner, Ada; Paul L. Garvin, Norman; Mrs. M. A. Gilbert, Stillwater; Eli P. Goforth, Ada; Mrs. Cecil Grim, Red Rock; Jim Hall, Ada; Howard Hand, Drumright; C. W. Harper, Bethany; L. H. Harrison, Oklahoma City; Lois Hastings, Stillwater; Edward F. Heard, Cleveland; A. C. Hirshfield, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Colleen Hudleston, Heavener; Pearl Hughey, Cherokee; Lois Hulse, Beaver; J. H. Humphrey, Mooreland; William K. Ishmael, Oklahoma City; Kenneth Jackson, Atoka; Edward T. Jacobson, Norman; Mrs. Verna Jemison, Stillwater; N. B. Johnson, Oklahoma City; Wilton D. Johnson, Tahlequah; Bert F. Keltz, Oklahoma City; Konrad K. Koch, Norman; Lloyd Lacy, Lawton; John H. Lamb, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Crockett Lee, McAlester; Mrs. Helen L. Lindsey, Heavener; Mrs. Lulu F. Lipe, Muskogee; Thea. E. Lipscomb, Oklahoma City; Earl D. McBride, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Joseph C. McCuen, Oklahoma City; William McGinty, Ripley; Mrs. Joe McGrath, Muskogee; Joseph G. Mandella, Ada; L. J. Martin, Cushing; Dorothy L. Millwood, Walters; E. C. Mohler, Ponca City; Hiram D. Moor, Oklahoma City; Elmer R. Musick, Oklahoma City; Vern H. Musick, Oklahoma City; E. E. Norvell, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Clark C. Nye, Oklahoma City; Clark C. Nye, Oklahoma City; Irene Nye, Oklahoma City; V. H. Odom, Wagoner; Mrs. B. F. Owen, Oklahoma City; Dale Patton, Muskogee; J. I. Payte, Oklahoma City; Ruby Pedrick, Oklahoma City; J. R. Phelan, Oklahoma City; Roy J. Pierce, Chickasha; Mrs. S. C. Pittinger, Cushing; G. P. Porter, Dallas, Texas; Velma F. Potter, Boise City; Carroll M. Pounders, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Lola M. Pritschow, Oklahoma City; Carl E. Reubin, Tishomingo; Ella Roberts, Woodward; Mrs. D. J. Robinson, Warsaw, Va.; Mary A. Robinson, Pawnee; Mrs. Ola J. Rogers, Cleveland; Hazel Roller, Maysville; A. Rose, Elgin; Reuben E. Sawyer, Durant; Leonard Saxon, Wilburton; Karl Schmitt, Norman; C. W. Simonds, Watonga; R. L. Simpson, Eufaula; Mrs. Edmith Smith, Norman; Mrs. Robbie Smith, Webbers Falls; Sterling P. Smith, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Ruby B. Stallings, Oklahoma City; L. J. Starry, Oklahoma City; Carl T. Steen, Pauls Valley; J. W. Stovall, Norman; John R. Taylor, Kingfisher; Charles W. Tedrowe, Woodward; John David Thomas, Oklahoma City; J. Roy Thompson, Washington D. C.; Walter J. Turnbull, Jr., Los Angeles, California; Poe Vandament, Yukon; Paul W. Utley, Oklahoma City; Kenneth K. Warner, Boise City; Mrs. C. W. Whittenberg, Stillwater; Thos. J. Winters, Stringtown; C. W. Wofford, Heavener; K. F. Woodward, Okmulgee; Mrs. Estella M. Wooten, Boise City.

General Key made the motion that each be elected and received as members of the Society in the class as indicated in the list and their names be published in the *Chronicles*. Mrs. Korn seconded the motion which carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks was given Mrs. Buell for her untiring effort in presenting life memberships to the Society. In the past few months she has brought in twenty-five life memberships.

At this point Dr. Evans, the Secretary, pointed out that the campaign for membership during the last six months or more had brought into the Society a 40% increase in membership and some \$3000.00. He declared it his purpose, with the endorsement of the Board of Directors, to put on a campaign of what he termed "Every Member Get A Member." Added to this he proposed to the Board of Directors that there would be given to each of them in that campaign for membership the pleasant effort to secure at least ten life members each. The Board of Directors with great good humor endorsed the idea and many of them cheerfully proposed that the life membership campaign with them should begin right now.

Mrs. Moore made the motion that a hundred dollars be taken out of the private funds to pay for a memorial scroll dedicated to the Indians of Indian Territory who made the sacrifice of service in the Army of the Confederate States of America during the War Between the States, and that this scroll be hung in the Confederate Memorial room. Hon. Thomas J. Harrison seconded the motion, and it carried unanimously.

Mrs. Buell reported she had been in communication with Dr. Foreman relative to Indian records in the Indian Agency at Muskogee. She stated there were many Indian books that should be transferred to the Indian Indian Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society and that this work should be done immediately. After some discussion it was decided to turn this work over to Dr. Evans, the Secretary, and he with the assistance of the Archivist would work out a plan in getting the material to the Historical Society.

On this question the Secretary briefly presented the long and hard work performed by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, for the Society, and acting under the advice and plan of Dr. Grant Foreman, how she had made two trips to Muskogee in the past three years, securing from that Agency, 628 bound volumes and approximately 20,000 pages of records, which, added to the records transferred from that Agency to the Society in 1934 after the passage of the Act of Congress by which the Society was given custody of certain records, makes a total of 163,396 pages of manuscripts and 1,328 bound volumes now in custody of the Oklahoma Historical Society from the Five Civilized Tribes Agency at Muskogee. The Secretary promised to take immediate action to secure the remaining 146 volumes not yet removed from that Agency.

Hon. Thomas J. Harrison stated that since meeting of the Board in February 1949, we had lost one of our members, Hon. J. B. Milam of Claremore. He also stated in as much as Mr. Milam was of Cherokee ancestry and was appointed principal chief of the Cherokee Nation and his wife was of Cherokee ancestry that Mrs. Milam be appointed by the Board to fill out Mr. Milam's term. Hon. Thomas Harrison made a motion to this effect including the authorization from the President that the Secretary write Mrs. Milam a letter stating the action of the Board. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Moore and carried unanimously.

A motion was made by Mrs. Buell that Hon. Redmond S. Cole be elected second vice-president. She stated the Constitution and By-laws of the Oklahoma Historical Society plainly called for one and since the death of Judge Williams the first vice-president had become president and the second vice-president had automatically become vice president and it had left the second vice president's chair vacant and at this time she would like to submit Hon. Redmond S. Cole's name to fill the vacancy. The motion was seconded by Judge Campbell and it carried unanimously.

Mrs. Buell stated that inactive or disinterested members should be removed from the Board and their places filled with persons who were in-

terested or at least interested enough to notify the Secretary of their inability to come. After some discussion, the President quoted from the Constitution and By-laws (page 10) the following:

ARTICLE V-DIRECTORS

"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)

At the suggestion of the President a motion was made and properly seconded and passed that the Secretary carefully check the Directors' list and where Article V, Section 4B (page 10), of the Constitution and By-laws, as amended March 31, 1932, applies such directors would be notified.

After some discussion as to how portraits should be accepted and where they should be hung in the portrait gallery of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Mrs. Korn, a member of the art committee, pointed out that the Board of Directors had passed a motion in a former meeting whereby all portraits placed in the Hall of Fame in the Oklahoma Historical building must be presented and accepted by the whole Board in session, and made the motion that before any portrait may be hung in said Hall the chairman of the art committee must call all committee members and a definite time set for all members to be present and a suitable place in the hall for said portrait be decided on by the members of the committee. General Key seconded the motion and it carried unanimously.

General W. S. Key arose and stated that the recent Legislature had appropriated \$10,000 for historical markers to be set up throughout the State at sites properly selected by the Oklahoma Historical Society, \$5000 to be used in 1949-50 and \$5000 in 1950-51. This work was to be done in cooperation with the Oklahoma Highway Commission and the markers to be of aluminum with steel support and set in solid concrete, each bearing the State insignia, and all words and dates on each marker to be composed and authorized by the Oklahoma Historical Society as written in the law. He thought that each marker could be secured for an average cost of \$90.00. He stated that work should begin soon for the fiscal year begins July 1, 1949, and that all members of the Society should assist in every way possible. He advised each Director to think out historical places to mark, write a description of the place and give proof of why the spot should be marked.

At the conclusion of the business meeting the President, Dr. Harbour, proposed that the meeting of the Board on the last Thursday in July 1949 should be largely given over to a discussion of plans and policies for a greater Oklahoma Historical Society. This met with the approval of the entire Board and upon motion of Hon. George L. Bowman and seconded by Judge Baxter Taylor that the directors meet at the usual time and place in Oklahoma City, July 28, 1949, or at the call of the President, the meeting was adjourned.

Immediately after this Professor Berlin B. Chapman announced before the Board and the audience that they would pass into the main auditorium of Old Central where historical papers would be presented and discussion would follow.

President Harbour in a very happy and pointed fashion voiced the delight of the Oklahoma Historical Society in meeting on Founders Day in so historical a site as Stillwater, the home of the A. & M. College and within the sacred hall of Old Central where the earliest school history of Oklahoma had been put forth.

Rev. W. N. Arnold, pastor of the Evangelical United Brethren Church of Stillwater, offered invocation.

President Harbour introduced a clarinet trio of A. & M. College students, C. G. Arnold, Guthrie; Richard Vandewalker, Stillwater; and Richard Niswonger, Oklahoma City, who rendered several delightful numbers.

The President at this time pointed out that Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Professor of History at the Oklahoma A. & M. College, and President of the Payne County Historical Society, had been for several years a distinguished contributor to the pages of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*; he had also been a most loyal member of the Society and had paid it every honor and service; he had been the one who had invited this Society to hold its meeting on Founders Day in Stillwater, so it was good to introduce him as one who would give the welcome address.

Dr. Chapman expressed in his remarks that there were three reasons why all members of the Society and visitors should be happy on this occasion. First, because President Bennett, the faculty and all forces of the A. & M. College, were pleased beyond measure to have this big event in their midst, and if they had left anything undone in proof of this, he wanted somebody to point it out and it would be brought forth. Second, that no point in the State could be more appropriate and have more power to give a good cheerful setting to this Founders Day group because fifty-six years ago when this Society was born at Kingfisher, Oklahoma, at that very time, Old Central was being erected. Third, that this Founders Day session would present to the Historical Society a conclusive proof of a new piece of history in Oklahoma and Payne County by revealing upon proper authority that the first battle in Oklahoma in the Civil War was fought within the confines of Payne County. It was fittingly called the Battle of Round Mountain.

At the conclusion of this cordial welcome, General William S. Key, Vice-President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, arose and made a happy response. He pointed out that while he would be very happy to see Oklahoma history enriched by one more great event as Professor Chapman had stated still he was more than pleased to present to this splendid group of people a field of study in heroic history and that was all of Oklahoma. He believed that no State in the American Nation could present a greater array of heroic men and women acting upon the great historical stage covering a period of more than one hundred years, than did Oklahoma. Houston, Irving, the Choteaus, President Taylor, General Sherman, were but a few of the eminent men who had won first recognition toward renown among the hills and valleys of the territory now known as the State of Oklahoma. He pointed out that the Legislature had appropriated \$5000 a year for two years whereby the Oklahoma Historical Society would supervise and compose proper tributes and in conjunction with the Oklahoma Highway Commission begin the great work of making historic spots throughout the State.

President Harbour, in a very fitting tribute, introduced Dr. Gaston Litton, Archivist of Oklahoma University, who presented a paper, "Good Homes and Newer Uses for Old Records." Dr. Litton became almost eloquent in a plea for the preservation, collection and use of historical letters, books, documents, maps and relics relating to racial development as found in the

State of Oklahoma. He stressed with earnest might a defense against the wastage of old papers, the burning of old books, periodicals, letters, etc., and all such actions too often found at most every corner of every locality. Precious things full of history, are being destroyed or lost to the State and its archives every day. Dr. Litton cried, "Let this be stopped." He paid tribute to the archives of the Oklahoma University, the A. & M. College, and said that while he recognized that the Oklahoma Historical Society stood high in its possession of historical material, yet he was not fully aware of its content.

At the end of his address, Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary of the Society, arose to point out that this group should know and dispense the knowledge that the Oklahoma Historical Society building, one of the finest of its kind in America, also held one of the great collections of Indian archives in the United States; that there more than 2,500,000 papers, documents, letters, books etc., of the Five Civilized Tribes and other Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, had been placed through cooperation of the United States Congress and the long and arduous service of such eminent historians as Dr. Grant Foreman and Dr. E. E. Dale and those of kindred spirit. He pointed out further that in Mrs. Rella Looney, who worked for many years under the direction and advice of Dr. Foreman, and who for more than fourteen years has been the Archivist of the Oklahoma Historical Society, historians of this region possess an archivist equal to the very best, eminent writers visiting these archives reporting that they were more speedily served and found what they wished with more accuracy than was usually found in the archives centers of the United States.

The President then introduced Mr. John H. Melton, member of the Payne County Historical Society, who took up the subject, "Claim of Payne County to First Civil War Battle-Ground in Indian Territory." He had sketched on a blackboard before the audience a map in color of Oklahoma territories and especially that part where Payne County was a center. Then with due precision and with most excellent reasoning he put forth proofs that the Battle of Round Mountain was fought within the confines of Payne County. His paper as well as that of Dr. Litton will be printed in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* in due season and both of these gentlemen were authorized to present their papers for printing in *The Chronicles* by Hon. George L. Bowman of Kingfisher, Director.

At the end of this morning session the Founders Day program moved into Willard Hall where Dr. Harbour presided and with the assistance of Professor Chapman a splendid banquet was served and a happy program carried out. At 12:15 p. m., the President began by introducing the officers of the Society, the members of the staff, members of the historical society and distinguished guests. The President was in most delightful mood and kept the audience happy by her wit and humor. After a sumptuous luncheon spread by the A. & M. College through the service of its cafeteria, Professor T. N. Harris of the Music Department of the College sang two numbers, "Grand Ole State," and "Without Song." He met with such hearty applause that he was forced to respond with a splendid encore.

The President called upon the Secretary to introduce Professor Carl P. Thompson who gave the address of the occasion. Dr. Evans pointed out that some men who served such great institutions as the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, were often servants and nothing more. Others stayed on so long and served so well that they became institutions, such was to be found in Professor Carl P. Thompson, who for a quarter of a century had been called the Professor of Animal Husbandry but who had won such a place in the hearts and the joys of A. & M. College and of Oklahoma, that his better name was "Hog" Thompson. He said that Professor

Chapman, with some aid by him, was responsible for the program on Founders Day but that his aim was to make this meeting of the Society a happy, hearty, and a homey one, and he claimed the honor of choosing the speaker of the occasion, "Hog" Thompson.

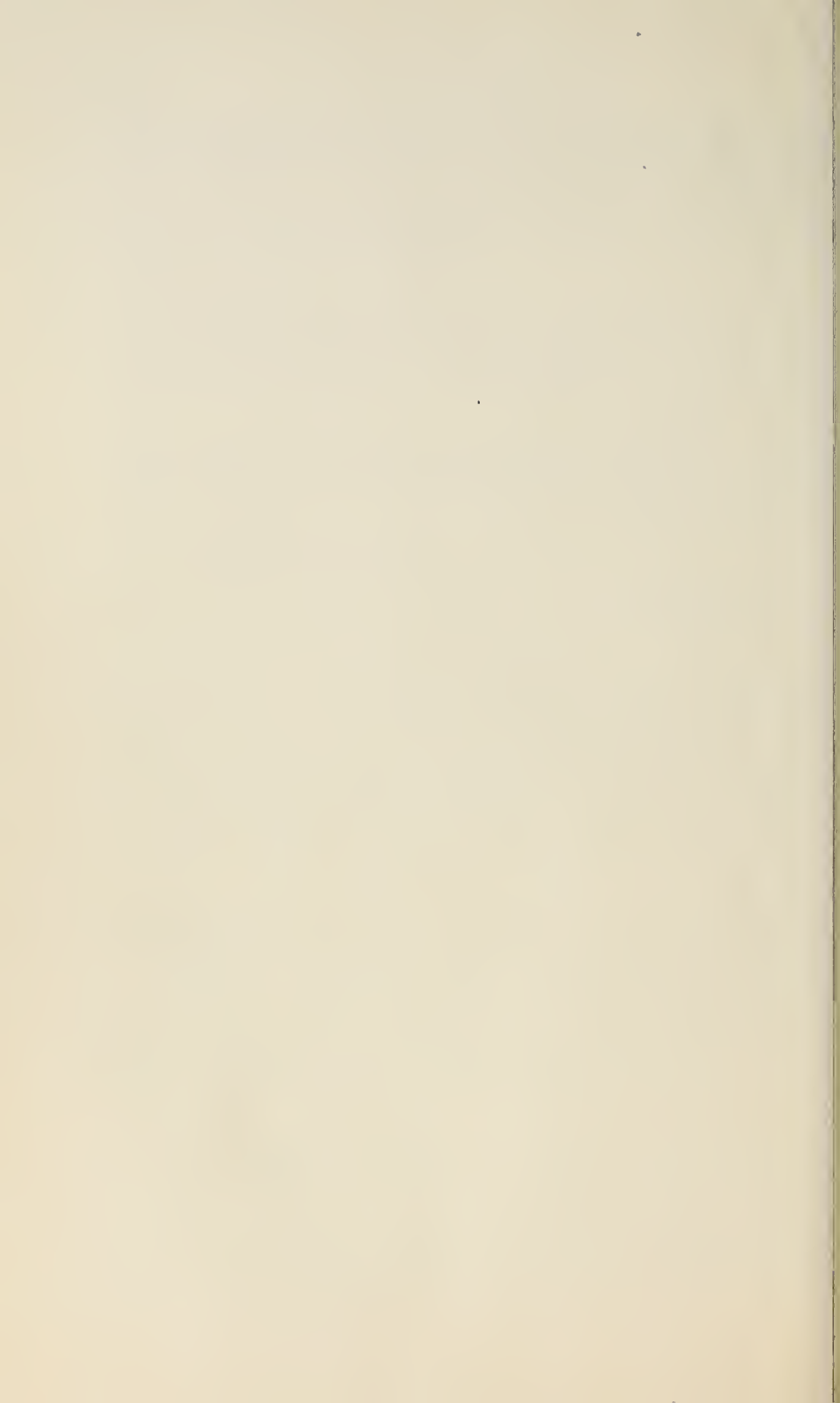
Professor Thompson took the floor and for thirty or more minutes he kept the audience in laughter. His wit, humor, wholesome "wise cracks" and jolly stories made every hearer forget everything but a wish to live.

After the luncheon and the address of the day all members of the Society and friends were invited to take a journey over the grounds of A. & M. College where a \$17,000,000 program of building and improvement was being carried out. This ended one of the most remarkable and fruitful annual meetings for the celebration of Founders Day of the Society within the history of this institution.

A vote of thanks was extended by the Board of Directors to Professor Chapman, Dr. Bennett, the President of the A. & M. College, the Payne County Historical Association, the Chamber of Commerce, and the A. & M. Cafeteria, for their splendid reception which rendered Founders Day meeting a genuine success.

EMMA ESTILL-HARBOUR,
President, presiding.

CHARLES EVANS,
Secretary.



THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

DR. CHARLES EVANS, *Editor* MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Associate Editor*

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JESSE BARTLEY MILAM

By Grant Foreman

All too soon the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society again has the melancholy duty of observing the passing of one of our most valuable and loved members. Jesse Bartley Milam, second in a large family of children, was born March 10, 1884, in Ellis County, Texas, the son of William Guinn Milam and Sarah Ellen Couch Milam. When the boy was three years old his father removed the little family to the neighborhood of Chelsea, Indian Territory, where he engaged in stock raising. Here young Milam began his education in the school at Alluwe, which he continued at the Chelsea Public school and later completed at the Cherokee Male Seminary in Tahlequah.

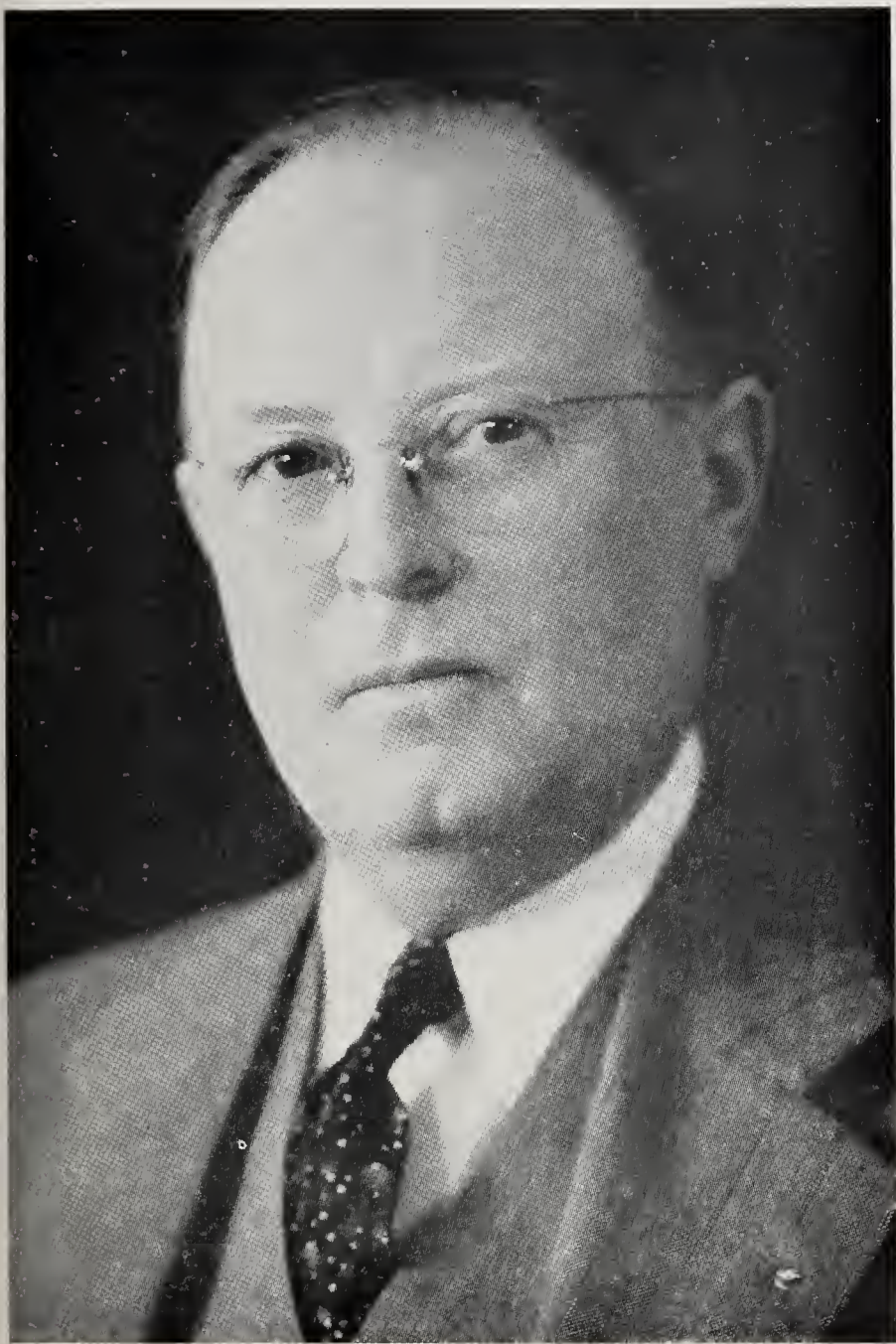
At the age of nineteen, by his mother, a one-sixteenth Cherokee, he was enrolled with eight brothers and sisters as a one-thirty second degree Cherokee. After he finished school, he was launched into a business career by his father in the conduct of his hardware store in Chelsea.

In time as his business experience and competence expanded, Mr. Milam purchased an interest in the Bank of Chelsea, the first state bank in the Indian Territory, in which he became cashier and in 1915 the president. As his experience and acquaintance broadened, Mr. Milam assumed a larger place in the business world and in the confidence of the people with whom he lived; he identified himself with financial interests in Rogers County, and in 1936 he was made president of the principal bank in that county, the Rogers County Bank at Claremore.

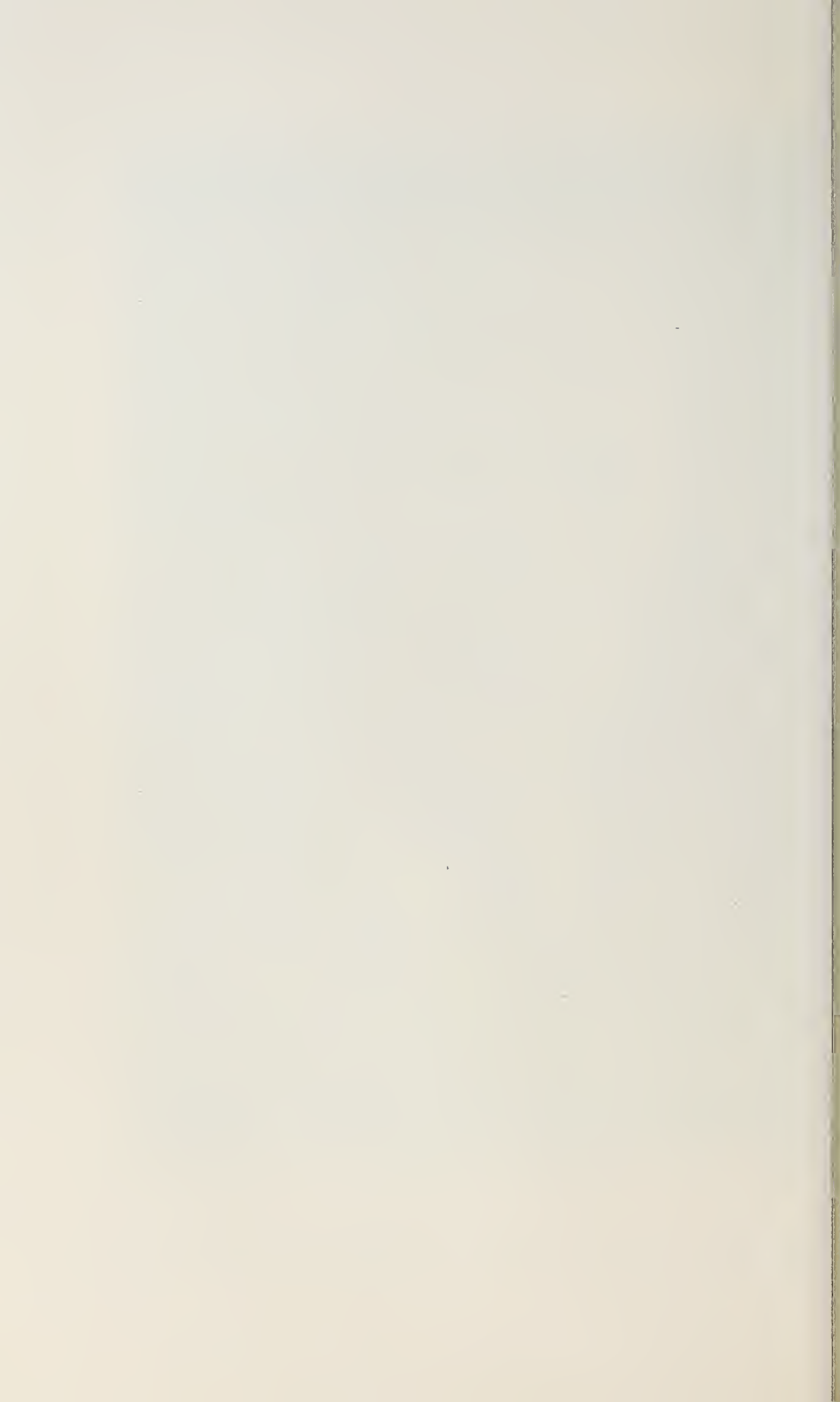
He did not limit his activities to banking interests and with shrewd appreciation of the possibilities of the oil field just opening up in the county within the orbit of his banking operations he ventured into that inviting field and in 1904, in association with Woodley G. Phillips he drilled his first oil well on his own allotment near Alluwe and Chelsea. The success of this venture led Mr. Milam to extend his operations in the field in which he continued to be interested, and before his death he and Mr. Phillips owned and operated a large number of oil wells in that part of Oklahoma.

Possessed of tireless energy and capacity for work and planning, Mr. Milam became interested in many business enterprises that contributed to the welfare of the people within the range of his influence.

On April 6, 1904, Mr. Milam was united in marriage with Miss Elizabeth P. McSpadden, a member of a distinguished Cherokee family and from then to his death he lived under the benedic-



JESSE BARTLEY MILAM



tion of this gracious lady. This union was blessed by the following children: Hinman Stuart Milam, born April 16, 1907, now of Chelsea, Oklahoma; Mildred Elizabeth Milam born May 10, 1910, married to Phillip Hubbard Viles, and now living at Claremore, Oklahoma; and Mary Ellen Milam, born May 16, 1916, married to George Joseph Stevenson and now living at Tarkio, Missouri.

Mr. Milam was a member of the Masonic Lodge, a thirty-second degree Mason, and a Shriner; a member of the Memorial Methodist Church of Chelsea; a member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows; Past president of the Claremore Rotary Club and a member of the Claremore Chamber of Commerce

President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Mr. Milam principal chief of the Cherokee Nation on April 16, 1941, for a term of one year; he was re-appointed April 17, 1942 for one year, and on May 18, 1943 he received the appointment for four years, and again succeeded himself on May 18, 1947 for four years.

During his later years Mr. Milam was afflicted with a heart ailment that interfered with his normal activities though he continued to maintain his interest in the work of this Society; but death finally overtook him on May 8, 1949 in a Kansas City Hospital and brought him to an end of a useful and distinguished career, lamented by Oklahomans far and wide. He was survived by Mrs. Milam, all three of his children, and eight grandchildren, three sisters, Miss Viola Milam, Mrs. Benjamin F. Mehr, and Mrs. Robert H. Rucker; and two brothers, Noolie T. and Walker W. Milam.

Funeral services were conducted at Memorial Methodist Church in Chelsea, Oklahoma, on Wednesday, May 11, 1949, by the Reverend Forest E. Dudley of Kilgore, Texas followed by interment in the Chelsea Cemetery.

Mr. Milam's interest in his people took the form of an intelligent study of their history, which resulted in his accumulation of one of the most extensive and best selected libraries in the state. His interest in history resulted in his becoming a life member of the Oklahoma Historical Society of which he was elected a director. He was a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, and former president of the Cherokee Seminaries Association.

He was a faithful attendant at board meetings of the Historical Society and his advice and counsel were listened to with the great respect to which they were entitled. He had a sound appreciation of historical values and was in every way competent to guide this Society in the way of greatest usefulness and achievement. Mr. Milam had an engaging and courteous manner that endeared him to his fellow members and made contact with him at board meetings a stimulating and pleasant experience. He will be sorely missed.

MAJOR GENERAL CLARENCE L. TINKER

*By John Woolery**

General Tinker, Oklahoma hero who lost his life in the Battle of Midway, brought with his name in that of Tinker Air Force Base, the proud background of the Osage Nation, and the courage and gallantry of those men who out-fought and out-witted the Japanese in the Battle of Midway.

He was one-eighth Osage Indian, born at Elgin, Kansas, on November 21, 1887. His formal military education began at sixteen when he entered Wentworth Military Academy at Lexington, Missouri. He was commissioned a Second Lieutenant in the Philippine Constabulary in 1908, and served there for four years before transferring to the regular army. In 1917 when the United States entered World War I, he was transferred to his own country and was stationed at Douglas, Arizona in a training capacity, although he had hoped for active duty assignment.

Following the war, General Tinker became interested in aviation and began flight training at March Field, California. In 1926, he served as Assistant Military Attache at the American Embassy in London, England, and while there, was awarded the Soldier's Medal for extricating a companion from a burning plane.

In 1927, he served on the Air Corps Staff and for the next twelve years held positions as Commanding Officer of various domestic army air fields. From May, 1940, he held the following positions: Commanding General, MacDill, Florida; Commanding General, Third Interceptor Command, Drew Field, Florida; and finally Commanding General of the Air Forces in Hawaii, which post he held until he was reported missing in action on June 7, 1942, while personally leading his bomber command against the enemy.

OKLAHOMA CITY AIR MATERIEL AREA TINKER AIR FORCE BASE

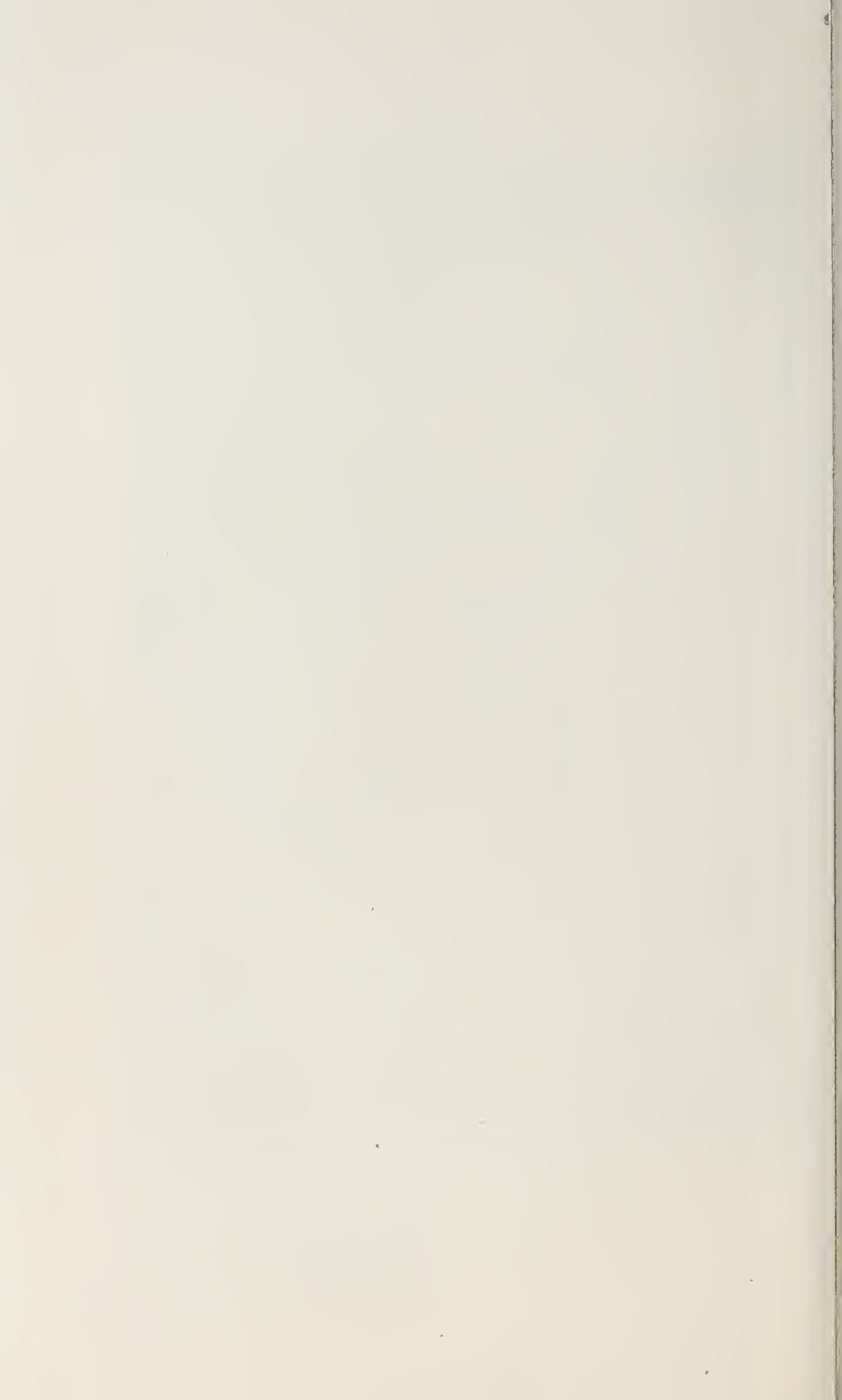
When it was learned that the Air Forces had under consideration building a depot that would be centrally located in the United States, Mr. R. A. Singletary, a resident of Oklahoma City and

* John Woolery, under the Adjutant General's Office for the Oklahoma City Air Materiel Area, edits and prepares histories for this Air Materiel Area and its subordinate installations, and coordinates releases of historical data to the public with the Public Information Officer of this Command. In October, 1942, Mr. Woolery was transferred to this Headquarters from the Indian Service where he had worked as employment agent for several years. He is one-half Choctaw Indian, World War I veteran, and attended the Oklahoma City University.—Ed.



(Photo from Tinker Air Force Base)

MAJOR GENERAL CLARENCE L. TINKER



Chamber of Commerce representative in Washington, conferred with Colonel F. M. Kennedy, Chief of Buildings and Grounds Division of the Air Forces, on the advantages of locating the depot in Oklahoma City.

On March 9, 1941, the Site Board of the Air Forces arrived in Oklahoma City to make a selection of a site. Two sites were under consideration at that time but it was finally agreed between the Board and the officials of the City of Oklahoma City and Chamber of Commerce that the site located just off Southeast 29th Street would be the location for the potential Air Depot.

The officials of the City of Oklahoma City agreed to turn over to the Government the 960 acres donated by citizens of Oklahoma City for the sum of ten dollars and other considerations. The legal description of Tract No. 1 is: East half of Section 15, W $\frac{1}{2}$ of Section 14, NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 22, NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 23, Township 11 North, Range 2 West of the Indian Meridian, Oklahoma County, Oklahoma.

Subsequent to the announcement signed by Assistant Secretary of War, Robert Patterson, that the award of the long-awaited project had been assigned to Oklahoma City and the 960 acres turned over to the Federal Government, immediate proceedings were taken to open the way for construction.

In July, 1941, a contract was awarded to J. Gordon Turnbull, Sverdrup and Parcel, Cleveland, Ohio, as consulting engineers and architects for planning and designing of the Air Depot. Tentative plans for the location of buildings were drafted and the general plan was approved with some minor changes to be made.

The contract for the prime construction of the Air Depot was awarded to Dunning-James-Patterson on a cost-plus-a-fixed-fee basis. This type of contract avoids advertising for bids and in that way construction of the Air Depot was started immediately, even before the plans were complete. This was an important point, considering the fact that the plans called for the initial completion date of March, 1942.

The question of a name for the Air Depot met with some confusion since there was already an established Oklahoma City Air Field. The matter however was settled on May 21, 1941 in a letter from Chief of Engineers in Washington to the Division Engineers at Dallas, Texas, in which the new project was designated Midwest Air Depot. This name, signifying the scope of territory the depot would serve and the name to be used in all future correspondence and references. It was Midwest Air Depot for almost a year until on March 1, 1942 the War Department established Oklahoma City Air Depot as an installation under the jurisdiction of Air Serv-

ice Command, Patterson Field, Fairfield, Ohio, and was activated as such on that date.

A name for the field on which the Air Depot was being built was brought up before the Naming Board of the War Department. The name Tinker was suggested in honor of the Oklahoma hero who lost his life in the Battle of Midway. There was some controversy over naming the field for an individual due to the fact that it would require the perspective of time to decide which hero most merited the honor. However, it was finally decided on October 15, 1942 by command of Henry H. Arnold, Commanding General of the Air Forces, that the field would be designated Tinker Field in honor of Major General Clarence L. Tinker, U. S. Army.

During the month of December, 1941, it became known that William Turnbull, Colonel, Air Corps, assigned as Supply Officer, San Antonio Air Depot, Duncan Field, San Antonio, Texas, had been appointed by the Air Service Command to command the depot. On January 15, 1942, Colonel Turnbull arrived from the San Antonio Air Depot to take charge of the project. Personnel employed, which numbered from 2,600 to 2,800 were detached to the San Antonio Air Depot for training. Of this number approximately 2,400 returned to Oklahoma City. This number was supplemented by approximately 300 experienced individuals from the San Antonio Air Depot, surrounding subordinate installations and other governmental agencies. This cadre was to be used for staffing purposes and to serve as a nucleus in establishing the new organization.

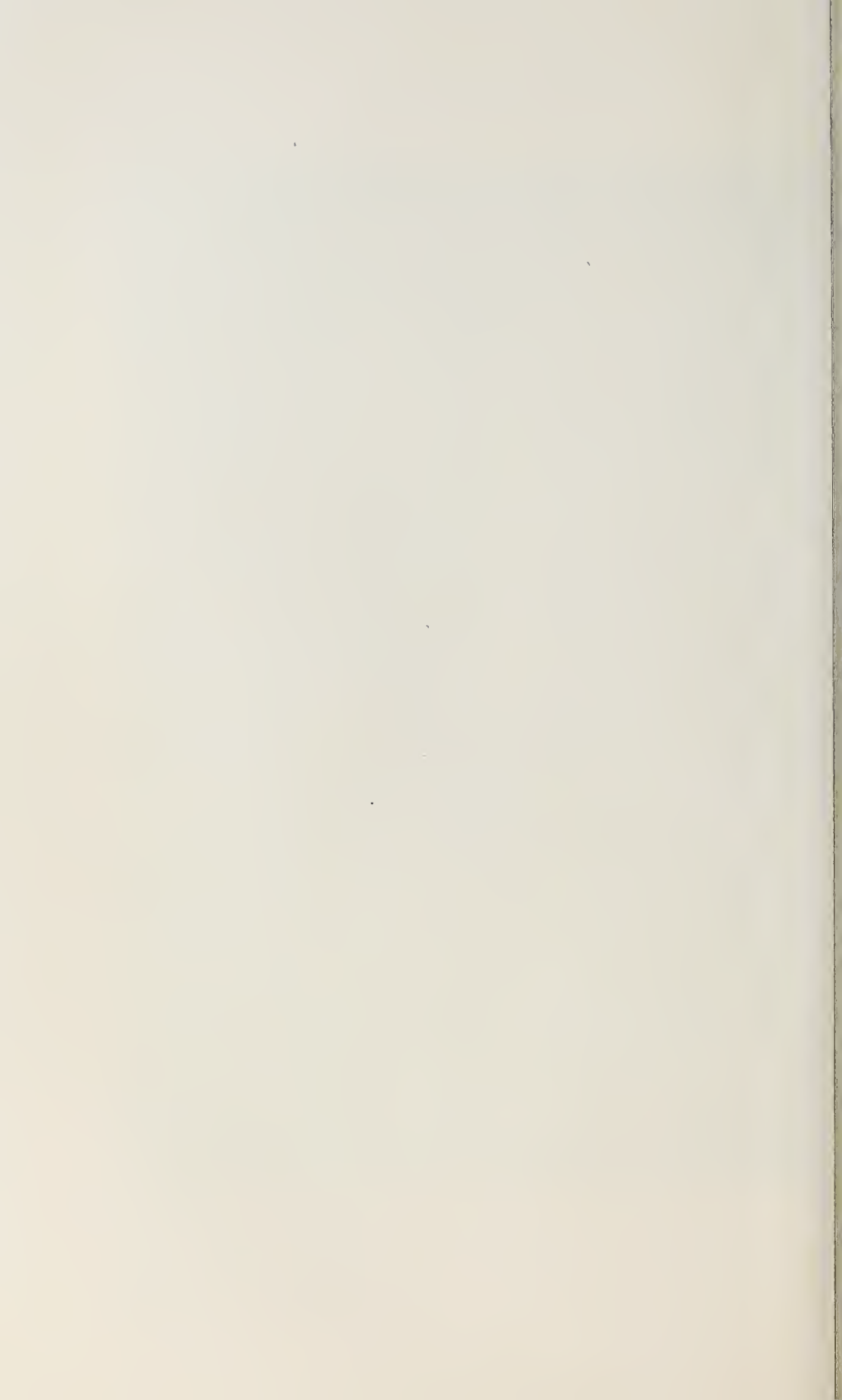
Temporary headquarters were established in the Commerce Exchange building, which consisted of one room, equipped with such discarded furniture as the building manager was able to assemble for his new tenants. A small warehouse building located on West Ninth Street, Oklahoma City, was leased for the receipt, storage, and issue of supplies and equipment for the new organization.

It was not long before the headquarters of the depot organization outgrew the location in the Commerce Exchange building, and on April 4, 1942, it was moved to the Bass Building where several floors were available for expansion. It was in the Bass Building that the maintenance division and the staff offices of the organization were activated.

Civilian training was given its inception in February, 1942. The first training unit to be established was the maintenance training unit, an off-reservation school in which classes were held in sheet metal, electricity, machine shop, radio and engines. In August, 1942, additional classes were started in the state armory building for both supply and maintenance division training. In anticipa-



(Photo from station at Davao, Davao)



tion of the great demand for workers, arrangements were made with the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, Oklahoma and the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, to conduct classes in mechanic's trades. Prior to the establishment of depot training at the State armory building, the supply division instituted its own training school while located in the Bass building. Supervisors and key personnel acted in the capacity of training instructors as well as performed the functions of on-the-job training.

On July 20, 1942, the supply division moved to the depot site in the new quarters, depot supply buildings, commonly known as Depot Supply No. 1 and Depot Supply No. 2. About the middle of August the maintenance operations moved to their quarters on the field. Headquarters and other miscellaneous departments moved the latter part of August. By the close of the year 1942, all departments of the new organization were in full operation and had located on Tinker Field.

During the period of extensive expansion within the AF organization, the depot experienced many important organizational changes, thus changing the name of the organization many times since the first designation of Midwest Air Depot, May 21, 1941. On March 1, 1942, the name Midwest Air Depot was changed to Oklahoma City Air Depot. The installation was designated Tinker Field on October 15, 1942, and its name became Oklahoma City Air Depot, Tinker Field. Later other name changes were made as indicated:

Oklahoma City Air Depot Control Area Command.....February 1, 1943
Tinker Field

Oklahoma City Air Service Command.....May 17, 1943
Tinker Field

Oklahoma City Air Technical Service Command.....November 14, 1944
Tinker Field

Oklahoma City Air Materiel Area.....July 2, 1946
Tinker Field

Tinker Field was redesignated Tinker Air Force Base on February 5, 1948 and since that date the installation has been known as Oklahoma City Air Materiel Area, Tinker Air Force Base.

The Oklahoma City Air Materiel Area, during World War II, was responsible for reconditioning, modification or modernization of aircraft, vehicles and equipment.

The first engine to be completely overhauled at this Depot was the Wright Aeronautical R-1820 engine for B-17 aircraft. Its production gradually increased to an extent that 12,278 of this type engine had been overhauled by V-J Day (September 2, 1945). This Depot pioneered the overhaul of the Wright Aeronautical R-3350 engine for B-29 aircraft. The R-3350 was made to perform its mis-

sion during the war for long and extended flights. Schedule for overhaul and test of this engine at one time reached a peak of 1,000 for a month's schedule. Improved and powerful engines used in both Jet fighters and bombers are overhauled and tested at Tinker Air Force Base.

Since the War, this Headquarters has continued to overhaul and recondition a number of heavy bombers as the B-29, B-50, B-36 and B-45; F-47 and F-84 fighters; C-54, C-97 and C-47 cargo planes and other military aircrafts and various types of motor vehicles for delivery to operational segments of the Air Force. Reconditioning of R-3350 engines approached World War II proportions by April, 1949, when the Engine Repair Section turned out 780 B-29 engines a month. By June 30, 1949, approximately 9,100 engines were overhauled. World War peak was 1,000 a month. The depot supply functions during the War and during peacetime operations have been to accomplish the receipt, storage, issue, salvage, disposal and stock control over materiel used by the Air Forces.

During the War, the Oklahoma City Air Materiel geographical area consisted of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma and the portion of Texas north of the 33d degree of North Latitude. The geographical area has remained the same.¹

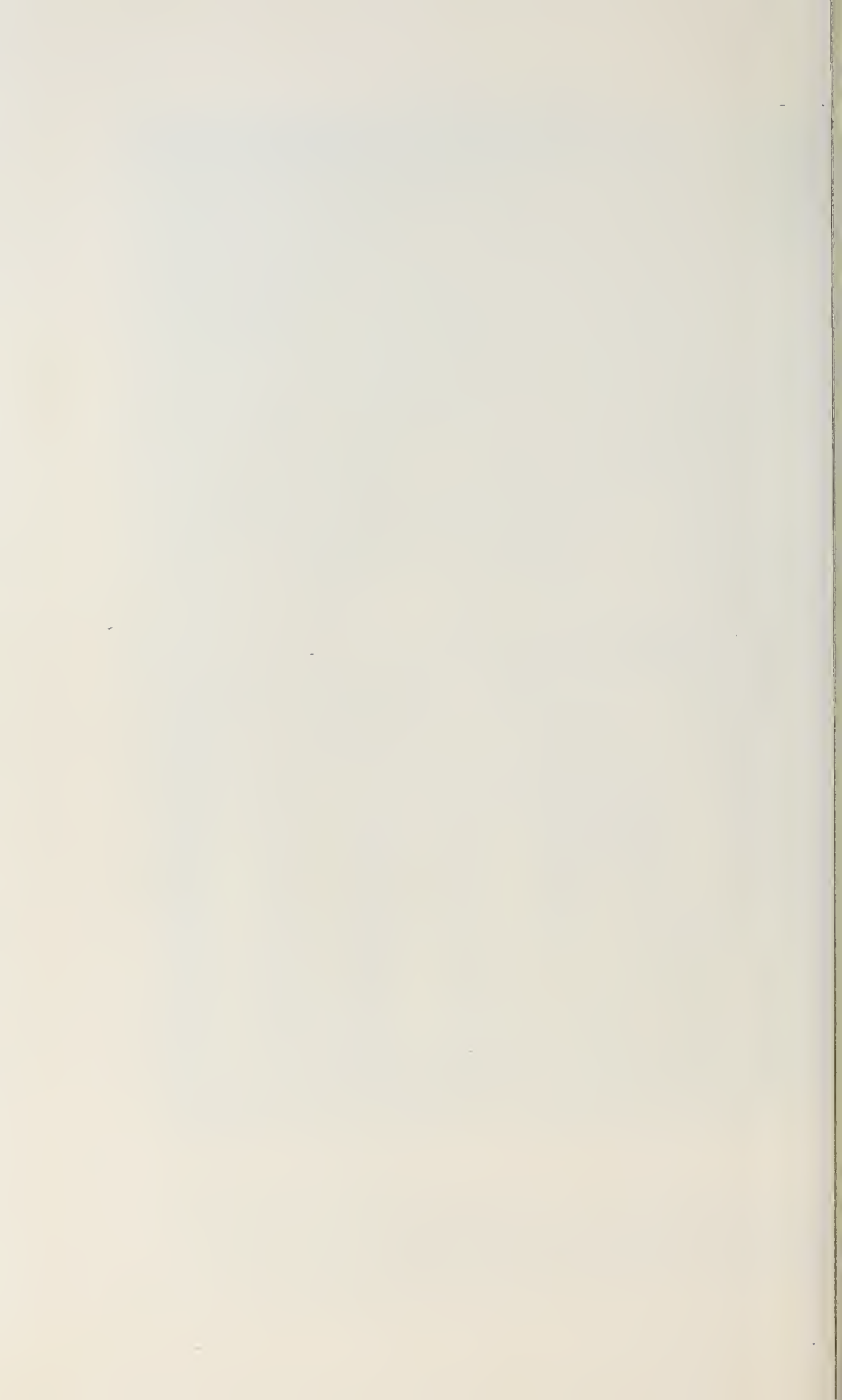
Major General F. S. Borum, an Oklahoman who was reared at Muskogee, has been in command of the Installation since July 15, 1945.

¹ "The Oklahoma City Air Materiel Area, with headquarters at Tinker Air Force Base, is one of seven areas in the Air Materiel Command. It is the largest of the seven."—*Information Booklet* issued by Headquarters, Oklahoma City Air Materiel Area, Tinker Air Force Base, in August, 1948.



(Photo from Tinker Air Force Base)

Left to right: Capt. O. W. MacFarland, Col. P. W. Tibbetts, and Major Tom Ferebee in front of the *Enola Gay* prior to its final flight as it took off from Tinker Air Force Base to be turned over to the Smithsonian Institute. The *Enola Gay* on August 6, 1945, dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Col. Tibbetts serving as pilot and Major Ferebee as bombardier who released the bomb.



GOOD HOMES AND NEWER USES FOR OLD RECORDS

*By Gaston Litton**

Every thought which the human mind has ever entertained was conceived in some such setting as the community in which each of us now lives. Every deed, good or bad, was performed within the limits of some neighborhood such as the one in which each of us was born and grew up, or in which we will spend our remaining days. All history—ultimately a chronicle of events involving persons at particular places—must have a local habitation. Since the world is the sum-total of its communities, it follows that the local scene is not entirely local but, in a greater or lesser degree, partakes of all world experience.

The study of each local community should enable us to see the pattern of the larger mosaic of world history, and it should protect us against today's multiple voices which insinuate that an understanding of the world emerges from the recital of contemporary divorces, murders, baseball games, accidents, and rumors of another war. A survey of our community's experience, enabling us to see that these phenomena constitute the problem rather than the approach, should also give us the poise with which to meet the constant crisis of current events.

High-speed transportation and long-range communication, which have brought this generation great mobility and a widened range of every day living, have weakened and all but destroyed a highly desirable feeling of attachment to our environment. This condition, pointing up the individual's need for something more enduring than the tax collector's demand and the austere bill of rights, will be remedied when once again we sink our emotional anchors in our community's past. An interest in a community and a growing respect for its founders, becoming the fuel for a holy flame of patriotic love for our state, our nation, and the world in which we live, is a necessary antidote to general unrest in this generation.

Our community is constantly changing, although we may not realize the fact. As the old way of life passes, its physical manifestations also disappear. The ideals of life which the members of

* Dr. Gaston Litton, Archivist in the University of Oklahoma, delivered this paper on the program of the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society, at Stillwater, Oklahoma, May 26, 1949. Dr. Litton, who is directing the manuscripts program at the University, points out in this speech some of the uses to which archival materials are put and he calls upon Oklahomans everywhere to aid the archival agencies of the State in the assembling and preservation of the significant materials reflecting the history and contemporary life of Oklahoma.—Ed.

our community held in yesteryear diverge from those of the present generation. The habit of parting reluctantly or impatiently with the old ideas, and assuming new ones, is characteristic of community behavior. It has always been thus; surely it will always continue to be so. Powerless to halt the course of destiny, we had best submit and understand.

Understanding our community and the changing pattern of its history has occupied the attention of most of us at one time or another. The lone Yankee farmer has wondered how it happened that all his neighbors in a certain township were of Southern origin. The town merchant, lamenting the increase of tenancy among his customers, has sought the causes for the consequent loss of trade. The members of the local D. A. R. chapter, wishing to erect a marker to the memory of an Indian scout or early settler, have searched for the dates and places which would establish beyond any doubt the wisdom of their decision. A traveller, surprised at the location of a highly specialized industry in a community, has delayed his journey while he searched out the explanation. The city park board, for reasons of civic pride, has required specific information on the person who founded the system of playgrounds and parks. The well-to-do families of the city, following an obscure custom of eating their Sunday dinner at a hotel, have inspired searches by members of a local club for the origin of that social practice.

To satisfy any of these inquirers with full evidence, to study any phase of local history, presupposes the existence and availability of adequate source material. Such material, if assembled in sufficient quantity and variety, will show what made the community desirable as a place of settlement, and which racial and religious groups peopled it. The growth and expansion of the community in terms of its residences, its arteries of communication and transportation, and its commercial prosperity, should be revealed in these records. The community's educational and cultural institutions, its museum and art gallery, its charitable and correctional institutions, should be represented in the records. The organization of the local courts, the community's war participation, its general professional life, and its local government, should be covered by complete files. And, finally, the collection should be rounded out with documents concerning the community's older families, and the personalities responsible for its progress.

The source of much community information is the memory of living man—which, fallible and perishable as it is, can be tapped for historical purposes by means of interviews, or through letters of inquiry, and by questionnaire. Newspapers are a wonderful source of information on a locality—though, of course, within the limita-

tions of deadlines and other factors which direct newspaper reporting.

There are, fortunately, a great many other sources of essential facts. Their discovery and identification reach the core of this inquiry. The external forms, which the facts of local history assume, constitute tomorrow's treasure and heritage and they are almost without number. A dozen or more types, which are easily recognized by the layman, are the basic categories into which they fall.

There are broadsides—those loose printed sheets distributed by hand to proclaim the coming of circuses, announce the opening of toll gates, advertise the sales of farms and farm implements, publish the dates of coming elections, and even call for the celebration of national and state holidays. Broadsides are important because they reflect early customs and because they mirror early printing and communication methods. The old handbills are sought by archivists for the anticipated use of social historians.

Maps and plans of towns often reveal changes in the development of communities, and sometimes point out the location of villages which have disappeared entirely. Musical and dramatic programmes, funeral cards, invitations to balls, and even Christmas greeting cards revive for us the social life of earlier generations. Business cards, calendars, pictorial advertisements and letterheads of commercial houses remind us of the existence of early industries, financial houses, and trading practices. Descriptive booklets and travel folders of railroads or steamboat lines add their bits. Anniversary editions of newspapers often contribute names, dates, and other details which are not available elsewhere.

Reminiscences of older residents, by those who have taken the trouble to prepare them, provide information of a very personal and intimate nature which must not be ignored by the writer who attempts to interest the general public in the past. A first step in the collection of this form of material is to encourage early settlers to write the stories of their lives.

Local histories are often issued by county councils, women's clubs, religious bodies, and interested individuals; brochures giving gazetteer information are occasionally put out by newspaper advertising and circulation departments, as well as by chambers of commerce and the public information departments of the larger companies. Such publications perform bibliographical and biographical service to scholarship.

Photographs are constantly needed and for a myriad of uses. They are used annually for calendars, Christmas cards, or even stationery. Throughout the year they are needed to illustrate house

organs, brochures, articles for papers and magazines. Anniversary celebrations would be impossible without the usual historic photographs; and they are even called for by national advertising agencies to illustrate displays and campaign material. Individuals copy them to illustrate their lectures, theses and books, and to verify historical data. Bets and lawsuits have been settled by pictures. Artists obtain ideas for murals, portraits and advertisements from photographs; composers often request pictures to illustrate the covers to their songs; draftsmen and architects use them as sources of building details. Photographs of old houses, bridges, roadways, inns, schoolhouses, pioneer personalities and professional people, industries and institutions, and other persons and things—whether the pictures were copied on glass plates or on more flexible film—when assembled in quantities will enable the archivist to meet the vastly complex and urgent requests from writers who would interpret for us our community life.

Other very important sources of historical fact are diaries and journals—daily records kept by the meditative and reflective members of the community, accounts in which life is recorded as it passes in review. Any writer will affirm the statement that such documents do not need to be the records of distinguished persons. There is great future value for research in the diary kept now by a baker, barber, or bus driver—if he has been observant and can translate his vision into words.

Many families—both humble and great—have packets of old letters which are gathering dust in trunks in their attics and closets and cellars. These should be gathered into repositories where, with other manuscripts, they will cast a new light on the early days of our communities.

Carlyle's dictum that "The history of the world is but the biography of great men" stresses the importance of the papers of soldiers, statesmen, and scientists. The history of our nation could not be understood nearly so well if we had been deprived of the use of the papers of such great men as Washington, Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, Madison, and Lincoln—to name only a few. Yet more and more we are turning to the view that there is meaning—deep and inescapable meaning—in the portrayal of the life and thought of the common people, ordinary folk, the humble and obscure, those that "God must like because he made so many of them." Their records throw light—sometimes a very bright light—on the significant movements of our history. The great are, in a large measure, products of their time and environment. All leaders are influenced, not only by their immediate associates, but by public opinion and by their contacts with individuals outside the mass of men. From the standpoint of this indirect influence alone the records of supposedly unimportant individuals have large value.

It is often hard to convince the owners of family letters that such documents have any historical value. "We haven't had any governors, senators, or generals in our family. We are not historically important," they will tell the archivist. Or he will be met with this remark: "Our things would not be of any interest outside the immediate family; they are just family or personal letters."

Records of the great have an undeniable appeal to the imagination of the masses, but in many ways the run-of-the-mill stuff is even more revealing to the writer and more interesting to his readers. Materials of this category are also likely to be, on the whole, more reliable as far as the knowledge of the writer extends—for the writer had no thought of possible publication. That often influences the writings of men in public life, particularly in high positions. This material has other values because it throws light upon the life and thought of the people from every angle—on illness, disease, and medical practice; on recreation and amusements; even on what people wore and that they ate; with illuminating sidelights on war, politics, public men, and measures. Since this personal point of view exists only in the obscurity of the unknown journal and packet of unpublished letters, it forms a picture of society and a record of civilization which cannot be ignored.

A body of economic fact is most certainly embedded in the records of the lone merchant, the itinerant trader, the general store owner. Their day books, under the relentless scrutiny of the historian, probably could be made to confirm or deny the truth that customers in pioneer days not only purchased the necessities of life but also coveted and acquired silk gloves, fine cloth, linen handkerchiefs. Mercantile ledgers should be especially valuable for a study of the methods of settling accounts. It is known that money was scarce in the West and that farmers paid for much of their goods by bartering pork, wheat, honey, furs, corn, hides, and similar items with the merchants. The extent to which this also was true of Oklahoma pioneers must await verification, which will be possible when mercantile ledgers have been assembled. Invoice books should give the best possible picture of the stock of goods carried in western stores, as well as data on the size and growth of the stores. The location of the wholesale markets patronized by the merchants, and the volume of yearly purchases, could be ascertained from their order books. The letter books of early business men, when they are found and assembled, will undoubtedly be the best general picture of such mercantile activities. Routes of shipment, wholesale centers patronized, the relations with the forwarding firms, the story of steamboat disasters, hold-ups, and other transportation problems which bothered the storekeeper before the railroad era, should come to light in this correspondence. Records of early mills, gins, and factories have similar historical value.

In the more recent period, sound films of political rallies, polling places on election day, parades, or other unusual events in a locality's life, which are taken in some Eastern cities, have a particular kind of historical value which entitle them to preservation in our archives. Transcriptions of radio programs of local interest are being preserved by the archivist who is alert to the effectiveness of audio-visual materials in teaching. The meetings of the City Council of New York City used to be broadcast over the city's radio station, WNYC. The meetings of our governmental bodies, ordinarily sober and restrained, are traditionally recorded in published form, but transcriptions of meetings which are broadcast could hardly be ignored by the thorough student of public affairs. Moving picture sound tracks, phonograph records and radio transcriptions help give a picture of our daily lives, and the archivist cannot pass them by as he makes his appointed rounds. The actual places, people and events can be both seen and heard—as they actually existed or occurred—not as interpreted by an observer.

The geographical frontiers of the United States have been closed for many years. The intellectual and spiritual frontiers, however, must remain open as long as the Republic lives, or national decay will set in. As Shakespeare put it, "What's past is prologue." The past does have a way of repeating itself. These recurring crises may often be met best by the scrutiny of the reports left behind by those keen minds who read the invisible ink of the future with vision which had been sharpened by the light of peril.

The casual observer says that there is plenty of archival material to mirror the past. Yes, but much of it is being destroyed through carelessness, indifference, ignorance and by the impersonal clutch of climate. Time, the great destroyer of records, eliminates much that is unimportant. But time is also guilty of destroying much that is important, if its significance is not recognized. The presumptive right of anyone to say, "This is and this is **not** material for research" must be challenged. In this day of the typewriter, carbon copy, and other multiple forms of recording, when it is becoming more and more a problem to find space in which to preserve materials, the tendency is to destroy the old as the new records accumulate. The value of many records is not generally recognized. Age should not be the only or determining factor which should decide the preservation or disposal of materials. Value is an elusive quality, and no archivist would attempt to make a decision involving the disposal of records on his own initiative. This is action requiring the advice of those who know the conditions under which the industrial records came into being, or the genealogical background of the family which produced them, and who know of the existence of related materials.

Every depository of manuscripts should have its own field of collection and its own goal fairly well determined. Only a very few, if any, institutions seek to acquire and preserve manuscripts without limit of geography or subject or both. Ordinarily, state or regional boundaries and subject limitations within these areas determine the area of collection. Governmental archives, by far the largest single body of materials, are automatically eliminated from attention by most repositories. Those of us who have elected to serve scholarship by assembling archival materials at the University of Oklahoma aspire to become worthy of those who have preceded us and who have pointed the way. The program of graduate study, in many fields of the humanities, and the press, which is an essential accessory to the large purpose of the State University, at once lay broad and general canons of selection for the guidance of the Archivist of the University. But the word of the Archivist and his deputies is pledged to the creed that they shall avoid intrusion upon the areas already preempted by any sister institution. We are confident that we who would do this great work of noble note, like Ulysses and his companions, must be "one equal temper of heroic hearts" for, "tho' much is taken, much abides."

An intelligent and enlightened public can assist tremendously in the collection and preservation of research materials. Individuals can aid, first of all, by not destroying their records. The archivists are legion who have crossed the paths of the Robert Lincolns, sitting before their fireplaces, going through the papers of their father, "sorting and burning" those which to them seemed "too personal" to be preserved. The writers are legion who have lifted their eyes from the slim folders of surviving materials and sighed in vain for those items which unfortunately went up in flames before the archivist reached the scene and halted the destruction.

In searching for manuscripts the archivist embarks upon a strange expedition. He plays a kind of hide-and-seek game with the past. He often hopes to recover objects left behind by a person long dead. The one who hid the treasure—in many cases a woman—probably sat with the papers at her feet wondering what to do with them, asking the questions, "Are they worth keeping?" or, "Should I give the books away and burn the letters?" She may have discarded the books and destroyed some of the letters but kept the rest in the belief that they might someday be of interest to someone. But where should she put them—in the back room or in the attic? She chose a remote resting place for the records. Years later the archivist stumbles across them in his search, poking here and there, getting hot and tired and dirty, this morning or tomorrow afternoon or twenty years from yesterday—at last finding what has been lost. As often as not, before the archivist

as arrived to open the chest, even before he has learned of the whereabouts of the treasure, the precious contents have been reduced to a heap of waste by rats or dampness. Many individuals daily postpone the making of decisions concerning the future of their precious materials. Thus, unwittingly, procrastination betrays them into the hands of Fate—Fate, which has been notoriously cruel in destroying records of some great civilizations and mercilessly possessive in claiming all records of other cultures.

Archives include potentially everybody in the world and, in consequence, embrace every conceivable human interest. It is literally impossible in a modern state to be born or to die, and practically impossible to go through a large number of other experiences, almost equally common, without becoming a figure in archives of some kind; indeed, there are few activities which produce writings and do not survive as archives in one or another form.

Faced with this mass of material, so vast and yet so diversified, the archivist employs his best technical knowledge—often his skills as a linguist, sometimes his knowledge of bookkeeping, photography, or library science. From the tasks of sorting, the archivist proceeds to documentary preservation, and from that he advances to the equally difficult technical job of analysis and description. The result of this professional attention is an organized and usable collection of materials, safe against the ravages of time and against the uncertainties of private possession. Such a collection often includes a small body of records of enduring historical interest which is all that survives of an old state bank, a tribal court, a glass casket factory, or a pioneer physician whose humanitarian impulses were matched by a reflective mind which turned his observations into a diary. Assembled in good homes, these old materials will be put to countless new uses and give us a truer, more faithful history than was ever available before.

The supreme and most difficult task of the archivist is to hand documents on to posterity without adding or taking away, physically or morally, any part of their content. Always on the alert to prevent disarrangement, disfiguring, or destruction of any unit of his collection, he must at the same time permit and facilitate their use and handling. The archivist must not turn scholar, or at most he may do so only occasionally and with strictest precaution, for every scholar has an axe to grind, a theory to establish, a statement to prove. A personal interest is incompatible with dispassionate conduct in sorting, arrangement and preservation. The "sanctity of evidence" is the doctrine of the archivist. He must not fear dust any more than he does hard work—but he is not a gravedigger. History never dies, but maintains a position

as closely banded to the present and the future as the foundation of a house bears to the structure itself or to the people living in it.

Hidden in the multiple records of our past, and awaiting assembling, are the facts from which we can discover the imperishable truths which will destroy the barriers of ignorance and intolerance and move ahead the frontiers of knowledge and forbearance. To this enterprise the cooperation of every citizen of this state is invited, and there are few, indeed, who are without the power to make some contribution.

DUTCH

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

His Cherokee name was Tahchee, but he was widely known as Dutch, and that was probably as close as the white men could come to the Indian pronunciation. That name was certainly a misnomer, as he had none of the characteristics of citizens of the Netherlands, who are inclined to obesity, while this Cherokee was tall, spare built, and never was a face more alert.

Dutch, the third of four sons of Skyugo, a noted Cherokee chief, held that title by inheritance and his rank was never questioned by the Indians as he maintained it with honor. He was born at Turkey Town on the Coosa River about 1790, and, although a native of Alabama, the State of Oklahoma can claim him as her own, since a large part of his life was passed within what later became her borders.

Tahchee was described as five feet and eleven inches in height, of fine proportions, graceful in his movements and wonderfully active; "his countenance expresses a coolness, courage, and decision which accord well with his distinguished reputation as a warrior." While a child of five, he accompanied his mother and an uncle named Thomas Taylor, to the St. Francis River in Arkansas in order to escape the encroachments of the whites. As early as 1809 a delegation of Cherokees reported favorably after an inspection of lands on the Arkansas and White rivers where it was proposed to remove the tribe from Georgia and Alabama. A large number agreed to remove at once, but they were delayed by a lack of funds. However, between two and three thousand Indians removed at their own expense before 1817 and they became known as the Arkansas or Western Cherokees. It was evidently in one of these earlier migrations that Dutch's family went to Arkansas.

At an early age Dutch was trained for the hunt by his uncle who cut off part of the barrel of a gun to make it easier for the lad to manage; in the years that followed he became trained in all of the arts of woodcraft, hardened to the perils of the forest, and indifferent to the weather, so that he became an expert in hunting and border warfare. After three years training he was allowed to accompany a hunting party on a long expedition which detained him a year away from home; he endured incredible hardships, dangers and fatigues and his life had been a succession of privations almost amounting to starvation, before he reached his mother's home late at night.

On knocking at the door of the cabin he was ordered away, as his mother supposed him to be a drunken Indian hunting for whisky. The boy tried to enter by a window but his mother, armed with a heavy stick with which she stirred her hominy, was prepared to defend her home. Dutch retreated, but later effected a breach in the flimsy log wall and on entering was recognized by his mother and given a warm welcome.

Dutch remained at home for three months before leaving with another party of fifteen hunters for Red River. This expedition proved unsuccessful and the men returned home. While they were absent a party of Cherokees were attacked on White River by Osages who captured one prisoner and killed several others, among whom was a cousin of Tahchee's. The Cherokees were incited to avenge this insult and a war party of thirty-two was raised, headed by Cahtateeskee or the Dirt Seller. Dutch was allowed to join the expedition because of the killing of his relative, but the task of carrying the kettles and other impedimenta was put upon him, as the warriors never performed any labor that could be shifted upon the youthful shoulders of a companion.¹

The Dirt Seller raised Dutch to the rank of warrior by cutting a stick into the shape of a war-club and handing it to the lad with these words: "I present this to you; if you are a *Brave*, and can use it in battle, keep it; if you fail in making it, as a warrior should, effective upon the living, then, as a boy, strike with it the bodies of the dead!"

Dutch soon had occasion to prove his manhood, as they came upon the encampment of a party of Osages and the lad slew two of the sixteen savage warriors lost by the enemy, although not a Cherokee was killed. While scalping his first victim Dutch wounded himself slightly with his own knife. On their return home a scalp dance was performed and the young Cherokee was honored as a warrior by his people.

War was carried on between the Cherokees and Osages for several years and Tahchee was an active participant in every battle, but no party with which he fought ever lost a man, nor was he wounded. Peace between the tribes was at last achieved and Dutch with a friend while on a hunting expedition, wandered into the Osage territory and the men were so cordially received that they remained among their erstwhile enemies for fourteen months. During their stay Dutch learned to speak the Osage language and he became identified with the people in manners. Although he was a great hunter, the fact that he grew up in wooded

¹ Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *The Indian Tribes of North America* (Edinburgh, 1933), vol. I, pp. 330-342. Adam Dirtseller served in Company F of the Second Indian Home Guards during the Civil War.

land prevented him from learning to hunt the buffalo as the Osages had done by chasing the animals on horseback, but the young Cherokee was not to be daunted, and he attempted to make good when he accompanied a party of Osages selected to hunt and kill buffaloes. Failing to kill an animal because of the repeated interference of an old bull, Dutch became incensed and discharged an arrow at the bull which struck him in the shoulder but the wound was not severe enough to prevent him from escaping with the shaft. On the return of the party Tahchee was chided for losing an arrow and he would have been whipped had not Chief Clermont interfered, as he realized the young Cherokee was ignorant of Osage customs and the impropriety of shooting an arrow at random.

Born with an instinct to wander, Dutch left his own people and lived for several years with the Osages, where he took a wife and became identified with all of the interests of that tribe, even going with them on predatory expeditions against their enemies.

For some unknown offense his wife was put to death by her people and from that time his friendship with the Osages was ended and he became their implacable enemy during the remainder of his life. "It was during this time that some of his most daring feats of bravery were performed. The number of Osages that fell by his hand and scalps taken, were not precisely known, not even by himself." When asked for the number,²

"... he held in his hand an hair rope ten or twelve feet long, holding up and shaking the rope, intimated that the hair of the scalps taken would have made a rope like that. His name at that time was a very terror to the Osages. The report of a gun in their vicinity, would fill them with fear, and they would fly to their arms, crying 'Dutch! Dutch! Dutch!'"

The autumn after Dutch returned to his own people he set out with three dogs for a hunt that took him up the Arkansas and Neosho rivers until forced to abandon his canoe because of insufficient water; after hiding his canoe he traveled on foot across prairies to the Missouri River where he engaged in trapping until he had secured ninety beaver pelts. Returning he found his canoe and visited an Osage village on the bank of the Neosho on the way home; while there he heard of the killing by the Osages of Chata, a famous chief and warrior, while hunting with Bowles.³ Three Cherokees of another hunting party had also been killed by Osages and a war of retaliation was expected.

Dutch, being warned that his life was in danger, was furnished with moccasins and parched corn and asked to depart. Soon after his return home a Cherokee woman was murdered by the

² Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), pp. 398-99.

³ Bowles was killed in Texas in 1839.

Osages and her aged mother begged Dutch to avenge her as there were no members of her family to do so. Dutch raised a war party which he led against the enemy and he returned with a number of bloody scalps to satisfy the relatives of the deceased. A short war resulted, but peace was again made for the time being between the enemies.

Dutch was among the Cherokees who had settled on the south side of the Arkansas River; these people were ordered by the government in 1824 to remove to the other side of the river, but Dutch refused to go and he was so incensed with the government and his tribesmen who complied that he swore to leave the country for the Spanish provinces and never return.

He attended a council of the Cherokees in the autumn of 1825 where he declared formally his intention to separate from the tribe and with a party of followers he departed in September from his home on the Arkansas and located on Red River, above the mouth of the Kiamichi. There he became known as the fearless leader of his lawless band of Cherokees and Kiekapoos; they spent their time in making war upon the Tawakoni and other western tribes, including, of course, the Osages, always the objects of his implacable hatred.

Many members of the Cherokees had urged Dutch not to leave them, but after he departed, the chiefs, realizing his restless disposition and fearful that he might commit some lawless act that would involve the nation, passed a resolution in the National Committee disfranchising and renouncing Dutch and all who joined him on Red River unless they returned to the tribe within fifteen days. They announced also that the nation would not be responsible for acts committed by Dutch or his followers.

Shortly thereafter Dutch and some of his companions came to the neighborhood of Fort Gibson on a horse-stealing foray. On July 18, 1826, Dutch darted in among some Osages within a few feet of Colonel Chouteau's trading house on the Verdigris River, where he killed and scalped an Osage. The Cherokees escaped pursuit and arrived at the Red River with the scalp.

The Cherokees made a treaty with the United States in 1828, which was unsatisfactory to many of the Indians and particularly so to Tahchee, who determined to leave the country; he removed to Red River, where he remained three years before emigrating to Bowles' settlement in Texas. A year later he accompanied a war party against the Tawakoni Indians; their village was destroyed, fifty-five of them were slain, while only five of Tahchee's followers were killed.⁴

⁴ Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*, (New Haven, 1930), p. 239, note 18.

In the numerous Indian treaties the United States government had stipulated that the tribes must live in peace; had forbidden war between the Cherokees and Osages, and as Tahchee was an active partisan leader, he was warned to discontinue the conflict.

Most of the leaders of his tribe consented to peace, but Dutch, defiant, kept up his fight against the Osages and when the commanding officer of the United States army for that area offered a reward of \$500 for his capture he showed his contempt for such a manner of having him captured, by going to a trading house near the mouth of the Neosho where some Osages were camped; he dashed among them, within hearing the drums of Fort Gibson, killed and scalped one, then, with his rifle in one hand and the bleeding scalp in the other, he rushed for a nearby precipice, jumped from it, escaping with only one cheek grazed by a rifle ball.

Once more Dutch returned to Red River whence he was recalled by a message from Colonel Matthew Arbuckle at Fort Gibson, assuring him that the offer of a reward for his capture had been revoked.

Dutch served as expert guide to one of the expeditions of the army and added to his value, as he literally fed the troops. He knew where to find the game, how to capture it and what were the best portions of the buffalo. When asked how many buffaloes he had killed he replied that there had been so many he could not count them and he informed the soldiers that the shoulder, including the hump, and the tongue were the choice parts of the animal.

Colonel Arbuckle wrote the agent of the Caddo Indians in July, 1830, that Cherokee Chief Smith had lately returned from Red River with scalps and he was then engaged in raising a party of Cherokees on the Arkansas to join the Cherokees and Dutch's band on Red River, in a war against the Pawnees; Smith planned to arrive on the scene in September. ⁵

A graphic account of this war party was written in Washington by John Ridge as it was narrated to him by Chief John Smith in 1836. Regarding Dutch he related that before they arrived at the Cherokee settlement:

"... a small ridge of hills covered with a fine forest rose before us & having ascended, from its top thro the undulating ridges of descending country, finely checquered with the openings of small pararies (*sic*), we distinctly saw the field and Cabins of my friend, the Great Cherokee Warrior, whose name is Dutch. At his door he stood attentively looking at us

⁵ Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), p. 108.

as we approached, & when he recognized me, he ran to us & gave us a cordial reception—Insisted that we should make his house our home, while we so-journed in that Country.

"The Warrior's wife, her sister & his niece made haste & furnished us a dinner consisting of boiled pork, Connohena, (which is made of Indian corn pounded into grits & boiled with water until it is cooked, which is a delicious drink as well as a nutritious food) bread mixed with beans and sweet potatoes. We were very hungry & it was a rich feast to us. At night he stretched out his camp tent made of canvass by the side of his cabin laid boards down on the ground & covered them with the best kind of dressed buffalo skins, & having our own blankets we reposed finely in the refreshing breezes of the night under the tent."

Two nights later a party of Cherokee warriors arrived from the Arkansas, well armed with rifles, butcher knives, swords and tomahawks. When Dutch saw them he asked Smith, "*Are you thinking of something?*" The chief replied: "... we have received your letter & we are going to the grand pararies to *revenge* upon the inhabitants the death of our Warriors! He said 'I will help.' He talked with his warriors and 19 besides himself volunteered to go out of his settlement."

Fifteen miles beyond this was another settlement where Boiling Mush, head chief of the Texas Cherokees, resided. He heard of the expedition and called a council to which he invited Smith's party. Dutch and his warriors accompanied Smith to the council which was numerously attended; they were cordially received and entertained with food, singing and dancing for several days. When the hosts learned of the purpose of the expedition they promised to meet Smith's party in eleven days at Marshal's Saline two days towards the setting sun.

The Cherokees returned to Dutch's settlement where they spent four days in preparation for the journey. "The women parched corn & pounded it into meal, and put it up in separate bags for each warrior. They also danced four nights in succession the war dance.

"The Warrior Dutch shaved his hair close to his skin, leaving only a small tuft of hair on his head top to fasten his head dress which were the short feathers of a hawk; he painted his shaved head red & half the length of the feathers, leaving them tipt with white in the original color. He was at that time about forty years old. He is six feet high, possessing a powerful frame & of fine proportions, erect in his stature, fleet & active, elastic in his gait, wild & fierce in the expression of his countenance. Equally brave & cunning. He loves his friends with all his heart & with all his heart hates his enemies. He is skilled in War songs & War dances. His eyes are always moving which are keen & sharp. Withal he is a good speaker, his voice is strong like his heart & sounds like the roar of waters."

"The Cherokee War Path" is much too long to give in full in this account of Dutch, but some excerpts regarding the Cherokee Warrior which display his prowess cannot be omitted. Dur-

ing the bloody fight with the Tawakoni Indians three young Cherokees fell into a snare of the enemy and

Dutch mounted his horse which was of a beautiful dark bay color with black legs, mane & tail, which he had raised, sired by a wild stud taken from the Grand pararie. He was a finished horse, in form, of a noble carriage & well trained. Dutch's object was to bring back the young men. . . . He was advancing rapidly when the young men were destroyed. When another of the enemy detached himself in a slow gallop in another direction. Dutch gave chase for some distance, when the horseman suddenly turned back to escape to his friends & lead Dutch to the snare. With us it was a time of awful suspense.

Dutch also let his horse out & the chase was for life & death. He overtook him before the rescue of his friends & knocked him off his horse with the barrel of a rifle with such violence that it peeled his scalf from the lower part of his head to the top. Dutch turned quickly to his friends the footmen who had checked the enemy with their rifles. Then they all ran to the place where the warrior lay, whom they tomahawked & scalped.

The Cherokee left the scene of the fight while the enemy was still lamenting the death of their tribesmen. At a long distance from the Tawakoni village the Cherokees saw a strip of woodland which extended to their settlement in Texas and they determined to follow it.

"While marching we saw a herd of gentle horses a little way off which Dutch drove up and were caught by the warriors. An other small herd appeared, among which were two mules which Dutch also drove to us & which we took along.

"It was dark when we reached the forest but fearing pursuit we travelled on until near day when we stopt without kindling a fire and slept. Dutch stood as sentinel. . . ."⁶

Dutch lived with his Cherokee followers in Texas until 1831, when they were removed, with the help of the tribe living on the Arkansas, to a place near the mouth of the Canadian. John Smith, Edwards, Ignatious, N. and Ogden Chisholm and forty other men were employed with their horses for ninety-five days in moving Dutch's party.⁷

In his new location Dutch built up a handsome plantation where he was surrounded by a large settlement of Cherokees who continued warfare against the Osages whenever they encountered them.

"His great force of character, his extensive knowledge of the frontier and resourcefulness made him a valuable guide and hunter

⁶ "The Cherokee War Path," annotated by Carolyn Thomas Foreman from the manuscript in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. This valuable document was acquired December 14, 1926, and was published in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 3 (September, 1931), pp. 238-40, 259-60. Smith, the Cherokee chief, was sometimes called John and at other times Moses.

⁷ Office of Indian Affairs, Retired Classified Files, "Cherokee D," 436. Duchess Creeks in that vicinity was originally called Dutch's Creek on early maps.

on numerous missions performed by the Government. The Cherokees living in the West long held him in the highest respect for his service as a warrior and leader against their dread enemy the Osage."⁸

In September, 1831, Aaron B. Lewis, residing at that time near Fort Towson on Red River, in the territory of Arkansas, was induced to take a journey to the province of New Mexico, allured by the supposed immense riches in that country. Lewis, on the third of September, 1831, with a good horse left Arkansas in company with two other Americans and eleven Cherokees, headed by "Old Dutch", with the object of hunting and trapping on the Fausse Washita.⁹

The Cherokees and Osages were supposed to meet at Fort Gibson May 1, 1833, to settle disputes that had arisen between them the year before; the Osages were delayed by high water and when they finally arrived the Cherokees had departed and it was learned that a part of them, under the leadership of Captain John Smith, were holding a war council on Bayou Menard; it was feared that the Cherokees were being incited to war against the Osages. Captain Smith and Dutch lived in the same neighborhood east of Fort Gibson. Smith was called a civilized Indian but he was a fighter and the *Arkansas Advocate* declared that if he and Dutch united their warriors there would doubtless be a bloody war. Both of these men were in the prime of life, athletic, powerful and fine looking men. Smith was "a shrewd, determined and active warrior, and esteemed as one of their best captains." Of Dutch the journal wrote: "Dutch is looked upon as the most sagacious and daring war Captain in the Cherokee Nation west of the Mississippi. . . . Dutch may be known, by a slight description among a thousand warriors, by his remarkable black, keen, restless eye."¹⁰

A distinguished American who wrote interestingly of Dutch and painted his portrait was George Catlin.¹¹ In this account he said:

"This is one of the most extraordinary men that lives on the frontiers at the present day, both for his remarkable history and for his fine and manly figure and character of face.

⁸ *Indians and Pioneers, op. cit.*, pp. 237-39.

⁹ "Narrative of a Journey in the Prairies" by Albert Pike, Conway, Arkansas, 1917. *Publication of the Arkansas Historical Association*, Vol. 4, pp. 67, 68.

¹⁰ *Advancing the Frontier, op. cit.*, p. 124; *Arkansas Advocate* (Little Rock), August 21, 1833, p. 3, cols. 2 and 3. This description of the Cherokee warriors was contained in a letter from A. P. Chouteau to S. C. Stambaugh printed in *The Pennsylvanian*.

¹¹ *Annual Report Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution*, July, 1885. Part V. The George Catlin Indian Gallery, p. 206. George Catlin, *North American Indians* (Philadelphia, 1913), vol. 2, pp. 138-39.

"This man was in the employment of the Government as a guide and hunter for a regiment of dragoons, on their expedition to the Camanchees, where I had him for a constant companion for several months, and opportunities in abundance for studying his true character and of witnessing his wonderful exploits in the different varieties of the chase. The history of this man's life has been very curious and surprising; and I sincerely hope that some one, with more leisure and more talent than myself, will take it up and do it justice. I promise that the life of this man furnishes the best materials for a popular tale than are now to be procured on the western frontier. He is familiarly known and much of his life, to all the officers who have been stationed at Fort Gibson or at any of the posts in that region of the country."

Describing Dutch's life after his removal to the West because of dissatisfaction with the terms of the treaty of 1828, of his life on Red River and his move to the Canadian, Catlin wrote: "He was a man of sound character, and one to be relied upon. As a warrior none stood higher amongst the Indians. He was engaged in more than thirty battles with the Osage and other Indians, and killed with his own hand twenty-six of his adversaries." With the exception of a slight scratch on his cheek he was never wounded.

Catlin thought that Dutch first demonstrated his executive ability when he induced several men, women and children of his tribe to leave their homes and follow him across the Mississippi beyond the reach of civilization. They settled upon the head waters of White River in Arkansas and remained there until white faces again penetrated through the forests. These poor pursued people once more moved west to the banks of the Canadian River and Dutch, by desperate warfare against the Osages and Comanches, cleared a large tract of fine land where he and his people could live comfortably by raising great crops of corn and potatoes; where they could pursue the buffalo or the savage Indians at their pleasure.

The writers, McKenney and Hall, in their *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*, paid Tahehee a great tribute because of his conduct during that expedition. "The cheerfulness with which he bore his toils and his exposures, in the twofold capacity referred to, in connection with the great fidelity with which he executed the trust, gained him great applause, and made him a general favorite. He demonstrated his character to be sound, and that he was a man to be relied on."

The undertaking where Dutch gained such respect was the celebrated Dragoon Expedition to the Comanche country in the summer of 1834, during which General Henry Leavenworth died.

When Tahehee abandoned his warlike life he returned to his home on the Canadian, built a home and turned his attention to cultivating the soil, raising cattle and ponies, and living in peace



(McKenney & Hall)

DUTCH

with his neighbors. "His deportment is mild and inoffensive, and he enjoys the respect of those around him. . . ." ¹²

First Lieutenant T. B. Wheelock of the Dragoons reported from Fort Gibson to Colonel Henry Dodge on August 26, 1834, regarding the expedition to the Pawnee Pict (Wichita) village. Four bands of Indians were engaged to accompany the troops and leader among the eight Cherokees was Dutch, who was described by Wheelock as "remarkable for personal beauty, daring character, and successful enterprises against the Osages." On July 20 Dutch was reported very ill; the health of the company was bad and many men died during the travels.

In a talk with the Comanche Indians on July 23 Dutch spoke as follows:

"I am now going to tell you what the chief of the Cherokees bade me say to you if we met as friends. He says to you his people wish to come to you without fear, and that you should visit them without fear. My heart is glad that we are all willing to be friends; a long time ago it was so, there was no war between us. I am rejoiced, and my people will be rejoiced, when they hear that it may be so again. Look at me, you see I speak the truth; I have nothing more to say."

Although born too early to receive an education in the missionary schools and incapable of signing his name, Dutch was possessed of a good brain and served his people well in many capacities. His early training was entirely that of a fighter, a follower of trails through the wilderness to search out enemies of the Cherokees, or to secure food for himself and his hungry tribesmen.

He early realized that it was hopeless to try to prevent the whites from crowding the Indians from their ancestral lands, and the thought of the immense wilderness to the west called to his instincts to leave the intruders and seek a new and free home where they would not have to compete with white hunters for food.

Dutch was easy to persuade when it came to signing the false treaty of 1835, and he put his mark along with other disgruntled signers to the document that has caused a division in the Cherokee Nation to the present day. He was more fortunate than some other members of the treaty party who later lost their lives be-

¹² Dutch was forty-seven years of age when his portrait was painted for the McKenney and Hall history. This picture is said to be an excellent likeness. Mooney mistakenly ascribed the portrait to Catlin, 1834, but it belongs in the McKenney and Hall collection, volume I, opposite page 330. Catlin's portrait was painted in 1836 and "it is quite different," as it represents Dutch with a light beard (McKenney and Hall, *The Indian Tribes of North America* [Edinburgh, 1933], col. I, pp. 340, 341, note 3, edited by Frederick Webb Hodge). The Catlin portrait is plate No. 218 in his *North American Indians* (Philadelphia, 1913), Vol. 2.

cause of signing away their heritage to the United States government; he lived until past middle life, loved by his tribesmen, honored and admired by famous explorers and favorably written about by contemporary authors.

In order to make peace with the Comanche and Wichita Indians the United States government assembled a large number of Indians of various tribes at Camp Holmes, on the eastern border of the Grand Prairie near the Canadian River, in the Creek Nation in 1835. Many subjects were treated of at the meeting, such as "Peace and friendship" between all of the citizens of the United States and the Comanche and Wichita nations, and their associated bands or tribes of Indians; and between these nations or tribes and the Cherokee, Muscogee, Choctaw, Osage, Seneca and Quapaw nations.

On August 24, 1835, Montfort Stokes and Brigadier General Matthew Arbuckle signed for the United States, while Dutch and David Melton had the honor of representing the Cherokees on this important occasion. Most of the Indian tribes had many signers but the Senecas and Cherokees each had only two signatures.¹³

In 1836 after one of their raids against the Cherokees the Osages under Mad Buffalo stopped for a visit with their friend, Captain Nathaniel Pryor at his trading house a mile and a half above the mouth of the Verdigris River. They were surprised there by Dutch with a large party of Cherokees in search of Osages who had murdered a number of Cherokees. Pryor, through strategy, helped the Osages to escape; though the Cherokees pursued their enemies after they discovered the deception they failed to overtake the fugitives.¹⁴

Captain Dutch was a frequent visitor at Fort Gibson and he was respected by the officers who treated him with the courtesy due his reputation as a great warrior.

One afternoon when the officers were enjoying the cool breezes on the broad porch surrounding their quarters, they were discussing the Indian character when a young officer, recently ar-

¹³ *United States Statutes at Large*, Boston, 1846, Vol. 7, pp. 474-76. David Melton was one of the five Old Settler Cherokees present at the convention at Illinois Camp Ground on August 1, 1839. He also was a signer of the Act of Union between the Eastern and Western Cherokees at Illinois Camp Ground on July 12, 1839. (The treaty signed at Camp Holmes in 1835 shows two signers for the Cherokees and eighteen signers for the Senecas, as published in *Treaties between the United States of America and the Several Indian Tribes from 1778 to 1837*, the volume compiled and printed under the supervision of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1837 [Washington: Langtree and O'Sullivan]. This volume is in Muriel H. Wright Collection.—Ed.)

¹⁴ *Indians and Pioneers*, op. cit., p. 86; *The American Historical Review*, XXIV, p. 255. Documents in Office of Indian Affairs concerning Nathaniel Pryor compiled by Stella M. Drumm.

rived from West Point and perfectly ignorant of the subject, declared arrogantly that Indians were cowards of whom he had utter contempt. His fellow officers, older in the service, warned him against any experiments with Indians he might meet, but the lieutenant only scoffed.

While the conversation was going on they saw approaching two men on horseback whom the officers recognized as Cherokees and that Dutch was one of them. The young lieutenant said that he would prove to his companions the correctness of his judgment of Indian bravery, but he was sternly warned to try no tricks with these men. The Indians alighted, tied their horses to the fence and walked up to the officers, who arose and welcomed them cordially—all save the youngster who remained in the rear. The officers were not paying any attention to the young officer, but just as Captain Dutch stepped upon the porch the foolish youth approached him and presented a musket in his face, exclaiming in a loud voice, "Halt! or I'll shoot you!"

It took only a second for the Cherokee to recover from his astonishment, when, with a wild whoop he drew his tomahawk from his belt, and would have buried it deep in the skull of his foolish antagonist had not the officers held him while he cried excitedly, "Let me go! I kill him!" Some one spirited the young fool away while the officers were kept busy trying to restrain Dutch, who was enraged to the point where he would have killed the officer. Thereafter the young fellow avoided Indians and he was even afraid to ride along in the country adjacent to the post.¹⁵

In a letter from Acting Superintendent William Armstrong of the Western Territory to C. A. Harris, commissioner of Indian affairs, written from the Choctaw Agency February 3, 1837, he enclosed an extract from a letter from Governor Montfort Stokes in which he wrote:¹⁶

"Three of the delegation have gone on. Neither of them are men of business. John Loony is a chief, but of moderate capacity and limited influence: Aaron Price is a good man of no great influence or capacity; and you know the character of Dutch; it is that of a brave determined warrior—neither of them were ever in Washington and curiosity as much as anything else has, in my opinion, prompted these delegates to go on. It is probable also, that they may wish to visit the place of their former residence."

¹⁵ *Twin Territories*, the Indian Magazine, 1902, pp. 355-56. According to the Cherokee historian, Rachel Caroline Eaton, Dutch's name was a word of terror among the western tribes (*John Ross and the Cherokee Indians* (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1914), p. 140).

¹⁶ National Archives, Office Indian Affairs: Cherokee File A 126-291. Choctaw Agency. A-126.

In 1838 when the Mexicans were endeavoring to involve the immigrant Indians in their intrigues, Dutch was invited to engage in the war against Texas but he refused to have anything to do with it.¹⁷

After the Cherokees had adopted their constitution a small council of the Old Settlers was held on October 10, 1839, and to register their opposition they elected John Rogers¹⁸ first chief, John Smith second chief and Dutch third chief. This faction was unalterably against the Ross government and a fine of \$500 was passed against any person attempting to enforce the laws passed by the Ross government.

General Arbuckle, who was prone to interfere in the tribal affairs of the nation, on November 10 wrote to the three chiefs: "I have no hesitation in saying that the government the late emigrants found here is the only lawful government in the Cherokee Nation."

Agent Montfort Stokes, together with the Ross government, on December 20, 1839, invited all of the Cherokees to meet on January 15, 1840, to learn the will of the majority as to the Act of Union and the constitution. The three Old Settler chiefs protested to Agent Stokes against his plan and urged that each party be given the right to choose an equal number of men to form an act of union, but their idea received no consideration and when Stokes' called meeting was held in January few members of the treaty party or Old Settlers were in attendance. The Act of Union as written by William Shorey Coodey was ratified on August 23, 1840, and General Matthew Arbuckle informed the Old Settler chiefs that their government no longer existed.¹⁹

In 1840 a hundred and eighty starving followers of Bowles arrived from Texas at Dutch's settlement on the Canadian and he persuaded Colonel Arbuckle and Agent Stokes to send them food. They later moved up the river and settled at Edward's Trading House.

From February 2 to 8, 1840, another council was held at Fort Gibson where a union of Old Settlers and Treaty Party was effected; these Cherokees declared themselves an independent people and refused to participate in the government headed by John Ross. A resolution was passed saying "that the only legitimate

¹⁷ *The Five Civilized Tribes, op. cit.*, p. 399, note 36.

¹⁸ Captain John Rogers settled at Dardenelle, Arkansas, in 1821. He was the last chief of the Old Settler Cherokees. His death occurred in Washington in 1846 and he was buried in the National Cemetery [Congressional].—Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Oklahoma City, 1921), p. 467.

¹⁹ Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838-1907*, (Norman, 1938), pp. 35, 36.

government of this nation is the one handed down to us by the original settlers of the Cherokee Nation West, and we will to the utmost of our power and ability uphold and defend the same." A delegation was appointed composed of Dutch, William Rogers, George Adair, James Carey, Alexander Foreman, Moses Smith, John Huss and William Holt to take the resolution to Washington and urge their claims before officials there.²⁰

"Washington City, March 19th, 1840. To the Hon: H. Crawford, U. States Commissioner of Indian Affairs,

"Sir: The Western Cherokee Delegation respectfully lay before you the present Claims of our nation & people against the United States. . . . 2d. Amount of services in moving Dutch & party from Red River to his nation, done at the request of Capt. Geo: Vashon then United States Agent for the Cherokee Nation. March 1833. . . . Estimated at \$2027 . . . the sudden death of Capt. Vashon, and the distracted condition of the Nation since that time to the present, has so deranged the affairs of the Nation, that positive & satisfactory evidence upon this claim, can hardly be procured. . . .

"W. Dutch. Chief of Western Cher. Delegation.

"Wm. Thornton. Sect. pro tem."²¹

General Arbuckle wrote to Andrew Vann, assistant principal chief, from Fort Gibson on October 9, 1840:

"It has been reported to me that several of the Cherokees who have left Texas in consequence of their difficulties with the government of that country have halted in the Choctaw Nation. . . . I have no doubt that Texas would remunerate them for their losses, but from the report of Dutch, it would appear that their object is very different as some of them who have returned to their nation have insulted him in consequence of his refusal to join them in a war against Texas. These people ought to have remained in that country. . . . they must know that the United States is at peace with Texas and bound to prevent those being within her limits from acts of hostility against citizens of that country. . . ."

Dutch observed that he was a relation of Bowles, chief of the defeated party, and who had fallen.²²

In June, 1843, a council was held in Tahlequah to which members of the western tribes were invited to meet the Five Civilized Tribes and establish peaceful relations with them in order to put a stop to raids on the settlements. The Chickasaws and Choctaws did not participate. During the entire meeting the guests

²⁰ *The Five Civilized Tribes, op. cit.*, pp. 304, 306-08.

²¹ OIA: Cherokee File D 436-435. Washington. D-436.

²² John Howard Payne in *Journal of Commerce* (New York), January 27, 1841. Letter from Cherokee Nation West of Arkansas, January 27, 1840.

were fed bountifully with beef, hominy, corn bread and other foods usually eaten by the hosts.

After all had feasted "Old Dutch" led the dance wearing a high silk hat adorned with a red ostrich feather which he had probably acquired in Washington when he went there as a delegate in 1837. A treaty was signed on July 3, by fifteen Cherokees, seven Creeks and four Osages. Dutch was one of the Cherokees who made his mark.²³

Captain William Dutch served as a senator from Canadian District from 1841 to 1843 when he resigned. He was reelected with William Shorey Coodey in 1847.²⁴ Cherokee Agent Pierce M. Butler wrote to Secretary Crawford on July 25, 1854, telling of a meeting of the Old Settlers and Treaty Party opposite Fort Smith, at which John Rogers and William Dutch were appointed delegates to Washington to urge action on their unsettled business.

A new Cherokee treaty was executed in Washington on August 6, 1846; the people felt a great relief and a sincere hope that the many disturbing contentions that had kept the nation in turmoil were ended.

The Western Cherokees met at Tahlontuskee (or Tahlonteeskee) on November 16, 1846, to discuss the claims they were entitled to make under the treaty. Sixteen counsellors were present and Captain Dutch presided as president of the council. A committee of five was appointed to draft the necessary resolutions. John Brown, Captain Dutch, John L. McCoy, Richard Drew and Ellis Phillips were the delegates appointed by, and representing the Western Cherokees or Old Settlers.²⁵

The Old Settlers, in the autumn of 1847, held a meeting in Skin Bayou District, at which Captain Dutch and John L. McCoy were chosen as delegates to go to Washington to secure the money due their party under the terms of the recent treaty.²⁶

Jesse E. Dow, in his *A Faithful History of the Cherokee Tribe of Indians*, wrote that "Memorialists for Old Settlers tell how they were opposed and killed by the Osage" and how they "drove the

²³ *Advancing the Frontier*, op. cit., p. 214; Lydia Huntly Sigourney, "The Grand June Council," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 10, no. 4 (December, 1932), p. 558.

²⁴ Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, op. cit., p. 270.

²⁵ *The Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America* George Minot (ed.) Boston, 1851, vol. IX, p. 871; National Archives, Office Indian Affairs, Cherokee File B. 271.

²⁶ *Fort Smith Herald*, December 29, 1847. *The Cherokee Advocate*, January 17, 1848, announced that these two men were "to work for an appropriation for the benefit of the Old Settlers." It was hoped to get Congress to set aside \$30,000 from the per capita fund to meet their obligations (Wardell, op. cit., p. 78).

Osages back from their settlements, after a succession of bloody battles." In the various actions, the celebrated Indian Capt. Tahchee (Dutch) then in Washington, "performed deeds of daring and intrepidity which might be placed on the page of history with thrilling effect—they are such as would mark him as a renowned warrior in any part of Christendom."

When the council met in Tahlequah on October 2, 1848, it was announced that Captain Dutch was too ill to attend and on the fourteenth word was received that he had died at his home on the Canadian River. The *Cherokee Advocate*, November 27, 1848, stated: "At the time of his death he was a member of the Cherokee National Council and was, we believe, the most influential man among the 'western' or 'old settler' Cherokees. He had rendered them essential service in their councils, representd their interests as a delegate to Washington, and other important services, to the entire satisfaction of his countrymen. His martial deeds were the most brilliant portion of his life—his hawk-like and flashing eye seemed to bespeak his martial spirit."²⁷

After Captain Dutch settled on the Canadian and built his home he devoted his life cultivating the soil. He owned the largest herds of cattle and ponies in the region, and he had discovered that it was to his best interest to live at peace with his neighbors. By his peaceful conduct he earned the respect of all who knew him.

At the time of his death his family consisted of his second wife, a son, and a niece whom he had adopted and reared with all of the affection of a real parent.²⁸

²⁷ *The Five Civilized Tribes*, *op. cit.*, pp. 392, 395, 398-99. According to the *Fort Smith Herald*, December 13, 1848, Judge Wind was chosen to fill the place of Captain Dutch. Wind had been a councilor from Canadian District in 1841 (Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 279).

²⁸ It is unfortunate that the names of his wives were not mentioned by writers and even the tribe of the second wife is not known.

A DIARY ACCOUNT OF A CREEK BOUNDARY SURVEY, 1850.

Edited by Carl Coke Rister and Bryan W. Lovelace.

At the request of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs L. Lea, in the Spring of 1849, Colonel J. J. Abert, Chief of the Topographical Engineers, instructed Brevet Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves¹ to survey the boundaries between the Creek and Cherokee nations. And on May 1 Sitgreaves left Washington on this mission. At Cincinnati, however, he was delayed in recruiting helpers, in comparing and rating his chronometers and in purchasing a part of his supplies. He could not buy the necessary wagons for California-bound gold seekers had exhausted the supply and he had to wait until a local manufacturer could fill his order. Because of the delay here it was not until June 19 that he arrived at Fort Gibson, Indian Territory.

"The party was there [Fort Gibson] completed," Sitgreaves explained, "by hiring additional men, the purchase of animals, etc., and took the field on the 21st of June. It consisted, besides myself, of Lieutenant [I. C.] Woodruff, T. Engrs., Mr. Isaac W. Smith, Assistant Surveyor, Dr. S. W. Woodhouse, physician and naturalist, a wagon master and thirty men; three ox wagons and one spring wagon for transporting the instruments; and five spare horses. It was found that the requisite blacksmith's tools could be carried in the wagons, and the travelling forge with which I was furnished was therefore turned over to the commanding officer at Ft. Gibson, and an additional wagon obtained from the quartermaster."²

First Sitgreaves surveyed the eastern boundary³ of the Creek country, beginning with the Arkansas and running his line north-

¹ Lieutenant Lorenzo Sitgreaves was a graduate of West Point, on July 1, 1827 and was brevetted a Second Lieutenant of Artillery five years later. He resigned from the service on August 31, 1836, but was reappointed, as Second Lieutenant, Topographical Engineers, on July 7, 1838. He was raised to the rank of First Lieutenant, on July 18, 1840, which rank he held during his assignment in Indian Territory. He was brevetted Captain on February 23, 1847, for gallant and meritorious service in the battle of Buena Vista. He died on May 14, 1888. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (2 vols., Washington, 1903), I.

² Sitgreaves survey report, MS., dated "Washington, 14th February, 1850," is found in Case 2, Drawer 4, Records of the War Department, National Archives, Washington, D. C. It was later printed, together with the reports of I. C. Woodruff and Dr. S. W. Woodhouse, as *House Executive Document, No. 104*, 35 Congress, 1 Session, 1-32 (with map).

³ The boundary between the Cherokee and Creek holdings that had been run previously is given in Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (3 vols., Washington, 1904), II, 390.

ward twenty-five miles. At the time of an earlier survey a post was placed on the north bank of the Arkansas as a starting point for this line. But in the course of time the river had cut away its bank at this point and the marker was lost. "The only recourse," wrote Sitgreaves, "was to measure a line as nearly as possible coincident with it, making offsets to it whenever known. . . . The result was to throw the extremity of this line of the North East corner of the Creek country, twenty-two feet to the north of the old mark."

"From this point," said Sitgreaves, "the boundary . . . is a parallel of latitude as far as the 100th degree of longitude west from Greenwich, and a meridian thence south to the Canadian river [south fork]." Later, by the treaty of August 7, 1856 (Art. I), the Seminoles were ceded the area between the two Canadians as far west as the One Hundredth Meridian except that portion in the extreme western part that was Cherokee country.

The boundary westward was then marked by setting up wooden posts "squared at one end, projecting six feet from the ground and surrounded by a mound of stones, or earth. . . . They were placed at intervals of five miles, where the country was open prairie, and more frequently in the vicinity of settlements, and at the crossings of principal streams, etc. The whole distance marked was eighty miles, exclusive of that measured on the old Territorial line [the eastern boundary]." Then Sitgreaves ceased his work for the summer, expecting to complete it the next year. But the Bureau of Topographical Engineers detached him from this enterprise and assigned him to another farther west. His second in command, Lieutenant I. C. Woodruff,⁴ was left the task of completing the Creek line survey.

While Sitgreaves was yet in the field the Creek agent, Philip Railford, wrote the Secretary of War a very disturbing letter.⁵ He said that for a distance of about forty miles along the line from the northeast corner of the Creek boundary toward the one hundredth meridian the country was settled by the Creeks and Cherokees, but that farther west was a common hunting ground of the Comanches and Osages. Osage chiefs had come to an outpost Creek settlement to threaten the surveyors, declaring that they would

⁴ Lieutenant Israel C. Woodruff finished thirtieth in his class at West Point, was brevetted a Second Lieutenant of the Third Artillery, July 1, 1836, and a Second Lieutenant on August 31 following. In July, 1838, he became a Second Lieutenant of the Topographical Engineers, which rank he held during the Creek boundary survey. During the Civil War, however, he rose to his highest rank—a Major General, in recognition of "meritorious service." He died on December 10, 1878. Heitman, *op. cit.*

⁵ Railford to George W. Crawford, May 1, 1850, *MS.*, in File No. R-418, Office of the Chief of Engineers, Topographical Bureau, Records of the War Department, National Archives.

kill them if they came into their game country. But before Railroad could inform Sitgreaves of this threat the latter was on his way back to Fort Gibson.

Yet Sitgreaves was sensible to this danger. And in his subsequent report of February 14, 1850, he stated:

"The experience of the last summer proved to me the impossibility of a party engaged in the duties of the survey affording proper protection to itself. The men are unavoidably separated a considerable distance from each other, either singly or in parties of two or three, and are unable, most of them, to carry their arms; and in moving the camp, the wagons are almost always, from the necessity of selecting a practicable route, removed beyond the reach and out of sight of the party in the field, and both are at the mercy of any evil disposed band of Indians they may encounter. Operations of surveying, being incomprehensible to savages, are regarded by them with suspicion."⁶

Next year, Lieutenant Woodruff proved the correctness of this point of view when he returned to Indian Territory to complete the survey. Comanche warriors spied on his camp at night, stole some of his horses, entered his camp during the day, and threatened the surveyors, as will be seen in Smith's account to follow. Yet Woodruff, too, completed his work without mishap.

Woodruff relieved Sitgreaves of his Indian Territory duties on April 18, 1850,⁷ and left Washington on May 1, bound for Fort Gibson. "My assistants," he later wrote, "were Mr. I. W. Smith, civil engineer, and Dr. S. W. Woodhouse, medical officer and naturalist, both of whom were employed on the duty the previous season. In addition to them, were engaged Mr. W. C. Meyhew and Mr. J. R. Smith as sub-assistants."⁸ This last named Smith was a New York lad nineteen years of age, who had accompanied Woodruff to the West to see it for the first time.

Woodruff met considerable delay at Fort Gibson in procuring men, a detail of troops, horses, oxen and supplies, but after the middle of June he started for the survey line where Sitgreaves

⁶ Sitgreaves' report, as cited.

⁷ "Return of the Officers of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, for the Month of March, 1850," *MS.*, in Records of the War Department, National Archives.

⁸ Woodruff's report, as cited. Joseph Rowe Smith, whom Woodruff mentions in his report as "Mr. J. R. Smith," was a New York lad, nineteen years of age, who accompanied the surveying party mainly "to see the West." Smith was from Woodruff's home town of Buffalo. Shortly after he returned to New York he completed his study of medicine and was accepted for appointment in the Army as Assistant Surgeon, December 15, 1854. He, too, advanced in rank—Captain Assistant Surgeon, December 15, 1859; Major Surgeon, June 11, 1862; Lieutenant Colonel Surgeon, January 9, 1885; and Colonel Surgeon, February 9, 1890. Before his death (February 11, 1911) he was recognized as an authority on cattle diseases. See his "Disease Among Texas Cattle," in *Public Health Papers of the American Public Health Association*, Vol. VII, 1883; and "Observations on Texas Cattle," in *American Public Health Association Report*, 1883 (Concord, N. H., 1884). For his military career, see Major General Edward F. Witsell to Bryan H. Lovelace, August 1, 1947.

had left off, about one hundred miles distant. The exact point, as named by Woodruff later, was 79 miles and 870 feet from the northeastern corner of the Creek country, and on the parallel of $38^{\circ} 8' 42''$.⁹ Woodruff was to survey the remainder of this parallel line as far as the One Hundredth Meridian.

He started his summer's work on July 1, stating, "We leave this camp [west bank of the Neosho River opposite Fort Gibson] this morning and proceed to the prosecution of the survey," Woodruff wrote on July 1.¹⁰ Yet curiously enough the most detailed and intimate account of the surveyor's experiences is not Woodruff's, but young Smith's.¹¹ This New York lad never seemed to tire of the western frontier unfolding before him. Whether he was beside the evening campfire, riding his horse "Kickapoo"¹² through briars and brambles, or engaged in the arduous survey, with the summer's heat sometimes reaching well above one hundred degrees, he did not lose his enthusiasm. During his idle moments, even sitting up late at night, he confided his thoughts and experiences to the pages of his diary. It is therefore interesting to pick up his account beginning with his entry for "Saturday, July 13th."¹³

"The end of the week has come at last and everyone hails with joy the prospect of a day of rest. We have arrived at what is known as the dragoon camp, which is an old camping ground of the party six miles from the end of last season's survey. We went to an old *cache* today where some iron, some alcohol, and some arsenic were buried.¹⁴ Found them all as safe as the day they were left there. To day Kickapoo was running along rather fast when a dog suddenly jumped from the bushes and frightened him, so that he jumped from under me and unhorsed me. But it did not hurt me any. He and I are both tired, having traveled

⁹ Woodruff's report, p. 27.

¹⁰ Woodruff to Abert, July 1, 1850, MS., in File No. W-728, Office of the Chief of Engineers, Topographical Bureau, Records of the War Department, National Archives.

¹¹ Mr. Lovelace recently presented Smith's diary (two volumes, in longhand) to the Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman.

¹² A sorrel pony which Smith purchased for \$30 on July 8, after he left Fort Gibson.

¹³ Smith's diary, Vol. I. That part of the diary prior to this entry tells of Smith's leaving his parents at Buffalo, New York, on May 13 and of his trip to Cincinnati, Ohio. He has little to say about his trip from there down the Ohio and the Mississippi until he arrived at Fort Gibson. His diary entry of July 1 states that his surveying party is stopping at "Camp Neosho," opposite Fort Gibson. Then, day by day, he recounts the journey to the beginning point of the survey, over a route taken by Lieutenant John Buford's dragoons on their way from Fort Gibson to Santa Fe a few years previously.

The editors will not attempt to correct young Smith's grammar, composition and spelling except to make his meaning clear.

¹⁴ The Sitgreaves party had buried these things during the summer of 1849.

a long distance [to] day.—on the regular trail some eleven or twelve miles and a long distance in the surrounding country. We passed over, today and yesterday both, many high hills and bad gulleys and big stones strewed over the surface of the ground. One of our Indian scouts tells us that he sees a smoke in the distance indicating other Indians, so we must be on the lookout for them, as they undoubtedly know of our presence in the country and our whereabouts. There are many little prairie wolves howling about us; some pretty close to camp, too. We caught some little pan fish to day for a mess at night and for to morrow morning, but they are so small that I do not care anything for them. This is the prettiest site for a camp that we have encamped on yet. Trees scattered here and there on every side of us and a little creek by our side.

“Sunday 14th. Another very warm day. The sun pouring down in all its strength upon the prairies is almost unbearable. I never felt anything like it before. The rays falling upon my gun and powder flask make them too hot to be handled.¹⁵ However, sitting under our mess fly, it is quite comfortable. Capt. Potts¹⁶ is down by the creek fishing and Smith has just finished reading the morning service with Woodruff and myself for auditors. I had watered and curried my horse just before he commenced. Our express leaves for Fort Gibson early to morrow morning. I have had the most of my things out of my bag on the grass airing and have taken off my dirty shirt, an operation of some little importance out here as we do not change our linen as often as once a day. I have also put a clean sheet on my bed. I have been reading some papers, *The Spirit of the Times* and the *Cherokee Advocate*.¹⁷ Every scrap of news paper is eagerly saved and read. These came from Gibson to us at the Arkansas ford. The men’s camp is a few hundred yards from ours and seeing one of the men ride into their camp just now created quite a little excitement in ours not recognizing him and supposing him to be a messenger from the Fort with probably a mail. The flies are troubling the horses a good deal to day with their biting; mine has not suffered as much as the rest for some reason. The Dr. [Woodhouse] was quite unwell last evening, vomiting and heat, but is now much better and about well. It would be very un-

¹⁵ Woodruff reported that during the survey the thermometer registered as high as 107 degrees. See his report of September 1, 1851, (MS., p. 30).

¹⁶ Woodruff lists “Mr. A. R. Potts as quartermaster and commissary of subsistence.” Smith refers to him as “Captain Potts” perhaps because he had formerly served as a captain of volunteers. See Heitman, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ William T. Porter launched the *Spirit of the Times*, a New York sporting journal that also carried miscellaneous news, and sometimes of the West. The *Cherokee Advocate*, published at Tahlequah, Indian Territory, was authorized by an enactment of the Cherokee National Council, on October 25, 1843. The first issue of this four-page weekly appeared on September 26, 1884.

fortunate to have the Dr. sick; now, though, as we are so near our resting place, it would not delay us as much. To morrow's journey being finished, we shall encamp for some week or ten days before commencing operations to adjust the transit and take observations. Mayhew and I had quite a little sing to day. I have just watered and curried my horse and tied him for the evening close to my tent for I should not like to have the Indians run away with the little fellow, even if he does belong to me. Mr. Woodruff has concluded not to send a messenger for a day or two yet so as to give a greater chance for a mail or mails to arrive at Gibson from the States as it only comes there twice a week.

"Monday 15th. We arrived safely to day at our seat of operations and are now in camp on a rise of land not worthy to the name of hill, surrounded on every side but one by slight timber patches a few hundred yards distant. We have just made a corral or pen for our cattle¹⁸ made of rope attached to the wagons where they will be kept at night. Mr. Woodruff is busy taking observations to rate the chronometers and I have nothing to do; in fact, I do not know yet what my employment will be. The Dr. is quite unwell again today, having had a chill and now a fever. I hope that he is not going to be sick. One of our men was discharged to day, an old Dutchman, partially deaf, and altogether a queer character. Soon after leaving he threw his hat away saying he was not going to carry his hat into the prairies. In consequence, the sun has frizzled his hair like a candle. But he stole the Dr's. bottle of alcohol and drank the most of it in celebration, whereof we have discharged him. Another man also went off discontented, but going without Woodruff's consent forfeits all his pay. One has also been discharged sick.

"The flies trouble the horses dreadfully and I suppose will continue to. Mine does not suffer equally with the others. I had all my bedding out taking an airing this afternoon and before we go away shall expose all my clothes. One of the men caught a couple of snakes for the Doctor this morning,¹⁹ but I do not know their species. I fear as we shall remain here so long, there being no necessity for early rising, that I shall get into lazy habits. However, I either must get some medical work or some scientific work

¹⁸ Woodruff later reported (*MS.*, p. 31) that "one of the considerations that governed us in taking oxen for draught animals in preference to mules, was that the latter are highly prized by the Comanches, which alone would have been sufficient to induce an attempt to stampede them, had we had such a number as would have been required for our train." Smith had stated in a previous entry of July 1 that the wagon train consisted of 13 wagons, between 30 and 40 yoke of oxen, and 8 horses.

¹⁹ In a report supplemental to Sitgreaves', Dr. S. W. Woodhouse listed twelve varieties of snakes found during the period of the first survey.

and improve my time for I shall not probably ever enjoy another as good opportunity as the present. We had a small wild turkey for supper killed by Peter Collins, an Indian, and just now Ned Fire Killer brought in two immense ones, the largest that I ever saw, which with fish will keep us in fresh meat for several days. The flag has just been raised in front of our tents and indeed it is anything but an indifferent sight to see a flag which I have gazed upon in so many other situations unfurl its stars and stripes in the midst of a Western Prairie as an emblem of the greatness of our country and a pledge of safety from all enemies. I have killed a number of wood ticks this afternoon.

“Tuesday, July 16th. After a fine night’s sleep, arose this morning and breakfasted at half past six and I was not up many hours before breakfast time. The flag is gaily flying aloft with a delightful southern breeze. Woodruff is at work with some men cutting down a tree to make a firm post to support the transit instrument. When I awoke this morning I was a little alarmed to see or rather not to see Kickapoo where I tied him last night, and in fact, I have not seen him yet but suppose that one of the men has taken him away to water him and has tied him somewhere else to graze. We shall open our first, last and only keg of butter this morning and it will soon be gone. I fear that it is all oil or good for nothing, but even if it is it would be an aggravation to us having just accustomed ourselves to its absence. After I find my horse which I shall look for presently, I have my gun to clean which will give me employment for the whole morning. Somehow while idle, the time passes very slowly. I discovered where my horse was, have cleaned my gun up in very fine order, and after reading one of the *Spirit of the Times*, I find it is only half-past ten o’clock. I obtained the tail of one of the turkeys that were shot and it makes a very pretty fan. I shall try to obtain a number of them to give away when I return home. Some of the men are just covering a frame-work with brush to give us a shady place in the afternoon and another is just cutting the grass around our tents to make the walking easier and destroy the lurking places of some of the rascally ticks. Our butter keg is just opened and I have not tasted it and dread to lest it should prove bad. I have seen it and it is nothing but rancid oil. I went over to see the sick man McAuley to day. Poor fellow, he is laying under a wagon in the shade suffering from Bilious Remittent Fever. I have been reading in Watson²⁰ to day a few chapters. If it were not for the delightful breeze blowing the heat would be perfectly unbear-

²⁰ Dr. Thomas Watson delivered a series of lectures on the “Principles and Practice of Physic” at King’s college, London, during the “Medical Session of 1836-1837,” which were at first published in the *Medical Gazette*. Then they were published at London in book form in 1843. A second edition, revised and with additions by D. Francis Condie, was published at Philadelphia in 1845.

able and there would be many more men sick with the same fever. The sky is clouding up and we shall unquestionably have rain tonight or tomorrow. I have been cutting two or three tent pins in the timber and in doing so cut my hand quite severely. I wish it was dinner time. We eat a lunch at twelve and do not sit down to dinner till six or seven in the evening. My fan will be a very pretty one. The ants are at work eating out the meat from between the quills, cleaning it more effectually than I and saving me the trouble. I put my letter for home in an envelope with a few words on the inside and sealed it but shall not send it now for several days. Took a stroll with Woodruff, Smith and Mayhew to a high knoll on a ridge to the North West from whence we had a beautiful view of the surrounding country. The camp appeared very picturesque, seeming to be nearly surrounded or rather encircled by timber with a front view of the men's tents and the wagons and the contents and the star spangled banner rearing its folds aloft in the back part of the picture.

"Wednesday, July 17th. Immediately after breakfast this morning, got ready my instrument and taking seven men along with me, commenced running a line a little east of south to extend to the Red Fork of the Arkansas. Worked till a little after twelve in the hot sun, being nearly all the time on the prairie and out of the timber. I walked all the way out, a little over two miles, and back again and I never was so tired and warm in my life as when I threw myself down at the door of the instrument tent. Took some lunch and afterward took a nap of a couple of hours. Read a chapter of Watson. It has clouded up again and occasionally a clap of thunder arouses us. I think if the rain did blow over yesterday that we shall have some pretty heavy showers to night or to morrow. If it rains to morrow, I shall not work although I should not get my clothes more wet by the rain than by the perspiration when it does not rain. The men are busy cutting grass for hay to be used when we return. The Capt. [Potts] sent me some pistol cartridges while I was gone and I shall now go armed and equipped, carrying the lives of three men at my saddle [now?] in the shape of a loaded carbine and two loaded pistols. Schultz and Kentz just shot and brought in two wolves and a turkey. We have more wild turkey than we can eat.

"Thursday, July 18th. Started off immediately after breakfast from where we left off our line, found the stake we drove without any trouble. As I got pretty tired and warm walking yesterday, like a prudent man I took my horse along. The day has been a beautiful one for work, cloudy nearly all the time, so that we have not suffered so much from the overpowering heat of the sun. We worked till three o'clock crossing some pretty deep ravines and creeks and almost all the way cutting a course through

underbrush and timber and accomplished over two miles and a half, making about five miles in the two days. The Red Fork is not in sight, proving to be much farther distant than we supposed. I do not think that Mr. Woodruff will wish us to finish the survey when he discovers how far distant it is. We have seen no signs of Indians yet which is rather singular, as judging from their habits they must know of our presence in their country. Coming back I had to swim my horse over a creek and on climbing the high bank I found myself in a *thicket* by name and nature of grape, poison, and raspberry vines. For about fifty yards I had to lead my horse cutting my way every step and scratching my face and hands. I was rejoiced to emerge. On arriving at the edge I found two of the men waiting for me to show them the way home. Arrived safely. Smith had just shot a turkey and Schultze a turkey and a fawn, the first venison that has been brought into camp. Took no nap this afternoon and shall probably sleep soundly to night.

“Friday, July 19th. As I suspected Mr. Woodruff concluded, that as it was so hard on the men to march five miles, work all day and then return, it would not be worth while to go on with the survey. I went out a hunting a little while but returned without a sight of a bird or any game. Have just finished reading a chapter in Watson. This has been the hottest day that we have had. The thermometer ranged as high as 97° and for the greater part of the day was high as 95°. One of the men brought in a young turkey which he had shot which will be very fine. Our messenger starts this evening at sunset for Fort G. There were two of them, both Indians. It is over an hundred miles from here there, and we expect them to return by next Monday week, till which time we shall wait for them. All have been busy writing letters except me to day and although I wrote for this messenger to carry, my conscience smites me a little for not writing again to my parents who are so anxious to hear from me. Our messengers have gone and I did write another short letter home. We sent off about thirty letters and expect to receive as many in return. Our camp looks very much like a large farmer’s establishment. Hay mows standing all around as where the men have piled the hay for our use in returning, clothes lines with the clothes hanging upon them and plenty of carts and horses. My little pony looks quite thin. You can see all his ribs, but I think that he will pick up with this long rest.

“Saturday, July 20th. I think from the heat at this early hour that we shall have another excessively hot day. I do not see how we shall stand it, working on the prairies such hot days as this, but we shall have to do it. One of the hunters killed us a deer this morning, and we have a fine hind quarter hung up. But

I fear it will spoil before we can eat it, as everything spoils so quickly here. Mayhew is at work fixing his daguerreotype apparatus to take some views. Our camp will make a very pretty picture if he can find some good spot from which to take a view of it. It will be ten weeks the day after tomorrow since I left home and three weeks since we left Gibson. I thank God for my preservation to this moment from sickness and every other danger.

Noon. I have been plotting out my notes of the survey towards the Red Fork all the morning and since lunch and have just finished it. Mr. Woodruff has just concluded that it would be best for me to take my party with three days provisions and start again bivouacking every night. I for my part would just as leave as not, as it will probably acclimate me preparatory to the greater heat of the summer and besides that, keep me constantly employed. It has been very hot again; the thermometer now stands between 96° and 97° in the shade. We intend making a cache here of some pack and a few other things till our return in the fall. Mr. Woodruff has had a sort of muster today, obtaining the men's receipts for the money that they have received from him. I have had my bed mended where it was broken and can now sleep again comfortably without the fear of breaking down. I read a chapter of Watson this morning immediately after breakfast. I have concluded since I have been out here when I practice medicine to go to Mexico and practice as all those who have been there have remarked the great encouragement it holds out to a young American physician to settle there. However, I hope before I graduate to be appointed an officer in the Army. *Nous venons.*²¹ I eat a very hearty dinner this evening on some most delightful venison, the best that I have ever eaten. We had a little music in our tent this evening, Smith playing on the flute and I singing. Tomorrow will be Sunday, a day of rest and praise to God. I pray that I may so pass my days here as to enjoy an eternal Sunday above.

Sunday, July 21st. Another very warm day. In the East I remember we used to consider 85° degrees very warm, but here when the thermometer is nearly at 100° , I do not think that I suffer any more from the heat, except the direct rays of the sun, than when I was there. Mr. Woodruff and the Dr. have just gone to take a bath in a little creek. I hope to enjoy a delightful one when I reach the Red Fork. Mayhew is taking some views, but he does not appear to be very successful thus far. I will now read the church service for the day. I read the church service and then a couple of chapters in Watson. Schultz killed four very large turkeys this evening.

²¹ A French term meaning "We come."

"Monday, 22nd. Started off this morning at sun rise with by blanket, poncho, and moscheto [*sic*] bar strapped to my saddle and sufficient provisions for three days in my saddle bags.

"Day pretty warm. About noon, after working several hours, much to our surprise the Red Fork suddenly appeared close by us and running the line toward it taking its direction etc., I started for camp. But although I did not have to bivouac, I continued to make sufficient use of my time to lose my meerschaum pipe and break the spring of my powder flask. Have a little diarrhea. Learned that the venison had affected almost every man in camp in the same manner.

"Tuesday, 23rd. This morning after breakfast we started on the main line, course due west. Smith took charge of the theodolite and I accompanied the chainmen, marking the topography of the country we passed over. We passed through nearly a mile of woods with five or six creeks with steep high banks through which I had to stake my way, being very hard work to me. After this Mayhew will accompany the chain and I shall take the goniometer to keep the course where the target cannot be seen. It was very hot too the thermometer in camp being 97° in the shade. We had four Delaware Indians for visitors to day. I have been quite unlucky again, another chapter of losses. Yesterday I lost my meerschaum and broke the spring of my powder flask; to day I lost my India Rubber bag containing tobacco and Mayhew to whom I lent my watch to take daguerreotypes by, dropped it and broke the crystal an irreparable loss almost. I just fixed a piece of tin over the face so that it would not interfere with the hands and shall continue to get along so. We ran nearly two miles today.

"Wednesday, the 24th. This has been the hottest day that we have had and the hottest that I have ever seen. The thermometer at half past two, hanging in the Doctor's tent, which is the coolest in camp, in the shade rose to 100° . Fortunately we did not have to go into the field to day, although I have not suffered excessively from it. The Dr.'s gun went off accidentally in his hands to day loaded with buckshot, cut up some of his tent fixings, and went very near to where Moses and Roberts were eating their breakfast. Fortunately, it struck no one but it might just as well have killed one of us or them. I have been busy all afternoon plotting out my last days survey to the Red Fork which I have just finished. I have also been taking observations with the goniometer on the variations of the needle from the true meridian. I make it about $10^{\circ} 40'$. I read another chapter in Watson this morning. I do not read much but I read slowly, faithfully and surely. An immense cloud of smoke is rising from the prairie about half a mile west of us where the men have set it on fire to burn the present grass and

give a chance for another crop to grow to pasture our cattle when we return. I got one of the Indians to dress me a buck skin which he is now doing and when another deer is killed I shall get his skin and have it dressed to make me a pair of leggins when I shall come out in regular Indian costume—a pair of leggins, a breech elout, and a shirt with the flaps outside. I am so burnt by the sun that I almost doubt whether they would recognize me at home. They certainly would not if I should visit them in costume. To me this is a most delightful life. I enjoy the constant daily employment out of doors and a tent at night most highly. Mayhew has tried two or three pictures today, but unsuccessful in all of them. I feel a little curious to know whether I have any chance of an appointment by congress this session. Even if I should obtain it, I could not possibly hear of it until my return. But I do not flatter myself enough to think that I shall be successful in my application. We shall probably commence our return homewards about the first of October when we expect to be about 200 miles from Gibson. It will take us four or five weeks to return, so that if my life, health, and strength are spared to me, I shall not reach home till the middle of November at the nearest and more probably sometime in December. If I had time, I should learn German from one of the Germans with us, but I cannot. I have been reading the description and manner of using the Theodolite and portable Transit Instrument this afternoon and have learned considerable concerning them.

“Thursday the 25th. Last evening after dark the burning prairie presented a most beautiful appearance. The flames had run along the small creek a few hundred yards from our camp and was burning a line of flame about tent high for half a mile on the prairie. But this morning it looked black and dreary enough though still burning in the distance. We had a slight sprinkle of rain to day, the first since we left Gibson and we need rain much. The creeks are almost dry and the grass on the prairie so near dead from the drought as to be almost fit to burn. There are any quantity of plover in the burnt ground some of whom Smith killed and we had for dinner. Potts and the Dr. rode out some six miles and selected a place for a new camp. I found a small scorpion in the bread plate to day which I caught for the Dr. It is so cloudy that Mr. Woodruff will not be able to take observations to night, and I hope it will rain. My tent walls are all lowered in anticipation. I have been reading Shirly to day which I borrowed from Bernard and have neglected Watson. Mayhew had his pistol taken apart to day because it would not go off and there to be sure he had put in the cartridge with the bullet towards the breech. Our express will probably be here in a day or two and I am anxiously expecting letters on his arrival. We expect to leave here the day after tomorrow and the express may not join us before our next encampment.

Almost half the time of my probable absence from home has elapsed, and although I like this life, I shall not be much grieved to start on our return. Thank God for my continued health since my departure from home.

“Friday the 26th. Am busy packing up and preparing for our to morrow’s departure. It did not rain last night but the sky clouds and clears away every few minutes. Mayhew has taken some fine Daguerrotypes to day, one of each of us with our horses and the group around us. Now we all wish to get one of ourselves singly. During the afternoon I have been packing up and reading Watson part of the time, and part of the time a book called *The Petrel*. The smoke from the Prairie settled so low and blew around in such quantities that we were almost suffocated and perfectly blinded as we could not keep our eyes open. I am about prepared to strike tents and be off. We shall have thirteen men on the line with us—quite a force in case of an attack which I for my part do not apprehend. We shall be up at crack of day to morrow so I shall go to bed in a few minutes. I made me an India Rubber haversack this evening to hold my provisions and a few other necessities in while on the line.

“Saturday the 27th. Robert roused us from our beds at a little before three this morning perfectly dark. Packed up, struck our tents, and breakfasted at daylight, immediately after which we started on the line, worked steadily until after six this evening and reached our new camp at about seven. It has been cloudy all day long but no rain. The sky is black in the south with much thunder and lightning and I think it will rain before morning. I shall close and lower the tent before going to bed so as to be on the safe side. Took dinner about nine this evening. We ran through considerable timber only making a little over three miles. Some of the hunters killed four or five turkeys on the road. I saw several but did not shoot any. Got wet up to my waist in crossing a creek on the route. Feel pretty tired and will go to bed. Shall enjoy my rest tomorrow Sunday very much.

“Sunday the 28th. Roused in the middle of the night by a tremendous squall and rain. And it did rain and blow. I thought the tent could not stand it but it did; one or two pins gave away. Got wet through fixing the tent water proof before I accomplished which my bed received quite a sprinkling. Two Indians which we hired some distance back joined us last evening. I have just curried and tied my horse a little way from camp for when I do not attend to him myself it is mighty little attention that he gets

“Yesterday on the first ridge we crossed, I saw the most magnificent landscape that I ever beheld. For miles on every side I could perceive the great prairie stretching beyond me and the view

only shut off by the rising ground interposing. It is the first real fine view of the prairie that we have seen since we started. Our camp is in a fine position on a rising ground with a fine view on every side. Potts and the Dr. are just starting off to look for a good place for the next camp. I will now put on my clean clothes and fix myself up for Sunday, after which I will read the church service and lessons for the day. How much pleasure I would derive from attending divine service today at home. But it is one of the greatest advantages of our service that I can praise and pray to God in the same language and spirit as so many hundred thousands others throughout the world. I find by the tables that today is the ninth Sunday after Trinity Sunday. I have had a very disagreeable diarrhea for a day or two for which if it does not leave me soon I shall take some medicine. I suppose I am too intemperate in my eating and drinking. I must change my habits although it is much easier talking of changing habits than doing it. I commenced cleaning my teeth last week which I intend to do regularly to please my dear father. Mr. Woodruff has just given me a book and showed me how to keep the topography of the country around us a few miles, and less from the line. We have had a very strong wind all day long from the South and no more rain and it has now cleared up so that I apprehend a warm day to morrow.

“Tuesday the 30th. Yesterday I found no opportunity to take any notes. We were busy from sunrise to nearly sunset on the line moving over about five miles which is a very long days work. I was much disappointed at the non-arrival of our messenger with the mail, but I suppose that he will certainly arrive to morrow. I never saw such difficult travelling in my life—any quantity of gulleys with steep banks and creeks equally steep, for most of their course impossible to cross with horses. As it was I had to ride up and down places that before this summer I should have considered impossible to pass over or at any rate should not have dared to attempt but I have now become quite a respectable horseman. Last night about two o’clock we had a tremendous squall with rain, but our tent was secure. This morning we started at about seven o’clock [it] raining slightly at the time. On our way at a little distance from camp, I killed a large rattlesnake about as large as my wrist. If the Dr. does not wish to preserve him, I shall cut off his rattles to preserve and take home. I am riding in the hot sun in the prairie, having gained a long way on the theodolite and am waiting for it to come up. I am learning to keep the topography of the country on an extended scale for a mile or two on each side of the line, and I hope to go home with quite a good knowledge of surveying, as circumstances some of these days may induce me to take up that business which is a lucrative one. ‘Quien

sabe?' [who knows] I hope our messenger will arrive this evening as he certainly ought to do so. We have come about two miles and and a half to day and I am inclined to doubt whether we shall go further, as it is about four o'clock and no instrument arrived yet. The days are very sensibly shorter than when we started. We have been very fortunate in the coolness of our days since we began work. This is the first day that the sun has bothered us at all, and then only since noon. The men are lying around me asleep, at least my party. We have been waiting here over an hour for the instrument to come up. The wagons are a little distance off looking for a place to encamp. We just saw some buffaloes about two miles off, the first that I ever saw. There were about twenty of them and I hope in a day or two to get a shot at them.

"Wednesday, July 31st. This is the last day of the month. Just two months now and we shall suspend operations and commence our homeward journey. How I would like to see them all at home. One finds no where else the love and careful affection of a home and parents. How I love my dear father and mother. God bless and preserve them and avert any misfortune or calamity from them. Much to my delight I received by the mail which arrived to day three letters from my beloved home. How I enjoyed them sitting down on my instrument box in the hot sun on the open prairie. All well. I also received a knife and three pipes that I sent for to Gibson. We ran nearly six miles today, there being a fine cool breeze but little good water, the water being scarce, red and slightly brackish.

"Friday, August 2nd. Yesterday I had no opportunity to write in my dairy. We started off at about six in the morning and worked steadily part of the way through thick timber until about seven in the evening, only taking an intermission of about twenty minutes at noon. We ran nearly six miles being the best and hardest day's work that we have performed. The sun was warm but there was a fine cool breeze blowing all day long. I was tired so, as my tent had been pitched, I drank a whiskey toddy, eat a hearty dinner, put up my bed and jumped into it where I slept pretty soundly, too, all night as might be expected. I seize this opportunity to day to write while I am waiting for the chainman to come up at one of *my* stations in contra distinction to the *other Smith's Theodolitical* stations. We started off at about the same hour this morning. There is a fine air stirring which alone prevents its being a very oppressive day. I have totally recovered from my diarrhea by a little prudent abstinence in diet.

"*Evening.* We ran nearly five miles today and a good deal of it hard going. My ideas of prairie were perfectly false. The country is intersected by numerous creeks and ravines, all of them

with very steep banks and almost impossible to cross. Plenty of deer and turkeys about, but no buffalo yet. I think in a week or two the Indians will begin to chase them from the north and we may shoot some of them. We reached camp about six o'clock and are about to sit down to dinner.

"Saturday, August 3rd. We made nearly five miles again to day which is about our average and have encamped in the open prairie by a spring in a little ravine with just enough water to supply us by a careful use of it.

"It is pleasant to think of a day's rest tomorrow as I am glad to discover that Mr. Woodruff is a truly religious man. I do not know whether he is a member of the church but I hope his example will have a good effect upon me as well as some of the other members of the party. I still enjoy good health for which I thank God and I find that working hard for twelve or thirteen hours does not tire me more than to make me enjoy my dinner and a good night's rest. I have a little sewing which I must find time to perform to morrow. Last night two of our Indians and an Indian negro left us Indian-like without any apparent reason except that they did not like doing anything. We made (Mayhew and I) a mistake this evening putting up the Dr.'s tent instead of our own and did not discover it until I had arranged all my things when I had to remove them to the other tent. We opened a box of sardines and emptied them very quickly this afternoon, being a luxury not often seen on the prairie so far west. We have seen or heard of no prairie Indians yet, although we have crossed a number of their trails but none of them fresh. We have also crossed very many buffalo trails.

"Sunday, August 4th. Last evening just before going to bed Mayhew and I went down to the water a little below the spring and stripping, took a shower bath by throwing water over each other, and it was truly refreshing and delightful. It has been a very warm day again, and I have enjoyed it as a day of rest extremely. I have read the church service and the lessons for the tenth Sunday after Trinity. Robert Childers made me a pair of buckskin leggins this morning and is now making me a pair of moccasins. I fixed a pocket to my pantaloons to button so as to preserve my knife from being lost which I have dropped two or three times already, from my ordinary pantaloons pocket. I have also been reading in the *Spirit of the Times*. And a good paper it is. I shall certainly subscribe for it when I return home. I got a couple of turkey bone pipe stems to day and now when I am rigged up, I am pretty well prepared for a prairie expedition.

"Tuesday the 6th. Yesterday we made a grand day's work. We left camp at about six in the morning. It was an excessively

warm day, the perspiration ran down in a constant succession of drops from my chin, the point of my nose and both eyebrows and with the exception of three quarters of an hour at noon, we worked steadily till after sunset when we came within sight of camp and left off work having *chained over* six miles of land. One of our men was found to be missing whom they had hoped that we would find and bring along. But we saw nothing of him. We all were very apprehensive that the poor fellow named McAuley would starve to death on the prairies; we fired guns all night and at daylight, sent off our Indians and hunters to look for him, two of whom fortunately found him almost ready to sink with fatigue. I think it probable that we shall stay a few days at this camp. This morning we started off, it not then being decided whether we should stay here or not, about nine and worked till about one, when we broke off and went to camp. We have concluded to stop here. Since lunch I have been making a breech cloth to wear with my leggins which would be otherwise too warm. This has been decidedly the hottest day of the season. I cannot bear to rest my hand on my gun barrel or powder flask when the sun has shone on them for a few minutes. The thermometer in the shade of the wagons which is cooler than the tents stands at one hundred and three. As I was smoking my pipe today, a percussion cap which had somehow been introduced into my tobacco exploded, but fortunately did not injure me any. I am truly thankful that it did not injure my sight. Yesterday the girth of my saddle broke just before I descended a steep place and fortunately hurt me none, and last week coming down a very steep bank, my saddle slipped over the horse's shoulders and threw me off, but as my pony was so gentle he stood and allowed me to disengage myself and the saddle. My watch goes most magnificently since I fixed it in its tin residence. I find it mighty convenient on the line.

"Thursday, 8th. I know of no reason why I did not write in my book yesterday, unless it was that I was too lazy or did not think of it. Although I was pretty busy part of the day, I had certainly an abundance of time to write. I was busy all the morning, superintending a party erecting a mound on the parallel where we shall commence our line. In the afternoon I found the North and South line very nearly with my instrument, for Mr. Woodruff to set his transit by. He was busy taking observations all the evening and fixed the meridian last evening. There is a party of Indians within a few miles of us, a hunting party, but we do not know to what tribe they belong. I broke another of my pipes to day which leaves me two available ones. The one which I am using now is a beauty, a regular little square built Dutch pipe. I hope that I shall be able to take it home as a memento of my first season on the prairie. We are having weather now which

there is no danger of error in calling warm weather. The thermometer has been up to 103° again to day and yesterday afternoon for two or three hours after dinner when I laid down; I suffered dreadfully. I could not get asleep and I could not lay still on account of the heat. And to day has been equally warm, not the slightest improvement on yesterday. When I got up this morning I was a little alarmed by Mathews telling me that my pony had broken his lariat during the night and had either run away or been taken away by the Indians, but soon after he was found eating in the bottom close by. I have had little or no work to do today. Mr. Woodruff concluded that he would remain here another day and so we shall not get off till to morrow. We intend to encamp on Sunday by a very large creek about ten miles from here unless something very unexpected interferes. I made me a small bag to carry tobacco with me on the line and cleaned out my pistols which I fired from my horse's back to see how he would stand fire. He only jumped about a little. Robert washed up my dirty clothes for me yesterday and now I can go on for several weeks without a wash of my clothes. I must find an opportunity to wash myself this evening. Mayhew did up my picture for me in a case this morning and gave it to me. They all say that it is the best one that he took.

“Friday, 9th. This morning we took a good early start, getting off at a little after five. I took a good bath after dinner last evening in a fine spring about three quarters of a mile from our camp. After I got dressed I slipped into it from a stone in climbing out, which was rather more than I bargained for. We went over a little more than five miles with the chain to day, and then encamped by four o'clock. But we passed over the most level prairie that we have yet seen and no timber to be seen. This realizes more than any of the rest my idea of a western Prairie. We passed right through a city inhabited by Prairie dogs. Their holes being dug in a mound which they raise and being about six inches in diameter. They are about as large as a good sized cat. There were any quantity of owls about their houses. They are always to be found together. My saddle girth broke again to day but I did not slip off and now I have got me another. Ever since we have been in camp I have been fixing my notes. I have improved a great deal, I think, in my topography. Another deer killed to day. For over a week we have been but one meal without either turkey or deer. There is a great abundance of game although I have seen scarcely any myself and have shot none. I find that my eye is becoming a little weak but not as much as I expected. The thermometer now after five o'clock shows the heat to be 100° .

“Saturday, 10th. About one o'clock at noon. I am sitting here on the banks of a deep, large creek, having just finished my

lunch and Mayhew and my men sitting around me. We have chained over five miles this morning and I shall rest now for an hour or more. I think it probable that we shall encamp here. The wagons are about half a mile up the creek. Mr. Woodruff has just sent me a list of offsets to make and blaze the trees on each side of this creek. We are going on two miles further to another creek. The men are much disappointed. As for myself I am not tired and do not care how far we go. I only wish to stop by daylight.

"I have just made an offset and blazed some trees on the parallel. It is very hot and I enjoyed my lunch more today than any time previous. The water in the creek is clear but a little brackish, so much so as to make me very thirsty. My horse was frightened at some large leaves to day and ran some little distance before I could stop him. But I am so much better a horseman than I was that I do not feel very apprehensive.

"Sunday, August 11th and the 11th Sunday after Trinity. Contrary to Mr. Woodruff's first intentions he concluded to encamp at this creek, so that we chained just six miles yesterday, being the longest day's work which we have yet done. And from the time we started till we reached this creek, we did not see or taste a drop of water, suffering considerably from the unusual privation. The water here is quite brackish. After reaching camp yesterday, I took a fish line and caught about thirty little fish in the creek and the Capt. caught some quite large catfish. I have finished up my yesterday's notes with some of my Red Fork notes and have read the Church Service for the day and lessons. It is very warm; at about 11 a. m. the mercury in the thermometer stood at 103° and I do not know how hot it is now. As soon as it becomes cooler I shall take a bath and put on some clean clothes.

"Monday, the 12th. I took a nice bath last evening and then sat down to dinner. Played a little on my flute which I have not done before and went to bed. There were a great many wolves howling about last evening. I made a dozen tent pins and got a rope lariat and a short one at that for my horse. This morning we got up by daylight and started. I had a stone mound erected on the parallel and then commenced work. We chained about three miles and a half by noon when we went about a mile to a creek to get water and eat lunch as we had seen no water on the road. I have just returned to the line and am waiting for the chainman to come up, sitting on my instrument box in a tremendous hot sun and a perfect hot sirocco blowing.

"Tuesday, the 13th. Before stopping yesterday we ran over more than six miles of ground, finding water but once on the route. These are the times that try men's souls. Several buffalo were seen yesterday and in the evening the old Frenchman went

out and shot one weighing about a cwt. and we had some steaks and liver for our breakfast this morning. We encamped at some very fine water but at a great distance from where we left off work, being a few feet of two miles. On our way to camp we passed through an immense city of prairie dogs covering some forty acres and consisting of many hundred mounds. The little fellows would come half way out of their holes and amuse us by their shrill yelping bark and antics, suddenly retreating on our appearing to notice them. They are very difficult to procure as they dodge before you can aim at them and even if shot fall right down their holes where the ground is so hard that it is impossible to obtain them. Mayhew, however, was fortunate enough to shoot one, the skin of which the Dr. preserved and stuffed. The ground is intersected in every direction by buffalo trail[s] worn deep in the ground, making tolerable crossings over the bad creeks. We met a party of six or eight Delawares returning from a hunt loaded with dried buffalo meat and venison. They had one squaw among them naked with the exception of a pair of buckskin leggins and riding on horseback astraddle. They spoke a little English and told us that there were no Comanches any where near this part of the country. We are just in sight of some thick timber, two or three miles ahead and are lunching at a creek having run about four miles to day. The wagons are a little ahead of us going on two or three miles to encamp at the next creek.

“Thursday, the 15th. Yesterday we reached the Red Fork timber soon after commencing work. The timber extends over about ten miles of the line.²² We only came a little more than a mile in it yesterday. The camp did not move as there is no water to be found between where we are now encamped and the Red Fork and we had to return some four or five miles to camp. I lost my pipe yesterday, my big bowie knife and my sun glass. Fortunately I have one more pipe left. This morning we started about seven o’clock with a wagon containing our blankets, provisions, and two barrels of water with a keg of whiskey to bivouac on the line. Yesterday we suffered much during the heat of the day for water as we only brought five gallons and twenty men used that up very soon. We were better supplied today and they will send us a fresh supply to morrow in a wagon. A large herd of buffalo appeared about half a mile from camp while we were at breakfast and they were most terrific looking monsters. One of the men found my bowie knife coming out here this morning for which I was thankful. We have come a little more than a mile to day and are now resting at lunch, about two o’clock. It looks like

²² This was a part of the Cross Timbers mentioned in the early accounts of Washington Irving, Captain Randolph B. Marcy, and others. See also Caroline Thomas Foreman’s *The Cross Timbers* (Muskogee, 1947).

rain somewhat and although it will not increase my comfort much to night, still we are so much in need of it that I should rather it would rain than not.

“Smith has charge of the party which besides him, includes Mayhew and myself, four axemen, three instrument carriers, three flag bearers, and two chain men, and three target men—in all eighteen men. We shall probably set a guard tonight and as there are no Indians about we shall sleep comfortably.

“Friday the 16th. Last evening we started one pack horse for camp at about half-past five, with two barrels for the wagon to bring us water in to day. We made our fire, took a whiskey toddy, and our supper, mounted a guard for half an hour each and went to bed. I spread my poncho on the ground and lay down on it pulling my blanket over me. My shirts were both wet through so that it was some time before I could make myself comfortable. I woke up several times during the night and saw that our guard were awake and watchful. Once my right arm became so senseless and without feeling from laying on it that I could not move it nor tell where it was until I felt with my other hand my shoulder and followed the arm down, but after a little friction, it recovered its feeling. We woke up this morning at daybreak and got our breakfast, packed up all our things for the wagon to bring up and started about six. We had to walk some two miles to where we left off work the night before. Soon after commencing work the horse appeared from camp and in two or three hours the wagons got up as far as our cutting would allow with water, some bread, fresh buffalo meat, sugar, coffee, etc. We see any quantity of buffalo signs and some horse signs, whether of Indians or wild horses we cannot tell. But no sign of water yet. I doubt whether camp will be able to move tomorrow on account of water. We came only two miles yesterday and now at lunch time we have come the same distance, and shall probably make over three miles today. I am afraid that we shall have to remain here over Sunday. If we do, I shall send to Woodruff for my bible and Prayer Book. What would my friends at home think, I wonder, if they could look upon us tonight laying by our fire expecting to hear Indians every moment? They would think two dollars a day rather poor pay. The prairie is in sight ahead of us, but more timber a short distance ahead.

“Saturday, the 17th. Last night about one o’clock we were woke up by a herd of buffalo straying into our very midst and keeping up a most incessant bellowing, but as soon as we got up they were out of sight and shot. We got up about half past two this morning, got our breakfast, and started for where we had left off two miles ahead. A great herd of buffaloes were grazing

just where we had left off work. But as we were very apprehensive on the score of water, having limited the men to a half pint the evening before and sent on an express to camp for more water, we pressed on to the Red Fork to endeavor to find some. We chained a little over four miles, all the time surrounded by herds of buffalo with a few small herd of deer. A bear was also seen and an antelope which I learned abounds in this part of the country, also an abundance of turkey, although we did not hunt the buffalo, yet three were killed and I obtained the tail of one of them and made me a knife sheath. About nine o'clock the Frenchman discovered a spring of fresh water and soon after the Red Fork appeared in the distance, perfectly white with salt encrusted on its bank. A wagon soon after arrived from camp with water and provisions and soon after we knocked off work a little over a mile from the Red Fork. The wagons will not come up until Monday. Until this morning I had not washed my hands or face since I left camp and when I arrived at the spring, I made my instrument carrier pour water over my hands till I could wash both hands and face. I shot once at a buffalo and hit him but did not bring him down. Some of them will bear fifty bullets if you do not hit a very vital part. I shall go out in a short time and try to kill one or two.

"Sunday, the 18th. This has been the most queerly spent Sunday I think that I ever passed. Yesterday afternoon about Four o'clock a party of Indians, four in number, came to our bivouac. On asking their tribe they told us Paduehas,²³ which is another name for what we call Comanches. They were peaceably disposed and were unquestionably sent out as runners by a large party to see our number and see whether we had anything worthwhile attacking us for. They only staid [sic] a short time. After their departure, Smith, the Frenchman and I went a hunting buffaloes. We saw plenty of deer but could not get a shot at them. After going five or six miles we saw two buffalo and shot at them and hit them both, but killed neither of them. One of them is certainly dead by this time. We found camp after a little search and slept all night. By daylight in the morning we got up and soon after a large party of Comanches appeared in sight, some fifteen or twenty in number. They said they were going to be friendly and in proof thereof as "une gage d'amitie" [a proof of friendship] asked me for my shirt. I gave them my neck handkerchief and my pocket handkerchief and the thieving vagabonds repaid me by stealing my hair comb and breaking it and dividing it among themselves. They eat us almost out of provisions refusing to take no

²³ The French called the Comanches "Padoucas." See R. N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale, 1933), p. 16; Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (2 vols., Washington, 1907, 1910). The Kotsoteka band of Comanches ranged the country between the Arkansas and Canadian rivers. The Yamparikas lived north of the Arkansas.

for an answer and we only had a small stock we were forced to take up our march for camp over twelve miles. After going some six or seven miles, Mayhew gave out and Smith concluded to stay with him, so I hurried forward to send their horses and some water to them. By the time we got to camp I was pretty tired. Met several more Comanches on the way. I hope to take a good wash and sleep to night as we make a move by two o'clock tomorrow morning.

"Tuesday, the 20th. Here I am sitting in my tent with my pipe in my mouth, writing at the camp where we bivouacked and first saw the Comanches. We started early Monday morning before daybreak and after several break downs the wagons all reached the spot where we began our long Sunday's march. Wonderful to relate, the Comanches had not touched any of the things which we had hidden and one of my blankets and my poncho which I had left here and never expected to see again was also safe. I was also fortunate enough to find my comb in my bag, the one they were seen with being probably somebody else's. I felt so delighted at finding it that if they had appeared I should most willingly have given them another handkerchief. I ran a buffalo a little way on horseback but could not overtake him. The water began to give out here last evening and we were afraid that we should have to return to the other camp to obtain water. Early this morning the line party started to survey to the Red Fork, while Potts went with a party to find water and grass, as since we were here the Indians had fired all the Prairie on the other side of the Red Fork to prevent the buffalo returning there and there was no grazing for our cattle, it being all black smooth prairie as far as the eye could reach. On reaching the river's bank Potts returned without having found any, much to our surprise directed us to return to camp as the expedition would be given up. I was sorry to hear it as it would make about two months difference in my pay. On returning to camp, Smith and I took a party and started to search for water and grass. We rode all day long and were successful in finding both and returned after riding about twenty-five miles. I was much fatigued but we shall continue this survey. We intended to start on to morrow, but as it is now blowing a perfect gale and raining, the first rain that we have had,²⁴ we shall not probably start to morrow. I fear that our tent will blow down during the night, but we have made it as secure as possible. We have seen no Indians today, but plenty of signs of them going North. I slept soundly last night, sleeping on my bed for the first time for five nights, as Sunday night I slept at the end of a whiskey barrel in a wagon. Tonight I hope to get sufficient sleep to

²⁴ Young Smith had probably forgotten his references to rain in his entries of Sunday, July 28th and Tuesday, July 30th.

rest me from the last few days hard labor and fatigues, that is, provided always that the tent does not blow down and leave us exposed to the rain and wind.

“Thursday, the 22nd. Yesterday we left the old camp about eight o'clock the sun just beginning to show his face through the clouds and a beautiful rainbow spanning the sky from North to South. We made the greatest day's work that has yet been done, chaining nearly eight miles. We found camp very near where our exploring party had been the day before, but a little above where we found good water. Where we were encamped the water was very brackish, containing a large amount of Glauber's Salts. We had to send a long distance for good water to drink. Most of the distance come over was burnt Prairie. I saw one immense rattlesnake but was unable to kill him as he got down his hole. I found two horned frogs, one of which I shall endeavor to take home as a curiosity. I also commenced making a pipe out of a piece of sandstone I picked up. I picked up a tent pin used by the Comanches and dropped by them on their departure. To day we started from camp by six o'clock and chained about six miles, the camp also moving up the creek. Water begins to grow scarce and possibly we may have to turn back any way in a few days. We shall remain here for two or three days establishing a new meridian. The Dr. killed a buffalo this morning and I hope to see some buffalo hunting to morrow. There are great hills just before us composed of gypsum of which I think we shall be able to make some good pipes. I have been busy since we reached camp fixing my buffalo horn into a powder horn. I find it a good deal of work.

“Friday, the 23rd. I have done nothing of any importance this day. I expected to start with a party of men to look for water but they started off without my knowledge and returned unsuccessful. They found a number of buffalo and killed one. About ten a huge buffalo was seen making for the water by the camp. All hands were instantly on the *qui-vive* [who goes there?] to shoot him. I was fixing a stake on the meridian and was unable to leave. The buffalo discovered their intentions and, having strong objections to be victimized, vamoused. I made my first essay in keeping time for Mr. Woodruff this morning while taking observations. I finished my buffalo horn as much as I can before having it mounted when I get home and put it away. My pipe also is nearly finished and this afternoon I shall commence one of Plaster of Paris. There seems to be a hard prospect of our getting through this cross timber ahead to get to the North Fork. I suppose we shall have to bivouac for a week at least before the wagons will be able to start. For my part the longer that we are gone the better I like it as so much more will my pay be increased. I do not think we shall get farther than the North

Fork or Canadian this season, or more than twenty miles beyond it where Mr. Woodruff can make a new meridian station, and knock off work sooner than we anticipated. I certainly want to kill a buffalo and carry his tail and horns home as trophies.

"Saturday, the 24th. Today much contrary to my expectations and wishes our party started on the line. Of course even though I did not wish to go I would not express it. We ran four miles just to the edge of the timber and knocked off work. Woodruff and the rest of us rode on to a high hill a short distance ahead on the line from which we could see a great extent of country. A long distance on the other side of the Red Fork from whence we are seventeen miles distant and a long ways ahead as far ahead as we could see on the line is a boundless sea of leaves and from the prospects, the timber being this low scrub oak and very thick, I fear we shall be a good two weeks going through it to the North Fork of Canadian. We found an elegant spring of water the coldest that I have tasted since I left Cincinnati, also enough water for our camp. The camp will probably move up there on Monday if they can get there, the country being so rough as to make it rather doubtful, and from there keep us in water until we get through the timber. We have passed over the most romantic wild and broken country to day that we have seen on the route. High hills on every side composed almost entirely of gypsum and selonite, or this transparent Plaster of Paris which being perfectly white were very beautiful in the sun's rays and from their tops the prospect was very extensive. We see no signs of Indians near us and I think that the less we see of them the better. Plenty of fresh buffalo signs and one of the men killed another buffalo this afternoon, returning from work. I forgot to take any lunch into the field with me to day, and the consequence is that I am anxiously awaiting the summons to supper. The Glauber salts contained in the water has affected almost everyone in camp with diarrhea, myself among the number and even the cattle and horses. I shall be delighted to reach a fresh water district again which we expect to do at the Canadian. I wish much to kill a buffalo before I return. Here where men are killing buffalo every day, I who would give most anything to kill one, the only time when an opportunity presented itself was prevented by duty from going after them.²⁵ However, time and chance happeneth unto all men. To morrow is Sunday, the long expected day of rest. Last Sunday instead of being a day of rest was a day of extra exertion as those confounded Comanches caused us to march twelve long and tedious miles into camp. However, to morrow although I have several

²⁵ Smith seemed not to remember his entries of August 17 and 18 in which he tells of shooting buffaloes but not bringing them down.

things to do I hope to pass as a Christian offering my thanksgivings to God Almighty for my preservation in health and safety and for all his other mercies to me and mine. I should like to drop in home a little while this evening. How glad they would all be to see me and I them. However I hope to have that pleasure in two or three months for the remainder of the winter. It will gratify father much to see that I have attended to my teeth and to hear Mr. Woodruff tell him that I have performed all that he required me to do willingly and correctly. I presume that I shall finish this book to morrow or so nearly that I shall have to commence in a new book on Monday when we go to our bivouac. I would not be surprised if the next week or two work was the finale of the season's operations and then hurra for home and my family.

"Sunday, the 25th. If I am not mistaken this is the twelfth Sunday after Trinity, but I have not kept a regular account but only have calculated by the tables in the forepart of the Prayer Book. The day of rest is here and I enjoy it much; it is only those who have worked hard during the week who can tell the delights that a Sunday affords. I have washed myself to day in a hole where I sunk over my knees in the mud and as a consequence, in reference to black dirt, I am but little cleaner than before I washed but the sour of the perspiration which had accumulated during the week has left me. I have been making some preparations for our bivouac to morrow. My gun which was pretty dirty I cleaned out and loaded fit to shoot either Comanche, buffalo or deer. I fixed a bag of tobacco, mended up a pair of pantaloons and a pair of boots, put them on and came out the dandy of the camp. Sewing I have to do on Sundays as I have no chance on the other days of the week. I did not neglect either to read the Church Service and lessons for the day. I hope that the Sundays spent here in the wilderness, thousands of miles distant from the church where I generally attend, may profit me equally as if I were there. I shall read my letters from home in a little while. A letter here is about as eagerly read a month or two after its reception as the first time, particularly from one I love as much as my father and who constantly gives me such good advice.

"The party of four whom we sent out to look for water and other accommodations on the line returned to day, finding no water this side of the Canadian, which was dry but some good water on the other side of it. The way, however, is very rough and hilly so that I doubt whether the wagon will get through the timber to it this season. But the surveying party will go to it and make marks on it to enable them to find the line next season if they come out. They also report any quantity of buffalo and deer and turkeys which they saw there and a few bear. I

have just been finishing since I wrote the last sentence my notes to the Red Fork; they are now off of my hand. I learned from them how to keep my present notes. It is clouding up a little as if it would rain but that will not interfere with our arrangements. As I am packing up my things I will close up my book and pack it away as I have just prepared another one. There was one month from the time I left Cineimmati till I left Gibson when I did not write at all in it, and certainly thought that it would never be filled. But here it is now full and a fair prospect of filling another one before I return home. I thank God for his preservation of me during the time this book has been filling it and all his other mercies and pray him to continue them and to bless and preserve my dear parents and brothers and sisters that we may all meet again in health and safety. I must be careful of this book as in addition to my diary it contains all my accounts for transportation and money received from Mr. Woodruff.

SECOND DIARY

"Monday, August 25th, 1850. Creek boundary line over two hundred miles distant from the nearest white settlement, which is Fort Gibson, and over one hundred and fifty from the nearest Indian settlement, which is Broken Arrow.²⁶ In the regions of buffalo and Comanches. Instead of beginning this book in the woods as I anticipated yesterday, I am seated in my tent at a new camp four miles from our old one. The storm which was brewing all yesterday afternoon and evening burst upon us last night in the shape of wind and rain and for a while I thought our tent or any tent would be unable to resist the fury of the storm, but we weathered it and after breakfast as it was not raining, our party started on the line and the camp party prepared to move camp to a spring we had discovered about four miles ahead near the line. After working two or three hours in the timber making but little over half a mile, the rain poured down so hard that we broke for the tents which we found just pitched at the spring. Took a glass of toddy and am now sitting writing in my tent. Every thing that will hold water is in use catching the rain water that runs from the tents and for a little while we shall be delivered from this compound of water, common salt, and Glauber salt which is making us all unwell. It looks now as if it might rain steadily for a week, but even if it does, I fear our party will have to go out and work in the rain, which would be extremely disagreeable. But so far we have only seen the most pleasant features of prairie life. I commenced wearing my buckskin leggins today and they got a nice wetting. My poncho protected the whole upper part of the body

²⁶ A Creek settlement about thirty miles southeast of present-day Tulsa.

from the neck nearly to the knees, but below them I am perfectly soaked and as it is too much trouble to change my clothes, I should not be surprised if I took cold, although I took a toddy as a preventative.

“Tuesday, the 27th. This morning when I woke up it was raining hard. Last evening Mr. Woodruff and I sat up by the camp fire, conversing long after all the others had gone to bed till about ten o’clock. When I went to bed I was not at all sleepy and did not get to sleep for a long time, owing to my taking a nap of three or four hours in the afternoon. But when I did get asleep, I was awoken by the confounded moschetos [*sic*] buzzing and biting about me, for I had neglected putting up my moscheto [*sic*] bar, so that taking it all together my last night’s rest was not perfectly agreeable. I got up a little before breakfast which we eat near eight o’clock. Too rainy for the line party to go to work, and therefore, there was no object to be gained by an early rising. After breakfast Smith and I collected kindling wood and made a glorious fire just in front of the mess fly and the oxen hauling some large cedar trees growing a few hundred yards distant, we soon had a most elegant fire. I was busy all the morning until lunch time making tent pins out of the cedar and greasing my boots with lamp oil.²⁷ There was one most magnificent cedar at least two and a half feet in diameter. We enjoy the rain water which we are drinking highly taking advantages of every shower to obtain it. No signs of a clearing off yet, and I hope that it will rain steadily for two weeks, as I suspect we shall turn back as soon as we reach the North Fork and the longer that we are out the greater will be my pay. Smith’s and my reconnaissance on the twentieth has certainly earned us two or three weeks pay and probably more. Smith and Woodruff have been busy all day computing their observations for longitude. Mayhew only comes to the fly and fire with the rest of us at meal times; since Mr. Woodruff gave him such a dressing for not attending to his duties, he has been mighty unsocial and shy. Since lunch I have been reading Watson, improving the spare time. I should enjoy a game of chess mightily to day.

“Wednesday, the 28th. *Noon*. About an hour ago the clouds began to break in the West, soon the blue sky appeared and now the sun is shining down upon us quite warmly. But I am far from certain that our storm has passed by. There are heavy banks of black clouds on every side of us and I should not be at all surprised if our storm should continue as much longer as it has already continued. I cut a cedar tree in two this morning for the carpenter to make some tent pins from, some large ones for the

²⁷ This was whale oil. Kerosene was not in use at this time.

corners. The fiddle is sounding quite merrily over at the men's camp. I only wish that I had brought mine along although it would have tortured the ears of the rest of the party to a considerable extent for I know that I am not even a tolerable player and they are men who would not at all scruple to abuse my playing. I have read another chapter in Watson this morning, varying my occupation by occasionally putting some wood on the fire. My medical reading, unless it rains much more frequently than it has done since our starting, will not amount to much. Since I left home I have read about one hundred and fifty pages of Watson's *Practice*. But I have read that carefully enough I think to impress the contents upon my mind. It is such days as these that I would enjoy reading sitting as near to the camp fire as possible without sitting in the rain.

"Last evening the men built several camp fires and as they lay around them singing, and one or two of them have very fine voices and sing quite well, it was quite a romantic spectacle. I fear that this cool weather will only prepare us to suffer more from the heat that will follow. It is very oppressive in the timber anyway and if the thermometer runs up to over an hundred, even to an hundred and eight as it has done since we started, the heat will be terrible. Already since I have been writing it has clouded up again and there is not an inch of blue sky visible. Woodruff and Smith are just stopping their computations to allow Robert to prepare lunch for us. I wish that I was able to assist them and Mr. Woodruff has just told me that he wanted me to so that I can learn.

"Five o'clock p. m. Contrary to my expectations, it cleared up at noon and immediately after dinner, or lunch, rather, the line party started out. We have worked about half a mile, I should think, and I am sitting on my usual seat, the instrument box, waiting for the fore target to be stationed. It is very warm here in the timber, and such quantities of moschetos [*sic*]. I do not believe that we shall make another station today. I lost one of my gloves to day, the stopper to my shot bag, and what is more strange, my horse blanket slipped from under my saddle without my knowledge and I lost that.

"Friday, the 30th. Nine o'clock a. m. We have just arrived at our place of work from camp. I have just sent the axe men back to Smith to cut for the wagon road and am awaiting their return. Yesterday we were a long time determining whether to come out to work or not. I[t] looked at one moment as if it would clear off and "Now 'tis black again" and continued so all day long. About nine o'clock, however, we started to work, rain or no rain, and it did rain. During the day we had four very hard

showers but putting on my poncho and sitting in my saddle to keep it dry and then getting under some trees I succeeded in keeping pretty dry. We made a pretty good day's march, running over three miles in the timber. While we were out the Dr. and Potts came reconnoit[e]ring and the Dr. shot a bear which we had for supper, but I think it was not very good. Once during the day my pony took it into his head to run away from me, and Egan and I had a long chase before I could catch him. But when I caught him I gave him a severe whipping, so that I think he will not repeat the operation. He lost my canteen but I found it again and broken at that. Going home Smith and I took a race. We had been bantering each other for a long time on the speed of our respective horses, and to day we tried it, but his long legged horse was too much for my little pony. After dinner Mr. Woodruff and I sat conversing after the others had gone to bed till near ten. I was a little tired for it is not so easy to ride five or six miles after a day's work back to camp. This morning we got up by sunrise, packed up our things and started. It looked very much like rain all the morning, but it cleared up about noon and as far as we can judge will be pleasant, but the weather here is truly a *quien sabe* [who knows?]. The camp has moved on and is in sight of us near the North Fork of the Canadian. Smith and I saw some buffalo and went a little ways after them on our road out. But as we did not have time to follow them, could not get a shot at them. The North Fork which will probably be the end of the season's work is close by but running nearly parallel with the line, it will probably be some eight or ten miles before we strike it.

"Saturday, the 31st. This is the last day of August and I begin to feel willing to return. My ideas of home change with absence, although it is certainly the disposition of man to be discontented with whatever may be his circumstance, when enjoying the comforts of home and the family circle, to wish for absence and more active employment and when absent, to long for those pleasures of society which while enjoyed seem insipid. Yesterday a short time before knocking off work, I had a narrow escape from being killed by a falling tree. It had been partly cut before, and as I was sitting on my horse beneath of it, a gust of wind blew it over before I could get from under it. The tree fell on my back and shoulders and dragged me from my horse, but fortunately hurt me but little. A very narrow escape for which I thank God for if I had been a foot or two back, it would have killed me or most certainly have crippled me. Soon after we left off work and my pony ran away from me and gave me much trouble to catch him again. When I returned to camp I felt pretty lame and sore. We ran a little over three miles in

the timber yesterday. I have just finished eating my lunch and skinning a buffalo tail which I cut off from a buffalo the Frenchman killed. We have run a little over a mile and a half this morning. Last evening Mr. Woodruff about half concluded to follow the North Fork down in returning to make a map of it. It will be more pleasant, I think, than going over the old track again. To morrow will be Sunday, the First of September, and I think that I shall enjoy it encamping for the first time except yesterday in about two weeks where we can obtain good fresh water. Robert, our steward, was taken sick yesterday with bilious fever and a man named McAuley has taken his place. We have had very little sickness in camp this season, they two being the only ones who have been what may be truly called sick.

“*Five o’clock.* We have just seen camp about a quarter of a mile from us, and seen Woodruff and the Dr. who tell us that there are some two or three hundred Comanches at our old camping ground. The Dr. met with quite an accident this afternoon. He had shot twice at a buffalo and had his pistol in his hand to shoot again when the buffalo made at him and turning his horse quickly the horse stumbled and caused the pistol to go off, wounding the horse in the neck. The pony started off and has not been seen since—probably the Comanches have him as well as another of our horses which strayed away last evening. We shall have to begin to look out more narrowly for ourselves again.

“Sunday, September 1st, 1850. Another month has passed since I left home and I am one month nearer to my last day. Great God grant that as the days and months and years roll on, they may find me far advanced on the way to salvation and eternal life. This morning I did not rise *quite* as early as when we were going to work, having nothing especial to do, breakfast was also late. After breakfast I took hold and cut a huge log of wood in two, the most cutting that I ever did in my life and it was very hard work. I blistered my hands all over handling the axe. After that I cleaned and prepared some flower seeds which I culled yesterday to take home and that with cutting some buckskin strings and reading my letters from home over and over again, brings me up to the present time. I have not had time yet to take my wash but have just given Robert some clothes to wash for me. I am now about to read the church service for the day after which if there is time before dinner, I shall take my wash.

“This is the 14th Sunday after Trinity, if my calculations are right. After reading the service this morning, I laid down on my bed, and sure enough, instead of enjoying that long expected wash, I went to sleep and never woke up until Moses came saying that lunch was ready. The Dr. who has been out with three of our In-

dians searching for his pony returned while we are at lunch, unsuccessful in obtaining him. They followed his trail to the old camp where he would naturally go and where the Comanches have been encamped since they unquestionably have him. They have all left our vicinity again, going South down the North Fork. I have just finished taking a fine wash in a deep hole about a quarter of a mile down the North Fork and now after cleaning my teeth and putting on some clean clothes, I feel ready to receive calls. To morrow we shall go out on the line and bivouac, taking provisions for four days. I suppose that the survey for the season will finish with our return and we shall then return by the river surveying the country as we pass through it. I think that I shall reach home somewhere near the first of November in time to attend the Medical term there. I hope to come out again next season.

“Monday, September 2nd. We started out early this morning for the line striking our tent to come on with us and intending to remain out until we strike the North Fork when we will turn back. The Comanches are still within a few miles of us and disposed to be mischievous if not hostile. Day before yesterday they took a lame steer from one of our men, tied it to a tree, and shot an arrow into him but not so as to kill him. Yesterday evening one of our men, the Frenchman, had just killed a buffalo when four Comanches rode up to him, commenced cutting up the buffola and told him to go to camp. He thought that he was lucky in getting off with his scalp. On our way out this morning we killed a squirrel sitting in a tree after several shots at him and I obtained his tail to put on my hat. We have just taken our lunch and I have smoked my pipe of Cavendish. I fear that by the time I return home I shall have become an inveterate smoker, even so as to prefer my pipe to a cigar. The wagon with our luggage which was to have left camp about twelve has not yet appeared. We have had some pretty heavy cutting to do to day and in consequence have come on but slowly.

“Tuesday, September 3rd. At last the North Fork which for a number of miles passed has been running nearly parallel with our line takes a turn across it and the place where our survey will cease is in sight a mile or two ahead of us. Last evening we knocked off work about sunset and started for camp which consisted of one wagon and our wall tent with two small tents for the men. This bivouac which should more properly be called an encampment we brought Robert Grier along as a steward to our mess for we are half of the mess in camp and accordingly we fared most sumptuously having bread, shortcake, ham, peaches and molasses and coffee and tea for our supper. The moschetos [*sic*] were thick, biting right and left and our bars were hung

as quickly as possible after supper. We mounted a guard of three men to each relief, looked at the priming of our pistols and guns and went to bed. I think that this is much more pleasant than remaining with the main camp. My little horned frog which I have kept for several days in my buffalo horn is still alive and I hope to be able to take him home living. I have just seen two fine large buffaloes but I have not time to go after them. I fear that I shall not be able to say when I return that I shot a buffalo, but there are several days yet to try my luck. I am only waiting for the chain men to come up to send them all to lunch when I shall lunch myself.

"Wednesday, the 4th. Yesterday afternoon after running over four miles, we crossed the North Fork and much to our dissatisfaction were left still in doubt as to whether we should have to recross it again. In going to camp I culled some flower seed of a very pretty yellow flower but I am not certain that they are seeds but merely part of the leaf. We pitched our tents, mounted guard as usual and went to bed. This morning at sunrise we started off and after running over a mile discovered that we should have to recross to the North Bank again and then to the south again further deponent [?] knoweth not.

"Thursday, September 5th, 1850. Once more at headquarters and the line party upwards of ten miles on our way homewards. Yesterday after crossing the river twice more making in all three crossings the line was terminated on a steep bluff bank of the river where we made the offset and planted a large post to mark the conclusion of the season's work. We finished work at a little after two in the afternoon and from there marched back to our previous camp where the wagon awaited our return to start for headquarters. As it was so late in the day, we concluded not to start back for camp until today and so repitched our tents and prepared for the night. The moschetos [*sic*] surrounded us in clouds, but under the protecting influence of tobacco smoke, Smith and I sat up till near ten o'clock copying our notes and conversing until sleep spread its wings over our heads and a moseheto [*sic*] bar its curtains on each side of us.

"This morning soon after daybreak we took our breakfast and at a little after sunrise started for headquarters. On the way I killed a large rattlesnake and cut off his rattles. After coming about seven miles we saw several horsemen coming towards us on the run whom we took to be Comanches and accordingly Smith having gone hunting and left me in command I ordered a halt but it turned out to be Woodruff and the Dr. with two of our Indians riding out to meet us. We got into camp about 11 o'clock and tomorrow we start back for Gibson by the North

Fork. Mr. Woodruff much against my hopes has concluded to chain all the way so that I shall be busy most of the time if not all the time returning. And so ends my journey westward although numberless little crosses and disagreements have presented themselves, it has been on the whole one of the most pleasant seasons that I ever spent. I have not killed a buffalo yet and Smith got ahead of me, killing two today although to be sure I have not hunted any. I presume that we shall reach Fort Gibson somewhere in the first week of October, but not before, I think, if our provisions hold out. There is certainly something very pleasing in the idea of being homeward bound. As we shall start early in the morning I shall not put up my tent or bed to-night."

* * * * *

From this westernmost survey marker, Woodruff chose to return to Fort Gibson down the North Canadian, for along this route he would find grass and water for his cattle. In addition, he said that "it would be practicable to make a good survey of our return route, which would add somewhat to our knowledge of the topography of the country." Since the surveyors experiences on this remaining part of the survey were much like those previously encountered it is unnecessary here to continue Smith's detailed account of them.²⁸

Later, Woodruff said that he saw an advantage in marking the northern segment of the Cherokee-Creek boundary other than that implied in his instructions. As already noted, on this line he had planted posts at convenient distances apart and had felled trees and cleared away the underbrush. "These clearings," he explained, "will remain conspicuous for a great length of time, by the stumps and fallen trunks of trees. This line being the shortest to the ranges of the buffalo, from the lower settlements of the Osages, it may become one of their principal trails, and thereby be preserved. . . ." ²⁹

But he believed it unnecessary to complete the survey to the one hundredth meridian. "The continuing of the survey," he advised Abert a short time later, "would not seem to produce results useful and commensurate with the expenditure required for its completion, unless continued with some other object, for instance the reconnaissance of the territory for a more perfect

²⁸ There are 75 pages in the remainder of Smith's diary, describing by day to day entries his experiences on the return journey, at Fort Gibson, and his later trip from Fort Gibson to Jefferson City.

²⁹ Woodruff's *MS.* report, p. 35.

knowledge of its geography; or marking the point where the southern boundary of New Mexico cuts the 100°.''³⁰ Abert accepted Woodruff's suggestion and did not renew the survey in the next year.

On October 13 young Smith, Woodruff and Potts left Fort Gibson by wagon train for Jefferson City, Missouri, via Maysville, Bentonville, Cassville, Springfield and Bollivar. And at Jefferson City, they boarded the steamer *Mary Blaine* for Saint Louis, where they expected to find another that would take them up to the Ohio.

³⁰ Woodruff to Abert, December 19, 1850, as cited.

RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN OKLAHOMA 1946-1948

*By Robert E. Bell**

During the past two years considerable archaeological activity has been conducted throughout the state of Oklahoma. This has not been an extensive nor especially planned program of development, but rather a sudden intensification in archaeological work brought about by the various Federal River Basin Reservoir projects. Most of the work accomplished has been survey or salvage work done in an effort to beat the bulldozer or impounded flood waters to an important site.

With the development of various reservoir areas and flood control projects throughout the state, it is obvious that impounded lake waters will flood and destroy many places of historical and archaeological importance. Since these materials contribute to our understanding of the prehistory of Oklahoma, and this in turn becomes essential if we are to properly understand the role that Oklahoma has played within the Mississippi basin, it is imperative that we make every effort to salvage whatever data and information we can before it is lost to posterity. Because of this emergency, the Department of Anthropology at the University of Oklahoma has been especially active in surveys and excavations to salvage some portion of this threatened cultural heritage. The Department of Anthropology has not been alone in realizing the seriousness of the situation, and various persons or institutions have contributed in many ways to facilitate fieldwork or research. The Department of Anthropology is indebted to each of the following groups for assistance and cooperation in the research already accomplished: University of Oklahoma Museum, United States National Park Service, Tulsa District of the U. S. Army Engineers, and the River Basin Survey section of the Smithsonian Institution.

The State of Oklahoma is not unique in being presented with this crisis. Many other states have similar developments taking place which require immediate action. Reservoir construction activities are to be found in most sections of the United States; the greatest amount of such work, however, is to be found in the Great Plains region in which Oklahoma is located. In all of these localities, archaeologists are busy trying to salvage perhaps five percent of the materials which will eventually be destroyed. With-

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in Oklahoma, unless our present archaeological program can be expanded, we will be fortunate to excavate even two or three per cent of the total number of sites which will be lost.

Oklahoma is, archaeologically, very unfortunate in the choice of areas to be flooded for two reasons: first, many of the proposed reservoirs are to be found in eastern Oklahoma, the very portion of the state which contains the most abundant aboriginal remains; second, some reservoirs are to be built in regions which are relatively unknown archaeologically and hence necessitate a maximum amount of exploration.

With this situation existing within the state, almost all efforts in archaeological research have been directed toward work of a survey or salvage nature within the various reservoir basins. Some reconnaissance and test trenching has been done at newly discovered sites outside of reservoir areas, but this has been chiefly exploratory and for the training of students. It is felt that archaeological materials not immediately threatened by various reservoir or other projects can wait until the present emergency has been satiated.

During the past two years no less than nine archaeological surveys have been completed, eight of these being in reservoir areas. Emergency excavations have been accomplished in two of the reservoirs, a total of five sites having been examined. Two small test trenches have been dug into newly discovered sites relatively near Norman, and several additional sites have been added to our survey records.

CANTON RESERVOIR

The Canton Reservoir is located near Canton in the western part of the state, and will impound the waters of the North Canadian River thereby flooding sections of both Blaine and Dewey counties. Mr. Charles E. Smith of the U. S. Corps of Engineers and Mrs. James B. Watson of the University of Oklahoma conducted an archaeological reconnaissance of the area in January 1947. No evidences of prehistoric occupation were found by the survey although considerable time was spent examining the more favorable locations. The historic site of old Fort Cantonment is situated near the western edge of the reservoir but will not be flooded. Unless archaeological remains are reported or construction activities threaten Fort Cantonment, no investigations are contemplated for the Canton Reservoir.

HULAH RESERVOIR

The Hulah Reservoir is located near the town of Hulah in the northeastern part of Osage county, in North Central Oklahoma.

Hulah Dam will be situated on Caney River, and the resulting lake will flood portions of both Osage county, Oklahoma and Chautauqua county, Kansas. Mr. Charles E. Smith and David J. Wenner conducted a survey of the Hulah area in July, 1947.

The survey party located four archaeological sites; all were quite small and apparently were the remains of temporary camps or transient groups. Surface materials included flint chips, fragments of mussel shell and occasional chipped artifacts. Because of the scarcity of cultural remains and the fact that all sites are represented only by a thin veneer of surface deposit, no additional work is suggested for this reservoir.

The small amount of surface cultural material recovered does not permit the assignment of cultural relationships for the sites concerned. It is interesting to note, however, that no pottery was found, and that flint samples were derived from quarries in Kay county, some forty miles distant to the west.

HEYBURN RESERVOIR

The Heyburn Reservoir is located on Polecat Creek to the west of Kellyville in the northeastern part of Creek county, Oklahoma. This reservoir is a small one and the inundated areas are confined entirely to Creek county. A survey of the Heyburn area was conducted in March 1948 by George W. McClure and George W. McClure, Jr.

The Polecat Creek area was inhabited by various members of the Yuchi Indians who moved westward from the Creek Reservation in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Two sites are recorded which apparently represent this historic period; one of these is a burial plot, and the other is a small village community.

Two additional sites were found which appear to be prehistoric, or, at least, not to be associated with the Yuchi of historic times. These sites were marked by flint chippings, burned rocks and an occasional artifact of stone. In addition, they lacked the broken glass, bits of metal and chinaware which marked the later Yuchi habitation areas.

Although the examination of historic Yuchi materials would be desirable, the needs for excavations in other areas have forced our attentions elsewhere. No salvage program is proposed for the Heyburn Reservoir area.

SOUTHWESTERN OKLAHOMA

Mr. David J. Wenner conducted an archaeological survey of portions of Harmon and Greer counties in southwestern Oklahoma in June 1947. Although this survey was not within a reservoir area

it has contributed to our understanding of Oklahoma prehistory. Until the time that this survey was made, this section of Oklahoma was relatively unknown as far as archaeological information was concerned.

This survey was primarily concerned with the valleys along the Salt Fork of the Red River and Prairie Dog Town Fork of the Red River. Some localities on Red River and the North Fork of Red River were also examined. A total of fifteen archaeological sites were reported. Two of these were extensive village areas, and the remaining thirteen represented smaller village or camp sites.

The two large village sites noted on this survey have been visited by amateur archaeologists in this area throughout the past ten or fifteen years, and considerable surface material has been recovered from the sites. Among the items found are metates and manos, grooved sandstone arrow-shaft smoothers, flint scrapers, flint knives, small triangular projectile points, bone hoes, grit tempered cord-marked pottery and plain shell tempered pottery.

No test excavations were attempted by the survey party although surface materials were abundant. Specimens examined indicate materials resembling those found in the Texas Henrietta focus. Some pot sherds resemble those found in the Sanders focus of northeastern Texas. A few items suggest contacts with the Texas and Oklahoma panhandle cultures as well as the Pueblo peoples of New Mexico. No Folsom points or suspected paleo-Indian sites were noted.

The survey demonstrates that this region was inhabited throughout a considerable span of prehistoric times, and that excavations in the area should be valuable in establishing cultural contacts between the Pueblo area and Oklahoma.

WISTER RESERVOIR

One of the most important archaeological areas within the state falls within the Wister Reservoir in LeFlore county. This reservoir lies in the eastern part of the state and includes rich archaeological sections of the Poteau and Fourche Maline river valleys. We have been fortunate in one respect, however, for a large number of the sites known in this area were excavated by the University during the extensive W. P. A. operations a few years ago.

Out of a total of thirty-two sites within the Wister Reservoir, nineteen had been completely or partially excavated. It is from these sites that we have the archaeological complex known as Fourche Maline. Of the remaining thirteen sites, four were tested and one of these was selected for additional investigation. This

site is known as the Scott site (Lf 11), and it appears to be an important example of the Fourche Maline culture.

Aside from extensive work at the Scott site, three other sites were tested in order to determine the nature of the deposits and their cultural relationships. These sites are the Ward site (Lf 10), the Conser site (Lf 3) and the Cantrell site (Lf 4). All of these sites appear to represent the Fourche Maline complex. Although considerable surface materials were present at each of these, excavation indicated that the village or midden materials were rather shallow, being limited to about two feet in depth. At both the Conser and Cantrell sites there was considerable evidence of erosion and flooding which has undoubtedly removed a great deal of the original village accumulation. The Ward site does not appear washed or eroded and presumably represents most of the original village accumulation. The shallow but homogeneous deposit would suggest that the site had not been occupied for a long period of time.

The Scott site is located on Fourche Maline Creek about two miles north of Summerfield in LeFlore county. It represents a village midden deposit which has an average thickness of about five feet in the deepest part. A block of earth about twenty feet by thirty feet was carefully excavated by arbitrary six inch levels in the thickest portion of the midden. Although the midden deposit is quite uniform in character and lacking natural stratigraphic layers, it does offer a clear transition from pre-pottery to pottery bearing levels, the pottery being confined to the upper portions of the deposit. Excavations at the Scott site indicate that the Fourche Maline complex should properly be subdivided into two periods—a pre-pottery and a pottery bearing period. These two periods do not appear to be particularly different except for the appearance of pottery in the upper levels. In general, the cultural inventory is very much the same for both non-pottery and pottery bearing levels, and the broad picture is one of a single group of people who acquired a knowledge of pottery during their last occupation of the site; otherwise their cultural content remained very much the same as in earlier times.

A total of eleven burials were found during the excavations. These were all in a tightly flexed or semi-flexed position and usually unaccompanied by artifacts. No evidences for graves could be found to indicate an interment, but rather the body apparently was merely placed upon the ground surface and covered over with the surrounding refuse accumulation.

No evidence of house structures could be found, although concentrations of ash or charcoal suggested occupational surfaces. The midden deposit is composed chiefly of black colored earth con-

taining a considerable amount of organic material. Throughout excavation of the midden, quantities of firecracked stones, animal bones, mussel shells, flint chips and various types of artifacts were recovered.

The most abundant artifact is represented by projectile points. The most typical projectile point is fairly large in size, averaging between two and three inches in length, and having a tapered stem with poorly defined shoulders. Other artifacts include oval shaped flint knives, crude scrapers or choppers, hammerstones, grinding stones, double-bitted flaked axes, polished stone gorgets, boat-stones, bone flakers, bone awls and other miscellaneous items. The pottery is a plain surfaced, thick, granular tempered ware characterized by a flat disc-like base. No restorable vessels were found and sherds were not especially plentiful.

The Scott site apparently represents the habitation area of one of the earliest peoples to occupy this section of eastern Oklahoma. They were a hunting, fishing and gathering people presumably without a knowledge of agriculture. They were undoubtedly related to some of the pre-pottery or Archaic people of Eastern United States, and may or may not have been contemporary with them. A clearer picture of the Scott site and the Fourche Maline culture which it represents must await laboratory analysis and detailed comparisons with other known materials. This research has already been initiated.

TENKILLER RESERVOIR

During the month of July, 1948, Mr. David J. Wenner, Jr., sponsored by the River Basin Survey of the Smithsonian Institution, conducted a survey of the Tenkiller Reservoir in eastern Oklahoma. This reservoir will impound waters of the Illinois river to flood sections of Cherokee and Sequoyah counties. A total of thirty-eight archaeological sites were examined and recorded, and small test excavations were dug into the most promising of those discovered. The majority of the sites appeared to lack pottery and may represent an early Archaic or pre-pottery horizon within that locality. The surface materials from these sites are represented chiefly by large projectile points, crude knives or scrapers and abundant flint chippings. One pottery bearing site appears to represent the Spiro focus of the Gibson aspect, and another the Fort Coffee focus of the Fulton aspect. Some excavation work is recommended and anticipated for the Tenkiller area in the near future.

ONAPA AND CANADIAN RESERVOIRS

In the months of July and August 1948, Mr. David J. Wenner directed a survey of two reservoir areas near Eufaula, Oklahoma:

the Onapa Reservoir on Deep Fork, and the Canadian Reservoir on the North Fork of the Canadian River. The Onapa Reservoir will flood sections of the Deep Fork river valley in McIntosh county, and the Canadian Reservoir will inundate large areas in McIntosh and Pittsburg counties. Both reservoirs were quite productive in so far as archaeological materials are concerned.

A total of forty-one sites were recorded within the Canadian Reservoir area, many of them representing historic Indian villages. The Onapa Reservoir produced a total of twentyfive archaeological sites, again many of them containing historic or contact materials such as glass trade beads, gun flints, broken glass, china and crockery. In addition to these historic materials, most sites produced considerable amounts of aboriginal pottery and an occasional flint or stone artifact. Since this area is that occupied by the Creek Indians in historic times it is not surprising that these contact sites appear to be abundant. Although it has not been demonstrated that these sites are Creek, nevertheless, an interesting problem is presented. The aboriginal pottery wares found on these historic sites are very similar to three wares associated with the Creeks in Georgia-Walnut Roughened, Okmulgee Fields Incised, and Kasita Red Filmed. It has been thought that these historic wares found in Georgia became extinct around 1750, and that they were not made after that date. If the Oklahoma sites are to be attributed to the Creeks, and since the Creeks did not enter Oklahoma until 1830, then the terminal date of 1750 for Georgia must be in error. It would hardly seem reasonable that the Creeks suddenly revived three pottery wares that they had not produced for some eighty years. If the materials are not to be associated with the Creek, then we must account for some tribe within the region for which we have no historical records.

Not all of the sites in this area are marked by contact materials, and sherd collections suggest relationships to both the prehistoric Gibson and Fulton aspects of the Mississippi pattern.

FORT GIBSON RESERVOIR

The Fort Gibson Reservoir is located in the northeastern section of the state along the lower portion of Grand River. A survey conducted by Mr. David J. Wenner reported a total of twenty-six archaeological sites within this area, two of them being important mound groups and the remainder representing village or camp areas. Some non-pottery sites were found which may represent an early Archaic horizon somewhat similar to that noted for the Illinois River valley.

During the past summer extensive excavations were conducted at the Norman site about five miles east of Wagoner, Oklahoma. Previous work here indicated that it represented the Spiro focus

of the Gibson aspect. Since one large conical mound remained unexplored at the site, it was considered necessary that it be examined in order to place our understanding of the Spiro focus materials on a more secure foundation. Excavations at this site were conducted as a cooperative project between the University of Oklahoma, the U. S. Army Engineers and the River Basin Survey of the Smithsonian Institution.

Some limited excavations were conducted in the village area where portions of several houses and refuse pits were uncovered. The houses were rectangular in shape with an average size of twenty feet by twelve feet. The walls were indicated by rows of post holes spaced from one to two feet apart. The houses were apparently made of upright wooden posts and clay wattle, the roof having been covered with a layer of grass thatching. Some circular refuse pits were found associated with the houses, and these contained ordinary village debris such as broken animal bones, pottery, flint chips, and various artifacts.

The houses were obviously not all built at the same time since they were to be found at various levels within the village deposit. In addition, some houses had been built on top of the remains of earlier structures. Although some exploratory work was accomplished in the village area, our major efforts were directed toward the large conical shaped earthen mound.

This mound was the largest of a group of four, and it measured approximately twenty-seven feet in height and ninety feet in diameter. Excavation was not complete although sufficient knowledge of its contents has been gained to consider our work at this mound as completed. The mound proved to be a domicilliary sub-structure mound with no less than six construction phases represented. A series of five flat topped mounds had been built, one on top of the other, the last of these having been capped with a cone shaped mantle of earth. Although very little in the way of artifact material was recovered, the mound is interesting for several reasons. The feature of placing a conical capping over the last occupation surface appears to be unusual. Some glass trade beads were found within the upper mantle. The mound is circular in outline rather than square or rectangular as in most sub-structure mounds. In addition, the construction periods were marked chiefly by a heightening of the mound, not a general enlargement of the structure. Each addition was merely placed upon the old occupational surface and did not include the sides of the mound. This construction method appears to be unusual for this type of mound. Analysis of this material is now in progress and a report should be available in the near future.

A second mound group, the Harlin site, contains seven mounds, and at the present time remains unexplored. Present plans include excavations at this site during the 1949 season. It, too, apparently represents the Gibson aspect and is probably related to the Norman site.

CEDAR CREEK

One site representing early man has been noted just north of Carnegie along Cedar Creek in Caddo county, Oklahoma. Throughout the gravels of the stream bed various types of projectile points and also the bones and teeth of extinct animals can be found. Classic Folsom points, Yuma-like points and Plainview points have all been found. Projectile points which are from later horizons, such as the small notched triangular point which is so common on the Southern Plains, can also be found. These materials appear to be concentrated along a stretch of about two miles of Cedar Creek and are apparently eroding out of the banks as the rains wash away the soils. At this time we have been unable to locate the original sources for the materials. Several reconnaissance trips and some testing of the river banks have produced no results to date; however, we are constantly hopeful that we can locate some specimens in situ and establish the archaeological position of the various projectile point types.

LEE-BOWEN AND BROWN SITES

Two archaeological sites have been located within short driving distance of the University. These are located on the Washita river to the southwest of Norman. At various week-end intervals, students in anthropology participate in test excavations at these sites. Although no extensive work has been done, we have learned a great deal about these two village sites.

At the Lee-Bowen site in Garvin county, an L-shaped trench, twenty five feet on each side, has been excavated. This trench cut across three refuse or storage pits so that considerable cultural material was recovered. A preliminary analysis of this material has been made by Dr. Karl Schmitt, and he considers it to be an example of the hunting agricultural economy existing in the Low Plains in the late prehistoric times.

The Brown site is located about fifteen miles westward from the Lee-Bowen site along the Washita river in Grady county. A smaller area has been tested but a greater amount of cultural material has been collected. The types of artifacts from the Brown site generally resemble those from Lee-Bowen; however, there are some specific differences.

Cultural materials which would represent these two sites are small notched triangular arrowheads, flint end-scrappers, grinding stones, arrow-shaft polishing stones, bone scapula hoes, bone arrow-shaft wrenches, bone awls, antler flakers, plain surfaced pottery and miscellaneous other items. Evidence for agriculture is presented by charred beans and a corncob fragment. No house patterns were discovered although small bits of wattlework made of clay and grass are plentiful.

Both of these sites have certain features which resemble the Texas Henrietta focus; there are also many features which resemble other sites in Garvin county along the lower Washita. In all probability both of these sites will eventually be grouped into a Washita River focus which is related to the Texas Henrietta focus to the south, and to the Paint Creek focus in Kansas to the north. No correlation with historic Indian tribes is possible at the present time.

SUMMARY

If something in the way of a summary statement were made, it would include the fact that one-hundred and seventy-two new archaeological sites have been recorded. These sites appear to range in age from Paleo-Indian cultures represented by the Folsom materials up to historic villages of living tribes now found in Oklahoma. Excavations have shed additional light upon the early Fourche Maline complex, the Spiro focus and the more recent Washita River remains. We have a better idea as to the distributions of various cultures which will help in understanding the role of Oklahoma in American prehistory. Last, but not least, we know the types of sites that are to be inundated by reservoir areas, and we know where immediate excavations should be done. Getting this work done remains for the future.

THE SITE OF OLD CAMP ARBUCKLE

By George H. Shirk

Of all of Oklahoma's early military posts and camps, time has dealt most harshly with old Camp Arbuckle. Not a vestige of this post remains today; and what at that time was a foremost occupation of the region—frontier soldiering—has been succeeded on the site entirely by a now equally important profession—farming.

In May, 1850, instructions were received at Fort Smith for the erection of a military post on the California road at a site approximately where it crossed the 100th Meridian. Captain R. B. Marcy, selected to construct the post, received permission, however, to locate the establishment farther to the east. In the latter part of 1850¹ Captain Marcy, together with Company D of the Fifth Infantry, traveled some seventy miles from Fort Washita, and a site was selected about a mile south of the Canadian River, in present McClain County.

The soldiers lived in tents until November, but in the meantime were busy erecting cabin style buildings. Four huts were built for the officers, and the main barracks was one long structure 200 feet in length and 25 feet wide.

The site proved very unhealthy, and Captain Marcy soon realized that a different location would be required for the erection of a permanent post; and by early summer in 1851 the entire garrison had moved to the new location of Fort Arbuckle, a number of miles to the south, in present Garvin County near Hoover.

The buildings at Camp Arbuckle did not want, however, for occupancy. As soon as the soldiers left, neighboring Delawares, the tribe of the famous Black Beaver, moved in and made the site their home until their migration to the area of Anadarko. The site, now a corn field, was on a slight prominence, rather well drained, flanked on both the east and the west by gullies of small streams running north to the Canadian River. The site was visited by Lieut. A. W. Whipple in August, 1853, while surveying a railroad route to California. He reported that the log houses were in possession of about 100 Delawares, and found that the old camp had become known as Beaversville, in honor of the chief. It remained the center of the small rural community; and gradually a settlement about a mile to the southeast grew into a town, Johnsonville, named for Montford Johnson. A post office, Johnson, was established at

¹ The date 1853 given by Marcy in his *The Prairie Traveler* (New York, 1859) must be considered a typographical error.

Johnsonville on October 5, 1876, and except for a short period in 1878 remained in continuous operation until after statehood.

Although fate was harsh in its dealings with the post itself, it has been kind in leaving today in the immediate area several long-time settlers well informed as to the early importance of the locality, who can point out with definiteness the exact site of Camp Arbuckle.

Thomas B. Johnston was born in Alabama in 1818. In 1850 he came to the Indian Territory and settled at Skullyville. His uncle, John Johnston, Sr., had become a man of prominence among the Chickasaws, and for a number of years Tom worked for his uncle. In 1868 he was appointed County Judge of Pontotoc County, Chickasaw Nation, and ten years later was named District Judge.

In 1874, he moved to Johnsonville and purchased a fine double log house, with stone chimney and a large hearth and fire place, located a few hundred yards east of the old army post. There on June 20, 1875, his son Albert Sidney Johnston was born. Albert lived there as a boy and became well acquainted with the site and the ruins of the buildings at the old post. He is now living on the place to the south of his father's old home, and points out exactly the location of the old parade ground and the various buildings as he remembers them from his youth. He recalls several small buildings facing the parade ground made of brick that as a boy he learned from tradition were built by the soldiers. As army records are silent on any buildings other than those of wood, perhaps these brick structures he remembers were built by later settlers.

The old family home of T. B. Johnston is today in excellent condition and is the home of Marvin Gwinn. Marvin's father, J. C. Gwinn, settled in the area in the 1890's, and Marvin was born within one-half mile of his present home. He has farmed the quarter section on which the post was located for many years and has often plowed open graves and unearthed skeletal remains. After a heavy rain he reports it is easy to pick up arrow points, bird points, flint spear points, celts of obsidian and similar artifacts around the Camp Arbuckle site. A few years ago one of the hands, Henry Buster, unearthed a long butcher type knife. Once while plowing Mr. J. C. Gwinn unearthed a grave containing four skeletons placed with their heads to the points of the compass and their feet together, probably an Indian burial.

Another oldtimer now living in Johnsonville is George F. McDonnell. He came to Indian Territory in 1882 and a few years later settled at old Johnsonville. He was well acquainted with Judge T. B. Johnston and soon learned from the old residents in the region that he had settled only a short distance from the location of the

old army post. He pointed out the exact site indicated by Albert Johnston and confirmed his detailed designation of the spot.

The Johnston family cemetery is adjacent to Johnsonville and the graves of both Judge and Mrs. Johnston are marked by handsome stone monuments. T. B. Johnston died in July 1897, preceded by the death of his wife, Elizabeth, on June 21, 1894.

The "O. C. Railroad"—the Oklahoma Central Railway—in building through from Ada to Purcell, seemed to take note of the past glory of the particular place, for the road bed passed a few feet to the north of the spot, and immediately adjacent to the old army post a well and water tank were erected. Like Camp Arbuckle, however, the "O. C." has passed to oblivion and within a few years even the right-of-way embankments will be gone.

In one particular, though, the name of Camp Arbuckle lives on. The small stream and wooded branch immediately west of the site is known locally today as Arbuckle Branch.

For those interested in visiting historical sites, the location of old Camp Arbuckle is very accessible by automobile. Its legal description is: Southwest Quarter of the Southwest Quarter, Section 14, Township 5 North, Range 2 East. It is about 300 feet due northeast of the present farm house of J. V. Milford.

From the town square of Byars, in McClain County, the visitor should drive north about a mile on the Johnsonville road. After going through Johnsonville, turn west on the section line immediately north of the town and on the right almost a mile west is the Milford place. While driving west from Johnsonville the visitor should stop at the first house on the left and say "Hello" to Governor Douglas H. Johnston's cousin and the area's first citizen, Albert Sidney Johnston. To see his rose bush fence the full length of his field, by the side of the road, is in itself worth the trip.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

CENTENNIAL OF THE CALIFORNIA TRAIL IN OKLAHOMA

The opening of the California Trail for "Gold Seekers" making their way west across the Indian Territory one hundred years ago may be classed as another one of those openings to this land, for which Oklahoma is famous in history. While the opening of the Trail was not a land opening like the nine others recorded here for homesteaders beginning in April, 1889, yet it was equally as colorful and romantic and of even more significance in the development of the Great West in America.

The California Trail lay west from Fort Smith, following the south side of the Arkansas and the Canadian rivers across the state to the Antelope Hills that had marked the international boundary line (100th Meridian) with Mexico, and later with Texas. During the height of the excitement in the Gold Rush to California, Oklahoma had its full share of emigrants that literally poured out of the East across the continent. The first three weeks in April, 1849, alone saw more than 400 hundred leave Fort Smith, entering the Indian Territory and traveling in long trains of ox wagons, pack mules, and fine saddle horses. Their story and that of the opening of the California Trail through Oklahoma are told in Grant Foreman's *Marcy and the Gold Seekers* (Norman, 1939).

Under *Orders No. 5* issued from "Headquarters Seventh Military" and dated Fort Smith, April 2, 1849, "to establish the best route from this point to New Mexico and California" and to improve a road when necessary "wholly on south side of the river [Canadian]," Capt. R. B. Marcy set out from Ft. Smith in command of two military detachments: Lt. J. Buford and 26 non-commissioned officers and privates, F Co., 1st Dragoons; and Lts. M. P. Harrison and J. Updegraff and 50 non-commissioned officers and privates, 5th Inf. The command also served as a military escort for the emigrant trains leaving Ft. Smith early in April, traveling on the south side of the Canadian River, and departing from the last encampment in Oklahoma, in view of the Antelope Hills on May 31, 1849.

Captain Marcy's report of this expedition gives the account of the beginnings of the California Trail, the route followed for more than fifty years, by many parties westward bound through the Indian Territory. Now obliterated, the Trail can only be pointed to in places by pioneers familiar with the wide roadway and some of the well known crossings and camp grounds. One of these

camp grounds near a large spring was on the old ranch of Mrs. Jessie E. Moore, in the vicinity of Wayne, McClain County.

To commemorate the centennial of the California Trail and Captain Marcy's expedition with the "Gold Seekers" through Oklahoma, the Historical Society's Committee on Marking Historic Sites, Maj. Gen. Wm. S. Key, Chairman, has selected Captain Marcy's encampment in the region of the Antelope Hills as one of the fifty historic sites to be marked this year, in the state. A handsome, metal plaque giving a brief history of the beginning of the California Trail and other important events in the vicinity will be erected by the Committee and the State Highway Commission, at the junction of U. S. Highway #283 and State Highway #33 in Roger Mills County.

—M. H. W.

THE LAST ENCAMPMENT OF THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC

An era has closed in the history of the United States. On August 29, 1949, at Indianapolis a few men who have passed the century mark met for the last national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic. Theodore Pinland of La Jolla, California, who celebrated his one-hundredth birthday in January is the last Commander-in-Chief. Of the more than a million Union soldiers and sailors who survived the Civil War fewer than eight were in the final parade.

Eighty-four years of reminiscences may have weakened the voices that rang out to cheer for the banner they followed through the streets of Decator, Illinois, at that first reunion in April 1866 yet there is only added luster to the love which glows in the dimming eyes for the grand old flag.

The last meeting of the Oklahoma branch of the Grand Army of the Republic which was attended by any Union veterans was the fifty-sixth Department Encampment at Ponca City on May 8th and 9th, 1946. State Commander, Sylvester Patterson from Tonkawa, was there. He died on October 29, 1947 and was succeeded by his Senior Vice-President, Moses Ratledge of Enid, who died February 15, 1948. Before the passing of these two a resolution signed by them as commander and vice-commander was issued requesting that the allied organizations (The Ladies of the G. A. R., The Woman's Relief Corps, The Daughters of Union Veterans and the Sons of Union Veterans) continue to meet at the same time and place each year as a "Memorial to the Grand Army of the Republic". This they have done.

Grace J. Ward
Union Memorial Room
Oklahoma Historial Society

ANADARKO HISTORY, 1859-1949

Ninety years ago, the first U. S. Indian Agency in Western Oklahoma was established on Leeper Creek, about four miles east of the present town of Fort Cobb in Caddo County, on the north side of the Washita River. This was the Wiehita Agency, later moved to another location, and now known as the Western Consolidated Indian Agency at Anadarko. On October 1, 1859, almost two months after the opening of the first Wiehita Agency, Fort Cobb was established by Maj. W. H. Emory on a hill, about a mile east of the present town of Fort Cobb. This post was the farthest west in the Indian Territory, and was named in honor of Ex-Gov. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, Secretary of the U. S. Treasury, 1857-60.

After the outbreak of the War of the States, two important treaties were made at the Wiehita Agency, in behalf of the Confederate States by Commissioner Albert Pike, on August 12, 1861, with the western Indian tribes in Oklahoma. These treaties were signed by the chiefs and leaders of the Peneteka Comanche, Wiehita, Caddo, Anadarko, Tawakoni, Waeo, Ionie (Hainai), Keeehi (Kieh-ai), Tonkawa, and some bands of Shawnee and Delaware who lived in the Wiehita Agency region on the Washita River. A year later, the Agency was attacked and the building burned (October 23, 1862) by some Delaware and Shawnee who had been armed and come south from Kansas on a scouting expedition from the Union forces, against the Southern Indians.¹

Judge C. Ross Hume has supplied the following notes about his home town, Anadarko:

Part of the chorus of the song, "Grandfather's Clock"—"Ninety years without stopping"—can well be applied to Anadarko at this time. In a study preparatory to writing the history of Anadarko, we find that about June 24, 1859, Elias Rector, Superintendent of Southern Indians, Lt. Stanley, Capt. Black Beaver, famous Delaware scout, and a cavalcade of Indians, soldiers, and Government employees selected the site, "at an old Kichai village," and located the first Wichita Agency; and on August 18th the two groups from Indian Territory and Texas Reserve Indians numbering 2500 to 3000 were united and settled here.

The ninetieth anniversary of this settlement will occur during the American Indian Exposition at Anadarko this summer, and might well be the theme of its pageant.

Another anniversary this July, 1949, is the sixty-fifth year from the beginning of Anadarko Masonic Lodge No. 21, by eight or nine of the early pioneers, and the old lodge building on West Arkansas Street is the oldest building on the townsite.

¹ See fn. 2, note on "A Natural Bridge in Oklahoma," p. 320, this issue of *The Chronicles*.

Part of the proceeds from the sale of town lots in 1901, at the opening of the Kiowa-Comanche country, was used in building four of the bridges across the Washita River which went out during the recent floods.

We have the oldest community in western Oklahoma, the first Masonic Lodge west of the 98th meridian, and the first Indian agency for the plains Indians, and Anadarko citizens should be proud of this heritage, and preserve it for posterity.

I have talked to many of the Indians and whites who participated in these stirring events, and am including them in a History of Anadarko, which is now in course of preparation. Missionary enterprises have also had definite influences on both Indian and white citizens through these years.

Our two museums and City Library are gathering materials which will help us to preserve that which other communities would give much to have.

A NATURAL BRIDGE IN OKLAHOMA

The following notes on the natural bridge in Caddo County, Oklahoma, were furnished by E. H. Kelley, State Bank Examiner:

Eight and one-half miles southwest of Anadarko, Oklahoma, Highways No. 9 and No. 62 separate at the northeast corner of Section 33, Township 7 north, Range 11 west. The Natural Bridge of Caddo County is in the northwest quarter of Section 33, on land belonging to Entaugo, a full-blood Indian woman. Many of her tribe have only one name. She is Mark Keahbone's sister and is sometimes called Katie Keahbone.

The best road to the bridge is one mile west on Highway No. 9, then turn south on a country road for a distance of 3/10ths of a mile. At this point the bare spot on the east side of this road is exposed gypsum, and a good place to stop the car. Enter the pasture and walk toward the top of trees appearing over the rim of a ravine to the east. These trees are just beyond the bridge, and you will cross the dam of a pasture pond on the way. There are three canyons in this pasture that merge into one on the north boundary of this section, and the bridge is on the central one.

This is a real natural bridge, eighty feet wide at its narrowest point. It spans a draw twenty-five feet wide and twenty-five feet deep. The roof floor has a thickness of ten feet or more at the piers, and five at the arch, that will bear the weight of the heaviest truck. Before the state was settled, a wagon road over the prairie crossed this bridge, the ruts of which are plainly visible today. The roof beneath the bridge is arched, and cliff swallows have covered it completely with their mud nests. These birds always build in colonies. Their nests are in the form of water jugs,

with the entrance through the spout, which is turned downward to overcome moisture.¹

This bridge is located in the buck-eye belt of Oklahoma, but these shrubs and trees have been removed from this pasture to prevent damage to cattle.

Members of the tribe say that an Indian War was fought over this bridge many years ago.² Mr. Ed Melencamp, the lessee of this property, found a skeleton in one of the many small caves around the bridge. It was rich with bone beads and bracelets, and stone implements of war. A caving bank near by, later exposed another skeleton buried in a sitting position. No scientific search has been made here, but it would appear to be a desirable location for archaeological work in our state.

My first trip to this bridge was taken with Mr. N. J. Dikeman, Vice President and Cashier of First State Bank of Anadarko. We went through the farm yard of Mr. Ed Melencamp, the lessee of the property, into his barn lot, through the feed lot and the pasture. There were four gates to open and close at each entrance. This would not appeal to visitors and would become a nuisance to the tenant.

My next trip some months later, I went alone and stopped at a point where the State Highway #9 crosses the draw on which the bridge is located, and attempted to walk directly south to the Bridge. The ravines to cross were so steep, and mud in the branch so bad that it is definite that this would not be a desirable way to the bridge.

¹ The history of cliff swallows was published in *The National Geographic Magazine*, April, 1930, p. 522.

² The war referred to was undoubtedly the Tonkawa massacre that took place on October 24, 1862, the principal engagement in Western Indian Territory during the War between the States. The day before the attack on the Tonkawa Indians, the Wichita Agency (first location about 4 miles northeast of present town of Ft. Cobb) was attacked and burned by bands of Indians that had gone north and joined the Union forces in Kansas, and had returned well armed on a scouting expedition to the Washita River. In the excitement of the Agency fight, a report had been spread that the Tonkawa living a few miles away had reverted to cannibalism, had killed a Caddo boy, and had been seen "cooking his body making ready for a feast." Infuriated by this report, the Northern Indians joined by other tribal bands in the vicinity set out after the Tonkawa who by this time had left their homes for Fort Arbuckle seeking protection at that Confederate post since they were armed with only bows and arrows. Overtaken on the way by the enemy, the Tonkawa suffered attack early on the morning of October 24th and were practically exterminated as a tribe, for the men, women, and children were hunted down and killed throughout the day. This bloody massacre centered in what is now Tonkawa Township south of Anadarko, Caddo County, but some of the fugitives were said to have been killed miles away. Of the Wichita Agency tribes in alliance (treaty signed there on August 12, 1861, Albert Pike, Commissioner) with the Confederate States, the Tonkawa were the most loyal to the South which in view of the time and circumstances was the main cause of the massacre.—Ed.

My next trip was to take Mr. R. R. Jackson, President of the Anadarko Bank and Trust Company out to see the bridge. He was chairman of a committee appointed by the Chamber of Commerce to escort visitors to the Bridge and he had never seen it. On this trip we went one mile west of the parting of Highway #62 and #9, on Highway #9 and down a country road south. Mr. Jackson's speedometer was not working so actual distance could not be measured. However at this point there is only one fence to cross, the trees that mark the site of the bridge are visible at all times and no ravines to cross. Just a walk across a ten acre pasture with the car in view all the time.

My next trip was the next morning when I went to measure the actual distance so visitors would not have to ask questions of anyone.

The confusion of names of landowners was ironed out by the Indian Agency at Anadarko with the help of Mr. Jackson.

The tenant Mr. Melencamp was introduced by Mr. Dikeman and he described the skeletons he found and the trinkets with them. He brought in the Indians who told of the old Indian war fought here years ago.

Buckeyes are in all wooded districts around this county, but have been removed from the pasture. The Indians brought them here in early days to use in fishing. Crushed and put in water they stupefy fish so they can be picked up by hand.

VISITORS TO THE FORT GIBSON STOCKADE

The following news item from *The Muskogee County News* for August 4, 1949, sent in by Mrs. Grant Foreman, of Muskogee, shows the interest of tourists in visiting Fort Gibson's historic sites:

STOCKADE DRAWS TOURISTS

I don't think the people of Fort Gibson realized how many visitors come to town to see the historic landmarks. So many folks tell Mrs. Ross [custodian] that they have trouble finding the Stockade.

The Park Board is planning to erect some markers over the State, directing folks to Fort Gibson Stockade.

It is puzzling to people from afar to stop in town and ask directions and be told, "I don't know," or send them in the wrong way.

During the month of July, this summer, there were people registered from a great many states; Ohio, Maryland, Arkansas, Illinois California, Missouri, Texas, Arizona, Louisiana, Florida, Kansas, Colorado, North Carolina, Michigan, Iowa, Delaware, New York, New Mexico, as well as South America and Cuba.

THE WILEY POST AIRPORT

By request of the Editorial Department of *The Chronicles*, the following brief history of Wiley Post Airport was received from J. H. Burke, President of Burke Aviation Corporation, Oklahoma City:

The Wiley Post Airport, located on the shores of beautiful Lake Hefner northwest of Oklahoma City, was established in 1928 and is the State's oldest commercial airport. It has been the home field of the late Wiley Post, who made contributions to the altitude and long-distance navigation flight problems in the early 1930's. Wiley Post Airport was also the home of the Braniff Airways, Inc. and contributed much to the early development of scheduled air carriers.

This Airport was the hub of a system of military training fields for both the Air Force and the Navy during the last world war, and has been the place where many brilliant careers of leading Oklahomans have begun in both civil and military aviation.

It is now owned and operated by the Burke Aviation Corporation as a private field where flight training, aircraft service and storage are offered to the public, and is one of the most complete and beautiful private airfields in the southwest.

SPARTAN SCHOOL OF AERONAUTICS—TULSA

By request of the Editorial Department of *The Chronicles*, the following history of Spartan School of Aeronautics, Tulsa, was received from Glenn O. Hopkins, Placement Manager of Spartan School:

Spartan School of Aeronautics had its beginning in one small hangar in 1928. The purpose was to train pilots and mechanics for the aircraft then being produced by the Spartan Aircraft Company. Constant expansion to keep pace with the Aviation Industry has led to the development of eight schools and the Spartan College of Aeronautical Engineering, housed in 28 modern buildings with a capacity of 2000 students. Courses are offered for practically every aviation objective.

In 1939, Spartan was one of nine schools chosen to train aviation cadets for the expanding Air Corps. Due to the urgent demand for more cadet training, a branch of the flight school was opened in 1940 at Muskogee, Oklahoma. In 1941, Spartan was awarded the primary, advanced and instrument flight training of British pilots who came 4000 miles to train at Spartan's British Flying Training School at Miami, Oklahoma. In those war years more than twelve thousand pilots were enrolled in the three Spartan schools.

In 1939, the War Department chose Spartan and five other civilian schools for aviation mechanic training. Spartan trained over 5,000 Air Force Mechanics.

The Civil Aeronautics Administration and the State Department in 1942 gave further recognition to Spartan by designating it the training agency for Inter-American Aviation Mechanic Training. Students were enrolled from thirteen South and Central American countries.

These activities have contributed to Spartan's facilities and experience in aeronautical training and today are benefiting young men and women from all over the world in their preparation for aviation careers.

Spartan now offers the following ground school courses:

Aeronautical Engineering—leading to an Associate in Arts Degree in Aeronautical Engineering.

Airline Maintenance Engineer—a course which includes the basic Aeronautical Engineering subjects plus the necessary instruction for C. A. A. Aircraft and Aircraft Engine Mechanic Certificates.

Flight Engineer Course

Aircraft and Aircraft Engine Mechanic Course

Weather Forecasting Course

Standard Instrument and Electrical Instrument Technician Course

Link Trainer Operator Course

Radio Technician and Radio Engineering Course

Airport Management Course

Parachute Rigger Course

Ground Instructor Rating Course

The School of Flight offers training for the following C. A. A. Ratings:

Private Pilot, Private Pilot Seaplane, Commercial Pilot, Flight Instructor, Instrument Pilot, Multi-Engine Pilot, and Seaplane Rating.

Under the guidance of Capt. Maxwell W. Balfour since 1939, Spartan School of Aeronautics has pioneered many ideas in methods of instruction and in new courses to fit the needs of the time. Two courses of particular interest are the Ground School Instructor & Rating Course and the Multi-Engine Maintenance Mechanic-Flight Engineer Course.

Realizing the great need for properly trained Pilot Ground School Instructors, a course which includes not only the technical knowledge necessary for the training of pilots, but also the basic theories of the psychology of instruction and methods of instruction was instituted in the Spartan curriculum. For the Spartan graduate this has meant greater earning power and for the industry as a whole it has supplied instructors capable of producing better qualified and safer pilots.

While the basic knowledge acquired in the approved C. A. A. curriculum for Aircraft and Aircraft Engine Mechanic Certificates produces a mechanic well versed in general knowledge of all types of aircraft, it does not produce a mechanic with sufficient knowledge of the present day large commercial aircraft used by the major airlines. Concern over this situation and anticipation of the requirement of Flight Engineers on heavy commercial aircraft resulted in the organization of the Multi-Engine Maintenance Mechanic-Flight Engineer Course at Spartan. Graduate A & E Mechanics are given a complete indoctrination on present day four-engine commercial transport planes plus the requirements for the flight engineer ground school examinations. Experience with the Link Trainer as a safe and economical method of giving flight instrument training to pilots gave the idea of such simulated training for prospective flight engineers. Using the Link trainer as the foundation and installing the necessary instrumentation for a flight engineer station, the personnel of Spartan School produced a Synthetic Flight Engineer Trainer. Herein can be given training in flight engineer problems which would be impossible to demonstrate in actual flight because of the danger and possibility of damage to very expensive equipment. The excellence of the instruction in this course was rewarded on May 3, 1949. The C. A. A. authorized Spartan to train flight engineers and gave recognition to the Synthetic Flight Engineer Trainer

by allowing credit for 12 1/2 hours of the required 25 hours of actual flight training required for certification as a flight Engineer.

Through constant vigilance and application of the experience gained in years of training, schools such as Spartan School of Aeronautics are contributing to the rapid advancement of Aviation.

VANCE AIR FORCE BASE—ENID

By request of the Editorial Department of *The Chronicles*, the following history of Enid Air Force Base and its reactivation as Vance Air Force Base was received from the Office of James G. Fussell, Capt., U. S. Air Force Headquarters, 3575th Pilot Training Wing (AME), Vance Air Force Base, Enid:

ENID AIR FORCE BASE

Enid Air Force Base, home of the 3575th Pilot Training Wing, Advanced Multi-Engine, is one of the newer stations in the Air Training Command. Reactivated on August 1, 1948, the base was assigned the mission of training students to fly B-25 aircraft.

The Enid base opened originally in December 1941 as Enid Army Air Field, and was utilized for basic training of aviation cadets. In 1945 the primary mission of the station changed, with B-25 instruction becoming the principal function. Chemical warfare and allied schools also were established to train enlisted men for overseas service.

At the close of hostilities following World War II, the station was deactivated, and from late in 1946 until the summer of 1948, operated with a stand-by crew.

Commanded by Colonel John G. Fowler, rated command pilot, combat observer, and senior aircraft observer, the base will graduate its second class of aviation cadets in June.

Enid is one of two stations in the Training Command which gives B-25 instruction. The other advanced multi-engine school has been located at Barksdale AFB, Shreveport, La. Aviation cadets are selected for multi-engine aircraft for advanced training at Enid after they complete basic pilot training at Goodfellow, Randolph, Waco, and Perrin AFB's.

Enid's first class of students—24 student officers—arrived in October 1948 for advanced training. In January 1949, 50 cadets were transferred to Enid from Barksdale AFB to complete the last two months of their advanced course. On 25 February, the first graduation exercises were held, with the student officers receiving their pilot wings, and 49 cadets their wings and commissions as second lieutenants, 13 of them in the regular Air Force as "Distinguished cadets."

Class 49-B, consisting of 154 cadets fresh from basic pilot training at Perrin and Goodfellow AFB's began advanced training at Enid early in March. After their graduation on June 17, Class 49-C will succeed them, 300 cadets strong. New classes will enter training thereafter at 6-week intervals, spending four months at Enid before graduating. Under the new 8-class program instituted by the Air Force, Enid will have a constant 398 students in training at all times.

In the flying syllabus at this station, transition flying, day-night navigation hops, instrument flights, and formation tactics make up the bulk of the instruction. Flying B-25's, however, is only one phase of the program. Almost equal emphasis is placed on academic and military instruction.

At graduation from Enid AFB, outgoing students are assigned to tactical outfits where they continue training in combat aircraft; to other Training Command installations as flying instructors; or to the Military Air Transport Service as transport pilots.

A secondary mission assigned the base shortly after its reactivation already has been accomplished. "Project Mothball", an aircraft modification project, has converted 56 wartime B-25's into training ships by the base shops. The planes, placed in desert storage at Pyote, Texas near the end of the war, were stripped of guns and armament and streamlined for pilot training.

Enid AFB is located four miles directly south of the city of Enid, whose population, according to a recent unofficial survey, is 37,000. The approximate 200 frame buildings which house personnel, offices, shops, and aircraft are of the construction known to the services as "Mobilization" type, and cover 740 acres.

Many expansions and improvements are in the planning stage, including family housing for officers and NCO's, extensions of runways and ramps, laying out a golf course, and gradually replacing temporary structures with permanent-type buildings.

With total strength of 2,320 May 1, 1949, including officers, airmen, and civilian employees, the gross payroll of the base figures approximately four-and-a-half million dollars each year.

VANCE AIR FORCE BASE*

Vance Air Force Base will observe its first year of operation on Monday, August 1, 1949. Just one year ago this week, the base was beginning the painful process of reactivation.

Measured in time alone, a year is not long. But measured in accomplishment, the past 12 months were crowded full of reactivation problems encountered and overcome.

A year ago a group of deserted buildings drowning in the Oklahoma sun, today Vance AFB is alive with activity, a smoothly operating training component of the United States Air Force, and a \$5,000,000 a year industry for the city of Enid.

The buzzing of bees in last July's waist-high grass has been replaced by the round-the-clock roar of B-25 engines.

With a current strength of 220 officers, nearly 1,900 airmen, and 460 civilian employees, this week Vance AFB was over the highest hurdles and ready to embark on its second year of operation.

First on the scene at the base's rebirth after nearly two years of deactivation were the 25 men—most of them with the Fire Department—who were the caretaking detachment. A small group of men also remained to operate the airways station, to provide flight information for aircraft in this vicinity.

* News release to Enid papers, July 27, 1949.

As early as last May, when Washington announced that the Enid base was to be restored to activity, the standby crew began preparations, opening barracks and office buildings, and battling the weeds and tall grass that overran the base.

On 18 July the first advance party of mess personnel arrived in Enid from Barksdale AFB, Shreveport, La., the parent station responsible for opening the field. The 20 men who set up the mess hall served their first meal 10 days later, feeding 136 men.

When orders officially reactivated the base effective August 1, 1948, there were 15 officers on duty, and 162 airmen.

August was a month of feverish activity. Work details were busy "GI-ing" barracks, chopping weeds, and sweeping out clouds of tenacious Oklahoma dust. Men who needed housing in town found quarters few and far between. Personnel trying to manage the complicated administrative details of setting up a base had to do their paper work without needed supplies, publications, forms, typewriters and desks. Long lines of boxcars full of supplies were shuttled onto the railroad siding, waiting to be unloaded. The unstacking, sorting and distributing of great volumes of supplies of all kinds was one of the most complicated tasks of reactivation.

"Desolate" is the word the members of the advance party still stationed at Vance AFB use to describe those first weeks a year ago. But, with a big job ahead, officers and men ignored the discouraging features and concentrated on the task at hand. Slowly, vehicles arrived, aircraft were flown in, and supply channels established. After a few hectic weeks, the reactivation party looked around them and found their labors had made the station a going—and growing—proposition.

On August 4, Colonel John G. Fowler took over as base commander. Throughout the month new personnel arrived daily from other stations, and by September 18, Enid AFB was ready for its first public inspection on Air Force Day, when hundreds of visitors came to take a look at their new peacetime Air Force.

The Berlin air lift claimed 200 airmen late in September, leaving a critical shortage of personnel just two weeks before the first class of flight students was scheduled to arrive. A number of the flying instructors, administrative officers, and airmen now stationed at Vance are veterans of "Operation Vittles."

Just as the base was ready to launch its training program in B-25 aircraft a secondary mission was assigned by higher headquarters. Wartime bombers, equipped with heavy armament, had been taken direct from the assembly plants and shuttled off to desert storage in Texas near the war's end. Orders came to the Enid base to ferry them here, strip them of guns and armament, and modify them for training.

On December 1, 1948, the first of 56 "Mothball" planes was flown to Enid. The depot activity kept all sections of the base in high gear until early April, when the last B-25 left the base shops streamlined for pilot training.

Two classes of students in advanced multi-engine flying have been graduated from the base during the past year—216 student officers and aviation cadets in all. With 238 students now in training, Vance AFB will graduate cadet class 49-C in the fall. The peak of training will be reached next February when 398 cadets receive flight instruction here.

Altho its official mission is pilot training, other events marked the first year's operation. Eighty airmen helped the town of Canton remove wreckage after last March's devastating tornado. B-25's sped two desperately ill Enid infants to specialists on life-saving missions. And on July 9, the base adopted the name "Vance", in memory of Lt. Col. Leon R. Vance, Jr., World War II Air Force hero from Enid.

With the building of a trailer court on the base to accommodate 48 trailer-dwelling military families, an effort was made to ease the housing problem in Enid which had plagued military personnel and civilian employees since the base was opened. Promise by Congress of on-the-base housing to be financed by the government came as a welcome birthday present.

Great strides have been taken in providing wholesome recreation for Vance personnel. Attractive clubs for officers and non-coms are in operation. A cadet club is now being constructed, and a service center offers a variety of entertainment for men of the lower grades. The base hobby shop offers space and equipment for all kinds of handiwork and carpentry.

On the eve of the first anniversary, Col. Fowler said:

"We have tried to make Vance Air Force Base a credit not only to the Air Force, but to the community whose neighbors we are proud to be.

"Looking back over this past year, we believe that a great deal has been accomplished in rehabilitating this station, and getting it organized so that it now operates smoothly and efficiently, and economically, making the wisest possible use of appropriations allotted us.

"We further feel that the merger of our military personnel and the townspeople during the year has been most satisfactory. The goodwill extended to us, which the base has wholeheartedly reciprocated, has been a definite factor in helping us mark up a year of progress," the commander added.

CORRECTION

A typographical error in the printing of the memorial tribute to Judge Thomas H. Doyle, in *The Chronicles*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (Summer, 1949), page 143 (last paragraph, line 5), gave the year of his death as 1947. The correct date is February 6, 1949.—Ed.

BOOK REVIEW

The State Historical Society of Missouri A Semicentennial History.
By Floyd C. Shoemaker. (Jefferson City: Mid-State Printing Co., 1948. Octavo, 193 pp. \$3.50.)

This small and compact volume is a most excellent presentation of why and how a state historical society. It is such a complete compendium of the inceptions, struggles, aspirations, individual leadership, growth and final victory in building a state historical society that it should be a "must" reading for every governor, legislator, board of directors for historical societies and all historical society secretaries and staff members in every State of the American Union.

The last five or ten years may be called a new awakening in worth and growth of state historical societies. One must make the distinction between a state historical society and all other kinds. A state historical society may be defined as a state supported institution maintained by appropriations out of the State treasury by the legislators of the State, and whose general functions are outlined and set forth in the Statutes of the State. Around this nucleus of endowment or support by the State there may be brought monies from membership fees, and personal gifts of money and material. But to be a state historical society it must have its support and rootings in the laws and the taxes of the State.

Mr. Shoemaker in most meticulous fashion sets forth the slow process of getting governors, legislators and leading men and women of a State to comprehend the worth and far reaching service, even the essentiality for a state historical society. He reveals with perfect clarity that a few zealous men and women in any State can do the job provided they have lofty aims, earnest devotion, unyielding will and practical plans.

The author states in the first sentence of the preface that "it was a surprise to find that only three similar works on other state historical societies had been published." These remarks held no surprise for the Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He has been impressed through many years of the sluggishness permeating the life of the historical societies. Even now many States of America have no such thing or if it is in being it is merely existing.

A quotation from the preface is helpful for this review. "The writing of a history of a state historical society presents some unusual problems to a professional historian because of the almost

bewildering variety of subjects to be considered." In a short review like this that statement reveals that one can only offer the reader a brief symposium of the highlights and the growth of the Missouri Historical Society as set forth by Mr. Shoemaker.

The Missouri Historical Society was established in 1898. Missouri failed to fully recognize the cultural significance of historical societies for eight decades; however sixty-five historical societies in Missouri of local sort were founded from 1790-1860. From 1850 to 1910 nearly fifty state societies were organized or reorganized; the middle west and the west leading. Admission of new states in the 1880's and 1890's advanced the historical society movement; four out of seven of these new States organized state historical societies within six years; one within twelve; one within eighteen and one twenty-four years before becoming a State. *Oklahoma founded its Society in 1893, twelve years before statehood.* Dr. Shoemaker says: "The procedure followed in founding the State Historical Society of Missouri was similar to the action taken in Kansas in 1875 and in Oklahoma in 1893. The framers of the constitution of the State Historical Society of Missouri quite obviously took that of the Wisconsin society of 1854, as revised in 1858, as a general guide in brevity and phraseology and that of the Oklahoma Society, which closely followed that of the Kansas society of 1875, in respect to such matters as ex-officio and editor members and a large number of directors."

On page 24 the author reveals that a young State may do very great things in the development of older States if those States are not beyond the point of receiving advice and counsel, for he says, "certainly, the constitutions of the state society of Wisconsin and of the territorial society of Oklahoma (which was largely taken from the state society of Kansas) enriched and guided the framers of our own charter." Those sentences contain a great tribute to Missouri and Oklahoma in building state historical societies. Oklahoma went to Kansas for example and guidance; Missouri went both to Kansas and to Oklahoma for guidance and counsel.

Machinery of the Missouri society serves to remove the management from partisan control. Actual beginning of the enlarged activities of the Missouri Society took place September 1, 1901 with an Assistant Librarian, salary \$60.00 per month, and the Secretary secured a stenographer at an expense of not to exceed \$125.00 from April 29 to September 1; thus the great and remarkable history of the state historical society of Missouri was launched. Surely looking upon the present status of this society at Columbia, Missouri, in the year of our Lord 1949, with its large and capable staff of historical experts lead by Dr. Shoemaker serving now for thirty-four years as Secretary, with its national world-

wide renown for its rich archives, for its great historical museum, for its collection of pictures and portraits and for its compelling force in every avenue of Missouri life and extending its influence throughout America, it is an encouraging note to every historical society in America.

With the demand for brevity in this review it is wholly impossible to set forth the value of detailed information found under the four divisions of this volume—The Beginnings, 1898-1901; The Foundations, 1901-1914; Building A State Historical Society, 1915-1940; Fruition and Maturity, 1941-1948: The Modern State Historical Society. It must be sufficient to say, with careful reserve, that Dr. Shoemaker in this book offers a complete, practical and even fascinating measuring rod for every State historical society in this country. If someone would develop a fund whereby the publisher, Mid-State Printing Company, Jefferson City, Missouri, could send a copy each to every director, secretary, and staff member of the State historical societies in the United States it would be money more than well spent.

The volume is well indexed and on fairly good paper; it is splendidly illustrated throughout.

The Oklahoma State Historical Society has already used a great many of the facts and statistics found in the volume and will continue to do so through a period of years. It is only by comparison that growth is measured and Dr. Shoemaker has furnished every historical society of the United States a wealth of comparison.

—By Charles Evans

Oklahoma Historical Society

NECROLOGIES

JOHN ROBERT REINHARDT

1876—1949

John Robert Reinhardt, better known as J. R. Reinhardt, widely known resident, pioneer merchant and civic leader of Oktaha, Muskogee County, Oklahoma, died at his home on January 20, 1949, at the age of seventy-two years. Funeral services were conducted by the Reverends Max Holcomb and C. C. Williamson in the First Methodist Church in Oktaha January 22nd. Interment was in Memorial Park at Muskogee.

His ancestors, German, Scotch and Irish, were real pioneers and active patriots against the royalists in the American Revolution. They migrated from Europe to escape from the restraint of conscience, settled in southwest North Carolina Colony, and their indignant souls were stirred to energetic action when civil oppression lifted its ugly head in the home of their adoption.

Christian Reinhardt and his wife, Elizabeth Warlick, in colonial days lived on a farm one half mile north of what is now Lincolnton, Lincoln County, North Carolina. They were great grandparents of the subject of this article. This county was named after General Lincoln who defended Charleston in the Revolution. On this farm and around the Reinhardt home on June 20, 1780 the revolutionary battle of Ramsour's Mill was fought between the Tories and the Whigs or Patriots. Ramsour's Mill was on a creek about three hundred yards west of the Reinhardt house. Reinhardt and his neighbors learned that Lord Cornwallis, then encamped at Camden, South Carolina, planned to soon invade North Carolina to put down the rebellion there and to support the royalists. About 1,300 Tories assembled in camp about three hundred yards back of the Reinhardt home and Colonel Locke with about 400 Patriots decided to attack the Tories at sunrise on June 20th, and did attack. Locke pressed forward with his men and a severe battle followed. In two instances the parties were so close together that they beat each other with the butts of their guns. At first sound of firing Mrs. Reinhardt hurried with her young children across the fields, and crossing the creek found shelter in the midst of a cane brake. After the firing ceased Mrs. Reinhardt returned home, only to find the dead and wounded strewn on the ground around her house. The moans of the wounded mingled with the wails of the relatives of the dead who came to claim them. In this battle neighbors, relatives and friends fought against each other and as the smoke would clear they would recognize each other. All were in civilian clothes and it was hard to distinguish the Whigs from the Tories. Such was the spirit of the times. In this fight Christian Reinhardt was a leader with Colonel Locke of the Whigs or Patriots.

Later Cornwallis left Camden, S. C. taking his army into North Carolina on his way to Guilford Court House and enroute camped four days at Ramsour's Mill on the Reinhardt farm from January 24 to 28, 1781, then they marched to Beattie's Ford.¹

¹ See *Historical Sketches of North Carolina* by Col. John H. Wheeler; *Greensboro Daily News*, July 1, 1931, Greensboro, N. C.; *Lincoln County News*, March 5, 1931, Lincolnton, N. C.

Michael Reinhardt was born at Lincolnton, N. C. in 1790, the son of Christian Reinhardt and Elizabeth Warlick. He was a Captain under General Andrew Jackson in the War of 1812, afterwards a member of the North Carolina State Senate 1827, 1828, 1836 and 1838, an extensive farmer and owner of a flour mill. In 1846 he moved to Marshall County, Mississippi, and in 1855 settled in Prairie County, Arkansas. Mary Moore born in New York 1795, a teacher in a girls' college at Rochester, New York, came south to teach school and married Michael Reinhardt at Lincolnton, North Carolina. Upon the death of Mary Moore, Michael Reinhardt married Maria Allyn, born at New London, Connecticut, 1790, who also came south to teach school at Lincolnton. Maria Allyn was a sister of Captain Francis I. Allyn, of New London, Connecticut, who at his expense brought to America in 1824 from La Harve, France, Le Marquis de Lafayette, his son, George Washington Lafayette, and the secretary, M. Auguste Lavasseur. The Lafayettes and Captain Allyn were fond friends after.²

Michael Reinhardt and Mary Moore had the following children: Adolphus Wallace, Daniel, Augustus Michael, and Lizzie. Michael Reinhardt and Maria Allyn had children: Maria and John D.

Augustus Michael Reinhardt, the son of Michael Reinhardt and Mary Moore, was born at Lincolnton, North Carolina in 1825, moved to Mississippi in 1846, and settled in Hickory Plains, Prairie County, Arkansas in 1848. He was a public surveyor, slave owner and farmed extensively. With the coming of the war, he heard the call of the South, entered the Confederate Army, became a Captain in Turnbull's Battalion, under General Morgan and saw service at the battles of Lookout Mountain, Chickamauga, and other points in Tennessee, Mississippi and Arkansas.

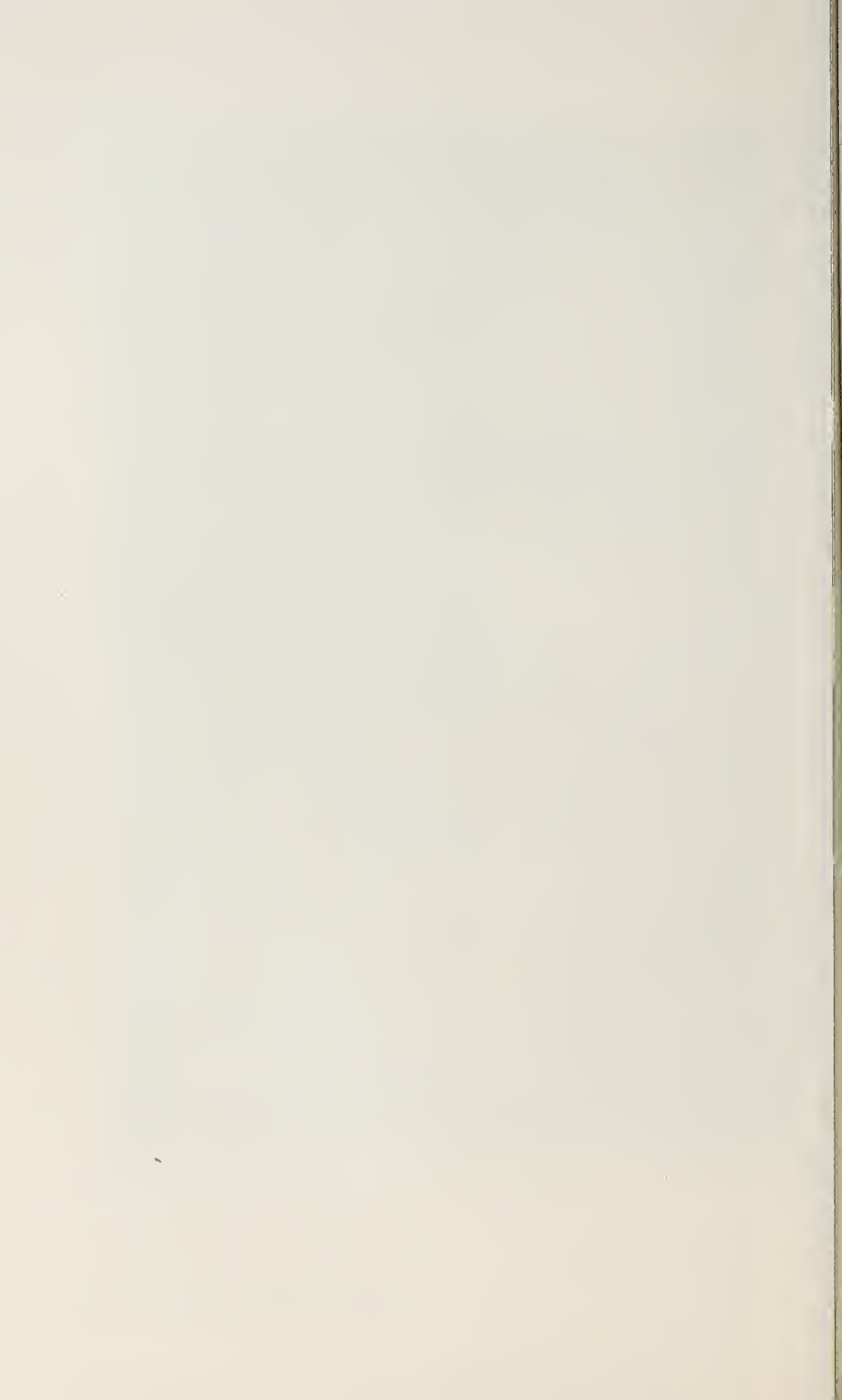
Augustus M. Reinhardt married Mary Rebecca Harshaw at Hickory Plains and they had the following children: Annie Reinhardt Perkins of Hattiesburg, Mississippi; Henry Reinhardt of Wetumka, Oklahoma; Mamie Reinhardt Conway, a teacher in Draughon's Business College, other colleges, and Henry Kendall College at Muskogee, Indian Territory, now Tulsa University at Tulsa, Oklahoma; Emmett Reinhardt, merchant at Des Arc, Arkansas; Clara Reinhardt Brady, teacher of history at Henry Kendall College at Muskogee, Indian Territory, now Tulsa University; Sallie Reinhardt, a teacher in Indian schools in Indian Territory, Mattie R. Reid (Mrs. John Reid), Stillwater, Oklahoma; William Reinhardt, a land owner and cattle man of Hickory Plains, Arkansas; John Robert Reinhardt, of Oktaha, Oklahoma, the subject of this article. All are dead now except Clara R. Brady, living at El Paso, Texas.

John Robert Reinhardt was born March 25, 1876, on his father's plantation at Hickory Plains, Arkansas. On this farm he grew to manhood, learned the value of labor and hard work, attended the schools of that community, and like many men of his day his first position was as school teacher in a school not far from where he lived. On March 25, 1902 he married Cornelia Ellen Dunkum at the Dunkum home near Hickory Plains. As a small boy and a young man one of his running mates was Joseph T. Robinson, afterwards U. S. Senator and candidate for Vice President of the United States. In 1906, Mr. Reinhardt moved to Muskogee County, Oklahoma, and three years later settled in Oktaha, Oklahoma, where for many years he engaged in the mercantile business under the firm name of Oktaha Trading Company, a partnership composed of John C. Brady and F. E. Brady and himself. After some years he purchased the interest of his partners in the business and as sole owner conducted the business under

² See Lafayette Letters, by Edward E. Dale, 1925; *Arkansas Gazette* of Nov. 23, 1947; *The Daily Oklahoman* of April 4, 1926.



JOHN ROBERT REINHARDT



the same name until his death on January 20, 1949. He owned and operated several farms in Muskogee County and engaged extensively in the cattle and livestock business. Following a true American tradition, his means at first small, his business was small, but under his sensible management his business expanded immensely so that at his death his landed estate was extensive and his name and store were favorably known and spoken of at home and far away.

Mrs. Cornelia Ellen Reinhardt, his widow, and two charming daughters, Bida Reinhardt York and Rebecca Reinhardt Priest survive him. The widow and Mrs. York live in Muskogee, Oklahoma, and Mrs. Priest teaches school and lives in Tahlequah, Oklahoma.

Mr. Reinhardt was Mayor of Oktaha, member of the School Board and Vice President of Muskogee County Taxpayers League for some years and otherwise never sought political favor. He preferred to discharge his obligations to his country rather by obeying than the making of its laws. His manners were frank and candid; and the more intimately he was known the better was he beloved. Long will he be remembered as a true man, a faithful friend and an upright citizen, conscientious in the discharge of all of his obligations and in the performance of his duties. He was a Steward in the Methodist Church and died as he had lived, a true Christian, placing firm faith in the promises of the scriptures.

—By William B. Moore

Muskogee, Oklahoma

JOHN LEAF SPRINGSTON

1845—1929

John Leaf Springston was the son of Anderson Springston and Sallie Elliot, both of part Cherokee and white blood. Anderson Springston was born at Gunter's Landing in Tennessee and after his removal to the Indian Territory practiced law in the Cherokee courts of Delaware and Tahlequah districts.

John L. Springston was born in October, 1845, near the locality known as Lynch's Mill, a few miles east of the site of the present Spavinaw dam. He received his education in the common schools of Delaware District. As a child he knew only the Cherokee language, but soon learned to speak English fluently. At the early age of fifteen he was employed as clerk and court reporter in Saline District but, ambitious to secure an education, he made plans to enter Shurtleff College at Alton, Illinois. However, before these plans could be realized the Civil War broke out and he volunteered for service in the Indian Home Guards, commanded by Colonel William A. Phillips. In this organization he served in Company I, commanded by Captain Whitecatcher. The service of this company was limited to an area not more than one hundred miles from the Spavinaw vicinity. With his company he saw service in the battles of Cabin Creek near Vinita and Honey Springs south of Muskogee.

Because of his education and natural qualifications, Springston was called upon to perform valuable clerical duties and to act as interpreter in connection with the operation of his regiment. After his service in the war Springston was employed as translator and associate editor of the *Cherokee Advocate*, published weekly at Tahlequah, where he was associated with William P. Boudinot, William P. Ross and other talented Cherokees whose influence did much to develop the character and education of

the young Springston. It was only natural that in this capacity he should have come to the attention of the Cherokee officials and that he should have advanced to the position of secretary to the Cherokee chief and official translator under that executive. During those days, he later recalled, he was personally engaged in every transaction between the Cherokee Nation and the federal authorities in Washington. In the early seventies he served as sheriff of Saline county and a few years later as clerk of the Cherokee senate.

While he retired from the *Advocate* staff in 1886, he continued his interest in newspaper work and in 1894 he was the editor of the *Tahlequah Morning Sun*, which expired when he terminated his connection with it in order to assume the important position of interpreter in the United States court at Fort Smith presided over by Judge Isaac C. Parker. For a number of years this court had exclusive jurisdiction over criminal matters arising in the Indian Territory, and as many parties to these cases, together with their witnesses, were Cherokees, it was important to both the government and litigants that an interpreter of the highest qualifications be a member of the staff of that court. The qualifications and character of young Springston having become widely known, it was only natural that Judge Parker should have selected Springston as his official interpreter. Here he continued an eventful and useful career.

During the first two years of Bushyhead's administration as chief of the Cherokees Springston was clerk of the senate and official interpreter during the entire administration. He also acted as interpreter for a special commission on citizenship. After the war he continued to practice law and devoted much time to attending to pension claims of Indians who had served in the Civil War and their heirs.

Mr. Springston was first married in 1867 to Sarah Eliza Moseley, granddaughter of George Fields, by whom he had two daughters, Ruth and Elizabeth. By a second marriage he had two daughters, Viola Dacre and Wenona. In 1885 he married Miss Alice Caroline Gray, daughter of Adolphus Gray, a white man of Raleigh, North Carolina, by whom he had one son, W. P. Boudinot Springston.

For some years Mr. Springston lived in Sallisaw, where he was known as a useful and public spirited citizen. Here he constructed a building near the Kansas City Southern Railroad station that was known as the Springston House. Later this house was occupied by the first Sallisaw public school. Afterwards he removed to Vian, where he became one of the principal builders of the little town. From here he removed to Owassa and still later to Tulsa to spend his declining years with his son, William B. Springston, with whom he was living at the time of his death.

Mr. Springston was described as a handsome man six feet tall, weighing 236 pounds and a splendid specimen of his race. He had much charm of address and was capable of strongly impressing the juries before whom he practiced.

In his late years Mr. Springston suffered from a heart ailment which caused his death on the sixth day of January, 1929, at the age of eighty-four years.

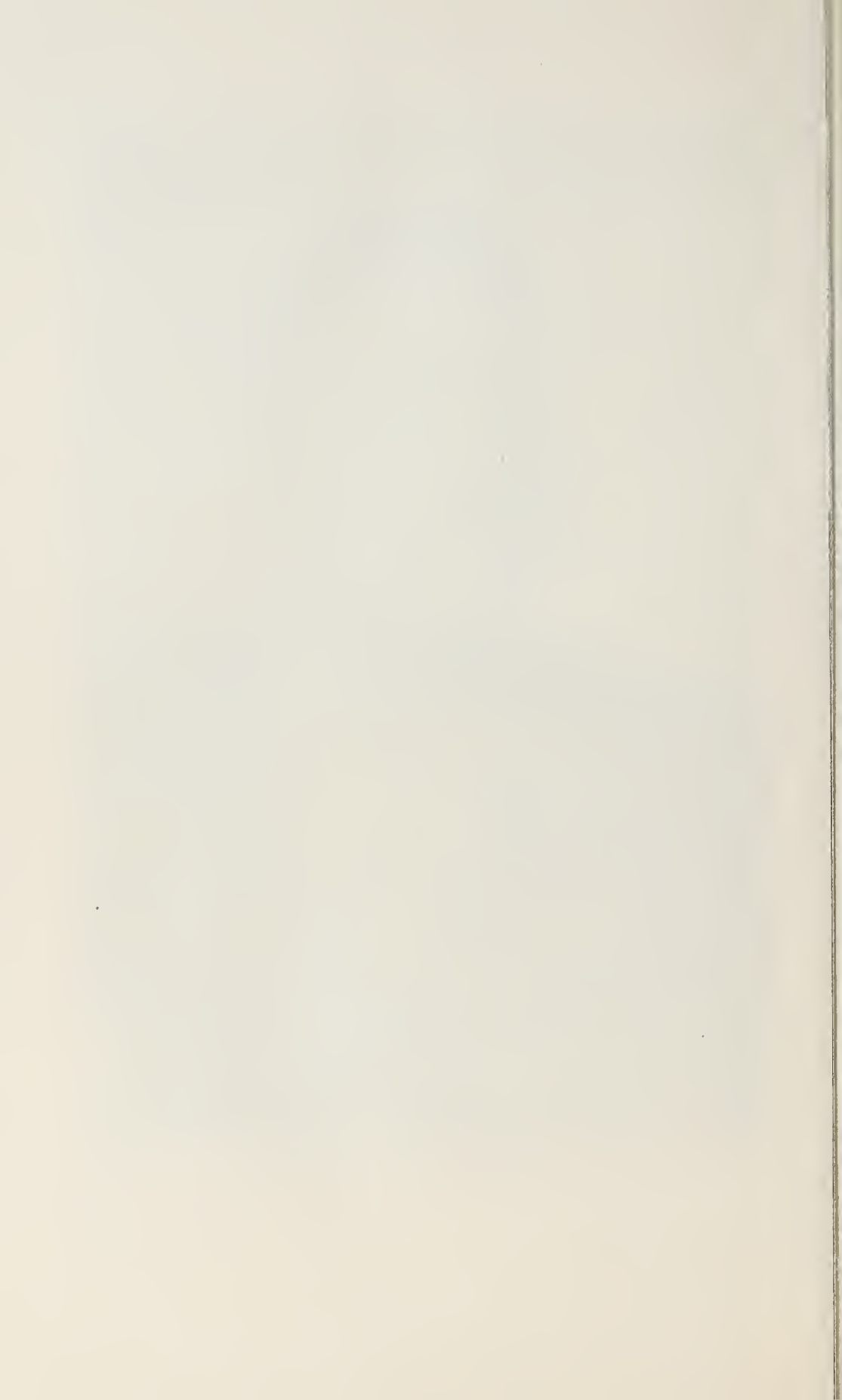
Records of historical interest and value kept by Mr. Springston at Fort Gibson during the Civil War, connected with the service of his regiment were recently presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society by his son, Mr. W. B. Springston.

By Grant Foreman.

Muskogee, Oklahoma



JOHN LEAF SPRINGSTON



MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY JULY 28, 1949

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, July 28th, 1949, with Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, General W. S. Key, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Mr. George L. Bowman, Dr. I. N. McCash, Mr. H. L. Muldrow, Judge Baxter Taylor and Mr. W. J. Peterson.

The Secretary reported that the following members had sent in excuses for their absence: Judge Harry S. Campbell, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, Mr. Thomas G. Cook, Mr. Edward C. Lawson, and Mr. Jim Biggerstaff.

Mr. George L. Bowman made the motion that all absentee members having good and sufficient reasons for their absence should be excused. The motion was seconded by Mr. H. L. Muldrow and it passed unanimously.

Mrs. John Catlett, together with a committee of ladies, was introduced by the President. The President stated that Mrs. Catlett was a leader in many of the patriotic organizations in Oklahoma.

Mrs. Catlett said that she was appearing before the Board of Directors in behalf of the Confederate and Union Memorial Rooms. She stated that she desired information on why the Senate Appropriation Bill No. 19 had been amended in such a way as to change the status of the heads of the two departments, and she desired also to know who had written the bill. She said that she had it on good authority that it was the desire of the Board to close the rooms and she wished to do everything possible to help in an effort to keep the rooms open to the public to honor our war dead. Dr. Harbour assured Mrs. Catlett that it was not, and had never been the intention of any member of the Board of Directors or anyone associated with the Society, to close the Confederate Memorial Room or the Union Memorial Room. She further assured her that as long as there was an Oklahoma Historical Society, these two departments would remain. The Secretary pointed out that on August 8, 1948, the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the Society met and decided on a flat ten percent increase in salaries and maintenance. This was presented to the Budget Officer, Mr. Roger Phelps, and the Department of the Budget, always helpful to the Society, wrote the bill in its entirety and made its own classifications of the positions held by the staff members. The Department of the Budget made it clear that what some called a "rider" or the repeal clause in Bill No. 19, was the very heart and essential part of the measure, because if that repeal had not been made the salaries of all employees could not have been raised. Mrs. Catlett was assured by all members of the Board that were present, that the two departments in question would be open to the public for all time, and to dispense with these departments was the intention of no one. The President further stated that the Confederate Memorial Room and the Union Memorial Room would receive the absolute loyalty from the Society, and by the same token, the heads of the departments must give their loyalty to the Society.

Mr. James Noble was introduced by Mr. W. J. Peterson, a director of the Board, who explained that Mr. Noble was President of the Creek Memorial Association of Okmulgee. Mr. Noble invited each member of the Board to visit the Creek National Council House Museum at Okmulgee. He explained that the Museum had on exhibit many interesting and worthy articles typifying the Creek Indians and their Nation. He said that the money for the support of their museum was derived from the sale of pamphlets relating to the history and legends of the Creek Indians of Oklahoma. He also stated that there were some exhibits that the museum, which he represented, would like to present to the Oklahoma Historical Society. The President, Dr. Harbour, expressed the thanks of the Board for his kind gesture and said that the Society would be glad to accept any articles that the Creek Museum would care to offer.

Mr. Ben H. Colbert of Tulsa, Oklahoma, appeared before the Board and reported that he had been requested by Mrs. W. R. Ingram of Ardmore, Oklahoma, to secure from the Board of Directors permission for her to have returned to her a military commission to Muchlamingo, a Chickasaw Indian, which was signed by George Washington. Mr. Colbert explained that this commission had been a loan to this Society. It was the concensus of the members of the Board that this document should remain here since the Oklahoma Historical Society, through a law passed in 1934 by Congress, had made this Society the official depository for Indian records of Oklahoma.

General W. S. Key made a motion that Mr. Colbert be furnished with a copy of the act and that Mrs. Jessie R. Moore explain the contents so that Mr. Colbert might convey its meaning to Mrs. Ingram. The motion was seconded by Dr. I. N. McCash and passed unanimously.

Miss Frances Haskell was introduced by the President and Miss Haskell stated that her mother had presented to the Society her inaugural gown in 1939. The President assured Miss Haskell that a special case was being purchased for the purpose of properly displaying the gown and that the dress was now on display in the museum of the Society.

General W. S. Key made a motion that a complete inventory be made of all possessions of the Oklahoma Historical Society, to be presented to the Board of Directors at their meeting in January 1950, and henceforth that an inventory be made annually. Judge Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion and it passed unanimously.

The President reported that an invitation had been received from the Shawnee Chamber of Commerce for the Society to hold its Annual Meeting of 1950 in Shawnee.

Judge Robert A. Hefner moved that the Shawnee Chamber of Commerce be advised that the Annual Meeting next year would be held in Oklahoma City. General W. S. Key seconded the motion and it passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported on the matter of the Robert M. Jones farm property owned by the Society. He advised the Board that a letter had been received from Mr. John Craig of Idabel, one of the State's leading lumbermen, in reply to a letter of inquiry from the Secretary as to the worth of the property. The Secretary reported that Mr. Craig had advised that the timber was of much value and that bids could easily be secured for sale of the land.

Mr. Mountcastle moved that Mr. Craig be earnestly petitioned to assist and submit the bids to the Board for probable sale of the property. Mrs. Anna B. Korn seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary presented the following applicants for membership: **LIFE:** John A. Campbell, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Charles W. Cleverdon, Oklahoma City; Harold Clifford, Oklahoma City; John G. Ellinghausen, Tulsa; Harry W. Gibson, Jr., Muskogee; Thomas Gilcrease, Tulsa; Eugene Lorton, Tulsa; Frank J. Meyer, Oklahoma City; Wendell Z. Miller, Tulsa; Mrs. Betty Buell Mulford, Tulsa; Vincent S. Mulford, Jr., Tulsa; Mel A. Nash, Edmond; Leita Davis, Edmond; Rosine Jenkins, Perry.

ANNUAL: Paul W. Alexander, Muskogee; Earle H. Amos, Tulsa; Roger J. Bainbridge, Oklahoma City; Mrs. C. C. Biard, Ardmore; Ralph A. Barney, Washington D. C.; A. S. Barrows, Kalamazoo, Mich.; Mrs. Clifford Biggs, Seiling; C. E. Bohannon, Muskogee; Mrs. Linden Bonner, Inola; R C. Borum, Muskogee; King Bostock, Tulsa; C. E. Bowlby, Shawnee; John C. Brady, Muskogee; Cecil F. Bross, El Reno; Ralph S. Brown, Guthrie; E. R. Bryant, Muskogee; Mrs. Leon Butler, Sweetwater, Texas; Margaret Castelaz, Tulsa; George Clark, Muskogee; S. A. Cobb, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Wm. S. Coker, Oklahoma City; Cecil T. Colclasure, Cherokee; Grant M. Colgin, Stillwater; Mrs. J. S. Crowder, Prague; Walter M. Davis, Springfield, Mo.; J. H. Dalton, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Lydia B. Deatherage, Tulsa; A. Rodger Denison, Tulsa; Lester G. Duck, Mooreland; Cecil R. Durham, Miami; Mrs. F. S. Etter, Bartlesville; Mrs. A. L. Fisher, Enid; Daniel Folsom, Locust Grove; Walter H. Foth, Cordell; Emma Galbraith, Springfield, Mo.; Claude Garrett, Ft. Gibson; J. F. Goodner, Tulsa; W. A. Goodner, Tulsa; Mrs. Chas. S. Hall, Broken Arrow; Mrs. Dave Hardin, Shawnee; Blanche Harding, Custer City; J. W. Hazlitt, Pauls Valley; George C. Henderson, San Angelo, Texas; Walter E. Hopper, Tulsa; Mrs. Viola Hurst, Tulsa, Mrs. J. F. Hosterman, Tulsa; Thomas A. Houston, Durant; Jerry James, Norman; Miss D. B. Johnson, Ft. Smith, Arkansas; Edith Johnson, Oklahoma City; Barbara Johnston, Stillwater; Lockwood Jones, Cordell; I. E. Kenworthy, Stillwater; William H. King, Hugo; T. J. Laws, Blanchard; Ida Mae Leavitt, Tulsa; Andrew W. Little, Cushing; David M. Logan, Okmulgee; E. G. McComas, Elk City; Mrs. John McEtchen, Sallisaw; James R. McKinney, Oklahoma City; George E. McKinnis, Jr., Shawnee; E. B. Maytubby, Muskogee; Mrs. George Metcalf, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Charles E. Neil, Oklahoma City; Mrs. John H. Poe, Tulsa; Carl Puckett, Oklahoma City; Jack T. Rairdon, Bethany; Mrs. Melvin G. Rigg, Stillwater; Mrs. Minnie Risinger, Muskogee; T. M. Tobinson, Altus; F. Kenneth Sadler, Muskogee; Mrs. Leila Y. Sewell, Oklahoma City; Carl S. Ske, Springfield, Mo.; E. H. Stephens, Osceola, Ark.; Roger L. Stephens, Oklahoma City; John S. Shaughnessy, Tulsa; Mrs. Leila C. Stone, Okemah; Mrs. Pearl Stone, Oklahoma City; Jesse Stovall, Cordell; Mrs. D. V. Swing, Bartlesville; John D. Thomas, Oklahoma City; Carl P. Thompson, Stillwater; Mrs. C. H. Tyler, San Angelo, Texas; Mrs. Christine Tyner, Skiatook; L. C. Walter, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Carmen Watkins, Heavener; Guy L. Widner, Tulsa; W. B. Wilson, Tulsa; Mort Woods, Ardmore; F. N. Woodward, Tulsa; Mrs. J. C. Woodward, Sallisaw; Sam Wommack, Shawnee; Mrs. Bida R. York, Muskogee; Floyd V. Yount, Anadarko.

Mr. George L. Bowman made the motion that each be elected and received as members of the Society in the class indicated in the list. Mrs. Anna B. Korn seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported the following gifts had been received. A letter written by Robert L. Owen to his grandfather when he was ten years old; newspaper clippings concerning Senator Owen and his mother, presented by Dorothea Owen; a small box of hard tack carried through World War I, a blue Navy dress uniform and hat, a white Navy uniform and hat, a khaki Army uniform, overseas cap and leggings, worn by Ned L. Krone from 1910 to 1919, presented by Mrs. J. H. Spencer, Chandler, Oklahoma.

The Secretary reported that the following pictures had been received; Two autographed photographs of Queen Marie of Roumania, Thomas A. Edison autographed, Herbert Hoover autographed, eight photographs of Robert L. Owen, Henry B. Stegall, Vice-President Curtis. Robert L. Owen as a small child, Queen Marie of Roumania and her royal family, presented by Dorotohea Owen; B-17 Flying Fortress, presented by Agnes F. Ray; thirteen scenes of early day Oklahoma, presented by Mrs. Lillie F. Rosenbaum, St. Louis, Missouri.

Mr. H. L. Muldrow moved that the gifts and pictures for the Museum be accepted and that a vote of thanks be sent to the donors. Dr. I. N. McCash seconded the motion and it passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported that the following gifts had been received by the Library: Scrap book of newspaper clippings on the early Statehood question in Oklahoma, from Mr. Claude Hensley; *Oil! Titan of the Southwest*, by C. C. Rister, from Oklahoma Press; *In-go-nom-pa-shi*, a book on Indian sign talk, from Carolyn Foreman; *Promised Land*, by Thorbecke, from the author; Arkansas Gazette-History 1819-1919; Collection including albums, scrapbooks, clippings and letters from dignitaries and royalty all over the world, from Richard Willoughby McDonald (Oklahoma City's Ambassador of Good Will 1939-1943).

Mr. George L. Bowman moved that the gifts to the library be accepted with thanks to the donors. Mr. H. L. Muldrow seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President reported the need of an electrical addressograph machine for use in the office of the Society. She stated that there was a difference in price of \$135.45 between the electrical model and the hand operated one. Mr. R. M. Mountcastle moved that the electrical machine be purchased out of the private funds of the Society. Mrs. Anna B. Korn seconded the motion and it passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported on the condition existing in the balcony of the auditorium, as related to the large amount of records being stored in this balcony, thus creating a fire hazard and making it impossible for proper preservation of these records. The Secretary advised that it was the opinion of the staff members and himself, that proper boxes should be purchased in which to store these records.

Mr. H. L. Muldrow made a motion that as much money as is needed, for purchase of the boxes, be made available, out of the private funds if necessary, in order that this balcony may be cleaned up and the records preserved. Mr. W. J. Peterson seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Mr. R. M. Mountcastle read a letter and report written to the Board of Directors by Dr. Grant Foreman of Muskogee, Director of Historial Research of the Society, in which he congratulated the Society on the progress already achieved and urged increased effort and support on the part of the Society for securing valuable historical material throughout the State.

The Secretary pointed out in this discussion of acquiring historical documents, that it would be necessary for the Board to acquaint the legislature with the need of an appropriation to secure this historical material.

Judge Robert A. Hefner moved that a vote of thanks be extended to Dr. Foreman for the splendid and fine service he has rendered this institution. Mr. W. J. Peterson seconded the motion and it passed unanimously.

General W. S. Key displayed for the Board of Directors a proof of the historical markers to be placed at historic sites over the State. He explained that the markers, made of aluminum, would be most attractive, erected on a post four feet high and stamped on both sides—parallel with the highway. He stated that fifty sites had now been selected and were as follows: Camp Leavenworth (1834); Wichita Village (1834); 1st Seneca Agency (1832); Baptist Mission—Westville, (1839); Fairfield Mission—Stilwell, (1829); Wheelock Mission (1832); Choctaw Agency (1831); Tahlonteeskee (1829); Dwight Mission (1829); Entering Indian Territory (East Highway #64); Fort Gibson (1824); Fort Towson (1824 and Doaksville 1834); Fort Washita (1842); Fort Arbuckle (1851); Tishomingo (1856); Miller Court House—1st Post Office, (1824); Eagletown and Stockbridge Mission (1819 and 1836); Tuskahoma Counsel House—Nanah Wayoh (1833 and 1883); Perryville; Battle of Claremore Mound (1818); Nathaniel Pryor's Grave (1831); Nathan Boone's Camp (1843); La Harpe's Peace Council (1719); Fort Holmes (1834); Sac and Fox Agency (1870); Battle of the Wichita Village—Rush Springs, (1858); Old Boggy Depot (1837); Union Mission (1820); Fort Wayne (1839); Fort Coffee (1834); Pushmataha on the Verdigris (1807); Sam Houston's Home (1829); North Fork Town (1848); Koweta Mission (1843); Entering Quapaw County (N. E. Highway #66); Durant (Gov. Williams' Home); Bloomfield Seminary (1852); Armstrong Academy (Chahta Tamaha)—Confederate Capitol (1864); Sasakwa (1848); Kaw Reservation—Charles Curtis, Vice-President of U. S. (1872); 1st Wichita Agency (1859); Washington Irving's Camp—Arcadia (1832); Antelope Hills (1849 California Trail, Maj. Long's Expedition—1820); Fort Nichols (1865); Fort Supply (1868); Darlington (1870); Battle of the Washita (1868); Entering Oklahoma—West, Old Greer Co., etc., (1820 and 1860); Fort Davis (1862); Atoka (1854); Okmulgee (1867).

Judge Baxter Taylor moved that a vote of thanks and commendation be given to General Key, the Secretary and Miss Muriel H. Wright on their great work on historical markers, and that the Society lend every assistance to the State Highway Commission in the furtherance of this important project. Mr. R. M. Mountcastle seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President reported on the need of redecoration of the Historical Building. She stated that the funds for this work has been appropriated for several years, but as yet, the work had not been carried out. The President appointed a committee composed of Judge Robert A. Hefner and Judge Baxter Taylor to see that this matter receives attention at once.

The President stated that she has received a letter from Dr. Grant Foreman offering to present to the Society a mural executed by one of the well known Indian artists of Oklahoma.

Mr. W. J. Peterson made the motion that the Secretary advise Dr. Foreman that the Society would accept the mural for hanging in this building, and also that the Society would pay all packing and shipping charges. Dr. I. N. McCash seconded the motion and it passed unanimously. Mr. Mountcastle promised to send the picture to Society.

In the discussion of portraits to be accepted by the Society, a motion was made by General W. S. Key that the Secretary be directed that no portrait or picture be permitted to be brought into this building without the request of the Board of Directors. Dr. I. N. McCash seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore stated that Dr. Foreman had written an article on "What the State of Oklahoma Owes to the Civilized Indians." Mrs. Moore

moved that the Secretary have some monographs of this article printed for the purpose of selling to the visitors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. She stated that the cost of having these printed might be paid out of the funds of the Society—recently appropriated by the legislature. Mr. George L. Bowman seconded the motion and it passed unanimously.

Judge Redmond S. Cole presented to the Society a genealogy of *William Cross of Botecourt County Virginia and His Descendants, 1733-1932*, by John Newton Cross and Mary Cross Cole, the wife of Judge Cole.

Judge Baxter Taylor moved that this book be accepted with thanks and appreciation to Judge Cole. Mr. George L. Bowman seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

At this point, Mr. George L. Bowman arose to say that for twenty and more years he had been a member of the Board of Directors and had watched the growth of the Society with profound interest. He said he was pleased with its continued progress through the years and he believed that it was a source of honest and splendid pride to the whole State, but in reading the last report of the Secretary, wherein it was revealed that the State through its last legislature had appropriated some \$96,000.00—far exceeding any other appropriation of like kind for the support of the Society, he held that a new era had come into the advancement of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He had heard this same expression from other members of the Board around this table, at this time, as new plans and a larger range of action had been outlined, and all were agreed that the Society was now among the three or four leading historical societies of America. Therefore, he made the motion that the President, the Secretary, the Staff Members, and all those connected with the splendid group of men and women serving the Society be rendered a vote of thanks by the Board of Directors for their valuable and distinct service. Special tribute should be paid Dr. Evans, he said, since single-handed he handled all appropriations coming before the recent legislature. Mrs. Anna B. Korn seconded the motion and it passed unanimously.

Mr. W. J. Peterson moved that the meeting adjourn subject to call by the President. Dr. I. N. McCash seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

EMMA ESTILL-HARBOUR, *President*

CHARLES EVANS, *Secretary*

May 2 1950

The CHRONICLES *of* OKLAHOMA

Winter, 1949-50



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Number 4

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* Deceased.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

DR. CHARLES EVANS, *Editor* MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Associate Editor*

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Volume XXVII

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CENTENNIAL OF THE NEW TOWN METHODIST CHURCH

By Muriel H. Wright

One of the early church organizations in the Indian Territory, the New Town Methodist Church located in the country about a mile northwest of Okmulgee, celebrated its centennial in September, 1949. This centennial was long overdue, one which the Indian congregation of the little white frame church with its steeple and bell had long intended to celebrate, for the first membership was organized in the Creek Nation 109 years ago.

Every mission church in this country was planted by some consecrated Christian character, the light of whose personality shines the brighter as his work endures through the years. The one who organized the New Town Church was the Reverend Samuel Checote.¹ Born in 1819 in the Chattahoochee Valley, Alabama, he was of the Hitchiti speaking people of the white or peace town of Sawokli, his family belonging to the McIntosh Party of the Lower Creek Division in the old nation east. As a lad of eight years, he attended the Asbury Manual Labor School operated by the Methodist Church at Fort Mitchell, Alabama. He came to the Indian Territory in 1829, his people first locating north of the Arkansas River, near present Muskogee, but later settling farther west in the Creek Nation, in the region of Okmulgee.

Checote's attendance at Asbury School in Alabama brought him under the influence of the Methodist Mission work in Northeastern Indian Territory where the Reverend John Harrell of the Missouri Conference held evangelistic camp meetings as early as 1831. John Harrell was transferred to the Arkansas Conference in 1836, to hold meetings and establish churches on both sides of the Arkansas state line, which was the beginning of his life's work among the Indians. During the years 1835 to 1844, all work of Christian churches was in eclipse in the Creek Nation, West. The Creek laws forbade Christian religious services, the bitter feeling against all churches and missions having arisen out of the troubles and difficulties experienced by the Creek people in their old homeland east of the Mississippi River before their removal to the Indian Territory.

In 1841, when the New Town Church was organized, Samuel Checote as a Methodist lay worker called and held the meeting secretly for anyone caught preaching the Christian religion was subject to penalty of a flogging of fifty lashes, under the law of the Creek

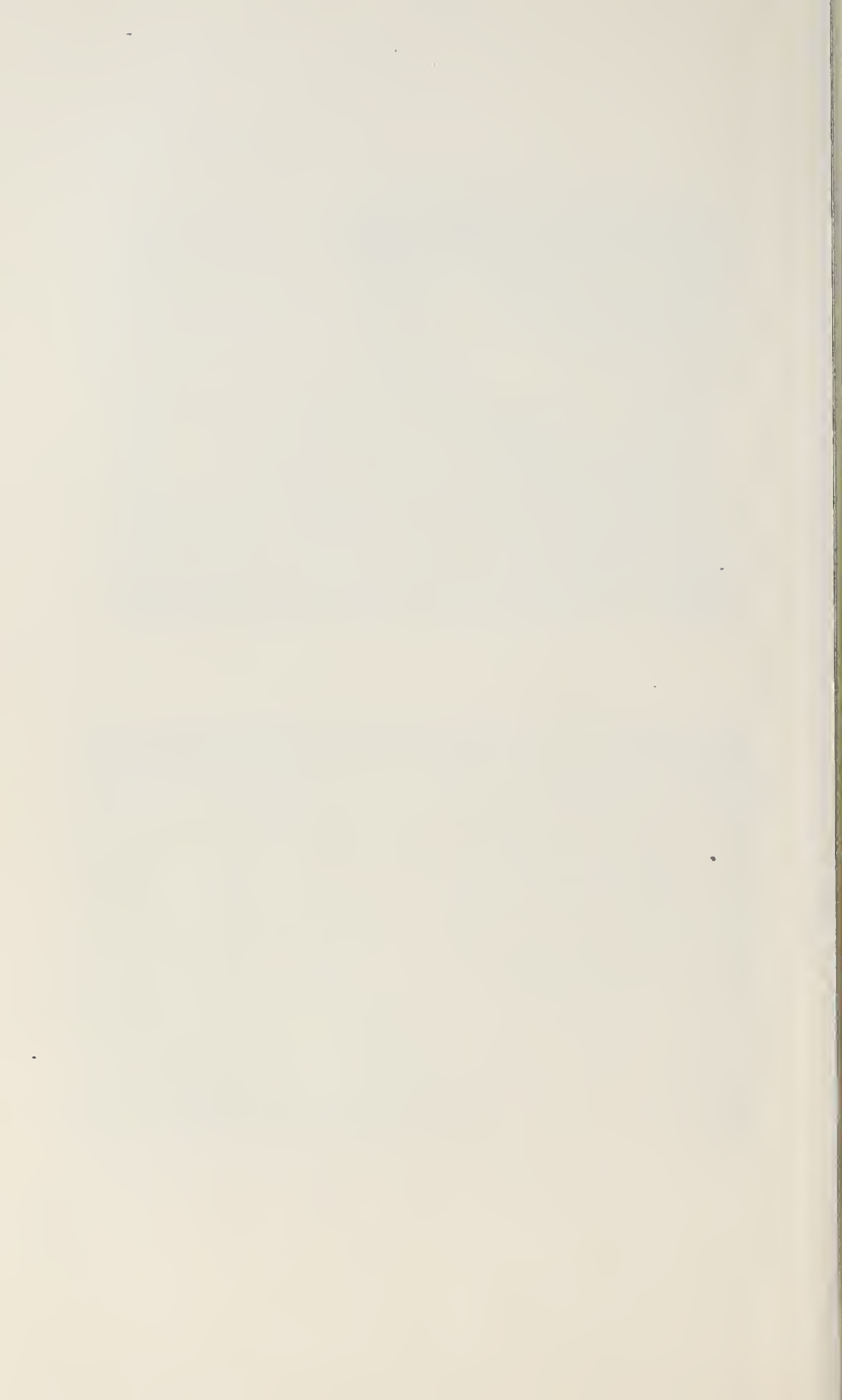
¹ For brief biographies of Samuel Checote, see O. A. Lambert, "Historical Sketch of Col. Samuel Checote, Once Chief of the Creek Nation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (September, 1926), pp. 275-80; and John Bartlett Meserve, "Chief Samuel Checote, with sketches of Chiefs Locher Harjo and Ward Coachman," *ibid.*, Vol. XIV, No. 4 (December, 1938), pp. 401-09.



NEW TOWN METHODIST CHURCH
1949



REVEREND SAM CHECOTE
1949



Council. Tradition has it that the year before he had been caught twice holding Christian services in a river bottom canebrake, and had been severely whipped both times by Creek officers. Christianity spread and was soon accepted by many of the Creek people, otherwise Checote would have been executed if caught preaching a third time. In 1844, Samuel Checote pleaded his cause before Chief Roly McIntosh, and the law that made it a crime to preach the Christian religion was abolished by order of the Creek chiefs and the National Council.

Checote's service as a Methodist pastor began when he was admitted from the Creek District to the Indian Mission Conference in session at Clear Springs Camp Ground, Cherokee Nation, October 28, 1852, and continued to his death in 1884, except during his service in the Confederate States Army as Lieutenant Colonel of the First Regiment of Creek Mounted Volunteers, and during his three terms as Principal Chief of the Creek Nation. In 1869, he was made a presiding elder in the Indian Mission Conference, and in 1882, was selected by the Methodist Episcopal Church South as delegate to the Ecumenical Conference in London, England. His absorbing interest throughout his life time was promotion of the Christian religion. As Principal Chief, gifted with high executive ability, Samuel Checote furthered and preached education, agriculture, and Christianity for the advancement of the Creek people and a more perfect system of their national government.

High tribute was paid this great Creek leader in the history of Oklahoma during the celebration in 1949, at the New Town Church which he had founded as a young man. His son, Martin Checote, had followed him in the Methodist ministry; and, also, his grandson, the Reverend Sam Checote, who is living at the the age of eighty-three, one of the most beloved citizens in the Okmulgee vicinity. It was during his pastorate at New Town Church, about 1901, that he and members of the congregation erected the present church building there, the original building of logs having been recently destroyed by fire.

For the Reverend Sam Checote, the Centennial at New Town Church was the crowning glory in remembrance of the Christian lives of his forefathers and of the Creek people who were counted in the congregation of the church during more than a century. He was present for the three-day celebration, during which he was greeted by throngs of visitors from over the country, among whom were members of other church denominations, white people and Indians—Creeks, Choctaws, Seminoles, Sac and Fox, and others. After the regular morning and afternoon programs, they visited to reminisce and renew old acquaintance and friendship. At noon, real feasts were served in the camp houses over the grounds, the tables loaded with food including some of the old time Indian dishes such as "sofky" (boiled hominy) fresh from the camp fires.

The Centennial had the active interest and support of the Creek Indian Memorial Association of Okmulgee, through its President, Mr. James M. Noble, its Secretary, Mrs. Jean Risor, and members of its Board. It was largely through their efforts that funds were raised and plans promoted to assist the 120 members of the New Town Church in the celebration. Its success, however, fully justified the weeks of preliminary planning and of work contributed to this outstanding event in Oklahoma.

The high light of the Centennial centered in the program given at the church on the afternoon of the last day of the celebration, Sunday, September 25. It was then that this century old Indian Church was recognized by high dignitaries of the Methodist Church and other leaders from over Oklahoma who gathered to pay it tribute. Those who appeared on the afternoon's program were Bishop W. Angie Smith of the Oklahoma-New Mexico Area, Methodist Church, which includes the Oklahoma Indian Mission Conference; Reverend D. D. Etchieson, Superintendent, Reverend Tony Hill, District Superintendent, and Reverend W. U. Witt, retired Superintendent, all of the Indian Mission Conference; Reverend W. W. Mansfield, Okmulgee Methodist Church; Lieutenant Governor James E. Berry, of the State of Oklahoma; Major W. T. Wheatley, Oklahoma City Air Material Area, Tinker Air Force Base; W. O. Roberts, Superintendent, Five Civilized Tribes Agency, Muskogee; and Miss Muriel H. Wright, Editorial Department, Oklahoma Historical Society. Also, appearing on the program, were the Reverend George Long, present pastor of the New Town Church, who reviewed its place in the history of Methodism in Oklahoma, and the Reverend Sam Checote, retired pastor, who gave his reminiscences, both addresses personally interesting to the members of the congregation and the throng of visitors that crowded the sanctuary for this memorable occasion. Every address was followed with the singing of old time hymns in the Creek language, by the many excellent native voices in the congregation. The whole program was recorded on a special recording machine for preservation by the Creek Indian Memorial Association, as a part of its archival material in the Museum of the old Creek capitol at Okmulgee.

In his fine address, specially prepared for the Centennial, Lieutenant Governor Berry paid tribute in this epigrammatic statement: "New Town Methodist Church was a pioneer in Oklahoma cultural life."

Another speaker pointed out that the history of New Town Church is living history. The organization overcame great tribulation in its beginnings and has endured for more than a century nurturing the spirit of loyalty to Christian ideals and democratic traditions. The Centennial celebration brought in review the forces and the personalities that have made this locality worthy of remembrance in our state. Thousands of such localities in America, each with its living history, are what make our country great today.

SOME HISTORY OF GRADY COUNTY
AND PARR POST OFFICE

By Hobart D. Ragland*

Following the Civil War, Mr. Perry Hall moved to a site just north of the big springs in southern Grady County from which the town of Rush Springs gets its name. He had formerly been a freighter from Fort Arbuckle to Fort Sill. His wife's name was Patsey (Martin) Hall and they were Choctaw Indians, having come over from Mississippi when this tribe was moved to the Indian Territory.¹

Their home became the stopping place for many of the early white travelers.² These travelers often came up the old Chisholm Cattle trail. This trail ran about one and one-half miles east of Rush Springs and some traces of it are still visible.³

In 1871 the old trail from Caddo to Fort Sill was cut through by the springs.⁴ A little settlement grew up consisting of some seven or eight houses and a stage stand.⁵ After the freight station had been moved to points in Texas,⁶ the little settlement practically died out. By 1891 only three houses were left.⁷

In the meantime, another settlement was growing up about four and one-half miles southeast of present Rush Springs. It is known by old settlers here as the old Huntley Ranch and Parr post office.

Mr. Samuel Huntley the founder of the ranch which bears his name had moved there in 1878 and established the ranch the next year.⁸ He had formerly been a freighter on the old Caddo-Fort Sill route. He had prior to this worked on the road-bed of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad which was built in the early 70's. Just before coming to the ranch place, he was in the employment of

* Rev. Hobart D. Ragland, Pastor of the Methodist Church at Rush Springs, is compiling a history of Grady County.—Ed.

¹ Mrs. Patsey Blundell to author. Mrs. Blundell is the grand-daughter of Perry and Patsey Hall. She lives about six miles north of Duncan, Oklahoma.

² From the article "John C. Bradshaw" in *The Chickasha Daily Express*, September 8, 1937, Sec. A, p. 11, Col. 3f.

³ H. S. Tennant, "The Two Cattle Trails," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIV, No. 1, (March, 1936), pp. 84-123.

⁴ From the article "W. L. McGranahan," in *The Chickasha Daily Express*, September 8, 1937, Sec. A, p. 11, Col. 1.

⁵ W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1943), pp. 357.

⁶ *Neath August Sun*, 1901, p. 24f.

⁷ John L. Coyle to author. John L. Coyle lives in Rush Springs. He remembers coming through here in 1891. His life story is found in *The Chickasha Daily Express*, September 7, 1938, Section C., p. 12, Column 2f.

⁸ Tennant, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

the government at Fort Sill.⁹ Mr. Huntley built a large picket log house on the ranch which consisted of five large rooms and two halls. This house not only served as his home but it became a stage stand and freight station for the local settlers who were settling in the rich valley of Rush Creek. It was on the roads from Anadarko, Fort Sill, Gainesville, Texas, Pauls Valley, Purcell, and the Chisholm Cattle Trail.¹⁰

The name of the stage company that operated through by this station at this time was the South West Stage Company. Two of the stage drivers were Noah Lael and Samuel M. (Mack) White.¹¹ Noah Lael at an early date had received a contract to shoe all the horses of a stage company which operated from Fort Arbuckle to Fort Sill. He later married Miss Lucy Harris, a daughter of Governor Cyrus Harris. He later settled where Sulphur, Oklahoma now is and became a wealthy ranchier.¹² S. M. White for a time ran a sawmill, and farmed. He later was appointed as tax collector for the western part of the Chickasaw Nation. He was appointed superintendent of Harley Institute in 1893 and served until its expiration when the Chickasaw Nation became a part of the state of Oklahoma. He, too, married one of Governor Cyrus Harris' daughters. Her name was Miss Melissa Harris.¹³

On July 11, 1883 a postoffice was established at the ranch. It was called "Parr." E. C. Van Dalsem was appointed as first postmaster.¹⁴ This post office was moved to Rush Springs when the Rock Island Railroad was built through in 1892.¹⁵

It has been claimed¹⁶ that Silver City was the oldest post office in Grady County, having been established on May 29, 1883.¹⁷ Fred is claimed to be the second oldest post office in Grady County, having been established on January 2, 1884.¹⁸ Actually Parr preceeds Fred by almost six months.

⁹ Luther B. Hill, *A History of Oklahoma*, (The Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago, 1908), II, p. 177f.

¹⁰ See the Map of Oklahoma for 1885 in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society; also, the United States Geological Survey, 1898.

¹¹ Article on "Ben F. Collins," in *Indian Pioneer History*, II, p. 186. (Indian Archives, The Foreman Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1937).

¹² Article "R. S. Dorchester" *Ibid.*, Vol. 79, pp. 378-386.

¹³ Gideon, D. C., *Indian Territory*, pp. 260, 261, Lewis Publishing Company, New York, and Chicago, 1901.

¹⁴ George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXVI, No. 1 (Summer, 1948), p. 221.

¹⁵ Shirk, *Ibid.*, p. 221.

¹⁶ Dr. Anna Lewis, "Trading Post At The Crossing of The Chickasaw Trails," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XII, No. 4 (December, 1934), p. 448.

¹⁷ Shirk, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

WHEN OKLAHOMA CITY WAS SEYMOUR AND VERBECK

By E. H. Kelley*

William S. Decker was an influential man in the Indian Territory. When John D. Miles, the Indian Agent at Darlington, Indian Territory, recommended him for postmaster at Cantonment in March, 1883, Decker arranged to operate a trading post for Captain T. Connell, at the same location.¹

Cantonment was abandoned in June the year before, and the Government authorized the Mennonites to occupy the buildings the following November, and quite a settlement had sprung up around the post office and store.²

* E. H. Kelley is Chief Bank Examiner in the Oklahoma State Banking Department. His story on Seymour post office appearing here in *The Chronicles* has been adapted for publication, from "Oklahoma Station," Chapter III, of his book length manuscript in preparation on the history of early banking in Oklahoma and Indian territories. In this story, Mr. Kelley offers a plausible explanation of the mystery concerning Seymour post office established in the Cherokee Outlet on November 15, 1886 (see fn. 12), yet given as the first post office on the site of Oklahoma City according to a newspaper item published in 1890 (see fn. 16).—Ed.

¹ C & A Volume #6, pp. #172 and 173, in Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society:

"Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation
"Indian Territory, March 6th 1883

"The Honorable
The Postmaster General
Washington, D.C.
"Sirs:

"In view of the fact that A. H. Todd, now postmaster at Cantonment, on this reservation has recently found himself to be an unfit person to reside in the Indian Country, and that parties now having him in employ at that place have been directed by me to discharge him from such employ, which will be followed by his removal from the Indian Country, I have to recommend and request the appointment of W. S. Decker, as Postmaster at said Cantonment."

"Very respectfully,
"Jno. D. Miles, Indian Agent
Per O. J. Woodard, Clerk."

"A branch store has been opened at Cantonment by Capt. T. Connell, Trader at this Agency. A full line of Indian Goods and camp supplies will always be kept in-stock."—*Cheyenne Transporter*, Supplement. Nov. 25, 1882. Page 3, Col. 3.

"W. S. Decker has been appointed postmaster at Cantonment. Mr. Decker is also in charge of Capt. T. Connell's store at that place and is doing a fine business for the Captain."—*Cheyenne Transporter*, Darlington I. T., April 12, 1883. Page 7, Col. 1.

² "The Military Post at Cantonment, Indian Territory is to be abandoned. The order is out, and troops are to be transported to Fort Reno, Fort Supply and Fort Elliott."—*Cheyenne Transporter*, Darlington, I. T. Supplement, June 10, 1882. Page 6, Col. 2.

Decker was possessed of much livestock that ran on the open range, and his brand was registered and published in the *Cheyenne Transporter*, the earliest newspaper in the western part of the Territory.³

He resigned these positions in 1884, and visited his home in New York, and when the gold fields of Idaho Territory began to show activity, he tried his luck at that game for one short season.

When a ten mile extension of the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad (Frisco) in the Territory was begun in December 1885, Decker applied for a license to trade with employees on the construction work. The U. S. Commissioner at Fort Reno signed his bond, and his application received approval at Washington on January 25, 1886, but before it could be returned to the Territory, the construction work was completed and the crews were on their way to Arkansas City Kansas. The Frisco was building a depot and other terminal facilities at the end of the track, and were going to name the place "Sapulpa."⁴

At this time the Santa Fe Railroad was making preparations to extend its line to Texas. Decker posted the required ten thousand dollar bond with the U. S. Commissioner at Fort Reno, which was promptly approved March 25, and was forwarded to Washington with his application for a trader's license.

He was granted permission to operate a commissary for the employees of the railroad for a term of one year from May 18, 1886, beginning at a point where the Santa Fe entered the Indian Territory, and terminating at a point where it left the Territory. It was a roving license that did not provide for the use of deputies, or permission to trade with Indian tribes, and specified no definite location for business.⁵

³ Advertising the official livestock brand of W. S. Decker is a picture of a horse with a branded circle on the left jaw. Postoffice Cantonment I.T.—*Cheyenne Transporter*, Darlington I.T. Nov. 28, 1883, Page 7, Col. 4.

⁴ "The work of grading the ten mile extension of the Frisco, west from Red Fork, has been completed and the teams and contracting outfits have been shipped away. Track laying began last Monday and will be completed as soon as possible. A depot and other terminal facilities are to be built at the end of the track, and the station will be known as "Sapulpa", after an Indian who lives there. All bridges on the extension are of iron and masonry, is first-class and heavy. We presume the future operations of the road depend to a great extent upon the turn of Territorial affairs."—*Indian Chieftain*, Vinita I.T. Feb. 4, 1886, Page 3, Col. 3.

⁵ Obtained through assistance of Senator Robt. S. Kerr. Page #166 Vol. 10, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., License #1755:

"BE IT KNOWN, That William S. Decker, of New York City, New York, trading under the name and firm of W. S. Decker, having filed his application before me for a license to trade with the Employees of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company, and citizens of the United States, at the following named place within the boundaries of the country occupied by the said Indians, viz; 'From the point where the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad enters the Indian Territory, thence southerly to a point where it may leave the territory' and having filed with me a bond in the penal sum of TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS, with H. L.

1676

Be it known, That William O. Becker, of New York City, New York

I am satisfied, from the testimonials which have been placed in my hands, sustain a fair character and fit to be in the Indian country.

Given under my hand, at the Office of Indian Affairs, Washington,
this 26th day of January, eighteen
hundred and eighty-six.

NOTE.—The License, as above recorded, is transmitted this 25th day of Jan^y, 1886,
to not sent any agent United States Indian Agent,
for delivery to the person to whom granted, and also copy for agency files:



THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Washington, D. C.

RECORDS OF THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.
Copies of Licenses to Trade, Volume 10.

Large Casinos

License authorizing William S. Decker to trade with the employees of the Atlantic & Pacific R. R. and citizens of the United States in the Indian Territory, dated January 25, 1886.

LICENSE TO TRADE WITH INDIANS.

Be it known, That *William S. Decker, of New York*

trading under the name and firm of *W. S. Decker*
 having filed *his* application before me for a license to trade with the *Employees of the*
Atlantic, Pacific and Santa Fe Railroad Company and Citizens of the United States of Indians at the
 following named place within the boundaries of the country occupied by the said Indians, viz: *From the point where the Atlantic, Pacific and Santa Fe Railroad enters the Indian Territory, thence*
south to a point where it may leave the Territory, and having filed with me a bond in the penal sum of
 TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS, with *W. C. Bickford, of Beaumont,*
Kansas and William S. Mobley, of Lawrence, Kansas
 as sureties, conditioned, as required by law, for the faithful observance of all the laws and regulations provided for the
 government of trade and intercourse with Indian tribes, and having satisfied me, as required by law, that
he is a citizen of the United States, and of good moral character, *he is* hereby authorized
 to carry on the business of trading with the said tribe at the above-named place for the term of *one year* from the
18th day of *May*, eighteen hundred and eighty-*six*, and
 to keep in *employment* the following-named person in the capacity *affixed to* name,

I am satisfied, from the testimonials which have been placed in my hands, sustain a fair character and fit to be in the
 Indian country.

This license is granted upon the further express condition that the said *William S. Decker*
he in accepting the same waives all right and privilege which
he might otherwise have to any claim against the Government of the United States for losses or damages, or both,
 which may result from the depredations of Indians during the continuance of this license and pending the removal of
his effects from the Indian country on the expiration or revocation of the same.

Given under my hand, at the Office of Indian Affairs, Washington,
 this *18* day of *May*, eighteen
 hundred and eighty-*six*.

W. A. B. Parker
 Commissioner.

NOTE.—The license, as above recorded, is transmitted this *18* day of *May*, 1886,
 to *the* United States Indian Agent, *for*
 for delivery to the person to whom granted, and also copy for agency files.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Washington, D. C.RECORDS OF THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.
Copies of Licenses to Trade, Volume 10.

Three Centimeters

License authorizing William S. Decker to trade with the
 employees of the Atlantic & Pacific R. R. and citizens
 of the United States in the Indian Territory, dated
 May 18, 1886. Revoked February 2, 1887.

Ever since the Oklahoma Colony had broken camp and moved headquarters into Caldwell, Kansas, the boomers had been looking for work, and the building of the railroad was a blessing to them that served a double purpose.⁶ It provided work for a good living and the opportunity to inspect lands they hoped to build their future homes upon.

Decker's first store was located on the banks of Salt Fork, two miles south of the Ponca Indian Agency, in the Cherokee Outlet. In this camp were approximately two hundred Oklahoma boomers, with their families. A tent city with a population close to five hundred, many of whom had friends in the states, waiting for just such news.⁷ Full post office facilities were available to the Boomers.

Bickford, of Leavenworth Kansas, and William E. Malaley of Caldwell, Kansas, as sureties, conditioned, as required by law, for the faithful observance of all the laws and regulations provided for the government of trade and intercourse with Indian Tribes, and having satisfied me, as required by law, that he is a citizen of the United States, and of good moral character, he is hereby authorized to carry on the business of trading with the said tribes at the above-named place for the term of one year from the 18th day of May, 1886

This license is granted upon the further express condition that the said William S. Decker in accepting the same waives all right and privilege which he might otherwise have to any claim against the Government of the United States for losses or damages, or both, which may result from the depredations of Indians during the continuance of this license and pending the removal of his effects from the Indian country on the expiration or revocation of the same.

GIVEN under my hand, at the Office of Indian Affairs, Washington,
this 18th day of May 1886

W. A. Bupshaw,
Acting Commissioner."

Revoked
February 2, 1887

⁶ "Speaking of Paynes' Oklahoma Colony, the Caldwell Journal says; Boomer-ville is deserted now, the Boomers having broken camp and taken quarters in the City and around the country. Some of them have taken contracts to put up hay for cattlemen and others, while others have gone to freighting. The offices of the colony have been removed to the City, and are opened out. The Colonists appear to think that President Cleveland intends to remove and keep all trespassers out of the B.I.T. whether they are cowmen, Boomers or others, it makes no kind of difference."—*Cheyenne Transporter*, Darlington I.T. Sept. 4, 1885. Page 1, Col. 4.

⁷ *Cheyenne Transporter*, Darlington I.T. Aug. 12, 1886. Page 1 Col. 4. Letter to Lafe Merritt, editor, published in paper:

Ponca Agency, I.T. July 30th 1886

"Dear Merritt:

"How are you standing the warm weather? I am on the banks of Salt Fork with my store, two miles from the Ponca Agency, and 35 miles south of Arkansas City. The railroad grade is completed to this point.

"I got my stock of goods on the ground in time to catch the trade of the railroad employees, there being 200 of them at this camp.

"The contractor issues his men orders on me for \$100.00 worth of goods at a time, I crediting them, and he pays me. The majority of the employees are Boomers, and have their families with them. There are about 100 teams working in this outfit, using about one ton of forage per day, which I furnish. The grading contract from here to the Cimarron will be let in a few days, when a number of large camps will be established along the line. The road will run through Oklahoma, west of Council Grove.

because one had been in operation here since 1879, with Joseph H. Sherborne as postmaster, operating under the name of "Ponca" until it was changed to Whiteagle in 1896.⁸

In the matter of construction time, the Santa Fe was limited. Under their Federal Charter they were required to complete the road by April 20, 1887. Contractors and crews were to hang together, and move forward as work progressed, and Decker was well appraised of all contracts and sub-lets, for he was licensed to trade with his choice of the lot. He knew definitely that when the bridge-crew would complete their work on Salt Fork in September 1886, that he would be setting up shop on the North Fork of the Canadian, and he informed his friend, Lafe Merritt, editor of the *Cheyenne Transporter* of his plan, who in turn gave wide publicity to this news.⁹

Decker turned the management of his Salt Fork Store over to Frank A. Waldo, and began working south. Unlike the Indian Trader Licenses he had previously operated under, that provided for the use of deputies, he failed to realize that this was a violation of his permit. As construction proceeded, the lack of post office facilities became more apparent. The office at Red Rock that was established in 1881 missed the railroad some distance, but provided mail service, after a fashion, for the construction crews. Its name was changed to Otoe in 1892, and it was evidently near here the idea was formed to establish a post office for the convenience of the construction gang and railroad employees.¹⁰

Application was made, with recommendations from so many prominent persons at Fort Reno and Darlington, that the location was registered in the Post Office Department, as being in the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation.¹¹ The application was approved

"We will be on the North Fork in September. Wishing to be remembered to Capt. and Mrs. Lee, Mr. Williams and others,

"I am, your friend,

"W. S. Decker."

⁸ George H. Shirk, "Early Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), p. 242.

⁹ James Marshall, *Santa Fe: The Railroad that Built an Empire*, p. 221. The Salt Fork was bridged at White Eagle in Oklahoma, in September, 1886.

¹⁰ Shirk, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

¹¹ Excerpt's of a letter dated September 21, 1949, from Forrest R. Holdcamper, for Director Industrial Records Division, The National Archives, Washington, D.C.:

"This is in reply to a copy of your letter of Sept 9th 1949 to the Honorable Victor Wickersham, transmitted to The National Archives on Sept. 19th 1949 from the Post Office Department and regarding the Post office at Seymour, Cheyenne and Arapahoe Nation, Indian Territory.

"The available records about the postoffice at Seymour indicated that it was established on November 15th 1886, with William S. Decker appointed as the ONLY postmaster."

Note: No reference was made in my letter of inquiry about the Post office of Seymour being in the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Nation. It would indicate from this, that the records in Washington had it listed as being in that reservation. E.H.K.

November 15, 1886, with William S. Decker appointed as the first and only postmaster. The Government named it *Seymour*.¹²

In December, 1886, a Senate Committee, investigating irregularities among licensed traders in the Territory, struck fear into the hearts of many of these operators, and the postmaster at Ponca had his license revoked.¹³

When Chief Engineer, Robinson, of the Santa Fe, in January 1887, made his announcement of the progress on construction, showing fifty-eight miles of completed track, naming the towns along the way, Seymour was not on the list, although the road was completed many miles south of where the town was presumed to be.¹⁴

Seymour was a good sized place, with one hundred teams of horses and mules; car-loads of wagons, plows, slips, wheel barrows, shovels and picks; a licensed trading-post; a post office that had been operating for two months; a city of tents. The largest non-citizen

¹² Shirk, *op. cit.*, p. 243, which reference cites the original, correct location of Seymour in the Cherokee Outlet, a site now probably included in Kay County, Oklahoma. If any records in Washington give the location of Seymour in the "Cheyenne and Arapahoe Nation," the information was based on out-of-date maps showing the reservation originally assigned the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes by the terms of the treaty made with the U. S. commissioners at Medicine Lodge Creek, Kansas, on October 28, 1867. More than one instance can be cited where changes in the map of the Indian Territory were not recorded by the Post Office Department at Washington, even though they were well known in this country from boundary line changes under Government surveys or from changes in assignment of reservation lands to different Indian tribes. The original reservation assigned the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes by the Medicine Lodge Treaty lay in the Cherokee Outlet and was bounded on the east by the Arkansas River, on the north by the Kansas line (37th Parallel), and on the west and south by the Cimarron River. When the two tribes made objections to this assignment and refused to settle in the region, they were relocated south of the Cherokee Outlet by recommendation of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, approved by President Grant on August 10, 1869. The boundaries of the new reservation were established by an Act of Congress on May 29, 1872. This was the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation known in Oklahoma, opened to white settlement in 1892 and now comprising nine counties and parts of counties in Western Oklahoma: Ellis, Roger Mills, Beckham, Washita, Custer, Dewey, Blaine, Kingfisher, and Canadian.—Ed.

¹³ "Senator Platt's special committee will shortly resume the investigation of the Indian Tradership scandals. Senator Platt is inclined to think the most economical method will be to have a sub-committee visit Wichita; Arkansas City and one or two other places near the border and take testimony there. Fives cases, all of them aggravated, will receive attention first. They are the Sac & Fox Tradership from which W R Little was deposed; The Cheyenne and Arapahoe license taken from Hemphill & Way; The Ponca Agency priviledge which Joe H. Sheburne had to relinquish; The Bishop and Nattock licenses for the Pawnee Reservation and the case of T. M. Finney who was trader among the Kaws.—*Indian Journal*, Muskogee I. T. Wednesday Dec. 15, 1886. Page 4, Cols. 2 & 3.

¹⁴ "Chief Engineer Robinson of the Santa Fe has issued a card announcing the completion of that road 58 miles into the Territory from Arkansas City. Four stations are established, called Willow Springs, Ponca, Red Rock and Crow Creek, the present terminus."—*The Indian Journal*, Muskogee I.T. Wed., January 19, 1887. Page 4 Col. 1.

congregation in the Unassigned Lands was not on the map because it had migrated south with road construction.

Decker's desire to expand his mercantile operations from Kansas to the Canadian, drew fire from the War Department, and through their efforts and protest, his license was revoked February 2, 1887.¹⁵ He holds the distinction of being the first merchant on the spot where Oklahoma City later built, and the first to undertake to establish a chain of stores across the Unassigned Lands. This revocation did not effect the status of his position as Postmaster at Seymour, and he carried on in that capacity, in a tent located about where the Santa Fe Depot now stands, and thus became the first postmaster at Oklahoma City.¹⁶

When the railroad was completed April 26, 1887, and construction crews were heading for home, the post office lost its customers, so Decker folded up his works, and requested the Department to discontinue the office. Believing that Seymour was located in the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Reservation, the Department ordered all mail sent to the nearest office, at Red Rock on May 13, 1887. And the town of Seymour dwindled to two small buildings.

¹⁵ Letter to E. H. Kelley, October 26, 1949:

"The copies of letters sent by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, include a letter of February 2nd 1887 to William S. Decker, revoking the license issued to him in May, 1886. It is stated in this letter that the license only permitted the holder to trade along the line of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, *and did not include the right "claimed" by Decker to extend his trade into the Oklahoma Country.*

"It also appears from the Indian records that the Oklahoma Country (meaning the unsettled lands west of the ninety-eighth meridian), was then under the control of the War Department, which was opposed to the granting of licenses for commercial purposes *at that particular time.*

"Licenses of this kind given to Decker were in the nature of a special authority, and not considered as authorized by the several laws regulating trade with the Indian Tribes."

Very truly yours,
For the Director,
Natural Resources Records Division
by Karl L. Trever
Archivist-in-Charge, Interior and Public
Works Record Section.

¹⁶ "I came into, now what is Oklahoma City, when the Santa Fe Railroad was being built through here. Mother had a tent along with the camp, and kept boarders. The Santa Fe had a camp three miles south of Moore. There was a Post Office in a tent about where the Santa Fe Depot is now, and the camp only got mail when someone would come into Oklahoma City. There were no bridges on the river."—Interview with Mrs. Jenny Robertson, 113 S.W. 26th St., Oklahoma City, June 14, 1937, in *Indian-Pioneer History*. Foreman Collection, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Vol. 42, p. 128.

"A Bit of history: The first postoffice established in Oklahoma was on a spot where Ok. City now stands, and it was called Seymour, W. Decker as postmaster. This was in '87 a short time before the Santa Fe built in. Decker was a licensed trader on the railroad line, and Seymour was given on the list at the post-office department as located in the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Reservation. The name of the first post office was changed to Oklahoma soon after the railroad was completed.—*Purcell Register*."—*The Norman Transcript*, Saturday, May 3, 1890, page 1, col. 1.

When a telegraph office was opened at this point on May 2, 1887 it was given the name of Verbeck, and operated as such for one month.¹⁷ When through train service was established in June 1887, the Santa Fe named the station "Oklahoma".

Business began to increase by leaps and bounds, and before the end of the year a post-office was established here and called Oklahoma Station. Two months later the first railroad agent in the Unassigned Lands was checked in. In addition to the hundreds of train loads of cattle, from Texas on their way to market, there were a thousand car loads of buffalo bones gathered and shipped from this point.¹⁸

Located near the geographical center of the "Twin Territories," in a river valley that evolved into a prairie extending from one river bed to another, with a distributing station established by the Government, and well marked overland roads leading to the Indian agencies of the West, coming events were casting their shadows before them. Deer Creek might get the Capital, and Walnut Creek the Division point, but with all of its natural advantages at hand "*Oklahoma station was on its way to town.*"¹⁹

¹⁷ "As the construction advanced to the south, telegraph offices were established at Ponca, now White Eagle; Mendota, now Perry, Guthrie, Oklahoma, now Oklahoma City, and Purcell, formerly referred to as Walnut Creek. These telegraph stations nearly all had local names, from streams, small settlements etc., but were changed by the Santa Fe. Ponca, being adjacent to Ponca Reservation; Mendota, changed to Wharton and later to Perry; Guthrie, first called Deer Creek; Oklahoma, first called Verbeck. None of these points had agents until the approaching opening in 1889, except Oklahoma. An agency being established Feby. 20, 1888, with A. W. Dunham as agent."—"Early Day Account Santa Fe Railroad in Oklahoma" by Frank J. Best (521 N.W. 16th St., Oklahoma City). Photostatic copy by Mr. Lee Lyles, Asst' to the President, The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Ry System.

Also, see reference in "Golden Anniversary Souvenir Edition," *Guthrie Leader*, April 16, 1939, Sec. A, p. 13.

¹⁸ Arthur W. Dunham in "A Pioneer Railroad Agent," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. 1 (March, 1924), pp. 49, 50, 51, made the following statements:

"On one cold night, February 20, 1888, to be exact, and at about 2:00 A. M., as near as I can remember, I got off the southbound Santa Fe train at Oklahoma station, where this beautiful city now stands. . . .

"The man I had come to relieve had been hobnobbing freely with John Barley-Corn, but I was finally checked in as railroad agent, express agent, manager of the Western Union Telegraph Company, and stage agent. . . .

"There was considerable business transacted thru this office, even before the country opened up, as Oklahoma was the only reporting or agency station between Arkansas City and Purcell, a distance of one hundred and fifty-four miles. It is true there were some telegraph offices like Ponca City, Wharton (now Perry), Guthrie, Norman, but they were established primarily to take care of train service. Freight could be sent to these places if fully prepaid and put off at the risk of the owners, but there were no regularly authorized agents to handle it."

". . . . During my first year we shipped out of Oklahoma station over a thousand cars of cattle. We also shipped a car or two of buffalo horns, and a number of cars of bones which had been gathered by enterprising nesters."

¹⁹ Post office "Oklahoma Station," in Oklahoma, established December 30, 1887, Samuel H. Radebaugh, 1st Postmaster. Name of post office changed to "Oklahoma" on December 18, 1888.—Shirk, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

OKLAHOMA'S EDUCATIONAL HERITAGE

By Oscar William Davison*

The educational development of Oklahoma is as unique and colorful as the romantic opening and settlement of the "Twin Territories." Woven into its educational history are the early-day mission schools, the Indian tribal boarding schools, subscription schools, national seminaries, the sod house or the log cabin schools, and finally the modern, well-equipped school plants existing today in the wealthier communities of the state.

Education in Indian Territory had its beginnings in the early mission schools of Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia, and surrounding states, where the Five Civilized Tribes formerly resided. Oklahoma "is a state that was settled in a day, yet one whose established culture owes much to those independent nations known as the Five Civilized Tribes, settled in the Indian Territory in the eighteen-thirties with their schools, printing presses, and democratic governments."¹

When the Indian tribes were removed to Oklahoma, they brought "mighty leaders, schools, a splendid home life, churches, and the printing press and set up laws, customs and courts that have given color, force and dignity to our history not bequeathed by Indian life to any other state."² According to John Collier, Indian education in America began fifteen or twenty thousand years ago; it originated with Indian life.³

FEDERAL AID APPROPRIATED FOR INDIAN EDUCATION

The Continental Congress appropriated funds as early as 1775 for Indian education. Thus a precedent was set for later federal appropriations for Indian education.⁴ Professor J. J. Rhyne writes that white men had scarcely settled on the frontier "before mis-

* Oscar W. Davison is Director of Adult Education in The University of Oklahoma, Norman. He formerly was City Superintendent of Schools at Chandler and at Durant. During 1945-46, he served as President of the Oklahoma Educational Association. His article contributed to this number of *The Chronicles* has been adapted from his thesis for the Ed. D. Degree, University of Oklahoma, 1949.—Ed.

¹ Front jacket, *Oklahoma, A Guide to the Sooner State, American Guide Series* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941). This book is cited hereafter as *Guide*.

² Charles Evans, "The Heritage of the Oklahoma Child," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXII, No. 4 (Winter, 1944-45) p. 376.

³ Evelyn C. Adams, *American Indian Education* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1946) p. xi.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28; William B. Morrison, *The Red Man's Trail* (Texarkana, Arkansas, Texas: Presbyterian Board of Publications, 1932) p. 91.

sionaries began preaching and teaching among neighboring Indian tribes."⁵

The earliest missionaries in the South were Roman Catholics, who established missions among the Indians along the Mississippi as early as 1726.⁶ The first Cherokee missionary was the Jesuit Christian Priber, a French agent who worked among the tribe from 1736 to 1741, when he was captured and imprisoned by the British.⁷

The first protestant missionaries to the Cherokees were the Reverends John Martin and William Richardson, who were sent to the Overhill Cherokees of Tennessee by the Presbyterians of Virginia in 1757 and 1758, respectively. The Indians failed to respond.⁸ But between 1800 and 1810, the Moravians had succeeded in establishing a number of missions in the South. They were quickly followed by missions of other sects. The Indians accepted the missionaries in exchange for the latter opening schools to educate their children. One group of Moravians were almost expelled because they were slow in getting a school set up.⁹ Far sighted tribal members had come to see the necessity for education, and voluntarily began acculturating themselves to the white man's ways.¹⁰ In 1802 Congress appropriated fifteen thousand dollars "to promote civilization among friendly Indian tribes."¹¹

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions established Brainerd Mission near the present city of Chattanooga, Tennessee in 1817, with the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury and Mr. and Mrs. Loring S. Williams in charge. The Reverend Samuel A. Worcester, Cephas Washburn and Daniel S. Butrick were teachers there. These men continued their teaching and preaching in Indian Territory following the removal. Some of the Cherokee students at Brainerd were Elias Boudinot, John Arch, Leonard Hicks, John Ridge, Thomas Bassel, John Vann, James Fields, and David Brown. Israel Folsom and McKee Folsom, Choctaws, also attended there.¹² Most of these names are well known in Oklahoma today,

⁵ *Social and Community Problems of Oklahoma* (Guthrie, Oklahoma: Co-operative Publishing Co., 1929) p. 48.

⁶ Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934) p. 30.

⁷ Marion L. Starkey, *The Cherokee Nation* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1946) p. 13.

⁸ Sam'l C. Williams, "Christian Missions to the Overhill Cherokees," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XII, No. 1 (March, 1934) pp. 66-68.

⁹ Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁰ Abraham Eleazer Knepler, "Education in the Cherokee Nation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXI, No. 4 (December, 1943) pp. 378-389.

¹¹ Knepler, "Education in the Cherokee Nation", *op. cit.*, pp. 378-390, quoting *American State Papers*, Indian Affairs, II, p. 325.

¹² S. C. Bartlett, *Sketches of the Missions of the American Board*, pp. 8-13; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 354, 355; Sam'l. C. Williams, "Christian Missions to the Overhill Cherokees," *op. cit.*, pp. 69-72; Debo, *op. cit.*, p. 41, ff.; Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma, A History of the State and Its People*, I, p. 189.

because of the prominence of these men and their progeny in tribal affairs through the years.

The Reverend Robert Bell established a mission school for Chickasaw children near Cotton Gin Port, Mississippi in 1820, called Charity Hall. It was financed by the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and the federal government. Chief Levi Colbert sent six of his twelve sons there, and several of his daughters. Chief Pitchlynn, of the Choctaws, also sent his children there. The school closed in 1830, because of the removal.¹³ Descendants of these two chieftains have continued as leaders in Choctaw and Chickasaw affairs ever since the removal.

The Creeks established Asbury Manual Labor School near Ft. Mitchell, Alabama during this period. Samuel Checote, who was elected Creek governor for three terms in Indian Territory, attended there, entering when he was only eight years of age. "Here is a concrete evidence of how completely the missionary altered the life of the American Indian." Checote, then orphaned and uneducated, later entered the Methodist ministry.¹⁴

Eliot Mission school was established among the Choctaws by the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury on the Yalobusha River in 1818, and Mayhew Mission school was founded shortly afterwards by the Reverend Cyrus Byington, largely through the influence of David Folsom.¹⁵

The Baptist Missionary Society was founded in 1814 and the Methodist Missionary Society in 1819. Each sent many missionary teachers to the Five Civilized Tribes, especially after the Indians were located in Oklahoma.¹⁶

P. D. Miller, in the introduction to *The Red Man's Trail*, gives a graphic description of the indomitable spirit of the early missionaries to the Indians:¹⁷

John Smith, a missionary from New England, buries a little boy in a lonely grave in the Pennsylvania countryside and presses on with the others toward his field. Four months later, while that journey is still not ended, his eldest boy dies in a four-oared bateau far south on the

¹³ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Charity Hall, An Early Chickasaw School", *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XI, No. 3 (September, 1933) pp. 912-926; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 99.

¹⁴ John Bartlett Meserve, "Chief Samuel Checote", *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XVI, No. 4 (December, 1938) p. 401.

¹⁵ Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 18-36; Debo, *op. cit.*, p. 45. The grave of Colonel David Folsom (1791-1847) may be seen at Ft. Towson, Oklahoma. Ft. Towson's spacious rock-walled cemetery adjoins and is a part of old Doaksville cemetery. Here also are the remains of "Little Willie, son of J. P. and Mrs. H. M. Kingsbury, age 1 year, 9 months, died 1856"; of "Typhenas," school teacher at the Old Mayhew mission school in Indian Territory, and of many others who helped lay the foundation for Oklahoma's spiritual and educational progress.

¹⁶ Halford E. Luccock and Paul Hutchinson, *The Story of Methodism*, p. 307.

¹⁷ Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Yalobusha and they cut shelving from the boat for a coffin and bury the lad in a canebrake beside the river, only to press on with no thought of turning back. Again we are told that in March, 1819, three members of the first Choctaw mission in Mississippi organized themselves into a church, "and out there in the wilderness celebrated the sacrament of the Lord's Supper". In such places our historian is treading on holy ground, and the significance of these events will not be lost upon those who read with understanding hearts.

Laws were passed in 1816 and 1819 by Congress governing the educational relations of the United States and the Indian tribes. The "general appropriation, or 'civilization' fund of 1819, in its provision for Indian vocational education and for general federal aid for Indian education, reveals itself as a probable precursor of the Morrill and Smith-Hughes features of federal grants to encourage vocational and agricultural education throughout the United States." Ten thousand dollars annually was appropriated, to be expended by missionary societies. Additional help was provided for the erection of buildings.¹⁸

One of the most celebrated Indian schools in the United States was the Choctaw Academy. It was first established at Blue Springs, Kentucky in 1825, by Colonel Richard M. Johnson, who later became vice-president of the United States. In 1831 it was moved to White Sulphur Springs, Kentucky. Peter P. Pitchlynn, distinguished Choctaw leader, who later became principal chief, served as head of the academy for a short time. This school was a "powerful factor in the development of the Choctaw tribe." Lafayette visited the school in 1825. From two to three hundred Indian boys were usually attending this academy. Although Choctaw boys were most numerous, other tribes also sent their youths there. The Choctaw Academy adopted exceedingly advanced educational methods, especially in safe-guarding its pupils' health and in incorporating mechanical training and similar subjects into the course of study. "It anticipated by a hundred years the modern summer schools and camps."¹⁹ Many boys from Indian Territory attended this school. In 1842 the academy was closed, its popularity gradually waning after the removal.²⁰

Sequoyah's invention of the Cherokee syllabary provided a stimulus to Cherokee education which produced amazing intellectual advancement. His alphabet was so simple that it could be learned by an intelligent Cherokee in three days. Consequently, "the entire nation became literate almost overnight. The achievement of Sequoyah was one of the greatest triumphs of the human intellect in

¹⁸ Knepler, "Education in the Cherokee Nation," *op. cit.*, 391-394; Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 93; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 81, footnote 5.

¹⁹ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy", *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VI, No. 4 (December, 1928) pp. 453-480.

²⁰ *Ibid*; Knepler, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-394; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 35, 36; Morrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99; Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

any age among any people."²¹ The editor of the *Cherokee Advocate* in 1844 said he could count on his hands all the adult Cherokees who could not read English or Cherokee.²²

In 1818 Sequoyah had joined an advanced contingent of Cherokees who emigrated to Arkansas, and a little later to Oklahoma. Perfecting his invention, he returned to the east in 1821, where his alphabet was adopted by his tribesmen. In 1822 he rejoined the Cherokees West, carrying messages to his people by means of "characters which he soon taught them to read. And thus he bound together the widely separated divisions of his tribe."²³

Following the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 Congress had set aside land west of the Mississippi for eastern Indians. Negotiations were begun for the removal of various eastern tribes. A number of Indians left for the new lands voluntarily but most of them stubbornly resisted all removal efforts.

The United Foreign Missionary Society was formed in New York City in 1817 by the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed churches to send missionaries to the western tribes. In 1819 this organization sent two missionaries, Epaphras Chapman and Job Vinall, to establish a mission among the Osages. Vinall died at Ft. Smith, but Chapman found a location on Grand River, near the present town of Choteau in Mayes county. Oklahoma's first protestant church was organized as Union Mission, May 15, 1821.²⁴ Some twelve or fifteen able men and women from the east—preachers, teachers, farmers and artisans—made up this mission group.²⁵

On September 1, 1821, Oklahoma's first school was opened in the log schoolhouse at Union. In addition to the Osage children, some Creek and Cherokee pupils later were enrolled there. The Reverend Chapman had charge of the mission until his death in 1825, when he was succeeded by the Reverend William F. Vail. Hopefield Mission followed; it was located four miles from Union. Dwight Mission

²¹ *Guide*, p. 84; Isaac McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, pp. 471-475; George E. Foster, *Sequoyah, The American Cadmus and Modern Moses*, pp. 92-112; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 371-374; Elijah M. Haines, *The American Indian*, p. 49.

²² Historical Notes, reviewing a paper by Morris L. Wardell, "Sequoyah's Contribution to Cherokee Culture," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XVIII, No. 1, (March, 1940) p. 83.

²³ Grant Foreman, *Sequoyah*, p. 7; John B. Davis, "The Life and Work of Sequoyah," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VIII, No. 2 (June, 1930) pp. 149-179; Foster, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

²⁴ Richard H. Harper, "The Missionary Work of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XVIII, No. 3 (September, 1940) p. 252; Morris L. Wardell, *Early Protestant Missions Among the Osages*, *ibid.*, II, No. 3 (September, 1924) pp. 287-297; Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, T. L. Ballinger, "A College Tour to Points of Historic Interest," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, IX, No. 3 (September, 1931) p. 265; Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*, pp. 80-104.

was established the same year, having been moved from Pope County, Arkansas. Most of the early mission schools were operated on the manual labor principle and were conducted as boarding schools. The Lancastrian system predominated, with Bible study occupying a major portion of the time.²⁶

Meanwhile in Georgia, Mississippi and other southern states pressure for removal of the Indians continued. Within ten years after passage by Congress of the Removal Act in 1830, an estimated seventy thousand Indians were forcibly removed to Oklahoma.²⁷

A number of missionaries accompanied the Indians on these long, tragic treks to their new homes. Other teachers and preachers followed; they established missionary boarding schools among the Five Tribes. Most of these missionaries had been educated in the best eastern colleges. They not only brought spiritual comfort and educational knowledge to the Indians, but stressed methods of fitting the Indians into the social and industrial life of their communities.²⁸

FIRST SCHOOL LAW PASSED IN 1832

The bicameral legislature of the Western Cherokees passed the first school law enacted in the present state of Oklahoma in the summer of 1832. It provided for the opening of five schools, one in each district, and employed Sequoyah to supervise the teaching of his syllabary at an annual salary of \$400.²⁹

Two of the better known missionaries who came with the Choctaws during their removal were the Reverend Cyrus Byington and the Reverend Alfred Wright. Dr. Wright was the only graduate physician among the Choctaws. In 1832 he established a day school at his mission, which was located near the present towns of Valliant and Millerton. This school became the Wheelock Female Academy in 1843.³⁰

Two highly successful Baptist missionaries among the Cherokees were Isaac McCoy and Evan Jones. Jones not only won many converts, but also inspired some of the most able Indians to become

²⁶ Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma*, II, pp. 147, 148; Grant Foreman, [ed.], "Dwight Mission." *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XII, No. 1 (March, 1934) pp. 42-51; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 356, ff; Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 36.

²⁷ Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Frank A. Balyeat, "Education in Indian Territory". Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Stanford University, 1927, pp. 7-12; Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers*, pp. 4-55.

²⁸ Frances McIntosh, "Social and Economic Conditions of the Creek Indians". Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma. 1943, p. 81; H. E. Brill, *Story of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Oklahoma*, p. 75; Ethel McMillan, "Women Teachers in Oklahoma, 1820-1860," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXVII, No. 1 (Spring, 1949), pp. 2-40.

²⁹ *Guide*, p. 65; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 358.

³⁰ Balyeat, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, ff.; Roy P. Stewart, "Wheelock Academy", *The Daily Oklahoman*, Sunday, August 29, 1948, p. 7-D.

preachers. These included Jesse Bushyhead, Stephan Foreman, Lewis Downing, John Wykliffe and Oganaya.³¹

Bushyhead, a Cherokee, influenced many of his tribesmen who had fled to the hills of Tennessee during the removal, to return and join their kinsmen in the west. Jones served many years at the mission at Breadtown, or Baptist, near the present town of Westville, Adair county. He and his son, John B., were powerful politically among the Cherokees from 1839 to 1877. They exerted most of their influence on the full bloods, and their sentiments were often the sentiments and will of Chief John Ross.³²

Chilly McIntosh and John Davis, Creek Indians, John Jumper, a Seminole, and Charles Journeycake, a Delaware, also were successful native preachers and teachers.³³

In 1841, largely through the influence of the missionaries, the Cherokee Council instituted a new national system of education, which was aided by an endowment fund from the federal government. A superintendent of education and eleven public schools were provided. This was much earlier than Horace Mann and other eastern educators established the national bureau of education.³⁴

The school year was divided into two sessions of twenty weeks each. Teachers were to be paid by warrants issued by the principal upon the treasurer and they were employed and assigned by the board of education. The board consisted of the "Principal Chief, the Assistant Principal Chief, Executive Council, Treasurer, and three commissioners to be appointed by the Principal Chief, with the advice and consent of the senate." So here in the wilderness of Indian Territory sprang up an oasis of culture and refinement. In 1842 the Choctaw council also authorized a comprehensive national system of education, and the other civilized tribes followed with similar plans.³⁵

³¹ Carl Coke Rister, *Baptist Missions Among the American Indians*, p. 60. *et passim*; Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, I, p. 459; McCoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 513, ff.; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 367.

³² Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation*, pp. 209, 210. The famous mission church at Baptist still stands (1947) and is in use today. Across the front of the edifice are these words: "Old Baptist Mission Church—Moved from East Tennessee over the 'Trail of Tears' in 1838". Immediately across the highway is the old Baptist and present Westville cemetery. Here the author, in 1947, saw the graves of the Reverend Jesse Bushyhead (1804-1844), of Permelia, wife of Red-bird Sixkiller (1827-1869) and of many members of the Buffington, Foreman, Crowder and other well-known early day families.

³³ Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, pp. 116, ff.; Charles E. Creager, *Sixty-Six Years of Service for Humanity, Father Murrow and his Ninety Busy Years*, (Muskogee, Oklahoma: Muskogee Times-Democrat and Hoffman-Speed Printing Co., n. d.) *passim*.

³⁴ Althea Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, p. 300; Emmett Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, p. 135; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 364-367; Balyeat, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, ff.

³⁵ Wardell, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Debo, *op. cit.*, p. 60; Grant Foreman, *History*, p. 35; *Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation* (1875 edition) pp. 189, 194.

Among the early missionaries was the youthful Samuel Austin Worcester, "who entered upon a work that was to engage this remarkable family for three generations."³⁶ The Worcesters arrived at Dwight Mission May 29, 1835. That same year Worcester set up the first printing press in Oklahoma, at Union Mission. John F. Wheeler was the printer. They printed for all the missions in the territory. Elias Boudinot, who was later assassinated, and the Reverend Stephan Foreman were Worcester's assistants.³⁷

Oklahoma's first book also was printed in 1835 at the Union Press by the Reverend John Fleming, who published *The Child's Book*, a small illustrated primer in the Creek language. Fleming was assisted by James Perryman, a student at Union. Oklahomans in 1935 celebrated the one-hundredth anniversary of printing in the state by placing a memorial marker on the site of Union Mission. In 1836 the press was moved back to Park Hill.³⁸

In 1843 the Baptist Mission Press was established at Breathtown. Oklahoma's first periodical, *The Cherokee Messenger*, was published there by the Reverend Evan Jones. Harvey Upham handled the press work.³⁹ Oklahoma's first newspaper, the *Cherokee Advocate*, was published by the Cherokee government September 26, 1844. William P. Ross, a Princeton graduate, who was a nephew of Chief

³⁶ *Guide*, p. 65.

³⁷ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints*, pp. 1, 4, 53, ff.; *Guide*, pp. 65, ff.; Grant Foreman, *History*, pp. 5, 9, 69, 356, ff.; Althea Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, pp. 143, ff.; Roy P. Stewart, "Dwight Indian Mission", *The Daily Oklahoman*, Sunday, June 27, 1948, Sec. D., pp. 3, 13. Some members of the Wheeler family still are in the publishing business. John Wheeler's son, W. W., carried on for a while as a newspaperman; he was one of the founders of Sallisaw. Today Shannon Wheeler, W. W. Fry and Wheeler Mayo are successful Oklahoma journalists. Replying to a personal letter from the author Wheeler Mayo answered in part as follows:

John F. Wheeler was a native of Danville, Kentucky, and joined Rev. Worcester at New Echota, Georgia in December, 1827, to serve as a printer in the first Cherokee printing plant that was established by the council there

John F. Wheeler came to the Indian Territory from Georgia with Worcester, as did Elias Boudinott, to set up the printing press at Union Mission in 1835

John F. married Nancy Watie, sister of Stan Watie and Elias Boudinot, on April 23, 1829

Sincerely yours,

(signed)

Wheeler Mayo

³⁸ Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 356-367; Bartlett, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-192; Edward Everett Dale, "Letters of the Two Boudinots," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* VI, No. 3 (September, 1928) pp. 328-347; Althea Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, pp. 143-176, *et passim*; Starkey, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, ff.; Minta Ross Foreman, "Reverend Stephan Foreman, Cherokee Missionary," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* XVIII, No. 3 (September, 1940) pp. 231-242; Muriel H. Wright, "Life of Mrs. Hannah Worcester Hicks Hitchcock and the Park Hill Press," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* XIX, No. 4 (December, 1941) p. 348; Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 92; *Guide*, p. 65; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, pp. 116, 117.

³⁹ Rollo G. Silver, "Bibliographical Notes", *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXII, No. 1 (Spring, 1944) pp. 103, 104; Morris L. Wardell, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints*, pp. 76-85.

John Ross, was editor and James D. Wofford was the translator. One or more of its four pages were printed in Cherokee (Sequoyah alphabet). This newspaper was so unique that it received requests for exchange from the *London Times*, and from papers in Paris, New York, and other distant cities.⁴⁰

The Choctaw Telegraph was the first Choctaw newspaper and the second in Indian Territory. It was established in 1848 at Doaksville, near the present Ft. Towson, with Daniel Folsom as editor and D. G. Ball as publisher. In 1850 it was succeeded by the *Choctaw Intelligencer* which was also published at old Doaksville. John P. Kingsbury and Jonathan E. Dwight were editors, and D. G. Alsbrough was the publisher. The Chickasaws began publication of their newspaper, the *Chickasaw Intelligencer*, in 1854 at Post Oak Grove near Fort Washita in Western Bryan County. The *Chickasaw and Choctaw Herald* was established at Tishomingo in 1858. The publication was suspended in 1859.⁴¹

Schools soon sprang up all over Indian Territory. Between 1838 and 1842 the Moravians established schools at Barron Fork, Beattie's Prairie and New Springplace.⁴² Ft. Coffee Academy for boys and New Hope Academy for girls were established by the Choctaw Council, and placed under supervision by the Methodists in 1842, near Skullyville, which is the present town of Spiro. By 1850 the Choctaws also listed the following schools: Spencer Academy, near Doaksville (1844); Armstrong Academy, north of Bokchito (1848); Goodland Orphanage near Hugo (1850); Chuahla Female Academy near Doaksville, Norfolk School for Boys near Valliant, Iyanabi Female Seminary near Eagle Town and Koonsha Female Seminary near Goodwater.⁴³

The Creeks had built a church and a school near Ft. Gibson in 1833. From 1843-1848, Kowetah and Tullahassee missions were established in the Creek nation by the Reverend Robert M. Loughridge, a missionary from the Presbyterian Board. Miss Alice M. Robertson,

⁴⁰ Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 249; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints*, back jacket; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* pp. 367, ff.; Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 317; Althea Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, pp. 295-296; Wardell, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, ff.; Robert G. Martin, Jr., "The Cherokee Phoenix: Pioneer of Indian Journalism," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXV, No. 2 (Summer, 1947) pp. 111-118.

⁴¹ Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 249, 250; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints*, pp. 151-152; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 70; Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma*, pp. 35, 36; *Guide*, pp. 76, 77.

⁴² Vinson Lackey, "New Springplace," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XVII, No. 2 (June, 1939) pp. 178-183; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 359.

⁴³ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "New Hope Seminary," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1944) pp. 271, 272; James W. Moffitt, "Early History of Armstrong Academy," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXI, No. 1 (March, 1943) pp. 88, 89; Debo, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 61; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 60-70; Balyeat, *op. cit.*, p. 128, *et passim*; Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-41; J. Y. Bryce, "About Some of Our First Schools in Choctaw Nation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VI, No. 3 (September, 1928) pp. 354-394.

who later became Oklahoma's first woman member of Congress, was born at Tullahassee. She was a grand-daughter of the Reverend and Mrs. S. A. Worcester.⁴⁴

NATIONAL SEMINARIES ESTABLISHED

Sixteen manual labor schools and 87 boarding and other schools had been established by 1848 among the Five Civilized Tribes.⁴⁵ The Indians also provided for higher education by establishing national seminaries. Two of the best known were the Cherokee Male and Female Seminaries, which were founded by an act of the Cherokee National Council November 26, 1846. They were opened May 6, 1851, the Male Seminary at Tahlequah, and the Female Seminary at Park Hill, one and one-half miles southwest of Tahlequah.⁴⁶

The Indian tribes supported education largely through their Councils by money received from the sale of lands to the government. The Choctaw school fund dated back to the treaty of 1820, which "provided that out of certain lands ceded to the United States, fifty-four square sections 'shall be laid out in good land' and sold by the President 'for the purpose of raising a fund for the support of Choctaw schools, on both sides of the Mississippi River.'"⁴⁷

The Chickasaw educational system differed in several ways from that of the other tribes. Neighborhood grade schools were established in each community, with ten month terms. Not only were free textbooks, free wood and free instruction furnished, but the parents were paid \$8.00 per month for every child in school! Probably no better compulsory school attendance law ever was written.⁴⁸

The Chickasaws also established Colbert, or Collins Institute at Perryville; later it was moved to near Stonewall, Pontotoc County; and Bloomfield Academy near Durant and Achille; Wapanucka Academy near Bromide; and the Chickasaw Academy (Harley Institute, north of Tishomingo). The first two were girls' schools of higher learning, the latter were boys' academies of higher education.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 179, ff.; Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, pp. 117-120; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Augusta Robertson Moore," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* XIII, No. 4 (December, 1935) pp. 399, 400.

⁴⁵ Frances McIntosh, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁴⁶ Alfred M. Williams, "The Civilized Indian" Lippincott's XXXI, Old Series (March, 1883) pp. 270-279; E. E. Dale and Jesse Lee Rader, *Readings in Oklahoma History*, p. 821; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 393, ff.; Grant Foreman, *History of Oklahoma*, pp. 33, 34; T. L. Ballenger, "A Brief History of the Male and Female Seminaries," *A Century of Progress*, 1846-1946, pp. 5-8.

⁴⁷ Balyeat, *op. cit.*, p. 99; William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma*, II, p. 146.

⁴⁸ Murray, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 146; I, p. 223.

⁴⁹ Muriel H. Wright, "Additional Notes on Perryville, Choctaw Nation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VIII, No. 2 (June, 1930), pp. 146-48; Caroline Leola Davis, "The History of the Schools and the Educational Development in the Chickasaw Nation." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1935, pp. 42-58; Johnnie Bishop Chisholm, "Harley Institute," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, IV, No. 2 (June, 1920), pp. 116-120.

A letter from J. C. Robinson, superintendent of Chickasaw academy dated April 25, 1853, to Col. Smith, U. S. agent for the Chickasaws, says: "The class of the scholars have been greatly improved; that is, we have exchanged some that were too old to change their habits or learn, for others that are young or pliable. . . . and promise good to the Nation."⁵⁰ This was many years before Thorndyke and others showed that age is no handicap to learning.

Education in the Indian Territory was practically at a standstill during the Civil War. At its conclusion the Indians were in a pitiable condition. A border state, their lands and homes had been over-run by northern and southern troops. The Reverend Allen Wright, elected Choctaw Chief in 1866, concluded his first message to the Choctaw Council as follows: "No lawful means shall be spared me to study to effect the greatest good especially on re-establishing and maintaining the schools for the education of our rising generation. To sustain and promote education cannot much longer be neglected without inflicting a lasting injury to ourselves and our posterity."⁵¹

The treaty between the federal government and the Five Civilized Tribes in 1866 provided that a portion of tribal earnings held and invested by the government should be used for educational purposes. Church societies renewed their liberal support of education among the Indians. The Indians were not taxed, the tribal governments receiving large sums of money from leases, licenses, royalties, annuities and similar sources, all of which was spent on schools and for tribal government.⁵²

The Five Civilized Tribes of eastern Oklahoma were forced to give up their western lands following the Civil War, as their punishment for so many of them having sided with the Confederacy. Plains Indians from various midwestern and other states were moved into western Oklahoma.

In 1870 Congress appropriated \$100,000 for the support of industrial and other Indian schools not already provided for. From 1870 to 1887 remarkable advancement was made in Indian education. Several non-reservation boarding schools were established during this period. In western Oklahoma the government began a program of training designed to convert the wild plains Indians into peaceful citizens. They were moved to reservations, and their children forced to attend school.⁵³

⁵⁰ U. S. Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D. C., letters received, 1853, Schools, D., p. 430.

⁵¹ John Bartlett Meserve, "Chief Allen Wright" *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIX, No. 4 (December, 1941) p. 319.

⁵² See *Appendix A* for Table 1, Indian Trust Funds.

⁵³ Lawrence F. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs, Its History, Activities, and Organizations*, pp. 70-75; George Posey Wild, "History of Education of the Plains Indians of Southwestern Oklahoma Since the Civil War". Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1941, pp. 60-119, *et. passim*.

FIRST INDIAN SCHOOLS IN PLAINS AREA

The first school was opened among the Cheyenne-Arapaho near Darlington, north of El Reno, in January, 1871, by Mr. and Mrs. Townsend. Soon afterwards John Seger became superintendent of this school. Later he moved a group of Cheyennes and Arapahoes to the present site of Colony, south of Weatherford. He founded a school here, which opened in 1892, and continued until 1932. The first school among the Caddoes also was opened in 1871, by A. J. Standing. It was later taken over by Thomas Battey. President Grant appointed religious men, usually Quakers, as agents for these wild tribes.⁵⁴

Enforcing the compulsory attendance law proved difficult at times. According to the Beaver newspaper: "Wa-Pa-Sho, chief of the Sac and Fox tribe of Indians, was arrested at his home on the reservation and brought to Oklahoma City, Oklahoma for refusing to allow officers to place his children in the government school."⁵⁵

The Cheyenne-Arapaho Indian agent, Major Woodson, sent men into all Indian camps in order to get all children in school. Then as a last resort he sent instructions to his agents to withhold food from all Indians who failed to place their children in school.⁵⁶

Gradually, education in the territories shifted from the missionaries to the federal government. In 1877 Congress made its first appropriation for the Indian Bureau, which began assuming partial responsibility for Indian education.⁵⁷

Children of Negro Freedman were educated by the tribal governments following the Civil War, but other Negroes and the host of white people who flocked into Indian Territory after the war had to pay tuition or organize subscription schools of their own if their children obtained an education. The building of railroads through the territory, the discovery and subsequent mining of coal, the discovery and opening of the oil fields, and the increasing tendency of the Indians to sublet their lands to white tenants caused a rapid influx of white settlers into Indian Territory. In 1887 Congress passed the Dawes Act, which provided for the abolishment of tribal governments and the allotment of land in severalty among the Five Civilized Tribes.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ John Seger and W. S. Campbell, *Early Days Among the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians*, pp. 5, 7, et seq.; Thomas C. Battey, *Life and Adventure of a Quaker Among the Indians*, pp. 27-30; Colonel W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, pp. 266, ff.

⁵⁵ Beaver, Oklahoma Territory, *South and West*, April 16, 1896, p. 1.

⁵⁶ Vinita, Indian Territory, *Daily Chieftain*, October 14, 1898, p. 4.

⁵⁷ Myrtle Drain, "A History of the Education of the Choctaw and Chickasaw." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1928, pp. 62, 67.

⁵⁸ Loren Brown, "The Establishment of the Dawes Commission for Indian Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XVIII, No. 2 (June, 1940) pp. 171-181, and *ibid.*, XXII, No. 2 (Summer, 1944) pp. 177-191.

By 1890 the federal census showed 108,182 white inhabitants in Indian Territory or three-fifths of the total population. By 1900 the whites numbered 302,680, or 77.2 per cent of the population. A large per cent of them were farmers. As in other frontier states, for many of their children education was sadly lacking. However, the more progressive parents organized subscription schools or entered their children in the Indian schools through payment of tuition.⁵⁹

FIRST FREE PUBLIC SCHOOL ESTABLISHED IN PAULS VALLEY

Pauls Valley "has the proud distinction of having established the first free public school in the Indian Territory." This city also made the original call for the organization of the first teachers' association in Indian Territory, which became known as the Chickasaw Teacher's Association. Teachers of the Chickasaw nation made up its membership.⁶⁰

In Tulsa the first school opened in 1885, under the sponsorship of the Presbyterian Church, as an Indian mission. White children were allowed to attend.⁶¹

Legal provision had been made in 1902 for towns of 2000 or more to vote bonds for school buildings and other municipal improvements. The first school in Durant was erected sometime prior to 1874. An 18 x 20 foot oak log building, it was used both as a church and a school.⁶²

FIRST SCHOOLS IN OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

With the coming of the white man in the run of 1889, and other openings to white settlement that followed, every conceivable type of school house soon appeared over Oklahoma territory. These included the log cabin, the sod hut, the dug-out, or a combination dug-out and sod hut, native stone buildings and excellent frame structures. These first school houses were usually like the first homes, "small, temporary and in most respects inadequate."⁶³

The people of Edmond erected the first school house in the Territory, paying for it by private subscription. Guthrie used the lot assessment method for raising revenue. The schools opened there on October 14, 1889, and continued six months.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ *Oklahoma, Composition and Characteristics of the Population, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*, pp. 3, ff.; Balyeat, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁶⁰ *Second Biennial Report of the State Superintendent*, 1908, p. 117.

⁶¹ *Tulsa School Review*, January, 1946, p. 1; Louise Whitham [ed.] "Educational History In and About Tulsa, Oklahoma (1839-1937)," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XVIII, No. 1 (March, 1940) pp. 77-81.

⁶² MacCreary, *Queen of Three Valleys, A Story of Durant*, p. 18; Balyeat, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Grant Foreman, *History*, pp. 298-299.

⁶³ F. A. Balyeat, "Rural Schoolhouses in Early Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1944) pp. 315-323; *Indian Pioneer Papers*, Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma, *passim*.

⁶⁴ Rock, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

Most of the cities and towns developed very creditable school systems. Oklahoma City showed a great interest in education. Mrs. Fred Sutton and "Professor" F. M. Umholtz "formed the nucleus for the graded school system of which Oklahoma City boasts, and which has been developed into the present high standard of excellence." They opened a subscription school in the rear of a machinery store in the fall of 1889. The fee ranged from \$1 to \$2 per month per pupil, according to the grade.⁶⁵

In Kingfisher the first school opened in July, 1889, and was held part of the time in a tent. By September, 1890, Kingfisher Academy was opened and frame buildings were in evidence at some of the schools, all of which were maintained by subscription. The schools at Norman, Stillwater, and other towns all followed practically the same pattern. The salaries of the territorial teachers ranged from \$20 to \$50 per month. School terms averaged six months.⁶⁶

LEGISLATURE SETS UP PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

With the passage of the Organic Act in 1890, Congress appropriated \$50,000 to be used in setting up a system of public schools in Oklahoma Territory. The first territorial legislature met in August 1890, and it established a system of public schools in each town.⁶⁷

A territorial superintendent of schools and a board of education, appointed by the governor, were provided. The county superintendents and the territorial superintendent made up this board. It had general supervision of all schools, granted teachers' certificates, made up questions for county teachers' examinations and had charge of the county normals. Governor Steele appointed J. H. Lawhead territorial superintendent in 1890. Upon his death August 15, 1892, J. H. Parker succeeded him. In February, 1894, E. D. Cameron was appointed Parker's successor, serving until January, 1897. A. O. Nichols, S. N. Hopkins, L. W. Baxter and J. E. Dyche then served as territorial superintendents in order until statehood.

STATE COLLEGES ESTABLISHED

The First Legislative Assembly also enacted legislation locating a territorial university at Norman, an agricultural and mechanical college at Stillwater, and a normal school at Edmond. Each city provided land and also aided in the construction of buildings for these colleges.⁶⁸

In El Reno the first public school opened January 19, 1891. Apparently the school continued until June. That same summer a

⁶⁵ W. F. Kerr and Ina Gainer, *The Story of Oklahoma City*, II, pp. 559-567.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*; Rock, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-156.

⁶⁷ *Oklahoma Statutes*, 1890, LXXIX.

⁶⁸ *Oklahoma Statutes*, 1890, LXXIC; *Territorial Governor's Report*, 1890, *passim*.

county normal was held in El Reno, with twenty-five teachers enrolled. S. N. Hopkins was El Reno's first superintendent of city schools.⁶⁹

Settlers continued to flock into Oklahoma. By 1892 Governor Seay estimated the population of Oklahoma Territory was 133,100 not including Indians maintaining their tribal relations. The school population was 31,920, an increase of 10,583 over the preceding year. The rental from the school lands totalled \$21,346.13, which did not include funds from direct taxation, fines in criminal cases and similar fees.⁷⁰

Henry Kendall College was founded in 1894 at Muskogee by Miss Alice Robertson. It was moved to Tulsa in 1907, changing its name in 1921 to Tulsa University. Almon C. Bacone established Indian University in the Baptist mission home at Tahlequah February 9, 1880. In 1895 Bacone moved the college to Muskogee. Several years later, while E. N. Collette was serving as president of the school; at his suggestion the name was changed from Indian University to Bacone College.⁷¹

Governor Renfrow in 1896 reported a population of 275,587 in Oklahoma Territory, compared with 212,625 in 1894. Net proceeds from leasing school, college and public building lands for the fiscal year were \$79,214.55; for common schools, \$59,768.94; for colleges \$9,880.44 and for public buildings \$71,740.68. The school population totalled 88,093. Governor Renfrow proudly reported that "no state or territory ever made such progress in developing its public schools system as Oklahoma. From the very first it has been the pride of the people. . . . Neat school houses have been erected in nearly every district, and regular terms of four to seven months' school are kept."⁷²

In a few instances some friction over the question of mixed or separate schools for colored and white children was noted, but separate schools soon were set up throughout the territory.

In 1890 the Territory had only 5.37 per cent of illiteracy among the people, which was less than that of thirty-five states and territories.⁷³

The Legislative Assembly of 1897 founded the Northwestern Territorial Normal School which was opened September 20 that same

⁶⁹ Etta Dorothea Dale, "The First Quarter Century in El Reno Schools." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1940, pp. 14-19.

⁷⁰ *Territorial Governor's Report*, pp. 3-7. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892).

⁷¹ Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-58; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Augusta Robertson Moore," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIII, No. 4 (December, 1935) p. 418; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints*, p. 237, *et passim*; personal interview with E. N. Collette, July, 1947; Balyeat, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

⁷² *Territorial Governor's Report*, 1896, pp. 3, 4, 8.

⁷³ *Territorial Governor's Report*, 1900, pp. 7.

year at Alva. The colored Agricultural and Normal University at Langston was also established by the Assembly of 1897.⁷⁴

Governor Barnes and the state board of equalization took steps to equalize assessments over the territory in 1898, and in answer to some criticism, Governor Barnes in his address to the legislature January 11, 1899, answered as follows:⁷⁵

The action of the board and the results of its action has been maliciously and willfully misrepresented for political and campaign purposes. Briefly stated, the action of the board in 1898 . . . was this: We took the assessment as made in Pottawatomie county as a basis of the counties. In counties where the assessed valuation had been made at a lower rate than in Pottawatomie county, they were raised to an amount equal to that county, and in counties where the valuations had been made at a higher rate they were reduced to the valuations made in Pottawatomie county.

The result was an equalization in all the counties upon the following basis:

Horses, assessed value per head	\$14.87
Mules, assessed value per head	25.59
Cattle, assessed value per head	14.11
Swine, assessed value per head	1.73
Sheep and goats, assessed value per head	2.00

Other items of personal property were similarly included

The total percentage of raised valuations in Woods county, which was the highest of any county in the Territory, was 86 per cent. If the county officers had done their plain duty under the law and promptly extended the increased valuation, the actual increase of taxation in said county resulting from the action of the board would have been about thirty-seven cents upon each hundred dollars of the original valuation. . . . In other counties the amount of increased taxes would be materially less than the above stated sum.

The township was the first unit of organization, which later was replaced by the district system. By 1900 there were 1,930 school houses in Oklahoma Territory, and 2,343 teachers were employed. Total enumeration was 114,737. By this time there was 2,096 school districts. Qualifications for teachers were similar to those required by other states. The average length of the school term was only four and a half months. In each county there was a teachers' association which met monthly. Books were being acquired for libraries following a legislative appropriation of funds for this purpose.⁷⁶

The University Preparatory School at Tonkawa was founded by the legislature of 1901, and opened in 1902. The Southwestern Normal at Weatherford was opened in September, 1903. The school opened in four vacant buildings, and 114 students were enrolled the first day. James R. Campbell was the first president. In order to honor his memory, the browsing room of the library was named the

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-21; *ibid.*, 1897, p. 9.

⁷⁵ *Governor's Message to the Fifth Legislative Assembly*, p. 8.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, ff.

"Campbell Room" in 1948, and a bronze plaque and Campbell's picture were placed there, along with his private library. Edith Copeland in an article on the dedicatory service wrote:⁷⁷

It was not by chance that two of Oklahoma's outstanding authors were graduated from the school while Mr. Campbell was president. His son, Walter S. Campbell, and the late Kenneth C. Kaufman argued as to which was the first to enrol; but they agreed in tracing their love of literature to the president of the school and the outstanding faculty he assembled, which included Dr. Roy Temple House, now editor of *Books Abroad* at the University of Oklahoma.

In 1903 Epworth University completed its first building in Oklahoma City. The school opened September 11, 1904, jointly sponsored by the Methodist Episcopal church and the Methodist Episcopal church, South. In 1911 following a division between the two Methodist branches, the Methodist University of Oklahoma was established at Guthrie by the Methodist Episcopal church. The college at Oklahoma City was abandoned. Difficulties were experienced at Guthrie, particularly in securing a permanent building. In 1919 the school moved back to Oklahoma City, where it became known as Oklahoma City College. In 1924 the name was changed to Oklahoma City University.⁷⁸

EARLY SETTLERS WANTED SCHOOLS

A touching letter from Mrs. Adell Callan of Valorus, Oklahoma Territory, to Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt was found in the archives building at Washington by the author. The letter was written December 26, 1904. Mrs. Callan pointed out that the valuation of Valorus was insufficient to build a school-house and "twenty-five little children are without school We do not want to leave our homes but that is what we will have to do or let our children grow up without an education and that is what we *will not do*. . . . We do not care for the hardships if only we can have schools for our children." A building was rented and a school term of six months was held that year, according to a letter from J. A. Dixon, county superintendent, Woodward. The next year bonds for a building were voted and Florence Williams was employed as teacher at a salary of \$30 per month.⁷⁹

Oklahoma Territory in 1905 had 3,144 school houses, with a valuation of \$2,593,848.03, and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, \$1,488,109.88 had been expended for all public school purposes. Each school district was allowed to levy 20 mills annually on the assessable property of the district for schools. The school land income netted \$1.60 per capita.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Edith Copeland, "Weatherford School to Honor an Early Educator," *The Daily Oklahoman*, Sunday, April 25, 1948, p. 6-D.

⁷⁸ H. E. Brill, *The Story of Oklahoma City University and Its Predecessors*, pp. 32, ff.

⁷⁹ Office Secretary of Interior, P. & M., 1905, p. 104.

⁸⁰ *Territorial Governor's Report*, 1906, pp. 48, 49.

FEDERAL SUPERVISOR APPOINTED IN INDIAN TERRITORY

John D. Benedict, Danville, Illinois, was appointed federal supervisor for the schools of Indian Territory February 10, 1899. He had general supervision over all matters pertaining to the Indian schools in the Territory. He acted under the direction of the Department of Interior. In each of the Five Civilized Tribes there was also a federal supervisor, who worked with local tribal officials under Benedict's supervision. Mr. Benedict retired soon after statehood.⁸¹

In 1900 the federal supervisor of Indian schools estimated there were 73,340 children between the ages of six and eighteen in Indian Territory as follows: Indian, 16,090; Negro, 4,650; White, 54,600. It was estimated that at least 350,000 white people were residing in Indian Territory, compared with 84,750 Indians.⁸²

On March 3, 1901 Congress passed an act declaring all the Indians in Indian Territory citizens of the United States.

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT ABOLISHED AT STATEHOOD

In 1904 Congress appropriated \$100,000 for the education of white children attending Indian schools. This act provided aid especially in establishing rural schools. The amount was increased until it reached \$300,000 per year, which figure was appropriated annually by the federal government several years after statehood.⁸³

Under the terms of the Curtis Act, on March 5, 1906 all tribal government, tribal courts, and tribal schools were to cease to exist. Indian Territory at last was to unite with Oklahoma Territory as the state of Oklahoma.

⁸¹ *School Herald*, XIV, No. 2 (January, 1906) p. 39; *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, II, No. 2 (April, 1906) p. 82; *Memoirs of John D. Benedict*, Thoburn Collection of printed material, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; John D. Benedict's scrapbook, *ibid*; *Oklahoma Teacher*, XXVII, No. 9 (May, 1946) pp. 17, 18.

⁸² *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior*, 56th Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representatives, Doc. No. 5, pp. 123-138.

⁸³ Balyeat, *op. cit.*, p. 249; Caroline Leola Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 136; Grant Foreman, *History*, p. 299.

APPENDIX A

Table 1 shows the origin and amount of the funds held in trust for the Five Civilized Tribes and the Osages:¹

TABLE 1. INDIAN TRUST FUNDS

Tribe	Treaty or Act	Amount of Stock	Annual Interest
Cherokee Nat'l. Fund	Dec. 29, 1835	\$913,965.99	\$53,590.47
Cherokee Orphan Fund	Dec. 29, 1835	168,035.41	10,059.90
Cherokee School Fund	Dec. 20, 1832	498,973.95	29,547.04
	Oct. 20, 1832		
Chickasaw Nat'l. Fund	May 24, 1834	1,183,833.16 $\frac{2}{3}$	70,471.50
Chickasaw Incompetents	May 24, 1834	2,000.00	100.00
Choctaw General Fund	Jan. 17, 1837	454,000.00	27,240.00
Choctaw School Fund	Sept. 27, 1830	52,427.20	3,145.63
Creek Orphan	March 24, 1832	76,999.66	4,392.98
Osage Schools	June 2, 1825	41,000.00	2,460.00

The government invested these funds in United States and state stocks, which paid an annual interest of 6 per cent, not including coin interest premium, for which an additional one per cent was paid.²

¹ Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 2nd Session, 42nd Congress, I, 1871-72, p. 1079.

² Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 3rd Session, 42nd Congress I, 1872-73, p. 825.

FAIRFIELD MISSION

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

It was fortunate for the Cherokees that Dwight Mission was removed to the west when the Indians left Arkansas for their new home. The Cherokees were so desirous of hearing the gospel preached that they built houses, cleared and fenced a garden for missionaries; agreed to furnish meat and corn for a teacher and to board their own children; thus Mulberry Mission was commenced under the supervision of Doctor Marcus Palmer. The station, a branch of Dwight, was first located on Mulberry Creek in Pope County, Arkansas, but it was removed in 1829, to fifteen miles north of Dwight Mission, and its name was changed to Fairfield with Doctor Palmer still in charge.

Doctor Palmer, a native of Greenwich, Connecticut, born April 24, 1795, was a member of the intelligent company of missionaries who left the East in 1820. He arrived at Union Mission February 18, 1821, and was subsequently stationed for several years at Harmony Mission. He was transferred to Fairfield in November, 1829. Doctor Palmer and Miss Clarissa Johnson of Colchester, Connecticut, came west in the same party of missionaries and they were married at Harmony Mission by the Reverend William F. Vaill on Sunday, August 24, 1824, "in the presence of family, laborers, & all the Indians present, who manifested great interest in seeing a christian marriage."¹

Fairfield Mission was located by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the southern part of the Cherokee Nation, on Sallisaw Creek. The station was fifteen miles from Evansville, Arkansas, thirty-five miles from Fort Smith and about the same distance from Fort Gibson. The locality was then called Flint, but is now Stilwell.²

The original buildings at Fairfield consisted of a double cabin, sixty feet by twenty-six, a story and a half high, with two stone chimneys; a school house, with a stone chimney, was twenty-two by

¹ *History of American Missions to the Heathen* (Worcester, Massachusetts, 1840), pp. 182, 335; *Missionary Herald*, vol. XXVI, p. 351; Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), p. 312, note 2; *Union Mission Journal*, Oklahoma Historical Society. Dr. Palmer was granted a restricted license to preach on November 7, 1825, by a conference held at Union Mission, and he was ordained in 1830.

² The location of Fairfield Mission was given as near the south end of Adair County, now near the present Bunch or Lyons, Oklahoma (Indian-Pioneer History, Foreman Collection, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, vol. 90, pp. 193-4). (The original location of Flint and site of Fairfield Mission are about five miles southwest of Stilwell, Adair County, on the east side of Sallisaw Creek.—Ed.)

twenty-six feet, and there were also several out-buildings—all built at the expense of the American Board, except for eight or nine hundred dollars contributed by the Cherokees.³

Walter Webber, an intelligent and energetic Cherokee, offered help to the missionaries and he was the outstanding supporter of Fairfield the remainder of his life. According to Thomas Nuttall, who met him on the Arkansas in 1819 and wrote of him in his *Journal of Travels into Arkansas Territory*, Webber was a valuable man in his nation; he was a trader who lived "in ease and affluence" on his fine farm. It is said that he did not know much English and kept his accounts in the Cherokee language. He sold better and more reasonable goods to the Indians than they were able to buy from other traders. His store was burned in 1824 with a loss of \$10,000.

The best description of Walter Webber, his wife, and their home is given in Captain Bell's *Journal* of his tour to the Rocky Mountains:⁴

"On the 22d Sept. 1820, we halted at the house of a Cherokee Chief, by the name of Watt Webber, a half breed. His place is beautifully situated on a high bluff upon the bank of the Arkansas river, secure from inundation and is a great thoroughfare of travellers from the Missouri, to the country south of the Arkansas, above the Cadrons. Webber is tall, well-formed, dresses in the costume of the whites, is affable, and of polite manners. Though he understands English, he would converse only in the Cherokee language.

"His wife is a large, fleshly woman, a full-blooded Indian, dressed in every particular like genteel, well dressed white women. She attends diligently herself, to all her domestic concerns, which are conducted with the strictest order and neatness. She also spins, and weaves, and has taught these arts to her domestics. Her black servant acted as our interpreter, in conversing with her husband. We dined with this family. Their table was handsomely prepared, with China plates, and corresponding furniture. The food was cooked and served after the manner of well bred white people; and Mrs. W. did the honors of the table in a lady like manner, with ease, and grace, and dignity."

From Dwight Mission, August 9, 1821, an account was written which evidently describes Walter Webber, although his name was not mentioned:⁵

"A half-breed Cherokee, brother of Catharine and David Brown, called to make a visit. He can speak English well; has had considerable acquaintance with the whites; and is a young man of some intelligence; but appeared notwithstanding, deplorably ignorant of all spiritual subjects. He said he had never been told, and never knew, but that men died like the beasts;—he knew not that man has a soul, which exalts him above them, and would exist after death; or that there was a beloved book, which informed us of a future state. He said he rather thought in himself, that

³ *Missionary Herald*, vol. XXVI, p. 312, note 2.

⁴ Jedidiah Morse, *A Report to the Secretary of War*. . . . (New-Haven, 1822), pp. 74, 75.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 231-32.

men did not die as beasts; but that they lived somewhere after death, but how, or where, he knew not.

"While describing to him the two different places, where the righteous and the wicked will forever dwell in a future world, he appeared very solemn; but when told of the way by which the wicked might become righteous, escape from sin and misery, and finally go to the happy place, he appeared to be much interested and pleased; said he would come again, and hear more good talk."

Webber had not always been a man of peace. On June 24, 1821, he headed a war party of Cherokees that killed Joseph Revoir, who lived fifteen miles above Union Mission, because, like many Frenchmen, he lived with the Osages, whom Cherokees considered their mortal enemies.⁶

From Creek-Path in Alabama, on January 18, 1823, Catharine Brown wrote to her brother David who was in school at Andover, giving him news of members of their family in the West:⁷

" Brother Walter [Webber] was expecting to set out in a few days for the city of Washington, and had thought of visiting some of the northern States before he returned. It is likely you may see him in New-England. He has placed brother Edmund in the Missionary school at Dwight, to continue there three or four years. . . ."

"Brother W[alter] has given up trading and has commenced farming. He has purchased land in the Osage country, at the Salt Springs. Whether he intends removing his family to that place, I know not. . . ."

Catharine Brown, born about 1800 at a place now called Wills Valley in Alabama, was a child of John Brown and Tsa-luh whom the whites called Sarah. Tsa-luh was the second wife of Brown and her former husband was Webber and their son was Walter Webber. By Brown Tsa-luh had three children, John who died in 1822, Catharine and David. The comely daughter was educated at Brainerd Mission and later had charge of the mission school at Creek Path. She died July 18, 1823.⁸

Webber located on the Arkansas in 1829 and the hamlet and the falls in the river became known by his name. He operated the salt works on the old Military Road about seven miles north of the present Gore, Oklahoma; the plant was about one and one-half miles west of the Illinois River on salt branch.⁹

⁶ Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*. (Cleveland, 1926), pp. 59, 66.

⁷ Rufus Anderson, *Memoir of Catharine Brown, a Christian of the Cherokee Nation* (London, 1824), p. 108.

⁸ *Ibid.* This edition, issued in Philadelphia in 1831, was prepared by the Rev. Rufus Anderson for the American Sunday School Union.

⁹ Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers* (Norman, 1936), pp. 227-8, note 31; American Board of Commissioners, *Report for 1834*, p. 110; Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), p. 313; *A Traveler in Indian Territory* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1930), p. 65, note 42.

A committee of Cherokees at Tahlonteeske, on December 3, 1833,¹⁰

"Resolved further that if a slave or slaves are caught gambling or intoxicated, or if they should in any way abuse a free person, he, she, or they [Negroes] shall for either of the above offenses, receive sixty lashes on the bare back for each and every such offense to be inflicted by the Light Horse.

Approved:

John Jolly

Black Coat

W. Webber

Chiefs"

An important visitor to the clearing at Webbers Falls in 1829 was the ex-governor of Tennessee, Sam Houston, who arrived aboard a steamboat and was welcomed by the stately old Cherokee, Oo-loo-te-ka. Walter Webber was president of the committee which granted Houston "all the rights, privileges and immunities of a citizen of the Cherokee Nation . . . as though he was a native born Cherokee."

"Even Dr. Marcus Palmer, of the Fairfield Mission, for whom Houston formed a warm regard, failed to 'convert' The Raven or to change his habits, which the local clergy found a fertile subject of criticism." In December Houston, accompanied by Walter Webber and John Brown, an eastern Cherokee recently come west, slipped away and when they arrived in Washington early in 1830,¹¹ Houston was clad in turban, breech-clout, leggins and a blanket to the great scandal of his former associates in the capital.¹²

From Fairfield Station on December 28, 1829, Dr. Palmer wrote to Houston in Washington:¹³

"You took leave of us I thought, rather abruptly. I had hoped for the pleasure of seeing you at our humble dwelling before you started for Washington but undoubtedly you had the best reasons for doing as you did. If I had not been exceedingly pressed with business I think I should have seen you again at Mr. [John] Jolly's before you left. Mr. Flowers¹⁴

¹⁰ J. B. Davis, "Slavery in the Cherokee Nation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 4 (December, 1933) p. 1065.

¹¹ Marquis James, *The Raven* (New York, 1929), pp. 92, 99, 122, 126-28, 159.

¹² Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1926), p. 184.

¹³ Office Indian Affairs "1830 Schools (Cherokee West), Palmer and Vaill (App. endorsed by Gen. Sam Houston)."

¹⁴ John W. Flowers was an intermarried citizen of the Cherokee Nation. In 1820, with James Rogers and James L. McCarty, he was authorized by the tribe to operate the salt springs on Salt Branch, formerly operated by Mark Bean and a man named Sanders. In 1827 Flowers served as counselor to a delegation of Cherokees sent to Washington to negotiate matters between the government and the Indians. During the removal of the Uchee Indians conditions were so bad among a band on the Illinois River that Sam Houston wrote to the Secretary of War from "Wigwam, Cherokee Nation 3d October, 1829: they were nearly all sick, famished, and most of them unable to turn themselves on their blankets. They subsisted principally upon what fish they could catch, and Mr. Flowers, a Cherokee countryman, furnished them some provisions on his own responsibility." Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers* (New Haven), pp. 68, 259, 299.)

and his lady were here a few days ago, and he informed me of your kind remembrance of us, and of your very generous offer—your friendly influence with the President in favor of our Mission Station.—I thank you Dear Genl. for your condescension and goodness.

“Col. Webber will present to the President a short statement of my school, which he requested of me before he left, for that purpose, which please to examine. It was made hastily, and before the school was opened. The school has now been in operation more than a month, and it numbers about thirty scholars; and many applications must necessarily be refused for the want of room & accommodations. We have received into our family 18 little promising girls, whom we shall treat as if they were our own. We may perhaps, receive two or three more this Winter. But we shall be far better able to accommodate our little boarders next Summer, when I hope to be able to finish the balance of our Dwelling. The Boys all board at one of our neighbors, according to arrangements made by Col. Webber and his associates. . . .

“ the cost of erecting the necessary Buildings was about \$700 Dollars. I find by looking over my accounts, and by an estimate of the unfinished work, that the cost will not be under a Thousand. . . . For this amount I shall be in debt. To meet the immediate demand I have been obliged to draw, unauthorizedly, for \$700. upon our patrons at Boston (The American Board of Commission for Foreign Missions). I should not have presumed to incur so great an expense—but for the hope of securing some assistance from the Cherokee School Fund, placed at the disposal of the President. And I could not have started a School that would have promised much good to the nation on any cheaper plan. . . .

“The Cherokees themselves are disposed to do all they are able to do, towards the support of the School. They furnish all the clothing, bed clothes &c. for the children—and some of them would perhaps be able to pay something toward their board.

“And we are constrained to use the utmost economy in our expenses. and labor with our own hands, both Mrs. Palmer and myself, to save expense, but after all, judging from the experience of the past month, that the annual expense of the School will be at least from 6 to 800 dollars. And I must still add to the expense of the Establt. by putting up some necessary out houses; but this must be done or left according to the assistance received. . . .

“Now, Dear Sir, after this statement, you will be able to judge what assistance I need. And I am happy in the thought that you take such a lively interest in our school. And I do most cheerfully and confidently rest these interests on your friendly management and influence with the President. Endorsement on above letter.

To the President:

22d March 1830.

“Dr. Palmer is a useful and intelligent Gentleman, and worth all the Missionaries in the Nation of the Cherokees. If he can be assisted it will be well for the Indians.

Sam Houston.”

Many of the Indian families in the vicinity of Mulberry followed Doctor Palmer to Fairfield, and soon after the school was opened twenty little girls and ten or twelve boys, all neatly clad, were in attendance. A few of them lived in the mission house but their parents supplied provisions for them. Walter Webber provided food for several of the students.

Early in the spring of 1830, an epidemic broke out in the neighborhood of Fairfield, and although Dr. Palmer rode long distances to visit the sick, many Indians died. The doctor did not wish to interfere with his school work, and so made his calls at night. In addition to the above duties, which kept him fully occupied, Doctor Palmer had two preaching places.¹⁵

"At one of these meetings in the neighborhood of Fairfield, the Cherokees built a long shed-like bower, and set long tables, upon which were placed the dishes of cooked meat and other articles of food which the people brought with them. These tables were surrounded by seventy or eighty persons of all ages, colors and conditions of life . . . Among the converts of that deeply interesting revival among the Cherokees of the Arkansas, were two of the men who took little *Lydia Carter* captive. There were two Osage girls in Dr. Palmer's family, who moved from Mulberry to Fairfield with him; but in October, 1832, one of them named Theodosia Johnston [Johnson], died, aged eleven years. The whooping cough entered the family and school, and occasioned the death of several children, among them Theodosia, the poor little [Osage] outcast orphan."

From Fairfield, February 15, 1831, Doctor Palmer wrote: "When I wrote you last summer, I expected to have opened the school again before now, but the difficulty of obtaining meal has prevented. The mill streams in this region have been dry ever since last summer." Colonel Webber and other Indians met at the Webber home to consult about the school and the Palmers agreed to take fifteen boarders to instruct at fifty cents each per week, paid either in money or provisions. The Cherokees promised to defray the expenses and the school was to start as soon as meal could be secured.¹⁶

Doctor Palmer wrote from Dwight Mission August 25, 1831, "Our school was kept up till the 10th of July, when it became expedient to vacate it. About twenty children, including our three Osage girls, boarded at our house, and seven or eight more attended from the neighborhood."¹⁷

When Palmer made his report from the station on May 24, 1832, the school was in operation with about thirty students. Two other schools had been opened that spring within fifteen miles of Fairfield and they took away more than half of the former pupils.¹⁸

An added interest was manifested in the work in May and June, 1832: "In September, 13 were propounded; making more than 30 who gave evidence of conversion in that neighborhood within a year. The temperance society advanced," but the most astonishing feature

¹⁵ Sarah Tuttle, *Conversations on the Missions to the Arkansas Cherokees* (Boston, 1833), pp. 55, 56, 59, 63, 64, 110. The other Osage child was Jerusha Palmer who was one year old in 1828.

¹⁶ *Missionary Herald*, Vol. XXVII (July, 1831), p. 212.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII (December, 1831), p. 385.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII (September, 1832), p. 289.

at the station was the circulation library of one hundred fifty volumes set up by "a female society" and these progressive women expected to add two hundred more books within the year. A society of men was procuring and distributing Cherokee Testaments, hymn books and tracts, so the mission was in an encouraging state.¹⁹

The *Religious Intelligencer*, New Haven, March 16, 1833, copied a letter from the *Philadelphian*, written by Doctor Palmer to the Reverend Ezra Stiles Ely, D. D., in which he said that the health of his wife had been very bad. This letter, dated Fairfield, January 1, 1833, reported:

" . . . We had concluded to have a meeting Christmas day, at our house, provide a dinner, give a general invitation to our Cherokee neighbors, and . . . present the Temperance Constitution . . . But before the appointment was made public, our chief, Col. W. Weber sent me a notice that he had made an arrangement for a meeting on Christmas at his house, and had sent round invitations to all his friends. . . his wish the meeting should continue two or three days. . . .

"This man . . . has a good mind, is dignified, and may be considered as a leading chief in the nation. . . . His wife, a woman highly respected and beloved . . . was received with others, into . . . the church, at our place in October last. . . . Brethren [Cephas] Washburn, and [Henry R.] Wilson from Dwight attended the meeting with us. There were perhaps 150 or 200 persons present, all comfortably and handsomely provided for by the chief. . . . When the anxious were invited, the chief was the first to present himself, and about forty others followed his example. . . . They were nearly all fullblood Cherokees, and numbers of them persons of distinction and importance in the nation. . . . M. Palmer .

"P. S. 10th Jan. Sister Jerusha Johnson arrived the other day [January 3] after a tedious journey."

Mr. Wilson, a young minister, wrote to his former pastor in Connecticut telling of his impressions upon his arrival at Dwight Mission and a further visit at Webbers Falls where he spent his first Christmas in the Indian country in 1828.

Colonel Walter Webber had called a meeting to celebrate Christmas at his home. In the newly settled condition of the country in an almost trackless territory and sparsely settled community, there was no building large enough to hold an assemblage of a hundred or more people, so a brush arbor was erected near Col. Webber's house and though the December weather was spicy, with the aid of log heap fires for warmth and plenty of food for man and beast provided by Col. Webber assisted by Mr. Wilson, the young minister, newly arrived at Dwight Mission Presbyterian school, preparatory religious services were held for three days, followed by Christmas festivities

¹⁹ *History of American Missions to the Heathen* (Worcester, Massachusetts, 1840), p. 229. This was undoubtedly the first circulating library in Oklahoma. The first circulating library was founded in Arkansas in 1843, by William Woodruff, owner of the *Arkansas Gazette*. (John Gould Fletcher, *Arkansas*, [Chapel Hill North Carolina, 1947], p. 118.)

and cheer provided by Col. Webber. Mr. Wilson's letter is as follows:²⁰

"Reaching Ft. Smith, Arkansas, December 20, 1828, on Friday, I remained over night, and in the morning of the 21st I set out for Dwight. Ft. Smith was just a village of half a dozen log cabins bordering the Arkansas river and the terminus of steamboat transportation. From there to Dwight, my field of labor, I journeyed on horseback through a desolate uninhabited country thirty miles inland to Dwight Mission School, arriving after a tedious ride at twilight, and just as we emerged from the dense forest we heard a church bell, a church bell in a savage land! It thrilled my inmost soul and stirred up feelings I shall never forget.

"It was the closing of the year and communion season at the school when the Lord's Supper was celebrated at the Sabbath service. After a hasty supper I hurried to the Church or rather the schoolhouse where services were being held, and met Rev. Washburn who was in charge and saw for the first time converted Indians, as I entered they were singing a Cherokee hymn. . . .

"On Monday morning, after a season of prayer, twenty-five or thirty of us set out on horseback to the home of Col. Webber, who though not yet a christian, had invited the missionaries and christianized Indians to spend Christmas with him. Our time was to be spent in preaching and singing, instead of drinking whiskey and in fighting as had been their custom.

"The distance was some fifty miles through forest and swamps. Unable to make the journey in one day, we were obliged to camp out. This was the first time in my life that I had ever been compelled to sleep on the ground with the broad canopy of heaven for a covering. As it was very cold we built big fires of logs around which we gathered and managed to keep warm.

"When morning came we resumed our journey, and well along in the afternoon reached the home of our kind hearted host. Here we greeted more than a hundred Indians, assembled to hear the things which were commanded of God. We held our meetings out-of-doors during the day and in the different cabins at night where we remained three days and nights, and many had their hearts opened and turned to God, among these Col. Weber. This was the happiest Christmas I ever spent, though far from home and friends and destitute of the luxuries and comforts to which I had been accustomed."

In May, 1833, the mission schools were in good condition. The chiefs of the Cherokees decided to appropriate half of their national school fund, or about \$750 annually to carry on the work at Fairfield, under Doctor Palmer. That sum was expected to support thirty pupils who were selected by a Cherokee committee specially appointed to receive and dismiss students.²¹

²⁰ Oklahoma Historical Society, *Indian-Pioneer History*, Foreman Collection, Indian Archives Division, Vol. 11. The above account was furnished by Mrs. Edith Hicks Walker, granddaughter of the Rev. and Mrs. S. A. Worcester of Park Hill Mission. She described Webber as "a most trustworthy and kind-hearted character, loved by his tribesmen and all who knew him. He died at his home near Fairfield, November 4, 1834, but his memory is perpetuated by the Falls, and the town which bears his name, also by the good example of christian manhood he set while he was here on earth. . . ."

²¹ *History of American Missions to the Heathen*, op. cit., p. 241. According to the report of Elbert Herring, commissioner of Indian affairs, Fairfield had thirty-

The Reverend Jesse Lockwood wrote from "New Dwight, Cherokee Nation, April 6, 1834," to D. Greene in Boston: "... Col. Webber the most influential and pious chief is now lying at the point of death with the consumption. . . . (about 25 or 30 miles from Dwight) Col. W. has taken great pains to give his children a good education. He has a wife and 2 children."

Webber died on April 11, 1834, "Much regretted, he was a half brother of David Brown, and a great friend of schools and missionaries. When we came we brought him letters from . . . David Brown."²²

In 1834 Fairfield, supported principally by the Cherokees, was successfully managed by Doctor and Mrs. Palmer and the teacher, Miss Jerusha Johnson. "The death of the distinguished chief, Col. Webber is a heavy loss both to the mission and the Cherokees."²³

The Missionary Herald of December, 1835, reported the death of Mrs. Clarissa Palmer at Granville, Ohio, on September 4, saying that she had been ill for two or three years.

From Ipswich, March 7, 1839, Mrs. C. C. Lockwood, in a letter to some of her friends, wrote that on the fifteenth of April, 1835, arrangements had been made for her to return east to her friends, and that "Mrs. Palmer of Fairfield station, 15 miles from Dwight, who was rapidly declining of consumption, asked and received permission of the American Board to accompany us to Ohio, once more to see her friends, & die. . . ." The baggage belonging to the party was sent by ox wagon to Fort Smith where the travelers expected to board a steamboat. On their arrival they learned that there was no boat within two hundred miles as the water was so low that large boats could not ply upon the Arkansas. It was finally decided to proceed, and two log canoes were bought and fastened together; low chairs were placed in one of the canoes for Mrs. Lockwood and Mrs. Palmer, and the men of the party rowed by turns, making twelve miles the first day. The nights were passed in log cabins shared with the family owning them. After three days the men became too exhausted to row and two athletic strangers were employed to assist in the arduous work.

five pupils in 1833, and the American Board of Foreign Missions had expended \$14,128 at Dwight, Fairfield and Forks of the Illinois stations. The buildings and improvements at Fairfield, valued at \$1,623, had been purchased by the Cherokees and were to be used as a school, under their own direction, and at their own expense.

²² David and Catherine Brown were among the first students at Brainerd Mission converted to the Christian religion by the missionaries. David visited Webber in the spring of 1816 and worked in his store. He returned to the old nation in 1819.

²³ *Religious Intelligencer*, New Haven, November 8, 1834, p. 370. *The Missionary Herald*, Vol. XXXI (January, 1835) in writing of the death of Walter Webber, describe him as a "patriotic and worthy man; intelligent and enterprising . . . engaged in agriculture and trade."

After five weary days the party boarded the commodious *Neosho*, but the hardships of the journey had reduced Mrs. Palmer so much that she was compelled to remain in her berth most of the time until her arrival in Cincinnati. "... Mrs. Palmer lived until August & then her spirit left its tabernacle of clay & I doubt not ascended to inhabit the mansions prepared for it in Heaven."²⁴

Another death reported was that of the Reverend Samuel Aldrich at Fairfield, on November 22, 1835, at the age of twenty-seven. He had been cared for by Dr. Palmer since he was taken extremely ill on September 23 and repaired to the Mission. Aldrich, educated at Hamilton Literary and Theological Institute, arrived among the Cherokees December 24, 1834.²⁵

Accounts of Fairfield state that toward the close of the year 1835, "the presence of the Holy Spirit was again made manifest at Fairfield, at Dwight, and in the vicinity," and that another revival took place during the winter of 1836, when eighteen members were added to the church at Fairfield.²⁶

The *New York Observer*, September 22, 1838, published a resume of the twenty-ninth report of the American Board, in which it was stated that Mr. and Mrs. Palmer (his second wife) were still in charge at Fairfield, and that about seventy students were enrolled at Dwight and Fairfield.²⁷

On December 28, 1839, Elizur Butler, one of the most famous missionaries among the Cherokee Indians, sent a report concerning Fairfield Mission to Hon. William Herring, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in answer to a circular sent him in July. He reported that most of the pupils were from the neighborhood of the school, but that five orphans lived with the mission family. The station was supported entirely by the American Board, and nothing was contributed by the government or the Indians. He gave the address as Flint Postoffice, Cherokee Nation.

There was only one teacher for the twenty-two male "scholars" and fourteen girls and the average attendance was about twenty. Materials were very high at the time the buildings were constructed; the school building had gone to decay. In one report, Butler wrote:

²⁴ Typed copy of letter in collection of Grant Foreman.

²⁵ *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, February, 1836.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 265, 277. There were sixty students in the school in 1835. Organization of the churches were originally Presbyterian, but Dwight and Fairfield later became Congregational. When the latter place was visited by the Rev. Amory Chamberlin, he was detained there by high water in Sallisaw Creek (Lon R. Baker, "The Rev. Amory Nelson Chamberlin," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII, No. I [March, 1934], pp. 100, 102).

²⁷ Miss Jerusha Johnson, who was born at Colchester, Connecticut, October 14, 1804, was probably a sister of the first Mrs. Palmer. She came to Fairfield Mission January 3, 1833, and was married to Marcus Palmer on February 7, 1836, just five months after the death of his first wife.

"Since I came here in 1840, the dwelling house has been repaired, with additions. And a meeting-house and school-room, both under one roof have been built. The whole building is fifty by thirty, with a movable partition. The labor of hewing, collecting materials, making shingles, and putting them on for this building was mostly done by the neighbors—but the plank, nail, glass, and carpenter work was at the expense of the American Board."

Butler considered the buildings suitable for the present, although a good barn was needed. He wrote that for the last thirty years or more there had been a good understanding between his Society and the Cherokee Council, and that they had been accorded full permission to reside in the nation, and labor for the promotion of civilization and Christianity among the people.

A small stock of cattle and horses was kept for the use of the station, and thirty acres were under cultivation. Eighty members belonged to the Presbyterian church and Doctor Butler wrote: "So far as my health will permit, my time is spent in superintending the business of the station, preaching and practicing medicine. Some seasons the practice of medicine occupies much of my time; and this is a great addition to the current expenses of the station."

Fairfield was fortunate in having two physicians in charge of the mission. Dr. Butler, a native of Norfolk, Connecticut, was born June 11, 1794, and he was twenty-seven when he joined the missionaries at Brainerd Mission. He remained there three years until he was transferred to Creek Path, subsequently known as Gunter'sville, Tennessee. In 1826 he removed to Haweis Mission near Rome, Georgia, and in 1831, because he was living in that state without swearing allegiance to the government, he was arrested and marched in chains to prison in company with Samuel Austin Worcester, a missionary who devoted his whole life to the service of the Cherokees. These good men were confined to prison for four years, at hard labor, at Milledgeville, where they were compelled to wear prison garb. On being freed, January 14, 1833, Butler returned to his family at Haweis, but was obliged to go to Brainerd to escape more persecution. He was ordained a minister at Kingston on April 14, 1838, and in that capacity he accompanied the Cherokees when they were driven out of their nation in 1839. He first stopped at Park Hill until 1840, when he assumed charge of Fairfield Mission and that was his station for the next ten years.

Doctor Butler first married Miss Esther Post of South Concord, Connecticut, in 1789. She died at Haweis, November 21, 1829. The following August 14, 1830, he married Lucy Ames, formerly of Groton, Massachusetts, at Brainerd Mission, and she survived him until 1888, at West Aaron, Connecticut.²⁸

²⁸ Robert Sparks Walker, *Torchlights to the Cherokees*, New York, 1931, pp. 45, 46; *History of American Missions to the Heathen*, Worcester, Massachusetts, 1840, p. 335.

Doctor Butler reported to Governor Pierce M. Butler, Cherokee Agent from Fairfield, on June 19, 1843, that the staff was then composed of himself and wife and Miss Esther Smith, who was in charge of the school.²⁹ For the past two years forty children had attended the school, and at that time there were eleven girls and fourteen boys in daily attendance. In his family there were four children of his own; one Cherokee young woman who had been educated at Dwight Mission; an orphan Cherokee girl who could read and write, but who was almost blind at times; in addition there were three Indian girls who attended the school. The farm of thirty acres had not been enlarged and labor on it was performed by Cherokees.

In 1842, a building for public worship was erected in spite of some opposition of white people in the neighborhood. The church was fifty by thirty feet, and the labor on the building was furnished gratuitously, besides thirty days' team work. In 1844 Butler reported no change in personnel. "A charitable society has been formed here, a committee select[ed], and caused to be printed and gratuitously distributed, sermons in English and Cherokee."

The church at Fairfield, located south of the site of the present Stilwell, Oklahoma, had seventy-two members in 1845. Being so near the Arkansas line large quantities of liquor were sold to the Indians, and Walter S. Adair, president of the national temperance society, called meetings of that body at Fairfield schoolhouse and on one occasion, after a prayer in Cherokee, an address was made by Adair. A Cherokee hymn was sung before a speech by one of the missionaries from Dwight, and that was followed by a talk by Major George Lowrey. At that meeting seventy-four persons signed the temperance pledge.³⁰

On July 12, 1850, the fifth anniversary of the organization of the Flint District Auxiliary Temperance Society was fittingly observed at Fairfield when an interesting program was rendered.³¹ The Cherokee mission held its annual meeting at Fairfield on September 10, and services were continued through the twelfth, on which day the time was devoted to "prayer for the success of the American Board, and for the universal diffusion of the Gospel; the communication of missionary intelligence; and the celebration of the Lord's Supper, in concert with the Board itself, and its Missions generally in various parts of the world, who hold similar meetings at the same time."³²

²⁹ One of the most faithful and devoted missionaries in the Indian country was Miss Esther Smith who taught at Fairfield from 1841 until September 6, 1853. She died at Fort Gibson in January, 1865, and was buried in a local cemetery until her body was interred in the National Cemetery among the unknown dead.

³⁰ Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), pp. 365, 382.

³¹ *Cherokee Advocate*, July 30, 1850, p. 2, col. 2.

³² *Ibid.*, August 27, 1850. This notice was signed by S. A. Worcester, Clerk of the Mission.

When Doctor Butler was appointed as superintendent of the Cherokee Female Seminary, Fairfield was left destitute according to the Reverend S. A. Worcester, who wrote from Park Hill, August 30, 1853, that the school at Fairfield Station had been much smaller than the surrounding population would lead one to expect. There were seventy-four members of the church and that number had probably diminished since.³³

On December 27, 1852, Edwin Teele, Mrs. Sarah E. Teele and Miss Esther Smith arrived to take charge at Fairfield, with one native assistant. The Reverend Mr. Teele was a native of Medford, Massachusetts, and his wife was from Thetford, Vermont. Mr. Teele, a graduate of Harvard and Andover Seminary, had been convinced that the presence of a missionary was greatly needed. ". . . . At first he was much discouraged. . . . From the time of Dr. Butler's removal to the Cherokee female seminary, there had been no resident missionary among the people; it is not strange that to our young brother the field seemed to be 'grown over with thorns and briars.' Now, however, he says that 'a few things brighten the prospect.' "

The number of communicants was sixty-nine, the Sunday school had increased to forty children. Two prayer meetings were held, one weekly and the other fortnightly, the latter being held exclusively for women whose attendance was encouraging.³⁴

Mr. Teele wrote, on May 3, 1853: "Sabbath before last we had a very pleasant 'big meeting,' as the Indians call our two days' communion seasons. We have strong hopes that the services have not been in vain."

The *Missionary Herald* noted, in November, 1853, that the Reverend Horace A. Wentz of Oswego, New York, had left Cincinnati for the Cherokee Mission. He was a graduate of Lane Seminary and he planned to remain at Dwight Mission for the present. He was accompanied by Miss M. Elizabeth Denny and Miss Lucina H. Lord of Thetford, Vermont; Miss Esther Smith, late of the Cherokee Mission, was also a member of the party. Miss Denny was to take charge of the school at Fairfield and Miss Lord was to assist Mrs. Teele.

In 1855 Fairfield was still in charge of the Reverend Horace A. Wentz, assisted by Mr. James Orr and Mrs. Orr, while Miss M. E. Denny was the teacher. The church had seventy-two members and the school continued "to prosper in a good degree."³⁵

³³ Althea Bass, *Cherokee Messenger* (Norman, 1936), p. 305.

³⁴ The *Missionary Herald*, January, 1853, pp. 11, 29; *ibid.*, October, 1853, p. 310.

³⁵ *Missionary Herald*, 1855, pp. 127-28.

The faithful Miss Esther Smith, "a worthy lady, who had long been in the employ of the American Board, has but recently dissolved her relation with that establishment, and taken a public school of the nation."³⁶

The Reverend S. A. Worcester wrote to Cherokee Agent Butler in 1858, that the Fairfield school had been closed for want of a teacher, but that year the Rev. C. C. Torrey, his wife and Miss Sarah Dean moved to the station, and Miss Dean became the teacher.³⁷

Soon after his graduation from the Theological Seminary at Andover, Massachusetts, the Reverend Charles Cutler Torrey was married on September 5, 1855, and the young missionaries left in the autumn for the Indian Territory to take up their work and residence at Fairfield Station. Doctor Torrey kept a journal of their life among the Indians in which he wrote:

"We rested at Fairfield until my horses' heels were healed. A[ddie] [Mrs. Torrey] was much better after a little rest and took charge of the school as there was no teacher. . . . We remained at Fairfield during the winter, I doing missionary work and A—— teaching school, awaiting further orders. We had a very uncomfortable winter, boarding with Mr. and Mrs. Orr, lay missionaries, who gave us very poor food at uncertain hours, and very poor lodgings in the upper half story of the log house."

Torrey made an extensive trip through the Indian country, and during his absence Mrs. Torrey remained at Dwight with the Rev. and Mrs. Worcester Willey. They finally settled at Fairfield for their permanent station:

"The condition was very discouraging. My predecessor had alienated the people in various ways and they were unwilling to come to church or to the Mission premises. . . .

"We had a comfortable log house and out-buildings with about twelve acres of ground and all the wood we chose to cut within easy reach. The land was sown to corn and oats for our horses and cows. I had three horses, a herd of cows and young cattle . . . I also had many hogs . . . killed six giving us twelve hams and shoulders and many pounds of bacon. . . . I used to sell or exchange some of the bacon for venison which was very common. I milked nine cows, but had to keep the calves sucking all summer to entice the cows home from the range. . . . A—— with my help made butter and cheese enough for our own use. . . . I rigged up a cheese press so that A—— could make cheese.

"Much of the time, both Sundays and other days, we had to keep open house. . . . We had a melodion and the people were fond of singing their Cherokee hymns, while A—— played for them. We had two little Cherokee girls, Polly and Lizzie Glass, who lived with us until we went to Park Hill."

³⁶ W. A. Duncan, superintendent of Public Schools, Cherokee Nation, to George Butler, Cherokee Agent at Tahlequah in *Missionary Herald*, 1857, p. 143.

³⁷ *Missionary Herald*, 1858; Report commissioner of Indian affairs, 1859, p. 502. According to that report Fairfield was twenty-five miles southeast of Tahlequah (*ibid.*, p. 541).

On August 20, 1856, a baby girl was born to Mrs. Torrey. Both mother and daughter were seriously ill, and their lives were saved by the skill of Doctor D. D. Hitchcock of Park Hill.

Mrs. Torrey conducted a prayer meeting for the women, and one Cherokee walked three miles to attend. Once a month Doctor Torrey went to Pea Vine, twenty miles distant. It was there that Miss Esther Smith of Royalton, Vermont, was teaching, and Torrey wrote in his diary.

"She was a devoted Christian woman who had the confidence of the Cherokees to an unusual degree.

"The spiritual results of my work at Fairfield seem very meager. There were few conversions. All improvements on the mission were swept away by the war. I had no difficulty in making my way about, as the Indians were apt in the sign language. . . . I found it so in the Choctaw country; when looking for a Choctaw house the people I enquired of could not speak English, so I simply gave the name of the family, indicating that I wanted to reach them. In reply my informant placed his fingers in the shape of a roof and held up one hand with the five fingers erect, indicating that there were five houses more to pass, which I found to be true.

"Fairfield was the birthplace of my two older children. . . . the house was one of the best in that region, built in the usual style—a double log cabin, and a space between, all under one roof The space between afterward closed in and finished for a room. There was an ell running out to what was, when we lived there, the road; . . . a little room about eight feet square was built out from the ell, and was the private room of the teacher. The ell was kitchen, pantry, etc. There was a piazza in front and back of the house, and a half-story was built over the cabin, giving two unfinished chambers in one of which we spent our first uncomfortable winter It was a fine place for a successful mission our work there covered about four years 1855 to 1859."

The Cherokees have erected statues to Sequoyah and Will Rogers in the Capitol of the United States; people of Oklahoma have preserved the birthplace of Sequoyah by covering the log cabin with a handsome stone house; but no memorial of any description has yet been raised to the splendid missionaries who came from the universities and colleges of New England to instruct these Indians until they were driven out by the Civil War.³⁸ Surely some recognition is due those brave people who sacrificed so much to improve their red brethren.

Among the settlers at Fairchild Mission was a part Cherokee named Mose Alberty. He arrived with the Old Settler Cherokees when the station was started. Two years later his wife, on her way to join her husband, died about where Fort Smith is located. Her

³⁸ The Committee on Marking Historic Sites, of which Gen. Wm. S. Key is Chairman, selected Fairfield Mission as one of the first fifty historic sites in Oklahoma to be marked in the Committee's program in 1949. A handsome plaque will be erected near Stilwell, Adair County, indicating the site of Fairfield Mission about five miles southwest of the City, and giving a brief historic sketch of the Mission and names of some of the missionaries who served there.—Ed.

remains were brought to the mission and buried in the missionary cemetery and a monument was erected to her memory bearing the inscription:

“Erected by Moses Alberty in memory of his wife Sarah Alberty, who departed this life June 18, 1830. Age 37 years.”

The first person interred in the cemetery was “Polly, wife of R. McLemore. Born Feb. 10, 1820. Died March 21, 1883. She professed religion in 1840.” F. Daly was the man who hewed these two stones.³⁹

³⁹ Oklahoma Historical Society, *Indian-Pioneer History*, Foreman Collection, Indian Archives, vol. 96, pp. 350-51.

POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CHEROKEE TREATY OF NEW ECHOTA

*By Robert A. Rutland**

A cursory glance at the record of events which led to the Treaty of New Echota and the subsequent removal of the Cherokees from the southeastern United States to lands west of the Mississippi shows only that a group of less than 20,000 unfortunates were moved from their homelands—most of them against their will. But the deeper implications of that treaty and Cherokee removal were part-and-parcel of the struggles over nullification and slavery. In short, the South's quest for state rights was opposed by the North's insistence upon a strong central government. The issue of humanitarianism cannot be overlooked, but it appears to have been of secondary importance.**

It is important to note that the question of Cherokee removal became a national issue in the 1820s and 1830s. The bitterness of the struggle between the Indians, the work of missionaries and the northern groups who championed the Cherokee cause, and the contempt of President Jackson, Georgia politicians, and the southern element in general—weaved a dramatic web which heralded the coming of mightier struggles, and these came to the very core of the argument: Which was to be stronger, the Union or the State?

Early English settlers in what is now the southeastern portion of the United States found the Cherokee nation compressed into parts of the present-day states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama. From 1721 until 1784 members of the tribe carried on negotiations with British Indian agents, private groups and the various American states, and in each treaty the Cherokee lands were bargained away.

During the American Revolution the Cherokees assisted British troops and were dealt with as defeated enemies at the conclusion of that war. In their first treaty with the new nation, the Cherokees entered into an agreement which laid the foundations for relations

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** This paper describes the situation as the Cherokees found it after a portion of the tribe had signed treaties in 1817 and 1819. It traces the route that inevitably led to the triumph of Georgia's doctrine of state sovereignty with the final removal of the Cherokees in 1838.

between the tribe and the United States. These stood until another treaty was signed some 34 years later. This early treaty—the Treaty of Hopewell—was signed on November 28, 1785, at Hopewell, South Carolina. It was a simple document which established the relationship between the Indians and the federal government. It provided for the Cherokees to “acknowledge themselves under the exclusive protection of the United States.” It further called for the United States “to have sole right of regulating trade with the Indians and managing their affairs.”¹

It was 55 years, and 12 treaties later, that the full effect of these provisions made an impact on the Cherokee. When the tribe first entered into treaties with the British in 1721, its estimated holdings included slightly less than 80,000,000 acres. By 1817, the tribe held less than 15,000,000 acres of its original tract.²

During the intervening years, the Cherokees were to become divided into Upper and Lower divisions.³ Travelers from the Cherokee region reported that the Upper and Lower tribes spoke different dialects, and the Upper Cherokees by the end of the century had turned from hunting to an agricultural existence. The Lower Cherokees, however, continued to live primarily by their hunting prowess.

Throughout the latter half of the 18th Century a large number of whites settled among the tribe, particularly the Upper branch. The influence of their offsprings became a salient feature of tribal life, and some ethnologists use it as a partial explanation for the high degree of civilization which the Upper Cherokees had attained by 1817, when the Lower elements of the tribe agreed to move from their southeastern hunting grounds to the Arkansas territory and beyond.

While their tribesmen moved westward, the Upper Cherokees progressed toward a civilized status with increasing rapidity. A report to the War department in 1825 indicated a portion of the Upper tribe was on a level with many whites in the area.⁴ Under the guidance of John Ross, a Scotch half-breed, and other leaders of equal intellect a newspaper, called *Cherokee Phoenix*, was published at the Cherokee capital New Echota, Georgia.⁵ The paper was bi-lingual, with half of its reports in English and the other portion in the Cherokee phonetic alphabet. Many Cherokees possessed at least one slave, and large estates were not uncommon. The Cherokee

¹ Royce, C. C., *The Cherokee Nation of Indians*, (Washington 1883), 133, 134.

² *Ibid.*, 378.

³ Parker, T. V., *The Cherokee Nation*, (New York, 1907), 12.

⁴ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Gales and Seaton, (Washington, 1832), II, 200. (Cited later as *Indian Affairs*).

⁵ Robert G. Martin, Jr., “The Cherokee Phoenix: Pioneer of Indian Journalism,” *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXV, No. 1 (Spring, 1947), pp. 102-18.—Ed.

farmers raised cotton, corn and cattle, and many did much of their trading with merchants in New York, Philadelphia and Charleston.

Across the Cherokee-Georgia boundary line (set by federal authority) the whites did not look upon the Indian progress with favor. Georgia had ceded its western lands to the federal government in 1802 after a compact was made regarding the extinguishment of the Indian claims to Georgia soil. The Georgians wanted the Indians removed—the sooner the better—and the treaty of 1817 was the outgrowth of this insistence. General Andrew Jackson had been sent to the Cherokee country to negotiate such a treaty, along with General David Merriwether and Governor McMinn of Tennessee.⁶ The treaty party made no headway with the Upper Cherokees and found little encouragement in the lower country. But despite the reluctance of the Indians to make any concessions, the federal commissioners pressed a treaty which was finally signed by a minority of the chiefs on July 8, 1817. It called for removal of the Lower portion of the tribe, and apparently a majority of the Cherokees were bitterly opposed to the treaty.⁷ Nevertheless, it was ratified by the senate after considerable debate and proclaimed on December 26, 1817.

The treaty provided for an exchange of lands east of the Mississippi for an equal area in the west. Significantly, article eight of the treaty allowed the Cherokee head of a family living on ceded lands to become a United States citizen.⁸ It further allowed Cherokees who elected citizenship to receive 640 acres of land in fee simple east of the Mississippi.

Although the treaty and the subsequent Treaty of 1819, which adjusted the 1817 pact, gave the United States title to nearly five million acres of land east of the Mississippi, the treaty was unpopular with many northern elements, Georgians and the Indians themselves. George R. Gilmer, an eminent Georgia politician, wrote the federal House of Representatives the views of a Georgia committee which investigated the treaty's effects in 1822:⁹

"... The (Georgia) committee cannot but view this attempt on the part of the United States to grant lands in fee simple within the limits of Georgia as a direct violation of the rights of that State. . . . By the same eighth article of the said treaty, all the Cherokee Indians, who may choose to do so, are authorized to become citizens of the United States. The committee are not aware of the existence of a power of conferring the rights of citizenship in any branch of government other than Congress."

It soon became apparent, both in Washington and in Georgia, that the fee simple and citizenship provisions of the treaties would

⁶ *Rorce*, 212.

⁷ *Parker*, 12.

⁸ *Peters, R., ed., United States Statutes at Large*, (Boston, 1848), VII, 159. (Cited later as *Statutes*).

⁹ *Indian Affairs*, II, 259.

accomplish the reverse of what many held as a basic tenet of all Indian policy—speedy removal to the west. Aided by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Cherokees took on an extensive educational program for themselves. The Cherokees in the northwestern corner of Georgia flourished, and a census in 1825 revealed a population of 13,563 Cherokees, 220 whites and 1,277 slaves within the Cherokee Nation borders.¹⁰

Bound on the north and west by Tennessee, on the south and west by Alabama, on the south and east by Georgia and North Carolina, the Cherokee Nation in the 1820's embraced 7,882,240 acres in those states.¹¹ Whites in the older sections of those states where the soil had worn thin by crude agricultural methods looked enviously at the Indian holdings. The Cherokee chieftains were not unaware of the situation, particularly in Georgia, but seemed to have had an implicit faith in the protection powers and guarantees of the federal government.

In what might have been a move to strengthen the Cherokee position against Georgia claims, the Indians adopted a tribal constitution on July 26, 1827.¹² The reaction in Georgia to this document was immediate and indignant. Governor Forsyth sent a copy of the constitution to President John Quincy Adams and asked what action the federal government would take to squelch "a separate government within the limits of a sovereign state."¹³

Meanwhile, the Georgia legislature was not silent. In a resolution passed following the Cherokee's constitutional action, they declared "The policy which has been pursued by the United States toward the Cherokee Indians has not been in good faith toward Georgia. . . . all the lands, appropriated and unappropriated, which lie within the conventional limits of Georgia belong to her absolutely the Indians are tenants at her will."¹⁴ Other issues in Georgia politics caused factional strife, but on the Indian question the various parties achieved unity. They held that the Indians must be removed.

Under the Federalists, the United States policy toward the Cherokee Indians had vacillated between hopes for removal voluntarily and a position that "nothing in the compact (1802) compelled the government to remove them against their will."¹⁵ The outcome of the national election of 1828 sealed the future of Federalism, and

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 545.

¹¹ *Royce*, 378.

¹² *Ibid.*, 241.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Phillips, Ulrich S., "Georgia and State Rights," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association, for 1901*, (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1902), 72.

¹⁵ Dale, E. E., *Cherokee Cavaliers*, (Norman, 1939), xvi.

also sealed the future of the Cherokee Nation. Jackson defeated Adams by more than a 2-1 majority in the electoral college, and was clearly the champion of the western and southern frontier regions. Georgia looked to Jackson for aid, and found the new president willing to carry their cause. Jackson, as a commissioner seeking treaties with the Cherokees, had been outspoken in his views concerning removal. He held removal as "inevitable" and at the offset took a paternalistic attitude toward the Cherokees. Years later the confidential files of Commissioner of Indian Affairs P. M. Butler alleged that Jackson told General Merriwether to "build fires around them (the Cherokees)." ¹⁶

The Georgia legislature interpreted Jackson's election as a clear mandate to move ahead with its plans to extinguish the Indian claims in their state. The official results of the election had hardly reached Washington when, in December of 1828, the Georgia lawmakers enacted a bill which provided that after June 1, 1830, the Cherokees (and all other Indians residing in Georgia) would be under the jurisdiction of Georgia law. ¹⁷ A law passed in 1829 crowded the Cherokees by making all their Indian laws "null and void" on June 1, 1830. ¹⁸ These acts declared that the Cherokee tract of some 100 square miles in the northwestern corner of Georgia would be added to Carroll, DeKalb, Gwinnet, Hall and Habersham counties. ¹⁹ Another important feature of the bills was a provision which made it illegal for any member of the tribe to attempt to discourage other Cherokees from moving to the area west of the Mississippi. ²⁰

But perhaps the most stinging of all sections of the bills was that which held "That no Indian or descendant of an Indian residing within the Creek or Cherokee nations of Indians, shall be deemed a competent witness in any court of this state to which a white person may be a party." ²¹

It is difficult to find conclusive evidence that the question of Indian removal was an outright issue of the 1828 election. But there was no doubt as to where Jackson stood. Shortly after his inaugura-

¹⁶ Royce, 297—"In a confidential letter in the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, from Hon. P. M. Butler, of South Carolina. . . Mr. Butler says it is alleged, and claimed to be susceptible of proof, that Mr. Merriweather (*sic*), of Georgia, in an interview with President Jackson, a considerable time before the treaty (of New Echota) was negotiated, said to the President, 'We want the Cherokee lands in Georgia, but the Cherokees will not consent to cede them,' to which the President emphatically replied, 'You must get clear of them by legislation. Take judicial jurisdiction over their country, build fires around them, and do indirectly what you cannot effect directly.'"

¹⁷ Phillips, 72.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Foreman, Grant, *Indian Removal*, (Norman, 1932), 229.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 230.

²¹ *Ibid.*

tion in 1829, *Niles Weekly Register* carried a reprinted article from the New Echota *Phoenix* of January 28, 1829, which read: "... There is hope for the Cherokees as long as they continue in their present situation; but disorganize them, either by removing them beyond the Mississippi, or by imposing on them 'heavy burdens,' you cut a vital string in their national existence."²²

Less than a month later, Secretary of War John H. Eaton permitted the magazine to publish a letter which he had sent to John Ross and other Cherokees who complained of the Georgia Legislature's overtures. Ross and his supporters hoped for federal aid in case of a "showdown." The letter said "... The arms of this country can never be employed, to stay any state of this union from the exercise of those legitimate powers which attach, and belong to their sovereign character."²³

The matter became further complicated in July, 1829, when gold was discovered on the Cherokee lands in Georgia. More than 3,000 whites hastened to the Indian lands, and little attempt was made to protect the rights of the Cherokees as the invaders sought the precious metal.²⁴

The Georgia legislation followed Jackson's message to the opening of the 21st Congress, in which he expressed sympathy with the Indian's position, and as a just solution he again urged them to accept final removal to the so-called "Indian Frontier" beyond the Mississippi.²⁵

Immediately, Jackson's enemies and the humanitarians of the northern and New England states denounced the Georgia legislation—both the spirit and the intent of the laws. One historian writes, "It (Cherokee Removal) became a subject of angry conversation among abolitionist groups and north sewing circles; and led to the widening of the ugly rift of sectionalism, which slavery had already created."²⁶

A great champion of the Cherokee cause appeared in Senator Theodore Freylinghusen, of New Jersey. A deeply religious man who once considered leaving politics to enter the ministry, he represented that portion of the senate which held that protection of the Cherokee lands was a sacred obligation of the United States because of treaty commitments.

Freylinghusen's arguments on behalf of the Cherokees reached their zenith during debates in April of 1830. In a six-hour speech,

²² *Niles Weekly Register*, (Baltimore, 1812-1849), XXXVI, 41. (Cited later as *Niles*).

²³ *Ibid.*, 259.

²⁴ *Phillips*, 22.

²⁵ Richardson, James D., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, (Washington, 1896), IV., 457.

²⁶ Coulter, E. M., *Georgia, A Short History*, (Chapel Hill, 1947), 236.

prolonged over three different meetings of the senate, he denounced Georgia's recent legislation and recalled the relations of the Cherokees and Creeks with the federal government from the 18th century. More particularly, Freylinghusen pleaded with the Senate to follow what he considered the binding obligations assented to under Washington, and commended by Jefferson.²⁷ Moreover, the New Jersey Senator denounced the underhanded methods which the War Department apparently had sanctioned in dealing with the Indians.²⁸

These remarks were a clear swing at Jackson's hard-fisted policy toward the Cherokees. Next, Senator Peleg Sprague of Maine joined in condemning Georgia and Jackson, as did Senator Asher Robbins of Rhode Island. All used the same theme: the obligation of the United States to treaties, and the obligation of both the United States and Georgia to human decency.

Georgia's Congressional delegation seemed to feel it was on sure ground. It did not need to make a point-by-point refutation of the opposition's charges. Senator Forsyth of that state worded part of his rebuttal thus: "... I consider it a matter of conscience to ... relieve the senator (Freylinghusen) from any apprehension that it may become necessary to cut white throats in Georgia to preserve inviolate the natural faith, and to perform our treaty obligations to the Indians."²⁹

Forsyth said Georgia had been much abused in the "partisan press" and by the congressional opposition, and he attributed it to misunderstanding rather than malice. "Peculiarly appropriate to our condition," he said, "is the language of Cassius, who was, 'Hated by those he loved, Braved by his brother, checked like a bond-man. . . .'"³⁰ Forsyth, if he had any doubts, had only to recall Secretary Eaton's letter of 1829 to feel secure in his position. Mr. Wayne, a Georgia representative in the lower house, lacked Forsyth's patience, but shared his fellow-Georgian's contempt of the humanitarian position.

"... Sir," Wayne said in the House on May 24, 1830, "it would have been well for gentlemen, before they had chanted their strains of Cherokee virtue, happiness, simplicity and independence, to have acquainted themselves with the true position of that tribe, as fixed by treaties, and with their moral condition as a people. . . ."³¹ Wayne concluded, "Sir, so monstrous a concatenation (Cherokee in-

²⁷ *Speeches on the Removal of the Indians*, (Boston, 1830), 2.
(Cited later as *Speeches*).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁹ *Registers of Debates in Congress, 1824-1837*, (Washington, 1825-1837), VI, 325.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 331.

³¹ Benton, Thomas Hart, ed., *Abridgement of the Debates of Congress, 1789-1856*, (New York, 1857-1861), XI, 96.

dependence) of construction it is only humane to strangle in its birth; and I trust it lies dead in all its deformity.”³²

One source of unexpected opposition came from neighboring Tennessee, where the popular David Crockett had been elected to the House of Representatives. Crockett followed Wayne, Lumpkin and Foster—the Georgia delegation—and spoke briefly. He said he had his constituents to settle with, but also had his conscience, and would therefore support the Cherokees.³³

These debates were faithfully reported in the press and northern elements continued to agitate for a strong stand against Georgia. William Lloyd Garrison, the firebrand editor, called Freylinghusen “the Christian Statesman” and referred to him as a “patriot and Christian.”³⁴

The assurances which Georgia needed in her fight to extinguish the Indian claims came at an opportune moment. On June 1, 1830, (the date originally set by the state legislature as the effective one for the laws regulating Indian lands) Gilmer received a letter from Secretary Eaton. It clearly defined the Jacksonian impression of how far Georgia might go. The letter read:³⁵

“ The right to regulate the internal policy of a State has not been confided to the General Government, and, of course, on collisions thus arising it cannot interfere. To the extent, however, of executing the provisions of the act of 1802, and restraining intruders and trespassers from the soil and country of the Indians, the President will act our Treaties and laws forbid this; and these he will consider it a duty faithfully to execute.”

On June 3, 1830, the preceding legislation affecting the Cherokees and their lands was put into effect. Less than a week later, President Jackson gave an executive order which suspended the enrollment and removal to the west of small groups of Cherokees. With this he reiterated his thought that he was powerless to act against the sovereignty of a state. At the same time, Jackson made another order which caused suspension of the annuity payments to the treasurer of the Cherokee Nation. Thereafter, the president ordered, funds were to be disbursed to tribe members on an individual basis.³⁶

John Ross was in Washington, where he conferred with the congressmen sympathetic to the Cherokee cause. The outgrowth of these meetings was a suit filed in the Supreme Court on behalf of the tribe against the State of Georgia. The Cherokees employed William Wirt, the former attorney general, as their counsel; then awaited a

³² *Ibid.*, 104.

³³ *Speeches*, 251.

³⁴ Johnson, Allen, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, (21 vols., New York, 1928-1944), VII, 17.

³⁵ *Royce*, 261.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

court decision which they expected would stay Georgia's hand. Before actually filing the suit, Wirt had written to Gilmer (then governor) and suggested the Supreme Court test of the Georgia laws.³⁷ Gilmer, a distant relative of Wirt's, scorned the proposal.

President Jackson's opinion of the court test was not unlike Gilmer's. Guided by Chief Justice John Marshall, the court was Federalistic in character, and had little sympathy with Jacksonian concepts. On August 25, 1830, Jackson wrote to Major William B. Lewis:³⁸

" . . . The course of Wirt has been truly wicked. It (the court test) has been wielded as an engine to prevent the Indians from moving X (across) the Mississippi and will lead to the distruction (*sic*) of the poor ignorant Indian. It must be so, I have used all the persuasive means in my power. I have exonerated the national character from all imputation, and now leave the poor deluded Creeks and Cherokees to their fate, and their annihilation, which their wicked advisers has induced."

Difficulties with the whites in the Cherokee country became acute during the summer of 1830. Gilmer was finally prompted to make recommendations to the state legislature curbing the whites. Before the year ended, the legislature passed an act forbidding the residence of white men (other than agents of the federal government) in the Cherokee lands.³⁹

Officially, the State of Georgia took no notice of the suit pending in the United States Supreme Court. The case (Cherokee Nation vs. State of Georgia) was docketed for the January term of 1831, but before that time a Cherokee named George Tassel became involved in a murder in Hall County, Georgia. Tassel was accused of the slaying, found guilty and sentenced to hang. Wirt seized the opportunity to gain a stay of execution by a writ of error which the Supreme Court at Washington granted.⁴⁰

Governor Gilmer and the Georgia legislature set their first precedent in the Cherokee case by ignoring the legal move. Tassel was executed, to the horror of the Cherokee leaders and their friends in Congress. Judge A. S. Clayton of the Georgia Superior Court had previously announced that he would not accept mandates from the Supreme Court "which might arise before him from an act of Georgia."⁴¹

Despite Eaton's letter written in June, Gilmer wrote to President Jackson on October 29, 1830, and asked that federal troops be

³⁷ Phillips, 75.

³⁸ Richardson, IV, 177.

³⁹ Abel, Annie H., "The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, for 1907, (Washington, 1908), 396.

⁴⁰ Phillips, 75.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 74.

withdrawn from the Cherokee lands, since he considered the lands as being a part of Georgia. Jackson acted immediately to effect the federal troops' withdrawal.⁴²

By September, 1830, the Office of Indian Affairs was hopeful that a treaty could be negotiated with the Cherokees which would provide the desired removal. Colonel John Lowry was appointed a special commissioner in that month. His unsuccessful offer to the Indians contained approximately what they were granted by the Treaty of New Echota.⁴³

Lowry failed, but Jackson was not discouraged. Other successes had been achieved in the Old Northwest, and in his annual message to Congress in December, 1830, the President said:⁴⁴

" Toward the aborigines of the country no one can indulge a more friendly feeling than myself. For the justice of the laws passed by the States within the scope of their reserved powers, they are not responsible to this government. As individuals, we may entertain and express our opinion of their acts; but, as a government, we have as little right to control them as we have to prescribe the laws of foreign nations. Can it be cruel in this government, when by events which it cannot control, the Indian is made discontented in his ancient home, to purchase his lands, to give him a new and extensive territory, to pay the expense of his removal, and support him a year in his new abode?"

The Cherokees marked time until March 5, 1831, when the Supreme Court delivered its opinion. Georgia was not represented by counsel, but as the majority opinion was read, it became apparent that counsel would have been unnecessary. The injunction was denied.

The Supreme Court did not have jurisdiction, it claimed, because the Cherokees were not a foreign state. Moreover, the decision defined the legal status of the Indians in clear terms:⁴⁵

" Though the Indians are acknowledged to have an unquestionable and, heretofore, un questioned right to the lands they occupy, until that right shall be extinguished by a voluntary cession to our government; yet it may well be doubted whether those tribes which reside within the acknowledged boundaries of the United States can, with strict accuracy, be denominated foreign nations. They occupy a territory to which we assert a title independent of their will, which must take effect in point of possession when their right of possession ceases. Meanwhile they are in a state of pupillage. Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian."

The high court was well aware of the grievances of the Cherokees, but remained firm in its strict interpretation of Section 2, Article III, of the federal constitution: "If it be true that the Cherokee nation have rights, this is not the tribunal in which those

⁴² *Royce*, 261.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Richardson*, II, 118, 119.

⁴⁵ *Peters, R., ed., United States Supreme Court Reports*, (Washington, 1832), V, 17.

rights are to be asserted. If it be true that wrongs have been inflicted, and that still greater are to be apprehended, this is not the tribunal which can redress the past or prevent the future."⁴⁶

It is conceivable that Georgia's state government was taken aback by this surprising decision in their favor. Their recovery was rapid, however, for a survey of the Indian lands was ordered in 1831. (In the following year, the lands were laid out into 10 new counties; and in 1833 these lands were passed out under a lottery system.)⁴⁷ Faced with the hostility of the president and mortified by the Supreme Court decision, the Cherokees were held temporarily in check, although Freylinghusen continued his verbal battle on their behalf in the senate.

What appeared to be a major turning point in the entire situation arose in July, 1831. The Georgia legislature had passed an act which went into effect in February of that year which provided, among other things, that all whites which resided in the Cherokee country should take an oath of allegiance to the state.⁴⁸ Among those who refused to obey this law were Samuel Worcester, the postmaster at New Echota, and 10 others associated with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.⁴⁹

Governor Gilmer heard of this group's refusal to take the oath, but was temporarily thwarted by Worcester's federal status as a postmaster. He requested President Jackson to withdraw Worcester's appointment, and this was done. Worcester and the others were arrested during the summer, and tried in September in a Georgia court. Worcester and the Reverend Elizur Butler were the only members of the group which refused to take the oath. They were convicted and sentenced to four years at hard labor.⁵⁰

The case rapidly gained national prominence. Worcester and Butler became martyrs in the columns of many northern newspapers. To the Cherokees and their friends, it presented a fresh opportunity for a court test of Georgia laws.

Wirt again took charge of the case and represented Worcester. The situation remained comparatively static while the court decision was pending. Jackson, in his annual message to Congress in December, 1831, did mention the Cherokees, but only briefly. "... Those (Cherokees) who prefer remaining at their present homes will hereafter . . . cease to be the objects of peculiar care on the part of the General Government," he said.⁵¹

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁴⁷ *Coulter*, 235.

⁴⁸ *Royce*, 264.

⁴⁹ *Samuel A. Worcester vs. Georgia*, (Washington, 1832), 4.

(Cited later as *Worcester*).

⁵⁰ *Phillips*, 77.

⁵¹ *Richardson*, II, 352.

The Supreme Court decision, delivered on March 3, 1832, declared that the United States had assumed the treaty relationships which Great Britain had set up before 1784. Those relations were those ". . . of a nation claiming and receiving the protection of a more powerful (nation)" ⁵²

Worcester was entitled to go free, the high court ruled. The judgment of the Georgia superior court was reversed and annulled. "The Cherokee nation, then," the opinion read, "is a distinct community, occupying its own territory, with boundaries accurately described, in which the laws of Georgia can have no force. . . ." ⁵³

Rejoicing followed the decision in the Cherokee quarters. A letter from New Echota dated March 24, 1832, was printed in *Niles Weekly Register*. ". . . The arrival of this decision has been to the Cherokees like a shower of rain on the thirsty vegetation upon the earth. All are easy, content, and merry; yet aware that immediate relief does not follow the consequence. . . . Every Indian knows now that he stands upon a solid foundation." ⁵⁴

The Indian's conception of the importance of the decision was due for a rude shock. John Ridge, a prominent Cherokee, saw the court test and its enforcement as "the greatest (question) that has ever presented itself to the consideration of the American People." ⁵⁵ In a letter to another leading Cherokee, Stand Watie, Ridge wrote on April 6, 1832, from Washington, ". . . But Sir, the Chicken Snake General Jackson has time to crawl and hide in the luxuriant grass of his nefarious hypocrisy until his responsibility is fastened upon by an execution of the supreme court at their next session. Then we shall see how strong the links are to the chain that connects the states to the Federal Union. . . ." ⁵⁶

Jackson was faced with a dilemma. The Supreme Court declared the constitution had been violated by Georgia. Furthermore, 1832 was an election year, and a bitter contest with the Whig forces loomed. He was undoubtedly mindful of his party's greatest strength, for in the 1828 election he had received the electoral votes of every southern state. The South was aligned with Georgia. And in 1828, Georgia's electoral ticket had not even recognized his opponent, John Quincy Adams. ⁵⁷

Faced, possibly, with the need for an application of practical politics, Jackson chose the course of least resistance. George N. Briggs, a member of Congress from Massachusetts when the decision

⁵² Worcester, 16.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁵⁴ *Niles*, XLII, 201.

⁵⁵ Dale, 8.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Greeley, Horace, *The American Conflict*, (Chicago, 1864), 104.

was rendered, quoted Jackson as saying—"Well: John Marshall has made his decision: Now let him enforce it!"⁵⁸

Wirt sought in vain to have the judgment enforced. (Worcester and Butler remained in the Georgia penitentiary until January, 1833, when they decided they had "suffered long enough" and received a pardon from Governor Lumpkin after announcing their decision.)⁵⁹

Unquestionably, the failure of the executive branch to aid in the enforcement of the court decision was a mortal blow to the Cherokee cause.

Wirt, as the defender of the Cherokees, was hailed as a hero in the North and became the Anti-Masonry party candidate for the presidency. Clay was nominated by the Whigs, and his views on the Cherokee matter were well known: He stood on the Indian's side.

As the country prepared for the national campaign, another attempt by the War department to gain a treaty of removal failed. E. W. Chester was sent on a futile mission to negotiate the treaty, and his offer also approximated what the Cherokees actually accepted later. But, at the insistence of the Secretary of War, Chester did discourage an idea gaining ground with some Cherokees—agreement to removal if granted a portion of the territory around the Columbia River.⁶⁰

Early in November, 1832, it became obvious that Jackson had been reelected. The *Washington Globe*, in an issue of November 23, 1832, carried a reprint from the *New York Evening Post*, "To What Does the President Owe His Reelection?" Included in the analysis was this remark:

"... In the controversy between Georgia and the Supreme court, Mr. Clay had distinctly avowed that were it in his power, he would support the Judiciary, right or wrong. This doctrine the people were not prepared to discuss. . . . they readily adopted the leading idea that the independence of the Indians within the limits of Georgia was impracticable, and they willingly concede to her the same rights which they had themselves exercised."

The bitter business of nullification had plagued the Jackson administration during this period. The Georgia attitude was interpreted in some quarters as an act of nullification. Governor Lumpkin finally answered these charges in November, 1832, before the state legislature, when he said, "... We are at present, very improperly charged with nullifying the intercourse law and Indian Treaties of the United States, when in fact, these laws and treaties were set aside and had become measurably obsolete, by the acts and assumptions of the Cherokee Indians themselves."⁶¹

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁵⁹ *Phillips*, 77.

⁶⁰ *Royce*, 264.

⁶¹ *Washington Globe*, November 15, 1832.

Thus, Georgia allied herself with Jackson in the nullification struggle and at the same time excused her acts of the preceding five or six years.

The election had been won, but all was not peace and harmony. For South Carolina continued to turn on Jackson. In its reply to Jackson's proclamation on nullification on December 20, 1832, that state "... Resolved, that the proclamation of the President is more than extraordinary, that he has silently, and as it is supposed, with entire approbation, witnessed our sister state of Georgia avow, act upon, and carry into effect, even to the taking of life, principles identical with those now denounced by him in South Carolina."⁶²

The year 1833 presented an impasse. Cherokee leaders, notably John Ross, continued to protest the encroachment of whites. After a long stay in Washington, Ross and the delegation returned to the Cherokee lands. Several months after their return, in keeping with an agreement with the federal government, the delegation presented the tribal council with the government offer of \$2,500,000 in cash equivalent for their lands. The offer was refused.⁶³

By December, 1833, Jackson, was no doubt aware of his long tenure in the White House, and his inability to handle the Cherokee question satisfactorily. In his annual message to Congress in that month, he dropped the amenity of his previous remarks prepared for that body.

"That those tribes can not exist surrounded by our citizens is certain," he said, "They have neither the intelligence, the industry, the moral habits, nor the desire to improvement which are essential to any favorable change in their condition."⁶⁴

However, a certain quality of patience attached itself to the entire affair. To be sure, Georgia wanted the Indians moved. But the final removal appeared to be not too far distant. To the Georgians, the real battles had already been won. To them, for all practicable purposes, the Cherokee title was extinguished *de facto*.

As an example of this patience, the Cherokees moved another John Ross-led delegation into Washington early in 1834. This group even went as far as to suggest that a portion of their territory might be ceded to Georgia, in return for certain guarantees and citizenship. Jackson's indirect reply intimated that such a proposal was unsound; and advocated removal as the only solution to the problem.

⁶² Commanger, Henry S., ed., *Documents of American History*, (New York, 1943), 269.

⁶³ Royce, 273.

⁶⁴ Richardson, II, 541.

At this point, a definite schism appeared in the tribe. Ross and his followers stood against removal, but it became evident that a band of intelligent Cherokees were beginning to favor removal as the lone method to extricate themselves from an uncomfortable position.

Less than a month later, the removal faction negotiated a treaty on June 19, 1834, which called for removal to the west. The treaty was presented to the senate (despite protests from the John Ross party) but was not ratified because of the opposition led by Senator H. L. White of Tennessee, a former friend of Jackson's, who had broken with his one-time leader.

Tribal dissention now headed the issue toward a showdown.

Late in January, 1835, John Ross and his followers dispatched a letter to Jackson. "The Crisis of the fate of the Cherokee people, seems to be rapidly approaching, and the time has come, when they must be relieved of their sufferings," the letter read, "they having fully determined against removal to Arkansas. . . ." ⁶⁵ In February, 1835, both John Ross and John Ridge led their delegations into Washington. Sensing an agreement between Ridge and federal authorities, Ross' group made a proposal to the government which called for removal on the basis of a \$20,000,000 allowance for the Georgia lands. The offer was scarcely considered, \$20,000,000 then being regarded as a stupendous sum of money; and a counter offer of \$5,000,000 was mentioned to Ross. ⁶⁶

Federal authorities were in touch with the Ridge faction and appointed the Rev. John F. Schermerhorn to act as government negotiator. Schermerhorn was an experienced agent who had negotiated a treaty with the western Cherokees in 1833.

The Ridge group became embittered against John Ross. The Ross proposal of \$20,000,000 was interpreted as a personal attempt to grab wealth. Elias Boudinot wrote Stand Watie, on February 28, ". . . His (John Ross) intention is to get the money and hunt out a country for himself." ⁶⁷ After John Ridge and his friends had completed a preliminary draft of a final treaty in March, John Ridge wrote, ". . . It is a very liberal in its terms—an equal measure is given to all. The poor Indian enjoys the same rights as the rich—there is no distinction. . . ." ⁶⁸

This treaty called for payment of \$4,500,000 to the Indians, plus \$150,000 for depreciation. Western lands allotted to the Cherokees were to reach 13,800,000 acres. A stipulation was that the treaty would not be binding until submitted to the Cherokee tribal council for their approval.

⁶⁵ *Richardson*, V, 319-320.

⁶⁶ *Abel*, 403.

⁶⁷ *Dale*, 10.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

During the following month, Jackson appointed Schermerhorn and General William Carroll as commissioners to complete the Ridge treaty. Carroll became ill and was unable to accompany Schermerhorn to the Cherokee country, but the latter was unsuccessful during the summer months.

All the evidence seems to point to the uncompromising opposition of John Ross to removal. Governor Wilson Lumpkin blamed Ross' attitude on the Cherokee leader's desire for personal gain. "Ross and his friends would be perfectly satisfied with the proposed treaty, provided they could be entrusted with the disbursement of the consideration of money. . . ." ⁶⁹

In September, Schermerhorn became so discouraged that he finally advocated either bribery or "divide and conquer" methods as the only means which would procure removal.⁷⁰

The tribal council met at Red Clay, in the Cherokee Nation, in October, and followed John Ross' advice by rejecting the Ridge treaty. Ridge and Ross had apparently reached some understanding on the matter. The council approved Ross' plan to return to Washington and press for a different type of treaty. Before he could leave the Cherokee country, however, Ross was arrested by Georgia troops, under the authority of a state law which made it illegal for a white man to reside in the Indian tract.⁷¹ The arresting officers claimed Ross was white. However, he was soon released.

Before the council at Red Clay adjourned, Schermerhorn served notice that a similar meeting would be held at New Echota in December to reopen the treaty issue. He ordered news of the meeting distributed throughout the Cherokee country, and added that all Cherokees not in attendance would be assumed as favorable to any treaty which might be negotiated there.

Less than 500 Indians attended the council sessions. A committee was chosen to negotiate with Schermerhorn on December 23, and for the following five days the group discussed the \$5,000,000 figure mentioned by various senators when John Ross' earlier proposal was rejected.

A conditional treaty was signed by Schermerhorn, Major Ridge, James Foster, Andrew Ross, Elias Boudinot, Robert Rogers, James Starr, Charles E. Foreman and some lesser personages of the tribe on December 29, 1835, at New Echota. The completed document called for a grant of \$5,000,000 for the ceded lands (with an additional \$300,000 for spoliation claims, subject to senate approval), a guarantee of a 7,000,000 acre western territory for the Cherokees,

⁶⁹ *Richardson*, V, 350.

⁷⁰ *Royce*, 280.

⁷¹ *Abel*, 404.

and some 19 other conditions—all pointed toward removal. That removal was to be effected within two years after the treaty was ratified by the senate.

John Ross denounced the treaty and returned to Washington to protest its provisions and to fight against its ratification. He came to the capital with a protest signed by 12,714 Cherokees, but Jackson curtly let it be known that the federal government would no longer recognize any existing government among the Cherokees.

A supplementary treaty was concluded during March which called for an additional \$700,000 grant to the Cherokees to adjust various pre-emption claims and aid the Indian poor. But the main treaty was submitted to the senate on March 5, 1836, for ratification. Debate on the treaty actually began on March 7. For the following two months it constituted one of the major issues before that body.

The second reading of the treaty on May 16, 1836, set the stage for the test of pro-Jackson strength. Two days later, Clay—backed by Webster and Calhoun—introduced a resolution which had as its intent a categorical rejection of the treaty. It provided that the first word of the treaty be stricken. In its place he proposed to substitute words which declared the Treaty of New Echota was “not made and concluded by authority on the part of the Cherokee tribe competent to bind it, and therefore. . . the Senate cannot consent to and advise the ratification thereof as a valid binding treaty upon the Cherokee tribe or nation.”⁷²

The senate then contained 48 members. Forty-four were present for a vote on this resolution. The measure was defeated, 29 votes to 15. The four absentee senators, according to Senator Thomas Hart Benton, were either Jackson men, or not inclined to vote on the issue.⁷³

Clay, Calhoun and Webster had found ammunition in their fight on the treaty. The memorials of John Ross which they passed on to the senate had not been effective enough. But rumors drifting back from the Cherokee country had been spread over Washington. It was known that Major William M. Davis, an army officer sent to enroll the Cherokees and appraise their improvements, had written to the secretary of war on March 5, 1836 that “. . . that paper . . . called a treaty is no treaty at all, because not sanctioned by the great body of the Cherokees and made without their participation or assent. I solemnly declare to you that upon its reference to the Cherokee people it would be instantly rejected by 9/10 of them and I believe 19/20 of them.”⁷⁴ Davis even went on to “warn” the secretary that

⁷² *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, (32 V. in 36, Washington, 1887), IV, 531-532. (Cited later as *Journal*).

⁷³ Benton, Thomas Hart, *Thirty Years' View*, 1820-1850, (2 V., New York, 1854-1856), I, 625.

⁷⁴ *Royce*, 284.

ratification of the treaty would bring headaches to all concerned.

The western and southern senators scoffed at a rejection of the treaty, but the close vote on the 16th made a muster of their forces necessary. Indeed, Benton saw the treaty as one which would convert "Indian soil to slave soil."⁷⁵

When the final vote was taken on May 18 all but two of the senators were present for the roll call. The vote was 31 yeas, 15 nays.⁷⁶ The treaty was ratified—with one vote to spare. The Treaty of New Echota was a reality.

There was rejoicing in the Jackson camp. "Old Hickory's" promise on Indian removal was to be realized. But the outcome transcended fulfilled campaign promises. Benton placed his vote for slavery, and admitted it freely when he reviewed his career many years later. "It (the treaty) was saved by the free State vote—by the 14 free state affirmative votes," he later recalled, "which precisely balanced and neutralized the seven slave state negatives, or even been absent at the vote, the treaty would have been lost; and thus the south is indebted to the north for this most important treaty which completed the relief of the southern states. . . ."⁷⁷

With the ratification and final proclamation by Jackson on May 23, 1836, the Cherokee question had reached its political denouement. The problem then became one which military men charged with actual removal would have to solve.

⁷⁵ Benton, *op. cit.*, 626.

⁷⁶ *Journal*, IV, 546.

⁷⁷ Benton, *op. cit.*, 625.

JUDGE MILTON CLINE GARBER

By Bess Truitt

To be privileged to answer the final summons while yet enjoying the high tide of living, benefits the sturdy character which was Milton C. Garber. Regarded as the first citizen of Enid and Garfield County, this pioneering stalwart had played well his part in the development of farming with its attendant industries and in the promotion and production of oil and its by-products.

A founder of cities, banks and businesses; a moving factor in the civic, social and religious life of this commonwealth, M. C. Garber was recognized as a leader of outstanding qualities. Judge Garber, as he was familiarly known, was a man richly endowed with many talents. He unselfishly cast aside the pursuit of private and personal enterprise in which he was highly successful to answer the call of his fellowmen to serve the various positions of public trust and honor.

A sound thinker, a gifted speaker, a lover of truth and beauty, the Judge lived richly and well his more than three score years and ten. His life was symmetrical and prolific. His busy years of well doing have erected in the memories of the thousands who knew and appreciated him, a monument, priceless and enduring. His family of five children, splendid men and women, reflect the precept and teachings of a wise father and a prudent counselor. His humor was subtle, his religion deeply grounded, and his friendships were deep and abiding. Reticent and somehow aloof in manner, this lover of humanity was considered austere by those who knew him slightly, while those with whom he came in daily contact, appreciated the warm pulsating fervor of his being.¹

Milton Cline Garber, the third child of Martin and Lucy Rine Garber, was born November 30, 1867, in Humboldt County, California, where the family was temporarily residing. The following year they migrated to Eastport, Iowa, where Milton was reared and educated. He was a graduate of Upper Iowa University and of the law department of Iowa University in 1893.

The same year he came with his father's family to Oklahoma, making the memorable run into the Cherokee Strip, September 16th. He broke the sod on the claim secured by himself and other members

¹ "To those of us who worked with him, his death is a distinct personal loss. Many of us have worked with Judge Garber for 25 years or more and all honored and respected him, not only for his abilities as an editor and public servant in various capacities, but as a helpful co-worker who always found time for any detail of this institution's problems or for conference on personal matters."—Editorial, *Enid Daily Eagle*, Sept. 13, 1948.

of the family, while his father and brother operated a general store in the town of Garber, so named for the senior Garber.

Milton Garber began the practice of law in Guthrie, Oklahoma, then the capital of the territory. He was ever quick to respond to the need of those among early day citizens whose purses were thin.² On October 30, 1900, he was united in marriage with Miss Lucy M. Bradley of Moberly, Missouri, a young woman of rare beauty and charm. Mrs. Garber proved a real help-mate, a wife of deep understanding, and the mother of their five children, Mrs. Howard Waldo of Cincinnati, Ohio; Mrs. Robert Earle of Essex Falls, New York; and Mrs. William G. Thompson, Martin and Milton B., all of Enid, Oklahoma.

In 1902, M. C. Garber was elected probate judge of Garfield County, Oklahoma territory. He served in this capacity three terms, whereupon, he was appointed associate supreme court justice by President Theodore Roosevelt. When the territories became a state in 1907, Judge Garber was the peoples choice for Judge of the fifth judicial district.³ Upon reorganization of the districts, Judge Garber was elected to serve the twentieth Judicial District in a like capacity. He resigned to enter the private practice of law. He was mayor of Enid from 1919-1921, and it was during his regime that the idea of building Convention Hall as a memorial to the dead of World War I was conceived and pushed to completion.

² "Bearing testimony to this fact were two who came to pay him last respects. One, a person of partial Indian blood who recounted that when a greedy white had tried to do him and others of his tribe out of their allotments, Judge Garber had come into the case and saved them what little the white man had left upon his coming". The second told how the Judge had tendered legal services, without cost, simply in the interest of justice".—Excerpt from the account of the funeral service, *Enid Eagle*, Sept. 17.

³ (a) "And now the people recognize the young vigorous man, who has been a member of the supreme court but a year and a half, but in which time he has done more for the people than all the other judges combined during their entire tenure of office; a man whom corporations or other large influences with wealth behind them, cannot swerve from the path of duty or make him forget that the people are sovereign".—*The Daily Oklahoman*, October 28, 1907.

(b) "The square deal policy of the *EVENTS* to give credit to him whom credit is due, necessitates the correction of an error which has received from the public press wide publication. In boxcar letters in the state capital, it was announced that the first fines assessed in the Territory for violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was imposed by associate justice Hainer. Investigation, however, discloses that, while one of the corporation defendants swore Judge Garber off the bench, yet it was he who imposed the fine of \$2000.00 and costs against the defendants.—When Judge Garber received his large majority in the recent election, it was not a case of misplaced confidence, but an endorsement of his record."—Written by Everett Purcell, many years editor of the *Enid Events*.

(c) "As associate justice, he issued a far reaching decision requiring railroads to provide cars for a record breaking crop of wheat, which was lying piled on the ground. Wheat for which the farmers were being penalized 5c per bushel, while the roads failed to provide transportation, although they had thousands of cars lying idle on the siding".—*Fairview News*, November 22, 1940, featuring Judge Garber in a story following his induction into Oklahoma's Hall of Fame.



MILTON CLINE GARBER

With his brother, B. A. Garber, he early recognized the oil potentialities of the Garber-Covington area, and it was through their efforts in blocking acreage that drilling was started which eventually opened the Garber-Covington oil fields, thereby, bringing millions of dollars to the land owners and to business of the county.

It was natural that M. C. Garber would prosper materially along with the many friends he helped. A man of wealth, with a wide acquaintance, he sought and was elected to a seat in the sixty-eighth Congress, serving the people of the eighth congressional district. Although a Republican, he was recognized as a leader of the overwhelmingly Democratic state delegation in all matters pertaining to Oklahoma. He was re-elected for five consecutive terms, retiring in 1933, to return to his home city of Enid, there to engage actively in the publication of the *Enid Morning News* and *Enid Eagle*, the two daily papers. Through the medium of editor, he constantly urged improvements in the civic life of the city, county, and district of northwest Oklahoma.

He suggested and promoted the annual Northwest Oklahoma Junior Livestock Show with its three News-Eagle trophies given to the outstanding 4-H Club boy and girl of the district and the outstanding Future-Farmers-of-America boy. Always a believer in improving agriculture, with the love of the soil dating back to his boyhood, he was one of the first to urge pure-bred seed and pure-bred animals to the farmers of the area. As a baseball fan from early youth, Judge Garber was ever interested in encouraging the small non-professional teams which play for mere fun. One of his last acts was to set up a trophy to be played for by the winners of the oil-belt and wheat-belt champions, teams from the smaller cities of northwest Oklahoma. With his wife, Judge Garber gave the land north of Enid upon which the Chisholm Trail Memorial Society erected a monument to the honor of Jesse Chisholm and to the memory of those cowboys who rode the trail. He helped establish radio station KCRC in Enid and was a leader in the fight for the managerial form of government, which Enid now enjoys.

Since the fourteenth publication of *Who's Who in America*, each biennial edition has carried a sketch of Judge Garber's achievements. Judge Garber was inducted into the Oklahoma Hall of Fame in 1940, and it was noted in his citation for this honor, "That it was his helpfulness to his fellow Oklahomans, as much as his public career, that brought about this high honor."

His forebearers were the Mohler and Garber families of Swiss-German origin, a race of pioneering peoples, deeply imbued with advanced religious ideals. The love of freedom of speech brought Ludwig Mohler to America on the ship "Thistle" from Glasgow, August 30, 1730. There is a tradition that the founder of the Garber family in America sailed from Hamburg to America from a certain

canton in Switzerland where resided many Garbers. Records disclose that Madeline Mohler, the great-great-granddaughter of Ludwig Mohler, was united in marriage with Martin Garber, the son of Bishop Levi Garber of Middle River, Augusta County, Virginia. This couple becoming the grandparents of the subject of this sketch. This seems to have been the family ideal: "Better to endure the ills you have than to fly to those you know not of." This strain of Dunkard religion has left a marked effect upon the character and lives of all generations of these families, whether they adhere to the tenets or not. The ancestors of Judge Garber exerted a marked influence on the development of the states of Virginia, Iowa, and Nebraska, where they resided.⁴ Is it then a small wonder that Judge Garber should have been a man tenacious but tender, staunch but stubborn, determined and direct?

His end came unexpectedly, early on Sunday evening of September 12, 1948, at his summer fishing cabin near Alexandria, Minnesota. He had piloted his boat in a perfect landing, apparently well, but collapsed when he started to step to the dock and died before a physician could reach his cabin. His elder son, Martin, flew to Alexandria and accompanied all that was mortal of his illustrious father to the shocked and saddened city he had called home.

It was on the fifty-eighth anniversary of that historic day in 1893 when he made the Run into the famed Cherokee Strip that citizens from the entire area of northwest Oklahoma gathered at his beautiful country home, Elmstead, north of the city, to pay him final tribute. Hundreds of friends gathered with bowed heads to honor the death of him whom they had called friend and advisor in life. They came from near and far, the rich and the poor, the white, the black, and the red man to join the solemn service conducted by the Reverend Isaac Newton McCash, President Emeritus of Phillips University, Enid, fellow mason and friend of the deceased. The prayer was offered by the Reverend Ray E. Snodgrass, pastor of the First Christian Church of which congregation Judge Garber was a member. The Honorable P. C. Simmons, representing the Garfield County bar association, gave the eulogy: "He was a true patriot, a man four-square, whose rise to prominence was no accident." There followed the sonorous intonation by Ed Dyer of the matchless Biblical poem "The Lord is My Shepherd". Doctor McCash, with deep feeling, pronounced consolation: "The two great mysteries are life and death. . . . life is a vapor which in its settling over the years exhausts

⁴ Hon. John Garber—member of the Iowa State legislature, Clayton County, 1866. Hon. Joseph Garber—member of the Constitutional convention of Nebraska, 1875. Hon. Silas Garber—Governor of Nebraska, 1875-1879. Hon. Martin Mohler—Secretary of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, 1888-1894. Hon. Martin Garber—member of the Iowa legislature, Clayton County, 1880-1882. John Mohler Studebaker, for many years president of the Studebaker Corporation of South Bend, Indiana. Hon. Jacob Christian Mohler—Secretary Kansas State Board of Agriculture, 1914.

itself, but in so doing leaves something behind to remind of its existence, an inspiration such as this man left to call another generation forward". The voice of the singer was again heard in Gilmore's immortal hymn "He Leadeth Me." From this solemn scene, the slow procession made its way to the Memorial cemetery. The benediction at the grave was said, the body placed in its final resting place, there to become a part of the Oklahoma earth Judge Garber had loved so well.

⁵ Grateful appreciation is hereby expressed to the Garber family and especially to Mr. Milton B. Garber, who succeeded his father as editor of the *Enid Morning News* and the *Enid Eagle*, for access to the personal files of the late Judge M. C. Garber, which included newspaper clippings, correspondence, and a copy of the Mohler-Garber family history compiled by Cora Garber-Dunning.—Bess Truitt.

REMINISCENCES OF A COUNTRY DOCTOR

*By O. C. Newman, M.D.**

Since a lad of eight or ten years of age it had been my ambition to become a Country Doctor, yet I had received no special encouragement from my parents or had my associates been other than students from the country school where I had attended since entering my first year of schooling, at that time consisting of "A, B, C's" which was preliminary to McGuffey's First Reader. Our years of education did not consist of grades but enumerated to McGuffey's Sixth Reader, which, perhaps, consisted of, and was, equal to the Sixth Grade. After this was reached, so far as I was able to determine, we were advanced students.

The summer of 1893, I attended the Adams County Normal at Peebles, Ohio and the following winter taught the country home District School. During the summer of 1894, I attended Manchester Normal in Adams County, Ohio, and at the close of the term I entered the National Normal University at Lebanon, Ohio, conducted by Professor Alfred Holbrook as President.

Returning to Adams County, I taught another winter term of school at Mineral Springs Station, again consisting of eight months. At the spring term of school in April, 1896, I entered the Fayett College, in Fulton County, Ohio, remaining until September, 1897, at which time I entered the Medical Department of the National Normal University at Lebanon, Ohio.

In 1898, I registered in the Medical Department of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, graduating in 1900. After financial circumstances would permit, allowance was provided for advancement in education in my chosen profession which will be enumerated at intervals during my career at the time of occurrence.

My family lineage, so far as I have been informed or able to determine, the paternal geneological tree shows no general by which I can be boastful of being a descendent of some outstanding colonial character. Contentment is sufficient to recall with pride to know that my descendents were God-fearing, patriotic, law abiding citizens, the descendents of Christopher Newman who was born in Virginia in 1769 and married Sarah Rose in the same state, coming to Ohio

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in the year of 1799. They located in Scioto County in the southern portion of the state, selecting a farm as their homestead, where they became the parents of twelve children, my grandfather, John Newman being the 9th child, born in 1814 and at the age of 24 married Anna Herdman who was born in 1819, to whom ten children were born. The second child was my father, Nescheck Herdman Newman, born September 18, 1840, and in 1860 married Sarah Johnson, born December 25, 1839. She was of Irish descent and her mother's maiden name was Scowden, also of Irish descent. My father's mother was of German descent and came to Virginia from Germany. My father's paternal lineage was English and came from England to Virginia. My father and mother were the parents of ten children and, at the time of my birth, I was the 623rd descendent from the marriage of Christopher Newman and Sarah Ross.

The tradition of my ancestral lineage so far as I have knowledge has never in any way been radical or fanatical on any particular event or occurrence, simple in habits, honorable and honest, giving me perfect content and satisfaction and creating no special desire, from past events, to induce me to become interested in past family genealogical tracings and superbly content with the event of December 29, 1876, when my twin brother, Edgar and I were born on the old homestead in Adams County, Ohio, he being the 8th and I being the 9th child, both living.

Our chosen professions were entirely different. Events and accomplishments of myself will only be enumerated. The ambition of my childhood days were entirely changed before the completion of my medical education, at the time of graduation from medical school, entitling me to become legalized to follow the career of my choice. My father's youngest brother, Dr. A. M. Newman, a practicing physician, located at Canadian, Texas, informed me of the opportunities for a young doctor in the West and in 1899 I made a visit to consult with my uncle, observe the possibilities and opportunities.

The encouragement, hospitality and contact with people who were coming from all parts of the United States and accepting the opportunity on equal social status was very impressive. The expansive country was inhabited only by a few ranchers along the streams, was now opened for settlement and people were rapidly making claims to homesteads. This location was in a county in the western portion of Oklahoma adjoining the Panhandle of Texas. There being no physician and no competition for miles away, I accepted the opportunity, staked my claim at a citizen in the small county seat, returned to the University of the South in Tennessee where I graduated in the Medical Department in 1900, and then returned to the choice of my selected location by overland in a mail

hack from Higgins, Texas, to Grand, Oklahoma, then the County Seat of Old Day County in the Territorial days.

I arrived at my destination with \$2.50, amongst strangers but friends, in a new country, sparsely inhabited. By the next two years, the influx of habitation was reaching full capacity, with families seeking homesteads for new locations and on arrival, a regrettable situation amongst the majority, as myself, financially embarrassed but determined to face the consequences and trust to destiny.

On arrival at my place of location, I had no means of transportation other than walking. A friend loaned me his horse and saddle to make my professional calls, which was readily accepted, yet the broncho always entertained by a round of pitching when first being mounted, and being a tenderfoot at this, it required two to get me started, someone to mount the horse until it ceased pitching and then I could mount until again unsaddled.

In two months my number of calls increased and the liberality of my friend decreased and it became necessary for me to purchase a horse which was procured on time payments. A farmer sold me a saddle and I was independently equipped for transportation with all the essential necessities. The stipulated time of payment was not specified and after a short time, I was weekly reminded of my failure to pay. Fortunately for me they both had sickness in their families and the charges for my medical attendance surpassed my indebtedness.

I was given board and room by two kindly old people for the next two years with little recompense to the old folks, not on account of my extravagant living but the honest people I attended were financially stranded. I arrived in the County during the epidemic of small pox and was appointed superintendent of Public Health but the County Commissioners insisted that I was young and might take small pox and die, therefore, this remunerative practice was given to a physician from another county.

I drifted along with the times for another year, still imposing on the good old people at the boarding house, who would frequently remind me of my unpaid board bill but always with the encouraging assurance that better times were ahead. During the winter of 1901 and 1902, smallpox again became an epidemic in a different portion of the County and the County Commissioners gave me the contract of attending to all cases and vaccinating every person that was willing for the sum of \$1.00 each. I had also received an appointment as deputy County Treasurer for half the salary. During the day I would ride horseback and attend smallpox patients and at night I would post the County Treasury Books. This continued until March, 1902, when at the meeting of the County Commissioners I was given \$555.00 for services rendered the County. My first obligation was payment of my board bill which was in arrears to the extent of

\$152.00. I recall no occurrence of events in my life that gave me more profound contentment than when I informed my landlady my desire to pay this account. She asked at once the amount I wanted to pay, since my credits had never exceeded \$5.00 payments and they few and far between. When informed that I would pay the account in full and a month in advance, she seemingly was as greatly surprised as I was pleased. At the noon day meal, I was conscious of the fact that for the first time during the past two years it was not at the expense of the good old landlady.

I proceeded by horseback to the nearest town on the railroad in the Panhandle of Texas, a distance of twenty six miles, where I owed a drug account of \$53.00 which gave me a clearance receipt of my financial obligations and then I deposited in the bank the balance of my earnings. I then fully equipped myself of wearing apparel to replace those I had personally mended since leaving the comforts of home and Mother.

Since I was free from indebtedness and had a surplus of finance, it was convincing that I was entitled to and could feel at ease to invest in other than the extreme necessities, which had never been my privilege. I had the great desire to become a Mason since my father was always proud of belonging to this Fraternity. My application for membership was accepted in the Masonic Lodge at Texmo, Oklahoma, in 1902 and each degree taken required the travel of 70 miles on horseback. The Masters Degree in Masonry inspired my incentives for advancement and in 1912, I was inducted to and including the 32nd Degree of Scottish Rite Masonry at Guthrie, Oklahoma. By a special dispensation for a meeting at Woodward, Oklahoma, in 1915, I became a member of the Shrine Lodge—Indian Temple, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

I was never unmindful or ungrateful for the sacrifices given for the necessary sustenance of life and willing to deny myself the comforts for the sake of economy and during the summer months I slept on the ground or in my office on the floor and during the winter months I slept on the counter in a store provided by a friend during the first two years of my pioneer days as a country doctor. During the first two years of my experience there was sometimes doubt and skepticism relative to the possibility of retaining the honor that I had been religiously taught by ancestral tradition, since my inability to pay for the necessities of life, however disappointing and unavoidable, but which was all eventually overcome by stability and determination.

Then there occurred an event which shaped the destiny of my future career, when I met Miss Della Smith who was born on April 25, 1884, at Uvalda, Texas, and whose parents were traditional pioneers who knew the country when inhabited only by Indians. She

was born and reared among Western and Pioneer settlers and her Southern Hospitality was more inherited than acquired. Having been taught the necessities by virtue of environments, our acquaintance became more than a mere friendship and, like students of economy, we decided that we could live as cheaply as one and we were married September 18, 1902.

I had made arrangements to take another year in medicine but on the anniversary of our wedding our eldest son Roy, was born and this was also the opening date of the Medical College I had selected to attend in the East. As our responsibility increased we were more thoroughly convinced that our former reasoning of financial economy was correct, for at this time I was able to purchase a team of horses and a buggy which gave me the highest quality of transportation.

The elements of our arid country had become more favorable to vegetation and crops adapted to our country. The farmers who had acquired their homesteads were becoming more prosperous and those less fortunate in gaining a livelihood sufficient for financial existence had lived long enough on their farms to obtain a title to their land which could be mortgaged, which invariably caused an unforeseen disaster and would result in the loss of their farms.

The occurrences of events can be recalled which can never be eradicated from the memory of those that witnessed the determination of the early day settlers of Oklahoma. On one occasion I had ridden horseback for a distance of 12 miles to see a sick patient, arriving at the house about sundown and the patient's son informed me that his mother felt better and we would eat supper before examining her. I sat down to the table containing a dish pan filled with clabber milk which was sliced off to serve for supper. I was asked if I preferred salt or sugar on my clabber. There were not apologies or excuses in those days.

On another occasion I was detained until after supper to see the sick wife of a farmer. A neighbor lady was preparing supper and after taking the sour dough biscuits from the oven and placing them on the table, the husband said, "sit up and have supper" and the only other eatable on the table was a can of molasses. The husband made a remark while eating that he had just learned that day that his neighbor beyond the Canyon, his wife and child were living on chops and if he had known of it before he would have taken him something to eat. I refrained from expressing the thought that he might have plenty of what he had but there was not much of a variety. I could recall that I would have been in a worse dilemma were it not for a kind landlady.

The small village of the County Seat of Day County where I was located was on the bank of the South Canadian river, a very treacherous stream, which, on one occasion, gave untold grief and it

was possible only to ford by well trained horses that knew how to swim and the art of rapid goose stepping for transporting across the quicksand. On one occasion I was thrown from my horse, and during the short interval of experience, occurrences were happening rapidly. The horse stepped on something while under water but I readily made my way to a sand bar and the horse continued to ford the stream to the other bank of the river. I was divested of everything including my hat, with the exception of my wearing apparel.

During the first four and a half years after being legalized to practice medicine, I had gained the confidence of the people. I had shared the hardships, pleasures and at times the grief stricken families, and many times, no doubt, they had employed me professionally through necessity rather than choice and I was self conscious of how little I was giving in return.

In the summer of 1905, I decided to spend another year in Medicine and applied to the Medical College of Ohio for admittance in the Senior Class for graduation. After all my past schooling was accumulated and approved by the State of Ohio, I was admitted to the Senior Class. I notified my clientel of my intention and their financial assistance was asked, that I might be able to defray my expense. They responded cheerfully beyond my expectation and I enrolled in the University on September 18, 1905.

At the mid-term our second son, Floyd Smith, was born on January 20, 1906. And in June, 1906, I graduated again in Medicine in the oldest Medical College west of the Allegheny Mountains. It was a year well spent and enabled me to be conscious of the fact that I was more capable of being equal to the occasion of the confidence the people had shown and my efforts of trying to become qualified as well as legalized to be worthy of their confidence. I had promised the people, at my own personal sacrifice to remain with them one year for the loyalty they had shown. Another memorable event during this year was the birth of our youngest son, M. Haskell, on September 20, 1907.

On October 30, 1907, I came to Shattuck, Oklahoma, my present location, transporting all my professional worldly effects in the back end of my buggy. On my arrival I became the partner of a progressive doctor and invested all my financial savings in a hospital which had been constructed in this progressive town, which proved the most disasterous investment of my career. At the end of one year, the institution was closed through the lack of funds sufficient to defray expenses, not from crowded competition, for it was the only hospital in the expanse of a large territory. It was conclusive that it was before the people were educated to the advantages of care and treatment received in an organized hospital. Again I was thrown on my own personal resources with an insufficient bank account to meet my monthly expense for the support of my family.

My acquaintance in the community became more extensive and the confidence of the people in my integrity, honesty and ability as a physician gradually increased until I could again boast of a hard earned practice which, by the spring of 1913, I had acquired sufficient finance that I could spend three to six weeks each year in some Eastern institution taking post graduate work which has been my custom each year expecting 1918 when I was in military service as a First Lieutenant in the Medical Corps and the outbreak of World War II when my services were badly needed at home.

The closing of the hospital caused denial of many conveniences at an inopportune time, but did not lessen the determination to overcome inconveniences under adverse circumstances and for several years, necessary and emergency surgery was done in private homes in my own town, in the country or neighboring villages, in rooms most appropriate for the occasion whether it be the living room, the dining room or the kitchen. Eventually a practical nurse furnished five rooms in her home which gave convenience to patients that were from a distance. In a small way the organization was a success, managing to meet the situations even under extreme difficulties and the environments were accepted as a matter of necessity and apparently appreciated.

In 1920 the Old Hospital which had caused my financial embarrassment in 1908 was remodeled, privately owned and again opened to the public who had observed the necessity and value of hospital care. The patronage increased until it was made possible to build a 39 room, fire-proof hospital in 1927 at the present location and two years later an addition of 24 rooms were added to the institution. During these years I had been too busily engaged in the duties required of my profession and the progress of my accomplishment to realize until informed by my wife, that she had sponsored the literary education of our three robust sons and had advised impartially and consulted carefully as to the choice of their career and each had chosen the medical profession.

Roy Elsworth completed his premedical and received his literary degree at the University of Oklahoma. He married Miss Virginia Gossett of Balko, Missouri, on September 27, 1928, graduating from the Medical Department of the Baylor University at Dallas, Texas, in 1932, taking his internship at St. Joseph, Missouri.

Floyd Smith attended one year at the University of Oklahoma, two years at Westminster College for Boys at Fulton, Missouri, and two years pre-medical at Baylor University at Waco, Texas, graduating in Medicine from the Medical Department of the University of Tennessee in Memphis, in 1932, taking his internship at Plainsview, New Jersey.

M. Haskell attended two years of schooling at Westminster College for Boys at Fulton, Missouri, and two years pre-medical at the Baylor University at Waco, Texas. He married Miss Cornelia Bridges from Mississippi on September 29, 1929, and their family now consists of Jo Ann and Haskell, Jr. M. Haskell graduated in Medicine from the Medical Department of the University of Tennessee in Memphis in 1932, taking his internship of 2 years at Duvall, a charity hospital in Jacksonville, Florida. Receiving his Fellowship in The American College of Surgeons at the age of 33, the same which I had previously had the honor to obtain.

During the course of the internship of each of the younger doctors, they became more interested in some particular branch of medicine or surgery and decided to specialize in the branch of their choice and remain in the old home town where they had been raised before entering college which had been an elapse of from 10 to 12 years. Their returning home in 1933 and 1935 required more office space, which was provided during the preparation of their specialities by an addition of 20 rooms adjoining the Shattuck Hospital for examination rooms, laboratories and accessories necessary to complete a modern Clinic which was dedicated on August 24, 1937.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

FIFTY OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL MARKERS COMPLETED, 1949

Markers for commemorating fifty important historic events and sites in Oklahoma have been completed and are to be placed at designated points on the highways in the state by the Historical Society's Committee for Marking Historic Sites, of which Maj. Gen. Wm. S. Key is Chairman, and Dr. Charles Evans and Miss Muriel H. Wright are members, in co-operation with the State Highway Department, Hon. H. E. Bailey, Director. In the completion of this program, special acknowledgment is due Mr. George H. Shirk, of Oklahoma City, a Life Member of the Society and a contributor to *The Chronicles*, for his active interest and assistance in the work of the Society's Committee and the Editorial Department. For furnishing the locations of historic sites (section, township, and range) in their communities, acknowledgments are also due Mr. H. M. Woods, El Reno; Mrs. Alex Rennie, Durant; Mrs. Edgar A. Moore, Spiro; Mrs. Norah L. Francis, Cheyenne; Melvin Harrel, Strong City; J. Brookes Wright, McAlester; Myron A. Hurd, Claremore; E. H. Kelley, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Leila K. Black, Millerton; Dr. H. K. Riddle, Coweta; Hobart D. Ragland, Rush Springs; R. G. Miller, Oklahoma City; and James M. Noble, Okmulgee.

As provided in the Act of the Twenty-second State Legislature, appropriating \$5,000 for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1950, and June 30, 1951, for the construction and erection of 100 historical markers, the Committee for Marking Historic Sites made up the list of 50 sites to be marked this year, criticised all manuscript material for the inscriptions and checked these when they were returned in proof form by the manufacturers of the metal plaques. Research in completing the 1949-50 program was done in the Society's Editorial Department and included furnishing the historical data, writing the inscriptions for the markers, and determining the locations for the plaques on the highways nearest the historic sites. The wording of the inscriptions involved careful, formula writing to fit the space allowed on the plaques, every effort being made to provide a brief text, accurate historically as well as interesting to the public.

The Act of the Legislature made provision for the appropriation of the total amount of \$10,000 up to 1951, for the Historical Marker program, out of State Highway funds, the Highway Department to have charge of all matters in letting the contract for manufacture of the metal plaques, the proper erection of these at the places designated on the highways, and the general care and oversight of the plaques in the future. The contract was let by the State Highway Department through competitive bidding, to the Sewah Studios,

Marietta, Ohio, which company offered the best prices in the work and is well known for the manufacture of beautiful historical markers erected in many states.

The specifications in the contract called for the roadside type of historical markers to be cast of pure ingot aluminum. The overall size of the plaque is 40 x 42 inches and an approximate weight of 200 pounds, with the lettering of the inscription appearing on both sides and showing as silver against a green enamel background. This official Oklahoma historical marker bears an ornament or insignia at the top of the plaque, consisting of the central design from the Oklahoma State Flag, showing an Indian war shield with pendant eagle feathers superimposed by a peace pipe crossed by an olive branch all done in appropriate enamel colors of buckskin shading to brown, and pipe-stone red and olive green. Across the bottom of the plaque in small lettering is the signatory line, "Oklahoma Historical Society and State Highway Commission, 1949." Plaques with single line captions have ten lines in the inscriptions; double line captions have eight lines. Immediately below the caption on most of the plaques appears a directional line in small lettering, giving the air-line distance from the marker on the highway to the historic site itself.

Markers each have a special number in the Sewah Studios' records and were sent by freight in lots to the nearest Highway Department shipping point in the region where they are to be erected. These shipping points and the markers shipped were as follows: Muskogee, total 13 markers (Nos. 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 19, 23, 31, 32, 33, 48, 50); Antlers, total 14 markers (Nos. 1, 6, 7, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 27, 30, 36, 37, 38, 49); Ada, total 3 markers (Nos. 15, 24, 39); Perry, total 3 markers (Nos. 25, 42, 45); Clinton, total 4 markers (Nos. 2, 43, 46, 47); Buffalo, total 2 markers (Nos. 22, 44); Duncan, total 3 markers (Nos. 14, 26, 41); Tulsa, total 8 markers (Nos. 3, 20, 21, 28, 29, 34, 35, 40).

Two additional markers as approved by the Historical Society's Committee were made by Sewah Studio according to the official standards, payment having been made for the manufacture by local subscription by those sponsoring the erection. These two markers and places erected are as follows: commemorating the California Trail (1849), crossing to west, on U. S. Highway 77, near Wayne, McClain County; and First Oil Well in Tulsa County (1901), on U. S. Highway 66, at Red Fork, Tulsa County.

The fifty historic sites chosen by the Historical Society's Committee to be marked first in 1949, include early missions and schools, original agencies and seats of government of the various Indian tribes, important early day forts, and a few additional sites like Durant, the home of Governor Robert L. Williams, noted Oklahoma

jurist, who served as President of the Oklahoma Historical Society from 1938 to his death in 1948. Most of the sites marked were important places or events before the time of the Civil War.

Captions with directional lines and place of erection of the historical markers in the list of fifty are as follows, given in order of their recorded numbers:

No.	Caption	Date in History	Location of Marker
1.	CAMP LEAVENWORTH — Near here	(1834)	—At Kingston, Marshall Co., on U. S. Highway 70.
2.	PEACE ON THE PLAINS— About 5 mi., S.E.	(1834)	—East of Mangum, Greer Co., junction of Highways U. S. 283 and State 44.
3.	1ST SENECA AGENCY — About 12 mi. South	(1832)	—In Ottawa Co., south of City of Seneca, on U. S. Highway 60.
4.	BAPTIST MISSION — About 4 mi. N.W.	(1939)	—At Westville, Adair Co.
5.	FAIRFIELD MISSION — About 3 mi. S.W.	(1829)	—On State Highway 59, south of Stilwell, Adair Co.
6.	WHEELLOCK MISSION — 1.5 mi. North	(1832)	—East of Millerton, McCurtain Co., about 1.5 mi., on U. S. Highway 70.
7.	CHOCTAW AGENCY — Near here	(1832)	—East of Main Street, Spiro, LeFlore Co., 1.7 mi. on U. S. Highway 271.
8.	TAHLONTEESKEE — Near here	(1829)	—2 mi. East of Gore, Sequoyah Co., on U. S. Highway 64.
9.	DWIGHT MISSION — About 7 mi. N.E.	(1829)	—At Vian, Sequoyah Co., on U. S. Highway 64.
10.	ENTERING INDIAN TERRITORY	—(1817 and 1827)—	Near Moffett, Sequoyah Co., on U. S. Highway 64.
11.	FORT GIBSON —	(1824)	—At. Ft. Gibson, Muskogee Co.
12.	FORT TOWSON — Near here, N.E.	(1824)	—East side Ft. Towson, Choctaw Co., on U. S. Highway 70.
13.	FORT WASHITA — 4.5 mi. S.W.	(1842)	—1 mi. S. of Nida, Johnston Co., on State Highway 299.
14.	FORT ARBUCKLE — Near here, North	(1851)	—At Hoover, Garvin Co., intersection with Indian Meridian, on State Highway 7.
15.	TISHOMINGO —	(1856)	—At Tishomingo, Johnston Co., at junction of State Highways 99 and 22.
16.	MILLER COURT HOUSE —	(1824)	—At Idabel, McCurtain Co., junction of U. S. Highway 70 and State Highway 87.
17.	EAGLETOWN —	—(1820 and 1834)—	At Eagletown, McCurtain Co., U. S. Highway 70.
18.	CHOCTAW CAPITOLS —	—(1834 and 1883)—	.5 mi. N., 1.5 mi. W., of Tuskahoma, Pushmataha Co., on State Highway 271.
19.	PERRYVILLE — Near here, West	(1840)	—3 mi. S., McAlester, Pittsburg Co., on U. S. Highway 69.



Oklahoma Historical Marker on U. S. Highway No. 64, west of Oklahoma line near Moffett, in Sequoyah County, erected by Oklahoma Historical Society and State Highway Commission.

No.	Caption	Date in History	Location of Marker
20.	CLAREMORE MOUND About 6 mi., West	— (1817)	—North side Sequoyah, Rogers Co., on U. S. Highway 66.
21.	NATHANIEL PRYOR Grave 2.5 mi., N.E.	— (1816)	—4 mi. S., Pryor, Mayes Co., on U. S. Highway 69.
22.	NATHAN BOONE Camp 3.5 mi., S.W.	— (1843)	—In Woods Co., at junction of U. S. Highway 64 and State Highway 50.
23.	La HARPE'S COUNCIL In this vicinity	— (1719)	—At Haskell, Muskogee Co., on U. S. Highway 64.
24.	FORT HOLMES In immediate vicinity	— (1834)	—At Bilby, Hughes Co., on State Highway 68.
25.	SAC AND FOX AGENCY— 4 mi., South	(1870)	—At Stroud, Lincoln Co., intersection of U. S. Highway 66 and State Highway 99.
26.	BATTLE OF THE WICHITA VILLAGE 4.6 mi., S.E.	— (1858)	—Rush Springs, Grady Co., on U. S. Highway 81.
27.	OLD BOGGY DEPOT 4.5 mi., S.E.	— (1837)	—On Wapanucka Road, Atoka Co., State Highway 7, at junction with section line road to Wilson School House.
28.	UNION MISSION About 4 mi., East	— (1820)	—About 1.75 mi. north of Mazie, Wagoner Co., on U. S. Highway 69.
29.	FORT WAYNE 4.5 mi., South	— (1839)	—West of State line in Delaware Co., about 1.3 mi., West, at section line on State Highway 20.
30.	FORT COFFEE 6.1 mi., South	— (1834)	—1.7 mi. E., of Main St., Spiro, LeFlore Co., at corner of U. S. Highway 271 and County Road.
31.	CHIEF PUSHMATAHA Battle site near here	— (1807)	—Near north approach to Arkansas R. bridge, north of Muskogee, in Wagoner Co., on U. S. Highway 69.
32.	WIGWAM NEOSHO Near Grand R., N.E. 7 mi.	— (1829-33)	—Wagoner Co., on U. S. Highway 69, east side 1.25 mi. north of Arkansas R., at intersection of section lines 33 and 28.
33.	NORTH FORK TOWN About 1.5 mi. East.	— (1836)	—At Eufaula, McIntosh Co., on U. S. Highway 69.
34.	"KOWETA MISSION" Near here, West	— (1843)	—At top of hill, .75 mi. east of Coweta, Wagoner Co., on State Highway 51.
35.	ENTERING INDIAN TERRITORY	— (1833)	—Near Kansas-Oklahoma line in Ottawa Co., on U. S. Highway 66.
36.	DURANT	— (1898)	—At Durant, Bryan Co.
37.	BLOOMFIELD About 1.5 mi. S.E.	— (1853)	—South of Achille, Bryan Co., 1.5 mi. on State Highway 299.

No.	Caption	Date in History	Location of Marker
38.	CHAHATA TAMAHA 3 mi. N.E.	— (1845)	—At Bokchito, Bryan Co., east side city limits on U. S. Highway 70.
39.	SASAKWA Original site	— (1850)	—2 mi. west of Sasakwa, Seminole Co., State Highway 56.
40.	OKLAHOMA THE INDIAN STATE	— (1828)	—In Kay Co., south of Kansas-Oklahoma line on U. S. Highway 77.
41.	FORT COBB Site 1.5 mi. East	— (1859)	—At Fort Cobb, Caddo Co.
42.	WASHINGTON IRVING'S CAMP	— (1832)	—In parkway at Arcadia, Oklahoma Co., on U. S. Highway 66.
43.	CALIFORNIA ROAD Crossed here	— (1849)	—N. W. Roll, Roger Mills Co., junction of U. S. Highway 283 and State Highway 33.
44.	FORT NICHOLS 7 mi. S.W.	— (1865)	—On U. S. Highway 64, at point shown as crossing of the old Santa Fe Trail on State Highway maps. This point is about 3.75 mi. north of corner which is due west of Boise City, Cimarron Co., 15 mi.
45.	DARLINGTON 2.5 mi. West	— (1870)	—North of El Reno and N. of Canadian R., 1.2 mi. at intersection of section line on U. S. Highway 81.
46.	BATTLE OF THE WASHITA 2 mi. West	— 1868)	—At Cheyenne, Roger Mills Co., on U. S. Highway 283.
47.	"EMPIRE OF GREER"	— 1820)	—East of Oklahoma line near or at Texola, Beckham Co., on U. S. Highway 66.
48.	FORT DAVIS 1.2 mi., North	— (1861)	—On north side of U. S Highway 62, at intersection with section line along E. line of Sec. 18, and about mile E. of Bacone, Muskogee Co.
49.	ATOKA	— (1854)	—At Atoka, Atoka Co.
50.	CREEK CAPITOL	— (1867)	—On corner Block 139, Council House Ground, Okmulgee, on U. S. Highway 75.
			—Muriel H. Wright.

Oklahoma Historical Society

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF GREER COUNTY

The following notes on the history of Greer County were contributed by County Judge Percy Powers of Mangum, Oklahoma:

HOW A NOTED MUSIC TEACHER OBTAINED HER FIRST PIANO

A part of the act (Sec. 25, *Organic Act*) creating the Territory of Oklahoma congress claimed for the United States Government all the land lying east of the 100th Meridian and between the two forks of Red River. It instructed the Attorney General of the United States to institute in be-

half of the Government a suit against the State of Texas for the recovery of this land. Though it asserted ownership at the time for Oklahoma it provided that the actual taking over be suspended until the Supreme Court decided the case. [The region in question had been claimed by Texas, as Greer County in that state in 1860.—Ed.]

The Attorney General of the United States was Judson Harmon, afterwards Governor of Ohio, and from whom Harmon County, Oklahoma is named. Texas was represented by her Attorney General, Charles A. Culbertson, afterwards Governor of Texas and for many years a United States Senator.

On March 16, 1896 the Court ruled that under the treaty with Spain of 1819 the true Red River was the south fork or Red River. This simply meant that Greer County, Texas ceased to exist but Greer County, Oklahoma was born.

Oklahoma Territory then as well as now had a law that all property in the country is assessed for ad valorem taxes as of January 1st in each year. At that time there was no such thing as sales tax, income tax, or cigarette tax. The title to all real estate was still in the Federal government, and the only source for tax income was the herds of cattle owned by the cattlemen.

Shortly after this Supreme Court decision Congress passed legislation to the effect that the old Greer County Texas officials should occupy similar positions in the new Oklahoma County until the next election.

In the fall of the year 1896 the cattlemen refused to pay their taxes and sought an injunction against the taxing officials against the collection of the taxes. The contention of the cattleman was:

"You are undertaking to assess taxes against me for property I owned on January 1st, 1896. I did not have any property in Oklahoma on that date. I was in Texas and subject to the laws of Texas. Oklahoma has no right to create an assessment as of January 1st, 1896 against my property when it was in Texas."

In due course of time the case came on for hearing. The District Judge was James R. Keaton, at that time just a young lawyer recently from Ohio, and who afterwards became one of the states leading figures. Judge Keaton decided the case in favor of the cattlemen, which simply meant that there were no funds to operate county government, the schools or any roads.

A few years prior thereto my father, James A. Powers, a young lawyer from Decatur, Texas arrived in Mangum, Oklahoma, and was offering to practice law.

Mr. Powers like all the other residents of the new county was very much interested in the tax case. After the District Judge had decided the case, Mr. Powers was in a cafe and happened to state:

"Judge Keaton is a most excellent young lawyer, but he never did catch the controlling feature of this case. This has been Oklahoma ever since the Louisiana purchase. The Federal Government has claimed us all these many years, but delayed taking us over until the Supreme Court of the United States decided the case. Under this decision under the treaty with Spain we never were really a part of Texas. True Texas claimed us and had set up a County Government. But it was just a de facto county. It is similar to a person having possession of a stolen horse."

Through the "grape vine" this statement reached Mr. George W. Briggs, chairman of the Board of Commissioners. Mr. Briggs was the father of our present County Clerk, Roy W. Briggs, and at that time lived north of what is now Granite, Oklahoma. Commissioner Briggs hitched up his horse to the buggy and drove over to Mangum to see Mr. Powers. In substance he said:

"Powers, some person has told me what you think about this tax case. I think you must have something there. We have instructed our County Attorney to appeal this case to the Supreme Court of the Territory. If you will help him and can make the Supreme Court see your view point we will give you One Hundred Dollars."

In time the case was assigned for argument before the Supreme Court at Guthrie. Then there were no railroads in the county and Mr. Powers took the mail hack to Quanah, Texas. From there he took the Ft. Worth and Denver Railway to Bowie, Texas, and from there the Santa Fe to Guthrie, and presented his argument to the Supreme Court of the Territory.

While he was gone, a music man from Quanah, Texas, placed an Adam Schaff piano in Mr. Power's home at Mangum. When he returned and found the piano, he said: "Oh! This man will have to come and take his piano. I have a large family and it is all I can do to provide food and clothing for my family. I never can pay for this piano."

His little daughter, Nellie Powers, then eight or ten years of age began to cry. Through the ages a woman's tears have been her greatest weapon, and I remember as if it was yesterday that my father relented and said: "Nellie, I have just come back from Guthrie where I argued a law suit. Of course, no person can guess how a court will decide a case. But I have hope of winning this case. If I do I will get one hundred dollars, and will buy you the piano."

In due course of time the Supreme Court ruled that on January 1, 1896, the cattle were actually in Oklahoma, not Texas, and were subject to tax assessment. The cattlemen paid their taxes. The County commissioners paid our father one hundred dollars and he bought my sister a piano. Since that time little Nellie Powers has been transformed into Madam Davis, and I think has taught music to at least one thousand children.

HOW THE TOWN OF MANGUM IN GREER COUNTY GOT ITS NAME

When Texas was admitted to the union it did something that no other state has been able to do, in that it reserved title to all its public lands, and did not surrender to the Federal Government.

Shortly after the Civil war the Texas legislature passed legislation that each and every veteran of the War with Mexico in 1836 was entitled to so much public land if he would locate and make proof before the Land Office at Austin.

At Henderson, Texas there was a Veteran named Colonel A. S. Mangum. He contacted a surveyor by the name of Henry Clay Sweet and offered Mr. Sweet half of the land if he could locate and make proof so he could obtain title from the Texas land Office.

Surveyor Sweet and his family came to the present town of Mangum for that purpose. He located near a spring generally called Draw Springs. At that time there was a mail line going about once a week from Fort Wichita, now near Wichita Falls, and Fort Elliott, now Mobeetie, Texas. This mail line passed right by Draw Springs. There were many travelers

passing by, and Henry Clay Sweet decided to erect a small grocery store where he could sell cheese, sardines and a few groceries for the travelers. He went to Fort Wichita and bought some 1 x 12's and erected a small store building. But he neglected to get any 1 x 4's to strip the building. Thereupon he stripped from salvage from tin cans. The cow boys promptly named the place "Tin Can City."

In due course of time Mr. Sweet petitioned the Postmaster General to establish a post office at Tin Can City, and made a showing that it could be served by the mail line between Fort Wichita and Fort Elliott, and that some 20 or 30 families could get their mail there. Finally the Postmaster General authorized the establishment of a post office and requested Mr. Sweet to suggest a name for it. He suggested the name of Draw Springs.

The Postmaster General answered that there were so many post offices in Texas which had the word "Springs" in the name, could he suggest some other. Mr. Sweet then suggested that the new post office be called Mangum.

The Postmaster then created the post office of Mangum. Tin can City died, but upon the ruins the substantial and thriving City of Mangum was established.

Percy Powers, County Judge.

Mangum, Oklahoma

EARLY OKLAHOMA INCIDENTS

The following incidents were told and contributed to *The Chronicles*, by James K. Hasting, pioneer citizen of Stillwater, Oklahoma:

THE STAR ROUTE MAIL CARRIER

My old timer friend, Will Chiles, was telling of his experience carrying the mail on a star route by buckboard, in the early days in the Cherokee Strip of Oklahoma. He started from Red Rock Station on the Santa Fe R. R. in the Otoe Reservation and made the twenty-five mile trip to an interior point and back in a day's time. To do it, he must cross two pastures, the Witherspoon and Miller's 101 Ranch. For the first month, as he came to the line gates, he met a line rider at each point, but always carefully closing the gates, he went on his way. At the end of the month, he found a ten dollar check in his mail from each of the ranch headquarters and no line rider met him thereafter.

The postal regulations, instructed him never to cross a creek when the water was more than three feet deep. On arrival across the creek from the Red Rock Post Office and store late one day, he found the creek up and boiling. There was a stranger across the stream watching him, but as usual in such cases, he strapped the leather mail pouch across his shoulders and like brave Horatius at the Tiber in the old poem, swam the creek, as it would have taken too long to walk to the railroad bridge above to cross. The watchful stranger, turned out to be the postal inspector, who gave him a gentle chiding for endangering the mails, but they became good friends later, when the inspector went over the route with him on a mud splashing rainy day.

By earning money in this way, Will managed to provide for his parents, on a homestead in old Oklahoma south of the Strip.

HUNKATOKA'S CHECK

After original Oklahoma was opened for settlement sixty years ago, it was carved into six counties. To our county Payne, in the northeastern corner, were attached various areas of the Cherokee Strip and other lands containing Indian tribes, for judicial purposes. I remember that we had Pawnees, Poncas, Otoes and a part of the Osage Nation, holding court with us. When the District Court sat in Stillwater, our county seat, it tried both territorial and United States cases. This was a life saver for those of us who were drawn for jury duty. Jurors were paid \$2.00 a day in warrants, but County warrants brought only ten cents on the dollar, so we could not pay our board with the twenty cents we earned a day, so in the fall term, we had to "bring our sweet potatoes with us," as the saying was. The United States cases paid the same fee for jury duty, and we got cash for our service. Understand, the one man was judge in both cases and he kept us from hunger, by changing from U. S. to Territorial cases quite often in a day or week. United States cases concerning the Indians, were prosecuted by deputies from the U. S. District Attorney's office in Guthrie, while the peace officers were from the U. S. Marshal's office there. Our local cases were prosecuted by the County Attorney and the Sheriff's men served all papers and brought in the prisoners.

When one from those Indian tribes was brought down to attend court, a lot of his friends generally came along. They camped on the Court House Square and were a colorful lot, for many still wore their gorgeous blankets, that rivaled in color the coat that the patriarch Jacob made for his favorite son, Joseph.

Such was the occasion one year, when a jury of us was empaneled to try a young white man, who had found and cashed Hunkatoka's annuity check. Hunkatoka was an Indian girl, who on receiving the check had lost it and the white boy finding it, had cashed it. He bought a pony and saddle and then it occurred to him that he had done wrong, so he took the horse and saddle and the money remaining, to the girl's father in restitution. Later, he was arrested and brought to our town and shut up in a cell in our sheet iron jail. He stayed all summer in that sweltering hole and was a pitiful sight with his white face and long uncut black hair, when court set and he was brought in for trial. The boy was prosecuted by the late John M. Stone from the U. S. District Attorney's office and defended by a local attorney. Stone made a clear case for conviction and there was not a thing for us to do at the close of his argument, but to bring in a verdict of guilty, but besides being a good lawyer, Mr. Stone was a kindly, soft hearted father, so he added, "Because his attorney did not say it, I will add, that it is the boy's first offence, that he made restitution and for months has been imprisoned". We jurors brought in a verdict of not guilty. That was fine until old John caught up with us at the noon recess, when we got the finest "skinning," that any jury ever had. That warmed me up and I told him that we did exactly what he wanted us to do, but the old fellow went off shaking his gray head and mumbling to himself.

James K. Hastings.

ORDERS FOR BACK NUMBERS OF *THE CHRONICLES*

The Historical Society's supply of back numbers of *The Chronicles* is now limited in most instances, and many numbers are lacking. Orders for the numbers on our shelves through 1940 (Vol. XVIII) will be filled by the Oklahoma Historical Society at a cost

of one dollar (\$1.00) each. Single copies of available numbers from 1941 (Vol. XIX) to present can be supplied at fifty cents (50¢) each.

THE STATE SONG OF OKLAHOMA

Perhaps the early growth of a State reveals nothing so strenuous as the development of its historical emblems. The name "Oklahoma" has given rise to strange arguments and many errors. It is finally accepted that in 1866 Reverend Allen Wright, Chief of the Choctaws, proposed it and defined two syllables as "Okla", meaning people, and "Homma", meaning red.

The Oklahoma state motto is "Labor Omnia Vincit," "Labor Conquers all things." A concurrent resolution of the House and Senate in 1915 established green and white as the Oklahoma State colors.

The State Flower of Oklahoma became a matter of serious discussion in the Oklahoma Territorial Legislature of 1893. The pioneer legislators adopted the mistletoe. This was confirmed by a State Legislature afterward. By a joint resolution, the 16th Legislature adopted the redbud as the official tree.

The State Flag and the Seal of the State are of such intricate pattern that they cannot well be described here.

All this leads up to a splendid letter received not long ago from Mr. Kenneth E. Crouch, of the *Bedford Democrat*, Bedford, Virginia, in which he sets forth some interesting and valuable history of the State Song of Oklahoma:

"On March 26, 1935, the song "Oklahoma: A Toast" with words and music by Harriet Parker Camden of Fair Oaks, California, was adopted as the state song of Oklahoma.

"Miss Harriet Parker was born in Bay City, Michigan, on April 30, 1878, the daughter of Dr. Joseph H. and Carrie Griswold Parker.

"Her father was appointed home missionary superintendent for the Congregationalist church and made the run into Oklahoma when it was opened for settlement. The family was then living in Wichita, Kansas, where he was one of the founders of Fairmount College (now the Municipal University of Wichita). Two years later, she went with her mother to Kingfisher, Oklahoma, where her father had settled. There he was one of the founders of Kingfisher College and in 1892 was appointed territorial superintendent of public instruction and as state auditor.

"She was educated in Wichita, Kansas, in Kingfisher, Oklahoma, and in Mexico City, Mexico, under Pavlo de Bengardil.

"She is a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the National League of American Pen Women.

"She and her husband live on their orange and olive ranch at Route 1, Box 135, Fair Oaks, California."

—Charles Evans.

RECENT ACCESSIONS IN THE LIBRARY

The following list of books (400 volumes) was accessioned and cataloged in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society, from July 1, 1948 to July 1, 1949, and compiled by Mrs. Edith Mitchell, Cataloger.

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BOOK REVIEW

Oklahoma: The Story of a State. By Edward Everett Dale. (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1949. Index. Ill. Pp. 448.)

Someone has said there is no history, it is all biography. This statement has been attributed to Emerson. Whether it be Emerson or some other thinker, it is the truth. Either the reading of history or the presentation of history should be so construed. It is axiomatic that men and women have made and will continue to make the history of the world.

It shows that history writing and history teaching must be filled with the rich red blood of the deeds of a people. The man or woman who can take a pen or use a tongue and tell the progress of mankind must be able to fortify both pen and tongue with ardor, zeal and enthusiasm. This may arise only when such writers and teachers will by nature or by training be able to drop into their emotions the bare facts of history and send them forth with sympathy, understanding and color until the reader or hearer is moved with earnest and genuine feeling and understanding.

Another poet gives an essential ingredient of history. Tennyson says:

"Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

History must present always the ever increasing purpose and plan of mankind. Only when you seek the motives and understand the purposes and ideals of a Washington, a Jefferson, a Truman or a Stalin, can you thoroughly appreciate and secure the tang of interest which will develop in the reader a thirst for history, which should always be the goal of author and teacher.

Another thing should be said when presenting history in books, lectures or in any form. History is the mother of all knowledge. Any teacher who would be so ignorant as to teach Junior or Senior High School history or collegiate history with only a single book or text, has no worthy conception of his work and should not be permitted to appear before a class dealing with a historical subject. It is better to teach the life of Andrew Jackson using five reference books for one month than it is to teach that subject using one book for five months.

Writers and speakers in the realm of history who have believed that facts, mere facts, can enlighten a mind about a man or a woman, or the deeds of men and women, are responsible for thousands of

youths going out of our schools with no disposition to take up books again dealing with the great lives and actions of the world's heroes and heroines. A well written text or history should be as colorful and enticing to the mind of a child as a splendid cinema.

These paragraphs are but a preliminary approach to the tribute which the book, *Oklahoma: The Story of a State*, has developed among the teachers, literary critics and many among the general public since its recent issuing from the press. Dr. Edward Everett Dale, Research Professor of History, the University of Oklahoma, whose life has been a very part of the wonderful birth and growth of the State of Oklahoma through fifty and more years, is the author of this book and it has been adopted as a text in the senior High Schools of the state. It is a neat volume of 448 pages, and in its printing and illustrations, it is inviting and attractive. Especially, too much tribute cannot be paid to the copious illustrations of Oklahoma life and the happy selection of each picture. If any High School youth or any reader of history of any age could do nothing more than turn through the book, and view the portraits of Oklahoma life as found from the beginning with the beautiful and striking portrait of the Pioneer Woman statue, they would receive a remarkable impression and high understanding of Oklahoma's development. But far and beyond that of course is the approach of the author to the history of his state. His sentences, while strictly factual, reveal a warmth of devotion, a righteous, happy pride in the thought that he is talking about his beloved Oklahoma. In effect, he says in every paragraph, "This is not an ordinary Commonwealth. This is not just any sort of people; these are not just the 'mill run' of historical deeds; these are a peculiar people developed under extraordinary conditions; a mixture of the best bloods of the Anglo-Saxon and other races placed in the most compelling area of nature and behold the results," an interesting story which can be told in righteous pride.

The table of contents reveals that Dale, with proper perspective, saw the story of his state in the whole, reaching from Oklahoma, the Indian state, to the present hour or the last subject, "The Spirit of a State." Wisely, he broke it into units, calling them in turn, "Oklahoma, a Part of Louisiana," "Indian Era in Oklahoma," "Pioneer Era of Oklahoma," "The State of Oklahoma," and "The Welfare of Oklahoma."

While dates and facts are well stressed, yet the whole book is a story of flesh and blood in action. The list of maps is excellent, consisting of seventeen in number. If there be any weakness in the book, it may lie in Dr. Dale's effort to make it as easy to teach as possible. This may not be a fault, yet at the same time it may be said by the writer who has had an experience of teaching and writing history through some sixty years, that observation through

that time in the schoolrooms of America has developed the severe idea that very few teachers know how to fire the youth—and fire is the word—with a love and zeal for his birthright. If the teacher cannot do that, as a history teacher, he has no value. This demands an independent mind infused by blood or training with the proper appreciation of the worth of history to a child or youth throughout all the coming years of his life. He or she must get a proper perspective of the worth and the dignity and the beauty of a story of a people, his or her people, and be able to transfer it.

The author's childhood and youth were a very part of that picturesque period of cattle ranges of the Northern Texas country and Old Greer County, once Texas but now a part of Oklahoma. "Bookish" from the first and, even as he is "bookish" now, he moved into the country schools as teacher and superintendent. He holds a B.A. degree from the University of Oklahoma, and a master's and a doctor's degree from Harvard University. Because of his profound interest and individual power in the realm of history, he was called by the University of Oklahoma in 1914 as instructor and from 1924 to 1942 he was head of the History Department. His long life in his chosen field will prevent a complete list of his authorship and range of lectures, the latter taking him to all parts of the United States. A few of his books however, are: *The Range Cattle Industry* (1930), *Territorial Acquisitions of the United States* (1912), *Tales of the Teepee* (1920), *The Prairie Schooner and Other Poems* (1929). A recent work of Dr. Dale was in collaboration with Dr. M. L. Wardell, of the Department of History in the University of Oklahoma, and its title is, *History of Oklahoma* (1949).

This book, *Oklahoma: The Story of a State*, is heartily recommended to the general public as well as to the schools of Oklahoma for a clear, brief, colorful and accurate tale of the origin and development of one of the most remarkable states in the Union.

—Charles Evans.

Oklahoma Historical Society.



PRESTON CAPLINGER WEST

NECROLOGIES

PRESTON CAPLINGER WEST

1868-1949

Preston Caplinger West, also known as "P. C." or "Pete West," widely known lawyer, civic leader and former resident of Muskogee and Tulsa, Oklahoma, departed this life at his daughter's farm home, Hamburg Place, four miles east of Lexington, Kentucky, on September 8, 1949, at the ripe age of eighty one years. The funeral was conducted by the Episcopalian minister and interment was in the cemetery at Lexington.

His great grandfather was a Captain in the Continental Army in Virginia during the Revolutionary War. His maternal grandfather, Gustavus Hammond Wilcox, a Connecticut Yankee, lured to the sunny Southland by the friendliness of its people and its ever growing prosperity, married Miss Jane Wigginton of Virginia, of Scotch-Welch ancestry. They had a daughter, Winifred Todd Wilcox. He settled in Mississippi in the early days and for many years was a leader of the Mississippi bar.

Preston's paternal grandfather was Preston West of Kentucky, a breeder of fine horses, well known, well liked, and a man of great influence. His father, Doctor Preston Caplinger West, was born and reared in Hannibal, Missouri, went to Louisville Medical College at Louisville, Kentucky, and was a physician and surgeon in the Confederate Army. In 1865 at Louisville Doctor West married Winifred Todd Wilcox, and they had two sons, Preston Caplinger West, subject of this article, and Gustavus Wilcox West. In the same year of his marriage he settled in Rodney, Mississippi to practice medicine. In 1880 he moved to Lagrange, Lee County, Arkansas, where he practiced medicine until his death. Doctor West was a kindly man and held in great esteem by his neighbors.

Both of the parents of Preston, Jr., were college educated, cultured, refined and trained in the fine customs and manners of the old South. His mother lost two brothers killed in the Confederate Army and both of his parents were strong southern sympathizers in Civil War days. As a boy Preston saw the injustice and evils of Carpet Bag rule in his native state, heard of the impositions upon the southern people in that dire strife and he became passionately fond of his home land, the South.

Mr. West, subject of this article, was born in the home of his grandmother at Rodney, Mississippi on August 19, 1868. His boyhood was spent on the banks of the Mississippi River, and like Tom Sawyer, he developed a great love for the mighty waters and the steamboats sailing up and down the big river. He dreamed of the day when he would be an officer on one of the big ships, but this ambition died when in 1880 his father with his wife and two sons, Preston, then twelve years old, and Gustavus Wilcox, then ten years old, moved to Lagrange, Arkansas, not a river town. There was no school available at Rodney, Mississippi, so Mrs. West taught her two sons at home, and at twelve years of age Preston entered high school at Lagrange. He was a good student and a lover of books. His father and mother decided that Preston must have a college education, and in the South. His parents were strong Presbyterians so in 1884 at the age of sixteen years, he was enrolled at the Southwestern University, a Presbyterian school, at Clarksville, Tennessee. At this school Doctor Joseph R. Wilson, father of President Woodrow Wilson, was Professor of Theology, and his son, Joe Wilson, the President's brother, was a student and college mate of Mr. West. Joe Wilson and Mr. West belonged to the same fraternity,

Sigma Alpha Epsilon. In four years Preston graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

Young West liked public speaking and was charmed by the speakers who spoke at the University. In 1888 he graduated and then was convinced his field and life work was the law. He entered the law office of T. P. Winchester, a prominent lawyer of Fort Smith, Arkansas, but after a short time left there to enter the Law School of the University of Virginia, perhaps the best law school at that time in the South. After two years in law school, his father died and this forced him to leave school. He again joined T. P. Winchester now as a partner, the firm being Winchester and West. Later he joined the firm of Sandels and Hill, of Fort Smith, Arkansas, and upon the death of Mr. Sandels became full partner and the firm was Hill and West. He remained with this firm until 1897 when he moved to Muskogee, Indian Territory. He selected Muskogee as it was the chief city of Indian Territory, headquarters for the Dawes Commission, Indian Agent, and the most important United States Court town where the business with the Indian people and litigation of all kinds mostly centered.

In Muskogee he formed a partnership with William T. Hutchings, a Virginian and a very fine lawyer, now dead, the firm being Hutchings and West. They had offices in a small cottage located on what is now West Broadway at Second Street. The front porch of the building was used as a sidewalk on Broadway. In 1903 the firm of Hutchings and West dissolved and Mr. West practiced law alone for a few years. He next formed the partnership of West, Mellette and Jones and moved into the Oklahoma Building, that he, Ben Martin and Wallace Butts had purchased. Mr. William Mellette of the firm died many years ago and the surviving partner, E. R. Jones is now a prominent lawyer at Muskogee. About this time he prepared the Charter for the commission form of government for the City of Muskogee, being Chairman of the Board of Freeholders.

In 1913 President Wilson appointed Mr. West Assistant Attorney General of the United States and nine months later he was made Solicitor for the Interior Department. This office was badly behind with its work, but he with his twenty six assistants strived diligently and in three years had the work up to date.

After three years in Washington he returned to Oklahoma, settled in Tulsa and became a member of the law firm of West, Sherman, Davidson and Moore. In 1925 the firm was reorganized and was West, Gibson, Sherman, Davidson and Hull, Mr. Moore having died in the mean time. Thomas L. Gibson, the present Justice of the Supreme Court, was a member of the firm.

As the years passed Mr. West grew in stature and influence as a lawyer. He carefully prepared his cases and enjoyed the work in the trial court. He represented the Cherokees and defeated a host of claimants for citizenship when Congress authorized the Dawes Commission at Muskogee to hear their claim. He also maintained the constitutionality of this legislation in the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1912 he won the case of McGannon v. State ex rel Trapp, that laid down the rule on which our state inheritance laws have since been interpreted. As Assistant Attorney General and Solicitor for the Interior Department he argued many interesting cases in the Supreme Court of the United States. Out of court he handled many important matters, such as the building of the government railroad in Alaska, the fishing and other rights of the Northwestern Indians, harbor improvements in the Hawaiian Islands, and settlement of the mutual water rights of the United States and Canada in certain streams arising on one side or the other of the United States-Canadian border and flowing across into the other's territory.

He was a member of the Democratic Party, the Masonic Lodge and Elks Lodge. He was active in the International Law Association, American



JOSEPH CECIL STONE

Bar Association, Tulsa and Muskogee Bar Association, Tulsa Town and Country Club, the University Club of Tulsa, and the Colonade Club, University of Virginia. He was an active member of the Episcopal Church and at one time was Senior Warden of Trinity Episcopal Church at Tulsa. He also served the Oklahoma Diocese of the Episcopal Church as Chancellor.

In 1897 Mr. West married Miss Bessie Shelby of Fort Smith, Arkansas. Mrs. West lived a long and useful life, leaving this world about six weeks before her husband left it. She was one of the founders of the Tulsa Public Health Association. They had two children, a daughter, Mrs. Winifred West Madden, now living at Hamburg Place, Lexington, Kentucky, and a son, Col. G. W. West of the United States Army, now stationed in London, England. Others who survive him are a niece, Mrs. W. S. Cochran of Tulsa; a brother, G. W. West, of Muskogee; and two grandsons, Pat Madden and Preston Madden, of Lexington, Kentucky.

In 1940 Mr. West retired from the practice of law and moved from Tulsa to Lexington, Kentucky, to be near his daughter and to be able to aid his wife who had become an invalid. Soon after this his eye-sight failed on account of cataracts and for the last three years of his life he was sightless. He had been in ill health for some time and death was believed to be due to a heart attack. He never lost faith and hope, for he believed no evil could come to a good man. He was cheerful to the end.

Mr. West encouraged me and let me use his books when I was a young lawyer and I have always held for him sincere affection. I am happy to say these few words in commendation of him and his life, for he was a fine character, a wise statesman, a Christian gentleman, a great soul. A great man of a great family, he gave to his country the best in him. He was noble by birth, yet nobler by great deeds.

William B. Moore.

Muskogee, Oklahoma.

JOSEPH CECIL STONE

1870-1948

Joseph Cecil Stone was born at Big Rock, Stewart County, Tennessee, November 8, 1870, the son of William Jesse and Mary Ellen (Beresford) Stone. The family moved to Texas when he was a young boy. He received his A. B. Degree at Howard Payne College, Brownwood, Texas, in 1897, and his A. B. Degree from the University of Chicago in 1899. He taught Greek and other subjects at Howard Payne College for a few years, and received his LL.D. Degree from that college in 1927.

He was married to Louise Beatrice Webb on June 7, 1904. They had one daughter, Mary Louise, who with his widow survive him.

Mr. Stone was admitted to practice law in the State of Texas in 1901, and in 1902 he located at Okmulgee, Indian Territory. In 1908 he moved to Muskogee, where he was City Attorney from 1908 to 1910. He was a member of the committee which wrote the Muskogee City Charter for the managerial form of government.

From 1908 to 1917 he was a member of the law firm of Owen & Stone; from 1917 to 1937 he was a member of Stone, Moon & Stewart; and from 1937 to 1948 he was a member of the firm of Stone & Moon, engaged in general civil practice. He was a member of the Oklahoma State Bar Association, and was its President during 1924-1925.

Mr. Stone was an Episcopalian, and a Mason. He died at Muskogee on August 23, 1948, where his home was located at 401 So. 12th Street, and his offices in the Barnes Building.

Mr. Stone located in the Indian Territory five years prior to the time when the Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory were merged and admitted into the Union as the State of Oklahoma. During his professional life his work was devoted to construing the laws of the new state, particularly the treaties between the United States and the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians, and the Acts of the United States Congress dealing with the Five Tribes. He participated in practically all litigation that involved novel questions relating to the Indians and their landed affairs.

A few of the cases in which he was attorney and which made history within the Indian country were: *P. E. Heckman and Robert L. Owen v. United States*, 32 S. Ct. 424, 224 U.S. 413, 56 L. Ed. 820; *Woodward v. deGraffenried*, 35 S.Ct. 764, 238 U.S. 284, 59 L.Ed. 1310; *United States v. Wildcat*, 37 S. Ct. 561, 244 U.S. 111, 61 S. Ed. 1024; *Brader v. James*, 38 S. Ct. 285, 246 U.S. 88, 63 L.Ed. 591; *Sunday v. Mallory*, 237 F. 526, 39 S.Ct. 135, 248 U.S. 545, 63 L.Ed. 414; *Scott v. Beams* (Jackson Barnett Estate), 122 Fed. 2d, 777; *Brown v. Wilson*, 58 Okl. 392, 160 Pac. 94; *Canfield v. Capt. Jack*, 78 Okl. 127; *Haddock v. Johnson*, 80 Okl. 250.

Mr. Stone helped to establish the framework upon which the future of the State of Oklahoma will always rest.

—Charles A. Moon

Muskogee, Oklahoma

SARAH JANE ADAIR LAWRENCE

1875-1944

Mrs. Lawrence, "Bluie," as she was known to her friends and they can be counted by the hundreds, was more than a personality, she was an institution. She had a part in making and shaping the destinies of two nations. Her father, Benjamin Franklin Adair, was of English-Cherokee descent; her mother, Mary McNair, was of Scotch-Cherokee ancestry and blended in this daughter were all the fine characteristics of the three nationalities. Sarah Jane Adair was born March 10, 1875, near the present town of Salina in what was at that time the Cherokee Nation.

She attended school at the Cherokee National Orphanage at Salina and graduated from the Cherokee National Female Seminary in 1892 and from Howard Payne College, Fayette, Missouri, in 1896. The thesis she prepared for graduation from Howard Payne was written in the Anglo-Saxon language.

Following her graduation she served as first assistant principal at the Cherokee National Female Seminary until 1899 when she married J. A. Lawrence. The Lawrence home was one of the hospitable centers of Tahlequah; clubs met there; friends met there. Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence and the two sons joined forces in landscaping the grounds. All during the year there were flowers blooming either in the yard or in the house. The older son, Joseph Adair, and Mr. Lawrence had answered final roll call preceding Mrs. Lawrence. The younger son, Gilbert Shelton, survives his mother.

Mrs. Lawrence was community conscious. She did many fine things for her community, as can be shown by listing some of the organizations and groups with which she worked; Red Cross, County Council of National Defense, Library Board, Study and Civic Clubs, and the Methodist Church. She had served as president of the Sixth District of Federated Women's Clubs and was Treasurer of the State Federation. She founded and was an active member of the William Penn Adair Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and was, at the time of her death, a member of the Board of Directors of the Cherokee Seminaries Student Association. These



SARAH JANE ADAIR LAWRENCE

are only a few of the organizations with which she was identified, not only as a member, but as an active participating and sharing member. There is still another activity that should be listed, one that received little publicity and was known to few persons outside of the community affected, the school board of the rural school district in which she lived. For many years she served on the board and future generations will share in benefits derived from the service so generously given.

Death came at Muskogee on April 4, 1944, and burial was at Tahlequah. In person, Blueie Lawrence is no longer with us but the results of her active and useful life will endure forever.

By Eula E. Fullerton

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

October 27, 1949

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, October 27, 1949, at ten o'clock A.M., with Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Gen. William S. Key, Hon. Redmond S. Cole, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Hon. Jim Biggerstaff, Hon. George L. Bowman, Dr. E. E. Dale, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Hon. Thomas J. Harrison, Mrs. Frank Korn, Hon. H. L. Muldrow, Judge Baxter Taylor, and Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary.

Mr. George A. Bowman made the motion that the minutes of the last meeting of the Board of Directors held on July 28, 1949, not be read. Gen. W. S. Key seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Upon a motion made by Gen. W. S. Key, the following Board members who had sent in reasons for their non-attendance were excused. This motion was seconded by Hon. Baxter Taylor and passed unanimously: Hon. R. M. Mountcastle, Hon. R. A. Hefner, Judge Harry Campbell, Dr. I. N. McCash, Hon. Thomas G. Cook and Mrs. J. Garfield Buell.

Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary, reported on the appropriation made by the Legislature in 1945, then in 1947 and again in 1949, for repairing and painting of the interior of the historical building and the efforts being made to have said work done.

He pointed out that he had called upon the Chairman of the Board of Affairs and earnestly requested that this work be placed early upon the building program for the Board of Affairs for the year 1949 and 1950. He also has called upon Mr. Chet Smith, Superintendent of buildings and grounds and explained the necessity of the building and repair job being carried out before April, 1950. Mr. Smith gave promise that he would do everything possible to bring this about. The committee on this business of repairing and painting of the interior of the Historical Building, composed of Judge Baxter Taylor, Mayor R. A. Hefner and the Secretary, promised to call upon the Board of Affairs soon and find what can be done to expedite this matter.

The President reported on the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Association to be held in Oklahoma City in April 1950, and advised that the following committees had been appointed to function during the coming meeting of said Association:

RECEPTION COMMITTEE: Gov. and Mrs. Roy J. Turner, Lt. Gov. and Mrs. James E. Berry, Mayor and Mrs. Allen Street, Gen. and Mrs. William S. Key, Judge Harry Campbell, Judge and Mrs. Baxter Taylor, Judge and Mrs. Robert A. Hefner, Judge and Mrs. Thomas A. Edwards, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mr. and Mrs. Jim Biggerstaff, Mr. and Mrs. George L. Bowman, Dr. I. N. McCash, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas J. Harrison, Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Peterson, Mr. and Mrs. J. Garfield Buel, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas G. Cook, Mr. and Mrs. Edward C. Law-

son, Dr. and Mrs. E. E. Dale, Mr. and Mrs. H. L. Muldrow, Mr. and Mrs. R. M. Mountcastle, Judge and Mrs. Redmond S. Cole, Dr. and Mrs. Grant Foreman, and Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary.

GENERAL COMMITTEE: Chairman, Gen. Wm. S. Key, Judge R. A. Hefner and Dr. E. E. Dale.

ENTERTAINMENT COMMITTEE: Martha A. Mulholland, Account Clerk; Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist; Mrs. Myrtle J. Cook, Curator of Museum; Mrs. Grace J. Ward, Custodian of Union Memorial Room; Mrs. Helen M. Gorman, Custodian of Confederate Memorial Room; Muriel H. Wright, Associate Editor; Hazel E. Beaty, Librarian; Mrs. Edith Mitchell and Mrs. Louise W. Cook, Assistant Librarians; and Vivian McCullough, Stenographer.

Mr. George A. Bowman made the motion that the Secretary be authorized to expend not to exceed \$300 out of the private funds of the Society for the reception of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association visitors. Mrs. Frank Korn seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Treasurer, made a splendid report as to the finances of the Society, calling attention to the transfer of the private funds from the Tradesmen's National Bank to the First National Bank of Oklahoma City.

General Wm. S. Key made the motion that the Board express its satisfaction at the healthy condition of the private funds, and appreciation for the thirty years of fine service of Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, as Treasurer of the Society. Mrs. Frank Korn seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President reported that the Society would soon publish in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* an article written by Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, entitled "The Five Great Nations," originally published in *The Southern Magazine*, and have reprints made, in cooperation with the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Dr. E. E. Dale reported on the matter of reprints and their cost when secured from the various historical societies, and made the motion that the Secretary be authorized to make a contract with the publishers of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* for the publication of Reprints at so much a page upon order, the Reprints to be paid for by the Society, the Society to be reimbursed by the author of the article reprinted in the amount of the bill plus any cost to the Society. General Wm. S. Key seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported on the results of the Every Member Get a Member campaign. He reported on the splendid work of certain persons in securing new members during said campaign, viz: Judge William B. Moore of Muskogee, Judge Thomas A. Edwards of Cordell, Mr. J. W. Ross of Tulsa, Mr. John C. Staudt of Tulsa, Mr. George F. Wood of Tulsa, Mr. G. B. Young of Tulsa, Mr. Charles H. Lamb of Tulsa, Mrs. Anna B. Korn of Oklahoma City, and Dr. I. N. McCash of Enid.

Mr. George A. Bowman made the motion that the Secretary be authorized to extend a letter of thanks to the above named persons for their splendid work in getting new members to this Society during the Every Member Get a Member Campaign. General William S. Key seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

A report on the money coming into the Special Fund for the 3rd quarter ending October 27, 1949, was presented by Miss Mulholland. The Secretary read it and in brief, it was as follows:

Received from the Secretary:

Membership Dues	\$211.00
Membership Fees	
Life	\$450.00
Annual	250.00

Total membership fees 700.25

Subscription and sale of *Chronicles*..... 21.00

Miscellaneous

Piano rent	\$ 20.00
Interest	87.50
Pat Hurley Gift	25.00
Check redeemed	1.00

Total Miscellaneous\$133.50

Total receipts\$1065.75

Disbursements:

8- 1-49 Addressograph machine	421.91
9- 7-49 Addressograph plates	16.37
9-10-49 Micro Library Reader	194.96
9-30-49 Okla. City Hdw. Co., Tools.....	23.64
9-30-49 Montgomery's, Tools	17.65
10-15-49 Ida D. Martin, Assembling	
records at Muskogee	48.00
By check returned	1.00

Total disbursements 723.53

This threw light upon the practical values of the "Every Member Get a Member" campaign. Enough money had been taken in from July 15 to September 15, in membership fees alone for the purchasing of \$723.00 worth of furnishings and essentials, made during the quarter.

The Secretary presented the following list of applicants for membership: (Because of the large number, this list of members is appended to these minutes.)

General William S. Key reported on the Markers for historic spots in Oklahoma; that contracts have been awarded and thirty-two (32) inscriptions for that number of Markers have been approved and submitted to the manufacturers and that the initial shipment is expected in the very near future; that Miss Muriel H. Wright has worked most industriously in preparing these inscriptions; that fifty (50) Markers will be secured this year, and another fifty (50) next year, and then Oklahoma will be better marked than any State except Virginia; that it is hoped the people in the various localities where the Markers are being placed will become interested and place Markers exactly on the historic spots.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore advised that the people of Wayne, Oklahoma, are placing a Marker to the California Trail, at Wayne.

The President reported that the collection of the late Mrs. John R. Williams, consisting of 17 pieces of Indian pottery, etc., including a very fine Grain Jar, could be purchased by the Society for the sum of \$100.00, the grain jar itself being worth more than the sum asked for the entire collection.

Mr. George Bowman made the motion that the Society purchase the collection of pottery, etc., of Mrs. John R. Williams, deceased, for the sum

of \$100.00. Mr. Thomas J. Harrison seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President advised that the photostat machine owned by the Historical Society, now out of commission, could be traded to the Western Bank & Office Supply Company for fine steel shelving for the newspaper room in the amount of \$400.00.

Mr. Thomas J. Harrison made the motion that the Secretary be authorized to trade the photostat machine for \$400.00 worth of steel shelving for the newspaper room. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Mr. H. L. Muldrow called attention to the fine maps accumulated by the Society now filed in the Library and made the motion that not to exceed \$300.00 from the regular funds of the Society be used to frame, with glass, many of these maps that they may be preserved. Mrs. Frank Korn seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported on the progress being made on the pamphlets, booklets and postal cards to be published from the Revolving Fund of \$3000.00 appropriated by the last Legislature.

Mr. Thomas J. Harrison made the motion that the Secretary be authorized to have the printing done, some in color. Mrs. Frank Korn seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Judge Thomas A. Edwards presented to the Society an autographed copy of a book entitled "Nebraska Pioneers" by F. G. Stilgebouer.

Dr. E. E. Dale presented to the Society autographed copies of his two latest books, "Oklahoma The Story of a State," and "The Indians of the Southwest."

General William S. Key made the motion that the Board accept the books from Judge Thomas A. Edwards and Dr. E. E. Dale and express its appreciation to them for said gifts. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Judge Redmond S. Cole read to the Board Dr. Grant Foreman's report relative to the hundreds of volumes of records of the Five Civilized Tribes Agency at Muskogee, Oklahoma, by virtue of an Act of Congress of March 27, 1934, and to his great desire that this Society secure from the other Indian agencies in this State records not of current use.

General William S. Key made the motion that an expression of profound appreciation be given by the Board of Directors to Dr. Grant Foreman for his splendid work in securing many hundreds of volumes of records of the Five Civilized Tribes which he has recently sent in to the archives of this Society and that the Board express the deep anxiety they feel for his health, and the hope that in due season his strength may be greatly increased.

General Key also embodied in his motion that the Secretary be authorized to visit the various Indian agencies located in this State and personally investigate the situation and report to the Board his findings as to the old records that might be transferred to the Society. Mr. Thomas J. Harrison seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Mr. H. L. Muldrow made the motion that the following professors of the University of Oklahoma, at Norman, be given Honorary Membership in this Society: Dr. Charles E. Decker, Research Professor Emeritus in Paleontology, Dr. Jesse L. Rader, Librarian, Dr. M. L. Wardell, Professor of History, and Dr. Oscar B. Jacobson, Director of the School of Art. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Mrs. Frank Korn made the motion that the portrait of Dr. O. C. Newman of Shattuck, Oklahoma, to be presented to the Oklahoma Memorial Association at its annual banquet, be accepted. Mrs. Jessie Moore seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Mr. Jim Biggerstaff made the motion that the executors of the estate of the late Eugene Lorton of Tulsa, Oklahoma, be requested to present to the Society a portrait of Mr. Lorton. General W. S. Key seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Mr. Thomas J. Harrison called attention to the vacancies on the Board of Directors. A discussion followed as to the proper time for nominations and election of directors to fill the present vacancies existing on the Board. It was finally unanimously decided that the first quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors on January 26, 1950, will be the time for nominations and election. Many eminent men were pointed out by members of the Board as being splendid leaders in State affairs and worthy of every honor. A list of these men mentioned will be sent out to the respective members of the Board in due season that they may be given proper consideration.

Mrs. Frank Korn suggested certain amendments to the Constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society as indicated by her, be made. Mr. George A. Bowman made the motion that said suggestions be laid on the table for further consideration. Mr. Thomas J. Harrison seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President reported that the \$100.00 voted in October of last year for a petty cash account for this Society is almost exhausted.

Mr. Thomas J. Harrison made the motion that the petty cash account of the Society be replenished in the sum of \$100.00 out of the private funds of the Society. Mr. Bowman seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Judge Baxter Taylor made the motion that the meeting adjourn. General William S. Key seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Charles Evans
Secretary

Emma Estill-Harbour
President

APPENDIX

List of members elected October 27, 1949.

LIFE: Mrs. Vergie Blaydes, Duncan; O. C. Cash, Tulsa; Fred L. Coogan, Sayre; John T. Cordell, Pryor; J. H. Everest, Oklahoma City; John T. Griffin, Muskogee; Mrs. Stella Halit, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Dorothy Wentz Healey, Ponca City; J. Holland Howe, Ponca City; D. I. Johnston, Oklahoma City; Ned Looney, Oklahoma City; Theodore Pruett, Anadarko; Mrs. George Rainey, Enid; Martin J. Reinhart, Oklahoma City; Ted Edward Seibold, Muskogee; Edward B. Smith, Enid; Mrs. T. Dwight Williams, Oklahoma City.

ANNUAL: Mrs. Kiamichi Ainsworth, Spiro; Charles T. Akers, Cordell; Mrs. E. J. Aldridge, Wewoka; Mrs. D. E. Allen, Wakita; Harvey F. Allen, Tulsa; Mrs. Pearl S. Allen, Stillwater; Siegfried Ameringer, Oklahoma City; Ernest R. Anthis, Muskogee; Ferdinand W. Arnold, Oklahoma City; Benjamin F. Aspy, Okmulgee; Mrs. Sanford Babcock, El Reno; Mrs. Willa Mae Baldridge, Tulsa; Jennie M. Bard, Chelsea; W. J. Baze, Chickasha; Russell C. Benner, Tulsa; Jo Beryl Bettis, Oklahoma City; Robert T. Blair, Tulsa; Francis W. Bleakmore, Tulsa; Miss A. Van R. Blomshield, New York City; Gordon Blueler, Dallas, Texas; Archibald Bonds, Muskogee; Mrs. J. D. Booth, Muskogee; Orpha V. Bossons, St. Petersburg, Fla.; Morris L. Bradford,

Tulsa; George B. Brown, Oklahoma City; Kelley Brown, Muskogee; R. C. Brummett, Altus; J. C. Buchanan, Muskogee; Merton Bulla, Oklahoma City; Mrs. H. B. Bullen, Stillwater; L. A. Burkhead, Seminole; Edward Bynum, Oklahoma City; Fred Carder, Cordell; Mrs. Lawrence K. Cecil, Tulsa; Linnie Clayton, Oklahoma City; Chester E. Clements, Tulsa; Ed Clohessy, Oklahoma City; Edna Mae Couch, Choctaw; Finnis Cox, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Roy Q. Curry, Cisco, Texas; James M. Crady, Cleveland; M. Louise Cramer, Shattuck; Mrs. P. R. Crawley, Atoka; Mrs. Faith M. Daltry, Middletown, Conn.; Mrs. Edith A. Daugherty, Tulsa; R. L. Davis, Muskogee; Miss Ermel Dawson, Temple; Jean P. Day, Oklahoma City; Samuel C. Dean, Howe; Earl C. Denney, Tulsa; Mrs. D. R. Dennis, Oklahoma City; C. R. Donart, Oklahoma City; Elmer Dotson, Uvalde, Texas; Byrd L. Draughon, Mariette; W. C. Eichling, Pharoah; Fannie Louise Eisle, Douglas; Mrs. Marie Ellington, Tulsa; Harold Elman, Tulsa; E. I. Emerson, Cloud Chief; Mrs. Chester Farris, Tulsa; George E. Fay, Joplin, Mo.; Irene Featheringill, Bartlesville; Robert E. Fergus, Oklahoma City; LeRoy H. Fischer, Stillwater; P. E. Fitzgerald, Tulsa; Ted Flanagan, Tulsa; Mrs. Edith Fletcher, Tahlequah; Frank P. Fonville, Oklahoma City; Eugene Forbes, Weatherford; Mrs. Guy A. Fowler, Oklahoma City; R. Harris Fowler, Claremore; Mrs. Corinne B. Freiday, Bartlesville; J. A. Frye, Tulsa; Leslie S. Fulton, Kansas City, Mo.; Douglas C. Garrett, Muskogee; Paul Enoch Gentry, Tulsa; Mrs. Berry Gibson, Tulsa; Lee F. Gilstrap, Claremore; Roy Goodale, Albany, Calif.; Mrs. Ruth Ann Gordon, Oklahoma City; C. R. Gorman, Bartlesville; Charles P. Gotwals, Muskogee; Edward G. Greber, Tulsa; Fred Greer, Cloud Chief; Victor H. Hale, Tulsa; Mrs. Dorothy Hamman, Elida, New Mexico; John J. Hamre, Arnett; Mrs. Ella F. Harmon, Dewey; Carl C. Harness, San Diego, Calif.; Melvin C. Harrell, Strong City; Elmer L. Harris, Bartlesville; Mrs. Dana G. Hefley, Tulsa; Ray Herndon, Tulsa; Mrs. C. H. Hixson, Shawnee; D. W. Hogan, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Houston W. Holland, Claremore; Louella Huddleston, Purcell; Jim Hughes, Oklahoma City; Myron A. Hurd, Claremore; Sam Ingram, Oklahoma City; D. Jacobson, Tulsa; E. H. Johnson, Tulsa; Robert L. Johnson, Tulsa; Mrs. W. B. Johnson, Ardmore; Cuba Lee Jones, Tulsa; Edwin B. Jones, Jr., Tulsa; Mrs. Ruth Jordan, Cordell; J. W. Kaboth, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Blanche C. Kilpatrick, Elk City; Albert L. King, Weatherford; Milton C. Kirk, Tulsa; Mrs. Charles H. Lamb, Tulsa; Mrs. Marie L. Langford, Tulsa; Raymond Emmet Large, Tulsa; J. C. Laughlin, Ramona; Mrs. Elbert L. Layman, Drumright; H. A. Ledbetter, Norman; Dean W. LeMaster, Tulsa; Jack Leonard, Bartlesville; Leslie W. Lisle, Tulsa; Robert D. Looney, Oklahoma City; Charles E. Loranger, Tulsa; Joe Love, Purcell; Raymond H. Lucas, Howe; George Murphy Lyon, Tulsa; William H. McGill, Washington, D. C.; W. J. McGlasson, Enid; O. A. McGuffee, Chickasha; J. R. McKee, Sand Springs; A. M. McMekin, Tulsa; William H. McMillen, Arlington, Va.; Guy C. McWilliams, Tulsa; Mrs. Bessie Marcum, Ada; Goldie Bell Marshall, Tulsa; Grace S. Martin, Muskogee; Richard Martin, Muskogee; Bert Meacham, Clinton; George Miller, Jr., Oklahoma City; Neil Miller, Tulsa; Lee Mitchell, Dallas, Texas; C. F. Mock, Sr., Altus; R. Place Montgomery, Hobart; Charles A. Moon, Muskogee; Mrs. Carl Wesley Moore, Tulsa; Lena McCurtain Moore, Stigler; Werton D. Moore, Tulsa; R. D. Moseley, Tulsa; Mrs. Betty Bethell Nash, Tulsa; Earl Neal, Tulsa; Laile G. Neal, Ponca City; C. L. Nikkel, Weatherford; Arthur A. Odell, Tulsa; L. V. Orton, Tulsa; Bill Harvey Parrish, Tulsa; Elmer S. Patterson, Norman; Mae Patterson, Duncan; Don H. Pickrell, Tulsa; Earnest C. Pitts, Ponca City; William S. Porter, Fargo; Percy Powers, Mangum; Robert D. Ragland, Rush Springs; John B. Rainbolt, Cordell; Mech L. Richardson, Luling, Texas; Mrs. W. L. Rising, Cashion; Mrs. Simmie Cutler Rose, Honolulu; Bessie Ross, Muskogee; T. G. Sappington, Cloud Chief; Allen R. Shaw, Bartlesville; A. S. J. Shaw, Oklahoma City; R. D. Shaw, Tulsa; Lee Sheaffer, Oklahoma City; Donald M. Sheridan, Oklahoma City; Robert B. Shoemaker, Tulsa; H. A. Skinner, Tulsa; Simeon D. Slaughter, Muskogee; Harold D. Smith, Muskogee; Meda E. Smith, Bartles-

ville; Mrs. O. V. Smith, Sapulpa; Roy Smith, Tulsa; Ferd P. Snider, Muskogee; Edward E. Soule, Oklahoma City; Effie L. Stanfield, McAlester; George W. Stiles, Denver, Colo.; Hugh A. Stokes, Wewoka; W. E. Sunday, Claremore; Frank Taylor, Oklahoma City; Roy C. Tanner, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Florence R. Tarver, Norman; Homer Thompson, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Sophrona Thompson, Anabel, Mo.; Walter A. Thompson, Oklahoma City; George Trudgeon, Purcell; Mrs. Mildred Turk, Ames; T. L. Walkinshaw, Oklahoma City; Coy W. Watson, Mountain Park; Mrs. Sam Watt, Dewey; George H. Weems, Oklahoma City; Mrs. India Rines Weems, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Norma Brooks Weems, Tulsa; Ray O. Weems, Jr., Tulsa; Ray O. Weems III, Tulsa; S. Don Wilson, Norman; Virgil O. Wood, Tulsa.

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.

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 the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, 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. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the editors and the Publication Committee.

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 \$1.00 and include 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 \$25.00. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.



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