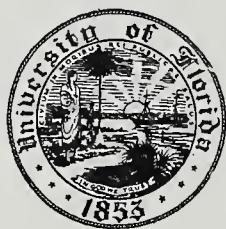


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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

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AMERICAN AIRLINES ALONG THE BUTTERFIELD MAIL ROUTE

By Vernon H. Brown*

INTRODUCTION

The writer of this article is neither a historian nor a lecturer, but an airline pilot who has spent much of his life in the service of transporting the U. S. Mails. His interest in events of the past stems from a curiosity of the more than three million miles of terrain over which he has flown. His work with the youngsters of this country in association with the Boy Scouts of America has made him ever more cognizant of the men and their ideals that have made our country great.

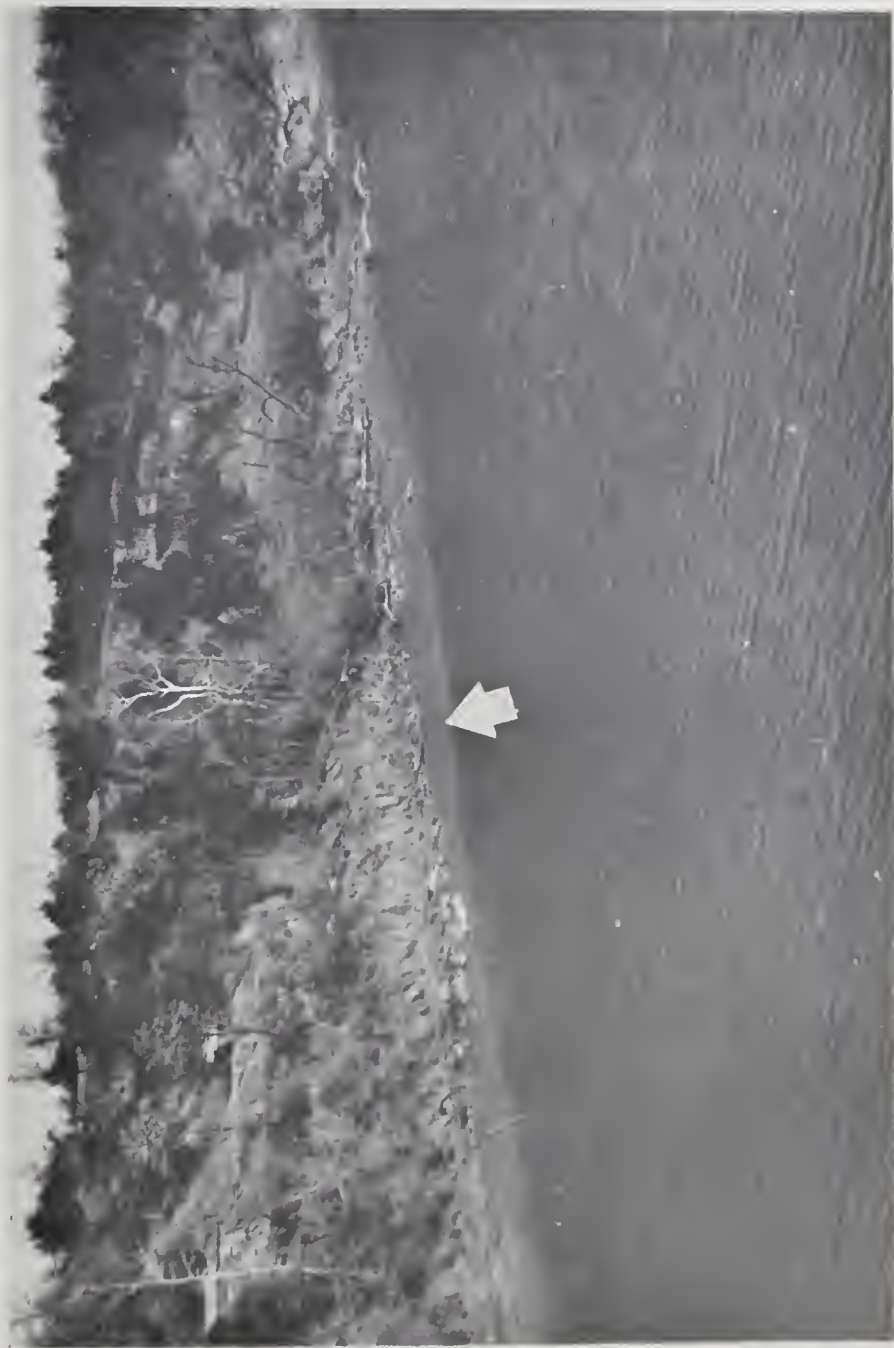
On many occasions, while speeding serenely in the silence of the night, drinking in a beauty known only to the favored few who are privileged to work high in the blue of God's heaven, the writer has often wondered: "What am I putting into this bank of life from which I so freely withdraw? What have I done to justify the wisdom and foresight that men like Washington, Franklin and Jefferson exhibited when they laid the cornerstone around which is built our way of life?" The answer that comes to mind is always the same: to try, in some small way, to interest one's fellow men, particularly the youth, in how a remembrance of the courage and adventure of yesterday's actions will light the pathways to tomorrow's decisions.

The writer's efforts on the Butterfield Overland Mail Route have been mostly through the study and research of the works of many historians of this country, including the works of some from this state. Original work in this field has been limited to the aerial observation of this old trail through the state of Oklahoma and to restoration work in the Trans-Pecos region.

In this work, the writer has leaned heavily on his friends, Mr. and Mrs. Roscoe P. Conkling, who are the greatest living authorities on the entire Butterfield Mail Route. He has had many talks with the Conklings and finds their story of the Butterfield Overland Mail is most fascinating. Their three volume work on the subject is among the most treasured in the writer's library.¹ The exact data

* Vernon H. Brown, Captain, American Airlines, has headquarters at Tulsa. The article contributed here was adapted for publication in *The Chronicles*, from Captain Brown's paper on the Butterfield Mail Route presented at the 1954 meeting of the Oklahoma History Professors' Association at Enid, Oklahoma, December 3, 1954.—Ed.

¹ Roscoe P. Conkling and Margaret B. Conkling, *The Butterfield Overland Mail, 1857-1869* (The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California, 1952), 2 volumes and a bound atlas of folding maps.



(Photo, 1954)

Site of Colbert's Ferry, Chickasaw Nation, north bank of Red River in present Bryan County.



from which the plan was built for the restoration in the Trans-Pecos region were obtained from Mr. Conkling. His broad knowledge of engineering, and experience in archaeology, plus the patience to painstakingly sift fact from fiction, has resulted in the most accurate and complete material available. It is to Roscoe P. and Margaret B. Conkling this paper is most respectfully and earnestly dedicated. The work that has been done would not have been possible without them.

THE WORLD'S LEADING STAGER

Since the day man first trekked through the wilderness ages ago, there has been need for communication. As transportation has progressed through the years from these humble beginnings, like a shadow has communication followed. The two have become almost synonymous.

The transportation of the mail has excited the imagination of mankind for many, many years. There have been volumes written concerning the hardships and glorious deeds of men who have transported the mail, but few lines have had the impact of the simple expressions of Rudyard Kipling's "The Overland Mail." We can take an excerpt from this poem, and with our mind's eye examine the elements that gave birth to the U. S. Post Office slogan, "Neither Rain, nor Snow, nor gloom of night shall stay these carriers of the mail from making their appointed rounds." And to this excellent slogan was added, by the deeds of the pioneer pilots who blazed the air trails over the length and breadth of this great country, the word "winged" to bring the slogan in line with present day transportation. When the winged giants of the air are regularly speeding huge loads of mail from coast to coast to the millions to whom air mail is consigned, the speed has changed but the man—well, one still likes to feel that he must have been about the same kind of fellow as the man who pilots today's airliners.

Today the pilot is every bit as mindful of the darkness, the rain and the tempest. These are two extremes, and the men who came along between times are no less courageous. In fact, the thrilling chapter of the overland mail service could not be complete without a brief sketch of one of the world's leading staggers, Mr. John Butterfield.

John Butterfield was born November 18, 1801 in Albany County, New York. It was during his early childhood on the family farm that young John's interest in stage coaches began to develop. The farmstead was located on a stage coach route, and the youngster soon learned when the stages were due by, and was stationed along side of the road to wave at the drivers and passengers as they whizzed toward their destination. The stage coach offered the ultimate in transportation then and was probably looked on as today's youngster

watches the latest Douglas DC-7 on its departure from the Tulsa airport. As the stage drivers learned to watch for young John he became more and more interested in what lay beyond the next turn of the road or over the next ridge of the Helderberg Mountains, and when one of the drivers blew his long coaching horn as a special salute to the boy, he probably decided then that here was the life for him. He left his home on the farm when he was about nineteen years old, and moved to Albany. His life on the farm had taught him much in the manner of care of animals, and since his life had centered around stage coaches, it followed that young John was soon to be employed as a driver for a livery firm, and in a short time was considered one of the best drivers in Albany. That same year a new stage line was organized to serve Western New York, and John was quickly hired by the new concern. He moved to Utica, and before long was listed as a driver, and later became manager of the Parker Stage Line in Utica.

Farm life in the early Nineteenth Century was hard, and John Butterfield learned early in life the value of a dollar. This early lesson was carried with him to Utica where he lived simply and saved every cent possible. Before another year had passed he had saved enough to purchase a horse and buggy and begin a livery business of his own. In 1822, John Butterfield married Malinda Baker, and they operated a boarding house in conjunction with their livery stable. As the country grew, so grew John Butterfield. His interests extended to other stage coach lines in the area. Soon he held controlling interest in most of the important mail and passenger coach lines in western New York.

As transportation progressed, the stager's business was doomed by the coming of the railroad as it extended its lines through the populated areas to the frontiers. Mr. Butterfield then entered into the express business, but joined forces with his competitors, Mr. Wells and Mr. Fargo, whose names are not new to students of western history, in this new enterprise when serious competition threatened to liquidate the assets of all three men. The new company resulted in the Railway Express Agency which handles all of the express shipments carried today by the scheduled air lines under the name of Air Express.

This was the background of John Butterfield prior to the time when the political and economic situation forced Congress to consider the establishment of a direct route from coast to coast. This was no easy task when the centers of population were east of the Appalachian Mountains, and west of the Rockies with little in between except the formidable Rocky and Sierra Nevada Mountain Ranges with their severe winters to the north and the parched, dry expanse of the great American desert along either route. The problem of supply seemed almost unsurmountable.

The story of the ocean mail and the growth of the recently acquired territories on this continent are, in themselves, an absorbing study that can only be mentioned here. It is worthy of note at this point, however, that the demand for transporting the mail necessitated a special design of steamship, as in later years the same demand necessitated a special design of stage coaches, railroad cars and aircraft. Even in the early effort, one of the first commercial uses contemplated for rockets was the transportation of mail. One sees here how important has been the demand for communication, and its effects on the transportation industry.

Toward the middle of the Nineteenth Century, the easiest way to San Francisco from New York was by a long ocean voyage. The trip around Cape Horn was more than 15,000 miles. The shorter one, via the Isthmus of Panama, was over 6,000 miles. The voyage around Cape Horn took many weeks, and even the shorter route across the Isthmus was not without its hardships and dangers. The letter postage under the Mail Act of 1848 was forty cents. It is interesting to note, by comparison, that the side wheel steamers with auxilliary sails that were designed for this service could with a favoring wind reach a speed of fifteen knots, or more. The great circle distance from New York to San Francisco is less than 3,000 miles, and a DC-7 aircraft with a favoring wind could make the flight in eight hours without even a stop for fuel. Regular air mail postage is now 6 cents per ounce.

The water route of thousands of miles was the situation that existed in the United States when some prospecting miner shouted the magic word "gold" at Sutter's Mill that January day in 1849. Soon the echoes of that cry were heard throughout the country, and the gold rush was on. Laborers, tradesmen and adventurers, both men and women, were preparing to follow Horace Greely's advice to "go west." The demand for an overland mail route within our own borders became imperative.

Congress took the problem under advisement, and in 1857 a mail route was laid out which had the nearest resemblance to a trans-continental route up to this time. It began operation between San Antonio and San Diego on a monthly schedule frequency. This mail firm, known as the Birch Line, was operated under contract to the post office. It was a route that could be described as considerably less than a regularly scheduled system by our standards today. Since the equipment that a passenger must take along for his comfort and protection consisted of the following items as listed in a San Diego paper of the times: "A Sharpe Rifle, a Colts Navy Revolver, one hundred and fifty rounds of ammunition, some blankets, change of clothing, socks, underwear, needles, a brush, soap and plenty of food that did not require much cooking."

The coaches of this company stopped every night and the passengers cooked their own food over an open fire, and slept on the

ground, and in addition, the physical discomfort is indicated by the posters of the Birch firm which specify that the entire trip is made in comfortable horse drawn carriages except for the 100 miles portion west of Ft. Yuma, Arizona, which was conducted on mule back. This route was not very popular as a regularly scheduled link in the transcontinental system being contemplated. It did not serve the centers of population of either of the coasts and a great portion of the country in between. It was said of the Birch Line that "It started in the middle and didn't go anywhere." Be that as it may, the criticism of the post office for not establishing organized lines of communication for passenger and mail service continued, and on September 16, 1857 the contract was signed for what was known at the time as "The Great Overland Mail Contract." Thus began the organization of the most colorful company ever to transport the U. S. Mail, "The Butterfield Overland Mail Company."

Though Mr. Butterfield organized his company and held very close reins on its problems of routing and supply, he himself never went farther west than Ft. Smith, Arkansas. He rode this far on the first west bound stage which was driven by his son, John, who like his father, loved the feel of the rolling coach and the pull of the reins.

An idea of enormous size of the project was evident when we consider that nearly two thousand horses and mules were needed, and, in all probability, this many men were required also. They needed more than one hundred stage coaches of the celerity type; some of the more comfortable types that ran in later years from Ft. Smith, Arkansas through Springfield, to Tipton, Missouri; a large number of freight wagons; hundreds of sets of harnesses; plus hundreds of tons of equipment to supply the relay and home stations, which numbered well over a hundred. At one time the Company even operated its own steamship line in conjunction with its passenger service. All in all it is estimated that the Butterfield Company had spent nearly \$1,000,000.00 by the time the first coaches rolled simultaneously from Tipton, Missouri and San Francisco, California.

THE BUTTERFIELD MAIL ROUTE

The Butterfield Mail Route had two terminal points on its Eastern extremity, both on the Mississippi River. St. Louis, Missouri and Memphis, Tennessee. From St. Louis the mail assigned to the Butterfield Company agent was transported as far as Tipton, Missouri, on the expanding Pacific (now Missouri Pacific) railroad where it was placed aboard a waiting Concord coach for the first leg of the run to Fort Smith where it was to meet with the mails from Memphis. The mails from Memphis were brought overland to Des Arc, Arkansas, on the west bank of the White River, where it was placed on board the stage along with the passengers who had

made an earlier departure to proceed from Memphis via steamboat down the Mississippi and up the White River, rather than make the trip overland through the swamps of Eastern Arkansas.

Wherever possible the old road ran on established trails, but the Butterfield men never failed to lay a new road where a short cut would save valuable time. Its contract specified that the mail must be delivered in twenty-five days. Later records indicate that this time was often beaten. The road was considered somewhat of an engineering masterpiece by those who have used it. Even when it crossed mountains its grade was slight, and as near a straight line as terrain and the necessity of obtaining water would permit. The Butterfield Trail, as it was sometimes referred to, continued across the southeastern part of the state of Oklahoma stopping at the homes of prominent citizens of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations for change of horses and for meals.

The practice of using private dwellings for relay stations was used where possible, but the Butterfield Company was forced to build and maintain its own stations farther west. Across the Llano Estacado, the stations were of the stone fortress type necessary for the protection of the Butterfield employees and stock from the depredations of the Plains Indians. The stages were not molested in this area presumably because of the speed and stamina of the sleek, fat, grain fed horses in comparison with the grass fed ponies ridden by the Indians.

Beyond the great Staked Plains the old mail road wound its way through the ruggedly beautiful Guadalupe Canyon. Just east of the canyon site the ruins of the Pinery Station built by Silas St. John, who was nearly killed during the construction of another Butterfield fort type station a little farther on west at Dragoon Springs, Arizona. The ruins of Pinery Station sit in the shadows of the towering majestic Guadalupe Peak, the highest point in the state of Texas, whose summit was said to be visible to early day immigrants for almost a week before it was reached.

Today, the passengers on American Airlines southern trans-continental flight can still see it more than a hundred and fifty miles away on a clear day. Old Guadalupe has looked down from its lofty position on travelers for many years. Evidence has indicated that man has occupied the caves and had drunk from the sparkling springs around its base for generations. Early Spanish explorers have been said to have traveled the foot trails through Guadalupe Canyon that were ancient when Christopher Columbus played as a boy in his native Genoa.

The Butterfield Route continued on to El Paso where it entered the city from the northeast. The airline pilot can follow its tracks from the Hueco tanks to the boundaries of the Anderson Airport where it disappears beneath the very runways that he lands on today. On west of El Paso, the road runs very closely to the airway,

and many an air traveler has looked down on the spring where Silas St. John was nearly murdered almost a hundred years ago. The old trail continues along the base of Rincon fly and in to Tucson. The American Airlines' flights that are not bound for Phoenix fly very nearly over the road all the way to the point west of San Diego where the old road turns north westerly to Los Angeles. American Airlines' people think of Los Angeles as a major terminal, whereas the Butterfield Company gave only a way station status to this sleepy little village of Spanish descent that lay basking in the southern California sunshine more than twenty-five miles from the shores of the beautiful blue Pacific Ocean. American Airlines' route from Los Angeles to San Francisco lies just to the west of that of the Butterfield Mail Route, nearly coinciding with it as they reach the city.

Guadalupe Pass was a hazardous section of roadway for the driver of the Butterfield stages, so it was for the explorer before him. Along the side of the road through the canyon is the grave of Jose Marcia Polancia. Polancia was a guide for the Longstreet expedition that was operating in the area several years before the coming of the Butterfield Company. Guadalupe Pass, guarded by El Capitan seven thousand feet high and its big brother to the north, Guadalupe Peak, whose summit towers nearly nine thousand feet above sea level, has been looked upon by the pioneer pilots of American Airlines with much respect for many years. The history of aviation has recorded several unfortunate instances along its steep slopes, and it has been the hope of some of America's older pilots that a memorial could be erected in the area in memory of those who have passed this way before. It was with this thought in mind that American Airlines first became interested in the Guadalupe area. It was the thought of two far-seeing pioneering executives of this company, Mr. C. R. Smith, President, and Mr. O. M. Mosier, Senior Vice President, and a pioneer air pilot in his own right, that a small plaque should be placed at, or near, the summit of Guadalupe Peak, and that a shaft or arch should be placed alongside of the roadway where the story of the pioneers could be told. Upon learning of the amazing parallel of the Butterfield route to the structure of American Airlines system they became interested in restoring the ruins of the Piney Station in its entirety. Fortunately, the ruins are situated almost beside U. S. Highway No. 62, and are the only ruins of any of the Butterfield stations to be adjacent to a major highway.

In a further study of the Butterfield route, it was determined that American Airlines is the only carrier of the United States mail ever to serve all of the terminal points and the way stations of the Butterfield route that have air mail service today with the exception of Fort Smith, Arkansas and Ft. Yuma, Arizona. The shadows of the flagships are cast daily on these two cities as they wing their way over to serve the larger metropolitan areas nearby.

On April 2, 1954, a small, stainless steel plaque was placed near the top of Guadalupe Peak. The plaque is on a limestone outcropping that faces the southeast where it can catch the first glimmering rays of sunlight as each new day is dawning to reflect the rays back over the rocky canyons of the Guadalupe where the courses of the early carriers of the mail coincide thousands of feet below. To add a touch to the plaque, there was mounted a bronze American Airlines insignia from the interior of one of their DC-7 aircraft with an engraved block in the eagle's talons carrying the words, "Dedicated to the memory of the pioneer pilots of American Airlines, Inc." and the date.²

The land upon which the Pinery ruins stand have been acquired by American Airlines through the kindness and courtesy of its former owners, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Glover, upon whose ranch the old mail road runs, and Mr. J. C. Hunter of Abilene, Texas. The plans that were formulated by American Airlines for the dedication of its Piney restoration have now been incorporated into, and made a part of the Overland Mail Centennial Celebration program of the Trans-Pecos Sub-Committee. They have already begun to collect articles of clothing, stage coaches, harness and other necessary props for their part in the celebration. This important aspect of the celebration is being expedited by Sir Cleofas Caleros, who was recently knighted by the Spanish government for his work in preserving the history of the area. American Airlines, through its Guadalupe Memorial Committee, is working closely with Sir Cleo and his West Texas group.

American Airlines further interest in this project was excited when it was considered how much the future of our country is dependent on the principle that brought this vast operation into being. The principle of free enterprise and competition which must be protected and encouraged. Certainly the creative ingenuity and indomitable courage of the Yankee, John Butterfield, is truly American, for without him, and men like him, this system of government could not exist. "The Butterfield Trail" blazed an exciting chapter in pages of the history of the U. S. Mail, and left a vivid imprint on the minds of generations to follow as these centennial programs will attest.

Besides being dedicated to American Airlines pioneer pilots, this memorial will perpetuate the rich, colorful history of one of our

² The plans for the remaining portion of the pilot's memorial are dormant at the present time, but the architectural plan, the design work, and the specifications have been completed. The detail and working drawings have been printed, and are now ready for the stone mason to take over. The plans call for straightening up the remains of the old wall and tying it in with the new construction so as to preserve it. The only removal of the original stones will be to flash the old wall with a copper flashing before they are to be replaced. The entire site will be enclosed in a masonry wall topped with steel fencing arranged in such manner to enhance the beauty of the restoration without changing the character and fundamental simplicity of the old stone fort.

country's earliest crossroads and that of the great southwest, and in addition will recall to memory a milestone in the field of transporting the U.S. Mail by private enterprise. It is truly a salute from one pioneer to another, a new interpretation of service by America's leading airline.

THROUGH OKLAHOMA

On September 19, 1858, around 3:00 a. m. a brightly painted "celerity wagon" forded the Poteau River from the foot of South E Street in Fort Smith, Arkansas into Indian Territory.³ This was the first run of the Butterfield Overland Mail. There was only one through passenger, Mr. L. Waterman Ormsby, a reporter for the *New York Herald*. The celerity wagon was an especially designed coach that could take the rough mountain roads with safety. They were lower than the famous old Concord coaches built by the J. S. Abbot and Sons Company in Concord, New Hampshire that were also used by the Butterfield Line. The wheels were set rather far apart and were protected by wide steel rims to prevent them from sinking into the soft sand found along the road. The celerity wagon carried about nine passengers and their baggage, and was constructed in such a manner that the seats could be lowered to make sleeping space inside. An interesting parallel that was noted in the Butterfield Company posters was that each passenger was allowed only forty pounds of luggage. Exactly the same amount that is allowed by the scheduled airlines today.

The first stop in Indian Territory was at the home of Tandy Walker, who later became a colonel in the Confederate States Army. Walker was a Choctaw Indian who lived at the agency town of Skullyville, and later served as governor of the Choctaw Nation. The Walker home is gone now. It was destroyed by fire on September 12, 1947, almost eighty-nine years to the day that the first Butterfield stage passed that way.⁴ All that is visible today are the foundation stones among the huge trees that surround the place. A small cemetery is located nearby in which rest the last earthly remains of these early settlers in this vicinity.

Leaving Walker's, the celerity wagon rumbled off to the southwest along the old mail road toward the present town of Red Oak, Oklahoma. The course of the old mail road is followed very closely by the county road serving this section today. From Red Oak the old mail road continued on to the west and southwest, where it is still followed in places by present day county roads, to Geary's Stand,

³ Muriel H. Wright, "Historic Places on the Old Stage Line from Fort Smith to Red River," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (June, 1933). This article has a map showing the location of the Butterfield Stage Stands along the route through Southeastern Oklahoma.

⁴ Governor Tandy Walker's home at Skullyville was the old Choctaw Agency building erected in 1832.—Ed.

near present Stringtown, just a few miles above Atoka. It entered the area from the northeast. Sections of the old road can be seen in this area today from the air since some portions of it are still being used by local folk.

The towns that sprang up along the early roads became thriving communities on the railroads and highways. Even today the airline passenger winging his way between Dallas and Tusla flies over portions of the route south of McAlester, and in some places the deep grooves worn by the steel rimmed wheels of the speeding coaches and heavy freighters are made visible by the erosion of the soil along the abandoned sections.

From Geary's, the passengers probably noted that their trip was a little easier now as the rough rocky roads over the Boston Mountains and between the Winding Stair and the San Bois mountains were left behind. The stage rolled swiftly across the prairies to Old Boggy Depot just to the west-southwest of Atoka. Before railroad construction passed it by, Boggy Depot was one of the most important trading posts in the territory. Mr. Ormsby reported that there were even painted houses there which must have been a sight worth noting. Reverend Allen Wright, who gave the name Oklahoma for the Indian Territory (1866), lived there. The Wright residence stood until 1952 when it was destroyed by fire. The old town has completely disappeared, with the cemetery and a few foundation and chimney stones left to mark the once thriving center. Boggy Depot had grown up around a public square as had many other towns of the day. It was the center of most of the trade with nearby Ft. Washita, a military base whose establishment was occasioned by the warlike Plains Indians in the western part of the territory.

Leaving Boggy Depot, the old mail route turns almost due south. The next station was located on the Blue River. This station was known as the Nail House, owned by the pioneer Nail family, who lived west of present day Caddo, Oklahoma. The Nail house is the only log station house that was used by the Butterfield Company in Oklahoma that is still standing. It is quite possible that it is the only log station that was actually used by the Butterfield Company that is standing today. A short distance from the Nail House are the earth works of old Fort McCullough.

Nearing Red River, the old road follows generally a southerly course to a point on the Red River just to the south of the present town of Colbert. The ferry was operated by Frank Colbert, a Chickasaw Indian who transported the first Butterfield coaches across the sluggish river free of charge,⁵ thereby establishing a new route to Texas for the wheels of commerce that follow the advancement of

⁵ Grant Foreman, "The California Mail Route through Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 3 (September, 1931), p. 313. Frank Colbert continued operation of his ferry on Red River by franchise from the Chickasaw Legislature, approved October 18, 1859.—Ed.

new lines of transportation. Thus, the state of Oklahoma saw the future of our country on parade as the West really began to grow in earnest. Oklahoma's coal mines provided the Butterfield blacksmith with coal for his forges. Other blacksmiths who pounded out the hundreds of horse and mule shoes, wagon fittings, tools and other equipment necessary to transport a civilization, found supplies here. Oklahoma served the transportation industry then, as now, with essential products. Tomorrow's jet transport will be dependent on Oklahoma's oil as the Butterfield Overland Mail was on its coal for the blacksmith forge.

The first coach arrived at Colbert's ferry at 9:50 a.m. on September 20, 1858. The leader of the parade to come took about thirty hours to cross Oklahoma.⁶

OVERLAND MAIL CELEBRATION

After plans were begun for the Pinery restoration, the writer was advised that The American Association for State and Local History had passed a resolution to create a National Committee with Dr. H. Bailey Carroll, prominent Texas historian and editor (Austin, Texas), serving as Chairman. Dr. Carroll in turn appointed sub-committees in the states of Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, Oklahoma,⁷ Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, and a Trans-Pecos sub-committee for West Texas.

The first meeting for the Oklahoma Committee was held on November 24, 1953, in the offices of the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City. At this meeting preliminary plans were laid down for the Oklahoma portion of the Overland Mail Centennial program, the date for this portion scheduled to coincide with Oklahoma's Semi-Centennial Celebration in 1958. The plans further called for the marking of the old Overland Mail Route within the borders of this state as the Committee's resources would permit. A public appreciation program was initiated on September 19, 1954, with feature articles in *The Daily Oklahoman* and the *Tulsa World*. During August of this year, the first flights were made along the old stage line road between Stringtown and Colbert's Ferry, and the

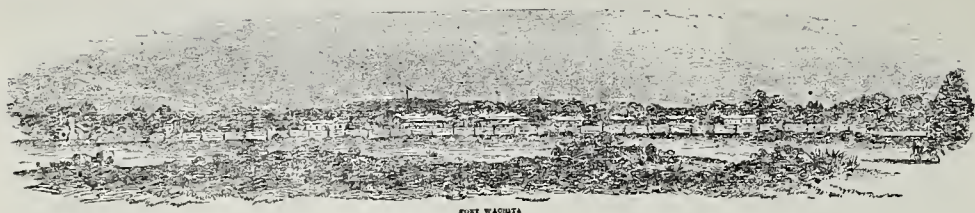
⁶ The official list of Butterfield Stage Stands in Oklahoma were as follows: *Walker's*, near Spiro, Le Flore County; *Trahern's*, near Latham, Le Flore County; *Holloway's* (The Narrows), northeast of Red Oak, Latimer County; *Riddle's*, near Lutie, Latimer County; *Pulsey's*, near Higgins, Latimer County; *Blackburn's*, about six miles southeast of Blanco, Pittsburg County; *Waddell's*, near Wesley, Atoka County; *Geary's*, near Stringtown, Atoka County; *Boggy Depot*, site of Old Boggy Depot, Atoka County; *Nail's*, crossing on Blue River west of Caddo, Bryan County; *Fisher's*, vicinity old Carriage Point (head of Island Bayou) west of Durant, Bryan County; *Colbert's Ferry*, near Colbert, Bryan County.—Ed.

⁷ The Oklahoma Sub-Committee is composed of Captain V. H. Brown, American Airlines, Chairman; Dr. W. E. Hollon, University of Oklahoma; Dr. E. E. Dale, University of Oklahoma; Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Oklahoma A. and M. College; Dr. Charles Evans and Miss Muriel H. Wright, of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

part of the road that was visible was photographed. All that is left of Old Boggy Depot was the subject of interest for several minutes of film shots. Another photo reconnaissance flight⁸ was on December 18, 1954, when film shots were made of the ruins of Old Fort Washita and the earthworks at Fort McCulloch in the vicinity of the old stage line road, and of the location of Waddell's Stand. Two television shows have been booked for 1955 in the Committee's public relations program, one of which was presented over WKY-TV on March 6 from 1:00 to 1:30 p.m., in the show "Through the Open Window," with the theme built around the story of the Overland Mail Route through Oklahoma.

In retrospect, we must admit that the state of Oklahoma has witnessed in its history a colorful pageant as an expanding empire conquered the frontier. Yet the frontier is not lost, for while new ones are being sought, we like our grandfathers must keep alive the thrilling adventure and blazing glory of yesteryear.

⁸ This flight was made by Dr. W. E. Hollon, Mr. Wayne Rock (official photographer from O.U.), Captain V. H. Brown as pilot and Muriel H. Wright as navigator on a Piper Cub (new Tri-Pacer) plane, leaving Will Rogers Field, Oklahoma City, at 9:30 a.m. and returning at 3:00 p.m.—Ed.



MAIL CALL AT FORT WASHITA

*By George H. Shirk**

The methods and means of warfare have changed greatly during the past century, but the nature of the individuals called upon to serve as soldiers has not kept pace in such a speedy evolution. The officers and G.I.s of our army were the same then as they are now. Their hopes and fears, their interest in the gossip and the rumors of the post, their likes and dislikes all are unchanged, and modern day bill-boards urging us to "write to the man in the service" say nothing new. All soldiers and their families, then as now, need and enjoy mail call, and mail call is the one certain place to learn the very latest of the happenings in and around the post and what is going on elsewhere in the service.

Fort Washita had been established in 1842, and by 1850 had become one of the most important frontier posts. From it troops went forth to establish several other camps and stations. A neat row of officers quarters had been constructed along one side of the central quadrangle, and the wives of the officers brought the means of family life to this far off place. One of the officers to be stationed there was Lieutenant Clinton W. Lear.¹ He had married a New Orleans belle, Mary Kearney, who had accompanied her husband, now with three year's commissioned service, to his duty station in the West.

He had been stationed at Fort Towson, and Mary had been there with him. In the Spring of 1850, anticipating perhaps her husband's pending change of station to San Antonio she had decided to go back to New Orleans for a visit at home, taking along the new arrival, named for his proud father. Mailed at Shreveport on April 21st, it is not hard to guess the pleasure mail call was for Lieutenant Lear at Fort Towson, when an anxiously awaited letter came with news from Mary. She wrote:

* The originals of these interesting letters are in the author's Oklahoma collection, except the letter of 21 June 1850, which is from the collection of Hon. Harry J. Lemley, of Hope, Arkansas. All footnotes on biographical references are from Francis Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army 1789-1903* (Washington 1903).—Ed.

¹ Clinton W. Lear, of Alabama. Appt. 2nd Lieut. 5th Inf. 3 March 1847; 1st Lieut. 30 April 1849; Died 26 October 1854.

Near Shreveport, Thursday

April 18, 1850

My dear dear husband

I will commence by telling you that Clinton has been a most excellent boy, he has slept the greater part of every day, and been very good every night, only asking once, or twice, each night to nurse, he has been perfectly free from cholera until yesterday afternoon and a little while this morning; while I am dressing for breakfast, he lies in the berth laughing and looking up in my face to see if I notice him. We have six ladies on board and they are all very kind. The chambermaid is also very good, she washes Clinton's diapers as fast as he uses them, and holds him when I go to my meals.

Mrs. Madison² looks much better, and is quite cheerful, more so than I have ever seen her, tell the Doctor his baby is the picture of health.

Tell Mrs. Marcy there are two ladies on board she met in Clarksville, Mrs. and Miss Harrison. They are very agreeable, and inquired after her. Clinton is crying to be nursed, and as Mrs. Madison is so kind as to let Elizabeth hold him while I am writing this, I must close with love to all, and my whole heart, and a thousand kisses for yourself. From your truly affectionate wife,

Mary

P.S. The boat shakes so I can scarcely form a letter, we have excellent eating on board. Turkeys, geese, chicken, beef, and pork, every day. Do take good care of yourself.

Clinton sends many sweet kisses to his dear papa. Yours truly Mary.

Do not expose yourself unnecessarily for the sake of one who loves you more than life.

Mary.

Back at Fort Towson, Clinton was eager for any word from Mary and the youngster, and he was prompt in each reply. In June, he wrote to Mary at New Orleans:

Fort Towson, C. N.

June 21st 1850

My Dear Wife,

I was sadly disappointed last night at not getting a letter from you as I had so fondly hoped, tho' I know full well that the fault is not yours, as I am perfectly convinced that you write two or three times a week. I wrote you a very hurried letter yesterday the brevity of which you must pardon, for I was most of the day engaged with my Quarter Master's papers which I was so troubled about, Thank Heaven they are now on their way to Washington and we are perfectly balanced. Every cent with which I was entrusted accounted for. My mind is relieved of a very heavy anxiety, and I am no longer in dread of bringing misery upon you and our little pet. That thought almost run me mad for a time, I cared not for myself, but my fears were all for you and our child.

I have been somewhat sad nearly all day, the thought that I am about starting on a long march of 30 or 35 days during which time I shall not hear from you and Clinton is sufficient to make me sad and melancholy. To compensate for this, I have the anticipation of improving in health, as I always do on a march, and of having you with me at the end of that time. May God so will it.

² Wife of Dr. Thomas C. Madison, of Virginia. Dr. Madison was appt. Asst. Surgeon 27 Feb. 1840; Surgeon 29 August 1856; resigned 17 August 1861.

I feel at times as tho' I could not possibly wait 'til then, and am half inclined to quit the army immediately and fly to you. This separation is cruel indeed, but as it cannot be avoided we must try and bear it with firmness, and seek consolation in the sweet reflection that we love each other more than tongue can tell, or more than pen can trace. Would to Heaven I had the power of language sufficient to express one half my devotion. But such was never intended, and I know I am beloved by you as fully, as deeply and as sincerely than do my own. Sweet one, try and be contented until I can come to you or send for you, which I shall do as soon as I reach San Antonio.

I must ask God to bless you and our little Clinton and kiss you both Good Night. Oh! If I only had the Daguerreotype I could then gaze upon that face and kiss those lips I love so much.
Friday night.

Capt. Lynde³ arrived here with his company from Gibson today. Mrs. L and family did not accompany him, they are going north.

Capt. Marcy⁴ leaves on Tuesday for Gibson and I suppose we shall be on our march in a week. I shall have many regrets upon leaving this spot where we have been so happy together, the only consoling reflection which I can indulge is that we shall be nearer each other than we are now.

The weather has been quite settled and I hope we shall have a pleasant march to San Antonio, tho' it is a very long one 540 or 560 miles. It will occupy 35 days, and during the whole of that time I shall not hear from you. Oh, how anxious I shall be about you and Clinton. May God guide and guard you through all ills and may He restore you to me in fine health and joyous spirits.

I shall write from every post office on the route, so that you may not suffer the intense anxiety which I shall have to do from necessity. I have been compelled to sell two decanters and the rocking chair for \$12. I was afraid to attempt to carry the chair for fear of breaking it, and I assure you it was with very great reluctance that I parted with it. The recollections of our having been seated in it together so often, and I hesitated several days before I could entertain the thought for a moment. The decanters I sold because we had more than we wanted and those I sold were slightly broken.

The hair mattress I shall sew up in a piece of canvas and take with me
Saturday night.

How, my dear sweet wife, can I express my gratitude for your kind letters dated 3rd and 9th Inst. which I have just received. They are both good long letters breathing in every line deep devotion such as none can express who do not feel deeply what they write. May God in Heaven bless you my sweet one for such unrestricted attention to your devoted husband. If I ever wrote in such a tone as would lead you to infer that I doubted you it was in the agony and anguish of deep and bitter disappointment, at a time when I was crazed when I scarcely had sufficient reason left to view anything except through a medium discolored by fear and apprehension. Pardon me for introducing such a subject in my letter. I did it to give you the strongest proof of my deep devotion and undivided love. May Heaven always protect me and deter me from giving way to desires

³ Isaac Lynde, of Vermont. Grad. West Point 1 July 1827; 1st Lieut. 18 Feb. 1836; Captain 1 Jan. 1839; Major 18 Oct. 1853; Dropped 25 Nov. 1861; Restored to duty 27 Nov. 1866; Died 10 April 1886.

⁴ Randolph Barnes Marcy, of Mass. Grad. West Point 1 July 1832; 1st Lieut. 22 June 1837; Captain 18 May 1846; Brig. Gen. Volunteers 23 Sept. 1861; Brig. Gen. U. S. Army 13 March 1865; retired 2 Jan. 1881; Died 22 November 1886.

that kind which too often disturb me. I would not for worlds give way to them.

It fills my heart with grief to learn that you have suffered so much from sickness since you left me, and you have again suffered with bilious cholic. Would to God I had been with you to nurse you, to rub you, to hold you, and to kiss your burning forehead. It makes me sad to think how you suffered with the cholic. Be careful, do not expose yourself to disease, take particular care of your health for my sake, for our child's sake and for our sake. I shall obey very strictly your injunctions as to my clothing, diet, and believe me, I shall never expose myself unnecessarily to the Indians but should my duty require it rest assured you and my child shall not have cause to be ashamed of my conduct. I shall endeavor to preserve untarnished the name which my child is to bear, and if I fail it will be a consolation to you both to know that you have a name which has more than once been the theme of praise and admiration. But I do not anticipate any probability of such a misfortune as my failing.

I received your letter dated 13th May and sent by the Texas hiway. It came too late for me to send the forks to your Ma as you wished. I would do so now but there is no opportunity at all. I hope she may be able to get along without them. I am glad you received my letter directed to Shreveport, it shows you how very anxious I was not to have you exposed to contact with strangers.

I was deeply pained to hear of the death of Martin Kennedy's child. May he and Mary receive consolation in the case of the little newcomer.

I am delighted to hear such a good account of our dear pet. He is so good and you give me all the credit. Now I am inclined to think that it is not attributable to my treatment at all but on the contrary it is all inherited from his dear sweet Momma. He has all you amiability and goodness and although I do not wish him to have my outrageous temper I am anxious he should have his share, a pretty big share which I doubt not he will have. I wish I were with you to lie on the mat and play with my Clinton, to tease him a little, pinch his nose.

As to self destruction, my own dear wife, I would never have harbored for one moment such an idea in my sane moments. I must have been perfectly beside myself. Oh! no, I could not bear to leave you and Clinton in any way, much less could I think of cutting myself off from you for ever and ever. Oh no, believe me, that such a thought is foreign to my notion, and I would only entertain it in moments of deepest despondency amounting to insanity.

You write that your letters are repetitions and repetitions. I could read forever repetitions of such deep devotion, such affection. It does not lose by being frequently reiterated. I have sat over the table so much today, assisting Mr. Myers⁵ with his papers that I have a severe pain in my right side. I must therefore close. Good night my sweet wife. I go to bed to dream of you.

Sunday morning. The mess is broken up and Messrs. Farrelly,⁶ Wright,⁷ English,⁸ Dr. Briggs (our Doctor) and myself are about starting a mess,

⁵Frederic Myers, of Virginia. Grad. West Point 1 July 1846; 1st Lieut. 7 October 1848; Bvt. Brig. Gen. 13 March 1865 for meritorious service during Rebellion; Died 7 July 1874.

⁶Patrick Farrelly, of Pennsylvania. Grad. West Point 1 July 1845; 1st Lieut. 9 Dec. 1847; Died 4 August 1851.

⁷Thomas Wright, of Georgia. Grad. West Point 1 July 1849; Died 12 October 1857.

⁸Thomas C. English, of Pennsylvania. Grad. West Point 1 July 1849; 2nd Lieut. 5th Inf. 31 July 1850; Lieut. Col. Volunteers 19 April 1862; Died 10 June 1876.

so as to have something to eat for dinner, I am the *caterer*, have tongue, broiled chicken, pickles and vegetables for dinner. I can pay my mess bill with hams and tongues, so you see what we have shall not be thrown away. We have a soldier to work for us.

You ought to see the metamorphosis which our rooms have undergone within the last week. The carpets I have sewn up in a piece of a tent, with the pillows off one bed, and packed away. The hair mattress and rugs I have had sewed up in the same material doubled. This will have to be thrown on top of the load on the wagon. I am sleeping on a cot under my cotton mattress and a pillow covered with *red* curtain material, similar to Mrs. Madison's, which I found in one of your trunks. Mr. Seward's cotton sheets, Your bolster I have packed in the train together with valances and curtains. I hope they go safely and not be damaged.

I enclose you a literary curiosity, a letter received last night from Mr. Seward.⁹ You will discover that he is going to Europe. His letter is short and to the point. It has created great amusement among us.

Mr. Myers left this morning for Gibson to assume the duties of Regtl. Quarter Master. I do not envy him. It is certain I would not get along with old Belknap.¹⁰

The Col.¹¹ has not been able to dispose of any of his furniture. No person will buy from them. They ask \$50 for the bedstead which originally cost but \$40, although Mrs. A. tells everybody that it cost \$100, and they expect extravagant prices for everything. This they cannot get.

Did I tell you that Capt. Marcy bought Andrew and Mary. \$1200 cash. The way is this, Andrew and Mary pay \$600 themselves, and they are to remain with Capt. M. until they shall have refunded him \$600. He allows them \$18 per month, which will enable them to free themselves in 3 years. Mr. Myers I believe is interested, he will have Andrew and the Captain, Mary.

I shall sell your saddle for \$18 just what I gave for it. The cow I can get but \$12 for, a loss of \$8.00. I must close to all. Kisses to our dear boy and my sweet wife, accept for yourself the deep devotion of your idolizing husband. May God bless you and give you good health and cheerful spirits, and may He grant us a speedy reunion. Goodbye.

Your own devoted husband

Clinton

I enclose you \$20 a bank bill No. 4595 Mechanics and Traders Bank New Orleans. It will be of use to you, and I do not need it. I would send you more now if I had the bills, but the money I have here is all gold \$100.

Your loving husband

Clinton

⁹ Augustus H. Seward, of New York. Grad. West Point 1 July 1847; 1st Lieut. 5th Inf. 30 April 1853; Colonel 11 Nov. 1865; Died 11 Sept. 1876. Lieut. Seward was stationed at Fort Towson for the years 1848 to 1850.

¹⁰ Brig. Gen. William Goldsmith Belknap. For a biography of General Belknap, see Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "General William Goldsmith Belknap" *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 2 (June 1942).

¹¹ The reference is to Col. John J. Abercrombie, of Tennessee. Grad. West Point 1 July 1822; 1st Lieut. 26 Sept. 1828; Captain 4 Sept. 1836; Bvt. Major 25 Dec. 1837; Bvt. Lieut. Col. 23 Sept. 1846; Bvt. Brig. Gen. 12 June 1865; Died 3 Jan. 1877.

The "literary curiosity" was a letter from Lieutenant A. H. Seward, a brother officer recently stationed at Towson. Seward was the son of William H. Seward, then a United States Senator from New York, and later Secretary of State under President Lincoln. Lieutenant Seward wrote from Auburn, New York, his father's home:

May 18th 1850

Dear Lear,

I take this opportunity of writing to you. I leave home for Washington tomorrow and from there go to Europe for six months. Remember me kindly to all,

Your affectionate friend

A. H. Seward

Although short and to the point, Clinton thought the letter of enough worth to send it along for Mary to read, so that she too would know of the doings of their mutual friend.

Fred Myers, a good friend of the Lear's, left for Fort Gibson before he knew the outcome of Lieutenant Lear's difficulties with his accounts, as we shall see from a letter he wrote to Clinton at San Antonio. Fred was not to stay at Gibson for long, however.

Soon after Clinton left Towson for his march to San Antonio, orders came through for Captain Marcy, whose wife Mary was a popular member of the garrison family, to move farther west and establish a new post. Marcy knew the country in question from his travels of the year before, and so selected a site near the Great Canadian, to be known as Camp Arbuckle. Company D of the Fifth Infantry was ordered to proceed to Marcy's proposed new location, and there build the post. Fred Myers was one of the two junior officers designated for a transfer to the new post. The surgeon for the new establishment was Rodney Glisan, who has left for us today the best known account of the garrison destined to be so short lived. Under date of April 2nd, 1851, Dr. Glisan wrote:¹²

"Our command, consisting of Company D, Fifth Infantry, lived in tents until last December, when the expected orders for changing our location not having arrived, we hastily constructed rude log cabins for winter quarters. These are one story high, with floors of puncheons, and roofs of clapboards, in lieu of shingles. The chinks, or spaces between the logs, are filled in with strips of wood, on which is spread, both within and without, mud mixed with straw. Our chimneys are constructed of short pieces of puncheons, and are well plastered inside and out with a kind of clayer loam. The men occupy a long building about twenty-five by two hundred feet, divided into about four rooms, besides the kitchen. They sleep on rude bunks, made of split logs and clapboards, placed two and a half feet from the floor. There are four of these log huts for the commissioned officers."

A letter from there, written by Lieutenant Myers to Clint Lear at San Antonio about completes our scant knowledge of the place:

¹² Rodney Glisan, *Journal of Army Life* (San Francisco, 1874) pp. 51-2. Dr. Glisan was a native of Maryland, appointed Assistant Surgeon 2 May 1850.



AN ARMY CAMP BEYOND THE BORDER.

(From Glisan)

Camp Arbuckle near the Canadian River. Site near Byars in McClain County.

Camp Arbuckle
Sept 23rd 1850

Dear Clinton

Where the devil is Camp Arbuckle you may say, and for fear that you may be guilty of making use of such naughty words and you a Father of a family I will tell you. In the first place firstly it is on the Canadian, near Choteaus old trading house, seventy four measured miles from Fort Washita and 178 from Fort Smith, beautiful situation but I am afraid before this reaches you we will be in Texas as we have had orders to stop building, and information that the Post will be changed, probably on Cache Creek.

Received your letter dated 30th July yesterday, wrote you from Gibson giving you the particulars of resignation. You did not tell me in your letter whether your pay was still stopped or not. I have your pay accts, did not give them to Denkler. Neal¹³ has received his promotion and is now at Washita, by the way that is our Post Office wherever we go. I was at Washita last week. Whitall¹⁴ received a letter from Texas, he

¹³ Thomas H. Neill, of Pennsylvania. Grad. West Point 1 July 1847; 1st Lieut. 31 July 1850; Captain 1 April 1857; Brig Gen. Volunteers 29 Nov. 1862; Major Gen. Volunteers 13 March 1865; Died 12 March 1885.

¹⁴ John A. Whitall, of Washington, D.C. Appt. 2nd Lieut. 1 August 1838; 1st Lieut. 8 June 1845; Captain 11 Sept. 1847; Bvt. Lieut. Col. 13 March 1865; Died 31 March 1866.

says that on his way to Washington via New York he heard that Norvell¹⁵ was breathing his last at West Point, went up to see him, found he was getting better and was not going to die. Taps was taken very sick in Phila and could not yet go on, he met a Lt Garland¹⁶ son of the Genl¹⁷ who is about to marry into the Beal family, he told him that the family were well acquainted with the performances of their beautiful son-in-law and that they intended to take his wife home and let him go to the devil. Col Thomas adjt Genl told his (Garlands) Father that he (Billy) never could get back again, thank God. Abbott¹⁸ received a letter from Seward, he was to sail the 7th August for Europe, would go to Rome. He would be back in Feby 1850, wished him to write so he would know where to find his company on his return. Had a letter from Hamilton¹⁹ he is not going to resign. I hear Capt. Chapman²⁰ has gone on 1 months leave. A report at Washita²¹ is that Genl Belknap is in arrest, disobedience of orders. Our company is to be 84 strong half mounted. I am sorry to hear that Wright has left us. I think now he has gone to California.²² I will make another deuce set at Miss Susan. By the way when you write Mrs. Lear give her my best respects, tell her Mrs. Marcy is at Washita and is quite well. Capt returned from there yesterday.

Neally²³ is in coventry again, has a common [woman] living with him. I send this letter via Fort Gibson by favorable conveyance. Give my respects to the Col and his family. Pot, English, and Wright should be there and all others you may hear enquiring after me.

Yours truly

Fred Myers

Fort Washita remained the center of gravity for the military of the area, sending out various detachments to establish the newly required posts. The next spring General Belknap, who had succeeded General Arbuckle²⁴ as commander of the Seventh Military Depart-

¹⁵ Spencer Norvell, of Michigan. Appt. 2nd Lieut. 20 Oct. 1838; Died 12 August 1850. Thus their friend, Spencerr Norvell, was dead at the time of Fred Meyer's letter.

¹⁶ Robert R. Garland, of Virginia. Appt. 2nd Lieut. 30 Dec. 1847; Dropped 23 May 1861; Colonel, Texas Volunteers, CSA.

¹⁷ John Garland, of Virginia. Appt. 1st Lieut. 31 March 1813; Bvt. Brig. Gen. 20 August 1847; Died 5 June 1861.

¹⁸ Edward F. Abbott, of Ohio. Grad. West Point 1 July 1847; 1st Lieut. 4 August 1851; Resigned 31 Dec. 1854; Died 1 Feb. 1901.

¹⁹ Charles S. Hamilton, of New York. Grad. West Point 1 July 1843; 1st Lieut. 30 June 1847; Bvt. Captain 20 August 1847; Resigned 30 April 1853; Col. Wis. Volunteers 11 May 1861; Brig. Gen. Volunteers 17 May 1861; Maj. Gen. Volunteers 19 Sept. 1862; Resigned 13 April 1863; Died 17 April 1891.

²⁰ William W. Chapman, of Mass. Grad. West Point 1 July 1837; Capt. 2nd Art. 29 Oct. 1847; Died 27 Sept. 1859.

²¹ This may be a reference to the charges filed by the Bishop Freeman against General Belknap for "irreligious conduct" at Fort Gibson. See Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *op. cit.* There it is stated that a search of War Department files failed to reveal any Court Martial action or formal charge.

²² The information was correct. Lieut. Wright had been transferred to Bonicia Arsenal, California.

²³ John Neilly. Born in Ireland; Appt. 2nd Lieut. 3 March 1848; Died 13 March 1854.

²⁴ Matthew Arbuckle. Born in West Virginia in 1776. Appt. Ensign 1799. At the Battle of New Orleans he served on the staff of Gen. Jackson, with the rank of Major. Colonel, 17th Inf. in 1820 and Bvt. Brig. Gen. in 1830. He commanded Fort Gibson for over 15 years; and died at Fort Smith in 1851.

ment, was ordered to establish a military post along the route between Fort Smith and Donna Ana, Texas, for the protection of emigrants. Seven companies of the Fifth Infantry assembled at Fort Washita, and there they were organized by General Belknap for the march to the Brazos River area of Texas. As Captain Marcy had been in the area in 1849 he was ordered to go along, and the famous Delaware, Black Beaver, was selected as guide. A piece of artillery from Fort Washita was included, and it was an impressive party that departed for the Red River crossing at Preston, Texas, amid much waving of good byes from the wives and ladies left behind at Washita. Clint Lear was to be included in the garrison on the Brazos, as was another of his friends, Ben Wingate,²⁵ from Indiana.

Ten miles below the Brazos River crossing, General Belknap found the site that suited him, and on June 14th Camp Brazos was established. In his report, dated July 7th, 1851, General Belknap wrote to his superior, General P. F. Smith:²⁶

After a careful and minute examination of the country bordering upon the Red Fork of the Brazos River, I fixed upon a point about ten miles below Capt. Marcy's crossing and about the same distance above the junction of the Clear Fork with that stream. This I should judge to be about the one hundredth degree of West Longitude, and it is the most western that a fort can be established where timber and other material necessary in the construction of barracks can be found; and west of which, on account of the scarcity of timber and water, it is not probable that white settlements will be made for a century to come, if ever.

General Belknap's ideas of the country were shared by his junior officers, and about the same time Lieutenant Wingate wrote to his father back at Lexington, in Scott County, Indiana:

Brazos July 24 1851

Dear Father

We have just arrived here being in rout 14 days from Fort Washita. all in good health. The place selected by Genl Beknap is a desolate looking spot though perhaps the best in this section of the country. The water in this part is all brackish the springs are even so. What the well water may be if he should find any. I dont if it is salty the jig is up. The two Comps that came out with Genl Belknap have been digging but have found no water. The order is to dig 60 feete for water if it cannot be found sooner.

The Indians say that it seldoms rains here, there has been no rain since May.

There is plenty of timber such as it is, but I would rather go into some lazy apple orchard in *Ind* and getting building timber than to have the best of our timber out here.

The land seems to be entirely unfit for cultivation though of this we can tell better after a trial. The Indians give us no annouance at all as

²⁵ Benjamin Wingate, of Indiana. Appt. 2nd Lieut. 14 June 1848; Died 1 June 1862 of wounds received at Valverde, N. M. Ter.

²⁶ Persifer F. Smith. Appt. Col. Vol. 2 Feb. 1836; Brig. Gen. Vol. 15 May 1846; Bvt. Brig. Gen. 23 Sept. 1846; Bvt. Maj. Gen. 20 August 1847; Died 17 May 1858.

yet. The Comanches are not here at this time they only come down in the spring & winter.

It is anticipated that four comps will leave here in a few days for the Clear Fork of the Brazos some fifteen or twenty miles as there is not water sufficient here until the well is dug. Capt. Marcy has been out on the Concho 180 miles from here. he reports favorable I think there will be one post out there.

While writing this letter I received the compliments of the Com. G Officer he wished to see me at his tent I went and we discussed a Basket of Sham pain wine. Consequently I must close give my love to all.

and receive this as coming from your son

Benj Wingate

Although dated in July, the nearest postoffice was at Fort Washita, and there the letter was postmarked August 4th.

Now that Lieutenant Lear was on the Brazos, his wife back at Fort Washita thought it best to again return to New Orleans, and with the coming of November, she joined a party of friends and started her long journey down the river. Clint Lear wrote her from Texas, dating his letter about the same time she started for home:

Camp on the Brazos

November 4th 1851

My Dearest, Sweetest Mary,

My. Myers leaves in the morning and tho I wrote to you last night by the express which left this morning, I cannot refrain from availing myself of this opportunity to reassure you of my continued and increasing devotion—Lieut. Burns²⁷ has a leave of absence to go for his wife, & Capt. Sibleys²⁸ family. Major Rossell²⁹ has written to Mrs. R. to come if she wishes—and I believe if you were still at Washita I would go for you—yet it may be far better as it is—I will be with you at home in February certainly. Genls Smith & Belknap leave tomorrow for Washita. The Col. will be in command of the Regt. and he will approve my application, which I shall make as soon as I learn the fate of my first one if it has been refused.

Myers says he may call on you. I have given him the directions to find you.

Dr. Bailey³⁰ has given me a bottle of Hospital brandy for sickness. You need not be afraid that I will drink it without cause. I have resolved to drink but once a day, unless by advise of the physician. I have not drank even that often for some time.

The Genl. is quite sick and I would not be surprised if he never returns to the Regt. Capt. Sibley moves tomorrow with Cos. E, C & G. and the

²⁷ William W. Burns, of Ohio. Grad. West Point 1 July 1847; Brig. Gen. Volunteers 28 Sept. 1861; Maj. Gen. Volunteers 29 November 1862.

²⁸ Caleb C. Sibley, of Massachusetts. Grad. West Point 1 July 1829; 1st Lieut. 31 Oct. 1836; Capt. 22 Sept. 1840; Major 19 Jan. 1859; Lieut. Col. 9 October 1861; Col. 20 April 1864; Bvt. Brig. Gen. 13 March 1865; Died 19 Feb. 1875.

²⁹ Nathan B. Rossell, of New Jersey. Appt. 2nd Lieut. 1 August 1838; 1st Lieut. 3 Nov. 1840; Capt. and Bvt. Major 8 Sept. 1847; Killed Gaines Mill, Va. 27 June 1862.

³⁰ Elisha I. Bailey, of Pennsylvania. Appt. Asst. Surgeon 16 Feb. 1847; Surgeon 30 Jan. 1883; Retired 14 November 1888.

train. Cos. K & B with the Col. will leave in a day or two—and expect to reach our new post in five or six days.

It will be very convenient to be so near. We are to have 100 horses at each post, & one company will be mounted for scouting. The Big Chief of the Comanches "Sanaco" & "Yellow Wolf" are both here and express great friendship for the whites. They are fine looking fellows. The women are horribly ugly. There will be a mail day after tomorrow by way of Fort Graham by which I will send a letter. I wish you would notice particularly the number of days it is in reaching you, and do the same with those by the other route. I have been writing public letters for two hours, and I will close this being much fatigued sitting at the table.

Give my love to mama & sisters, & oh my sweet one Mary God bless you and protect you from every danger, grant you good health & cheerful spirits.

My dear dear one, Good night.

Your own devoted

Clinton

Clinton was correct in his supposition about General Belknap. His departure for Fort Washita was destined to be his last official act, as we shall see presently. But back at Washita, the ladies were busy and with the departure of Mary Lear and her traveling companions, those left behind of course had to rearrange their social ties and alignments. Major Rossell and Captain Marcy were both on the Brazos, with their wives keeping their quarters back at the home station neat with white wash. Mary Rossell really had a letter full of gossip when she wrote her friend Mary Lear:

Fort Washita

Nov 15th 1851

I am not in a writing mood My dear Mrs. Lear, neither is it *my duty* to write *first* but I think you will like to have something of us, how we manage to exist without all you who left us one morning about ten days since looking very much like a wagon full of Imigrants. Mrs. Marcy the *efficient* sent—as soon as you were out of sight & and of course out of mind—for the white washers, and for two days they splashed us to their very hearts content. We were not in order 'till Saturday, and then we all felt very comfortable but lonely. Sunday it commenced pouring, making up for lost time, and for four days the Heavens seemed fully intent upon filling up the well. Sunday the express from the Absent arrived and gave the most pleasant intelligence, which you have already learned from Mr. Lear's epistle. The arrival of Genl Smith at the Brassos and the great change of arrangements—building two instead of three posts & the latter only seventy miles from the first. On Monday morning Dr. Baily Mr Myers and Mr Burns arrived in the rain. Mr. Burns going after his wife & Capt. Sibley's family, and with directions to bring me on with them if I choose to go as some kind of huts will be put up for the families. The Gentlemen said Gen Belnap was back a few miles very sick, would be here in an hour. Mr Nuba and several soldiers were with him. Dr Baily said the only chance for his life was to get him here, have him quiet & well nursed and he was entirely out of his head. The day as I said before was horrible, and we all felt very gloomy to know that the poor sick old man was out in the storm. We all became very anxious, as four o'clock came and he did not appear, at last—Doctor Madison (he was to be placed there) started out in his wagon after him, went one mile, met the ambulance and horrible to relate Gen Belnap was a corpse. He had died about twelve oclock

without a struggle, but perfectly unconscious of his situation. The tongue of the wagon broke and his attendant got out to assist, and was only out ten minutes—when he stepped into the wagon Gen Belnap was dead. His corpse was brought in, laid in the house Mrs. Abrombie had when here, and buried on Monday at four o'clock in the enclosure by the garden and at the side of your own dear little boy. We went over to the church through the rain no ladies but Mrs. M & self. Yesterday I went to see where they had laid him—so ends the poor unloved Gen. His family will hear of all this sometime today, as letters were sent immediately to them. Just think how cheerful for them. I was never more unprepared or more shocked for such news. The fact of his dying on the road was so dreadful. If he had been less obstinate he would have been at Gibson some days before his death. Dr Baily says he has had great trouble of mind, many things worried him & the change made by Gen Smith annoyed him much. Let him rest—it is better for all except his family that he has been taken.

Gen Smith and two officers (I can remember the name of only one Bryan)³¹ stayed at this post one day and night. I was very much pleased with Gen Smith. Mr Myers had a bad cough and himself and Mr. Burns remained here till yesterday morning (Friday) when they had a lovely day for starting. We enjoyed their stay very much, and miss them. They stayed with us. Mr. Caball³² called on Thursday evening and said he heard at Towson where he had just been, that you were quite sick when there. We were very sorry to hear it but trust you recovered entirely, and arrived without trouble or illness at your dear mother's home. You must not be disponding, even if you should not see Mr Lear very soon. I enquired about him, and was told that he was in perfect health, and was *behaving* in a most perfect manner, what more would you like? Col Abercrombie assumed command of the Regt & ordered the Adjutant to follow him to Clear Fork. We hear from Fort Smith that Major Van Dorn³³ had arrived there with one hundred recruits, and will wait here probably 'till arms can be sent from the Regt and some officer. I am in hopes Mr. Rossell can come. Fort Smith is the headquarters at the Seventh and it is well that Mr. Burns is to take Mrs. Sibley out to her husband, as she would be obliged to leave the Quarters there.

Mrs Marcy heard from her husband last mail, he speaks of being here this month, he saw Col & Mrs Loomis,³⁴ likes both, they will be here by the last of the month. Col Ruggles³⁵ wife and child left for this place the 12th of October, We look for them soon, and Col. Chapman,³⁶ and Mr. McArthur.³⁷ The arrival of these people will enliven us somewhat. This

³¹ Francis T. Bryan, of North Carolina. Grad. West Point 1 July 1846; Resigned 10 June 1861.

³² William L. Cabell, of Virginia. Grad. West Point 1 July 1850. Resigned 20 April 1861. Brig. Gen. C.S.A.

³³ Earl Van Dorn, of Mississippi. Grad. West Point 1 July 1842; 1st Lieut. 3 March 1847; Bvt. Captain 18 April 1847; Bvt. Major 20 August 1847; Resigned 31 January 1861; Killed 8 May 1863.

³⁴ Gustavus Loomis, of Vermont. Grad. West Point 1 March 1811; Captain 1 June 1821; Major 7 July 1838; Lieut. Col. 22 Sept. 1840; Colonel 9 March 1851; Bvt. Brig. Gen. 13 March 1864; Died 5 March 1872.

³⁵ Daniel Ruggles, of Massachusetts. Grad. West Point 1 July 1833; 1st Lieut. 7 July 1838; Captain 18 June 1846; Bvt. Lieut. Col. 13 Sept. 1847; Resigned 7 May 1861. Br. General C.S.A. Died 1 June 1897.

³⁶ William Chapman, of Maryland. Grad. West Point 1 July 1831; 1st Lieut. 31 Dec. 1836; Captain 8 June 1845; Bvt. Major 20 August 1847; Bvt. Lieut. Col. 8 Sept. 1847.

³⁷ Joseph H. McArthur, of Missouri. Grad. West Point 1 July 1849; 1st Lieut. 2nd Cav. 3 March 1855; Lieut. Col. Volunteers 5 Sept. 1861; Retired 2 Nov. 1863; Died 23 Jan. 1902.

post is as agreeable as ever. We were annoyed yesterday at the presence of our next door neighbor, probably came in to see if we were comfortable, having our interests at heart. Mrs Marcy foolishly told her we expected to have butter all winter from Mrs. Fraser, and also a cow, in the afternoon they rode over there to procure the butter for themselves and the cow also, did not succeed. In the evening Ann came with a tumbler of egg nogg for Mrs Marcy, saying Mrs Madison did not send me any, as she *supposed* I was a member of the temperance society. How she received her information cannot say, unless it was because I am not in the habit of taking *drinks* every day as she is. Mr Myers and Mr Burns were much amused at my conversations upon the worthy people. The Burkes³⁸ are well, but very lonesome for their mother, Mr Burke is Post Master now.

It is an "ill wind" etc, Mary Anne did not manage for nothing. Mr. Lear gave her transportation, and now has found a Miss she makes thirty dollars a month. Please do not forget the woman for me. I cannot think what I am to do for servants, but will *hope* that I shall be fortunate. I would not fancy buying one here where they can neither be insured or recommended.

I beg my dear Ms Lear that you will not allow any one to hear or see this epistle, for I would not like my uncharitable feelings to be exposed. Mrs Marcy desires me to say she sends much love and hopes to hear very soon, how you get along. I will join her, and subscribe myself (with kind regards to your sister Mrs Lee)

Your friend

Mary Rossell

Dr. Glison, stationed over at Fort Arbuckle, was not long in hearing the news regarding General Belknap, and he wrote on December 15th:

Gen. Wm G Belknap died but a few weeks since, while on his way from the Brazos to Fort Washita. Being an invalid, he was conveyed in an ambulance, accompanied by a few friends, who just before reaching the latter post had occasion to absent themselves from the vehicle a short time. One of them returning in a little while found the General dead.

The corporal in charge stated that whist the team was moving slowly onward he heard a groan, when he immediately ran to the General—and lo! the vital spark had fled. . . . He has left a most interesting family to mourn his loss.

In the meantime General Smith determined that two posts instead of one would best serve the situation on the Brazos, perhaps because of the two forks or branches of the stream. Dr. Glisan recorded from Fort Arbuckle:

Captain Marcy's company, of the Fifth, remained with us a few days, and then left via Fort Washita for the Brazos. Subsequently the whole Fifth Regiment of Infantry concentrated at the latter place. Instead of being distributed at several posts the intention is now, by order of General Smith, to garrison but two new ones—one at the Brazos River, where the General's headquarters will be; and the other on the Clear Fork, of the same river.

At his headquarters on the Brazos, on November 3rd, General Smith issued his General Order No. 91, reading in part:

³⁸ John Burke was postmaster at Fort Washita from 7 October 1851 to 17 November 1853.

Bvt Brigr. General Belknap, Lt. Col. 5th Infy, having selected the present site on the Fed Fork of Brazos; and at the intimation of myself, another on the Clear Fork of the same river at or in the immediate vicinity of a point known as Phantom Hill—they are hereby established as military posts.

Fort Phantom Hill found Clint Lear among its first garrison, and a few days after General Smith's order, Lieutenant Lear recorded his own impressions in a letter to Mary at New Orleans:

In Camp on "Phantom Hill"
Friday Night November 14th
[1851]

My Own Dear Sweet Wife,

Our destination has at length been reached, and too much cannot be said of its beauty, as far as view & a magnificent valley are concerned but the great disinclination, timber for building purposes is to all appearances, at a first glance, entirely wanting—there being no other than black jack or low scrub oak & not the greatest quantity of that. I shall ride out with the guide tomorrow & search for timber to build a temporary store house for provisions. I rather think the Col will report against the occupation of this point for the reasons above stated. This is a beautiful hill, with a perfect natural slope to the north & east. On the west about 100 yards is a beautiful stream, the Clear fork of the Brazos abounding in fish. The country around alive with deer, turkey & bear. It seems a pity that so pretty a position should be destitute of the other requisite advantages.

Altho we arrived here late this afternoon I have made my tent very comfortable; & were it not that you are enciente, I would wish you were with me. Capt. Sibley, Major Rossell & Mr. Lewis³⁹ are still behind with the train & will not be up before day after tomorrow in consequence of the partial disorganization of the train by the tremendous storm a day or two since.

The sun has gladdened our hearts for the last two days & yet at times he has smiled with rather much *froidueur*, if I may express myself so. The wind has continued to blow from the frozen north, until this afternoon, when it hawled round slightly & told of a clime more congenial with our spirits. I need not inform you that the change was hailed with joyous faces & many an expression of gratitude.

Lt. Wingate, Brown, and two soldiers will start in the morning down the creek some 20 or 25 miles to examine the country for a better & a shorter road to Camp Belknap. The one by which we traveled is about 85 miles. After this reconnaissance is made I suppose the Col will dispatch a mail by which I shall send you the imperfect journal I have kept. It is more of a journal of my impressions & feelings than a narration of events incident to a march of half a Regt of U. S. Infantry. It is not for show. Well my sweetest dearest wife I pray God to bless & protect you, grant you health & cheerfulness, and a speedy reunion. Goodnight, I go to dreams of you and the little stranger whom I have begun to love already, God bless you, good night.

Nov. 19th

My Own dear sweet Mary

You will again perceive that I have not written regularly every night, but my dearest do not imagine for an instant that I have ceased one

³⁹ William H. Lewis, of Alabama. Grad. West Point 1 July 1849; Bvt. Lieut. Col. 15 April 1862. Lieut. Lewis was stationed in the West during the entire War period.

moment to think of you, no my own sweet one, your image has been constantly before me. Every throb of my heart has been for you. My every wish & hope has been & is centered in you, my lovely one. I have been constantly occupied from the time get up until late in the evening; hunting throughout most of the day for timber (which is very scarce) to build storehouses etc, superintending chopping parties, and roadmaking across creeks & many other such duties. In addition to this the weather has been down so cold that I could not leave the fire outside my tent long enough to sit down & write until I was ready to jump into bed.

However, the weather moderated very much this afternoon & has now become quite comfortable and I, as the sunflower, turn to my idol.

I never close my eyes at night or rise in the morning until I have prayed God to guide & guard you, to bless you with health and cheerfulness, and to protect *our little stranger* and to grant us a speedy reunion. Oh! that my prayers may be granted. When I say to you that we have a beautiful valley to look upon I have said everything favorable that could be said of this place. I have ridden for 5 or 6 miles in every direction from the post & nothing but barren hills meet the eye on every side. Our camp is pitched in a small grove of "black jack", of about 5 acres extent, within 200 or 300 yards of a creek the water of which is salt, or brackish & bitter. A spring has been discovered 10-miles off & which affords very little water. There is not timber of the proper kind to build a log hut 18 feet square. Everybody disgusted, it is thought, however, that after the Col. makes his report that we will *seek* a better resting place for *our* weary limbs. We are like the dove after the deluge, not one green sprig can we find to indicate that this was ever intended for man to inhabit. Indeed I cannot imagine that God ever intended white man to occupy such a barren waste. The ladies will have to live in tents all winter; how much they will suffer is sad to contemplate. The Col. & I get along better than you can possible imagine—he asks me to dinner & sends the orderly for me alone to drink whiskey punch with him at night, and indeed the most amicable relations exist between us. I gave Mrs. Abercrombie nearly all my plank, sent a paulin to the Col. to cover his tents, & all such little *polite* courtesies. I am now only waiting to have the result of my application, in the event of its failing I shall instantly renew it, & the Col's approval, as comd. officer of the Regt. will insure my success. My health is as good as ever in my life. I have gained from 8 to 10 pounds since I left Washita, and the exercise I take gives me a healthy appetite & our table is never set without wild turkey. I believe there are now three large fat fellows hanging in the tree before my tent.

Gillem still continues very attentive.

Again my sweet wife I beg God to bless & protect you. A sweet good night to my own angel wife.

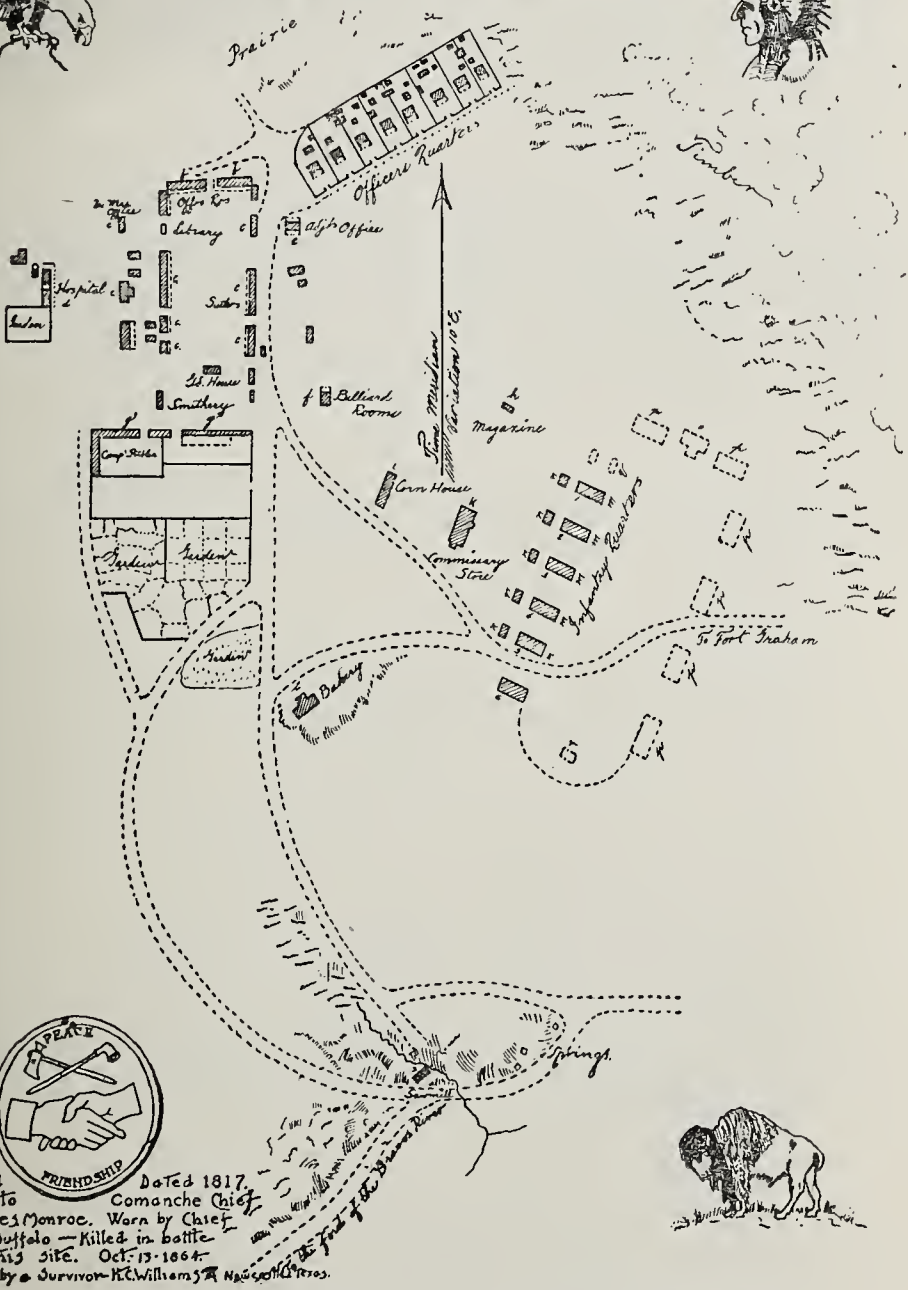
Nov. 20th

My sweetest wife, the train leaves for Brazos tomorrow & affords us an opportunity to communicate with our dear absent ones, and it were needless to assure you how eagerly I avail myself of all & every such opportunity. Our camp was visited today by some distinguished personages in the form of a Comanche Chief, "Buffalo Hump", a dandified looking captain, and two quite pretty squaws, who, to their beauty, added neatness & youthful appearance. The neatness & beauty two very rare features in Indian character.

I gave them fresh beef, hard bread & sugar, the latter they ate voraciously and the other two were not spared. I presented the young princess with a paper of vermillion, at which a modest blush crossed over her cheek, then gave way to a bewitching smile which played around her pretty mouth. Indeed lay aside from her bad image her air was quite



Sketch of Fort Belknap, Texas



For identification of buildings at Fort Belknap, Texas, see legend in footnote **, on page 30.

stylish & her face not devoid of beauty, & she did not accept my present until she turned to her amorous old husband for a glance of approval, which considering the present he had no scruples about giving. They left us to be back in the morning with more of Eve's daughters.

Mrs. Abercrombie has been made very comfortable, a brush fence around their little domain, a paulin stretched over her tents to reach the ground on the north side, & indeed she is quite comfortable.

The Dr. has furnished me with an iron bed stead, & thus supplied the place of mine.

Dont forget to send to Moses Greenwood & get my uniform clothing, open and air all the articles, & keep them until I come down.

The camp presents a very busy, industrious appearance, digging, chopping, sawing, hawling, & pulling. Every man at work. Officers nearly all hunting, the work devolves on me, with, as Mrs. Rossell thinks, my easy position as Quarter Master. However, I feel better satisfied than if I had nothing to occupy me.

Give my love to all. Mama, sister Catherine, Sister Anne & most particularly remeber me to our friend & my own dear wife.

believe me your truly devoted

Clinton

Although Mary Rossell's "poor unloved general" had been dead only a few days, time had been found to rename Camp Brazos in his

** Legend: Plat of Fort Belknap:

- a. Offrs. Qrs. (Jacal) 2 rooms (with passage) 18 x 18, thatched, with front porticos—glazed.
 - b. Comp. Offrs. Qrs. (Jacal)—4 rooms (with passages) in each block 18 x 18 —thatched—with front porticos—glazed.
 - c. Old Qrs. (Jacal) 18 ft. wide—thatched—unglazed front porticos.
 - d. Hospital, Jacal, 3 rooms with passage—thatched, 86 x 24 whole length, unglazed, front porticos.
 - e. Adjts Office, Jacal, 3 rooms, glazed, thatched front rear porticos 36 x 28 in clear.
 - f. Billiard Room: Jacal—glazed, thatched, front porticos.
 - g. Stables, picket, thatched.
 - h. Magazine, stone, shingled, 22 x 18—1½ stories high.
 - i. Corn House—stone—1½ stories high, hewn stone 80 x 20.
 - k. Commisary's Store—2½ stories high, hewn stone 80 x 30.
 - l. Bakehouse, stone, 20 x 20—1; stories high.
 - m. Infy. Qrs. Stone—glazed shingled, 2 stories high, 80 x 28. (4 & 5 completed, 3 not shingled, 1 & 2 masonry completed to 1st story. 6 commenced).
 - n. Comp. Kitchens, Jacal—thatched, stone five places and chimneys—18 x 45.
 - o. Comd. Offrs. Qrs. stone, 1½ stories, sunk basement, 52 x 45 front & rear porticos, 2 rooms 16.6 x 16, 1 room 17 x 16. 1 room 17 x 17.6, glazed, shingled—not commenced.
 - p. Comp. Offrs. Qrs. stone, 1½ stories high, glazed shingled. 92 x 18, front & rear porticos, 4 rooms 17 x 17, 2 passages not commenced.
 - q. Library & Offices, stone, shingled, 48 x 18, 2 rooms each. 18 x 18, and passage 12 x 18, not commenced.
 - r. Guard House, stone, 1 Story high & sunk basement front & rear porticos, 2 rooms 17 x 17 & passage above & below, not commenced.
 - s. Saw Mill, foundations, bed & chimney, stone, 40 x 20.
- Fort Belknap as it existed in 1853. When visited by Brevet Lieut. W. G. Freeman. From plot on file in Washington, D. C. Location—two miles south of present town of Newcastle, Texas. Gen. Robt. E. Lee helped locate fort.

honor, and the garrison at nearby Phantom Hill were using "Camp Belknap" instead of the familiar "Camp Brazos" in their correspondence.

But back again to Fort Washita. Mary Rossell had already given Mrs. Lear her version of the status of local society; and by the end of the month Mary Marcy was able to answer a letter from New Orleans:

Fort Washita Nov 30th

My dear Mrs. Lear

Your most truly welcome epistle arrived yesterday and most happy indeed to hear from you all. What a very disagreeable journey you must have had. We feared that such would be the case owing to the lateness of the season and then we have had several days of rain which of course must have made it truly disagreeable. Mr. Burks family have been extremely anxious about Mrs. B. I do trust that she will return in safety although I do feel that there is really cause to fear much on account of her feeble state of health. The family hear every week from the son, his health is very very delicate, and it is probably well that *she* has gone on. Frank wrote you some days since, and no doubt told you of all that had occurred from the time you left, till after the departure of Mr. Burns and Mr. Myers. I will now try to keep you advised of all events from that time up to the present. I will first speak of the birth of little Miss Holmes⁴⁰ which occurred the day after the gents left us. Dr. Madison and myself present at the *party* a fine baby weighed nine pounds. Mrs. H was remarkably well for several days but exerted herself too much, has had chills and fever which have left her in a weak miserable state. I have *dressed* and undressed the little one from its birth. Last Monday Mr. Plympton⁴¹ and a young officer of the 3rd Inf. arrived with recruits, which caused quite a commotion in this quiet little world of ours. Next day Mr. Neal came in from Brazos, for the purpose of taking the soldiers back with him he made our house his home the three of days he remained he is just as polite and agreeable as ever and the rough life he leads in camp does not in the least dim the polish of manner for which he is so famed. We had hoped to have seen your good husband with him, as we understand he has a leave of absence, but he informed us that the Clear Fork command had not been heard from since their arrival at their new station. We expect Mr. L. daily. I sent word to have him come directly *home* when he arrived at Washita. day before yesterday *Uncle Andrew* arrived brought Mr. Abbott as far as Preston on business he will be up tomorrow and make us a visit of some days I hope, it is so delightful to see one of the dear good faces of the 5th once in awhile. I received letters from Capt Marcy and Ellen yesterday. Randolph will be home in about a month his health is better they had just returned from Montreal had a delightful excursion also visited West Point. Nell was particularly charmed with the latter place. I suppose Frank told you how very pleasantly we have everything arranged for the winter as far as *indoor* comforts be concerned. You would not know that they were the same quarters that we occupied when we left. We find our

⁴⁰ Daughter of Theophilus H. Holmes, of North Carolina. Holmes grad. West Point 1 July 1829; Bvt. Major 23 Sept. 1846; Resigned 22 April 1861; Lieut. General C.S.A. Died 20 June 1880. Major Holmes is well known in Oklahoma history and his name survives in that of Fort Holmes, the site of which is near the mouth of Little River. Major Holmes was commanding officer while at Fort Washita.

⁴¹ Peter W. L. Plympton, of Missouri. Grad. West Point 1 July 1847; Capt. 26 Feb. 1861; Major 3 Dec. 1863; Bvt. Lieut. Col. 15 April 1862; Died 10 August 1866.

neighbors just as *disagreeable* as ever. Mrs. M. has called once since you left. And Mrs. Van B.⁴² once. I do think of all mean people that ever I was in the midst of, *these* do exceed. had I room I could tell you of some fine misconducts which have occurred of late that would make your dear *black eyes* stare. Old Major Steen⁴³ it appears after all has married his housekeeper notwithstanding we heard such glowing accounts of the elegant and accomplished wife he had "Murder will out" is a very old saying but nevertheless a true one. Dr. and Mrs. Madison will yet be known in their true light though it may be some time first they have such art still they will be known and appreciated accordingly. Dr. Baily left with Mr Neal Mrs. B will be very lonely I shall pity her. We feel lonely without you all, and talk of you all often each day. how very happy you must be by this time with your dear mother and family. I trust your health will continue good and your spirits improve. My dear sweet friend, there was no occasion for your offering any apology in your letter for causing me trouble unhappiness, or anything of the kind. You know I could not, of course, feel other than the deepest and most sincere sympathy for your affliction, knowing as I well did, what you had lost, and how much you loved him. his grave shall not be neglected or forgotten by us. We shall visit it often think of him only as an angel, and you will feel such sweet consolation. I would just love to write for hours to you, but tattoo has just beaten and I must close. Frank sends a great deal of love in which I join most heartily. I shall hope to hear very soon from you.

Your sincerely attached friend

M. A. Marcy

Fort Washita Dec 14th

Little did I suppose My Dear Mrs Lear that two weeks would pass ere I should be able to get off your letter but so it is. the first week after I wrote you I found I was too late for the mail as it now closes Sunday night at tattoo, since Mr. Burke is our postmaster and last week it was entirely forgotten in the midst of my numerous and various duties. Major Doads family were with us for nearly a week and beside I was much occupied in nurseing poor Mrs. Long, who was removed to the garrison some ten days hence She died on Friday last her suffering was intense all the time. Mr. Abbott was also with us about a week. And then poor Marion has been quite sick with a slow fever for the past two weeks she still continues feeble thus you see, I have had a plenty to think about. Mr and Mrs Stephenson⁴⁴ of the 7th have been at Mr. Van Bokelins several days. are to be stationed at Fort Arbuckle they left here this morn accompanied by Mrs. Madison for Ft Towson for the purpose of attending to their things I hope they may have an agreeable time with such a *pleasant companion*. After you left, I found a box on my table containing Mr Lear's epauletts. I have taken good care of them and will give them to him when he arrives. We look for him now every day. I am sorry to hear that your post will *not* be as pleasant as all had anticipated. the water we hear is awful and no timber at all this is at the Clear Fork of Brazos. Col. Abercrombie has reported unfavorably with regard to the situation an undoubtedly it will be removed to a more agreeable point. but how soon Mercy only knows. I have not heard from Capt Marcy for two mails but Ellen writes that her father was in Washington on the 20th of Nov. I look for him home the last of this

⁴² Wife of William K. VanBokkelen, of New York. Lieut. VanBokkelen grad. West Point 1 July 1843; 1st Lieut. 16 July 1850. The lieutenant was cashiered 8 May 1861 for misappropriation of funds.

⁴³ Enoch Steen, of Missouri. Appt. 2nd Lieut. Rangers 26 July 1842; Bvt. Major 23 Feb. 1847; Retired 23 Sept. 1863; Died 22 January 1880.

⁴⁴ Matthew R. Stevenson, of New York. Grad. West Point 1 July 1846; 1st Lieut. 24 August 1851; Died 2 January 1863.

month. Mrs. Holmes is still very feeble I have not given up my *little charge* yet. I have not called at the Dr's since you left but shall when perfectly convenient. the madame does not flourish much. Mrs. Wood is keeping house in Mrs Abercrombies old quarters. Mr. Plympton occupies one room and she has the rest. All send you much love write very soon for we are most anxious to hear from you Mr Burkes family all well.

Your sincerely attached friend

M. A. Marcy

Colonel Abercrombie approved Clint Lear's leave, as the Lieutenant had hoped, and so the Lears were able to be reunited in New Orleans for the holidays, even though saddened by the recollection that the baby remained sleeping in the garrison cemetery at Fort Washita. Mail at New Orleans was still most welcome, and a letter from his friend, Bill Burns, back at Phantom Hill brought news of his chums and colleagues:

Phantom Hill Texas Jan 4th 1851 [1852]

My Dear Clint,

I congratulate you on getting your leave although I much feared you would not. I hope you have had a pleasant journey and found your family well. I must apologize to you dear Clint for a disparaging remark I made against you on my own out here. You will excuse it I know when you remember my predicament—to make a long story short, Montgomery⁴⁵ and other *wisemen* had been ridiculing the idea of my taking the ladies out this winter until I was disgusted. When we reached the agency Montgomery reced your letters read them to Mrs. Sibley then handed them to me with the remark "if you go on now you are a madman," I read them and I must say contrary to my convictions said Capt Sibley & Lear are both very *imaginative* especially as Lear was frozen at the time. This I said to throw cold water on Montgomery's proposals to take the ladies back to Fort Smith. We arrived here on the 31st of December without difficulty all well and we are now snugly in our huts. I hope to see Mrs Lear here when your leave has expired and we will be all happy together. The weather has been very fine here No news as yet from Genl Smith. I have not thought that he will change our location. Sibley & Wingate report considerable bodies of post oak within ten miles. Deer & turkey seem to abound the cane is full of it. I was very sorry that I could not bring that saddle from Preston. I had saddles of Sibleys on the horses and unless it was boxed it would have spoiled in the wagons loaded as they were. I saw your brother at Fort Smith looking better then I ever saw him he has left his employer and is going to set up for himself with the man who used to keep for Dixon. The little wagon carried me first rate. I will pay to Jerry the amt \$65.00. I am very happy now that I have finished my pilgrimage in safety. I hope we will have communication with Austin or San Antonio before your leave is out. I would be glad if you would write me often. I shall always be glad to answer you.

Now for business. The Council have ordered a multitude of books papers and periodicals and we want a catalogue to select from. Will you get the best one you can find & send it by the next mail? You will then have some-

⁴⁵ Alexander Montgomery, of Pennsylvania. Grad. West Point 1 July 1834; 2nd Lieut. 3 Dec. 1835; 1st Lieut. 7 July 1838; Died 13 October 1893.

Note: There are besides a rude log Structure used as a Stable by Light Company "M" 2nd Artillery to the left of the post⁴⁶ and old sheds for quartermasters' Stables—also a log building dilapidated used as a blacksmith's Shop—a frame house used as a carpenters Shop—an *unsafe* magazine near the garrison.

The plan shows merely the *number and relative position of the buildings* without regard to accuracy in other respects.

[Signed] Braxton Bragg

Br. Lt. Col. & Capt. 3d Atl'y.
Comd'y.

Although the Lears, the Rossells and all the rest are gone, and little remains even of Fort Washita, the home in the service for them and many of their friends, yet their tradition and their legacy live on in every shout from today's sergeant or orderly, "Mail call!" whether it be heard in some far outpost on Uncle Sam's 1955 frontiers or at Oklahoma's own Fort Sill.

⁴⁶ The plat with legend was made and signed by Colonel Braxton Bragg, Commanding Fort Washita in 1854. A facsimile of his signature is given above. The plat and legend are from a photostat of the original document in the National Archives, Washington, D.C.—Ed.

THOMAS T. MONTGOMERY

By Charles Evans

Someone has said that the best study of mankind is man. "Know thyself" has been the chief challenge to man's progress though the ages. The substance of life takes the form of birth, growth and death. Arranged about these, biographers present a life as a thing too often composed of dates, conquests and acquisitions. The chief and the all enduring part of man, his character, his impression upon others and finally the residue of good, his contribution to the eternal verities are left in fragments to be picked up by subsequent history or rest forever in silence.

One of the master spirits of the Bible says, "Man that is born of woman is of few days and full of trouble; he cometh forth like a flower and is cut down; he fleeth also as a shadow and continueth not." Perhaps this is as complete a story of man, all embracing and fitting all human beings, as has ever been offered. At least if any thinking mortal desires to give a penetrative blow to vanity, cupidity and dishonor, in which too often the life of man has its being, he would find it in this definition offered by Job.

The *Durant Daily Democrat*, in its issue of Sunday, March 21, 1954, states:

Dr. Thomas T. Montgomery, president emeritus of Southeastern State College, passed away Friday night in a local hospital where he had been undergoing treatment for the past week for a heart ailment. He was 72 years of age.

Dr. Montgomery was born in Greenfield, Mo., on October 9, 1882 and spent his life in Missouri and Oklahoma in the teaching profession. He was preceded in death by his wife, who died on October 20, 1932, and by his son, George Montgomery, who passed away last August.

He is survived by his son, Phil Montgomery, of Duncan; his daughter, Miss Jo Anne Montgomery, of New York City; his daughter-in-law and grandsons, Mrs. George Montgomery and Tommy, Joe, and Phil, of Oklahoma City; five sisters, Miss Effie Montgomery, Durant; Mrs. William P. Finley, of South Greenfield, Mo.; Mrs. Ralph E. Duffy, Jefferson City, Mo.; Mrs. R. M. George, Whittier, Calif.; and Mrs. Mattie E. Newman, Bell, Calif.; and a brother, Edward P. Montgomery, of Braggs, Oklahoma.

Dr. Montgomery entered the teaching profession in Missouri in 1901, and from the rural schools there he came to Madill as superintendent of schools in 1905. He served as superintendent there and at Miami and Chickasha until 1939, when he became president of Southeastern. He retired from this position in 1952 and was named president emeritus.

He held the master of science degree, granted by the University of Oklahoma in 1926, and the LL.D. degree from Austin college in 1948.

Included in Dr. Montgomery's activities were the following: a director of the Red River council, Boy Scouts of America; life member of the



THOMAS T. MONTGOMERY

Oklahoma Education association; OEA state president in 1937; member of Kappa Delta Pi, National education fraternity; a member of the Presbyterian church, and elder in the First Presbyterian church of Durant; a 32nd degree Mason; past president of the Lions Club; a director of the Oklahoma Historical Society; author of a state government of Oklahoma and an elementary history of Oklahoma, in 1924.

Thus, in brief itemization, is the growth of a truly great educator's life set forth. This tabulates the shadow of this man's deeds, his service and his character. The substance, the forces, the ideals which shaped him and which he shaped, are not here. There are two forces which mold man: heredity and environment. The first may be defined as all things before; the other, all things afterward.

Montgomery is a Scotch name. It is as much a part of Scotland as the heather or its rocky terrain or its clear blue lakes. The family of Dr. Montgomery inherited a love of learning. Out of the rough, thin lands of southwest Missouri, they found a way to send their son, Thomas, through the public schools and gave him an incentive to secure more education which led him to teaching in rural and small town schools.

These days were the formative influences of his life. There, in the meeting with youth, in the buoyancy and joy of a young school master, he fell in love with teaching and the teacher's life. There are just two divisions of teachers or workers among children. One consists of those who do not love the pupil, his associations or his aims; the other, who does.

Young Montgomery became superintendent of the schools in Madill, Marshall County, Oklahoma, in 1905. In that same year, I entered this intensely interesting country as superintendent of the city schools of Ardmore, Carter County, bordering on the county of Marshall. In a short while I met the young leader of education in Madill. He invited me to visit his schools and meet his people. Mark the word *people* because it was the open sesame to his progress and power. Through all the forty years and more he kept steadily in view the truth that to serve the children of the community was to serve all the people of that community and to serve all of the people of that community was to serve the County, the State and the Nation. He made Madill, a small but a strategic county capital, a name to be respected and felt among the best school centers of southern Indian Territory. He did this by using all the modern devices, a standard but flexible curriculum, the employment of efficient teachers, and by obtaining the best buildings and equipment possible. Better than these, he made the life of his pupils and patrons, his life. Each home met him, knew him as its children's helper not merely as their Superintendent. The churches, the social and business clubs found him an ever present help in time of need. His love of sports, even his radiant enthusiasm for hunting and fishing would in themselves have won him the love and respect of all southeastern Oklahomans had he not possessed other values.

In the Summer of 1912, the National Education Association in Chicago took for its central theme: The School—The Community Center. It had taken the leaders of education two hundred years and more to discover that the richest value of any community, rural, town or city was its children. The school was a sequestered thing. Having established it in Boston, in 1636, the people took to business and let the schools fall into the hands of a select few. The school as a center of life with its courses of study, its activities endeavoring to reach into the home, the church and the whole social order which it is doing today, was not discovered until the early years of the twentieth century.

Montgomery was one of the first educators in the new Oklahoma country to adopt the idea that in truth the school should be a Community Center. In a little while he had made himself at Madill a larger influence outside his school room than in it. That is true of every active teacher. He was invited to give his views on this movement and though, never in his modesty claiming any powers of compelling speech, the people and the educational forces always found him convincing. Soon, the new State called him to higher places.

Chickasha, one of the promising cities of Southern Oklahoma, with an inspiring and confident citizenship, as revealed in their planting among them, The Oklahoma College for Women in 1909, called the school man from Madill and Dr. Montgomery began a work as City Superintendent that in a little while captured the attention of the progressive people of the whole State.

The progress of modern education in Oklahoma may be divided into two parts: First, the Period of Foundation, stretching from 1889 to 1918; Second, the Period of Oil Wealth and Standardization, reaching from 1918 to the present day.

THE PERIOD OF FOUNDATION

In the first period, the school term grew from three or five months to six and eight and then on to the nine and ten months terms. Salaries, in the grades from \$30.00 to \$60.00; principals and superintendents from \$75.00 to \$150.00.

The writer of this article as first president of the Oklahoma Education Association (elected in December 1908) brought O. J. Kern of Winnebago County, Illinois, to sell the new state, Oklahoma on the Consolidated School and he sold it so well, it moved rapidly into being under the laws of Oklahoma. The results were more school money, better buildings, better apparatus, higher wages for teachers. Three more teacher training schools were added in this period, Tahlequah, Ada and Durant. Here better transportation, better roads, more automobiles and inter-urbans appeared. In 1908 the Glen Pool oil boom struck and the people of the whole Oklahoma

region were amazed. All institutions of higher learning found their rooms and halls filling with school teachers. The Central State Normal at Edmond attracted attention. Though a town of some 1,800 people, it saw the teacher training school in its midst grow in enrollment from 550 in 1911 to 3,420 in 1916.

THE PERIOD OF OIL WEALTH AND STANDARDIZATION

About 1918, a group of able and aspiring school men concluded that the only way to break up the indifference with which the government of Oklahoma treated the schools, and the only way it could be cured, was by teachers entering the government. The group met in the city of Durant and drew up some resolutions setting forth that a new era of progress and potent wealth appearing was enriching all the agricultural, commercial and mineral resources of the State; that its oil and gas fields, fast spreading out over the state, attracting attention of the world, were bringing taxable wealth many times more than was possessed in the beginning of statehood in 1907. These resolutions boldly stated that while some things had been done to enlarge the base and strengthen the structure of the educational system, still school buildings were too few and inadequate, teachers' salaries were shamefully low, standards for teachers were by no means high enough and that the school system from bottom to top, despite this new wealth, seemed to be Oklahoma's "forgotten child." Then it was boldly set forth that in present and future elections, legislators and governors and all political factors standing out clearly for better educational laws and more moneys for education should receive the support of the several thousands of teachers in the state.

In less than five years out of the twelve or more who signed those resolutions, some eight of them were in high positions of educational leadership. Dr. Montgomery was one of these. In September 1919, the Superintendent of the Schools of Chickasha was honored with a place on the State Board of Education, serving with R. H. Wilson, State Superintendent, W. F. Dodson, Secretary, J. M. Sandlin, the Reverend R. F. Brewer, W. J. Marshall, A. H. Burris and J. L. Newman. While he might not have appeared in such high places as some of the men who assisted in shaping the resolution and who began with him to fashion the future policies and progress of education in Oklahoma yet no plan was laid, no fundamental steps were taken for more than thirty years thereafter in the school world of this State without Dr. Montgomery's advice and assistance. Before this period that began about 1918, the school teacher stood with his hat in his hand outside the doors of government in Oklahoma, held out his hand and took without back talk most anything governors and legislatures saw fit to give. After that, steadily growing through the years until this good hour—1955—the teacher,

as an organized power, has demanded much of the political forces of the state and has received rich educational gifts.¹

From 1920 to 1950, Oklahoma has expanded in wealth until it has become for its years, the wonder and admiration of America. In these years, the teachers of Oklahoma have developed steadily into a sensitive, creative and potently organized unit, not surpassed perhaps by any educational group in any state of America. If you want any proof of this, read, look about you, watch your elections and your government. This, though there may appear at certain points some weakness and poor thinking, is as it should be. *Who in all the land are more devoted to duty, toil any more arduously and lift the aim of youth toward honor, justice and truth higher than do the teachers in Oklahoma and America.*

Perhaps his unceasing work of bringing the people near to the schools and moving the schools close in about the government of Oklahoma, for thirty years must be rated the greatest contribution Dr. Montgomery gave to education.

For fifty years it has been given to me to meet all the schools, elementary, secondary, and the colleges and university of Oklahoma as much and as often as anyone living within the confines of the state. Montgomery's spirit, plans and power in conquering any field of education was exemplified to the highest degree, in his administration as President of Southeastern State College at Durant. The writer of this article entered Durant often before those brave and forward-looking citizens of that city possessed its Southeastern State College. When they secured this institution it was placed at the remote edge of the town. Its one building was almost hidden by grass and trees. With unrestrained zeal and high faith of the citizens of Durant, a building would be added to the campus every few years but the growth of the Southeastern College for teachers in all phases was painfully slow.

Montgomery was elected President of Southeastern State College in 1939. In a little while, anyone residing in Oklahoma City and visiting the legislatures on school business, as I was doing at that

¹ In 1925, for example, a need for assistance for an essential and better school in the rural and small town districts, some \$500,000.00 was reluctantly appropriated by the Legislature. Today, the Oklahoma Education Association has grown to a membership of 20,000 teachers in the state, and the legislative appropriation for public schools reached the large sum of \$30,000,000.00 in 1954. Other outstanding points in the Oklahoma field of education provided since about 1918 include (1) two more years added to the curriculum of teachers' colleges; (2) the O.E.A. re-organized for professional and political action; (3) gradation of rural and small town schools by use of the score card; (4) State school boards recognized by the O.E.A. as regular units in all meetings on education; (5) State aid for equalizing weak schools; (6) co-ordination of higher education in 1941 for an all State college system; (7) enlargement of the statewide program of P.T.A.; (8) special needs in the public schools financed by money obtained from such foundations as the Rosenwald Fund, the Slater Fund and the Jeannes Fund.

time, it was clear that the Durant educational institution was getting larger appropriations than many schools of this class, and that two buildings were being secured for Southeastern when other schools of like kind was getting none. In a further time it was discovered that the quiet and unassuming College President at Durant, was received by the legislators as one who knew what he wanted and offered the proof of his needs so plain and so palatable that the legislature was letting him set a pace for expansion of Southeastern not found there before and seldom at any other educational point of the state.

Just a few months before the demise of Dr. Montgomery, I visited the city of Durant and he took me on a visit to his buildings and grounds. The campus, vastly enlarged, was alluring and resplendent with green velvety lawns, adorned in orderly fashion with flowering shrubs, borders and plots of varied flowers, and all this dominated by an over-influence of the use of the Magnolia. The President told me with justified pride how the pupil life, together with the faculty, had joined him in making these now spacious grounds into this Magnolia world.

Hundreds of these magnolias, many advanced in years, were in full bloom and as I traced the wonderful beauty of these ivory-tinted, gorgeous flowers over against the marvelous rich green of the leaves, it came to me that this man who had loved this institution, not only as a center from which to distribute the best trained life he could give to the State, he had at the same time made it a thing of beauty and a joy forever which would testify to all those who ever looked upon this campus and these splendid buildings that he was a devotee of that sort of education which only a creative genius could give.

We entered the Student Union Building, one of its class, first brought into service among the teacher colleges of the state. I was overwhelmed with its elaborate rooms, halls and such an abundance of all material to give happiness to pupils and to people. This was just one of many such modern and spacious buildings that had placed Southeastern not only among the leading and larger state teacher colleges of America but had given to all the citizens of southeastern Oklahoma a regional center where they were meeting in conventions, entertainments, lectures, all climaxing into a newer, a better and a happier life for that entire section of the state.

If I ever doubted Montgomery's ability as a real national figure in education, I then and there put away my doubts.

In the list of honors received and the many places of high repute, the people of Oklahoma gave this man, the reader may observe that Dr. Montgomery was elevated to the position of a Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1951. This honor and tribute from the twenty-five eminent men and women composing the Board

of Directors of this Society came to him because of his most valuable contributions in the fields of education and his authorship and writings on Oklahoma history. Perhaps above that they felt the need of a man to whom governors, legislators, all men and women who should and could support the Oklahoma State Historical Society, would listen. He served too short a time. On the morning of his death one of the Directors said to me, "Sorrowful indeed is his passing; there was a man who could do more for this institution in the approaching days than most any man of the State."

The city of Durant and Southeastern State College found their grief and tribute expressed in the words of Dr. A. E. Shearer, now President of Southeastern:

In the passing of President T. T. Montgomery, the state lost one of its most important citizens. For a half century, President Montgomery was identified with every important educational movement in the state and was closely associated with the civic and religious life in the communities in which he lived.

He was a great educator, a loyal friend, a devoted father, and an outstanding leader. Every school system with which he was connected prospered under his leadership and all who knew him appreciated his friendship, his aggressive leadership, his devotion to duty, and his fine contribution to education.

Southeastern State College made rapid strides during his long tenure as President. He has left his imprint on the college in the improvement of the educational program, in the raising of scholastic standards, and in the expansion of the school plant.

He was truly one of the greatest college presidents in the history of the state.

We often speak of the three learned professions as Theology, Medicine and Law. I never cared to discuss which is greatest for the question was decided early in my life when I entered the school-room as a teacher. *There is a fourth profession though many do not call it a profession, and this is the profession of teaching which I think is the greatest of all. One may vision a society so high and so excellent that it would have no need for the preacher, doctor or lawyer yet the teacher would always be needed. The teacher's work is to develop the substance of wisdom that lies in every soul.* Dr. Montgomery understood and believed this,² and it made his life a rich and potent one.

² The writer observed closely Dr. Montgomery's service to Oklahoma and his country for almost fifty years, and upon his death, drafted a resolution in tribute to Dr. T. T. Montgomery at the request of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, which was adopted by the Board and published in the Society's official journal, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2 (Summer, 1954), pp. 244-5.

HERBERT HIRAM CHAMPLIN

By Henry B. Bass

Herbert Hiram Champlin was born in Winnebago County, Illinois on February 18, 1868, the eldest child of Charles Augustus and Alice (Pickard) Champlin. The first Champlin to come to America had emigrated from England early in the eighteenth century and settled in New York. There the family remained until the parents of Charles Augustus with their four sons and one daughter removed to Illinois a few years prior to the Civil War.

Charles, along with his three brothers Bradford, Joel and Alfred served with the Union Army. Bradford and Joel gave their lives in the service of their country and Charles suffered to the end of his life from a crippled arm resulting from a wound received at the Battle of Shiloh. While Herbert was still a small boy the family joined the post Civil War westward migration and came to McPherson County, Kansas. Here the Civil War veteran passed away and the task of rearing six sons fell upon the slender shoulders of Alice Champlin. The only daughter of the family had died at the tender age of three.

The indomitable widow brought her sons to manhood and succeeded in seeing that each obtained an education much better than the average Kansas family was accustomed to receiving during that era. One son, Alfred, became an outstanding athlete at the University of Kansas. He scored the first touchdown ever made in the gridiron classic into which the football rivalry between the Universities of Kansas and Missouri has developed. For years Spaulding's official football rulebook carried Alfred Champlin's picture on its cover.

As the oldest son, much of the responsibility of carrying on for his younger brothers devolved upon Herbert Champlin's shoulders. But in addition to giving his mother much aid, he succeeded in graduating from McPherson High School. A short stay at Wichita's Friends University was followed by a course at Hill's Business College in the same city.

Upon returning to McPherson he obtained a position with a private bank operated by Eli Williams. Here he remained for several years and here he laid the groundwork for the phenomenal success which was to crown his later life. On a salary of \$75.00 per month he learned to discipline himself in the practise of industry and thrift. And here he learned to evaluate integrity as the most important characteristic in a successful life. While employed in this bank, through a course of rigorous self-denial, he succeeded

in saving five hundred dollars. This was a significant sum in 1893 and Mr. Champlin often related how it proved to be the foundation for his fortune.

Intriguing tales of the richness of the Cherokee Strip came to McPherson. Along with many another young Kansan he joined the thousands of homeseekers who raced into the promised land at the high noon of September 16, 1893. He immediately became the prime mover in the organization of the Enid State Guaranty Bank. Illness soon forced him to relinquish his interest in this institution and he returned to Kansas to recuperate under the watchful eye of his energetic mother. But before he left he invested his five hundred dollars in his adopted city by purchasing the quarter block at the northeast corner of Enid's square. This property is now occupied by the First National Bank and Sears-Roebuck buildings.

Fully recovered, he returned to the Cherokee Strip and engaged in the lumber business. Besides the parent yard at Enid, he soon was operating retail lumber establishments at Hobart, Kingfisher and Lawton. But the banking business was his first love, and he could not remain away from it. Sale of the hundred foot square parcel on the corner of the quarter block he had purchased gave him the capital to re-enter the business. Charley and Sherman Goltry had come from Iowa at the turn of the century and assumed control of the Enid State Guaranty Bank, by now known as the First National Bank. He repurchased control of the bank from those gentlemen.

Mr. Champlin received \$30,000 for his corner from early day realtor and banker, J. B. Ferguson. It seemed like a tremendous price at the time. But he was chagrined a few years later to watch Mr. Ferguson sell the same property to the American National Bank for the princely sum of \$100,000. That episode caused him to resolve never again to sell another piece of Enid real estate, and he never did.

On November 14, 1895, at McPherson, Kansas, he married his childhood sweetheart, Ary Delight Noble. She proved a most able helpmeet. When the opportunity came to enter into the major activity of his life he was on the verge of passing it by. But his farsighted wife foresaw the possibilities the oil business offered and gave him a resolute push right into the middle of it. Four children were born to this marriage—Marie, (Mrs. Doyle W. Cotton), Joel N., Helen (Mrs. David Jerauld Oven), and Herbert Hiram, Jr.

On the honeymoon the couple visited Kansas City, Missouri. The bridegroom contrasted the luxurious city with the frontier town to which he proposed to take his dainty bride. His heart quailed at the thought of subjecting her to the pioneer life lived



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by all in the Cherokee Strip in its first decade of settlement. He called upon E. F. Sweeny who had but recently assumed the presidency of the metropolis' First National Bank. He desired to take a position with the city bank whereby he and his bride might lead a less rigorous life. But the Kansas City banker thought differently. He pointed out the vast possibilities of the new country and the opportunities for a young man with energy. He rejected the applicant with the sage advice to return to Enid and "grow up with the country." Anyone familiar with the career of H. H. Champlin can only agree that the advice was timely and well followed.

In 1916 the Garber oil field was discovered. In the midst of the new pool lay the George Beggs farm. The lease on it had been owned by the Sinclair Refining Company but for some inexplicable reason was allowed to lapse. Mr. Beggs came to Enid and offered to sell the mineral rights on his farm to Mr. Champlin for \$11,500. While the banker hesitated regarding the advisability of investing in a new business, his wife stepped into the picture by insisting he do so.

The farm proved to be a prolific producer of oil. Means of marketing this production must be secured. In Enid, Victor Bolene had begun the construction of a tiny refinery or "skimming plant" as Oklahoma's first crude refineries were often called. Before it was put into operation, Mr. Bolene sold it to the embryo oilman and the Champlin Refining Company came into being. Soon a pipe line was built from the Garber Pool to Enid to supply the ever increasing needs of the refinery. This line, now known as the Cimarron Pipe Line Company, has spread into a network of crude and product lines which traverse Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, Nebraska and Iowa.

In 1920, the Goodwell Oil Company, which firm operated a considerable string of bulk plants and service stations, was purchased and the company was well launched as a completely integrated oil company. It continued to expand by ploughing back all its earnings into the business until at the time of the founder's death, it was the world's largest family owned company engaged in every phase of the business. A splendid description of it was once given by a Standard Oil Company executive.

In 1939 Mr. Champlin was engaged in building his home in Enid. He wrote to the Kent-Kostigan Company in New York, one of the outstanding dealers in floor coverings, regarding possible purchase of some rugs. Mr. Kostigan was not familiar with the writer of the letter but did note the inquiry was on an oil company's letterhead. The rug dealer lived in Montclair, New Jersey and his next door neighbor was a vice-president of the Standard Oil Company. He took the letter home and showed it to his neighbor. That gentleman declared, "I have never heard of the Champlin

Refining Company. But you let me have that letter and I will get you a report on him."

The next evening the Standard man came over to the Kostigan home with the report: "I wish you would look at this. No one in the Standard offices has ever seen anything to equal it. Here is a man who owns all the stock in his company. He has his own oil wells, crude pipelines, refinery, products lines, bulk plants and service stations; even his own bank and we cannot find where he owes a dollar to anyone. We feel he is a perfect prospect for the sale of some rugs."

Mr. Champlin was much engaged in various business enterprises throughout his life. Yet he was never too busy to take a keen and active interest in the affairs of his hometown, his state and his country. And above all, he always had time to listen to the troubles of his fellow citizens and aid in their solution. The door of his private office was never closed and he was readily accessible to every visitor. He disliked keeping anyone waiting, and never did when it could possibly be avoided.

He served on Enid's first school board and remained a member of that body for many years. In 1906 he spent much time in Guthrie representing Garfield County as a member of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention. As befitted a Civil War veteran's son, he remained ever an ardent Republican. In 1940 he attended the Republican National Convention as a delegate. The steadfastness of his character was never better illustrated than on the hectic night the cry of "We want Wilkie" stampeded the convention into nominating a political unknown for the presidency. As delegation after delegation joined the parade, the Oklahomans attempted to follow suit. A poll of the delegation was demanded. Every delegate save one cried Wilkie. But H. H. Champlin's voice came over the radio with a firm "Taft!" and when the final ballot was tabulated it lacked one vote of being unanimous. He continued to vote for the man he considered most fitted for the presidency at that time—Robert Taft.

As the prosperous days of 1929 gave way to depression, along with all Americans, he was much concerned, not only with the plight of his own ventures, but with that of the American people. But he considered efforts of the Federal and State Governments to aid by interfering with the workings of natural economic trends would only prolong the agony. Time after time he remarked, "President Hoover should go on the radio and tell us the truth. We have been on a building, spending and speculative orgy. Now it is up to the entire country to tighten its belt and work out of it. The government should help all it can by enforcing anti-trust laws and reducing expenditures so as to ease the tax burden on the people."

He began to lose confidence in Herbert Hoover with the enactment of the Federal Farm Board Act. This provided for the expenditure of \$500,000,000 in a futile effort to hold the price of wheat above that set by the workings of the law of supply and demand. He broke completely with the administration over the pro-rating of oil from producing wells. The first crude fumbling with pro-ration was principally concerned with the raising of the price of petroleum and its products. Mr. Champlin recognized it as such and opposed the original directives with everything at his command. His lawyers rushed into every court to which they could gain admittance. With the best legal talent obtainable he fought the issue through every state and federal court until he was finally defeated by the unanimous decision of the nine justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. Champlin and Governor William Murray had been close friends since the days of the State Constitutional Convention at Guthrie. But such a thorn did he prove to be in the Governor's side over the issue of pro-ration that the feelings between the two became strained. When Oklahoma's pro-ration law was passed through the Legislature, the Governor quickly signed it, then turned and handed the signature pen to a reporter. "Here!" he exclaimed. "Take this pen up to Enid and give it to Herb Champlin."

Although pro-ration began as a price fixing measure it has developed into the finest of all measures for the true conservation of our oil and gas resources. As the years passed Mr. Champlin became fully convinced of this. His company was saved much unnecessary and hasty drilling of its vast holdings in the West Edmond Oil Pool as a result of its application. And the life of the wells and production therefrom were much enhanced.

As the depression deepened, banks everywhere became deeply enmeshed in difficulties as depositors withdrew their money and notes became increasingly difficult to collect. The American National Bank was the first in Enid to reach a critical situation. Mr. Champlin's First National took it over lock, stock and barrel. Then the position of the Enid Bank and Trust Company became precarious. Under his leadership the remaining three banks assumed its obligations. When the Garfield County Bank closed its doors Mr. Champlin was heard to voice the regret his means did not enable him to assume its liabilities also, so as to save the depositors from loss.

In February of 1933 the banking situation in Detroit became so drastic the Governor of Michigan arbitrarily ordered the closing of every bank in that state. Quickly the wave of bank closings swept the nation until by March first, every Governor had ordered all banks in their states closed. In Oklahoma every bank obeyed

the edict—save one. H. H. Champlin declared his bank was chartered as a national institution. Governor Murray had no authority over it. Within its vaults was enough money to pay its depositors. The people needed their money and he was determined they should get it. For three days the exasperated Governor endeavored to persuade the First National Bank of Enid to close its doors but the adamant bankers refused and continued to pay out money to all depositors requesting it. On March 4th, the Governor called out the militia and a squad of soldiers forcibly closed and locked the bank's doors. *Time* magazine in describing the incident declared it was the only occasion in the history of American Banking in which a bank was closed by the armed forces.

Throughout the depression, Mr. Champlin continued to aid his fellow citizens in every possible way. But so modest was he that few, if any, knew the extent of his activities. Business after business was kept going by his timely aid. He believed in character. If he had confidence in a person's integrity, there was almost no limit to which he would go in backing him. If he lacked this confidence, no amount of collateral seemed to interest him. Especially interested was he in people who showed a desire to help themselves.

Until the very last he maintained an interest in the world about him. Never did he entertain any thought of retiring from the many enterprises which filled his life. He was never content to sit idly by but insisted in playing a hand in experimenting with new things and ideas as they appeared. When radio came along in the twenties, he founded KCRC, Enid's first radio station. He foresaw the possibilities of aviation and was a flying enthusiast. When he learned of the possibility of an army flying field to be located near Enid, he promptly agreed to underwrite the considerable amount required to secure the necessary land. He and his company aided in the War effort with everything at their command. His last constructive work was the building of a plant at his refinery for the making of basic materials in the manufacture of synthetic rubber.

Herbert Hiram Champlin passed away in his home at Enid, on April 24, 1944, leaving a host of friends. His character was never better illustrated than in the building of his home. Everything that went into it must be of the best. All concealed materials were of the same high quality as those exposed to view, and every modern convenience was incorporated. The house and the man are true examples of Longfellow's lines:

“Truly shape and fashion these
Leave no yawning gaps between;
Think not because no man sees,
Such things will remain unseen.”

MY LIFE IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY OF OKLAHOMA"

THE STORY OF AUGUSTA CORSON METCALF

By Melvin Harrel



Augusta Corson Metcalf is a gentle woman, and a loyal Oklahoman. She has reached fame in many states, as well as her own, and is one of the few artists that has achieved fame in the field of western illustrations. She paints that part of Oklahoma's History in which she lived. This was during the settling of No Man's Land and the days that men and women endured in their effort to possess the land.

She lives in a well kept house nestled along the winding Washita river, near Durham, Oklahoma. She is surrounded with those things that are dear to her heart: an old fiddle, branding irons that tell a story of yester-year, and wonderful paintings of an interesting era in the West's history. By chance, one is sometimes allowed to enter the "inner-sanctum" where are an old wood cook stove and for a cupboard, a chuck box. Many times on a long winter's day, the writer has sat at the table and shared a meal with one that might have been served in the Corson home, in No Man's Land referred to by early settlers as the "Neutral Strip." These cherished memories will always be remembered.

The following incidents of Mrs. Metcalf's life in the Indian Territory are written as she told them. It is the language of that early era when "A body was never too busy to neighbor."

AUGUSTA METCALF'S STORY

My dad was born in Pennsylvania's "Up Country" in 1838. Edward G. Corson, was a person of much energy. "Pa" as we children called him, joined the Northern Army almost at the start of the Civil War (1861-65). He was discharged after a short training and only one skirmish, because of ill-health.

My mother was also born in 1838, and she married Edward Corson there. Three children were born before they left the city. First the Corson family moved to the country near Hughesville, Pennsylvania, then to Illinois near Woodstock. The West still

held its hands out to settlers, and the next move was to Kansas. This was the year 1871. They settled near Vermillion, where I was born in 1881.

I guess I can't tell much about that part of Kansas as we left when I was only three. One thing I do remember, Mother pointed out a "bunny rabbit" (cottontail), and as it happened, it was the only cottontail I saw until I was eleven. You see, we moved to the prairie and I got acquainted with the jack rabbit. This move was to Spearville, where my Father had the misfortune of losing five of our six horses. He bought a well broken team of oxen—long horns—called "Tom and Jerry," and brought us to "No Man's Land" in the year 1886.

Pa and the boys came to this "Neutral Strip," and brought some of the household belongings, and our small bunch of cows. My oldest brother, Howard, went back for the rest of the belongings and "we-uns" Mother, Sister Janet and me.

Guess we would look like a real show now-a-days as the wagon was really loaded with all kinds of furnishings—nothing fancy, and driving our patient oxen, Tom and Jerry. We were leading a cow, and she had a young calf that became such a nuisance we sold it for \$1.00 and were glad to get on without it. Old "Kilkennie," our cow, really did some kicking about the transaction.

One day at noon we camped near Sharps Creek, this empties into Beaver River on the north side in the Panhandle. A man and two boys brought their ox teams to water. It was interesting to me to see five teams wade far out in the water and get all they wanted to drink. Then when they were commanded to come out, they turned and came out as all good oxen do.

We landed on the claim which Pa had selected to call home. Our first house was a 10 by 12 foot shack. Pa later built a three room sod house in which we lived six years. It was located to the side of the ravine where there were several deep spring ponds. Father quarried out a stoney bank and walled up the spring nearest our house, and put a shade on it, so cattle couldn't get to it. That was our well and it was good water . . . plenty of it.

About a year or two later my sister married. That gave me a chance to ride! My brother Edward had gone back to Kansas, so when Janet no longer did the "bringing in the cows" it was my chore. I really enjoyed riding. I had learned before we left Kansas, but that wasn't the real business. I had been a nuisance, I imagine, to the rest of the family, but my oldest brother Howard wanted me to be a rider, and now I had my chance. We had only a small bunch of cows but they had to be corralled at night, as all around us was open range—"free range," it was called. We "nesters" must take care of our few head of stock and not let them go astray with the range cattle.

Those days we used to see a few, and sometimes several mustangs. One time two came near our house. Our team of horses was eating out of the wagon and one of us opened the door. The wild horses that had come up near ours ran away just like frightened deer.

One time when I was about six years old, I went with Howard to Ockletree County, Texas. We camped on Wolf Creek, near Billie Enfield's place. We were invited to come and eat watermelon, which we did. We all went down to the creek and gathered some wild grapes. I saw my first "Bob White" quail there. Billie saw to it that with our load of wood we hauled back, we also had plenty of melons. I guess I really made the folks tired, telling them of the time I was in Texas. We lived on the main road from Ockletree, Texas, to Liberal, Kansas. We had visitors from time to time, and Billie Enfield often stopped at our place for water and to camp.

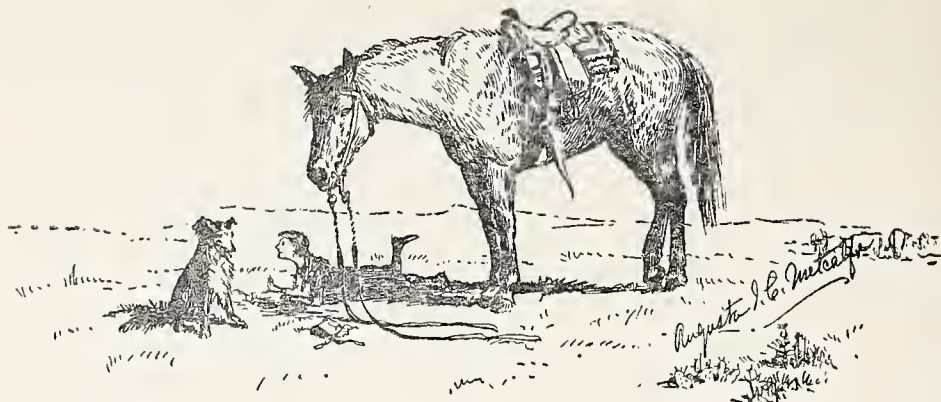
When we first came to the Neutral Strip, in the Indian Territory, Mead Center was the big trading town, also Dodge City, Kansas. Our farm was located two miles from the post office of Boyd. Boyd has been moved three times since those days. It was then a town with a store or two, doctor's office, two saloons, a barber shop and a post office.

When the Cherokee Strip opened, nearly everyone was going to the new land, for we saw many covered wagons going east. I think it was in 1890 that Pa made an agreement with a man, Alec Fultz, to herd his cattle to keep them from mixing with the range stock. On April 1st, he brought in sixty-six head, a very motley bunch, mostly cows, heifers, and a very few yearlings. I was to be herder in all good weather. I sure felt important, and enjoyed most of it.

My brother, Howard, was a horse wrangler for the "S Half Circle" outfit, which was the brand of the Hardesty Brothers. That year they were shipping out to the Black Hills of Dakota. Howard came sometimes on short calls when they were not camped too far from our place. He told me much of my knowledge of the range cattle. I was told to remember the different brands and where they belonged; not to forget the ear marks, and to keep my eyes and ears open.

I let my cattle scatter to graze properly. When they would drift toward water, I would ride out ahead and scare off the range cattle. I was little but I could yell and my little dog, Don, could run at the cattle and bark. The range cattle would run down toward Beaver River.

On Jackson Creek there was an old white stone house, I used to draw pictures on the stones, and scratch them on the softer ones. Of course the pictures were all of horses.



Lying in the shade of Dick.

The summer was very hot. Some days the cattle would stop grazing and just stand as there was no shade. At such times I would lay down in the shadow of "Old Dick," my saddle horse. Some folks used to ask me, "Don't you get lonesome?" It wasn't lonesome for me; I had little Don, my collie dog, and Dick, my saddle horse. No, I think back always on the good old days. They came after the cattle on November 1, one hundred and thirty in all with the extras brought in during the summer.

That winter our herd got to eating loco weed. The worst locoed ones would refuse to eat anything but the weed. This almost put us out of the cow business. At that time no one heard of oil cake, at least not in the Neutral Strip of the Indian Territory.

The next year I had it hard! I had to study—do lessons. As you know, I would have much rather herded cattle. But Mother being a school teacher in Philadelphia, became a very good teacher and gave me a better education than most prairie children received.

In the fall of 1902, we moved about twenty miles west on the Palo Duro River. There was an irrigation dam on the place, a privately owned dam. In these surroundings we called this place home for the next ten months. Pa moved a small frame house there, and we existed. It was just one thickness of boards, but had a good roof and floor. It was a cold one though, and located in a very bleak part of the world. Some of the neighbors, came to visit and spend the day first Sunday after our arrival. All eleven of them were just one family!

The following spring Howard bought me a bamboo cane fishing pole, and taught me how to catch fish. I really made use of that pole. Some of the neighbors would catch all the "catties" (catfish) we could use.

In early June, Father and Howard came down to the Cheyenne and Arapaho Country. This had been opened for settlement with

the "run" April 19, 1892. They were surprised that so much land had not been taken up. They decided on building a picket house. The place Father selected was on the Washita River, near the mouth of a dry creek called Turkey Creek. Mother and I stayed alone for six or seven weeks. We had several bad storms, wind, rain and hail. If Mother was afraid, she never allowed me to know it. Once a neighbor lady asked us to come and stay with her and the children, as it looked as if it would storm. Her husband was away and she was lonely too. It stormed all right, and she walked the floor wringing her hands. It was a new way for folks to act, a real show for me!

In this neighborhood there was quite a settlement, seven or eight families along that little stream within about three miles. It had just ceased to be "No Man's Land." Oh yes, it was now Beaver County, Oklahoma Territory.

Almost every day while Pa and Howard were away, I fished. One morning I caught five just as fast as I could bait my hook and take 'em off. When I went to put them on a string, Fan was just finishing the last one! She was a real pretty Gordon Setter, some hunters had given to my brother. I wasn't mad though because I liked her. She became the mother of five little pups. This is how Yip came into the Corson family, and became my favorite. By the way, Yip and I grew up together. I've had many dogs but none quite so good to me as Yip. She lived to be sixteen years old.

Another terrific rain ended the fishing. The dam broke and when the river swell was over, there was just a shallow stream left. Father and Howard came home just three days later. Fan got all the fish she wanted and then some! Neighbors all wanted a pup and I got to keep one that I thought was the smartest and best and that was Yip.

While Pa and Howard were gone, we had no chores to do as the few extra head of stock were in a neighbor's pasture. The folks were getting things all ready and packed to move to the Washita.

A neighbor was hired to bring a load as he had three large horses and ours were small. We left our cows with a neighbor to bring after frost, else they would die of Texas Fever! This man was also moving down to the Washita River, and had forty more cattle to move.

When we got to the South Canadian River it was up! It had been on a real rampage. We camped near an old house where the man and family was glad to see someone wanting to cross. You see they wanted to cross too but needed more help if anything happened. We camped two nights and one day and then started to

make the crossing. George Horn took the lead, driving a four horse team, but when his lead team came to high water they swung down stream. There were several small children in the wagon and meant a lot of excitement. The women and children had to be carried out. After several attempts the men got the teams and wagons out. Everything was well soaked with the muddy water of the Canadian—red mud! We didn't try it again until the next day. Then with Howard driving four, and two men riding ahead of the lead team, each with a rope, to make horses keep going across, made it! They had to swim thirty yards. I was sitting on the seat with Mother and Howard, with Yip on my lap. Our other dog Jap had to swim. Well a lot of things got wet. I still have a few of the valentines Aunt Belle had sent us from Philadelphia, and they have the brand of that Canadian flood on them—river mud. Our second wagon came across without any trouble. We crossed the river a little west of Canadian, Texas. Then we crossed Red Deer Creek, it was up but caused no trouble.

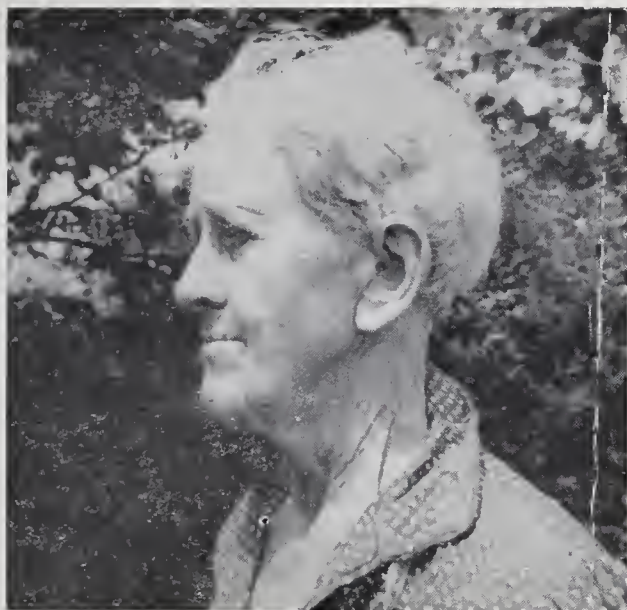
Often my Aunt Belle would write Mother from her beautiful home in Philadelphia and say, "Come back to civilization." If my lovely mother had any misgivings about this wild and raw country, she never showed it. She was brave, unafraid, gentle and kind.

ON THE WASHITA

After the crossing of the Canadian River, we made our way to the thriving little town of Canadian. Supplies were bought at the Gerlach Mercantile Store. The livery stable owned by Bussel and Stickley had a horse for a weather vane. The stores of J. F. Johnson, Jim Winsett, druggist, and Studer meat market, were all in business at that time.

The roads were very sandy in places, Elk Creek east of Canadian was a very long hard pull. We arrived the next day at our new location on the Washita. Well! that was Indian Territory so far as I was concerned. We all enjoyed the timber—lots of wood, and I saw my first cotton-tail rabbit since I was three. There were the beautiful, graceful deer, and lots of wild turkey. Although Pa was a good shot, he never killed but two bucks in his life; never shot a quail or turkey. He did shoot some squirrels and rabbits. Yip and Jap treed a good many 'possum and once in awhile a coon.

There was a lot to do to finish the new house after we got here. We camped under the shade of the big elm trees near by. One neighbor, Tom Cooley, helped build us a fire place, and helped Pa locate corner stones, so we'd be living on the right place, and not on a section line, or a public road some day. We never then expected that almost all section lines would be used as roads.



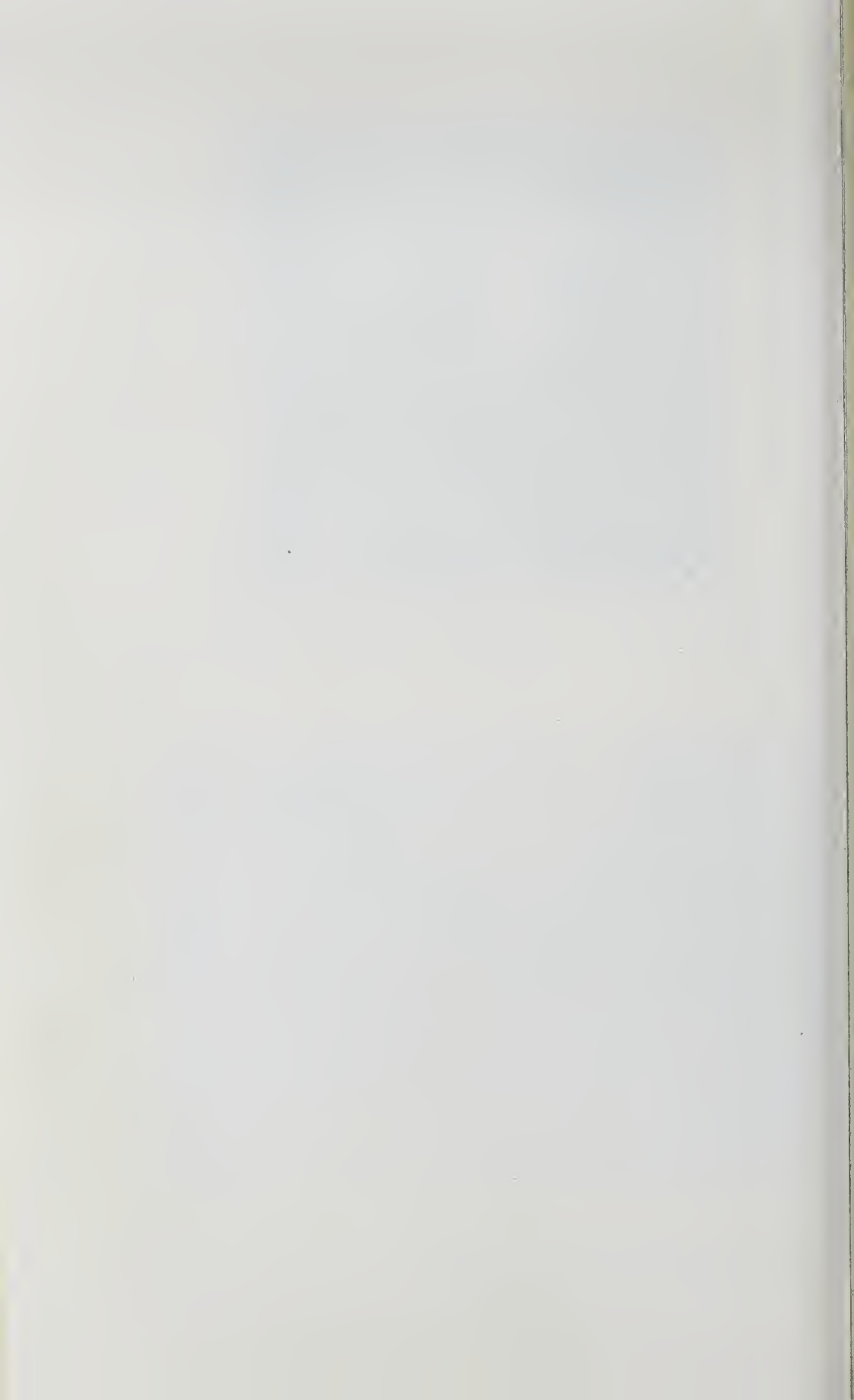
AUGUSTA CORSON METCALF, ARTIST
1955

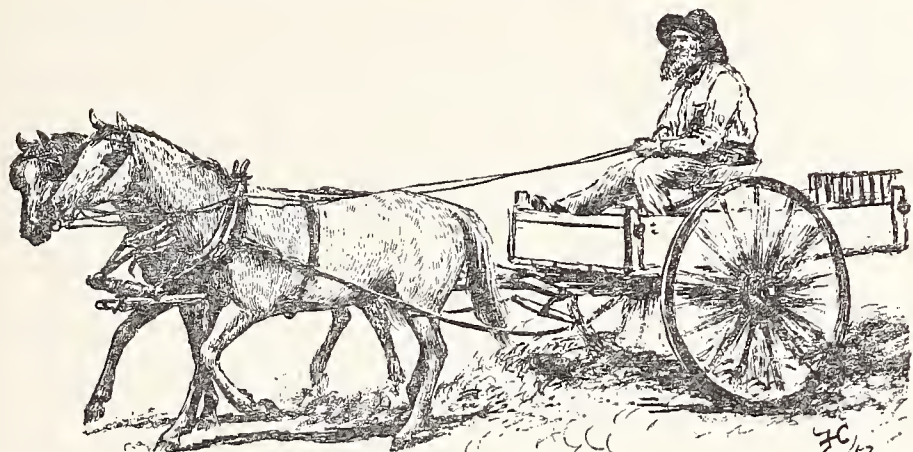


Sketch by Augusta C. Metcalf

"A PICKET HOUSE"

The First Ejectment in Guthrie, Indian Territory, May 23, 1889.





One of the neighbors in 1892

Tom Cooley made me a "blow horn" out of a large steer horn, and it sure is a good one. I used it for many years to call Yip and her daddy, Jap.

We moved to our new place before cold weather, and certainly enjoyed the fireplace and plenty of wood. One day some folks from down river near Cheyenne came by and wanted us to get out of this part of the country and over the Texas Line (six miles west). They said the Cheyenne Indians were about to stage an uprising. Pa wasn't excited so we just stayed put. There were several families going, and they went on over into Texas. I believe it was November, 1894. A few days later, Pa and I were hauling some wood and we saw a lot of horse-backers. "Who are they?" I asked. "Indians I guess," Pa said. Just then the riders came to a halt, every man dismounted, then I knew they were soldiers. They camped for the night not far from our house. Two of the officers came in and talked for about a half hour. They said they had talked to the Indians and had them quieted down, and they promised to wait and let the court decide the case of Red Tom. He, Red Tom, made the brag that he was "going out to kill an Indian, just to say he'd killed one." He did it, and that nearly caused an uprising of the Indians. The soldiers' own opinion was that the Indians should have a chance to do what they wanted with him. Next morning the soldiers left early to face a very cold north wind, in sleet and snow. They were on their way to the base camp at Camp Supply. Ma said I wanted every horse in the bunch. They were really pretty and good and peppy that cold morning. At this time White Skunk was chief of the Cheyenne tribe. The spring of April 19, 1952, the Honorable Victor Wickersham crowned the great granddaughter of White Skunk, princess of the Cheyenne tribe.

In 1893, Brother Ed came from Missouri where he had been working for some time for a cattle buyer and feeder, John S. Bilby. Ed spent most of the winter with us. He had a bear skin overcoat, quite a colorful item to me. Pa and the boys used to go about once a week to Red Moon, our nearest Post Office and store, it was kept by George Shufelt. Scotty Falconer, used to call my brother Ed, "Mr. Bear Skin." Scotty had a ranch nearby on Dead Indian Creek.

Miner Corson carried mail from Canadian to Red Moon, and I believe on to Cheyenne. From there he came by Cataline, Texas, a post office kept by Mrs. Donaldson, and later by Mrs. Tom Riley.

Ed worked awhile for Bud Powers just west of here, in Texas. Then he went back to the "Show Me" state of Missouri. In June of the year 1894, Brother Howard caught a young fawn and brought it home for a pet. We named him Joe. We all enjoyed him, the most beautiful thing I had ever seen. We made the dogs understand that they must treat him right. They did and when he grew to be a deer, they would play together and drink out of the same pan of milk, at the same time. He would lie by the side of the house, and the cat would lie on his back.

I went with my brother to Canadian for supplies. As he was not very well, I would jump out and open and shut the gates. Believe it or not, there were nineteen gates on the way to Canadian. Most of them were board gates as most of the freighters used this same road. Six mule teams with the trail wagon was very common.

Later in the fall Howard was very sick. He went to Dr. Newman, Uncle of Dr. Newman of Shattuck, in Canadian. The Doctor told him to go to a specialist in Kansas City. Dr. Newman said, "He may help you, I can't." Howard told Mother, "If I don't come back, give the filly to the kid."

He didn't come back; it was very sad for us all. One of the neighbors brought us a turkey for Christmas, but nothing helps much at such a time. We never did break the filly to work or ride, but she raised several colts and fillies. The first was Rhody. I still have a young mare, a great-great-granddaughter of the filly that Howard gave me.

My brother Ed and wife came from Missouri to make their home on the Washita, in the spring of 1895. They built a house of sod, but his wife was dissatisfied and in the late fall they moved back to Missouri. Later a man and wife and a little boy, about two years old, wanted to live in the house for the winter. Pa took a little mare and a filly as trade for the use of the house. This man had about thirty head of ponies that he'd brought from New Mexico. He said he was going on to Arkansas in the spring. His name was Charley Harrel.

A couple of years later the filly was a new mount for me and after Pa had ridden her three or four times, I got the chance to do the rest. She was a good one, her name was Fly. She was a splendid traveler, and always "raring to go," and that was what I liked.

Our neighbors, the Shaws lived about a mile from us across the Washita. Maggie Shaw and I were pals from the first year although she was ten years older than me. We had another friend Teresa Brown who lived in Texas, on the Gageby ranch, about twenty-five miles west of here. She would come and visit with Maggie, and we three would have great times together. She would stay a month or more. One night Maggie, her brother Tommy, Teresa and myself went horseback with a borrowed trail-hound, coon hunting. The hound did a lot of bawling but never got anything treed. We had a real evening. Maggie and Teresa sang "Red River Valley" and "Home on the Range." That was the first time I had heard the songs. The night was still, and the stars sparkled in the sky. That's the way we young folks had lots of fun, just being together and learning to be neighbors.

Frank Cole and his young wife Genie lived a little over a mile down the river. She was good company and full of life.

Father and Mother built a stone house near the picket house. We had lived in the picket house for two years, then in the stone house for five years, and used the picket house for a store room. The last four years we had water in the house, or all around it at times. The river had risings quite often it seemed. One night Mother called to us, "Water in the house!" Pa and I hurried out to take care of some of the young chickens in coops. We lifted them in their little coops into the wagon to save them. Mother was busy setting things up off the floor. It was sixteen inches and still rising, Pa said we better get on higher ground. Mother and I walked together; it was cold as it had hailed and small islands of ice were floating down stream. (I didn't think to put in here that little George had been added to our family, as Brother Ed had lost his wife and brought his little boy so he could be cared for by his own parents. Little George was two and a half years old.) Pa picked up the boy, a big quilt, some kindling and an ax. When we got to higher ground, he built a fire so we could dry out, and wrap the boy up in the quilt. Then Pa said he had forgot his tobacco, and walked back to the house to get it. When he returned he said the water didn't get any higher. Next morning we cleaned up and moved in again. Then Pa said we'd just have to build a house on much higher ground. Pa and Ma again built a house of stone on the hill just east of our first place. That was the summer of 1900. We moved into it although not finished, but it was through before cold weather.

We had a few more neighbors who had moved in before this: Hawthornes from Kansas, had filed on land just east of us. Three girls and two brothers John and Jimmie Mart Cole had located a mile and a half south. J. P. Wilson and family—wife and three boys and four girls—settled on land two miles up the river. Boy! It seemed like town almost, so many folks! But when the "Free Homes Bill" boosted by Dennis Flynn was made a law, people came to get their 160 acres! They came in all kinds of rigs; some filed on land from a plat that showed vacant places at Kingfisher, and then came to see the land they had filed on. Some disgusted, would go back, or on to some other place, or buy or trade for a better place. One man worked several days digging a dugout, then found out he was on the wrong township, just six miles off center.

Some of the new-comers wanted all section lines opened up. We had always been used to taking the river road up the creek and by Antelope Hills to Grand, our County Seat. We were living in Day County at that time. Part of the County was on the south side of the river so you see we didn't want to go by section lines, for we just had one main road to the river. Near this date (1898), Mr. A. Hammond from New Mexico, the city of Roswell, came and located about three and a half miles down the river. He was a fine old man, a blacksmith.

All this time we had been getting our mail at the Shaw's box. The first Star Route mail carrier was Miner Corson, then a man Whittenburg, and then another by the name of Blunt. The mail was carried from Canadian to Red Moon post office. Mr. Hammond was directly on the route, and soon was appointed post master. With his blacksmith shop and post office of Hamburg, he was very popular. To put it in the blacksmith's words, "He also sold a few things you forget when you go to town."

A few years later, Hamburg got on the map! It had a bank, cotton gin, three general stores owned by Ollie Leach, T. J. White and a man by the name of Enoch Swindal. The print shop was run by a young man by the name of John C. Cassady who published the *Hamburg Blade*. There was a church and, also, a saloon.

I used to ride to Hamburg to get the mail and, sometimes, a few items from one of the stores. Things were not always so neat as they are today. Tea for instance came in bulk, I bought some one day and we found that the bin had been open and someone had thrown in a wad of gum.

I used to carry mail for some of the neighbors. Then they would come to our house to get it. I would leave the Shaw's mail at their house as it was on the road. Those days we had to ride side saddles, or at least ride sideways if we used men's saddles. The folks bought me a new side saddle in 1898. I still have it

and it is in "No. 1" condition; it is a "Gallup." I also have the catalog it was ordered from. There are some fine saddles pictured in it, and the highest priced cowboy saddle was \$85.00.

I think about 1902 or 1903, there was an election held to settle the question of free range or herd law. Of course herd law won. I think it was about 1899 that a school house was built about three-fourths of a mile from where we lived. It was on Government land.

Some folks in the community organized a Sunday School. Sometimes they had camp meetings. We had big crowds, at least we thought so. Reverend Levi Harris from the "Up River" country in Texas used to come and preach. Mr. Tom Owens was our Sunday School superintendent for several years.

Maggie Shaw had married in 1899 and lived in Texas on "Eller Flat," so we didn't get to see each other very often. The Wilson girls were nice and their mother certainly was a good neighbor. I never attended school, but Mother kept me busy with lessons, and by furnishing plenty of good reading matter—no trashy magazines, or novels.

I haven't said much about drawing or painting. It was just something I used to "kill time with" as I was home most of the time. I didn't go places like folks do now. I used to send drawings to my Uncle George in San Francisco, and he would sometimes tell me what was wrong with them. He also sent me drawing paper, pencils, etc. I wanted to try colors, but it was his idea to learn to draw before using colors. Once I sent him a drawing of a horse, front view. I had trouble with the horse's feet, so I made a lot of grass to cover up! His letter came saying, "That horse was good but next time bring him out of the grass!"

One time there was to be a debate at the school house on Friday night. The question was, "Which was the most benefit to man, the cow or the horse?" We did not go to the "Literary" that night but after the teacher and the children were gone in the afternoon I went to the school house and drew a picture on the board, in favor of the horse of course. That night the crowd came and among them was a veterinary. He saw the point, that I tried to show, and with a few words from him, the horse won! A day or two later a party on the "Cow Side" told us about it and said, "You played thunder drawing that picture on the blackboard!"

We enjoyed those days I suppose, mostly because we were young. I still enjoy horses, cattle and I guess about everything out-of-doors.

CONCLUSION

The days of the Indian Territory were gone. Augusta's father passed away February 4, 1903. In 1905, Augusta married, and her son Howard was born in 1905. From 1908 to 1917, this young woman farmed twenty five acres to row crops, corn, kaffir or maize. She also mowed and raked about twenty five or thirty acres of bottomland. She raked and bunched it, then got some of the neighbors to stack it for her. This was about forty or fifty tons. She fed her cattle in the winter months. This is the window through which we see years of toil and hardship. This young woman suffered and worked taking the man's place in her family alone. Her husband had left this part of the country when the boy was small. Her guiding light, her mother, the gentle Scots woman, took care of the boy and taught him as she had taught the wisp of a girl, Augusta in No Man's Land. In 1917, Augusta had to quit farming on account of her mother's failing health. She had others put up the hay, and plant and harvest the crops. Sadness came to the little home on the Washita when her mother passed away February 22, 1920. A dark cloud passed over the young woman and her son but through these shadows, the good teaching of that Philadelphia lady, her mother, became a strong tie that guided her through the darkness.

It was during the years between 1908 to 1917, that Augusta illustrated for some of her mother's writings. These were published in educational publications in the east. These years of hard work were years that Augusta painted, and held to the finer things of life. One of her most unusual paintings was on a grain of corn: There was a blue sky, with a garden scene; a lady was listening to the red horn of a phonograph sitting in the shade of the trees. She sent this miniature to Thomas A. Edison and received a letter of appreciation from him. He said the painting had been taken to his home where it was greatly admired, and would be preserved with other souvenirs. This letter dated April 23, 1912, is prized as a great treasure in Augusta Metcalf's possessions for it was written by that great man himself.

Augusta continued her painting and writing to persons well known in public life in the East. With these letters, she sent her art work. She wrote a letter to the great comedian of Scotland, Harry Lauder, in which she used several illustrated eyes in the place of the written letter "I." He wrote an answer, dated December 7, 1918, bubbling over with his Scottish humor. It was all in his own handwriting.

In the days of President Theodore Roosevelt, Augusta did some painting for that sportsman's best friend, Roger D. Williams, of Lexington, Kentucky, who was commissioned Major General in World War I. She used to run an advertisement in the *Sports-*



Painting by Augusta C. Metcalf

"EQUINE MADONNA"

Gypsy and her colt. This strain of horses
has been in the Metcalf family for fifty years.



Painting by Augusta C. Metcalf

"THE WASHITA"

This is one of Augusta Metcalf's noted paintings of the Washita River. This is a scene of some of her beautiful horses on her ranch.

man's Review, just a bit of a picture of a bucking horse with, "I paint everything but portraits." General Williams noticed it and published quite an item in another issue of the *Review*:

"I noticed you are carrying an ad of Augusta C. Metcalf of Durham, Oklahoma, allow me to say to your readers if they contemplate having any drawing, etching or painting of animals, they will make no mistake in giving the commission to her. She has done some excellent work for both Col. Theodore Roosevelt (Teddy) and me and am sure she has few superiors as an animal painter, especially horses and dogs."

More recently she painted a portrait of General Douglas McArthur on a china plate, and had it fired and mailed it to him. In return he sent her a large photo of himself, personally autographed.

Her paintings won two first's in the first Oklahoma State Fair. She won the first prizes in the State Fairs of October 9, 1909 and in September 27, 1910. At the Amarillo Tri-State Fair her paintings were first, in 1948, 1951 and 1952. Other state fairs in which she took first place with her paintings are Abilene, Texas, 1928, Hemphill County, Canadian, 1921, and others. A small box is filled with ribbons of her many exhibits.

In *The Daily Oklahoman*, Sunday Magazine section, she was once featured in an article by Roy Stewart, who dubbed her the "Sage Brush Artist," a fine and very suitable title.

She reached international fame when *Life* magazine featured her in pictures and story by Joe Scherschel and Roy Stewart, in the July 17, issue, 1950. She has had many "one man shows," and has the honor of being featured in one of the Oklahoma Art Center shows, directed by Nan Sheets. This wonderful, resourceful woman, Augusta Metcalf, is one of Oklahoma's outstanding artists, and pioneers.

It is difficult to end the story of Augusta Metcalf, for the lady is very much alive. She is still making history of art in Oklahoma close to nature on her ranch in Roger Mills County. Her own words as she has penned them to the writer are a fitting close to the story of this pioneer:

"We continued to live in the house Pa and Ma hand-built on the hill until 1940. Then Howard with other help built a house of concrete blocks in which we now live. Howard enlisted in the Armed Forces in 1942 and was in the South Pacific for almost three years. He married in 1945, on his return from the Air Force, and here we all are, the three of us, Howard, Helen and Gustie.

"We have a lovely pet deer, Dainty Daisy, and several horses. We have always protected game but for many years the deer and the turkeys were gone. Thanks to many good neighbors and the Oklahoma Game and Fish Commission, they are coming back, not plentiful, but it is thrilling to see them again. The quail enjoy the corn-chops put out for Dainty Daisy in her park, a real bushy place where she has plenty of protection. We keep

water out in the summer for all the birds that wish to come. The quail come within thirty feet of the house for a drink.

"Well, you wonder why I don't say more about painting, there were many chores to do, and I used to daub a little now and then in among a lot of other work. I like to paint things that were of the long ago. I can see them as they were away back in "No Man's Land"—longhorns, mustangs, and brons.

"Yes, I like rodeos! And really think it's a ruination of cowboys to see the contraption of a metal chute and cradle, move a lever and turn the cow-brute on his side for branding! TOO MODERN.

"Why folks you know how much better your coffee was, cooked on a camp fire, and sour dough biscuits cooked in a dutch oven!

"However now-a-days I don't have much to do but think and paint pictures; and if I live twenty-five or thirty more years, I might get all of the pictures painted that I've been thinking of.

"Oh no, I don't stay put in the house. I'm just as ready as ever to investigate, who's shooting and where is he at? Get on Mollie or Sweetie and find out.

"Well, so long, it's been so good to know you. Be sure and come by and spend the day.

"Your neighbor,

"Augusta I. Corson Metcalf"

GUTHRIE, FROM PUBLIC LAND TO PRIVATE PROPERTY

By Dr. B. B. Chapman

Guthrie was the pivotal point in the opening of Oklahoma district to settlement in the Run of April 22, 1889. A railroad and land office were there before the opening, and there was a strong prospect of a capital city growing up. Townsite trustees entered 1280 acres at Guthrie, or more land than they entered at Oklahoma City and Kingfisher combined. This is a case study of Guthrie, intended to show at close perspective the competition among settlers that existed to some extent on several townsites between Stillwater and Norman.

According to Inspectors Cornelius MaeBride and John Alfred Piekler, two earloads of people arrived at Guthrie on Sunday evening, April 21, 1889. *The Kansas City Daily Journal* on April 24 said of Guthrie: "If ever the government opened the way to trouble and difficulties, this has been the time. No town was ever built under greater difficulties nor so quickly, nor has ever been so many disappointed men in so short a time. The anticipated bloodshed over quarter sections will not be recorded, as the farmers seem disposed to peaceably adjust all difficulties, and when they find one quarter occupied move on until they find others."

The following excerpt is from this newspaper in the Kansas Historical Society:

Here in Guthrie all is confusion, and the feeling that an imposition has been practiced grows stronger and stronger, and the bitterness is now intense, as the full import of the action of the government officials becomes better understood. Public meetings are being constantly held by states and unitedly, at all of which the question is raised how to best overcome the present situation.

The unauthorized and unwarranted settlement of the best portion of this town by government officials and others has complicated the situation, although no feasible plan has yet been proposed by which they can be ousted from their possessions. As stated yesterday, the choice portions of this town were staked out Sunday night, and by 10 o'clock Monday they were taken possession of.

Among those who took part in these unlawful proceedings were United States Marshals [W. C.] Jones and [Thomas B.] Needles, with at least fifty deputies each; United States Attorney Waldron; United States Commissioner Galloway; Register Dillon [John I. Dille] of the land office; Judge Guthrie of Topeka, district judge; Hiram Dillon, master of chancery in the Topeka district, for the *Kansas City Times*; the Commercial bank officers from Newton, and others as prominent, all of whom had clerks for this occasion only. This is what causes the dissatisfaction that now exists. As the *Journal* representative saw the unlawful squatting done, there is no hearsay about it.¹

¹ See also *New York Herald*, April 24, 1889; "Is [Marshal] Needles in Trouble?" *Chicago Tribune*, April 26, 1889. See *Appendix* for itemization of the quarter-section tracts in the Guthrie vicinity, with plat of Guthrie.

(4-9102.)

AFFIDAVIT.

Land Office at Guthrie, D.T.

(Date) April 22nd, 1889

I, Mark S. Cohn, of Fort Smith, Ark., applying to enter (or file for) a homestead, do solemnly swear that I did not enter upon and occupy any portion of the lands described and declared open to entry in the President's proclamation dated March 23, 1889, prior to 12 o'clock, noon, of April 22, 1889.

* Mark S. Cohn

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22nd day of April, 1889.

NOTE.—This affidavit must be made before the Register or Receiver of the proper district land office, or before some officer authorized to administer oaths and using a seal.

John W. Dille
Register
1889 b-10 m

Nearly a thousand of the choicest lots were thus "gobbled up."

A study of homestead contests on the Guthrie townsite shows the clash of legal views that pertained to lands opened in 1889. Mark S. Cohn of Fort Smith, Arkansas, was a naturalized citizen and a personal friend of Cassius McDonald ["Cash"] Barnes, receiver of moneys for the Guthrie land office. Cohn was forty years old. At noon on April 22 he made the first homestead entry in the land office, selecting for himself the northwest quarter of section eight at Guthrie.² As agent he filed a soldiers declaratory statement for Perry Twichel for the southeast quarter of section five; and for deputy marshals James H. Huckleberry and Benton Turner he filed similar statements for the west half of section nine. The first tract book used in the land office is in the National Archives. Concerning Cohn and section eight is this notation: "W² T. S. [west half of section, townsite] application, April 22 d '89 at 12 noon."³

² The Bureau of Land Management (modern name for the General Land Office) has 72 volumes of *Oklahoma Tract Books*. They have been microfilmed in 24 rolls.

³ *Okla. Tract Books*, vol. 29, p. 39. This set of books has not been kept up-to-date like the set in the Bureau of Land Management. Cohn's homestead papers are in NA, GLO, Guthrie, canceled homestead applications, no. 1. For a survey account of the land opening, see Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma, A History of the State and Its People*, vol. 2, pp. 543-551; see also *S. Ex. Docs.*, 51 Cong. 1 sess., v(2682), no. 33.

PAYNE CASE

Ransom Payne was a deputy marshal, duly appointed in 1888. In pursuance to orders of his superior officer he went, after March 23, 1889, to the locality of Guthrie for the purpose of preserving public order. He was there at noon on April 22, in discharge of his official duties. Immediately after twelve o'clock on that day he entered upon and claimed the northwest quarter of section nine as a homestead. At once he commenced to dig a well. The next day he made homestead entry for the land. On the margin of the receiver's receipt is a notation that the entry was taken subject to the soldiers declaratory statement made by Huckleberry. Payne claimed the land by right of prior settlement. It bordered the 320 acre-townsite of Guthrie proper which had been entered at the land office by Cohn on April 22. The land Payne claimed was not in any manner reserved or withdrawn from homestead settlement when he located there.

In the Run of April 22 Xenophon Fitzgerald left the border line after twelve o'clock noon, and in the opinion of Secretary John W. Noble he reached the northwest quarter of section nine before any of the townsite claimants. He made application to enter the tract as a homestead. On April 26 T. H. Soward, mayor of East Guthrie, et al., made application to enter the west half of the section as a townsite, and on May 9 they instituted proceedings against Payne and Fitzgerald. The Guthrie land office decided the case in favor of the townsite claimants.⁴

Fitzgerald reached Guthrie about 55 minutes after 12 o'clock. He came first to the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of section nine which was being staked by Veeder B. Paine and Arthur Hill. They directed him to the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ which he staked. Fitzgerald and his companion, J. D. Harlis, "rode over the land to see if anyone else was claiming it and found no one there." Stone gave credence to this account. Crowds came upon the tract soon after the trains arrived in Guthrie. For Stone's views, see his letter to register and receiver of Guthrie land office, Jan. 13, 1891, NA, GLO, *Townsites*, vol. 5, pp. 35-76 b.

William M. Stone, Assistant Commissioner of the General Land Office, in a decision of January 13, 1891, awarded the land to Fitzgerald. In summarizing his position he said:

There is no dispute as to Fitzgerald having made his selection and driven his stake sometime in advance of any of the townsite claimants who reached the land. He is, therefore, prior to them in point of time and occupancy. His absence for a few minutes therefrom was compelled by hunger. He went to the nearest point where a lunch could be procured, and when he returned he found townsite adventurers on his home [stead] staking off lots, and otherwise acting in disregard of his previously acquired rights. The stake driven by him with his name and statement of his claim was in a conspicuous place. They could easily have observed it, and there is no evidence that they did not. Immediately upon his return

⁴In the case of Frank M. Gault at Oklahoma City, John I. Dille, register of the land office, and Barnes said the fact that he "settled near a proposed townsite cannot be accepted as evidence of bad faith"; L. B. Hill, *History of the State of Oklahoma*, vol. 1, p. 266; *Fuller v. Gault et al.*, 21 L. D. 176 (1895).

he rode around among them notifying them of his claim. They disregarded his warning and persisted in driving their stakes and asserting their claims. Under the circumstances I am unable to perceive how a settler could have been more prompt and active in asserting his rights. He did all it was possible for him to do under the circumstances. His perfect good faith has been abundantly emphasized by his subsequent acts. If what Fitzgerald did on that, and subsequent days does not make him a bona fide and legal homesteader then I think it was almost impossible for anyone going into that territory under the President's proclamation, to have become so. If this man did not then and there acquire a valid homestead right, then I undertake to say that a large number of men who legally entered the territory for that purpose on that day, utterly failed to accomplish what they attempted, and are today occupying homestead claims illegally. If this be so and if such is to be the rulings of this office, then the law of Congress and the President's proclamation are but a delusion and a snare.

Fitzgerald was unmarried, and for twelve years prior to April 22, 1889, he had herded stock in Oklahoma district and vicinity. Prior to the land opening he had not selected a tract in Oklahoma district as a homestead. He had not been at Guthrie since July, 1888.

Stone's views about homesteads on the border of townsites were further elucidated on May 19, 1891, in a case concerning a tract at El Reno.⁵ He said:

It is a well known fact that in our wonderfully progressive western and southwestern country, with the rapidly advancing railway lines, a tract of land upon which a filing was made for agricultural purposes but yesterday, may, within a brief period by reason of extrinsic circumstances, greatly enhance the value of the land, without reflecting upon the good faith of the entryman. It may often transpire that these circumstances, wholly independent of any acts of the entryman himself, indicate a particular tract as the proper point for the location of a townsite in order to subserve the general convenience of the neighborhood. This changed condition of things may be, and frequently is, emphasized by the location of a railroad at the point mentioned. It does not necessarily militate against his good faith in making his original entry. It is simply his good fortune. It is but history repeating itself in a new country like our own. The necessity for permitting settlement for the purposes of trade and business is often immediate and imperative. And we know that in such a case, "necessity knows no law," and men intrude upon a settler's claim in numbers entirely too strong for his successful resistance.

John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, gave an opinion in the Guthrie Townsite Case on June 22.⁶ He agreed that Huckleberry was disqualified for the reason that Cohn, his agent, was a sooner. Noble said of Payne:

To hold that deputy marshals, trainmen, and others who happened to be within the limits of the Territory in the discharge of their duties, and in the receipt of the salary and emoluments of their position at the

⁵ Stone to register and receiver, Oklahoma City land office, May 19, 1891, *ibid.*, pp. 392-405. Stone saw no reason why the homesteader, John A. Foreman, could not secure title to land as a townsite by paying \$10.00 per acre. Lot owners requested it and opposition was from persons who owned no property there. See also John Alley, *City Beginnings in Oklahoma Territory*, pp. 59-72.

⁶ Guthrie Townsite v. Paine et al., 12 L. D. 563 (1891).

moment the lands were open to settlement, could take advantage of that fact, and in advance of others, immediately enter upon desirable tracts to the exclusion of those who had in obedience to law remained outside of the Territory, would be a violation of the clearly expressed intention and spirit of the act. In my opinion such an interpretation is too unjust to be entertained. The facts in relation to the opening of this country were known to all. Parties who occupied positions similar to that occupied by Payne had abundant opportunity to qualify themselves as claimants by withdrawing from the territory and placing themselves on a par with others, had they so desired. This Payne declined to do, but sought to take advantage of his position to anticipate the arrival of any other claimants from the point they had occupied in obedience to law. This he cannot be permitted to do under the law. Had Payne declined to make any act of settlement until after sufficient time had elapsed for those waiting on the border to reach the point in controversy, and thus placed himself on a par with other claimants, a far different state of facts would have existed, and a different rule might have been applied in the consideration of his claim, but under the present state of facts, there is neither equity nor law on his side.

Noble did not think that Fitzgerald made the alleged homestead settlement in good faith for the purposes contemplated in the homestead law. He observed that for a half century the establishment of a government land office was equivalent to the foundation of a town or city. In his mind it would have been a very harsh, unjust and inequitable ruling to hold that because Fitzgerald reached the townsite first, if he did, that he owned a quarter section of it. Noble also rejected the townsite application of East Guthrie because it was made in the interests of men, many of whom were sooners. He added that the tract might be entered by the proper townsite authorities.

The General Land Office canceled Payne's homestead entry on July 24, 1891. On December 14 Payne submitted to the Guthrie land office his papers of homestead proof and final affidavit.⁷ He said he had "staid continuously on the land" since April 22, 1889, had promptly erected a house valued at \$75, fenced ten acres at a cost of \$100, and dug a well. His wife and little daughter had not resided on the land for the reason that his wife was a "confirmed invalid." For three seasons he had grown crops on ten acres, the portion not occupied by "trespassers." He made application to commute his entry to cash on the payment of \$1.25 an acre. On the same day that Payne submitted the papers of homestead proof, the townsite trustees acquired section nine on the payment of \$800.

Payne brought his case before Judge Edward B. Green in the District Court of Logan County.⁸ Green was satisfied that Payne was a qualified entryman. He said that in order to disqualify Payne, Noble was "compelled to hold that he was not disqualified by

⁷ Payne's homestead papers are in NA, GLO, Guthrie, canceled homestead applications, no. 4. His homestead-proof testimony is in U. S. Supreme Court, *Transcripts of Records*, no. 15,618, pp. 17-18.

⁸ Green's opinion is in the U. S. Supreme Court, *Smith v. Townsend*, *File Copies of Briefs*, vol. 16, no. 1173, pp. 38-45. See also *Payne v. Foster et al.*, 33 Pac. 424 (1893); *Smith v. Townsend*, 148 U. S. 490 (1893).

reason of his being here in the discharge of his official duties up to the 22d day of April, and that he disqualified himself by not going out and coming in. If he was not disqualified by being in, the act of Congress did not require that he should go out and come in." Green also said: "If he is not disqualified by being in, is there any reason why he may not remain in until 12 o'clock? And if he remains in and is not disqualified until 12 o'clock, there is no act in that he can do after 12 o'clock that will disqualify."

The case took a definite trend on April 3, 1893, when the Supreme Court of the United States said of Congress in the case of *Smith v. Townsend*, which concerned Edmond: "It must be presumed to have known the fact that on this right of way [of the railroad] were many persons properly and legally there; it must also have known that many other persons were rightfully in the Territory—Indian agents, deputy marshals, mail carriers, and many others; and if it intended that these parties, thus rightfully within the territory on the day named, should have special advantage in the entry of tracts they desired for occupancy, it would have been very easy to have said so." The Supreme Court of the Territory of Oklahoma followed the direction of the Supreme Court of the United States and held that Payne was disqualified. Both cases rested on the same pivotal point.

Payne appealed the case to the Supreme Court of the United States. His attorneys claimed that the acts of March 1 and 2, 1889, were directed against persons who entered Oklahoma district in violation of the law, and were not directed against agents and upholders of the law.⁹ They said the aim was to prohibit any unlawful advantage; and if there were no such unlawful entrance, the law took no notice of any advantage otherwise obtained. It was observed that Payne's advantage was not obtained by fraud, deceit, treachery, breach of trust or anything of the kind.

Attorneys said that if there was an advantage in Payne's position, it was not of his seeking or obtaining, but "was a mere, unsought incident, a chance of fortune, due to his obedience to orders and his faithful discharge of duty." In regard to Noble's comment that Payne declined to withdraw from Oklahoma district just before the Run, counsel said:

He was given no opportunity to go outside. He was commanded to stay *inside*. The law was not violated by his being where he was. It would have been violated, had he been elsewhere. The public welfare demanded that certain officers should be present at the local land office to preserve the peace. Those whose duty it was to execute the law thought so at least, and, acting upon their judgment, stationed Payne at Guthrie for that pur-

⁹ Attorneys made the most of the letter by Com. S. M. Stockslager to Sen. J. J. Ingalls, April 12, 1889, *Ann. Rpt., Gen. Land Office*, 1889, p. 101. The letter was considered of great importance in court cases concerning "legal sooners." The original letter is in NA, GLO, "A" *Letter Book*, C and D Div., vol. 23, pp. 283-284. Briefs in the Payne Case are in U. S. Supreme Court, *Payne v. Robertson*, no. 20.

pose. Certainly, it will not be held that a man by faithful obedience to law and duty forfeits any of his rights given him by law in the absence of an express declaration to that effect. The policy of our Government is just the other way. It encourages faithfulness in the discharge of public duties.

* * * * *

The advantage that Payne is supposed to have had is chiefly imaginary. He was far in the interior of the country it is true, but there is no reason to suppose that the lands there were any better than those on the border. As a matter of fact, the records of the official survey of the township in which the land here involved lies, show that the quarter claimed by Payne was upland. It is on quite a hill and is far from being a desirable agricultural claim. He was limited to a narrow range in making his choice, because his official duties kept him close to the local office. He could not mount his horse and ride to a choice claim in some rich river bottom. Those gathered on the outside were free to go to points where the water-courses cross the lines whence they could, at the hour of opening, step across the lines or ride a greater or less distance, upon a rich and fertile claim, well watered and timbered. Payne could not do this. The advantage was more apparent than real.

Attorneys for the government said that on April 22, 1889, enough people were legally in Oklahoma district to take all the choice claims. They said Payne had used his official position to beat law-abiding citizens who, at the time he made settlement, were hurrying from the border line of Oklahoma district; and that his aim was to secure title to the land and sell it to occupants and others at his own price. Attorneys observed that if Payne had gone upon the fertile creek claim adjoining Guthrie on the north, the distance would have been no greater. They said that Payne "farms with one horse, and without a plow, or a hoe, or a rake, or a wagon, or a barn, or a stable, or a chicken house, or a pig pen, or a fruit tree, or a garden." His farming apparatus was "simply a place to sleep and a horse to ride."

The Supreme Court of the United States in 1898 said:¹⁰

Manifestly, Congress did not intend that one authorized to enter the Territory in advance of the general public, solely to perform services therein as an employee of the Government, should be at liberty, immediately on the arrival of the hour for opening the Territory to settlement, to assume the status of a private individual and "actual settler," and make selection of a homestead, thus clearly securing an advantage in selection over those who, obedient to the command of the President, remained without the boundaries until the time had arrived when they might lawfully enter.

Payne was reluctant to relinquish his claim to the land. In 1901 his attorneys made application to repay the homestead entry fee. On February 14, 1902, he made homestead entry for 154 acres near Snyder in southwestern Oklahoma. He received a final certificate on September 28, 1908, and a patent was issued to him in 1909. In the meantime this notation was made on his homestead papers for the tract at Guthrie: "Jan. 14, 1909—case closed."

¹⁰ *Payne v. Robertson*, 169 U. S. 323.

PAINE CASE

For a study in human endeavor and of well-laid plans that went awry, we turn to the case of Veeder Bertrand Paine who tried to secure as a homestead the tract on which southeast Guthrie is located. He was reared in the Saginaw valley of Michigan, and became proficient as an inspector of timber and logs. He was a member of the firm of Catlin and Paine which handled more lumber "under inspection and commission" than any other firm in Saginaw valley.

In 1884 Paine applied to the Interior Department for the position of timber agent in Washington Territory, but without success. The next year he was at the Sac and Fox agency in the Indian Territory where he engaged in cattle raising. He wrote to Secretary L. Q. C. Lamar: "If you want the Oklahoma country prospected for trespassers and general information connected therewith as to its fitness for agriculture, etc., can collect the matter and make report."¹¹ He added that his object would be to "earn my salary and make myself useful to the Department in any way possible."

In October, 1885, there appeared in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* an article on "Our Public Land Policy" by Paine. His age was 43. This scholarly article tells how syndicates and other interests by shrewd manipulation had exploited or acquired extensive areas of the public domain. The opening sentences of the article are: "There is no branch of our political economy more worthy of careful study, of more immediate and vital importance to the people, about which they know so little, and to which they show so much indifference, as that of the management of our public lands. Dignified dissertations, dry as dust, treating of the public domain are hurriedly glanced over by the reading public, and laid aside with a vague feeling of helplessness, and a groundless hope that some one will rise up and set the matter right." Paine explained how railroads profited from the public lands, and how special interests turned public auction sales to their own advantage. Especially in the matter of timber lands the author possessed familiarity with his subject.

Of the Oklahoma lands Paine said: "By some arrangement known only to the high contracting parties several cattle companies were permitted to go in and possess the land, pasturing thereon their immense flocks and herds without molestation by the government, while the hardy settler, bent on securing a home for his family, was held back at the point of the bayonet." Paine urged that a vigorous policy be adopted to protect and conserve government lands. He noted that the frontier had virtually passed, and advocated the abolition of free homesteads. He wrote: "Any man who, after having use of 160 acres of such land for, say, five years, free of rent, taxes, or interest, is unwilling to pay the government the small sum of one

¹¹ Paine to Lamar, June 16, 1885, NA, Int. Dept., Appt. Div., File no. 2084-1885.

dollar per acre for a title in fee-simple, does not merit a home, and if unable, unless by reason of misfortune, has certainly mistaken his calling.”

Paine produced satisfactory evidence that he was the first prospective settler to leave the border of Oklahoma district in the race of April 22, 1889, and to establish settlement on the southwest quarter of section nine at Guthrie. He claimed the land as a homestead, although he knew that it would become part of the townsite of Guthrie. At a hearing which began at the Guthrie land office November 26, over 800 pages of testimony were taken.¹² The register and receiver gave a decision awarding the west half of section nine to the townsite claimants.

In 1891 the case came before Assistant Commissioner W. M. Stone who gave credence to this story.¹³ Early in April, 1889, a number of men at Winfield, Kansas, associated themselves together as a town company, and employed N. A. Haight to survey and plat the west half of section nine as a townsite. Haight went to Guthrie about April 10 or 12 but the military did not permit him to go upon the tract, although he viewed it from the railroad train and by thus refreshing his memory thereof, gained some years before by being employed to assist in making the government survey of the country thereabout, he returned to Winfield, made a plat of said tract and delivered it to the company. Each member of the company paid ten dollars into a common fund to defray incidental expenses, and each selected and designated upon said plat his choice of lots, in the order in which his signature appeared in the agreement signed by all the members. At noon on April 22 about 200 members of the company were “about a mile east of the west half of section nine,” and soon thereafter occupied it as a townsite. Some prospective settlers were already on the land when the company arrived and about 1,000 or 2,000 more located upon each subdivision of the half section after 2 p. m. on that day. The townsite settlers on April 23 held a public meeting and organized a city government. The next day T. H. Soward, a member of the Winfield company, was elected mayor and on April 26 he presented the first application to enter the west half of section nine as a townsite.

Stone found the facts in the Paine Case as here outlined. Paine had been in the employ of Arthur Hill, James Jerome, and Leslie Combs, owners of the Turkey Track Ranch in the Sac and Fox Reservation east of Oklahoma district. On April 20 Paine and the

¹² Testimony in the case of Townsite Settlers of East Guthrie *v.* Veeder B. Paine et al. is in NA, GLO, Townsites, box 136. It has an index. Testimony given and signed by Paine extends from pp. 695-733; p. 812. With the testimony are a half dozen photographs taken in November and December, 1889, showing land in the vicinity of his claim.

¹³ Stone to register and receiver of Guthrie land office, Jan. 13, 1891, NA, GLO, Townsites, vol. 5, pp. 35-76 b.

three men left the ranch intending to enter the district at the time prescribed by the President's proclamation. Stone said:

Combs and Hill traveled on a buckboard drawn by two horses from the ranch, and Paine and Jerome on horseback. Paine was mounted upon a favorite saddle horse, of unusual speed and endurance, and in good condition, and Jerome upon a well gaited animal but it had been running at large, was poor and out of condition. Jerome and Combs entered the territory and proceeded towards Guthrie for the purpose of taking the first train going to Fort Worth, Texas, which they did the evening of the twenty-second. Arthur Hill lives in Michigan and went to Guthrie intending to take the earliest train going north from that point, but becoming attracted by the excitement prevailing in that locality, he remained over there for several days before starting for his home. None of these gentlemen, except Paine, became in any manner interested in townsite or homestead locations.

On the buckboard, occupied by Hill and Combs, there seems to have been some cooking utensils, a wagon cover, and an ax; usually carried thereon and used for camping purposes. It may be said that ranchmen as a general custom, are so equipped when starting on any trip distant from their ranch. They go prepared for camping and cooking wherever night, or mealtime may overtake them. A part of such outfit would usually and very naturally include ax, wagon cover, and some wares for preparing their meals. This buckboard and its contents, so far as the evidence shows, belonged to the aforesaid owners of the ranch, and not to Paine himself.

As to the time and place of starting, the buckboard and its occupants, started from the west line of the Iowa Reservation between eight and nine o'clock. But inasmuch as their starting and arrival at Guthrie, had nothing whatever to do with Paine's location of his homestead claim, this matter need be no further noticed. It is true, that the buckboard was left near by his claim, that he took the wagon cover therefrom and slept under it on the evening of the twenty-second. It is further probably true though not certain, that the ax was taken from the buckboard and used in cutting the stakes employed in marking his claim. This could have been done without said ax and it may not have been essential to the assertion of his homestead right that any stakes should have been placed upon it. I do not therefore, regard this buckboard matter as entitled to any serious place in this discussion.

It should also be mentioned that Mr. Paine says that before starting, the weather being warm, he pulled off his coat and may have laid it in the buckboard, at least he says it would have been a natural thing for him to do. But I am unable to perceive how, or in what manner any, or all of these things could, to any appreciable extent, have affected the selection or location of his homestead claim. They are minor acts, have no apparent connection with his acts of location and settlement and he might and could, have performed all the acts he did, had the buckboard been left behind.

It is these things only, which were done out of time, or material acts done illegally which we are required to consider.

There is no question raised as to the time when Paine entered Oklahoma on the twenty-second, or the place from which he started. These two points are in his favor. He was also a qualified entryman. Great stress, however, is laid upon the fact that when, within about two miles of Guthrie, he overtook Jerome and exchanged horses with him. Let us inquire into the actual facts of this transaction. We have already seen that Paine was mounted upon a fleet and hardy animal, and that the one ridden by Jerome

was thin in flesh and not in good condition for such a trip. Jerome originally intended to wait at the east line to witness the starting, but considering the condition of his animal, he concluded to start in advance and be present at the close of the race. Paine, starting on time and from the outside, with a fleet horse soon outstripped the crowd, and while crossing over some rough stony ground, his horse stumbled and fell down, and in the effort of rising to his feet, burst the forward and most useful girth of his saddle. This is by no means an unusual occurrence, as all ranchmen and other border men can testify. This accident as he testifies, rendered his position unsafe and retarded his speed. Proceeding until within about two miles of Guthrie, he caught up with Jerome who was standing with his horse by the roadside. Jerome at once noticed that Paine's saddle girth was broken, and offered him his horse to finish his journey with.

The evidence clearly shows that Jerome's horse was much jaded and seemed distressed from the travel already performed. Yet on account of the insecurity of his saddle, Paine concluded to accept the offer, and mounting Jerome's horse, rode forward to Guthrie. But the evidence clearly shows, that the borrowed horse was much slower than the one Paine had abandoned, and he believes he could have reached Guthrie earlier than he did had he proceeded on his own horse. This statement seems very probable when we consider the comparative plight of the two animals. Now while this exchange of horses on the way, unexplained, might serve as the basis of suspicion against these parties, yet, in the light of the facts, that are undisputed (for Jerome fully corroborates Paine in his statement), this circumstance had no perceivable influence or effect upon Paine's movements or conduct. If it did not accelerate his speed, or give him some undue advantage over others in the selection and location of his claim, then it is not a circumstance deserving of serious weight in this investigation. I may extend this line of thought still further and say, that if Jerome before the race commenced had agreed to start out sometime before the hour of noon and towards the end of the route, resting his horse, and then turn him over somewhat refreshed to Paine in order to hasten his speed, and the occurrence as related had taken place in pursuance of such previous understanding, the transaction would have been impressed with a different character, and cut a more important figure in the case. And whatever presumption we might feel disposed to indulge in adverse to claimant from this exchange of horses, is effectually rebutted by the positive testimony of Jerome and Paine, both of them swearing that no arrangement prior to their starting from the line, existed between them, either directly or indirectly, and that their said meeting on the way was purely accidental as to this exchange of horses on the route. It must be conceded that these gentlemen are in position to know what they are swearing to, and as there is not a word of evidence in the case to contradict or impeach them, I can discover no reason why their version of the matter should not be accepted as true. Jerome is a disinterested witness in the case. There being no prior agreement shown between them, and as Paine did not increase his speed by the exchange of horses, or gain any advantage thereby, it may be regarded as a mere incident of the trip having no connection whatever with the real merits, or material facts of the case.

The facts connected with his location and settlement are substantially as follows:

Paine arrived on the southwest quarter of section nine at twelve o'clock and forty minutes, P. M. At that time there was no one on the land, nor was there anything to indicate its prior selection by any other person. He immediately proceeded to drive some stakes into the ground with a written statement thereon, that he claimed the land as his home-
stead, giving the number with his name signed to it. He then went to a tree standing conspicuously on another part of the land, blazed it on four sides and wrote the same notice upon them; he remained there in the un-

disturbed possession of his claim, for about three quarters of an hour, when a train from the north arrived at the depot, and a large number of men disembarked and hurried to the land in question and commenced staking off lots, whereupon Paine went among them giving notice as far as he could, that he had selected and claimed that quarter section as his homestead. And afterward when a committee had been appointed to watch over the interests of the townsite men he also notified them of his rights.

On the twenty-fifth day of the month he commenced the erection of a house, and completed the same at the earliest day he could procure the material therefor. He slept upon his claim continuously until his home was finished, and then moved into it with his family and has resided there down to the present time. He also offered to the Register and Receiver the proper papers for filing on his homestead as soon as his number was reached, and at the earliest time he could. He also fenced in and sowed to grass some eleven acres, but his fences were torn down and his grass destroyed by stock.

In short I find from the evidence that he acted promptly, aggressively and continuously, in all his efforts to maintain his homestead rights. It is difficult to imagine what more it was possible for any man to have done under the environments which confronted him, than was done by Mr. Paine. At every step he was antagonized by these townsite men who undertook by mere force of numbers to over-ride and drive him from his claim. He was constantly harrassed by their forcible acts of aggression upon his claim, in tearing down his fences and destroying his crops. They annoyed him in various ways, and by every expedient they could devise, they persistently endeavored to thwart him in his efforts to maintain his claim, and in passing upon the case before me, I am asked to hold that the acts of these townsite adventurers, all performed after Paine had made his selection, shall be held paramount to the rights acquired by the homestead claimant. I decline to so hold.

Veeder B. Paine was a qualified entryman, and entered Oklahoma in a legal and proper manner; made his selection in advance of the townsite claimants, performed all the acts of settlement possible under the circumstances; erected the house as soon as he could; improved and cultivated his land as far as practicable in the face of the antagonisms that surrounded him; offered his filing at the local land office within the prescribed time, and has continued to reside on his claim. His good faith is placed beyond controversy.

Yet, under these circumstances, I am asked to decide that the claims of the townsite men are paramount and superior to that of the homesteader. My convictions derived from the facts of the case, will not permit me to so decide.

This case is in keeping with the general history of our public domain, differing from other cases only in its minor details. The records of the General Land Office abundantly show that in the opening of every territory or reservation to settlement, there has been an unseemly rush for townsite locations. And while it is for the obvious convenience of the people, and conducive to the general good to encourage the building up of towns, at proper places and suitable distances, yet this insatiate thirst for townsite speculations, which seems to be a characteristic of our advancing civilization, and the settling up of our public domain, should not be indulged to the extent of over-riding and trampling down the substantial rights acquired by the individual settler. Nor can this office in its endeavor to execute the laws of Congress, make any ruling or adopt any policy, that will result in such injustice.

I deem it unnecessary to farther review the acts performed by the townsite claimants, as I find that Paine's homestead is prior to theirs.

The conclusion therefore, is that their application for this quarter section must be rejected and the Register and Receiver directed to accept and file the application of Paine for the land in dispute, and return their proceedings to this office without delay, should no appeal be taken from this portion of this decision.

Secretary Noble thought that Paine connived with persons who, on certain pretenses, entered Oklahoma district before the hour of the opening and that he established priority of settlement by aid of their assistance.¹⁴ In holding that Paine did not make a settlement in good faith under the homestead law, Noble used language that merits quotation:

Two of his friends left during the morning for Guthrie, for the purpose of taking the train. The vehicle which carried them to this point also transported the camping outfit, provisions, an ax, and the coat of Paine. Another friend who desired to go to Guthrie to take the train started a little later on horseback over the road which would be traveled by Paine. It may be true that the departure of these men at this time was merely incidental—an accident of their ordinary business life, but, however, this may be, their acts of kindness rendered assistance to their friend Paine.

In the meantime, Paine was on the border of the Territory waiting for the moment to start; he was mounted on a fleet horse, possessed of great powers of endurance. When the signal was given the waiting crowd, consisting of hundreds of people, started, and Paine, thus unincumbered, by his camping outfit, provisions, coat, etc., so necessary to a person who was to make a settlement on the uninhabited plains, found that the confidence reposed in his horse had not been misplaced, for from the very start he took the lead and soon was out of sight of all the others. Soon after leaving the border one of the saddle girths was broken, but the

¹⁴ Guthrie Townsite *v.* Paine et al., 12 L. D. 653 (1891); on review, 13 L. D. 562 (1891).

On May 8, 1894, William S. Robertson was indicted in the District Court of Logan County, charged with having embezzled \$5,000 received by him as disbursing agent of Townsite Board No. 6 assigned to East Guthrie. On March 1, 1894, suit was brought upon the bond of Robertson, and judgment taken in the District Court of Logan County, and the case was appealed to the Supreme Court where, on account of a defect in the taking, the appeal was dismissed. This judgment was afterward compromised with the bondsmen, they paying about \$3,200 in full settlement of the judgment.

John W. Scothorn, Assistant United States Attorney to Attorney General John W. Griggs, made an investigation of the facts. He found that a part of this money was collected from the town lot claimants under a rule prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior requiring each contestant each day during the trial of his contest to deposit a sum sufficient to pay the expenses of the board for one day, the money deposited by the successful contestant to be returned to him. Scothorn also found that Robertson collected part of the money without any authority of law but *colore officii*.

A mass meeting of the townsite claimants was held, and a resolution adopted requesting the townsite board to make an assessment on all the lots to pay the fees of attorneys for the townsite, the same being contested by Paine and Fitzgerald. This money was retained by Robertson and paid out by him. The District Court held that since Robertson had no authority to hire or pay attorneys for the townsite, he could not have credit for the amount paid to them. The indictment of Robertson for embezzlement was dismissed August 1, 1898; Scothorn to Griggs, July 22, 1898, NA, Justice Dept., no. 12248-1898. This letter and other papers are filed with no. 11713-1890.

rider continued his rapid journey. He took no note of the many unappropriated tracts of agricultural lands over which he passed, tracts whereon he could have established a home as contemplated by the homestead law, he was only eager to reach the land in dispute.

After riding about eight miles he overtook the friend who had preceded him on horseback, he had dismounted, and his horse was standing by the roadside eating grass. The friend saw the broken saddle girth and suggested an exchange of horses, which suggestion was instantly accepted and Paine pursued his journey to the desired tract, where one of his friends who had preceded him on the wagon, containing his effects, the ax, etc., was found, also a piece of board from which he made stakes with the ax and drove them into the ground, marking thereon his name and the fact that he claimed the same as his homestead; he blazed a tree situated on the land, and made a similar notation, and thus he made settlement on what he alleges was a tract he intended for his homestead under the provisions of the homestead law.

It cannot be denied that the friends who entered the Territory prior to the hour fixed in the proclamation of the President, rendered Paine valuable and material assistance. It is denied by both Paine and his friend that the exchange of horses was made in pursuance of any prior arrangement, but that it was only incidental, resulting from the breaking of the saddle girth, but no explanation is given why the friend was waiting by the roadside with a horse that had become at least partially rested, nor, if Paine's horse was still fresh, why horses were exchanged instead of saddles; whether previously intended or not there was in effect a relay of horses, and this relay was made possible by entering the territory prior to the hour fixed by the proclamation.

The assistance rendered by friends gave Paine an advantage over others, and this advantage was gained by unlawful means inasmuch as the aid was rendered by parties who entered the territory prior to twelve o'clock noon. Taking the whole history of this case into consideration, I am unable to arrive at the conclusion that Paine, either in the conception or execution of his settlement on this land, acted in good faith, as a *bona fide* claimant under the homestead law, and in the absence of good faith, no claim can be recognized. All the facts indicate that the claim was taken for speculative purposes only, to enable him to dispose of this land for townsite purposes, and that it was not taken for agricultural purposes, and for the purpose of a home, or at least for a home as contemplated by the homestead law. . . . I can not assent to the doctrine that one who, in the manner here indicated, reached this tract a few minutes in advance of his fellows, shall be permitted to hold the advantage he has thus gained and speculate off, and enrich himself from, their misfortune, in being less fleet than he, and especially so, when I am firmly convinced that he had been planning and arranging, for days, how he might reach this townsite in advance of the people contemplating locating thereon, and enter it as a homestead and then sell it to them at his own price.

Secretary Noble held that a townsite entry could not be allowed where it was apparent that the application was in the interest of a fraudulent speculation.

When Noble decided the case, June 22, 1891, Paine was a member of a commission making allotments on the Sac and Fox Reservation. On July 11, three days before the allotment was completed, Paine asked Noble for work as an allotting agent in the Cheyenne and Arapahoe country. For six years Paine had been manager of the Saginaw Cattle Company on the Sac and Fox Reservation, and had

(4-546.)

SOLDIER'S DECLARATORY STATEMENT.

I, Ezra Bond, of Goldens Creek County
 and State or Territory of This, do solemnly swear that I
 served for a period of Seven Months in the Army of the
 United States during the war of the rebellion, and was honorably discharged
 therefrom, as shown by a statement of such service herewith, and that I have
 remained loyal to the Government; that I have never made homestead entry or
 filed a declaratory statement under Sections 2290 and 2304 of the Revised
 Statutes; that I have located as a homestead under said statute the
South East quarter of section Four (4) Township
No Sixteen (16) T. Range No Two (2) West
 _____, and hereby
 give notice of my intention to claim and enter said tract; that this location is
 made for my exclusive use and benefit, for the purpose of my actual settlement
 and cultivation, and not either directly or indirectly for the use or benefit
 of any other person.
 My present post-office address is and actual residence in 1816 Adams St. Toledo, Ohio

Sworn and subscribed before me this 24th day of April
 1889

[REAL.]

Ezra Bond
John D. Diller

NOTE—This form may be used where the soldier files his own declaratory statement.

Copy's Land-Owner Print, Washington, D. C.

"close business relations with the western Tribes." He wrote to Noble: "In view of your late decision in the Guthrie land case, which leaves me financially embarrassed and without a home for my family, I feel warranted in asking for continued labor in this service."¹⁵ The three members of the Cherokee Commission had stated that Paine was an "efficient and excellent allotting agent," and asked that work be assigned to him. Similar statements came from Samuel L.

¹⁵ Paine to Noble, July 11, 1891, NA, Appt. Div., papers of V. B. Paine, box 434.

Patrick of the Sac and Fox agency and Congressman Aaron T. Bliss of Michigan.

On September 30 John T. Hill, "friend" of the Kickapoo tribe, sent Noble a letter requesting that Paine be appointed as "the sole allotting agent" for the lands of the Kickapoo Reservation. Names written at the bottom of the letter included Wa-be-ma-sha, principal chief; Oc-a-noc-a-sc, Ke-so-ko-me, and Joe Whipple, interpreter of the tribe. David H. Jerome, Chairman of the Cherokee Commission, wrote to Noble on February 1, 1892, in Paine's behalf. On April 9 Paine sent Noble similar letters by Governor A. J. Seay, Chief Justice E. B. Brown, and Samuel L. Overstreet and C. M. Barnes of the Guthrie land office. However, Paine's work as an allotting agent had ended on the Sac and Fox Reservation. On December 20, 1901, Horace Speed reported that Paine had "conveyed away his right, title or interest" to land he claimed in East Guthrie and would be unable to prove up on the land as a homestead.¹⁶

FEAGINS-BOCKFINGER CASE

From January, 1889, to July, 1890, James W. Feagins was a section foreman for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company and was stationed at Guthrie. On April 22, 1889, during the first half hour of the afternoon, he made settlement on the southwest quarter of section eight, and he was the first settler on the land. The next day he made homestead entry at the Guthrie land office. He fenced the tract, built a house and for more than two years resided there with his family.

Beginning not later than April 23, 1889, some mass meetings were held at West Guthrie.¹⁷ On April 25 the committee on survey reported having employed a surveyor and "assistance." The committee on finance reported having secured 125 names of settlers who were willing to pay a dollar each for a survey and for the construction of a bridge across Cottonwood Creek. It was designated that the plat should reserve one block for school and university purposes. According to Milton A. Pulse, a contractor in Guthrie in April and May, 1889,

¹⁶ Speed to William J. Hughes, NA, Dept. of Justice, no. 18797 in file no. 11713-1890. In 1953 Fred L. Wenner told the author that he knew of Paine selling quitclaim deeds to lots on the tract claimed as his homestead. Some deeds made by Paine in May, 1900, are in office of clerk of Logan County, *Quitclaim Deeds*, vol. 8, pp. 203-205; 210; 222.

Between 1906-1913 there appeared a 40-page illustrated booklet entitled, *The Story of a Mahogany Tree as Told by Itself*. It was edited by Paine "while living in the Jungles of Darkest Africa, and dedicated to C. C. Mengel and Bro. Co." A copy is in the Library of Congress.

¹⁷ A copy of the minutes of the meetings for April 23-25, 1889, are in the office of the clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States, *Bockfinger v. Foster*, Exhibit "A", pp. 15-20.

there were in the latter month about twenty-seven families in West Guthrie.¹⁸

On May 8 Ezra Maples filed an affidavit of contest against the entry of Feagins, alleging that he was a sooner. Henry H. Bockfinger on May 24 filed a similar contest against the entry. It is difficult to determine when townsite settlers first located on the southwest quarter of section eight. About June 15 a military force at the instance of one of the homestead claimants, but which one does not appear, ejected settlers from the quarter section and removed their improvements (if any) for the reason that the land had been taken as a homestead. In an affidavit Feagins said that on April 22 townsite settlers had occupied no part of the quarter section and that the first intimation or knowledge he had that they claimed it was when a townsite application for the west half of the section was filed in the Guthrie land office on June 18.¹⁹ He said that the military had removed "a few campers" who had stopped at the northeast corner of his claim in a bend of Cottonwood Creek.

Bockfinger said that he made settlement on the quarter section on April 20, 1890, nearly a year after the opening. Within three years he had made valuable and lasting improvements thereon worth \$300. On March 28, 1890, Dille and Barnes, register and receiver of the Guthrie land office, began hearings in the case of Bockfinger v. Feagins et al. and compiled an interesting volume of over a thousand pages.²⁰ They concluded that about 4 p. m. on April 22, 1889, from 150 to 200 persons crossed Cottonwood Creek at a point on the northeast forty of the quarter section and staked off lots there north of the creek. They said that in the evening of that day settlers held a mass meeting and organized a town to be known as West Guthrie, to be located on the west half of section eight. The settlers then and for two or three days thereafter believed that "all west of the creek" was in the west half of that section. Dille and Barnes found that by June 15, 1889, thirty or forty lots in the northeast forty of the Feagins claim were occupied by settlers. Thus when the military force took measures to protect the interests of the homestead claimant, the townsite settlers had planted gardens, fenced lots, erected tents and a few small buildings, built foundations, and had begun the erection of houses.

Dille and Barnes said that as against the townsite settlers, the good faith of the homestead claimants was in issue. They added:

¹⁸ Testimony by Pulse, May 1, 1890, before the Guthrie land office, *ibid.*, pp. 386-388.

¹⁹ Affidavit of Feagins, Feb. 9, 1892, U. S. Supreme Court, Bockfinger v. Foster, *Transcript of Record*, vol. 29, p. 41. See also Bockfinger v. Foster 62 Pac. 799 (1900); 190 U. S. 116 (1903).

²⁰ The volume is Exhibit "A", *loc. cit.* It is typed but much of it is dim and difficult to read. The decision of Dille and Barnes is in *Transcript of Record*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 16-22.

"It is not probable that they really want said tract of land for a farm. It cannot be that they are *bona fide* claimants. Making their claims at such times and under such circumstances clearly indicate that they are speculators." Dille and Barnes noted that on the northeast forty of the Feagins claim the townsite settlers had preceded every homestead claimant except Feagins, and hence had superior rights regardless of the fact that the military had removed them. They recommended that the homestead entry by Feagins be canceled, that the townsite settlers be allowed to enter the northeast forty acres, and that a hearing be ordered to determine the rights of the several homestead claimants to the residue of the southwest quarter.

The Commissioner of the General Land Office agreed to the hearing recommended by Dille and Barnes, but added that the interests of the townsite settlers should be considered as to the time each legal subdivision was occupied. Secretary John W. Noble on December 16, 1891, said that the townsite might have the entire west half of section eight without the hearing.²¹ Noble held that under the act of May 14, 1890, one hundred people, or more, might select 320 acres for a townsite, although they might not at the date of the selection or of said act have used each smallest subdivision thereof for municipal purposes. He said that on April 22, 1889, there were "at least one hundred people" who had selected townsite tracts on the west half of the section. He noted that about 4 p.m. on that day they selected the half section as the townsite of West Guthrie, and had maintained a continuing organization; and that taxes were collected from those who had located lots on the day of the opening. Noble said that Mark S. Cohn, Feagins, and Thomas J. Taylor, a deputy marshal, were disqualified as homesteaders because of their early presence in Oklahoma district, and that Bockfinger had come too late to acquire an interest in the land. He added: "Towns are not built in a day, and from the very nature of things, they should not be required to improve each smallest legal subdivision in their selection before making entry, any more than a homestead claimant should be required to improve each forty acres making up his homestead, before making final entry." Feagins' homestead entry was canceled on December 30.

All parties except Bockfinger acquiesced in Noble's decision. Bockfinger's case rested largely on affidavits made in 1892 by some of the most prominent men of West Guthrie.²² About May 7, 1889, N. G. Haight was employed by James Dooley, Mayor of West Guthrie, and the council thereof, to survey the northwest quarter of section eight as part of the townsite of West Guthrie. On August 22, 1892, Haight made an affidavit that he was never directed to survey the southwest quarter and did not survey any part of it. He said he

²¹ *West Guthrie Townsite v. Cohn et al.*, 13 L. D. 690; on review, 15 L. D. 324 (1892). The opinion of the General Land Office is dated Aug. 4, 1891, and is in NA, GLO, *Townsites*, vol. 6, pp. 411-426.

²² The affidavits are in *Transcript of Record*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 38-47.



Photo Hecker Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society
Guthrie, a Town Ten Days Old, 1889.



Photo Hecker Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society
The First Ejection in Guthrie, Indian Territory, May 23, 1889.

was instructed to prepare blue prints of such survey with the southwest quarter included as it was thought they might want to include it in the townsite "at some future time." He added that there was no survey of the southwest quarter "except on paper" and that it was always understood and known to be no part of the townsite at that time.

An affidavit by Dooley on May 21, 1892, corroborates statements made by Haight. Dooley added that prior to May 7, 1889, the townsite settlers were upon the northeast quarter of section eight "west of Cottonwood river, and had not laid claim for townsite purposes to any land lying to the westward." He said the idea of separation into West Guthrie was conceived with the Cottonwood as a division line between Guthrie proper and West Guthrie.²³ He stated that on May 7, 1889, "a run was made from the original location of West Guthrie" over upon the northwest quarter of section eight, and that "at that time there was no occupation" of the southwest quarter of section eight for townsite purposes, nor had there been any up to that date.

James Stewart, former West Guthrie councilman, said that he arrived at Guthrie on April 22, 1889, about 4 p.m. and went west of the Cottonwood where were "about twenty or thirty men assembled." In an affidavit on April 12, 1892, he said that the townsite settlers did not take possession of the northwest quarter of section eight until May 7, 1889. He said there was no effort made to select, settle upon, or take possession of the southwest quarter "as it was occupied and claimed by Feagins and Maples who were homesteaders. And besides owing to our limited numbers we did not think we could hold more than the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ sec. 8, there not being over 150 people west of the Cottonwood river up to that time, and there being as we then found out about 90 acres of Guthrie proper west of the Cottonwood, we concluded that was all we could hold, and besides no one questioned the rights of the homesteaders on the SW $\frac{1}{4}$, or thought of taking it."

C. H. Griffith made an affidavit which included the following sentence: "While I was a member of the city council from April 24th to June 5th, 1889, no selection of the southwest quarter of section 8 . . . was ever made for townsite purposes and the only talk I ever remember of having about the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ was when some of us were talking—getting it for a driving park and fair grounds." Similar affidavits were made by James D. Furber, former city clerk; and by Attorney Clement H. Cannon who filed the townsite application on June 18, 1889.

Prior to the act of May 14, 1890, the Secretary of the Interior could permit the entry of townsites, provided no entry embraced

²³ In present parlance "West Guthrie" has reference to the portion of the city west of the Cottonwood, or west of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad.

more than one-half section of land, actually occupied by the town. A patent had been issued to Guthrie proper on September 1, 1890. Attorneys for Bockfinger claimed that it was the purpose of Congress to leave the remaining lands for homesteads. The act of May 14, 1890 (passed three weeks after Bockfinger made settlement), provided that so much of the public lands as might be "necessary to embrace all the legal subdivisions covered by actual occupancy for purposes of trade and business," not exceeding 1280 acres, might be entered as a townsite. It was argued that if 320 acres was not the maximum prior to the act of May 14, 1890, an equal number of contiguous tracts of 1280 acres each could be taken after the act.

The case came before Secretary Noble for review on October 3, 1892. He said that a settlement right could not be acquired on land that was embraced within a prior townsite claim, even though the land might not be at such time actually occupied for townsite purposes. He noted that the southwest quarter of section eight was claimed prior to Bockfinger's settlement, that Bockfinger had never reached the place where he could properly be called a contestant, and that as a settler he had not been injured. Noble said that if the affidavits by Dooley et al. were true, still they did not afford sufficient reason for a new hearing in view of Bockfinger's status. Counter affidavits had been filed in the case. Noble observed that Bockfinger had notice of the claim of the town to the tract long before he performed any act of settlement. He concluded that whatever may have been the number of people located on the tract up to, and at the date, of Bockfinger's affidavit against Feagins' entry, it was indisputable that at the time of filing the townsite application, there was a large number of people upon the tract, certainly sufficient to entitle them to take the whole of it, and that this number steadily increased up to the time of the hearing and of Bockfinger's settlement.

On November 10, 1892, the townsite trustees purchased the west half of section eight (302.1 acres) on the payment of \$377.63, and a patent was issued on February 16, 1893. On February 25 Bockfinger filed suit in the District Court of Logan County against the trustees, seeking a decree that they held the title in trust for his use and benefit, and that they be compelled to convey it to him.²⁴ The courts during a course of ten years uniformly held that no such relief could be granted him because the trustees held the title in trust for the purposes named in the act of May 14, 1890, and because the real ownership of the land still belonged to the United States. The act having provided for the conveyance of title to the occupants of the town through its agents, no one could intercept that title until it was vested in the person or persons whom Congress intended, any more than he could prevent a conveyance by the United States to the persons direct.

²⁴ Bockfinger's complaint is in *Transcript of Record*, loc. cit., pp. 4-15.

The trust held by the trustees was not in any sense of a permanent character. The trustees were simply government agents in the performance of an intermediary function. The United States retained its hold on the land until the title by proper conveyance passed absolutely from it, or from its officers or agents, the townsite trustees, to the occupants. However a townsite occupant, after receiving title under the act of May 14, 1890, might be sued by any one claiming to have acquired under the homestead laws a right to the land prior and superior to that held by the trustees for the use and benefit of the townsite occupants. But he was obliged to wait at his own discomfort until after the government had parted with the absolute title and exhausted its supervisory power over the land embraced in the townsite entry.

Counsel for Bockfinger wished to present for the consideration of the Supreme Court of the United States the affidavits of 1892 and the whole series of proceedings in the case, including a thousand pages of hearings conducted by Dille and Barnes in the Guthrie land office. Marsden C. Burch, special assistant to the Attorney General, successfully contended before the court that the exhibits should not be considered by it but that the whole question should first be carefully litigated *de novo* in the lower courts.

This procedure would not only be expensive but might postpone for another ten years a decision by the highest court. Attorney James R. Keaton contended that the title to the land, so long as it remained a part of the public domain, was vested exclusively in the United States and no part of it in any officer or set of officers thereof. He asked if title to public lands might be wrongfully passed from the United States and vested perpetually in government officers, and thereby forever preclude the party to whom the land should rightfully have been patented from invoking the powers of a court in equity to procure relief from the wrongful action of the Executive Department in so conveying said land to such officers. Thus ended Bockfinger's day in court.

This study sets forth for the first time the clash of legal views between the General Land Office and the Interior Department over the settlement of East Guthrie in the Run of '89. It illustrates the richness of the history of the Run as preserved in the Oklahoma Historical Society and the depositories in Washington, D. C. Appointment files in the National Archives give light on how men like Cassius M. Barnes and George W. Steele secured positions. Long rows of boxes of homestead papers and hundreds of manuscript volumes in the National Archives evidence legal battles for town lots and homesteads. In addition to sets of letter books like those of the townsite and contested homestead divisions, and the lands and railroads division, there is a set of *Oklahoma Letter Books* comprising 160 volumes covering the

period from 1891-1906.²⁵ Awaiting the attention of historians are interesting accounts, such as that of how Peter L. Mason in the Guthrie land office on April 26, 1890, became the first settler in the Run of '89 to prove up on a homestead.



APPENDIX

The following itemization of quarter-section tracts in the Guthrie vicinity was made from the *Oklahoma Tract Books* in the Bureau of Land Management, and the homestead papers and other sources in the National Archives:

- a. NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 7. Thomas B. George filed a soldier's declaratory statement on April 22, 1889, and made homestead entry July 6, 1889; canceled by relinquishment on Oct. 14, 1891. In the meantime Isaac K. Berry made homestead entry on May 17, 1889; canceled by relinquishment on July 29, 1891; entered same day by James W. Arthur who made C. E. (Cash Entry) 921 on Sept. 15, 1892.

²⁵ In the use of these sources I am under much obligation to Mr. Maurice Moore and his efficient co-workers; see also, Kathryn M. Murphy, "Oklahoma History and the National Archives," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. 30 (1952), pp. 105-120.

- b. SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 7. George R. Dyer filed a soldier's declaratory statement on April 22, 1889; Julius W. Bland entered May 1, 1889; canceled by relinquishment Jan. 16, 1891; entered same day by William W. Thomas who made C. E. 1269 on Jan. 2, 1895.
- c. SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 5. Frederick Augustine filed a soldier's declaratory statement on April 22, 1889. Albert G. Jones made homestead entry on April 23, 1889; canceled by "H" (contest division of the General Land Office) on March 1, 1894. James E. Oliver entered June 1, 1894, and made C. E. 1508 on March 6, 1897.

The case of *Reams v. Oliver* was closed in favor of Oliver on July 18, 1896. The history of this tract is reviewed in the letter of Act. Com. E. F. Best to register and receiver of the Guthrie land office, Feb. 27, 1897; NA (National Archives), GLO (General Land Office), "H" *Letter Book*, vol. 176, pp. 345-348.

- d. and e. W $\frac{1}{2}$ of sec. 8. Mark S. Cohn entered the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ on April 22, 1889, and James W. Feagins entered the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ the following day. Both entries were canceled on Dec. 30, 1891. Townsite trustees John Foster, W. S. Robertson, and A. C. Schnell entered the W $\frac{1}{2}$ of section 8 on Nov. 10, 1892, and a patent was issued on Feb. 16, 1893.
- f. NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 17. David H. Commager filed a soldier's declaratory statement on April 24, 1889, and made entry on Oct. 12, 1889. He made C. E. 775 on Nov. 5, 1891. In the meantime Thomas Linehan made homestead entry for the land on June 1, 1889, but his entry was canceled by relinquishment on April 19, 1890. See *Commager v. Charles W. Dicks*, 1 Okla. 82 (1892).
- g. SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 5. Perry Twichel filed a soldier's declaratory statement on April 22, 1889; James O. Severus made homestead entry the next day. Both were canceled by "H" on March 29, 1893. Horace H. Hagan entered April 8, 1893, and made C. E. 1478 on Aug. 27, 1896.
- h. and i. E $\frac{1}{2}$ of sec. 8. Mark S. Cohn made entry for the land as a townsite on April 22, 1889. Townsite trustees Daniel J. McDaid, John H. Shanklin, and William H. Meriweather made cash entry for the land on Aug. 2, 1890, and a patent was issued on Sept. 1, 1890.
- j. NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 17. Jehn E. Dille entered April 22, 1889; canceled by relinquishment on June 5, 1889; entered June 20, 1889, by Warren Ome; canceled by relinquishment on June 27, 1891. John W. Howe entered the N $\frac{1}{2}$ on same day and made C. E. 911 on Aug. 18, 1892. Richard J. Stumpff entered the S $\frac{1}{2}$ on June 27, 1891; canceled by relinquishment on Jan. 4, 1892; entered same day by Wilburn M. McCoy who made C. E. 1122 on July 26, 1893.
- k. SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 4. Michael Schortz filed a soldier's declaratory statement on April 22, 1889. The long contest of *John H. Havighorst v. Samuel A. V. Hartwell* was closed in 1896 (22 Land Decisions 671). Havighorst entered the land on Feb. 3, 1896, and made C. E. 1859 on Oct. 28, 1898.
- l. and m. W $\frac{1}{2}$ of sec. 9. James H. Huckleberry filed a soldier's declaratory statement for the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ on April 22, 1889. Ransom Payne entered it the next day, but his entry was canceled by "G" on July 24, 1891. Benton Turner filed a soldier's declaratory statement for the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ on April 22, 1889. Townsite trustees Foster, Robertson, and Schnell made cash entry for the W $\frac{1}{2}$ of sec. 9 on Dec. 14, 1891, and a patent was issued on Jan. 26, 1892.

- n. SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 4. Ezra S. Dodd filed a soldier's declaratory statement on April 24, 1889. Thomas C. Leonard entered May 3, 1889, and Dodd entered Oct. 12, 1889. Dodd died on Dec. 31, 1892. Leonard's entry was canceled by "H" on April 28, 1893. Dodd's widow, Annie C. Dodd, received F. C. (final certificate) 195 on May 9, 1893.
- o. and p. E $\frac{1}{2}$ of sec. 9. Herbert W. Wolcott entered the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ on April 22, 1889, but the entry was canceled on Dec. 1, 1891. Henry N. Baker filed a soldier's declaratory statement for the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ on April 22, 1889; he made entry on July 6, 1889, but the entry was canceled by "G" on Dec. 1, 1891. Townsite trustees Foster, Robertson, and Schnell made cash entry for the E $\frac{1}{2}$ of section 9 on Dec. 14, 1891, and a patent was issued on Jan. 26, 1892.
- q. NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 10. Moses C. Hoyt filed a soldier's declaratory statement on April 24, 1889, and Benjamin F. Dilley entered the next day. Hoyt entered Oct. 11, 1889, but his entry was canceled by "H" on Dec. 21, 1892. Dilley's entry was canceled by relinquishment on Sept. 18, 1894, and on the same day Corwin C. Whitacre entered. Whitacre's entry was canceled by relinquishment on Jan. 22, 1896. Frank S. Miller entered the same day and received F. C. 5101 on June 13, 1901.
- r. SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 10. Bayard T. Hainer entered on April 24, 1889, but relinquished the S $\frac{1}{2}$ on June 1, 1889. Charles V. Mount on June 19, 1889, entered the part relinquished and received F. C. 3 on June 11, 1890. Hainer relinquished the N $\frac{1}{2}$ on Aug. 20, 1891, and Frank M. Cummins entered it the same day. Cummins relinquished the land on July 6, 1898. Eliza Cummins entered it the same day and made C. E. 2025 on July 19, 1899.

THE SALINE COURTHOUSE MASSACRE

By Omer L. Morgan

Rose, Oklahoma, is a small village on State Highway No. 33, about fifty miles east of Tulsa. Turning south at this village and following a country lane for about a mile, one arrives at a large old, two-story frame building standing among several large native trees. Out back of the buildings will be noticed a few tombstones marking the graves of people who lived and died there many years ago. Across the road will be seen a large spring with a small stone house over it. Moss and lichens attest to the age of this structure. Flowing from the spring is a sizeable spring-branch of clear coldwater which joins Snake Creek some distance away. The old building is the Saline Courthouse built by the Cherokee Nation in 1885, as the seat of government for the Saline District.

Our guide was Dave Sunday, a full blood Cherokee Indian who had lived his entire life of seventy-two years in the community. Also with us was Mrs. Sallie Davis Sunday¹ who moved to this community about sixty years ago with her father who was a missionary. They told us that the general appearance of the place had changed but little. Originally, there was an outside stairway leading to the second floor of the building, but this has been removed. Directly in front of the courthouse, and about one hundred feet away, there was a large store building and near it a blacksmith shop and a barn. No trace of these now remain. They also pointed out a few changes inside the building.

The building now serves as a residence of the Ransom family.² For several years it was a sort of country pleasure house where dances and week-end entertainment was furnished. This necessitated the minor changes which have been made. There is probably not a more beautiful spot in all Eastern Oklahoma nor a more peaceful one. There is not one indication that it has ever been otherwise.

¹ Mrs. Sallie Sunday was born February 23, 1879 at Leslie, Kentucky. Her father was Rev. Wm. E. Davis, a Baptist minister who was sent as a missionary to the Indian Territory in 1895. His first assignment was with the Chickasaws where he remained only a short time and was transferred to the Cherokees and stationed at Saline. They had been there only a short time when Mrs. Davis died, leaving seven motherless children. Sallie, being the oldest, cared for the family until 1897, when she married Andrew J. Sunday, oldest son of sheriff Jesse Sunday. She lives now near Tahlequah, Oklahoma.

² Mr. Ransom purchased the old Saline Courthouse and a few acres of land in 1953. He comes from Ft. Smith, Arkansas, and has remodelled the building somewhat and made it into a fairly comfortable home.

In 1839, when the Cherokee Nation was organized in the West, and a constitution enacted, the nation remained divided into four districts for the purposes of local government. Prior to that, the Old Settlers, or Western Cherokees had established a district court system and this was not changed at the time. In 1841, two years after the adoption of the new constitution, the Cherokee Nation was divided into eight districts, one of them being the Saline District. In 1856, a ninth district was added, making up the entire nation, which remained until the end of the tribal government.³

The seat of local district government in the Saline District was changed three or four times. In 1841, it was at or near the Samuel Bell place.⁴ In 1867, it was located at or near the Joseph Riley place,⁵ and again in 1875, it was moved to an old log building on the David Rowe⁶ place about a mile from the present building. In 1883 the Cherokee government enacted a new law providing for a uniform set of courthouses in all the nine districts, and provided the sum of \$9,000 for constructing the buildings, and an extra \$1,000 for furnishing the buildings. The new Saline courthouse was built between 1884 and 1889, and was this time located near the big spring and the home of James Teehee,⁷ where it stands today. It is the only one of the nine courthouses still standing.

The Saline District comprised parts of what is now Mayes, Cherokee, and Delaware counties and was centrally located in the Cherokee Nation. While it was not the largest of the districts, it was not the smallest, but included some very fine country. There are numerous large springs feeding as many small streams and finally several large beautiful creeks, abounding with fish. All this reminded the Cherokees of their old homes in the Great Smokies and exactly fitted their needs and customs.

Court was held at Saline Courthouse at stated intervals and a judge came, usually from Tablequah—the national capitol—to preside. In this way, minor cases, and civil suits, or conducting grand jury investigations was settled locally. Always at such times, the courthouse was a very popular refuge from the daily lives of many people. Some came to visit, some as legal witnesses, and some on other business, camped near the spring, and remained throughout the term of court. Naturally such a place soon became a community center. Many of the Cherokees were well-to-do and since they were accustomed to all the conveniences of rural white people, and were able to afford such as they wanted, business men were anxious to establish near them. Saline, as the com-

³ Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, (Oklahoma City, 1921), pp. 76-78; *Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, 1852, p. 41.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

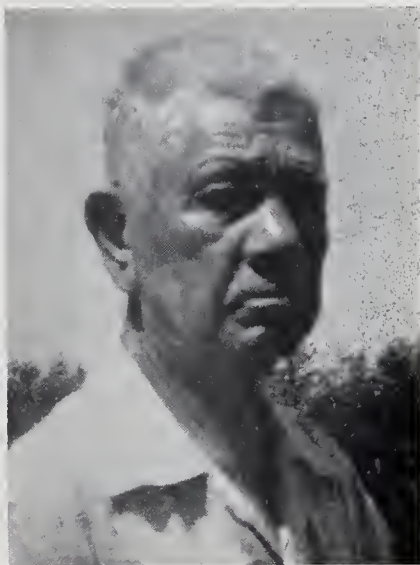
⁵ *Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, 1868, p. 35.

⁶ *Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, 1875, p. 117.

⁷ *Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, 1883.



THOMAS BAGGETT
Graduate of Alabama
Law School.



MARTIN ROWE
A Cherokee who lives at
Stilwell, Oklahoma, 1955.



The Saline District Courthouse, Cherokee Nation.
Ruins still standing near Rose, Mayes County, Oklahoma.



munity was generally called, had a large general store, a blacksmith shop, a church or two, a doctor, and a school. As might be expected, the doctor, the storekeeper, the teacher, and the minister were important people living there under tribal permits, and some were Cherokees, both mixed-bloods and fullbloods.

Probably the most important official or citizen in the Saline community was the sheriff. He was an elected official and as such, must be a Cherokee citizen. Naturally, he must be popular and have influential friends or he could not be elected. His duties were varied and were set forth by the Cherokee Nation.⁸ They included making arrests, holding prisoners⁹ until they could be taken to jail at Tahlequah, assisting in court and keeping peace in general. His presence at any gathering, generally insured quiet and order. Such an occupation seemed to appeal to the Cherokees and thus brought out natural or trained leaders as candidates for the office. Then there were other requirements. Often there was gunplay or a fight, and he must be a fearless and dependable to cope with all situations or emergencies.

In September, 1897, Jesse Sunday was just completing a term as sheriff of the Saline District. Dave Ridge, who was a half brother to Jesse Sunday, had just been elected sheriff, and was to take office a little later. Sunday met all these requirements.¹⁰ He was forty-four years of age, a bullblood and had lived all his life in this community. His wife was the former Alice Hair,¹¹ who had also been born and spent all her life in the neighborhood. Both were educated and widely known. They had, at that time, six children—three sons and three daughters—the eldest son being nineteen and the youngest daughter five. He owned a good home and provided everything possible for the family. Their children went to the local school and later to the seminaries at Tahlequah.

⁸ Dale & Rader, *Readings in Oklahoma History*, p. 618. (Copied from Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1886, pp. 154-157.)

⁹ None of the districts in the Cherokee Nation had jails except Tahlequah District. Therefore, until prisoners could be moved to the National prison at Tahlequah, they were merely chained to a tree, wall or post for safe keeping.

¹⁰ Some years before Jesse Sunday became sheriff of the Saline District in 1885, he had in a posse under U. S. Marshal Jacob Yoes of Ft. Smith, Arkansas. They were searching for an outlaw named Barber who was scouting near Saline Courthouse. The posse encountered Barber, who began shooting on sight. Jesse Sunday, who was in an advantageous position shot him dead.—Told by both Andy and Dave Sunday to O. L. Morgan.

¹¹ Hair Conrad was one-half Cherokee. He was a captain in war of 1814; a member of the Constitutional Convention of the Cherokees in 1827; a captain of the first detachment of Cherokee emigrants leaving the old nation in 1838; was elected to National Council from Tahlequah District in 1843; died November 2, 1844. He married Melvina McGhee and their son was James. As was the custom of many Cherokees, the son took the first name of his father and James became James Hair, instead of James Conrad. James Hair became the father of Nicholas Hair, who married Lucinda Robertson and they were the parents of Alice Hair. *Record in private papers of Mary Sunday Morgan.*

While their native language was much used in the home and community, they all spoke English fluently. Jesse Sunday and his wife both belonged to the local church and took the family there, regularly. There was not a more modern or happy family in the entire Cherokee Nation. Dave Sunday, my guide mentioned above, was the second son and was fifteen years of age in 1897.

The merchant who operated the store at that time was also an outstanding man. He was Thomas Baggett, a white man from Alabama. Baggett had once been recommended and given a scholarship to West Point Military Academy, but was rejected when it was discovered that he had one bad eye. Later he graduated from Law School in Alabama and at the age of twenty-five came to the Indian Territory and stopped for a year in Going Snake District, near Westville. During this year he met and married Miss Pearl Holt, a native of one-fourth Cherokee blood. In 1889, soon after their marriage, the Baggetts purchased the store at Saline and moved there to occupy living quarters above the store. Four daughters were born to this happy union and on the fateful September 20, 1897, the youngest was two months old.¹² Both the Baggetts were ardent Christian people and had tried to promote Christianity in this community which seemed to need it so badly.

Naturally, any person doing business with the public will create, over a period of six or seven years, a certain number of enemies and Mr. Baggett seems to have created a little enmity, but no more than could have been expected. In this instance, there were entirely too many vices for a man of his ideals to have compromised with them all. Who these enemies were, we are not told, but certainly, one of them was deadly. Dr. Flickinger, who occupied a room in the store, had often admonished Mr. Baggett to sell his business and move to some community which would be more favorable to the rearing of a family. The doctor told him that he was too high a type man and too well educated to spend his time there.

Dave Ridge, the newly elected sheriff, lived in the community and was popular. His wife was the former Callie Paris and her family had been prominent in Cherokee affairs for many years. At the time, they had four small children. Dave was a hardworking and honest citizen, but would occasionally take a drink with friends. He was not a drunkard in the broadest sense of the term, and most of his drinks were probably of a political nature.

On this particular day, Mrs. Ridge dispatched Dave to the Baggett store, at about noon, to bring some necessary items for the family. However, when he arrived in the village he met some

¹² Told to O. L. Morgan by Mrs. Pearl Baggett. —*Private papers and notes of O. L. Morgan.*



Sheriff Jess Sunday and his
wife, Mrs. Alice Sunday.



Andrew J. Sunday, son of Sheriff
Jess Sunday, and Sampson Rogers.



of his friends and had a sample of John Barley Corn. From all accounts there were several around the store, and as Ridge knew them all, he probably took several drinks as the afternoon wore along.

It was the custom of Mr. Baggett to close his store at any time when he considered it dangerous to remain open on account of any neighborhood disorder. Therefore he closed early, before Dave Ridge had purchased his supplies. At about six o'clock, Ridge bethought himself of his errand and appeared at the front door of the store to find it locked. Realizing the situation, he beat and kicked the door all to no avail. He knew that Mr. Baggett was upstairs in their apartment, and began calling for him to come down and open the door. Finally, Baggett raised a window just above Ridge's head and told him to go on away as he had been drinking. Baggett explained that he had closed for the day and could not open again. Ridge was trying to explain his situation when a shot rang out from the barn or blacksmith shop and Baggett fell, mortally wounded in the room. Ridge, as he afterwards said, probably saw who fired the shot. The bullet struck Baggett in the face and he died within a few minutes. Realizing what had happened, Ridge spent some time trying to get inside to help the stricken family until a crowd gathered. It was about an hour before he decided to go home and started down the trail.

When the shot that killed the storekeeper sounded, Andy Sunday,¹³ oldest son of the sheriff, and Cooie Bolin,¹⁴ a friend, were at a spring some two hundred yards away, and did not know that a man had been shot. They had made an appointment with a bootlegger to deliver some liquor to them at the place where the trail crossed the spring branch and went from the spring to the appointed place. When they arrived, they stepped off into the bushes, and soon heard someone coming down the trail and at the same time, two men were coming from the opposite direction. Andy Sunday and Bolin stood still in the shadows and watched the three men meet. The lone man proved to be Dave Ridge on his way home, and the other two men were Sampson Rogers and Wilson Towery. When they met, Rogers said, "Dave, I hear that Tom Baggett has been shot and that you did it." Dave replied, "No Sampson, you shot Baggett and I saw you do it." Rogers flew into a rage and said, "So that is what you are going to tell?"

¹³ Andrew Jackson Sunday was born at Saline August 13, 1877 and died at Tahlequah July 6, 1930. Mrs. O. L. Morgan is the eldest daughter of Andrew J. Sunday and Sallie (Davis) Sunday.

¹⁴ Cooie Bolin was a fullblood Cherokee, law-abiding but fearless. It was he who shot and killed the outlaw, Jack Chewey, wanted by the federal authorities for robbing and killing a Jewish peddler on Spring Creek.—*Private Papers and Notes of O. L. Morgan.*

and struck Ridge on the head with either a gun or a bottle.¹⁵ Nobody seems to know or remember what Rogers used.

Young Andy Sunday knew that his Unele, Dave Ridge, had been drinking and that Sampson Rogers was a man who might kill Ridge. So he stepped out and tried to stop the fray, but Rogers turned upon him and said, "If I ever hear of you or anyone else telling anything about this, I will give you the same that I have given Dave." At that point Wilson Towery came in and persuaded Rogers to stop and go away. Bolin helped Andy place Ridge in a more comfortable position where he died during the night. Perhaps it might be as well to explain that Rogers did not like either Dave Ridge or Mr. Baggett and could have planned the erime so that it would appear that Ridge had shot Baggett. In this way he would rid himself of them both, since Baggett would be dead and Ridge carried away to prison or hanged.

Sheriff Sunday was on Elm Prairie, some ten miles east of Saline, guarding some prisoners when the murders occurred. He was spending the night at the home of Tom Grider¹⁶ when a messenger arrived with the news that Mr. Baggett had been shot. He immediately deputized someone to care for his prisoners and together, with Grider, started to the scene of the erime. It was about midnight when they arrived and began asking questions. They were not told at first that Ridge was dead but that he was being accused of killing Mr. Baggett. Feeling that there was some sort of mixup, Sunday deputized Cooie Bolin, Wilson Towery, Jim Millerbug, and Gilbert Stop to help with the work. He then divided them into pairs, taking Bolin with him.

The Jim Teehee home being very near to the scene of the erime, they went there to see if anybody had heard or seen who fired the shot that killed Baggett. They used every preeaution and approaching the house from two direetions, Sunday leaving his horse at the east gate and Bolin his at the south gate. As prearranged, they both reached the poreh at the same time and found John Colvard and Martin Rowe sitting on the front poreh. Rowe lived at the Teehee home, and Colvard was visiting with him.¹⁷ For some reason never explained, Colvard was holding a Winehester across his knees, and the sheriff reached for it and said, "I will take this. What are you doing with it?" He then asked Rowe what he knew of the killing of Baggett. Rowe replied that he did not know any-

¹⁵ Related by Dave Sunday, Sallie Sunday and Martin Rowe, *ibid.*

¹⁶ Thomas Grider was a mixed-blood who lived on Elm (Sometimes spelled Ulm) Prairie and was a leading citizen in his community. For several years he operated a general store there. In later years the place became known as Leach, as the attorney John Leach ran the postoffice there and it had been named for him. Leach was prosecution attorney in Saline District at the time of the Saline Courthouse Massacre, *ibid.*

¹⁷ Statement of Martin Rowe, *ibid.*

thing as he had been in the barn feeding his horse when the shot was heard and had not seen who fired it. Sheriff Sunday and Rowe were supposed to be good friends, and the officer replied, "That is alright, Martin," and turned to leave. Bolin went to the south gate to get his horse and the sheriff started toward his horse when he heard Martin Rowe call to the sheriff, saying, "Wait a minute, Jess, I want to tell you something." Instead of untying his horse, he said that he waited a moment to see what would happen and saw the two men walking together toward the sheriff's horse. Just as Sunday untied his mount, a shot was fired, followed by two or three others, and Bolin ran to the aid of his friend only to find him wounded badly. Snatching the Winchester which the sheriff had just taken from John Colvard and which lay on the ground, Bolin began shooting at the fleeing Martin Rowe whom he could hear running through the bushes and trees. Jesse Sunday's horse was untied when the shooting started and shied away. In his wounded condition, the sheriff followed the animal, hoping to remount, but from all indications, he did not recapture it, and was lost in the night.¹⁸

Rowe tells a little different version of the same story.¹⁹ He says that he walked to the gate with Jesse Sunday and there they found Sampson Rogers with a bottle containing a small quantity of whiskey, which he handed to Rowe and asked him to drink. He says he took the bottle and said, "This is no whiskey, Jess. I know where there are two quarts hid there in the bushes". He explained that the sheriff had given him to understand that he was under suspicion of shooting Mr. Baggett and he wanted to escape. He invented this ruse to make the escape. According to Rowe, the Sheriff said, "Let's get it," and Rowe led the way to a nearby tree saying, "One quart is on this side and one is on the other side of the tree. You get this one and I will get that." Sunday knelt to search for the supposed bottle, and Rowe dashed into the bushes. When Sunday saw the trick that had been pulled, he began shooting at the fleeing man. According to his story, which he told in the final trial, Colvard soon joined him and they prepared to defend themselves. After about an hour, he said they met the posse and that the shooting started. It was then that the sheriff was shot and that nobody knew who had shot him.²⁰ It was this conflict that helped greatly in saving Martin Rowe's neck, later.

Bolin searched for the wounded sheriff for sometime but was unable to find either him or his horse and finally concluded that he had gone home. He went to the Sunday home a mile or so away and told the family what had happened. He said that he was tired

¹⁸ Bolin told this version to Dave Sunday. *ibid.*

¹⁹ Statements of Martin Rowe, *ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

and sleepy and would like to feed his horse and rest for awhile. Just as he was feeding his horse, Sunday's horse arrived with an empty saddle, and the family started to search for the father and husband.²¹

Immediately after Dave Ridge was struck down, and before he was dead, Andy Sunday left to carry the word to Mrs. Ridge at her home, and did not return to the village until daylight. On the way, he found his father sitting by a tree, a few hundred yards from the Jim Teehee home, and took him there and put him to bed. There his family found him and there he died the following night. Before his death, Sunday told his family that Martin Rowe shot him.²²

Rowe was immediately arrested and was in chains when Sunday was buried.²³ He was taken to Tahlequah, tried, convicted and sentenced to hang for the murder of the sheriff. Later his case was reviewed and it was decided that there was considerable doubt as to who had actually shot the sheriff. Therefore the sentence was commuted by Principal Chief Sam Mayes and the National Council, to ten years in the penitentiary at Tahlequah.²⁴

Three months after the sentence was commuted, Rowe managed to escape and went to West Texas, where he worked as a cowboy for a few months. One day he happened to see some men whom he recognized as being from the Cherokee Nation, and who were looking for him. Again he managed to evade them, and went to Quannah, Texas, where he joined The United States Army, then being raised to fight the Spanish American War. This conflict only lasting a short time, Rowe was soon discharged and returned home, a free man.²⁵ Since then, he has lived at Stilwell, Oklahoma, some fifty miles from the scene of the tragedy at Saline.

In short order, a Grand Jury was convened and Sampson Rogers was indicted for the brutal murder of Dave Ridge. He was duly tried, but as the witnesses hesitated to testify against him, he was freed.²⁶ Several years later, Rogers joined the Baptist Church and was baptized by the Reverend John Blossom,²⁷ a Cherokee minister, who still lives in the community at an advanced age of eighty-four. He speaks no English and told his version of the Saline Courthouse Massacre in his native Cherokee tongue, which was interpreted by Dave Sunday and Martin Blossom, a grandson. When asked how long he had been a minister, he replied, "Twenty-seven years," adding sheepishly, "Before that, I was a gambler and bootlegger."

²¹ Statements of Dave Sunday, *ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Statements of Mrs. Sallie Sunday, *ibid.*

²⁴ Statements of Martin Rowe, *ibid.*

²⁵ Statements of Martin Rowe, *ibid.*

²⁶ Statements of Dave Sunday, *ibid.*

²⁷ Statements of Rev. John Blossom, *ibid.*

Today, fifty-seven years after that tragic September 20, 1897, when three fine and upright men were brutally slain, few of those involved remain alive. Mrs. Pearl Baggett and her daughters still live at Tahlequah, to mourn the loss of a dear and beloved father and husband. Three of the six children of Jess Sunday still remain with the memory of their father who met his fate in the line of duty as an official of his country. So far as is known, all four of the children of Dave Ridge are still alive. One son of Coonie Bolin still lives near the old Saline Courthouse to relate interesting stories of his fearless father. Also, Martin Rowe still lives in his little white house at Stillwell but is growing old and feeble.

While the stately old frame building²⁸ among the large spreading trees at Saline presents a beautiful picture to the casual observer it is a spectre of sad memories for all these people and their children.

²⁸ The contributor of this article, Omer L. Morgan, is of Cherokee descent. He has made acknowledgments to Dr. T. L. Ballenger, of Tahlequah, for his kind assistance for some of the references in completing the text of this story. Mr. Morgan lives in Newhall, California, and has been recently actively interested in locating the grave of Sequoyah, in Mexico.—*Ed.*

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF OKLAHOMA VERSE 1830-1930

By Leslie A. McRill

Oklahoma has a unique literary background for she was the recipient of two poetic streams in 1907 when Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory were merged into one state.

WESTERN OKLAHOMA

Before the Oklahoma Territory side, as such, came into existence, we had some springs of poetic inspiration, most notably in the writings of Scott Cummins, known as "The Pilgrim Bard." He wrote by his campfire while engaged in gathering buffalo bones for the market—the year 1879. His poem entitled "Song of the Bone Pilgrim," was "written with a leaden bullet on the shoulder blade of a buffalo, while encamped on a bone-gathering expedition in the valley of the Eagle Chief Creek, in the present Woods County, Oklahoma, September 19, 1879", of which the following are two stanzas:¹

"I roam all day long o'er the prairie
And down in the canyon so deep.
And when darkness comes on
I must camp all alone
With the coyote to sing me to sleep.

"O think of the poor bone pilgrim,
Ye who are safely at home;
No one to pity me, no one to cheer me,
As o'er the lone prairie I roam.

"I pass by the home of the wealthy,
And I pass by the hut of the poor,
But none care for me,
When my cargo they see,
And no one will open the door.

"Oh think of the poor bone pilgrim,
Ye who are safely at home;
No one to pity me, no one to cheer me,
As o'er the lone prairie I roam."

Much later, but in the early territorial days of Oklahoma, there were others who wrote poetry. Most notably we cite Freeman

¹ *The Daily Oklahoman*, Sunday, June 3, 1928.

Miller, who had his column "Oklahoma Sunshine" in the *Stillwater Advance* during the years of 1904-1905. His books of poetry ushered in what some one has called "Oklahoma's first contribution to formal literature."

His verse is smooth and reveals the flavor of the "halls of learning." Here are a few verses of his poem:

"The Stampede"

"We took our turns at the guard that night, just Sourdough
Charlie and I,
And as we mounted our ponies there were clouds in the western
sky,
And we knew that before the morning the storm by the north
wind stirred
Would harrass the plains with its furies fierce, and madden the
helpless herd;
But we did not shrink the danger, we had ridden the plains for
years,
And the crash of the storm and the cattle's cry were music to
our ears."

EASTERN OKLAHOMA

As early as the 1830's, the culture of the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks and Seminoles) was transplanted to the Indian Territory when these people were brought to this region from the Southeastern States. In a feature article entitled "Early Oklahoma Poets Sang of Primitive Life in State," by the late Joseph B. Thoburn, we read:

"The earliest known metrical production pertaining to Oklahoma was a striking, graphic description of a Comanche buffalo hunt, the author of which had evidently been an eye-witness to scenes which he so deftly depicts in verse, and who concealed his identity under the nom de plume of "Phazma."²

This poem was reprinted in the *University of Oklahoma Magazine* of March 1916.³ It has as title: "Indians Hunting the Buffalo." It carries at the end of the poem this data: "—Rosin Hill, Rog River, 1840." The *University Magazine* has a note to the effect that the poem was first published in the *Cherokee Advocate*, Nov. 13, 1845.⁴ Unfortunately, this number of the *Advocate* is not in the files at the Oklahoma Historical Building. As to the poem: First, the writer pictures the myriads of buffalo, peacefully feeding; then the uneasy feeling of danger that sweeps the herds, followed by clouds of dust on the distant horizon as hunters come sweeping on with their war-cry. He chooses the Comanches

² *The Daily Oklahoman*, Sunday, April 24, 1927.

³ *University of Oklahoma Magazine* (Indian Number), March 1916, pp. 18-20.

⁴ Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, *University of Oklahoma Press* (Norman, 1951), p. 121.

as hunters, since they were the most colorful of the Plains Indians and were notable horsemen here as early as 1815. Here are a few of the verses which will give us the style and color of the poem:

"A hundred hunters on their fire-eyed steeds
With barbed arrows and with bended bow,
Shrieking as each new victim falls and bleeds,
Are dealing death among the buffalo.
See the wild herds swift crossing as they fly,
The verge of land and sky.

"On! On! Now hither, thither, wildly speeding;
Their starting eyes in frenzy glaring round,
Bends the vast throng, some staggering and bleeding,
Goring the air and tearing the ground—
Crossed, turned, cut-off and maddened by the foe—
Ill-fated buffalo.

"See the Comanches, with a fiend-like ease,
Their long, dark scalp-locks streaming in the breeze,
Red as the sunbeam with vermillion stain—
Now distant far, then instant flashing nigher,
Like flashing flames of fire.
And see the frenzied buffalo at bay
After his savage hunter madly rushing."

But there is an earlier poem than this. From the personal files of Muriel H. Wright, there is a poem, written several years earlier than that by "Phazma." It appeared in the issue of the *Arkansas Gazette* of August 29, 1832, and "is possibly one of the first, if not the first, metrical effusion ever composed in what is now Oklahoma":⁵

"Lines"

"On the death of Levi Pickens, a Choctaw Indian, who recently died in the Choctaw Nation, West of Arkansas."

"By an Indian Trader."

"His was the noble, honest heart,
Freed from all law and strong to act,
He, fearless, claimed and paid his due,
With feeling strong and friendship true.

"The Red Man, fearless, lives and dies—
He dreads no hell beyond the skies;
He shrinks from no appending rod—
He dreams of no revengful God.

⁵ Muriel H. Wright, personal notes and collections.

“He sees the spirits of the air,
His fathers’ whoop has called him there,
Where forests wear eternal green,
Where war and death have never been.

“Some sixty sleeps have passed away
Since poles were planted where he lay.
His rifle, powder, pipe and food,
The Indian wants to cross the flood.

“When mourning friends again appear,
To pay the tribute of a tear,
They’ll pluck the sign that marks the spot
Which, hallowed thus, is ne’er forgot.”

—Roper”

But there were other interesting scenes of life in that early day. Youth and love were present as always. Evidence is this poem which appeared in *The Cherokee Advocate* of August 14, 1848, entitled “The Rose of Cherokee.” It was signed: “Former Student of the Male Seminary.” Two stanzas are here given:

“THE ROSE OF CHEROKEE”

“Though beauty deck the spring in flowers
Like Rainbows sleeping in the green,
Or soft, though moonlight’s dewy showers
May star-like glitter o’er the scene;
Though passions young and warm may spring
With rapture through the thrilling heart—
Though earth and sea their treasures bring
Combined with all that’s prized in Art—
Still wanton Nature’s dark-eyed child
Is far more dear to me—
The sweetest flower that gems the wild
Is the Rose of Cherokee.

* * *

“She is a gay and artless sprite
Her eye is glad and happiness
Plays round her lips a rosy light,
Bright with the conscious power to bless.
Her heart’s as pure, as wild, as free
As yonder streamlet leaping bight—
Her soul’s a gem of purity
And warm as loveliest star of night—
Yes, wanton Nature’s dark-eyed child
The jewel is for me—
The sweetest flower that gems the wild,
The Rose of Cherokee.
—Former Student of the Male Seminary.”

Naturally, one is curious to know the author of this poem. The Cherokee Male Seminary was formally opened in its new building in 1950. Yet the "Cherokee Male and Female Seminaries were both founded by act of the Cherokee National Council, Nov. 26, 1846"⁶ During the interim between the decree of founding and formal opening, Cherokee youths were in school. In *The Cherokee Advocate* of August 14, 1848, there is an address which had been delivered at the Anniversary of the Seminary. The address was made by Hon. John D. Mayes. The Seminary had probably been functioning two years at that time. We also read that when the Ridge family came from the East they brought their school teacher with them and neighborhood children attended her school along with the Ridge children.⁷ These historical notes are presented because the writer has a very strong feeling that the author of the "Rose of Cherokee" was none other than John Rollin Ridge. After the assassination (1839) of his father, the noted John Ridge, his mother took John Rollin to Arkansas where he continued his studies with Miss Sawyer for two years, then he was sent to Great Barrington, Massachusetts, later coming to continue his education with the Reverend Cephas Washbourne, missionary to the Cherokees.⁸ "In 1847 Ridge married Elizabeth Wilson in the Cherokee Nation,"⁹ and it is known that the young exiled Cherokee poet kept in touch with his people in the Cherokee Nation and at one time represented the Cherokee Nation on business at Washington.¹⁰ Two objections arise to my theory. First: The boy left Tahlequah soon after his father's death in 1839. But it could be that the pupils of Miss Sawyer's school considered themselves as members of a Cherokee Seminary as the word meant "High School." The second objection lies in the fact that Editor Wm. P. Ross may not have been sympathetic to a poem by young Rollin Ridge, although the Ross family disclaimed any part in the death of the boy's father. Here is one stanza of a poem by John Rollin Ridge.¹¹

"A Cherokee Love Song"

"Oh come with me by moonlight, love
 And let us seek the river's shore;
 My light canoe awaits thee, love
 The sweetest burden e'er it bore!
 The soft, low winds are whispering there
 Of human beauty, human love,
 And with approving faces, too,
 The stars are shining from above."

⁶ George Everett Foster, *Sequoyah, the American Cadmus and Modern Moscs.*

⁷ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Edward W. Bushyhead and John Rollin Ridge, Cherokee Editors in California," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, March-December 1936, Vol. 14, p. 295 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

¹¹ The whole poem appears in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 4, 1926, p. 321.

In those early days of the Indians in the new country there was a bent toward the love song. This perhaps because in the midst of strenuous doings the spirit seeks release in the things of the spirit.

Besides the love songs cited above there are several, either originals or translations from the Cherokee language, which appeared from time to time in *The Cherokee Advocate*. One is a translation called "Cherokee Song." It appeared in *The Advocate*, March 1, 1876, W. P. Boudinot, Editor. It is unsigned but preceded with this introduction: "The following is as literal a translation of a Cherokee love song into English as can be made. We have shown it to our critic—the shoe-maker—who says that for a translation it will do well enough, not much being expected of translations:"

"CHEROKEE SONG"

"Sit we down beside this brook,
 You and I, Love and I;
 We will of the prospect look
 Far and nigh, far and nigh.
 Flowers are blooming, spring is here
 For my love, for my love;
 See from out yon blue sky clear
 Two stars above, two stars above.

"Now they shine a beauteous host,
 To our view, to our view.
 But the radiance is not lost
 Of those two, of those two.
 So from loving hearts shall spring
 Joys that last, joys that last.
 As each flying year takes wing
 To join the past, to join the past."

Note the repetition, which is a characteristic of Indian poetry, although we find it to a degree in songs of all languages. Another poem appeared in *The Advocate* of Wednesday, August 22, 1877. It is preceded by a letter to the editor saying that the sender has heard the young girls singing it from time to time:

"MISTAKES"

"A Cherokee Love Song"

(Translated by White Flower Growing)

"Do you know what love is?
 'Tis a sigh and a kiss—
 Promised marriage and bliss.
 I can tell you what love is.

“Do you know what love is?
 ’Tis true love on one side,
 And on the other false pride.

* * * * *

“Do you know what love is?
 Love returned—is life’s breath.
 But mistaken—’tis death
 Do you know now what love is?

—“Said to be composed by Tooma.”

Now we turn from the esthetic to the serious struggle in the minds of the Indians in regard to their ultimate fate as an independent Nation. The following poems written by Too-quaa-stee, and appearing in the *Vinita Chieftain* are true Phillipics, filled with barbed irony, satire and forceful argument. The first is entitled “The Dead Nation:”

“Alas, poor luckless nation, thou art dead
 At last! and death ne’er came ’neath brighter bows
 Of flattering hope; upon thine ancient head
 Hath late-time treason dealt its treacherous blows.

* * * * *

“Then first it was, that on thy peaceful plains
 The roar of onset and the saber’s gleam
 Began—but hold! humanity refrains
 And genius cannot paint a dying scream.

* * * * *

“Dear Cherokee Nation, with the right to live,
 Art dead and gone; thy life was meanly priced:
 Thy room to civilization hadst to give,
 And so did Socrates and Jesus Christ!”

The other poem from this writer is entitled “The White Man’s Burden,” and is based on a verse from Ezekiel “Son of Man, say to the Prince of Tyre.” Each stanza begins with “Son of Man! Son of Man!” The whole poem is polemic of forceful arraignment of the white man’s arrogance in assuming first place in the purposes of the Eternal. After reciting in a column and a half of verses, instances of the white man’s errors, the writer closes with a reference to the effect that often a vessel used by the Almighty ceases to be longer useful, and is then cast away. These are the final lines:¹²

“The goblet from the lips of which I pour
 My wrath, as often I have done before—
 The glass itself, of no more value found,
 Is hurled and smashed to pieces on the ground.”

¹² *The Daily Chieftain*, Vinita, I. T. April 24, 1899; and *ibid.*, March 27, 1899.

Now, for a verse in happier mood. We all know the poetry of Alexander Posey, the matchless Creek poet of Eufaula. No one has written more beautiful lyrics than he, as a perusal of his book will show.¹³ But Posey was also an editor. At Eufaula and Muskogee, he was in the newspaper business. The following shows him in lighter vein for the tongue in cheek, perhaps, his keen wit is given play to the question of a rhyme for "Arkansaw":

"INDIAN RHYMSTER"

"No rhyme for Arkansas?
What's wrong with mother-in-law,
Or Wichita
Or Spavinaw
Or Ma
Or Pa?
Bah!
Hath not a erow a caw,
And greedy sharks a maw?
Is not a female Chickasaw
A Squaw?
Don't jaeks hee-haw
And Wildeats elaw?
Ever hear of Esau?
Never saw
A Choctaw
Smoke or claw?
Ever see a Quapaw
Eating a ripe paw-paw?
No rhyme for Arkansas?
Pshaw!"

But Posey caught the spirit of his times and had the ability to portray character in few words, until one could almost see the individuals of his pen pictures. In his poem: "The Passing of Hot Gun," in which he portrays one of the sages of the Creek Nation, who has brought the news of the death of one of their friends to the little group of philosophers, Posey relates their reaction to the bearer of news:

"All had to die at las'
I live long time, but now my days are few;
'Fore long, poke weeds and grass
Be growin' all aroun' my grave house, too,"
Wolf Warrior listen elose
An' Kono Harjo pay elose 'tention, too,
Tookpafka Cimma, he almos'
Let his pipe go out a time or two."

¹³ Mrs. Minnie Posey, *Alexander Posey: The Creek Indian Poet*, (Crane & Co., Printers, Topeka, Kans., 1910.)

For a description of wrapt attention this cannot be surpassed. The last two verses contain a volume of meaning. *The Indian Journal* of January 24, 1908, has this to say of the quartette of Indian philosophers: "Hot Gun, Wolf Warrior, Kono Harjo and Fus Fixico were a quartette of Creek philosophers who used to spend much time together, and criticisms became as proverbs among their fellow Indians."

After the tragic drowning of Alex Posey in the North Canadian River, one of his admirers wrote this poem, "Alex Posey's Creed." T. S. Holden, *Fort Gibson Post* was the author, and the poem was published in the *Eufaula Republican* of July 24, 1890.

"ALEX POSEY'S CREED"

"What's good and pure in any creed
 I take and make it mine.
 Whatever serves a human need,
 I hold to be divine.
 I ask no proof that bread is bread
 And none that meat is meat.
 Whate'er agrees with heart and head
 That food I mean to eat.

"Man sanctifies the holiest robe;
 Truth sanctifies the book.
 The purest temples on this globe
 Are mountains, grove, and brook.
 That spot on earth, whate'er it be,
 To me is holy ground—
 Where man is striving to be free—
 Freedom or death is found.
 The crown upon an empty head
 I hold as cap of fool.
 The seepre from which wisdom's fled
 Has lost the right to rule.
 * * * * *

"I find true men whe'er I look,
 Of every creed and nation—
 'Mid sons of toil in darkest nook
 As in the loftiest station.
 * * * * *

"The truth that elevates the mind
 And purifies the heart—
 That teaches love of all mankind
 And blunts affliction's dart.
 * * * * *

"Only this life is not our final doom—
 Higher spheres for the good and brave,
 Good acts and deeds forever bloom
 In realms beyond the grave."

Again, let us turn to an Indian poet, Hentoh, the Wyandot—B. N. O. Walker, who came to Oklahoma from Kansas with an emigration of his tribe sometime in the early '70's. He wrote a great deal in dialect. His book of poetry was entitled "Kon-doo-shah-we-ah, (Nubbins)." ¹⁴ He wrote many good poems among which are "The Calumet," "Injun' Summa' ", "The Warrior's Plume," "A Mojave Lullaby," and an "Indian Love Song." His poem "Injun Summa' ", although in dialect, is a jewel for lovely conception and picturesque description of nature in Indian Summer time. Here is part of the poem:

"You seen it, that smoky, hazy, my frien'?
It's hangin' all 'roun' on edges of sky?
It's spirits o' home-sick warriors come;
Jus' near as could get to his ol' home.

"I think he's like it, Happy Huntin' Groun',
It's mus'ta be a nice, eva'thin' ove' tha';
But, mebbeso, fo' little bit, jus' kin' a look roun'
When year it's get ol', an' sky it's fair.

"He's kin' a like to a wanda' back ol' huntin' groun'
But don't want to stay, No, cause it's all gone
Beaver, Bear, Buffalo, all; it's can't be foun';
Any how, makes a good dream fo' him, 'bout eva' one.

"So he's come back an' make it his lodge fire,
All 'roun ova' tha' on edges of sky;
An' it's nice wa'm sun, an' you don't get tire
'Cause it's Ol' Injun Summa' time, at's why."

Although in dialect here is a beautiful nature poem woven into nostalgic longing for the old home country. Indian warrior-spirits are camped around the horizon in the evening time taking a look at their former home. Read it again for an appreciation of the poetic beauty. Hentoh's poetry is well worth reading and surely ranks with Oklahoma's finest.

No survey of earlier Oklahoma poetry would be complete without quoting some of George Riley Hall's smooth-flowing, lyrical verses. He was a close friend of Alex Posey's and while Posey was editing the *Eufaula Indian Journal*, he published in one edition two of Hall's beautiful poems. One was entitled "Not for Me", in which the poet writes of beautiful flowers and vibrant music, of "luring eyes and silken hair," but at the end of each stanza comes the sad refrain: "These things are not for me." But as if to recoup his spirit with something rarer, this poem is followed by one entitled "For me." Let us quote:¹⁵

¹⁴ B. N. O. Walker, *Hentoh, Kon-doo-shah-we-ah*, (Oklahoma City, 1924.)

¹⁵ *Eufaula Indian Journal*, Aug. 15, 1902.

"FOR ME"

"I strayed by the shore where the echoes are sleeping
 Among the blue hills that encircle and hide
 The broad-breasted river, where, laughing and leaving,
 The streamlet makes haste to unite with the tide.
 Of sylvan Oktaha, whose stretches of sand
 Make girdles of beauty about this fair land.

"The blue of the sky and the green branches waving,
 The sweet invitation of nature to rest
 Seemed to satisfy all of the soul's eager craving
 To live in a land by eternal spring blest;
 Each mountain, the river, each flower, each tree,
 Had a love song to sing, and all, ALL was for me.

* * * * *

"The far-away clouds drifted slowly, while seeming
 To blend with the billows of green on the hills!
 Within the cool shades I sat quietly dreaming,
 And sipping the nectar the morning distills;
 Like mem'ries of love o'er that emerald sea,
 The wind-harps of heaven vibrated for me."

George Riley Hall is remembered as the author of "Land of My Dreaming," which Posey said was a masterpiece. His poem, "Accomplishment" recites the progress made in Oklahoma in twenty-five years, and his "Grave of the Bandit Queen," fairly breathes early Oklahoma life and doings. He came to Oklahoma a year before the 89'ers, taught in Indian schools, and founded the *Henryetta Free Lance*. He retired in 1908 and died April 13, 1944.

This article in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* has only touched the surface of early poetry—lyrics, Phillipics, humorous verse, religious, historical and adventurous poems in this western country.¹⁶ In fact, early writers¹⁷ here ran the full gamut of poetic expression and set the scene for later Oklahoma poets to measure up to, if indeed they are able to do so.

¹⁶ See Notes and Documents this number of *The Chronicles* for an old poem by John Walter Sams entitled "The Ghost of Wapanucka."—Ed.

¹⁷ Mr. Leslie A. McRill, of Oklahoma City, has served as President of the Oklahoma State Poetry Society for several years. He is the author of published works, including the book of poetry, *Tales of the Night Wind*, with poems based on Indian life and history in Oklahoma.—Ed.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

ORDER THE INDEX FOR *THE CHRONICLES*, 1954

The Index for Volume XXXII of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 1954, compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, is now ready for free distribution to those who receive the magazine. Orders for this Index should be sent to the Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

JOURNEY OVERLAND BY STAGE FROM JEFFERSON CITY TO
FORT GIBSON IN 1858

Through the kind interest of Mr. Harry E. Pratt, State Historian, Illinois State Historical Library, at Springfield, Illinois, the attention of the Editor was called to a letter dated from Fort Gibson, Cherokee Nation, on May 31, 1858, published in the *Illinois State Chronicle*, Decatur, Illinois, for June 17, 1858. The letter gives the story of the overland journey of a California bound company that will be of especial interest to readers of this number of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*:

OUR ARIZONA CORRESPONDENT.

Fort Gibson, Cherokee Nation,
May 31st, 1858.

Wm. J. Usrey, Esq.

Dear Sir:—Presuming that some of your readers would be glad to hear from the California and Arizona company, I propose to write you occasionally from different points along the route, and if you think you can fix them up for publication you are at liberty to do so.

We left Decatur on the 11th of May, to overtake the train which had proceeded [preceded] us about two weeks. We came by the way of St. Louis and Jefferson City. Nothing of interest transpired on our route to that point, except the roads between Jefferson City and Springfield, Mo., which were *painfully* interesting. We had to travel by stage, on roads of which I never saw worse. We finally got through safe, although not without several break downs, tip overs, and other accompaniments to that mode of traveling, which all served to dispel the monotony of two days and nights in a stage coach.

The company had not arrived at Springfield when we reached there, but were within a few miles. The next day, being the 18th of May, they came into Springfield, and we joined them. The boys were all hearty and in fine spirits, altho' looking a little the worse for wear upon the road. That portion of the train which had started ahead at Decatur, were still in advance. The first night we had the opportunity of camping with them at a beautiful spot a few miles from town. It was a beautiful night, and the novelty of camping out was enough to make us enter into the spirit of it; we enjoyed it very much, and I never slept sounder than I did that night upon the ground. The next morning, the 19th, we were up early, and having pulled up stakes, we entered upon the journey with a right good will. We traveled along through a very pretty country, on the road to

Sarcopie [Sarcoxie, Mo.] The prairie and timber seem to be very nearly equally divided. The prairie is high and rolling. The timber is not very good, being of rather a scrubby nature. The whole country is abundantly supplied with springs and rivulets, and seems to have been intended, by nature, for a first class stock country, as the grass is very good and plenty of it. The soil is not so good as in Illinois by considerable. It is a lighter, more clayey soil, and in many places rocky and gravelly. It is said to be a fine wheat country, but they do not call it extra for any other productions.

The first town we came to was Mount Vernon, county seat of Lawrence County. There is considerable of the Missouri graduation land in this County, which could be had for seventy-five cents per acre; it is very pretty prairie. The next day after leaving Mt. Vernon, we had a most terrific thunderstorm; for three or four hours it poured down in torrents. We happened to be on the prairie at the time, and the whole country seemed to be one sheet of water; it finally wound up by a hail storm, the hail stones were as large as filberts and walnuts.

The same day (21st) we passed through Sarcopie [Sarcoxie], which is quite a pretty little place, of about three or four hundred inhabitants. We then continued on to Neosho, which we reached the next day. Neosho seems to be more of an enterprising town than we have come through, everything looks neat, and improvements seem to be going on. We then left Missouri, following the line road between the Indian Territory and Arkansas, for two or three days. We came through the town of Maysville, Ark., which was our last town in the States.

The country through this section is very rough and also poor soil. Everything goes on smoothly, we have showers often. The Indians are plenty through here; they are very friendly and seem afraid of the whites. We had to commence guard though, on account of horse thieves. We had our horses stampeded once and it delayed us in hunting them, but we found them all. We hear of a great many depredations committed upon emigrants through here. We hurried on as fast as possible toward the center of the Cherokee Nation. We arrived at Tahlequah, the capital of the C.N., on the 28th. It is quite a neat town. We made considerable stop here, having a little curiosity to learn about this tribe. We find some highly intelligent Cherokees, who speak English fluently and have good educations. There are also quite a number of whites among them, who are generally in trade; which they [are] allowed to do providing they marry native women, and if they do not do this, they are not allowed to own any property in the Territory. They have two large seminaries, one male and the other female, one of these buildings cost \$80,000; they are both fine buildings.

The Indians are very proud of their agricultural and mechanical implements, in which they think they are equal to any of the whites. I wish I had more time to speak of this nation, as they have rather peculiar and interesting habits and customs, which I should like to speak of, but I have to close this letter.

We arrived at Fort Gibson on the 29th, found the boys under S. R. Hammer's charge well, and anxious to be going on across the plains. We made some additions to our company here, laid in our stock of provisions for the trip, and crossed the Grand River today, 31st. The town of the Fort, seems to have been quite a business place at one time, but it now looks rather deserted since the soldiers have left; being nothing more than a trading post for the Indians. There are two or three good stores here, and some good dwellings, mostly built by the government, and built strong.

I must now close, but I will write again soon, at Albuquerque, if not before.

Yours, &c.,

ALIGATOR.

MARY GREENLEAF MEMORIAL

High on the north slope of a limestone bluff overlooking Delaware Creek southeast of Bromide in Johnston County are the broken remains of a now neglected and almost forgotten gravestone. On the pieces, soon to be in their second hundred years, after being fitted back together the inscription is still legible:

In Memory of
MARY C. GREENLEAF
Born Newburyport, Mass.
January 31st, 1800
died June 26, 1857

For only one year was she permitted
to labor as a missionary among the
Chickasaw, but her labor was not
in vain.

The stone, now amid dense brambles and undergrowth, and the only one yet remaining, marks the site of the cemetery for Wapanucka Institute, the renowned Chickasaw Rock Academy. The academy buildings, too, are in ruins; and today a great pile of white stone, some one hundred yards east of the grave, gives little evidence of the once prosperous institution that was sheltered inside the now broken walls.

It is good to record that a renewed interest in the Academy and its grave yard promises to give this historical place the care and treasured attention it has so long deserved. A committee has been organized from among former students and their families and a group of local citizens representing the Alumni Association of Wapanucka High School is keenly interested in seeing that the needed work is commenced before too much longer.

On September 19, 1954, the grave site was visited by a Committee from the Oklahoma Historical Society, meeting there with Mr. Bob Hamer and Mr. Lawrence Stuttee of the local group, and initial plans were made for the required work.

Since that date, and through the generosity of F. A. Gillespie and Sons, of Tulsa, one half acre comprising the Mary Greenleaf¹ grave site, together with an easement for access to the plot, has been

¹ Biographical data on Mary Coombs Greenleaf are found in previously published articles: Muriel H. Wright, "Wapanucka Academy, Chickasaw Nation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII, No. 4 (December, 1934), pp. 402-31; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Mary C. Greenleaf," *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1946), pp. 26-39.—Ed.

acquired by the Oklahoma Historical Society, and the local committee has commenced active plans for the required and needed beautification.

George H. Shirk

A WAPANUCKA LEGEND

A faded, pencilled copy of an old poem, "The Ghost of Wapanucka," was received by the Editor recently in the fine old fashioned handwriting of Mrs. Holmes Colbert who copied the poem from a clipping for her niece, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, in 1908. This item, aside from its subject and the author, John Walter Sams, has an interesting history since the yellow leaves of tablet paper are in the handwriting of Mrs. Colbert who was of the noted Love family among the Chickasaws and as a young girl had attended the early mission schools in the 1840's. She was born in Mississippi in 1833, the daughter of Henry Love who as a Chickasaw delegate to Washington, D. C., some months later, signed the Chickasaw treaty in that City on May 24, 1834. Her marriage to Holmes Colbert in the early 1850's united two leading Chickasaw families, for the name Colbert had been known among the Chickasaws for one hundred years. Holmes Colbert (born 1829 in Mississippi) attended Union College, Schenectady, New York, where he roomed with his Choctaw classmate, Allen Wright (later Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation), in the school year of 1851-52. Young Holmes returned to the Indian Territory and is known in history as the writer of the Chickasaw constitution soon after the signing of the Choctaw-Chickasaw Treaty on June 22, 1855, which provided the establishment of the Chickasaw Nation with its own government and laws. Holmes Colbert became an outstanding leader among his people, serving many years as their delegate to Washington, D.C., where he died in 1873. His remains were brought back to the Chickasaw Nation, and burial made in the old cemetery at Bloomfield Academy. His grave is still seen at this location a few miles southwest of Achille, in Bryan County. Mr. and Mrs. Colbert had their beautiful home in the Red River valley country near Bloomfield. In her later years, Elizabeth Love Colbert lived at Purcell where she died in 1914.

The theme of the poem, "The Ghost of Wapanucka," is based on the legends which floated around in that country of scenic beauty—low lying limestone hills and prairies—near the stream now called Delaware Creek, which was first known as Wapanucka Creek, in Johnston County. The name Wapanucka is from *Wapanachki* ("easterners" or "eastern land people"), the Indian name of the tribe known as the Delaware (the English name) who formerly lived on the Delaware River, in the present states of Pennsylvania and Delaware. The name of Wapanucka Creek dates back to about 1840 when a band of Delaware Indians settled along the stream in this

part of the Choctaw Nation. The first boarding school for Chickasaw girls was called Wapanucka Institute (1852) or Wapanucka Academy because it was located on a hillside overlooking this springfed stream. Today, the town of Wapanucka, about four miles southeast of the site of this noted Chickasaw school perpetuates the name in Oklahoma.

Wapanucka was platted as a townsite when the Western Oklahoma Railroad (later known as the Haileyville-Ardmore branch of the Rock Island Railway) was constructed in 1902. The late Reverend Allen Wright's farm and ranch headquarters at Button Spring, so called from the peculiar limestone formation around the spot, on the hill on the southside of the townsite, was the location of the Wapanucka post office established on December 17, 1888, with Alva A. Taylor as postmaster. The first post office by this name was located a few miles west near the Wapanucka Academy, and was established March 5, 1883, with Frank P. Wells as postmaster.² The Delaware Indians had disappeared from this region forty years before these post office dates but stories about their early settlement still lingered around the sites where they had had their log cabin homes and rail fenced fields. One of these stories with embellishments was the subject of small advertising pamphlet "The Witches' Burying Ground" for Wapanucka after the railroad was constructed through here, written by a young attorney and booster of the town, W. L. Richards whose wife was a daughter of Reverend Allen Wright, the former classmate of Holmes Colbert. Then, John Walter Sams, a newspaper man, came along and wrote his poem to spread the name of Wapanucka, which brings up a lot of history for us and recalls some old Indian legends.

Here is the poem treasured by Mrs. Holmes Colbert and given to her niece, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore nearly a half century ago:

Sept. 13, 1908

The Ghost of Wapanucka

The following verses are dedicated to the memory of the Delaware Chief who was killed in a battle with the Choctaw Light Horsemen near Rock Academy more than forty years ago and from whom it is said the city of Wapanucka derived its name.

From far away in Memory's Valley
Comes a tale of old time,
Comes a tale of Red Man's legends,
Ringing sweetly as a chime.

'Tis the tale of Wapanucka
Chief of the Delawares
When he came to seek the Choctaws
In their Rocky Mountain lairs.

On the morn he left his country
Hope was high within his breast,

² George H. Shirk, "First Post within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), pp. 179-244.

And he made a vow to conquer
All the south and east and west.

At his back a thousand warriors
Trained the arrow, bent the bow,
And the plume of Wapanucka
Led his people to the show.

Led his people to the Choctaws,
To the Choctaws and to death,
For the Choctaw braves were legion
And their stroke a sinuous breath.

Led he on his valiant warriors
'Till the hills were dyed with red;
'Till the vales were filled with corpses
And none to mourn the dead.

No one was left but Wapanucka
Fighting as no man had ever fought;
Then he sank to earth a martyr
To the wrong that he had wrought.

And now the ghost of Wapanucka
Can oftentimes be seen,
A Wanderer of the Choctaw hillsides
When they are clothed with verdure green.

When the north winds' chill is blowing down
Each rocky vale and glen,
You may hear the squaws a-crying
For the braves who died like men.

And the wrath of Wapanucka
Floats above the mountain crest
Ever moving, ever longing
For the move that bringeth rest.

—John Walter Sams

IN MEMORY OF LYNN RIGGS, OKLAHOMA POET

The following Resolution in memory of the Oklahoma Poet
Lynn Riggs, has been received by the Oklahoma Historical Society

RESOLUTION

ENROLLED HOUSE

BY: WADLEY of the House

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 510

and

McSPADDEN of the Senate.

A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION MEMORIALIZING THE
LIFE AND WORKS OF LYNN RIGGS, DECEASED.

WHEREAS, Lynn Riggs was born near Claremore, Oklahoma, August 31, 1899, and was educated in the State's Public Schools and the University of Oklahoma, and his youth in a vigorous and growing young State prepared him for his life's work as one of our nation's foremost dramatist and poets; and—

WHEREAS, his brilliant career was marked by many successes, the most outstanding of which was "Green Grow the Lilacs," first produced in 1931, the rousing folk drama which later led to the famous star-studded musical and made the name "Oklahoma" a household word throughout the civilized world; and—

WHEREAS, his "Two Oklahoma Plays," "Roadside," and "The Cherokee Night," as well as his many other poems and plays always reflected his knowledge of and love for his native State.—

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA, THE SENATE CONCURRING THEREIN:

That, as representatives of the people of the State of Oklahoma we laud the life and literary works of Lynn Riggs, and commemorate his memory in the Archives of our State:

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a certified copy of this Resolution be presented to the family of the said Lynn Riggs, and to the Historical Society of the State of Oklahoma.

Adopted by the House of Representatives the 10th day of February, 1955.

B. E. Harkey, Speaker of the House
of Representatives

Adopted by the Senate the 14th day of February, 1955.

Pink Williams, President of the Senate

OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE

Received by the Secretary of State
this 15 day of February 1955.
at 4:00 o'clock p.m.

Andy Anderson

By: A. Jones

BOOK REVIEWS

The Witch Deer. By Maggie Culver Fry. (Dallas: The Story Book Press, 1954. Pp. 40. \$2.00)

These poems are of especial interest for Oklahomans. They hold much history which yet lives in the hearts of those who knew Oklahoma in her Territorial days. Four-fifths of the contents treat of our land, our people, and our customs, of only a few decades ago.

The volume takes its title, and its tone, from its first poem. To the Cherokee Indians the death of a fawn-flecked deer indicated change in government. At intervals of many years, two of these deer were killed. After the first was killed, the Cherokees were removed from Georgia to the Indian Territory. After the killing of the second, the Indian Territory became a part of Oklahoma.

Verse subjects are varied. Poem portraits paint immortal Sequoyah and Will Rogers, and the appealing Dr. Jesse C. Bushyhead and Grandfather, George Deerskin. Carefully chosen words welcome the blue-green blades of wild onions, and recall the poignant path marked by willow wands. A brief "Good-Bye" closes the book. But just before this last poem, Mrs. Fry honors Alec Posey, the outstanding Creek Indian poet, in a sensitive recounting of his tragic death by drowning.

A note under "Memories of Post Road Inn" says that Washington Irving once stopped at this inn, located between Fort Gibson and Fort Smith. There is no available authoritative record for this statement. Mrs. Fry took the note from a fictionized legend in "Oklahoma—Yesterday Today Tomorrow," Vol. II, reprinted in "Oklahoma—Land of Opportunity," by Lerona Rosamond Morris, Co-Operative Publishing Co., Guthrie, Okla., 1934, p. 43.

Mrs. Fry, whose love for Indian and Oklahoma lore is reflected in her writings, is of Cherokee blood. She was born at Vian. She attended grade school there and was graduated from high school at Porum. Since her marriage to Merritt Fry, she has made her home in Claremore. Mr. and Mrs. Fry have two sons, now grown. Mrs. Fry has contributed much poetry to magazines, but this is her first book.

—Frances Rosser Brown

Muskogee, Oklahoma

Trails West and Men Who Made Them. By Edith Dorian and W. N. Wilson. (Whittlesey House, New York, 1955. Pp. 92. Ill. Index. \$2.50.)

Ever delightful are stories concerning the opening of the Great West, that land of adventure and romance where trails were laid by men who have become legendary for their exploits. "Colonel" Joe Meek, Kit Carson, Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, Daniel Boone, and Jesse Chisholm are historical characters that never fail to create interest among the reading public, and so *Trails West* should be most interesting because all of these, and more, are again brought to life. With Daniel Boone and his road-building crew of "thirty guns" the reader may help in opening the Wilderness Road; or perhaps we would see William Becknell's newspaper advertisement for "men to go westward for the purpose of trading for horses and mules and catching wild animals of every description" and immediately start over the Santa Fe Trail with stocky Kit Carson as our guide.

Tales of ten different trails that were important in the winning of the west comprise this volume. These narratives include The Golden Trail, as Spanish Conquistadores attempted to find fabulous treasures; The Water Trail, followed by the French in their search for a rich fur trade; The Wilderness Road, constructed to open the "dark and bloody ground" for westward migration; Natchez Trace, marked by blazed trees between Nashville and Natchez; The National Road, Uncle Sam's Pike as it was called in 1815; Santa Fe Trail, inspiration for innumerable songs, writings, and movies; Oregon Trail, over which traveled people unmindful of the fact that they were building an empire; Chisholm Trail, grand-daddy of the cattle trails through the Indian country to the uproarious cow towns of Kansas.

Illustrations which mean so much to young and old alike are liberally sprinkled through the book furnishing picture stories all their own. A snowy pass along the Oregon Trail, a blizzard during a cattle drive, men cordeling their boat against stubborn currents, Kit Carson holding off the Comanches, the cheer of a camp fire at the close of a long hard day—all designed to help suggest mental images of places and conditions along the frontier. The double page map showing the route for each trail is easy to read and shows at a glance that practically all of present United States was traversed and explored by these trail riders. Another map showing the types of men who invaded particular areas may be found at both the front and back of the book.

Trails West was evidently written with a young reader in mind, and this reviewer feels that it would be a definite contribution to any school library.

—Lucyl Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The Chisholm Trail. By Wayne Gard. (University of Oklahoma Press, 1954, Norman, Oklahoma. Pp. 296. \$4.50)

Few things have found such a firm place in the lore of the Southwest as has the name of Chisholm. Jesse Chisholm was identified for many years with the area of present Oklahoma and operated several successful trading ventures within its borders; yet it is history's fate that his name should be handed down to us in connection with something with which he had but relatively little to do—The Chisholm Trail.

Economic conditions following the War Between the States made it imperative that the Texas ranchers find some practical answer for the marketing of their herds, and long overland trails were the solution. Commencing in 1867 and continuing until the railroads a dozen years later provided a better means of transportation, the Southwest's biggest business enterprise was the mass movement of cattle. It took the keen planning of a shrewd business man, Joseph G. McCoy, to bring all of the needed factors together and in one sense of the word the trail should more properly bear his name.

Wayne Gard has given us a most excellent account of this vast undertaking. The "R. G. 'Smoking Room' Miller of the Dallas Morning News", Gard has contributed countless hours of research in completing a most complete and factual volume. Hats off to the author and to the University of Oklahoma Press for bringing us this volume. Being a newspaper man, his account is drawn mostly from contemporary newspaper sources. In this instance, such is an advantage, for the reader lives again the dust and tumult of the times. For example, the chapter on the frontier life at Abilene is so vivid that the reader actually is afraid to go out on the street without a six gun!

Oklahoma City

—George H. Shirk

MINUTES OF THE FOURTH QUARTERLY AND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY JANUARY 25, 1955.

The regular quarterly and annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held in the Director's room of the Historical building on Thursday, January 27, 1955. The meeting was called to order by President William S. Key, and the following Directors answered roll call:

Mr. H. B. Bass, Judge R. L. Bowman, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Gen. Wm. S. Key, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Mr. S. E. Lee, Mr. R. G. Miller, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Col. George H. Shirk, Judge Baxter Taylor, Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore and the Secretary, Miss Muriel H. Wright.

The following Directors were excused as having good and sufficient reason for being absent:

Mrs. Garfield Buell, Dr. E. E. Dale, Justice N. B. Johnson, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle and Dr. John W. Raley.

Judge Hefner moved that members be excused from attendance of this meeting of the Board of Directors. Motion seconded by Judge Bowman. There being no objections, the motion was approved.

Judge Taylor took the floor and stated that with some hesitancy, he wished to call attention of the continued absenteeism of several of the Board members. He contended that if any member cannot attend the quarterly meetings of the Board, he or she should resign even though excused: "The purpose of meeting here is to serve and some of the members have not been living up to their obligations. I merely make these statements for I want the Board to direct its attention to this absenteeism; all too frequently Directors are absent without good excuse."

: General Key advised that following the last meeting he wrote four of the members who have been absent on several occasions, asking for their more active interest and support, and was delighted with the response he received. Mr. Lee had stated that he had his plans all made to be more active in the Historical Society; we are greatly pleased to have him present today. Dr. Raley did not understand definitely the date and like other professional men, is extremely busy. However, Dr. Raley says he will be more active in the future. These members are needed in the work here. Our old friend John Easley from Ardmore is again not with us today but we know that he will become more active on this Board. Mrs. Buell has not been an active member, but she has made material contributions in the work of this Society in the matter of the buildings at Fort Gibson. "So out of the four," General Key's remarks closed, "I know two who will become more active: Mr. Lee and Dr. Raley and I hope John Easley will too."

Judge Redmond S. Cole was recognized and stated that he was in Muskogee and talked to Mr. Mountcastle yesterday noon, who asked an explanation be presented to the Board for his absence today, because of pressing engagements in his office.

General key then stated that unfortunately, two of our active members are no longer with us in life; our good friends Judge Edwards and Mr. W. J. Peterson.

Judge Taylor arose and said he wanted to call attention in a solemn way to the Board, of the recent death of three of its members:

"Since the annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, three of our members have passed from life. They are Dr. T. T. Montgomery of Durant, Hon. W. J. Peterson of Okmulgee, and Judge Thomas A. Edwards of Cordell.

"Dr. Montgomery became a member of this Board November 1, 1951. Mr. Peterson became a member April 23, 1936, and Judge Edwards served from February 2, 1926, nearly thirty years.

"These fine men, each in his community, stood in neighborly and public recognition of his superior merits and virtues as a fellow citizen and a neighbor. And to be truly a good citizen is one of the noblest attainments in American life. These three of our late and lamented brother members were good citizens in the highest sense and good men.

"At a later time and in proper manner, fitting memorial tributes to these noble men will appear in *The Chronicles*.

"We lament their passing; they were members that this Board of Directors will grievously miss.

"Their earthly pilgrimage has ended. To them we pay mournful homage; to them we bid a melancholy farewell."

At the conclusion of this eulogy, General Key asked that the Board stand for a minute in silent prayer as tribute to these departed Directors.

Judge Hefner moved that this eulogy by Judge Taylor be made a part of the permanent record of our Society. The motion was seconded by all Directors and passed unanimously.

Mr. Phillips then moved, seconded by Judge Hefner, that the Secretary read the minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held this month:

12 January 1955

MINUTES OF SPECIAL MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

"A special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Oklahoma Historical Society met at the Oklahoma Club in Oklahoma City at 12 noon, 12 January 1955. The following members of the Committee were present:

Gen. W. S. Key
Judge Redmond Cole
Judge Baxter Taylor
Judge Robert A. Hefner
Judge Edgar S. Vaught
Mrs. Jessie Moore
Mr. R. G. Miller

Although not a member of the Committee, George H. Shirk attended and acted at the request of the President as temporary secretary.

"The president called to the attention of the meeting that a member of the Board of Directors of long and faithful service Judge Thomas A. Edwards had passed away 6 January 1955. The meeting paused in his memory and all present expressed great regret at the announcement.

"Mr. Miller reported that the annual Historical Tour was planned for 29th and 30th April, with a night meeting in Muskogee on Thursday 28 April, and the tour to follow the Washington Irving route as far as

Oklahoma City from Ft. Gibson. First night stop at Stillwater, and the second night would include a banquet meeting at Oklahoma City. He reported detailed plans for his committee. It was moved, seconded and upon a vote adopted, that his report be approved, and that the Tour proceed as he had reported.

"The meeting then discussed the publication of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. All agreed that Miss Wright had done a great work in its publication. It was moved that Miss Wright be named Editor of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, to operate under the following policies:

a. Although Editor, and in charge of the publication department, her department would be like any other department of the Society, and would work under the supervision of the Executive Secretary; with the secretary reporting to the Board on all matters of cost, circulation and administrative details of the publication thereof.

b. That all matters of editorial content be under the supervision of the Publications Committee.

"The motion was seconded, and upon a vote was adopted unanimously.

"The president then appointed the following as members of the Publications Committee:

The Executive Secretary

R. G. Miller

E. E. Dale

Milt Phillips

George H. Shirk

Muriel H. Wright

"It was moved by Judge Taylor that Elmer Fraker, of Oklahoma City be employed as Executive Secretary of the Society, with duties to commence 1 March 1955, at an annual salary of \$6500, payable monthly, and with any portion of such salary not payable out of appropriated funds to be paid out of the private funds of the Society. The motion was seconded by Judge Cole, and upon a vote was adopted unanimously.

"Mr. Fraker joined the meeting, and a discussion followed on the overall affairs of the Society.

"It was agreed that no announcement be made of the selection until a joint announcement be prepared by the Society and by Mr. Fraker.

"The president agreed to submit the action of the Committee to the Board for final adoption, but that in view of the urgency of the matter, that absent members of the Board be polled at once by telephone.

"The meeting adjourned.

George H. Shirk

Acting Secretary."

Mr. Phillips took the floor and made the motion that the Board of Directors approve and heartily commend the action of the Executive Committee in the selection of Mr. Fraker as Secretary of this Society. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Korn, Mr. Harrison and Judge Bowman, and carried unanimously.

Judge Taylor commented that for those who do not know Mr. Fraker, as he does: Mr. Fraker was reared in Oklahoma; he is a school man, teacher of history; he is State Adjutant of the American Legion and has been most diligent, active and loyal to those he serves. He is strong in

the American Legion; he knows the requirements of work before the Legislature; knows members of both the House and the Senate personally. Mr. Fraker can be of great service in obtaining proper appropriations for the Historical Society. He is a man of strength and character which give promise that he will run this Society with complete efficiency and satisfaction.

Mr. Phillips was recognized and stated: "So far as I know, there has never been a person elected to this Board who has not been an outstanding citizen, but I am wondering if the Board has or could develop a policy of selling the Society to our outstanding citizens who may be nominated for Directors. If some one I proposed to this Board should be elected, I would have no hesitancy in spending an afternoon or evening going over the opportunity afforded in sitting on this Board, also advising on some of the obligations he would have to assume in becoming a member. Then if that person realized the importance of his position in serving on this Board, you would have a member who would be diligent and active in his support. My suggestion is that every person elected on this Board be subject to final confirmation at a subsequent meeting when they can be present and willing to give us their pledge of service here. I know there is a fine person on the list I have recommended. If that person should be elected to this Board, I would like to have the opportunity to go to this person and have a good talk with her about the obligations and I would want her here at the next meeting and give to the Board her pledge of willingness to serve and if she could not, then it would be no reflection on her."

General Key suggested that all newly elected members be asked to accept the honor and responsibility which goes with the position.

Mr. Harrison noted that the Constitution says when we elect a new Director, he or she automatically assumes the responsibilities and duties of this Society.

Mr. Bass rose and stated he was one of the newer members of the Board, but is intensely interested in the Society and expects to devote the rest of his life in working in its behalf. He thinks the greatest weakness in the Society is the Board of Directors, by not being sufficiently interested in every phase of the Society. There are too many on the Board who are not interested enough to go to the meetings when they can, and Directors who cannot attend should automatically be dropped. He further stated that he thought Dr. McCash had the right idea: He reached the age when he could not be active and resigned, and the Board appointed him an inactive Honorary Director.

General Key introduced Mr. Elmer Fraker, the newly elected Secretary of this Society, who remarked, "I thank you for the confidence you have placed in me. As you know, like the politicians say 'I did not seek this position' but I am happy to accept it. I feel like it is an opportunity I am getting where one can make a real contribution to the State. I want to pay tribute to my predecessor, Dr. Evans, who spent a lot of time and work here, and I am sure if we look at the Society at the time he started and when he left, he accomplished quite a bit. I think we are all acquainted with this problem; many institutions such as this all lack more funds, more money, and I know as I go along in this new position, I will have to learn and will need the whole-hearted cooperation of the staff. So I am going to have to study and take some time and do not expect to make quick or rash decisions. I do know this: This institution is desperately in need of more finances. I have already done a little talking to men here and there who are acquainted with this situation, and all of them say 'you do not ask for enough money.' Before I sit down I would like to mention in talking with some leaders in the Legislature, it has been mentioned that there is some work to be done on the plans for a big

celebration, the Semi-Centennial of Oklahoma as a State and this thought has been given to me by some of the leaders: That the Oklahoma Historical Society can probably play a considerable part in their big 1957 celebration and also with certain other observances in the state; we can have much to do with plans and promotion although there is no plan to spend lots of money. They do not want to hire a group of people to put on this celebration. I would like to be permitted to write a letter to the Governor and the Speaker pro tem of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, in which I would offer our assistance in this Semi-Centennial project."

Judge Bowman stated the next order of business was the election of Board members to fill the vacancies caused by the expiration of terms, and moved that the following Directors: Gen. Wm. S. Key, Judge Edgar Vaught, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Justice N. B. Johnson and Judge Baxter Taylor whose terms expire today, be reelected for the ensuing term which he remembered to be five years. Motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and carried unanimously.

Judge Hefner moved the adoption of the following Resolution: That on the election of new members to the Board, that the president direct a letter to the new members asking them to appear at the next meeting of the Board after their election (or the first meeting they can attend) and before they enter on the duties, they be asked the question as to their willingness to assume the responsibility and work for the best interests of this organization. This motion was seconded by Mrs. Moore and carried unanimously.

General Key stated there were three vacancies caused by the untimely death of three members and proposed to fill the vacancies in the interim by the regular election today. The names of those to be elected were submitted thirty days prior to this meeting and each of the Directors were furnished with a list of 8 nominees.

Mr. Miller rose and asked if another name could be submitted at this time.

Several of the Directors referred to the motion of Judge Hefner in the last meeting and General Key asked the Secretary to read that portion of the Minutes of the October 28th meeting pertaining to this question:

"When an interim vacancy occurs on the Board, the attention of the Board be called to this at the next meeting after the vacancy occurs, and nominations to fill the interim vacancy be received at that meeting or any time thereafter until a period of thirty days before the next meeting; and it will be the duty of the Secretary to send to members of the Board the names of those who have been nominated and this information should be marked 'Confidential'."

Mr. Harrison moved we proceed to elect the new members.

General Key suggested that under the circumstances we should fill these three vacancies at this time, subject to their acceptance.

Judge Bowman moved that election be held to fill the three vacancies occurring at this time, subject to acceptance by those elected. Motion seconded by Mr. Harrison, Mr. Phillips and Mrs. Moore.

Judge Cole suggested that the foregoing motion be amended to provide that the first name receiving the highest number of votes be elected to fill the unexpired term of Dr. Montgomery; the second highest, to fill the unexpired term of Judge Edwards, and the third highest to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Peterson. Mrs. Moore seconded the amended motion and it carried unanimously.

Mr. Miller submitted the name of Genevieve Seger, and stated further as a requisite for a Board member: Miss Seger is president of the Blaine

County Historical Society and there is no person who works more in the business of history than she. She and her father met us at Colony on the 1953 Historical Tour and in going back to her office, I mentioned the possibility of her name being offered at some time.

Mrs. Moore suggested that each vacancy should be filled by some one who lived in the same territory as the deceased and the new members elected from those territories.

The names of the nominees were read by the Secretary as follows:

Mr. Exall English, Lawton, Okla.
 Mr. Fred Drummond, Hominy, Okla.
 Dr. James D. Morrison, Durant, Okla.
 Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Stillwater, Okla.
 Mr. Garland Godfrey, Durant, Okla.
 Mrs. Frank Sewell, Oklahoma City (withdrawn)
 Judge Hiner Dale, Guymon, Okla.
 Mrs. Willis C. Reed, Vinita, Okla.
 Miss Genevieve Seger, Geary, Okla.

A written ballot was then taken and Mrs. Willis C. Reed was elected to serve out the unexpired term of Dr. T. T. Montgomery; Miss Genevieve Seger to fill out the unexpired term of Judge Edwards, and Mr. Exall English, to fill out the unexpired term of Mr. W. J. Peterson.

Since the last Board meeting, 23 Life Membership applications and 111 Annual Membership applications have been received as follows:

LIFE MEMBERS:

Hon. Don E. Baldwin	Anadarko, Okla.
Mr. Fred A. Chapman	Ardmore, Okla.
Dr. L. L. Long	Beaver, Okla.
Mrs. Ruth E. Jordan	Cloud Chief, Okla.
Hon. J. M. Bullard	Duncan, Okla.
Miss Mildred Dickens	Gage, Okla.
Mr. John H. Bass	Norman, Okla.
Mrs. Altha L. Bass	Norman, Okla.
Mr. Luther T. Dulaney	Oklahoma City, Okla.
Mrs. Rosalie S. Georgia	"
Mr. J. H. Hurst	"
Mr. Earl E. James	"
Mrs. Wendell Long	"
Mr. Wm. T. Payne	"
Mr. Lee Sorey	"
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Also, the following gifts have been presented to the Library and the Museum:

LIBRARY:

Annual Reports:

School of American Research of the Archaeological Institute of America.

University of Kentucky Libraries, 1953-54.

Association of American Railroads, 1953 and 1954.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1953-54.

University of Indiana, 1953.

Oklahoma Educational Association, Vol. 35, 1953.

Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska, 1953.

Donor: University of Alaska, College, Alaska.

Sport's Guide to Lake Carl Blackwell, 1954.

Donor: A & M College, Stillwater, Okla.

Renascence or Decline of Central Europe, The Sudeten-German-Czech Problem, 1953. Donor: Dr. Walter Belcher.

Industrial Britain, by Duncan Crow, 1954.

Donor: British Information Service.

Bibliography of the History of Medicine of the United States and Canada, 1953. Donor: J. Whitfield Bell, Jr. Ed.

Series in Anthropology #4, 1954.

Donor: University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.

Nominating speech of ex-governor Henry S. Johnston, on William H. Murray for President of the United States.

Tribute to Mary Alice Hearell Murray: *Alice, Crossing the Bar*, (died August 28, 1938), by Wm. H. Murray.

Tribute to Mary Alice Hearrell Murray: *Alice, Crossing the Bar*, House Resolution No. 25.

Donor: Mr. Phil Davis, Aspermont, Texas

New York Tribune, dated December 4, 1872, on the death of Horace Greely, (died Nov. 29, 1872).

New York Tribune, dated September 21, 1881, devoted to the report on death of President James A. Garfield.

Donor: Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Edmond, Okla.

"Information Respecting the Historical Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States."

by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and David I. Bushnell.

"Seth Eastman, the Master Painter of North American Indians."

Donor: Mr. Jerome Hill James, Reference Library, St. Paul, Minn.

"Manuscripta," 1954. Donor: Knights of Columbus Foundation, Vatican Mss. Depository, St. Louis, Mo.

"Don Pedro Favrot, A Creole Pepys," by Helen Parkhurst. July, 1954.

Donor: The Louisiana Historical Society, Baton Rouge, La.

"Our Islands and Their People," Vols. 1 and 2, by Major General Joseph Wheeler. Donor: Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Wayne, Okla.

"Origin of Uncle Sam." Donor: Col. Edgar T. Noyes, U.S.A.F., Kelly Field, Texas.

"Handling a Trail Herd," by Charles H. Tompkins. Old Trail Drivers' Convention, 1954. San Antonio, Texas.

Year Book of the Society of Indiana Pioneers, 1954.

Donor: Society of Indiana Pioneers, Indianapolis, Ind.

"Continental and Colonial Servants in 18th Century England," by J. Jean Hecht, 1954.

Donor: Smith College Studies in History, Northampton, Mass.

"The Hopi-Tewa of Arizona," by Edwin P. Dozier, 1954.

"Max Uhle, 1956-1944—a Memoir of the Father of Peruvian Archeology," by John Howland Rowe, 1954.

Donor: University of California, Berkeley & Los Angeles.

"Forty-Seventh Anniversary of Oklahoma Statehood," Nov. 16, 1954.

Donor: Payne Co. Historical Society, Stillwater, Okla.

MUSEUM:

United States Flag with 46 stars. Donor: Capt. Lloyd Roedel, Fort Holabird, Baltimore, Md.

Uniform coat and vest worn by a Chaplain in the Union Army.
Donor: Frank H. Carpenter, R. R. # 2, Harmon, Okla.

Bronze bust and oil Portrait of Rear Admiral J. J. Clark.
Donor: Memorial Association, presented by Thos. A. Nicholson.

Brochure, "The Whitebead Church," and a copy of Report #584 House of Representatives, 74th Congress.
Donor: Mrs. Jessir R. Moore, Wayne, Okla.

Plaque Commemorating the opening of the Cherokee Strip.
Donor: Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Thach, presented to the Historical Society by Gov. Johnston Murray.

Photostat of Belle Starr reward poster.
Donor: Carl W. Breihan, 4939 Mattis Road, St. Louis, Mo.

Photograph of Allen Wright, Jr.
Donor: J. B. Wright, 1020 So. 9th St. McAlester, Okla.

Five color transparencies of Wm. H. Murray at A & M College.
Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater, Okla.

Photograph of Mac Q. Williamson and students and A & M students
Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater, Okla.

Framed oil portrait of Joseph Huckins.
Donor: Mrs. James R. Shraye, Stockton Ave. Springfield, Mo.

Dr. Harbour moved that all membership applications and gifts be accepted and the donors thanked for their contributions. Motion seconded by Judge Bowman and Judge Taylor and carried unanimously.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, the Treasurer, then read the quarterly and annual financial reports, which were received with enthusiasm and commendation. Judge Bowman moved that the reports be approved and accepted. Motion seconded by Judge Hefner and carried unanimously.

Colonel Shirk then took the floor and presented the following Resolution:

"Be it Resolved by the Board of Directors that Muriel H. Wright be commended for her untiring effort and faithful service to the Society in the capacity of Secretary of the Society for the interim term between the tenure of Dr. Charles Evans and Mr. Fraker. (September 1, 1954 to March 1, 1955)

"Serving in the double capacity as Secretary and Editor of *The Chronicles*, she performed the duties of both responsibilities with great distinction and credit to the State of Oklahoma and the Oklahoma Historical Society."

The Resolution was accepted with enthusiasm and applause for Miss Wright. Acceptance seconded by Dr. Chapman and Judge Hefner.

General Key stated that Miss Wright's compensation as Editor would remain at \$300.00, and any difference over the present appropriated amount and the \$300.00 would be made up out of the special fund account until the new budget is approved and appropriated.

Judge Bowman moved that the Editor's salary be increased to \$300.00 until the first of July. Motion seconded by Colonel Shirk. Vote taken and motion approved.

General Key then called for a report on Committees.

Colonel Shirk, as Chairman of the House Committee, stated the objectives as follows:

1st: Renovation of the drapes, rugs and seats in the Auditorium.

2nd: Bookcases for the Library; cases with doors and locks to stand along the walls.

3rd: New piano for the Auditorium.

Colonel Shirk moved that the piano be purchased and that the rental of the Auditorium be raised to \$17.50, and as a part of the same motion, that the other matters—renovation of seats, drapes and rugs in the Auditorium—be held pending until the Committee meets with Mr. Fraker, the new Secretary. Motion seconded by Dr. Harbour and carried unanimously.

Mr. Phillips commented that the Auditorium in its present condition needs renovation. He further stated that something should be done now if we are going to present the Oklahoma Historical Society before Oklahomans as it should be. He further suggested that the carpet and drapes be done first and Mr. Fraker and the Committee go into the other expense later.

Judge Vaught moved that the drapes, carpets and chairs be renovated and the expense paid for out of the special funds. The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Colonel Shirk then reported on the condition of Rose Hill Cemetery and the needed repairs there now taken in charge by the history student organization of Southeastern State College through the interest and supervision of Dr. James D. Morrison of the History Department at Southeastern State College.

Colonel Shirk then brought up the subject of increasing the rate of subscriptions to *The Chronicles* from \$2 to \$3 annually and moved that the increase be made. The motion was seconded and upon a vote was adopted.

At this point the meeting was honored by a visit from the Governor, Hon. Raymond Gary.

Governor Gary was greeted by General Key and Judge Taylor and was asked to address the Board of Directors. Governor Gary expressed his appreciation of the work this Society is doing and indicated his desire to cooperate with the secretary, staff and Board of Directors in every way possible. He further stated that Oklahoma has a wonderful history and we should all exert every effort to preserve this great heritage.

The Governor then proceeded around the table to meet and shake hands with each member of the Board, Secretary and clerk who were present.

Mr. R. G. Miller then presented the matter of the Historical Tour to be held in April. On these tours, he said, the people are taken to see the things they read and study about. This new Tour is going to be a re-run of the trails found by Washington Irving on his Tour on the Prairies in 1832. The dates of the Historical Tour this year are April 29th and 30th, Friday and Saturday. This will only take two days and Governor Gary has been invited to find the time to go along.

The plan of the Tour is to leave Oklahoma City on the afternoon of Thursday, April 28th by chartered buses. Private automobiles of course, are welcome but experience in the past has been if the group can keep together, traveling in buses, the caravan can leave on time and arrive on time, at the same place and no one is misplaced or overlooked.

Mr. Miller then discussed the itinerary of the trip which will end up in Oklahoma City on Saturday, April 30th; there will be a banquet in Oklahoma City, the entertainment to be furnished by a theatrical group of Oklahoma City that will present a most interesting skit, tentatively entitled "Flashback of Oklahoma History." The Frisco Railroad has received reservations for a full 13-bedroom Pullman car from the New York people coming down to join this Historical Tour. Among them is the wife of Sir Hubert Wilkins, the noted explorer and it is possible Sir Hubert will be able to come, also. There are four Historical Societies of Westchester County, New York to be represented.

At the last meeting of the Board in October, 1954, approval was given Miss Wright to accompany Mr. Miller, Colonel Shirk and other members of the Board to New York and meet with the people on Saturday, March 26th, from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m.; 400 reservations have already been made for that meeting in New York.

There will be a detailed report of the April Historical Tour and of the cost of the trip for a Press Release in a few days, to be sent out to all the members of the Historical Society.

Dr. Harbour suggested that the visitors on the Historical Tour from New York be guests of this Society at the banquet in Oklahoma City on April 30th. Judge Taylor seconded this motion which carried unanimously.

Colonel Shirk moved for adjournment of the Board meeting which was seconded by Judge Vaught and carried unanimously. The meeting adjourned at 12:20 p.m.

WILLIAM S. KEY, President

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, Secretary

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

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GEORGE H. SHIRK

ELMER L. FRAKER

Summer, 1955

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JUDGE THOMAS A. EDWARDS

By Lawrence N. Morgan*

The life of Judge Thomas Edwards is a record of public service and of solid achievement, shaped and built in Oklahoma, the pioneer land of opportunity, between the time he came to the Territory in March, 1898, and his death on January 5, 1955. We must not, however, be smug about what the new territory offered the settlers, for Oklahoma then as now could be the land of dry holes as well as gushers, of searing droughts and blowing dust, of sudden rains which come after the wheat has been cut and lies rotting in the fields. The greatness of the State rests not so much on its resources and fresh opportunities as on the individual men and women who have given to the State their courage and hard work, their vision, and their integrity. Judge Edwards belongs in the company of those whose valor would not be denied.

Thomas Allison Edwards was born on a forty-acre, mortgaged farm in Gum Log Valley, Arkansas, February 21, 1874. He worked his way through the public schools of Pope County and two years at Arkansas Industrial University, Fayetteville. He taught in country schools, once at Possum Trot where his father had taught, and studied law on his own, borrowing a Blackstone from Judge Wallace of Russellville. In March 1898, he came to Cloud Chief, Washita County, "a tough little place and apt to continue so," arriving with \$4.00 in his pocket; the prospect of another country school which Mrs. S. J. Jordan, his older sister, had written him about; and the determination to become a lawyer.

He taught at Rainy and Little Hope schools for \$25.00 a month and continued to study law in a borrowed *Greenleaf on Evidence* while sharing a rent-free dugout with a friend. Later he spent three weeks isolated in a dugout with smallpox instead of *Greenleaf*. On September 1898, Judge John C. Tarsney admitted him to the bar after an examination taken at Cheyenne.

Although on October 27, 1898, at Cloud Chief, he noted in his diary, which he began at the University and continued until Thanksgiving before his death, that "I am sitting in my office most of the time now, with a strong inclination to become discouraged at the

* This sketch on the life of Judge Thomas A. Edwards, active member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society for nearly thirty years, is contributed by one who held him in high esteem and affection as that of a son. Mrs. Lawrence N. Morgan is a daughter of Judge Edwards—Catherine Edwards. Mr. Morgan is Editor of University Publications in The University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.—Ed.



JUDGE THOMAS A. EDWARDS

present prospects," business picked up the following months and improved until by 1899 he was "doing as much business" as anyone in the county.

In May 1900, he received the Democratic nomination for county attorney. The campaign was enlivened by an election on August 7 to determine the location of the county seat. "New" Cordell won and the citizens of Cloud Chief were so incensed over the way the contest was rigged that they lived up to their reputation by tarring and feathering the son of the incumbent county attorney while the father "fled the country." As a matter of fact, this election was illegal, and the dispute was not finally settled until 1904 when Theodore Roosevelt signed a special bill establishing Cordell as the county seat.

Mr. Edwards was elected in November and moved, perhaps prudently, to Cordell shortly afterwards. He was so satisfactory as the peoples' lawyer, or so successful in avoiding both tar and feathers, that he was re-elected in 1902. He retired from office voluntarily and with some relief in 1904.

Thomas A. Edwards was elected judge of the Seventeenth Judicial District in 1914, an office for which he had failed to receive the nomination in the primary of 1907. Governor Williams appointed him to the Supreme Court Commission in 1916, where he served for eight months. His most celebrated case as a district judge, however, came in November 22, 1922, when Chief Justice John B. Harrison of the Supreme Court did "hereby designate, appoint and assign" Judge Edwards to hold court at Ada, where the case had been moved, in the trial of Governor J. B. A. Robertson, charged with accepting a bribe to permit the insolvent Bank of Commerce of Okmulgee to operate and to receive State funds.

Some very distinguished lawyers appeared for the defense; the legal maneuvers were involved, acrimonious, and would be futile here to trace. Ultimately the regular judge in the Ada district, exercising his authority under the law, adjourned the term of court, thereby preventing the trial which Judge Edwards had ruled should be held.

Judge Edwards's conduct of the touchy and scandal-heavy case, to which he had been assigned, won favorable comment throughout the State. As a result, in part, many people, especially in his old district, urged him to run for Governor in 1926. He declined to make the race, preferring to remain on the Criminal Court of Appeals to which in the meantime, 1924, he had been elected. Had he become Governor, he too might have been impeached, as was Governor Johnston, but there would have been no "Ewe Lamb Rebellion" to spark the show.

He was elected a justice of the Criminal Court of Appeals from the Southern District. The Court, of Thomas H. Doyle, E. S. Bessey, later of James Davenport, and of Thomas A. Edwards, was one of the ablest appellate courts in the history of the State.

Judge Edwards remained on the Criminal Court until 1936 when he was defeated for a third term by the late Judge Barefoot. He and Mrs. Edwards returned to Cordell where for a few years he resumed the practice of law. The pleasures of retirement became increasingly attractive, and with no reluctance whatever, he turned over the business of the office to his youngest son, Charles, after the latter's return from service in World War II. The Judge suffered a heart attack on the day after Christmas, 1954; he died ten days later.

So much for the public record. What of the man who made the record? The record says Tom Edwards worked his way through high school and college. This has a pleasant sound, especially for sentimentalists who have never done anything of the sort. But what did it actually mean to a boy on a hillside farm in Pope County? It meant following "old Jenny with an Avery turning plow" when he was eight years old; picking cotton and pulling fodder in the sweltering heat; hewing logs for a corn crib; and cutting "sassafras and persimmon sprouts" from a six-acre wheat patch—a job which it seemed he could never finish, because when "no one was near," he would lie in the shade and rest and dream. Later, it meant clerking in a store or working in the post office, or wherever else he could find a job. Studying was done by a smoky lamp, whenever the boy found time. In 1890, at sixteen, Tom Edwards received \$10.00 from the *Youth's Companion* for a story, "Giles." This was easy money.

Gum Log Valley, as described by Thomas S. Edward, the Judge's father, in a letter to his sisters, was "a strip of land about 3 miles wide and 15 miles long." He had bought forty acres from the railroad, cleared part of it, and planted an orchard. The land was almost worthless. When Tom was fifteen, the family moved to Holly Bend, another musical name but with no improvement in the soil.

Thomas S. Edwards, late Captain in the C. S. A., came from Loudoun County, Virginia, - - birth-records in the family Bible, carefully preserved by Judge Edwards, date from 1760. He served four years in the War, having enlisted in 1861 in the brigade of General Jo Shelby—that dashing cavalry officer and "Undeclared Rebel," who wore a plume in his hat, made famous raids into Missouri, and after the Surrender, of others, led a mob of fellow rebels into Mexico, where he planned to join Maximilian, and return to whip the damn Yankees. Captain Edwards did not go on this fantastic expedition, but his brother, Major John N. Edwards, was Shelby's adjutant, and in later years a well-known newspaper man in Missouri. (One of the Confederate battle flags, carried by Shelby's command on its retreat to Mexico, is now in the Confederate Memorial Room of the State Historical Society, Oklahoma City.)

Nowadays we lament the interruptions in the lives of young men caused by enforced military service, but let us remember that no Public Law 346 or other GI benefits greeted the Confederate vet-

erans who returned to their neglected and sometimes ruined homes in 1865, or as with Captain Edwards, to no home at all. He had received before the War some general education, but no professional training; and he could thus teach only in country schools. "He did pretty well under all circumstances," said his son, but he was unsuited for teaching and for the "heavy heartbreaking work of the farmer." Captain Edwards married Martha Isabella Allison from Tennessee, December 24, 1867. Her family was of Welsh origin. There were six children, of whom the Judge was the fourth. Arkansas was better than the desolated family home in Virginia, but the going was hard for all of them. Inherited love of learning, the will to advance, and some plain and fancy scrambling brought the family out of the poverty of their time and place.

Judge Edwards scrambled through Russellville high school and on to the University of Arkansas in 1895, arriving in Fayetteville with \$50.00 and a scholarship which paid his tuition. He joined the Garland Literary Society, and debated at every opportunity; he drilled with the military battalion, and did not grouse about it; he played tackle on the football team, acquired some bruises and a life-long interest in the game—year after year he watched the Big Red play at Norman. In class he had his ups and downs. "I made," he recorded, "a dead cold flunk on solid geometry yesterday." But when he left the University, his instructor wrote that he had done "excellent work in Mathematics and History"; and his sophomore English teacher said that he was "faithful to study, quick to understand, and could readily give expression to his thoughts."

And he fell desperately in love with a talented and charming senior -- "popular, intelligent and versatile to a great degree," he described her in one of his less extravagant entries. Rose Catherine Leverett's father was Professor of Classics, and his father, Frederick Percival Leverett, had been a distinguished Latin lexicographer and teacher at the Boston Latin School. Professor Charles H. Leverett, orphaned at two, had been brought from Massachusetts to Charleston, South Carolina, to live with an uncle, an Episcopal clergyman. Thence he came to Arkansas in 1868. In the Bay State the Leveretts were numerous and outstanding, with a Royal Governor of the colony and a president of Harvard College in the family tree. Tom Edwards was big and raw-boned, from Gum Log and Holly Bend and Possum Trot, Pope County.

They were not engaged when he left for Oklahoma in 1898, for although the good-looking, brown-eyed girl had been gracious and friendly, she had now and then been just a little bit "contrary," as he told her in a poem. Besides, "R. C. Leverett, Broker and Real Estate Agent," was doing a flourishing business, which helped take care of her younger brothers and sisters after her father's death in 1897.

He bombarded her with letters from Cloud Chief, O. T., and she replied, and she didn't stand a chance. They were married in St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Fayetteville, on February 24, 1901. Their marriage of almost fifty-four years was singularly happy.

Six children were born to them, one died at birth. They were: Thomas Leverett, Mary (Mrs. Sanford Babcock), Catherine (Mrs. L. N. Morgan), Donald Allison, and John Charles. Judge and "Mrs. E." brought them up with constant and loving care, and watched their progress with quiet pride. All of them graduated from the University of Oklahoma. There were always children—to say nothing of friends and relatives—around the house. The three daughters-in-law were favorite visitors, but even the sons-in-law were welcomed—they always voted the straight Democratic ticket, or almost always, and were otherwise of good repute. Later, there were children's children, eleven of them, and one great grandchild. The older he grew, the more if possible, he liked to have his children and in-laws tell him about what they had seen and done. He never offered advice nor interfered with their affairs.

At least once a year there was a family reunion and dinner, which the women-folks supervised and the Judge paid for. Sometimes it coincided with the last football game of the season at Norman. The arguments were always long, loud, and quite beside the point. The pitch games were bitterly fought. "A great joy," he said of one of these reunions. On his sixty-eighth birthday he noted: "I still enjoy a lot of youthful things—That is to say, I have no sense of advancing years." Until the end, as in Wordsworth's lines, ". . . his mind was keen, / Intense, and frugal, apt for all affairs."

Judge Edwards once admitted in his diary that he was a poet "only by diligent effort." Nevertheless, he was a life-long versifier. In March 1885, the *Russellville Democrat* printed a poem, "Cleveland's Inauguration Day," and the editor observed that its author, eleven-year old Tommy Edwards, "evinces considerable rhythmic ability as well as patriotism for one of his tender years." What the young author's patriotism and politics were may be gathered from the line, "And the Democrats will cheer for many a day."

He published two slim volumes, *Oklahoma Verse* (1921) and *Geronimo et al.* (1939). He had no illusions about the quality of his poetry, for his standards of excellence were the great poets whom he had read and read again. He wrote verses because he liked to tell stories of present and past events in rhymes, and to record his impressions of men and places. Some of them contain lines and stanzas of vivid, realistic description and of acute insight into human character.

If anything, Judge Edwards was a frustrated historian. "I am becoming," he wrote in his diary, October 10, 1899, "a lover of

Oklahoma and Oklahoma history." He read an immense amount of history, of all countries and ages of man, but, as he grew older, with increasing emphasis on the Southwest and Oklahoma in particular. It was a pleasure to take him a new book on the West, issued by the University of Oklahoma Press, because he was always eager to read it.

The honor of which he was most proud came in February 1926, when he was elected a director of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He never failed to record in his diary his attendance at the meetings of the directors, his pleasure in associating with the officers, and his admiration for their work. Law was his business, history his great love. He combined the two of them in an article, "Early Days in the C & A," published in *The Chronicles*.¹

History was probably at the bottom of his stamp collecting, in which he became interested when he saw a Chicago World's Fair stamp. In addition, of course, to his firm belief that every man should have a hobby to which he could withdraw from business and family, mess around, and meditate. At any rate, he pursued his stamps with zest and acumen. His collection of U. S. stamps became known to all philatelists. It was worth money, but it was dearer to his heart. "If there's a fire," he once told his wife, "save the stamps. Let the children take care of themselves."

Travel was another of his pleasurable avocations. Expositions were his favorite places—St. Louis, Portland, Chicago—for there he could see gathered together the products of man's invention and industry, his arts and aspirations. Yet he would go whenever and wherever a trip could be arranged; and he would recount in detail what he had learned of the "cities of men and manners, climates, councils, governments."

Judge Edwards was a big man, over six feet tall and weighing more than two hundred pounds. He liked to hunt and fish and camp on the banks of the South Canadian. On a horseback trip once, he found it no hardship to spend the night in a haystack. In his diary he wrote that he was thankful first and foremost for "health and average ability," and, he added characteristically, "a conscience reasonably clear."

Then in March 1910, he had a sudden illness which would have been a disaster for a man of lesser fortitude. A stroke of paralysis caused him to be unable to move a muscle on his entire left side. By May, at Hot Springs, Arkansas, he had recovered enough to walk to town, "a distance of half a mile," and return, twice daily, and was sure that he would be "practically sound again in a few months."

¹ Thomas A. Edwards, "Early Days in the C & A," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (Summer, 1949), pp. 148-161.

His diary gives in two pages a dryly factual account of this attack and afterwards is silent about the whole thing. Judge Edwards possessed an astonishing capacity, not for stoicism, for merely acquiescing, but for accepting whatever happened, and for going on from there. The eight-year old boy who followed a plow along an Arkansas hillside, who lay in the shade and dreamed his dreams, and went on to the University, was father of the man who accepted a crippled left arm and leg for the rest of his life, and went on to the high court of Oklahoma. He was helped by his wife's protecting love. She gave herself completely to his welfare and that of the children. But there was with him always an inner strength and serenity of mind that never failed nor faltered.

Judge Edwards had a deep sense of the Mystery of life and a faith in God. He enjoyed for some years teaching an adult Bible class in the Sunday School of the First Methodist Church at Cordell. For himself Judge Edwards had no confidence in man-made dogmas, and he distrusted those who would force their own isms and ideologies on other men. Yet he granted to every one the right to believe as his conscience dictated, for tolerance was basic in his nature. As in life we accept, so in death we must accept and go on from there. He was, take him for all in all, a Man.

SOME REMINISCENCES OF THE BATTLE OF THE WASHITA

*By Theodore A. Ediger and Vinnie Hoffman**

MOVING BEHIND'S STORY OF THE BATTLE OF THE WASHITA

Moving Behind was about fourteen years old at the time of the Battle of the Washita. She lived in Chief Black Kettle's camp. That was the Cheyenne village which was attacked by Custer's troops.

Shortly before her death in 1937, Moving Behind (Mrs. Black Hawk), whom the writer had known since he was a small child, related an eyewitness account of the historic battle of November 27, 1868. She said she was "over eighty years old, blind and helpless, but still able to remember accurately what happened." Though wrinkled and gray, she was still beautiful to me in her stately Cheyenne way.

Praying as she talked, Moving Behind said:

"I have lived all these years, and before this no one has ever asked me to tell the story about how the soldiers approached the Black Kettle camp one morning at daybreak. You should have asked me long ago, before I went blind. Then I could have gone with you to that place and shown you where we camped and hid—if that place is still the same. From what I hear, the place and the river are different now.¹

"I was there, and know what happened to us that morning, about dawn. That was where Black Kettle was killed, as well as many other Cheyennes.

"I was an orphan since I was a child, and my close relatives reared me. I was a young girl, and began to know a little about love at that time. I lived with my aunt, Corn Stalk, and her family.

* These reminiscent stories by eyewitnesses of the noted Battle of the Washita were told to Theodore A. Ediger when he lived in Western Oklahoma some years ago. Mrs. Vinnie Hoffman was present with Mr. Ediger when Moving-Behind told her story. Mrs. Hoffman is a granddaughter of Chief Heap-of-Birds, one of the last of the Southern "Fighting Cheyennes" to surrender in 1875. She lives near Hammon, Oklahoma. Mr. Ediger is widely traveled as a correspondent for the Associated Press, and now resides at 44 James Street, New Hyde Park, Long Island, New York.—Ed.

¹ The course of the Washita now is about 600 yards north of the place where Black Kettle and his wife were shot from their horse into its waters. The site is about one and one-fourth miles northwest of Cheyenne, Roger Mills County, Oklahoma.

As I remember, my aunt and her husband, Roll Down, were well acquainted with Black Kettle and his family, and used to camp near him whenever they pitched camp.

"Now, I will mention the names of some families who also camped near Black Kettle: Clown, Bear Tongue, Scabby Man, Half Leg, and some others I do not recall. These families all used to camp together. One Kiowa man named High Bank also camped there. The rest of the Cheyennes camped east and west along the Washita River.

"Bear Tongue and Statue were the bravest men, and fought valiantly until they were shot and killed.

"Black Kettle and some of the other Cheyennes had gone off somewhere during that time, and had just returned to the camp the day before the attack was made.² With them they brought plenty of sugar, coffee, and other stuff.

"Someone in the camp said that a warning had been issued for us to move at once. They planned to have the camp move. But somehow they refused to move away at once. If they only could have listened and done what they were told to do! They did not feel sure about the warning. Not a soul knew about the secret plans that were being laid.

"I felt rather strange late that evening.

"Black Kettle's wife became very angry, and stood outside for a long time because they were unable to move that evening. She was disappointed. Sometimes your own feelings tell you things ahead; perhaps this was what that woman felt. She talked excitedly, and said, 'I don't like this delay, we could have moved long ago. The Agent sent word for us to leave at once. It seems we are crazy and deaf, and cannot hear.'

"The next morning, just before daylight, someone must have suspected that the soldiers were near the camp, for many awoke earlier than usual.

"We heard a woman saying in a low voice: 'Wake up! Wake up! White men! White men are here! The soldiers are approaching our camp.'

"We became frightened, and did not know what to do. We arose at once. At that instant, the soldiers let out terrible yells, and there was a burst of gunfire from them.

"My aunt called me, but as I started to go out, the girl with whom I had stayed all night grabbed me by the arm and pulled me back, saying, 'Don't go out, stay inside; the white men might see you

² Black Kettle and a party had ridden to Fort Cobb to ask Gen William B. Hazen, the special Indian Agent, for protection.



(Photo, 1937)

"Moving Behind," Cheyenne, who was at Chief Black Kettle's Village, November 27, 1868.



(Photo, 1954)

"Wolf Belly Woman," Cheyenne, doing bead work at her home near Clinton, Oklahoma.



(Painting by John C. Merriam, from old photograph)

Chief Black Kettle, Cheyenne,
Killed in Battle of the Washita.

outside, and shoot you.' My aunt called me again, and told me to hurry and come out. I became so frightened that I was trembling, but went outside.

"I could see the dark figures of persons running here and there in a mad rush. When a burst of gunfire was heard, my aunt would catch my hand, and say, 'Hold my hand tightly, don't turn it loose whatever may happen. We will go somewhere and hide.'

"The young men had guns, and they uttered the most terrifying war whoops when the fight began. Black Kettle and his wife were last seen when they rode off on a horse.

"The brave man, Statue, on horseback, trotted his horse back and forth at the camp, talking in a loud voice to the chiefs. He said, 'That is exactly how I always have felt toward you chiefs, that some day you would turn out to be cowards. Leaving the poor, helpless women and children behind, and letting them suffer!'

"They say that some got away before daylight, but no one saw who they were. Many Indians were killed during the fight. The air was full of smoke from gunfire, and it was almost impossible to flee, because bullets were flying everywhere. However, somehow we ran and kept running to find a hiding place. As we ran, we could see the red fire of the shots. We got near a hill, and there we saw a steep path, where an old road used to be. There was red grass along the path, and although the ponies had eaten some of it, it was still high enough for us to hide.

"In this grass we lay flat, our hearts beating fast; and we were afraid to move. It was now bright daylight. It frightened us to listen to the noise and the cries of the wounded. When the noise seemed to quiet down, and we believed the battle was about to end, we raised our heads high enough to see what was going on. We saw a dark figure lying near a hill, and later we learned it was the body of a woman with child. The woman's body had been cut open by the soldiers.

"The wounded ponies passed near our hiding place, and would moan loudly, just like human beings. We looked again, and could see the soldiers forcing a group of Indian women to accompany them, making some of the women get into wagons, and others on horses.

"The Indian ponies that were left were driven toward the bottoms. Some horses would run back, and the soldiers would chase them, and head them the other way.

"The soldiers would pass back and forth near the spot where I lay. As I turned sideways and looked, one soldier saw us, and rode toward where we lay. He stopped his horse, and stared at us. He did not say a word, and we wondered what would happen. But he left, and no one showed up after that. I suppose he pitied us, and left us alone.

"Before leaving, the soldiers shot all the Indian ponies which they had driven to the bottoms.

"It was getting late in the day, and when all was quiet my aunt raised her head and looked around.

" 'Look, we are safe!' she cried. 'I can see someone walking up the hill. Let us get up now, and go there too.'

"Some more Indians were walking toward the first one on the hill. We got up, and ran to where the men were standing. Some more men and youths were coming from all directions. Some were on horseback.

" 'They (the soldiers) are right across the river, and are going slowly, let's shoot them,' suggested someone.

"Others said not to shoot, for fear of hitting the Indian women who were being taken away by the soldiers. My aunt's husband happened to be there. Scabby and Afraid of Beaver were there also, with two extra ponies, one of them my aunt's slow pony. While we stood there, some young men rode up, and one of them recognized me as his girl friend. He got off, and as he shook hands with me, he asked, 'Is this you, Moving Behind?'

"I said, 'Yes.' We both cried, and hugged and kissed each other. This young man, named Crane, was my sweetheart in the good old days when I was young. As I was about to leave, he said, 'I will lend you my saddle, and you can return it sometime.' He took his saddle off his horse, and brought it to me. I took it and used it.

"We all got on our ponies, and rode down to the river to find the spot where Black Kettle and his wife were killed. There was a sharp curve in the river where an old road-crossing used to be. Indian men used to go there to water their ponies. Here we saw the bodies of Black Kettle and his wife, lying under the water.³ The horse they had ridden lay dead beside them. We observed that they had tried to escape across the river when they were shot.

"Clown, Afraid of Beaver, Scabby, and Roll Down got off their horses, and went down to get the bodies. They were too heavy to lift, so they had to drag them in the water, then bring them up. Clown got his red and blue blanket, and spread it on the ground beside a road a short distance from the river, and the bodies were laid on the blanket and covered with the same blanket. Clown got the saddle from the dead horse, and gave it to my aunt to use, saddling her pony with it.

³ In 1934, WPA workers found a skeleton believed, because of jewelry with it, to be that of Black Kettle. The workers made the discovery as they were building an extension to a highway bridge over the Washita near the old battle site. They donated the bones to the newspaper, the *Cheyenne Star*, in whose window they were on display for years.

"It was getting late, and we had to go, so we left the bodies of Black Kettle and his wife. As we rode along westward, we would come across the bodies of men, women, and children, strewn about. We would stop and look at the bodies, and mention their names.

"We went farther west, up the Washita River, until we got to where Afraid of Beaver's father, named Crooked Wrist, was camping. There were some of my relatives there, and they told me to remain, that I was welcome at their tepee. I dismounted, and went in, and I lived with this family until I married.

"A long time later, when the whites and Indians had quit fighting, George Bent⁴ asked us to go and shake hands with a soldier. We went, and he said that this was the soldier who saw us hiding, and pitied us and saved us. Of course, we shook hands with the tall soldier. I recall that he had a brown mustache and blue eyes."

WOLF BELLY WOMAN'S STORY OF THE BATTLE OF THE WASHITA

Wolf Belly Woman, daughter of the famed Cheyenne warrior chief, old Whirlwind, and the wife of the late John Otterby, told me the following in 1939, two years before her death:

"I was about ten or eleven years old during the Battle of the Washita.

"My father's camp was not far away from Black Kettle's, and I could hear the battle. But let me tell you how narrowly I escaped being in the battle. Black Kettle's camp was the farthest west on the Washita, thus it was the one that was attacked. Next to it there was an Arapaho camp, then another Cheyenne camp, then my father's, then a Kiowa camp.

"The evening before the battle, I was visiting at Black Kettle's camp with Carrying Quiver, a woman who was a friend of my family. At Black Kettle's camp they wanted Carrying Quiver and me to stay overnight, but she said that she had to take me home.

"I am thankful that we did not remain."

⁴ George Bent, well known Cheyenne interpreter, died in 1918 at Colony, Oklahoma.

JOHN N. FLORER: PIONEER OSAGE TRADER

*By Frank F. Finney**

John N. Florer was born in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio, April 19, 1844. At the age of seventeen, he enlisted in the Union army and after the Civil War ended, pushed west to Lawrence, Kansas. For a time, he clerked in a store there but finding the occupation too tame for his restless and adventurous spirit he left for the new Osage reservation in the Indian Territory. He had married Anna Finney in Lawrence, whom with their baby girl, Maud, he temporarily left, until he found a home for them in their new location.

Under date of September 22, 1872, he and his partner, R. W. Dunlap received a license from the government to trade with the Osage Indians and they established the first trading store at the Osage Agency, now Pawhuska.

During the first few years, and until the buffalo were exterminated, Florer accompanied the Indians on their hunts to the western plains, with wagons of goods to supply their needs. In 1883, he branched into the cattle business and obtained with his partner, William J. Pollock, the first grazing lease granted by the Osage Council covering 75,000 acres. Successive unusually cold winters hamstrung the cattle business, and the cattle driven from Texas to fatten on the lush grass, died by the hundreds. Florer went bankrupt in the cattle venture but his credit was unimpaired with the banks and wholesale houses he dealt with in St. Louis and Kansas City. He was again able to finance another Indian trading business. This time he located his store at a point in the western part of the Osage Reservation and named the trading post "Gray Horse," after an old medicine man with the Osage name of Ka-wah-ho-tse. Here he built up a large trading business, carrying everything the Indians required. Wagons, buggies, lumber, hay and grain and beeves on hoof supplemented the stock of various items under the roof of his large store. "Johnny Shinkah", as Florer was known by all of the Osages, became their friend to whom they turned for advice and help in time of trouble. He spoke their language and was genuinely attached to them and their country which he referred to as "God's Country."

* Mr. Frank F. Finney of Oklahoma City contributed this sketch on the life of John N. Florer, early trader among the Osages in Oklahoma, upon request as the subject is introductory to the article that follows in this same number of *The Chronicles*, giving reminiscences of James Edwin Finney as told to the late Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn in 1918. John N. Florer's wife was Anna Finney, sister of James Edwin Finney and Thomas McKean Finney. Florer was brother of Thomas McKean Finney's wife, Abbie Florer, who were the parents of Frank F. Finney.—Ed.

LICENSE.

Be it known, That R. N. Dunlap of Monticome, Co. Kansas
and John H. Flores of Goodship Co. Kansas
 trading under the name and firm of Dunlap and Flores
 having filed this application before me for a license to trade with the

at the following-named place within the boundaries of the county occupied by the said Indians, viz:

and having filed with me a bond in the penal sum of FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS, with John K R. Austin & P. R. Lemon 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 reposing special trust and confidence in the patriotism, humanity, and correct business habits of the said applicant, and being satisfied that they are citizen of the United States as required by law, are 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 22 day of September, eighteen hundred and Seventeen, and to keep in them employ thereat the following-named persons, or any of them, in the capacities affixed to their names, respectively, viz:

all of whom I am satisfied of my own knowledge, or from the testimonials which have been placed in my hands, sustain a fair character and are fit to be in the Indian country.

GIVEN under my hand and seal this 22nd day of September
eighteen hundred - Seventy-two

James J. Gibson
US Sub-agent

I, James J. Olsen, United States Agent for the
Great Salt Lake Agency (tribe) of Indians, do solemnly
affirm that the license hereto annexed and granted by me has been granted without any
agreement or understanding with the party so licensed, or any other person or persons on the behalf of
the party so licensed, for any benefit or advantage to myself, directly or indirectly, present or future, or
to any person or persons on my behalf, in any manner whatever; and that no arrangement for such
benefit to myself, or other person on my behalf, is in contemplation in case said license shall be approved.

Donnerstag
an August



THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES. RECORDS OF THE OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.
Washington, D. C. Licenses, Volume 2.

Three Centimeters

JOHN N. FLORER, TRADER'S LICENSE
1872

As Florer prospered, he vacated his small home adjacent to the store, and built a larger dwelling apart from the store on higher ground. Here orchards and gardens flourished on the pleasant surrounding grounds, with barns and pasture to the rear. With open-handed hospitality he delighted to entertain his friends and those who came from the states were surprised to find in this out of the way place, the comforts of civilization, such as ice from the ice house and running water in the house piped from the large tank kept filled from the windmill over the well.

In 1891, his daughter, Maud was married to John L. Bird who was employed in the Florer store. Bird became the first sheriff of Osage County after Statehood and engaged in the banking and oil business in later days. The wedding ceremony conducted by the Reverend Richard Cordley, of Lawrence, and attended by a large group of guests, was held in the store. Indian blankets which were hung to curtain off a part of the store provided a colorful setting for the occasion.

It was in the early eighteen nineties, that Florer whose drive had brought him into the wilderness of the Osage country again revealed the qualities of the pioneer who goes ahead of the crowd with vision and determination to achieve his goals. An Indian one day, took him to a spot on the banks of Sand creek and pointed to a scum casting rainbows on the surface of the water. The Indian managed to soak and squeeze out from a blanket enough crude oil to provide the trader a sample. From that day, Florer became imbued with the belief that the Osage reservation, was as he expressed it "underlaid with oil." With characteristic energy he set to work with the twofold purpose of obtaining the consent of the Osages to grant an oil and gas lease on their lands and to find responsible parties with sufficient daring to be interested in the wildcat scheme and to take the financial risks involved.

Through A. C. Stitch, a banker of Independence, Kansas, who at one time had been a partner with him in the Gray Horse store, Florer found the men he was looking for in Henry Foster and his brother Edwin B. Foster. These men were natives of New England and had successfully promoted the building of a railroad in southeastern Kansas. The Osage full-bloods were a conservative people, stubborn in holding to their old ways and customs, and fearful of anything that would bring more white men to the reservation to change things. It took all of Florer's influence and the support of the more progressive mixed-bloods to swing the majority of the tribe in favor of the lease which was entered into March 16, 1896 by Principle Chief James Bigheart on behalf of the Osage Tribe and Edwin B. Foster. The blanket lease covered the entire reservation for oil and gas mining purposes for a period of ten years. This historic lease marked the beginning of the era which would bring fabulous riches to the Osages.

Although the development of the Osage lease during the first few years went slowly, by 1905 many producing wells were brought in on the lease, and the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company which had acquired ownership of the blanket lease was progressing in a more favorable and prosperous condition. John N. Florer's dreams were materializing on a vaster scale than even that optimistic pioneer had hoped for.

Bright as his prospects were in the oil business, clouds came to nullify this good fortune and to darken his life. His wife, to whom he was devoted, died at Gray Horse in 1904. The following year his son Walter Osage Florer, the first white child to be born on the Osage reservation, died in Denver. His only son had married Minta Pollock, daughter of the former partner of his father in the cattle business and who later served as agent for the Osages. Tuberculosis had also taken hold of Carl, son of Florer's friend, A. C. Stitch of Independence. The fathers of the boys fitted out a covered wagon, bought a fine team of mules and started them to the mountains with a driver and a cook in search of their health. With heavy heart, Florer turned over the trading business at Gray Horse to his brother in law, T. M. Finney and sadly left the home where he had resided many happy years, to take up his abode in Alameda hotel in Bartlesville.

After a short illness, Colonel Florer, as he had come to be known, died, January 10, 1907 in the home of his nephew, Mortimer F. Stillwell, manager of the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company at Bartlesville. He was buried in the family plot in the cemetery at Lawrence, Kansas, from which town he had launched forth for the Indian country, 35 years before. John Palmer, a full blood Sioux Indian, who was adopted into the Osage tribe as a child and became a prominent lawyer, represented the tribe at the final services and paid eloquent tribute to "Johnny Shinkah", "the greatest friend the Osages ever had."



Left to Right: Black Dog, Osage Chief; Augustus Captaine ("Ogese Captaine"); Joseph Paw-Nee-No-Pah-She, Governor of the Osages; John N. Florer



JOHN N. FLORER, 1873



JAMES EDWIN FINNEY, 1873

REMINISCENCES OF A TRADER IN
THE OSAGE COUNTRY

By James Edwin Finney

AS TOLD TO JOSEPH B. THOBURN*

I entered the service of Dunlap & Florer, traders at the Osage Indian Agency, in the autumn of 1872. I had left the Sac and Fox Agency and was traveling across the country to Lawrence, Kansas.¹ When I arrived at the Arkansas River, I found a large band of Osage Indians encamped on the north side of the river in the vicinity of the mouth of Salt Creek, whither they gathered to start on their annual buffalo hunt on the Great Plains. Dunlap & Florer generally employed freighters to haul the goods which they took to the buffalo range for trade with the Indians during the hunting season. It required from eighteen to thirty-five wagons to haul the needed goods and supplies for each of the three main hunting camps. The stocks of goods thus carried included flour, sugar, coffee, tobacco, blankets, calico etc.

* The original manuscript of James Edwin Finney's "Reminiscences", written by the late Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn, the well known state historian who gave many years of service in the Oklahoma Historical Society, is in the J. B. Thoburn Collection in the Historical Society. Dr. Thoburn was a personal friend of Mr. Finney and visited him in his home where the two talked over early events and incidents in Oklahoma history. Mr. James Edwin Finney was the uncle of Mr. Frank F. Finney whose home is in Oklahoma City, and who contributed the article on "John N. Florer: The Pioneer Osage Trader", published in this same issue of *The Chronicles*.—Ed.

¹ James Edwin Finney was born at Matinsburg, Homes County, Ohio, August 17, 1852, the son of Rev. Thomas McKean and Jane (Orr) Finney. His father was a Presbyterian minister. Both parents died during his childhood and the children were scattered among relatives, his own childhood and early youth being spent in Iowa, Connecticut and Ohio. In 1868, young Finney came from Ohio to Lawrence, Kansas, where the husband of one of his sisters (Major John K. Rankin) was postmaster. After clerking in the Agency, at Quenemo, Osage County, Kansas, subsequently, he engaged in clerking in the trading post at the Sac and Fox Agency, of which Major Rankin was proprietor. In 1870, when the main body of the Sac and Fox tribe left Kansas for their new reservation in the Indian Territory, he was engaged in helping to remove the trading establishment and set it up at the new Agency, where he remained for a time as clerk. Several times he was sent as a messenger from the Sac and Fox Agency to the nearest railway point in Kansas. In the autumn of 1872, he entered the service of Dunlap & Florer, traders at the Osage Agency, now known as Pawhuska, where he remained for fourteen years. He then entered the train service of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company with which he remained for eighteen years. After leaving the railway service, he was engaged principally in insurance and building and loan association business. He was married at Lawrence, Kansas, in 1877, to Miss Alice M. Hopkins, of Ironton, Ohio. James Edwin Finney died at his home in McAlester, Oklahoma, on September 2, 1933.—Ed.

The Osage Indians had but recently removed from Southern Kansas to their new reservation in the Indian Territory, their old agency having been on Drum Creek, near Independence, in Montgomery County. Ever since the buffalo had disappeared from the country between the Neosho and the Arkansas, many years before, they had been on Drum Creek, near Independence, in Montgomery County. The Osages had no wagons but were possessed of large numbers of horses and ponies, practically all of which were driven along on the journeys to the buffalo country, many of the animals being used as beasts of burden with heavy packs lashed upon their backs. In those days the Osages measured their worldly wealth in horses. Big Chief and Saucy Chief each had about 125 head of horses and most of the other chiefs and leaders had large herds also. Most of the ordinary braves had from ten to fifteen head each.

Practically all of the Osage Indians went out on the annual buffalo hunt, only one or two families of each band remaining at home on the reservation to take care of the old people, the sick and infirm. They generally gathered in three large bands of camps for the hunting season, each of which held together until the return to the reservation. The Little Osage band, under the leadership of Chetopah, generally encamped to the north. The middle band was under the leadership of Big Hill Joe (Pawnee-no-pah-she), who was the head chief of the whole Osage tribe. The southern band, which was regarded as the most untractable, was composed of the followers of Big Chief, Black Dog, Claremore and Ne-kah-kee-pah-nah.

When the band with which I was to be connected during the hunting season started west, it crossed the Arkansas at the "big bend," above the present town of Ralston, and proceeded in a nearly due westerly course to the region about the headwaters of Eagle Chief Creek, in what is now Woods County, Oklahoma, where the hunting camp was pitched. The Little Osages, under Chetopah, had their camp on the Salt Fork, near the mouth of the Medicine Lodge River. The other band had its encampment south of the Cimarron. When engaged in moving out to the buffalo ranges, the Osages were usually en route by 9 or 10 a.m., and the day's march generally ended about 4 p.m. Certain well known trails were generally followed each year and the successive campgrounds (selected because of their proximity to wood, water and grass for pasturage) were therefore familiar to all. They did not carry lodge-poles with them and, hence, no lodges were pitched during the course of the journey. Instead, blankets, robes or strips of canvas were thrown over tree branches or brush in such a way as to form a temporary shelter. Holes were generally dug for the camp-fires, presumably to prevent the possibility of setting the prairies on fire. Each family had its own pony herder. Most of the ponies or horses were hobbled when turned out to graze after the day's march had ended—a precaution that probably had its origin in the days when predatory raids from other tribes were more or less frequent.

When the band arrived at the site selected for the permanent hunting camp (which was invariably on a wooded stream, where fuel and lodge-poles could be easily secured) the lodges were set up, covered with buffalo skins and made comfortable for the season. As already stated, the trader who accompanied the band always carried a large stock of goods, which were unloaded and made secure. A large lodge was assigned to the trader and one Indian, commonly known as "the trader's brave," gave his whole time and that of his squaw to the service of the trader. The squaw kept the lodge swept and its contents in order and cooked the meals, while her spouse assisted the trader in storing and handling the stock in trade and acted as custodian or guardian in case his employer had occasion to be absent from camp for a few hours. It is worthy of note in this connection that the Indians who were thus employed by the traders were invariably faithful to the trust this reposed in them and the property thus left in their care was perfectly safe.

The first thing to be done after getting the hunting camp located and arranged was to send out scouting parties to locate the buffalo herds. When these returned and reported where the game might be found, the several hunting parties were made up and the hunt was organized. If it was late in the day, the start was planned for the following morning. Each Osage hunter had one or more buffalo ponies which had been carefully trained for the chase and these were groomed and prepared for the hunt. The hunters rode bare-back, urging their steeds directly into the center of the herd. In killing the buffalo, they used the bow and arrow almost exclusively for the purpose of disabling the game. Indeed, the traders were not permitted to sell fire-arms to them until just about the time the buffalo herds had been exterminated, and even then only muzzle loading guns could be sold.

The Osage bow was large and long, some of them being full six feet in length. These were invariably made of the wood of the bois d'arc, or Osage orange tree. The bow-strings were made of buffalo sinew. For a month before starting on the annual buffalo hunt, the hunters were engaged in making arrows, great care being exercised in making them straight and having them properly tipped and feathered. The arrows were made of selected ash or willow and the steel tips were procured from the blacksmith at the Agency. Turkey feathers were used in the feathering which was designed to cause the shaft to revolve in its flight. Incidentally, it may be stated that the Osages were expert bowmen. Archery contests were common among them, two stakes about 200 yards apart and each covered by a blanket or robe, serving as the targets. At that distance, the Osage bowman would elevate the tip of his arrow and endeavor to drive it through the blanket which covered the stake near which the bowmen of the rival party were standing. Then when all the members of both parties had shot their arrows, there would be a foot race, each party running for the goal or target at the opposite end of the

field or range where each individual recovered his own arrows. This was known as "distance shooting" and it resulted in developing a degree of accuracy of which any rifleman might well be proud.

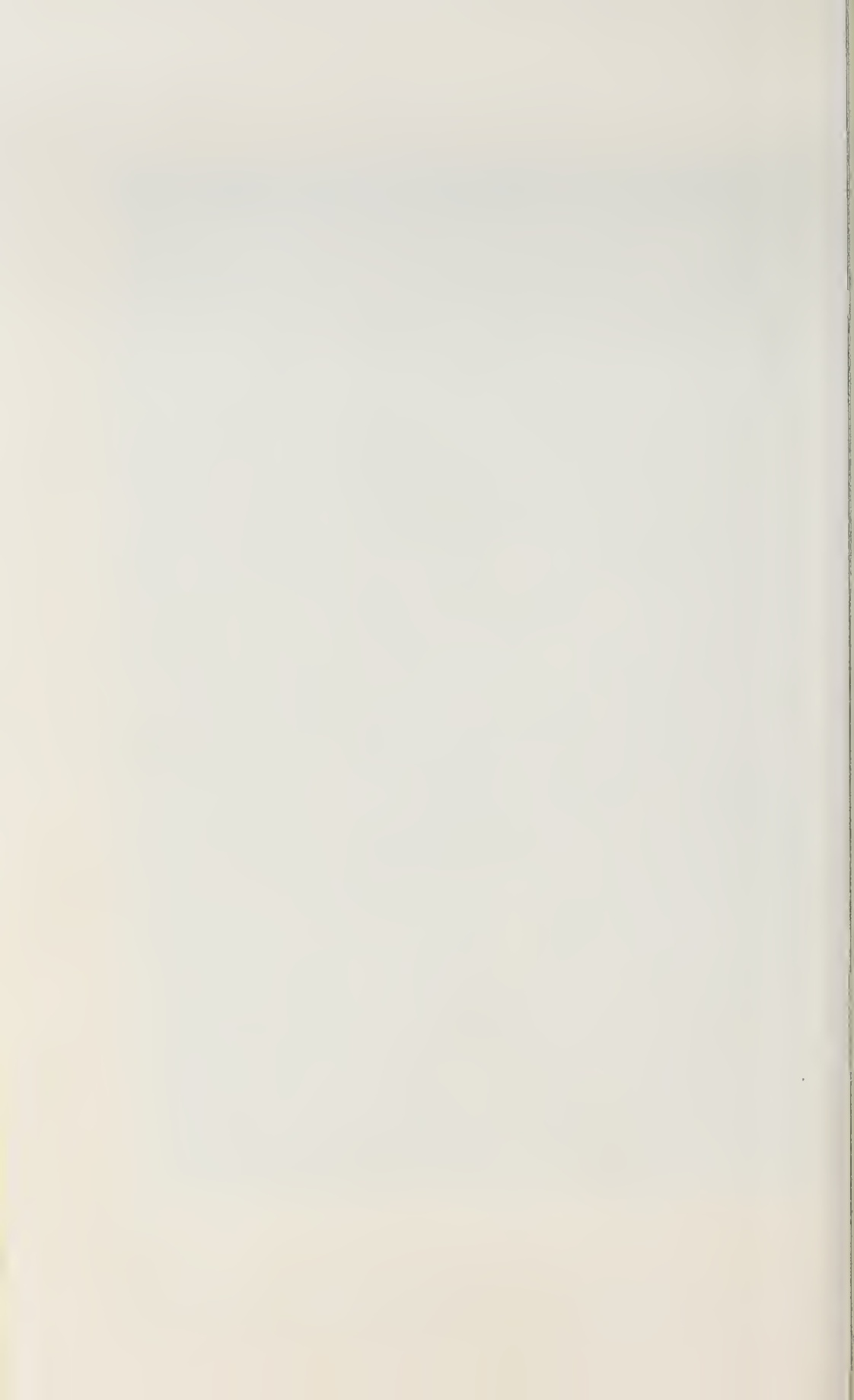
The Osage buffalo hunters seldom killed their quarry out right. They aimed to hit the beast in the loin and thus disable it, after which they would proceed in the chase of others. Then when they had disabled all of the animals that were desired for that day, the hunters returned and attended to the work of dispatching them. First approaching the wounded buffalo from the rear, with a sharp hunting-knife the animal was hamstrung. The keen, pointed blade of the knife was plunged in at the base of the skull, just back of the horns, causing the death of the animal in a few moments. While some of these operations might appear dangerous to the uninitiated, the skilled Osage hunter went about it as coolly as if there were no personal risk involved. It will be noted that this was quite different from the methods pursued by the Indians of the Plains tribes, who endeavored to kill the buffalo outright by penetrating a vital spot with the arrow. Parenthetically, it might not be out of place to remark that the Osage people often related the exploit of one of their Kaw kinsmen who succeeded in disabling two buffalo by discharging one arrow clear through the loin of one animal and into that of another.

The Osage buffalo hunters, unlike those of the Cheyenne, Comanche and other tribes of the Plains (who left the work of skinning the game to the women), always skinned the animals, cut up the meat and brought it into camp, where the women attended to the curing and packing of the meat and dressing and tanning the hides. The meat was prepared for preservation and transportation back to the reservation, by smoking and drying. It is well to emphasize the fact that the Osage people saved and utilized all of the meat of every animal that was killed on the hunt and that they wasted none—in fact, they never killed more than was needed for their proper subsistence—in fact, they refused to kill for hides and robes, even to please the traders. In cutting up the carcass, the meat was taken off in broad, thin pieces—as large in area as possible but never thick. While the men were killing and bringing in the meat, the women had been building long arbors of brush and poles, upon the top and sides of which the pieces of meat were spread or hung. The smudge fires were built beneath and the process of curing was begun by smoking the meat, after which it was finished by drying in the sun. When this process was completed, the dried meat was carefully packed and baled and was then encased in raw-hide coverings and tied with raw-hide thongs. The Indians cured buffalo meat by drying without being salted, and its flavor was such that white people who became accustomed to it do not like dried beef to this day because of the salt.

The Osage hunters divided the game taken in their hunting. When a hunting party rode into a herd of buffalo, one hunter, more



BUFFALO HUNTING PARTY, OSAGE AGENCY, PAWHUSKA, 1874



skilled than his fellows, might kill several times as many as some of the others, yet in the division of the meat and hides there was always a spirit of generosity which forbade the display of an undue discrimination because of superior prowess or skill. Thus if the results of the hunt were abundant, there was plenty for everyone engaged in it.

The season of the annual buffalo hunt on the Plains was always one of gladness and joy among the Osage people, for there and then they could feel free from the restraints of reservation life—it was like life in the old days, before the white men came to mark the bounds of tribal reservations and to assume authority to say where and when the Indians might depart therefrom. The days were bright with the glorious sunshine of a western autumn, with just a tinge of haze on the distant horizon, while the cool, clear nights seemed to invite feast and frolic, with dancing and singing. At such times also, the old men of the band were wont to gather about the camp-fires in a reminiscent mood and there recount the tales of prowess on the war-path and in the chase.

In addition to curing the meat and caring for their camp duties, the Osage women spent much time and effort in the work of tanning and dressing the skins of buffalo and making them into robes for domestic use and for barter with the traders. The traders never bought buffalo hides from the Indians unless these had been thoroughly dressed and tanned. In buying buffalo robes, the trader placed valuations according to size, condition of the hair, thickness and texture of the skin, care used in tanning, etc. The best buy for one season by Dunlap & Florer was 3,000 soft robes. These were baled, with the help of the Indians, ten in a bale. They were freighted from the buffalo range in Western Oklahoma to Coffeyville, Kansas, whence they were shipped by rail to St. Louis, where they sold for an average price of \$6.25 each. In addition to buffalo robes, the traders who accompanied the Osage Indians to the Plains also took in large numbers of gray wolf, coyote and skunk pelts and some otter and beaver skins as well. Few deer were killed on the buffalo range, though buckskins in considerable quantity were bought at the Agency trading post. The traders did not buy cured buffalo meat except for their own use. However, they did buy and ship large quantities of dried buffalo tongue.

The hunting camps which were established in the heart of the buffalo range in November were generally occupied until January or February and sometimes it was well into April before all of the bands had returned to the reservation. The return march was in slow stages, with long encampments where the grass afforded good pasturage for the horse herds. The bales of cured meat, hides, robes and pelts, together with blankets, bedding, cooking utensils etc., were securely lashed on the backs of extra horses for the purposes of

transportation. The freight wagons of the trader, which had gone out heavily laden with provisions, returned loaded with robes, furs and peltries.

After the return from the buffalo country to the reservation, the various bands scattered and settled at their accustomed haunts for the next summer season. Thus the Little Osages (Chetopah and Nopawalla) generally lived on the Caney; Big Hill band and Pawhuska's band generally had their settlements on Salt Creek; Claremore's band usually pitched its villages on Hominy Creek; the bands of Black Dog and Big Chief were commonly on the Arkansas, while those of Saucy Chief and George Beaver were on Bird Creek, above and below the Agency respectively. Each of these villages had its dance house, which was a lodge that was larger than any of those which were used as domiciles. Council and ceremonial meetings were held in these dance houses as well as numerous dances. The Osages had nearly ceased to use the old-time bark-covered lodges, though a few were still standing and occupied in Big Chief's village.

At their permanent villages, the women had small patches of tilled ground in which they planted and grew corn. They seldom grew beans, squash, melons or other vegetables. They cured much of the corn when it was in the roasting-ear stage, cutting it from the cob and drying it in the sun in considerable quantities, in which condition it could be kept indefinitely. The corn patches were generally on river or creek bottom land, where the soil was naturally fertile. Sometimes, though not always, these corn patches were protected by fences of brush.

Physically, the Osage Indians of that day were still in their active life in the open which tended to make them lithe and muscular rather than portly as many of them have become since they have formed more sedentary habits. They were capable of great physical endurance. This was especially noticeable in the Osage runners.

In the winter of 1875-6, after they failed to find any buffalo, it became necessary for me to send a message to the traders at Pawhuska from the camp at Sewell's Ranch, on Pond Creek, near the site of the present village of Jefferson. Two Osage boys, neither of whom was yet twenty years old, were selected to carry the message. I suggested that they take horses but they declined, stating they could make the journey quicker afoot than they could hope to do with their grass fed ponies in the winter season. Near the Chickaskia River, they attempted to pass a herd of cattle unobserved through the tall grass. A cattle man shot at them and killed one of the boys. The other hid until night and then crept back to the body of his slain companion and secured the written message and then went on his way alone, fording creeks and swimming rivers. He reached the Agency, distant 107 miles from the starting point, and delivered the message, which brought Messrs. Dunlap and Florer posthaste to our camp. Upon another occasion, Agent Beede had found it neces-

sary to take a trip to Lawrence, Kansas. He left the Agency in an ambulance with a good team. An hour later the chief clerk at the Agency (Lew Wismeyer) found it necessary to communicate with him. A young Osage runner, started out afoot and overtook the agent at Hickory Station, thirty-five miles distant and brought a note back from him, covering the distance both ways in a day, for five dollars!

MEETING WITH AN INDIAN WAR PARTY

Sometimes the traders would visit the buffalo range in advance of the departure of the Indians from the reservation, for the purpose of noting the prospects and selecting proper locations for the hunting camps. Upon one occasion, in the autumn of 1873, I accompanied Mr. John N. Florer, my brother-in-law, who was a member of the firm in whose service I was employed, upon such a preliminary inspection trip. The Osage hunters were preparing for the hunt but as yet none had left the reservation—in fact, no permits were ever granted for any of them to leave until all were ready to go. Mr. Florer and I started out alone, driving a team of good horses, hitched to a heavy, covered hack which contained provisions sufficient for a trip of two weeks' duration. We were armed with revolvers and in addition Mr. Florer carried a shotgun and I had a Winchester rifle.

When we left the Osage Agency, now known as Pawhuska, and started westward, we were in a wilderness which extended westward across the Great Plains to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. Starting early in the morning, we drove forty miles that day, through a country which was literally teeming with deer, antelope, wild turkeys, prairie chickens and smaller game animals and birds. Our camp, that first night out, was at the rock ford across the Arkansas, about four miles above the mouth of Beaver Creek, near the southern extremity of the Kaw Reservation. There were no wagon roads or highways which we could follow in our course. There were the trails made by the ponies of hunting parties during preceding seasons but it was impossible to follow these with a wagon in some places, so we found it necessary to extensive detours with our vehicle in order to avoid ravines and other rough places. The only trace of civilization which we saw on our westward journey was the Chisholm Trail, a wagon road leading from the terminus of the railway at Wichita, Kansas, southward to the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Agency, at Darlington, and to Fort Sill, which was also traversed by the northward-bound herds of range cattle which were driven from Texas to Kansas.

On our return journey we crossed the Chisholm Trail at Sewell's ranch and stage station, on Pond Creek, at or near the site of the present village of Jefferson and, excepting the men whom we met

there, we had not seen a human being during the course of our trip, which had extended sixty miles farther to the west, and we had not even heard the sound of a gun during that time. We camped in the timber on Pond Creek, about five miles below Sewell's that night. Breaking camp before sunrise, Florer and I planned to drive to the Arkansas River that day and to reach the Agency in the evening of the day following. We intended to cross the Salt Fork at a ford near the mouth of Pond Creek. We were making fair progress on our way, with the early morning sun shining in our faces, when suddenly we saw something flashing and glittering in the sunlight, five or six miles ahead and off to the right in the range of sand hills which bordered the north bank of the Salt Fork. We stopped our team to reconnoitre. Soon we discovered that the glittering and flashing came from the long-bladed heads of Indian spears which were held aloft as the mounted warriors were riding directly toward us.

"A war party, sure as fate!" exclaimed Mr. Florer, and then he added, "but they're not Osages, for the whole tribe is on the reservation, getting ready for the hunt." We counted the Indians—there were eighteen of them and all were mounted. It seemed probable that this was a war party of strange Indians and that meant trouble for the white men on the Plains in those days. It was evident from the actions of the Indians that they had not yet discovered our vehicle. There was no timber near in which we might hide, so we decided to move ahead as quietly as possible, hoping that we might not attract the attention of the Indians or that they would not ride out of their way to attack us. We believed that if we could get across the Salt Fork, below the mouth of Pond Creek, we might be able to make our escape, otherwise, because of the superior number of the Indians, we would have small chance, even though we were well armed.

The distance between us and the war party had been shortened to about two miles, and we were growing hopeful that we might slip past unmolested. Suddenly, however, the warriors were seen to halt on their ponies and sit gazing at us. Then they started across the valley toward us at full speed. We urged our team to a fast trot, hoping that the Indians would not try to head us off. But soon they began to draw nearer, galloping through the tall blue-stem grass, shaking their shining spears in the sunlight. Each warrior was naked, save the cloth about his loins, and his body was painted black, which was a sure sign that he was after scalps. The curtains of our hack were tightly drawn, which shut us from view unless we were approached from the front.

"It's a run for the crossing and other side of Salt Fork," said Florer, "and, if we have to fight, we will have an advantage in the timber over there." Lashed with the stinging whip, the two big sorrels sprang forward on a dead run. The pursuing warriors did not utter a sound, seemingly preferring a still hunt, lest they possibly might attract the attention of other white men possibly riding

through the country. The tall grass hindered the speed of their war ponies, while the smooth trail made an ideal course for the racing sorrels. A glance behind removed the last doubt as to the hostile intentions of the war party, for all of the warriors were riding like fiends and were viciously applying the quirt at every jump of their steeds. While the race for the ford lasted only a few minutes, it seemed like an age before the panting sorrels sprang into the turbid, sandy waters of Salt Fork. On the opposite side was a steep bank and, as our team struggled to pull the heavy hack up to the level land beyond, the rear end of the vehicle was splashed by the pursuing ponies of the war party, so close was the finish of the race.

By the time we reached the level land, and before we could draw our guns, the warriors had encircled us and one of the painted and feathered savages who had rode in the lead had seized one of our horses by the bit. Then a most extraordinary scene was enacted simultaneously by the chief of the war party and Florer: Placing his hand over his mouth, the former gave voice to a long-drawn-out exclamation of astonishment and chagrin, which sounded like "Woh-ho-o-o!" while Florer exclaimed, "Well, I'll be damned, if they're not Osages!" And so they were—they all belonged to the Beaver band of the Osage tribe and were personally led by their chief, George Beaver and his brother Charley. We were personally acquainted with every one of them.

Surprised and disconcerted, George Beaver dismounted and approached us with outstretched hand but a thought striking me, I cautioned Florer not to shake hands with him, adding, "Act as if you do not know them. We've got those fellows just where we want them; let me handle this job." As none of the members of the band could speak English, I then addressed George Beaver in his own language, saying, "No. we will not shake hands with you." Beaver stepped back and, folding his arms across his breast, asked in a haughty tone, "What is your business out in this country?" to which I replied, "More business than you have. You have no right here—you have no permit to be off your reservation. Do you know what we could do with you and all your men? Before another moon we could have you and all your men in prison at Fort Smith with your hands this way," as I crossed my wrists in such a way as to suggest handcuffs.

"What! Brother, you wouldn't do that, would you?" asked Beaver, to which I made answer, "I am thinking about it. Johnny Shinka (i.e., 'Little John,' by which name Florer was commonly known among the Osages) and I have been with you and your people a great many years and have always been your friends. Now, when we come out here on a business trip that is to help your people, you pick up a war party to chase us over the prairie like coyotes and kill us. We will have a settlement right now."

We felt reasonably safe, for the members of the war party knew that our whereabouts could be traced and that to attack us would almost certainly lead to discovery. Beaver was deeply concerned. He wanted to get out of the predicament as best he could. So he said to me, "You know how many ponies I have and where they are. (He had about 125 good ponies at home on the reservation) "Drive on home and go right down to my herd and pick out five of the best that you can find. You keep them. That's just for you to keep your mouth shut and say nothing about this."

Florer was in favor of taking the ponies and calling it square but I felt differently in regard to the matter. In fact, it seemed to me that we might just as well turn a big trick while we were at it and secure the trade of the whole Beaver band—twenty-five or thirty families—during the ensuing winter's hunt. So, addressing him, I said, "Already we have more ponies than we want. I am going to tell you something. You know how many years you have been a friend of old Nah-hutsa-hi-kah? (i.e. Osage name of Hiatt, a trader who was a rival of Dunlap & Florer). All the time you have been carrying your buffalo robes to Nah-hutsa-hi-kah and buying his goods. You never trade with us. Our mouths will not be shut, not only for this winter's hunt, but for all the time we are trading at Paw-hu-ska, that you will throw the trade of your family and all of your band to our store."

This ultimatum hit Beaver squarely between the eyes. Without replying, he stepped back to his companions, where a hasty consultation was held. Then he came back and held out his hand, saying, "That is a promise. We will keep it." Then the pursued and the pursuers sat down on the ground and smoked and talked for several hours as if there were no scalps to be taken and no scalps to be saved. In parting, Beaver said, "We are now friends and my word is as good as yours, and if you keep yours, you need not fear me. I will do just as I promised." With that, he motioned to his warriors and they rode away.

Beaver kept his word to the letter and ever afterward the members of the Beaver band traded exclusively with Dunlap & Florer. Their sudden desertion of their old friend, Nah-hutsa-hi-kah was a mystery which he never succeeded in solving nor could the other traders ever understand why such a sudden change of heart had come over the Beaver band. A few surviving members of that war party still live in Osage County, Oklahoma, and, if they could read this recital of their foray, long years ago, it would undoubtedly cause them some perturbation, for they are still living in the past.

OSAGE CHIEFS AND LEADERS IN THE 1870'S

The chiefs and leaders of the Osage tribe in those days were, almost without exception, men of remarkable personality. Having been reared under conditions called for the exercise and development of

their fullest physical powers as well as prowess in war and the chase, they were radically different in appearance and disposition from the Osages who have been reared during the past third of a century in which peace, ease and indolence have prevailed. In fact, they were just such men as George Catlin and Washington Irving had described in writing of the Osages nearly half a century earlier as among the very best types of the Indian race on the continent. I am sure that anyone who knew the Osage people, in the earlier 'seventies, when they still depended largely upon the buffalo hunt for their subsistence, must regard with keenest regret the physical deterioration which is so manifest in the Osage people of the present day and the changes in trait and disposition which have taken place as well.

One of the most remarkable men in the Osage tribe in those days was Big Hill Joe, known also as Governor Big Hill, the hereditary chief of the Osage people. His Osage name was Pawnee-no-pah-she, which by interpretation, signifies "he fears not the Pawnees." In his youth, Big Hill Joe had been educated at the Osage Catholic Mission in Kansas and he was not illiterate or untutored as to the ways of civilization. However, he was regarded as a reactionary or conservative rather than a progressive, and was not at all liberal in his views as to the civilization of his people. In bearing he was stern and unapproachable, extremely dignified, with a regal air that was not unimpressive to the white man as well as the Osage. So far as any outward appearance might indicate, he was lacking in the elements of sentiment and sympathy. He was pre-eminently a politician and a manipulator and was keen in his ability to discern and analyze the motives of other men. While he was known to be susceptible to undue influences, he was an expert in the art of concealing evidence that might prove embarrassing. He was in the prime of life when I first knew him. He had three wives. He died in 1878.

Chetopah, whose name in the Osage language signifies "four Lodges," and in whose honor a Kansas town was christened, was the chief counsellor of the Osage Nation. He was strong and he was an advocate of peace. He was the leading chief of the Little Osage tribe.

Hard Rope, who was a member of Pawhuska's band, was the war chief of the Osage tribe. He will be remembered as one of the Osage scouts who accompanied the command of General Custer, on the Washita campaign. He was always a counsellor, a shrewd man, much given to scheming; was a brave man who never went half way, impetuous without being impulsive, not easily excited, cool and collected and never disconcerted. He was easily approached but was very wary in the expression of opinion. However, when he had once spoken, he never receded. He was still in the early prime of life.

Wa-ti-anka (i.e., "Saucy") was the orator of the Osage tribe. In disposition he was a "fire-eater," utterly without fear, for he was wont to speak with a flaming tongue, even to the Government com-

missioners. In speaking, his language was fluent and uninterrupted and his gestures were unstudied, graceful, dignified and impressive. His speech was always decisive and to the point and always against the white man whenever the interests of the two races clashed. He always stood for the protection and betterment of his own people—in short, he was a red patriot. He was upward of fifty years old when I first knew him.

Big Chief (Kah-he-ka-tunka) was a man of iron will, tempered with a large measure of sympathy and charity and was universally regarded with good will, by the white people as well as by the Osages. He was a true friend. He had two wives. He was only about fifty years old when he died.

Claremore, one of the counsellors of the tribe, was an old man at the time of his death—probably seventy-five or eighty—and was succeeded by his son of the same name. I saw but little of him. He was a man of much dignity and reserve.

Black Dog was also living when I first went among the Osages but I never knew him. He died and was succeeded by his son, of the same name, while I was living in the Osage country.

Broke Arm was still living, but in comparative retirement, and I did not know him.

Saucy Chief (Kah-he-ka-wati-anka) rather belied his name, for he was decidedly domestic and unargumentative in his tastes and inclinations. He took to farming and urged his people to do likewise. He was also greatly interested in religion and wanted his children to be reared and educated in the ways of the white people. Naturally, he did not have very much of a following among the Osage people and, though a man of unquestioned ability and character, was lacking in influence because of his radically progressive ideas.

Strike Ax was a member of the Little Osage division. He was a man of fine physique, broad-minded and liberal in his attitude toward others. He was regarded as a man of keen discernment and a shrewd politician. He was modest in his deportment and never crowded himself upon the council. However, when it came his turn to speak, he was always prepared to state his views with convincing force and clearness. He was an associate and trusted advisor of Chetopah, who was his senior in years.

Although the days of warring were practically over for the Osages when I first went among them, there were occasions when cool counsel and firmness were necessary to prevent serious trouble between them and some of the people of other tribes. I was a personal witness to one such incident the memories of which returns with striking vividness as I recall it, even to this day, for it involved two of the chiefs whom I have already mentioned and described.



OSAGES—1874

From Left to right: Hard Rope, Black Dog, Sahnpahkea, Gov. Joe (Paw-Nee-No-Pah-She), Big Chief, Ogese Captaine



THE COMING OF THE PAWNEES

In 1875, the Pawnee Indians removed from their old home country on the Loup Fork of the Platte River, in Nebraska, to the Indian Territory and settled on a reservation just across the Arkansas River from the Osage country. Although the Osage and Pawnee peoples had been hereditary enemies from time immemorial, the Osages welcomed the Pawnees with the assurance that all past enmity should be forgotten and that they should be treated as friends and neighbors. This change in inter-tribal relations naturally necessitated considerable readjustment of habits and customs, for the stealing of horses from enemy peoples had always been regarded by the braves of both tribes as a virtue rather than a vice. That it should have proved difficult to resist the temptation to continue in this time honored practice in a few individual instances, goes without saying.

About a year after the Pawnees had settled on their new reservation, Big Chief missed fifteen ponies from his herd. He found their tracks where they had entered the river. Crossing over to the Pawnee side, he found where they had emerged and followed their trail back into a wooded valley, where he came upon the missing animals guarded by a young Pawnee brave, who demanded a ransom for their release. Big Chief at once began to parley with the Pawnee, explaining that neighbors should not treat each other that way. In doing so, he had dismounted, leaving his saddle horse standing near. The Pawnee walked over to Big Chief's steed, took from a saddle-holster a very fine pearl-handled revolver and, making a sign that he had appropriated it, indicated that the Osage chief might take his ponies and go. Big Chief lost no time in reporting the matter to the tribal Agent of the Osages. After considering it, the Agent directed Paul Aiken (an intelligent mixed-blood Osage interpreter) and myself to accompany Big Chief to the Pawnee country and seek to have the affair amicably adjusted. Word was also sent to Governor Big Hill Joe and he and Big Chief were each to take five of their men. The three parties were to meet at a designated point on the south side of the river and proceed together to the Pawnee Agency.

We met at the appointed time and place but did not start immediately for the Pawnee Agency. Soon a couple of mounted Osage hunters came up from one direction; then two more came in from another direction, apparently as if by accident. Others continued to come in from various directions until there were a hundred braves gathered there. I told Big Hill Joe that this was in violation of the Agent's directions—that we were to be accompanied by ten men and no more. He said he was not going to take the other along but that he would leave them there—and leave them he did, for he was determined to be prepared for an emergency.

We went to the Pawnee Agency, where we called on Agent Ely and asked for a council with the Pawnee chiefs and leaders. The council was held in the school house at the Agency. Big Hill Joe

opened the proceedings by stating the grievance of Big Chief against the Pawnee who had held his ponies for ransom. The chief of the Pawnees responded, disclaiming any and all knowledge of the matter. These speeches had to be interpreted into two languages other than those in which they had been delivered, so that Osage and Pawnee and white man might all understand what had been said. It was solemn and impressive occasion and doubly so to those of us who knew of Big Hill Joe's band of one hundred warriors who were in hiding back by the river. Finally, Big Chief arose to speak. His words scarcely needed interpretation to the Pawnees, since they were timed with the graceful gestures of his arms and hands as he made the same powerful appeal in the silent language of the signs which was known to the people of all of the tribes. I wish that speech might have been preserved for it was a marvel of masterful rhetoric. It was marred by no taint of bitterness of invective; on the contrary it was a moving plea for the spirit of fairness and good will and true neighborhood. At one of the climaxes he appealed personally to one of the Pawnee chiefs, reminding him that he, Big Chief, had been instrumental in saving him and his Pawnee followers from the fury of an overwhelmingly superior band of Cheyenne warriors only two or three years before.

At this juncture, the Pawnee brave whose inconsiderate action had been the cause of the trouble arose and walked out of the council. In a few moments he returned and handed over the pearl-handled revolver to its rightful owner and the dispute was ended.

The eloquence, the fairmindedness and the charity of Big Chief had prevailed without resort to the display of force and possible violence for which Big Hill Joe had come prepared, and the incident, which had been dramatic in its intensity, was ended by the agent of the Pawnees furnishing several beeves with which they gave a feast to their Osage friends, including the one hundred "hunters" for whose warlike services there had been no need. Such scenes and incidents can never be witnessed again in our country, and I greatly regret that the description and depiction of this one in its wealth of picturesque detail and dramatic force is beyond my humble powers to convey to the mind of one who never witnessed the like.

DR. HENRY G. BENNETT AS I KNEW HIM

By Berlin B. Chapman

"I have been lied on scandalously!" These words resounded from the lips of President Bradford Knapp of Oklahoma A. & M. College as he stood on the platform in the closing minutes of commencement exercises in 1928. Dr. Knapp was ending a four-year term as president, graduating as he said with the freshmen who had enrolled when he took office. Dr. Angelo C. Scott held the endurance record of eight years, and the names of ten other men graced the presidential roll since the college was founded in 1891.¹

I was assistant professor of history and I sat in a tense audience when the farewell remarks of President Knapp were made. Less than a year earlier he had approved me as a member of his faculty. Well do I remember when Dr. T. H. Reynolds, head of the history department, and Dr. C. H. McElroy, dean of the school of science and literature, took me to his office to secure my first college job. Dr. Knapp was an excellent president. Whitehurst Hall and the Dairy Building are among the landmarks of his administration.

A few weeks before his term ended newspapers carried a list of faculty members whose services were terminating. Among them were the dean of the school of agriculture, the dean of women, and a number of others including two of the five members of the history department.

The board of regents were Harry B. Cordell, Oklahoma City, president; Mrs. Ferne E. King, Kingfisher; R. B. Parks, Spaulding; L. A. Clinkenbeard, Alva; George Van Noy, Tishomingo. The board chose as president of A. & M. College Dr. Henry Garland Bennett who had graduated at Ouachita College at Arkadelphia in Arkansas,

¹ In presenting this contribution to *The Chronicles*, Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Professor of History, Oklahoma A. and M. College, says, "This article is dedicated to students in 'Oklahoma History 162' whose enthusiastic assistance is my greatest inspiration in the subject. They read that the physical plant of Oklahoma A. and M. College increased from \$3 million to \$50 million during the administration of Dr. Bennett. They note that at the time of his death, December, 1951, nearly ninety percent of all degrees granted by the college was during his administration. I have come to realize that there is an increasing number of brilliant, youthful Aggies who will never know firsthand this distinguished president of the college. After having read published materials available, the response of students frequently is: 'You were in the college then—tell us about Dr. Bennett.' This article grew out of a segment of lecture notes I made in an effort to give the question a proper reply."

A good sketch of the life of Dr. Bennett is in *Current Biography*, 1951, pp. 33-35. There are sufficient newspaper clippings and other sources in the possession of his family to contribute substantially to a volume on his biography.

at the University of Oklahoma, Columbia University and who was serving his ninth year as president of Southeastern State Teachers College at Durant. Scarcely was the election announced until a whispering campaign began that Bennett was "too little for the job." The rumor was answered by a still small voice emanating in part from "the Durant group" that the 42-year old president was dynamic and would stay at A. & M. College as long as he wished. I remember when it was rumored that Dr. Bennett had a cultural education, whereas A. & M. is a land grant college. How well he applied his cultural education to all fields, including agriculture, became one of the remarkable attainments of his administration.

There was a June interregnum in 1928 during which Dean McElroy was acting president of the college. On a July evening the faculty gave a dinner in an upstairs room on Main Street honoring Dr. and Mrs. Bennett on their arrival in Stillwater. On tiptoe in that crowded room I got my first glimpse of Stillwater's new citizens. The dinner was a gala affair, enlivened by the wit of Dr. Carl P. "Hog" Thompson.

The merit of this article rests on the fact that I knew Dr. Bennett in a very general way, just as the run-of-the mill faculty members knew him. I was not a close friend of his, I was in his home only once, and I am sure he never did anything for me that under similar circumstances he would not have done for any member of his faculty. Yet, he was a great flame for good in my life. The faculty from the least even unto the greatest came to know that he was smart enough to recognize merit when he saw it and honest and courageous enough to give it credit. He knew the difference between regimentation and education. And he never sold a student short.

I taught the first two years Dr. Bennett was president. His presence immediately won for him the admiration and respect of faculty and students. Those who had privately estimated "how long that man Bennett will last" stared in silent amazement when he began almost at once to outline a 25-year plan for the college.

Dr. Bennett saved Old Central. When he became president the doors were closed and the building was condemned. He said that sentiment and college tradition were essential in the building of A. & M. I was writing a few articles on the early history of the college and one appeared in the *Tulsa Sunday World* on December 9, 1928, just before the Founders Day anniversary. Dr. Bennett had the article reprinted in a four-page folder and it was distributed among guests at the Founders Day celebration. I substituted a closing paragraph in preparing the folder. My name was not on the folder, but things like that didn't matter because observers knew that educational efforts were not being looked on with indifference. Thus from the first year Dr. Bennett never failed to appreciate a literary contribution of the faculty to the history of the college or state.



DR. HENRY G. BENNETT, President
Oklahoma A. and M. College, 1928-1951



Dr. Bennett found means to restore Old Central, and the heart of Aggieland was just a little lighter. At the Founders Day reunion in 1929 paperweights made from wood in Old Central and capped with metal were given as presents to guests, of which I was one. The paperweights are sacred in the memory of loyal Aggies. They bear the college seal and these words: "Souvenir, Founders Day, Stillwater, 1929." Future celebrations on Founders Day came to have a special meaning to Aggies for the occasion was also the birthday of Dr. Bennett who was five years older than the college.

Perhaps because I am a Harvard graduate, I always appreciated the interest Dr. Bennett had in that institution. The wings of Cordell Hall and Bennett Hall have a resemblance to Massachusetts Hall at Harvard. Dr. Bennett remarked that Massachusetts Hall and Harvard Hall, in which soldiers of the American Revolution camped, were kept in repair and used along with Widener Library and other buildings of fine modern architecture.

Dr. Bennett became president in a lull between two political battles in the state capitol. Six months before he came to Stillwater, Governor Henry S. Johnston placed troops of the national guard in the doors of the capitol to prevent the legislature from convening in special session. Prior to the American Revolution the French philosopher, Jean Jacques Rousseau, wrote a couple of pages as timely as this: "The legislative body ought not to meet of itself." Before selling a slice of this red-hot history to the press, I consulted President Knapp who said it belonged in the world's best literature but that in the smoke of "the ewe lamb rebellion" it might be misunderstood. The time was out of joint and I agreed that silence was golden. But during the quarter of a century that Dr. Bennett was president I know of no occasion when any member of the faculty or of the student body could not openly probe the history of current events. He was a staunch supporter of educational freedom.

The second year Dr. Bennett secured a salary raise for the faculty. Mine was \$200. The next year I received an honorary fellowship in history at the University of Wisconsin. I went there and completed the doctorate with a thesis on the *Federal Land Policy in Oklahoma*. In the meantime depression had swept down like a wolf on the fold and a formidable list of A. & M. faculty members received leaves of absence of questionable duration. To me this was an opportunity to do research in the government depositories in Washington which contain the world's richest collection of Oklahoma history. My articles began to appear in historical quarterlies. I also taught in Fairmont State College in West Virginia and in the College of the City of New York.

In 1938, I saw Dr. Bennett just after he had read in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* my series of five articles on "How the Cherokees Acquired and Disposed of the Outlet."² He urged me to prosecute the work vigorously for he said within two or three years an opportunity would be given me in A. & M. College to develop it. The five articles are today the historical basis for the Cherokee Outlet Case in the federal courts. The Cherokees are represented by Pierce and Pierce of Muskogee and five other attorneys, and the Justice Department speaks for the federal government.³

In the great mass of business Dr. Bennett performed, he had a vivid sense of detail. In September, 1941, I returned to A. & M. College, at a reduction from the eastern salary, but with an opportunity to work in my chosen field and to join those who "Built with Bennett." It was the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the college, a golden opportunity to collect college history.

In Great Hall of the College of the City of New York there is a niche and through the glass one can see a cup five inches high. By it is an inscription stating that the class of 1875 willed the cup to the class of 1975, signed the will and placed it under the cup. Sometimes between classes I strolled by the cup and it left an indelible impression on my memory. Instead of placing a cup in a niche, I suggested that the Aggies compile a history of three manuscript volumes and place it in the wall of the new college library for the centennial celebrators in 1991.

In my Oklahoma history class in the autumn of 1941 were 62 students who finished the course. Beginner's luck sometimes has the blessing of Providence. So it was with that class. In it were Lorene Affholder of Blackwell, Emily Schwabe and John B. Tate of Tulsa, Harry V. Hines of Sapulpa, Francis Irvine of Stillwater, Vivian Cheatham of Edmond, A. Lawrence Crable of Oklahoma City, and other students who delved into the history project with a skill and enthusiasm that will enshrine their memory as long as the early history of the college is of interest. Tate is a member of the faculty, Irvine is an Oklahoma City attorney, and other students have shown like qualities of attainment.

Our group had the assistance of the Record Book Committee consisting of Thomas J. Hartman, Tulsa; Frank D. Northup, Oklahoma City; Norman Shutler, Kingfisher; Mrs. Harry B. Bullen, Miss Ruth Howard, and John W. Hinkel, Stillwater. We con-

² Berlin B. Chapman, "How the Cherokees Acquired and Disposed of the Outlet," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XV, pp. 30-49; 205-225; 291-321; Vol. XVI, pp. 36-51; 135-162 (March, 1937-June, 1938).

³ The Cherokee Nation or Tribe of Indians v. United States, no. 173 before the Indian Claims Commission. Copies of briefs filed with the commission, and opinions of the commission concerning Indian tribes of Oklahoma, have been secured for the Oklahoma Historical Society. The briefs and opinions are a valuable contribution for they cite, interpret, and often quote basic historical documents.

tributed to the work of the Historical Packet Committee consisting of the following faculty members: C. H. McElroy, chairman; F. R. Bradley, J. H. Caldwell, R. E. Hartsock, C. E. Sanborn, A. A. Arnold, and R. O. Whitenton.

A year later the work was completed and Edmon Low, college librarian, had it handsomely bound. It contains the history of more than sixty organized groups of the college, written by themselves. Former college presidents, faculty members, and a host of former students and others who had a vital connection with the college wrote firsthand accounts. There were classics such as the article by James Homer Adams, first student to enroll in the college and a member of the first graduating class. Chester Gould, former Aggie, drew a special sketch of Dick Tracy. Dean D. C. McIntosh of the graduate school wrote a description of the college curriculum as he pictured it in 1991.

A prize picture in my office is one taken when eight students who formed a presentation committee showed the finished volumes to Dr. Bennett. Since the historical material was too valuable to be out of circulation until 1991, we made *Selections from the Record Book*, consisting of two-volume sets. One set is in the College Library and another is in the Oklahoma Historical Society. The project involved much work, some of which was done by the students voluntarily long after the history course ended. But we had a sustaining confidence that if we were unable to complete the task ourselves and if other sources failed, Dr. Bennett would see us safely through.

On a page in the original set of three volumes of the *Record Book*, Dr. Bennett wrote a letter to the chief executive of the college whose duty it will be to open the historical packet in 1991. In December, 1952, a year after Dr. Bennett's death, the packet including the three volumes was securely sealed in the wall by the front doors of the College Library. Dean McElroy wrote the following inscription which is vividly carved on the stone that seals the packet: "Historical archives, Oklahoma A. & M. College, 1891-1941; to be opened at the centennial celebration, 1991."

The war years lay heavy on Dr. Bennett. A total of more than 40,000 navy and army students gorged the campus facilities and scores of temporary buildings were erected. College men of civilian status were so scarce that coeds rented fraternity houses and moved in. Oklahoma history students captured the spirit of the era and preserved it in a manuscript volume, *A. & M. College in Wartime*, copies of which are in the College Library and in the Oklahoma Historical Society. The history department was located on the floor over Dr. Bennett's office, but in the last years of the war I cannot recall an event in which I more than spoke to the president. The faculty were proud of the work he was doing and were happy to

conserve his energy for it. His public addresses were filled with practical and cultural knowledge. Almost without exception his addresses to the faculty dealt in part with basic social trends in history.

The end of the war enabled Dr. Bennett to devote his last five years on the campus to improving the college. Those were the finest years in my teaching experience. The size of my classes enabled students to do a high quality of work. The Research Foundation became a reality. I published articles in a half dozen historical quarterlies. I was granted a semester of sabbatical leave and published the book, *Founding of Stillwater*. In 1949 the Oklahoma Historical Society came to Stillwater for the first time, and the program was held in the auditorium of Old Central. Progress was made in collecting early historical materials concerning the college. I secured for the College Library four of the first six diplomas awarded to the first class in 1896. *The Sigma Literary Society*, a vital chapter in early college history, was written by Willa Adams Dusch. I edited it and the Research Foundation of the college published it in 1951.

Manuscripts were collected and placed in the College Library. Perhaps the best is the Angelo C. Scott Collection consisting of 294 items. Dr. Bennett spoke of the historic value of the collection, its fine literary qualities, and he arranged for Mrs. Catherine M. Thompson to assist me in preparing an inventory of it.

Under the auspices of the Research Foundation of A. & M. College I was writing the history of the Otoe and Missouri lands. A segment of the work concerning the reservation fourteen miles north of Stillwater had been published.⁴ I received an invitation to appear two days before the Indian Claims Commission in Washington to discuss as an impartial witness my 200-page manuscript on the subject. A study of this kind serves a lasting variety of interests in human society, one of which is the courts. I was granted college leave to prepare for the event in court. With two tribal attorneys on one side, two Justice Department attorneys on the other side, and three judges before me, I had one of the finest seminar experiences of my life.⁵ Activities of this kind make one

⁴ Berlin B. Chapman, "The Otoe and Missouri Reservation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), pp. 132-158.

⁵ The Indian Claims Commission found that the Otoes and Missourias had a valid claim to more than a million dollars; *Otoe and Missouri Tribe of Indians v. United States*, no. 11. In an opinion of May 3, 1955, the United States Court of Claims sustained the commission and added: "The Commission also relied on and made findings on the basis of expert testimony by Dr. B. B. Chapman, a well-known historian in the field of American History, and a recognized authority on the land tenure of the Otoe and Missouri tribe. The Commission's finding that the claimants actually occupied the area in question to the exclusion of other Indians is amply supported by Dr. Chapman's evidence and other evidence." This statement reflects the recognition courts give to careful and impartial history written under the auspices of the Research Foundation of the Oklahoma A. & M. College.

a better teacher, a better writer, and in the end pays the college a better dividend. I could not have contributed this study if Dr. Bennett's vision had been limited to college routine.

During those five years my graduate work was at an all-time high, thanks in part to the Research Foundation, Dean D. C. McIntosh, and Dr. T. H. Reynolds. Perhaps my finest student was Amos D. Maxwell of Okemah whose thesis on *The Sequoyah Constitutional Convention* was published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* and also as a separate volume.⁶ The book received high commendation in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. It serves a useful purpose in commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the convention in Muskogee this year. Dr. Bennett took an interest in the thesis, read it, and attended the public examination when Maxwell completed his graduate work.

This incident in the career of Dr. Bennett may be used to illustrate what manner of man he was. On January 15, 1950, before a crowd that overflowed the auditorium of Old Central, Maxwell took the first public examination for a graduate degree in the history of the college. On the examining committee were Muriel H. Wright, for twenty years a generous contributor to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, of which she was associate editor. She had co-authored with Joseph B. Thoburn the four-volume standard history of Oklahoma. These and other works in Oklahoma history had placed her name in Oklahoma's hall of fame.

Another member of the examining committee, Dr. Angie Debo, had entered Oklahoma's hall of fame by the history door. Among her books was *Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*. On the Creeks she had written *And Still the Waters Run, Road to Disappearance*, and *Tulsa, From Creek Town to Oil Capital*. Chosen from the history department for the committee was Dr. Norbert R. Mahnken who taught Oklahoma history in A. & M. summer sessions and who currently was writing for the Nebraska Historical Society a study of the role of William Jennings Bryan in Oklahoma.⁷

Maxwell and I sent a special invitation to Governor William H. Murray and Johnston Murray, secretary of the state land department, to attend the examination. The older Murray was the only living officer of the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention or chairman of a committee. He was a vice president of the convention. After the examination he was introduced and he selected points in the examination for further elucidation. As a highlight at the end of

⁶ Amos D. Maxwell, "The Sequoyah Conventions," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 2 and 3 (Summer and Autumn, 1950), pp. 161-192; 299-340; Amos D. Maxwell, *The Sequoyah Constitutional Convention*, 1953, reviewed by Dr. Anna Lewis in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XLI, No. 2 (September, 1954), pp. 349-350.

⁷ Norbert R. Mahnken, "William Jennings Bryan in Oklahoma," *Nebraska History Magazine*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4 (December, 1950), pp. 247-274.

the program he pinned on Maxwell's lapel a badge worn at the Sequoyah Constitutional Convention. Johnston Murray brought the badge to the meeting. It was one his mother had secured and saved.

A few days before the meeting someone reminded Dr. Bennett that it was campaign year and that two Murrays at one meeting might be termed politics. I heard Dr. Bennett say: "This is an educational program. Give it full newspaper coverage." With Dr. Bennett education came first, and nothing was hidden that could not be revealed. A policy of regimentation would have confined the examination to local talent and to the quietness of a quonset hut, and have left Maxwell's study unpublished on a secluded library shelf.

In the Maxwell examination Mrs. Bennett had the brief but important role of bringing a copy of the thesis from the president's home to Old Central. This was the last public program the Bennetts attended in that historic shrine, paid for by the pioneers of Stillwater. It was the last public program they saw the history department sponsor and was a proper climax for opportunities of attainment Dr. Bennett had extended to the department.

Occasionally I heard the expression concerning a long-time or recent colleague: "He is an old friend of Dr. Bennett." The president profited by the Shakespearean advice: "Those friends thou hast and their adoption tried, grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel." The Durant accent was noticeable on the campus. And it is not strange that Cordell Hall was so named.

During the last five years of the administration of Dr. Bennett I was promoted to full professor. About the time he left the campus I was elected a member of the board of directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, a recognition resting on opportunities that Dr. Bennett made possible for the faculty. The good name that he left as director of the Point Four Program was a helpful influence when in 1953 I was named historian by the Intercollegiate Tours of Boston to conduct a group of 29 eastern students to the coronation in London and for a month through Europe.

Dr. Bennett was one of the few great educators it has been my privilege to know. Great men conquer great obstacles, and no A. & M. president encountered greater obstacles than those faced by Dr. Bennett. When he proposed to build the first big dormitories, he was confronted with the "bedroom bonds" case which

he won in the Oklahoma Supreme Court.⁸ When he proposed to close Washington Street to place the College Library in the quadrangle, it was necessary to carry a case through the same court.⁹ Nor did his personal integrity escape attack.¹⁰ Once when I was in Oklahoma City, I paused for a few minutes in the courtroom of the Criminal Court of Appeals and I heard Dixie Gilmer contend that Dr. Bennett had perjured himself.

The verdict of history may well be that Dr. Bennett's finest contribution was not the erection of great buildings of bricks and steel, but recognition and inspiration he gave to meritorious effort in every field of worthy human endeavor. He said that Oklahoma was the campus of A. & M. College. To my knowledge no speaker with an educational message was screened from the college. Rather the college was a mecca for men of future action or of historical accomplishment. A history club heard Alexander Kerensky relate his experiences as head of the Russian government; Pearl Buck told of life in China; and one evening I chanced to drop in on a meeting when Roscoe Dunjee, NAACP leader, was outlining to students the policies on which a segregation case from Oklahoma was later carried to the United States Supreme Court.¹¹ What education in the social sciences could be more dynamic and of more practical value to college youth?

That Dr. Bennett's policy in education was practical as well as academic, is illustrated in the loyalty oath case. Toward the close of the presidential term, Professor Robert Morgan Wieman of the philosophy department and a half dozen other A. & M. staff members refused to sign in its entirety a loyalty oath passed by the state legislature, and they were removed from their positions. The A. & M. chapter of the American Association of University Professors with

⁸J. W. Baker *v.* Frank C. Carter, 165 Okla. 116 (1933). In 1931 the legislature authorized the issuance of bonds in an aggregate amount not to exceed \$450,000 for the construction and equipment of "a dormitory or dormitories" (Murray Hall). In an opinion of a dozen pages the Oklahoma Supreme Court by a vote of 5-3 sustained the act. Chief Justice Fletcher Riley wrote a three-page dissent.

Oklahoma A. & M. College was not a stranger in court. In the completion of Old Central ("the main college building") a controversy arose in which the district court of Payne County gave a judgment against the college for \$610.31 and costs, with provision that execution should issue after thirty days. On appeal to the Supreme Court of Oklahoma Territory it was held that the college is a public or *quasi* corporation, created and existing under and by virtue of the laws of the Territory, and could not in the absence of express statutory authority therefor, be sued; Oklahoma A. & M. College *v.* Charles F. Willis and William Bradford, 6 Okla. 594 (1898).

The question as to what fees the college could charge its students arose in the case of James H. Connell *v.* J. T. Gray, 33 Okla. 591 (1912).

⁹R. T. Stuart *v.* W. S. King et al., 203 Okla. 23 (1950).

¹⁰State *v.* Henry G. Bennett et al., 81 Okla. Cr. 206 (1945); Bennett *v.* District Court of Tulsa County, 81 Okla. Cr. 351 (1945).

¹¹Ada Lois Sipuel *v.* Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma, 199 Okla. 36 (1947); 332 U. S. 631 (1948).

the support of a like chapter in the University of Oklahoma desired to test the constitutionality of the legislative act. So far as I know Dr. Bennett made no effort to deny faculty members the right, at their own expense, to be heard in open court. The Oklahoma Supreme Court sustained the oath unanimously. The United States Supreme Court in 1952 by a vote of 5-0 held it unconstitutional.¹² Justice Hugo Black said: "The Oklahoma statute is . . . aimed at coercing and controlling the minds of men. Test oaths are notorious tools of tyranny. When used to shackle the mind they are, or at least they should be, unspeakably odious to a free people. Test oaths are made still more dangerous when combined with bills of attainder which like this Oklahoma statute impose pains and penalties for past lawful associations and utterances."

My last visit with Dr. Bennett was in August, 1951, in the Washington office where he was directing the Point Four Program. On the walls around his desk were maps of foreign countries marked with pins of different colors showing the location of Point Four activity. He told me of interesting work in that capacity, but there is little doubt that A. & M. College remained the subject dearest to his heart. I remember when he beamed the pride of a great president and said: "That public examination by Amos Maxwell was good enough for a doctor's examination."

Such was the vigorous and courageous president and yet the gentle and kindly man as I knew him and profited by his leadership. Although he had the friendship and admiration of his fellows, his life illustrates the principle that opposition stands before him who would make progress. With his vision the college increased in wisdom and stature. When the president's home where Dr. and Mrs. Bennett had lived for a quarter of a century was being torn down for the erection of a chapel to the memory of them and the war dead of the college, I paid a last visit to the house. There I found covered with dust Dr. Bennett's masonic diploma issued to him at Hugo, and I delivered it to his children. I found a copy of Bennett, *American Literature*, which I confiscated for my office, and I salvaged a piece of wood for a classroom pointer. For future Aggies the name of Henry Garland Bennett may center about the chapel, and it is fitting that it should. But for us who saw him in action, who were enlivened by his inspiration and encouragement, and who profited by his vision, the chapel will be only an emblem of his great work not defined by geographic limits.

¹² Board of Regents of Oklahoma A. & M. College v. Paul W. Updegraff, 205 Okla. 301 (1951); Robert M. Wieman v. Paul W. Updegraff, 344 U. S. 183 (1952).

MISSIONS OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS AMONG THE
INDIAN TRIBES OF THE SAC AND FOX AGENCY

*By Hobert D. Ragland**

Prior to the election of General U. S. Grant as president of the United States of America in 1868, considerable unrest was found among the western tribes of Indians. This unrest was caused by the removal of the tribes to reservations, the building of the Pacific Railroad, and the pressure from white gold-seekers and traders who were pushing westward. It was well recognized by the leaders in Indian affairs and even among military men that the use of military force alone in dealing with the Indian problem was not altogether successful. This led to the consideration of other means of dealing with the wards of the nation, especially the work of the Society of Friends (Quakers).

Since the time of William Penn, this religious body had been recognized for its ability to live peaceably with the Indians. By the time of the election of President Grant efforts had been made frequently by various yearly meetings of Friends, both liberal and orthodox, to influence the National Government by memorials and other ways to safeguard more closely the material and moral welfare of the Indians. In January, 1868, four western yearly meetings drew up a memorial requesting that men of "unquestioned integrity and purity of character" be selected as officers and agents. A year later, the Friends of Iowa, and representatives from the Baltimore, New York, New England, Ohio, Indiana, and Western yearly meetings (orthodox), held a conference at Baltimore to consider the problem. At this meeting, a memorial of great "concern" was drawn up and presented to the president-elect on January 25, 1869. The next day another memorial was presented to President Grant by the Friends of Philadelphia through a "committee for sufferings." This interest on the part of Friends prompted the President, on February 15, to direct the aide, Eli Samuel Parker, to write a letter to the various bodies of Friends, requesting these organizations to send a list of men suitable for the position of Indian agents. Also, the President expressed his support of their interest in the "improvement, education, and Christianization of the Indians." In his first message to Congress, the President stated that he had given the care of the wards of the nation into the hands of religious bodies.

The Liberal Friends were given charge of the Northern Superintendency, embracing the different tribes of Nebraska. The

* This contribution to *The Chronicles* has been adapted for publication from a paper on the Friends Missions by Reverend Hobert D. Ragland, read before a meeting of pioneer settlers at Chandler, Oklahoma, in 1955.—Ed.

orthodox Friends were to have charge of the Central Superintendency, embracing the tribes of Kansas, and the Indian Territory. Enoch Hoag, a pioneer in the Indian concerns, was appointed as superintendent of the Central Superintendency, which included Western Indian Territory, and served effectively for a number of years.

The Friends, through their various yearly meetings, went forward with establishing organizations to cope with the responsibility placed upon them. In April, 1869, the Indian Aid Association was organized at Philadelphia and the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs was organized at Damascus, Pennsylvania, two months later. In addition, women Friends formed Indian aid associations at Germantown and Philadelphia. These organizations assumed most of the responsibility for work of the Society of Friends in the Indian agencies, schools, and missions among the various tribes during the administration of President Grant.¹

THE SAC AND FOX AGENCY

True to his promise, the President appointed Quaker agents for the different agencies of the Northern and Central Superintendencies. On August 17, 1869, Thomas Miller of Ohio was appointed agent of the Sac and Fox tribe that had been assigned a new reservation in the original Creek session of the Indian Territory.² Agent Miller accompanied the tribe to their new reservation in the winter of 1869 and was instrumental in helping select the site for their agency about five miles south of what is now Stroud, Oklahoma.³ This agency, at first, had charge of the Sac and Fox tribes and later extended over the Absentee Shawnee, Potawatomi, Mexican Kickapoo, and Iowa tribes.

The Sac and Fox Boarding School, often referred to as the "Mission School," was established on a site about one half of a mile northeast of the agency. This school was under the supervision of the Friends and United States Government but supported mostly by tribal funds. Most of the religious work of the Society of Friends was carried on with the Sac and Fox tribe at this school.⁴ It was among the other tribes of the agency, however, that most of the strictly mission work was done.

SHAWNEE MISSION

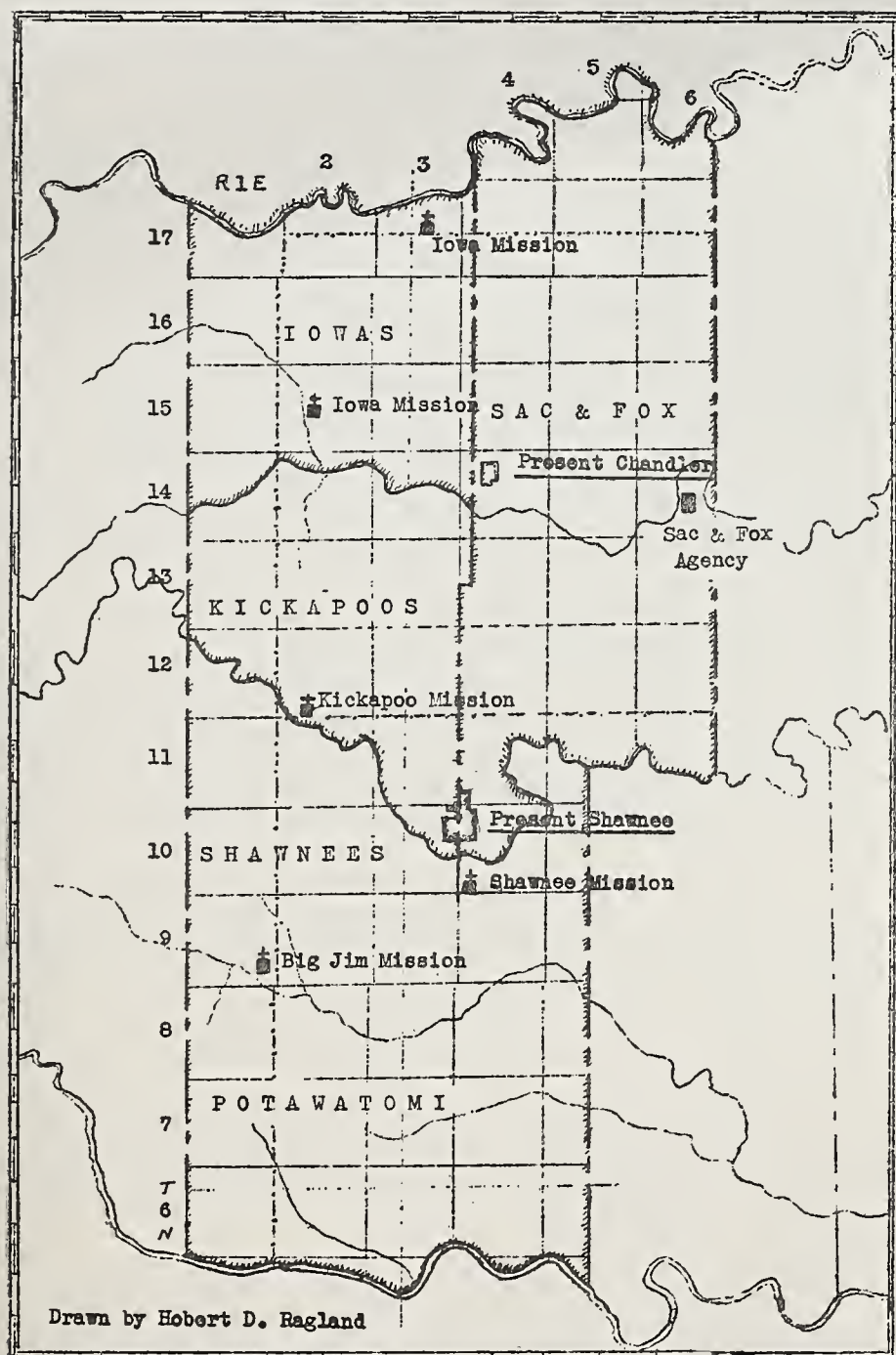
In addition to assisting the agents with religious instruction among the Indian tribes, the Friends appointed traveling missionaries

¹ Rayner Wickersham Kelsey, *Friends and The Indians, 1655-1917* (Philadelphia, 1917), pp. 162-171.

² First Quarterly Report for 1871, "Sac and Fox—Sac and Fox Employees," Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society (hereinafter given OHS).

³ *Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1870*, pp. 269-271.

⁴ Hobert D. Ragland, "Some Firsts in Lincoln County," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIX, No. 4 (Winter, 1951-52), p. 422.



Friends' Missions, Sac and Fox Agency

to survey the mission territory, and there promote mission stations and churches. Soon after the Sac and Fox Agency was established, Thomas H. Stanley made a visit to the Absentee Shawnees and laid plans for a school and mission among them. He selected a site on a hill about two miles south of what is now Shawnee, Oklahoma.⁵

Joseph Newsom and his family, consisting of his wife Martha and children, Eldon, Ellsworth, M. Emma, and Lysias E. were immediately assigned to the field selected. The mission family assumed control of the work on May 1, 1872 and upon arriving in the field began the erection of a building. Lumber was transported from the Sac and Fox agency and a two-room frame structure was erected. The building was 14 feet by 28 feet and divided into two rooms, one of which was used as a living quarters for the missionary and his family, the other as a class room. In August, Newsom made his report to the agent. Fifteen pupils had been enrolled for a period of fifty-three days, with an average attendance of twelve. Three of the pupils were of Cherokee parents and could speak some of the English language. These had been in school before. The rest of the pupils were of Shawnee parents and could speak no English and had never been in school.

Most of the instruction of this early school was religious in nature. In his first report, the missionary said:⁶

We have established as a custom the reading and interpretation of a portion of the Bible every Sabbath evening, having begun with the first of Genesis, during which exercises many queries and answers are elicited and a growing interest manifested. The mutual exchange of ideas and the harmony which marks these meetings are confirmatory of the fact that all men without regard to race are brethren by creation and should be by adoption on the terms of our heavenly Father's will.

He went on to point out that it was difficult to maintain perfect attendance in the school since many of the pupils lived several miles away. The Agent was requested to consider plans for establishing a boarding school for these pupils.

On March 13, 1873, John H. Pickering was appointed agent of the Sac and Fox agency. He was very much interested in the mis-

⁵ Thomas Wildcat Alford, *Civilization, as Told to Florence Drake* (Norman, 1936), p. 76. The site was near the center of Section 31, Township 10 North, Range 4 East of the Indian Meridian (31-10N-4E). It was located near the old Kickapoo Village and the intersection of the Okmulgee-Cheyenne and Arapaho road with the West Shawnee Cattle Trail. See the Geological Survey plat for the township and field notes of the same.

For other accounts of the Shawnee Mission, see S. Carrie Thompson, "The Shawnee Friends Mission," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. 4 (December, 1924), pp. 392-394; and "Indian Translates Bible as He Nears Three Score and Ten," *The Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), Sunday, November 15, 1925. It is from these two accounts that much of the material of the Shawnee Mission is obtained.

⁶ Report of Joseph Newsom to Agent, August 20, 1872, "Sac and Fox—Shawnee Boarding School," Indian Archives, OHS.

sionary and educational work among the tribes of the agency. In his 1873 report, the Agent requested an appropriation of \$7,000 be made for building better quarters for housing the pupils at the Shawnee school. For some reason the Government did not come to his rescue. He was able, however, to report two years later that a new house for a boarding school had been built by the aid of civilization funds secured by Superintendent Hoag. He had also been able to furnish the school with funds secured by Dr. Nicholson from the Indiana Yearly Meeting.⁷

That same year the government assumed control of the school but used Friends as teachers and employees for a time. Pending the change of the character of the school, the day school was being taught by Miss Eva Haskett, of Iowa, the Newsom family having gone back to their former home in Indiana. This temporary school was taught by Miss Haskett in a log cabin belonging to one of the United States licensed traders. It was located on a hill about 300 feet east of the old home of Joseph Elkins, which was situated just west of the present mission cemetery.

After the government had taken over the school and the new building had been erected, the Friends were relieved of a difficult task. They were able to turn attention to the strict missionary phase of the work. In 1877, a traveling missionary by the name of Elkana Beard came to the mission field. He built a two-story log house for his family about a quarter of a mile south of the school. Here, he made his headquarters for the missionary effort among the Indians of the area. Regular religious services were held in the school building and attended by the pupils, employees of the school, and a few Indians. Beard and his wife continued the mission work until the latter part of 1879 when they were succeeded by Franklin Elliott and his family.

Elliott was very popular with the pupils and employees of the school. The agent said of him: "At Shawnee the Society of Friends have a gentleman of advanced ideas, who is working with a will in his efforts as a civilizer. Without being intrusive, he appears to be one among the few that understands that the schools of Indian agencies are under the immediate control and supervision of the agents."⁸

In 1884, services were still held in the school house and in a grove near the missionary's home. A colored Baptist minister held services for Elliott when the latter was absent. Besides preaching

⁷ *Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1875, p. 287.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1880, p. 93.

among the Shawnees at Shawneetown, the missionary also held religious services twice a month up to April of that year at Wagoza.⁹

The next year, Elliott built a frame church building, which with a few changes, still stands a few yards south of the present Government Indian Sanatorium. The original cost of the building was \$958.00. The lumber was hauled from Independence and Coffeyville, Kansas. The big iron bell which still hangs in the belfry of the church was brought from Independence. The building was dedicated on September 27, 1885. At this time the membership of the church was fifty, consisting of whites, blacks, and Indians. Work had been very difficult during the year because of so many of the Indians moving to their allotments. The church, however, had faith in the future of this mission. The next year another home was built for the mission family at a cost of \$800.00.¹⁰

On April 28, 1884, the Shawneetown Monthly Meeting had been established. The organization took place in the home of Franklin Elliott since the church building had not been erected. This Monthly Meeting joined with the Iowa Monthly Meeting on February 10, 1900 in forming the Shawnee Quarterly Meeting with headquarters at Shawneetown. The headquarters was the center of the Central District and later became the seat of the General Superintendent of all the Friends' mission work in the Indian and Oklahoma Territories. It was under the care of the New York Meeting, at first, and later transferred to the care of the Associated Committee.¹¹

In 1885, the Elliotts were succeeded by Dr. Charles Kirk and his wife, Rachel. They came to Shawneetown from the Wyandotte Government School in the Quapaw Agency region, in what is now northeastern Oklahoma. He had been in the mission work of his society since 1878. During Dr. Kirk's missionary effort, the membership of the church reached sixty-three, and remained about this number during the eight years of his pastorate. In September, 1893, the missionary passed from this life and was buried in the Mission Cemetery west of the mission. His wife continued the work, as superintendent, until the next year. She then assumed the

⁹ Located in what is now the southern part of Pottawatomie County. See Hobert D. Ragland, "Potawatomie Day Schools," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 3 (Autumn, 1952), pp. 275 ff. It is reported that Oklahoma's first Sunday School was established at Wagoza in 1873 by Agent John H. Pickering. See the account as given in the *Tecumseh Republican* (Tecumseh, Oklahoma), Friday, February 15, 1907.

¹⁰ *Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1884, p. 98, 1885, p. 101, and 1890, p. 202. Also see "Friends Forerunners of Today's Sylvanians," *Shawnee News-Star* (Shawnee, Oklahoma), Tuesday, November 16, 1950.

¹¹ "History of The Beginning of Friends' Work in Oklahoma Which Resulted in Setting Up of Shawnee Quarterly Meeting," (In Vertical Files, "Missions," Library, OHS). "Shawneetown" was the name applied to a trading post and post office located about two miles southwest of present Shawnee, Oklahoma, about one-half mile southwest of the present Indian Sanatorium and in the Sec. 36, T. 10 N., R. 3 E.

position as teacher and missionary in different parts of the mission field in the Central District until her death in January, 1918. She, also, is buried in the Mission Cemetery. To her many close friends, the missionary was affectionately known as "Auntie Kirk."

In October, 1894, George N. Hartley and wife, L. Ella Hartley, came to the mission field as Superintendent of the Friends Mission at Shawneetown, and carried on the work until 1904. The mission work at this time was at a low point. The Indians had taken their allotments and whites had filled the country. Children of the tribes were attending district schools and the government boarding schools.¹² In spite of this, however, the Mission Church continued to serve as best it could. During the administration of Mr. Hartley, the church building was used as a class-room for pupils of the boarding school which had recently burned. It served this purpose until new quarters were built for the school.

In 1904, William P. Haworth and his wife were assigned to the mission field at Shawneetown, and remained until the year 1912 when they were succeeded by Clark Brown and his wife who served eight years. They were succeeded by Lawrence E. Lindley and his wife. By this time, the mission was forced to work with only a few settlers in the community. The Indian Boarding School had been abolished and the buildings converted into a hospital. In 1924, the mission church building was abandoned and the property was later sold to the Pottawatomie County Historical Society. Title to the property was transferred in 1938.

MISSION AMONG THE BIG JIM BAND OF ABSENTEE SHAWNEES

During the year 1876, the Big Jim Band of the Absentee Shawnees left their reservation and moved up on Deep Fork near what is now Wellston, Oklahoma, where they established themselves and built homes. Ten years later, they were moved back to their reservation and placed on their allotments in a section of territory between what is now Tecumseh and Norman. This band was to some extent non-progressive and largely adverse to the Christian religion. In spite of this, however, the Friends established a work among them.

In 1897, the Maine Branch of the Women's National Indian Association established a mission under the leadership of Philander and Caroline Blackledge on a site about twelve miles west and four miles south of Tecumseh. Buildings were erected, an orchard planted, and several acres of land put under cultivation. In 1898 or 1899 the mission property was transferred to the Associated Executive Committee of Friends who continued to work under the leadership of

¹² Kelsey, *op. cit.*, pp. 204, 205, 211, 223, 224.

John F. Mardock. This missionary was very popular among the people of the community and exerted much influence among members of the tribe.¹³

In 1929, the Reverend Eber Hobson and his wife were in charge of the mission work. Night evangelistic meetings, group recreation, singing, Bible talks, and prayer were part of the regular mission program. In his report to the Associated Executive Committee, he expressed hope that other missionaries would visit the mission during the berry picking season as this was an occasion to reach the Indians who were employed to harvest the crop. It was estimated that the berry crop would bring about \$500.00. The pickers were paid on a cash basis or on shares and many of them camped at the mission during the season. The missionary reported that during the last season he had charge of picking and marketing, while his wife cared for the girls who stayed in the mission home and fed the Indians who had come from a distance. There were four girls who stayed through the season and helped with the work. Most of the other pickers came by families and camped out. Sometimes there were as many as seventeen people who ate with the missionary's family. The Reverend Hobson went on to point out that for the year 1929, the basement of the meeting-house would be used instead of the dwelling for caring for the people whereby they could prepare their own meals.

The Mission not only served in a religious capacity but also as a community center. In 1929, the Indian agent from the Shawnee agency held monthly farmers' meetings and a farmers' club was in operation attended by some thirty or thirty-five Indians. It was an aim of the mission to have the farm offer a good example of every industry in which the Indians could be interested, such as terracing, dairy cows, chickens, garden, and feed crops.

In spite of the interest of the Friends, the Big Jim Band continued to resist the missionary appeal. The church continued, however, to work among the white people of the settlement until its abandonment a few years ago. The property was sold to a local farmer for \$2,000, and the dwelling is used as a home by the owner. The church building is being used as a hay barn.¹⁴

¹³ Kelsey, *op. cit.*, pp. 221. The mission building and property were in the Southwest corner of the Northwest Quarter of Sec. 36, T. 9 N., R. 1 E. The village of Mardock in Cleveland County was just south of the mission for the Absentee Shawnees (Big Jim Band). This village, at one time, consisted of a post office, two stores, and a cotton gin. Mrs. Martha M. Brendle who lives near the Mission was an early day postmistress. George Holt of Chandler, Oklahoma was a member of the Mission Church at an early date. Acknowledgment is due both Mrs. Brendle and Mr. Holt for supplying some valuable data relative to the Big Jim village and mission.

¹⁴ *Annual Reports* to the Meeting of Associated Executive Committee of Friends of Indian Affairs for Fifth Month, 1929, in (Verticle File "Missions," Library; OHS). Since reading this paper the mission building has been repaired and is now being used by the Rev. Ted Reynolds, an independent missionary among the Big Jim Band of the Absentee Shawnees.

THE IOWA MISSIONS

In 1883, the Iowa Indians were assigned a reservation, by executive order, west of the Sac and Fox Reservation. This land included all the territory between the Cimarron and Deep Fork rivers and as far west as the Indian Meridian. The tribe at this time numbered about eighty-eight persons who lived in a village just north of what is now Fallis, Oklahoma.

In August, 1897, a missionary was sent among them and built a mission house, soon after arriving, at a cost of about \$400.00. This building was 32 feet by 12 feet with a log addition 12 feet by 14 feet, one-story high. This mission home was located about three or four hundred yards east of the Iowa village. It was used as a boarding house for a few Iowa children as well as a dwelling for the missionary. In October, the next year a frame church building was erected on a site west of the village at a cost of \$700.00.¹⁵

During the year 1890, a school was opened at the Iowa Mission with eighteen pupils enrolled and an average attendance of fifty percent. The next year the reservation was opened to white people and most of the Indians left the village and went to their allotments. Yet during the year sixteen pupils were enrolled for a period of eight months. John F. Mardock, who was stationed as missionary there at the time, saw that the only way to maintain a school was by boarding the pupils in the missionary's home. Eighteen students were therefore boarded by the missionary during a period of nine months in 1892.¹⁶

Mardock was succeeded by the Reverend Charles Pearson that year. Pearson was at a loss to know what steps to take to maintain the mission and school. The editor of *The Chandler News* wrote: "Rev. Pearson, formerly of Ohio, has charge of the Home Mission lately vacated by Rev. Mardock. As the Indians are all away, the missionary expressed himself at a loss to know what policy to follow.

¹⁵ *Sac and Fox*, Vol. 15, December 30, 1889, O.H.S. The Iowa Village was located in the Southeast Quarter of Sec. 19, T. 15 N., R. 2 E. The mission building and residence was a little east of the village in the Southwest Quarter of Sec. 20, T. 15 N., R. 2 E. The church building was west of the village in the same quarter section as the village. This building was used as headquarters for the Cherokee Commission while negotiating with the Iowa Indian tribe for taking allotments. Joe Dewees, son of the late S. E. Dewees stationed at the Wellston trading post, carried the mail from the post to the Commission. (Statement of Joe Dewees, Wellston, Oklahoma, November 27, 1952). After the mission was abandoned, the church building was used as a public school house for a while. It was then moved to Fallis and back again to a place near the former site. It has since been converted into a farm dwelling.

¹⁶ *Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1890, p. 202; 1891, p. 366; 1892, p. 408.

Only one Indian remains where once the Iowa Village stood and a corn field occupies most of the site where the Indians had their bark houses and tepees."¹⁷

The Reverend Pearson, however, boarded twenty-one pupils in 1893 for a period of five months. He saw that such a task was impossible to continue and the mission school closed that year.

The day school at the Iowa Village was taught at different times by Mary Sherman, Elizabeth Test, Rachel Kirk, and Lina B. Lunt. Charles W. Frazier was in charge of the mission station for a time. The school was supported by the Philadelphia Indian Aid Association.

A Friends church was organized at the mission in 1889, with three or four members. Four years later there were ninety-six members. Most of the additions were from the white people who lived in the vicinity.¹⁸ On June 1, 1893, the Iowa Monthly Meeting was organized consisting of Iowa, Oak Grove, and Kickapoo churches. Valley Queen Church was added later. Soon after the Indians moved to their allotments the church at the mission was abandoned and the work was moved north to the center of their community.¹⁹

Even after the Iowas accepted their allotments, they leased much of the land out to the white settlers and lived off their annuities and lease money. Agent Lee Patrick reported in 1898 that they spent most of their time "visiting the Otoe Indians and drinking liquor." Such a state of affairs had caused the Friends to continue their missionary effort among them.

About 1894, under the leadership of George Hartley, who was Territorial Superintendent of the Friends work in the Indian and Oklahoma territories, a new mission was established about five miles southeast of Perkins, Oklahoma. A store building was purchased, moved to the mission site, and converted into a mission and dwelling for the missionary and his family. Among the early missionaries of the mission were Charles Pearson, John F. Mardock, Lewis McFarland, John M. Ratcliff and his wife, and Charles and Martha Wooten.²⁰

¹⁷ *The Chandler News* (Chandler, Oklahoma), Friday, October 21, 1892.

¹⁸ *Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1893, p. 264. This is the (Alberta Wilson Constant, *Oklahoma Run*, New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., mission referred to in the late novel *Oklahoma Run* by Alberta Wilson Constant (1955).

¹⁹ "History of The Beginning of Friends' Work in Oklahoma", *loc. cit.*

²⁰ This mission was located in the southern part of Sec. 15, T. 17N., R. 3 E. See Allotment records for this township, from statement of J. Anderson Ratcliff, son of John M. Ratcliff, in 1952. Mr. Ratcliff lives a few miles southwest of Agra, Lincoln County, and is still active in the work of the Society of Friends in that section.

The mission was doing a good work until representatives of a sectarian denomination came into the community teaching that the Indians could not be Christians until they had received water baptism and had taken part in other ordinances. Nearly the whole band of Iowas were alienated from the influence of the Friends. The mission was forced to close in 1915. Two years later, however, at the request of considerable number of Indians, including Chief Dave Tohee, who always remained loyal to the Friends, the Iowa Mission was reopened by the veteran workers, John F. and Mary Mardock and Lina B. Lunt. Mardock and his wife remained at the mission until it closed in the 1920's. The mission had been supported by the Friends of the Baltimore Monthly Meeting.²¹

Though the work of the Friends closed among the Iowas, the Church did not cease to be effective. It continued its work with the Indian and white peoples of the neighborhoods. Through the efforts of the Iowa Monthly Meeting, Columbia Church was established about three miles south of Agra and the Union Church was established about six miles north of Chandler. Recently a group of Friends purchased the old Episcopal church building in Chandler and it now houses a very active church. These three churches are still active and doing much work in the communities. They are, at the present, a part of the Shawnee Quarterly Meeting of Friends.²²

THE KICKAPOO MISSION

In the spring of 1874, the first group of Mexican Kickapoos were removed from Old Mexico to what is now Oklahoma. Others came later and by September 10, 1875 there were 426 men, women and children of this tribe living on lands west of the Sac and Fox Reservation. These mostly lived in a village northeast of present McLoud. These Indians were given rations and a station was built for the storage of the supplies. This station was located about five miles west of what is now Shawnee and is known in the records as "The Kickapoo Station."

As early as 1875 plans had been discussed for establishing a school among these Kickapoos. Agent Pickering, in September, reported that a school building was in process of being erected and arrangements had been made for establishing a manual labor school. This building was a frame structure and located about one-fourth of a mile northeast of the station. After the house was completed and funds made available for maintaining the school, not a single Kickapoo child could be persuaded to enroll. The building, therefore, was

²¹ Kelso, *op. cit.*, pp. 213, 229. J. Anderson Ratcliff, *loc. cit.*

²² "History of The Beginning of Friends' Work in Oklahoma," *loc. cit.* The Valley Queen Church was in SW $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 24, T. 16 N., R. 3 E., the Union Church is in Sec. 9, T. 15 N., R. 4 E., and Columbia Church is in Sec. 21, T. 16 N., R. 4 E.

used for other purposes, especially that of a residence for some of the employees of the Kickapoo Station. W. J. P. De Lesdernier, superintendent of the station, lived in it with his family in the early 1880's.²³

During the early part of 1883, the station was abandoned and the employees, with the exception of a blacksmith and farmer, moved. Agent Carter had recommended to Commissioner Price that the school building be used for missionary and school purposes. Likewise, Commissioner Price in March, 1882, had written Special Agent Townsend that Dr. Jas. E. Rhodes of Philadelphia desired to send a missionary and his wife to the old station and establish a day school. The next year John Clinton and wife were sent to the field. Their task was a difficult one, and very little was accomplished. Some of the leading Kickapoos declared that if they took up the white man's learning and religion, the Great Spirit would kill them. In 1884, the famous missionary Jeremiah Hubbard visited the station and held services for Clinton, but did not give any favorable report of the work there.²⁴

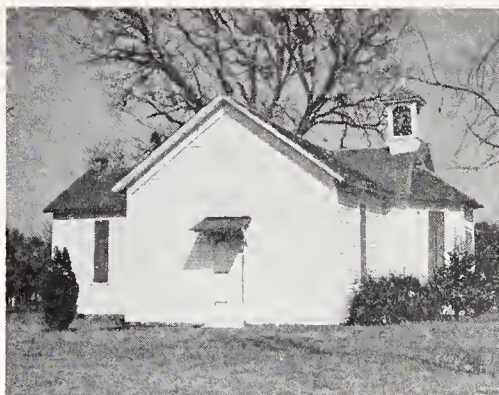
The next year Miss Elizabeth Test came to the Shawnee Mission as a teacher. She had what the Quakers called a "religious concern" for the Indians. In 1866, she made her first effort to establish missionary work among the Kickapoos. She used the little school building as a headquarters for her work. It also served as her dwelling for a time. Miss Test visited in the homes of the Indians and waited on their sick. Pa-pa-mea, mother of the chief, was a patient of hers. In spite of Miss Test's interest, however, she failed to accomplish much in the first years of her work. The missionary contracted sore eyes while in the homes of the Indians and was forced to return to the Shawnee Mission. Agent Neal reported that "She coaxed, petted, and fed them for six months without securing a single pupil and left in disgust minus a gold watch."²⁵

Soon after leaving the Kickapoos, Miss Test went to the Iowa Mission and taught a day school. In the meantime, John Mardock the missionary at Iowa Village was given permission to travel among the Kickapoos and was able to persuade them to allow Miss Test to return and start a day school. The school was opened in 1890 in a tent. There were nine pupils enrolled with an attendance of ninety-one percent. The term of instruction lasted one and one-half months.

²³ Martha Buntin, "The Mexican Kickapoos," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (June, 1933), p. 827; Muriel H. Wright, "Mrs. John R. Williams, Pioneer," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 4 (Winter, 1952-53), pp. 377-8. There is a picture of the school building connected with the latter article. This building was located in the NE $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 4, T. 10 N., R. 3 E.

²⁴ *Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1883, pp. 85. Price to Townsend, March 17, 1882, "Sac and Fox-Kickapoo Indians," Indian Archives, OHS. Ezra Brainerd, "Jeremiah Hubbard, Hoosier Schoolmaster and Friends Missionary Among the Indians," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (Spring, 1951), p. 30.

²⁵ *Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1888, p. 111.



Group, left to right: Miss Elizabeth Test, Teacher Wyandot and Shawnee Missions; Myra Esther Frye Bartlett, Kickapoo girl; Miss Lina B. Hunt, Teacher, Iowa Mission.

Friends' Mission Churches: (Upper) Shawnee Mission, two miles south of Shawnee; (Center) Absentee Shawnee Mission, Big Jim Band, about sixteen miles east of Norman; (Lower) Kickapoo Mission, two miles north of McLoud.

Again, because of exposure to inclement weather and insects, she returned to the Shawnee Mission taking with her five Kickapoo girls. She was accompanied by Netta Haworth another missionary. Dr. Kirk had a little frame building erected just south of the Shawnee Mission to serve as their home.

In 1892, John Mardock left the Iowa Mission and again worked among the Kickapoos. He persuaded Chief Ah-que-mah-ku-the to donate land to Miss Test for a location of a permanent school. Hearing of this, "Teacher Test," as she was now commonly called, returned to the Kickapoo Reservation and using \$1,000 of her own savings, had a three-room frame house built for a school and living quarters two miles north of present McLoud, Oklahoma. With the assistance of John Mardock and his wife, Lina B. Lunt, and Nette Haworth, she opened a boarding school for the Kickapoo children and a meeting place for adults. Soon after this a small church building was erected near the living quarters. This building burned, and a new building was erected which still stands on the original site.²⁶

Very early the Quakers adopted the idea of a Field Matron among some of the Plains tribes. This idea was adopted about 1890 by the Government. The function of the field matron was to go into the homes of the members of the tribes and instruct the women and children in the arts of household economy as practiced by civilized people. So far as known, Miss Test was the first and only field matron among the Kickapoos. She began her services in this capacity on April 15, 1892. By August of that year, she had visited nearly every Kickapoo home, and a number of them many times, making in all, some 180 visits. She had also received at the mission over 800 visits from the Kickapoos.²⁷

In 1895, the agent reported that the field matron had kept a small school among the Kickapoos, and without expense to the government, and much good was being accomplished with the tribe. The same year Rachel Kirk, widow of the late Dr. Charles Kirk, came to the mission and was a faithful worker until her death on April 29, 1915. Following the death of Mrs. Kirk, Miss Test and Lina B. Lunt retired from the mission. Lina B. Lunt went to the Iowa Mission as a teacher. Miss Test, because of poor health, went to Wichita, Kansas and remained there until her death which occurred

²⁶ *Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1890, pp. 202; 1891, p. 364. The mission building was located in the SW $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 34, T. 12 N., R. 2 E. A very interesting account of the Kickapoo Mission is given in the article, "Missionaries in Territory Before Run," *The Lincoln County Republican* (Chandler, Oklahoma), Wednesday, September 24, 1941, p. 3, Col. 1. Some of the information about Miss Elizabeth Test was taken from Harriett B. Woodward, "Elizabeth Test, Quaker Pioneer." Mrs. Woodward of McLoud, Oklahoma wrote the paper on Miss Test in 1952. She has done extensive research work on the work of Friends in Oklahoma.

²⁷ Report of Elizabeth to Agent, *Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1892, pp. 406 f.

in 1920. After two years at the Iowa Mission, Lina B. Lunt also went to Wichita where she was a faithful attendant of Teacher Test until the latter's death.

In 1898 Elizabeth Test and her helpers adopted several girls and cared for others in their home. Two of the adopted daughters died of tuberculosis, but one of them, Myra Esther Frye, was to repay them for all their efforts. Given exceptional and careful training the Indian girl was prepared to go out carrying the story of her people to the rest of the world. She first traveled in lyceum work as a singer and later started Lawansa Teepee, a club center for Indians in Los Angeles, California.²⁸

The Friends Mission continued to operate among the Kickapoos after their reservation was opened in 1895, though under a different task. By 1925, it had become a community center among the peoples of the community, both Indian and white. Sunday school was held at the Mission each Sunday, attended by a small group of Kickapoos. The women came on Tuesdays to quilt. Indian families or individuals called frequently at the mission. Farm demonstrations were held each month at the Mission attended by about 35 to 50 Indians. There was an Indian women's vegetable garden club and much help was given on the raising of chickens. Even though most of the Kickapoos still lived in the native type house or wickiup, the Government was gradually replacing these with bungalow style houses. Education was often defeated by ridicule from the older Indians, or evaded by trips to Old Mexico. Peyote worship was practiced by about half of the tribe.²⁹

At the present time Arthur and Westine Shufelt are the missionaries stationed at the Friends Mission among the Kickapoos. The present mission program includes Sunday school and worship services each Sunday morning. The young people are organized into a Christian Endeavor. A club work is organized among the women. Annually boxes of used clothing received from Quaker organizations are distributed among the Indians. Nine children from the McLoud area have attended the Goodland Indian School at Hugo, Oklahoma. Two boys were sent to Wilmington College, Ohio, through the efforts of the missionaries.³⁰

Other missionaries who have served the Kickapoo Mission were Charles and Martha Wooten; Phillip and Susie Meek Frazier (Indians); William and Marian Byerly, and Armond and Mary Saegar.

²⁸ "Missionaries in Territory Before Run," *op. cit.* (Myra Frye Bartlett died in Los Angeles, California, on May 19, 1955, at the age of sixty years. Her death was mourned by the Kickapoos in Oklahoma, for she was highly esteemed and respected by her people, and special services were held in her honor at her burial near McLoud, Oklahoma. [*Oklahoma City Times*, May 24, 1955].—Ed.)

²⁹ *Annual Report to the Meeting of Associated Executive Committee, loc. cit.*

³⁰ "Indian Missionary Team Retires After Lifetime of Religious Work," *Shawnee News-Star*, Tuesday, January 27, 1953, p. 1.

ST. AGNES SCHOOL OF THE CHOCTAWS

By Velma Nieberding

KATIKISMA

Na-Ponaklo. Kvtá hosh chikbi tok?
*Anumpa-Falama. Chihowa yak osh sakbi tok oke.*¹

The story of the establishment of St. Agnes Mission School at Antlers, Indian Territory, in 1897, is essentially an account of the heroism of a young, convert priest, sent as a missionary to the Choctaws.

On November 23, 1896, the Right Reverend Theophile Meerschaeert, Vicar Apostolic of the Indian Territory (later Bishop of Oklahoma) assigned the Reverend William Henry Ketcham to the mission of Antlers.²

The only priests who had previously visited this spot in the Choctaw Nation were Father Michael Smyth of Fort Smith and Father T. Campbell of Paris, Texas. Father Ketcham had visited Antlers during his muskogee pastorate, saying Mass in the railroad section-house.³

During his stay in Muskogee from 1892 to 1897, Father Ketcham had established the missions of Sapulpa, Lenapah, Claremore, Miami, Wyandotte, Cayuga, Webbers Falls, Okmulgee, Checotah, Wagoner, Quapaw, Vinita and Tulsa.⁴

When Father Ketcham went to Antlers he faced a most unusual missionary situation. St. Agnes was begun with two baptized persons, one Indian boy and one white boy. Altogether there were not more than six baptized Catholics in the town and none of these were fully instructed in their religion.

Moreover, the young priest had been assigned the post among this large and important tribe of the Civilized Indians as a kind of challenge from his Bishop. He had twenty-five dollars with which to begin his missionary work. The complete story of the

¹ Translation from this Choctaw text: "Q. Who made you? A. God made me." From the *Katikisma* (Catechism) translated into Choctaw by Father William Ketcham.

² Father Ketcham's first assignment was Muskogee and Missions, 1892. See Velma Nieberding, "St. Mary's of the Quapaws," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1 (Spring, 1953); Sister Mary Urban Kehoe, C.D.P., "The Educational Activities of Distinguished Catholic Missionaries Among the Five Civilized Tribes," *ibid.* Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (1946).

³ From the Historical Records in the files of Dr. Urban de Hasque, Historian, Diocese of Oklahoma.

⁴ *Ibid.*

poverty and hardship endured during the beginnings of St. Agnes Mission will probably never be told. For the first two months he lived in the section house and took his meals with the section hands. Had it not been for the assistance of the late Mother Mary Katharine Drexel, who for thirty years contributed to the Antlers mission, Father Ketcham's work among the Choctaws would have been immeasurably hampered by the handicap of poverty.⁵

"If ever there was a class of true mendicants upon this earth, Indian Missionaries are certainly that evangelical class," wrote Father Ketcham when asking for funds:⁶

Your kind and encouraging letter containing the two cheques—one for \$2500 and one for \$90.00 has been duly received. I left Muskogee, now a pleasant mission indeed, and came away down here about the first of the year where I have been struggling against the most extreme poverty, sometimes living on fifteen cents per day. You were my only hope and I prayed fervently that you might be able to help . . . the Choctaw mission now becomes a reality . . . just as soon as possible I will go about the buliding. . . ."

Early in 1897, Father Ketcham had built a small cottage in a beautiful little grove on the outskirts of Antlers. Plans had been drawn for a frame building that would serve the double purpose of a school and chapel. Arrangements had been made for the Sisters of St. Joseph to take charge of the school. This group of diocesan Sisters with Mother Virginia Joyce as Superior, had begun teaching in Nazareth Institute, Muskogee, and had helped to establish the first Catholic school among the Quapaws in 1894.⁷

But on April 6, 1897, Father Ketcham in an apologetic letter to Mother Katharine Drexel, advised her that he had met with financial misfortune: "Now it is not safe to keep money around my place as it is not a good policy anyhow, neither could I carry any considerable sum on my person for fear of being murdered or robbed, which indeed is not uncommon here at all."

He added that he had kept the cheque sent for the school until plans had matured for its building. Needing cash he went to look for a safe bank and since the nearest was Paris, Texas, he deposited the cheque in the Merchants and Farmers Bank there, "having ascertained after diligent inquiry that it was the most reliable bank."

But soon thereafter, the bank suspended business, due to the failure of a Cotton firm which had borrowed from it, and because of a run on it by depositors. Father Ketcham was told that he

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ From the archives of the Convent of Sisters of Blessed Sacrament, Cornwells Heights, Pennsylvania. Mother Mary Katharine Drexel, the foundress of this order and great benefactress of Oklahoma Indian Missions, died on March 3, 1955 at the age of 96. She gave her entire fortune to Indian and Negro Missions throughout the United States. It was said of her that for over sixty years she gave over \$1,000 a day to this cause.

⁷ "St. Mary's of the Quapaws," *op. cit.*



St. Agnes Catholic Church, Antlers, Oklahoma,



St. Agnes Choctaw School, Antlers, Oklahoma

could draw on another bank in Paris for one-half the amount of his deposit but suitable security would have to be furnished before he could be advanced any more money. He hesitated to go ahead on such an insecure financial foundation but the Sisters of St. Joseph had asked the advice of Muskogee bankers and they believed it would be safe to proceed with the building of the school.

Apparently a plan was worked out with Mother Katharine whereby any considerable amount of money for the building would thereafter be sent in small cheques. It was decided that \$1500 would cover the cost of the school, although the building would not be as large as originally planned.

It was at this time that Father Ketcham asked for a conveyance of his own. "This is a hard country to travel over; it is a very rough and mountainous country and is full of wild animals and some very suspicious looking people. In my five and one-half years of mission work, I have been able to get along without one [a team] but it will be very hard to do so here."

It must be remembered that within a year's time after being sent to Antlers that Father Ketcham had established missions among the Choctaws at Poteau, Cameron, Howe, Wister, Fanshawe, Talihina, Tuskahoma and Albion.⁸

The Sisters of St. Joseph having come to the Territory from eastern states were handicapped by the barrier of language. But they began teaching St. Agnes School in the fall of 1897. They adapted a kindergarten system to the needs of their little Indian pupils which was quite successful. In addition to teaching, these Sisters did real missionary work, caring for the sick, visiting Indian parents in their homes and otherwise winning the friendship of the Choctaws.

Father Ketcham early realized the need for the missionary to be able to talk with the Indians without an interpreter; for them to be able to read the prayers and hymns of the Church in their own language. Heretofore, ministering to eleven tribes in the north-eastern part of the territory, it had not been possible to study all of the languages. But at this mission his work was among the people of one tribe. He began to study Choctaw and as early as 1899, he set to work translating the prayer book and catechism into that language. It was a slow, laborious work and destined not to be finished for several years.

He was assisted in the translation by Peter Hudson, Victor Locke, Ben Henderson, George Nelson and Bailey Spring. Victor Locke, one of Father Ketcham's first converts, was later quoted as saying that it was quite the purest Choctaw he had heard.⁹

⁸ Records of Dr. Urban de Hasque.

⁹ *Ibid.*

On January 5, 1899, Bishop Meerschaert paid his first episcopal visit to Antlers. On January 9, Mrs. Mary Berry, Victor M. Locke, Elizabeth Robinson, Benjamin J. Locke, Roy J. Easton, John Henry Linn, all converts, made their first Communion and were Confirmed by the Bishop. Mrs. Mary Berry was the first white person in Antlers to be baptized by Father Ketcham, and Victor M. Locke was the first Indian.¹⁰

On October 6, 1899, Father Ketcham wrote to Mother Katharine Drexel that on account of the transfer of Sisters and some necessary additions to the school building, extra expenses had been incurred, and he asked for an addition to his quarterly allowance.

Bishop Meerschaert had, in 1898, requested that the struggling community of St. Joseph Sisters affiliate with the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet in St. Louis. Sisters Theophila, Aloysius Hurley, Anna Fidelis and Agnes Xavier went at once to this Motherhouse. The remainder of the Sisters, including Mother Virginia Joyce, went to Dallas to work in that diocese.¹¹

Father Ketcham, in a letter to Mother Katharine Drexel (October 6, 1899) stated that the school was expecting twenty boarding pupils (girls) and that the Sisters would have to board, teach, clothe and bear all expenses for them at \$10.00 per month capita. There were sixty day pupils attending the school and the Choctaw Nation paid two dollars per capita per month for these.

In this letter Father Ketcham speaks of the good that could be done if a group of Catholic lay men and women in the East could collect good and usable clothing and send it to him for distribution among his little flock. "Nothing seems to please these Choctaws so much" he added, "as to give them articles of clothing and indeed, many of them are sadly in need of wearing apparel, especially during the winter."

He said that many of the Indians visited his house, especially on Sunday and "this of course necessitates hospitality on my part. I divide the bread with them but the housekeeper is praying that St. Bridget may keep the meal-bag full!"

On April, 1900, Father Ketcham asked Mother Katharine Drexel to allow him \$12.00 per month for ten months of the year in order that he might send some of the Choctaw boys away to school. There was no provision at St. Agnes School for boarding boys, although the priest kept a few in his house while they attended school. How many boys were actually placed in other schools is not known to this writer. However, in September of that same year, Father Ketcham writes of one boy being placed with the Benedictines in Arkansas.

¹⁰ Parish Records, St. Agnes Church, Antlers.

¹¹ Sister M. Aloysius Hurley, is at present living at St. Joseph's Home for Girls, Kansas City, Missouri.

One of the Choctaw boys, an orphan, won Father Ketcham's heart to such an extent that he adopted him. Tom, or Thomas Simpson Ketcham, was the son of Isaac and Martha Simpson and was born near Carthage, Mississippi, on October 6, 1886. Tom was legally adopted by Father Ketcham on April 11, 1901.¹²

Meanwhile, the work of Father Ketcham among the Indians of the Territory had been noticed by the Catholic Bureau of Indian Missions in Washington, D. C. In 1900, he was called to be assistant to Monsignor Stephan, the Director of this Bureau. Bishop Meerschaert granted the request for a leave of absence from the diocese with some reluctance. He at last consented if Father Ketcham would provide a missionary to take up his work in Antlers.

Father Ketcham again writing to Mother Katharine in the latter part of 1900, reported that "I find it difficult to get anyone to fill my place here. No one seems to ambition it." He mentioned that Tom Ketcham was an elegant Mass Server and that he believed the boy would be a "drawing card" if he could accompany Father Ketcham when appeals were made for funds by the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. He also disclosed his plans to put the boy in an Eastern school if his health permitted. When Father Ketcham left Antlers in 1900 there were one hundred Catholics in the town of which seventy-five were full-blood Choctaws.¹³

The Reverend Aloysius Hitta, a Benedictine, succeeded Father Ketcham and remained until 1901. In this same year Mother de Sales died and since there was no replacement from the Motherhouse, the Sisters of St. Rose of Lima prepared to return to Texas. New arrangements had to be made with a large Community of teaching Sisters. In 1901, the Sisters of Divine Providence of San Antonio, Texas, were entrusted with the charge of St. Agnes School.¹⁴ Sister Mary Antoinette, Sister Mary Bridget and Sister Mary Anastasia were the first Sisters in charge. The enrollment in 1902 numbered sixty-six pupils. In 1904, there were 90 boarding pupils at St. Agnes and by 1905 four Sisters were teaching and the number of boarding and day students was 127.¹⁵

The records show that five Sisters were required for teaching for the years 1908-1913; six Sisters were employed from 1913-1917, when the number of Sisters was increased to seven. Later, in 1934, ten Sisters were needed for the work.

The Reverend Alfred Dupret served the Choctaws as pastor at Antlers from October, 1901 to September, 1902. Father John Rechem, a Belgian priest, was appointed pastor of Antlers on

¹² Letter from Miss Ella Ketcham, sister of Father William Ketcham, Oklahoma City, January, 1954.

¹³ Records of Dr. Urban de Hasque.

¹⁴ Archives of Motherhouse, Sisters of Divine Providence, San Antonio, Texas.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

September 22, 1902. At the end of 1903, some of the Mississippi Choctaws were given allotments in the Choctaw Nation, and as a number of them were Catholics, two Carmelite Fathers came with them from Mississippi. These were the Reverends August Breck and H. J. Hamers. During the tenure of the Carmelite Fathers in Antlers, Father van Rechem was named pastor of Poteau. In June, 1905, the Carmelite Fathers returned to Holland and Father van Rechem came back to Antlers and remained there until 1910.

During that time he was assisted for his missions in the surrounding territory by Fathers Anthony Lombardi, F. L. Teyssier and Wm. Huffer,¹⁶ and Father L. Cremmel. In 1906, Father Van Rechem built a church with the financial assistance of Mother Katharine Drexel. It was a frame building thirty by fifty feet. While the Sisters were running a boarding school for Indian girls, Father Hubert housed and boarded boys. Later, the Sisters took the boys as well.

Although for many years St. Agnes School was carried on in a very primitive manner in comparison with the schools of today, it rendered it all the more agreeable to the Indian children. At first St. Agnes was a Choctaw "neighborhood" school. The Sisters were employed by the Choctaw government and the work supervised by Choctaw trustees. After the Choctaws ratified the Atoka Agreement in 1898, the tribal schools gradually came under the supervision of the federal Government and St. Agnes was recognized by the Choctaw and the United States authorities as a "contract school."¹⁷

In June, 1910, Father Teyssier succeeded Father van Rechem as pastor of Antlers, and remained there until 1916, assisted successively by Father E. Gyssaert and J. Wagner. In 1916 there were eighty boarders in the school.¹⁸

In 1915-16, the contract was not renewed because of a ruling by the comptroller of the treasury which read: "The tribal funds of the Choctaws and Chickasaws for the maintenance of mission or private schools during the fiscal year, 1916, is unauthorized".

It affected four Catholic Indian Schools (Antlers, Ardmore, Chickasha and Purcell) and four private schools (old Goodland School, Hugo; El Meta Bond College, Minco, Oklahoma Presbyterian College, Durant and the Murray State School of Agriculture,

¹⁶ Rev. William Huffer, a classmate of the late Dr. Urban de Hasque, was born in Eupen, Germany, ordained in 1900 and came to Indian Territory as a missionary that same year. He is presently at Corpus Christi Church, Oklahoma City.

¹⁷ Angie Debo, "Education in the Choctaw Country After the Civil War," explains the Atoka Agreement. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 3 (September, 1932).

¹⁸ Parish Records. St. Agnes Church, Antlers.

Tishomingo). At that time (1915) Congressman C. D. Carter of Ardmore declared that the new ruling "will deprive of school facilities from 1000 to 1600 Indian children." By one stroke of the pen the four above institutions and mission schools were permanently deprived of the \$12.50 a month for board and tuition for each boarding pupil which the Government paid out of the "Educational Funds" of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, to be used for tribal and *other* schools. The intolerant rebuff and set-back of education in those two nations seriously affected the maintenance and progress of the institutions named above, for a number of years.

If St. Agnes School was able to successfully ward off the heavy blow it was due to the personal efforts of its founder, Father William H. Ketcham, then Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions at Washington, D. C., and of Mother Katharine Drexel and other financial supporters during the following critical years.¹⁹

In 1916, Father Ketcham's *Katiskisma* was published by the National Capital Press, Washington, D. C. It was said that the reaction of some of the Indians who had been doubtful of the Church because of strange tales told about the Catholics, exclaimed in surprise when they read it, "Why those Catholics believe in Christ the same as we do!"

Reverend Alfred Wright, Presbyterian missionary to the Choctaws, had earlier translated the New Testament and some years later Reverend John Edwards, Evangelist under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, parts of the Bible into the Choctaw language.²⁰

Victor M. Locke, stated that "according to our traditions, with the sole exception of the late missionary to the Louisiana Choctaws, the Abbe Rouquette, who died in New Orleans in 1837, Father Ketcham was the only priest who has acquired our language."²¹

Father Ketcham also translated health tracts into Choctaw and distributed them among the tribe, believing that this information was much needed. His adopted son, Tom, had died on April 29, 1906, and it is evident that his death but added concern to the priest's interest in the health of the Choctaws.

¹⁹ Files of Dr. Urban de Hasque.

²⁰ John Edwards, "The Choctaw Indians in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 3, annotated by John R. Swanton. (The Rev. John Edwards had begun the translation of the Book of Psalms into Choctaw before the Civil War but language difficulties led him to abandon the work which was taken over years later by the Rev. Allen Wright who completed the translation of the Psalms direct from the Hebrew into Choctaw about 1883. Rev. Allen Wright was a Choctaw and the outstanding scholar of his nation, a graduate of Union College [B.A. and A.M.], Schenectady, New York, and of Union Theological Seminary, New York City [1855]. He was gifted as a linguist with a thorough knowledge of Latin, Greek, Hebrew and English, in addition to his Native Choctaw.—Ed.)

²¹ Victor M. Locke, "The Choctaw Catechism", *The Indian Sentinel*, January, 1922.

The Reverend Charles van Hulse, a pioneer Belgian priest of the Indian Territory, was stationed at Antlers in 1919 and remained until 1925. The school in 1925 was described as having accommodations for some sixty boarding pupils (all Choctaws). It was a frame building partly of two stories, partly of one, irregular in shape but neat looking. The board for the Choctaw pupils was paid out of the tribal funds by the Government of the United States through the intermediary of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions in Washington, D. C.

In the congregation of Antlers that year it was noted that there were sixty-five persons, three of whom were born in Europe and ten who never came to church!

On November 14, 1921, friends of Father Ketcham were stunned to receive word that he had died suddenly while in Tucker, Mississippi. He had spent the preceding four weeks before his death, working in the interest of the Mississippi Choctaws.

Many honors had come to the one-time missionary and priest of the Indian Territory, but his heart had always turned to the diocese for which he had been ordained. "I claim Oklahoma as my home" he had said many times. After his appointment as Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions in 1901, he had been able to accomplish much for his beloved Indians. He had visited and inspected all the Indian missions and reservations of the United States. He had been appointed by President Taft as a member of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners. Fordham University had on June 14, 1912 conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws and in 1919 he was created Domestic Prelate by Pope Benedict XV, with the title of Monsignore.

He had promoted through the various dioceses of the United States, the Society for the Preservation of the Faith, a society which became (and still is) a great factor in maintaining the forty-two mission schools which, at the time of his death were not receiving any tribal assistance.²²

He had brought about the abolishment of the Browning ruling whereby the right to choose a school for an Indian child was taken from the parent and vested in the Indian agent; he had defended the right of Catholic pupils in Government schools to attend Catholic instruction and had secured priests for this work. When rations were withdrawn from Indian children because they were attending Catholic schools instead of going to a Government school or staying

²² Today in the United States there are 59 Catholic Mission Schools, of which 17 are boarding schools, and 6 are mixed, boarding and day schools. They care for a total of 8,038 Indian children. Personnel of these missions includes 225 priests, 500 Sisters, 83 Scholasitics and Lay Brothers, 37 Lay Teachers and 100 Indian Catechists.—*The Indian Sentinel*, September, 1954. This is the official magazine of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions.

at home, Father Ketcham had fought and succeeded in having the rations restored to them. He had in 1912 defended the rights of nuns teaching in Government Indian Schools in the "Religious Garb and Insignia" controversy, maintaining that the Catholic Church was the victim not the author of the Peace Policy of President Grant which gave these schools over to such religious denominations as were teaching them at the time the policy was inaugurated.²³

It was said of Father Ketcham that "he was a priest by vocation and a diplomat by training. He had a facile pen and a fluent tongue both of which he used to excellent advantage in advocating and defending the interests of the Indians."²⁴

When Bishop Francis C. Kelley, the successor to Oklahoma's first Bishop, Theophile Meerschaert, went to visit Antlers in 1924, the Sisters of Divine Providence represented to him that it was impossible for them to maintain the school any longer in its present condition; that they would be obliged to give up their educational and vocational work among the Choctaw children unless the old buildings were made more habitable.

The *Southwest Courier* in its July 27, 1929 issue carried an article stating that St. Antlers Indian Mission had been entirely rebuilt. "In place of the old ramshackle structures there stands now a strong, adequate and beautiful building in Spanish mission style of architecture, the finest structure in the city of Antlers and large enough to house 75 Choctaw children. Needless to say the building is filled to capacity."

Funds had been contributed by the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, the Marquette League and personal benefactors of the school, including its first sponsor, Mother Katharine Drexel. Reverend H. B. Mandelartz was the pastor at Antlers at this time.

The largest enrollment in the school is noted in the years 1910, 1911, 1912, and 1913, when the statistics show 128 pupils attending. In 1932 the enrollment was 114 students dropping to 93 in 1934. In 1936 the rectory was destroyed by fire but rebuilt. However, it suffered great damage as did the church and school when on July 24, 1944, a violent windstorm unroofed the buildings. Father William Hall was the pastor at this time. There were nine Sisters teaching and 91 pupils enrolled in the school.

On April 12, 1945, disaster in the form of a tornado struck an irrevocable blow at St. Agnes School. In the town of Antlers, 82 people were killed and 250 injured. The miraculous escape of sixty school children huddling during the storm in the wrecked and battered school building, will never be forgotten.

²³ "Religious 'Garb' and 'Insignia' in Government Indian Schools," by Rev. William H. Ketcham, Director of Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. 1912.

²⁴ Files of Dr. Urban de Hasque.

When Sister Innocentia, the school Superior, heard the heavy, grinding noise of the tornado she led the children into the center hall on the first floor. Here they knelt and prayed the rosary while the storm swirled about them. When the tornado had passed the children, frightened but unharmed, said prayers of thanksgiving and ran outside to a strange world. The rectory and church had disappeared as had many buildings across the street. Only that part of the school where the children took refuge was spared. The only person injured in the school was Sister Mary George who was seriously hurt when a chimney fell on her.

Observers who watched the storm from caves, said that the cyclone lifted the rectory into the air and held it there for seconds. Then it exploded into a thousand pieces. The Church collapsed about thirty seconds after the storm hit and spun around, sailing through the air. Pews were smashed to matchwood, vestments were found draped on trees along the river a mile away, nothing was saved.

The catastrophe marked the dramatic end of St. Agnes Indian School. The Sisters of Divine Providence returned to San Antonio while the parish priest received instructions to reside in Hugo.

Antlers was without a Catholic Church until 1947, when on March 15 of that year, the Rt. Rev. Eugene J. McGuinness Bishop of Oklahoma, dedicated the newly-built St. Agnes Church. It was built under the direction of Reverend Everist Foix who was transferred to Dallas just before its completion.

St. Agnes School had served the Choctaws for a total of forty-eight years. At the time of the tornado it had 75 boarders and 20 day students with five Sisters teaching.

LILAH D. LINDSEY

By Mrs. J. O. Misch

Lilah Denton Lindsey was born on October 21, 1860, in a walnut log cabin home near Blue Creek which flows in the southern part of what is now Wagoner County, formerly a part of Coweta District, Creek Nation, Indian Territory. She was the youngest of six children and the only one to reach maturity. The families of her parents John and Susan McKellop Denton had come to the Territory during the Removal of the Creek Nation and settled near the confluence of the Verdigris and Arkansas rivers. Her mother was of a missionary family and had attended the Tallahassee Manual Labor Mission school which was built in 1850 in the southern part of Coweta District. This was the most pretentious building to be constructed up to that time in this western territory. Susan McKellop Denton was not as strong physically as were some of the Indian women. She was looked upon as a "medicine woman" and she rode on horseback or by wagon over the district ministering to the sick. Lilah often rode along with her mother.¹

English was commonly spoken in the home although Lilah often used her native tongue. She was listed on the tribal rolls according to the clan of her mother, as was the custom of the Creeks. Lilah had visited Tallahassee Mission school with her mother as a small child, and had looked forward to the time when she would be twelve years old and could enroll at the Mission.

Many notable folk of the Indian Territory had attended the Mission school, and one day in 1872 was a red letter one for Lilah Denton for she enrolled here at that time. Her constancy attracted the attention of Miss Eliza J. Baldwin her first teacher whose custom it was to give a scholarship to some worthy girl when she was advanced in her studies and ready for college work in the States.

However, when Lilah's mother became ill after a few years, she left the Mission for home to take care of her mother who later moved to Muskogee to be near medical care. Lilah nursed her mother until her passing in 1878. Mr. Denton, the father, had died in the Civil War. Lilah Denton then made her home on Duck Creek, with the David Hodge family, then later with Chief Pleasant Porter's family. While here she received word from Mrs. Eliza Worcester Robertson at the Mission school that she had recommended Lilah to fill a vacancy among the students in the Synodical Female College in Fulton, Missouri. March 1879 she boarded "The Katy" train at Muskogee.

¹ See *Appendix A*, "Reminiscences of Lilah D. Lindsey."

June the following year Miss Baldwin of the Mission school chose Lilah Denton for the annual scholarship, and she entered the next school year the Hillsboro-Hyland Institute in Hillsboro, Ohio. She was graduated from this school in 1883 and she was the first Creek woman to receive a degree—a Mistress of Liberal Arts.

The Presbyterian Board of Missions In New York appointed her to teach in the Wealaka Mission boarding school which had been built in 1880 on the flats between the Snake Creek and Arkansas River near present town of Leonard. This was a four story brick building with school rooms for boys and girls, chapel and dormitories.

Miss Denton introduced the study of the Bible and graded the pupils in this work. She stated that as far as she knew this was the first time grades had been given for Bible study. The children found it difficult to learn tasks of house-keeping, gardening, woodchopping and the English language at the same time.

In this country it was not unusual for Indian girls to be courted by white men and this young teacher, traveler, college graduate and with charming personality was quite an attraction in this frontier school, also outside it. After the Civil War many veterans came westward as there were railroads and bridges to be built.

Colonel L. W. Lindsey was one of these. He was born in Ohio in 1845 and served in a regiment of the Ohio Cavalry during the Civil War. At its close he went to Alabama and helped quarry stone for the first machine shops in Birmingham.

He came to the Indian Territory in the 1870's and was a contractor in the Creek Nation. He completed the stone walls and enclosure of the Old Council House of the Creek Nation in Okmulgee.

Colonel Lindsey took a great fancy to this Creek Indian girl, Lilah Denton, with her long black hair and broad smile which ended with a chuckle when she talked to him in Creek, then changed quickly to the English which he could understand. In 1884, Lilah Denton was married to Colonel L. W. Lindsey with a public wedding in the Wealaka Mission chapel, so that the Indians—her people—could know how an English wedding was done. The 80 pupils besides teachers and visitors made a company of about 125 persons in attendance.

Meantime in 1883, soon after the first railroad was built into the area which was to become the new village of Tulsa, Indian Territory, Dr. R. M. Loughridge came to preach the first sermon on the front porch of the settlement store. He made the trip of about twenty miles from Wealaka Mission, although he was about seventy-five years old at that time, he rode on horseback to fill his Tulsa appointments.



Lilah D Lindsey



Prior to this time the postoffice in this part of the country was in the home of George Perryman about three miles south of the village of "Tulsey Town." J. C. Perryman who lived about ten miles south of this settlement was postmaster on the old Star route from Fort Smith west to the Sac and Fox agency, and he located the postoffice in the home of his brother George. As soon as the Reed and Perryman store was opened after the railroad came in 1882 permission was obtained to move the Tulsey postoffice to this store. Sometimes months would elapse between letters. One resident recalls riding a mule to the Perryman farm for mail and the man in charge came from the barn with two six shooters in his belt. He brooked no mail robbery.

The First Presbyterian Church was organized in Tulsa on October 5, 1885, by the Reverend W. P. Haworth, with fifteen members, all of them Indians. All members of the Wealaka Mission, living on the north side of the Arkansas River, were transferred as charter members to the Tulsa Church under an Act of the Presbytery. About this time, a mission day school was opened at Tulsa by the Presbyterian Board of Missions, with Mrs. S. J. Stonecipher, an experienced teacher from Kansas in charge assisted by Miss Ida Stephens.²

Mr. and Mrs. Lindsey had moved to Okmulgee where he engaged in construction work, and she taught school in the southeast corner room of the Creek Council House, taking the place of Miss Alice Robertson. The people of the "Tulsey" settlement sent word to Mrs. Lindsey through her local preacher that they wanted her to teach in the mission, day school there, Miss Stephens having resigned her position. The Presbytrian Home Mission Board appointed Mrs. Lindsey in 1886, and she took up her duties as teacher in the "Tulsey" mission, a one room school at the corner of what is now Fourth and Boston streets in Tulsa. The population of the village was less than 125 at this time. Mrs. Lindsey was received by letter to membership to the First Presbyterian Church here on January 16, 1887. While teaching in the mission school in 1888, she organized the first Fourth of July parade in Tulsa, and played her organ placed atop a flat topped log wagon drawn by four yoke of oxen down dusty Main Street. There were about thirteen girls riding on the float with her.

In 1889, the missionary teacher was asked to come to Coweta to help organize and teach in the government school for Indians to be opened there. Her husband thought she should undertake the work to serve her people since he was to be away from home in his construction work. Mrs. Lindsey drove to Muskogee to take a

² The article, "Educational History in and around Tulsa, Oklahoma", edited by Louise Whitham, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 (March, 1940), p. 81, gives some reminiscent notes by Mrs. Lilah D. Lindsey at the age of seventy-eight years. See *Appendix B* for a transcription of Mrs. Lindsey's notes.—Ed.

required examination for a teacher's certificate. When she arrived in town and called upon the man, he was greatly embarrassed; he told her he could not give her an examination. He advised her to go back to Coweta and commence teaching. He was one of her former pupils at Wealaka Mission school. She taught at Coweta two years. More settlers were moving to "Tulsey Town" and a school was needed though the prospective pupils were not as clean in their habits as could be desired. Some of the women sent word to Mrs. Lindsey to drive over to Tulsey to talk over the idea of opening a subscription school. She made the trip in a two wheel cart since it was easier to follow the trail and ford streams in such a vehicle. The women offered to pay her \$1 per month tuition per pupil. She agreed to the opening of the school. Meantime Mr. Lindsey had built an up-and-down frame store building located near the Frisco Railroad right-of-way at what is now Boston Avenue. His store supplies did not arrive by fall so Mrs. Lindsey opened the subscription school in this building. She bought all the hickory bottom chairs Storekeeper Hall had, about thirty in all.

The final enrollment in the subscription school was forty pupils. As the teacher in the new settlement, Mrs. Lindsey held special programs, aided the sick, officiated at funerals, called on newcomers and participated in most all of the church activities. She found time to ride horseback with other young matrons in the village.

After one year in her private school the Mission school was so crowded that the board president asked Mrs. Lindsey to teach there again, using the room in which she had taught her subscription school. She agreed. About this time she and Mr. Lindsey lived in a tent house for a short time near what later was east Third Street and Detroit Avenue in Tulsa.

When Mrs. Lindsey resigned from teaching, she entered upon another field of activity, namely civic affairs. Civil war veterans were coming to the west and there was a need for the Lucian Fairchild Post of the G.A.R. to have assistance from the women of the village. Mrs. Lindsey organized the Woman's Relief Corp as Auxiliary February 23, 1898 with thirteen charter members of which she was elected secretary. She was the moving spirit and active head of the organization with few exceptions until 1920. Many beneficial movements were inaugurated under the auspices of the Auxiliary. The members kept close affiliation with the G.A.R. Post, and were a source of courage and inspiration to the aging veterans.

Mrs. Lindsey attended about twenty G.A.R. encampments from the east to west coast and attended four receptions in the White House during Theodore Roosevelt's administration. She audited the books for the organization one year in Atlantic City, during her connection with the Auxiliary. In 1900 when the town of Tulsa had grown to 1390 population, Mrs. Lindsey headed a movement to

have a community Christmas tree. About 1902, the G.A.R. Post in Tulsa was host to the Indian Territory and Oklahoma City Territory encampments, and the meeting was held in Owen Park. Governor Ferguson of Oklahoma Territory was guest speaker. Mrs. Lindsey was also one of the organizers of the Rebecca Lodge in 1904 and served as Vice Grand Matron.

She was greatly interested in the treaties for protection of the Indians, and was especially concerned about the sale of whiskey to them. Whiskey peddlers brought liquor in boats down the river from the west toward Keystone. She wrote to a Mrs. George McDonald in Texas to come to Tulsa to organize a local Women's Christian Temperance Union. This was accomplished on November 8, 1902, with eight members and the following officers: Mrs. George Mowbray, wife of Methodist minister, President; Etta Querry, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. C. W. Kerr, wife of Presbyterian minister, Secretary; Mrs. L. D. Lindsey, Superintendent of Loyal Temperance Union. In November, 1903, she was elected president of the Tulsa Union. Weekly meetings were held at that time. In 1904, the Tulsa Union entertained the Indian Territory convention with forty-two delegates attending.

Mrs. Lindsey was very active in temperance work. She served as County president and was the last Indian Territory president of W.C.T.U. when the Oklahoma and Indian Territory organizations united in a meeting held in Muskogee after Statehood, in 1907. She edited the *Helper Magazine* during this time. Many welfare projects were promoted by the W.C.T.U. in Tulsa, its members urging the organization of a Humane society. Mrs. Lindsey met with the Tulsa City Council in 1909 as a W.C.T.U. leader to urge the appointment of a police matron. When the Council members complied, she presented the name of a woman who was ready to go to work. This is said to be the first police matron in Oklahoma. She attended several National conventions of W.C.T.U. and at the World Convention held in Boston, she was introduced as a real, native American. This same year Governor Haskell chose her as an Oklahoma delegate to the Tuberculosis Congress held in Washington, D. C. Later on when the County organization was formed she was a member of the board of directors.

One of the welfare projects of the local W.C.T.U. was the organization of the Frances Willard Home for girls. In 1917 Mrs. Lindsey wrote to Louisville, Kentucky, and invited a woman experienced in girls' work to come to Tulsa and assist them. The visitor was entertained in the home of Mrs. Richard Burkhardt a long time worker in the W.T.C.U. Mrs. Lindsey was appointed a member on the first board of this home.

Mr. Lindsey was an able business man. He promoted two additions in the southwest part of Tulsa. He and Mrs. Lindsey built a spacious two-story home on South Guthrie and this home was

open to many of the various meetings of the early organizations. Riverview School was built on land acquired from the Lindseys. They never had children to bless their home but she adopted one motherless child and gave her educational advantages, also a second girl, besides she aided many young people who needed it. Her home was one of graciousness and in it were many beautiful items including oil paintings which she had done herself. Her Creek allotment of land was near Wekiwi north of the Arkansas River, and she managed the farm work there.

In 1919 the Woman's Civic League of Tulsa was formed and she served two years as president. Many practical pieces of work were undertaken: protesting the sale of Woodward Park, improvements of Oaklawn cemetery, passing ordinance for inspector of weight and measures, flower shows and many others but the big project was the establishment of a community kitchen for which there was a real need. Mrs. Lindsey assumed leadership not only of the establishment but also management of the kitchen and advanced \$2500.00 toward location and equipment. It was successful for many years until it was taken over by the city officials. She worked tirelessly for the Spavinaw water project for Tulsa.

Mrs. Lindsey's second appointment by Governor Haskell was delegate to the National Charities and Corrections held in Richmond, Virginia. Another appointment came from Governor Lee Cruce; Governor R. L. Williams appointed her as the only woman member of the twenty-five member board of the Tulsa County Council of Defense which functioned throughout the time of World War I. She was secretary-treasurer of the Council and created and headed the Women's Division. During the Harding campaign, Mrs. Lindsey ran for State Legislature, and received nomination on the primary by a large majority. She served two years as first president of Republican Women's club of Tulsa.

When suffrage came she compiled and published a booklet on the Laws of Oklahoma pertaining to Women and Children. She helped to organize the State Highway Beautification Association in 1930, and was elected its vice president. The efforts of this group of women helped to secure the State Highway commission. In 1926 when the Frank Reed family of Tulsa created a permanent community Trust Fund for welfare purposes to be administered by a committee of seven, she was appointed to it. President Hoover appointed Mrs. Lindsey in 1927 to organize and head up the Better Homes of America project in Tulsa.

She was actively interested in the General Federation of Women's Clubs. She served the First district of O.S.F.W.C. as president in 1932. One of her favorite associations was the Tulsa Indian Women's club in which she served as second president. In 1928, Mrs. Lindsey was elected to presidency of the Tulsa City Federation of Womens' clubs.

She was also vice president of the Women's National Rivers and Harbors Congress. She had been an active member of the Tulsa Pioneer club and served as treasurer in 1923. Lilah D. Lindsey was for years an indefatigable factor in Women's Presbyterian Board of Missions in the Southwest. She held numerous positions of leadership in her church. A sketch about her was published in 1914 in *Wide West*.

With advancing years Mrs. Lindsey retired to a cottage home where she continued her writing. In 1937, the name of Lilah D. Lindsey was placed in the Oklahoma Hall of Fame with appropriate ceremonies. Complimenting her almost three score years of service to her community, one of Tulsa's pioneer merchants made her a gift of an appropriate costume including a lovely cloak to wear to the ceremonies. A party of friends accompanied her to the State Capitol.

Since she lived alone now, Mr. Lindsey having passed away years before, with her usual systematic way of living she made arrangements for her burial. She asked to have her funeral service held in the old part of her church she loved so much, and labored for many years.

The last picture to be published of this little Indian lady was in the *Tulsa Tribune* in October, 1943, showing her dancing with a cattleman at the Tulsa association of Pioneer's annual meeting held on October 2.

She became ill soon after cold weather came. More than a score of friends volunteered taking turns nursing her in the hospital. She died December 22, 1943, and was buried the day before Christmas with services in the First Presbyterian Church, and laid to rest in Rosehill Cemetery. Many notable people attended her funeral. Years later the Tulsa school board passed a resolution April 9, 1954 to honor her by changing the name of Riverview school near her old home to "Lilah D. Lindsey School."

APPENDIX A

REMINISCENCES OF LILAH D. LINDSEY*

My parents were born in Alabama of Scotch ancestry. My father, John Denton (born 1830) was Scotch and Cherokee. My mother, Susan McKellop (born 1833) was Scotch and Creek. Their parents brought them during the 30's to the Creek Nation. The McKellops settled on Blue Creek about 12 miles west of Muskogee. My uncle, Jim McKellop, had a large ranch about six miles northwest of our home. The Dentons lived near Chelsea. After their marriage, my parents lived in the Blue Springs area. I was the youngest of six; four died in infancy; one later in life.

* Transcript from *Indian Pioneer History*, Vol. 61, pages 333-338, Foreman Collection, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, typed by Mrs. Rella Looney.

My father passed away when I was three. My memory of my mother, Susan McKellop Denton, is a picture of one devoting her life to her fellow man. Gifted in nursing and healing arts she spent all her years in service to others. She died when I was sixteen. I attended the Tullahassee Mission and I remember although I was ready to enter at eight, twelve was the lowest age entrance. Augusta Robertson (sister of Alice) was my teacher.

At sixteen, I entered Highland Institute, Hillsboro Ohio. I graduated with honors in 1883, the first Creek Indian girl to finish that school. I knew only the Creek language when I entered, but the English language seemed like my mother tongue. The spring before my graduation I was appointed by the Home Mission Board of Schools at New York to teach at Wealaka (to which place the old Tullahassee Mission had been removed). From there to Coweta Mission, and then three years in the mission school at Tulsa. (I had married Col. L. W. Lindsey at Wealaká Mission in 1884).

I came to Tulsa in 1886 as a teacher at the Presbyterian Mission School, where the Cosden Building is today Fourth and Boston. I had occasion in a report I gave to count the number of people living here then by actual count there were two hundred and fifty, not families, but men, women and children. No civic pride manifested itself as cattle, horses, cows and pigs roamed the streets at will. People sat on their front "stoops," ate their watemelons, and threw the rinds to the obliging pigs in the street. There was the town-pump about half way across the street between Hall's store at northwest corner of First and Main and Archer's at northeast corner.

My greatest interest as years went on was working among the poor. A struggling starving group of people had formed a tent-town settlement near where the Sand Springs railway crosses Archer today. Deserted mothers, deserted children, the sick and the dying, were always with us. I always went in, happy and jolly, and knelt down and prayed and then still talking slipped a look into the larder, always to find it empty, though they would not tell me. Then I would turn my little horse back to town with my list of staples. From store to store I went and I only asked for one article from each store. Then loaded up with flour, beans, rice, etc., I returned to fill the larder. I was poor myself, my husband was a contractor and could not give money, but I could give my time. God gave me no children, he must have meant for me to care for those he gave others. I have taken seventeen into my home and sent them out equipped to help themselves.

Of all my activities in the past years one stands out quite distinctly, that was getting the Tulsa city commission to establish the office of police matron. Realizing from my work among the derelict women the need for this, I approached each commissioner and received his approval in advance, I even determined who was to make the motion, and who was to second it. The morning of the meeting came, and I headed my delegation of women; I remember Mrs. D. A. Wickizer was one of them. The speeches were made, the motion made, seconded, and passed and the office established. Then the question arose for much discussion as to who was to serve. I arose and introduced a woman I felt was fitted for the work and she was chosen. This was on Friday and Monday morning, Tulsa's first police matron was on the job.

I am not as active as I used to be, but it is a pleasure in these last years to find that I can still render service.

About a year ago Mrs. Phelan of Oklahoma City wrote me asking my aid in a state service. Mrs. Phelan, as you may remember, made and presented the historical quilt to Governor Marland. She wrote that she was heading a movement to have a bronze bust of Wiley Post made to be placed in the State Historical Building, and the cost would be two thousand five hundred dollars. She asked that I obtain this in small contributions; so to start I wrote a personal letter to Frank Phillips at Bartlesville, a friend and admirer of Post. Imagine my pleasure and surprise to receive a check for the entire amount.

APPENDIX B

Transcript from "Educational History in and About Tulsa, Oklahoma (1839-1939)," Edited by Louise Whitham, in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 (March, 1940), p. 70-80, typed by Mrs. Rella Looney.

"As I am a member of the Creek nation, my memory of this locality goes back to a time when there was neither postoffice nor railroad here. After completing my education in Ohio I became a teacher under the Presbyterian Mission Board in the Wealaka Indian Boarding School. They transferred me in 1886 to the Tulsa mission school which had been opened two years earlier.

"Miss Ida Stephens, a daughter of Spencer Stephens, a noted Cherokee educator, had maintained a small private school here before the mission school was opened. Mrs. S. J. Stonecipher, an experienced teacher from Kansas, had charge of the new school and Miss Stephens remained as her assistant until I took her place in 1886.

"My salary was \$40 per quarter and was paid quarterly. Seventy-five students of all ages and grades, some white, some Indian, crowded into a single room of about thirty or forty feet. We used the old double desk with an ink well in the middle. Two big heating stoves stood in opposite corners. The water pail and the lunch baskets and children's wraps were kept in a small ante-room. Many a recitation have I heard in that tiny space, for with the louder voices of the older pupils, and the shuffling of feet one could barely make out the answers of my younger pupils. I had the first four grades and heard about sixteen classes a day. Often it was four-thirty before the last ones were over. Children brought their lunches or went home during the noon hour. There were two ten minute recesses.

"I taught three years in this building, resigned, rested a year, then became Principal of the Coweta Indian Boarding School under the direction of the Creek National Council, which had many district and boarding schools among our people.

"After two years there I returned to my Tulsa home, and was invited by several families to open a private subscription school. This I did, using a new store building which Mr. Lindsey owned. By 1893 the school building, considerably enlarged, came under the direction of a village school committee. I then taught in the public schools, thus in about ten years time having had quite varied teaching experiences in Indian Mission, in white and Indian Mission, in private and public schools."

LETTERS OF CASSANDRA SAWYER LOCKWOOD: DWIGHT MISSION, 1834

*Annotated by Joseph B. Thoburn**

INTRODUCTION

Mrs. Cassandra Sawyer Lockwood, the writer of the following letters describing her journey to the Cherokee country west of the Mississippi, in 1833-4, and her experiences and observations while living at Dwight Mission, in 1834-5, was born at Henniker, New Hampshire, June 24, 1809. Her father, the Reverend Moses Sawyer, was a minister of the Congregational Church and was pastor of a congregation at Gloucester, Massachusetts, at the time of her marriage, in the autumn of 1833, to the Reverend Jesse Lockwood, who was then under appointment as a missionary to the Western Cherokees. Mrs. Lockwood died at Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1840.

Jesse Lockwood was born at North Salem, New York, November 11, 1802. Impressed with a belief that he was called to preach, he entered Williams College several years after he had attained his majority, graduating in 1830. He then entered Princeton Theological Seminary where he studied two years. The last year of his theological course was spent at the Divinity School of Yale College, whence he graduated in 1833. He then sought and secured an appointment from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, as a missionary to the Cherokee Indians then living west of the Mississippi River. Shortly before his departure for the field he was married to Miss Cassandra Sawyer, of Gloucester, Massachusetts. He arrived at Dwight Mission [in Oklahoma], January 25, 1834, and died there, July 11, following.

At the time that Mr. and Mrs. Lockwood came to Dwight Mission, the main body of the Cherokee people were living within the bounds of their old domain, east of the Mississippi River. The

* A manuscript of the transcript of the Cassandra Lockwood Letters, with an introduction and annotations by the late Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn, compiled by him about 1917, is in the J. B. Thoburn Collection of manuscript materials in the Oklahoma Historical Society. Dr. Thoburn had secured the transcript from the original Lockwood Letters in Massachusetts through the kind interest of Mr. John M. Robe who was in charge of Dwight Mission near Vian, Oklahoma. *The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* (Philadelphia) published the Cassandra Sawyer Lockwood letters with Dr. Thoburn's annotations and introduction by Charles A. Anderson, in December, 1945 (Vol. XXIII, No. 4), under the title "Journey to Indian Territory, 1833-1835," a copy of the manuscript of which had been presented to the Presbyterian Historical Society by Dr. Lloyd C. Walter of Oklahoma City. The original copy of this manuscript with Dr. Thoburn's introduction and annotations in the Oklahoma Historical Society is that used, with some added editorial notes, in presenting this reminiscent story of Mrs. Lockwood's journey to the Indian Territory and stay at Dwight Mission, to readers of *The Chronicles*.—Ed.



CASSANDRA SAWYER LOCKWOOD



Indians with whom the Lockwoods came in contact were therefore those known as the Western Cherokees. For forty-five years, from 1794 to 1839, the Western Cherokees had a separate history from that of the main body of the Cherokee tribe. The origin of the Western Cherokees or the "Cherokees West," as they were known, was told in a letter written by the Reverend Cephas Washburn by way of beginning his personal reminiscences of life among the Indians.¹

It was as follows:—

Before entering upon my personal reminiscences, it may be interesting to give some account of the first settlement of the Cherokees west of the Mississippi River and which led to the division of the tribe into the Eastern and Western Cherokees. At the close of the war of the Revolution, large numbers of royalists, called Tories by the champions of freedom and independence, took refuge among the Indian tribes. This was especially true of the royalists in South Carolina and Georgia. By the instigation of these royalists, several of the southern Indian tribes engaged in hostilities against the United States. The Cherokees were among those thus engaged, on the pretext that the citizens of the United States were intruding upon their "hunting grounds." This pretext was founded in truth. This war with the Cherokees continued until 1785, the date of the first treaty between the Cherokees and the United States government. By this treaty, the Cherokees relinquished some of their lands and the boundaries of their nation were accurately defined. In consideration of the lands ceded by this treaty, the United States stipulated to pay to the Cherokees certain annuities. The first payment under this treaty took place, I think, in 1792. All the Cherokee people were convened for this purpose at a place in East Tennessee, called "Tellico Block House." This payment went off in harmony and to the satisfaction of all the Cherokee towns; and the people started for their home in peace.

One of the Cherokee towns was in the southwest part of their country, within the limits of the present state of Alabama. The inhabitants of this town were returning from the annuity and had encamped, for the purpose of rest and to procure food by hunting, on the bank of the Tennessee River, at the upper end of the Mussel Shoals. While thus encamped, several boats, containing emigrants to Louisiana, came down the river and landed at the head of the Shoals. On board were two men named Stewart and Scott, who had goods for the purpose of traffic with the Indians through whose country they were to pass. Among the goods, there was of course, a full supply of whiskey. These men soon ascertained that the Cherokees had money and their cupidity was excited. They invited the Cherokees aboard and freely treated them with whiskey until they were all drunk. They then displayed their Indian goods, consisting mainly of beads, vermillion and other paints, and pocket mirrors in gilded frames

The result was that the Cherokees and their money were soon parted. When the fumes of the whiskey had passed off, and they were again sober, they perceived that their money was all gone and that they had nothing of real value in return for it. The chief of the party, named The Bowl, and subsequently known as General Bowls, went aboard the boats and remonstrated with Stewart and Scott. He returned all the mirrors and beads and paints, and offered to pay for the whiskey at the rate of four dollars a

¹ Rev. Cephas Washburn, A.M., *Reminiscences of the Indians* (Richmond, 1869), pp. 75-9. This rare volume has recently been edited by Hugh Park and reprinted by the *Press Argus* (Van Buren, 1955) with valuable notes.—Ed.

gallon and requested a return of the balance of the money. This offer was indignantly spurned and he was ordered off the boat. When he ascended the bank to his people and reported the refusal of his offer, they were greatly incensed, and commenced loading their rifles. The Bowl, wishing to avoid all violence and outrage, took two of the most calm and deliberate of his men with him and went aboard again to remonstrate against the fraud and warn the traders of the exasperated state of the Indians on shore. Stewart and Scott, instead of heeding his warning, seized each a boat pole and commenced an attack upon the three on board. Stewart plunged the iron socket of his pole into the breast of one of the men and killed him instantly. Scott struck another on the head with his pole and knocked him down and then threw him into the river. He either drowned or was killed by the blow on his head. The Bowl escaped unhurt to land and still tried to restrain his men, but his efforts were vain. They were exasperated beyond endurance. They fired upon Stewart and Scott, who were instantly killed. They then went aboard and killed every white man aboard the boat, saving the women, children and servants alive.

After this bloody tragedy, which is known as the "Mussel Shoals Massacre," the whole party of Cherokees went aboard the boats, descended the Tennessee, Ohio and Mississippi to the mouth of the St Francis River. There they placed all the white women and children in one boat, relinquished to them all the furniture which they claimed, granted to each of the married ladies a female servant, put on board an ample stock of provisions and four strong and faithful black men and let them descend the Mississippi to New Orleans, the place of their destination. With one of these ladies I afterwards became acquainted. At her residence I have frequently domiciled, when visiting New Orleans, and found her, though a widow, truly "a mother in Israel." She was to New Orleans what Mrs. Isabella Graham was to New York. It was from her lips that I received the foregoing particulars. She often spoke of the kindness and courtesy with which she and all the white ladies and children were treated by The Bowl and his party.

But, to return to my narrative. After the departure of the boat for New Orleans, The Bowl and his party ran the other boats, with their contents of goods, servants, etc., a few miles up the St. Francis River to await the issues of the affair. They feared that their conduct at the Mussel Shoals would be regarded by our government as a violation of the treaty of amity and as a renewal of hostility. As soon as the Massacre of Mussel Shoals was known to the Cherokees in their towns, they convened a general council and, in a memorial to the United States government, declared that they had no part in the tragedy; that they wished to be at peace with the United States, and that they would do all in their power to aid the United States in bringing them to justice. They sent to The Bowl and his party to return and submit to a trial for taking the lives of white citizens of the United States. When this whole matter was investigated by the government of the United States, the Cherokees were fully justified, and the property confiscated and declared by treaty to belong justly to the perpetrators of the "Mussel Shoals Massacre."

The course pursued by the Cherokee Council toward the refugees tended to alienate their minds from their people in the home of their fathers and made them less reluctant to remain in their new homes west of the Mississippi. Added to this, the abundance of game, the fertility of the soil and the blandness of the climate, soon made them prefer their homes here to those where they had resided in the East. Other parties, who crossed the Mississippi for the purpose of hunting and trapping, when they saw the prosperity of these original refugees, joined them. In 1812, by an arrangement of the government, they removed from the St. Francis and White rivers and settled on the Arkansas. In 1813, a considerable accession was made to their number by voluntary emigration

from the old Nation; and they became so numerous that an agent of the United States was sent to reside among them. Until the whole tribe was united west of the state of Arkansas, in 1839, they were known and treated with as the "Arkansas Cherokees," or the "Cherokee Nation West." By the treaty of Turkeytown, in 1817, the government stipulated to give the Arkansas Cherokees as much land, "acre for acre," between the Arkansas and White rivers, as they would cede of their domain in the east, besides paying to emigrants for their improvements, transport them to their new homes, subsist for twelve months after their arrival, besides other perquisites and valuable considerations. The result of this treaty was a considerable emigration from the east to the west in the years 1818 and 1819. From that time on till their union by the treaty of 1835, which was not affected, in fact, till 1839, the Arkansas Cherokees were estimated as one-third of the whole tribe. Thus I have given you a succinct account of the origin of the "Cherokee Nation West."

Mrs. Lockwood remained at Dwight Mission until the spring of 1835, at which time she returned to her home in Massachusetts that her infant son, Jesse Dwight Lockwood, might have the best of medical care. Two years later at the request of Augusta L. F. Davis in behalf of the Society for Correspondence in Ipswich Female Seminary, Mrs. Lockwood wrote several letters addressed to the "Young Ladies" of the Seminary," giving an account of her journey to the Cherokee Nation, West, and her year at Dwight Mission. These absorbingly interesting letters now are a part the early history of Oklahoma,

—Joseph B. Thoburn.

Ipswich, Jan. 25, 1838.

Mrs. Lockwood,
Respected Madam:

In behalf of the Soc. for Correspondence I tender to you our sincere thanks for the very interesting communication with which you have favored us and likewise for the aid which you have so kindly consented to render us. Wishing to secure the aid of such as feel a deep interest in the intellectual & moral condition of a lost world, we have elected you a corresponding member of our Soc. and beg you will accept. If, from time to time, you shall have an opportunity to send us a communication, you may be assured it will be read with interest and your labors appreciated & we believe you can bestow them on no community where they will do more good or be more gratefully received.

Augusta L. F. Davis,
Sec'ty.

To the Secretary of the Soc'y for Correspondence in Ipswich Fem. Sem.,

Miss Davis:

I have received your very kind note informing me of my election as a member of your Soc. & I would, in return, present the Society my grateful acknowledgments for this honor & privilege.

This token of their friendly attention awakens anew those tender and interesting associations which, since my connection with this beloved Sem., I have delighted to cherish wherever I have been & in whatever circumstances I have been placed. I am happy to communicate to the Society a simple account of the scenes through which I passed during the short period I was favored with the privilege of being a helper in the cause of Western Missions.

Respectfully,
C. S. Lockwood.

Ipswich, Feb. 1, 1838.

Saugus, Jan. 17, 1838.

Respected Young Ladies:

Cherishing an affectionate feeling toward all those connected with the Ipswich Female Seminary & having some knowledge of the design & operations of your Society, I tender you my kindest wishes & request you to accept recital of my journey to the Cherokee Nation, west of the Mississippi.

Left New York, Oct. 10, 1833, & going by the way of the Western canal and Lake Erie, reached Cincinnati without any incident occurring worthy of particular notice. At this place, went on board the "Ohioan," bound for New Orleans, with about 200 passengers. Some of these were merchants from the western states, some were people from the South who had passed the summer at the North, while others were from different places & in pursuit of different objects. Our passage down the Ohio was very agreeable. The scenery on both sides of the river afforded a rich variety & did not fail to engage the attention of the passing stranger. The boat frequently stopped at the various landings & was constantly changing her passengers, until we reached Louisville, Ken., which was on the 13th of Nov. Here the boat was detained two nights & one day; & when we started from this place, we perceived our company was quite different from that with which we landed. We now began to realize what we had often heard respecting the wickedness which prevails on board the boats plying these western waters. Vice, in her many forms, stalked forth with unblushing face & entrapped all of the unwary. Gambling was the most prominent sin & some of our number were engaged in the practice of it from morning until night, & from evening until morning. Some individuals appeared to have no other object in traveling than to practice this most alluring vice. They would decoy into their snare many who were novices in the business, by first treating them at the *bar* & then allowing them to win several times at first, which would so excite their ambition that they were able to take from them their whole property during a single evening. One of our number, who belonged in Penn., was on his way to the Creek Nation to build sawmills at the expense of the government. He was thus ensnared & cheated out of \$500 at a single game.

These wretched gamblers are termed *blacklegs* by way of reproach; such & such individuals are said to be "notorious blacklegs." Their very visage is enough to pain the heart of sensibility & a knowledge of their depravity, as exemplified in their conduct, is sufficient to lead us to exclaim, "How abominable & filthy is man who drinketh iniquity like water." O may the time speedily arrive when the banner of the Prince of Peace shall wave on the top of every boat that navigates the mighty waters!

Having passed down the Mississippi to the mouth of the White River, we were informed, one rainy Saturday evening, that we had come to the place of our landing. Here, all the passengers who were going up the Arkansaw were obliged to go on shore, while the "Ohioan" proceeded on her way to New Orleans. The bank of the river at this place we found very steep & clayey, consequently quite difficult of ascent. While ascending, my husband lost his overshoes & was not able to find them. I received the assistance of a Virginian of almost giant strength & was thus enabled to reach the top. This place of landing is called Montgomery's Point & is known to be the greatest sink of iniquity on all the shore of the Mississippi. But this is the only place where travelers can stop who leave the Miss. to go up the Arkansaw. Here is but one family & no other inhabitants are to be found for many miles in any direction. The landlord is a slaveholder & lives in a two-story log house, which is surrounded by numerous little cabins, occupied by his servants. When we arrived, we found nearly 100 persons waiting for a passage up the river, which was so low that no boat could ascend. The landlady was from home & the care of the family was committed to the servants. The next morning was the holy Sabbath but, apparently, not remembered in a suitable manner by even one of all our numerous company. The day was regarded only as a holiday. We were summoned to breakfast at 10 o'clock & I asked the servant if this was their usual breakfast hour, to which she replied, "O no, Ma'am; we had to kill a hog this morning before we could get it ready." The wretchedness of our accommodations can be better conceived than described: (& yet the expense of each individual was one dollar per day) as, for instance, they boiled the milk for coffee in an iron kettle placed over a fire out of doors. A swine, in passing along, would upset the kettle & then rubbing his nose in it & drinking all that he could, would go away, while the kettle, without being washed, was replaced & more milk poured into it—all went on again as though nothing had happened.

When our hostess returned, we found her quite a lady in her own estimation & if finery in dress & profusion of ornaments constituted a lady, she was one. But she was not able to read even the alphabet. Her principal employment and greatest happiness seemed to be in smoking a long pipe, which you would invariably see extended from her mouth, wherever you should meet her. One of her daughters was married at the age of 13 & became a widow

at 19. During our stay, she came to visit her parents with a little boy two years old. She was anxious to teach her son to "talk like a man," as she said, & she would often ask what he should tell grandma when she came home, and he said, "I'll tell her she is _____," using an expression too profane and vulgar to be written. "That is right, my boy; that is good, my son!" she would exclaim. Her brother, 10 years old, was accustomed to stand by his father's side to learn to gamble. Such is a specimen of the education of these children. Our nights at this place were never quiet but, there being more noise at one time than usual, I inquired in the morning what was the occasion of so much disturbance. This young widow told me that her father & an officer of the garrison at Fort Gibson were engaged in gambling as usual, when the officer greatly deceived her father, which so enraged him that he went to his room to get his pistols, while the officer fled to the room where his wife, with many others, was sleeping & thus his life was saved. Though the landlord would not hesitate for a moment to take the life of any man when in a passion, yet, strange as it may appear, he said he had so much regard for the wife of this officer that he desisted from his purpose when he learned his hiding place. This widow boasted of her father's magnanimity of spirit which led him to seek revenge in so noble a manner.

The burying place of this family was peculiar. Instead of the bodies being deposited in the earth, according to our custom, the coffins were enclosed in a large box, situated on the ground, & there covered with earth & clay. Over these was erected a sort of shed, covered only on the top. This & many other things about the premises bore strong marks of heathenism. But nature's gifts were strikingly rich & beautiful. In one direction from the house, and near to it, was a thin forest & hundreds of beautiful parroquets were daily seen flying from tree to tree. They resemble the parrot so perfectly that it is very difficult to trace any distinction between them. A parroquet, however, has never been taught to imitate the human voice. In view of the natural scenery of this place & the moral degradation of its inhabitants, we may appropriately adopt the descriptive language of the poet,

"Where every prospect pleases,
And only *man* is vile."

Our stay was prolonged at this place twenty-one days. At length the river rose & soon was heard the joyful exclamation, "the 'Compromise' is coming up the Mississippi!" About ten o'clock the morning after the arrival of this boat, we left Montgomery's Point, & as the mouth of the Arkansas is not navigable, we ascended the White River about three miles & then passed by way of a natural "cut-off" into the Arkansas. The difference in the appearance of the water of these rivers is very striking. The water of the White River resembles our Connecticut while that of the Arkansas is muddy

& of a reddish color. Here we were forcibly reminded of our great distance from "home, sweet home" by the difference in the appearance of all things about us. But nothing so materially affected our spirits & made us sigh for the land of our birth as the awful wickedness which was manifest in the conduct of our fellow passengers. So intent were most of them in the practice of some species of vice that they were regardless even of the groans of the dying. One of our number was a young man from Little Rock, who had been to New Orleans for his health & was now returning to his home without having derived any advantage from his tour. He gradually grew weaker & weaker until we were told that he was dying. The gamblers were requested to suspend their operations for a little time until his voice should be lost in death but all to no purpose. This was an affecting scene. Some were gambling & some came & looked upon his ghastly countenance & went away wholly unaffected, while a few remained & gazed in silence & the young man was heard to take God's name in vain just before his spirit took its final departure. His remains were speedily enclosed in a sort of coffin & the boat made to tarry half an hour while a few were employed to carry them away into the woods, having none to follow him to the grave but a few slaves who buried him.

On account of the low state of the water, we were in constant danger from snags & sandbars, with which this river abounds. Neither time nor money have been expended in clearing the Arkansaw, while very much has been employed in removing obstructions from the Mississippi & Red rivers. Our boat ran aground several times but, by increasing the pressure to a dangerous degree, we were able to proceed till we came within 75 miles of Little Rock.

I will endeavor to furnish for your next meeting some further account of my journey & some facts relative to the mission at Dwight. With respect and affection,

Your friend,
C. S. Lockwood.

Ipswich, Feb. 2, 1838.

Respected Young Ladies:

That part of my journal already communicated to you left us on board the "Compromise," in the Arkansaw River, 75 miles from Little Rock. Here, our boat grounded & the captain all the gentlemen, with nearly all the baggage [were] to be put on shore. The ladies were permitted to remain on board, while the boat put back one-fourth of a mile to make an extra effort to pass the difficulty. Hope now reigned in every breast, but how soon to be disappointed! Though she rushed through the water like a race-horse, she was stopped in her progress the moment she came upon the bar, where she groaned & trembled & finally stood still. Being now situated

in a country destitute of a road and almost without inhabitants & our own boat settled upon a sand-bar, while the water of the river was constantly falling, fear was entertained that our provisions would not be sufficient to supply all of us during the time we should be obliged to remain. Consequently, five men volunteered to go on foot through the almost pathless wilderness to Little Rock, a distance of 75 miles, to give information of our situation. Three of these arrived the fourth or fifth day, while two faltered by the way, being nearly exhausted by the effort. A guide, with four other men & as many horses as they could lead, soon came to our relief. These were, indeed, welcome visitors & arrangements were speedily made for the departure of as many of us as could be accommodated with horses. Our baggage being put into a canoe, a man & an Indian boy were employed to tow it up the river. Our guide, who was peculiar in his appearance, being apparently 25 years of age, wearing his hair long & turned upon his head, like a lady's, swung a band box upon his shoulder & with a hatchet in one hand & a sounding horn in the other, signified to us that he was ready for our departure. Consequently, fourteen of us, nine gentlemen and five ladies, bid adieu to the boat & with mingled emotions of hope & fear, started on our anticipated journey. Our guide frequently "blazed" the trees as he passed along, which is simply to cut a chip from them, benevolently designed as way-marks for other travelers. I cannot forbear to relate an incident which occurred in consequence of not understanding the term "blazed trees," as used in the western country. A clergyman, being obliged to go a considerable distance to attend public worship, was directed to follow the "blazed trees," which would not fail to conduct him to the appointed place. He wandered about a long time & when some of the congregation succeeded in finding him, he observed that he had been looking in vain for "blazed trees," supposing them to be trees which had been burned with fire.

The first day we rode through the woods, where we were constantly obliged to bow our heads to avoid the branches of the trees. We were constrained to go Indian file, our path being only wide enough for one horse at a time. We traveled all day, a distance of thirty miles, without seeing the least trace of a human habitation, but, as the sun sank in the western horizon, we came to the cabin of a Frenchman, where we were hospitably entertained during the night. Our hostess expressed joy on seeing us, as we were the first females she had seen for two years. We rose at the dawn of the day & following our guide rode pleasantly along through what we, in New England, should term a pasture, until about eleven o'clock, when we came to a stream of pure water, where we dismounted and refreshed ourselves with some provisions which we had taken with us from the boat. Several times we came to streams which were not fordable. In such cases, our guide would swim upon his horse to the opposite shore or, after having driven

his horse into the creek, would go himself upon a log which was placed over it, direct us to follow his example. In consequence of the high banks, these logs were sometimes ten feet above the water & occasionally they were so full of large knots as to render our passage upon them very difficult & dangerous. Our guide, or one of the gentlemen of our company would take in one hand a pole of sufficient length to reach the bottom of the water, & with the other, render the ladies the most important assistance. At one time, our road let us through two old saw-mills, which served as bridges, though the floors of these buildings were so time-worn as to make our passage over them perilous. Having traveled till near the close of the day & experiencing much that was new & difficult, our guide assured us that we were not far distant from the place of encampment for the night. Cheering was the thought that ere long we should rest, when suddenly a bog, or swamp, half a mile in extent, spread itself before us, which at first view, appeared utterly impassable. But, as onward had been our watchword, we dared not look behind. Our horses commenced their passage over, but could proceed only by jumping & at every repeated effort they sunk, upon an average, seven or eight inches from the surface. Though the temperature of the air was such as to require us to wrap ourselves in our cloaks, yet, after having passed the bog, our horses perspired as profusely as under the influence of a tropical sun. One of the ladies was thrown from her horse just as we reached the opposite side, caused by her horse stepping on what is called a cypress "knee," with which the swamp abounded. These swamps are considered very dangerous to pass on account of these cypress "knees," as the horse at every step is liable to have his feet caught between them and thus exposing his own life and that of his rider. Having crossed the swamp, we came into an open woodland & after riding another hour, came to a double cabin, inhabited by white people & where our guide, in coming from Little Rock, had requested that preparations might be made for us as we journeyed back with him. Some of the ladies were so exhausted as not to be able to walk into the house after alighting from their horses. One of our company, of whom I have not yet spoken, being an infant of three months, was so much bruised as to leave but little hope that it would long survive. This little one scarcely greeted us with a smile or appealed to our sympathies by crying during all the way, in consequence of taking large portions of opium, which the afflicted mother considered it necessary to administer under existing circumstances. To this expedient she resorted as the least of two evils; & I will just remark that, contrary to our expectations, the child, soon after the close of our journey, recovered from all the exposure & hardship to which it had been subjected.

A double cabin is two log houses situated near to each other & connected only by the roof. Having now entered one of these dwellings, we found ourselves once more before a good fire & as the

gentlemen confined themselves to one room, the ladies occupied the other exclusively, while the family voluntarily retired to a little hut a short distance from us. There was one bed to be shared by five of us & all, except myself, very soon sunk insensibly upon it. Being too much fatigued to sleep, or make any effort to prepare a comfortable couch, I threw myself upon an overcoat which was upon the floor, & taking a little bundle for my pillow, was seeking rest when a strange movement at the door called forth anew the almost wasted energies of my body and spirit. "What," thought I, "can that noise be?" when the door opened & my mind was relieved of its suspense by the entrance of a great dog, that immediately sprang upon the bed, exciting great fear in the minds of its occupants. He did not, however, seem to have any evil intentions, neither did he appear to regard himself as an intruder, but merely to be seeking the customary place of his nightly repose. We soon succeeded in discharging our unwelcome visitor & he gave us no further alarm, though the effects of the fright were not so soon removed.

After breakfast the next morning, being the 25th of December, we once more set forward upon our protracted journey. We soon came into a thick, wooded forest, & having proceeded less than a mile, came to another bog, which our guide said was too dangerous for all of us to pass on horseback. Now we witnessed the countenance pale with anxiety heard the voice tremulous with fearful forebodings. Several of us dismounted & having kindled a fire in the woods, remained stationary while the guide with a few of our company left us & proceeded to find a safe passage for our horses, over what I might perhaps, with some propriety, have denominated the "slough of despond." Here we tarried two hours and employed ourselves in getting something to defend our feet from the water-saturated earth, & then, while engaged in social conversation, would occasionally gaze at the tall forest trees so generally stripped of their beauty, which seemed like so many spectators of our unhappy situation. At length was heard the well-known sound of the horn, which was a signal for our departure & an assurance that our detached company had again set foot on "terra firma."

After extinguishing our fire, we walked upon felled trees about twenty rods when we came to water of such depth as to allow us to proceed no further. The man belonging to the cabin where we had passed the previous night, now drew up the boat in which he was accustomed to cross this place & directed us to enter it. This boat, or gondola, or whatever might have been its appropriate name, resembled in size & workmanship the body of a common oxcart, which led most of us to be greatly concerned for our safety. However, we obeyed orders & all succeeded in obtaining foothold in it, & as no oars or paddles could be used, the gentlemen caught hold of the trees with their hands while, at the same time, having their feet immovably fixed in the boat, they were able to propel it along till we

reached the place where the other part of the company were impatiently waiting our arrival. Here we were allowed to rejoice together & had abundant reason to say "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us."

Again we set forward with fresh courage & after riding eighteen miles, came into a public road, about three miles below Little Rock. We hailed with delight this first token of being in a region of civilization & our horses seemed not unconscious of the fact, as was manifest by their excited spirits and accelerated steps. When we approached quite near to the town, we halted and everything was adjusted to make as respectable an appearance as possible & then our faithful guide, with much self-complaisancy, soon had the happiness of introducing us to the capital of the Territory.

Some of our company had now arrived home & others separated from us, going in different directions, while my husband & myself were kindly received into a private boarding house. The fact was soon known that we were missionaries to the Cherokees & consequently we shared largely in the hospitality of Christians & accepted many invitations to visit in families, where none were hopelessly pious. One of the five who left the boat to come on foot to this place, hearing of our arrival, called upon us, and invited us to make his house our home. Though this gentleman made no pretensions to seriousness, & when on board the boat was often engaged in gambling, yet he would have been a reproof to many calling themselves Christians, by his attentions to us as missionaries, & his regular attendance at family prayers, morning and evening. Even the governor, who was a Kentuckian by birth, invited us to visit his family, where we met with a large circle of his friends & particular acquaintances, who were among the rich & fashionable of the village.^{1a} They made many inquiries respecting missions in general, thus affording Mr. Lockwood an opportunity to give them important information on a subject of such deep interest to the church & to the world.

There were at that time two religious societies in the place, one Presbyterian & one demonimated Campbellites, a sect erroneous in principle & corrupt in practice. Rev. Mr. Moore, the Presbyterian minister, welcomed Mr. Lockwood to his house & his pulpit & introduced him to many places where he was accustomed to give more private religious instruction. He appeared to be a man "diligent in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord."

There is much to interest strangers in this place but, many other flourishing villages, it is distinguished more for its gayety & ex-

^{1a} John Pope was a native of Virginia but had long been a citizen of Kentucky and had represented it in the U. S. Senate. He was governor of Arkansas from 1829 to 1835.

travagance than for its piety. One of the number who traveled with us through the wilderness was a gentleman of great wealth, & soon after our arrival at Little Rock, gave a party one Saturday evening that continued their amusements till two or three o'clock Sabbath morning, at an expense of two hundred dollars.

We tarried three weeks & then, our old friend, the "Compromise," having arrived, we bid adieu, as we supposed forever, to this pleasant place & all those friends who so kindly entertained us. Finding ourselves once more in our little state-room, we endeavored to recount the mercies we had received at the hand of our kind Heavenly Father and to seek His parental care for all time to come.

When one week had elapsed, we found we had ascended the river the distance of three hundred miles & to our great disappointment, perceived that we could move no farther, our boat being settled upon a great sand ridge. Knowing that a much smaller boat than the "Compromise" was following after us, & believing that it would find a passage over the ridge, Mr. L. hoped that we might be permitted to go on board & go up seven miles, when we should come to our destined landing place. After remaining one day, & this boat not appearing, Mr. L. started, on foot & alone, to follow the river till he should arrive at the little Indian settlement seven miles distant, where we designed to leave the boat for another mode of conveyance. Before he left, he desired me to come in the smaller boat if I should have the opportunity. When he had been gone one day and night, the smaller boat reached us & the captain willingly received me, with several belonging to the garrison at Fort Gibson. We soon passed the distance of seven miles & came to the mouth of the Salasaw,² a considerable branch of the Arkansaw. Here, for the first time, I beheld the Cherokees, the shore being lined with Indians and Negroes. The negroes were the slaves of the Indians. The men were dressed with trousers made of common striped bed-ticking & hunting shirts made of factory gingham in form of short, long gowns. They were generally without covering for the head, though some wore handkerchiefs in the form of turbans. They were much interested in viewing the boat & its passengers and were constantly talking in Cherokee, & of course, unintelligible to us. They appeared like heathen, & as I stood upon deck, gazing upon them with emotions I cannot describe, I was told this was the place where I was to go on shore. This information affected me like an electric shock. Thought I, "Can I dwell among these savages? & can I go on shore without my husband or any white person to accompany me?" But this was no time for deliberation. I was soon conducted to one of the huts & intro-

² Sallisaw Creek, the name of which is commonly supposed to be of Indian origin, was named Salaison by some of the early French traders in allusion to the fact that upon its banks a quantity of buffalo meat had been salted. The present name is therefore a corruption of the French word "salaison," meaning, "to salt" or "to season."

duced to a black woman who was the only person among them who could talk English. She said, "Your husband has been to Dwight & got one of the missionaries & gone down to the place where he left you, because you did not come before. He told me to take good care of you if you came while he was gone & so I will, Ma'am; you may stay in this room and sleep in this bed." She then left the room, & immediately after, I saw her running down to the river, leaving me quite alone. Soon the boat left the shore & then I heard the most terrific noise that ever fell upon my ears. It was the savage yell of intoxicated natives. No sound from human beings can be so hideous and frightful as the tremendous halloo-ings of drunken Indians. Trembling & alone, I saw from the open window these creatures approaching the hut where I was. I could not close the window, it being merely a little wooden door hung with leather hinges, which must be open to admit the light. They came dancing along & paused at the window & every little opening to look at me. I thought it prudent to keep still and appear as though unconscious of their manners; but I waited & sighed for the return of the black woman, as I had formerly for the return of some dear friend.

Twilight was now fast fading in the west & the noise of the inhabitants was somewhat suspended, when I heard the tramping of horses & saw through the trees the appearance of men riding. Joy & gladness filled my heart as I again beheld one whom I had seen before. Mr. Lockwood, having arrived, introduced me to Rev. Mr. Washburn, who greeted me as a father.³ It was interesting to see

³ Cephas Washburn was born at Randolph, Vermont, July 24, 1793. He graduated from the University of Vermont (Burlington), in 1817, and was ordained to the ministry at Braintree, Vermont, in June, 1818. On September 23, of the same year, he was appointed as a missionary to the Cherokee Indians by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He was assigned to mission work among the Cherokees of Arkansas, and on his way west visited the Choctaw Mission at Elliott east of the Mississippi. [For reference to Cephas Washburn's appointment to the Cherokees of Arkansas, and his stay among the Choctaws, see *History of the American Missions to the Heathen*, (Worcester, Pub. by Spooner & Howland, 1840), p. 79.] Within a year after his arrival there, he and Rev. Alfred Finney located and established a mission among the Cherokee people who had migrated to Arkansas. After interviewing the Cherokee leaders and visiting their tribal council, a site was selected for the mission within the limits of the present Pope County, Arkansas, a few miles from the site of the town of Russellville. This station was named Dwight Mission, in honor of Rev. Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College and one of the incorporators of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The missionaries then returned east of the Mississippi for their families. Mr. Washburn had been married to Miss Abigail Woodward, of his native place, October 6, 1818. He labored in the mission at Dwight until the Western Cherokees removed from Arkansas to their new country west in the Indian Territory, in 1829, when the mission with its entire staff of workers was transferred to the valley of the Sallisaw, twelve miles above the confluence of that stream with the Arkansas. With the exception of his visit to the states, in 1835, he continued to work at Dwight until he was released at his own request, in March, 1841. He made his home in Arkansas thereafter. He died at Little Rock, March 17, 1860. Some of his descendants still live in Oklahoma. Edward Payson Washburn, the Arkansas painter, was his son. (See Washburn's *Reminiscences of the Indians*, edited by Hugh Park, *op. cit.*).—Ed.

with what confidence & affection some of these tawny Cherokees gathered around him & with what smiling countenance & affectionate tones he addressed them.

Night soon spread her sombre shades over all things around us, while the pale rays of the moon now & then darted between the clouds to relieve us of its sadness. The horses having had time to rest, Mr. Washburn thought it best to proceed to Dwight, a distance of twelve miles, as two Cherokees were going who would be our guides. Accordingly we started & soon came upon prairie ground, where the high wind had nothing to obstruct its passage & which searched us most faithfully, while the cold sleet, which occasionally fell, pelted us severely & rendered our ride quite uncomfortable. Our guides traveled swiftly & as the horse I rode had been from home all day & was anxious to return, I had no difficulty in keeping near to them. The uncomfortableness of our situation set a seal upon our lips & we rode mutely along, when suddenly Mr. Washburn cried out to me, "Hold up your feet while we cross the creek," & I immediately heard the splashing of the water as the horses plunged into the stream, but I saw it not, the darkness just at this time rendering nearly all things invisible. Cold, wet & weary, I began with some solicitude to inquire how far we were from Dwight, when my good friend, Mr. Washburn exhibited his kindness of heart by trying to cheer me on my way. Soon, I saw at a distance, a cluster of lights which to me "looked lovely as hope," & as we approached nearer & nearer, they became more and more luminous & cheering, till I found myself within one of the humble dwellings of Dwight.⁴

Very respectfully,
C. S. Lockwood.

Ipswich, Feb. 9, 1939.

Respected Young Ladies:

As a corresponding member of your society, I now communicate to you some account of Dwight, a missionary station under the direction of the A.B.C.F.M. Having resided there nearly two years

⁴Dwight Mission continued to be operated by the missionaries of the American Board until it was abandoned by reason of the impending outbreak of the Civil War. Nearly thirty years later, several of the old buildings being still intact though badly in need of repair, the old mission was resuscitated and restored by the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, under the patronage and control of which it has been conducted for the benefit of Indian youth and children of the Cherokee and neighboring tribes for many years past. A place of interest at Dwight is the old Mission burial ground, in which repose the remains of a number of the missionaries and mission workers, including those of Rev. Jesse Lockwood. An interested visitor at the Dwight Mission, in the autumn of 1844, was Rev. Henry C. Benson, of the Methodist mission and school at Fort Coffee, who stopped there enroute home from Tahlequah, where he had attended the first session of the Indian Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He gave a circumstantial account of his visit in his book, "Life Among the Choctaws."

& experiencing much that was afflictive, it is to me a station of no ordinary interest. It is situated in the Cherokee Nation, in the northwest part of the state of Arkansas, & is 30 miles northwest of Fort Smith and 30 miles southeast of Fort Gibson. These are the nearest white settlements. About eight years since, the Cherokees were ordered by the government to remove from the place now called "Old Dwight," & to go westward about 200 miles to their present location.⁵ This was to them a severe trial. Having dwelt there about 12 years, they had in possession comfortable houses, cultivated fields & fruit trees, besides mills & various other conveniences pertaining to civilized life. And there was their grave-yard, regularly laid out, surrounded with a white picket fence, in which was deposited the remains of many of their dear friends. When the news first arrived that they must once more leave their homes forever, their hearts sunk within them. The missionaries having followed them from Georgia, were unwilling now to forsake in the time of trial & consequently resolved to go where they should go & abide where they should abide. But Rev. Alfred Finney survived the hardships of removing only one week & then his happy spirit took its abode "where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest."⁶

The mission family at the new station consists of missionaries, assistant missionaries, teachers and their children, Indians & negroes; the whole number amounting to about 100 persons. The negroes are slaves, belonging to people in the white settlements. The missionaries always endeavor to contract with the masters so that the slaves shall receive the reward of their labor & thus be able to buy their liberty. Many have consequently been relieved from bondage & some have become decidedly pious. The mission family dwell in many small houses & not in one large building as some have supposed. The houses are built of hewn logs, containing two rooms of common size on the floor & a garret where an adult may stand erect in the center. There is one large house, called the "store-house," two stories high, where the supplies of the American Board are deposited & all the corn & groceries which are produced from any quarter. Rev. Mr. Washburn is the oldest missionary & a man rich in faith & "always abounding in the work of the Lord." He occupies, with his wife and children, a two-story house with several

⁵ The Western Cherokees moved from Arkansas to the new reservation in the Indian Territory in compliance with the terms of a treaty made with the United States by their chiefs and head men at the City of Washington, on May 6, 1828.

⁶ Alfred Finney was born at Harvard, Mass., in 1790. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1815, subsequently entering the ministry. In 1819, he was appointed as a missionary to the Cherokees in Arkansas, and on his way west stayed among the Choctaws at Eliot Mission in Mississippi before traveling on to Arkansas. He married Susanna Washburn, sister of Rev. Cephas Washburn, with whom he labored in the establishment and operation of Dwight Mission. His death occurred June 13, 1829. Mrs. Finney died in January, 1833, a year before the arrival of Rev. Jesse Lockwood and wife. Reference to Alfred Finney is found in *Reminiscences of the Indians*, Washburn reprint (1955), *op. cit.*—Ed.

small rooms. Some of these are reserved for company, such as missionaries from other stations, people from the Forts, Cherokees who come to visit their children & any people who may be directed that way. Miss Stetson, who has the care of the girls out of school, lives in a one-story house with several rooms on the floor, where the little Indian girls sleep with no other accomodation than a blanket in which to wrap themselves as they lie down upon the floor. This is their accustomed mode of sleeping at home & they prefer this way at home. A piazza connects the house occupied by Miss Stetson with the one which contains the girls' school-room & which is likewise used for evening prayer meetings. Mr. Asa Hitchcock,⁷ teacher of the boys, occupies a house with several rooms which affords sleeping places for about fifty boys. A short distance from this house is a commodious school house for the boys, which is also used for public worship on the Sabbath. The house which contains the dining hall and kitchen is much longer than any other house, though it presents a front similar to the dwelling houses. This, together with the storehouse & eight other dwelling houses, surrounds about an acre of ground of an oval form, which is beautifully interspersed with locust trees, affording a most refreshing shade during the sultry days of summer. In this enclosure, the little Indian boys bound as nimbly as deer, among the trees, playing their merriest pranks during the recess of school & during the hour of setting sun, before the bell rings for evening prayers. The teacher of these boys remarked that they were perhaps as easily governed as the same number of white children could be; being tractable, he expected they would, if continued in school, become quite proficient in many branches of an English education.

The missionaries endeavor to exhibit to the poor Indians, as far as practicable, all that is lovely and excellent in the different departments of family management & therefore consider it necessary for all to eat at the same table. Each family have in their own house some accomodations for cooking on a limited scale but expediency allows them to enjoy this privilege only when sickness requires it.

There is so much sameness in the business of every day that perhaps a knowledge of the routine of one day will give an idea of the manner of spending time generally at this station. During the summer, the bell (which is the size of a common wash bowl) rings at half past six o'clock in the morning, when all the different families surround the domestic altar for prayers in their own dwellings. At seven, the bell rings for breakfast, when all are seen bending their

⁷ Asa Hitchcock was born at Homer, New York, August 3, 1800, and entered the service of the American Board, November 18, 1823. He arrived at Dwight Mission, May 4, 1824. His first wife was Sophronia Sumner, of Spencer, Mass., who died at Dwight, March 3, 1827. He spent the greater part of the years 1828-9 absent on leave in New England, during the course of which time he was married to Miss Lucy Morse, of Spencer, Mass. He was released from the service of the Mission Board, in June, 1839, but returned in November following.

steps with much decorum, to the dining hall, where each one takes his accustomed seat with as little confusion as possible. Six tables are so arranged as to accomodate all the family. These are covered with cotton sheeting & the knives & forks are placed in order around them, while the cups & saucers & earthen plates for the adults & tin dippers & pewter plates for the children are placed together at the head of the tables. At the first table sit Rev. Mr. Washburn & wife with their five children and Cherokee boys. At the second table, Mr. Orr, farmer with his wife & one child, Mr. Gray, mechanic, & the white men who are hired to labor on the farm & any strangers who may happen to be present. At the third table, Mr. Asa Hitchcock, teacher, wife & five children, Miss Esther Smith, teacher & Cherokee boys. At the fourth table, Mr. Jacob Hitchcock, steward, wife & five children, Miss Thrall, teacher of the missionaries' children exclusively, three orphan children of Rev. Mr. Finney & Cherokee boys. At the fifth table, Mrs. Joslyn, teacher, with her infant, Miss Stetson, teacher, Maria, an Osage captive 18 years old,^{7a} & Cherokee girls. At the sixth table, Rev. Mr. Lockwood & myself with Cherokee girls. Maria is a very interesting character, is decidedly pious & renders important service to the teachers in their schools. She is very anxious respecting her own nation & prays abundantly for them.

In 1833 & 1834 so severe a drought was experienced at this station that only three bushels of potatoes were raised from thirty bushels that were planted. A garden of an acre and a half was filled with a variety of seeds & every possible way of watering it artificially was practiced, but all in vain, not a single root was fit for cooking. Consequently, our meals afforded but little change. The breakfast invariably consisted of coffee, with a little milk & occasionally sugar or molasses, hominy & cornbread, with meat, which is always stewed. Benches surround the table as substitutes for chairs. All being seated, a signal for silence is given, when a blessing is implored & the food is eaten with great stillness. Before rising from the table, a portion of Scripture is read, accompanied with some practical observations & then all kneel while prayer is offered to our Father in Heaven, who is no respecter of persons. After prayers, all go to their respective employments. The boys, under the care of the superintendent, go to the fields. The girls, except those who remain in the kitchen, return with Miss Stetson to her house, where she instructs them in reading & spelling, & etc., & in various kinds of needlework, both plain & ornamental. The ladies of the mission alternate in the duty of remaining in the dining hall & kitchen to instruct the girls in the various branches of domestic affairs. At nine o'clock, the bell calls the children from labor to prepare for school. At twelve o'clock, they are dismissed from study & allowed to amuse themselves till dinner. The boys play in one grove & the

^{7a} The story of Maria Pettit who was captured by the Cherokees from the Osages, in battle about 1820, is told by the Rev. Cephas Washburn in *Cherokees West*, pp. 71-4, published by Emmet Starr.—Ed.

girls in another. They are never permitted to play together. At half past twelve the dinner is ready, when each one takes his seat as in the morning. This meal consists simply of some kind of meat, generally pork, sometimes beef & occasionally venison, cold cornbread & cold water. The water was indeed a luxury, being of excellent quality. Two or three times a year, a suet or rice pudding was afforded, which was, of course, a great rarity. Once our breakfast table was furnished with a dish of doughnuts sufficient to allow one to each individual. It was amusing to see the children receive & preserve their doughnuts as the children of the East would some foreign luxury. The Cherokee children are very healthy & eat their food with great avidity, sometimes practicing, without liberty, their former mode of living—using their fingers instead of knives & forks. After dinner, all go to their different employments till summoned to supper. This meal consists of black tea, without sugar, hommony with little milk, cold cornbread & occasionally butter. After supper & evening prayers, the children enjoy some innocent recreation while the adults are engaged in finishing the work of the day. Thus substantially passes each day of the week except the Sabbath. During the forenoon of this holy day, public worship is performed in English for the more particular benefit of the mission family. By the time of the close of the services, the Cherokees from a distance arrive, so that the house in the afternoon is nearly filled with Indians & the services in the afternoon are conducted in the native language. The missionary requests a native to read a hymn in Cherokee, in which all present unite in singing. The effect of the music of these native voices upon one unaccustomed to hear them is very peculiar. After singing, a Cherokee is called upon to pray, & no one ever declines & though I could not understand a single sentence, my mind was solemnly impressed by their devotional & earnest manner. The sermon was preached in English & interpreted to the people. Some of the pious Cherokees always make addresses after the sermon & it is exceedingly interesting to see with what earnestness these converted heathen speak to their relatives & friends. Much difficulty is found in giving instruction through an interpreter. It is very desirable to have a pious interpreter lest a different coloring be given to the truth from what is intended. Much more time is consumed in giving instruction in this way & the force of the sentences is often lost by the unnatural pauses which necessarily occur. Notwithstanding these difficulties, it is sometimes enough to kindle all the tender emotions of the soul to witness the tearful eye, or the happy expression of the features exhibited by many of these comparatively untaught worshippers, when hearing about the way of salvation through a crucified Redeemer. The fixed attention & the stillness of the people, during their services on the Sabbath, would be a reproof to many more enlightened congregations. The Sabbath school is held immediately after the afternoon service, when those who know nothing of our language, retire to an adjacent cabin to enjoy a little season of prayer.

There is a temperance society among them which consists of 300 members, male and female. The government of the United States employed, in 1834, a Mr. Armstrong⁸ as their agent to conduct the Indian affairs of that nation and he was faithful to his trust. He sought with vigilance to find out the white men who would venture to sell ardent spirits in the nation, for this was contrary to the law & awfully injurious to the people. He surprised one man by presenting himself before him while he was employed in the very act and compelled him to suffer the penalty of the law which was to pay \$500.00. Mr. Armstrong was not a pious man but was much interested in the religious improvement of the people and therefore the anti-temperance part of the nation threatened to take his life and burn Dwight. Occasionally, some drunken Indians would prowl about our dwellings in the darkness of midnight and greatly disturb our rest but were never suffered essentially to injure us. Mr. Armstrong died about two years since.

During my residence at Dwight, it was my privilege to go with Mr. Mr. Lockwood into the Osage country, a distance of 75 miles. We went on horse-back, being the only mode of conveyance which could be afforded us. On our way, we called & spent the night at the log cabin of the chief who held up the scalps of the parents of the

⁸ Ex-Governor Montfort Stokes, of North Carolina, was agent for the Cherokee tribe in 1834-5, Major Armstrong being superintendent of Indian affairs for all the civilized tribes and agent for the Choctaw tribe. Francis William Armstrong was a Virginian by birth and a citizen of Tennessee. He entered the military service as captain of the 24th Infantry, in March, 1812. Fifteen months later he was promoted to major. He was discharged at the end of the war but, within six months was commissioned captain of the 7th Infantry. After remaining in the army for many years, he retired from it and accepted a position as tribal agent of the Choctaws. He selected as the site for his agency a place about fifteen miles from Fort Smith, which was named "Skullyville," by the Choctaws from the Choctaw word "iskali" meaning a small-coin, hence the name of the village meant literally "money town," in allusion to the fact that the Indians were paid their annuities there. Skullyville was located about a mile northeast of the present town of Spiro, in LeFlore County. Major Armstrong was prominent in the affairs of the Indian Territory until his death in 1835, which occurred during the administration of President Jackson. He was a brother of Gen. Robert Armstrong, of Nashville, Tennessee, who was a close friend and advisor of General Andrew Jackson, and who was consul general in Great Britain during the Jackson Administration. Major Armstrong was the father of Gen. Frank C. Armstrong, who was born at Skullyville and who was employed in the Indian Service during both of the Cleveland administrations. After the death of Francis Armstrong, his brother, William Armstrong, served as Agent to the Choctaws for many years. (See Carolyn Thomas Foreman. "The Armstrongs of Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, Nos. 3 and 4, 1951—Ed.)

⁹ The story of the finding of the little Osage girl as a captive in the hands of a band of Cherokee warriors by Rev. Elias Cornelius, in 1818, and of her subsequent ransom and release from captivity and her adoption into the family of Rev. William Chamberlain, the missionary, is contained in a letter written by Rev. Cephas Washburn and printed by Dr. Emmet Starr in *Cherokee's West*, pp. 68-71. Mr. Washburn states that the story of the life of this captive Osage child, who was named Lydia Carter in honor of the benefactress who furnished the money for her ransom, was made the subject of a small volume written by Rev. Elias Cornelius and published for the use of Sunday schools.

little Osage captive⁹ to Dr. Cornelius in answer to his question "Where are her parents?" This chief has now laid aside his tomahawk & scalping knife & seeks to promote peace & love among his brethern. He appears to be a truly devoted Christian. His wife & a daughter, now 25 years of age, likewise belong to that part of the church stationed at Fairfield, under the care of Dr. Palmer. His second daughter is expecting to come to Cincinnati to enter Miss Beecher's¹⁰ school. She had attended the school at Fairfield station a long time & had a strong desire to make greater advances in knowledge.^{10a} Her father's English name is Price. He is wealthy, owns cultivated fields, oxen, cows & sheep & had commenced building a two-story framed house. His wife & daughters have learned to spin, weave, knit, & sew & dress entirely in the fashion of civilized life. The great change in this family is the result of missionary labor, attended by the blessing of God.

Reserving an account of a visit to the Osage country, together with a few additional facts connected with the station at Dwight, for another communication, I subscribe myself.

Your friend,
C. S. Lockwood.

Ipswich, March 7, 1839.

Respected Young Ladies:—

In accordance with the proposition in my last communication, I will now give some further account of my wanderings in the West & thus conclude the history of my mission to the dear Cherokees.

After leaving Mr. Price's we encountered a severe storm of hail, with violent wind, which compelled me to tie my bonnet to my arm & cover my head with a small shawl, tied closely under my chin. Having arrived at Fort Gibson, we found some acquaintances to welcome us & were surprised to see so much elegance, & even splendor, within the precincts of log houses. Here were hundreds of military characters, from nearly every portion of the Union, stationed for the defense of the western frontier. Many of these people were surrounded with their families but we could not learn that one pious

¹⁰ Catherine Esther Beecher was a daughter of Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher. She conducted a school for young women at Cincinnati, in 1832-3-4, her father being president of Lane Theological Seminary, in that city, at that time. Her sister Harriet, who subsequently married Prof. Calvin E. Stowe and became famous as the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," was her assistant. The school was discontinued because of Miss Beecher's health, in 1834.

^{10a} The Cherokee mission called "Mulberry," established in Arkansas in 1828, was renamed "Fairfield" and moved to the Indian Territory a year later. The site of Fairfield Mission is near Lyons, in Adair County.—George H. Shirk, "Fairfield Mission Revisited," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol XXIX, No. 4 (Winter, 1951-2), pp. 503-05; and Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Fairfield Mission," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1949-50), pp. 373-88.—Ed.

person was to be found among them. Recently, some of the officers have requested Rev. Mr. Washburn, of Dwight, to come & preach to them & perform other religious exercises. It is a comforting thought that the hearts of all men are in the hands of the Lord & that he can turn them as the rivers of water are turned.

Rode five miles & came to Mr. Woodruff's, in the Creek Nation, where we had the happiness of meeting Rev. Mr. Fleming, classmate of Mr. Lockwood, who has been successful in reducing the Creek language to writing.¹¹ But, owing to the hostility of the greater portion of the tribe to the advancement of Christianity among the, this mission is now abandoned. Mr. Woodruff was formerly connected with the Osage Mission as a mechanic & catechist, but is now employed by the government as a blacksmith among the Creek & exerts a pious influence over them. Mrs. Woodruff is an excellent lady, a native of Connecticut, & does much to recommend the religion of Jesus to the poor Indian women. She is often distributing to the necessity of others & is, indeed, "given to hospitality." During our visit here, some Osages who were going to Fort Gibson to receive some articles appropriated to them by the government, called & refreshed themselves with food given them by Mrs. Woodruff. She received them with a smiling countenance & treated them very kindly, though her language to them was only the language of signs. The appearance of these tall savages was quite startling to me. Upon entering the house, they sat upon the floor, & had no covering about their persons except a buffalo robe which they immediately loosed about the neck and suffered to fall from the shoulders. Their heads were shaven entirely smooth except a spot on top, where the hair was about six inches in length. All the men & boys among the Osages wear their hair in this manner & it is a standing challenge, signifying "scalp me if you can."

¹¹ John Fleming was born in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, in 1806. He graduated from New Jersey College, in 1826, and from Princeton Theological Seminary, in 1832. He was appointed as a missionary to the Creek Indians by the American Board shortly afterward and was married to Miss Margaret Scudder, of Kingston, New Jersey. They arrived in the Creek Nation, Jan. 2, 1833. He applied himself to the study of the Creek language, and a small pamphlet primer of twenty-four pages, *The Child's Book*, issued from the Park Hill press (temporarily installed at Union Mission), in 1835, is the first publication printed in Oklahoma, and now a rare item in the Oklahoma Historical Society's collections. Because of charges which were fabricated and preferred against him by that element of the tribe which was opposed to the introduction of Christianity, Mr. Fleming was expelled from the Creek Nation by the tribal agent, Sept. 9, 1835. He left the service of the American Board, March 7, 1837. He was assigned to a mission at Green Bay, Wis., the following year but it was soon discontinued and he returned to Pennsylvania, where he engaged in preaching until 1851, when he removed to LaSalle County, Ill., and took up home mission work, following it for many years. In 1876, he moved to Ayr, Neb., where his last years were spent and where he died in October, 1894.

Having bid adieu to Mr. Woodruff & family, rode twenty-two miles & came to Union Station, in the Osage country.¹² This was all on prairie ground,¹³ with no habitation in view & but one springling of trees. Here we found Rev. Mr. Vaill,¹⁴ Rev. Mr. Montgomery¹⁵ & Mr. Redfield,¹⁶ with their families, in good health. They gave us a most welcome reception. A visit from Christian friends in these wilds of the prairie & forest is much more valued than where an interchange of thought & labor may, at almost any time, be enjoyed. With this mission family we had some precious seasons of religious

¹² Union Mission was established by the United Missionary Society (which was under the joint patronage and control of the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed denominations), about seven miles southeast of the site of the town of Chouteau, in Mayes County, Oklahoma, in 1820. In May, 1819, the Society sent Rev. Epaphrus Chapman and Mr. Job P. Vinal on an exploring tour west of the Mississippi, with the intention of locating a mission among the Cherokees of Arkansas. Finding that the American Board had planned to occupy that field, they proceeded on up the river and selected the site near the Grand (or Neosho) River for the establishment of a mission among the Osages. Mr. Vinal died in Arkansas on the way back to the states. The staff of the new mission, consisting of Rev. Epaphrus Chapman, of East Haddam, Conn., Rev. William F. Vaill, of North Guilford, Conn., Dr. Marcus Palmer, of Greenwich, Conn., Mrs. Chapman, Mrs. Vaill, six farmers and mechanics and six unmarried female assistants, left New York, April 20, 1820, to go to the new station by way of the Ohio, Mississippi and Arkansas Rivers. The usual delays were experienced, especially in ascending the Arkansas, and there was much sickness among the members of the party, two of the young women (Miss Lines and Miss Hoyt) died on the way. Mr. Chapman died at the Union Mission, June 7, 1825. Two years later the work of the United Missionary Society was consolidated with that of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission, under which it was continued until 1836, the Osage Indians having abandoned that section in the mean time.

¹³ It is interesting to note that the site of Union Mission and most of the surrounding region is now covered with a heavy growth of timber. (The site of Union Mission now has a large marker erected by The Oklahoma Press Association, 1935.—Ed.)

¹⁴ William F. Vaill was born at Hadlyme, Conn., June 7, 1783; he graduated from Yale College, in 1806. He was appointed as a missionary of the United Mission from North Guilford, Conn., and left for his station, April 14, 1820, arriving at Union, Feb. 18, 1821. He was absent from his station, visiting in the states, March, 1826—April, 1827. Mrs. Vaill was Miss Asenath Selden, of Hadlyme, Conn. Mr. and Mrs. Vaill were released from their service as missionaries, Sept. 30, 1834.

¹⁵ William B. Montgomery was born at Danville, Penn. He left New York, March 7, and arrived at Harmony (a mission station of the United Missionary Society, on the Osage River, in Western Missouri), Aug. 8, 1821; was transferred to Union Mission, in Sept. 1830; died at Hopefield (a sub-station of the Union Mission situated a few miles distant, near the mouth of Chouteau Creek), August 17, 1834. Nothing is known concerning his scholastic training or the date of his ordination as a minister. Mrs. Montgomery was Miss Harriet Woolley, of New York City, who came to Harmony at the same time Mr. Montgomery did. They were married in October, 1827. She died at Union Mission, Sept. 5, 1834.

¹⁶ Abraham Redfield was born in Orange County, New York, in 1795. He was a member of the original Union Mission party, which left New York, in April, 1820, and arrived at the station on Grand River nearly ten months later. Mrs. Redfield was Miss Phebe Beach, who, like her husband, was a member of the original mission staff. They were married less than a month after their arrival at Union Mission—March 10, 1821. Mr. and Mrs. Redfield terminated their service with the mission station at Union, March 29, 1836.

conversation & prayer. We talked of the uncertainty of life & the importance of the errand upon which we were sent to these native tribes. While here, I could not but observe how these Christians loved one another. But, with the poet I will say, "O blindness to the future, kindly given!" for, 'ere the summer's sun was set, the arrows from the quiver of death flew thick amid this missionary circle & took from it Rev. Mr. Montgomery & Wife, Mrs. Vaill, four children of Mr. Redfield & my dear Mr. Lockwood. Mr. Montgomery died of cholera, after twelve hours' sickness. Soon after his attack, he said, "I shall not recover from this disease & oh, can it be that, in less than twenty-four hours, I shall be walking the streets of the New Jerusalem! I know in whom I have believed." He left messages of love to his missionary brethren & died in triumph. Mrs. Montgomery died soon after her husband. Her disease was bilious remittent fever. Two days before her death, she said, "I do not expect to live but, in my Savior have I trusted in life & in him I trust in death. 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.' 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints.' "

The character of the poor Osages differs materially from the Cherokees. They are many degrees lower in the scale of human beings. Their habitations, which they term lodges, are constructed of poles driven in the ground in the form of a circle & united at the top. They are covered with skins. They sit upon the ground or floor & all of one family eat out of the same great dish, & with spoons made of horn. During the summer, they wander from place to place & kill deer & buffalo, which they dry & carry to their villages as the source of their winter subsistence. When stationary, they have a kettle of meat & corn continually over the fire, which is the common way of preparing their food, & of this, they expect all strangers to partake as a token of friendship. In conformity with this practice, Mr. Lockwood was obliged to taste food fifteen times in one day. Agriculture is but little practiced among them. The influence of the white traders over them is baneful. They have caused great quantities of whiskey to be deposited in the nation & the poor natives have consequently contracted such a love for it that they will make any effort to obtain it. The use of this article is the greatest obstacle to the cultivation of agricultural pursuits that can be named. The women perform more labor than the men; they bring home all game taken in hunting & take, entirely, the care of preserving the skins, drying the meat, & making the lodges for the night. Owing to

the influence of the white traders & the effects of whiskey & the uncertainty of their future location, the missionary stations among them are at present discontinued (1838).¹⁷ Oh how long shall the Indians receive wrong and outrage from those who ought to be their protectors & who should administer to their temporal and spiritual wants.

Having returned to Dwight & resumed my occupation, I was more deeply impressed than ever before of the powers & excellence of the religion of Jesus. It is the Bible, that book of books, which causes the difference between savage and Christian nations. In 1832, a Bible Society was formed at Dwight, which has since become auxiliary to the American Bible Society.¹⁸ I attended its second annual meeting, at which more than fifty Cherokee members were present. Some came a distance of twenty miles. It was delightful to see how cheerfully the members contributed for its support. A box of books in the Cherokee language had previously been received from the "old Nation," consisting of the New Testament as far as Romans, a small hymn book & a tract, entitled "Poor old Sarah."¹⁹ These were distributed among the members. A strong desire was manifested to possess the whole Bible & one hundred dollars were subscribed for the accomplishment of the object.

A few sabbaths after this meeting, Rev. Mr. Washburn went to a distant part of the Nation to preach. Just before he came to the house where he wished to stop, he saw a good old Cherokee woman, whom we uniformly called "Aunt Peggy," coming to meet him. Tears were streaming down her furrowed cheeks but, from the tones of her voice & the animation of her countenance, he perceived they

¹⁷ By the terms of a treaty entered into between the chiefs and head men of the Great and Little Osage tribes and Gen. William Clark, superintendent of Indian affairs, as commissioner for the United States, at St. Louis, Mo., June 2, 1825, the Osages ceded all of their lands in Missouri and in what is now the state of Oklahoma to the United States. Three years later, the government had entered into a treaty with the Western Cherokees, then living in Arkansas, whereby the last mentioned tribe was granted a reservation including the region then occupied by the Osages immediately north of the Arkansas River and including the valleys of the lower Grand and Verdigris rivers. Of the four missions among the Osages, therefore, two were in Missouri and two were in Oklahoma and all were in territory that had been relinquished to the government. The real reason for the abandonment of these four missions was that the Osages had removed from the vicinity of each of them, as they were all settled on a new reservation in Kansas.

¹⁸ The Cherokee Bible Society continued to maintain its organization and active operation for many years, the notice of its annual meeting being published in *The Cherokee Advocate*, after the establishment of that journal, in 1844.

¹⁹ The tract entitled "Poor Sarah" was written by Elias Boudinot, of the Cherokee Nation, in 1833. Another edition was printed at Park Hill, in 1843. Boudinot was an active assistant of Rev. Dr. Samuel A. Worcester in his work of translating the Bible and other books into the Cherokee language, both in the old Cherokee country east of the Mississippi, and after they came to their new homes in the west, until the career of this gifted young Cherokee came to an untimely end as the result of assassination, at Park Hill, June 22, 1839.

were tears of joy & not of grief. She held up her books before him and then clasped them to her bosom & exclaimed, "Oh glad! glad! happy! love 'em more than gold!" She then wrapped them in a new silk handkerchief to preserve them from all harm. What a reproof to the multitudes who, amid the effulgence of gospel light, suffer their Bible to gather dust rather than be thus carefully wrapped & attentively read.²⁰

About five years since, a Female Benevolent Society was formed at Dwight. The principal object was to raise money to print tracts in the Cherokee language. The members met once in four weeks & some, who attended punctually, came a distance of eight miles. The meeting was opened during the forenoon & continued the remainder of the day. The older women & the children made quilts, while the larger girls, belonging to Miss Stetson's school, made needle-books, pin-cushions, braided pretty mats, beside a variety of other fancy work. Some specimens of their work upon lace & muslin would reflect honor upon any young lady. These articles always found ready sale among the Cherokees. Not one of these Cherokee women could speak or understand English & the girls of the school would act as interpreters. Miss Stetson was the directress of the society & was greatly beloved by all the members. Those members who came some distance always took tea at her house & appeared to enjoy it highly. Miss Stetson is still at Dwight & has been connected with the Mission for sixteen years.²¹ Her self-denial and efforts are great & her reward will be glorious.

Many have been the difficulties & dangers attendant on the introduction & progress of civilization & Christianity among the Cherokees. But the experience of every successive year has given additional proofs of the expediency & importance of the undertaking. Who, that has heard of Catherine Brown, her noble powers of mind & her sweet submission to Jesus, & who contemplates her now sainted spirit in glory, will say it is in vain to teach the Indians?

Various changes have occurred in the mission family at Dwight since 1834. Mr. Gray, mechanic, has died,²² & Mr. Copeland has

²⁰ The Cherokee alphabet, which had been devised or improvised by Sequoyah, or George Guess, consisted of eighty-six characters and these represented every possible syllable in the Cherokee language. Any Cherokee, even though in middle or later life, who could master this syllabic alphabet, was able to read anything printed in his own language without further instruction. The invention and introduction of this alphabet, therefore, had the effect of raising almost the entire tribe to the plane of literacy within a very short period, and was greatly appreciated by the Cherokee people.

²¹ Ellen Stetson was born at Kingston, Mass., March 30, 1783. She was accepted as a mission teacher by the American Board in 1821, leaving her home for the field, Sept. 1 and arriving at Dwight, Dec. 22, 1821. She died at Dwight Mission after twenty-seven years of service. (See Ethel McMillan, "Women Teachers in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1 [Spring, 1949]).—Ed.

²² Aaron Gray was born at Oxford, N. Y. in 1798. He joined the mission staff at Dwight, April 16, 1829. He left the service in May, 1831, but returned in November, 1833. He died at Dwight, June 25, 1837.

taken his place. Miss Thrall, who was connected with the Mission twelve years, has likewise died,²³ & Miss Smith does what she can to supply her place.²⁴ Dr. Dodge has been transferred to this station from the Creek Mission.²⁵ Before Mr. Grey died, he invented a plan for a mill to grind corn by horse-power, & the plan has since, by actual experiment, proved of great advantage. Previous to this, a man was constantly employed in grinding with a hand-mill. A printing press is now established at Park Hill, twenty miles from Dwight, which, of course, affords many facilities for accomplishing important purposes connected with that mission. An almanac in the Cherokee language, adapted to the latitude & meridian of Fort Gibson, has been printed the last year & another has been prepared for the present year, and, likewise, a small geography, with an atlas.

During the summer of 1834, the climate of Arkansas was unusually hot & unhealthy. The rivers were so low, for several months, that no boats could ascend or descend & therefore the usual supplies from the American Board could not be received at our station. Much sickness was visited upon us that summer & as we were nearly out of medicine & entirely destitute of flour & various other indispensables in sickness, our trials were greatly augmented. Mr. Lockwood was taken ill of a fever the first day of July but, for seven days, was not considered dangerous, Mr. Washburn came on the morning of the eighth day to visit him, acting as his physician, & Mr. Lockwood said to him he felt so comfortable he hoped to be able to go with him, in a few days, to an appointed place to examine some candidates for admission to the Church. But, ah, how soon was the scene changed! Before noon, his case assumed a most dangerous aspect. His pain became violent, delirium seized his mind & he, at times, was in possession of full strength & then perfectly prostrate. His disease soon baffled all attempts to restore him. But the Lord graciously gave him some sweet intervals of relief from pain & delirium & then his soul was in perfect peace, because it was stayed on God. During these intervals he talked with all who came near to him, & many Cherokees were constantly waiting about the house, hoping to have an opportunity to hear something from his lips once more. Most ardently did he love the work in

²³ Cynthia Thrall was born at Windsor, Conn., Dec. 13, 1791. She was appointed as a mission teacher by the American Board, in 1825, leaving for the field March 10, and arriving at Dwight, July 28, of that year. She died at Dwight, Aug. 17, 1834.

²⁴ Esther Smith was born at Harrisburg, N. Y., July 25, 1806, and was appointed from Royalton, Ver., as a mission teacher, arriving at Dwight, Dec. 22, 1832.

²⁵ Roderick L. Dodge, M.D., was born at Hartland, Ver., Sept. 7, 1808. He was accepted for service as a medical missionary by the American Board, in 1834, and arrived in the Creek Nation, Dec. 24, of that year; he was subsequently transferred to Dwight Mission. He was absent on leave, in the states, from Oct. 1837, to Oct. 1838. August 22, 1838, he was married to Miss Emeline Bradshaw, of Montpelier, Ver. He left the service of the Missoin Board, Sept. 24, 1839.

which he was engaged & in delirium would often say (as he was accustomed to do in health), "Come, let us have a little season of prayer."

On the third day after his violent attack he was thought to be expiring & Mr. Washburn made some remark to him to that effect & the dear man, summoning all the energies of life, whispered, "Dear brother, do you think me dying? Oh tell me, if you do, for death has no terrors to me." Mr. Washburn said, "Dear brother, are you ready to go now?" And then, with a countenance so happy as cannot be expressed, he again whispered, "Oh yes, I am willing to leave the work of the Lord, for He is not impoverished when His servants are taken away. I am ready to part from my dearest . . . & the dear Cherokees to go & dwell forever with my Redeemer." After resting from any effort for some minutes, he said, "Sing, Oh sing," and feebly repeated

"Come sound His praise abroad
And hymns of glory sing."

He sweetly slept in Jesus, on the morning of the 12th of July, 1834. I forbear to say more of him, during his sickness, for I dare not trust the overflowings of my heart.

He was accustomed, when in health, to observe many days of fasting & prayer. For several years, he constantly observed, in this manner, the first Monday of every month & some day immediately preceding a communion Sabbath. He put a very high estimate upon days of fasting & prayer & he has told me they were to be accounted among his most precious religious privileges. One circumstance, relating to his practice when in health, perhaps, I ought not to omit to mention. For several years he never dined on Mondays, but spent the dining hour alone to contemplate death and eternity.

About two months after Mr. Lockwood's decease, Heaven gave me a little son, for whom I felt, & still feel the tenderest solicitude. I gave him the name of his father & the station where he was born. During the winter I had the entire care of the three orphan daughters of Rev. Mr. Finney, little Emily Requa, of the Osage Mission, three years old, beside my own little charge. These children were very pleasant to me & delighted to contribute to their happiness. Some relatives of Mrs. Finney, who was sister to Mr. Washburn, gave information to the Mission family that if the orphans could be sent their places of residence they would adopt them into their families & be as fathers and mothers to them. Accordingly, arrangements were made to effect this very desirable purpose & in connection with the plan adopted, Providence remarkably opened the way for me to return to my friends & native home. The first of April (1835) was the specified time for us to take our departure.

Mrs. Palmer of Fairfield Station,²⁶ 15 miles from Dwight, rapidly declining of consumption, asked & received permission of the American Board to accompany us to Ohio, once more to see her friends, & die. Mr. Washburn had a son, seventeen years of age, whom he wished to bring to the East, to finish his education. Two sprightly Cherokees, nieces of Catherine Brown, being anxious to enjoy the privileges of Miss Beecher's school at Cincinnati, wished to journey under Mr. Washburn's protection.²⁷ These young ladies had good minds, & for several years, had been members of the Mission school & made good improvement. In addition to the individuals named, a young gentleman from Baltimore & one from Cincinnati, who had been into the Nation both for pleasure & business, formed our traveling party.

When the day of our departure arrived, except Woodward Washburn & he, for a time, could not be found. Diligent search being made, he was found, out the cane-brake & said he could not endure such a separation from his dear mother. His father still insisted upon his yielding to the plan, conscious that his greatest good required it. The son, at length, obeyed. Our horses were now brought together & we were soon seated upon them. An experienced Cherokee woman carried my little feeble babe in a swing suspended from her neck. Hardly could I endure to bid farewell forever to that loved spot where was deposited the earthly remains of him whose memory I delight to cherish, and where, a few months previous, I verily expected to spend my days. But after our baggage, which was conveyed in an ox wagon, had been gone an hour or two, we started, fourteen of us, for Fort Smith, thirty miles distant.

Before we were told a steamboat was there, which could receive us as passengers. But, on our arrival, we were greatly disappointed to learn that no boat was known to be within two hundred miles of that place. The river was so low that large boats could not ply upon its waters. The interesting question, "What shall we do?" almost involuntarily escaped the lips of nearly all our company. Anxiety was depicted in every countenance. But the decision was finally made that we go forward. Accordingly, two very long log canoes were purchased & fastened together in some peculiar way & two low chairs placed in them, one for Mrs. Palmer & one for myself and infant. We purchased as much provision as we judged our necessities might require & went to take our places in the canoes amid

²⁶ Clarissa Johnson, a native of Colchester, Ver., was one of the pioneer missionaries at Union Mission, having arrived there with the first party, Feb. 18, 1821. She was married to Dr. Marcus Palmer, of Fairfield Mission, August 24, 1824, he being then stationed at Harmony Mission, on the Osage River. They were transferred to Fairfield in Nov., 1829. She died at Granville, Ohio, Sept. 8, 1834.

²⁷ Catherine Brown was accounted the first Cherokee convert at Brainerd Mission, in East Tennessee, in 1817. She continued to be actively identified with the mission and its work until her death, July 11, 1823. Her brother David, who was educated at Cornwall, Connecticut, migrated to the West and was an interpreter at Dwight, in 1824.

a crowd of spectators. The gentlemen rowed by turns & we went twelve miles the first day. At night we went on shore and passed the hours of darkness in a log cabin of only one room. This room we shared in common with the family & rose at dawn to proceed on our journey. This was our manner of traveling for three days & then we were stationary for several hours, our gentlemen being too weary to row any longer. At two different times our situation was rendered quite perilous from passing over the rapids but, through one difficulty & another, the Lord was our helper. At length we succeeded in obtaining two athletic strangers to assist in propelling our canoes. We now passed on quite rapidly & at the close of the fifth day went on shore as usual, making the stereotyped inquiry, "What can you tell us about a steamboat being near?" We were informed that the "Arkansaw" was fast aground twelve miles below that place. This information, under other circumstances, would probably have given us pain rather than pleasure but, having passed along more than two hundred miles & not having heard a sound indicating that we were even in the region of steamboats, the knowledge that a boat, though fast fixed in the sand, was near, was a relief from the tedium of knowing nothing respecting one. The hours of this night seemed to tarry, for our situation was such that some were crying & others constantly talking & sleep & rest was the portion of no one of our number. During the night I realized more than ever the force of David's comparison when he said, "My soul waiteth for the Lord more than they that watch for the morning; I say more than they that watch for the morning."

Jesse Dwight was at this time so feeble that I tried every morning & evening to be thankful that he was still alive & that I had not been called to bury his little emaciated frame amid the wilds of the West. About eight o'clock in the morning we came up to the "Arkansaw" & were informed by some person on board that the "Neosho" was within ten miles of us & that the captain was expecting to start for the Mississippi that forenoon. Hope now inspired our almost discouraged hearts & we proceeded with the greatest possible speed, & about noon, one of our party cried out, in ecstasy, "A steamboat! A steamboat!" It was the "Neosho" & our men called aloud for them to stop for us & we soon came along side. The interregation was immediately made, "Can you take us all on board?" and the reply was, "Oh yes!" & we were transferred to the board & took a last view of the canoes which had conveyed us so far on our way, a distance of 250 miles. Mr. Washburn inquired of the captain how soon he was going to move off, when the captain remarked, that they were all ready to go at seven or eight in the morning but, some how or other, he could not tell what was the matter, but they could not push off & "the Lord only knows when we shall go." But in less time than half an hour after we were all comfortably situated in this commodious boat, she moved from her mooring as if by magic. But it was, in fact, the providence of God which caused her de-

tention until we, His unworthy subjects, could reach her & then it was the same Divine hand which loosed her & bade her go free. For this unmerited mercy, we endeavored to render praise & thanksgiving to Him who is the author of all good.

The exposure & fatigue of the journey thus far had reduced Mrs. Palmer so much that she was obliged to remain in her berth most of the time until her arrival in Cincinnati. At this city we parted from her & the dear Cherokee young ladies. Mrs. Palmer lived till August & then her spirit left its tabernacle of clay & I doubt not, ascended to inhabit the mansions prepared for it in Heaven.

“Oh! sweet abode of peace & love
Where pilgrims, freed from toil, are blest!”

Having proceeded to New York, I was welcomed to the family of Brother Lockwood, while our excellent friend, Rev. Mr. Washburn,²⁸ accompanied the dear orphans to Vermont. It was painful to my heart to separate from these beloved children but they were pleased with the idea of soon meeting new relatives & finding new homes. From New York, I went to Boston, where I met my parents & rejoiced to see their faces once more. I arrived at my father's house, June 2, 1835. When I left New England for the far Southwest, I believed I bid farewell, forever while on earth, to my native home & the friends I loved so well. But an overruling Providence permitted me soon to return, but with such a wounded heart as time can never heal. May I now, & in all future time be enabled

“In all my ways to acknowledge God
And form my will to His.”

Respectfully, your friend,
C. S. Lockwood.

APPENDIX

Copy of a letter written by Rev. Mr. Washburn to Mrs. Lockwood's father upon the death of her husband.

Dwight, July 17, 1834.

Rev. Moses Sawyer,

Dear Brother:

I write at the request of your daughter, Mrs. Lockwood. It has pleased her covenant God & Father to subject her faith to trial in the furnace of affliction. Her dear partner, the husband of her youth has gone to his everlasting rest. He died on the 11th inst. after an illness of twelve days. His health had been very good since his arrival in the country, with the exception of very slight indisposition in a few instances, until the last Sabbath in June, when he was attacked with the disease of which he died.

²⁸ See *Appendix* for letters of the Rev. Cephas Washburn relating to the Rev. Jesse Lockwood.—Ed.

His attack was considered, both by himself and all of us, as mild & we cherished the hope it would yield to the timely exhibition of medicines. The disease was a bilious remittent fever, which is unusually prevalent at this time. For some time after his attack, medicines did not seem to operate well or to afford the relief which was expected, but still his disease assumed no alarming aspect. On Monday, the eighth instant, he seemed much better & expressed the confident expectation that he would be able to accompany me on Thursday to a meeting eight miles distant, to aid in the examination of young converts for admission to the church. In the afternoon of that day his fever rose again but not so as to be alarming. On Tuesday, he still appeared better & we all thought, as he did himself, that he was convalescent. Late in the afternoon, his symptoms exhibited a great change & we became alarmed. His nervous system became greatly agitated. About ten o'clock a general collapse of the system took place, his extremities became cold & his whole frame was pouring off a most profuse perspiration. His mind now wandered. His recollection seemed very impaired, the power of the will over the thoughts seemed suspended, but he had little or none of the symptoms of delirium. There was no raving, no violence. The most active means were employed to restore the active energies of the system but proved unavailing. His distress was very great till within a few hours before his death. About three o'clock on the morning of Thursday, the 11th, he sank most sweetly to rest. Thus, my dear Sir, closed the short missionary career of your beloved son-in-law & thus, we doubt not, closed the last conflict with sin & the last pang of sorrow with that excellent young man. Dr. Lockwood had endeared himself very much to all this family & to all the Cherokee brethren. It may truly be said of him, "An excellent spirit was in him." For a short time previous to his last illness, he had seemed particularly engaged in the cause of religion. He indicated an eminent measure of holy affections & was specially earnest & faithful in his exertions & prayers to excite us all to come up to the same standard of religious feeling & action. We have never seen the reality & loveliness of the Christian temper more happily illustrated than it was by him. During all his sickness he manifested a most happy frame of mind. His spirit was most sweetly subdued & in all things he showed the submission of a little child. He often said, "It is sweet to lie passive in His hand." No one could see him & witness his spirit & not be reminded of what the Psalmist said, "My soul is even as a weaned child." He was pre-eminently a man of prayer. In his sickness he was much engaged in the exercise of this precious privilege. The great subject of his prayers, even in his sickness, was "Zion." After his mind began to wander, he often said, "Let us pray for Zion. Let us have a little season of prayer for Zion." He lived & labored & prayed under the constraining influence of the love of Christ, & he felt & spoke & prayed about the great subjects of salvation & damnation in the light of eternity. When he spoke of the things which GOD has laid up for those who love Him, he seemed to be standing on the heights of the heavenly Zion, & when he spoke of the dangers of the wicked, he seemed to be standing on the very bank of the eternal pit. Oh, how often he wept for poor, perishing sinners. After his sickness, he spoke with great calmness of death. His hope was clear & strong. Willing to leave his work & the Lord's cause on earth, willing to leave his "dear 'Cassie'" as he called his beloved partner, willing to leave all & go, as he doubted not, to be forever with the Lord.

His death is a great loss to this family & to the Cherokees. We feel it deeply. The Providence which was bereaved us is dark. Our hopes, that Brother Lockwood would labor long & be extensively blessed as the instrument of saving the dear Cherokees, are dashed. We know that Providence is not impoverished. GOD is not dependent upon instruments & He can raise up such as He pleases & His work requires. We would say, good is the will of the Lord & we will be admonished to work while

it is day. For dear Brother Lockwood we cannot mourn. His end was peace, & in view of it, we seem to hear the voice from Heaven saying, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth, yea, sayeth the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors & their works do follow them." These words afforded us consolation at the funeral of the dear brother, which was attended in the afternoon of the day on which he died.

But you will enquire, "How is it with our beloved daughter in these scenes of trial & deep affliction?" She feels, most intensely feels, but she is submissive & the Lord has not only sustained & comforted her, but caused her to profit from His chastening rod. I think she regards this trial of her faith as a proof of the Lord's love to her soul & that she is precious in His sight. Though she feels the heat of the furnace, she sees her Redeemer sitting by & knows he is interested for her & will not leave her to sustain any injury from the purifying process to which He has seen to subject her. Already, I trust, the trial has revived the Savior's image in her soul & I doubt not she will come out as gold, purged from dross & alloy, more precious to the Savior than before & better prepared to serve Him & advance His cause. Her affliction has come upon her unexpectedly & under circumstances tenderly trying, but she knows that the Lord has done it & that He knows all her circumstances & she says "The will of the Lord be done." She would not wish to alter what her Lord has appointed. She has the tender sympathies of all the family & of many of the dear Cherokees. It will be a pleasure for us to do all we can for her. But we know we cannot heal this wide breach; therefore, we rejoice to bear her in the arms of faith before the mercy seat of her & our GOD & Savior. We also remember & pray for her relatives & those of her dear departed husband.

As this death had wrought such desolation in the house where Br. & Sr. L. had resided, we have invited her to reside in our family. And now, dear Br. and Sister Sawyer, I have told you all this tale of sorrow & methinks I hear you say, "It is well." "The Lord gave & the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." Do not be anxious about your daughter. She is in the Lord's hands & they are better than yours. The Lord also careth for her. She is precious in His eyes. Commend her, therefore, to Him & quietly leave her in His hands. When bearing her case before GOD, you will not forget to pray for us & this dear people. I commend you to the GOD of all consolation & subscribe myself.

Your Brother in the Gospel,

C. Washburn

Letter to the students of Princeton Theological Seminary, concerning Rev. Mr. Lockwood, written by Rev. Mr. Washburn, at their request.

The following notices were obtained from Mrs. Lockwood & from a private journal kept by Mr. Lockwood.

Mr. Lockwood was born in North Salem, Westchester County, N. Y., Nov. 11, 1802. His parents were pious & early instructed him in the doctrines of religion & labored to bring him up in the fear of the Lord. He was the youngest of his parents' children, the son of their old age, & from this circumstance was indulged in childhood in many things which, in more mature age, he found had been hurtful to him. From the age of four or five years up to the time at which he dated his conversion to GOD, he had many serious & painful reflections about the welfare of his soul.

When he was about eight or ten, the reading of the biography of some little children who died in the Lord was the means of exciting in his mind very strong & painful convictions of sin.

These convictions, after a season, were stifled & he became thoughtless & hardened in the way of sin & even addicted to some gross immoralities, particularly to profaneness. In this state of moral insensibility he continued till the spring of 1821. At that time, the piety & prayerfulness of a youthful associate led him again to consider his ways. He was again the subject of distressing convictions of his guilt in the sight of a holy God & of his danger of losing his soul. During this season, he commenced the practice of secret prayer, in which he persevered for some months, but then he first became irregular in the practice & finally discontinued it wholly. In the spring of 1822, his father was removed by death. This affliction was very deeply felt & was the means of renewing his convictions again for a season, but it was only for a season, for he soon again became thoughtless &, as he says, "grew worse than ever." This state of indifference continued till the autumn of 1824. At this time, the Holy Spirit returned with greater power than ever. His convictions were very clear & his distress very pungent. He now resolved to make the salvation of his soul the great object, "to seek first the Kingdom of GOD." He felt a great fear of every object & pursuit which might divert his attention from the great concern of Salvation. He declined an offer of entering into a lucrative business, under the conviction that, if he did not obtain religion before he went into business for himself, he never should obtain it. He was in a state of mind to forsake all else that he might obtain the "good part which should never be taken from him."

The precise time of his conversion he was never able to designate, but he began to hope sometime in the summer of 1825. Some of the exercises of his mind during that summer he expresses as follows: "I used to spend much of my vacant time in meditation & prayer, but I dare not indulge a hope & hardly dare ask for mercy, I felt so condemned for slighting my former convictions. I felt that I richly deserved the eternal wrath of GOD. It seemed like solemn mockery for me to promise that I would obey Him, when He had seen so many instances of my perjury. I now felt assured that I had a deceitful heart & though I had a faint hope of having passed from death unto life, I feared that I was deceiving myself." He continued in this state of trembling hope, jealous of his heart for some weeks, still determined to "strive," to "agonize" that he might "enter the strait gate," for, as he expressed it, I was sure that this was the last call." In autumn, his hope became clear & more joyful & he united with the Presbyterian Church, in Lamington, New Jersey. Immediately after he became a joyful participator of the Christian's hope, Mr. Lockwood became deeply interested for the salvation of his fellow men. His prayers, his example, & as he had opportunity, his faithful direct efforts, manifested that it was his heart's desire for perishing men that they might be saved. His mind became intensely interested about the question of his duty to prepare for the sacred ministry. He had a very humble view of his talents & of his piety & a very deep sense of the greatness of the minister's work & the fearfulness of his responsibilities. With these impressions he often remarked that it looked like absurd presumption for him to look forward to such a work. At other times, when he looked up & saw the fields, "white already to the harvest," & the inquiry was made, "By whom shall I send?" he was ready to respond, "Here am I, send me." After long, serious & prayerful consideration of the subject & consulting those whom he considered capable & disposed to give wise & disinterested advice on the subject, he made up his mind to seek the requisite qualifications for the Christian ministry.

He pursued his studied preparatory to entering college at an academy on Long Island. He graduated from Williams College, in 1830. Very soon

after leaving college, Mr. Lockwood commenced his theological studies at the Seminary at Princeton, N. J., where he spent two years & then removed to the Theological Seminary connected with Yale College. Mr. L. has left the most ample testimony of the elevated piety while pursuing his theological studies. His private journal is a record of a mind deeply imbued with feelings of devotion & heavenly-mindedness. Many are the proofs there of the most unaffected humility & self-aborrence before GOD—or ardent longings after holiness & of unreserved consecration to GOD. With him, seasons of private fasting & prayer were very frequent. In reading over his private records of these seasons, the statement of his reasons for fasting & humiliation, the expressions of deep self-aborrence & of ardent aspirations after holiness, I have often been reminded of Brainerd & Martin & Payson. In comparing the religious exercises of Mr. L. with those of Brainerd, I have been led to observe one point in which it seems to me there is a marked difference & a difference decidedly in favor of Mr. Lockwood. I refer to what may be termed the cheerfulness of Mr. L.'s piety. Along with expressions of deepest self-aborrence, & the most vivid sense of divine purity, there never escapes the slightest token of despondency. He seemed ever to cherish the abiding faith of the power & readiness of Christ to save to the uttermost all who would come & every development of the plague of his own heart became a fresh inducement for a new & full application to the "fountain opened for sin & uncleanness." No man was ever more conscientious in seeking & pursuing the path of duty & no man of my acquaintance delighted more in doing the will of GOD & denying himself to follow Christ, yet he has left no expression in his private journal that his religious peace & comfort were founded on his faithfulness in this respect. He looked for all in Christ. Christ was his justification & sanctification; his hope, his joy. Christ was his all. He never seemed to perform duty for the sake of his own comfort, but because it was the will of his beloved Master.

As an example of self-denial, Mr. Lockwood was worthy of imitation. He boarded himself while in the Theological Seminary. His reasons for this measure are thus stated by himself: "That I may practice self-denial & thus prepare myself for humble living, be able to give more for charitable purposes & preserve my health by eating to live rather than living to eat." He had found himself under strong temptation to indulge his appetite to excess by having business set before him & he resorted to the measure of boarding himself to avoid the temptation. A fellow student of Mr. L. has told me of the plainness of his fare & of his great abstemiousness. He first supposed it was practised as a matter of economy in consequence of his straightened circumstances as to funds, but he afterwards found Mr. L.'s charities to be more & greater than those of many of his fellow students who had far more ample resources. Before Mr. L. entered upon his missionary labors, he made a number of journeys of considerable extent. He seldom took a horse or availed himself of a public conveyance, but generally travelled on foot. His motives were to save money for the Lord & to invigorate his health. He denied himself of tea, coffee & sugar. His drink with his meals was cold water or milk.

Previous to completing his theological studies, Mr. L. was appointed a missionary of the American Board to the Cherokees of Arkansas. Shortly after leaving the Seminary, he was ordained by a presbytery on Long Island (the same body which had shortly before ordained him to preach) & was married to Miss Cassandra Sawyer, a daughter of Rev. Moses Sawyer, of Gloucester, Mass. He commenced his journey towards the field of his future labors in Oct. 1833, & reached this station on the last day of January. He soon won the confidence & love of all the family & all the Cherokees. He entered upon his missionary work with great ardour & devotedness. It is a great loss to us & to the Cherokees. To Him, we do not doubt, but it is infinite gain. I think I never saw so lovely an

exhibition of the mind that was in Christ as was given by that dear brother. His attainments in piety were very far above the ordinary standard of even ministerial or missionary piety. He was a most lovely example of meekness, humility, benevolence & conscientiousness. It was a painful pleasure to be with him in his sickness. A spirit so subdued & lamb-like I never witnessed. He was indeed ripe for Heaven & we doubt not he is now resting & will rest forever with the Lord.

With fraternal salutations, I am

Yours in the Gospel,

C. Washburn,

Dwight, Oct. 29, 1834.

THE LOST CHEROKEE TREATY

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

A treaty which was made with the Cherokee Indians by Daniel Smith and Return Jonathan Meigs on October 24, 1804, was not proclaimed until May 17, 1824. In some manner this treaty disappeared and nothing was known of it until the matter was brought to the attention of the officers of the United States government by the Indians. A vast amount of correspondence resulted in which Ex-president Thomas Jefferson, President James Monroe, Secretary of War James C. Calhoun, General Henry Dearborn, Thomas L. M'Kenney, John M'Kee, Charles Cutts and the Cherokee delegates John Ross, George Lowery, Major Ridge and Elijah Hicks participated.

The Second Session of the Eighteenth Congress issued a document entitled: "*Message from the President of the United States Transmitting a Copy of Instructions under which The Articles of a Treaty with the Cherokee Indians were formed, by Daniel Smith¹ and R. J. Meigs,² Acting Commissioners of the United States, at Tellico, on the 24th of October, 1804; with copies of all other Correspondence or other Documents relating to that Instrument. December 27, 1824. Referred to the Committee of Ways and Means. Washington: Printed by Gales & Seaton, 1824.*"

¹ See *Appendix* for biographical sketch of Daniel Smith.

² During the Revolutionary War Return J. Meigs marched with Arnold through the forests of Maine and Canada to the attack on Quebec in 1775. He was appointed Cherokee superintendent May 15, 1801.—Charles C. Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians," *Fifth Annual Report, 1883-84* (Washington, 1887), note 2, p. 231.

Return J. Meigs was commissioned on June 3, 1802, to superintend a new survey of Cherokee territory. He was also concerned in the controversy about the land that had been given to Chief Doublehead. Meigs served as one of the commissioners to the treaty of September 11, 1807. (Royce, *op. cit.*, 181, 191-2, 194). In 1813 Colonel Meigs was ordered to report to the Cherokees in Arkansas and on his arrival he wrote Governor Clark of the havoc wrought by whites on the game in the country belonging to the Indians.—Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1926), p. 28. Meigs died at his post January 28, 1823, after about twenty years in the service as Cherokee agent.—Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers* (Norman, 1936), p. 35, note 36.

From the War Department on April 4, 1804, Secretary Dearborn³ wrote to R. J. Meigs and Daniel Smith:
Gentlemen:

The President of the United States having appointed you Commissioners for holding a treaty or conference with such of the Chief men of the Cherokee Nation of Indians, as may be designated by the nation for that purpose, you will please take such measures for opening said conference, and at such time and place, as you shall judge expedient, and when a meeting of the parties shall have been effected, you will pursue such measures as in your opinion are best calculated to obtain such cessions of lands claimed by said nation, within the limits of the state of Tennessee, Kentucky or Georgia, as can be done on reasonable terms, more especially the land situated between East and West Tennessee, and the land near Currahee mountain, including the settlement of Col. Wafford and the other white inhabitants, within his immediate neighborhood.

The commissioners were authorized to pay the Cherokees not exceeding three thousand dollars for cessions in Tennessee and Kentucky, "together with a reasonable annual stipend, not exceeding three thousand dollars. For lands in Col. Wafford's settlement and other white inhabitants not to exceed five thousand dollars, with the annual stipend of not more than one thousand dollars"

General Smith addressed a long letter to Secretary Dearborn from Southwest⁴ Point on October 31, 1804, in which he wrote that it had been decided it would be best to hold their meetings at Tellico where the Indians were to assemble on October 10, to receive their annuity for that year. Propositions were made to the Indians for cessions of land, but they were only successful in obtaining the lands called Wafford's settlement near Currahee Mountain.

³ Henry Dearborn, fifth secretary of war, was born in New Hampshire February 23, 1751. He became a practicing physician in 1772, but becoming convinced that it was only a matter of a short time before his country must be defended at the point of the sword, he organized a military company and from then his life was devoted to the service of the United States. He became distinguished at the battle of Bunker Hill, followed Arnold on the march against Quebec and fought brilliantly all through the Revolution. He allied himself with the political party of Thomas Jefferson and was appointed by him as secretary of war, which position he held for eight years. He died June 6, 1829.—L. D. Ingersoll, *A History of the War Department* (Washington, 1880), pp. 432-38. For the military service of General Dearborn see Frances B. Heitman, *Historical Register of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), Vol. I, p. 363.

⁴ Indian raids were continuing in the autumn of 1792 and Governor Blount ordered out the militia under General John Sevier who made his headquarters at the mouth of Clinch River; he erected a blockhouse and stockade and called it Souhwest Point.—J. P. Brown, *Old Frontiers* (Kingsport, Tennessee, 1938), p. 372.

The United States' Factor, Mr. Hooker, at Tellico, for goods to the amount of \$3640.33; the balance, \$1539.66, Mr. James Vann⁶ assumed to pay which was very satisfactory to the Cherokees. Vann was to be reimbursed within sixty days. Two persons with two Cherokee Chiefs were empowered to run the lines, and report with a plat and remarks concerning the ceded land.

The Cherokees were next urged to make cessions of the lands lying between East and West Tennessee and Smith wrote: "The best informed among them, and who are in favor of their advancement in useful improvements, are in favor of the cession, as, by lessening the quantity of their wild lands, they will gradually be drawn from the hunting life." The young chiefs were opposed to selling land and the principal chiefs had apparently agreed, "as they say, to let the young men know, and see, that they are not competent to conduct business without them"

Colonel Return J. Meigs wrote the Secretary of War from Highawassee Garrison August 25, 1812, that the citizens of Georgia were continuing to intrude on the Indian lands, in fact they had reached the margin of the Chattahoochee River:

Within the tract now intruded on, lies the tract known by the name of Wafford's Settlement, once laid out four miles wide, and a little less than twenty-four miles long; but the settlers there having complained that Wafford's settlement ought to have been extended so far southwest along the line of the state as to cover a plantation early made by a man named Vickory, the Cherokees, in order to remove this complaint, of their motion, extended the boundary line ten miles the same width, so as to cover the plantation of Vickory, making Wafford's settlement now thirty-four miles long, by four in width.

On January 19, 1824, the members of the Cherokee delegation addressed a letter to the President of the United States in which they wrote:

Father: Permit us to add and call your attention to a treaty, which was entered into between the Cherokee Nation and Daniel Smith and Return J. Meigs, commissioners duly authorized by the then President (Mr. Jefferson) of the United States, on the 24th October, 1804, for a tract of land in the state of Georgia, known by the name of Wafford's Settlement, for which cession the nation was to receive one thousand dollars annually. For reasons not fairly known to us, this treaty was not ratified, but the United States kept possession of the land, thereby depriving the nation from receiving the equivalent for which it was sold; as this treaty was duly authorized and solemnly entered into, and the United States received

⁵ James Vann was a wealthy halfbreed Scot-Cherokee. His handsome home on Chicamauga Creek in North Georgia is still standing. In 1801 he gave a home to the Moravian missionaries Abraham Steiner and Gottlieb Byhan while they were building the mission at Spring Place. The Georgia legislature has recently appropriated \$30,000 to restore the Vann house near Dalton, Georgia, as a historical site. Considering that the Cherokees were driven from their homes at the point of the bayonet; that they were appropriated by whites who had no claim to them, it appears ironical that the State of Georgia, at this late date, should wish to preserve this house as a monument to a man whom they made an outcast.

the land which they had treated for, we conceive it but just, that the Cherokees should now receive the equivalent for which they sold the land. Therefore, we hope our present Father, the President, and the Senate of the United States, will reconsider the subject, and ratify the aforesaid treaty.

Secretary of War John C. Calhoun replied to the Cherokee delegation on February 6, 1824:

The records of this department have been examined, and no information can be found in relation to the treaty,⁶ to which you have called the attention of the President. Among the treaties with the Cherokee nation, there are two negotiated at Tellico,⁷ on the 25th and 27th October, 1805, by Co. Meigs and Daniel Smith, as the Commissioners of the United States, both of which were ratified during the succeeding session of Congress.⁸

The treaty of October 27, 1805, between the United States and the Cherokees was made up of four articles in which the Indians ceded more land and granted free use of a road through their country for the carriage of the mail. The Cherokees were to be paid the sum of sixteen hundred dollars, or merchandise, at their option, within ninety days.⁹

On February 13, 1824, the Cherokee delegates in the city of Washington wrote to Secretary of War Calhoun they regretted that no information had been found in relation to the treaty to which they had called the attention of the President:

⁶ A note appended to the above letter states: "Sometime after this letter was written, a copy of the treaty referred to by the Cherokee delegation, with a copy of the communication from Daniel Smith, one of the Commissioners by whom it was concluded, (which is among the papers herewith, marked C.) was accidentally found in a bundle of old miscellaneous papers."

⁷ Tellico, the name of several Cherokee settlements at different periods, viz: Great Tellico, at Tellico Plains, on the Tellico River, Monroe County, Tennessee; Little Tellico, on Tellico Creek about ten miles below Franklin, in Macon County, North Carolina; a town on Valley River, about five miles above Murphy, Cherokee County, North Carolina; and Tahlequah which became the capital of the Cherokee Nation in the Indian Territory in 1839.—Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians* (Washington, 1912), Pt. 2, p. 726; Brown, *op. cit.*, states it was probably a town of refuge, or peace town, p. 545.

⁸ The treaty made October 25, 1805, consisted of five articles in which cessions of land were made by the Cherokees for which they were paid "Three thousand dollars in valuable merchandise, and eleven thousand dollars within ninety days after the ratification of the treaty, and also an annuity of three thousand dollars. . . But so much of the said eleven thousand dollars, as the said Cherokees may agree to accept in useful articles of, and machines for, agriculture and manufactures, shall be paid in those articles, at their option." This treaty was proclaimed April 24, 1806.

⁹ Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1903), Vol. 2, pp. 60, 61; John P. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 451. The commissioners of the United States were R. J. Meigs, James Robertson and Daniel Smith. James Robertson was among the first settlers at Watauga. When he was a young man he became dissatisfied with the political conditions in North Carolina and wishing for better conditions for himself and his family he removed to Watauga early in 1796. By his bravery and frankness with the Indians he became a marked man between both the whites and Indians. After the treaty of Long Island in 1777, he was sent as agent to the Cherokees. He was a representative in the North Carolina General Assembly from the Cumberland settlement. For interesting accounts of James Robertson consult "Indian Affairs", *American State Papers*, Vol. 1 to 3; Theodore Roosevelt, *Winning of the West* (New York, 1906).

We would therefore beg leave to lay before the President, through you, the *treaty*; and the accompanying documents will show, that, previous to the cession of this tract of land, by this treaty, that many white families had intruded on it, and, in consequence thereof orders for their removal had been issued by the Government and, the officers to whom the orders were given, interposed in behalf of the intruders, so far as to appeal to the liberality and humanity of the Cherokees, to suspend their removal, until they should have secured their crops, and the agent in like manner introducing similar recommendations, the Cherokees hesitated not to grant the privilege . . . such was the course pursued, time after time, for the indulgence of those intruders, until the negotiations which was brought about for the purchase of that tract of country effected by the treaty of 1804, which is herewith submitted.

We have full assurance for the justness of our application, that there will be no hesitation in the Honorable body composing the Senate and the Executive chair in the ratification of the treaty. Colonel John M'Kee, one of the witnesses to this treaty, is now a Representative in Congress from Alabama, who no doubt can testify to its authenticity; you will moreover discover from the extract of Colonel Meigs' letter to Mr. William Eustis, (the Secretary of War) that the Cherokees, in the spirit of reconciliation, and in order to appease the minds of the intruders, actually permitted more lands to be surveyed than was included under the cession of this treaty; so that their homes and farms might be covered . . . such are the facts in relation to this treaty"

With respect, &c.

John Ross,
George Lowery,
Major Ridge
Elijah Hicks.

Thomas L. McKenney wrote "To the Hon. Secretary of War" on April 15, 1824, as follows:

Sir: I have the honor, in obedience to your order . . . to lay before you the facts and circumstances, connected with the treaty of Tellico

It appears that a commission was issued to Daniel Smith and R. J. Meigs, bearing date of April 4th, 1804, empowering them to treat with such of the chief men of the Cherokee nation of Indians as should be designated by the nation for that purpose; and to pursue such measures as, in their opinion, were best calculated to obtain such cession of lands, claimed by said nation, within the limits of the state of Tennessee, Kentucky, or Georgia, as could be done on reasonable terms; more especially, the land situated between East and West Tennessee, and the land near Currahee Mountain, including the settlement of Col. Wafford; and for such cession as they could obtain from said nation within the limits of Georgia, in the vicinity of Currahee Mountain, including Col. Wafford's settlement.

It further appears, that a treaty was accordingly held by the commissioners aforesaid, and concluded by them on the part of the United States, and certain Cherokee chiefs . . . bearing date of October 24, 1804, in which, in consideration of the relinquishment and cession, as expressed in the first article of said treaty, it was agreed by the commissioners, to deliver to the Cherokees useful goods, wares, and merchandise, to the amount of five thousand dollars, or that sum of money . . . and, in addition to this sum, an annual payment thereafter, of one thousand dollars, in goods, or money, at the option of the Cherokees.

It moreover appears, that the stipulation for the payment of five thousand dollars was fulfilled . . . but the annual payment of one thousand, does not appear to have been made.

The genuineness of the treaty is attested by Col. John M'kee, of the United States Congress.¹⁰ It appears not to have been ratified by the Senate, nor is there any evidence that it was ever submitted

The Cherokee delegation, now at Washington, have called the attention of the Government to this subject, in their letter of 13th February last . . . They ask for a ratification of the treaty, and a fulfillment of its stipulations.

The following communication from the House of Representatives was written by the Hon. John McKee on April 15, 1824:

Sir: The enclosed treaty concluded with the Cherokees, on the 24th October 1804, has been transmitted to me, with the request that I would make such remarks as I may think proper, embracing its genuiness, and the reasons, if any, why it was never ratified by the Senate. I can state confidently, as well as from an intimate knowledge of the hand writing of many of the signers of this instrument, as from a perfect recollection of the negotiating and signing of the treaty, that it is genuine. I have never heard of many reasons assigned why it has not been ratified.¹¹

Calhoun, with extreme reluctance, submitted the papers regarding the lost Cherokee treaty to the "Late President of the United States" Thomas Jefferson on April 19, 1824, hoping that he might be able to furnish information concerning it:

The Cherokee Indians have claimed any annuity of \$1,000, under a treaty which appears to have been negotiated in the year 1804, but of which there is no record in this, or the State Department.

They have furnished a duplicate, which, with other papers connected with it, I herewith enclose, accompanied by a paper marked G, containing a statement of the case from Colonel (Thomas L.) M'Kenney, who has charge of the Indian Bureau: to which it may be proper to add, that the land ceded under the treaty, is in possession of the citizens of Georgia.

The President is desirous to know, whether the treaty was disapproved by the Executive, and on that account not submitted for the ratification of the Senate: or whether its not having been submitted for ratification

¹⁰ Governor Blount sent John McKee in 1792 to get information from Chief John Watts, a half-breed. He plied the Indian with liquor until he was intoxicated, but he received no information except that he was still his friend. In 1793 Blount again sent McKee on an errand into the nation to try to learn the result of a council which Watts had promised him would be held in twenty-one days. In several other meetings with Cherokee chiefs McKee was unsuccessful. Governor Blount built a blockhouse on the Little Tennessee opposite the mouth of Tellico River. The small Federal garrison was commanded by Colonel Abijah Thomas and McKee was stationed there as deputy agent to the Cherokees. John P. Brown, *Old Frontiers* (Kingsport, Tennessee, 1938), p. 332, note 13; pp. 379-80, 418, 434-5. According to Royce, *op. cit.*, p. 188, McKee was a subscriber to the treaty of October 24, 1804. John McKee was a representative in Congress from Tuscaloosa, Alabama, in the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth congresses. He served from December 1, 1823 to March 3, 1829. *A Biographical Congressional Dictionary* (Washington, 1903), pp. 84, 89, 94, 572.

¹¹ From the office of the Secretary of the Senate, April 13, 1824, Charles Cutts replied to the Secretary of War, in answer to his letter of the previous day respecting the lost treaty: ". . . I have caused the Executive Journals to be examined, and find that no treaty with the Cherokees of the date of October 24th, 1804, has ever been submitted to the Senate"

was accidental. If you have it in your power to furnish the above, or any other information in relation to it, I shall be happy to receive it in order that it may be laid before the President.

After acknowledging receipt of Calhoun's letter Ex-President Jefferson stated:

. . . . Recurring to memory alone, I can affirm, that the treaty enclosed to me, and now returned, is genuine. It is well remembered, because no case of intruders ever occurred, which excited more anxiety or commiseration with us than that of Wafford's settlement which is covered.

On the complaint of the Cherokees, we endeavored to purchase the lands from them but on their refusal, we assured them the intruders should be removed and orders were accordingly given; but the officers to whom they were given interceded with the Indians to let the settlers remain until they had gathered their crops; and this indulgence was, I believe repeated, until at length they agreed to sell the lands.

Recurring to my papers, I find the following passage in a letter to General Dearborn, of April 8, 1804, written from this place, where I was on a short visit at the time: 'I think before I left Washington, we had decided to take immediate measures for endeavoring to purchase of the Cherokees all their lands in Tennessee, or such, the most interesting to that state, as they would be willing to sell, and the name[s] Meigs and Daniel Smith, Commissioners.'

To this General Dearborn answered, by the letter of April 14, which I now enclose you, informing me that Smith and Meigs had accordingly been authorized to hold the treaty. This is the last trace of the transaction which I find in my papers. I have for forty years back, kept a list of every letter or communication I wrote or received. A diligent examination of this list assures me, that I never received this treaty. I have preserved press or polygraph copies of every message I ever sent to either house of Congress. A like examination of these proves, I never laid this treaty before the Senate. Yet, that the treaty was entered into, is proved by the duplicate copy produced by the Indians, equally authentic with our own, by its actual execution by the delivery of the lands on their part, and of the price on ours, and, by the testimony of Mr. M'Kee and others. How has it happened, that this has been done without ratification by the Senate? I do not know; two conjectures occur. Either the treaty may have been lost by the way, or, if received by the War Office it may have been mislaid there accidentally, and escaped subsequent recollection.

In this case, it may still be in some unexpected bundle, where nobody will ever think of looking for it I take to myself my share in this omission, and can only say '*homo sum*.' The treaty had all my approbation. It is some consolation, that the blot may be covered, if all parties are agreed. The Indians will, doubtless, consent that their duplicate shall be laid before the Senate, which, being equally an original with that which should have been laid before their predecessors, can receive their ratification, *unc pro tunc* In this way may be repaired a slip of the Executive functionaries, unwittingly committed, and full justice be done to the other party.

With my regrets, that an involuntary failure of recollection in myself, among other officers of the government participating in it, should have produced the present embarrassment, be pleased to accept the assurance of my high respect and consideration.

The House of Representatives passed a resolution on December 15, 1824, asking the President to lay before the House, a copy of the instructions under which the articles of a treaty with the Cherokee Indians, were formed, by Daniel Smith and R. J. Meigs, acting as commissioners for the United States, at Tellico, on October 24, 1804; with copies of all correspondence or other documents relating to the matter, with a statement of the causes which prevented an earlier decision upon it.

President Monroe, on December 23, 1824, transmitted the report of the Secretary of War, with the documents relating to it, to the House of Representatives. Through the ignorance or carelessness of some clerk the treaty of 1804 was lost for twenty years and was only found after a great amount of correspondence among various high officials, including two presidents.

APPENDIX

Daniel Smith, born in Fauquier County, Virginia, about 1740, was one of the earliest settlers in Tennessee. On January 7, 1790, he was appointed by President Washington, secretary of the territory south of the Ohio River; he was a major general of the militia and when Andrew Jackson resigned as senator from Tennessee, Smith was appointed to fill his place. He served from December 3, 1798, to March 3, 1799. He was elected senator from his state and served from December 2, 1805 to 1809, when he resigned; he died in Sumner County, Tennessee, July 16, 1818. Smith was a member of the third session of the Fifth Congress and of the Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh sessions of the United States Senate. *A Biographical Congressional Dictionary* (Washington, 1903), pp. 804, 34, 51, 56.

Smith was one of the most prominent of the early settlers, "a man of education and wealth and his home in Sumner County was the seat of wide hospitality. . . . The General has a beautiful plantation cultivated in Indian wheat and cotton. He has also a neat distillery for peach brandy, which he sells at five shillings per gallon. In his leisure hours he busies himself in chemistry . . . in his house are English translations of the works of Lavoisier and Fourcroy."—Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed), "F. A. Michaux's Travels," *Early Western Travels*, Vol. 3, note 54, pp. 255-6.

Daniel Smith was a member of the boundary commission to settle the Virginia-North Carolina line. When Governor William Blount left for Philadelphia in 1793 he left his secretary, Daniel Smith, in charge. Captain John Beard, disobeyed his explicit orders and crossed the Little Tennessee River, opposite from Coyatee, the village of Chief Hanging Maw, and fell upon the town. The Chief his wife, and a daughter of Nancy Ward were wounded. Hanging Maw had always been a friend of the United States and the attack by Beard was unjustifiable. Secretary Smith, governor pro tem, ordered Beard before a court martial and directed him to give up his command, but the officer disregarded it and the matter came to naught. Smith wrote an apology to the chief who replied from Coyatee, June 15, 1793, telling him that he was "neither headman nor warrior."—John P. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 229 note 7, pp. 387-8.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

NOTICE: CHANGE OF ADDRESS IMPORTANT

The change of address of anyone receiving *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* regularly—member, exchange or subscription—should be sent immediately to the Office of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. This will insure prompt delivery of the magazine each quarter.

HISTORY OF SENECA INDIAN SCHOOL

An attractive booklet giving the history of the Seneca Indian School, compiled by Margaret L. Schiffbauer, has been received by the Editorial Department from Mr. J. N. Kagey, Principal of this historic school at Wyandotte, Oklahoma, who has served in his position since 1928, and has thus given the institution more years of service than any of its leaders. Mrs. Kagey is of Choctaw Indian descent and has been instructor in music for many years.

Seneca Indian School was established as a mission school in 1872, by the Friends Missionary Council (Quaker). Its original location was on the Seneca Reservation, south of the village of Wyandotte, but when the railroad was built through this section, the site was moved to the reservation lands owned by the Wyandot Indians who subsequently gave the first 160 acre tract to this school which now owns 1,250 acres and 33 buildings. About 1880, it was taken over and operated by the Government as a boarding school for boys and girls from the Seneca, Wyandot and Shawnee tribes living in the region, and was called the "Seneca, Wyandotte and Shawnee School." In 1900, Quapaw boys and girls were transferred to the institution which then became known simply as the "Seneca Boarding School."

Dr. Charles W. Kirk, Superintendent, and Mrs. Kirk were stationed here from 1876-1884. Miss Elizabeth Test taught here, and later served at the Friends Mission among the Kickapoos, the story of which is told in this number of *The Chronicles* by the Rev. Hobert D. Ragland ("Missions of the Society of Friends among the Indian Tribes of the Sac and Fox Agency").

The front cover of the Seneca Indian School booklet was designed by Tarbie Manley, a 6th grade pupil, showing the south side of the large boys' dormitory; and was tinted and bound by the 8th and 9th grade classes attending the session this year (1954-55). Mrs. Schiffbauer, the compiler in acknowledgment to retired employees, former students and others for much of the data used in this history,

lists their names, some among them of well known pioneers of Indian descent in Ottawa County: "Susan Armstrong Fisher, Mrs. Gorver Splitlog, Mrs. Cecelia B. Wallace, Mrs. Charlotte Nesvold, Mrs. Bertha Johnson Cheek, Mrs. Naomi Pacheco, Mr. Silas Dawson, Mr. Guy Jennison, Mrs. Maude Scott, Mrs. Elizabeth Wallace, Mr. and Mrs. George Long, Mr. and Mrs. Ermin C. Perisho, Mrs. Harold Nesvold, and Milton S. Cotter." —M.H.W.

MEMPHIS AIR FORCE RESERVE FLYING FIELD Dedication of "Chickasaw Wing"

The following report by Mrs. Jessie Randolph Moore, Secretary of the Council of the Chickasaw Nation, gives an interesting account of the dedication of the "Chickasaw Wing," Memphis Air Force Flying Field, and data on early Chickasaw history from the time of their discovery by DeSoto:

A great honor was conferred on the Chickasaw Nation when the Memphis Air Force Reserve Flying Field named the newly established Training Field "The Chickasaw Wing," at Memphis, Tennessee, on September 26, 1954.

Air field officers had extended a cordial invitation to the Honorable Floyd Maytubby, Governor of the Chickasaw Nation and twenty Chickasaws whom he had selected to attend the Dedication Ceremonies of the Chickasaw Wing Training Field at Memphis. The Chickasaw Delegation included Governor Maytubby and family, the Governor's Chickasaw Council and other members of the Chickasaw Nation selected to fill out the quota of guests.

At 8:30 a.m. September 26, we arrived at the Oklahoma City Air field where we met the Chickasaw Delegation, Governor Maytubby in charge. The special member of the delegation was the lovely little Chickasaw Princess, Miss Betty Berry, the Governor's charming granddaughter who became the mascot and pride of the Chickasaw guests.

We were escorted to the Air plane at 9:30 and were flown away to our rendezvous with the "Chickasaw Wing" in Tennessee. Our plane arrived at the municipal air port at noon where we were met by a reception committee of air officers who escorted us to headquarters. Here we were received by another welcoming group of officers and their wives, headed by Commander E. Patterson, Commander of the Air Field. Brigadier General William J. Fry, Commander "Chickasaw Wing," Lieutenant Colonel Joseph H. Friedeman chairman of the air show committee, the honorable Frank J. Toby, Mayor of Memphis and co-host for the day's events and a host of other executive officers in a particular field of service in the Memphis Air Reserve Flying Center and the Chickasaw Wing Training Field.

After luncheon at headquarters, we were escorted to the Memphis Air Reserve Flying Center, key to the Chickasaw Wing Training Field, for the dedication ceremonies. The program stated: "The Memphis Air Reserve Flying Center is to keep house for the "Chickasaw Wing" Training Field. Maintaining air planes, buildings, administrative services supplies and full time man power."

On arrival at the airport, we were seated with many distinguished guests from over the United States, officers of the Army, Navy and Air

Force, congressmen, governors, mayors, and others too numerous to mention for there was a great assembly.

Chickasaw Wing Dedication

The welcome address of Colonel E. Patterson Commander of the Memphis Air Reserve Flying Center and the Honorable Frank Toby, Mayor of Memphis were full of most gracious hospitality and were sincerely appreciated by the Assembly, especially the Chickasaws who felt they had returned to their old homeland after a long absence.

The dedication address of the Chickasaw Wing Training Field, by Brigadier General William J. Fry, Commander of the field was an inspiring and sincere appraisal of the purpose of the Air Officials in building this important Chickasaw Wing Training Field, also the Chickasaw Wing Training Center was a memorial to honor the people of the ancient, unconquerable Chickasaw Nation in their historic homeland.

The response by the Honorable Floyd Maytubby, Governor of the Chickasaw Nation and Mr. Justice Earl Welch, member Supreme Court of Oklahoma and member of the Chickasaw Council were a proud and sincere appreciation for the great honor that had been paid the Chickasaw Nation by this memorial to their ancestors for the distinguished part they had played in the early history of these United States.

There was also "The Presentation of Colors," the Kiltie Band and Indian dance that added interest to the program.

In the Air Show, we saw a flying demonstration of our country's air force in action with the latest equipment and finest trained air men in the world. This outstanding event was sponsored by the 2584th A.F. Flying Reserve Center and the 1710th Pilot Training Wing, known today as the "Chickasaw Wing."

The program included aerial flying of many types of modern combat planes, including U. S. largest bombers, America's fastest jet bombers, jet interceptors assigned the task of defending the U. S., Rescue air operation, helicopter demonstration high and low altitude flying.

The feature attraction was a precision formation of a jet flying exhibition by the "Thunderbirds," the U.S. internationally known air force precision flying team. This was truly a great air show. A magnificent spectacle, a grand finale to a memorable day.

This "Chickasaw Wing" Training Field will always be a proving center for first class Air Force and a splendid memorial to the ancient Chickasaw Nation in their old home in Tennessee.

Memories

As we floated along over the land that was Indian Territory and Arkansas our thoughts went back over the historic path of our beloved old Chickasaw Nation and its home in the southern States, which included western Kentucky, western Tennessee, northern Mississippi and northwest Alabama.

We recalled several events in recorded history that was associated with western Tennessee: the first event was in 1541, when De Soto the Spanish explorer and warrior, made his conquering march across the southern part of north America arriving in country occupied by the Chickasaw Nation in the autumn of that year. De Soto requested permission from the Chickasaws to spend the winter months with them as he needed their meat and vegetables for his soldiers and their corn for his horses. The Chickasaws responded, and De Soto, his soldiers and horses spent the winter in comfort.



Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, seated at center, honored at the Dedication of the Chickasaw Wing, U. S. Air Force Reserve, Memphis, Tennessee. Officers in group, reading left to right: Colonel E. Patterson, Commander of the U. S. Airfield, Memphis; General Charles Thomas, Commander of the Southern Area; Brigadier General William J. Frye, Commander of the Chickasaw Wing.

When spring arrived according to De Soto's past tactics, he demanded the Chickasaws give him men to serve his army and to accompany him on his march to the country lying beyond the Mississippi River. The Chickasaws refused, and demanded payment for the winter keep of De Soto, his soldiers and horses. De Soto refused and departed. The Chickasaws followed him, and gave battle; killed some soldiers appropriated some horses; harassed him all the way up to what is now known as Chickasaw Bluffs in Tennessee, where a final battle was fought. The Chickasaws killed more soldiers and appropriated more horses in payment for the winter keep of De Soto's expeditionary forces. De Soto crossed the Mississippi River at Chickasaw Bluffs, or near, and never came back. In 1682 recorded history states, that LaSalle the great soldier of France came down the Mississippi River on an exploring expedition. Since the De Soto's time, the Chickasaw Nation had established a town extending seven miles along the Mississippi River where Memphis now stands. LaSalle stopped at this Chickasaw town and we read in a priest's diary, who was attending him on this expedition, a description of this Indian town, and the place of worship. The priest described the place of worship as a long building containing two rooms: a large outer room served as the Holy Place, and a small inner room or Holy of Holies, where a sacred fire was always kept burning—a symbol of the sun (the word Fire in Chickasaw means "Little Sun"). The sun in turn was a symbol of God, the Creator, who manifested through the sun. We think this religion was reminiscent of the ancient Mayan Empire from which the Chickasaws had migrated several thousand years ago after one of the many volcanic eruptions that history records.

In 1734, the Chickasaws appear on the pages of history again in a story associated with Tennessee. In 1732 Bienville Governor of the Province of Louisiana, wrote to the King of France that the French would have to exterminate the Chickasaws if they ever hoped to occupy the country lying between their northern and southern provinces. The King of France wrote to Bienville: "Exterminate the Chickasaws."

Bienville proceeded to carry out the King's orders: Colonel Vincennes and D'Artuagette brought up an army from New Orleans to meet in the Chickasaw country and exterminate the enemy. The Chickasaws waited until the army of Vincennes and D'Artuagette gave battle, killed Vincennes and D'Artuagette and drove the remnant of their army back north to Ft. Vincennes. Then the Chickasaws met Bienville at Ackia a Chickasaw town in north Mississippi and whipped Bienville and his army back to New Orleans.

Congressman Rankin of Mississippi, in 1934, two hundred years later, introduced a bill in Congress (H.B. No. 30023), to make the old Ackia battle ground a Chickasaw Memorial Park and erect a monument to honor the Chickasaw Nation for one of the most important battles ever fought in American history for it saved the central part of the United States for the English speaking people. The bill passed both houses of Congress and was signed by the President of the United States.

We read in the historical records of 1792 the message sent by President Washington to the great Chickasaw, Chief Piomingo, and his band of warriors, thanking them for joining the U. S. forces at Fort Washington, Ohio, in the war against the Indian tribes of the Northwest Territory in 1791. In 1812 we read again in recorded history that the Chickasaws joined the great Choctaw, Chief Pushmataha and his warriors, together with the Cherokees, Creeks and Seminoles in fighting under General Andrew Jackson at the battle of New Orleans when England was striving to recover her lost colonies. The battle flag carried by the Chickasaws in the Battle of New Orleans now hangs on the walls of the Oklahoma State Museum.

In 1818, a treaty was made between the United States and the Chickasaws, by which they sold all of their lands in Kentucky and Tennessee to

the United States. An original roll was made of the members of the Chickasaw Nation at the time the treaty was signed in order that each Chickasaw would receive an equal share of the money.

The Chickasaw Nation will always remember with pride and sincere gratitude the high honor Tennessee has paid our ancient nation in their old homeland. The footprints of our ancestors have been gone for many years from the hills and valleys of Tennessee and we are proud to know their spirited impress.

The wonderful air plane voyage, the impressive dedication of the "Chickasaw Wing," the marvelous air show and the most gracious hospitality shown the Chickasaw guests by the Air Force and citizens of Memphis will always be a day of unforgettable memories.

Jessie Randolph Moore, Secretary
Council of Chickasaw Nation

A LETTER FROM TAHLEQUAH, CHEROKEE NATION, 1849

Some interesting notes on Tahlequah written by a "Melifsa Moore" en route to Texas give glimpses of life in this historic Cherokee capital in 1849. A photostatic copy of her original letter sent from Tahlequah to her sisters and brothers in Illinois has been received by the Historical Society, the text of the letter appearing as follows:

Cherokee Nation, Tahlequah= pron'ced Taleko¹

September 26th, 1849

Dear Sisters & brothers I take this opportunity of writing to relieve you of all fears concerning us We arrived here in this place on the 24 of september amongst the cherokees I expect you will be scared when you hear this but you need not for they are quite an intelegent people as much so as the whites in general. they have free schools here & two Seminary agoing up in this place - one for males & the other for females. about one half of them are wite [sic] as the whites & are good farmers & have lots of negrows they have sheriffs magist ves [sic] and other officers they are divided into districts and elect their head chief and a second chief who preside over them - there is several family of whites stopped in here to work. Mr Moore and Lorenzo is at work they get from one to 2 dollars a day the horses was tired out and we stopped to rest them we intend going on in the course of a week or so to Texas the country here is some of it very broken & mountainous and some of it is very beautiful and level with perairie & timber the land produces well there is the best springs - beautiful & large streams for mill seates the people look healthy here the country has the same appearance from this to springfield in green county. we are all in tolerable good health except Lorenzo's babe & Matilda she has had the chills ever since we left Illinois John has got over them I am in much better health than I was considering everything Enoch has the phtisic ([phthisic] some though not so bad as he had we get flower for 2 sents a hundred bacon for 7 sents

¹It is interesting to note this introductory line by Melissa Moore, in her letter, giving the pronunciation of Tahlequah as "Taleko." This form is nearly "Tellico," the name of several Cherokee settlements in East Tennessee ("Great Tellico, 1755), and that from which the later name Tahlequah is said to have come. Mrs. Moore's note leads one to think that "Taleko" was the pronunciation used by the natives in the Indian Territory one hundred years ago when referring to Tahlequah.—Ed.

beef for 1 sent & a half per pound sweet & irish potatoes for 20 sents per bushel shugar & coffee is a bit a pound there is several stores [and it has?] a printing office & a post office. it is about 30 miles from fort gibson dry goods generally dearer here than they are in quincy. the town is small
 I [word here illegible] no more but remains yours & so forth

Mel/isa Moore

Jane and Margaret
 Rankin

THE PASSING OF TWO CHEROKEE PIONEERS IN OKLAHOMA
 JOHN M. ADAIR AND MARTHA (PATSY) MAYES POINTER

John Martin Adair, a citizen of the old Cherokee Nation, died at the age of ninety-seven, on May 29, 1955. Widely and affectionately known as "Uncle John Adair" throughout Cherokee and Muscogee counties, he had long made his home at Tahlequah, in which city funeral services were held at the First Methodist Church and burial was made with the Tahlequah VFW Post in charge of graveside ceremonies. John M. Adair, born on June 3, 1858 at Fort Gibson, was a Cherokee by blood and a member of the old Oolootsa and Adair families in the Cherokee Nation. He attended Shurtleff College, and served in Troop L, First United States Volunteer Cavalry in the Spanish American War in 1898. This was the famous "Rough Rider Regiment" commanded by Col. Theodore Roosevelt. Mr. Adair married Miss Tryphena Terrell at Tahlequah in 1903. He was a first cousin of Will Rogers, and is survived by a half-brother, Dennis Wolf Bushyhead of Westville, and many nieces and nephews.

Martha (Patsy) Mayes Pointer, daughter of Jesse Bushyhead Mayes and Cherokee Adair Mayes, was born on January 10, 1875, near Tip in the Coosweecowee District of the Cherokee Nation. She graduated from the Cherokee Female Seminary at Tahlequah in 1892, and later served here as a teacher and, also, at the Cherokee Orphan Home at Salina. She married Mr. Edwin Mooring Pointer of Sallisaw, in 1900. She was one of the most active members of the Cherokee Seminary Association, and was well known for civic interest and work at Sallisaw where she had lived for many years at the time of her death on May 30, 1955. Mrs. Pointer is survived by two sons, Samuel J. and James D. Pointer, of Sallisaw; a grandson, Ed Pointer who is a student of medicine in the University of Oklahoma; and a great granddaughter, Deborah Pointer.

—M.H.W.

ROBERT E. LEE AT FORT BELKNAP, TEXAS

Did Robert E. Lee ever have any connection with or visit Fort Belknap in Texas? This point has been brought up by Judge Ben G. Oneal, of Wichita Falls, in a letter to Colonel George H. Shirk, after reading the article on "Mail Call at Fort Washita" in the Spring issue of *The Chronicles*, 1955. Judge Oneal's letter and Colonel Shirk's reply follow:

Wichita Falls, Texas
June 15, 1955

Colonel George H. Shirk
Colcord Building
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Colonel Shirk:

Please accept my thanks for the volume of "The Chronicles of Oklahoma" recently sent me. It certainly was a thoughtful kindness on your part.

Though I have not had time to read all the papers, I have genuinely enjoyed those I have read, and particularly "Mail Call at Fort Washita." In fact, I have read all those letters at least twice. And when I read them I lose the present and feel that I am living in that time and somehow feel that I have known the writers, the letters are so intimate.

The people who a century hence seek to know (if there are then any who care) something of how we of this day felt and thought will have a difficult time. For them there will be few intimate letters from friend to friend telling the little things that make up life as well as the greater things.

Reading Mrs. Rossell's letter, it is not hard to imagine her. If her tongue was sharp as her pen, she must have kept Fort Washita lively.

In some respects the correspondence surprised me. There is no mention of trouble with the Indians or fear of trouble. Then the references to General Belknap not being liked. One instance is Mrs. Rossell's "so ends the poor unloved Gen."

And that reminds me to ask a favor. I would like to have for a few days a copy of Vol. XX, No. 2 (June, 1942) of "The Chronicles of Oklahoma" which contains the biography of General Belknap by Carolyn Thomas Foreman. I have been intrigued by the fact that no other man who spent so short a time in Texas as did General Belknap leaves a name so permanently and widely spread over the map as he did.

There is, of course, Old Fort Belknap, the low mountains around the Fort are called Belknap Mountains; there is a Belknap Creek; the street in Fort Worth that was the road to Fort Belknap is called Belknap Street; in Jacksboro the street along the old Butterfield Coach road to Fort Belknap is named Belknap Street; the first county seat of Young County was designated by the Legislature as Belknap and the records so show; the fieldnotes in the patents to many surveys of land even as far as fifty miles from the Fort have their beginning calls by course and distance from Fort Belknap.

I see at the bottom of page 30 of the volume of the "Chronicles" you sent me this statement: Gen. Robt. E. Lee helped locate the fort", meaning Fort Belknap. I shall be pleased to know the source of your information. I have tried for several years to find some evidence of General Lee's having had some connection with the Fort, but so far have failed. I have Douglas Southall Freeman's 4-volume life of General Lee, which is well indexed. I fail to find Fort Belknap in the index. There is a letter copied in the book written August 5, 1851, from Baltimore by the General to his son then at West Point. He seems to have been stationed then at Baltimore. He was in about 1854 or 1855 at Camp Cooper, thirty miles from Fort Belknap, for several months. Freeman copies several of his letters written there.

In fact, from the records, it seems that the establishment of the Fort was a 5th Infantry job.

I trust you will pardon me for the length of this letter.

Again thanking you for "The Chronicles", I am

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Ben G. Oneal

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
22 June 1955

Hon. Ben G. Oneal,
410 First National Building,
Wichita Falls, Texas.

Dear Judge,

Many thanks for your warm letter of the 15th. It was very good to hear from you. It is indeed remarkable how closely the article ties in with the early history of Belknap and Phantom Hill. It must have caused much local excitement when General Smith revised the plans and made provision for only two post in your area.

You asked about Robert E. Lee. That was of special interest. How that language appeared in the article is this: I had secured from you, some time ago, a map of Fort Belknap. On the map, along the side, was considerable legend, keyed to the illustrations. As part of the text on this map, was the phrase regarding Lee. When the map went to the printer, the text included the part about General Lee.

Yes, Lee visited Fort Belknap several times. The best material on this is Rister's "Robert E. Lee in Texas" published by the University of Oklahoma Press. Lee reported in to Camp Cooper, as commander, in April, 1856. This post was very near Belknap, and Lee, with his cavalry, was in and out of Belknap many times, I am certain. You would find this volume very interesting.

They will forward you a copy of the June (1942) *Chronicles* direct from the Historical Society. Am sure you will find the copy of much interest and a nice addition to your own library.

Warm regards,

Sincerely,

(Signed) George H. Shirk

MORE HISTORY FOR DWIGHT MISSION AND SOME DATA ON THE FINNEY FAMILY IN OKLAHOMA

It is by coincidence that much of the early history relating to Dwight Mission among the Western Cherokees is published in this issue of *The Chronicles* (see pages 202 and 259. Another milestone was reached in the records of this noted mission station in the history of Oklahoma on May 1, 1955, when the last mortgage note payment was made on the property under the Auspices of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., in Oklahoma. The burning of

the mortgage at Dwight on June 14, 1955, with fitting ceremonies closed an epoch in its work under the Presbyterian Board of National Missions. Established on its present site in 1829, near Marble City in Sequoyah County, it operated through the years, except for a twenty-year period from the outbreak of the Civil War, as a center of education and religious training for Indian youth until 1948 when the school was closed by the Presbyterian Board. Two years later the Synod of Oklahoma purchased the property which is now the conference grounds for all Presbyterians in the Synod. A non-profit corporation governs the property and plans its use as a center for organization meetings such as the Oklahoma Academy of Science which recently held a conference here with 200 persons in attendance. The officers of this Dwight Mission corporation are Charles Heirich, Muskogee, President; Maurice F. Ellison, Tulsa, Secretary; Leslie R. Barto, Tulsa, Business Manager.

An official Oklahoma Historical Marker erected through the work of the Oklahoma Historical Society is located five miles west of Sallisaw on U. S. Highway #64, and bears the following inscription:

"DWIGHT MISSION. About 7 mi. N.E. First established in 1821, among Western Cherokees in Pope Co., Ark. Ter., by Rev. C. Washburn, American Bd. of Foreign Missions. Moved to this new land of the Cherokees in Ind. Ter., 1829. Site at Nicksville, postoffice named for Gen. John Nicks whose widow, Sarah Perkins Nicks, was 1st woman appointed to U.S. government position in Oklahoma, 1832."

The Reverend Alfred Finney was associated with Mr. Washburn in the work at Dwight from its first establishment in 1821 until his death at the Mission in 1833. The family name of Finney is well known in the history of the Osages as well as the Cherokees. "Reminiscences of a Trader in the Osage Country" by the late James E. Finney appears in this issue of *The Chronicles*, and his nephew, Frank F. Finney, now of Oklahoma City, has contributed in this same issue the biography of "John N. Florey" whose wife was Anna Finney.

Historical notes on a branch of the Finney family¹ furnished at the request of the Editor, by Mr. William F. Finney of Oklahoma City, is an interesting genealogical study of a family that has had a vital part in the development of the American frontier:

"Robert Finney of Scottish Ancestry came to America from Ireland in 1720, and bought Thunder Hill estate, a six hundred acre tract which is now located in the City of Philadelphia. The home he built has a family living in it at the present time. His grandson, Thomas McKean, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

"Robert Finney's son, Dr. John Finney, was educated in Ireland and later lived in New Castle, Delaware. His home, Amstel House, now

¹ The Rev. Alfred Finney's relationship to this family is not known at this writing.—Ed.

houses the Historical Society of Delaware. George Washington and other prominent men of Revolutionary War days were entertained in this home. Dr. Finney's son, David Finney, was a prominent attorney, and also lived at New Castle; and his nephew, Thomas McKean, served his apprenticeship in David's law office, and is the one referred to as the signer of the Declaration of Independence. David was a very wealthy man, and properties that he owned are now visited in a pilgrimage which is held in New Castle every spring.

"David Finney lost much of his wealth in the Revolutionary War, and his son, David Thompson Finney, moved to Holmes County, Ohio. Like all pioneers, he cleared land and supplied food and clothes to his family, which came from the soil and the work of his hands. Educated in law, he served in his County as a judge. His son, John French Finney, followed the life of his father, reared seven children, and was a substantial citizen of Ohio. He weathered the hardships of the Civil War.

"Our family and that of Frank F. Finney, of Oklahoma City, divide at this point: John French Finney was Frank F. Finney's grandfather, and was my great-grandfather.

"My grandfather, Thomas Finney, migrated to Kansas about the close of the Civil War, and owned land in Topeka. My father, John Edgar Finney, moved to Oklahoma in 1907, and died at Fort Cobb four years ago. He reared three sons: John E., who is a farmer and ranchman at Fort Cobb; W. D. who is a banker at Fort Cobb; and myself in the photo-engraving business in Oklahoma City. All three of us have sons who represent the ninth generation of the Finney family in America." —M.H.W.

"FIRSTS" AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA MEDICAL CENTER

The University of Oklahoma Medical Center has made history in 1955. The following notes have been received by the Editorial Office from R. L. Schreiber, in the Public Relations Office of the Medical School and Medical Center:

Medical Center "Firsts"

Commencement 1955 has been significant in several ways at the University of Oklahoma Medical Center: For the first time, one hundred Oklahomans marched across the stage at Owen Field in Norman to receive their M.D. degrees. This is the *largest* class to be graduated from the University of Oklahoma School of Medicine.

Slightly more than 2,000 students have received their medical education at the OU School of Medicine. The first graduating class in 1911 had fourteen students. Through the years enrolments have gradually increased. Four years ago the classes were increased from 80 to 100 students, so today the record student enrolment approaches 400.

Dr. Daniel Webster Lee of Oklahoma City was graduated with the class of 1955. He has the double distinction of being the first Negro to enter and be graduated from the OU School of Medicine.

Another significant fact about the Commencement 1955 is the graduation of the first Ph.D.'s in Medical Science. One of the shortcomings of modern society is the lack of trained scientists. It has been especially true in medical schools, where scientists are desperately needed to assist in the training of future doctors. The faculty of the OU School of Medicine

has been making a concerted effort to train basic medical scientists. During the last five years, this scientific program has mushroomed from less than five students to more than 50. The first five to receive Ph.D. degrees in Medical Science are: Dr. Robert E. Coalson of Hobart, Dr. I. Ernest Gonzalez of Mexico City, Dr. Lloyd Glenn McArthur of Elk City, Dr. Paul McCay of Tulsa and Dr. Robert C. Troop of Healdton. All five men are fundamentally interested in research and teaching.

Another "first" at the medical center this year has been the granting of the first Bachelor of Science in Nursing degrees. The OU School of Nursing has been granting diplomas since 1913. However, in 1951 the Regents for Higher Education authorized the University of Oklahoma to grant the degree of Bachelor of Science in Nursing under the College of Arts and Science. After two years of academic work, the School of Nursing and University Hospitals provide thirty months of clinical experience for the degree program. The three women who received the first B.S. in Nursing degrees are: Miss Jo Ann Keeley of Norman, Miss Gloria Lord and Mrs. Barbara Searle Henthorn, both of Oklahoma City.

—R. L. S.

BOOK REVIEWS

Walam Olum. The Migration Legend of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians. A New Translation, Interpreted by Linguistic, Historical, Archeological, Ethnological, and Physical Anthropological Studies. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1954. Pp. xiv, 379. Maps. Ills. Pictograph Concordance and Index. \$15.00.)

The production of this beautiful quarto volume is an outstanding event in the history of American publications. The "Walam Olum," known to students of Indian history for more than a century as the tribal chronicle of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians, first came into the hands of a white man, an unidentified "Dr. Ward," probably somewhere in the White River region of Indiana. Since this part of the old Northwest Territory was where the Delawares as a tribe made their last independent stand against the encroaching frontier on their ancient land claims, the new translation of their tribal legend from the Creation to the arrival of the Europeans on the shores of North America was fittingly undertaken through the interests of the Indiana Historical Society. The book is particularly interesting to Oklahomans since here within the borders of the state the most of the Delawares still live.

An interpretation of the expression "Walam Olum" gives the meaning "Red Score" or "Painted Record." This story of this great Algonquian people, the Delaware, is judged the most important and one of the most interesting recorded traditions of Indian origin in America north of Mexico, and may be classed as an example of purely American literature. The Delawares long ago preserved their Walam Olum or "Painted Record" through many generations, by means of pictorial symbols painted on sticks kept in bundles. None of these sticks are in existence today but strangely and fortunately, copies of the pictographs and the Delaware text accompanying them made by the historian of natural science, Constantine S. Rafinesque, are in the Brinton Memorial Library of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.

The chain of events through which the ancient Delaware record has been preserved and its publication in part three times within a century are amazing, from the day that the bundles of painted sticks and their Delaware text were reported by Rafinesque to have been given into his hands by his friend, "Dr. Ward," in 1822. Rafinesque spent a long period in study of this primitive record and published his findings in his book, *The American Nations*, in 1836, but his presentation was discredited and ranked as a fake among leading scientists of the time.

Constantine Samuel Rafinesque, the son of a wealthy French family, had been reared in affluence and privately educated, circumstances that undoubtedly gave bent to his natural disposition for independent action and thought. He never conformed to some of the accepted ways and viewpoints of scientists of his day nor to the approved habits in civilized living. While at times, he showed that he could apply himself to money making, his fascination for natural science made him absent minded and careless in person, which led to the disdain of his fellowmen who considered him flighty and of little worth. He served as a professor of botany, history and modern languages in Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky from 1819 to 1826, then embarked upon an independent career of scientific study and writing, and died in 1840 in abject poverty, without public notice. As time passed, his works and contributions in the field of natural history were accorded acclaim, and now they are looked upon as those of a genius and great pioneer of Natural Science in America. A biographer states that Rafinesque's contemporary fame was "injured, in fact, quite as much by his superior intelligence as by his shortcomings." In 1924, his remains were brought from an obscure burial place and reinterred on the campus of Transylvania College, in Kentucky, with honors appropriate to a great man.

Of the two publications on the Walam Olum after 1836, that of Daniel G. Brinton, the noted Ethnologist, in his *The Lenape and Their Legends* (Philadelphia, 1885), shows grounds for belief in the Delaware legend but does not give complete proof of its authenticity. Finally, in 1931, a recently published method for study of American Indian cultures was brought to the attention of the Indiana Historical Society, and a specially appointed committee through this became enthusiastically convinced that the method suggested further study of the Delaware "Red Score" tradition which would prove it authentic.

After twenty years in re-examination of Rafinesque's manuscript materials on the Walam Olum and study of its problems, seven specialists in their fields at the University of Indiana have given the results of their work in this handsome volume presenting the new interpretation of the Lenni Lenape text. There are 203 pages showing fine photographic prints of Rafinesque's original manuscript, each print accompanied by its new translation by Dr. C. F. Voegelin, head of the Department of Anthropology in Indiana University, besides the interpretation of the pictographs by Eli Lilly and ethnological observations by Erminie Voegelin, all presented in Part I of the volume. Part II gives supporting evidence, including history of the Walam Olum manuscript by Paul Weer; archeological consideration by Glenn Black; and anthropological data by Georg K. Neumann.

A lovely color reproduction of the miniature of "Constantine S. Rafinesque, 1783-1840." in Transylvania College serves as the frontispiece of this publication. There are two end paper maps of

North America in color, one showing the probable route of the ancient migration of the Lenni Lenape; and the other, the locations of the prehistoric cultures in Northeastern United States. Other interesting additions are a bibliography of the works of Rafinesque and a list of references on the Walam Olum. The whole volume is indeed a work of art, one that every student of American literature and history should own and cherish.

—Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Reminiscences of the Indians. By Cephas Washburn. Edited by Hugh Park. (Van Buren: Press-Argus Printers, 1955. Pp. 192. \$3.75.)

This reprint is issued in limited edition of a now rare book that was first published by the Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Richmond, Virginia, in 1869, nine years after the death of the author. The title page of the original gives this data: "*Reminiscences of the Indians.* By the Rev. Cephas Washburn, A.M., many years superintendent of the Dwight Mission among the Western Cherokees of the Arkansas. With a Biography of the Author by Rev. J. W. Moore, of Arkansas. And an introduction by Rev. J. L. Wilson, D.D., Secretary of the Foreign Missions."

The original volume, particularly the *Reminiscences*, is important in the annals of Oklahoma, and the 1955 reprint with additions and notes by Hugh Park now available for wider reading make it a distinct contribution in the field of history.

The Reverend Cephas Washburn, a recent graduate of the University of Vermont, was appointed by the American Board for Foreign Missions to serve as missionary among the Cherokees in Georgia. A year later, he was commissioned by the American Board to commence a mission among the Western Cherokees in Arkansas. He was joined in this work by his brother-in-law, the Reverend Alfred Finney, who also recently graduated from Dartmouth College. The two with their young families made the hazardous journey west, stopping for some months at Elliot, the Choctaw Mission in Mississippi, and at length reached the Western Cherokee settlements in the White River region of Arkansas Territory, in July, 1820. Here they met James Orr, of New York, and Jacob Hitchcock, of Massachusetts, who had been appointed by the American Board as helpers in the new mission. The party visited the Council of the Western Cherokees, and with its permission selected a location for the mission near the present site of Russellville, in Pope County, Arkansas. Two log cabins were soon erected here in the wilderness and the station was named "Dwight," in honor of the late Reverend Timothy Dwight, President of Yale College and a charter member of the American Board. Other helpers and teachers joined the mission, and the work flourished despite many discouragements.

In a treaty of 1828 with the Government, the Western Cherokees traded their lands in Arkansas for a new country west in the Indian Territory, and the next year moved to this region now included in Northeastern Oklahoma. Consequently to remain near the Cherokees, Dwight Mission was moved to a new site near present Marble City, in Sequoyah County.

Cephas Washburn, a practical and capable man in mundane affairs but first of all a man of God devoutly dedicated to bringing Christianity to the Indians, served Dwight Mission for over twenty years, a work that brought to the Cherokees an incalculable beneficial influence. His *Reminiscences* in the form of letters written in a clear and interesting style, reveal much first hand information on the life and customs of the Cherokees of that early day. Glimpses are also had of the Osages and of the Osage-Cherokee War waged in the first years of Dwight Mission in Arkansas.

Hugh Park has added much of value to the reprint in his notes on the "Cephas Washburn Family." At first glance, one may think the reproduction of the famous Currier & Ives print, "The Arkansas Traveler," is irrelevant until it is learned that the painter of the original was Edward Payson Washburn, the youngest son of the pioneer missionary, Cephas Washburn. This book in its neat format is of absorbing interest for its story of early days in the Arkansas-Oklahoma region.

—Frank F. Finney

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Beyond the Cross Timbers. The Travels of Randolph B. Marcy, 1812-1817. By W. Eugene Hollon. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1955. Pp. xiii, 270. Ills. Bibliographical note. Index. \$4.00.)

Beyond the Cross Timbers is the intriguing title given Dr. Hollon's book on the life of Randolph Barnes Marcy. Such a biography of General Marcy is long overdue for the intimate details of his life during his fifty years of service in the Army have not been recounted in the many publications referring to his exploits. The book is particularly interesting to Oklahomans for it rounds out the saga of a West Point graduate who had more to do with the development of the Indian Territory in the field than any other officer in the United States Army before the Civil War. So familiar is his figure in the records of this region that even the amateur student of Oklahoma history knows something about "Captain Marcy."

Captain Marcy is known in this State's history as the founder of army posts in the Indian Territory, the blazer of the noted California Road across the country, the commander of the survey of Red River that finally determined the southern border of Oklahoma, and as an authority on the Indian tribes and the author of books now counted

as primary sources for historical data of his time. More than these contributions, he looms in the records as a leader on the frontier beyond the Mississippi since he traveled as far and wide as any explorer of the Nineteenth Century, and personally conducted five major expeditions through the West.

Beyond the Cross Timbers gives a graphic picture of army life at many isolated frontier posts of early days. It tells of Captain Marcy's family and of his lovely wife who followed her soldier-husband and made a home for him at many lonely posts in the wilderness including the Indian Territory. Then there is the story of the daughter, Mary Ellen Marcy, and her marriage to Lieutenant George B. McClellan who became his father-in-law's commanding officer in the Civil War and the opponent of Abraham Lincoln in 1864.

Dr. Hollon has made a fine contribution in this new work of his, on the travels of Randolph B. Marcy. And its publication has made another beautiful book produced by the University of Oklahoma Press.

—Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

NECROLOGY

ETHEL BREWER McMILLAN

1879—1954

It is a privilege to meet and know a rare personality who inspires the best in every contact yet often the import of this association is not realized until years later. Countless numbers of students, teachers and patrons were privileged to know "Miss McMillan" during the years that she served in the public school in the Indian Territory and Oklahoma. Many men and women today, from coast to coast, are successful citizens because of the encouragement that she gave them financially and spiritually as boys and girls, for she always inspired youth to develop the best of their potentialities.

Ethel Brewer McMillan was the daughter of J. J. McMillan and Lucy Earnshaw McMillan, who made their home at Dover, Mason County, Kentucky where she was born on October 25, 1879. Her mother was a native of Yorkshire, England. Mr. McMillan owned and operated a coal yard and elevator in the small town of Dover, which was situated on the main line of the C. & O. Railroad and on the Ohio River. He was a successful dealer shipping mostly by boat on the river. Ethel idolized her older brother, Earnshaw, who was the son of her father's first wife. He and her half-sister, Anna Mae, both died in their early twenties, unmarried. Mr. McMillan's second wife, Ethel's mother, passed away at the birth of the second daughter when Ethel was five years old. She adored this little sister, Jennie, and later Jennie's son, Bob, was the joy of her life.

Ethel graduated from the Midway Girls' School in Woodford County, Kentucky, with outstanding honors. Miss Lizzie Corbin, Principal of the Midway School, was the inspiration of Ethel's girlhood, and had a deep influence on her life. Miss McMillan's teaching career began in the country schools around Dover. She also taught one year in a mountain school in Eastern Kentucky.

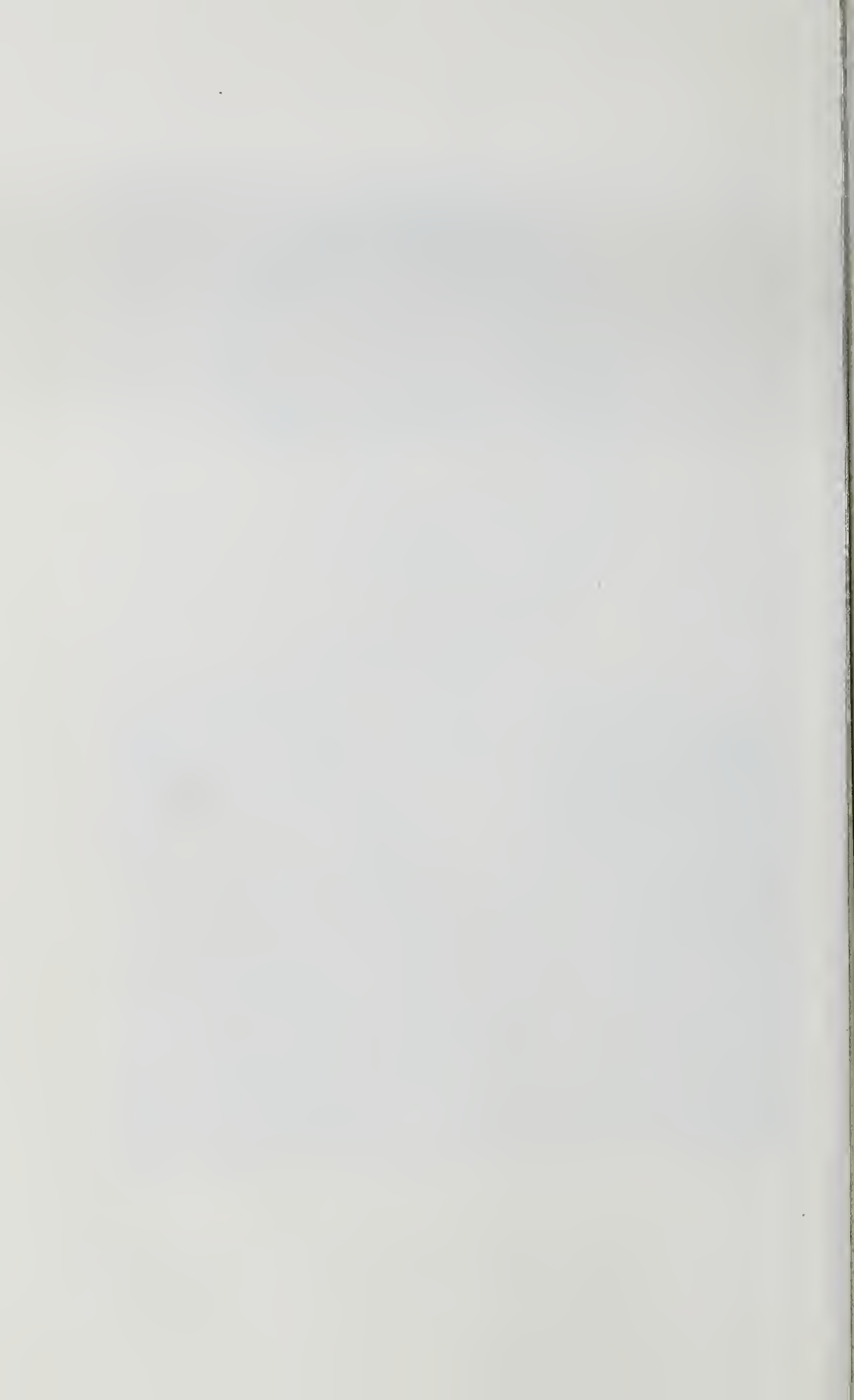
Her higher education included two summers at Teachers' College, Valparaiso, Indiana; two summers at the University of Colorado; a summer at Chicago University; a B.A. degree from the University of Oklahoma, and a M.E. degree from Columbia University, New York. During the summer of 1930, she travelled in Europe and, when not attending school, she travelled much in the United States, thus broadening her fine educational advantages.

Ethel McMillan came to Purcell, Indian Territory, as a young teacher, in February, 1907, and was still serving as a pioneer teacher when Oklahoma became a state in November of the same year. During her two and one-half years at Purcell, she became vitally interested in Indian women and wrote about them. She also worked with many of the Indian teachers in the Indian schools, and admired them greatly for their sacrificial and missionary spirit.

She came to Oklahoma City in 1910 at the opening of Culbertson School, as the seventh grade teacher. Since the street car on Thirteenth Street turned north at Lincoln, she walked the blocks east to the school through many frightening, dark evenings and mornings. She served as assistant principal of the old Lowell School for two and one-half years, and as principal of Hawthorne School for about one and one-half years.



ETHEL BREWER McMILLAN



In 1919, she became principal of Culbertson, and continued as one of Oklahoma City's outstanding, school leaders in this position until she retired in the spring of 1947.

She was a faithful member of St. Luke's Methodist Church in Oklahoma City. As a member of Chapter V of P.E.O., she served on the interviewing committee for recruiting girls to attend Cottey College of Nevada, Missouri. She was also associated in Oklahoma City with the "Friends of the Library," the League of Women Voters, the Y.W.C.A., Women's Dinner Club and Delta Kappa Gamma, a national honorary society for women educators. She was a member of all the local, state and national professional organizations for teachers, contributing not only funds but influence.

Because of her appreciation of the contributions of other lives, she found pleasure in research for historical data for her writings. Among those printed were the "History of the Methodist Church" of Dover, Kentucky, and the "History of the Carnegie Library" of Oklahoma City. As a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society, she contributed to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* valuable articles including "Pioneer Women Teachers, 1820-60" (Vol. XXVII, No. 1, Spring, 1949); and "The First National Indian Training School: The Choctaw Academy" (Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, Summer, 1950). She collected much of the data and secured many fine photographs of the site of this famous Indian School at Blue Spring on a special trip to Kentucky. In the research for her sketch on "Lucy Gage: Founder of Oklahoma's Kindergartens" that appeared in *The Chronicles* (Vol. XXIX, No. 3, Autumn, 1951), Miss McMillan made a fine addition to the history of education in the State.

Her contributions to the Oklahoma City public schools were inestimable. When she retired, the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce presented her with a Life Membership, and the Oklahoma City Board of Education awarded her a Citation of Merit.

She died on December 31, 1954, in Oklahoma City. The funeral services were conducted at the St. Luke's Methodist Church, by Dr. McFerren W. Stowe; the burial was at Dover, Kentucky. She is survived by her nephew, Robert Lear, and his wife, Sue, of Enid, Oklahoma; by a cousin, Mrs. J. D. Thomas, of Oklahoma City; and by her long time friend, Miss Martha Straight, with whom she had lived at 31 N.W. 14th Street, Oklahoma City, for many years. The Board of Education of the Oklahoma City Public Schools paid tribute to Miss McMillan's memory in a formal document of appreciation and sympathy which was sent to her nephew.

Ethel McMillan was a woman with keen insight, unusual perception and a remarkable gift of expression. Her description of the necessary characteristics for a pioneer teacher gives her own qualifications:

"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 acceptance of the teachings of the Master Teacher.

"Yet who shall say she is gone? Does not her 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 mission that is America is preserved."

—Floy Campbell

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE FIRST QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, APRIL 28, 1955

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held in the Directors' Room of the historical building on Thursday, April 28, 1955.

The meeting was called to order by President William S. Key. The following Directors were present: Mr. H. B. Bass, Judge George L. Bowman, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Justice N. B. Johnson, General William S. Key, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Mr. R. G. Miller, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Mrs. Willis Reed, Colonel George H. Shirk, Miss Genevieve Seger, Judge Baxter Taylor, Judge Edgar S. Vaught, and Mr. Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary.

Mrs. Ethel P. Buell, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. John F. Easley, Mr. Exall English, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Dr. John W. Raley were excused for good and sufficient reason. Mr. T. J. Harrison and Mr. C. E. Lee were not present.

Then followed presentation by General Key of the newly elected members of the Board, "We are honored and happy to introduce in order of the appearance, Mrs. Willis Reed of Vinita, and Miss Genevieve Seger of Geary. On behalf of the Board and the Society, I welcome you. We have some members of the fair sex who have lent direction and assistance and made material contributions for the benefit of this Society, and we honor ourselves by your serving with us and hope you will assume your responsibilities and tell us what to do and help us to do it."

Judge Baxter Taylor moved that the new Secretary be presented, motion seconded by Judge Bowman, whereupon General Key said, "Here is my old friend from the trenches, my confederate of the war, moved from one end of the building down to the other. He knows how to get work done and talk to people in a tactful way and knows how to advance the interests of the organization and knows enough about administrative matters to keep worries from going to the President, Vice Presidents and the Treasurer for a lot of decisions. Ladies and gentlemen, I am delighted to present the properly elected and duly qualified, hard-working Administrative Secretary, Mr. Elmer L. Fraker."

It was then explained to the Board that the third new Board member, Mr. Exall English of Lawton, was at the present in Europe, which accounted for his absence at this meeting.

By letter Mr. John F. Easley indicated he would be unable to attend. General Key said he replied to him expressing the hope that he would be able to lend his presence to future meetings, but Mr. Easley wrote back:

"Impairments of age have made it mandatory upon me that tender my resignation as a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

"I want to thank you personally for your considerations and I request that you pass my most sincere thanks to Judge Vaught, R. A. Hefner and Dick Miller for the kind words they said of me upon the occasion of my selection for membership to the Board.

"I feel as chipper as ever but my eyes have grown so bad that I cannot be useful in any organization.

"I thank you and all the full membership and I shall always appreciate having been given a place with you. I am at the instant service of the Board for any duty which I can perform.

"Love and respect for each one of you,

"Most sincerely,

"JOHN F. EASLEY."

A letter of resignation from Dr. John W. Raley, as follows, was presented:

"In checking my book, I find that again I'm going to have to apologize for not being able to attend the meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society Thursday, the twenty-eighth; and the same thing will obtain in the July meeting and the October meeting, so I feel that it would be better to replace me on the Board with someone who can attend.

"It is not that I do not want to serve, but it so happens that I speak to about ten thousand Baptists in Texas at Midland the twenty-seventh and would not be able to get back in time for the meeting the twenty-eighth. I will be in Europe at the time of the summer meeting, and I will be in Houston to speak again to the Texas Baptist General Convention in October. It seems that I am so much a Baptist that I am unable to be very much of anything else. So, General, please have the Board take proper action to relieve me from further embarrassment and get someone who can be of benefit to you by attending the meetings.

"Mrs. Raley and I do plan to attend the dinner Saturday the thirtieth.

"Very truly yours,

"JOHN WESLEY RALEY."

Judge Hefner moved that the resignations of Mr. Easley and Dr. Raley be accepted with regret; motion seconded by Dr. Harbour and Judge Taylor and carried unanimously.

General Key then read a letter from the State Veterans Department, Mr. Don Davis, Director, requesting that the veterans' groups occupying space in the Historical Building not be required to pay the regular fee for the use of the auditorium.

Judge Taylor moved that the request be granted. Judge Vaught seconded the motion with the suggestion that the exception be made to them for the June meeting only. It was then suggested by the Secretary, Elmer L. Fraker, that such groups pay \$5.00 for extra janitor service. Judge Taylor moved that his motion show an exception from charges except to pay the janitor's fee of \$5.00. Mr. Milt Phillips commented: 'If we let all groups of people have it, we would be letting the bars down and we should not be asked to carry that responsibility.'

General Key suggested we make the rule to apply only to those four organizations in the Historical Building. The motion was amended and seconded to grant as sufficient the payment of a \$5.00 janitor fee by the organizations now occupying space in the Historical Building.

A motion was made by Dr. Harbour that the reading of the Minutes of the last meeting be dispensed with. The motion was seconded by Judge Hefner, put and carried.

Secretary Fraker asked for an amendment of the Minutes of January 27th inasmuch as at the time Colonel Shirk made a motion for increase in rate from \$2.00 to \$3.00 per year on subscriptions to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, he was interrupted before the motion was acted upon, and the Minutes should show the motion was adopted. General Key instructed that the Minutes be changed to show this adoption and the Minutes were approved as amended.

Secretary Fraker then presented the list of new applications for membership as follows:

LIFE MEMBERS:

Mr. Orie Alva Maddox	Buffalo, Oklahoma
Mr. Jack Ramsey Parr	Edmond, Okla.
Dr. Bruce R. Hinson	Enid, Okla.
Mr. Charles Wood Jennings	Lawton, Okla.
Dr. Wm. S. Dandridge	Muskogee, Okla.
Mrs. Liela H. Neely	"
Mr. Herbert E. Newton	"
Miss Dorothy Jane Neuberger	Norman, Okla.
Mr. Ralph Adair	Oklahoma City, Okla.
Mrs. A. E. Albrecht	"
Mr. C. R. Anthony	"
Mr. Richard H. Cloyd	"
Mr. Elmer L. Fraker	"
Mr. Edward L. Gaylord	"
Mr. W. Ross Johnston	"
Mr. D. A. McGee	"
Mr. Oscar Monrad	"
Mr. Rex R. Moore, Jr.	"
Rev. Paul Vincent Brown	Perry, Okla.
Dr. Powell E. Fry	Stillwater, Okla.
Dr. Howard L. Puckett	"
Mr. O. E. Carter	Tulsa, Okla.
Mr. Glade R. Kirkpatrick	"
Mr. Richard Kelvin Lane	"
Mr. T. N. Lumly	"

ANNUAL MEMBERS:

Rev. Elzie Periman	Alex, Okla.
Mrs. John R. Bourne	Anadarko, Okla.
Mr. Wallace C. Kidd	"
Mrs. Gordon R. Love	Ardmore, Okla.
Mr. Ernest L. (Mike) Massad	"
Mr. Hugh W. McGill	"
Dr. H. E. Williams	"
Mr. Orville E. Enfield	Arnett, Okla.
Mrs. Betty Miller Armor	Blackwell, Okla.
Mrs. Ethelynde H. Roberson	Chickasha, Okla.
Mrs. John Denbow	Claremore, Okla.
Mr. Harry Bartlett	Clinton, Okla.
Mrs. Maggie Culver Fry	Claremore, Okla.
Mr. Leroy Brandon	Covington, Okla.
Mr. R. K. Arnold	Duncan, Okla.
Prof. R. W. Frazier	Durant, Okla.
Mr. Clarence A. Brown	Durham, Okla.
Mr. John C. Junker	Edmond, Okla.
Mr. Milford Bendiner	Enid, Okla.
Mr. Everett J. Crews	"
Dr. A. F. Dougan	"

Dr. Robert A. Lindsey	"
Mr. R. L. Kimbrel	Pryor, Okla.
Mrs. Alta Hollister Speakman	Sapulpa, Okla.
Mr. Orvis H. Lowry	Sayre, Okla.
Mrs. Raymond Harber	Seminole, Okla.
Mr. Henry E. Harris	"
Mr. Frank Seay	"
Mr. Gerald B. Siler	"
Mr. Robert E. Cunningham	Stillwater, Okla.
Mr. Leonard G. Herron	"
Mr. Thomas A. Higgins	"
Mr. M. C. Kratz	"
Dr. Taylor B. Scott	"
Mr. Wesley K. Wyatt	"
Dr. J. L. Wharton	Sulphur, Okla.
Dr. William T. Parten	Tulsa, Okla.
Mr. George K. Tousley	Vici, Okla.
Mrs. Willis C. Reed	Vinita, Okla.
Mr. Wilbur C. Roman	Wewoka, Okla.
Mr. Duke Ligon	"
Dr. John L. Day	Woodward, Okla.
Miss Ruby Ballard Ludwig	Phoenix, Arizona
Capt. Jack M. Greathouse	Fayetteville, Ark.
Mr. Will Rogers, Jr.	Beverly Hills, Calif.
Miss Cleo K. Sumter	Lawrence, Kans.
Mr. Vern E. Thompson	Joplin, Mo.
Mrs. Ola M. Neves	Springfield, Mo.
Mr. Gaspere Joseph Signorelli	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Mr. Walter Hart Blumenthal	Philadelphia, Penn.
Mrs. May Belle Amerson Berry	Dallas, Texas
Mr. A. V. Slagle	Henrietta, Texas
Miss Marianne Spencer	Wichita Falls, Texas

Also, the following gifts have been presented to the Library and the Museum:

LIBRARY:

13 volumes: Muster Rolls and Adjutant General Reports of the Territorial Oklahoma National Guard, presented by Brig. Gen. Roy W. Kenny and Lt. Col. John H. McCasland, Oklahoma City.

Pioneer and Peacemaker—Story of Firestone, donor: Harvey S. Firestone, Jr.

Proceedings of 1902, 1905, 1912, donor: Lake Mohawk Conference.

Official Congressional Directory 1952, donor: Charles B. Lewis.

The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture (Ewers), donor: U. S. Bureau of Ethnology.

The Story of the 180 Infantry Regiment, donor: George A. Fisher.

Secretary Stimson, donor: Rutgers College.

Cherokee Nation, Constitution and Laws, 1808-1850, 1839-1867, 1875, 1881, 1884, 1892, Cherokee & English Language, donor: unknown. 6 volumes.

The Link—Company publication containing historical article "Marking Trail in Washington, Old Trail Series," donor: Mr. Jack Leach of Carter Oil Company, 10 volumes.

Report of Meeting of Inter-tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes held in Muskogee, January 6, 1955, donor: Justice N. B. Johnson, 2 volumes.

Geology & Mineral Resources of Okfuskee County, including maps, sub-surface cross section, etc., composing 8 volumes, donor: Oklahoma Geological Survey.

William of Hornes, Lord of Heze, and the Revolt of the Netherlands 1576-1580 (G. Griffiths) 1954, donor: University of California.

Louis XIV, William III and the Baltic Crisis of 1683 (Losky, A.) V. 49, 1954, donor: University of California.

Quisqueya—a Panoramic Anthology of Dominican Verse, 1954, donor: Francis E. Townsend.

Manuscript—Tribute to Dr. Thomas T. Montgomery, Durant, Okla. donor: Dr. Charles Evans.

The Reverend George Robertson (1662-1739) Rector of Bristol Parish, Virginia and His Descendants. Donor: Wassel Randolph, Memphis, Tenn.

The Memoirs of Emma Prather Gilmer (mother of T. P. and late Dixie Gilmer), donor: Emma Prather Gilmer.

History of the 45th Division Artillery. Donor: George A. Fisher.
180th Infantry, A Regiment of the 45th Infantry Division. Donor: Everett W. Duval.

Numerous publications have also been received from the University of Kentucky, The American Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, New York State Historical Association, University of Kansas, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, etc.

MUSEUM:

General Key directed that the record show acceptance of the gifts and that letters of thanks be sent to the donors; and that the applications for memberships be accepted and applicants admitted to membership in the Society.

Rough Rider's Hat Band.

Donor: Mrs. Carolyn Foreman, Muskogee.

Spanish American War Nurse's Uniform.

Donor: Miss Bertha Bishop, Guthrie, Okla.

Plaster "Death Mask of Napoleon."

Donor: Mr. Claude Hensley, Oklahoma City, Okla.

32 Pictures of Oklahoma Territory.

Donor: Dr. H. H. Heuston, Boulder, Colo.

47 Pictures of Indian Territory.

Donor: Mrs. Carolyn Foreman, Muskogee, Okla.

Osage Warrior Troop.

Donor: Mr. Frank Finney, Oklahoma City.

Picture of First bridge, first depot, first post office at Oklahoma City.

Donor: Mrs. Mary Crow, Chickasha, Okla.

Secretary Fraker was called upon for additional comments on his quarterly report. He stated that the Society's budget had passed both houses of the Legislature, and all it needs now is the Governor's signature. He further reported the bill provides for an increase of \$9,110.00 over the previous appropriation. Judge Vaught commented that the Secretary had earned his salary already.

Secretary Fraker stated he had requested an amendment to Senate Bill No. 167 now in the Legislature, which appropriates funds for the State Board of Affairs, to increase their request by \$7,500.00 to give the Historical Society \$5,000.00 for the stacks to take care of the newspapers which are piled up, and \$2,500.00 to improve the grounds by building a parking lot. The Secretary pointed out this request would not likely be approved because most appropriation bills had already been set.

Mr. Fraker then called the Board's attention to letters he had received from Mr. J. R. Williamson, President of the "Pioneers of Oklahoma" at Muskogee, Oklahoma wanting a protest made to the dam overflow at Salina. Judge Vaught thought we should not mix with it. General Key suggested the the Secretary write to Mr. Williamson and thank him for the interest in preserving the history of our state and this Society's progress, but that we do not feel disposed to take action because of the political questions involved.

Secretary Fraker then read a letter from Mr. Carl E. Reubin, President of the Tishomingo Chamber of Commerce, inviting all Board members to attend the centennial celebration at Tishomingo on June 24 and 25. The Secretary was instructed to write a letter to the Governor of the Chickasaw Nation and to the Chamber of Commerce accepting their invitation.

The Secretary then brought up the matter of budgeting the special funds, suggesting that the Board at its July meeting budget the funds appropriated by the state and also the special funds at the July meeting. He submitted such proposed budgets for study by the Board. After some discussion by Mrs. Moore, the Treasurer and others of the Board, Judge Cole moved that the Secretary's suggestions of considering the budgets at the next meeting be approved; motion seconded by Judge Hefner and carried unanimously.

General Key then reported the death of Doctor Fred S. Clinton a former Board member, whereupon Judge Cole presented the following Resolution:

"RESOLVED, Whereas, in the death of Dr. Fred S. Clinton, of Tulsa, on Monday, April 25, 1955, the Oklahoma Historical Society has sustained a personal loss. He was at all times interested in the work of the Society, serving for a time as a Director. He contributed many articles of historical value to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. In his passing the State has lost a worthy citizen.

"NOW, THEREFORE, be it Resolved, that the Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, assembled in Oklahoma City this 28th day of April, 1955, express our grief at the loss of a worthy member and citizen of Oklahoma, and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that this body extend to his widow and friends, our regret over his passing."

Judge Vaught moved this Resolution be adopted, motion seconded by Judge Taylor and passed unanimously.

General Key read greetings from Dr. I. N. McCash, an honorary member of the Board, who expressed wishes for a successful historical tour of the historical sites.

A report was then made by the Picture Committee on the offer of Mrs. Roy Hoffman to present many of the historical records of General Roy Hoffman, including pictures, etc., to the Society. Judge Taylor moved that such records be accepted. Motion seconded by Judge Hefner and passed unanimously. Judge Cole moved that the report of the Committee be accepted, motion seconded by Mr. Milt Phillips and passed unanimously.

General Key, a member of the committee appointed by the Governor to provide a memorial of suitable character to commemorate the memory of General Raymond S. McLain, advised that funds had been requested to provide such memorial; either by an annex to the historical building or a separate building on donated property. He stated that in the meantime, Mrs. McLain had offered to make available all of the General's military records and memoranda which is considerable in size. General Key voiced the opinion that the Society should take care of such materials until the completion of the memorial. Judge Taylor moved that we accept the proposition as stated. Mrs. Korn seconded the motion which carried unanimously.

Mr. Milt Phillips stated, "The State of Oklahoma, the Veterans and other military organizations are certainly interested because to us, General McLain exemplified the Oklahoma fighting soldier in type, and I want to put a suggestion in the form of a motion." Secretary Fraker said he agreed wholeheartedly with the suggestion. The resolution, seconded by Judge Taylor and unanimously approved, follows:

"BE IT RESOLVED, that the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society compliment the preliminary plans of the Special Commission appointed by Governor Raymond Gary to plan and erect a fitting Memorial to the late and distinguished Oklahoma soldier and civic leader, General Raymond S. McLain; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Oklahoma Historical Society pledge its wholehearted support to the proposal for a General McLain Memorial which will be useful, fitting and will commemorate both General McLain, the state's outstanding citizen-soldier, and each and every Oklahoma citizen, man or woman who has given of their life's blood for our great Nation in time of war; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Oklahoma Historical Society pledge the support of the Society, both by its membership and of its physical facilities, if this General McLain Memorial should require such physical facilities, to the successful conclusion of a fitting Memorial to our State's distinguished General McLain and to all of the distinguished men and women who have served so gallantly in war, the Nation of which Oklahoma is the 46th State."

General Key then called for a report of the House Committee, of which Colonel Shirk is chairman, who stated the auditorium had been renovated and the work accepted by the committee and paid for. Colonel Shirk voiced the opinion that the improvements were well worth the cost.

In reporting on the Wapanucka Academy Memorial project, Colonel Shirk advised that a group of local citizens desired to perpetuate the memory and history of old Wapanucka Academy by clearing the site of the Academy grave-yard, and making provision for the care of the grave of Mary Greenleaf, who is buried in the cemetery. He stated that a committee from the Oklahoma Historical Society had met with the local group, and that negotiations with the land-owner had resulted in a conveyance to the Society of a tract one-half acre in size, containing the cemetery, to be cared for by the local committee. He moved that the committee continue to work with the local sponsors in their completion of the Memorial and

that one certain deed of conveyance to the State of Oklahoma be accepted for the use and purpose of the Oklahoma Historical Society, covering real estate in Johnston County which deed is recorded in Book 69 of Deeds at page 422, described:

A tract of land in the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 9, Township 2 South, Range 8 East, described; Beginning at a point 663.2 feet west and 456.2 feet north of the center quarter corner of said section; thence west 147.6 feet; thence north 147.6 feet; thence east 147.6 feet thence south 147.6 feet to the point of beginning, containing one-half acre, together with the road easement thereto from F. A. Gillespie and Sons Company, of Tulsa, Oklahoma.

The motion was seconded by Judge Taylor and upon vote, passed unanimously.

General Key then presented a letter from Bacone College at Muskogee, Oklahoma, with reference to the dinner and entertainment on Thursday night, the first evening of the historical tour, and further stated the tour would be climaxed with a dinner at the Oklahoma Club at 7 p.m. on Saturday, April 30, when the guests of the Society would be the New York visitors and the principal speaker would be Major General Patrick Hurley. The president urged all directors to attend.

Dr. Wilhelm, president of Oklahoma A & M College advised he and his wife would attend the dinner; Dr. George Cross president of the University of Oklahoma wrote that he would be unable to attend and expressed his regrets, as did Dr. Pontius of Tulsa University.

Judge Vaught suggested the exercise of great care in the selection of successors to resigning Directors, that the Society needed people on the Board who are willing to work, giving some time and attention to attending the meetings of the Board. Mr. Milt Phillips reminded the Board of the action at a previous meeting and stated they must select men or women who would become active members.

President Key called upon Mr. R. G. Miller for some comments on the Tour which began the evening of April 28th, and who responded with a short report on the trip.

At this time, Miss Wright, Mr. Henry Bass and Colonel George Shirk welcomed the 15 New York visitors who were:

Mrs. Logan Billingsley, Chairman, New York Delegation, Westchester County Historical Society, Katonah, N.Y.

Mr. Logan Billingsley, Katonah, N.Y.

Mrs. Ora Billingsley, Katonah, N.Y.

Miss Greta Cornell, Curator, Ossining Historical Museum, Ossining, N.Y.

Mrs. Ralph Daros, Somers Historical Society, Somers, N.Y.

Mr. Byron Evans, and Mrs. Byron Evans, Orlando, Florida and Katonah, N.Y.

Mr. Elliott Baldwin Hunt, President, Westchester County Historical Society and Official Representative of Westchester County, Ossining, N.Y.

Mrs. Elliot Baldwin Hunt, Ossining, N.Y.

Mr. Sidney Levine, 277 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. Paule Masse and Mrs. Paul Masse, Croton Falls, N.Y.

Miss Maureen McKernan, Representative of Westchester County Publishers, Editor "Know your Westchester" *Reporter Dispatch*, White Plains, N.Y.

Mrs. Alice M. Runyon, Associate Director, Sleepy Hollow Restorations, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.

Mrs. Charles Ward, Official Representative of the Town of Somers, Shenorock, N.Y.

There being no further business, motion to adjourn was made by Colonel Shirk, seconded by all Directors and carried unanimously at 11:45 a.m. Directors and guests met for luncheon at the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce Directors' meeting in the Skirvin Hotel at 12:30 a.m.

W. S. KEY, President

ELMER L. FRAKER, Secretary

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

WILLIAM S. KEY

EDWARD EVERETT DALE

R. G. MILLER

H. MILT PHILLIPS

GEORGE H. SHIRK

ELMER L. FRAKER

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THE ANNUAL OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL TOURS

By R. G. Miller*

The scene was the board of directors room in the Oklahoma Historical Society building. The business session was drawing to a close. The president, secretary, treasurer and all committee chairmen had made their reports and, just before adjournment, the way was opened for consideration of new business for the good of the Society.

Whereupon I, newest member of the board, dared to rise and offer a suggestion. For thirty years I had been an Oklahoma resident, being transplanted here from Arkansas. During all that time I had traveled every county in Oklahoma, knew people in every county, had visited the principal historical and scenic centers in the state, knew the highways and trails and had been a regular reader of the *Chronicles*.

I had sat through that session of the Board and listened to discussions of various historical sites and projects. For years I had read and heard of these historical shrines. I wondered how many of the officers, directors and staff members of the society had ever personally visited the revered historical points they had been talking and reading about through the years.

The question was put and the result was amazing. Very few of those present, who were charged with guiding state historical thought, had ever seen such important historical places as Rose Hill, Wheelock church, Fort Gibson, the Santa Fe trail, old Colony, Doan's Crossing, Fort Arbuckle, Sequoyah's hut, Boggy Depot, Tuskahoma and ever so many others.

So my suggestion was that the Society should organize and conduct an annual tour to visit the state's principal historical points. The suggestion was immediately approved, and the Society has had a tour as part of its regular program of service every spring since.

I was requested to write a story of the tours for *The Chronicles*. It is being done from memory. This story may be viewed as a newspaper story instead of an historical essay. That is because I am a newspaper writer, not an historian. But my heart is in Oklahoma history. I love it.

* Mr. R. G. Miller is an editorial writer and columnist for *The Daily Oklahoman* and *Oklahoma City Times*. He has been a resident of Oklahoma for more than thirty-five years, and is a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society.—Ed.



Tourists on the Oklahoma Historical Tour along the Washington Irving Trail, 1955.



THE IRVING TOUR, 1955

Perhaps the most interesting tour the society has conducted was the one in the spring of 1955, known as the Washington Irving Tour. That tour generated, by far, more local, statewide and national interest and following than the three previous spring tours.

The Irving Tour followed, in the main, much of the trail blazed by Washington Irving, statesman and author, who accompanied a party of U. S. Rangers on an expedition west from Fort Gibson in 1832, and wrote the literary classic, *A Tour of the Prairies*. The original Irving trail (on today's map) from Fort Gibson was up the Arkansas river to Tulsa, west through Keystone and Yale to Castle Rock southeast of Stillwater, thence west and south past Wild-horse prairie to open fields near Arcadia where the "ringing of wild horses" occurred; on south past Moore and Norman, thence eastward back to the starting point.

People from 28 towns and cities in the state were on the Irving Tour. At the first night meeting, open to tourists and local people, 172 persons gathered in the auditorium of Bacone Indian college to enjoy an historical and musical program. The second night stop, the Student Union on the Oklahoma A. and M. College campus, Stillwater, attracted 200 persons. And at the noonday event the third day, at Castle Rock, on the bald prairie, there were 275 persons.

Fort Gibson itself is an historical and a scenic sight for anybody to see. The beautiful Grand river was seen at two places, also the Verdigris river. A stop for coffee and good neighborliness was made at the Chouteau trading post, Salina, after having stopped previously at historical Three Forks, now Okay.

In Claremore the tourists saw the wonderful Will Rogers memorial. In Tulsa they saw the Three Nations Corner, the Gilcrease Museum, the University of Tulsa and the Irving monument. Farther west, near Keystone, the happy tourists walked into Bear's Glen, a beautiful woodsy canyon of which Irving wrote interestingly in his book. Tourists stood on Castle Rock, near Mehan village, where the Irving party stayed two days. They trod the prairie where the Irving group saw many wild horses and later in the day they saw horses and buffalo recalling scenes described by Irving, at the Cargill ranch east of Edmond and on the prairie a few miles farther east. At Irving's campground on Crutch Creek, a few miles east of Oklahoma City, the tourists visited the spot where the travelers in 1832 were rained in for three days. Then they visited some of the wild buffalo hunting grounds near Norman before heading back east.

The Irving tour gained favorable publicity in magazines and newspapers and by television and radio all over the nation. That publicity was probably spurred by the fact that 16 persons from Sleepy Hollow, Irving's old home, came to Oklahoma to join in the Society's Historical Tour. Not only did the New Yorkers come, but they

brought 100 or more cuttings of ivy from the famous Kennilworth Castle in Abbotsford, Scotland, which Irving introduced into this country, the original plantings having been given to him by Sir Walter Scott. These ivy plants are now thriving in Oklahoma.

Probably the most valued effect these historical tours are having is emphasizing Oklahoma history to people in all walks of life. Oklahoma has not earned any laurels for the way its people have embraced state history. The tours are helping to center attention on it. More schools are including classes in basic history. More people in homes and in business houses are showing interest in it. A few state officials and legislators are giving encouragement. Members of the Board of Directors and of the staff of the Society are eagerly awaiting the 1956 tour.

One thing has puzzled officers and directors of the Society. On the four tours conducted thus far, chiefly in the eastern half of the state, very few individuals from eastern Oklahoma have taken part. At least ninety percent of the tourists have been western Oklahomans. Special efforts are to be made to enlist the touring co-operation and support of eastern Oklahomans on the 1956 tour.

The first tour, back in April of 1952, attracted only about 75 persons traveling in 20 private cars. That tour covered territory that is rich in Oklahoma's early history. It may be repeated in later years, as interest in things historical grows.

THE FIRST TOUR

The first tour's caravan left Oklahoma City early in the morning. The first stop was Norman, where the historians visited the university library and the museum. Farther south a stop was made at the spot, near Wayne, where the original California Trail crosses highway 77. One or two additional stops were made before reaching old Fort Arbuckle, west of Davis, where the ruins were inspected.

On south to the Carter Indian seminary in Ardmore, and a luncheon-meeting with southern Oklahoma historians at Lake Murray lodge. On east across Lake Texoma and to Durant, truly an historical area, and the annual dinner-meeting of the society in the Southeastern college dining hall. Continuing east the next morning stops were made at the markers for Armstrong academy and Spencer academy, and a visit to Goodland orphanage near Hugo. East of Hugo history was relived at the old Rose Hill plantation site.

Farther east the tourists made a most interesting stop at Wheelock academy for Indian girls. Luncheon was served by the Indian girls and a fine program was presented. On adjoining acreage a visit was made to old Wheelock church, first established in 1832, the rock building having been completed in 1846, the state's oldest church building. After that the tourists were guided south of Idabel to see the first cultivated farm in the state, dating from 1808, and the site

of the first postoffice, Miller Court House, opened in 1824. At the night stop in Broken Bow a fine program was enjoyed in the high-school auditorium.

On the second morning out the touring historians visited the oldest and largest tree in the state at old Eagletown. This cypress tree is estimated to be 2,000 years old and is 90 feet tall and 42 feet around at its base. It is a show place for thousands of tourists every year.

Then followed the drive across the beautiful Kiamichi mountains to Tuskahoma, near which stands the old Council House of the Choctaws. The travelers really enjoyed the mountain drive. Spring greenery and spring flowers were showing off. One hundred different kinds of trees waved welcome and 100 different kinds of birds presented symphonies. The tumbling mountain streams of clear water were sights to see.

Leaving Tuskahoma, a late luncheon stop was made at Hartshorne Indian school for boys. The young students put on a most enjoyable program which carried religious emphasis, it being Sunday. Homeward bound, the caravan made three or four more brief stops at historical markers and wound up the first tour, everybody happy and having seen some of the state's most historically important sites.

THE SECOND TOUR

When it came time to consider the second historical tour I got on my feet again at a board meeting and suggested that all of Oklahoma's history was not made in eastern Oklahoma and recommended that the 1953 tour cover some of western Oklahoma. It was done.

The first stop on that tour was Anadarko where visits were made to the Riverside Indian school and the Plains Indian museum. A stop was made at the marker at the site of the original Wichita agency, oldest in the west side of the state, and at Fort Cobb, another-day historical spot. On west to old Colony which was a tribal educational center for many decades. Then into Cordell for luncheon with historically-minded folks from many counties in western Oklahoma.

There were stops on the courthouse lawn in Hobart, at Altus-Lugert lake in the Quartz mountains, near Devil's canyon where the Wichitas once set up and maintained a village, and then to Mangum, capital of the old Greer Empire, where old and new stories of history were recounted. North to Elk City for the night, sparked by a banquet in which state history was the only theme.

Taking off the second morning, the historians crossed the old California trail, stopped at the site of Custer's battle with the Cheyennes, and headed across the western prairies for Boise City, the luncheon stop. Following an inspiring and enriching meeting there, the caravan was guided across more open spaces to old Camp Nichols and the Santa Fe trail which date back to the early and middle

1800s. Back east to Guymon for the night and another grand meeting to learn more history.

The third day provided for marvelously interesting stops in Beaver, once "capital" of the Panhandle region, and at Woodward, Seiling and Watonga.

On this tour, and the first one, a few scheduled stops had to be skipped because of lack of time. The caravans always ran late, too late at times to fulfill the schedule. Everybody was sorry.

THE THIRD TOUR

As these historical tours came around, year after year, they were becoming more popular and interesting.

The 1954 tour went north and east from Oklahoma City. A breakfast stop was arranged at Guthrie, first territorial and state capital, having been born with the run of 1889. Next stop was Perry where the local historical society and the First Families greeted the visitors enthusiastically and told of Perry's part in opening and settling the Cherokee Strip.

In Ponca City the travelers were filled in on history in that region and they saw the Ponca City museum and the Pioneer Woman statue. Eastward across the Osage hills to Pawhuska for a luncheon-meeting with historians in that area. A visit to the Osage museum was enlightening.

Then south to Tulsa for the night, after spending three hours seeing the wonders of the Gilcrease museum of history and art—one of the high spots of all the tours. Next morning, an hour in the Will Rogers museum in Claremore and a view of the Davis collection of 22,000 guns. Then to Pryor for an hour with Thomas J. Harrison's wonderful collection of Bibles, and to Salina for a fried chicken luncheon. There the historians met descendants of the original Chouteau family who founded the state's first permanent white settlement.

From Salina, back toward Pryor for a stop at the grave of Nathaniel Pryor, then a trip to Union mission, first mission opened in the state in 1820, and site of operation of the first printing press. Then through Three Forks to Muskogee for the night. A fine historical meeting was conducted there.

The third morning an early stop was made at old Fort Gibson, and a visit made to the beautiful national cemetery there. Then to old Park Hill, very rich in history, seat of much Cherokee activity, and to Tablequah, capital of the Cherokee country for so long a time. Some tourists wished to remain in the Tablequah area for a week.

On eastward, a stop was made at the 115-year-old waterpower grist mill just south of highway 51, and a luncheon stop was made at Stilwell where more history of early missions was told. Later in

the afternoon another high spot of all tours was Sequoyah's log hut, now in a park, northeast of Sallisaw. Finally, homeward by way of Tenkiller Lake and a final stop for the Kolache festival in Prague.

That's the story of the four tours up to now. At least a wordy glimpse of the tours.

Next spring's tour is tentatively set to cover the Chisholm Trail from the Red river to the Kansas line. And it is very likely that the historical societies of Kansas and Texas will join their Oklahoma neighbors and historians in doing this tour in a more impressive way.

COMMENTS FROM THE NEW YORKERS ON THE IRVING TOUR IN OKLAHOMA, 1955

*By Maureen McKernan**

The Fort Gibson restoration was a pause in the Washington Irving Tour that was greatly enjoyed by the New York visitors as was the stop at Salina and the opportunity to meet descendants of the pioneer traders who established this frontier base.

But even more impressed were they by the Bear's Glen because here the face of the earth was relatively unchanged, and it was possible to relive for an hour the events of a hundred years ago, even picking up a little touch of poison ivy. In the older states the face of the land has so changed that one cannot associate the present with the past but in Oklahoma one can and to those from old states where generation after generation has left its own deposits upon the face of nature, it is a rare privilege and an excitement to stand upon unchanged land, view an original and unchanged landscape.

None of the New York visitors will forget the cold punch and cakes served by the women and members of the Washington Irving Club at the IXL School near Perkins. Here and again at Yale they were deeply impressed by the kindness, the realness of the people where hospitality was so much of the heart, not just a word.

To everyone, most of them seeing Oklahoma for the first time, it was an unforgettable experience to find the urban presence of modern Oklahoma City and Tulsa so close to the primeval, the original and the characteristic of the country itself. Nowhere, they say, can one see the characteristics of American people, what is essentially American, as is revealed in Oklahoma by Oklahomans to the visitors who are fortunate enough to tour the state with its representative and informed people. Members of the New York delegation made the following comments concerning the Irving Tour:

ELLIOTT B. HUNT, of Ossining, President of the Westchester County Historical Society: "I was deeply impressed, as were all the New York party, at the foresightedness of Oklahomans in recording their history, preserving historic landmarks, doing research now while sources are still available, the facts of the growth of the community easily ascertained.

* Maureen McKernan, in private life Mrs. John C. Ross, is a former Oklahoman, and is now a reporter and columnist on the *Reporter Dispatch*, West Chester County Publications, White Plains, New York. She was the official representative of her newspaper and the reporter with the New York delegation on the Irving Tour in Oklahoma.—Ed.

"Most significant, from a cultural viewpoint, is that history to Oklahomans, the visitors found, is a living story of today and yesterday, of fresh interest to children and to youth as well as to the antiquarian and the genealogist. With such a beginning one can assume that future generations of Oklahomans will be a far better educated people about their own state and culture than are the people of so many states where a living interest in history was not aroused until decades had obliterated much of the facts of the growth of the culture and society of the area.

This was not only Mr. Hunt's appraisal but that also of all the New York visitors from the historically rich Hudson River Valley.

MRS. ALICE RUNYON, associate director of the Sunnyside Restorations which includes the home of Washington Irving at Tarrytown: "In Oklahoma, Washington Irving stands as the explorer and the statesman who is too often obscured in Eastern minds by his fame as a story teller of half fanciful tales such as those that he wrote about our own Hudson River country." Mrs. Runyon, viewing from the perspective of the historian, saw significance that could inspire other states or areas in the way Oklahoma has made its very earliest history a story of immediate interest to young generations by its speedy program of preserving its historic heritage in such tangible form as restorations and historic markers, following a pattern of known facts and not tradition. As a woman who had given much of her life to research and preservation of the history of Washington Irving and his part in the making of America, she was deeply moved at what the pioneernig and young state of Oklahoma has done for the history of that portion of American development in which Irving played his part.

MRS. RALPH DAROS, of Yorktown Heights, N. Y.: "I'll never forget that morning at the Irving Castle Rocks, when old cowboys made it seem like a day in a time long past and then suddenly there was a radio mike, right out on the prairie from nowhere to bring you back to the present. What impressed me most? What do I remember? That welcome on our arrival at the station in Oklahoma City. The Indians in feather headdresses! The welcome, as though we were old friends, at the Governor's mansion—such a beautiful home. The police escort! I never rode with one before. But perhaps I'll remember longer our visit to Anadarko on Sunday, after the tour was over. The beautiful rock formations of that part of the country; the green of the plains against the red soil; the beauty of the rolling prairies. I've never seen anything more beautiful. I'll never forget it. There was the surprise of the Gilcrease Museum and the grandeur of the Will Rogers Memorial. They were impressive, wonderful, not to be forgotten."

MISS GRETA CORNELL, Ossining, N. Y.: "I'll never forget the inspiration, the beauty, which came to us as a surprise because we

were unprepared, of the Indian students at Bacone College as they gave the 23rd Psalm in Indian sign language. Their singing was equally inspiring. I was so glad to see that the Indians are keeping up their tribal dancing, not letting the dances be forgotten. They must be encouraged not to forget the spiritual significance of their dances.

"I was most impressed by the quality, the wise selection, the great art at the Gilcrease Museum. In particular, I was interested in the Jarvis portrait of 'Black Hawk and His Son,' and the Audubon bird etching by Havell who lived in my home town of Ossining. The landscapes are outstanding. One needs to spend hours in more than one visit to do that Museum justice. I was very much impressed by the collection."

LOGAN BILLINGSLEY, of Katonah, a former Anadarko resident: "The Bacone College Campus at Muskogee is as beautiful as any I've ever seen in the east. You know, from such programs as they gave for us with the wonderful rendering of the Lord's Prayer in Indian that the little college is still the great moral and cultural influence upon Oklahoma that it always has been. Nothing must happen, just for the lack of money, to let Bacone ever decline. It's an American College to thrill the heart of any American, be he Oklahoman, New Yorker or anyone. The East must know more about Bacone."

SIDNEY LEVINE, former Commissioner of Licenses of the State of New York: "This tour of Oklahoma, from great cities like Tulsa, whose skyline challenges that of Manhattan when you see it from the distant hilltops, to the open plains that have never changed, made me think a lot of my own father (and to be proud of him). He was Abraham Levine, a pioneer merchant who followed the railroad construction crews of the Santa Fe in 1881 until he reached Temple, Texas and decided to stay right there. I grew up in New York but this historic tour of Oklahoma made me appreciate and be deeply grateful that my father was a pioneer.

"The Indian dances at Pawnee were most popular with me because they seemed less changed by modern influences. Not that all of the Indian dances on the tour weren't good. The highlights for me were the speech of General Patrick J. Hurley at the banquet in Oklahoma City; the wit and humor of Judge Edgar S. Vaught; the wonderful golden wedding anniversary celebration at the home of Mr. and Mrs. O. A. Cargill near Edmond which I attended. And it was a treat, a real treat, to have a chance to talk to a Governor, Ex-Governor Murray, about that piece of his in the *Saturday Evening Post* that had Oklahoma talking so much. That's an experience you don't stumble onto every day, listening to an author who was also a Governor, discuss his trouble-making piece in last week's magazine."



At the Governor's Mansion. Left to right, seated back row: Mrs. Byron Evans, Mr. Logan Billingsly, Mrs. Logan Billingsly, Mrs. Paul Masse, Mrs. Harold F. Westcott. Standing: Mrs. Raymond D. Gary, Mrs. Ora Billingsly, Mrs. Paul Daros, Colonel George H. Shirk.



Left to Right: Mr. Elliott Baldwin Hunt, General Patrick J. Hurley, General William S. Key.

MRS. CHARLES WARD, Somers, N. Y.: "How nice they all were! It made you feel undeserving, how everywhere people acted as though we had paid them a special honor for coming to Oklahoma while we at the same time were just breathless at the kindness, the friendliness, the lavish hospitality to us, strangers from so far away. We were hardly in a town until people knew we were there and made us feel as if we had found a whole crowd of friends welcoming us. The patience of the crowds when we were late arriving! The trouble everyone took to entertain us! Their graciousness—whether it was a Governor or a judge or some shy little Indian boy!"

EVELYN HODECKER HUNT (Mrs. Elliott B.) of Ossining: "The friendliness, their hospitality, the way the people of Oklahoma did not stand on ceremony at all. Even the children just came up and spoke to us, told us about their families, their hopes to go to college—as though we were old friends or someone they had been just waiting to meet. The young people seemed to be so much more interested in schooling, in getting an education than most I know back east. The barbecue picnic on the prairie at the Irving Castle Rocks south of Stillwater was the most striking event, one we'll not forget but on the formal side I think we were all most impressed by the Will Rogers Memorial. To us New Englanders the Oklahoma spirit taught a lesson. It is to show you how kind people can be to strangers and that you can and should do the same for someone else who may be a stranger in your own home town."

It was as a Frenchman that Paul Masse viewed Oklahoma, and the French name "Chouteau" meant the pioneer story of America which has always fascinated him, particularly that part of the pioneer adventure that was paced out by the French.

"Now," said Mr. Masse (and his wife agreed), "I have seen the heart of America as I had not yet seen it. Now I can really begin to know America. You don't find all that I have wanted in our eastern cities. What I wanted to know about America I began to see and understand in Oklahoma. It's the America I have wanted to find."

FRANCIS BILLINGSLY, Chairman, Committee on Westchester County Historical Society Irving Tour: "We New Yorkers were a group of history lovers, most of whom were on their first trip to the southwestern part of the United States and a real adventure.

"As for myself, I was keenly interested in seeing the eastern section of Oklahoma, as my previous trips to the state had been to the southwestern part. The native charm and beauty of the "New Country" to which, in 1901, the Billingsly family had gone from the Cherokee Strip were well known to me: the colorful Indian people and the beautiful view from the top of Tonkawa Hill in Indian City.

"Having heard tales of the Indian Territory from a native daughter, Maureen McKernan, I had contemplated the Irving Tour with the

same expectancy as my fellow travelers. Miss McKernan, Woman's Editor of the Westchester County Publishers, had spent her girlhood near Castle where her family had been cattle ranchers before statehood. The Oklahoma Historical Society was scheduled to take us right through this little town of Castle. In fact, we did pass directly in front of the McKernan homestead.

"At Irvington, New York, in the latter part of March a reception was given in honor of the delegation from the Oklahoma Historical Society. Following this tea and reception at Sunnyside, which Mrs. Alice Runyon and Dr. Hugh Grant Rowell gave in honor of the visiting group of Oklahomans, the air in New York was filled with "the Oklahoma Tour." This event was a huge success. Muriel H. Wright and R. G. Miller spoke of the plans of the Oklahoma Historical Society and made a fine impression as did the others who had made the trip to New York. The other Oklahomans who were present in Westchester County were Mrs. Sue Ruble, representing Governor Raymond Gary, Colonel George H. Shirk, Mrs. Harold Westcott and Miss Hallie Johnson.

"Our Westchester papers gave widespread coverage to the visit of the Oklahomans. *The New York Times* ran a fine story which included a map and pictures. *The Christian Science Monitor* sent a staff to cover the reception at Sunnyside and the *Monitor's* full page of drawings and feature story ran in its international edition in April. Foreign publications such as *France-Amerique* also carried news stories of the re-run of the "Tour on the Prairies."

"The decision to plant ivy originated with Miss Maureen McKernan but it fell to Mrs. Alice Runyon to follow through with this wonderful idea. Mrs. Runyon, one of the nation's outstanding authorities on Washington Irving, took care of this ivy detail from the time the ivy was cut from the vine at Sunnyside until it reached the Oklahoma soil. Mrs. Runyon was a "woman with a mission" among us. Johnny Appleseed could not have taken his planting much more zealously than Mrs. Runyon when she planted the ivy in Oklahoma.

"Our New York group had its fair share of excitement. Washington Irving displayed great agitation on finding Count Pourtales missing as did our party on finding Mr. Elliot Baldwin Hunt missing at departure time. I can still see Miss McKernan striding down the platform, photographers at her heels, shouting "Where's Elliot?" as the 20th Century Limited sounded its warning whistle. Fortunately Mr. Hunt, President of the Westchester County Historical Society and official delegate of Westchester County, was finally located.

"With Mr. Charles Schwalb, the representative of the Mayor of the City of New York, on hand to wish us Godspeed our party left New York. Throughout the run to Oklahoma City, this Pullman car was given special attention and designated as the "Oklahoma Irving Tour."

"We arrived safely and were given a wonderful reception at Oklahoma City. From the railroad station we were taken to the Governor's Mansion where Mrs. Raymond Gary greeted us. The party was served breakfast and were overwhelmed by the graciousness of our hostess. I know the Easterners melted considerably at the warmth of this greeting.

"The story of the Tour in Oklahoma is well known and there is little that I can add, except to mention that this Irving Tour has had far-reaching significance. Since Oklahoma received her cuttings of ivy, other states have requested slips of this Kenilworth Ivy which henceforth may be better known as Irving's Ivy.

"Other Historical Societies throughout the nation may well follow the lead of the Oklahoma Historical Society in initiating tours to teach history. Our own Westchester County Historical Society for its Fall Pilgrimage has adopted many things we learned from the Oklahoma Historical Society's Irving Tour in Oklahoma."

AN EARLY DAY RAILROAD AGENT IN THE KIOWA-COMANCHE COUNTRY

*By Milburn C. Harper**

Indians to the right of me. Indians to the left of me. Indians milling around my station. Such was my situation, when as a very young telegrapher I was assigned agent and telegrapher for the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad at Kiowa Station in the Kiowa Indian Nation of Western Oklahoma that was to be thrown open for white settlement by the United States Government. Kiowa Station (which is now Hobart, Oklahoma) was to be one of the new government towns in the new Indian country. It was located out in the broad prairies with the Wichita Mountains plainly visible to the south.

Every day saw Indians loafing around the station. I was a new comer and they were curious. Among them was a big rough looking Indian that somehow did not appeal to me.

Actually, as a boy in the old Indian Territory, my family said that we were of Mississippi Choctaw descent. In fact, I felt and tried to act like an Indian.¹

After allotting every Indian on the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation a quarter section, there was a surplus of thousands of quarter sections to be awarded the whites by drawing, the biggest thing of its kind in our history.

* After leaving the government service described in his contribution in this number of *The Chronicles*, Mr. Milburn C. Harper spent thirty years in newspaper work and business. At one time, he operated a little railroad from Miami, in Ottawa County, Oklahoma, to the rich lead and zinc mines in the same county; he also engaged in the oil business during the early days of the oil boom in Eastern Oklahoma. He still claims Oklahoma as his home but he spends most of his time with his children in California. His family is distantly related to the Choctaws in Oklahoma. His son took the co-starring part with Cindy Walker in the "world's first Christian western," *Mr. Texas*, produced by the famous evangelist, Billy Graham. Mr. Harper has given much of his time and efforts to his work as a Christian layman for the past fifty years. Since his retirement three years ago, he has devoted himself to writing, mostly westerns with historical slant. His recent story, "Westward by Gee and Haw," reminiscent of early days in Oklahoma, appeared in *American Mercury* for October, 1955.—Ed.

¹ It was my good fortune to know the chiefs of some of the tribes. Chief Bushy Head was chief of the Cherokees when I was a boy. I become personally acquainted with Chief Lone Wolf of the Kiowa, met Quanah Parker, Chief of the Comanches, and years later when in the Land Office at Muskogee it was my duty to take patents for the Cherokee citizens to Skiatook, Oklahoma, for the signature of the Chief of the Cherokee Indians, W. C. Rogers, to make them valid and ready for delivery. I was a guest in his home on these occasions. Chief Rogers was a banker and merchant respected by all who knew and had dealings with him.

I tried to be friendly in an effort to get acquainted with the Indians. To most every one, I made a query and I was met with "Me no savy." I soon learned most of them, especially the younger ones, were schooled and spoke good English. One Indian in particular who wore his long black hair braided and hanging down in front of him was a graduate of an Indian academy. I learned he was an able interpreter and interpreted at Rainy Mountain Mission where Baptist Missionary Reverend Hicks had been located for years and who was responsible for Chief Lone Wolf's conversion.

Chief Lone Wolf lived on Elk Creek less than two miles from the station. He had a son, Will Lone Wolf, who, when home on vacation from school in Kansas, made the station his chief lounging place.

Nearly every day the big rough looking Indian visited the station. For some reason he kept it up all spring and summer. I sure wondered who he was.

Before the government fixed the time for the registration preparatory for the drawing of the surplus Indian land, Chief Lone Wolf, who could speak very little English, met with his tribesmen. There it was decided it was contrary to a treaty the Indians had with the government. They instructed him to go to Washington, employ an attorney to prevent allotting their land to the whites. This trip was financed from the meager purses of the Indians. DeLos Lone Wolf, a former student at Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, accompanied the Chief to Washington as interpreter.

After remaining in Washington longer than he had anticipated, Chief Lone Wolf ran out of funds. He had no money to get transportation home. Will Lone Wolf came to me and I arranged their transportation back.

When Chief Lone Wolf returned and learned of the favor extended and the friendliness I had gained among the tribe, we became friends. Having learned to like well cooked food when in Washington, he quite often dined with me. He was intelligent, fair, and loved by his tribesmen. Will, his son, told me a report had been narrated that the Chief had an overcoat made of white peoples' scalps. This the Chief bitterly denied, explaining the coat left him by his father was made of coon hides.

His foster father, the old Chief Lone Wolf (died 1879) had some trouble with the United States troops in the early days but there was no trouble between the present Chief Lone Wolf and the government. In fact, Lone Wolf was a Christian and considered honest and upright in all his dealings.

I was well acquainted with Reverend Hicks, the Baptist Missionary at Rainy Mountain, who, himself, was a citizen of the Cherokee tribe. His allotment was near Brush Mountain a few miles southeast of Muskogee, Oklahoma.

The Indians of the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache tribes had a big reunion camp meeting, picnic and barbecue annually near Mountain View in the Anadarko district. It was a big friendly pow-wow. There were no fights and with the aid of officers "firewater" was kept off the grounds.

I attended one day as the guest of DeLos Lone Wolf and he and I went the rounds among the hundreds of Indians from different tribes all entrenched in their tepees. Among some of the Indians I well remember was Chief Quanah Parker of the Comanches. Quanah had some difficulty in his early reign among his own people on account of his mother being white. Many know the story. His mother, a white child, was kidnapped by Indians, reared and lived the Indian life; married a full blood Indian, bore him a son who was unusually bright and somewhat a natural born leader. This boy, Quanah Parker, became Chief of his tribe. Some of the older Indians were more or less suspicious of him because of his white blood, but without justification. Quanah Parker made them a competent loyal chief. To me he stood out among the Indians in his camp.

More or less in the background of his tribe's teepees was an Indian whom DeLos took me to meet. This Indian, a natural born rebel, had been the recipient of much publicity in newspapers, magazines and Oklahoma history, and was under surveillance of government officials. I met him, the one and only irreconcilable "Geronimo," the Indian whose war fighting spirit had never been subdued. Geronimo was a noted character and no doubt made an unusual impression on all who met him.

Since it was not the hunting season, and the Indians were only cultivating small patches of corn and truck, they had plenty of idle time, and one of their interesting pastimes was hanging around the station watching the trains come and go.

Almost every day found the big three-hundred-pound Indian I had noticed, even watched, sauntering around the depot. He was the one who did not appeal to me; for he was sulky, uncommunicative and restless. He said little to other Indians, and they in turn kept more or less away from him. His features were rough and his skin unusually thick and wrinkled. Sometimes when out on the platform he would stroll near me. In my mind's eye, I had never met a human so strangely repulsive. I decided to find out who and what he was to see if there were grounds for my suspicions.

I called Will Lone Wolf into my office one day when this big fellow was meandering around. Will was quite a historian when it came to Kiowa Indians. He was talkative to me but I can not vouch for the truthfulness in all he told me. He said the peculiar individual was "Old Big Tree" and unfolded interesting and unpleasant information.

Will's story of this big fellow brought out among other things that Big Tree in his young days joined a band of Indians to keep the

whites out of their country, resulting in a war in which the government troops captured and made him a prisoner.

His bitterness was caused by white hunters coming into their country and wantonly destroying the buffalo. They decided to destroy whites whether or not they were hunters, making it an object lesson that would keep them out.

Will Lone Wolf chronicled among other things a massacre in which Big Tree indulged against some white travellers passing through the Kiowa country when he and his cohorts murdered the man and his wife and killed their infant babe. This story in the face of my intuition prejudiced me still the more against the big burly Indian.

The Express Company kept a revolver in the office for the protection of their agents. I thought it might be a good idea when going out to the platform to take the revolver with me in case this toughy did make a pass at me. All evidence obtained verified my intuition against this outlaw then on probation from the United States Army. After reflection, however, I realized how very wrong I was in thinking of defending myself.

To my astonishment one day, when the big fellow was parading the platform, I came out and he sauntered up to me. I thought, "Well, this is my end! That big fellow will perhaps crush the life out of me with his big brawny hands." I felt I was more fleet on foot than he and was just about ready to beat a quick retreat into the office when he stopped, looked at me and said, "Me like good white man. Indians say you good white man."

I realized he had noticed my shyness and my scrutiny from the corners of my eyes. I stammered an answer, "Me like good Indian."

I did not tell him I thought he was a good Indian. However, it was a great relief to me whether he meant it or not. I tried to be on friendly terms with him but watched his every move.

I told Will of the incident. One day when Will and I were out visiting with some of the Indians, Big Tree came up to us. He had a story to tell.

BIG TREE'S STORY OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BUFFALO

The history of the disappearance of the buffalo in the Southwest United States is a story of wanton and cruel destruction by short-sighted, unscrupulous white hunters. Also the white settlers crowded ranges. The Indians were rightfully bitter over wanton destruction of their principal source of food and raiment.

Big Tree's hatred of the white man was demonstrated more than once in savage deeds of murder and pillage.

I had arrived at my station as agent and telegrapher in February not long after the Government had announced that the country would be opened to settlement by the whites. The Indians, restless and resentful of this proposed invasion, were suspicious of every white man that came into their territory, and of course came to look me over. Big Tree came often. One day he pointed north of the station to some mountains back of the expanse of prairie, and said, "Heap buffalo-buffalo" then using both hands with fingers pointing down and waving up and down meaning "thick as rain"—"Me shoot 'um," he said, holding his hands in position of using bow and arrow. "Pretty soon come white man. Now no buffalo. Indians go hungry."

This conversation of the rugged old Indian interested me and I got an interpreter so that I could get more information.

Many thousand buffalo ranged that country years ago during his early days. They were highly important to the Indians, who killed only as the tribe needed them for food, or for the hides to make robes and covers so essential in that open country in the winter. Other than the small mountain goats, which were not very plentiful on the prairies, the buffalo was their prime existence. They sold some hides necessary to buy tobacco and other incidentals.

The Kiowa's method of hunting and handling the herds of buffalo was unique and practical to them. They used the fastest ponies and trained them for hunting. With a bow slung to the shoulder and a skin of arrows tied to the waist, the Indian trained the pony, ridden without bridle, to range near enough to a herd of buffalo so that he could sink an arrow into the huge body behind the left shoulder, if possible, driving the arrow hard enough to hit the heart. He tried to make one or two arrows do the job as many arrow holes devaluated the hides for use as clothing or bedding.

Easing in close to the herd peacefully grazing, the Indian lying prone on his pony would get in behind a large fat bull and without disturbing the others gradually separate him from the herd, then with sharp arrows would bring him down. They spared the cows to preserve and build up the herds and killed only enough bulls to meet their need for food and clothing. To sleep between the hairy sides of buffalo skins was sufficient cover for the coldest weather.

The white man with his high-powered Winchester slaughtered and skinned the buffalo by the thousands, hauling off trains of wagons loaded with hides. Buffalo carcasses were strewn all over the prairies. There were far more than the Indians could eat or preserve for food, so were left to decay or to be eaten by wolves and vultures.

This being the home of the Kiowas and Comanches, granted to them by the government, when they saw their prime source of livelihood being unnecessarily and selfishly destroyed, they thought that in self defence they had to do something about it.

Big Tree said he and some other members of his tribe made a tour, checking the buffalo killed and found on one occasion more than a thousand skinned and headless carcasses on the prairies in that vicinity alone. When the white hunters came killing and wasting their food, he said the Indians saw no other way to protect themselves and their families than to keep the whites out. The only way they knew to keep them out was to destroy them as they had been destroying the Indians' food supply.

When the government did not protect the rights of the Indians against this injustice, Big Tree said they took matters into their own hands. He admitted that he and his handful of men could not cope with the United States Army, that some of his men were killed and others were made prisoners.

"Now, look" he said, "no buffalo—poor Indians barely alive on government dole."

By this time I had become intensely interested in Big Tree's story of the buffalo and their mode of hunting them with bow and arrow and wanted more details.

I invited Big Tree and the interpreter into my office, found easy seats for them near my desk and told the interpreter I wanted an exciting story if Big Tree had one of a dangerous or narrow escape hunting buffalo with their bows and arrows. I told him I did not understand how they could kill a buffalo with a bow and arrow and how they maneuvered it to prevent disturbing the herd and causing a stampede.

I had my wife prepare us some sandwiches and coffee. Ice was unknown in spring and summer out in that prairie country. After making them comfortable and perfectly at ease, I told the interpreter to take his time and give me the story in a way I could make my notes.

Big Tree's story through the interpreter began:

"We must have at least four trained hunters each with a couple of bows and plenty of arrows and they must be of the very best. Our horses must be well trained and easily maneuvered. Instinct in the buffalo caused them to graze very carefully, and they were usually in large droves. Heading the herd as a rule were some old bulls. They would go over the grass carefully. They tread slowly and cautiously not to tear up the ground or trample grass under their feet unnecessarily so those following would have grazing.

"We herded our ponies so they would graze into or near the herd of buffalo and accustom them to the ponies so they would not be disturbed. The herds of bison when not disturbed, being slow, gave us time to make preparation for our hunt when we heard of their coming.

"We would make all arrangements when the herds got near enough, to be ready very early in the morning and get on the ground by the time the grazers began to get up and feed. We would lie prone on our horses and guide them with gentle pats on their necks, letting them graze along, getting closer to the herd. We signaled each other as to maneuvers. Spotting a bull, we would gradually graze between him and the herd until we had him separated sufficiently to use our arrows and not disturb the others. Sometimes when an old bull was wounded he would bellow a distress but we tried to have him far enough removed not to cause the others to stampede. We would get in behind him and race him from the herd far and fast as possible if he did not take a notion to rejoin the herd. Then there was trouble, but we usually succeeded."

"Ask him if they used flint rock tips on their arrows," I said.

"No," he said, "flint arrows are used for other and smaller game."

"What kind of arrows did you use for buffalo?"

"We would have long, very sharp iron points with sneers like fish hooks in our arrows. We had to drive them into the left side behind their shoulders deep enough to hit their heart or we would have trouble a plenty. This required good marksmanship, especially when riding a barebacked pony. If you didn't reach the buffalo's heart you could fill him full of arrows and the more arrows he had in him, the harder he would fight."

"You say they would fight when rounded out and hit with arrows?"

"Sure they would fight," he said, "and were hard dangerous fighters too."

"Did you ever have close calls in your fights?"

"Plenty of them," he said.

"Tell me about one of them, will you?"

"I call to mind where I was heap lucky. The white hunters usually waited for the droves, drifting and feeding eastward, just south of the Kansas line before they began their raids on them. At that time they did not get this far south and we had some large herds grazing back and forth between the Texas pan handle and this section. Shooting invariably stampeded them as they were frightened at the crack of guns. We had some muzzle loading rifles then but seldom used them hunting buffalo.

"A large drove was grazing east from the Texas plains. They were a few miles north of where we are now. Four of us equipped ourselves and rode out before daybreak near them when they started grazing.

"We spotted a big bull somewhat in the lead on our side of the big bunch of several hundred head. We began our plan to gradually get him away from the herd. Two of us rode our horses between him and the herd. Sometimes they would take a notion to run back in the herd and we couldn't stop them, so we had to keep this bull corralled away. We must have had him three hundred yards from the main drove. I gave the signal I was going to shoot. I speeded up my pony close on his left side and let him have my arrow. My aim was a little high just behind his shoulder but above his heart.

"I signaled for the other boys to close in. Spotted Bird, brother to Chief Lone Wolf, youngest of the four of us, came up behind me. Seeing I had missed my mark, he tried, landing his arrow in the bull's side. The hunter on the outside came in and lodged an arrow on the bull's right side. One man was behind to keep the bull from turning back. The bull became infuriated and started for the herd. I was between him and the herd.

"Bellowing his anguish and snorting, he came at me. Facing me I had no target but his head and knowing I did not have the power to penetrate his skull, yelled to the other boys to close in. I let him have my arrow full in the face. It stunned but did not stop him. The others were shooting fast and as hard as they could and by the time he got to my horse he had five or six arrows in him.

"Lunging at my horse he struck him just under the belly, raising him up and causing him to fall backward. Fortunately I slid off behind and the infuriated animal went after my horse again, leaving me be, before my horse could get on his feet. Lucky for me but bad for my horse. He gored him to the ground. The other hunters rode close in and were using their arrows as fast as they could shoot them.

"The fight was attracting others of the drove. His charging and goring my horse brought him near young Spotted Bird, who got a better shot. In my tumble from my horse I lost my arrows. Recovering one, while the bull was goring my horse to death, I got up reasonably close and succeeded in sinking my arrow in the crucial spot behind his shoulder.

"Seeing a stampede was imminent, I ran to Spotted Bird, jumped up behind him and holered to the other hunters to make a fast getaway for I saw other bulls coming to the relief of our target and realized our perilous position. Some of them stopped to gore my already dying horse. This gave us a chance to make our getaway and our escape was miraculous.

"After they had quieted down and grazed on out of range, we went back to claim our well earned bull.

"Killing buffalo bulls with bow and arrows is very dangerous and requires skill and adventure on the part of any one undertaking it. I've had many close calls in my buffalo hunts."

Big Tree overlooked the fact that the tourists and travellers he and his followers had wantonly murdered were not the people who were destroying the buffalo herds. He thought, of course, it would be a warning to the merciless traders and hide thieves.

Spotted Bird, Elk Tongue, and other old Kiowa Indians verified Big Tree's story of the destruction of the buffalo on the Plains of Texas and Western Oklahoma, but not without expressions of resentment and hatred. Many white people also agree with the Indians about the wanton destruction of the bison, placing the blame for the disappearance of the mighty herds directly at the hands of the careless and greedy white hunters.

OPENING OF THE KIOWA AND COMANCHE COUNTRY

Much has been said and volumes written about the early settlement of Oklahoma. Old-timers remember hearing their parents and others talk about the "Cherokee Strip Run." Many and varied stories have been written because of the thousands of people making the run, the unscrupulous staking off ground already staked by earlier comers, and even the using of force to hold ground. This all made unheard of news and history.

Profiting by the sad experience of throwing open the Cherokee Strip country for settlement in the riotous and uncontrolled "run", the Government decided on a different way for the settlement of the Kiowa-Comanche nations. A system of drawing was inaugurated and even this created excitement never before witnessed. Two registering stations were designated, El Reno, and Lawton. Owing to its better railroad facilities El Reno suffered the congestion caused by the bulk of the registrants. Dates were set for registering and the news was heralded throughout the nation. Special trains brought the people to and from El Reno to register.

There were about 40,000 quarter sections for settlement and probably 240,000 people registered. There were several registering booths and people lined up for blocks, some standing in line all night. The sandwich, hotdog and hamburger vendors did a big business.

Perhaps the best money was made by "spellers" who, for so much per hour or half hour, would take your place in line and let you rest or circulate around or perhaps take a nap on the ground nearby.

Passenger trains on arrival carried extra coaches, all coaches loaded to capacity, people standing crowded in the aisles. When the train stopped, some passengers would jump out through the car win-

dows to get ahead in the registration line. When the trains arrived, I have seen people riding sprawled on top of the passenger coaches, or riding in cattle cars or on top of box cars of the local freight.

How would you like to sleep on a pallet on your office floor with thirty or forty thousand dollars under your head for a pillow, with hundreds of people from everywhere sleeping on the depot platform and on the ground surrounding the depot? This was my experience during the influx of people to the new Government town of Hobart, Oklahoma.

Passenger trains carried extra coaches, all fully loaded. People rode in cattle cars and on top of box cars of the local freight when it came into Hobart.

The government surveyed a quarter-section each for what they termed the government towns—Hobart, Lawton and Anadarko. The lots were auctioned to the highest bidder. Anadarko was already a trading town and the Indian Agency was located there before the country was opened to settlement for whites. Lawton and Hobart were located on the prairie and thousands of people came to the new towns to locate and to establish some kind of business.

I was assigned Agent and Telegrapher at Kiowa Station in the winter before the opening that following August, 1901. The depot and section house were the only buildings there, except a shack for "Speed" Post Office² for the convenience of the Indians, and a ranch or two some miles in the country.

That was before the days of the automobile, and many people who had registered, thinking perhaps they would get a farm, came scouting over the country by horse-back, wagon, buggy, or covered wagons, to locate a quarter-section in case they should draw a lucky number. All this scouting disturbed the Indians who were doing all they could to prevent the allotting of their surplus lands to white settlers.

When one of these restless "scouts" called "sooners", camped on an Indian's land for more than two nights, he would come to me alarmed. I explained to the Indians the purpose of the scouts, and assured them that their land was not in jeopardy.

Ex-Governor Richards, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, was sent to Kiowa (now Hobart) to locate the government town, survey the lots for the location, name the town and outline and name the county. He had tents stretched on the prairie opposite the depot for himself and his engineers, with tents for cooking and eating. My office was more commodious than a tent and he and his secretary,

²The postoffice that eventually became Hobart was established 21 July 1899 under the name Hardin. Its name was changed to Speed 20 February 1901, and in turn the name was changed to Hobart 9 July 1901, Willis M. England, postmaster. George H. Shirk, "First Postoffices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952), p. 38.—Ed.

Mr. Lacy, spent much of their time with me. Another reason for their wanting to be inside was the constant rain, it being an unusually rainy spring.

The Governor invited me to go with him to select the quarter-section on which the new city was to be located. I had a location in mind. We walked about a mile north of the depot to a level section, populated only by prairie dogs. Thousands of little mounds covered the ground. These were soon depopulated, as prairie dogs will not live among people. When this tract of ground was decided upon, engineers were put to work surveying the lots, business and residential. In the approximate middle of the tract they surveyed a block for the site of the County Court House, around which business lots were staked out. Beyond these, they located residential lots which were twice the width of the business lots.

Governor Richards advised that the present name of the station would have to be changed.³ There was a Kiowa, Indian Territory, on the M. K. & T., south of McAlester, and a Kiowa, Kansas, just north of the Oklahoma line. He brought his Post Office Directory to my office where I had a Railroad Guide. We were looking for a name that did not conflict with another post office in the southwest. After much searching, we had not found an acceptable name. Mr. Lacy, his secretary, apparently rousing from a nap in my lawn chair, said: "Hobart."

"Governor," said I, "that's the name!"

"Let's see," replied the Governor, searching the P. O. Directory. I was still busy with the Railroad Guide. We found no town named Hobart listed in either Directory.

"The name of the new town will be *Hobart*⁴" said the Governor.

He then carefully checked the maps and blue-prints and outlined the county which was the Kiowa Nation, and named it Kiowa County. He wrote a long message to the Secretary of the Interior in Washington, stating the location of the town, its name "Hobart", and outlining the county, naming it "Kiowa". I personally transmitted this lengthy telegram about one o'clock a.m.

Newspapers heralded the location and names of the new government towns, Hobart, Lawton⁵ and Anadarko. Clerks were busy notifying the holders of lucky numbers in the drawing. Holder of Number One in Kiowa County got first choice, which in this instance was a quarter-section adjoining the new townsite. Number Two got

³ The name was the one applied by the Railroad to its station, and was not the name of the postoffice, which was then named Speed. *Ibid.*—Ed.

⁴ The name honored Garrett A. Hobart, who had served as Vice-President of the United States from 1895 to 1901. Charles N. Gould, *Oklahoma Place Names* [Norman, 1933].—Ed.

⁵ Lawton was named for Gen. Henry W. Lawton, killed in 1900 in the Philippines. *Ibid.*—Ed.

the next choice, and on down the line, until the sections for allotment were all drawn.

Then, of course, every holder of a lucky number started out to locate his choice of land. He must advise the Department immediately of his choice, to prevent duplication of selections. When duplication occurred, the holder of the lowest number got the land.

It was the general opinion that Hobart and Lawton would be the best cities in the new country and people by the thousands began flocking to these towns. At this time there was only one railroad : the new towns, both branches of the Rock Island Railroad.

I was a young man of twenty-six, entering upon one of the most unusual and complicated jobs any man of that age ever undertook in the railroad service.

This was the picture: eleven lumber yards, twenty saloons, more than a hundred eating places and rooming-houses, and other businesses in proportion. All were housed in tents. Business of all kinds was handled, of necessity, by the railroad. People would charter emigrant cars, load it with their household goods, their livestock, chickens and provisions, and head for the new towns, gambling on finding work or a business to their liking. Some would come and survey the situation, then later move their families.

Three banks were opened in tents on the right-of-way near the depot. One bank had an ordinary kitchen safe to keep its money in. Ford E. Hovey was Cashier of the First National Bank. Frank T. Chandler, Cashier of the Hobart National Bank, perhaps the oldest active banking official in Oklahoma today, President of Chickasha National Bank, and Dwight D. Wolfinger of the Kiowa State Bank, remained in tents until they could purchase lots and erect temporary buildings in the new city.

Practically all the buildings erected on lots in the business district were temporary. After purchasing lots they would move their tents on and erect a building around them. In auctioning off the lots, the Government would accept nothing but cash. The banks had to cash checks and drafts for these purchasers.

Trains going west arrived in Hobart about 4:30 p. m. These brought the money to the banks for cashing checks, as the Eastbound trains arrived about 10:00 a. m., too late for the banks, which opened early. The banks would not accept money for overnight keeping, thus the Agent had to keep it.

At the close of the auction, 4:00 p. m., Government officials counted up the money and prepared it for shipping to the Sub-Treasury in St. Louis. They brought it to the Express office, as they had no place to keep it overnight. Both incoming and outgoing money was my overnight responsibility.

I worked until after midnight, every night, never taking off my clothes but making a pallet on the office floor. My office boasted no burglar-proof safe, even if there had been room for it.

After a hard day's work, I would throw the money on the office floor, amounting to thirty or forty thousand dollars, pile it together in such a way that I could throw my quilts and blankets over it to make a pillow for my weary head. I kept no gun, and would not have been able to use it if I had. The depot platform all around the station and the prairies beyond were crowded with sleepers, many women among them.

With the multitudes of people at the station packed like sardines in a can waiting for trains, I did not call on the Government for guards around my office. I did ask the U. S. Marshal for protection for the money from auctioned lots, to furnish deputies for my protection in getting all this money to the baggage car and into the burglar-proof safe each morning. All money then was handled by Express. These deputies would prod a path through the crowd with their Winchesters and I would walk through with the shipment to the car, where there was a so-called burglar-proof safe. I kept the dial at the station and would take it with me to the train and work the combination. Thus the Express Messenger could not get into the safe at any time. The Agents at Mangum, Hobart and Anadarko, were the only ones with safe dials, and handled all the money in and out of the safes—this precaution against train robberies.

With the thousands of people from everywhere in the world, I must say that they were orderly and not a robbery of any kind was reported. With my office full of money from 4:30 p.m. to 10:00 a.m., I was never held up for one dollar! That did not ease my burden of responsibility or allay my uneasiness.

Hobart, the city builded on the lone prairie, is today a prosperous county seat, with industries, good schools and many beautiful homes surrounded by splendidly improved farms.

Just a few years ago I returned to a position where I could view this beautiful little city. I visioned in my mind's eye, dreamingly, where from the same point of view a half century before it was an expanse of rolling prairie inhabited by chattering prairie dogs and the howling of the roaming prairie coyotes, almost like a picture framed by the enchanting Wichita Granite Mountains.

I recall one time driving out over this prairie. It seemed I was approaching a beautiful lake surrounded by willows, other growth and flowers. I could even see the ripple of water rocking the water lillies and fish floundering and racing for food.

Then as I drew closer the beautiful mirage disappeared as suddenly as it appeared, leaving before me the rolling prairie. Almost as suddenly as the prairie appeared it was displaced by a lovely city, splendid farms and rural homes.

When I visioned all this rejuvenation it confirmed God's great outdoor creation.

GRADY LEWIS, CHOCTAW ATTORNEY

*By W. F. Semple and Winnie Lewis Gravitt**

Grady Lewis was born September 20, 1897 near the present town of Cameron, LeFlore County, Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory. He was the youngest child of William A. Lewis and his wife, Elizabeth Ann Moore Lewis. On his father's side he was descended from John Lewis who immigrated from Wales and settled in Hanover County, Virginia, about 1673. From Virginia, members of the Lewis family moved in to North and South Carolina, and later into Georgia. Here, Jacob Warren Lewis married Eliza Holcomb, a direct descendant of Francis Lewis, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. It was from Cartersville, Georgia that William A. Lewis came to the Choctaw Nation in 1872. He settled near Kully Chaha, in present LeFlore County. Five years later he married Elizabeth Ann Moore.

On his maternal side, Grady Lewis was a lineal descendant of an early Choctaw chief, Nita-oshe. Under Article 14 of the Dancing Rabbit Treaty, Nita-oshe elected to remain in Mississippi. One of his grandsons, bearing the name of William McCagus Moore, removed to the Choctaw Nation in 1865, he being the father of Elizabeth Ann Moore. In 1877, Miss Moore married William A. Lewis and they settled near Kully Chaha living near there until her death in 1899. Grady Lewis was proud of his Indian ancestry and said many times that the work he had done for the Choctaws and other Indians over a period of twenty years was the source of the greatest satisfaction and pride to him.

Like most Choctaw boys of his time, he attended the "National schools", as the tribal supported schools were called. At the age of nine years he was sent to Jones Academy for two terms. After Statehood, he attended the State public schools, and was graduated from Bokchito High School in 1914. He attended Southeastern State Normal school at Durant, and later the University of Oklahoma. His second year in the University was interrupted by service in World War I. After his return from military service, he obtained his legal training at the Cumberland Law School at Lebanon, Tennessee. He passed the Bar examination in 1920.

While still a student in the University, he had volunteered for service following the entry of the U. S. in World War I. He was ad-

* Hon. Wm. F. Semple, attorney, makes his home in Tulsa where he conducts his legal work in connection with Indian claims to be presented to the Indian Claims Commission. Mr. Semple is a member of a well known Choctaw family, and was appointed Principal Chief of the Choctaws by President Woodrow Wilson, serving in this position from 1918 to 1922. Mrs. Winnie Lewis Gravitt is a sister of Grady Lewis, and is Librarian for the Public Library in McAlester.—Ed.

mitted to the Officers' Training School at Fort Logan H. Root, Camp Pike, Arkansas, September 1, 1917, at the age of twenty. He was there commissioned as a Second Lieutenant, Cavalry section, on August 15, 1917, and was assigned to the 87th Division activated at Camp Pike, September 1, 1917. He was commissioned a First Lieutenant in December of the same year. In July of 1918 his Division was sent to Camp Dix, and in August was sent overseas. His division saw little active service. Following the Armistice, he was returned to the United States, and honorably discharged from the service on March 15, 1919, with the rank of captain.

At the outbreak of World War II, Mr. Lewis again volunteered for service and was appointed Major, Army of the United States, April 30, 1942. He was promoted to Lieut. Colonel, July 1, 1944 and was relieved from active duty December 16, 1944. Upon his arrival overseas he had been assigned to serve under General William S. Key as Provost Marshall for the London area. Later Colonel Lewis was sent to Gibraltar on assignment from England. Here, he had as his chief duty the interviewing and processing of Allied Air Corps personnel who had been shot down over Europe and had subsequently made their way through the underground to Gibraltar. The importance of this work and the effectiveness with which he carried it out contributed to the success of American Intelligence operations in this area. Upon his return to England, he served as Intelligence Officer in the Invasion Plans. In the early spring of 1944, he was assigned to the Claims Department. He became Chief Assistant in the preparation of plans for the transportation to, and the operation of the claims service on the Continent. After the plans were completed and approved, he was selected as the Commander of the Claims Office Team and crossed the Channel soon after the Invasion started. He left England on June 15, 1944; upon reaching the Continent he opened, and set up a foreign claims office in the city of Cherbourg. This was the first claims office to operate on the Continent. He continued as commander of this unit, until relieved to return to the United States December, 1944.

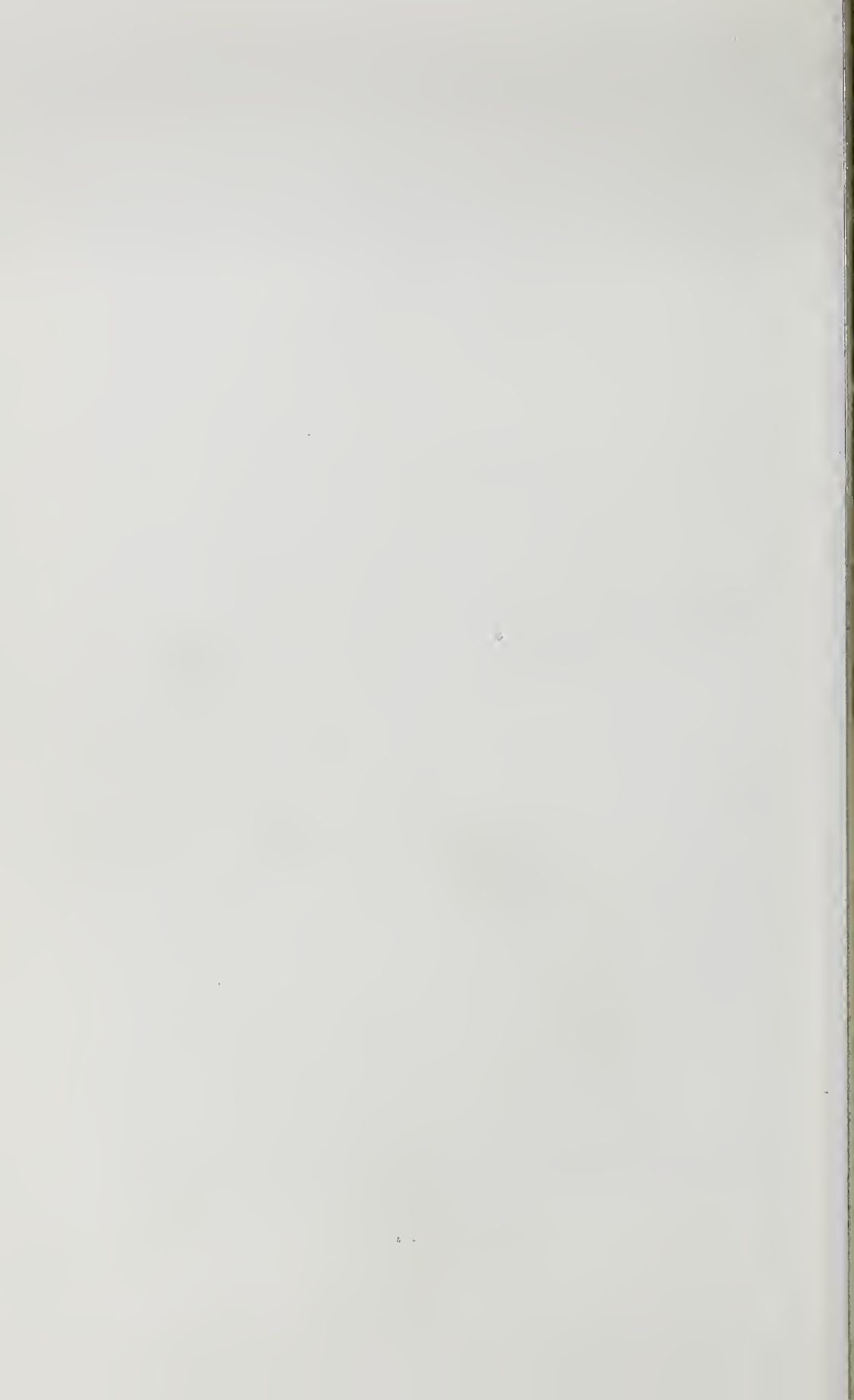
His commanding officer, General William S. Key said of Colonel Grady Lewis:

"Grady Lewis possessed and exhibited on all occasions the finest attributes of an officer and a gentleman. His patriotism and loyalty to his nation, his pride in the Armed Services, and the energetic manner in which he formed his military duties were inspiring to his many friends and associates in the Service; his warm personality, his fine sense of humor and fellowship contributed much to the morale of his associates."

After his graduation from Law School in 1920, Grady Lewis engaged in the practice of law at Durant, Oklahoma, where he associated with Mr. William F. Semple and the late Judge Jesse H. Hatchett. Later he established his own law office at Antlers, and two years later at Sapulpa where he became assistant county attorney for four years. He was elected Representative from Creek County to the State Legislature in 1929-30 and served for one term.



GRADY LEWIS



Since the beginning of his law practice he had been interested in the Choctaws, their problems and interests. During the Hoover administration, he was appointed National Attorney for the Choctaws. Thereupon, he first removed to Muskogee, more centrally located and nearer the Agency Office of the Five Civilized tribes. Finding that his duties could be transacted better, he later moved to the Nation's Capital, Washington, D. C., which was his home until his passing.

When he left the office of Choctaw National Attorney, Mr. Lewis took a contract with the Chief of the Choctaws, Ben Dwight, for the prosecution of the noted "Leased District" claim, involving some two and half million acres of land lying between the 98th and 100th degrees west longitude. The lands in question, were originally ceded to the Choctaw Nation in the removal treaty concluded at Dancing Rabbit Creek, 1830, and covered by patent from the United States but the Government claimed to have acquired title to this particular area by virtue of the provisions of the Choctaw-Chickasaw treaty of 1866, negotiated shortly after the close of the Civil War. Upon presentation of the case, the claim of the Choctaws was allowed by an Act of Congress, wherein provision was made for the payment of some ten million dollars as compensation for the lands taken. The bill for the compensation was sponsored by Senator Wm. B. Pine, in the U. S. Senate and the members of the House from Oklahoma. It was vetoed by President Hoover, however. In the first round involving his claim, Mr. Lewis met defeat in the Court of Claims by a judgement rendered in that Court in 1939.

Thereafter, Mr. Lewis was instrumental in working out plans for the present "Indian Claims Commission", created by an act of Congress and passed on August 6th, 1946. (60 Stat. 1049). This Act gave the Indians a new day in the prosecution of their claims, and waived technicalities which had heretofore constituted impossible barriers, and provided for presentation of total claims determined upon a fair and honorable basis. Entertaining, as he did, an abiding faith in the justice of his case, Grady Lewis continued to work night and day in the recovery of these lands. He finally obtained a judgment in the Court of Claims in 1951, for three and one half million dollars. After twenty five years intensive research, study and work on this case, he was rewarded. The Government did not prosecute an appeal from this judgment. While the amount recovered was less than that which the claim asserted, his judgment on the merits of the case was regarded by the legal profession as an outstanding accomplishment. The Choctaw Leased District Claim was the first decision rendered in favor of an Indian tribe in the history of the Indian Claims Commission.

In another case, Mr. Lewis succeeded in establishing a legal precedent by prosecuting an appeal from the United States District Court for the Western District of Oklahoma to the Circuit Court of

Appeals. In this court he obtained the release of an Apache Indian, Phillip Tooisagah, who had been convicted of the crime of murder, on the legal theory urged by the United States that the crime was committed on an Indian Reservation. Mr. Lewis took the position that the judgment was void for a total want of jurisdiction of the Federal Court, advancing the argument that there was no such thing as an Indian Reservation in Oklahoma at that time. The trial court was so thoroughly convinced that he was pursuing an erroneous conception of the law that time was not taken to let him argue his case, but was advised to prepare the record on appeal. The Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the trial court and sustained Mr. Lewis' contention that the court was without jurisdiction and the judgment of the court was wholly void. The judgment of the Court of Appeals was a vindication of his conception of the law involving facts presented in the case. Consequently the Indian was released from the United States prison at Leavenworth.

Other than the Choctaws, Mr. Lewis represented many Indian tribes. Among them were: Caddoes; the "Six Nations" comprised of the Seneca, Tuscarora, Mohawk, Iroquois, Oneida, Onondaga; the Apache, comprised of different bands, the Ft. Sill, the Warm Springs band and the Chiricauhua of New Mexico; The Citizens band of the Pottawatomi; Oto and Missouri; the absentee Shawnee; Kiowa and Comanche. Some of these cases were pending at the time of his death.

At various times from 1940 to 1952, Mr. Lewis served as an arbitrator referee, and Presidential Fact Finding Board Member under the provision of the Railway Labor Act, as amended. To quote Frank Douglas, Chairman of the National Mediation Board:

"Needing men with keen minds and judicial temperament, and trained in law to serve as a referee with the National Railroad Adjustment Board, I appointed Grady to this service. He did such a fine job at that time, that we reappointed him several times as such referee. His decisions were so well reasoned and sound that they stand today and will through future years as precedents in disposing like grievances of the railroads of the Nation. Due to Grady's outstanding service as a referee, and his knowledge of the Railroad Industry, he was selected many times by the President of the United States as a member of the Presidential Emergency Fact Finding Board, and to report directly to the President the causes of the emergency and to recommend a method of settling the emergency. On these Boards he performed outstanding service. The boards on which he served were some of the most important in the Nation's history of industrial relations. He was an expert in that field, with his keen mind; his understanding and judicial temperament, together with his fearless application of judgment, made him, indeed, a valuable member of the Panel."

In 1920, Grady Lewis was married to Miss Esther Nash. Antlers, Oklahoma, a daughter of Dr. and Mrs. H. C. Nash. Mrs. Lewis is of Choctaw-Chickasaw Indian blood. Through her mother she is a direct descendant of Principal Chief Ben F. Smallwood of the Choctaw Nation and is also related to the family of Principal Chief

Wilson Jones. Mrs. Lewis now lives in the home which had been established in Washington. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis reared and educated her niece, Margaret Branson, now Mrs. H. D. Hieberg of Washington, D. C.

Others of his family surviving him are: Dr. Anna Lewis, head of the History Department of Oklahoma College for Women, and a historian of note; Curtis, a rancher, near Tuskahoma; Alice (Mrs. Mark Pierce) of Fort Worth, Texas; Winnie (Mrs. Andy Gravitt), Librarian, McAlester; Ruth (Mrs. Julian Miller) of Oklahoma City and William, an attorney of Denver, Colorado.

Grady Lewis was a 32nd degree Mason, a member of Sigma Chi fraternity; a founder of the Green-Bryant Post of the American Legion at Durant; and member of Sons of the American Revolution.

Mr. and Mrs. Lewis were on a holiday in England when he became ill. He returned to America to enter a hospital. He underwent an operation in the Memorial Hospital in New York, August 1951. His recovery was not complete. During the remaining year and a half of his life he suffered intensely, but bore the suffering with magnitude of courage. He attempted to live a normal life, continued constant research in his "Indian Cases", his friends marvelling at his fortitude.

Grady Lewis had such a zest for living that it infected all who knew him—such charm of friendship that his friends were unnumbered. He was a brilliant and witty raconteur, and his clever and amusing conversation was the delight of many social occasions. His thoughtfulness for, and his love of his family, was one of his abiding traits of character, his loyalty to friend or family never wavered. He passed away January 3, 1953 at his home in Washington, and was buried in National Cemetery at Arlington.

S. ALICE CALLAHAN:

AUTHOR OF *WYNEMA A CHILD OF THE FOREST**By Carolyn Thomas Foreman*

While reading an account of the death of Captain S. B. Callahan¹ the writer came across a paragraph at the end of his obituary saying author of a book entitled "*Ne-ma*". This is now thought to be the first novel written in Oklahoma.

Having done much research on Oklahoma writers it was a great surprise to discover a book which apparently has escaped all Oklahoma bibliographers. The few living members of the Callahan family are too young to have known Miss Callahan; and a niece, Mrs. Leila Spaulding Howard of Los Angeles, wrote that she recalled her aunt's novel, but that their copies had been lost in moves from Muskogee to California.

In many interviews with old residents of Muskogee it was discovered that Mrs. John H. Dill had been a pupil of Miss Callahan when she taught English in Harrell Institute.² Mrs. Dill stated that she was a beautiful and charming young woman and that her pupils adored her.

When it was learned that a copy of *Wynema Child of the Forest* by Alice Callahan was in the Library of Congress collection, the librarian of the Muskogee Public Library, Mr. R. J. Covey, kindly borrowed it for use here. The name "*Winema*"³ is famous in Indian history. She was a sub-chief of the Modoc Tribe, who saved the

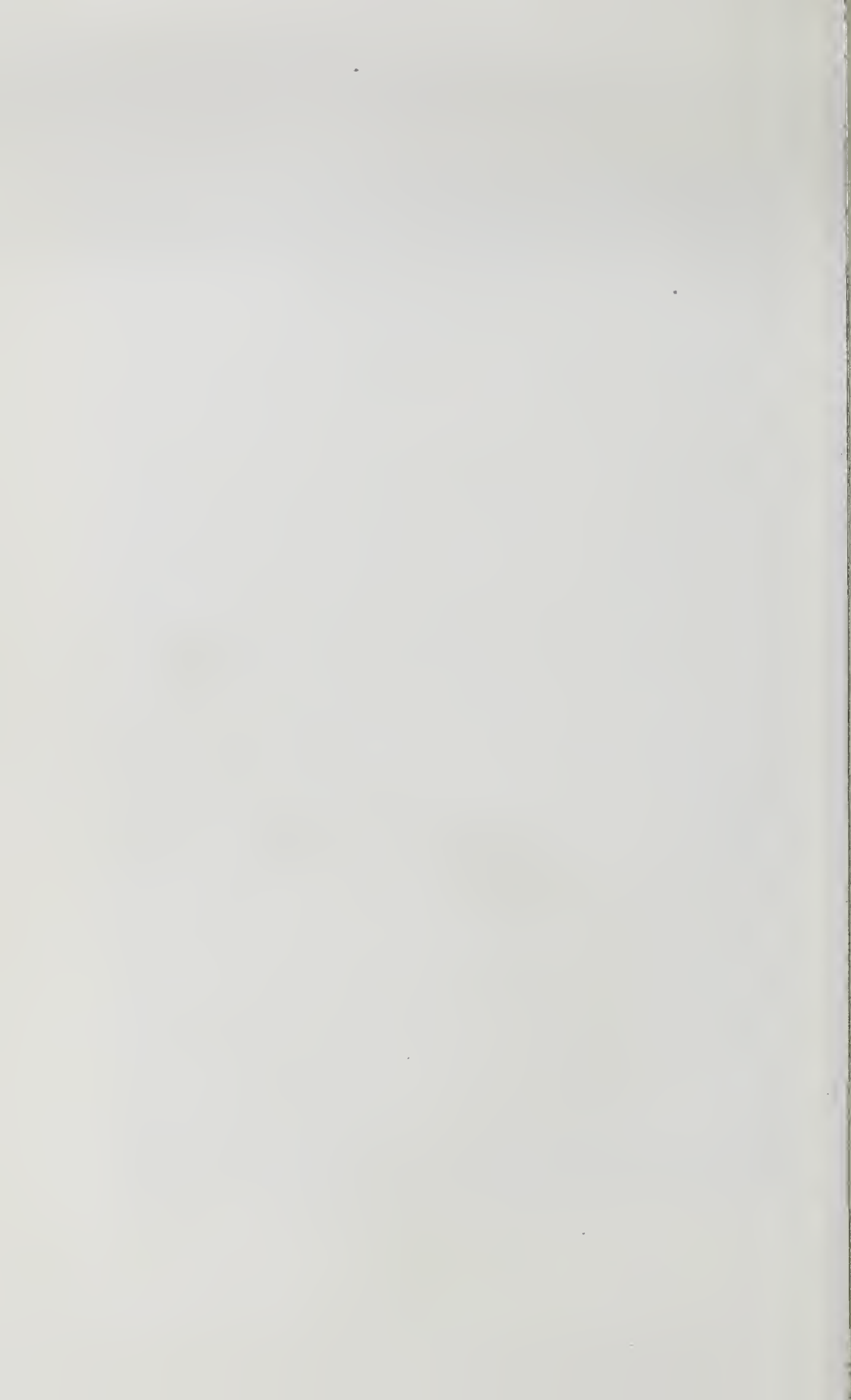
¹ See *Appendix* for biographical sketch of Samuel Benton Callahan, by the Editor of *The Chronicles*, compiled from manuscript notes by Mrs. Carolyn Thomas Foreman and by Mrs. Helen Gorman, Director of the Confederate Memorial Hall, Oklahoma Historical Society; also, from the biography published in *A History of the State of Oklahoma* by Luther B. Hill (Chicago and New York, 1909), Vol. II, p. 322; and from the biography of his son "Jas. O. Callaghan, M.D." (spelling for "Callahan"), in *The Indian Territory: Its Chiefs, Legislators and Leading Men* by H. F. & E. S. O'Beirne (St. Louis, 1892), pp. 139-41.

² After the railroad reached Muskogee a committee of two, John A. Foreman and Joshua Ross, asked Creek Chief Ward Coachman for permission to conduct a private school in Muskogee "to afford opportunity to children of traders and laborers . . . who are legally here but not entitled to benefits of your national schools, and also for the children of citizens who are too far from your schools to send them."

This school demonstrated the need for a larger school and on June 14, 1881 the trustees of the Muskogee (Rock) Church determined to establish a high school with the Reverend Theodore F. Brewer as president. Chief Samuel Checote having granted permission, the school was established and named "Harrell Institute" after the Reverend John Harrell, a famous Methodist missionary (Grant Foreman, *Muskogee* (Norman, 1943), p. 54).



S. ALICE CALLAHAN, Author



Indian Commissioner, A. B. Meacham, from death in 1872 during the tragic fight at the Lava Beds. The book, published in Chicago in 1891, shows that Miss Callahan was well educated and a person of deep thought. Love of her Indian people is demonstrated, as well as her knowledge of the countless outrages committed against them by white people. However, on almost every page is found appreciation of the work of the white missionaries. The publisher's preface declared that he had no apologies to offer for the book. "The fact that an Indian, one of the oppressed, desires to plead her cause at a tribunal where judge and jury are chosen from among the oppressors is our warrant for publishing this little volume . . ." The dedication is to "The Indian Tribes of North America who have felt the wrongs and oppression of their pale-faced brothers. I lovingly dedicate this work, praying that it may serve to open the eyes and heart of the world to our afflictions and thus speedily issue into existence an era of good feeling and just dealing toward us and our more oppressed brothers."

The story commences with a description of life among the people of the Muskogee or Creek Nation, and an account of a small log mission school under the auspices of the Methodist Church. The Indians were loathe to quit their life of freedom to follow the chase to seek an education: "If their youths handled the bow and rifle well and were able to endure the greatest hardships, uncomplainingly, their education was complete." So the teacher was obliged to amuse and attract the small "savages" in order to arouse in them a desire for education. Wynema's father, Choe Harjo, built a small school house after she had long pleaded to be allowed to attend school and a young southern lady came to teach the neighboring children. Genevieve Weir, the teacher, proved an ideal person to lead the red children into the paths of civilization and she was soon loved for her kindness and understanding of the needs of the students.

Chapter three is devoted to an account of "blue dumplings" a favorite food among the Creeks. This is a boiled dish made of fine corn meal, beans and the burned shell of the beans tied in a corn shuck while wet. Corn bread, venison and soup made of corn and dried beef were also served at a meal, the serving of which is described:

In the center of the table stood a large wooden bowl of sofke, out of which each one helped himself . . . eating with a wooden spoon, and lifting the sofke from the bowl directly to the mouth. This dish, which is made of the hardest flint corn, beaten or chopped into bits, and boiled until quite done in water containing a certain amount of lye, is rather palatable when fresh, but as is remarkable, the Indians, as a general thing prefer it after it has soured

³ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Indian Women Chiefs* (Muskogee, 1954), pp. 55-6. The name is a favorite one among the Indians and the daughter of Alexander Lawrence Posey, Creek poet bears it—"Wynema."

A chapter is given up to the "busk" where the Indians camped and prepared for the dance carried on while the red people were fasting. The medicine man prepared a physic in a huge kettle, and only the men drank of it while the women prepared the feasts which followed the dance. This feast, a thanksgiving celebration, came when the roasting ears were ready to eat and after the participants were cleansed.

In telling of the death of an Indian of the name of "Sam Emarthla"⁴ the death chant of the Creeks is described: "It begins by telling the good deeds of the dead person; of his virtues; what a good hunter he was; how brave he always was; and ends by carrying him over the mountain side to the happy hunting-ground, there to live forever, among dogs and horses, with bows and arrows and game of all kinds in abundance"

After the funeral ceremonies were finished all of the Indians repaired to a nearby stream walked into the water, some of them bathing themselves and some only throwing the water on their heads and faces; after which procedure they walked out of the water backward and turned homewards." The Indians thought this drove off disease.

A graphic account is next given of how the Creeks had been cheated out of their per capita payment. The chief stated to one of the missionaries: "My people here are in destitute circumstances, some of them wanting the necessities of life, and have been anxiously looking forward to this payment. John Darrel, the merchant of Samilla, came through here last week and told me that the delegates whom we sent to represent us at Washington had acted treacherously and that we would get no money."

The chief said that the newspapers were not clear in their accounts of the matter, which they were denouncing as "a robbery" and the actors "thieves." He declared: "The fact that is most evident to all, is that the money has been unlawfully used, by the delegates and the Indians will never derive any benefit from it. How, when, or where the delegates obtained possession of this money has not yet been explained " The novel describes the Indians in secret meetings denouncing the criminal officials, at one of which a feeble, gray haired Creek spoke to his people:

Years ago, so many that I cannot count them, before we left the dear home in Alabama, when I was young, a delegate was sent from our tribe to represent us, and to watch our interests in the great capital. The United States wanted to buy our lands and send us up to the little spot where we now are, but we would not sell, for we knew nothing of the land in the west, and we loved our home.

⁴ Emarthla was a Creek warrior title.—Angie Debo. *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941), p. 13.

WYNEMA

A CHILD OF THE FOREST

BY
S. ALICE CALLAHAN

"For right is right, since God is God,
And right the day *must* win."

10542 W
H. J. SMITH & Co.
PHILADELPHIA—CHICAGO—KANSAS CITY
OAKLAND, CAL.
1891

(Photo from the Library of Congress)

Title page of the novel, *Wynema*, by Sophia Alice Callahan, of the Creek Nation. Scene laid in the Indian Territory, and published in 1891.



Our delegate⁵ was one of the wisest, and we thought, best men, and we instructed him not to listen to any proposition the United States should make; for if he did, and did sell our land, we said, we would kill him when he returned. He promised that he would do as we instructed him and listen to no terms . . . but after he came back we found that he had acted treacherously and that we were homeless.

Oh, the bitterness of that hour. The Indians with one accord gathered around the beautiful residence of the traitor and calling for him to come forth, took him and bound him. Upon his asking what their conduct meant, they answered: "Thus punisheth the Indians all traitors. You have made us homeless; we will make you lifeless; you sold our lands and filled your pockets with the defiled gold; we will make you poorer than when an infant you lay upon your mother's breasts. Thus perish all traitors! And we shot him through and through, until there was no flesh to mark a bullet. Then making a bonfire of his home, we separated satisfied. Soon we moved to this country . . . it seems to me the Indian's honor should be as sacred . . . as it was on the night we slew our delegate for treachery and dishonesty.

"If I understand correctly, our delegates and chief received our head-right money and can make no satisfactory explanation concerning the use they made of it . . .". The speech aroused the people so that if the head chief and delegates had been present it is probable that the four Indians would have perished. Meetings were held throughout the nation and the chief and the delegates were wise when they remained away.

The wrath of the Indians waxed hotter and hotter, and their secret meetings became more numerous, when at this time the delegates returned. When called upon for an explanation of their actions, they answered that they would explain all, at the session of the council which the chief would call together soon. At this session, no one was present but the chief, the delegates, and the members of the Houses who were all implicated, for those who went determined to thoroughly investigate the matter came away, 'mum' and apparently satisfied . . . "

The confused and contradictory statements of the criminal delegates were received in silence, and so the matter rested. Not an arm was raised in defence of the poor Indians stripped of their bread-money, notwithstanding the mutterings of dissatisfaction and threats of vengeance heard all along the lines; and thus a great robbery passed into oblivion.

The small log school house had been replaced with a large frame building furnished with every modern convenience. The attendance was so large that another teacher was engaged. The improvements did not stop at the school for all around that building were neat homes and a new church, with steeple, and a bell was located near the school.

Several of the characters in Wynema made a visit to the college which bore the name of one of the men teachers. It was described as a beautiful and stately building. In the grounds was a fountain "formed of three ducks with their heads thrown upward together making the spray."

The effect of whiskey was described at length. Liquor traffic was against the treaty made by the United States government but that did not stop white men from bringing it into the Territory. A

⁵The celebrated Chief William McIntosh advised the Creeks to hold their land, and they passed a law in 1811, imposing death upon any chief who subscribed to the sale of their country.

small band of women belonged to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union,⁶ but they had little influence when the government of Uncle Sam failed to cope with the importation of liquor.⁷

A subject of public interest discussed in *Wynema* is that of allotment of the land which was endorsed by some United States senators and supported by half bloods. Many Indians were shiftless and their only interests were hunting and fishing, while others were fencing vast tracts of land where they raised great herds of cattle that had brought them wealth.

Secretary of the Interior Noble⁸ in his current report struck a blow at Wild West shows "by recommending an act of Congress, forbidding any person or corporation to take into employment or under control any American Indian."⁹ He advocated a continuance of exclusion in connection with the Indian Territory cattle question; suggested that the period now allowed a tribe to determine whether it will receive allotment be placed under the control of the President, so that it may be shortened if *tribes give no attention to the subject or cause unreasonable delays*; and discountenanced the employment of attorneys by the Indians to aid in negotiations with, or to prosecute claims against, the government.

Two charming love stories are interwoven with the various questions concerning Indians. The latter half of the book, *Wynema*, is devoted to a description of the Indians in Dakota, who were on the verge of starvation at the beginning of winter because of the Government's failure to provide for them. The Interior Department had authorized the expenditure of \$2,000 for their relief but that

⁶ The National Woman's Christian Temperance Union was organized at Cleveland, Ohio in 1874. The World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union was founded through the influence of Frances E. Willard in 1883 and the white ribbon badge is a familiar emblem in every civilized country (*Harper's Encyclopaedia of United States History* [New York, 1902], Vol. 10, p. 432).

In 1898 Miss Willard and her secretary, Mary Powderly, while on a tour of the southern states visited Muskogee as the guests of Mrs. William S. Harsha who was instrumental in borrowing the money for a building for the W.C.T.U. Miss Willard spoke at a general meeting in an effort to raise funds for the benefit of the society (Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Mrs. Laura E. Harsha," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2 [June, 1940], pp. 182-84). *Holiday* says the W.C.T.U. was begun at Hillsboro, Ohio, (June, 1905, p. 39).

⁷ The name of Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes and Miss Frances Elizabeth Willard are both mentioned in *Wynema* in connection with the humanitarian work they accomplished for their fellow men. Mrs. Hayes was president of the Woman's Mission Board (pp. 84-5). Miss Willard was described as "one of the most remarkable women the century has produced." Another called her: "that peerless woman of the earth, that uncrowned queen."

⁸ John Willock Noble, born at Lancaster, Ohio, October 26, 1831, was educated at Yale, served in the Civil War. After the war he went to St. Louis and became Secretary of the Interior in the cabinet of President Benjamin Harrison, 1889-93. He died March 22, 1912 (*Who Was Who in America*, Chicago, 1943, 901.)

⁹ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Indians Abroad* (Norman, 1943).

sum was wholly inadequate to feed twelve thousand men, women and children through six months of rigorous weather.

This was the period of the ghost dance and the Messiah craze which resulted in the killing of Sitting Bull and a number of his people. That interest was taken in the warfare of faraway Dakota is shown by an article copied from the *Tahlequah Telephone*:¹⁰

The papers of the state are discussing the Indian war in the Northwest, its causes, etc. Here is what the matter is in a nutshell. Congress, the Secretary of the Interior, the Army and the Indian agents, have vied with each other in the shameful dealings with these poor creatures of the plains. They buy their lands—for half price—make treaties and compacts with them in regard to pay, provisions, etc., then studiously turn and commence to lay plans to evade their promises and hold back their money to squander, and withhold the provisions agreed to be furnished The Government has neglected to comply with treaties with these people—hence the war for every acre of land the United States Government holds today which it acquired from Indians of any tribe, from the landing of Columbus, it has not paid five cents on an average. The Government owes the Indians of North America justly to-day, ten times more than it will ever pay them

The following notice of the appearance of Miss Callahan's book was published in *Our Brother in Red*, June 6, 1891. " 'Wynema, a child of the Forest,' is the title of the book just received. It is published by H. E. Smith & Co., of Chicago, and is on sale at C. B. Gilmore's book store. The author is a teacher in Harrell's Institute and a Creek Indian by birth. She is an intelligent, Christian lady and we look forward with pleasure to the time when our other duties will permit us to read the book. It is certainly cheap at 25 cents per copy."

AS A TEACHER AT WEALAKA MISSION

The Teachers' Reports from Wealaka Mission from September 6 to November 15, 1892; February 1 to March 14, 1893 and March 15 to May 20, 1893 are signed by Alice Callahan as teacher (Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives, Creek-Wealaka Mission, No. 37071).

From Wealaka School on August 11, 1892, Miss Callahan wrote a friend about taking the examination for a teacher's certificate. The five subjects were grammar, arithmetic, geography, history and physics. The latter subject had not been given in examinations be-

¹⁰ *Wynema*, pp. 158-9. The *Tahlequah Telephone* made its appearance as a weekly newspaper June 10, 1887 with B. H. Stone as editor and publisher. The *Telephone* opposed the opening of Indian Territory to settlement and Stone was a severe critic of the management of the national paper, the *Cherokee Advocate* which was then edited by E. C. Boudinot. The editors became very antagonistic and Boudinot finally shot Stone in his office on October 1, 1887. Stone died in a few hours and Boudinot pleaded self defense when charges were filed against him. The trial was delayed and Boudinot died before the case came to court. The *Daily Telephone* was published in 1889. Augustus Ivey was editor in the early 1890's (Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints* [Norman, 1936], pp. 90-3).

fore. Mr. Perryman was chairman of the board of examiners and Mr. Chissoe a member. Captain Callahan was superintendent of Wealaka at that date.

On September 4, 1892, she wrote a friend in Muskogee that they had been very busy at the school cleaning house and drying fruit. They had been expecting students to arrive all week and on Wednesday Mrs. Escoe with two boys and a girl arrived from Muskogee late in the afternoon expecting supper and lodging. Soon after another wagonload of people came and as a result Miss Callahan had to cook and serve supper for seventeen people, besides the family.

She wrote that she was reading *Vanity Fair*, and that she had never read anything that amused and entertained her so much, though she had been more interested in Lytton and Dickens:

It is so satirical and treats the world so much as a fair in which the words, actions and feelings of the dramatis personae are exhibited without excuse or comment. In fact it is just such a book as I would expect from the pen of Thackeray. I don't like a great many things he says such as, "It's only women who get together and hiss and shriek and cackle," or "The best of women are hypocrits—A good housewife is of necessity a humbug . . .

On April 10, 1893, Alice described a violet bed she had made and said she had never before seen wild white violets. School would be out in six weeks and Miss Callahan was very busy teaching the children marches and motion songs besides the choruses and instrumental music. She was training the small and large girls recitations as they were to compete for a prize.¹¹

In February, 1893, Miss Callahan had written that her father was very anxious for her to go back to Staunton (Virginia) next year to finish her schooling:¹³

I think it best to go there¹² to finish as I have begun there. I am studying on my French & Mathematics, preparing if I go back I shall study nothing but the languages & literature & Mathematics. I finished Latin but I shall study it again When I finish I am going to build up a school of my own. We have an excellent French teacher at Staunton, and have also a French table where nothing but French is allowed to be spoken

The pupils were sorely tried with eye trouble, which was a great hardship on Miss Callahan, and she became blue and discontented. "Our paper *Wealaka Wit and Wisdom* came out last week, but as our press was out of fix and our printers had the sore eyes, we got out but two copies."

¹¹ At the Forty-eighth session of the Indian Mission Conference, M. E. Church, South, which convened in Vinita, November 1, 1893, Miss Alice Callahan was elected Correspondence Secretary, Conference Officers of Parsonages & Home Mission Society (*Our Brother in Red*, Muskogee, Indian Territory, November 9, 1893).

¹² In 1888 there were four schools for women in Staunton, Virginia.

From Harrell International Institute, Muskogee, December 7, 1893, Miss Callahan wrote that she was "back in Harrell again" despite all that she had declared to the contrary:

Miss Simmons has been so very sick and Mrs. Brewer was in such sore need of a teacher that I felt it my duty to come—felt it after Mr. Brewer sent for me several times and wrote me a very urgent summons.

I am right well pleased too. My classes are much more interesting & pleasanter than they were before. I have four I like real well: i e, Mental philosophy, Mythology, Physics, Geography and Algebra We have a much nicer set of girls than we have ever had before and I think we have more pretty girls than I ever remember before. And the teachers! Oh that's just the best of all! They are so nice. Miss Cener Holcomb is the chapel teacher. I have heard so many say she is the best chapel teacher Harrell has ever had; that she keeps the best order and is better liked by the pupils. She is very firm and has so much system & order about her

The day after Christmas, 1893, Miss Callahan was stricken with acute pleurisy, and suffered greatly.¹³ Her brother, Dr. James Callahan was out of town so Dr. J. R. Brewer was summoned, and prescribed to ease the pain.¹⁴ Two weeks later, *Our Brother in Red* carried this editorial:

We in common with many others were shocked and saddened when it became known that Miss Alice Callahan was dead. She died at the residence of her brother-in-law, Mr. H. B. Spaulding Monday morning at one o'clock Miss Alice was a most excellent young lady. Her praise is in the mouth of everyone. We have known and esteemed her two or three years

Blameless in life and thought, thoroughly consecrated to the service of her Master, she was well prepared for the translation which has come to her Her funeral took place from the Methodist Church on Monday morning.

A beautiful tribute to Miss Callahan, written by the Reverend M. L. Butler, appeared in *Our Brother in Red*, January 11, 1894:

Miss Alice Callahan, daughter of Capt. & Mrs. S. B. Callahan was born Jan. 1, 1868, died Jan. 7th, 1894, aged 26 years and 6 days. She was converted when quite young and was ever a consistent Christian and a member of the Methodist Church in this city.

Miss Callahan was of a literary turn of mind and was much superior to the average intellectuality. Her abilities as a teacher have never been excelled in this territory. In our church school, or the neighborhood dis-

¹³ Letter from Lulu Todd to Ruby Fears (Mrs. George W. Cullen), January 7, 1894.

¹⁴ The writer is deeply indebted to Mrs. John H. Dill, Mrs. Thomas W. Leahy and Mrs. George R. Cullen of Muskogee for facts concerning Miss Callahan. Mrs. Cullen furnished letters and the photograph from which the picture was made. She stated that the Chicago photographer who took the picture declared that Miss Callahan looked more like the famous actress, Mary Anderson, than anyone else he had ever seen.

Mrs. Leila Spaulding Howard of Los Angeles writes that her aunt, Alice Callahan, was born and educated in Sulphur Springs, Texas; that her grandmother's name was Sarah E. Rountree; and that she was a native of Mississippi.

strict school, or national high school, she was the same conscientious, painstaking, untiring worker. She was a good disciplinarian without being austere or harsh. She inspired her pupils with confidence and awakened all the latent powers of their minds. . . .

Her character was one of beauty and power. She was the idol of her father's heart and the guiding star of the home circle Sister Alice was not controlled by the frivolities and fashions of this world but lived in a higher and more exalted sphere. . . .

APPENDIX

SAMUEL BENTON CALLAHAN

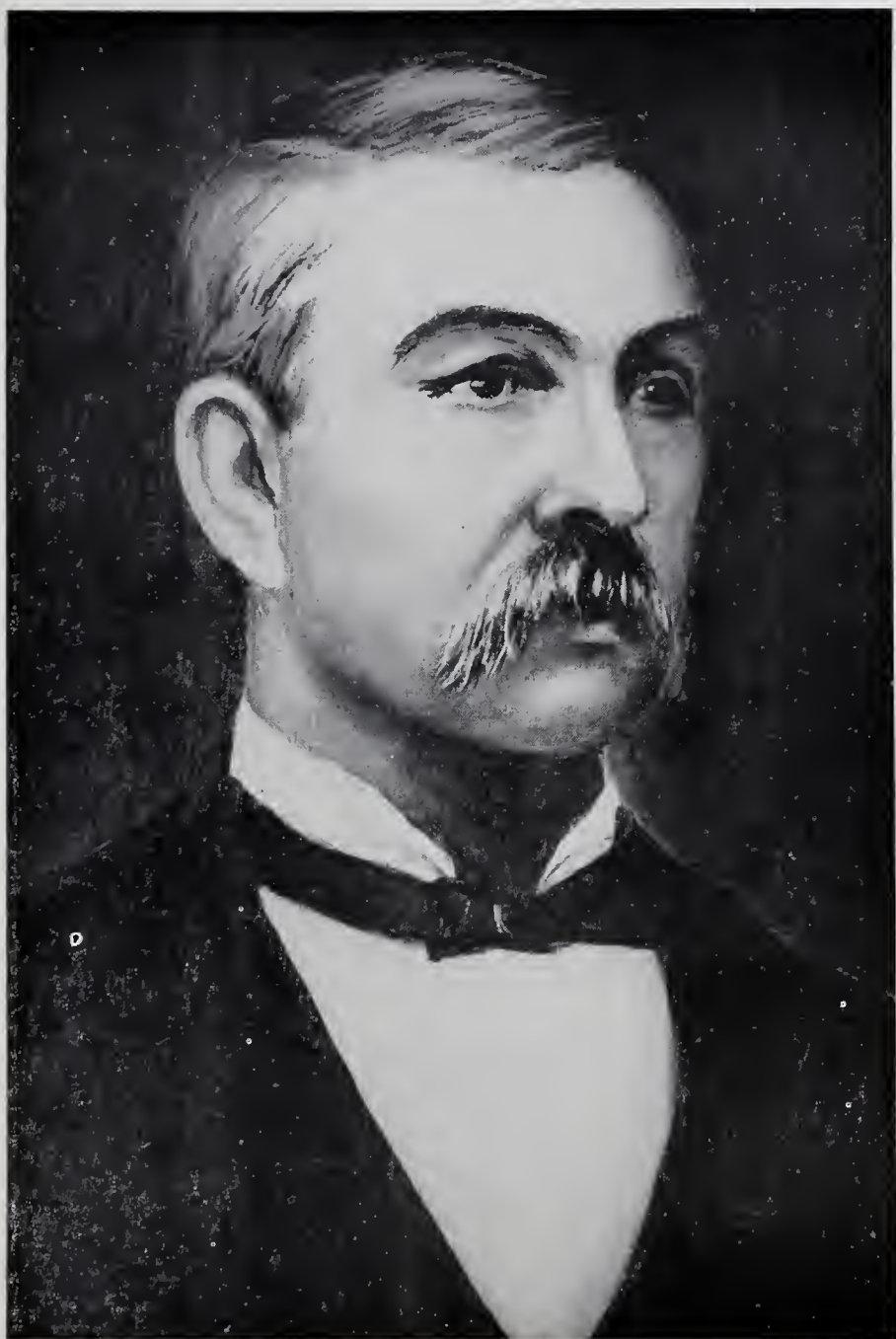
Samuel Benton Callahan was born in Mobile, Alabama, on January 26, 1833. Both his parents were of Scottish and of Irish descent, and both had northern and southern interests: His father, James Oliver Callahan, was a well known shipbuilder of Scott County, Pennsylvania, who came to Mobile; his mother, Amanda Doyle Callahan, was a member of an old Alabama family and of Creek Indian descent. She came to the Indian Territory in early days, and died at the age of eighty-seven "noted for her benevolence, especially her goodness to the sick."

Samuel B. Callahan attended the public schools of Sulphur Springs, Texas, and was a student at McKenzie College, Clarksville, Texas. He served as editor of the *Sulphur Springs Gazette* for nearly two years after his college days, and came to the Indian Territory in 1858, where he engaged in cattle ranching with headquarters at Okmulgee though his operations extended over wide country in this region.

He had married Miss Sarah Elizabeth Thornberg, a daughter of a Methodist minister, Rev. Wm. Thornberg, of Sulphur Springs, Texas, in 1857. They were the parents of eight children whose names were given in 1909 as follows (Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 322): "Josephine, now Mrs. H. B. Spaulding of Muskogee; Dr. James Owen, practicing physician of that place; Jane Evelylin, who became Mrs. R. W. Shaw of Wagoner, Oklahoma; Samuel B., Jr., a merchant of Morse, Oklahoma; Sophia Alice, deceased; Emma Price, who married L. A. Adair, of Muskogee; Dr. Walter McKenzie Callahan, engaged in the practice of medicine in Owyhee, Nevada; and Edwin Thornberg Callahan, deceased."

After the chiefs and officials of the Creek Nation had signed a treaty of alliance with the Confederacy at the outbreak of the War between the States, Callahan enlisted in the First Creek Mounted Volunteers of the Confederate Army, on August 17, 1861. Popular with his comrades most of whom were full blood Creeks, he was commissioned first lieutenant and later adjutant during the first year of his service. In 1863, he assisted in the reorganization of his command, and served as Captain of Company "K", First Creek Regiment, until May 18, 1864, when he resigned to take up his duties as delegate in the Confederate Congress at Richmond, Virginia, to which he was admitted on May 30, 1864. He represented the Creek and the Seminole nations jointly, under a provision in the treaties of the two nations with the Confederate States, serving in the Congress at Richmond until two weeks before the surrender of General Lee and his Army in 1865.

Captain Callahan soon joined his family then living in Texas where he was a merchant for a time. Within a year, he moved with his family back to the Indian Territory, locating near Muskogee as a farmer and rancher. His ability, experience and presence marked him as a leading citizen in the Creek Nation. He was chosen clerk of the House of Kings (Senate) in the Creek National Council, serving in this position four years (1868-72) with his residence at Okmulgee, the national capital. He subse-



(From Painting in Creek Indian
Museum, Okmulgee)

CAPTAIN SAMUEL BENTON CALLAHAN,
CREEK NATION



quently served as Clerk of the Supreme Court of the Creek Nation, and years later (1901) was chosen to the high position of Justice of this Supreme Court. He was a Creek delegate to Washington many times to confer with Government officials in different administrations, and particularly with President Grover Cleveland himself, in 1894. Captain Callahan was the executive secretary to three leading principal chiefs of the Creek Nation: Samuel Checote, Roly McIntosh (Acting Chief), and Isparhecher whom he always accompanied to Washington. Captain Callahan voted at Cusseta Town, Creek Nation, and was enrolled as one-eighth Creek Indian by blood when the Final Rolls of the Nation were closed before Statehood.

He was deeply interested in schools for the Indians; he was member of the Board of Trustees for the International School for the Blind at Fort Gibson; he was bondsman for J. B. Land who had charge of the Euchee High School near Sapulpa; and was Superintendent of the Wealaka Boarding School in 1894.

When he was about to begin work as Editor of the *Indian Journal* at Muskogee in 1887, Judge E. H. Lerblance of the Creek Nation, one of the owners of this paper, made this comment in its editorial column: "S. B. Callahan as editor needs no introduction He is a citizen of this Nation, a man of education, and his ability will be shown through these columns."

Captain Samuel Benton Callahan was famous as the last living member of the Confederate States Congress at Richmond, Virginia. He died in Muskogee, Oklahoma, on February 17, 1911, and was interred in Greenhill Cemetery.

—M. H. W., :

EARLY DAYS IN THE SAC AND FOX COUNTRY, OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

*By George W. Stiles**

In the Oklahoma Territorial days scarcely anyone ever inquired as to your origin, or where you came from. Nevertheless, from a historical view point, or shall we say family pride, my parents were natives of New Jersey.

Father George W. Stiles, Sr., was born near Morristown at Mendham, October 26, 1852; and Mother, Alice M. Merritt, before her marriage, was born April 22, 1857, near Newark.

They were married March 15, 1876, and attended the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia on their honeymoon.

My advent into the world was June 14, 1877, while my parents were visiting relatives in New York State.

Father had a married sister, Mrs. Charley Tunis, Aunt Belle, living on a farm along the Solomon River, near Minneapolis, Ottawa County, Kansas. The frequent optimistic letters from his sister caused him to migrate West; consequently, with the first born babe in arms, the family took the train for Kansas. Mother returned East a few years later at the death of her Mother, and soon after Father joined her there. Three years afterwards the family returned to the Kansas prairies as tenant farmers. Through years of plenty and famine, hot winds, fire, drought and chinch bugs, we moved from one rented farm to another.

OPENING OF OKLAHOMA

The Oklahoma country was opened to settlement on my Mother's 32nd birthday, April 22, 1889. This event again stirred Father's desire to travel, hence, he and his younger school teacher brother, Steven, made a scouting trip with team and spring wagon to Oklahoma Territory and Arkansas.

During their trip to Oklahoma, they became acquainted with Henry Mansfield and his wife, Jane. This hospitable couple of-

* George W. Stiles, M.D., Ph. D., lives at 725 Newport St., Denver Colorado, having retired as director of laboratories for the U. S. Department of Agriculture in Denver for more than forty years and more recently (1953) as head of the State Department of Public Health laboratories. He is a graduate of (1900, B.S.) and began his career at Oklahoma A. and M. College as an assistant in the Biology Department (1900-01). He is the author of some ninety scientific papers in his field, and holds many honorary citations, having been specially honored and commended by the Denver Medical Society in July, 1955, for his fifty years of service in the field of medicine.—Ed.

ferred camping ground facilities on their homestead located on the west bank of the Cimarron River, several miles southeast of Stillwater. My Uncle Steve and his new wife, Aunt Katie, packed their belongings and moved to the Mansfield place during the autumn of 1890.

The following March, Father gathered his worldly household goods together and started for Oklahoma. He loaded everything possible into a big canvas covered wagon with extended top sideboards, to accommodate a set of bed springs, and with the surplus supplies in the spring wagon, began the long trek. The big wagon was drawn by our span of mules, and was usually driven by Father, while the gentle team of mares was hitched to the spring wagon following behind, and driven by my eldest sister, Martha, while I brought up the rear with our loose livestock.

In southern Kansas a drenching rain delayed our progress for three days, and at night a kindly German farmer permitted us to sleep in his hay loft. After the storm we travelled over muddy roads, eventually reaching Arkansas City. As we drove through the residential section on Sunday morning, when people were going to church, the 5 or 6 cows I was driving spied the nice green lawns and made a dash for them. I was much chagrined, but with the assistance of the angry property owners, the animals were quickly confined thereafter to the streets.

While travelling through the Cherokee Strip, our big wagon caught on fire, which fortunately was quickly extinguished with but little damage. We also had trouble crossing Black Bear Creek in the absence of a bridge, almost failing to make the steep miry banks and ford.

Finally we came to Stillwater and headed southeast along Stillwater Creek to a store called "Clayton P. O." near the mouth of the creek.

About mid afternoon, we left the main road and turned into a wagon trail nearly one mile from our destination. At this point tragedy almost claimed the life of our Mother. As we came to a deep gully in the trail, Father threw several rails into the ditch to keep the wagon wheels from sinking into the mire. Mother was sitting high on the wagon seat, her feet braced against the dashboard, holding the lines of the mule team taut, with Father at the head of the team, leading them gently down the ravine. As the front wheels hit the rails, Mother somersaulted from her seat and the right front wheel passed over her chest. Later, she told us that she had presence of mind enough to roll over, thus preventing the hind wheels from passing over her body as the wagon emerged from the gulch. We were never able to determine exactly how she escaped death, unless in some miraculous manner the rails lay in such position as to protect her from fatal injury.

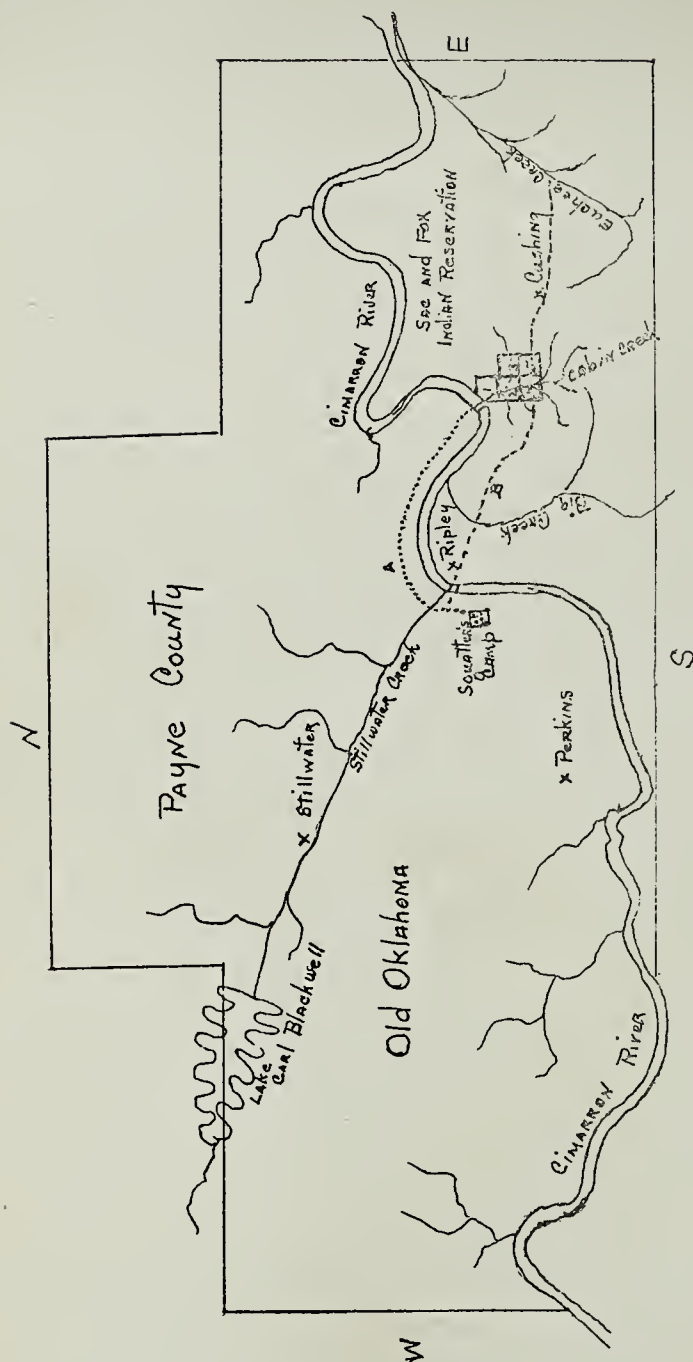


Diagram Showing Outline of Payne County
West, Old Oklahoma, Right, Saco and Fox Indian Reservation
Cinnaroon River, Boundary Line Between the Two Areas.

Map by Dr. George W. Stiles, Showing early Locations in Payne County.

LIFE IN OKLAHOMA

We soon arrived at the "Squatter's Camp grounds" and our genial host, Mansfield, helped us build a kind of log dugout covered with earth, where we found shelter from the elements in a strange land. The family of seven consisted of two parents and five children; their approximate ages were George, Jr., 13, Martha 12, Nona 10, Minnie 5 and Frank 3.

Besides our own and Uncle Steve's family living on Mr. Mansfield's land, there was the widower Jacob Soric with four teen age children; Emerson, Elmer, Emmett and Amy. I have good reason to remember Emmett for he rescued me from a watery grave in my attempt to swim in a nearby pool.

Another family was that of M. M. Watson, his wife Rose, and two small fairhaired children. They lived in a dugout in the bank above the river bottom near the hut of Uncle Steve and Aunt Katie. The colony received their water supply from a 30 foot well equipped with "Old Oaken Bucket."

Our livestock were either tied during the night or kept in a corral. However, during the day it was my responsibility to herd the cows. One day these inquisitive bovines found their way to McFeter's corn field. The "bawling out" I received lasted long enough to prevent any further trespassing.

Chiggers, centipedes, snakes, flies and tarantulas were our frequent and uninvited visitors. Also mosquitoes of the variety that caused malaria. We lost two cows with either Texas fever, anaplasmosis, yellow jaundice, or dry murrain. Two horses also died during the summer with what we now know as sleeping sickness, or Encephalomyelitis.

Since money was a scarce item in those days, Father and I found employment among the Indians. June 14, 1891, my fourteenth birthday found Father and me breaking prairie for the Indians at \$1 per acre along the bottom land of Euchee Creek. Each of us had a team and a 12-inch-mould board breaking plow. Father would lay out a plot of ground to be broken, drive a straight furrow by the aid of flag poles, and then we would go round and round until the desired acreage was completed. Since it was my birthday, Father suggested that I lay off plowing long enough to bag six nearly grown squirrels for my birthday dinner. The savory aroma and taste of that feast still lingers as a happy memory.

When there was no land to be broken, Father helped build log houses or made wooden caskets to bury dead Indians. Strangely enough there appears after all these years in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, the following item: "A number of early citizens in Cushing, Oklahoma, (Sac and Fox country) recall what was standard

procedure for partners in the hardware and casket business. The same casket was used as long as the box held together for burial purposes at \$50 per service. Some boxes were used as many as 50 times at \$50 per trip to the burial grounds of the Sac and Fox Indians, who buried their dead on hides stretched high on poles. The casket was used to carry the dead to the burial ground, then returned to stock and when payment day rolled around, this man and his partner were on hand with their claims for caskets and collected for same before the Indian survivors received their payments."²

According to my personal knowledge, Father never heard of or engaged in the above practice which came to light after the land opened.

By referring to the accompanying map, Line B, one can follow the route to our Indian employment. From squatter's camp we went north about one mile, forded the Cimarron River and travelled in a southeasterly direction to Euchee Creek. The route caused us to pass over Big Creek and the smaller Cabin Creek, the latter having a small spring available for camping purposes. During these trips of some 20 miles distance, quite naturally we noted the favorable camp site on Cabin Creek, the general lay of the land and the location of a desirable homestead.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION

Several times during the summer someone would give a false alarm, shouting "The Land is open." Away they would dash across the river only to be turned back by the United States Marshals.

Finally the day arrived when couriers from Guthrie officially announced that President Benjamin Harrison had issued a five day proclamation declaring the Sac and Fox Indian Reservation and other lands were to be thrown open for white settlement at high noon on September 22, 1891. This presidential announcement came as a climax to many anxious souls who were eagerly anticipating the event, and for some families it was the end of waiting over many months to secure a possible claim in the "Promised Land."

According to Dr. Grant Foreman:³ "The Cherokee or Jerome Commission, now so called, next negotiated on June 12, 1890, with the Sac and Fox Indians for their lands, comprising the eastern half of Lincoln County. Here the Sac and Fox Indians owned a tract of 479,667 acres ceded to them by the treaty of February 18, 1867. Allotments of 160 acres each were made to 584 Indians, in the total

¹ Orpha Russell, "Chief James Bigheart," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXII, No. 4 ((Winter, 1954-55), p. 387.

² The author observed one small Indian burial ground of the Sac and Fox with the poles as described above.

³ Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1942).

amount of 87,683.60 acres after deducting eighteen hundred acres for school and agency purposes. 391,184 acres remained for white settlement, for which the Government paid them \$485,000.”

Muriel H. Wright says⁴ that the Sac and Fox Agency was located about five miles southwest of the present town of Stroud, in Lincoln County and that the Sac and Fox reservation extended west from the Creek Nation between the Cimarron and North Canadian Rivers, an area now included in parts of Payne, Lincoln and Pottawatomie counties.

The day before the opening, Mr. Watson left camp and was successful in staking a claim the day of the race along the Deep Fork bottoms, east of the present town of Chandler. Jacob Soric decided to try his luck on foot, so dashed directly across the Cimarron River to the east and secured an 80 acre tract with a spring and cedar trees. Another man was contesting his right to the 160 acres, so they decided each should have an 80 without further dispute.

Since Mansfield had hunted down the Cimarron River he showed by a map how Father and his brother could make their way along the north legal side of the river in the vicinity of Cabin Creek where there was a cow trail up the steep bank on the south side of the stream.

QUEST FOR A HOME

We will now follow Father and Uncle Steve on their quest for a home: Tuesday morning, September 22, 1891, the sun rose in a clear sky, with a tinge of frost in the air. At sunrise, Father and his brother saddled their horses, tied lunch and feed for their horses on the back of their saddles, and bade good-bye to their families. Because of poor crossing facilities, it was necessary to go up Stillwater Creek (See map, Line A) some distance, to ford the stream. They then took an easterly course, passed the Van Arsdale homestead where a big black bear was caged in the front yard. The two men had difficulty in locating the mouth of Cabin Creek. However, a teen-age boy with a large goiter accurately directed them to the proper place. This boy's father was later our northern neighbor.

On arriving at the river about 11:00 a.m., they found a dozen other men on horseback waiting for the race. They advised Father and Uncle that it would be illegal to run from that place. The reply was, “We don't need your advice.” All the other men turned their horses and disappeared, but returned shortly afterward.

As 12 o'clock approached, all the contestants were lined up at the water's edge. Father was riding “Topsy,” a black mare with a white star on her forehead. She was very nervous and fretting

⁴Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1951).

with her front feet near the quick sand. Father turned to the man next to him, who appeared to have a watch, and asked the time. He replied "Five minutes yet." Father turned his horse's tail to the river for a new start just as the United States Marshals fired their guns from the hill tops on the south side of the river. This little jockeying, caused Father to lose a few seconds. The race was on. All horses headed through the shallow water toward a single objective; a narrow, single cow trail heading up a steep bank some 20 feet high on the south side of the Cimarron River, just below the mouth of Cabin Creek. A man named Lee was the head man. He staked the first claim (See No. 1 on map). This man had waited a whole year to secure this choice bottom farm, and doubtless he had waded the river and surveyed the land with his eyes many times prior to the race. As fate would have it, this 160 acres proved to be the only Indian allotment in that area, so Lee lost possession.

The second winner was Jo Yount, father of the boy with the big goiter, who signaled taking claim No. 2. By this time Father was pressing the third rider, son of Jo Yount, so closely that their two horses jammed together going up the cow trail and Father's coat came loose and dropped on the bank and his lariat rope became untied. However, he gathered up the rope with his foot, "Gave the gad to Topsy" and caused Jodie Yount to turn east, staking claim No. 3, leaving Father head man of the group.

STAKING A CLAIM

Estimating that he had travelled over a mile from the river boundry line, Father indicated he was staking claim No. 4 on the map. Since his coat was lost containing white rags for flags, he removed the flour sack containing grain for his horse, and used it for a signal.

At that time of the year, the blue stem grass was higher than a man's head. Father looked around for a pole and saw a man without horse, with a hole dug in the ground, fresh chips lay nearby, but when asked to loan his ax (Sooner No. 1) said he had none. So Father rode his horse up to a small blackjack and tied his flags on the tree. By this time other riders had passed on their way south. one man, however, returned, saluting Father saying, "I've staked the claim south of you, but there are two men and a woman camped on the creek, team unhitched, cooking their dinner and claiming the land, and I do not know if they are on my claim or on yours." (Sooners-No. 2). So the two men rode down to interview the trespassers. Meanwhile, Father's brother, Uncle Steve, was fifth in the race and staked the homestead adjoining Father's claim to the east.

About two hours after the race a man named "O'Hara" came driving a team hitched to a buggy down the wagon trail (See Line B on the map) from the west and immediately contacted the two

men and the woman campers who pointed at my Father and said, "The little man on the black mare is a sooner." With this information O'Hara hustled around and in some manner made out the legal description of the land, and went to the Guthrie Land Office and filed on the claim.

EVENTS AT THE CLAYTON FORD

At this time, we will return to the "Squatter's Camp" back across the river and follow events there. Before leaving, Father had given me instructions what to do at the time of the run. I was to hitch up the mule team to the big wagon provided with sideboards, wagon bows and canvas, loaded with bedding and camping supplies, and was to be ready at the Clayton Ford, above the mouth of Stillwater Creek, on the Cimarron River just before noon, and after the race look for him at the Cabin Creek camp ground.

At the river I saw a sight never to be forgotten. Hundreds of anxious home seekers had gathered at this vantage point. Among the eager throng were many covered wagons, vehicles of all descriptions, sulkeys, rigs, spring wagons, buggies, anything with wheels, men on foot and on horseback. This was merely a sample of what was taking place at many other strategic points along the boundry lines of the Sac and Fox Indian Reservation.

At the sound of the guns sharply at 12 o'clock noon, the race was on. Many persons had never experienced the treacherous nature of "quicksand" and midway across the river some teams were allowed to stop and rest. This gave the wheels of their wagons a chance to settle and become tightened in the grip of the sand. I followed the crowd, kept my team moving and safely landed on the other side of the river (the Route labeled "B" on the map). The present town of Ripley is located on the hill above the river bottom, and at about this spot my trail came upon the uplands.

At the top of the rise, I was confronted by a raging prairie fire, headed directly toward me from the South. Fires were started to facilitate locating corner stones for legal identification of lands. Observing a man in a wagon nearby, I asked for a match to make a back fire. He replied, "No, you little devil, there is enough fire now." Watching my chance I drove the team through a low burning place, and sought safety in the burnt area.

After further danger from fire had passed, I proceeded on my way toward Cabin Creek. About the middle of the afternoon I came to the top of the hill west of our homestead, and looking down the valley saw Father and his black steed. He quickly recognized me and his team and we proceeded to the camping grounds. My first question naturally was, "Did you get a claim?" He replied, "Yes." Then I asked, "What are all these people doing here?" Father said

that they were also claiming the land, and my poor heart sank, for even though a boy, I had heard of contests before.

Sometime later that evening, some men who had made the race with Father came up and informed the several prospective contestants that they had witnessed the race from the described area at the mouth of Cabin Creek on the river, and would testify for Father as the legal owner of the land. With this information most of the claimants disappeared, a few remained.

When Father told me about his coat, I rode Topsy back across the route he had travelled and recovered it, apparently where it had fallen.

We also took a tour around and found a log foundation freshly laid (Sooners No. 3) on the northwest quarter of the claim. Then to the south across the fork of the creek was a brush shed built by an old soldier (Sooner No. 4).⁵

THE DAY AFTER THE RUN

The morning after the run, I helped Father remove the top sideboards with wagon bows and canvas from the wagon for my tent, and he told me to stay until he returned. Then he drove away with the mule team with Topsy hitched on behind, intending to return that night.

Night came and no Father. A bewhiskered man with a six-shooter threatened to shoot me. I said, "You shoot! This is my Dad's claim." Another man intervened and said, "Don't shoot the kid. He is not to blame." Somehow the night wore away and on the second day, still no Father. That evening some men set fire to the grass intending to burn my camp. Fortunately the grass was still quite green in the bottoms and I easily licked the blaze.

My camp was beneath a large oak tree and during the night I was awakened and startled by the hooting of an owl overhead, the first one I had ever heard.

At noon, on the third day, just as I had finished eating my lunch, two men on foot came to my camp stating they had lost their party since the race and were very hungry. I started to fry my remaining sow-belly and flapjacks over the fire, not sure when I would eat again, when they grabbed them from the skillet and ate the food half cooked. Someone later told me these men each staked a claim southeast of Cushing, but I never met them afterward. Incidentally, I learned to flip hot cakes from the skillet into the air two at a time.

Late the third night Father came back and explained his delay in returning. When he reached "Squatter's Camp" he found

⁵ Father did not make the April 22, 1889 race.



Log House in center, first home of George W. Stiles, Sr., in Oklahoma; frame house at left completed March 4, 1893; cellar barn at right; the dog named "Dash."

Mother at the point of death. As a result of her previous injury and a severe attack of malaria fever, she had given birth to a premature baby boy. My little brother lived only a week and was buried on the southwest corner of our homestead. Someone rode a horse to Perkins, about ten miles away, to get the elder Dr. Holbrook, the nearest known physician. Under his care Mother recovered from her illness and was able to move to the claim late in October.

IMPROVING THE CLAIM

Meanwhile, Father made various trips across the river. He brought a repaired mowing machine and we cut a lot of blue stem grass for forage and building sheds for the livestock. It was my good fortune to cut the first oak tree for our one room log house. The stump of this tree resembled the work of a beaver; in later years my technique improved.

Friendly neighbors helped raise the log house and we moved into it with half of the roof completed during a drizzling rain. Somewhat after the fashion of Abraham Lincoln, I helped Father split rails for the corral and the manufacture of clapboards for the roof of our log cabin. Oak trees, some 18 to 20 inches in diameter, were felled and the trunks cut in lengths of about two and one half feet. These sections were split in half with heavy iron wedges, then quartered and the center cores removed and used for chinking the log house. The quarters were further divided by using a frow and mallet. Now the younger generation would consult a dictionary to learn the nature of a frow. It was a heavy iron blade about one foot long with an eye at one end for a handle. With the aid of a heavy forked log we manipulated the split sections by a series of splittings, until the final shingle-like clapboard was perfected, about one half of an inch in thickness.

FILING ON THE HOMESTEAD

About a month after the race, Father went to Guthrie to file on his claim and much to his surprise found that the man, O'Hara, had filed on the same land soon after the race, so the only thing left to do was to file a contest. The attorney for O'Hara offered to settle for one hundred dollars, but Father replied, "The claim is legally mine and I can prove it, hence will not offer a cent."

In order to fight the contest, Father had to have money, which was pretty scarce in those days. He learned that a man named Blackburn had a little to spare, and I recall accompanying Father to see him. He lived down the river some distance. Our case and need was stated to the prospective lender and he asked how much we needed. Father replied that \$200 would be enough and offered to secure the loan by mortgaging our mule team. Blackburn replied, "If your word is no good, neither will your bond be," and

gave Father the money. Thus revealing the nature of some of those early pioneers, not all of whom were horse thieves and robbers. Father's first act after selling the mule team, was to repay the generous donor.

The contest finally came to trial more than ten years later. Witnesses who ran with Father and knew him, testified in his behalf. The defendant failed to appear in person, being represented only by his lawyer.

The "Notice of Publication" appearing in the "Cushing Independent" is as follows:⁶

NOTICE FOR PUBLICATION

Land Office at Guthrie, O.T., March 25, 1903.

Notice is hereby given that the following named settler has filed notice of his intention to make final proof in support of his claim and that said proof will be made before John P. Hinkel, U. S. Commissioner at Ripley, Oklahoma on April 28, 1903, viz

George W. Stiles

For the lots 3 and 4 and the E.½ of the S.W.¼ of Sec. 31, Twp 18 north of range 5 east.

He names the following witnesses to prove his continuous residence upon and cultivation of said land viz;

Charles S. Gibson, Edward L. McCoy, Joseph Yount, Stephen D. Stiles, all of Cushing, Oklahoma

John J. Boles, Register.

On October 1, 1903, the patent was issued to George W. Stiles, being Homestead Certificate No. 6055, recorded Oklahoma Vol. 105, Page 423.

The stone located at the southwest corner of Father's quarter section was a township corner. This rectangular sand stone monument had six horizontal lines on each of the four sides, indicating it was six miles in a straight line north, east, south or west to another township corner.

The Sac and Fox Reservation also contained 40 acre lots. Consequently, at the corner of each such forty, a flat stone about one foot high bore the inscription 1/16, meaning it divided the section into 16 plots of 40 acres each. At our southeast corner a lone black oak tree about two rods distant, had a partly healed blaze pointing toward the corner stone and was known as a "witness tree." These corner stones have long since disappeared with the advent of modern highways.

⁶ Taken from Mother's note book or diary containing about 40 pages relating incidents when a young woman until life in Oklahoma, in possession of the author

FAMILY AFFAIRS

A further note concerning Father's brother, Stephen D. Stiles, is of historical importance. The very first night Mother came to the claim she acted as midwife to Aunt Katie, Uncle Steve's wife, who gave birth to a girl, Jennie, the first new baby born in that neighborhood. Other children in Uncle Steve's family who still survived their parents and elder sister, are Howard, Etta, Edward and Ferd.

During the first winter on the claim considerable work was accomplished by clearing and burning brush and scrub oak from land desired for cultivation. When spring arrived, the sod plow was busy turning the rich sandy loam. The older children of the family and Mother were busy planting corn, kaffir and other crops, by using a spade cutting a crevice in the edge of a sod furrow and pressing the soil in place after planting. Those early garden crops of okra, and black eyed peas are never to be forgotten.

HUNTING DAYS: WILD ANIMALS

A part of my activities was furnishing meat for the family. Armed with an old 12 gauge muzzle loader, I seldom returned without an ample supply of quail in season, rabbits and squirrels. There were no laws governing hunting, nor stamps required for shooting wild ducks. On one occasion I bagged five Mallards at one shot. Two squirrels at one firing was not uncommon. Recalling the Bible story of David and Goliath on one occasion I saw a squirrel lying high on the limb of a tree and selecting a pebble from the brook, brought him down the first time I used my sling shot. This performance was never repeated, so it must have been accidental rather than skillful throwing.

Before the land was broken, the small streams were clear as crystal. Many times I observed channel catfish, perch and bass milling around in pools three or four feet deep. Those days are gone forever.

With reference to fur bearing animals, my younger sister, Nona, aided me one time in capturing six large skunks in the base of a hollow tree. Their skins were sold for \$2.85. Opossum pelts brought less money than prime skunk hides. Near this same locality sometime afterwards, I was walking without dog or gun, about noon along a cow path beside the creek, when my olfactory senses warned that a wild animal was near. Looking upward, I saw lying asleep on the limb of a big oak, a full grown bob cat. After watching it awhile, I passed on, but the creature was gone upon my return. On another occasion, I was fishing on the bank of Euchee Creek, when directly across the stream, within a few yards, a lynx came stealthily down beside the roots of a sycamore tree, took a lap of water and quietly disappeared. The animal was identified by tufts of black hairs on his ears.

One night after a party, I accompanied a girl named, Susie Lunsford, home on horseback. Returning homeward old Ben, our hound dog, located a creature under a rock beside the road. To satisfy my curiosity, I dismounted from my pony, lifted the rock, and received the full broadside of repellent agent from the striped animal. My only good suit of clothes hung on the clothesline a whole week before being deodorized.

Early in the morning, the spring followed the opening, we often heard the "gobble, gobble" of a wild turkey a short distance from our claim. Desiring to add to the family larder, I had the old gun loaded with coarse shot ready for the next warning. Sure enough, a few days later Father called me about daybreak saying, "The old gobbler is calling you." Hopping out of bed, scantily clad, I grabbed the gun and started toward the object of my quest. Knowing the terrain of the land, I judged the bird was near a gully, from which a close approach was possible. Soon I came near the object of my search. I waited for his "gobble, gobble" and located an object moving through the half burnt grass and scrub oak. Feeling sure it was the turkey I took good aim and fired. Climbing from the pit, I was horrified to see a man standing where I believed the turkey was strutting. I ran up to him and asked if he was hurt. Lowering his trousers, we observed small trickles of blood from the gun shot wounds. My aim was perfect for the intended victim. He replied, that he did not think that the shot was serious, however. I offered to get a doctor but he declined. Unknown to each other, both of us were stalking the same turkey, which escaped unharmed. He afterwards remarked that he thought the Indians were after him. On reaching home, Mother noticing my great agitation, asked what had happened. I told her I had shot our new neighbor, Ed McCoy. This man had recently acquired the rough claim adjoining us on the south, and it was the first time that we knew it was occupied. In later years, McCoy testified for Father in settlement of his contest. He was subsequently elected County Sheriff on the Republican ticket. Apparently my accidental shooting was not a serious handicap to his future career. Over the years, I have been thankful the old gun was not loaded with buckshot, and was not a modern weapon.

Neighboring boys and I used to go "coon hunting" occasionally during winter months. On this particular occasion, four or five of us had spent the early hours attempting to keep up with our hounds. We would hear their melodious voices far up Cabin Creek, then west toward Big Creek. Finally their clamor was faintly heard down toward the Cimarron River. We scrambled through brush, briars, fell down hills and finally, after midnight, came to a large oak tree in the bottom land. The six or seven dogs were frantically barking and trying to climb the tree. Since it was bright moonlight we saw a large object high in the tree, and while discussing the situation the creature crashed down landing on the ground near us

boys and the dogs. With a human-like scream, the animal bounded away into the thicket. Neither boys or dogs desired to hunt further that night. Experienced hunters told us it was probably a panther, and that we were lucky to be alive.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

Another personal encounter with death occurred the spring after the race. Our cows and horses grazed on the open range during the day and were corralled at night. One afternoon I set out on foot to find our animals. They were located in a beautiful little valley a mile away on the school section. From the nearby hill I saw them grazing among a herd of two or three hundred long-horn Texas steers, and among them was also a wild deer. Desiring to approach the deer as closely as possible, I crept down the hillside and came quite close to the animal before its white tail raised and it began to gallop away. This startling event caused the nearest steer to lower its head, and sensing my presence, bellowing, charged directly toward me. I could almost feel the breath of the raging animal on my face. A lone oak tree was in view but too far away for protection. Either from instinct, a trace of courage, or perhaps a silent prayer, I stopped, removed my vest, and seizing one end swung it lariat fashion over my head, and yelling, faced the furious beast. The entire herd turned their tails and fled. The cows and horses were easily driven home in safety. The vest that saved my life was among clothing sent us from relatives in New Jersey, for which I was very grateful.

ILLNESS

Pioneer settlers experienced many hardships. Among them was sickness. Kindly neighbors often sat up nights to nurse and care for the suffering. A modern well equipped hospital and trained nurses were unknown luxuries.

According to Mother's Diary, our eldest sister, Martha, became lost the last evening in February, 1892, and remained out all night. She came home the next morning carrying a few wild flowers in her hand saying she was very much frightened and tried to sleep under a tree. We supposed she was staying with a neighbor, so had not been out searching for her. A short time later she became ill with an obscure fever, and Dr. William H. Scott, who homesteaded north of Cushing attended her. His diagnosis was "sleeping sickness." She was semi-conscious and bedfast several weeks before recovery. Today we presume she had encephalomyelitis caused by a virus, the same type that affects horses and it was probably transmitted by the bite of infected mosquitoes. In recent years scientists have demonstrated the presence of this virus in various species of birds and other wild life, and certain mosquitoes feeding on them could carry the infection to humans.

EARLY RELIGIOUS LIFE

The religious life of early settlers was kept alive by devout individuals. Mother organized a small sunday school under the black oak trees in our front yard. Only a few neighboring children attended. At Easter, this group was transferred to Cottonwood School, a log structure I helped build, one mile west and one north located on the southeast corner of A. B. Georgia's homestead. Mother's Diary further says, "We have now about 30 scholars." In addition to teaching a class, she was appointed "Chorister." Incidentally the literature for the sunday school was donated by various individuals including our eastern relatives.

One of the events that was not uncommon in those early days occurred when a family camped near our place. During the night an elderly woman died, presumably from natural causes. Mother and other neighbors prepared a shroud and aided in burial arrangements. Father helped furnish a pine box for a coffin and aided in digging a grave. In the absence of a minister, Charles S. Gibson, our neighbor, read the burial ritual from an Episcopal prayer book at the grave side, thus committing to earth the last remains of some unknown traveller without record in the files of vital statistics.

An event of much importance was the organization of a singing school for the young music-minded citizens of the community. Someone had said that the people who sing are less apt to go to jail than those who do not. Perhaps that was one reason why the writer was spared that experience. Since the early tutoring of that primitive school, I have had a lot of fun occupying the bass section of a Methodist church choir, or engaging in city choruses for nearly half a century. Our professor was named Smith, a small, sandy haired man, who lived at Stroud, perhaps thirty miles distant. He either rode a horse or drove one hitched to a buggy. Quite often Professor Smith would stay all night and share our hospitality. We generally received extra tutoring for such accommodation. The classes in vocal music began with the rudiments. With Mother's assistance, I was able to make a fair rating. We still have the faded yellow hymn book used during those early days. Some of us more advanced pupils were invited to sing at Fourth of July celebrations. One I recall was held at Cushing under a brush arbor, at the time an epidemic of food poisoning occurred. The source of the infection was ascribed to contaminated ice cream. Many persons became violently ill soon after eating, and the modern bacteriologist would have called it "staphylococcus poisoning." Fortunately there were no fatalities.

OUTLAWS

The second school house I helped build was named "Independence", located two miles south of Cottonwood—after the district boundries were changed—or one mile west and one south from our home.

One Sunday it was announced that a special church service would be held there the following Tuesday evening by some itinerant preacher. As was my custom, I planned to attend this meeting, consequently I started on foot up the hill toward the school house. It was just dusk and on reaching the hilltop, a sudden burst of shooting took place directly in front of our house, and Ben was making a terrible racket. Hastening back toward home, I met two men with a team and spring wagon coming up the road. The men explained they were just shooting to hear the old dog bark, and assured me that nothing serious was wrong. They asked where I was going, and kid like, I told them about the meeting announced at the school house. They invited me to ride with them as they would go that way. On the south side of the road, near the top of the hill, the widower, Berlin, lived in a log house with several teen-age children. As we came opposite the cabin, the shooting began again. Meanwhile, I was becoming rather suspicious of my hosts. The rear of their spring wagon resembled a small arsenal. As they fired toward the log house, the occupants fled to safety, this I learned on my return. They offered me a drink of whiskey, at any rate something in a bottle. On my refusal to partake they began more shooting and swearing. They commended me for my courage in riding with them. The road angled across the section toward the school house, and on arrival they hitched their horses and went inside the building, as the door was unlocked.

A single kerosene lamp hung inside at the front of the single room. After lighting the lamp one man made rings around it with his six shooter while the other amused himself by sitting in the doorway and firing bullets through the windows. Since no one else came for the meeting, probably a false notice, one man suggested that they take me along with them as they intended to rob a bank at Guthrie the next morning. The better judgment of the other man prevailed and after the two argued for some time, I was permitted to go home, with the warning to tell no one. On the way home I stopped at Berlin's house, since he was the Justice of the Peace, and related my experience. Nothing was done to follow the presumed outlaws; however, we learned shortly afterwards that a bank was robbed at Guthrie the next day. It was reported that the "Doolin Gang" committed the robbery. Thereafter, invitations to ride with strangers were gracefully refused.

HORSE THIEVES

A second experience with probable gun-men may be of interest. Soon after the opening, the Sac and Fox Indians desired to fence their allotments with barb wire. Consequently, seven teamsters were engaged to haul the wire from Sapulpa to the Indian village on Eucsee Creek. About noon, the first day of our journey, a stranger on horseback approached the first team owned and driven by Hi Newlon, and asked where we intended to camp that night. Newlon

replied, "None of your d—— business." Newlon's team was a fine pair of medium sized horses, well suited for saddle purposes. Later in the day, we learned there had been a skirmish between some outlaws and United States Marshals the previous night and several horses killed. With this warning, it was decided to guard our horses during the remainder of the trip. Returning from Sapupa with loaded wagons, we camped for the night. The weather was chilly and it was misting. Shortly after midnight, I was relieved from my turn on guard duty, and as my successor took over, he discovered two men crawling in the grass toward Newlon's team. A shot over their heads warned the intruders who quickly retreated into the thicket. Our camp was soon awake, but no further attempt was made to rustle the horses during the rest of the trip.

THE COMING OF THE SAWMILL

The second year, following the Opening, a small sawmill came to the north end of our farm. Custom sawing of native lumber was done for many persons in our vicinity. The principal species of trees were oak of several kinds (burr, white, black, post and water), elm, cottonwood, sycamore, walnut, pecan, and a few hickory, cedar and hackberry.

Many valuable trees were sacrificed to make lumber for building purposes. With cross-cut saw and ax, I helped Father cut the branches and tops of felled trees into fire wood which we sold Cushing housewives at \$1 per load. Of course the lumber was much needed for the comfort and welfare of the settlers; however, when some of my favorite squirrel trees were marked for destruction, I often said, "Woodman, spare that tree."

In those early days, it was rumored that valuable walnut logs were often stolen from various localities in the Territory and shipped abroad, commanding high prices for furniture making and other purposes.

Indiscriminate cutting of timber, in many cases allowed soil erosion to occur, and it was not long before flash floods were carrying our rich soil downward to the Mississippi delta. Nature had planted clumps of wild plum and other shrubs in low places to prevent soil erosion, but the new settlers soon removed them, and today washed out gulleys are the result. We now realize that much native sod on sloping lands should never have been disturbed by the breaking plow.

Perhaps it is pure sentiment, but we have a beautiful white oak (*Quercus albus*) tree 50 feet high growing in our Denver yard. I brought a single acorn from the Oklahoma homestead over 30 years ago, and here birds build their nests and squirrels find a safe refuge.

HAULING FREIGHT

Shortly after the Sac and Fox Reservation was opened, Winn Hull erected a small store building on the hill southwest of the present city of Cushing. It was located near the wagon trail leading toward Euchee Creek. All groceries and supplies were hauled, usually from Guthrie, some 40 miles southwest, or occasionally from Mulhall, the nearest railroad point. During the first two or three years, Father and I would take turns in hauling freight for Hull's store. The round trip required about four days, over rough, rutty dirt roads, without bridges. We were usually paid in groceries.

After we began raising cash crops, we hauled them to market, and upon our return brought a load of merchandise for Hull's. I recall one trip when I took a load of cotton to the cotton gin across the railroad tracks in West Guthrie. On my arrival, the cotton buyer made the usual announcement that the cotton market had dropped that day, knowing full well I would not haul the load back home.

A few days before the Cherokee Strip opened, September 16, 1893, Hull's wife and three children came from the East and arrived at Guthrie. The wagon that met them was inadequately supplied with bedding. I was hauling my last load of freight for the store and upon learning this shared my own with them. Sleeping on the damp ground, because of my loaded wagon without sufficient covering, I developed a case of double quinsy, now known as tonsilitis. The night before the Strip opened, Dr. Scott came at midnight to lance my swollen tonsils.

SOCIAL LIFE

During the summer of 1893, we raised a nice crop of water-melons. A few days prior to the opening of the Strip, several hundred schooner wagons passed our place enroute for the border. Since drinking water was scarce and the weather sultry our melons, piled under the shade trees sold like hot cakes, the choicest demanding the unbelievable price of ten cents each, while the smaller ones sold for five cents.

Inscribed on the canvas of one wagon was the slogan: "In God we trusted. In Kansas we busted. Let her rip. We're bound for the Strip."

Mother's Diary says we moved into our second home, made of native lumber from the homestead, March 4, 1893, the day President Cleveland was inaugurated for his second term.

Sometime later, Mother's youngest sister, Sylvia ("Aunt Vean", Mrs. Ves Baker) of Kenville, New Jersey, and her young children. Alice and Jerry, visited us. We were delighted to see relatives from

the East. Aunt Vean's grandchildren are still talking about their Granny's trip to Oklahoma.

Our social life was not entirely neglected, even though the struggle for existence was difficult. The friendly feeling among neighbors was fostered by chicken dinners, pig roasts, watermelon feasts and parties at various homes. The mental process of trying to recall the proper names and initials of these persons after a half century is most thrilling. Each individual has left his or her mark upon me and they are chiefly remembered, not by their wealth, but by their friendly spirit and striking personality. Very few of these early settlers remain, and only their children or grandchildren are alive to tell the story of the pioneers.

SCHOOL DAYS

In those early days, school financing was a problem. There was one redeeming feature, however, the youth who earnestly desired an education generally succeeded in reaching the goal of his or her ambition. Though schools were limited in number, the teachers were well trained and much interested in their pupils, and encouraged them in every way possible.

In addition to instruction received at school, parents with adequate schooling were of great assistance in advancing the welfare of their children's education. Such were the circumstances facing the author in his pre-college days. It was quite a coincidence that I had a small part in the construction of the first school building in Cushing where I became a pupil soon after. Prior to the erection of this structure, school had been held in private homes or churches.

On May 15, 1895, a photograph was taken of eleven teams loaded with lumber from the Arkansas Lumber Company, Guthrie, O.T., to be hauled to Cushing for their new school building. On the left of the picture in front was Bob Munn, with a mule team hitched to his wagon loaded with shingles. Among other teamsters were Ed McCoy, Jasper Henderson, G. C. Hampton and myself, the remaining names are forgotten.

The owner of the lumber yard was so pleased with such a large sale that he invited all hands into the nearby saloon (legal in those days). Being the youngest of the party, I lagged behind, and finally requested a bottle of soft drinks. A nearby ruffian accosted me and asked what I was drinking. Replying my choice was "root beer," he attempted to forcibly make me drink a glass of whiskey. Another stranger interfered in my behalf. That event fixed my choice for alcoholic beverages and to this day I am a total abstainer.

Six months later the school building was completed and Miss Minnie Gray began teaching about forty pupils coming from rural and urban districts. I was fortunate enough to be among those of advanced grade.



Hauling Lumber for Cushing's First School Building, from Arkansas Lumber Company at Guthrie, May 15, 1895.



Before the school year ended, Miss Gray became the bride of Mr. Clarence L. Lyon. They were married one Friday evening after school in the school room and every scholar remained to witness the ceremony.

Throughout the school year Mrs. Lyon gave special attention to a few of us who were preparing to enter college, and spent extra time reviewing subjects most needed for college entrance.

A recent issue of the *Cushing Daily Citizen* reports the visit of Mrs. Lyon after fifty-eight years to the scene of her pioneer teaching and courtship days. For the help and inspiration she gave me in those crucial days, I still address her at Christmas time as "Dear Teacher" which she appreciates very much.

COLLEGE AND SCIENTIFIC CAREER

Prior to this time, desiring to plan my future occupation, I had applied for a job as clerk in one of the local mercantile stores in Cushing, but being a shy, poorly clad country youth, and inexperienced, was refused employment. I then decided to secure an education in order to overcome such handicaps.

The question of finances became a vexing problem when I began talking about entering college. During the spring of 1896, Father promised me the proceeds from a sod crop of cotton for my college entrance fee. The land was raw prairie and had many running oak grubs to be removed. It required long hours of labor to break and disk the soil to prepare it for planting the cotton seed. The young crop was carefully hoed, thinned and cultivated. It was a pretty sight when the pink blooms first appeared, and even a much prettier one, when the cotton bolls began to burst. Since so much time was required to prepare the soil the crop was late in maturing. My sisters helped me pick the cotton, even then, I was two weeks late in entering College.

A few days before entering the freshman class of the Oklahoma A. and M. College, I joined the First Methodist Church at Cushing. This proved to be one of the most important events of my life. On the day of my departure, Father drove me to Stillwater in our big wagon. At that time it required a full day to make the twenty-five mile trip. I was the first student from the Cushing area to enter and graduate from the College. By strict economy and a little help from home, and by doing janitor service and chores on the college farm at ten cents per hour, I was able to meet college expenses. This was the common practice among male students in those early years.

At the close of our sophomore year, George L. Holter, Professor of Chemistry, requested anyone desiring to elect chemistry as a major subject for the following two years, to consult him after

class. Only two of us responded. There was no question as to the ability of my classmate, Tom T. Goff, but when my turn came for the interview Professor Holter remarked, "Deacon, your only qualification is stick-to-it-ive-ness," and permitted me to choose chemistry as my major. During my senior year, I was the one chosen as student assistant in the Chemistry department. They probably called me "Deacon" because my best suit of clothes was "A hand-me-down" from an uncle back East, and made me look like a preacher. Another likely reason for the nickname was the fact that I had been hired at \$4.00 per month as janitor at the little Methodist church.

In this connection an incident occurred one Sunday evening I shall never forget. One of my duties as church janitor was to always have the kerosene lamps filled with oil, the wicks trimmed, and the globes clean and shining. The large cluster of lamps hanging in the center of the sanctuary were properly cared for. However, like the foolish virgins, I suddenly realized that the single lamp suspended over the pulpit had been neglected. I silently prayed the oil would hold out. Just as the Minister had pronounced the benediction and said "Amen," the lamp began to flicker and went out.

There were six members of our class who graduated June 1, 1900. Of whom three are still living: Mrs. Cora (Donart) Coffey of Oklahoma City; John S. Malone, Shawnee, and myself. We celebrated our 55th anniversary this year.

At \$30.00 per month, I was employed for the following school year as an assistant in biology under Dr. L. L. Lewis at the college. During this period I passed a Civil Service examination, as a Scientific Aid in bacteriology and zoology. On June 1, 1901 I was appointed to the Pathological Division Bureau of Animal Industry, U. S. Department of Agriculture at a salary of \$40.00 per month, and stationed at Washington, D. C. This same position today calls for a salary of about \$225.00 per month. Working during the day from 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. in the laboratory to pay my school expenses and support a family, I entered the night class of George Washington University. Taking advantage of holidays and 30 working days of annual leave, by the end of 8 years, I was able to obtain both an M. D. and Ph. D. degree. I was also the honor student of my medical class of fifty-eight members receiving prizes for the best examination in Pediatrics and Dermatology. My doctorate degree was granted under the direction of General George M. Sternberg, Professor of Bacteriology.

On June 30, 1902, Miss Bessie A. Loud became my wife. She had been employed in the U. S. Census Bureau. We were married in the Metropolitan Memorial Methodist church in Washington, D. C. To this union four children have been born: Merritt L., Sibley W., William W. and Alice E. Stiles. Our eldest son, Merritt,

was born June 26, 1903 on the Oklahoma homestead, and was the first male student of an alumnus to enter the A. and M. College at Stillwater.

Events of the following half century is a story by itself. Briefly, during this period, more than eighty articles have been published, covering a variety of subjects in the field of sanitation, preventive medicine, and disease transmission from animals to man. In 1909, I became a member and later Fellow of the American Public Health Association, and while in active service was also a member of many other scientific and medical societies, and was listed under "Who's Who in Medicine and Science."

Through a Civil Service examination, in 1905, I was appointed the first Bacteriological Chemist in the Bureau of Chemistry under Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, "Father of the Pure Food Law of 1906". Until 1912, my work was concerned with the bacteriological examination of various food products including, milk, water, oysters and other commodities entering into interstate commerce.

Because of my wife's health I was transferred to Denver, Colorado in 1912 and engaged in field and laboratory work until 1918 when I returned to the Bureau of Animal Industry. I established, and was in charge, of the first research laboratory of that Bureau in Denver, retiring in 1947 at the age of seventy. This laboratory is now located at the Federal Center, Denver, and serves the entire Western United States in animal pathology and medical research. For the following six years I was Director of Laboratory in the Colorado State Department of Public Health. Since retiring a second time I now have opportunity to do some church work, a little writing, and exercise in my garden.

Before concluding this article, mention should be made of my father's family. Father died July 29, 1935, at the homestead at the age of nearly eighty-three. Of our family of ten, only three survive: my mother, youngest brother, Lee R., and myself. Lee was born on the homestead and still resides there. In addition to his farming, he has also been Deputy County Sheriff of Payne County for the past thirteen years. Mother was ninety-eight years old April 22, 1955, and is cared for by brother Lee and his wife, Jane. Mother is one of the few survivors of those pioneer days and her life has been an inspiration to all who have known and loved her.

OKLAHOMA, A GREAT STATE

The honest home-seeking men and women, who largely made up the population of the early settlers, were courageous and ventured from comfortable firesides to establish new frontiers. This is the history and spirit of our western civilization. The stalwart character and educational standards of the descendants of those first pioneers are attested by the generations of fine young men and women who

sprang from brave fathers and mothers. When it comes to superior merit in the field of human endeavor, record the fact that Oklahoma boys and girls rank high, if not first, in the field of athletics, stock judging, 4-H Club, and Future Farmers organizations. Also, the state schools, colleges and universities rank among the highest of the Nation. Personally, I am proud to have been an adopted son of Oklahoma, and I believe in the future welfare of the State.

MUSIC ON THE INDIAN TERRITORY FRONTIER

By Kathleen Garrett

The three small daughters of Mack and Florence Edmondson hurried into their freshly washed and ironed long-sleeved print aprons, laced quickly their high-topped shoes, and stood quiet as mice while their mother brushed and braided their long brown hair.

This was a special day in the week; it was the day their music teacher drove out seven miles in a buggy from the small town which served as postal, buying, and selling center for the community to give the whole family music lessons.

It was a big day for the pupils and perhaps it was also for the teacher. The place was the Cherokee Nation in the Indian Territory, and the time was the 1880's. The circumstances were a triumph over unbelievable odds. Forty short years before into an almost unpopulated, unsettled area of what is now the state of Oklahoma had come twelve thousand Cherokee Indians from their former home in the southeastern United States (four thousand of them had died on the way). Those forty years had seen tribal dissension resulting in murder, illnesses like malaria and typhoid, hard toil in clearing lands for farms and in building houses, barns, and fences, and civil war with its poverty, orphans, and ill-feeling. But they also had seen a tribal government established with its constitution and its courts. They had seen a national newspaper founded and a public school system and two seminaries for higher learning.

The advent of the music teacher symbolized a personal triumph, too. It meant that Mack and Florence Edmondson, living in a place far from a city, far from railroads, in a country not yet a part of the United States, a place often mistakenly thought of as the home of wild Indians and wilder outlaws, had overcome many obstacles to bring what culture was available to their little girls.

The organ had been bought by selling a cow. And later on when the little girls had attended the Cherokee Female Seminary, they had learned to play on the fashionable piano. Back home again on vacations, they turned up their noses at the organ on which they had first learned to play and which had served them faithfully. They complained that they couldn't play on "that old organ," so the organ was turned in on a piano.

Music lesson day was an event for the little girls, for it broke the monotony of a life with few visitors, put them in touch with the outside world, and gave them something to do. One of the little girls had found that if she went to practise immediately after a meal,

her mother never made her do the dishes, and pleas of "Ma, make Cherrie come help us," by the other two fell on deaf ears.

It was probably an event, too, for their teacher—a Mrs. Summerfeldt (or something like this name, for seventy years may not have kept true the original spelling). She was probably very much pleased to find somebody in the so-called wilderness to appreciate her talents. She was the wife of a carpenter, and where she studied and from whom are lost with many another pioneer fact.

Once a week she and her baby made the seven mile drive. Sometimes she would come early in the morning and spend the day; at other times she would come in the evening and spend the night. Sometimes she was paid in money; more often by her own request she was paid in products from the farm, and the buggy would start on its homeward journey laden with sausage, or lard, or butter, or eggs, or potatoes, or green beans, or apples, or peaches, according to season. A part of her pay must have been the admiration she drew from her pupils, for after the lessons or sometimes during them, she would give a concert.

These were the days before the six months' visit to the dentist; they were the days when a dentist in a pioneer community was almost a phenomenon, and Mrs. Summerfeldt had but one front tooth. But teeth or no teeth she would seat herself at the organ, take her baby, Selma Florence, on her knee, and then "Bonaparte's Retreat from Moscow," "Brown's Jubilee March," "Listen to the Mocking Bird" would ring out in the farmhouse parlor, and send thrills up and down the spines of her audience. Or she would play and sing "The Old Tramp"—a Victorian tear jerker—and the most pleasurable sense of sorrow filled her listeners and made bright their eyes in sympathy.

Mrs. Summerfeldt at the organ was impressive and may have served as a stimulus, for years later two of the little girls studied music in Boston, the third in Chicago.

Mrs. Summerfeldt must have been one of the first "career women," and even motherhood did not cramp her style. For Selma Florence's necessary sustenance periods never interrupted the counting and the footpatting nor caused the music pupils to miss a note.

The statement that the whole family took lessons is not strictly accurate and must be qualified with an exception—Mack, the father. If the term "young blade" can be applied to pioneer youth, he was one. His accouterments and constant companions were his gun, his boots, his hat and his pipe. When as a teen-ager it was time to obtain some advanced education, he decided that he knew more than the teachers. But on marriage he settled down to provide his wife and family with the best living the country afforded, a well equipped and productive farm with, eventually, a two-story house with five



(From Old Photograph, 1880's)

The Mack Edmondson Family, left to right: Gonia, Mack, Cherrie, Florence, Bula.



bedrooms (no less), a parlor, a dining room, a kitchen, and numerous pantries.

To have suggested that he take music lessons or even to take off his hat, take his pipe out of his mouth, and sit down in the parlor to listen to music was an insult to his pioneer manhood. And Mrs. Summerfeldt and her peculiarities came in for some mimicry. But oddly enough on the days she came it was strange how much work had to be done around the house. And when Mrs. Summerfeldt played, he was always to be found still with his hat on and with his pipe, standing outside the parlor door or window. And invariably he would call in and request some favorite tune.

The mother, Florence, however, took lessons along with the little girls; and her granddaughter remembers her as an old lady still taking piano lessons.

At the ages of twelve and ten the two older daughters packed their new clothes in the wonderful barrel-topped trunk, and drove with their parents fifty miles to the Cherokee National Female Seminary. The Seminary provided an excellent general education for its Cherokee girl students—a curriculum planned by the heads of Mount Holyoke Seminary, South Hadley, Massachusetts, and carried out by its alumnae.¹

Singing was a part of the original curriculum initiated on the opening of the Seminary in 1851. Ellen Whitmore, its founder and first principal, writing in her journal on May 11, 1851, records that she has the classes in history, grammar, arithmetic, and reading, that Sarah has the writing, botany, one class in grammar, one in arithmetic, and singing.² Sarah Worcester may have had some training in music in the three and a half years that she was a student at Mount Holyoke Seminary, yet as a daughter of missionary parents, singing and playing an instrument were as natural to her as attending church.

The missionary, who ventured into the "foreign field" in the Nineteenth Century, as indeed he who ventures today, must of necessity have abilities and skills above and beyond those of his immediate profession. Samuel Austin Worcester, venturing missionary into the Cherokee country in 1825, took with him as "additional equipment" talents ranging from "printing a book to curing a beef." And one of course was the ability to "sing and to teach others to sing."³

¹ See Althea Bass, *A Cherokee Daughter of Mount Holyoke*, (Muscatine, Iowa, 1937) and Lola Garrett Bowers and Kathleen Garrett, eds, *The Journal of Ellen Whitmore*, (Tahlequah, Oklahoma, 1953).

² Bowers, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

³ Althea Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, (Norman, Oklahoma, 1936), p. 17.

Mussie seems to be a valuable concomitant to any religious enterprise, and Worcester soon found that the music-loving Cherokees responded rewardingly. Hymns in their own language he composed for them and printed in the *Cherokee Hymn Book*, which went through at least a seventh edition (1845). But words were not enough, for he wished to give the Cherokees a singing-book, one from which they could learn to read the notes. At length after much discouragement and difficulty, the *Cherokee Singing Book* was an actuality.⁴ Samuel Worcester's words and music, for he wrote both, have cheered and comforted Cherokees for many a year.⁵

Not only for purposes of church and the Christianizing of the heathen but for their own pleasure was music made a part of the Worcester family life. By 1844, there were enough members of the Methodist Church among the Indian tribes to organize an Indian Mission Conference.⁶ The Reverend William H. Goode, superintendent of Fort Coffee Academy in the Choctaw Nation, on his way to the first session, visited the Worcesters and wrote of the visit, "Deprived of society, they relied upon and developed other resources of entertainment. Music, vocal and instrumental, was cultivated"⁷

Instruments were shipped from the East for the Worcester children. John Orr Worcester, the second son, evidenced musical talent and a tenor viol was sent from Boston for his and his brother's use. Another instrument to come from Boston was a seraphine. Sarah writing in 1847 says that her father was putting up the instrument and that they all had been trying to play it.⁸ So Sarah Worcester, when the time came to begin her career as a teacher, takes the singing at the Cherokee Female Seminary.

The early Cherokee education law which required that vocal music be one of the teaching subjects of one of the Seminary teachers was adhered to throughout the existence of the Seminary. Vocal music was always a part of the Seminary activities, and records exist of the Seminary girls singing at concerts to raise money for charitable causes, singing at Commencement, singing at the exercises for Examination Day.⁹ They helped to swell the church choirs; they contributed whenever "a musical number" was needed. Pieces learned at the Seminary were repeated with much satisfaction to the home folk when the girls performed at local concerts during vacation.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 307 ff.

⁵ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Park Hill*, (Muskogee, Oklahoma, 1948), p. 92.

⁶ Walter Adair Thompson, *The Story of Tahlequah Methodism*, (unpublished manuscript).

⁷ Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 54 (cf. Henry C. Benson, *Life Among the Choctaws* [Cincinnati, 1861]).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 154; Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, p. 328.

Piano music was important too, the situation being characterized by an alumna as "nearly every Seminary girl could play." Of the writer's eight relatives who attended the Female Seminary seven could play the piano passably and two uncommonly well. So keen was the desire for music lessons that in time the one part-time singing teacher mentioned by Miss Whitmore gave way to a staff of three who devoted all their time to music.

Perhaps the most flourishing period of the Seminary was that under the principalship of Miss A. Florence Wilson, which began in 1875 and ended in 1901. Conduct was dignified, if somewhat stern, scholarship was high and the arts, if limited in scope, were encouraged within the facilities provided. Miss Wilson herself was not a performer; "She couldn't carry a tune, nor did she know one note from another." But she was passionately fond of music and would listen for hours while a niece played the piano for her. She saw to it that every Seminary girl had a part in some performance.¹⁰ And her pride in the girls who played and sang was evidenced by the smile of pleasure on her face while they were performing—and Miss Wilson could and did frown when she was displeased!

A story from which Miss Wilson derived much pleasure in telling concerned music in the Indian Territory in an earlier period than her own. Fort Gibson, established in 1824 and re-established on higher ground and in stone buildings in the middle 1840's, was the center not only of military life in the Cherokee Nation, but of social life. Wives and daughters of the officers not only visited the fort, but some lived at the fort itself. One evening at a gathering piano music was in progress. An Indian, dressed in native clothes, his blanket about his shoulders, came into the room quietly. He sat down in the back of the room and listened to the music. No one spoke to him. Finally one vivacious young girl who had just finished playing and had been applauded jumped up from the piano stool, turned to the Indian and said with a laugh, "Maybe you'd like to play for us." He rose, bowed, and replied, "If you'd care to hear me." He laid aside his blanket, and for over an hour played classical music. His audience was amazed and silent for a few minutes; then the applause came. The Indian had graduated from an eastern school and had studied music there.¹¹

Miss Wilson no doubt knew the identity of the man, but the narrator of her tale remembers only that he was a Ross. The Ross family and other Cherokee families sent sons and daughters to schools in the East in the days before the Cherokees had established schools of higher education and even afterward for additional degrees.

¹⁰ Lola Garrett Bowers and Kathleen Garrett, *A. Florence Wilson, Friend and Teacher*, (Tahlequah, Oklahoma, 1951), p. 23.

¹¹ Letter from Mrs. W. E. Hearon (Dora Wilson), niece of Miss Wilson, to Lola G. Bowers.

During this golden age of the Seminary, the list of music teachers is fairly long. It is to the credit of the Cherokees that these teachers were both Cherokee and white; merit, one likes to think, was the determining factor in the choice of teacher.

It has seemed to be a commonplace of Cherokee history that those white people who went among the Cherokees learned to love them and came to identify themselves with them and showed themselves Cherokee in spirit in a remarkable way. Missionaries, in spite of hardships, spent long lives among them. Army personnel sent to corral and remove the Cherokees became in many cases kind and sympathetic beyond the call of duty. Likewise Miss Fannie Cummins, teacher of music at the Female Seminary, must have fallen under the Cherokee spell. For after she had left the Seminary and when teaching in Kansas, to one of her "dear little girls," she writes, "So you still like me better than any of your teachers. I am glad to hear it. I do not think I will ever meet any girls I will love as dearly as I do the little girls who belonged to me at the Sem."¹²

Miss Fannie Cummins left "an awfully nice impression" on her pupils. The source of this impression is somewhat hard to pin point after sixty years, but it seems to lie in her friendliness and her interest in her pupils.

Miss Nell Taylor, of Neosho, Missouri, who came to the Indian Territory to teach music and remained to become Mrs. Clu Gulager, was another favorite teacher. "Miss Nell's" charm, poise, dignity won her much admiration and affection.

Miss Florence Caleb and her mother came into the Indian Territory when "Florrie" was a small child. She was educated in Cherokee schools (probably the only white girl to be so) and later became a teacher of piano and voice at the Seminary. She is remembered by her pupils and all who knew her as an admirable person.¹³

A Cherokee who taught music at the Seminary was Miss Carlotta Archer, one of three charming and talented sisters. As teachers and public-spirited women their influence on Cherokee boys and girls was marked. Miss Archer must have done her work well, for after sixty years at least one pupil is still playing pieces that Miss Archer taught her. (This particular portion of this piece of writing is being done while the writer's mother in an adjoining room is doing just that!)

Mrs. Marlin R. Chauncey (Vera Jones), a niece of Miss Archer, has a charming memory of her aunt. As a small child she and her

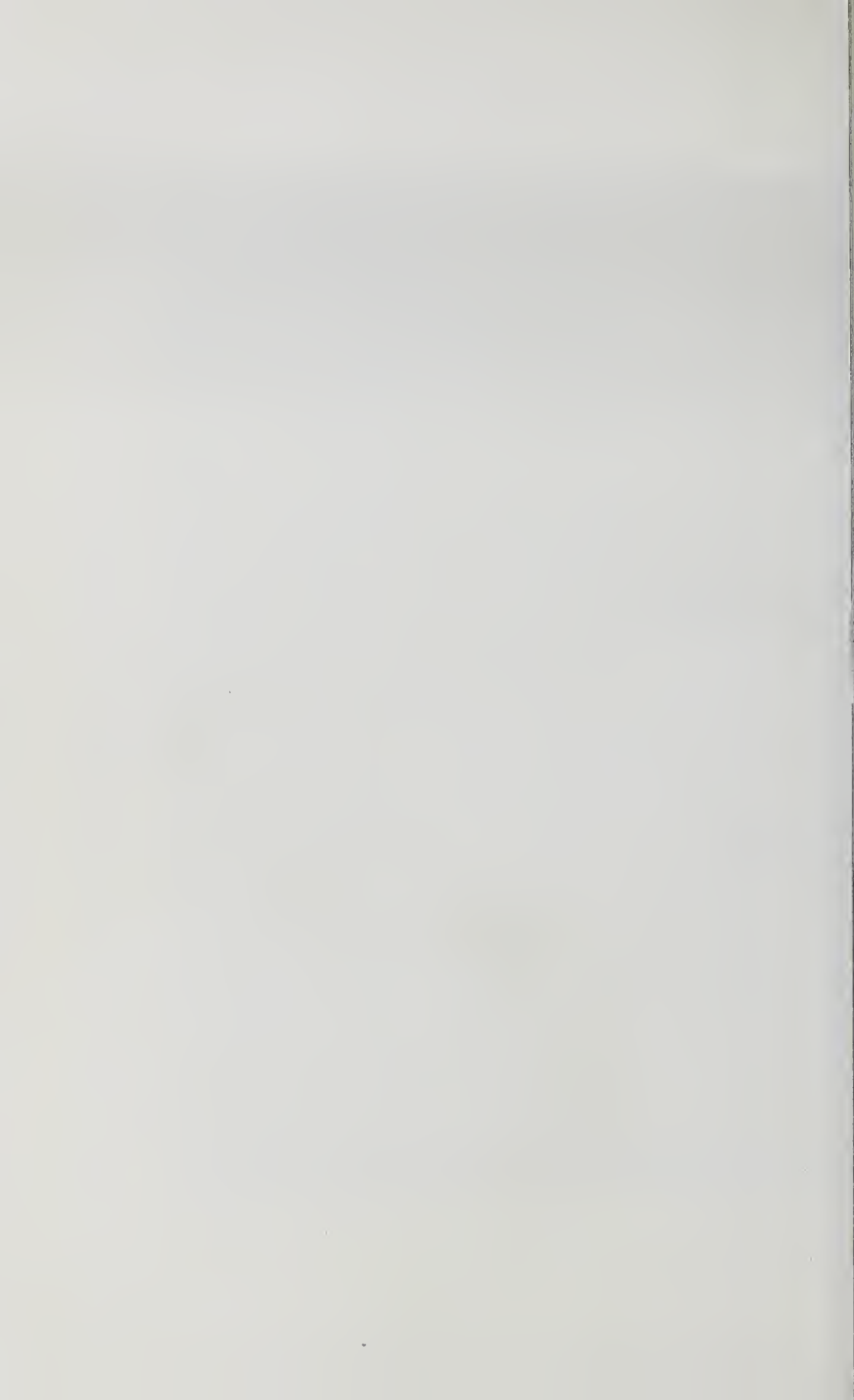
¹² Letter to Gonia Edmondson, now Mrs. Tinnin, dated December 6, 1894.

¹³ For further information see Kathleen Garrett, *The Cherokee Orphan Asylum*, Bulletin of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Vol. 50, No. 21, August, 1953, p. 16.



(Courtesy Cherokee Museum, Northwestern State College, Tahlequah)

The "Music Club" at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1896. Left, Miss Nell Taylor; right, Miss Carlotta Archer; back row, Miss Dora Wilson; foreground, Miss Pearl Drew. Gentlemen in the photograph, left to right; front row, "Uncle" Joe Crafton, Dr. Ed Blake, Mr. Rex; back row, W. W. Hastings and Bob Rutherford.



family would visit in summer the farm home where Miss Archer was spending her vacation. In the late evening they would sit on the porch in the cool; Miss Archer would be at the piano in the darkened parlor and would play for them hour after hour. Miss Archer would probably be pleased to know that her piano is treasured today in the Chauncey home in Stillwater.

Other native daughters who were on the music staff of the Seminary were Miss Cora McNair, Miss Bluie Adair, and Miss Cherrie Adair, women of excellent qualities and held in high esteem.

The music learned and played by these Cherokee girls was typical of that learned and played by the Victorian young lady. It was the day of thrilling runs and powerful chords—the more runs the more thrilling, the more chords the more powerful. The term “de concert” figures largely in the titles of the music of that period. Polkas de concert, galops de concert, marches de concert, vales de concert, morceaux de concert gave the young ladies ample opportunity to show their skill.

Duets, trios, and quartets were immensely popular, especially at the Seminary and other schools. Mrs. R. B. Garrett, who as Miss Cherrie Edmondson taught music for five years at the Cherokee Orphan Asylum, was especially grateful for these combinations. “They gave more children a chance to participate.” The boys and girls who attended the Asylum had “music in their souls.” The children were always “picking out little tunes.” And in addition to special performers at all Asylum affairs, there was a large choir. Some of the duets played by the Orphan Asylum children escaped the totally destructive fire which leveled the Asylum building and brought an end to the institution. A copy of a “Maypole Dance” with a manuscript notation “Played by Nan and Miss Cherrie, May 11, 1899” indicates that the Cherokee Nation tried to give its young charges what musical advantages it could.

Other music that has survived for an even longer period is that of Amanda M. Ross which she studied when she was in school in the East. Amanda very assiduously recorded the dates on which she took the various pieces. In March 1844, for instance, she was studying a piece grandly entitled “Beethoven’s Dream,” Grand Waltz, Especially Composed for the Pianoforte. Her music beautifully bound in leather, her name in gold on the cover, is now in the Murrell Home, Tahlequah, reposing on the music rack of Mary Jane Ross’s piano.

Among the cargo freighted into the Indian Territory were pianos, music boxes, guitars, and mandolins. By boat, by ox-cart, from Kansas or Virginia or what other place of origin, they came into the Territory to be cherished and preserved. Sometimes they were to be gifts for a Seminary graduate or a bride; sometimes they

came as household goods with a migrating family or an army family. But the plodding oxen or mules or horses were bringing culture and refinement into a land wanting it and ready for it.

The charming small piano now properly housed in the Murrell Home came into the Cherokee Nation from Kansas. In 1848 Lieutenant Colonel and Brevet Brigadier General William G. Belknap was sent to command the garrison at Fort Gibson; his piano made the journey from Fort Leavenworth by ox-cart.

When in 1851 he was ordered away, Mrs. William P. Ross "wanted that piano more than anything in the world." Mrs. Ross as Mary Jane or Mollie was the daughter of Lewis Ross, a niece of Chief John Ross, and cousin as well as wife to William Potter Ross. She was charming and accomplished, having been East for her education. She played and sang, and it is little wonder that her desire affixed itself to General Belknap's piano. She took her son's head-right money and bought the piano. It remained in her home in Fort Gibson until she died, becoming then the property of her son Hubbard and later of his eldest daughter, Marjorie (Mrs. Upton), who has lent it to the Murrell Home.¹⁴

This piano, spinet-like in appearance and having only six octaves instead of the usual eight, was made by John Petbick of New York and fosters speculation as to what became of the Chickering on which Mary Jane played for Ethan Allen Hitchcock when during 1842 he visited Lewis Ross and his family in their Park Hill home.¹⁵ Sometime after that date Lewis Ross established a home at Grand Saline and the piano probably moved with the family. Mary Jane may have been reluctant to remove the piano from the family home on her marriage in 1846, and it may have been destroyed during the Civil War, when according to some accounts Lewis Ross's Grand Saline house was "completely gutted."

Another piano that made its way into the Indian Territory was that of Mrs. Narcissa Owen, wife of Colonel Robert Latham Owen of Lynchburg, Virginia, mother of Senator Robert L. Owen, long-time senator from Oklahoma. Its history—its being given to Mrs. Owen as a wedding gift by her husband, its use after his death for giving lessons in the home, its removal to Park Hill when she came to teach music at the Female Seminary, its escape from the fire which destroyed the Seminary in 1887, and its subsequent transfer as gift from one member of the family to another—is told on the display card lying on the piano itself in the Cherokee Museum, John Vaughan Library, Northeastern State College, Tahlequah. Looking at its massive proportions, its four huge heavily carved legs, the scroll work

¹⁴Information very kindly supplied by Mrs. Jennie Ross Cobb and Mrs. Anne Ross Pyburn of the Murrell Home.

¹⁵Grant Foreman, ed., *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1930), p. 45.

carving of its music rack (wherein is the name Stieff), one wonders that it escaped the vicissitudes of fortune to which it has been subjected.

Organs, it would not be too far from the truth to say, were plentiful in the Indian Territory, not only the small portable organ, so necessary to religious services, but the large parlor organ with elaborate overboard containing mirror and alcoves for family portraits, vases, and oil lamps. The traveling organ salesmen were a persuasive group or the desire for instruments was great, for at least on Beattie's Prairie, Cherokee Nation, in the 1880's scarcely a family with any pretensions to the good life but had its organ. Nor were these families only those of mixed white and Indian blood; the full blood families had their instruments too. "Aunt" Betsy Gooden's organ graced one whole wall of her two-roomed plus lean-to log cabin on Taylor's Prairie; and the full blood, living on Spavinaw, who could not get the piano he had purchased into his house because of the smallness of the door provided a brush arbor to shelter it.

These purchases were not necessarily vanity purchases, for if the owners did not know the musical notes, they were often very good at playing by ear. The sight of "Aunt" Betsy Gooden, all two hundred pounds of her, barefooted, in a calico dress, picking out chords on the organ and accompanying herself while she sang hymns must indeed have been a sight to see.

Native talent best expressed itself perhaps in the playing by ear of the fiddle. Expert fiddle playing ran in families; the Duncan family of "Rose Prairie" (properly Rowe's Prairie)—father (John E. "Red Cloud") and sons—gave much pleasure with their fiddlin'. The Adair family—uncle (Benjamin Franklin) and nephews (Rollin and Bob)—may have had violin lessons, but natural or acquired, they "had their fun playing."¹⁶ Serenading of the Female Seminary girls by the boys of the Male Seminary was sometimes done by fiddling as well as by the traditional singing, much to the delight of the girls who rewarded the serenaders by throwing down bouquets of flowers from their windows.¹⁷

Mandolins and guitars were favorite instruments too, as gifts at Christmas or brought home in saddle bags along with sets of Dickens and Scott from the trading center if father had had a good day selling or trading his livestock or grain. The boys of the Male Seminary could in fact take lessons on the mandolin. E. Goldman, a white man living in Tahlequah, taught mandolin for many years to the Seminary boys. Today Mr. Goldman in his eighties attends the Cherokee reunions with great regularity and much interest.

¹⁶ Information from Mrs. Cherrie Adair Moore, daughter of Benjamin Franklin Adair.

¹⁷ Bowers, *A. Florence Wilson*, p. 26.

Tribal music had little if any place among the Cherokees of the Cherokee Nation West (1839-1907), but the Cherokee love of music was not without expression. The church with its hymns in Cherokee and in English meant much to these people. It was not always possible to have a minister, not even a visiting minister, so word would travel from farmhouse to farmhouse that there was to be a "singing." Sometimes it was held at night, sometimes on Sunday afternoon; sometimes it was held in a home, sometimes at the schoolhouse. If it was held in a home or in a national schoolhouse, there would be an instrument, but if it was held in one of the "private" schools (established by two or three families hiring a teacher and providing some kind of accommodations) then the singing would be unaccompanied, set off to a good start by a tuning fork. Baptizings, too, were a source of expression. Beautiful music was produced by the natural, untrained voices of those gathering for the sacrament of baptism.

The schools both the public school and the seminaries offered chances of study, if to a limited degree, and encouraged participation, and the performer was always welcomed and respected. Music in the Indian Territory¹⁸ in the last half of the Nineteenth Century was not great music; it may not always have been good music, but it was greatly enjoyed and deeply appreciated.

¹⁸ The general title on the subject of music in the Indian Territory, presenting Miss Garrett's interesting story of music in the Cherokee Nation, could well cover many such stories on the subject in other nations and tribes of the Territory: Indian composers of hymns over 120 years ago, the original words in the Indian language published in the first hymnals here; individual, sweet voiced singers, some nationally known; the Choctaw school for small boys, Norwalk (1844) noted for its voice training and class singing; the beautiful piano from France in the Rose Hill home of the Choctaw planter, Col. Robert M. Jones (1840's); the melodian that was a treasured part of the first household furnishing of Allen Wright and his bride, Harriet Mitchell Wright (1857); the choruses and quartets from Wheelock Mission beginning 1832, and Goodland Mission beginning 1850; and one of the first, if not the first, published musical compositions from the Territory, "New Hope Waltz," 1887, dedicated to the "Young Ladies of New Hope," a seminary (established, 1842) near old Skullyville (later post office, Oak Lodge), Choctaw Nation.—Ed.

*Composed and respectfully dedicated to the Young Ladies of New Hope Female Seminary,
Oak Lodge, Indian Ter.*

NEW HOPE WALTZ.

FOR PIANO OR CABINET ORGAN.

By ALLIE W. JOHNSON.

The musical score is written for piano or cabinet organ in 3/4 time. It consists of five systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The first system starts with a treble staff containing a melody and a bass staff with a harmonic accompaniment. The second system continues the melody and accompaniment. The third system also continues the melody and accompaniment. The fourth system includes a 'FINE' marking above the treble staff. The fifth system concludes the piece with a final chord in the bass staff.

Copyright, 1889, by A. W. PERRY & SON.

First page of the "New Hope Waltz" published in 1889, composed at New Hope Seminary and dedicated to the students of this noted school for Choctaw girls, near Skullyville.

THE ELECTION OF J. Y. CALLAHAN

*By Elmer L. Fraker**

Populism was the direct descendent of the Greenback movement and inherited most of its ancestor's inflationary characteristics. By the 1890's the Populist Party had become a tremendous force in the political and economic affairs of the nation. Its theories and proposals grew out of an environment of economic depressions and financial distress that plagued the country, especially in rural areas, following the period of the war between the North and South.

Despite the danger of oversimplification, it can be said that in general the Populist concept consisted of the belief that the cure for economic distress was to be found in a program of increasing the amount of money in circulation, and thereby increasing the capacity of the people to purchase more products and articles of commerce.

Those who held to this theory quite naturally were opposed to the Federal Government's redeeming in gold the bonds and notes which it had issued to finance the Union's war machine. They also refused to believe the cause of low prices for farm products was primarily the result of the vast increase in the production of crops raised on the greatly expanded farm areas of the newly settled Midwest.¹ Neither did they consider the situation created by the disbanding of the great armies of both the North and South, and their personnel turning from military consumption to industrial and agricultural production. To the Populists, it was not a matter of overproduction and surplus labor, but a matter of underconsumption. With this concept in mind, their only solution to the distressing economic problems facing the nation was to recommend the expansion of the country's currency.

That the inflationary ideas held by the Populists were appealing to more and more people, as economic conditions within the nation became more severe, is shown by the fact that the People's Party candidate for President in 1892 received 1,040,886 votes out of an approximate 10,000,000 total cast. In this same election the Populists drew so heavily from normally Republican states that Grover Cleveland, the Democratic candidate, was elected over Benjamin Harrison, the Republican nominee. The People's Party at this time also won control of the state governments of Kansas, Colorado, Idaho, and Nevada. Another important showing of the Populists was in

* Mr. Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, makes his first contribution to *The Chronicles* in this sketch of J. Y. Callahan, Delegate to Congress from Oklahoma Territory (1896-98).—Ed.

¹ A. D. Noyes, *Forty Years of American Finance*, p. 10.



JAMES Y. CALLAHAN



the National Congress, where they won ten seats in the house and five in the Senate.²

With Kansas, adjoining Oklahoma Territory on the north, in the hands of the Populists, and with 50,000 votes being cast for that party across the Red River in Texas, it is not strange that Populism was the political faith of many of the new settlers who had secured lands in Oklahoma Territory through the runs or in the lotteries. In fact, a majority of the people who had settled on the claims in the new territory had been sojourners in Kansas or Texas immediately prior to their migration to Oklahoma. Furthermore, most of the people who settled in Oklahoma Territory were in the lower financial brackets and motivated by the quest for homes and lands of their own. With crops in the first few years after settlement being less than bountiful and prices for such crops extremely low, another depressive environmental factor engulfed the strippers and 89'ers, influencing them to the acceptance of Populist doctrines.³ In fact, the first political party organizational meeting held in Oklahoma Territory was that of the Populists in the Fall of 1889.

By 1894, the Populist Party had expanded its activities in Oklahoma to where it had captured a number of county governments and held the balance of power in the territorial legislature. The Republican was the dominant party, with the Democratic in second place. When election time came around, in that year, Ralph Beaumont, the Populist nominee for territorial representative, in the National Congress, ran ahead of the Democrat entrant, and placed a good second to Dennis Flynn of the Republican ticket.⁴

Thus encouraged, the Oklahoma Populists began to gird their loins for an all-out battle in the election of 1896. An intensive campaign of organizing at county and township level prevailed throughout the Territory. There were more than twenty-five newspapers in Oklahoma that supported the Populist cause, and some of them gave more space to People's Party propaganda than they did to the news. In counties, like Woods and Pottawatomie, there were Populist organizations in practically every township.

The chief office within the electoral gift of the people was that of Congressional Delegate. Although this official had no vote in the national House of Representatives, he did have a voice and the same speaking privileges as that held by regular Congressmen. He was recognized as the official spokesman of the Territory. The Populists were exceedingly anxious to nominate some man for the office whose character, campaigning ability, and personal popularity would help carry the party to victory in the November election. For

² Edgar E. Robinson, *The Evolution of American Political Parties*, p. 230.

³ *The Evening Gazette* (Oklahoma City), Jan. 6, 1894.

⁴ *The Oklahoma Red Book*, compiled under the direction of the Secretary of State, Benjamin F. Harrison (Oklahoma City, 1912), Vol. II, p. 305.

the purpose of selecting such a man and to draw up a territorial platform, delegates to the People's Party Convention met at Guthrie on August 4, 1896. The Convention was called to order in the Guthrie Opera House, and immediately went about the business of writing a platform. The platform that was adopted reiterated the statements of the national Populist platform, which asked for an expansion of the currency and a 16 to 1 ratio coinage of silver and gold; direct election of the President, Vice President, and United States Senators; graduated income tax; government ownership of railroads and telegraph; initiative and referendum; and a public works program for unemployed laborers. In looking over the list of delegates attending this convention, many names could be found of men who were later to become prominent in the affairs of the Democratic Party in Oklahoma.

Following the ever-increasing national trend of integration and fusion with the Democratic Party, the convention endorsed William Jennings Bryan for President. They held out, however, for Thomas E. Watson, the great Populist leader from Georgia, for the Vice Presidential nomination.

When the delegates got around to selecting their nominee for Congressional Delegate, the names of thirteen men were placed before the convention. On the first ballot J. Y. Callahan of Kingfisher County received 43½ votes; E. E. Bennet, Canadian County, 36½; W. O. Cromwell, Garfield, 32½; E. M. Clark, Noble, 11½; George W. Gardenshire, Payne, 21½; F. S. Pulliam, Logan, 21; W. A. Ruggles, Pottawatomie, 19½; Delos Walker, Oklahoma, 11½. On the thirteenth roll call Callahan was still leading, but had only increased his vote by 5½, giving him 49. Walker had 43. Cromwell 42, Bennett 33, Pulliam 21, and Ruggles 15. Ballot after ballot was held until the delegates began to be weary and worn from constant work in behalf of their favorite candidates. On the twenty-sixth roll call the stalemate broke with a big swing to Callahan.⁵

The convention had been stormy and tempestuous, with great flights of oratory in nominating speeches and in denunciations of Dennis Flynn, the incumbent Congressional Delegate and Republican nominee for reelection. W. O. Cudiff, a delegate from Garfield County, when placing W. O. Cromwell's name in nomination is quoted as saying that "a man was needed for the Delegate office whose eloquence would convince Congress that the days of the Red-skin, cowboys, mediocrity, and Dennis Flynn had passed in Oklahoma."⁶

J. Y. Callahan was a minister of the Methodist Church, who lived six miles north and one west of the town of Kingfisher. His claim was just over the line in the Cheyenne country. This location of

⁵ *Tecumseh Leader*, Aug. 7, 1896.

⁶ *The Daily Oklahoma State Capitol* (Guthrie), Aug. 5, 1896.

his farm was a further attribute to him as a candidate, for any advocacy he might make during the campaign for "free homes" could not be charged as proposing something that would be of personal benefit to himself. The Cheyenne country was not included, at that time, in the "free home" agitation.

The Populist standard-bearer had come to Oklahoma from Kansas, where he had once been elected on the Republican ticket to the office of Register of Deeds of Stanton County. He was born in Dent County, Missouri in the year 1862. His parents were natives of Tennessee, his father having been a captain in the Union Army during the war between the North and South. Young Callahan moved to Kansas in 1886 and soon became active in Republic party politics at the county level. It was while he was in Kansas that he became indoctrinated and enamoured with Populist theories. At the time of his nomination in Guthrie he had been out of the Republican party for eight years.⁷

In his acceptance speech at the Guthrie Convention, Callahan said, "I am a preacher. If a preacher is not a fraud, he has as good a right to be in politics as anyone else; if he is a fraud, he has no right anywhere I go in clean, and propose to walk out clean." The crowd at the convention gave him a great ovation, and the expectancy of a successful and victorious campaign for the Populist cause was voiced on every hand.⁸

The Guthrie, *Oklahoma State Capitol*, a Republican daily, took a rather dim view of Callahan's nomination and thoroughly discounted the Populist expectation of victory in the coming election. The headline story telling of Callahan's nomination boldly stated, "Reverend Callahan. The Man to be Slaughtered for Congress on the Populist Tecket. He Prayed for the Pie. The Great Convention Turns Several Good Statesmen Down and Selects a Man as Innocent of Business as a Babe."⁹ An unbiased observer could not help but wonder which ones of the candidates the *Capitol* considered statesmen, and as to whether it would have considered any one of such men as a statesmen had he received the nomination.

The upsurge of Populism in Oklahoma Territory brought considerable dismay to the Democrats. They had already accepted many of the Populist proposals as elements in their programs and platforms. When their territorial convention met in El Reno on September 3, they were more concerned with defeating the Republicans and Dennis Flynn than they were in electing a candidate of their own. They were well aware of the fact that the combined votes for the Populist and Democratic nominees for Delegate in 1894

⁷ Mrs. Earl Lucas, daughter of J. Y. Callahan, Kingfisher, personal interview.

⁸ *The Daily Oklahoma State Capitol*, op. cit.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 6, 1896.

had greatly exceeded the vote for Flynn. Under these circumstances it was natural for the leaders of both the Populist and Democratic parties to consider the matter of fusion. As has previously been stated, this was already taking place at the national level, with the Democrat, Bryan, being endorsed for President by the Populists. Not to pass up any opportunity, Callahan and his chief advisers were in El Reno when the Democrats opened their convention.

The delegates to this convention were split into fusionists and non-fusionists. Speeches and arguments were heard on both sides. Finally it was decided to request the Populist candidate for Delegate to appear on the platform for questioning. A committee was appointed to contact Callahan and escort him into the hall.

When Callahan reached the platform, the "Convention went into a perfect storm of applause." This ovation seemed to indicate that the temper of the majority was for fusion. Most of the questions that were put to Callahan before the entire convention were made by Roy Hoffman of Oklahoma City, W. S. Denton of Enid, and M. L. Bixler of Norman.

Denton asked the Populist candidate's opinion about the maintenance of separate schools for whites and negroes. This question was probably instigated from the knowledge that Callahan's father had been a Union soldier, and at one time the present Populist candidate had been elected to a county office in Kansas on the Republican ticket. Callahan's poised manner in answering his questioners immediately endeared him to the delegates of the convention. His answer to Denton's question was direct and in a manner of restraint and dignity. He said that his wife was the daughter of a Confederate veteran, and that he "would never allow her children and mine to go to school with colored children." He emphasized, however, that he had no desire to deny educational privileges to children merely because of their color.

Another question asked by another delegate wanted to know if he would support Bryan for President. His answer was a definite "Yes." Then he was questioned as to whether he was a prohibitionist. His answer was that he was not a political prohibitionist, but a personal one and that he did not consider the prohibition question a political matter.¹⁰

After minority efforts had been made to block any endorsement of Callahan by the convention, Dan Peery, a delegate from El Reno, jumped on a chair, secured the attention of the presiding official, and moved that Callahan be endorsed as the Democratic candidate for Congressional Delegate. At the conclusion of his motion, all bedlam broke loose, "amidst the wildest enthusiasm." It was impossible to take a roll call, and Callahan's endorsement

¹⁰ *Tecumseh Leader*, Sept. 11, 1896.

was made by a tremendous roar of voice votes. Fusion had won and Callahan became not only the standard bearer of the Populists, but also of the Democrats.¹¹

Following the close of the convention, committees consisting of Populists and Democrats were formed to work out plans for carrying on the campaign of the fusion ticket. By the latter part of September Callahan buttons were blossoming on the lapels of Populists and Democrats throughout the Territory. These buttons could be ordered from a firm in Guthrie at 5 cents each or \$2.00 per hundred.

That Callahan had the adaptability of changing from pulpit sermonizing to political exhortation was soon demonstrated in the battle he waged against Dennis Flynn, the Republican nominee. He soon launched an extensive speaking tour that carried him throughout the Territory. Most of these trips were made by train, but where such facilities did not exist, buggy and carriage afforded the transportation.

Late in October Callahan arrived in Oklahoma City for a speech. A milling crowd was at the railway station to greet him. As the Populist leader stepped from the train a mighty roar of acclaim went up from the multitude jammed around the depot. Bands played, bells were rung, and locomotive whistles blasted and screeched. Hundreds of old time Republicans were seen wearing the white badges of Callahan. At the corner of Main and Broadway Callahan delivered an address to approximately 3,000 people. The candidate appeared worn out from weeks of intensive campaigning. He was exceedingly hoarse and asked the crowd to be as quiet as possible while he was talking.¹² Poor Callahan, and the other candidates of his day, had to use their own unaided voices when speaking. Today the mouse-voiced talker can be made to roar like a lion by the help of that mechanical device known as the "loud speaker."

The neighbors and friends of Callahan, in the Kingfisher community, lent much encouragement and help to his candidacy. Young women of that locality formed a "Callahan Glee Club" and sang at many of his meetings. On one occasion this glee club went to Wichita, Kansas and appeared at a "Sockless" Jerry Simpson rally.¹³ There was an occasional fly in the Populist ointment, however, for Flynn Partisans were wont to chide Callahan as a renegade Republican—one who had formerly held office as a member of that party. Out at the country school, where the Callahan children attended, the sons and daughters of Republican claim holders derisively told the young Callahans that Flynn would surely win. But the young-

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *The Daily Oklahoman*, Oct. 31, 1896.

¹³ Mrs. W. S. Nazworthy, daughter of J. Y. Callahan, Enid, personal interview.

sters never for a moment doubted that their father would be found the winner on election day.¹⁴

Flynn supporters were astounded at the enthusiasm and momentum of the Callahan campaign. It began to look as though the Republicans, for the first time, were to fail in the election of a Congressional Delegate. The Populist up-swing, however, was temporarily slowed down by a mysterious injury to Spencer Sanders, Callahan's campaign manager. He fell from a Rock Island train while riding between Hennessey and Dover and suffered a severe concussion. The usual prejudice and bitterness engendered by an intense political contest caused many Populist followers to believe that Sanders had met with foul play from political adversaries.¹⁵

At last, election time rolled around and Callahan returned to Kingfisher for the closing address of his campaign. It was the day before the ballots were to be cast. The whole countryside turned out to welcome the Populist nominee. A gaily bedecked and decorated carriage, pulled by prancing horses, brought Mrs. Callahan and her several children down to the depot to meet the distinguished husband and father. The children were all agog, for they had scarcely seen their father since he had taken to the stump. When the train pulled in, the Populist adherents put on a demonstration similar to the welcome accorded the return of an all-victorious football team in a college town. Men rushed the candidate and lifted him to their shoulders. Through the seething and cheering crowd, they carried him to a van which in turn bore him to the place downtown where he was to deliver his speech. The Callahan children were sorely disappointed because they thought their father would get to ride with them in the parade.¹⁶

The campaigning, button-holing, and speech-making were done. As the political columnist tritely puts it, "Now the voters will have their say." And the Oklahoma Territorial voters did have their say with the result that their composite voice made Callahan the Congressional Delegate by a vote of 27,435 for him to 26,267 for Dennis Flynn, the Republican. Thus did the Populist tidal wave strike Oklahoma.¹⁷

That Flynn had run an exceedingly strong race in the face of the combined forces of the Populists and Democrats cannot be denied when it was observed that Callahan's margin of victory was only 1,168 votes. Callahan's lead over Flynn was much less than the total vote received by both the Democrat and Populist candidates two years previously. The Populists carried sixteen counties while the Republicans led in seven. The counties carried by the Populists

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *The Oklahoma Red Book, Vol. II, p. 305.*

were: Oklahoma, Cleveland, Canadian, Payne, Kingfisher, Washita, Roger Mills, Day, Lincoln, Pottawatomie, D, Kay, Grant, Woods, Pawnee, and Greer. Flynn carried Logan, Blaine, Beaver, Custer, Woodward, Garfield, and Noble. Pottawatomie and Cleveland Counties were the banner Populist centers. Callahan carried Pottawatomie by 686 and Cleveland by 657.

Some of the Republican papers and leaders were slow to admit defeat. On November 4, the day after the election, the *Oklahoma State Capitol* of Guthrie carried a headline on the first page, "Flynn All Right." The next day the headline announced, "McKinley A Sure Winner," but nothing about Flynn or Callahan. On the 6th a front page story featured the election of McKinley and over on page 6, a story maintained that Flynn had the lead. When the 7th arrived, the *Capitol* advised its readers in the gambling fraternity to "let bets stand." This was on page 7. Finally, on November 12, this rock-ribbed Republican newspaper gave a left-handed admission of Flynn's defeat by quoting an interview with Congressman Curtis of Kansas, in which that gentleman was quoted as saying that "the defeat of Flynn would prevent the securing of free homes by the people of Oklahoma Territory."

When Congress met in the winter of 1897, Callahan was installed as the delegate from Oklahoma. At this time he had ten children and all, except the oldest son, accompanied him and Mrs. Callahan to Washington. It was a happy family led by a hopeful father. But Callahan's pathway in the nation's capitol was not strewn with roses. He found himself a member of the minority group in Congress, seeking favors from an administration and a Congress strongly hostile to his economic views. Not only was this true, but the Governor of the Territory which he represented was a Republican appointee. Callahan could expect but little co-operation from either the national or territorial administrations.

During the campaign Callahan had stressed the 16 to 1 silver idea. Both he and Flynn had advocated free homes for the settlers. There was no hope of his making any contribution to the free silver cause in Congress, so he used his energies toward securing the union of Oklahoma and Indian Territories and the granting of free homes. On January 6, 1898, he introduced a measure providing for the joining of the two territories together as a step toward statehood. The measure was attacked from two sources: from those who opposed union of the territories at any and all times, and from those who did not believe in immediate statehood. Needless to say, nothing came of Callahan's bill.

In his efforts to secure free homes, Callahan met with a similar lack of success. In the previous session of Congress, Flynn had introduced such a measure, but had been accused of not making any great effort to secure its passage. When Callahan's bill to provide

free homes was brought before the House, one of Callahan's daughters, from the House balcony, observed Flynn, as a lobbyist, going from desk to desk of the Congressmen. Then and afterwards, she always believed Flynn was trying to block passage of the measure, so that her father would not get credit for securing that piece of legislation most sought after by Oklahoma settlers.¹⁸ At any rate, Callahan's efforts in Congress for union and free homes came to naught.

In still another matter the Oklahoma delegate found himself supporting a losing cause. This was his opposition to the waging of war against Spain. He believed that President McKinley desired to avoid the war and publicly declared that he was with the President in respect to that question.¹⁹

When election time in 1898 arrived, Callahan was to be found back in Oklahoma doing his bit for the Populist cause, but not as a candidate. He seemed to have lost most of his zest for being a delegate. This may have been the result of his realization that the cards were stacked against anything proposed or sponsored by a Populist in the Congress. Members of his family, however, maintained that the deciding factor in his determination not to seek re-election was the poor health of Mrs. Callahan.²⁰ There was none acquainted with Callahan but that regarded him as more interested in his family than in his career in public life.

Regardless of causes, Callahan did not seek renomination, and the fusion groups selected Judge James R. Keaton as their standard bearer. Flynn was again the Republican nominee. A group of die-hard Populists refused to join the fusionists and nominated a man by the name of Hawkins. In a speech at Choctaw City, Callahan urged the election of Keaton, declaring that, "If we fail to elect Mr. Keaton, the fault will lay at the Populist door."

Flynn was out to regain his place as delegate, and the contest waxed warm. Keaton continuously challenged Flynn to joint discussions or debates, but the latter avoided such meetings. Eventually, however, they met on the same platform at Perkins. A seemingly biased newspaper account gave Keaton all the better of the argument, stating that Flynn became too rattled to answer Keaton's charges.

As the hackneyed stories of political writers have it, "Elections are not decided on the platform, but at the ballot box." And the election of 1898 was no exception. On November 9, *The Daily Oklahoman*, a partisan of Keaton's, front paged a story with the headlines that "Keaton Is Safe." Election returns were slow in coming

¹⁸ Mrs. Lucas, personal interview.

¹⁹ *The Daily Oklahoman*, Sept. 7, 1898.

²⁰ Mrs. Lucas, personal interview.

in, but on November 11, this newspaper reversed itself with a small, first page paragraph, giving the information that Flynn was the winner by over nine thousand. Such was the announcement of the beginning of the ebb tide of Populism in Oklahoma.

Oklahoma Populism had reached its high-water mark in the election of Callahan. Never again was it to be a dominant factor in the political life of the Sooner Territory. Populists and Democrats fused again in 1900 and were able to collect 35,529 votes, but this was not enough to stop the Republicans, who again elected Flynn, giving him a vote of 38,253. In 1902 there was no Populist ticket in the field. In after years, when occasional Populist candidates appeared, little attention was given to them.

Populism, as an active movement, passed from political existence in Oklahoma and elsewhere, but the years in which it was engrafted on the Democratic Party left evidences of that union which are obvious to this day.

A HISTORY OF THE QUAPAW

By Vern E. Thompson*

The Quapaw tribe of Indians was first authoritatively mentioned in historical reports in the chronicles of the DeSoto expedition of 1539-1543. At that period, the tribal population was estimated at more than 6,000 members but the exact number even in modern times has always remained obscure.¹ Traditionally the Quapaw were first located in the Ohio Valley. The Wabash and the Ohio rivers were called by the Illinois and the Miami Indians, "The River of the Akansea" because the Akansea (or Quapaw) formerly dwelt on the banks of these two streams.

The Quapaw is a tribe of Siouan linguistic stock. Tradition has been found among the Siouan peoples to the effect that their former residence was east of the Mississippi River, and that a group of five tribes (the Dhegiha), including the Omaha and the Quapaw, separated from the others during their residence in the Ohio Valley. This tradition gives an account of how this group divided upon reaching the Mississippi River; and that one part, or the Quapaw went downstream, and the other, or Omaha, went upstream. Two new group names appear from this time:² *Quapaw* (Ugakhpa) meaning in the Siouan language, "those going downstream" (or "those going with the current"), and *Omaha*, meaning "those going upstream" (or "those going against the current"). The Omaha group included the Omaha, Kansa, Ponca and Osage.

There is a close linguistic and ethnic relation between the Osage and the Quapaw tribes.³ The two tribes were neighbors for years, the Quapaw living south of the Arkansas River, and the Osage, north of this river. History records that sometimes they were allies and at other times, enemies. In recent years, the Quapaws and the

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¹ Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Bur. of Amer. Ethn., Bulletin 30, (Washington, D. C., 1910), pt. 2.

² Mary McAlmont Vaughn, "Habitat of Quapaw Indians," *Arkansas Historical Publication* (1908), pp. 521-530.

³ Hodge, *op. cit.*

Osages have been on friendly terms, and visit back and forth in attending their tribal ceremonials. Many of the Quapaws and the Osages have intermarried. The writer is advised that the dialects of the two tribes are very similar and that the two tribes have little trouble in understanding one another.

The Quapaws had numerous contacts with the early French explorers who found them located on the Mississippi or the Arkansas River some 130 years after DeSoto's visit. They were known then under the name of Akansea.⁴ The first French explorer to visit them was the missionary, Marquette, who arrived at a village of the Akansea in June, 1673, accompanied by Joliet. Although the French called them the Akansea (or Akanseas), the tribe called themselves Ougupas or Quapaws.⁵ Marquette visited but one village and that was on the eastern bank of the Mississippi River. There they called themselves Ougahpah (or Kouhpah). The French explorer, LaSalle, in 1682, found three villages of the tribe along the Mississippi River, one on the west bank; the next eight leagues below on the east bank; and another six leagues below on the west bank at the mouth of the Arkansas River. Tonti, the French explorer, mentions, as Akansea villages, Kappa on the Mississippi and Toyengan, Toriman and Ostony inland.⁶ LaSalle, in his expedition down the Mississippi in 1682, mentions the Akansea villages as "Kapaha" village on the Arkansas, another village three days farther away situated on the border of the river and two others farther off in the depth of the forest and finally that of Imaha, the largest village of the nation.⁷

In July, 1687, Joutel found two of their villages on the Arkansas and the others on the Mississippi. When LePage Dupratz visited this section some years later the Akanseas had retired some distance up the Arkansas River and had been joined by the Michigamea and some of the Illinois.⁸ On various maps and in early historical references the Quapaws were known by other names.⁹

At the time of the visit of LaSalle in 1682 to the Quapaw villages, they went with him to the Indian tribe called "Talusas" and on the way the villages Tourika, Jason and Kouera were passed although they did not stop because these Indians were hostile to the Akansas and Taensas. On the way a village of the Koroas two leagues

⁴ *Ibid.* For a brief history of the Quapaw and their ethnic origin, see Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951).

⁵ Hodge, *op. cit.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ These names include Kappa, Cappa, Ougapas, Oguapas, O-Guah-Pas, Pacaha, Papikaha, Kappaws, Kiapaha, Acansa, Acansas, Acanseas, Accanceas, Akamsea, Akancas, Akanceas, Akansa, Akansas, Akansea, Arkansas.—*Carte de la Louisiana*, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. (Map Div. Mar. 29, 1927); and Franquelin's *Map of Louisiana* (Map Div. Sept. 8, 1904), copy of the original formerly in the Archives de la Marine, Paris, France, having been lost.

distance from that of the Natches was visited by LaSalle. This Indian tribe was afterward annihilated and driven out of the state of Arkansas by the Quapaws.¹⁰

The Arkansas River, from the earliest time, was known as the River of the Arkansas, or Akansea (Quapaw) and all the early maps of 1682-1685 and 1700 show the Quapaw villages situated on the Arkansas and Mississippi River both north and south of the Arkansas River in the eastern part of Arkansas. Some of them show, besides the villages on the lower Arkansas, the Quapaws located far to the west in the area ceded by them to the United States in what is now the state of Oklahoma. The Quapaws are the only Indians shown on most of the ancient maps as inhabitants of the area between the Arkansas and Red River and in Southern Oklahoma.¹¹

Between the original discovery of the Quapaw Indians in 1541 and the year 1750 or a period of approximately two hundred years the population of the Quapaw Tribe had been reduced to approximately 1,400, having suffered the ravages of disease introduced by contact with the white man.¹² In 1805, John B. Treat, on an official mission for the Secretary of War of the United States, found the number of tribal warriors at somewhat below 300, indicating a population of from 1,000 to 1,500 persons.¹³

While it appears that other Indian tribes besides the Quapaws may have resided in portions of Arkansas at the time of DeSoto (1541) yet the Quapaws were one of the strong tribes of the Southwest and at that time they were known in history as a virile, self-sustaining and self-supporting tribe. Later they were sufficiently powerful to have driven the Michigamea Indians out of Arkansas near the end of the 17th Century and to destroy the Tiow and Koroa tribes in 1731.¹⁴

History reveals that the Quapaws never took up arms against their white invaders and that from the earliest history this tribe adopted a policy of co-operation and alliance with the Spaniards, French and Americans who successively exercised dominion and sovereignty over this area. They were always allies and were never known as enemies of the whites or to have engaged them in battle.¹⁵

¹⁰ B. F. French, "La Salle's Expedition," *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

¹¹ *Carte de la Louisiane*, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

¹² Hodge, *op. cit.*

¹³ John B. Treat, Original letter to the Secretary of War, Quapaw File, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

¹⁴ Dr. John R. Swanton's testimony in the case of The Quapaw Tribe of Indians, in the transcript filed in Docket No. 14, in the Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D. C.

At the time of the first white contacts with the Quapaws they were strong and well-made, civil, liberal and active and gay of humor. They had made considerable advance in culture, using walled villages and building large mounds forty feet high upon which they sometimes placed their chief buildings. Their village houses were long with domed roofs; they built artificial canals in which they maintained fisheries and from which they took fish with nets. They were active tillers of the soil and manufacturers of pottery; they used deer cloth for their tables and buffalo skins for their bed coverings.¹⁵ They sowed large fields of maize.¹⁷ Game and fruit of all kinds were plentiful.¹⁸ They hunted over wide areas and were known at least in 1805 to have engaged in the business of raising corn and horses for trade with the whites.¹⁹

BEGINNING OF TRIBAL DISINTEGRATION

As heretofore pointed out, the Quapaw Tribe when first discovered by DeSoto in 1541 was reported to have a population of between 6,000 and 7,500 members. By 1750 the population had been reduced to approximately 1,400 to 1,600 persons or a loss of approximately 5,600 persons in 210 years; and in 1805 we find the population had been reduced from 1,500 to 1,000 persons, showing a shrinkage of approximately 500 in the ensuing 55 years. This loss cannot be attributed alone to loss in battle between the Quapaws and their Indian enemies because historically they were strong and almost always victorious in battle with their Indian enemies.

John B. Treat, a representative of President Jefferson, who was sent out to investigate and report to the President after our acquisition of this territory through the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, in his report made in 1805 says:²⁰

The Quapaws are a people who have never been known to be at variance with the whites; but are equally well known for their valor and great bravery displayed when in hostility with other Indian tribes on this side of the Mississippi, however from a residence in the neighborhood of either the French or Spanish, and having a general intercourse with those people, they have been reduced, both in numbers and warlike prowess; at present their number of warriors or gun-men is somewhat below three hundred who, with their families, reside on opposite sides of the River (Arkansas) in their different villages; the first of which is governed by the principal Chief Wah-pah-te-sah, a person about forty years of age,

¹⁵ Treat, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ Hodge, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ From translation of Account of De Soto's Expedition, in Part II, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., pp. 172-182.

¹⁸ Joutel's *Historical Journal*, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., p. 165.

¹⁹ *Territorial Papers of United States, Louisiana-Missouri Territory*, 1803-1806, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., pp. 276-284.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, footnote 19.

tall and well made; residing in the village Tee-ah-de-moh which is the nearest, and distant from the Post about two and a half leagues; the second or village OO-Zoo-too-we lying four or five miles beyond is likewise governed by its own chief, E-halsah, a person nearly of the same age, not possessing those personal endowments which the first has claim to, nevertheless is but little inferior in influence among his countrymen; O-gaph-pah five miles beyond has also its separate chief Hay-yah-wa-to-me-kak, a stout and rather corpulent person, who notwithstanding he has already seen more than ninety years occasionally rides into the Post (he however is assisted in his government by his Son the Orator) and whom in public counsel (on account of his venerable age) is always complimented by being permitted to speak before Wah-pah-te-sah, the Chief.

Those people become less active than formerly they were; or than the Chickasaws or Choctaws now are; the two latter going out in four or six months hunting excursions, whilst the former seldom are out (sic) more weeks; leaving their females at home engaged in raising corn much of which they dispose of in this settlement, and the raising of Horses which they also dispose of both to Whites and Indians (who come from over the Mississippi.)

Undoubtedly the gradual, and at times rapid, decrease in the Quapaw population was due primarily to the introduction of cheap whiskey into the Indian country by the early fur traders. This seems to have resulted directly or indirectly in a systematic weakness in turn resulting in tuberculosis as a racial weakness, not therefore existing; and epidemics of small-pox which were in part caused by exposure to this disease among the early Spanish and French explorers and fur traders. St. Cosme, who descended the Mississippi with Tonti in 1698, found the tribe, or at least two of the villages, decimated by war and smallpox, the disease having destroyed "all of the children and a great part of the women."²⁷

The historical journal of Father Charlevoix of 1721, taken from the *Historical Collections of Louisiana*²¹ contains the following account of the ravages of smallpox among the Quapaws:

I found the village of the Ougapas in the greatest tribulation. Not long since, a Frenchman passing this way was attacked by Smallpox; the distemper was communicated presently to some savages and soon after to the whole village. The burying place appears like a forest of poles and posts newly set up. and on which hangs all manner of things; there is everything which the savages use.

I had set my tent pretty near the village, and all night I heard weeping; the men do this as well as the women; they repeated without ceasing, "Nihahani" as the Illinois do, and in the same tone. I also saw in the evening a woman who wept over the grave of her son, and who poured upon it a great quantity of sagamite.²² Another had made a fire by a neighboring tomb, in all appearances to warm the dead.

²¹ B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, Part III, p. 126, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

²² Webster's *Encyclopedic Dictionary* defines "Sagamite" as "red oxide of titanium."

It appears to have been a common early custom among many tribes of Indians to place at the head of the graves of their dead, poles, and to decorate these poles with different articles of food for use, symbolic of the spirit's need after it had left the body.

The writer has seen similar graveyards among the Ottawa Indians at Middle-Village, between Harbor Springs and Cross Village in the northern part of the Southern Peninsula in Michigan. This custom seems to be still observed there except that now the poles are decorated with flowers, either natural or artificial.

THE EFFECT OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE ON THE QUAPAW TRIBE

The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 had a far-reaching effect on the future destiny of the Quapaw and other Central American Indian tribes. This purchase included all of the states of Arkansas and Oklahoma as well as eleven other states. Practically, since the discovery and exploration of this part of the Louisiana Purchase this area had been under the sovereignty of the Spanish government. A short time before its purchase from France, for strategic purposes this area had been transferred to France.

The Purchase took in about 900,000 square miles which, after interest payments, cost about four (4) cents per acre. This statement is frequently made in an attempt to fix the then value of this land. As a matter of fact it does nothing of the kind because, in the first place, it only transferred the sovereignty or right to govern this vast territory, and did not purport to transfer any possessory claims of the then occupants of the land and specifically required the United States to recognize the rights of all legitimate claimants. Furthermore, at that time Napoleon's minister, Count Francois Barbe-Marbois, surprised President Thomas Jefferson's special representatives, Robert Livingston (then U. S. Minister to France) and James Monroe (later to become president of the United States) by offering this vast territory to the United States at such a nominal price because Napoleon was "hard up and weak at sea, fearful of British seizure and generally blue and discouraged at recent reverses in the New World."²³

This acquisition of new territory situated on the banks of two main arteries of commerce, the Mississippi and Arkansas rivers, together with the recent development of the steamboat, started a stampede of emigration from the eastern seaboard and from Europe. Soon this area was overrun by hardy and ruthless pioneers, who did not wait until the government had acquired the Indians' rights, and without permission of either the United States or the Indians, began settling among the Indians. They were referred to as "squatters." After the Purchase of Louisiana, the United States (in theory at

²³ Charles Nutter, *Kansas City Star*, for March 1, 1953.

least) pursued a uniform course of extinguishing Indian title only with the consent of those tribes which had occupied clearly defined portions in the area as their ancestral homes and hunting grounds.

We have heretofore spoken of the humane doctrine announced by Congress after assuming sovereignty over the Indians, upon the acquisition of Louisiana, by extinguishing the title of the Indians only by their consent. From all the writer's research, he is convinced that that doctrine was adopted in good faith; and that the majority of the members of Congress and their constituents and the Courts in interpreting laws relating to the Indian population of the United States, generally intended to carry out and enforce this Christian and humane principle. It often happens in legislative processes, the only side of the question presented to legislative committees in drafting laws is that of parties or groups lobbying for legislation by those who have selfish purposes to serve.

This situation is graphically exemplified by the Quapaw history at the beginning of the 19th Century. Shortly after the acquisition of the sovereign rights over Louisiana, the immigrants in this territory began to agitate for the formation of the Arkansas Territory, and for the extinguishment of the rights of the Indians in this area, irrespective of their attachment to their ancestral home.

Under the terms of the Treaty of 1818, there was reserved to the Quapaws on the South bank of the Arkansas River and in the vicinity of what is now the City of Little Rock, Arkansas, a reservation of 1,163,704.75 acres.²⁴ A petition was presented to Congress on January 30, 1819, memorializing Congress to create the Arkansas Territory which would include this reservation and about ten days later a bill was introduced in Congress to create this territory. The House of Representatives passed this bill on February 20, 1819, and the Senate passed it a few days later. On March 2nd, 1819, President Monroe signed the Act and the Territory of Arkansas became a reality. The first Legislature was held at Arkansas Post, adjacent to this reservation. Robert Crittenden, the Commissioner who negotiated the Treaty of 1818, in which the Quapaws surrendered their claim to a vast area lying west of the Reservation reserved for the Quapaws, became the first Territorial Secretary, and ex-officio Lieutenant Governor. As a part of a real estate speculation in which it appears, Crittenden was interested financially, a new town site named "Little Rock" was started adjoining the Quapaw Reservation on the west sometime in the spring of 1820. During the summer of this year, some of the original town site of Little Rock was sold to Robert Crittenden and other political associates. When the Legislature of Arkansas Territory re-convened on October 2nd, 1820, at Arkansas Post, a bill was pending in the Arkansas Legislature to

²⁴ Charles Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws & Treaties*, (Washington, D. C., 1904), Vol. II, p. 210.

make Little Rock the permanent capital of the Territory, and shortly thereafter the bill was passed and approved by the Governor.²⁵

This condensed account of the founding of Little Rock and its establishment as the permanent capital of the Territory, and Crittenden's connection therewith, is important as a part of the history of the Quapaw tribe as it shows clearly the intrigue and fraud perpetrated on the untutored Quapaws in despoiling them of the last vestige of their ancestral home²⁶ and the cause of their subsequent sufferings and impoverishment to be mentioned in detail hereafter.

The Arkansas Gazette, one of the oldest newspapers in the United States, still published, was first established and started publication on November 20, 1819. Frequent notices in that paper show the history of the Quapaws at the time that they were induced to part with the last of their land in Arkansas in 1824 and until their enforced migration to their present location in Oklahoma, then a part of the Indian Territory. *The Arkansas Gazette* for February 5, 1820, has an article stating that one of the most important things to be presented to the General Assembly of Arkansas Territory was to urge Congress to "appoint Commissioners to treat with the Quapaw Indians for the extinguishment of their claim to lands south of the Arkansas River." The same paper for March 11, 1820, published a copy of the Petition of the Legislative Council and the House of Representatives for the Territory of Arkansas to the Congress of the United States, which among other things states: "The Tribe of Quapaws are, Sir, now reduced to between three and four hundred souls. They possess a country that commences at the very spot where your memorialists are now assembled, from thence their reservation runs up the Arkansas River for a distance of about 200 miles."

It appears in *The Arkansas Gazette* that a memorial from the General Assembly of the Territory of Arkansas requesting Congress to acquire these remaining lands, was presented in 1822. The files of this paper of January 28, 1823 sets out the platform of Thomas P. Eskridge, a candidate for Congress, one of whose promises to the people was that he would endeavor to have this Quapaw title extinguished. Henry W. Conway, another rival candidate, in the issue of that paper of April 8, 1823, made the same promise.

Robert Crittenden, who had interested himself in a part of the townsite of Little Rock while acting Governor of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of Arkansas Territory, in a message to the Legislature (*The Arkansas Gazette*, October 7, 1823), urged the extinction of the Quapaw title, saying: "We have asked for a small appropriation to extinguish the Quapaw claim situated in the heart of our country, rich and valuable beyond calculation, and covering half of our townsite at the permanent seat of Government."

²⁵ Dallas T. Herndon, *Highlights of Arkansas History*, (Little Rock), p. 28.

²⁶ Dallas T. Herndon, *Why Little Rock Was Born*, (Little Rock, 1933).

Henry Conway, who had campaigned on the platform that if elected he would secure legislation to that effect, was elected; and true to his promise, he secured the passage of a bill authorizing the President to negotiate for securing this rich Quapaw land.

An extract from *The Arkansas Gazette* of May 4, 1824, shows that the Quapaws did not want to dispose of this land but were pressured into it:

Arkansas Gazette, May 4, 1824. . . . our village has been enlivened for some days past, by the presence of all the Chiefs and most of the men, of this Nation of Indians, amounting to 79 persons in all, who came here for the purpose of receiving from the Acting Governor the annuities due them for the two last years. The sum due the nation, amounting to \$1,000.00 was paid to the Chiefs yesterday morning, and was immediately distributed by them to the several families belonging to the nation; and in the evening, nearly the whole party started on their return to their villages. During their stay here, they conducted themselves in the most peaceable and orderly manner toward our citizens, and toward each other.

The Quapaws were once a numerous and warlike nation, but, like most other Indians, who imbibe the vices without the virtues of the whites, they retain but a small remnant of their former power, and now number only about 467 souls. They are divided into three villages, each of which is under a hereditary Chief—are a remarkably peaceable and quiet race—profess the highest respect and friendship for our government, for their Great Father, the President of the United States, and for the white people generally, and speak with much pride of their never having shed the blood of the white man.

These Indians own a vast body of land, lying on the south side of the Arkansas River, commencing immediately below this place, and extending to the Post of Arkansas, comprising several millions of acres, a great part of which is represented to be first-rate cotton land. One of the first wishes of many of our citizens, and of hundreds of others who have visited the Territory with a view of emigrating to it, is for the purchase of the Quapaw lands; and it was generally expected that the Quapaws were ready to cede them whenever the government should be disposed to purchase. It appears, however, that they are not yet in a humor for parting with their lands. At the Talk held with them yesterday morning, Mr. Crittenden, Acting Governor, told them that he expected shortly to receive instructions from the President to hold a treaty with them for the purchase of their lands, and inquired whether they were willing to sell. At first they appeared disposed to waive the subject, by giving evasive answers to the questions which were asked them. But on being pressed for a reply, they finally stated, in substance, that they were not prepared to give a decisive answer at this time—for the present they would answer no—and intimated a wish that the subject should remain for a future negotiation, when the proposal shall be made by authority of the government. And so the matter rests at present.

Then, before inquiring of the Quapaws what they would take for their lands if they decided to sell, Congress made an appropriation of \$7,000.00 to be used in paying the expenses of the negotiation of the treaty and to pay the Quapaws. John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, whose department was charged with the administration of Indian Affairs, wrote Robert Crittenden that he had been appointed as sole Commissioner to negotiate a treaty with the Quapaws and he was directed to secure this property at the smallest figure obtainable.

A significant news story relative to the proposed meeting of Robert Crittenden with the Quapaws, appeared in *The Arkansas Gazette* of November 2, 1824, in which the statement was made that Crittenden would meet with the Quapaws at the Treaty Ground in the neighborhood of Colonel Harrington's place. The report in *The Arkansas Gazette* of the consummation of this treaty, appearing in the issue of November 23, 1824, is of interest:

Purchase of the Quapaw Lands.—We feel highly gratified in being able at this time to congratulate our fellow-citizens of Arkansas, on the complete accomplishment of his desirable object. It was effected, by Treaty, by Robert Crittenden, Esq., Commissioner on the part of the United States, on the 15th inst. Mr. Newton, Secretary of the Commissioner, has (with the consent of Mr. Crittenden) politely favored us with a copy of the Treaty, which we take much pleasure in laying before our readers today.

By this Treaty, it will be seen, that, with the exception of four or five sections, which are reserved for the benefit of particular individuals, the Quapaws have ceded the whole of their lands to the United States, and on terms highly advantageous to the latter. No doubts can exist of its receiving the sanction of the President and Senate of the United States, and we hope that the lands thus acquired will speedily be surveyed and brought into market.

Crittenden reported to the Secretary of War on November 24, 1824, in a letter written from Little Rock, in which he made the following significant and interesting statement:²⁷

An Indian will eat two U. States rations each day for ten days, and if I had limited them to one, I have no hesitation in saying they would have deserted the Treaty grounds. They were much averse to a cession of their entire claim and I was constrained to resort to every honorable means to gain upon their feelings, and obtain their confidence. You will perceive by my accounts that to effect this object I was not only compelled to give them as much as they would eat, but that I presented them with one blanket each, and the chiefs each a uniform coat. I flatter myself however, that if I have exceeded your estimate of the probable expenses of holding this Treaty, it will in your estimation be more than counterbalanced by the reduced price for which I have obtained their land.

In *The Arkansas Gazette* for November 30, 1824, is a stenographic report of the speech of the Quapaw Chief signing this Treaty of 1824. It graphically shows the reluctance of the Quapaws to give up their ancestral lands to which they were attached with ties of sentiment and religious belief in the sanctity of the graves of their ancestors. This touching speech is quoted as follows:

My Father—I wish to answer the Speech you made your red children yesterday. Your feet are on the white skin—the day is white—you are white! All emblematical of purity. And this day I beg of you mercy toward us. The whites have at all times exhibited pity for us—do not now withhold it. The land we now live on, belonged to our forefathers. If we leave it, where shall we go to? All of my nation, friends and relatives, are there buried. Myself am old, and in the same place I wish to deposit my bones. Since you have expressed a desire for us to remove, the tears have flowed copiously from my aged eyes. To leave my natal soil, and to go among red men who are allens to our race, is throwing us like out-

²⁷ Original letter, Quapaw Indian Files, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

casts upon the world. The lands you wish us to go to belongs to strangers. Have mercy—send us not there. In former times we exchanged, and gave you the north for the south side of the Arkansas River. Since, we have sold some, and reserved but a small portion for ourselves, which, we beg you, let us keep. Your forefathers had pity on ours—have you mercy on the present generation. After our fathers died, who ceded away a part of our lands, we were sent for to St. Louis. We went and treated, and gave away lands. But they were then merciful, and left us part. We beg you to do the same, and leave us now a part for the residence and burial ground for the few that remains of our decayed tribe.

In the treaty that we made with our father at St. Louis, we gave from Little Rock to the Canadian, including the Warm Springs, and reserving the Salt Springs. He in that respect has deceived us. None has been reserved. The land you wish to send us to now, is inhabited by many tribes; and to go there this winter, is terrifying to us. Father, I have now concluded.

THE QUAPAW "TRAIL OF TEARS" IN THEIR TREK TO AND FROM THE CADDO COUNTRY

After the Quapaws had been fraudulently dispossessed of the remainder of their land in Arkansas and after repeated requests to be permitted to stay in Arkansas on any cheap land that might be given them by the Territory of Arkansas or the United States Government, they were placed in charge of a Frenchman by the name of Barraque and compelled to make the journey to the Caddo Country south of the Red River. The Government had assured them that the Caddoes would be glad to take them in, allot land to them and make them members of that tribe. As a matter of fact, no definite arrangements had been made with the Caddoes.

The late Dallas T. Herndon, of the Arkansas Historical Commission, translated Barraque's report which graphically describes this "Quapaw trail of tears."²⁸ Yet we do not have to rely alone on Barraque's dramatic delineation of this wretched chapter of the Quapaw's suffering and impoverishment following the acquisition of their remaining lands in Arkansas, since there is the report of their condition, printed in *The Arkansas Gazette* for September 5, 1826. This news story is a concise, factual statement appearing in the public press at that time which cannot be said to be a biased statement by the writer of this history:

Arkansas Gazette, Sept. 5, 1826.

The Quapaw Indians.—This tribe of Indians, (whose removal from the Arkansas to Red River, took place last spring, pursuant to the treaty concluded with them in November 1824), we are sorry to learn, have recently been reduced almost to the last extremity of wretchedness and want, bordering on a state of actual starvation, in consequence of the inundation and total destruction of their crops of corn, occasioned by the overflowing of Red River, during the latter part of last spring and the early part of the summer. A deputation from the tribe was a short time since dispatched to this place, for the purpose of laying their distressed

²⁸ See *Appendix A* for the translation of Barraque's report from the *Report of the Arkansas Historical Commission*, Vol. 4, pp. 326-31.

situation before the Governor, and soliciting him to afford them some relief.—This relief, we feel much satisfaction in stating, was promptly afforded. The Governor immediately gave an order for the purchase and delivery to them, of five hundred bushels of corn; and, to prevent the impositions which are too often practised on these untutored sons of the forest, he very prudently took the precaution to direct that the corn should be delivered to the Chiefs, at the residence of the tribe, in the presence of two magistrates, who are to certify the fact of its delivery.

This timely relief, has no doubt saved many of that unfortunate tribe from the horrors of actual starvation.

A further news story appeared in the same paper on February 13, 1827:

Arkansas Gazette, February 13, 1827.

The Quapaw Indians—We learn by a gentleman who came up the river a few days ago that a party of about 60 of these Indians have recently returned to their late villages on the Arkansas, near the Red Bluffs. Their appearance was wretched in the extreme, and they complain most pitiously of their sufferings on Red River, where many of those who removed from Arkansas last Spring have actually *starved to death*! These Indians gave up a fine tract of country to the United States, and humanity requires that some further provision should be made by the government for their relief, and we trust that it will be made during the present session of Congress.

Their condition during this tragic period became so desperate that in 1827 the House of Representatives of the United States adopted a resolution directing the Secretary of War to communicate to the House, “any correspondence or other information in possession of the War Department touching the (present) condition of the Quapaw Nation of Indians, and the measures, if any, that have been taken to alleviate their distresses.” In compliance with this request the War Department attempted to whitewash this “public outrage” by submitting reports of an Indian Agent to the effect that the distress of the Quapaws was only of short duration.

The records show at least over nine years of terrible tragedy growing out of the fact that all of their valuable lands had been taken away from them and the game, on which for centuries they had largely depended for existence, had been wantonly destroyed by the predatory habits of the early white settlers; and the growing desire of the whites to have them completely exterminated.

Between 1824 and 1833, available records disclose that the Quapaws, after repeatedly requesting that they be resettled in Arkansas, in desperation were induced to abandon their claim against the Caddoes, which the Indian agent there had reported could, on removal of the raft or dam across Red River, be made into valuable cotton land and would readily be saleable to white settlers.

At first only a few of the Quapaw Indians located on the small reservation in Indian Territory which the United States gave them in 1833, now a part of north-east Oklahoma, but most of them drifted down into the Osage and Creek Country in the Indian Territory, where they were received in a friendly manner and permitted

to live with the Indians on the basis of friendly visitors, but they were never adopted into either of these tribes or given any of their lands.

They were later induced to settle on the reservation set aside to them in 1833 shortly before 1893 at which time they asked Congress to approve a plan adopted by them to terminate their tribal holdings, except as to small tracts retained for agency purposes, and a small tract for the location of a Catholic Mission; and to divide their tribal lands among the members, so that thereafter they would hold their proportionate shares individually.

QUAPAW INDIAN ALLOTMENTS

Some of the Quapaws who remained on their reservation shortly prior to 1890 either became acquainted with or were contacted by a recent immigrant to that section from New York State, by the name of A. W. Abrams, who was supposed to have some Indian blood but he was not a Quapaw. He was a very resourceful and dynamic character and undertook to assist the Quapaws in inducing the scattered members of their tribe to return to their reservation and to effect a tribal re-organization. After the dispersal of their members in 1833 apparently the tribe had maintained no tribal organization. The remnant of the tribe which remained on their reservation with Mr. Abrams' guidance and assistance sent out urgent requests for the tribal members to return to their reservation and in fact set a "dead line" date for their return, advising them that a roll of the Quapaws was being prepared for the purpose of requesting Congress to divide their tribal holdings into individual allotments. As far as the writer is informed, all returned before the date set for their return. Apparently a few white families claiming some Indian blood had settled on the land left vacant by the large part of the tribe who had deserted their reservation. A few of these families, prior to the passage of the Act of the Tribal Council requesting Congress to approve the allotments of land made by the Quapaws, were adopted into the tribe as recited in the "Act of Quapaw National Council" of March 23, 1893.²⁹ This reads as follows, after reciting the acreage contained in each allotment. "to each person entitled thereto by reason of their being members of our Nation by birth, *or whose adoption has been approved by the Hon. Secretary of the Interior.*" The white allottees are now referred to as the "White Quapaws," to distinguish them from the members of the tribe who are Quapaw by blood.

On March 23, 1893, the Quapaws (their governing body, known as the Quapaw National Council, composed of its Chief and Councilmen), after long and earnest discussions with the entire tribal membership, divided the property in the Quapaw reservation, which up to that time had been held as community property, into allotments

²⁹ See *Appendix B* for the text of this Act of the Quapaw Council.

of 200 acres each, subsequently a second allotment of 40 acres, out of surplus land, was made. There is no record, as far as the writer has been able to determine, of any appeal having been taken to the "Honorable Secretary of the Interior" nor is there any record of any serious dispute being settled by the Chief and Council. This reveals the close and harmonious inter-governmental relations which have nearly always existed among the members of the Quapaw tribe and it is to be hoped that for their benefit this relationship may continue. The Act adopted by the Tribal Council provided that: "All differences arising between members of our Nation making said allotments shall be settled by our Chief and Council, subject to appeal to the Honorable Secretary of the Interior." This action of the Quapaw Tribal Council was ratified and confirmed by Congress on March 2, 1894.

NATIVE QUAPAW RELIGION

From the most authentic information available to the writer, the Quapaws were from time immemorial, worshipers of one God, their "Great Spirit", but originally they were influenced by many superstitions and worshipped, at least symbolically, idols and natural objects. Their religious beliefs were practical, well adapted to their time and environment and beautifully poetical. Their young people were taught that all nature was the Great Spirit's creation; that the trees, flowers, grass, animals and birds belonged to the "Great Spirit", placed here for man's good and that man was charged by the "Great Spirit" with their proper use and care and that needless waste of inanimate objects or cruel and unnecessary destruction of members of the animal kingdom were sins against the "Great Spirit." The watchful care of their "Great Spirit" over his creation was symbolized by the Sun, Moon and Stars; the Sun being the eye of the "Great Spirit" by day and the Moon and Stars by night. The Indians looked upon the thunder as the voice of God, and the lightning as the manifestation of his wrath and power. They prayed directly to him for rain and sunshine, as the giver of all their blessings and as the punisher of their transgressions. The Quapaw name for God or "Great Spirit" was "Wah-kon-tah", meaning "creator."

Among the ceremonials of the Quapaw worship was the "Ghost Dance." This dance usually lasted five days and five nights, during which time the devout Indians intermittently danced and rested. While dancing they sang chants which were, in fact, prayers of worship to their great God, "Wah-kon-tah."

The native Quapaw burial service illustrates their belief in the immortality of the soul. In these services the Chief officiates. As the body is lowered into the grave and returned to the earth from which its human elements came, the Chief breaks into bits tobacco leaves and casts them into the grave, accompanied with an Indian prayer or chant which in substance is a mixed admonition to the departed

spirit and a prayer to its creator. Let the writer relate the substance of this chant and prayer as related to him by an Indian well versed in the traditions and customs of his race, as told in his own words: "We say to the spirit: You have lived as long as you can—while you were here you believed in a creator, and we believe and have been told that your spirit lives and you are a child of God (Great Spirit) forever. We have always been told that. Try your best to enter the New World."

There was an old custom of the friends and relatives preparing and taking to the burial choice foods, some of which was buried with the body or left upon the grave, and the rest the relatives and friends ate at the grave. From that old custom, developed the "Last Feast" eaten after the burial and the annual feasts commemorating the death of the deceased relative which custom is still observed among the older Quapaws and their children who assist in keeping this beautiful custom alive.

EARLY NATIVE BANDS AND CLANS

The Quapaw Tribe was originally divided into four "Bands," which would correspond to our local political subdivisions, such as counties. They were Quapaw, German, O-so-ta-wa and the Lost Band. Each band was originally governed by a separate chief. This appears to have been the custom at the time of the Treaty of 1833, the four principal chiefs at that time being, Heckaton, Sarassan, Tonnonjinka and Kahekteda.

The bands were subdivided into "clans" corresponding to our families, or family trees. Some of the best known of these were the Turtle, Deer, Buffalo, Snake, Bird and Elk clans. From these early clan names, came the names of present day Quapaws, such as White-birds and the Blackeagles (from the Bird clan.) The various members of the Buffalo family were named Buffalo Calf, Brown Buffalo (from the Buffalo clan), etc. The early custom was for the chief or the Medicine Man to give a name to the child, carrying with it a reference to the clan in which such child was born, under ceremonies similar to our modern day christening.

EARLY HUNTING GROUNDS OF THE QUAPAWS

The pioneer Quapaw resident of what is now Ottawa County, Oklahoma, formerly part of the Quapaw Agency, of the Indian Territory, had, according to the memory of old timers, much fine hunting grounds. There were a great number of wild turkey, deer, antelope, wolves, ox, panthers, American lions, quail and prairie chickens, but no buffalo. The Quapaws in early days spent much of their time in hunting and fishing. Little farming was done, only small patches of corn were raised. These small gardens were called "squaw patches" as the women usually did what little farm work there was done while the men kept the larder filled with game and fish.

EARLY MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES

Two kinds of marriage prevailed among the Quapaws, in common with most other Indian tribes, before their tribal affairs came under the regulation of the Federal Government or the State. They were citizens of the United States after allotment of their land, and since Statehood, also citizens of the State of Oklahoma.

The more common form of marriage among the early Quapaws was entered into without form or ceremony. It consisted simply of an agreement between an Indian man and woman to live together for an indefinite time as husband and wife. This form of marriage was often referred to as a "blanket" marriage. Divorces or "quittings" were known among the Quapaws and were as unceremonious as the "blanket" marriages. They simply disagreed and quit without the aid of courts or fancy attorney fees.

The writer is advised that there also was a ceremonial form of marriage among the more prominent members of the tribe, which included the ruling class, those connected with the chief's and councilmen's families and others. The groom's sister, or nearest girl relative, led the bride to the groom. Meantime, presents such as calicoes, blankets and ponies were taken to the bride's relatives where they were divided with much jesting and revelry. This ceremony was usually conducted in the early morning, about sunrise; the bride remained with her family until sunset, when she was taken to the groom and the marriage ship was fully launched. The writer's investigation as to the early Indian marriages has convinced him that in the majority of cases they were more successful and less tempestuous than the majority of the ceremonial marriages among the whites.

After Statehood many of the old Indians, with large families, asked to be and were remarried under the laws of the State. They were originally advised to do this by Indian Agents who were fearful that in subsequent litigation over estates and other matters in which the legitimacy of children might be drawn into question, marriage by such Indian customs as above described, would not be recognized. However, the courts have uniformly recognized such Indian marriages, providing there was only one wife, and the marriage was to be for an indefinite time and was not incestuous. A story which is frequently told in the Indian country about the judge who had admonished an Indian man that under the white man's law a man could have one wife, and that since he had two he must go home and dismiss one, is illustrative of what happened in such cases: The old Indian replied, "You tell him, Judge." The old Indian invariably used masculine gender "him" for the feminine "her."

It is true that many of the Quapaws, as many of the white race, have fallen by the wayside and have become poor and troublesome citizens. On the other hand this tribe can show as large a ratio of

intelligent, progressive, charitable and public-spirited citizens as can be found among any class, especially when one takes into consideration their relative chance for self-government and advancement.

The perpetuation of the old tribal ceremonials and tribal traditions of the American Indian should be encouraged, not for the purpose of retarding ultimate amalgamation with the white race, but for the purpose of preserving the beautiful and historical ceremonials for the enrichment of current history and as a valuable heritage to descendants of the original American.

The Quapaws are now located on the land granted them under the Treaty of 1833, which is now a part of Ottawa County, Oklahoma. They were made citizens of the United States March 3, 1901 . . . and since Statehood have become substantial tax payers. Their members actively participate in Municipal, County, State and National affairs.

DISCOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT OF LEAD AND ZINC

The story of the Quapaws would not be complete without at least a brief chapter on the unexpected and almost miraculous discovery of valuable deposits of lead and zinc ore on the shallow soil and poor lands set aside by the Federal Government to the Quapaw Indians in a half-hearted and belated attempt to repay the Quapaws for their cession and surrender to the United States Government of their claims to their once large territory south of the Arkansas River.

In fact, the Quapaws got the "leavings" when they were placed on their present reservation. All the more productive and desirable lands had been selected and secured by the larger and more influential tribes. Their land in 1833 was not considered to be more than a maximum value of \$1.25 per acre.

Forty acres of each allotment of two hundred and forty acres as finally allotted to the Quapaws was rough, stony land along Spring River and contributory creeks. The balance of the allotment was flat prairie land with thin alkali soil, poorly drained and adapted primarily to growing native prairie hay which land the Indian owner leased to white men engaged in harvesting and shipping hay, for approximately one dollar per acre. This \$200.00 per year was the average income of the Quapaw allottee until the discovery of ore.

For many years it had been known that free deposits of lead had been found in small quantities in and around Peoria, a small village located in the Peoria Indian Reservation, adjoining the Quapaw lands. Tradition has it that crude mining instruments, supposed to have been found in shallow shafts in this region were left there by early Spanish explorers. Much exploring had been done there but with little profit. The terrain of this Peoria region is rough and hilly, very similar to that in the Joplin district in the adjoining State of

Missouri and the Galena District in the State of Kansas. Both of these states cornered with the Indian Territory, now the northeastern part of Oklahoma. These districts were approximately twenty miles distant from the great Joplin-Galena mining district, then one of the largest lead and zinc mining districts in the world.

It was the general supposition among mining men that this Peoria district was on the fringe or edge of the mineralized district, but it was never supposed that there was any possibility of ore being discovered on the level prairie land allotted to the Quapaws and located some twenty miles from the mining district above mentioned. A few years after the Quapaw Allotments, a thin run of ore was discovered on the A. W. Abrams place located on somewhat rolling land near the Spring River *brakes*. This mine was known as the "Sunny Side Mine." Later considerable mining development was done a mile or two south of the Sunnyside Mine and a large mining camp grew up there. The town of some three thousand people was named Lincolnville, and was composed of general merchandise stores, boarding houses, pool halls, and so-called soft drink emporiums, a telephone exchange and a bank. While it lasted, Lincolnville was a wild mining town but it was very short lived. The thin ore soon ran out, investments in large mills and mining properties in this camp turned sour and large sums of money were lost. The courts were full of bankruptcy and receivership cases and this early dream of riches for mining men and Indian landowners turned into a sorry nightmare, and today Lincolnville is not even a ghost town. The mills, houses and stores have all been dismantled and moved away until today just one little old shack, once a busy store, is left as a reminder of this faded dream.

A few years later, while drilling a water well for an Indian, about five miles north of the town of Miami, rich cuttings of zinc ore were discovered and an attempt was made to revive the mining industry on the Quapaw reservation, but the memory of the Lincolnville fiasco, made investors wary. This latest discovery was on flat prairie land with no surface indications of ore. James Robinson and his associates, Charles Harvey and George and Al Coleman, who were then engaged in a small real estate business in Miami, which included renting hay land from the Indians and in running a well-drilling outfit, were the pioneer discoverers of the new mining field, shortly to be developed around and near this discovery of zinc ore, in the drilling of a well.

The story of how James Robinson and his associates, against apparently insuperable obstacles, strove to finally interest capital to develop this discovery into one of the Worlds greatest zinc fields which brought great wealth to this hardy band of early prospectors and brought riches to many Quapaws, would furnish material for a fascinating volume which would call for another story.

Out of this discovery and development beginning in 1891, came a new era for many, but not all, of the struggling Quapaws. Many who were fortunate enough to have ore discovered on their allotments, suddenly discovered themselves apparently rich. Their less fortunate neighbors, possibly just across the road, or the division line, were destined to have their hopes for riches blasted by the elusive nature of the ore deposits which have always defied determination of location and extent. A drill hole may develop the existence of a rich ore deposit, a shaft may be sunk at the cost of hundreds of dollars to find only an isolated deposit or chimney of ore, not of sufficient value to pay for development. On the other hand, an apparently insignificant and thin run of ore may widen and develop into a bonanza one day and dwindle into nothingness the day after.

To make a long story short, out of this discovery have come large incomes to many Quapaw Indians in the nature of royalties of from five to ten per cent and more on the value of ore removed from their lands. (The peak of lead and zinc production in Ottawa county was 1917-1919.) The Quapaws have naturally felt as if this income would last for the rest of their lives, and they gradually, and in some cases not so gradually, readjusted their living conditions to conform with their increased incomes. It did not take them long to transplant themselves from the "pony and saddle days" to the driving of the most expensive and fastest automobiles.

A story is told of an old Quapaw upon whose land rich ores had been discovered, standing all day around an automobile salesroom where expensive cars were on display. He still dressed modestly, even poorly, and wore his hair in braids, as was the custom among the older Quapaws. Finally at closing time, the proprietor who had given him no notice during the day, jocularly asked him what car he was going to buy. The old Indian says: "You-all sell George Redeagle a car?" The proprietor replied that he had. The Indian said: "How many cylinder?" He was advised that it was a twelve-cylinder Cadillac. The Indian replied: "Huh! Him a cheap Indian. Me want a twenty-four cylinder car."

While stories such as the foregoing are current, the fortunate Quapaws having large incomes from the mines were as frugal and wise in their spending as the average white man who had suddenly, and without previous training in the care and expenditure of money, come into possession of large incomes.

When the Quapaw reservation was partitioned into individual allotments at the Indians' request and by their own action (1895-6), their lands were by Act of Congress made inalienable for a period of twenty-five years, during which time these lands could not be incumbered in any way without the consent of the Secretary of the Interior. These restrictions would have expired in January 1921, but the Quapaws sent a delegation to Washington with instructions to

secure the passage of a law, extending these restrictions for a further period of twenty-five years, or until March 3rd, 1946. In the meantime, the Quapaw land as a part of the Indian Territory had become a part of the state of Oklahoma in 1907. The State was in need of taxable areas and a sentiment had been generated in Congress that when restrictions had once expired, they should not be extended. Hence, this delegation had much opposition both in and out of Congress and among some of their own numbers, in their supplications to Congress to extend restrictions so as to protect them in keeping the "manna" which after so many years of hardships and near starvation had suddenly come upon them—an act of Providence like the feeding of the harassed Children of Israel in Biblical times. Finally, through sheer persistence and after months of working among members of Congress, the Quapaw delegation was successful in securing the passage of the Act of March 3, 1921 (41 Stat. L. 1225-1248), which gave the Secretary of the Interior and his Department of Indian Affairs supervisory care and control over the income of this Indian people. Restrictions were subsequently extended over the lands of certain named members of the tribe which have not as yet expired.

Subsequent history has well proven the wisdom of these Quapaw Indian Statesmen and of Congress in passing this legislation. The despoiling of unrestricted and unprotected Indians, not versed in the business technique and tempo of the white race, constitute a black and disgraceful blot upon the history of this country. The mining industry developed on the lands of the Quapaw people is rapidly being exhausted and some day in the not far-distant future it will have gone into eclipse, as all such self-exhausting industries have.

The writer has attempted to condense as much as possible the highlights of the history of the Quapaw in this article and has attempted faithfully to document the salient statements made. Another at some future time may elaborate on the history of this interesting tribe about which only fragmentary accounts have been written and preserved.

APPENDIX A

WHEN THE QUAPAWS WENT TO RED RIVER

(A Translation)

By Dallas T. Herndon

This narrative is a free translation of an old faded manuscript recovered some years ago from a lot of papers thrown out of the governor's office in the old State House. It is written in correct French, but was evidently done with a goose quill on flimsy paper, so that much of it is barely legible.

It is dated January 1, 1826, and has every appearance of having been written during the journey of the Indians from the vicinity of Little Rock to

some point south of Red river, or it may have been written from notes made along the way at the end of the journey.

The author, perhaps a person appointed by the Governor of Arkansas Territory or the President of the United States to escort the Indians to the reservation given them in Louisiana, does not sign his name. He does record the fact that the account was written as a report to the Governor.

It is a well-known fact that the Quapaws were removed from Arkansas to a tract of land south of the Red river in Louisiana about this date, 1825 or 1826, and that they came back to Arkansas not many months later because of the sickly climate and the hostility of the Caddo Indians. It is very likely that the dates and the account here given of their journey are correct. The account follows:

The Frenchman's Report

On leaving the village of Lord Sarrasin I joined the Chief Hekatton at Waditteska Wattishka, in other words the Bayou of Black Clay. It was there that the beautiful daughter of the Chief Hekatton was delivered of a daughter. It was necessary that the chief remain there all that day of the 15th in order that a little strength might be recovered by this remarkable person, for the accouchment had been very terrible. For three days she was in labor, and if the great doctor of the nation had not been found there they would have thought that nothing ailed her. This is a manner in which the disease was treated by the said trustworthy doctor, for I was present when he offered his services.

The doctor, with an eagle's feather in his hand, seated near the patient, began immediately to hum a song very softly, at the same time he stroked with a feather the stomach of the woman. In this manner she was instantly delivered (it is necessary to believe it thus). So they ask our great doctors of the Little Rock if their music is of the same strength.

On the 15th I was within six miles of the Bayou of the Saline, where I met a company of fifty savages, who assembled about my fire in the evening. They wished to know of me whether Sarrasin was yet on the way and why he delayed, etc.

The 16th I met with another troop of savages as strong as that of the 15th, which we had journeyed with. The latter place was ten miles further on from the Bayou de Saline (The savages called this little river Wattisha Jinka). The evening of the 16th each watch his fire because of the excessive cold.

The 17th the savages had been to the chase; my interpreter and I had been eight miles further on to a place which the savages called Jasta Waditta.

The 18th it rained.

The 19th the Chief Tomojinka was ill, which required him to ride a horse on the march; all the doctors, sorcerers and physicians of the nation had been called together for the cure of this respectable good-for-nothing. They used songs and music about the prince, but Providence made the cure in a few days.

The evening of the 19th Sarrasin returned to us, while many braves in the party surrounded my fire. In the conversation with Sarrasin many questions were asked him about the terms of the treaty.

The 22nd we spent on the march.

The 23rd we came to the bayou of the Marshes. That is where a great many beavers were seen. The snow kept us there for two days. They had consecrated these two days to the chase and they had not been unlucky.

These poor savages suffered great misery on their journey. (I am speaking of the old men and old women and also of the little children). Almost all the long evenings, however, beautiful weather prevailed, and they danced around my fire, which lasted until the morning. In all their journeys these poor savages showed much contentment.

The surroundings of these bayous and little rivers of which I have spoken already are charming. The earth is also good. The vines grow luxuriously here on the hills and the mountains which are near. To have good vineyards it is only necessary to plant them and then let them alone; after a little there will come wine flowing in abundance.

The picture of the journey would have been curious if it had been painted with a good brush, but my best is very feeble. Nevertheless, I am going to try to give one an idea just as I traveled.

Picture to yourself first a mass of persons without any order carrying with them all sorts of things without value, little articles for the human race, but very precious to them, they say. I have noticed in this little nation three or four kinds of faith in God. There are those who worship the eagle, others a spirit of war which the ancients had left to them as a thing very sacred. Still others worshiped the pipe in the emblem of an eagle, which they called the pipe of peace.

Speaking a little of the manner of their march, one could see a party of women, as they marched, carrying on their backs, besides the cooking utensils, a child and other things. Some on horses carried kneading troughs, others riding astride held in their arms mangy dogs. Some rode little ponies, etc. When they camped I placed myself as near the center as possible in order to satisfy my curiosity. To be in the center of that company would have been disrespectful and impudent Necessity was the only guide of all; order and peace filled all our camp.

Many times I laughed and at others I was all astonishment, but nothing could surprise the unhappy Quapaws. If when they returned from the chase they found a piece of cooked meat, they gratified their appetite, and, their stomach well filled, sleep caused all their cares to disappear.

Cleanliness was rare in their camp. Imagine three to four hundred dogs; they were not provided for, as you might know, with the best of food. They certainly did not fail to eat with a great smacking, devouring all they found. Filth was everywhere. After the savages had thrown food to the ground, the dogs ate, licked their chops and licked basins and tin plates. They drank and returned again to the agreeable smell of the refuse which had stuck to the end of their noses, and to their lips. Judge of the rest, for this is not a weak sample. Let us here leave this filth and speak a little more of great Sarrasin.

The Chief and His God

Before his departure Sarrasin had set up his God, a little image six inches long, in the earth, and here is the language that he offered to him in the presence of his children. "My God, thou art also the God of our father, as we have been taught to believe. For it is He who speaks to us. He has told us also to abandon this country, and we are going to that which our friends have given us. I hope thou wilt follow us and be favorable to us in that new land, as thou hast been in that which we are leaving." Hekaton spoke a few words in the same manner.

In traveling I have noticed this in the person of the Lord Sarrasin. He carried his God with much care, but he was much more careful of the seven hundred dollars which he carried with him. "For," said he, "thieves will not attempt to steal my God, but I know well that if I do not watch

my money they will surely carry it off." And he never lay down until he had it in a safe hiding place.

From the 27th until the 4th of February the savages spent their time in the chase and in finding several men who had gone astray on account of the dense mist which lasted four days. It was there that I went in advance with Joseph Bonne, and we waited for the others at Washittaw (Ouachita). They had arrived there on the 5th of February. There Chief Hekaton rejoined us with all his children. It was in the evening that the savages again assembled themselves around my campfire. This was where Chief Hekaton told us he had lost three of his horses and that he believed that the Chattaws (Choctaws), whom they had met with some days before, had stolen them from him.

On arriving at the little Bayou of the Bear I had arranged to make the fire near a large cypress. In the night there had fallen a little rain. It was found that at the foot of this cypress a bear had strayed with her little ones, and the rain which had fallen in the night led us to discover her. She had been obliged to run and seek cover in a way which we heard very distinctly. The next morning we set ourselves to cut the tree, and when it fell, the great noise which the tree made upon the earth frightened this poor animal a little. The terrible animal and the two little ones, which were no larger than rats, were overpowered to our great joy. It was along this bayou that the savages had killed many bears.

A Great Indian Sorcerer

On the Washittaw we lost a woman. It was there also that I saw a great sorcerer, who did all he could to save the woman. But his medicine and his incantations were useless. Instead of being helpful to her diseases, they rather aided her death. After the death of the woman, it was necessary to remain there four days, for the husband was obliged to stay there to kill deer and get food for his wife. This is the custom of the savages, for they put food at the head of the dead who are buried, and other savages eat it. It was thus that they fed her.

We had started on the 8th to Washittaw, and we found ourselves the same day at the bayou which the savages call Ny Wassa Jinka, that is to say The Little Bayou of the Bear. The rain detained us there two days. It was there that I took the lead with Joseph Bonne and we found ourselves on the Red river the 13th. On leaving the said bayou we crossed a plain, superbly surrounded, ten miles long. If the earth had been a little richer, this piece of land would have been of great value, but it was a little too sandy. From there almost to the Red River, in the direction of the place where we had crossed, the ground appeared to be very sandy and not worth much. It was only on the bayous and creeks that one was able to find any fertile land.

Fear of the Caddo Indians

The savages did not start on until the 1st of March, and they had remained a long time upon the Red river without daring to cross it for fear that the Cadeaus would not grant to them the land which they had promised them last August. That Cattaws and other nations roaming in that country had made known to them that the chief Cadeau was going to dispute the treaty. If I had not forced them to go take possession of their place they would have remained on this side of the Red river

I have given information of almost all that passed at the time of the journey of the Quapaws to the land of the Cadeaux. I am also going to be content with saying only this."

APPENDIX B

Act of Quapaw National Council Mar. 23, 1893

Be it enacted by the Quapaw Nation, Open Council Assembled, That our first Chief John Medicine is here authorized and directed immediately after the passage of the "Act" by and with the consent and approval of our Second Chief, and our National Council to appoint (3) three members of our Quapaw Nation of Indians, as an allotment committee, and shall duly commission them in accordance with the provisions of this "Act."

Sec. 2. That said allotment Committee shall proceed, or take steps at once after their appointment, to allot to each, and every member of our Quapaw Nation of Indians now located in the Northeastern part of the Indian Territory, upon lists furnished them by our Chiefs, and Council, in and for said Quapaw Nation of Indians, and duly approved by the Hon. Secretary of the Interior, an "allotment" of land of (200) two hundred acres, (As near as may be, according to the present Government survey,—) out of our Common Reserve. To each person entitled thereto by reason of their being members of our Nation by birth, or whose adoption has been "approved" by the Hon. Secretary of the Interior.

All allotments to be selected by the Allottees, heads of families selecting for the minor children, and the Chief of our Nation for each orphan child. All differences arising between members of our Nation in making said allotments, shall be settled by our Chiefs and Council, subject to appeal to the Hon. Secretary of the Interior, Provided, that before the allotments herein provided for shall be made, there shall be set apart, a Tract, or Tracts of land not exceeding (400) four hundred acres, upon which the present Government School Buildings now stand, for the use and benefit of the said Government School, so long as it shall, or may be used for school purposes by the United States.

Sec. 3. That the allottees, members of our Quapaw Nation of Indians, and the land so allotted, shall be subject to such laws, rules and regulations, as the Hon. Secretary of the Interior, and the Congress of the United States may prescribe, in approving this "Act" of our Quapaw National Council. Provided, That in no case or event, shall the number of acres so allotted to members of our tribe or Nation, be decreased or diminished

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE WASHINGTON IRVING TOUR IN 1955

The fourth annual Historical Tour, April 28-30, 1955 was an event in the history of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Plans for the tour were in the making for more than a year and included a visit by a special delegation from Oklahoma to Washington Irving's old home, "Sunnyside," Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, in March 1955. Members of the delegation were Mr. R. G. Miller and Colonel George Shirk, both of the Board of Directors, and Miss Muriel H. Wright, Editor, *The Chronicles*, representing the Oklahoma Historical Society; Mrs. Sue Ruble, Assistant to the Governor of Oklahoma representing Governor Gary; Mrs. Harold Wescott, of Oklahoma City; and Mrs. Hallie Johnson, of the Office of the Biltmore Hotel, Oklahoma City. The delegation made a tour of the Sleepy Hollow region around Tarrytown, New York, and attended the special reception at Sunnyside given by the officers and directors of Sleepy Hollow Restorations, Inc., in honor of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Officers, directors and many members of several New York historical societies and other organizations of the Hudson River region were in attendance, and were enthusiastic in their interest for the Irving Tour in Oklahoma outlined in talks given by Mr. Miller and Miss Wright during the afternoon's program.

A caravan of three chartered buses and a number of private cars gathered at the Historical Building on April 28, starting out on the Irving Tour at 4:00 p. m., for Muskogee. The colorful history, fine entertainment and beautiful sites visited made the Tour a great success. Mr. Henry B. Bass, Member of the Board of Directors of the Society, from Enid, described the event in detail in his "May Letter" sent out to his friends:

THE IRVING TOUR, 1955

In 1832 Washington Irving returned to his native land after devoting seventeen years to literary and diplomatic pursuits in Europe. During those years he had become recognized on both sides of the Atlantic as the outstanding man of letters up until that time produced by the young Republic. Aboard ship he developed a warm friendship with Englishman Charles Joseph Latrobe and the latter's protege, Count Albert de Pourtales, a young French Swiss. The latter two were on their way to America to continue their careers of hunting and related adventure. Particularly they desired to hunt the famed buffalo of the western plains.

The noted writer decided it might be well for him to see a bit of the country from which he had absented himself for so long. He arranged to accompany the Europeans on part of their wanderings. The three were proceeding westward on a Great Lakes steamer where they encountered Henry L. Ellsworth. Mr. Ellsworth had but recently been appointed a mem-

ber of a commission by President Jackson, which was to seek out the wild Indians of the plains. Its instructions were to work out an agreement whereby the savages would desist from molesting the five civilized tribes which were just then in process of being removed to what is now Oklahoma. The mission promised buffaloes, Indians and excitement aplenty so the three friends accepted with alacrity Ellsworth's invitation to accompany him.

In St. Louis the party met Auguste P. Chouteau who seemed to maintain a home in St. Louis for a white wife and children, and another at Grand Saline (now Salina) Oklahoma for an Indian wife and offspring. It was time for a trip to the trading post so Mr. Chouteau arranged to meet the party at Independence, Missouri and guide them to the vicinity of Fort Gibson from whence the expedition to the west would start. Ellsworth's fellow commissioners had not yet arrived, but a goodly company of rangers had departed for the west just a few days before. Colonel Matthew Arbuckle, Commandant of the Fort, made hasty arrangements for the travelers to overtake and accompany the rangers.

The events of that tour were duly recorded in a diary by the writer. Upon his return to his home town in Tarrytown, New York demand was made upon him to publish his record of the trip for the edification of the elite east. This was done in a delightful little book entitled *A Tour on the Prairies*. A best seller in that day, it is but little known today outside of Oklahoma where it is a must on the reading list of every student of our state's history.

The fertile mind of Dick Miller, General Bill Key, George Shirk, Muriel Wright, or someone, visualized a retracing of Washington Irving's trail as a fitting objective of our Oklahoma Historical Society's Annual Tour. Word of this projected trip crept back to Westchester County, New York where Irving lived most of his life, and where he died and is buried. Considerable interest in the project was aroused, not only in his home community, but in the metropolitan New York press and even the *Christian Science Monitor* ran a feature story on it.

Sixteen New Yorkers journeyed all the way from the Empire State to participate. A group of us met the train on which they arrived. To provide proper atmosphere, real Indians resplendent in buckskin and feathers were on hand to give the Easterners a thrill.

Washington Irving had an adventuresome group to travel with on his tour of the prairies. Geoffrey Chaucer writes the life stories of his fellow pilgrims on the journey from London to Canterbury. The group marooned in a farm house during a New England blizzard, as described by Whittier in "Snowbound," described interesting lives and events. But I'll wager none of those groups could surpass in interest and color the travelers who had gathered to spend three days in retracing the steps of a writer who has been gone these ninety-six years.

Logan Billingsley came with his parents to the Cherokee Strip at the time of the opening. They settled in North Enid where Logan's father was an active participant in the struggle between what was then known as North and South Enid. North Enid lost out, and as the town began to fade, Mr. Billingsley betook himself and family to the "Big Pasture" country, settling in Anadarko in 1901. There the children grew to manhood. From Anadarko the sons went to New York, Logan settling in Westchester County where he has become deeply enmeshed in the real estate business.

Logan's wife, Frances, seems to have been the sparkplug of the 1955 expedition. I cannot recall the exact circumstances whereby I made contact with that vivacious lady, but several years ago, by correspondence, we discovered we were mutual admirers and supporters of Senator Robert

Taft. Logan and Frances have developed an intense interest in the Anadarko Indian Exposition to the extent of making several trips a year to Oklahoma in its behalf and contributing liberally to its financial well-being.

Mrs. Alice Runyon is Associate Director of the Sleepy Hollow Restoration. This is no small project as the John D. Rockefeller family has given amounts running into the millions to see that Irving's home "Sunnyside," and the surrounding countryside embracing the haunts of mythical characters such as Ichabod Crane, the Headless Horseman and Rip Van Winkle and his diminutive bowling comrades are properly preserved. She has come to be recognized as the leading authority on Irving and his works.

Maurine McKernan once lived in the Seminole Nation. The wandering life of a newspaper reporter caused her to eventually reach Westchester County where she is the leading journalistic exponent of all that is good about Irving's home county. A brother is a rancher in Oklahoma's Osage Nation.

Elliott B. Hunt, President of the Westchester County Historical Society, and his wife were present, as was Miss Greta Cornell, curator of the Ossining Historical Society. Mrs. Charles Ward, wife of a Democrat Assemblyman, came along to sort of act as a balance wheel to the delegation which appeared to be predominately Republican. Mr. and Mrs. Byron Evans, who spend half of the year in Westchester County and half in Miami, Florida, flew up to join the trek.

Sidney Levine served as New York's Commissioner of Licenses under Mayor O'Brien. One day the Mayor called the Commissioner to his office and declared:

"Mr. Levine, they tell me there is a girl without any clothes at the Paramount Theatre down on Times Square performing a dance. We cannot have the morale of New York people corrupted in such a manner. See that she puts on some clothes or stop the show."

The Commissioner wrote Sally Rand a preemptory order to don clothes within forty-eight hours or the theatre would be closed. A newspaper reporter learned of the order and gave it publicity. For the next forty-eight hours Times Square was packed with people waiting in line for an opportunity to see the fan dancer before she donned wearing apparel. At the end of the prescribed time Sally put on pink tights. During the furore so much excitement was generated she snagged a contract which netted her \$600,000.

Mr. Levine is a student of Washington Irving. He has even traveled to Spain, the country about which the writer did some of his best work, to learn more of his activities. He welcomed an opportunity to retrace his steps in Oklahoma.

The darlings of the tour were Mr. and Mrs. Paul Masse. Paul began life as a Parisian chef. He served in several famous Paris cafes in which I have eaten. He came to America and now owns and operates two very fine restaurants, one in New York City and the other (you guessed it) in Westchester County. He insisted he traveled all the way to see Salina, where another Frenchman, Colonel Chouteau, founded Oklahoma's first permanent settlement.

The New Yorkers were given little rest from the time they stepped off the Pullman until they boarded it Sunday night for the return trip to the east. With proper motorcycle police escort, they were whisked to the Biltmore Hotel for breakfast, then to the Governor's mansion for a morning coffee. A visit to the Oklahoma Historical Society Building to meet the

directors who were holding a quarterly meeting and the viewing of a few of the exhibits concluded the morning.

The Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce entertained the New Yorkers and directors at a Skirvin Tower luncheon. This brought forth a most nostalgic moment. Federal Judge Edgar S. Vaught came to Oklahoma City in 1901 as superintendent of the city's schools. Engaging in the practice of law, he was appointed to the Federal bench by Calvin Coolidge where he continues to actively serve. He has been a director and president of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, and for 54 consecutive years a dues paying member. In appreciation of the Judge's long service to his city, state and country, he was presented an appreciation plaque and made a life member.

Judge Vaught is a devoted Methodist and an ardent Republican. A visit with him always rekindles my loyalty to both organizations. The best part of these Oklahoma Historical Society tours are the opportunities I am given of chauffeuring the distinguished jurist and visiting with him.

Luncheon over, the New Yorkers were given a brief view of some of Oklahoma City's outstanding sights. Then the caravan of three busses and a varying number of private cars departed for Muskogee. A delicious steak dinner was served by students of Bacone College, one of the nation's outstanding Indian schools. A program by its famed Indian chorus followed. It was interesting to learn that Laura Spellman Rockefeller, herself a resident of Westchester County, provided funds that put this school securely on its feet when adversities threatened to close its doors.

The first night was passed at Muskogee. Next day Fort Gibson was visited, then the Will Rogers Memorial at Claremore. A stop at Salina was a must. Here the travelers were greeted by one of Pierre Chouteau's descendants, resplendent in silken knee-breeches and waistcoat such as his ancestor might have worn in a St. Louis drawing room. Certainly such garb would scarcely have been fitting in the rude frontier of Irving's day.

As guests of the *Tulsa World* we lunched sumptuously at the University of Tulsa. How Washington Irving would have marveled at the next leg of the trip which took us through downtown Tulsa. Near Keystone we traversed dusty roads to visit Bear's Glen, one of the camping places which can be definitely recognized from the writer's own book. Colonel George Shirk stood on the exact rock where Irving stood as he watched the rangers pack up and start their day's trek. George read from *The Tour on the Prairies* the exact description of the place which is just as wild today as it was in 1832. As he finished another pilgrim read further from the book. It stated the author was the next day "afflicted with a burning and an itching" indicating he had contracted poison ivy in the Glen. With the imparting of that information the entire party made a precipitate retreat.

Irving described the numerous bears visible on the rocky slopes of the Glen. I will always regret we did not borrow a couple of black bears from the Tulsa zoo and chain them in the Glen. That would really have given the New Yorkers a thrill.

That night was passed in Oklahoma A. and M.'s fine Student Union Hotel. Joe Matthews, chronicler of the Osages, gave a learned talk on literature of the southwest. Lunch the next day was an honest-to-goodness buffalo barbecue tendered by the Oklahoma Publishing Company at Irving Castle, a pile of cedar lined rocks high on a Payne County hill. A stop was made at O. A. Cargill's ranch near Edmond so all might view buffalo, elk and deer which Irving saw in such numbers 123 years ago.

The tour officially ended with a dinner at the Oklahoma Club. Here veteran statesman, Pat Hurley, discoursed from a life-time of personal experience in the land which Washington Irving first brought into national focus.

CERTIFICATES FOR THE IVY PLANTS FROM SUNNYSIDE

Beautiful certificates specially designed on heavy bond paper, showing at the top-center a facsimile of a Currier and Ives lithograph of Sunnyside, have been presented to each of those who received an ivy plant from Irving's old home during the Historical Tour last spring. The certificate bears the name of the recipient and certifies that there has been presented him "a cutting from the original vine of Kenilworth Ivy brought in A. D. 1835 from Abbotsford, Scotland, as a gift from his late friend, Sir Walter Scott, to Washington Irving, and now flourishing at his home, Sunnyside, between Irvington and Tarrytown-on-the Hudson, New York. This ivy is brought to Oklahoma in recognition of and in tribute to the mutual cultural heritage left to us by this great American, on the occasion of the reenactment of the *Tour on the Prairies*", dated April 29th, 1955." Then follows the original signatures for certification, in behalf of the Oklahoma Historical Society, by W. S. Key, President, and Elmer S. Fraker, Secretary; of Sleepy Hollow Restorations, Inc., by Hugh Grant Rowell, Executive Director, and Alice M. Runyan, Associate Director; of Tour of the Prairies Committee, by R. G. Miller, Chairman, and George H. Shirk, Tour Guide. Reports have been received that, with the exception of a very few cuttings, the ivy plants are flourishing in their new home-places in Oklahoma.

The following letter received by Colonel George Shirk from Mrs. Alice Runyan, Associate Director, at Sunnyside, is interesting in connection with the ivy certificates and the Irving Tour last spring in Oklahoma:

Sleepy Hollow Restorations Inc.
 Offices: West Sunnyside Lane, Tarrytown, New York
 Mailing Address: Irvington-On-Hudson, New York

Philipse Castle
 Sunnyside

29 June 1955

Dear Colonel Shirk:

The ivy certificates arrived Monday and were signed and mailed back to you yesterday. Your letter reached us this morning, which explains why no seal was affixed. Dr. Rowell and I thought the certificates were well planned, and the Currier and Ives print was well chosen.

I know that the Irving Tour has stimulated considerable interest in the Southwest. I have had several letters, and we have had guests here at Sunnyside who said that they were not able to go on the Tour, but read of it with considerable interest. There were some teachers here about three weeks ago who said that they were traveling from Tulsa to Cape Cod, and after the publicity given your Historical Society's Tour felt that Sunnyside was a "must." I had a delightful letter from a little boy named Jay Brummell who was on our bus during the Tour. When I returned home I sent him a copy of *The Legend*, and his enthusiastic reply included his urging me to make sure to come back for next year's Tour.

Yesterday, I went out to see how the fern from the Bear's Glen was doing, and I am glad to report that there are two shoots. They are very tiny, but they encouraged me, as I was afraid that both plants had died. Now I am ready to recommend you and Bill Hall to the Horticultural So-



The famous Kenilworth Ivy growing beside the entrance to Sunnyside.



ciety. You certainly did well in packing the ferns for the trip across the country. Our gardener assured me that they would be all right, but when they were so slow pushing new shoots above ground I began to have doubts. You may be interested to know that they are planted right outside Mr. Irving's study window, in a sheltered spot close to the famous ivy.

Sincerely yours,
/s/ Alice M. Runyon
Associate Director.

GENERAL MATHEW ARBUCKLE'S GRAVE LOCATED NEAR
ARBUCKLE ISLAND

"Where is Arbuckle Island?" was a question that arose about a year ago and remained unanswered in the Oklahoma Historical Society until this summer when the Editor with Miss Lucyl Shirk, Life Member of the Society living in Oklahoma City, set out on a special trip to locate this place where General Mathew Arbuckle was said to have been buried.

There are many historical records in Oklahoma connected with the career of General Mathew Arbuckle who as a Colonel in the 7th Infantry of the U. S. Army founded Fort Gibson and Fort Towson in 1824. He was commissioned brevet Brigadier General on March 16, 1830, after ten years of faithful service in one grade, and served continuously for eighteen years in the Indian Territory, 1824 to 1842. At the time of his death on June 11, 1852 he was in command at Fort Smith, Arkansas. Other than brief statements of his military career in available records, there are practically none of his personal life, yet he is one of the outstanding characters in Oklahoma history connected with early military and Indian affairs. It was to find more data about him if possible, and particularly to find the exact site of his grave, which was indefinitely said to be on Arbuckle Island near Fort Smith, that the research trip was made last July 29-31.

We arrived in Fort Smith at noon Saturday, July 30, the thermometer registering 106 degrees, on one of the hottest days of the summer. The Old Commissary Museum off Garrison Avenue at Fort Smith had very little information on General Mathew Arbuckle, mostly notes taken from Oklahoma publications and a newspaper feature or two published in recent years. No one could give the location of the General's grave nor of Arbuckle Island. We were directed to call upon Mrs. Helen Johnson, a member of the Board of the Commissary Museum, through whose interest and kindness we learned how to reach the Arbuckle family burial plot near Arbuckle Island thirty miles east of Fort Smith. This so-called "Island" is in Sebastian County, Arkansas, and is a tract of some 9,000 acres on the south side of the Arkansas, lying in a bend of the river, cut off by a slough. This tract was a part of the large plantation once owned by General Arbuckle. He never married, and at his death, his properties were left to his nieces and nephews whose descendants still own parts of the old plantation.

Our drive east from Fort Smith was on Highway # 22 to La Vaca and about nine miles farther to Reed's Store. Here we learned the site of General Arbuckle's plantation home by the side of the present highway, a quarter of a mile away. His large, two-story log dwelling burned many years ago, and on the same site now stands the modern, rock home of Mr. and Mrs. E. J. Stroube who kindly told us about some of the things we had come to learn. They are the owners of the acreage here, said to be in Section 31, T. 9 N., R. 29 W. Mrs. Stroube was Katherine Carroll before her marriage, and is a great niece of General Arbuckle. The old kitchen that stood off from the main house, the old well and several large sandstone steps can still be seen in the yard of the Stroube residence. "Paly" Stroube, the teen-age son, guided us to the old cemetery across the road in a pasture, reached by a drive and walk of several hundred yards. This cemetery is not on Arbuckle Island but is on a wooded ridge, off from which lie the old plantation lands. Long before the War between the States, the family had laid out the burying ground by planting cedars at the four corners and on both sides of a flagstone walk from the plot down the slope of the ridge to the big house. Some of the cedars in the plot are still seen, within whose farflung shade is the simple marker bearing this inscription for Oklahoma's pioneer founder:

General
Mathew
Arbuckle
Died
June 11, 1852
Aged
65 Years

Other gravestones bear the name of Arbuckle: one that of the General's brother, David Arbuckle, and others, the name of Carroll. A sister whose family lived in the plantation home married a Carroll of old Virginia, the General's native state. Soon after his death in 1852, a new military post was established far west in Indian Territory, and named "Fort Arbuckle" to honor his memory. The old post has disappeared but the site now owned by the Grant family, seven miles west of Davis, in Garvin County, and the well kept parade grounds are visited by many interested in the State's history. Moreover, the General's name is perpetuated in that of the Arbuckle Mountains and of the geologic formation in this region, on maps of Oklahoma.¹

Location of the grave of Mathew Arbuckle accomplished the object of the research trip in July yet other interesting historic sites in Oklahoma, some of them little known, were visited on the way to Fort Smith and the return to Oklahoma City. We made pictures of

¹ A biography of General Mathew Arbuckle is now in preparation for publication in *The Chronicles*.

these places, and took notes of any history learned locally. State Highway # 9 was our general route east from Norman both going and returning. All of these Oklahoma sites were off the main highway, and most of them were only reached after crawling through wire fences and by long walks through dust and sand, brambles and brush:

SHAWNEE INDIAN MISSION: The location of the old Shawnee Mission church building, established by the Friends Society in 1897 among the Shawnees of the Big Jim Band, is in Cleveland County, fifteen miles east of Norman, and about one and a half miles south of State Highway # 9. This small church stands on the east side of the section line road in Section 36, T. 9 N., R. 1 E. The mission work was closed a number of years ago, and the church building is now used as a hay barn by the present owner, for it is still in fair condition having bene sturdily built with more than one room on the ground floor and a basement. The appearance of its white walls and neat trim are still worthy of its good place in history which was told by the Reverend Hobart D. Ragland in his "Missions among the Indian Tribes of the Sac and Fox Agency" that appeared in the Summer, 1955, number of *The Chronicles*. The father of the well known Allie Reynolds, the Reverend Ted Reynolds, lives about a mile east of this old mission church, and carries on independent missionary work among the people of the community, some of whom are Indians, holding meetings at Little Axe about two miles west on Highway # 9.

LEVERING MISSION: The site of this Baptist Mission in the old Creek Nation is in Hughes County, two and a half miles east and one mile north from Wetumka in Section 18, T. 9 N., R. 1 East. The location is one of the most beautiful of any of the old Indian schools in the Indian Territory. Not much is generally told about Levering Mission in State history but the school grounds on a slight rise near the foot of a wooded hill to the west, and right by the section line road in the southwest corner of Section 18, are still marked by one of the first buildings erected at Levering Mission soon after its establishment in 1880. This is an imposing two-storied, stone building with two large rooms on each floor, still in a fair condition. It is now used for storing feed, by the owner of the farm, but it is worthy of better notice and preservation in State history. Just to the south of the building are a few gnarled old apple trees that mark the location of the orchard at Levering; and about 200 yards northeast are some of the old barns. About a quarter of a mile west of here, in a wooded pasture at the foot of the hill, is the mission cemetery, difficult to find in the tangled underbrush. Levering Mission school was established by an appropriation of \$5,000, under the order of the Creek National Council in 1880, and operated by missionary teachers under the auspices of the Southern Baptist Convention. The mission was named for Eugene Levering, a prominent Baptist of Baltimore, Maryland. Israel G. Vore, who served in government work at different times among the Indian tribes in the Indian Territory, was appointed principal of Levering Mission in 1883. Vore had a store at Pleasant Bluff (present Tamaha) on the Arkansas River, in the Choctaw Nation, before his marriage in 1851 to Sallie Vann, daughter of "Rich Joe" Vann of the Cherokee Nation, who lived at Webbers Falls.²

POLLY POSEY'S GRAVE: Seven miles west of Eufaula, at Vivian on State Highway # 9, is an Oklahoma Historical Marker indicating the birthplace of the Creek poet, Alexander Posey, as four and a half miles south on the section line road. This road leads to Melette, the name of which still appears on the official county map by the State Highway Department, in Sec-

² See reference Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Israel G. Vore and Levering Manual Labor School," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1947).

tion 27, T. 9 N., R. 15 E., with several buildings indicated. We found neither a stick nor stone of these buildings at this one time village, nothing except a large block of cement that marks the location where once stood a gin. The comparatively new building of "Melette School" is across the road west and several yards south of the village site. Our notes from history state that Polly Posey was the first wife of Hence Posey and he was the father of Alexander Posey by the second wife. Polly Posey's grave is east of the site of Melette, about a quarter of a mile, which we reached by climbing over wire fences and walking through deep sand and tall weeds in an old field to an abandoned log cabin. About fifty yards south of the cabin, after considerable search, we found some broken gravestones in a clump of locust trees and covered with brambles and "cow itch" vine. One of these sandstone markers bears the almost obliterated inscription:

Polly wife of H. Posey

Born —

Died March — 1872

Another sandstone marker bears the name of Pettet Yargee who died November 30, 1872, at the age of eighty-six years. Yargee was a patriarch of a well known Creek Indian family. Within this immediate vicinity, is reported to have stood the home where Alexander Posey was born August 3, 1873.

PLEASANT BLUFF: This was one of the first trading points in the Choctaw Nation in the early 1830's, some of the historical records of that time giving the name as "Pheasant Bluff," apparently a typographical error in the spelling that later records carried. The site is on a high bluff looking east at a bend in the Arkansas River, once a good landing place at this point for river craft and marked by some good springs back from the bluff making it ideal for a trading establishment. The fine lands for farming lying south and east of the location attracted some Choctaw families who settled in the region during their removal to the Indian Territory. Colonel Robert M. Jones, the wealthy Choctaw planter noted in the history of the Red River Valley at a later day, had his first trading post and home at Pleasant Bluff by 1834. Colonel Landy Walker, whose sister was the wife of Colonel Jones, had a trading post there at one time; also, Israel G. Vore, whose Cherokee wife was Sally Vann, was successful in business at this post. During the War between the States, the steamer *J. R. Williams* loaded with Federal supplies was attacked by General Stand Wailes Confederate troops and sunk in the river during a battle with Federal forces, at Pleasant Bluff, in 1864. Today, the place is called Tamaha (the Choctaw word for "town"), and is located about seventeen miles traveling over county roads, northeast of Stigler in Haskell County. We found no one at Tamaha who knew of its historic sites but the view from the top of the bluff above the river was perfect as a setting when we called to mind the stories that we have heard about it. One thing that makes Tamaha outstanding in all Oklahoma today is its beautiful cemetery, a large, well kept plot, with a greensward of grass and shrubs and trees, cut and trimmed, like a landscaped garden extending back from the bluff above the Arkansas.

IRON BRIDGE: A little, country church owned by the Baptists, called "Iron Bridge Church," has the only sign bearing the name of an old settlement known as Iron Bridge since 1859 when an iron bridge was erected under Government contract, at the crossing of the California Road on San Bois Creek. This location is about two and a half miles west of Keota, in Haskell County, off State Highway # 9 south of State Highway # 26 about a mile and a half. It was very late in the afternoon July 30th when we reached Iron Bridge, and even a long walk through heavy sand did not bring us to the old crossing of the San Bois where a heavy skirmish was fought between detachments of Confederate and Federal troops in 1864. The bridge was burned during the War, and the Star Route for the U. S.

mail was never established as planned by the Government along the California Road in this section of the Indian Territory.

SKULLYVILLE AND FORT COFFEE: More than one book could be written about these two historic places, established when the Choctaws settled in the Indian Territory in the early 1830's. Old Skullyville is about one and a half miles east of present Spiro in LeFlore County; and the site of Fort Coffee is about six miles north on a bluff overlooking the Arkansas, called "Swallow Rock" or "Hirondal Rock" (from *Hirondelle*, French name for the bird called the swallow). Skullyville dates from 1832 when the Choctaw agency building was completed near a fine spring that still gushes out on the country road at this place, and supplies water for many in the neighborhood who haul it away in barrels. Oklahoma history suffered a great loss when the old Choctaw Agency building burned a few years ago. Fort Coffee was established at the bluff on the Arkansas fifteen miles above old Fort Smith, in 1834, and after it was abandoned (1838) the buildings were repaired and used as a school for Choctaw boys, called Fort Coffee Academy. There is little left to mark the site of this historic place for even much of the noted rock bluffs above the river has been blasted away by a contractor for building purposes. The site of the post is now a part of the ranch owned by Mr. A. W. Gist, of Spiro, who kindly unlocked the pasture gate to the premises and led us to a few reminders of history here: a sward of grass that stays green summer and winter, said to have been planted by the soldiers stationed at Fort Coffee; the deep well that furnished water for the post; a few broken gravestones and the gate posts of stone that mark the burial place of Major Francis Armstrong, Superintendent in the Indian Removal and Choctaw Agent, who died in 1835.

About a mile and a half east of the old Choctaw Agency site is the location of what was once a well known school for Choctaw girls, New Hope Seminary. We walked over these grounds but found only some traces of the stone footings and the chimneys that marked the building sites. Clear, cold water still flows from the noted New Hope Spring nearby, that led to the establishment of one of the first schools for girls among the Choctaws, West.

We walked through the New Hope and the Skullyville cemeteries where names on the gravestones include those of some old Choctaw families known in the community for more than 120 years: Hall, Ring, Ainsworth, McCurtain. The most recent grave in old Skullyville Cemetery, in which burials are seldom made now, is that of Jessie Ainsworth Moore (Mrs. Edgar A. Moore)³ who died in June, 1955. She wanted to be buried in old Skullyville Cemetery, even though it is a place almost forgotten. She was the daughter of the late Thomas Ainsworth of the Choctaw Nation, and had lived her many years in this community where her passing has been mourned by a host of relatives and friends.

TAHLONTEESKEE: The Oklahoma Historical Marker for this historic site is on U. S. Highway # 64, east of Gore, in Sequoyah County, and states: "Western Cherokee capital, 1829-39, and Court ground for Cherokee Nation. Named for the chief who secured the establishment of Dwight Mission in Arkansas Ter. His brother, John Jolly, served at this capital as chief, and Sam Houston often visited here. It was Chief Jolly who had given Houston the famous name "The Raven"—Colonah—an old, Cherokee war title." The site of Tahlanteeskee is reached by taking the first section line road east of Gore, and traveling north about three-fourths of a mile to the first house after crossing Deep Creek. The place is now owned by Frank Morton (Section 16, T. 12 N., R. 21 E.). The two-story, log council house has long disappeared at Tahlonteesskee, the site of which is in the pasture about

³ See biographies of "Lyman Moore, Sr., Edgar Allen Moore, Lyman Moore, Jr., Herbert McClain Moore," by Robert L. Williams, in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXV, No. 1 (Spring, 1947).

300 yards and a little northwest of Mr. Morton's house. A large oak tree on the east side of the council ground marks the location of Chief John Jolly's house which stood here nearly 100 years then was accidentally burned in 1919.

SPRINGFROG'S GRAVE: This grave is marked by a large coffin-shaped marker of sandstone, about 5½ feet long and 8 inches thick lying on a base of two similar stones of the same shape, each a little larger than the stone above. The marker is beautifully cut and bears an inscription in Cherokee (Sequoyah alphabet), which has been translated by someone: "Spring Frog, Born 1803, Drowned in Canadian River, 1859." This is said to be the oldest grave in the Briartown Cemetery (Sec. 31, T. 10 N., R. 19 E.), Muskogee County. Spring Frog was a leading counsellor among the Cherokees, West. Another Cherokee born about 1764, was called Spring Frog (or Too-an-tuh). He was the leader of the Western Cherokees against the Osages, in the Battle of Claremore Mound in 1817, and is said to have lived at Briartown, the first Cherokee who cleared and opened up a farm in the Indian Territory.

—M.H.W.

TOUR ALONG THE OLD BUTTERFIELD OVERLAND MAIL ROUTE IN OKLAHOMA, 1955

On September 19, 1858, the first Butterfield stage rolled out of Fort Smith down the Overland Mail Route through Oklahoma to Colbert's Ferry on Red River, carrying the first U. S. mail over this line from St. Louis to San Francisco. This was a great event in American history as well as in that of seven southwestern states including Oklahoma, the Centennial of which is to be celebrated in 1957 when this State holds its 50th Anniversary.

Preparations for the Overland Mail Centennial were pointed up this year by a tour along the dim traces of the old Butterfield Route in Oklahoma, on September 17, 18, 19, 1955, commemorating the first U. S. mail over the line ninety-eight years ago, to the day. The Chairman of the Committee for the Centennial in Oklahoma, Captain Vernon H. Brown and Mrs. Brown accompanied by the Editor of *The Chronicles* were the guests of the American Air Lines on this 1955 tour overland by car from Fort Smith to Colbert's Ferry. The American Air Lines is the only one of the transcontinental airlines that serves the cities and towns along the traces of the old Overland Mail Route through the Southwest.

Mr. H. William Moore, of Travel-World Productions (Hollywood and Eureka Springs), met Captain Brown at Fort Smith and set out in his own car following the touring party despite the dust along the country roads that parallel the old stage line route, to the last stop at Colbert's Ferry on Red River. The Editor served as "navigator" in the lead car, watching the country roads indicated on the county maps of the State Highway Department that follow the old Fort Smith road, over which the Butterfield stages traveled, shown by the first U. S. surveys on maps of nearly sixty years ago. The odometer reading of the first Butterfield stage in 1858 gave 192 miles as the distance from Fort Smith to Colbert's Ferry; the speedometer

reading in 1955 gave a reading of 230.45 miles because of detours in a few places where the old road is almost inaccessible in fenced pastures and fields today. Otherwise, the traces of the Overland Mail Route were continuously in view all along the way in Oklahoma.

Beginning at Fort Smith early in the afternoon of September 17, the 1955 tourists located the site of the Butterfield stables, off Parker Avenue at 3rd Street, and the old Fort Towson Road, approximated today by Towson Avenue, along which the Overland Mail stage traveled out of Fort Smith into Indian Territory. The Poteau Crossing was noted en route, and the sites of the Butterfield stage stands and other important sites in the history of the Fort Smith Road in Oklahoma were visited, besides other outstanding places of interest today. There were twelve stage stands listed on the Butterfield Stage route in Indian Territory (1858), the sites of all of which can still be seen: Walker's (the old Choctaw Agency at Skullyville); Trahern's near Council House Spring (present Latham, LeFlore County); Holloway's at the north end of The Narrows (about two miles northeast of present Red Oak); Riddle's (old Riddle cemetery near present Lutie Cemetery); Pusley's (south of the Gaines Creek crossing, Latimer County); Blackburn's (near mouth of Elm Creek, Pittsburg County); Waddell's (about two miles west of present Wesley in Atoka County); Geary's (about two miles south of Stringtown); Boggy Depot (Guy's Hotel at Old Boggy Depot); Nail's (at old Nail Crossing on Blue River); Fisher's (later called "Carriage Point" west of Durant); and Colbert's Ferry.

Among the many historical places visited was the site of the Skullyville County (Choctaw Nation, 1850) Court House where the jail built by the Choctaws about the time of the War between the States still stands near the traces of the Butterfield Stage road. The stone walls of this old building are two feet thick; the one small window on the south wall has three rows of iron bars on the deep sill; a large stone set high above the one doorway (east side) is carved with the name "J. A. Bond Co.," undoubtedly the builder; and the iron grating door blocks entrance to the building. This site is about two miles northwest of Panama in LeFlore County.

Edward's Store about three miles east of Holloway's Stand at the head of the Narrows was an important stop where meals were served to travelers on the Butterfield stages, beginning soon after the first mail passed here on its way to San Francisco. The log house here was one of the finest relics found by the 1955 tourists. The old log building that housed Edwards Store is still owned by an elderly nephew of Thomas Edwards, Mr. Edgar Hardaway, who can show an early account book in his uncle's handwriting. Down the hill from the house is the weather beaten hitching post that has stood on the same spot for over one hundred years. Edwards Store was the first site of Red Oak post office in 1868, on the mail route west out of Fort Smith.

The whole country along the Overland Mail Route in Oklahoma is interesting and picturesque but the Ti Valley region in Pittsburg County and the Mose Watts Ranch here were judged the most beautiful and scenic. Mr. H. William Moore plans a return to some of the places along the old stage line road soon, to take moving pictures preliminary to a travelogue in color for a TV program of thirteen episodes in the history of the Overland Mail, to be shown the year of the Centennial in 1957. —M.H.W.

THE PASSING OF MR. REESE KINCAIDE, DIRECTOR OF THE HISTORIC
MOHONK LODGE IN OKLAHOMA

The Mohonk Lodge has become an historic institution in the arts and crafts of the Cheyenne and the Arapaho Indians in Oklahoma, for over fifty years, under the direction of Mr. Reese Kincaide who died on June 4, 1955, at the age of eighty-two years. His friendship for the Indians in Christian fellowship, his deep insight into Indian ways and character, and his efficient management of the industrial work at Mohonk Lodge have made a significant and unique contribution to Indian community life in Western Oklahoma.

Reese Kincaide, a son of Cephas Kincaide, of New York State, and his wife, Ida (Schumann) Kincaide, was born in Paris, Texas, September 29, 1872. He came to Colony, Oklahoma Territory, in 1898, and for a short time was engaged in business with Neatha Segar. In 1902, he was called by his brother-in-law, the late Dr. Walter C. Roe, to take charge of the Mohonk Lodge at Colony where he also served as deacon and then elder of the Reformed Church Mission. After the death of his wife (formerly Miss Irene Roe) on January 29, 1939, he was united in marriage on January 25, 1946, with Miss Minnie Van Zoeren, of Vriesland, Michigan, who had served in the work of Mohonk Lodge since 1921.¹ At the passing of Mr. Kincaide this summer, his friends evaluated highly his contributions among the Indians through over a half century, and paid him personal tribute: "During all the years he taught the Indian, ministered to his needs, gave him work to do in which he was skilled, prayed with the sick and comforted many in sorrow."

The Mohonk Lodge was established in 1896, as a philanthropic institution at Colony, for work among the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians, by Dr. and Mrs. Walter C. Roe, missionaries of the Reformed Church in America. The Lodge was planned to provide the Indians an opportunity for self-support; to uphold the returned students from the Indian schools; and to supply a substitute for the old-time tribal social life. It was operated independent of church control, and built

¹ Mrs. Reese Kincaide plans leaving Oklahoma soon to make her home with her family in Michigan. She has presented a gift to the Historical Society, in memory of Mr. Kincaide, some rare Indian relics for the Museum which had been treasured for many years in his personal collection, and many old glass negatives of photographs of historic Indian characters and scenes in Western Oklahoma.

upon strictly undenominational lines, with funds contributed from people of all classes and shades of belief. In this way, it was remarkably successful, and supplied the imperative needs of the Cheyenne and Arapaho, outside the reach of the regular religious organization. The work fell into two departments, the "Home Department" and the "Industrial Department." Through the Home Department with its hostess and caretaker, the Lodge became a community social center for the Indian people within a radius of many miles. The Industrial Department in charge of Mr. Kincaide expanded, providing an outlet for the sale of the native Indian arts, especially the beadwork in which the Cheyenne and Arapaho people were noted. Before long, Indians from other parts of the United States—New Mexico, Wisconsin and Rocky Mountain sections—also sold their handicrafts through the Mohonk Lodge in Oklahoma. Articles reproduced in this trade were made by the Indians and were accurate reproductions connected with the old time tribal life. This resulted in markets that soon outstripped the supply, with the Mohonk Lodge like a trade-name known for its authentic Indian goods. In 1941, Mr. Kincaide moved the location of the Lodge to its present site on U. S. Highway # 66, a mile east of Clinton. He gave up his work as director April 30, 1955, because of the infirmities of his age. Since then, the Mohonk Lodge has passed hands, and is now owned by Mr. N. B. Moore, whose family is well known among the Creek people in Oklahoma, and is related by marriage to the family of the late Miss Alice Robertson, of Muskogee.

—M.H.W.

A REJOINDER TO MRS. ROSSELL

A letter relating to General William G. Belknap who died at Old Fort Washita on November 11, 1851, appeared in the Summer, 1955, number of *The Chronicles*, written by Judge Ben G. Oneal, President of the Fort Belknap Society of Texas. Another letter from Judge Oneal has been referred to the Editorial Office by Colonel George H. Shirk, with an inscribed copy of a Resolution of the Texas State Legislature, adopted in 1951, that pays tribute to General Belknap as a soldier and explorer:

Wichita Falls, Texas
July 29, 1955

Col. George H. Shirk,
1108 Colcord Building,
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Dear Colonel Shirk:

I am deeply grateful to you for your having had sent to me the volume of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* containing the article on Gen. William G. Belknap. The volume came promptly but by reason of Mrs. Oneal and I making a visit to New Orleans and some business trips I have made, there has been delay in acknowledging the favor.

I am still somewhat puzzled by Mrs. Rossell's referring to General Belknap as "the poor unloved Gen." and "it is better for all except his family that he has been taken."

From what I have read of him I get a different impression. He was perhaps at times abrupt and probably a stickler for regulations at a time when and a place where discipline was not particularly appreciated. The opinion that he was abrupt or rather quick to come to a conclusion, I form from two instances.

First. In his report of July 7, 1851, on selecting the site for the fort on the Brazos, he wrote:

"This I should judge to be about the one hundredth degree of West Longitude, and it is the most western point that a post can be established where timber and other materials necessary in the construction of barracks can be found; and west of which, on account of the scarcity of timber and water, it is not probable that white settlements will be made for a century to come, if ever."

Second. In a short letter to his wife from "Near Matamoras" the day after General Scott's crushing victory at the battle of Resaca de la Palma May 9, 1846, he wrote: "The war is in my opinion ended."

In both instances his judgment was decidedly wrong. In fact, within two years from the date of his letter of July 7, 1851, a surveyor had located land script on the very land upon which Fort Belknap was constructed, using the chimney of the commissary building as one of the calls in the fieldnotes.

He may have been by the judgment of Mrs. Rossell's coterie unloved; but it seems to me there was some injustice in the stigma she placed upon the name of the General. In the Foreman article in which is given the story General Henry J. Hunt told of his father's watermelon joke, he is quoted as saying: "It turned out that the watermelon was a green pumpkin, and the indictment would have failed. It wound up in a good laugh all around, and the really kind hearted Captain Belknap enjoyed the joke as much as any of the rest."

In General Belknap's report of July 7, 1851, on selecting the military site on the Brazos, he, for a soldier who had fought Indians many years, in Florida and elsewhere, showed genuine compassion for the wild Indians. He wrote:

"It has been the custom of the wild tribes of the western plains to support themselves in a measure by plundering the people of Texas and Mexico. The establishment of this line of Posts, by thus depriving them of a principal means of subsistence, would seem to render it a matter not only of good policy and economy, but of justice and humanity, to afford them other means of support. If they could be furnished yearly with a supply of beef cattle and corn, it might have the happy effect of preventing collisions, which must otherwise inevitably ensue."

That he was a devoted husband is evident from two letters protostats of which I have. The General lacked a great deal of writing a good hand, and the manuscripts are damaged in places. However, the quotations I give you are clear. In the letter from "Near Matamoras" mentioned before, he wrote: "I have only time to say that we have met the enemy for two days & been in constant battle, but thanks to God & your prayers we have beat them."

And in a letter from Corpus Christi, dated Feb. 25 (1846), after writing at some length of the country and other matters of interest, he then wrote:

"You may think this as I do, a very *trashy* letter—consider it a 'one liner'—but however *trashy* or brief it may be, I trust—nay, I *know*, that you will remember that it comes from one who loves you with his whole soul,

one who looks to you in the storm—the bright star of all his hopes & hap (piness?) one, who is loving & being loved by (mss torn) placed his anchor 'within the Veil', the only chance for hope on earth—the only hope for joy hereafter—that it comes from you."

If you have had time to read this far, I desire to apologize to you for intruding so much upon your time.

Again thanking you for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* with the letters in it and for the volume with the Foreman article, I am

sincerely yours,
(signed)
Ben G. Oneal.

Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 8
Moffett

WHEREAS, General William Goldsmith Belknap served the United States devotedly and courageously as a soldier, from the time he was eighteen years of age, and for the remainder of his life; and

WHEREAS, Some of his most valuable services were in Texas at the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palm during the Mexican War, and later in exploring the western part of the State and selecting suitable sites for military posts in Texas to protect the western settlers from marauding Indians; and

WHEREAS, In the line of duty as he saw it, he, though a very sick man, made the trip from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to the site on the Brazos River in what is now Young County, finally to inspect that site, and on November 3, 1851, to designate it as a military post which became known as Fort Belknap; and

WHEREAS, In attempting from this site, then a mere camp, to travel to Fort Washita where he could get hospital care and medical treatment, he died en route near Preston on the Red River; and

WHEREAS, In recognition of his long military service in the United States Army, his ability as a military leader, and his fidelity to duty even at the cost of his health and ultimately of his life, the fort established at the site on the Brazos River was named in his honor: Fort Belknap; and

WHEREAS, Though there has not been for three-quarters of a century any use of Fort Belknap as a military post, the State of Texas has restored in part the buildings of Fort Belknap and there is maintained there a museum; and

WHEREAS, The people of his birthplace, Newburgh, New York, have graciously given to the people of Texas a picture of General William Goldsmith Belknap to be placed in the museum at Fort Belknap; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Senate of Texas, the House of Representatives concurring, that the people of Texas, appreciating this gracious act on the part of the Newburgh citizens, extend to them through the Honorable Herbert A. Warden, Mayor of Newburgh, their thanks; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a suitable inscribed copy of this Resolution be presented by Governor Allan Shivers to the Honorable Herbert A. Warden, Mayor of Newburgh; and that a like inscribed copy be presented to Honorable Ben G. Oneal, President of the Fort Belknap Society, to be placed in the museum at Fort Belknap.

(Signed)

Ben R. Ramsey

President of the Senate

Reuben E. Senterfitt

Speaker of the House

I hereby certify that S.C.R. No. 8 was adopted by the Senate on January 17, 1951.

Loyce M. Bell

Secretary of the Senate

I hereby certify that S.C.R. was adopted by the House on January 18, 1951.

Clarence Jones

Chief Clerk of the House

RESTORATION OF THE "WHITE HOUSE OF THE CHICKASAW NATION,"
HOME OF THE LATE CHICKASAW GOVERNOR, DOUGLAS H. JOHNSTON

The outstanding historical celebration in Oklahoma in 1955 was the Centennial of the founding of the Chickasaw Nation, held at Tishomingo. A treaty was made and signed on June 22, 1855, by the United States with the Chickasaws and the Choctaws, under the provisions of which the Chickasaws organized the country west of the Choctaw Nation to the 98th Meridian and south of the Canadian River, with their own government known as the Chickasaw Nation. The Chickasaws were the wealthiest and fourth in size among the Five Civilized Tribes. Tishomingo, in present Johnston County, was the capital of the new Nation, and also celebrated its One Hundredth Anniversary in this year.

The first day of the celebration, Friday, June 24, was devoted to a big parade, a special program at the old Chickasaw capitol building and renewing friendships at Tishomingo. Much historical material was on display, and many individuals loaned precious heirlooms that were displayed in the windows along Main Street.

The second day, Saturday, June 25, the most entertaining and interesting events for the Chickasaws and friends was the "Open House" at Emet, in the old home of the late Douglas H. Johnston, Governor of the Chickasaw Nation, who served his last term in this position from 1904 to 1939. It was built by Governor Johnston in 1898, and became known as the "White House of the Chickasaw Nation," a large house of twenty rooms, wide porches, and architecture of the early 1890's. This old mansion has been restored by Governor Johnston's daughter, Mrs. Juanita Johnston Smith, and his son, Douglas H. Johnston, Jr. The furniture has been renovated and placed in the rooms as it was years ago. It was here that former Governor William H. Murray was married to Miss Alice Hearrell, a niece of Governor Johnston. Also, former Governor Johnston Murray of Oklahoma (1951-55) was born in this house.

Among the beautiful furnishings seen at the "Open House" were a number of oil paintings by Alice Hearrell Murray, Julia Chisholm Davenport, the first foster niece and the other a granddaughter of Jesse Chisholm of "Chisholm Trail" fame, and Juanita Johnston Smith. One painting by Juanita, "A striped stick of candy and ginger snap," still life, took a blue ribbon at the St. Louis Worlds Fair in 1904. It was exhibited with the Bloomfield Academy exhibit in the Indian Territory Building. In the library of this Chickasaw "White House," is a large oil portrait of Governor Johnston, painted by John Selby Metcalf.

The old Aladdin lamps in the parlor furnished reading light for the Governor and Mrs. Johnston, in bygone years. The hanging lamps and the lace curtains in the "Front Parlor" are duplications. On the Governor's desk was shown the old seal of the Chickasaw Nation, used on all deeds and patents for every grant of land in the counties comprising the one time Chickasaw and Choctaw nations in Oklahoma. This seal is incorporated in the upright ray of the five pointed star in the State Seal of Oklahoma. Near the seal on the desk was a Chickasaw warrant book dated 1898. Also, there were shown a silver filagreed cigar humidor, a silver ash tray of unique design, engraved with the initials "D.H.J.," and a picture of Chief Tishomingo. Near at hand was a carved cane brought by Douglas, Jr. to his father, from the Orient. Over the desk was a picture of Mrs. Johnston, and framed tribute to the Chickasaws for their gallantry during World War I, signed by President Calvin Coolidge. In the dining room, was the furniture that Governor Johnston bought in Dallas and Fort Worth when the house was built. There were many pieces of beautiful old silver on the sideboard. All the doilies and scarfs were the ones used in the 1890's.

In the guest bedroom is a fireplace with fancy mantle to match as nearly as possible the tall-backed bed, dresser and washstand. In here, were a number of dresses worn by members of the family in the "gay 90's." A mahogany mantle in one of the rooms was sent from Chattanooga, Tennessee. Also, an old family album, papers memorializing Governor Johnston in the Hall of Congress, and the old Family Bible and marriage certificate were on exhibit. The two negroes who served punch on the lawn were descendants of former slaves owned by the Keel family of the Chickasaw Nation. These men had always lived in the Chickasaw Nation.

There were several hundred visitors from over the state at the old mansion at Emet, on Saturday afternoon. Among these were: Princess Te Ata (Mrs. Clyde Fisher), a native of Emet, now a resident of New York City, whose father was a nephew of Governor Douglas H. Johnston; Acee Blue Eagle, Indian artist; John Selby Metcalf, artist; Governor Floyd Maytubby of the Chickasaws; Mr. Babcock, Oklahoma University; Dr. James Morrison, Southeastern State College, Durant; Mrs. Pink Williams, wife of Lieut. Gov. Wil-

iams of Oklahoma; Mrs. Una de Cordova Skinner, of Denison, Texas; Miss Emma Plunkett, Central State College, Edmond; Mrs. Anna Brosious Korn, Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society; Mrs. C. E. Cook, Curator of the Historical Society Museum; Mrs. Guy Chambers, of Edmond; Mrs. Charles Murray; Mrs. Alec Rennie and daughters; Mrs. W. W. Corbin; Mr. Ben Colbert; Mrs. Almeda Cheadle Walton; Mrs. Daisy Bingham; Mr. and Mrs. Phil Bonnett; Mr. J. B. Wright, of McAlester; Lee F. Harkins, of Tulsa.

The Chickasaw Nation and the State of Oklahoma are very grateful to Juanita Johnston Smith and Douglas H. Johnston, Jr., for opening the mansion to visitors. It is one of the historical places in Oklahoma.

—Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour.

Edmond, Oklahoma

RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY

The following list of books (400) was accessioned and cataloged in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society, from July 1, 1954 to July 1, 1955, and compiled by Mrs. Edith Mitchell, Cataloger:

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BOOK REVIEWS

OPEN WIDER, PLEASE. The Story of Dentistry in Oklahoma, by J. Stanley Clark. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1955. Pp. 391. Ills. \$5.00) -

In point of time, modern dentistry as practiced today emerged simultaneously with the settlement and development of Oklahoma. Hence, a history of dentistry in Oklahoma of necessity parallels the history of the formation and growth of the State. Dr. Clark has handled both subjects well and has blended them together into a very readable volume.

As with other professions, the struggle for the adoption and universal recognition of a code of ethics was foremost in the attention of the dental pioneers in Oklahoma. Changing from an itinerant trade to the present substantial profession was a major accomplishment, and it is all recorded here.

The volume contains valuable reference material in the form of all Licensed Dentists from May 1891 to January 1955, officers of the Oklahoma State Dental Association, and similar reference data.

The various professions in Oklahoma are to be commended in their efforts to publish, while the information is yet intact, histories of their own growth and development in early Oklahoma. Coupled with the coming Semi-Centennial celebration of Oklahoma, such volumes are an important addition to the bibliography of Oklahoma history. It is hoped that the Bar Association, the Oklahoma Bankers, and others will follow the cue given by the dentists.

—C. Alton Brown, M.D.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

THE RAMBLER IN OKLAHOMA. By Charles Joseph Latrobe (London 1835). Edited and Annotated by Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk (Harlow Publishing Corporation, Oklahoma City-Chattanooga, 1955. Pp. 85. Ills. Maps. \$3.00)

This first reprint with annotations of chapters pertaining to the Washington Irving tour of 1832 in Oklahoma, taken from *The Rambler in North America* (London, 1835) by Charles Joseph Latrobe, is particularly timely with the renewed interest in the Irving Expedition in the state. *The Rambler in Oklahoma* will always rank as a classic in Oklahoma history and literature, giving, as it does added facts and explanations by the editors, about the people mentioned and places visited by Latrobe that add much interest to the contents. Published for the first time is the map (page 29) by Colonel Shirk

who recently retraced the entire route of the tour. A facsimile of the Hitchcock Map (page 13), original in the Oklahoma Historical Archives, has never before been printed in connection with papers and previous publications on the Irving Expedition. Forming an appendix to the book, is the letter written by Commissioner Henry L. Ellsworth, in command of the tour, to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, also published for the first time.

Charles J. Latrobe, world traveler, author, naturalist, accompanied by his protege, the young Swiss Count Albert de Pourtales, started the trip to North America early in 1832, in search of adventure. On board ship they met Washington Irving, returning to America following a long stay abroad. The trio struck up a strong friendship and whiled away hours aboard ship talking of possibilities of a trip to the Far West, to hunt buffalo, and to know the romance of life in the Indian Country. Surely Fate was with them, for it was on a boat trip from Buffalo to Detroit in August of that year that they met Mr. Ellsworth, slated to go to Fort Gibson under appointment of President Jackson through the War Department as a Commissioner in the settlement of Indian tribes then being removed from their lands east of the Mississippi to Indian Territory west of Missouri and Arkansas Territory. Arrangements were made for the three friends to accompany Mr. Ellsworth.

For their introduction to life in Indian Territory, they had as their guide from Independence, Missouri to the Three Forks, that distinguished gentleman, Indian Trader and friend of the Indians, Col. Auguste P. Chouteau, of whom Latrobe wrote, ". . . we were all beholden to his courteous manners, and extensive information on every subject connected with the country and its Red inhabitants, for much of our comfort and entertainment. . . ."

Their road merely a track over the natural sod of the prairie, the expedition set out from the Western Creek Agency October 10, 1832, and returned to that place one month later. Their route extended westerly through present Wagoner, Tulsa, Creek, Pawnee, Payne and Logan counties; south through Oklahoma and Cleveland counties; then swung northeast through Pottawatomie, Seminole, Okfuskee and Muskogee counties back to the Agency and Fort Gibson.

Latrobe wrote, "Here alone in the great wilderness we moved by day, lay down at night in peace and quiet . . . those who have never moved out of the narrow sphere where all is artificial . . . where the possession of much makes the attainment of more an absolute necessity . . . can hardly conceive how little in reality is essential, not only for existence, but for contentment. . . ." His scientific eye notes the vegetation, the beauty of the autumn prairie. He keeps a bag tied to his saddle into which he crams seeds of all kinds. He describes the Indians along the trail, whose campfire smoke often mingled with the smoke of the visitors' camp; shows his

appreciation of the art of camp cookery with descriptions of the preparation of venison, buffalo, turkey, and other game that made up the daily menu; kills his first bison; engages in a hunt for wild horses; spends anxious hours searching for the lost count; tells of rivers to be forded and of the Cross Timbers that bar the way, and of the rains that came down. He tells that game is less plentiful on the return, and the horses are lame but the spirit of adventure never dims.

—By Lillian Delly

Lawton, Oklahoma

A SURVEY OR ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY IN THE ARKANSAS-WHITE-RED RIVER BASINS. National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Washington, 1955. Pp. 85. Not priced.

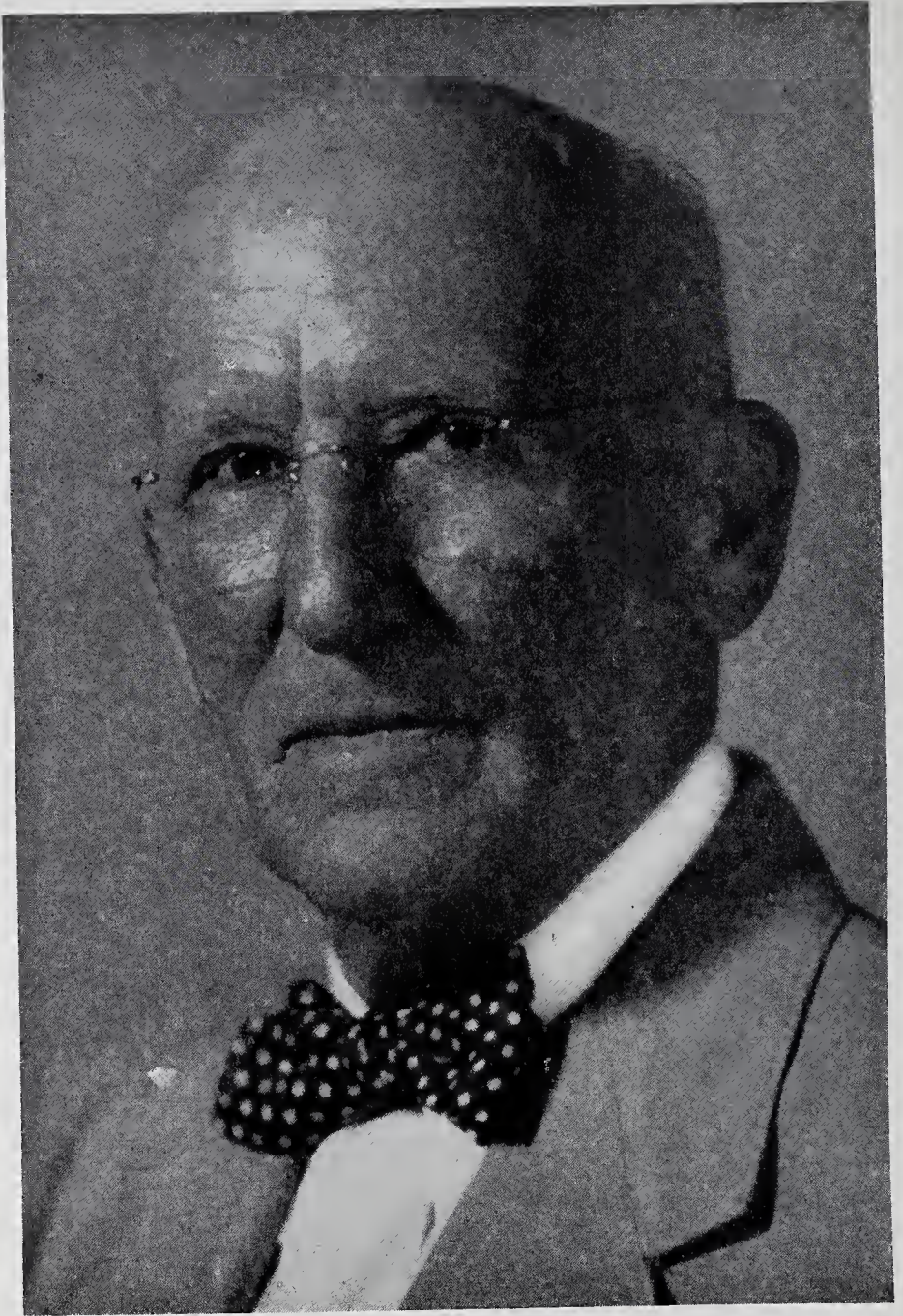
The National Park Service has completed a comprehensive survey of the recreational resources of the region comprising the basins of the Arkansas, White and the Red Rivers. This is of particular interest to Oklahomans in that Oklahoma is the only state entirely within that area. An appendix to the report dealing with the history and archaeology of the basins comprises a valuable reference work for Oklahoma historians and researchers.

The appendix is in two parts: Part I deals with archaeology of the region and was prepared by C. A. Steen. Part II, which is essentially a check list of all historic points and sites within the area, was compiled and prepared by John O. Littleton. Mr. Littleton has maintained an active interest in the Oklahoma Historical Society, and was a member of the 1954 Historical Tour.

The National Park Service is to be commended for its service in compiling data of this character. As time passes, more and more sites and historical locations such as those listed become obscure and more difficult to locate. Efforts to compile and make a matter of permanent documentation such information as this should receive full support from all members of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

—George H. Shirk.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma



WILLIAM J. PETERSON

NECROLOGY

WILLIAM J. PETERSON

1880—1955

The official Board, officers, members of the staff and all other co-workers in the Oklahoma Historical Society join the bereaved family and a host of warm friends in mourning the passing of William J. Peterson of Okmulgee.

Mr. Peterson served as a member of the society's board of directors from 1936 until the time of his death on January 19, 1955. He was active in the society's program of service, seldom being absent at any quarterly meeting of the board and, in recent years, always among those making the society's tours to visit the state's historical centers.

The son of John and Sarah Jane Peterson, he was born at the family home near the town of Anice in Franklin county, Arkansas, on November 21, 1880. He was educated in the rural schools of Arkansas and the highschool at Honey Grove, Texas, receiving his higher education at the University of Arkansas, from which he graduated.

On December 25, 1906, he was married to Nelle Sue Davis of Russellville, Arkansas.

He served as superintendent of public schools at Russellville, Springdale and Morrilton, Arkansas, leaving school work to begin the practice of law. He was admitted to the supreme court of Arkansas as a practicing attorney in May, 1917.

Mr. Peterson moved from Morrilton, Arkansas to Okmulgee, Oklahoma in August, 1917 and followed his profession successfully and honorably all of those years. In the last several years he was in law partnership with his son, William L. (Bill) Peterson.

He was active in public and civic affairs. He served in the State Legislature of Oklahoma from Okmulgee county in the 13th, 14th and 16th sessions. He was particularly proud of having jointly sponsored the Oklahoma Homestead Exemption Act, an amendment to the constitution, in 1935.

He served as United States commissioner under appointment by Eugene Rice, federal judge for the Eastern District of Oklahoma, for a term of four years from 1942, with offices at Okmulgee.

Mr. Peterson was a member of the First Baptist church in Okmulgee and a thirty-second degree Mason.

Survivors are his wife, Mrs. Nelle S. Peterson; one son, William L. Peterson; one daughter, Nelle Marie Peterson Skinner, two grandsons and four granddaughters, and one sister, Mrs. Lelah Valentine of Anice, Arkansas.

—R. G. Miller

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

GEORGE CARL ABERNATHY

1878—1954

George Carl Abernathy, prominent Pottawatomie County attorney died at his home in Shawnee, Oklahoma May 18, 1954 at the age of seventy-five years. Funeral services were held at the First Presbyterian church in Shawnee, with the Reverend L. LaVerne Ross, pastor of the church officiating.

Judge Abernathy came from sturdy stock: The Abernathy family had been prominent in Scotland for many centuries, and came to this country in Colonial days, settling in Virginia, and the Carolinas. One branch of the family moved into Alabama, where Judge Abernathy's father—James Henry Abernathy was born. In 1865 following four years service in the Civil War, James Henry Abernathy returned to Alabama and married Miss Sarah Wood of Tuscaloosa. The young couple migrated Westward, to Arkansas, where in the little town of Summerville, George Carl Abernathy was born, Nov. 24, 1878, the fourth of a family of five children.

That the family might have better educational advantages the next move was to Warren, Arkansas, where George attended grade and high schools. He entered the University of Arkansas, at Fayetteville in the fall of 1896. There he was an outstanding student, and received honors from the faculty, as well as the student body. The reward probably most prized by him, was the sword which he won as the best captain in the Military department of the University, which was presented to him by the Governor of the state.

Upon graduating from the University of Arkansas he was awarded a scholarship in the University of Pennsylvania school of law, at Philadelphia. During the first five minutes in the law school building he memorized from a stairway inscription the following: "In the known certainty of the law is the safety of all. But the law is unknown to him that knoweth not the reason thereof." He chartered his course on the above maxim, and digging out the "reason thereof" was his chief concern during his more than fifty years in the practice of civil law.

On October 1, 1903, he and Miss Carrie Howell were married in Bristol, Virginia. He brought his bride to his native state, and on July 2, 1904, they came to Shawnee to make their home. From the very first day, both Mr. Abernathy and his lovely young wife cast their lot unreservedly with the fast growing little town, and gave all their best energies to building, and fostering its institutions and enterprises. Though a leader in his chosen profession, Judge Abernathy gave much time to civic and religious affairs. He had lived in Shawnee only two years when he began his first official activities as a member of the examining board for Shawnee teachers.

Two years later he was elected alderman. In 1909, Governor Haskell appointed him Judge of the Superior court, the first such appointment made in Pottawatomie County. He served in that capacity five and one-half years. He was a member, and president of the school board. A member of the Rotary club; a member of the American, the State, and the Pottawatomie County Bar associations, as well as the American Association of Insurance Council. He was attorney for the Rock Island, the Sante Fe, and the Frisco railroads.

During World War I, he was chairman of the County Council of Defense, and of the County Exemption Board. He held membership in Masonic Lodge No. 107 A.F. and M. a 32nd degree Mason. He was an active, and consistent member of the First Presbyterian church of the U.S.A. In 1931, he was chosen by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church as a member of the permanent judicial commission, the supreme judicial body of the church in the United States.



GEORGE CARL ABERNATHY

Besides his wife he is survived by three sons: Kenneth, who was his partner in law in Shawnee; George C. jr. who practices law in Boston, Massachusetts; Jack H., who is in the oil business in Oklahoma City; and one daughter, Dr. Ruth Abernathy, Professor in the University of California, Los Angeles.

Possibly the editorial from his home town paper describes in a measure the esteem in which Judge Abernathy was held, here in the town where he had lived for more than fifty years (Editorial in the *Shawnee News-Star*, May 19, 1954):

HIS LIFE HAD MEANING—RICH, FULL, GOOD.

"Always cheerful and friendly, courteous in a gracious, old-fashioned manner, Judge George Carl Abernathy was among Shawnee's best-loved men.

"Few lives deserve the adjective 'beautiful' but Judge Abernathy's was truly so. Devoted to home, family, church and a distinguished member of his profession, this grand old-young gentleman, blessed with unfailing humor and understanding, lived a composed and useful life.

"Though he unfailingly gave his charming wife entire credit for their achievements, sons and daughters shared from their father a rich heritage of character and integrity.

"Few of us reside long on this earth and depart leaving an impeccable record of our stay. But Judge Abernathy was one of these, a wise and unselfish man. His life was rich, full, and had meaning all the way.

"With his passing, Shawnee loses one of its most illustrious citizens."

—Florence Drake.

Shawnee, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING, THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING JULY 28, 1955.

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held in the Directors' Room of the Historical Building on Thursday, July 28, 1955. The meeting was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m. by General William S. Key. The following Directors were present: Mr. H. B. Bass, Judge George L. Bowman, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. Exall English, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Justice N. B. Johnson, General William S. Key, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Mr. R. G. Miller, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Mrs. Willis C. Reed, Miss Genevieve Seger, Colonel George H. Shirk, Judge Baxter Taylor, and Judge Edgar S. Vaught. Since Mrs. Ethel Buell, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge R. A. Hefner, S. E. Lee, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, and Dr. John W. Raley had sent letters explaining their absences, Judge Redmond S. Cole moved that they be excused from attendance at the meeting; motion seconded by Judge Vaught and Dr. Harbour and upon vote, carried unanimously.

Since the Minutes of the previous meeting had been checked, edited, and were in the hands of the publishers of *The Chronicles*, Judge Vaught moved that the reading be omitted; motion seconded by Dr. Harbour, and carried unanimously.

General Key then called upon the Administrative Secretary, Mr. Elmer L. Fraker, for his report. Mr. Fraker stated the Legislature approved the budget requirements which provided for each of the two years the sum of \$17,310.00 for operations and \$33,540.00 for salaries.

Travel	\$ 500.00
Transportation (express, etc.).....	100.00
Postage	1,200.00
Telephone & Telegraph.....	500.00
Printing & Binding.....	10,000.00
Repairs to Equipment.....	300.00
Office Supplies	1,000.00
Janitor's Supplies	200.00
Other Supplies (flags, etc.).....	100.00
Office Equipment	1,400.00
Books & Periodicals (Library)	2,000.00
Secretary's Bond	10.00
Total	\$17,310.00

The Secretary submitted a proposed budget on the Special Fund as follows:

Travel	\$ 300.00
Postage	200.00
Telephone & Telegraph.....	200.00
Printing & Binding.....	300.00
Office Equipment	500.00
Historical Property Care.....	200.00
Miscellaneous	1,000.00
Total	\$ 2,700.00

Mr. Phillips asked if there would be any of this amount spent without approval of the Board, to which General Key replied, "No, except in case of emergency or when state funds were inadequate for an item."

General Key remarked that by diligent labor and thrift on the part of Governor Williams and others, the Society had accumulated some private funds, but it was his belief there should be no hurry to spend them. "We have been letting these accumulate to take care of needs that have not been provided for by the Legislature, and we have this to fall back on," he said.

General Key stated he and the Board were particularly gratified by the increase in salaries, which amounts to about 10% for every employee; and that the Society is indebted to the Legislature and the Governor for their favorable consideration, and to Secretary Fraker for following up our requests.

Secretary Fraker stated he would like to have approval of the entire Board on the budgeted state and special funds, and called attention to the largest increase being in the printing of *The Chronicles*.

Mr. Harrison moved that they accept them as tentative budgets; motion seconded by Judge Vaught and carried.

Mr. Fraker then brought up the subject of the historic cannon in front of the Historical Building, which he reported to be an accident hazard. The old cannon was cast in St. Louis about the time of the outbreak of the War Between the States. It happens to be in Oklahoma because Pawnee Bill had it in his show and it was later given to the Historical Society. He suggested that the Society spend some money putting it on a concrete base or stone pedestal.

Colonel Shirk commented that the wheels were not the original ones and had no historical significance. To properly set it up, it should be dismounted and set on a brick or stone base with a plate of appropriate inscription.

General Key suggested that Colonel Shirk get an estimate of the cost of doing this, and also suggested that Secretary Fraker get the authentic record of the cannon. Judge Vaught stated that some of the construction concerns would be glad to construct this base as a contribution to the Society. General Key referred the matter to the House Committee with the suggestion that not more than \$100.00 be spent, unless there was some objection to such action. No objection was voiced.

General Key next called for committee reports. Judge Baxter Taylor, chairman of the committee to investigate and report on the action taken regarding marking the grave of former Governor Jack Walton, stated he had nothing of a substantial nature to report. Judge Vaught suggested he get in touch with Mr. O. A. Cargill and get the matter cleared up, and Judge Taylor advised he would do so immediately. General Key stated the committee would be continued and requested a report at the next meeting.

Judge Vaught suggested that the committee arrange for taking action on the suggestion of marking the grave of Mr. J. B. Thoburn. It was mentioned that Mr. Thoburn was buried in Fairlawn Cemetery. Justice Johnson moved that the committee be continued, and General Key instructed the continuance of the committee.

The President then called on Colonel Shirk for a report of the House Committee. Colonel Shirk said that the quarters used by Mrs. C. E. Cook for an office in the Museum is like an oven, yet it is important that someone be on hand at all times when the Museum is open. The committee felt it is time to relieve this condition by air-conditioning these quarters, and

also that this is the time of year to buy equipment in order to save money. He said that a window unit could possibly be installed for less than \$200.00, but it would take a long cable wire to connect it, that the cost might run over the \$200.00 to get the unit installed. Mr. Harrsion moved that the installation be made; motion seconded by Mr. Bass and Miss Seger, and carried unanimously.

The question of the Murals on the 4th floor is still unsettled, said Mr. Shirk, and he stated that Dr. Jacobson had urged the work be done and that the Board had already authorized it. Colonel Shirk said the Murals should be retouched because the plaster will crack again. The cost was estimated at about \$180.00 by John Metcalf, an artist. Judge Bowman moved that the Society employ Mr. Metcalf to re-touch the Murals at a cost of \$180.00. Motion seconded by Judge N. B. Johnson and carried.

Colonel Shirk continued his report by mentioning the Jones Cemetery near Hugo. The grave-stones, he said, have all been re-set and placed upright and all the iron railings have been replaced around the graves. He moved that the Secretary be instructed to write a letter of thanks to Dr. Morrison for his cooperation; motion seconded by Mr. Milt Phillips and Mr. T. J. Harrison; carried unanimously. General Key complimented Colonel Shirk on his report.

Mr. Harrison suggested that the local citizenry in the vicinity of historical spots should spend money as well as the Historical Society. He related that the Union Mission had about \$300.00 spent on it the past two years, and more than that was spent this year. This property belongs to the Society, he said; yet it has not cost the Society anything. Last year the gateposts were set up, concrete steps put in and this year the rest of the graves that were overlooked have been taken in. Mr. Harrison pointed out all this had been financed locally. "I think that is the policy we should follow, getting local people interested," Mr. Harrison concluded. General Key stated that this is the policy of the Society, but unfortunately most of these sites cost money to maintain.

Dr. Harbour moved that thanks be extended to Mr. Harrison's committee for the work they have done in preserving and maintaining the site of Union Mission for the Society; seconded by Mrs. Korn and Mr. Phillips and passed unanimously.

Judge Vaught stated that some years ago he and Judge Williams were over at the Sutherman property in Northeastern Oklahoma and there was a little cemetery up there where either Senator Owens' mother or his wife was buried and that it was in a neglected condition. He said he had tried to get something done, but did not get any assistance. However, a man who owned the farm said he would clean up the cemetery. General Key asked Mrs. Korn to ascertain whose grave this is.

General Key commented that there were a number of historical sites throughout the state that needed recognition and attention, and Mr. Fraker observed that Black Beaver's grave near Anadarko is in the middle of a wheat field.

Colonel Shirk was then called upon for a report on the microfilming. He stated there is a continued need to add microfilmed matter to the Library. As the Library has only a few volumes of the Army Register, arrangements were made with the Library of Congress for Army Registers from 1804 down to 1861 at a cost of about \$55.00. In the National Archives Department of State, there is a wonderful section on Oklahoma Territory from 1890 to 1907, he reported. This is one of the microfilming projects and as soon as they get completed, the Society will obtain a print. The microfilming of the Tract Books in the General Land Office is another project on which a film will be secured.

General Key then called upon Mr. R. G. Miller for a report of the recent Tour. Mr. Miller stated it was the most successful Tour ever conducted by the Society. He remarked that 28 towns of the state were represented and nearly all of them from western Oklahoma. Mr. Miller also called attention to the scrap book compiled by Miss Seger, a member of the Board, containing clippings and pictures taken from every publication covering the Tour. Mr. Miller continued by thanking each and every one who had anything to do with the Tour and stated it was his opinion that this was an undertaking that should be continued.

Judge Vaught suggested some assessment be made against everyone who participates in the Tour. Mr. Miller further remarked the tourists received some courtesies and that he would be eternally grateful to his employer, the *Oklahoma City Times*, who permitted him to spend about \$400.00 which included entertainment enjoyed at the banquet, and other expenses. The tourists enjoyed a luncheon at Tulsa University, provided by Mrs. Lorton Meyers of the *Tulsa World*.

With reference to next year's Tour, Mr. Miller recommended a re-tracing of the old Chisholm Trail from the Red River bottoms to the Kansas line. The details could be worked out, he observed, when the Committee on Tours meets in January.

Judge Vaught suggested if the Tour would run up into Kansas, that the Kansas Historical Society should be invited to join, and the Tour go on to Abilene. Mr. Miller stated that would extend the Tour to a four day trip and if that is agreeable, they would proceed on that basis, with Texas people included.

General Key thanked Mr. Miller for his report and commented that, in his opinion, it was the most interesting and most successful of the Tours, stating, "I think we should make of record our thanks and appreciation to Mr. Miller and his committee for the work they have done;" carried unanimously.

Judge Baxter Taylor moved that Mr. Miller be authorized to take the necessary steps for next year's Tour. Judge Vaught reworded the motion by adding that Mr. Miller be re-appointed Chairman of the Tours Committee and be given the right to name the members of his committee. Motion seconded by Judge Cole and carried unanimously.

Miss Muriel H. Wright, Editor of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, who was an invited staff member to the Board meeting, was called upon to report on the ivy certificates. As a part of the Tour this year there was shipped to the Society some ivy from Sunnyside, New York, and plants of this ivy were sent to schools and presented to individuals who made the Tour along the Washington Irving Trail. Beautiful certificates were made to be issued to each individual making the Tour, which have been signed by General W. S. Key, President, and Elmer L. Fraker, Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society; Mr. Hugh Grant Rowell, Executive Director, and Alice M. Runyon, Associate Director of Sleepy Hollow Restoration, Inc.; Mr. R. G. Miller, Chairman, and Colonel George H. Shirk, Tour Guide of the Tour of the Prairies Committee. This certificate reads as follows:

IT IS HEREBY CERTIFIED:

That there has been presented this day to (recipient) a cutting from the original vine of Kenilworth Ivy brought in A. D. 1835 from Abbotstord, Scotland, as a gift from his late friend, Sir Walter Scott, to Washington Irving, and now flourishing at his home, SUNNYSIDE, between Irvington and Tarrytown on the Hudson, New York. This ivy is brought to Oklahoma in recognition of and in tribute to the mutual cultural heritage left to us by this great American, on the occasion of the reenactment of the TOUR OF THE PRAIRIES.

Dated this 29th day of April, A. D. 1955.

General Key then called attention to the fact that a committee was appointed when Mr. Floyd Maytubby, Governor of the Chickasaws, visited the Board and proposed a plan to erect a marker at the Capitol of each of the Five Civilized Tribes and had asked the Society's cooperation. This committee was composed of Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore and Judge N. B. Johnson.

Mr. Harrison, in making his report, stated that they had met with the inter-tribal committee a number of times. Mr. Harrison further stated he had many reports on this matter each time the committee met, and he has been cooperating with them, but that this is too large a project to germinate quickly.

Mr. Harrison continued by reporting on the action of the Legislature with reference to the celebration of "Oklahoma Day" at Salina. The Oklahoma Historical Society was again appointed custodian of the \$1000.00 fund, as it has been for the past four years. The American Legion, said Mr. Harrison, has sponsored this work for some time out of Salina and sponsored enactment of the law under which the project operates. He suggested the appointment of the following on the local committee: Clifford R. Thornton, Merle Caldwell, A. M. Jenkins, Bill Reynolds, and C. E. Chouteau.

Mr. H. Milt Phillips stated that he happened to have been working with veterans' legislation when this bill was brought up. He expressed the belief that the American Legion does not want it changed; they want the Historical Society to continue to be custodian. "I think the President of this Society ought to designate whoever that committee is. Mr. Harrison stated that theretofore Judge N. B. Johnson had been on the committee with Judge Taylor and himself." Mr. Phillips then moved that the President be authorized to appoint a committee and that he be instructed and authorized by the Board to name Mr. Harrison to work with the committee in handling the matter. Motion unanimously seconded and carried.

General Key said he would appoint a committee of three to represent the Society, to supervise the spending of funds, and submitted the names of Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Chairman, Mrs. Willis Reed, and Mr. H. Milt Phillips.

The President advised it was now time for election of new Directors. There were two vacancies on the Board created by resignations. "Our good friend at Ardmore, Mr. John Easley, asked that he be relieved on account of failing eyesight." Dr. Raley, President of the Oklahoma Baptist University at Shawnee, wrote that he could not attend regular meetings. "I would suggest," said the Chairman, "that we keep his resignation under advisement until he returns from Europe and for the present fill only the vacancy caused by the unconditional resignation of Mr. Easley."

Mr. Fraker advised Mr. S. E. Lee called him from Buffalo, just before the meeting and said the reason he could not come was because he has to get out his newspaper on Thursday; he was unable to get here for the last meeting and he would be unable to make any of the meetings until this time next year, so he wishes to resign.

Colonel Shirk moved in order to get the matter cleared up, that only one vacancy be filled at the time. Motion seconded by Judge Taylor. Before being put to a vote, Dr. Harbour stated the Secretary advised there would be two vacancies to be filled and the rules should be lived up to. The motion was put to a vote and carried, with Dr. Harbour and Mr. Harrison dissenting.

The name of Mr. Joe W. Curtis was presented; sponsored or recommended by Mrs. Jessie R. Moore and Mr. H. Milt Phillips.

The Board members voted in secret ballot and the counters retired to tally the votes. Mr. Joe Curtis was found to have been elected.

At this point Judge R. L. Bowman moved that the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society thank Miss Genevieve Seger, a member of the Board, for the gift of the excellent scrap-book containing a complete outline of the Washington Irving Tour. Motion seconded by Colonel Shirk and carried unanimously.

The President called upon Mrs. Willis O. Reed, one of the new Board members, for a few words. Mrs. Reed stated she was honored at having the opportunity of serving on the Board of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and deemed it a pleasure to associate with all of the members who have so much to contribute to the Society, as "I will learn more than I can possibly give. I really appreciate your asking me and I hope you will have reason to be glad that you did."

Miss Genevieve Seger was then called upon and said, "I have been fortunate in having many honors, but I can truthfully say that the finest thing that ever happened to me was to be asked to become a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. I remember in the newspaper office of my father reading *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* years back, and I was always interested in the work of my grandfather, John H. Seger. My father was so very interested in the work of the Society that I became interested. My brother was a casualty of World War I and I could not carry on in their line, so as the oldest granddaughter of John H. Seger, I was most happy to have the honor and privilege of serving an institution of our great and magnificent state. I hope I can prove worthy of the confidence and trust that you people have placed in me."

Mr. Exall English, the third new member of the Board who was presented by the President, stated it was a pleasure to serve with the other members of the Board, and that he will be honored and proud to accept any job the Board gives to him. Chairman Key expressed pleasure on behalf of the Board at having the three new members.

General Key then stated the Board was honored by the attendance of one of its oldest members who not only has made Oklahoma history, but has earned a national reputation as a historian, Dr. E. E. Dale. Dr. Dale was applauded by the members of the Board and made a few remarks in which he said he would like to express his appreciation of the fact that the Board retained him as a member during his long absence. "I left the United States and sailed from Vancouver for Australia early in March, 1953 and spent the next year in Australia and the way home takes a long time, especially if you sail by way of Suez and London. We got back home, got furniture arranged, the floors waxed and began living, when I received a telegram from the University of Houston asking me to come down and do part-time teaching in graduate work. I have been at the University of Houston for the past year and got back on about June 5th this year. I would like to ask a favor of the Board: as some of you know, I signed a contract, with some reluctance, soon after I returned from the University at Melbourne, to join with Dr. Morrison of Durant to write a biography of Judge Williams. Dr. Morrison has been working on that constantly for the past year collecting notes. I have done what little I could. At this time I expect to devote the next six months to that particular project. I do not need to tell this group that Judge Williams was a remarkable character; I do not need to tell you about his great contribution to Oklahoma; no doubt many of you can recall good "Bob" Williams stories. I have not had to be convinced that a biography or historical work need not be deadly dull in order to be scholarly. I would like to do a scholarly and authentic biography to show

the real personality of the man, and I ask if any of you know good stories of Judge Williams, jot them down and send them to me. I would like to enlist the help of everyone because this is a big, big job."

General Key congratulated Dr. Dale and Dr. Morrison on their project of writing this biography.

Judge Redmond Cole stated it had been brought to his attention that there was no specification for the frames of pictures hung in our Gallery; that one picture frame was 22x42; another is 52x32, and still another is 48 x 68. He expressed the opinion that there should be some uniformity in picture sizes and presented the following resolution:

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, for the purpose of conserving space and maintaining uniformity in the Portrait Room of this Society, BE IT RESOLVED that the frames of all portraits placed therein shall be approximately 36 inches wide and 48 inches long.

Judge Cole explained it was not the purpose of this resolution that this be an absolute rule because in some cases it would be necessary to take the portraits selected by the committee as they are, but as many of them as possible should be of uniform size. The resolution was seconded by Judge Bowman, and Judge Taylor, and carried unanimously.

It was suggested that the President appoint a secret committee to consider the matter of acceptance of pictures offered to the Portrait Gallery.

Mr. H. Milt Phillips moved that the President be authorized to name a secret committee, known only to the President, to pass on the pictures offered or sought, and make its recommendation to the Board. Motion seconded by Judge Bowman and Judge Cole and carried unanimously

General Key then brought up the subject of Mr. S. E. Lee, an absent Board member who had telephoned prior to the meeting, stating that he has been unable to attend regularly, and wished to be relieved from serving.

Mr. Milt Phillips stated that Mr. Lee was a life-time friend and one of the most conscientious men in Oklahoma, but Mr. Lee had not been able to attend the Board meetings; that he runs a family newspaper which goes out on Thursday and, "I move that we accept his resignation with regrets." Motion seconded by Dr. Harbour and carried.

General Key reminded the Board that vacancies were to be filled at the next meeting, and requested that names to fill these vacancies be submitted in proper order.

The President then announced the appointment of a Program Committee, the duties of which are to arrange suitable literary and other exercises for the program of the annual meeting of the Society or other meetings at which formal programs are to be presented. The members of the committee are: Mrs. Korn, Chairman, Judge Hefner, Judge Taylor, Justice Johnson, and the Secretary. Another committee was appointed to arrange suitable exercises in each county of the state in which as many as five active members of the Society may reside, to observe days representing historical events, in conjunction with other organizations in the state which may join therein. On this committee Judge Cole is Chairman. with Mrs. W. C. Reed, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, and the Secretary.

The list of gifts received by the Library, Museum, Archives, and Memorial Halls were presented by the Secretary for acceptance, together with a list of new membership applications. Mr. H. Milt Phillips moved that

the gifts be accepted and the donors thanked for same, and the applicants to membership in the Society be accepted. Motion seconded by Judge Vaught and carried unanimously.

NEW MEMBERS SINCE APRIL 22, 1955

LIFE MEMBERS:

Mr. James Vaughan Whitley	Duncan, Okla.
Miss Bessie Truitt	Enid, Okla.
Mr. Alfred A. Drummond	Madill, Okla.
Miss Roellen O. Estes	Moore, Okla.
Mr. T. L. Gibson	Muskogee, Okla.
Mr. Charles Irvin Allen	Oklahoma City, Okla.
Mrs. Ruth B. Hysa	"
Mr. Fred A. Tillman, Sr.	Pawhuska, Okla.
Miss Violet M. Fellows	Ponca City, Okla.
Mr. John Rex Lokey	Tishomingo, Okla.
Mr. Carl E. Reubin	"
Mr. Alf G. Heggem	Tulsa, Okla.

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Mr. W. D. Little	"
Mrs. Julia M. Smith	"
Mr. Jack H. Smith	Ardmore, Okla.
Mr. Marvin S. Wolverton	"
Mr. B. R. Cook	Atoka, Okla.
Mr. E. W. Claiburne	Bartlesville, Okla.
Mr. E. S. Dunaway	"
Dr. Charles L. Johnson, Jr.	"
Mr. Paul C. McCreedy	"
Mr. Harold C. Price	"
Mrs. Katherine Weber	"
Miss Viola Carey	Binger, Okla.
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Mrs. Neta Marshall Gibson	Caddo, Okla.
Mrs. Nancy M. Murphy	Chickasha, Okla.
Mr. Hugo J. Brickner, Jr.	Clinton, Okla.
Mr. Kearns B. Cornell	"
Mr. J. E. Heinrichs	Corn, Okla.
Mr. George W. Cain	Durant, Okla.
Mrs. Sanford Babcock	El Reno, Okla.
Rev. Frank N. Cohoon	"
Mr. Lawrence D. Hinman	Enid, Okla.
Mr. Fred Keller	"
Mr. Ira W. Peckham	"
Dr. Hope Ross	"
Mr. A. A. McCutcheon	Eufaula, Okla.
Mr. Robert Clark	Fairfax, Okla.
Mr. Q. B. Boydston	Fort Gibson, Okla.
Dr. David C. Clemans	Hartshorne, Okla.
Mr. Oril Eugene Richeson	Henryetta, Okla.
Rev. B. L. Williams	"
Mr. Frank P. Swan	Konawa, Okla.
Mrs. Clara F. Lyon	Lawton, Okla.
Mr. Roy G. Clark	McAlester, Okla.
Miss Jane Redpath Green	"
Mrs. J. L. Branan	Marshall, Okla.
Mrs. Anna B. Adams	Muskogee, Okla.
Mr. Archibald Bonds	"
Mr. Clifford B. Branan	"
Mr. Zeb P. Jackson, Jr.	"

Mr. Stephen Francis de Borhegyi	Norman, Okla.
Dr. Henry C. Easterling	"
Mr. Forest T. Franklin	"
Mr. J. Don Garrison	"
Mr. Y. Edward Jones	"
Mr. Victor H. Kulp	"
Captain John Powell	"
Mr. Claude Southward	Nowata, Okla.
Mr. Frank K. Akright	Oklahoma City, Okla.
Mr. Hugh T. Abell	"
Mr. Herbert C. Adams	"
Dr. Wiley J. Adams	"
Dr. Hubert M. Anderson	"
Mr. Rollin C. Boyles	"
Mr. Harvey W. Dobson	"
Dr. Hayden H. Donahue	"
Mr. Robert S. Gack	"
Mr. Clarence E. Heaton	"
Mr. Darwin A. Hostetter	"
Mr. Roy H. Johnson	"
Gen. Roy W. Kenny	"
Mr. H. A. Kroeger	"
Mrs. Roy Larson	"
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Mr. Wm. H. Lowry	"
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Mrs. M. R. McCauley	Fresno, California
Mrs. Yvonne G. Dunmire	Oakland, "
Dr. Harry E. Thompson	McPherson, Kas.
Miss Elizabeth Currier	Cambridge, Mass.
Mr. Elliott B. Hunt	Ossining, N. Y.
Mr. Emsy H. Swaim	Eden, Texas
Mrs. Esmerelda M. Treen	Houston, Texas

GIFTS PRESENTED

LIBRARY:

Collection from Mrs. A. S. Heaney, secured through Miss Golda Slief, Oklahoma City:

Original Webster's Unabridged Dictionary;

Tom-Tom Year Books, Central High School, Tulsa, Okla. Vol. 28, 1936; Vol. 30, 1938;

Proceedings, 9th Annual Rotary Convention, Kansas City, 1918;

House Journal, 9th Legislature, Oklahoma, 1923;

Harrisonian Year Book, Harrison, Arkansas, 1926;

Atlas, Rand McNally, 1930, 1931; *Atlas Historical & Political Literary Digest*, 1922;

Philomatheia, History of the Club, 1891-1913;

Sorosis Club Year Book, Oklahoma City, 1913, 1914;

Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. 10, June, 1923.

Summary of contents of this collection: 10 books, 10 manuscripts, 17 pamphlets, 157 clippings.

Cephas Washburn's *Reminiscences of the Indians*

Donor: Judge Redmond S. Cole, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Official Souvenir Program from Coronation of George VI and Queen Elizabeth, May 12, 1937; 21 magazines containing articles on early Oklahoma and Indian Territory history

Donor: Mrs. Grant Foreman, Muskogee, Oklahoma

West Virginia Blue Book

Donor: J. Howard Myers, Clerk of the Senate, Charleston, W. Va.

The Oklahoma Revolution

Donor: W. D. McBee, Oklahoma City

Census Records for years 1820, 1830, 1840:

1820 Census—Virginia, 1 County, (Special Roll)

1830 Census—Kentucky, 9 Counties, (Roll #38); Tennessee, 5 Counties, (Roll #182); Virginia, 10 Counties (Roll #195),

6 Counties, (Roll #190), 6 Counties, (Roll #198)

1840 Census—Virginia, 12 Counties, (Roll #180)

Contributors to the purchase of the above records:

F. G. McMurray, St. Charles, Mo.; Mrs. L. J. Spickard, Okemah, Okla.; Mrs. D. L. Barber, Vinita, Okla.; Mrs. S. Fulton Murphy, Mrs. M. B. Biggerstaff, and Elsie D. Hand of Oklahoma City.

A Partial History of the Atkins Family

Donor: Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Oklahoma City

History of Seneca Indian School, collected by Margaret Schiffbauer

Donor: J. N. Kagey, Principal, Seneca Indian School, Wyandotte, Okla.

Address by H. E. Bailey, General Manager of Oklahoma Turnpike Authority, at the Nat'l Convention of the American Road Builders Ass'n in New Orleans, Jan. 11, 1955; *Information Please Almanac*, 1949; *The American Philatelic Society Year Book*, 1950

Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City

Laws of the Choctaw Nation Made and Enacted by the General Council from 1886 to 1890 Inc.

Donor: Prof. Gerald T. Stubbs, A. & M. College, Stillwater, Oklahoma, secured through Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater

"Old Bob Has Gone," a poem by Frank H. Greer of Guthrie, Oklahoma

Donor: T. J. Hartman, Catoosa, Oklahoma; secured through Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater, Oklahoma

Old Upper Canada, Pictorial History of Ontario

Donor: Hon. Louis P. Cecile, Ontario, Canada

The Whitehead Church History and Early Methodism in the Chickasaw Nation

Donor: Mr. Alvin Powell

Genealogy of the Tucker Family, 1635-1941, 1953, 1955

Donor: Lt. Col. Percy W. Newton, Oklahoma City, Okla.

A Quarterly covering the World's Periodical Literature from 1775 to 1945, *Historical Abstracts*, Vol. 1, Abst. 1-989

Donor: Eric H. Boehm of the University Wien, Austria

Quisqueya, An Anthology of Dominican Verse

Donor: Francis E. Townsend, Ciudad Trujillo, Dominican Republic

Time Exposed, Two Essays on Dominican History by Dr. Joaquin Balaguer, and Welcome Address by R. Emilio Jimenez on the occasion of Dr. Balaguer's reception as member of the Dominican Academy of History; *Trujillo Buys-He Does Not Despoil*; Two Addresses by Antonio Gottafavi, Ambassador of Italy in the Dominican Republic and by Generalissimo Rafael L. Trujillo, delivered in Jan., 1955

Donor: German E. Ornes, Ed. of *El Caribe*, Dominican Republic

Autobiographical Sketch & *Story of the Run of '93*

Donor: George P. Westervelt

The Memoirs of Emma Prather Gilmer

Donor: Carol Lynn Gilmer (Mrs. David Yellin), Pleasantville, New York

The Witch Deer, by Maggie Culver Fry

Donor: Maggie Culver Fry, Claremore, Oklahoma

Scrap Book of Frank J. Wikoff, and his list of banks made in 1901 when he was Bank Commissioner for Oklahoma Territory

Donor: Margorie Wikoff, California

MUSEUM:

Sod plow, shawl, and head scarf brought to Oklahoma in 1891

Donor: Mrs. Sophia Dlouhy, Oklahoma City, Okla.

High silk hat worn by John Rodgers in 1902

Donor: Mrs. John Rodgers, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Two hair balls from the stomachs of cows

Donor: H. L. Meyers, Armour and Co., Oklahoma City

Collection:

German Officer's Cap; 2 S. A. Equalets worn by Brown Shirts; German Medal Award to a German Mother; 1 piece paper money, American issue French Invasion Money; German Bank Note, 1000 marks; 37mm. shell used by M-8 armored cars of the 107th Cav. Rec. Squad; German S. S. Officer's Boot; Pair of German boot-hooks

Donor: Riley W. Bailey, Ada, Oklahoma

Collection:

Minton China Place Setting, about 1800; 10 coin silver spoons, 1 steel fork, 4 ivory handle dinner knives; 6 hand-woven napkins; pewter tea pot; wooden salt bowl; silver fruit bowl; tortoise-shell back comb; pair hand-knit white woolen stockings; 8 books, 4 tracts; 1 stand table cover; night cap, dimity apron, dimity skirt, hand-woven wool petticoat; cotton petticoat, hand-woven, set of hoops; 2 white hand-woven blankets, 1 brown and white hand-woven blanket; blue striped hand-woven shawl; door curtain made from hand-woven coverlet; red and white hand-woven coverlet, "Rose" pattern, made in 1850; blue and white hand-woven coverlet, "Bird of Paradise" pattern.

Donor: Miss Kathryn Long, Stillwater, Oklahoma

Collection:

Stereoscope and 12 pictures, dated 1875-1898; silk hand-embroidered pumps and basque; white satin beaded pumps, white kid beaded pumps, baby shoe, house slipper; gown made in 1860 trimmed with hand-made lace and embroidery; hand-embroidered wedding handkerchief used in 1860, lace handkerchief; 4 handmade lace collars, 7 pieces hand-made lace.

Donor: Mrs. Frances Bush Blair, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Collection:

Dagger in wooden case; pair lace covered sandals; wooden cane, carved, red lacquer; sword with fancy white case; sword, long and heavy, brown leather case; sword in double case; sword, nickel plated case; knife, wooden handle 10 inches long; knife in wooden case; 3 Japanese silk scroll paintings; 2 Japanese silk paintings. (These articles all from Korea)

Donor: Judge John Boyce McKeel, Ada, Oklahoma

Pictures:

2 Daguerreotypes, Sherman Kimberly and Belle Strickler

Donor: Miss Kathryn Long, Stillwater, Oklahoma

24 pictures of Guthrie soon after the Opening

Donor: John A. Hecker, LaDue, Missouri

17 pictures of Sulphur, early days

Donor: Mrs. W. R. Edwards, McAlester, Oklahoma

Portrait of Alva Ray Garrett

Donor: Jack W. Garrett, Chandler, Oklahoma

Seal of the Cherokee Nation

Donor: Mrs. C. E. Cook, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

ARCHIVES:

Letter from Melissa Moore to her sisters and brothers describing life in and around Tahlequah in 1847, dated Sept. 26, 1847.

Donor: Minton Moore, Costa Mesa, California

MEMORIAL HALLS:

Gifts to Confederate Memorial Hall:

The South Carolina Relic Room, Columbia, South Carolina

Donor: Arthur Petrie, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The South Must Have Her Rightful Place in History, by Rutherford

Donor: Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

6 Flags: The Stars & Stripes, silk, fringed, large

The Stars & Bars, a copy of the original with 7 stars

The Stainless Banner, or Jackson flag, large, bunting

The Stars & Bars with 13 stars, silk, fringed, large

The Stainless Banner with red bar, large, bunting

The Bonnie Blue Flag, large, bunting

Donor: Oklahoma Division of United Daughters of the Confederacy

Gifts to Union Memorial Hall:

Bronze Scroll commemorating the past state presidents of D. U. V.

Donor: Oklahoma Division of the D. U. V.

The President of the Board, General Key, stated that Mrs. Jessie Moore, Treasurer of the Society, was recuperating from a recent illness, but was as yet unable to leave her home. He said he knew he was expressing the sentiments of the entire Board when he wished for her early and complete recovery. He said that Mrs. Moore's devotion to the work of the Oklahoma Historical Society had been unsurpassed.

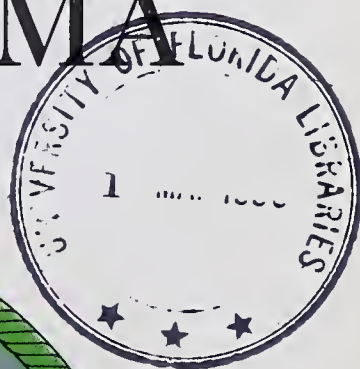
There being no further business to come before the Board at this time, motion to adjourn was made by Judge Bowman, seconded by Colonel Shirk, and carried unanimously. The Board Meeting adjourned at 12:15 p. m.

W. S. KEY,
President

ELMER L. FRAKER,
Administrative Secretary.

The CHRONICLES *of* OKLAHOMA

Winter, 1955-56



Official Seal of the Choctaw Nation, 1860-1907

Volume XXXIII

Number 4

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OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Organized by Oklahoma Press Association, May 26, 1893)

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POSTMASTER—Send notice of change of address to Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* is published quarterly in spring, summer, autumn, and winter by the Oklahoma Historical Society with its editorial office located in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City.

The Oklahoma Historical Society distributes *The Chronicles* free to members. Annual membership dues are two dollars; life membership, twenty-five dollars. Membership applications and dues should be sent to the Administrative Secretary.

Second class mail privileges authorized at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Oklahoma Historical Society assumes no responsibility for statements of facts or opinion made by contributors in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

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Volume XXXIII

Number 4

Winter, 1955-56

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THE GREAT SEAL OF THE CHOCTAW NATION

The design for the Great Seal of the Choctaw Nation, a facsimile of which appears in colors on the front cover of this number of *The Chronicles*, was adopted by an Act of the Choctaw General Council during its regular session at Doaksville, and approved by George Hudson, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, on October 16, 1860. A description of the seal that appears in Section 4 of this Act, defining certain duties of the Principal Chief, is as follows:¹

The Principal Chief shall procure, at an early day, at the cost of the Nation, a great seal of the Nation, with the words "the great seal of the Choctaw Nation" around the edge, and a design of an unstrung bow, with three arrows and a pipe hatchet blended together, engraven in the center, which shall be the proper seal of this Nation, until altered by the General Council, with the concurrence of both Houses thereof.

This official seal appeared on all Choctaw national papers from 1860 until the close of the Choctaw government when Oklahoma became a state in 1907. The devices of the official seals of the Five Civilized Tribes that had operated their respective national governments in Oklahoma for seventy-five years before this time appear in the rays of the five-pointed star which centers the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma. The State Constitution, Article VI, Section 35, describing the device of the State Seal, says in part: "The upper left hand ray shall contain the symbol of the ancient seal of the Choctaw Nation, namely: A tomahawk, bow and three crossed arrows."

The Choctaw seal is Indian in motif that symbolizes tradition and history in the tribe, for the old custom of smoking the calumet or pipe in the council circle during deliberation of important matters was particularly significant of Choctaw character. The pipe-hatchet in the center of the seal represents this, the pipe-hatchet introduced by European traders having generally taken the place of the old calumet among the American Indians. This trade pipe, called the "tomahawk," had been first manufactured in war-minded Europe. The calumet on the other hand was not an instrument of war but purely ceremonial, with a pipe bowl of red or black stone and a stem decorated with feathers and sometimes with rare fur.

¹ "Acts and Resolutions Passed at the October Session, A.D. 1860," in *Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation* printed at Boggy Depot, Choctaw Nation, by J. Hort. Smith, Proprietor of the *National Register*, 1861, p. 26. This is the only book of Indian laws published within the region included in the Confederate States governments.



(From Painting by Catlin, Smithsonian Institution)
Mosholatubbee, Chief of the Choctaws, 1820



(McKenney and Hall)
Pushmataha, Chief of the Choctaws, 1820



Calumets for peace councils were decorated with white feathers, and those for war, with red.²

The Choctaws though peaceable in nature were noted for their strength as a tribe in defending their homes and country, having produced many great warriors in historic times. The unstrung bow in their national seal represented peace yet preparedness for defense, with three arrows ready. These symbolized a united people, one arrow for each of three great chiefs, in history, Apuckshunnubbee, Pushmataha and Mosholatubbee.³ They had signed the Treaty of Doaks Stand in Mississippi, in 1820, the terms of which provided for the exchange of valuable tribal lands in Mississippi for a vast domain in the West including Southwestern Arkansas, all of Southern Oklahoma, across the Panhandle of Texas to the headwaters of the Red River in Eastern New Mexico. When this country within the confines of present Oklahoma, lying south of the Arkansas and the Canadian rivers to Red River, was organized under the Choctaw government after the Indian Removal from Mississippi, it was divided into three districts named for these three noted chiefs.

The Choctaw was the first of the Five Civilized Tribes from the Southeastern States granted a domain in Oklahoma. The Nation was organized in 1834 under a written constitution, the first constitution written within the boundaries of this state, adopted in a council held on the location which was named the Capital, Nunih Wayah. This constitution provided an executive department of three chiefs, one for each of the three districts in the Nation; a judicial department of supreme court and district courts; and a legislative council which met annually in the commodious council house at Nunih Wayah. Before the Great Seal was adopted in 1860, there were a number of changes in the constitution: The first change was made in 1842,

² The Indian calumet on the face of the device in the center of the Oklahoma State Flag was suggested from the design of the Choctaw seal shown on an old flag born by the Choctaw Confederate Regiment during the War between the States that can be seen on the walls of the Confederate Memorial Room in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

³ Apuckshunnubbee was the oldest of the three chiefs. He died in Kentucky on his way to Washington as a delegate from the Choctaws in the making of the Treaty of 1825. Pushmataha (spelled Pushamataha in some early records and laws) served as a delegate from the Nation in Mississippi at this same time. He died in Washington and was buried with honors in the Congressional Cemetery, in 1824. He had come west to the Oklahoma region as early as 1806, on hunting and war expeditions. In history, he is counted the great national hero of the Choctaws. Mosholatubbee was one of the three leading district chiefs who signed the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830, providing the removal of the tribe from Mississippi, the first of the Five Civilized Tribes that came as a tribe under U. S. Government supervision to the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma. Mosholatubbee was chief in the West and served in the important inter-tribal councils at Fort Holmes and Fort Gibson before his death in 1838. He made his home in the chief's house in Mosholatubbee District, erected by Treaty provision at what is now known as "Council House Spring" at the site of Iatham in LeFlore County. He is thought to have been buried at this location, in the old cemetery which has now almost disappeared.

incorporating the Chickasaws as a fourth district of the Choctaw Nation and providing for the organization of a General Council composed of a House of Representatives and a Senate. A new building was erected for the meeting of the House. The Senate met in the original council house which was accidentally destroyed by fire in 1849. The following January a convention of Choctaws, with Peter P. Pitchlynn as President, met at Doaksville, and adopted constitutional changes that provided the organization of counties and county courts in the four districts. The General Council met annually on the first Wednesday of November at the new capital at Doaksville, beginning in 1851.

The founding of a separate government by the Chickasaws in the western part of the Choctaw Nation, in 1856, called for another Choctaw constitution, known as the Skullyville Constitution adopted the next year, patterned after state governments, and providing for one executive to be called "Governor." These innovations and the fact that the old districts were done away with roused much opposition among the Choctaws for fear that these were the first steps to take away their country as had been done in Mississippi at the time of the removal Treaty at Dancing Rabbit Creek in that state, in 1830. Determined opposition to the Skullyville Constitution resulted in a convention of Choctaw citizens held in 1860, at Doaksville where necessary changes were made and a constitution finally drafted, referred to as the Doaksville Constitution, which remained in full force and effect in the Nation until its close in 1907. The executive was henceforth titled the Principal Chief, with three district chiefs in an advisory capacity, one for each of the three districts designated in the written law: Mosholatubbee District, Pushamahata District, Apuckshunnubbee District.⁴ And the Great Seal was provided by law in the first meeting of the General Council under this Doaksville Constitution.

During the nearly three quarters of a century under their own government in Oklahoma, the Choctaws experienced periods of trouble, especially the time of the War between the States, yet they advanced and developed in American civilization: farms and plantations were opened, trading stores were operated, towns grew up, churches and schools were established, newspapers and books were published, coal mining and timber industry were carried on. As the years passed, boys and girls who attended the Choctaw national academies and were prepared in their studies were sent to colleges in the

⁴ A fourth district comprising what was known as the Leased District lying west of the Chickasaw Nation, was nominally organized as Hotubbee District, Choctaw Nation, at this same time. It comprised all of present Southwestern Oklahoma, west of the 98th Meridian and south of the Canadian River. No Choctaws nor Chickasaws made their home in this region since it had been leased to the United States by the Treaty of 1855, for the settlement of the Wichitas and other Plains tribes. No chief was provided in the Choctaw Nation for Hotubbee District.

states for higher education. When Oklahoma became a State, many Choctaws were counted among its leading citizens in the professions and in official life. The design of the Choctaw seal within the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma fittingly symbolizes the history of this Indian nation.

—The Editor.

⁵ There are a number of publications on the history of the Choctaws, of which the following are among available references:

Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, 1943); W. B. Morrison, *The Red Man's Trail* (Richmond, 1932); Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932), and *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934); Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951); Edwin C. McReynolds, *A History of the Sooner State* (Norman, 1954).

Many articles on Choctaw history have been published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, among which are:

Muriel H. Wright, "Removal of the Choctaws to the Indian Territory, 1830-1833," Vol. VI, No. 2 (June, 1928), and "Brief Outline of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, 1820 to 1860," Vol. VII, No. 4 (December, 1929); Natalie Morrison Dennison, "Missions and Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church, U. S.," Vol. XXIV, No. 3 (Spring, 1946); James D. Morrison, "Problems in the Industrial Progress and Development of the Choctaw Nation, 1865 to 1907," Vol. XXXII, No. 1 (Spring, 1954); Oliver Knight, "Fifty Years of Choctaw Law, 1834 to 1884," Vol. XXXI, No. 1 (Spring, 1953).

TEWAH HOKAY

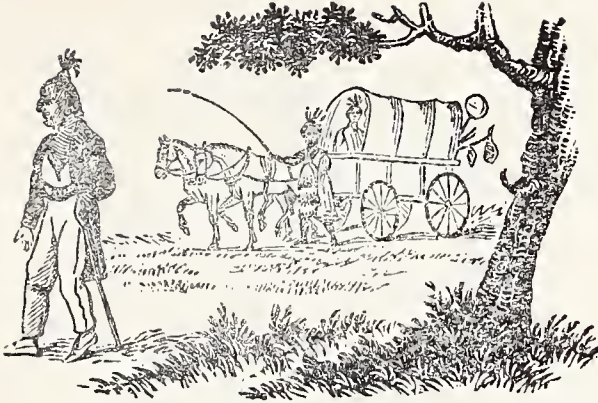
By Muriel H. Wright

A little book with quaint woodcut pictures under the title *The Choctaw Girl*, printed in Philadelphia in 1835, has been recently added to the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society, giving a bit of history on the Choctaws at the time of their removal to the Indian Territory.¹ It tells the true story of Tewah Hokay who lived near Bethabara Mission on the Mountain Fork River in Southeastern Oklahoma. This was on the west side of the river close by the place where the noted, giant cypress tree has cast its shadows for some 2,000 years. The lofty branches of this ancient relic rising above the surrounding forest and marking the location of the Bethabara Crossing on the Mountain Fork were seen by the Choctaws as they were nearing the end of the Trail of Tears when they were moved to Oklahoma, in 1831-34.

Tewah Hokay was a little Choctaw girl who came with her parents on the tragic journey west, during which many of the Indians died or were made invalids from hardships and accidents along the way. Tewah Hokay herself received an injury from which she never recovered. The missionary and others from Bethabara Mission went to see her where she lived with her parents in a humble cabin home, for she was not able to go to the school taught by Miss Eunice Clough² in the new school-house nearby.

¹ Published by the American Sunday-school Union, 146 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa., 1835, writer not given. *The Choctaw Girl* was brought to the attention of the Oklahoma Historical Society by Lee F. Harkins who has many rare books and other materials on the history of the Choctaws and Chickasaw in his own private library in Tulsa.

² Eunice Clough, born in Bradford, New Hampshire, in 1803, began her work as a missionary under the auspices of the American Board, among the Choctaws in Mississippi, in January, 1830, serving as a teacher in Mayhew and Aikihunnah missions. She arrived at Bethabara Mission on October 27, 1832; she taught in the new school-house on the east side of the Mountain Fork where there was a large settlement of Choctaws, among whom were some prominent mixed-blood families including the Howells, Folsoms and Pitchlyns. This was Eagle Town proper where the Reverend Cyrus Byington made his home and established Stockbridge Mission in 1837, when Bethabara Mission was closed. Miss Clough transferred and began teaching at Lukfata about ten miles west of Bethabara, in 1835. Among her pupils was a Choctaw lad called "Kiliahote," whom she named Allen Wright, years later elected and served as Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation (1866-70). At old Boggy Depot, he wrote about Miss Clough, saying that she was a wonderful teacher who was greatly missed by her pupils at Lukfata when she left her school and married Mr. Noah Wall. She mothered Mr. Wall's lovely little daughter, Tryphena, by his late wife, Lucy (or Lucretia) Folsom Wall, the daughter of Nathaniel Folsom who died advanced in years and was buried at Eagle Town on the Mountain Fork. A granddaughter of Noah and Eunice (Clough) Wall married T. J. Hogg who was a Representative in the House from Roger Mills County, in the 14th and 15th State Legislatures in Oklahoma.



Choctaw family removing.

The great history of Choctaw missions sponsored by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Oklahoma had its beginnings in this state when Bethabara Mission was established in July, 1832, by the Reverend Loring S. Williams.³ He had come with the first parties of Choctaws who had set out for their new country in the West in 1831, during the Indian Removal from Mississippi, arriving on the Mountain Fork in the vicinity of the Old Eagle Town in March, 1832.⁴ He began searching for a location to build a home for his family but found and purchased instead a house in a good state of repair, with some improvements around it, owned by a white man who had lived in the community when this part of the country was in Arkansas Territory, but who had had to move recently after the boundary line between Arkansas and the Choctaw country had been surveyed. Mr. Williams soon erected a building for the mission near his own dwelling, and named both the mission

³ Loring S. Williams was born in Pownal, Vermont, June 28, 1796. He departed from Salisbury, New York, for missionary work among the Cherokees, arriving at Brainerd Mission March 7, 1817. The following year he accompanied the Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury to Mississippi where he was associated in the establishment of Elliot Mission, the first mission of the American Board among the Choctaws, in June, 1818. He also founded and was stationed at the Choctaw missions of Bethel and Aikhunnah in Mississippi. He was ordained on March 27, 1830, and "visited the U. States, April 1—November 25, 1831." Mrs. Williams (formerly Matilda Loomis) taught in the mission school at Bethabara. Mr. Williams was very efficient in the Choctaw language; many of his religious tracts, Bible stories and hymns were published in the Choctaw language by the American Board, Boston, and by the Park Hill Mission Press, Park Hill, Indian Territory. He wrote several books for children, which were published at Park Hill. Many hymns composed by Mr. Williams are still found in the *Choctaw Hymnal*, bearing his initials "L. S. W.", and are reported by Choctaw scholars to be in excellent Choctaw. He retired from the mission work in 1838, and died in Iowa in the late 1880's.

⁴ A post office was established at Eagle Town on July 1, 1834, with Loring S. Williams as postmaster. This was the first permanent town established in the Choctaw Nation West. The name of the post office was changed to "Eagletown" on December 16, 1892, with Jefferson Gardner as postmaster.—George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948).



The missionary addressing the Choctaw girl.

One day the missionary of Bethabara asked her how she felt when she was lying in her shed alone, as she sometimes was. She answered in Choctaw, "When my father and my mother are out any where, I direct my prayers and my thoughts continually to my Father who is in heaven."

Missionary. Do you pray for others as well as yourself?

Child. I do; I pray for all my brothers, sisters, friends, and people.

Actual size of page and print from the book, *The Choctaw Girl*.

and the crossing on the Mountain Fork "Bethabara." Nothing remains of the mission at this historic site yet it is frequented today by many visitors who go there to see the old "Choctaw Governor's Mansion"⁵ on grounds up from the one-time crossing on the river and the "Big Cypress" which still stands as an ancient landmark in McCurtain County.

⁵ This was the residence of the late Jefferson Gardner who was elected and served as Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, 1894-1896. Nearby stood the court house for Eagle County, one of the nineteen counties organized in the Choctaw Nation in 1850, where county court was held by the Choctaw Indians until their government was closed when Oklahoma became a state.

The Choctaw Girl is a rare item for its human interest story and glimpse of life around the first mission on the Mountain Fork. Sixteen well worn pages in the little book prove that it has been read many times. On the yellowed page of the inside, front cover is the faded inscription in ink "Mount Pleasant—S.S. Library," showing that it was once in the library of some Sunday school, probably in Pennsylvania, where Tewah Hokay's story was read long ago, in part as follows:

THE CHOCTAW GIRL

"The tribe of Indians called Choetaws lived, until a few years ago, in the bounds of the state of Mississippi, in the southwestern part of the United States. Ministers were sent, in 1818, to preach the gospel to them, and to teach their children. They had several churches and schools for them, and many of the Indians had become disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ.

"But in the year 1831 this tribe began to move to another part of the country. Their new home was several hundred miles west of the river Mississippi. There they had to clear their fields, and build their huts; and in the course of two or three years, there were fifteen thousand of these Choetaws settled in their little villages.

"The missionary ministers and teachers went along with them; and again they built ehurehes and opened schools, to instruct the Indians in the gospel.

"Among those who went first to the new settlement was an Indian and his wife, who had not long before become Christians. They took their children, several of whom were scholars in the missionaries' school. One of these was a little girl, whose name, in the Choctaw language, was TEWAH-HOKAY.⁶ She was then nine years old. While they were traveling to the west, this child had a fall, which injured her back. From that time she suffered very much, and was scarcely able to do anything, or even help herself. It must have been very painful to her to have to travel so far in this condition. But all the family arrived at the end of their journey, and took up their abode in a village which was called *Bethabara*, from the place in Judea where John the Baptist preached and baptized. Here a church was soon formed, which had one hundred and thirteen Indian communicants. There were also five Sunday-schools and five common schools in different parts of the Choctaw settlement.⁷

"But young Tewah-hokay was not able to go to school, and as her father and mother could not speak English, she could only use the Indian language. But the missionaries and her pious parents

⁶ The meaning of this Choctaw name in English refers to the little girl's broken back, from *tiwa*, "burst open," and *oke*, "it is so," a final, positive statement.

⁷ The church at Bethabara was organized on October 19, 1832, with 56 members. The average number attending the preaching services of Mr. Williams was

could talk to her in Indian, and they taught her to love God, and believe in Jesus Christ. And this afflicted child was glad to hear of the Savior, and did not, like some children, refuse to become his disciple.

"She continued to grow worse, until, in 1834, her condition was very distressing. Her back was painful; she had large ulcers on her body, which produced a burning and wasting fever. Her parents were very poor, and could not give her the comforts which most children have when they are sick. During the day she used to be under a shed, near the house. Her only bedstead was some boards placed a few feet from the ground; and instead of a soft bed for her poor, sore body, she had nothing under her but one blanket. Another blanket covered her, and some rags, or a bundle of cotton, were her pillow Yet she did not complain, and she was willing to suffer all that her heavenly Father chose to appoint to her before he should take her to heaven. The missionaries and other Christian friends went to see her, and did what they could for her. And her father and mother nursed her as well as they were able.

"One day she said to her mother, 'Though I am afflicted with these sores, yet my Father above may pity me, as he did Lazarus. Oh that I might become as Lazarus! who, though he died in great distress, was saved in heaven.'

"It will be remembered that these were not her own words, for she could not speak English, but they are the sense of what she said in Choctaw.

"Her sufferings continued to increase during the summer, and her strength was fast wasting away The missionary knew that several religious persons had been to see her and pray with her, and thought that perhaps she might be flattered, as young persons often are, and led to think that they are remarkably good. He therefore asked her if she did not think she was a good child? She quickly answered, 'I do not think so.'

"Observing her looking very earnestly at her mother, he asked her if she loved her; to which she replied, 'I do indeed love my mother.' He then said, 'Which do you love best, your mother or the Lord Jesus Christ?' To this she at first said, 'I love Jesus better than I

150, the largest number, 500. The five schools by 1835 were: Bethabara (1832), Loring S. Williams, Missionary; Wheelock (1832), Alfred Wright, Missionary (18 miles east of Fort Towson); Clear Creek (1833), Ebenezer Hotchkin, Missionary (about 8 miles west of Wheelock); Bek Tuklo (1834), Henry R. Wilson, Missionary (about 7 miles southeast of Wheelock); Bethel (1834), Samuel Moulton, Missionary (about 5 miles southwest of Wheelock). Some 2,000 Choctaws had settled in country around Wheelock, calling for the additional schools there. The Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury arrived at Pine Ridge Mission in 1836, having selected the site about 2 miles from Doaksville in 1835. The Rev. Alfred Wright (native of New England) was the leader and head of the Choctaw missions, West, under the auspices of the American Board, with their organization beginning in 1832.



Choctaw girl addressing her brothers.

love my mother:' then added, as if she feared she would be understood to say she did not love her mother, 'My love to my mother is not so strong as it is to Jesus.' He then asked her mother if she thought this was right. 'Yes,' said the pious woman, with a smile of pleasure, 'I am glad to hear her say so. I think no one taught her this but Jesus. I rejoice that she loves Jesus more than me.' "

"A few days before her death she was removed to a new hut in the woods. She was then very weak, and not able to speak much. But before leaving the old place, she addressed her brothers, who were to remain there, in this manner. 'My brothers, I go before you, while you remain in this world. O my beloved brothers, this is the day of my parting from you! O that my brothers and sisters, while they remain in this world, would trust in God alone, so that we should meet with joy in another day! Should I stay at this house, you would see me when I die; but as I am going to another house to die, you may not see me. However, do not mourn and afflict yourselves. My beloved brothers, follow me!'

"In this state of mind she continued until the last day of July, 1834, when she ceased to breathe. She was then twelve years old. Just before she died she said to her parents, 'My father, my mother, do you still continue to love one another. This is the day of our separation. Thus I die; soon I shall see you no more. But do not grieve and mourn. I think I shall surely reach that blissful place above. It is said, although the poor man lay at the gate, (meaning Lazarus), yet his heavenly Father had compassion on him. O that he would pity me!'

"Who of the readers of this little history has not more blessings in this world than this Choctaw girl? And who of them is as contented as she was?"

IMMIGRANTS IN THE CHOCTAW COAL INDUSTRY

By Stanley Clark

The coal mining industry in the Choctaw Nation, 1871-1907, not only stimulated railroad development and the growth of towns but also attracted hundreds of emigrants directly from the shores of Europe to Indian Territory.¹

When the Katy railroad first tapped the rich coal deposits in the McAlester-Krebs field, local labor or recruits from the railroad construction gangs were employed in the stripping operations. With the development of slope or shaft mines after 1873, skilled miners were imported. These men were of American, English, Irish, Scotch and Welsh descent mainly from the coal fields of Pennsylvania.

The first Italians recruited for the mines arrived at McAlester in 1874; by 1883 it was estimated 300 families were in the Krebs-McAlester area. Lithuanians in 1875 and Slovaks in 1883 were brought from the coal fields of Illinois and Pennsylvania. A colony of French came directly from Europe to Lehigh in 1881; later, came natives from the silver mines of Mexico.

Until the 1890's the principal mining leases were controlled by railroad interests. Various methods were used to recruit mine workers. In the beginning workers were shipped into the Territory by chartered railroad cars. Later, recruits were furnished transportation tickets and railroad fares were collected in installments from the miners' earnings.

Mining company agents also encouraged steamship lines to channel part of their steerage burden toward the Choctaw Nation. Until federal legislation was passed in 1890 prohibiting contract labor, mining companies furnished steamship tickets and expenses to European emigrants recruited for their mines, with the costs taken monthly from earnings.

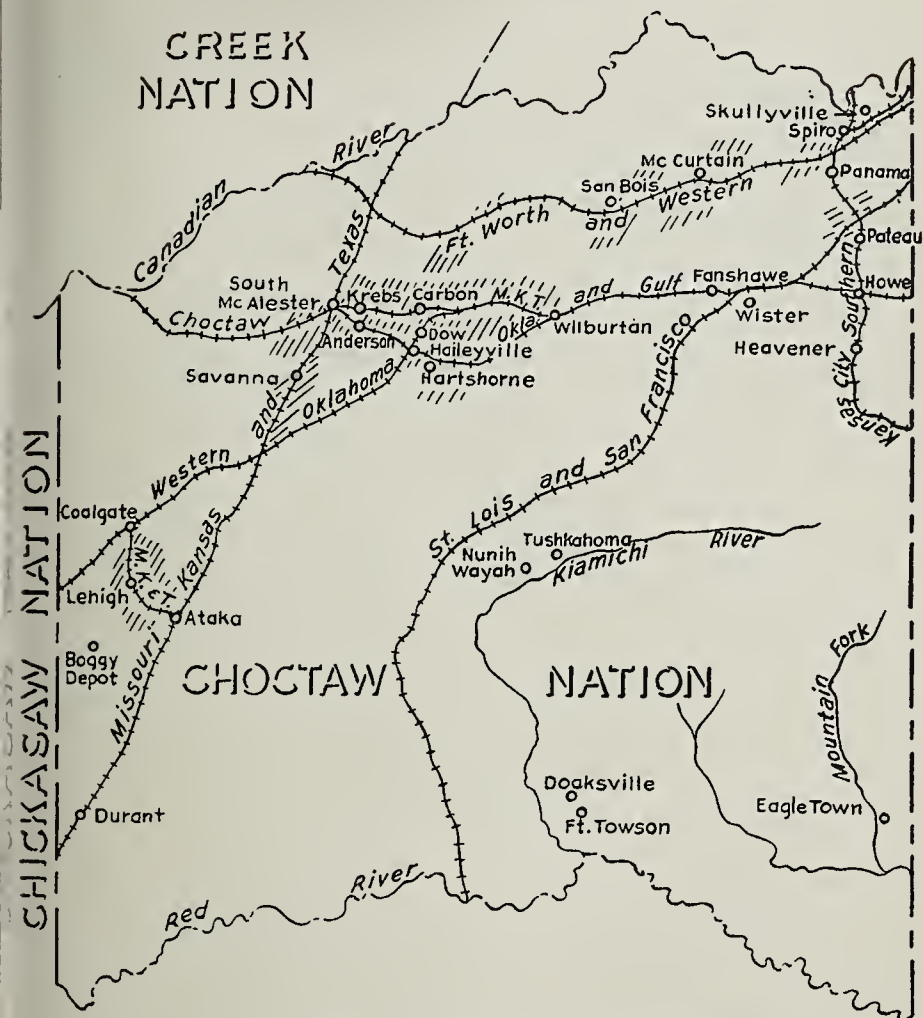
¹The basis for this and subsequent paragraphs is "The Bituminous Coal Mining Industry in the Southwest," Vol. II, part IV, pp. 1-126 in Bituminous Coal Mining (II Vols.) in *Immigrants In Industries*. This is volume 7 in the *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Senate Document 633, 61 Congress, 2nd Session (Washington, 1911). General tables of statistics pertaining to part IV, *The Southwest* appear in II, pp. 470-519.

Immigrants In Industries, published in 25 parts, comprised a remarkable series of studies from congressional investigations into the anatomy and pathology of American economy. It was one of the earliest attempts on the part of congress to subject the economics of business to public investigation and modification in the light of documented facts.

Data on the Southwest pertains to a study in 1908 of conditions in Indian Territory or Oklahoma and Kansas, compiled by on-site interviews and statistics on conditions in the coal fields during previous years.

CHEROKEE NATION

CREEK NATION



RAILROADS IN RELATION TO COAL FIELDS
CHOCTAW NATION-1904

After 1890 the companies let it be known among the miners that anyone who wished to bring in relatives or friends could do so, providing two or more workmen guaranteed the monetary advance. By this method many of the immigrants were able to have their wives and families join them. This practice was followed by the Italians, and it was estimated there were approximately 10,000 scattered among the coal mining communities of Indian Territory by 1907.

In 1889 there were 1862 miners employed in the Choctaw Nation; in 1902, the number had increased to 4763 and by 1907, to more than 8000. A sampling of 3349 male employees in the coal fields made the following year revealed that 1200 were native born of native fathers, 286 were native born of foreign fathers and 1863, or a fraction more than 55 per cent, were foreign born. Of the 1863 miners born outside the United States, less than 12 per cent were English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, and German. More than 41 per cent of the foreign born were Italians.

There was a shift from miners of English-speaking countries in the 1870's and 1880's to Europeans in the 1890's and early 1900's.² There are several reasons why emigrants from Great Britain were replaced by Europeans. Although during the 1870's and 1880's the majority of miners were of English, Irish, Scotch or Welsh stock, these groups became dissatisfied with frontier conditions. Family pressure diverted many back to more settled communities where their children could find employment or take advantage of public education denied in the Choctaw Nation. Mine operators found the English, Irish, Scotch, and Welsh stock produced the best miners but also produced the chief trouble makers during periods of strikes in the 1880's and 1890's. Some of these skilled miners had been prominent in labor disputes in the East; they, likewise, were leaders in labor reform movements in the Territory. The Italians, Russians, other Slovaks, Poles, Maygars, and Lithuanians were more easily satisfied with living and working conditions.

Many of those members of the English-speaking races who remained in the mining industry became superintendents of mines, bosses, foremen, company or day men who held specialized or skilled positions. An exception were the Negro strike-breakers shipped into the Territory during periods of labor trouble in 1894 and 1898. The majority of miners engaged directly in the production of coal, paid by the ton for coal produced, were European immigrants.

The majority of the Europeans imported to work in the Choctaw coal mines had no previous mining experience but more skilled miners came directly from Europe to the Choctaw Nation than to any other bituminous coal mining regions of the United States. A list of

² See *Appendix A* for Table I for Percent of Foreign-Born in Coal Mining District, 1908, taken from "The Bituminous Coal Mining Industry in the Southwest," II, part IV, p. 11 in *Immigrants In Industries*.

employees indicates that a high proportion of those who entered the Choctaw coal mining industry had previous mining experience in their country of nativity.³

Population figures at statehood in 1907 for six selected cities indicate the concentration of foreign-born in coal mining areas of the Choctaw Nation. McAlester was a city with 8144 inhabitants. More than one in four was foreign-born. 900 were born in Italy, 250 in Lithuania, 275 in England, 200 in Ireland, 175 in Scotland, 75 in Wales, 50 in Germany, 50 in Poland, and 125 in other European countries.

The neighboring town of Krebs, staunch rival of McAlester for the county seat, had a population of 1508. The town and environs numbered approximately 3000 of whom 1550 were foreign-born: 1100 Italians, 200 Lithuanians, 75 Poles, 75 Syrians, 50 Irish, and 50 of other nationalities.

The population of the nearby mining camp of Alderson was more than doubled by the arrival of 325 immigrants in 1895. The special census at statehood credited Alderson with 517 inhabitants, including 120 Italians, 55 Lithuanians, 50 Poles, and 45 Slovaks.

Hartshorne, 17 miles east of McAlester, was established in 1889 and by 1900 more than one-half of its estimated population of 1800 was foreign-born. The first Italians came to this important mining center in 1890, and invited friends from Europe. Lithuanians, Poles, and Russians employed in constructing the roadbed for the Choctaw Coal and Railway Company transferred to the mines. They, likewise, won European recruits of their nationalities. Hartshorne had a population of 2435 at statehood which included 300 Italians, 500 Lithuanians, 300 Poles, Russians, Slovenes, and Bulgarians, and approximately 100 English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, and Mexicans.

Lehigh, first seat of Coal County, had a population of 2188, according to the special census of 1907.⁴ Approximately 800 were immigrants, divided according to nationalities as follows: Italians, 350; French, 250; Mexican, 100; Slovak, 50; and Magyar, 50.

Coalgate, founded by immigrants from Lehigh in 1890, was a city with 2921 inhabitants at statehood. It was estimated this number had increased to 3500 by the following year. More than 1500 were foreign-born. Here lived 600 Italians, 400 French, 150 Slovaks, 200 Magyars, fifty or more of other European nationalities, and 150 Mexicans.

³ See *Appendix B* for data from "The Bituminous Coal Mining Industry," *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁴ The French colony in and about Lehigh and Coalgate was estimated to be about 900 by 1894. Many owned homes and were in business. In the unsuccessful strike that year, Negroes were brought in as strike breakers and many of the French leaders were forced to leave the Choctaw Nation.

Few records are left of these our alien pioneers who through brawn and skill cut slopes and shafts into the green hills of the Choctaw Nation. And as their mounting slag piles scarred the hillsides and muddied clear running streams with the industrial silt of progress their folkways, living conditions, and customs introduced social changes to the Indian nation.

Joseph Lanchet, a young French immigrant, on May 13, 1884 wrote this brief impression of Lehigh:⁵

About nine or ten miles from Atoka is the mining camp of Lehigh. All the coal mines I have seen in the Indian Territory, thus far, are in the Choctaw Nation. The country occupied by that tribe contains not only magnificent forests and fertile prairies, where the grass grows five feet tall but on the bosom of the earth there are incalculable mineral riches yet untouched.

All the miners are white people and belong to several European nations. There are a good many Italians, a few Germans and Belgians, very few Frenchmen. A good workman earns from three to five dollars a day. That seems pretty good. But the miner is about the only member of his family, if he has one, that works, except when the boys get to be about twelve years old, then they begin to earn something themselves. Meanwhile the whole family lives on his sole earnings, and in these parts most of life's commodities are very high in price, higher than in France, except for meat. Raw meat, I mean, for when it is cooked it costs as much as in the old country; and to more effectively prevent him from growing rich there are frequent breakdowns, lock-outs, strikes, etc. Notwithstanding all this, an industrious, sober, prudent miner may save a little money, but I have not yet heard of anyone having got rich at this hard labor.

During the 1870's and 1880's when mining operations in the Territory centered about Krebs, Savanna, and Lehigh, the mining companies which controlled the townsites, buildings, and mining properties, were railroad affiliates. Wages were low, employment seasonal, accidents common, and workingmen's compensation laws unknown. Samuel Gompers' description of mining conditions in the East a decade later could aptly apply to this earlier period in the Choctaw Nation where children "were brought into the world by a company doctor, lived in a company house or hut, were nurtured by the company store laid away in a company graveyard."

Hillsides were blighted by the drab, unpainted company houses which rented for \$1.80 to \$2.00 a room per month. Such dwellings usually had two, sometimes three 12x12 foot rooms; the kitchen, utilized for cooking and eating purposes by day became a bedroom by night. Many of the miners had large families; some kept single men as boarders or roomers. Among certain nationalities it was customary to include one of the following accommodations with the nominal price of lodging: (1) Coffee or soup was served once a day; (2) the lodger was allowed the privilege of cooking his food on the kitchen stove; (3)

⁵ Joseph Lanchet, "Diary of A Young French Immigrant," in article, "Sacred Heart Mission and Abbey," edited by Joseph B. Thoburn, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. V, No. 2 (June, 1927), pp. 238-50.

the housewife bought the lodger's food, had the price charged to his account at the company store, and prepared the food for him.

Company stores issued scrip and carried charge accounts against the twice-monthly wages. Later when Syrians or members of other races opened independent stores in the communities the miners were free to patronize these stores. Between pay days, however, no employee was paid in cash and the only way he could get supplies was to draw scrip against his wages or get a store order, negotiable only at the company store.

Mining companies insisted that powder and other explosives be purchased from the company store. These were precautionary measures imposed because of differences in the quality of powder and explosives; familiarity with the use of standard brands served as safety measures.

Miners were paid in cash. An average fee of \$1.00 per month was deducted for the company doctor and in most camps ten cents per month as a "hospital fee," viz., for emergencies from mine accidents. The company also deducted from wages a twenty-five cent monthly charge by the Choctaw government for a non-citizen resident permit.

With strong allegiance to their "Mother Country", it was natural for the immigrants to introduce societies and fraternal orders into the Choctaw communities. Slovaks belonged to the First Catholic Union and the National Slovak Association; Mexicans, to the National Beneficial Society; Italians, to La Minature, Vittorio Emanuel II, and Christiforo Colombo; Poles, to the National Polish Society. The Greek Orthodox Church at Hartshorne was reputed to be the only church of that faith between St. Louis, Missouri and Galveston, Texas. Mine owners complained during the 1890's of the number of wakes and weddings, holy days or holidays, fiestas and other celebrations which took miners away from their work.

A resident of Savanna in the mid-eighties has commented on the fusion of nationalities there:⁶

In the main the employees were composed of Americans, English, Welsh, Scotch and Irish, with a few Germans and French. Those were the days in which the term "skilled miner" was a reality. The countries represented produced skilled miners. It is a tribute to these groups of mixed nationalities that all entered into the spirit of any gala occasion and that racial differences, if any, were forgotten. A song of that period sung in unison after the day's work was completed, supper over, and a convivial band gathered at the home of an

⁶ Gomer Gower in *Foreman Collection, Indian-Pioneer History*, Volume 84, pp. 279-282. This collection of 120 volumes, Oklahoma Historical Society, consists of interviews made with pioneers in 1937-1938.

accommodating neighbor, who, very thoughtfully, provided a keg of "Choc" to stimulate the vocal cords, ran thus:

"Show me a Scotchman who loves not the thistle,
Show me an Englishman who loves not the rose.
Show me a true-hearted son of old Erin
Who loves not the land where the Shamrock grows."

On St. Patrick's day the Irish were joined in the festivities commemorating the day by all other groups.

On January 25 each year, Bobby Burns' birthday was celebrated by the Scotch when, in addition to the recital of his poems by those who knew them well, such Scotch songs as "Scots Who Hae' Wi' Wallace Bled," "The Maid of Dundee," "Annie Laurie" were sung, and mayhap, a comparatively recent arrival from the Highlands who had brought along his bagpipes would skirl out the Highland Fling while couples performed Scottish folk dances.

The Welsh celebrated Saint David's day and with their inimitable group singing would the welking ring with songs in their native tongue.

A European tradition that wine and beer are excellent refreshment substitutes for water was not abandoned by the miners. Prohibition laws of the Choctaws were ignored. In some instances, wives added to the family income in mining communities through the manufacture and sale of Choctaw beer. Indian agents repeatedly took note of the liquor problem in reports to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, none more forcibly than Dew M. Wisdom who wrote in 1894:⁷

"The sale of Choctaw beer, a drink compounded of barley, hops, tobacco, fishberries, and a small amount of alcohol, is manufactured without stint in many portions of this agency, especially in the mining communities. Many miners insist it is essential to their health, owing to the bad water usually found in mining camps, and they aver they use it rather as a tonic or medicine than as a beverage, and this idea, that it is a proper tonic, is fostered and encouraged by some physicians. But it is somewhat remarkable as a fact in the scientific world that the water is always bad in the immediate mining centers, but good in the adjacent neighborhoods."

The immigrant miners, living on the fringe of poverty, were never free from the danger of maiming accidents. Too often, as a

⁷ Dew M. Wisdom, "Report of Union Agency, August 28, 1894," pp. 140-145, in *Annual Report of the Secretary of Interior, House Executive Document 1, 53 Congress, 3rd Session* (Washington, 1894, Serial 3306). Angie Debo, in the *Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, 1934), has traced congressional legislation which March 1, 1895 made illegal not only the sale but the manufacture of intoxicants in the Indian country. Several interviews with pioneers recorded in the Indian-Pioneer collection (Foreman Papers, Oklahoma Historical Society) relate devious means by which intoxicants reached mining centers. V. V. Masterson, in *The Katy Railroad and The Last Frontier* (Norman, 1952), pp. 228-29 indicates, from an examination of waybills of the railroad in the 1870's and 1880's, that much whiskey reached the mining communities. The potency of Choctaw beer, good food and wine at Krebs continued as more than a tradition long after statehood.

writer of the period recorded, "seeking bread, they found a grave". Governmental statisticians reported in 1906 that "for each life lost, 73,000 tons of coal are mined in Indian Territory, 149,000 in Colorado, 241,000 in Arkansas, 174,500 tons in the United States". In the following year, Kansas mined 231,315 tons for each life lost; Oklahoma, only 67,002 tons.⁸

Official governmental reports of the period reveal the terrible toll exacted by this hazardous industry. Here are random examples of accidents which caused personal injury or death during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895.⁹

- August 8—Frank Place (Lithuanian); fatal; coupling link broke causing trip to break loose on slope, running back on him and killing him instantly; Alderson; Choctaw, Oklahoma & Gulf Railway Company's slope.
- October 1—David John (Welsh), inside foreman, age 34 years, left leg broken above ankle; struck by wheels of pit car which had fallen down shaft, he being near bottom of shaft; Krebs; Osage Coal & Mining Company's shaft number 11½.
- October 4—Antone Benedictchick (German), miner, age 23 years; thigh broken; loose coal fell on him while undermining it; Alderson slope mine.
- October 13—Richard Whalen (American), strip pit boss, age 41 years; face and hands badly burned and sight partially destroyed; explosion of powder while preparing shot; Lehigh; Atoka Coal & Mining Company's strip pits.
- October 15—Henry Sherwood (English), miner, age 30 years; burned about face, neck, arms and hands; explosion of fire damp caused by his taking in naked lamp after being warned of the presence of gas; Alderson slope mine.
- October 25—John Constatto (Italian), driver, age 21 years; small bone in arm broken; arm caught between bar and pit car; Coalgate; Southwestern Coal and Improvement Company's mine number 4.
- October 26—Mose Fennell (English) miner, age 47 years. Fracture of vertebra, causing complete and permanent paralysis; fall of slate while propping roof of room; Galbraith's slope.
- November 10—Joseph Jung (German) slope cleaner, age 66 years. Fracture and paralysis of vertebra; struck by pit car; Krebs; Osage Coal & Mining Company's shaft number 2.
- November 16—George Rachel (Hungarian) miner, age 38 years; burned on face and hands; carried naked lamp into face of No. 72 west entry, exploding fire damp, after being warned. Krebs, mine No. 2.
- November 21—John Hamilton (Colored) miner, age 40 years; killed instantly; went back to examine shot which had hung fire; when it exploded, killing him. Hartshorne mine No. 1.

⁸ "Report of the Select Committee to Investigate Matters Concerned with Affairs in the Indian Territory." *Senate Report* 5013, part II, p. 1830, 59 Congress, 2 Session (Washington, 1907, Serial 5063) and *Immigrants In Industries, op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁹ "Accidents Causing Personal Injury or Death in and Around Coal Mines in Indian Territory from June 30, 1894 to June 30, 1895," pp. 657-658, in *Annual Report of the Condition of the Coal Mines in the Indian Territory*. Report of the Secretary of Interior, *House Document* 5, 54 Congress, 1 Session (Washington, 1895. Serial 3383). This is the second annual report on the subject, prepared by Luke W. Bryan, Mine Inspector for Indian Territory. Note the wide variations listed for ages of the injured miners (13-66), the different nationalities.

February 25—James Frame (Scotch) trapper, age 13 years; simple fracture of left arm; struck by bumper of car; Krebs mine No. 10.

March 1—Peter Marco (Italian) miner, age 40 years; chest and back bruised from fall of top slate. Krebs mine No. 11.

March 12—Louis Morofski (Polander) miner, age 34 years; fatal. This man mistook a shot which had been fired by another miner for his, and went back to the face, when the shot went off, killing him instantly. Hartshorne mine No. 1.

April 16—Frank Vesnick (Austrian) miner, age 33 years and John Seclioski (Austrian) miner, age 26 years; severely burned about head, arms, and body. These men were injured by an explosion of fire damp which had collected in a fall of top, near face. They had been furnished with safety lamps and instructed to use them, but disregarded their instructions and went to the face with naked lamps which ignited the gas and caused their injuries. They had also been instructed to wear shirts at this work and this neglect aggravated their injuries. Hartshorne mine No. 1.

May 21—Jordon Groter (Colored) miner, age 49 years, burned about face and hands; James Gordon (Colored) miner, age 41, burned about face and hands; Peter Cameron (Polander) miner, age 28, burned about face, hands, arms and back; Frank R. Sannons (Polander) miner, age 38, burned about face, hands, and chest; Joe Obert (Italian) miner, age 28, burned from head to hips, fatally. These five men were all injured by an explosion of fire damp in the Alderson Slope mine, in room No. 31, which room had been known to have developed some fire damp; room had been marked with cautionary sign indicating that "gas" should be "brushed out" before entering same with naked lights. Sannons and Cameron who were "buddies" were working this room, and Sannons went in with a naked light, in disregard of the rules and caution mark, and placed his naked light on a pile of coal about 6 feet from the face. He then proceeded to brush out the "gas", brushing it right onto the lamp when it immediately exploded, burning Cameron and himself as described. Obert, Groter and Gordon were passing along the entry in front of the mouth of room No. 31 and were badly burned as described, Obert's injuries terminating fatally."

Accidents in the territorial mines gave these mines the reputation of being the most dangerous in the United States. Many accidents resulted from roof cave-ins, falling coal, explosions from fire damp, and premature blasts. Others frequently occurred around the pit cars and from carelessness in handling hoisting machinery. During a five-year period from June 30, 1894, there were 297 recorded accidents in the coal mines of the Choctaw Nation that resulted in the loss of life or limb, or disfigurement; ninety-five of these were fatal.

Major disasters, that is, accidents that took the lives of five or more miners, were chiefly the result of fire damp, explosions from gas and dust. Ignorance of safety measures and a common disregard for danger were contributing causes to these early disasters. The rich bituminous character of the coal caused it to give off a large quantity of fine coal dust at the working faces and, as these faces were usually drier than other parts of the mine, the dust became explosive. This was especially true in the winter months. At any rate, all major disasters in the Choctaw Nation occurred from December to May.

Typical of the indifference of miners to this danger is the thought expressed in this recollection:¹⁰

Up until the year 1885, miners fired their own shots, and it was a common occurrence for them to hold onto the props and rails to keep from being blown away by Windy Shots at firing time, and it is here the term 'Windy Shot' originated Not knowing the danger, we used to laugh when coal dust was blown into our ears, eyes, nose and mouth but the laugh soon changed to horror, for on the 2nd day of February, 1885 an explosion occurred in Mine No. 1, Savanna in which one man lost his life and a number were severely burned. In the same month a Windy Shot burned a number of men in Mine No. 10, Krebs, and in the following month in Mine No. 7, Krebs, when the miners were firing their own shots an explosion occurred which killed thirteen men. Windy Shots were beginning to get serious. Shot firers were (later on) employed to fire the shots in the rooms."

One hundred eighty-seven miners lost their lives in major disasters between March, 1885 and April, 1906; all but twenty were killed as the result of the explosion of gas and dust. During the same period more than two hundred were killed in accidents involving less than five fatalities.¹¹

Two major disasters of the period may be cited in which the courage and fortitude of miners was portrayed. On the night of April 4, 1885 a terrific blast rocked the mining community of Savanna. Six men were trapped in slope No. 2. Entrance was blocked and rescue workers had to force an entry from slope No. 1. Ten men were chosen from the anxious volunteers to form a rescue team. Four were overcome by the gas fumes or after-damp. Nine more volunteers went forward; only two survived. A third group forced an entry; one of this heroic squad succumbed to the fumes. Thus twelve men suffered tragic but heroic death in the attempt to reach the bodies of their six comrades. Men of greater valor never lived in Indian Territory.¹²

No greater disaster ever occurred in Indian Territory than the explosion at Mine No. 11, Krebs, January 7, 1892. At this time the Osage Coal and Mining Company furnished employment to more than 500 miners. Shot firers were employed to fire the shots in the rooms but miners working in the slopes and entries fired their own shots. About 5 p.m., as the day shift was being brought up, six at a time, a shot was fired near an airway intake that caused a terrific explosion. The engine house was wrecked. The cage shot up, followed by dust and smoke. Almost 300 men were trapped five hundred feet below.

¹⁰ From a speech delivered by Pete Hanraty at Scranton, Pennsylvania in 1908 before the Mine Inspector's Institute of the United States, in *First Annual Report of the Chief Mine Inspector for the State of Oklahoma*.

¹¹ Jim Hughes, State Labor Commissioner, addressed a letter to the Twenty-First Legislature in 1947 in which he listed 27 major disasters when 5 or more men were killed from 1885-1945. All occurred within the confines of the Choctaw Nation, ten before statehood. These disasters took a toll of 603 lives. Of this number 583 were killed in accidents caused by the explosion of gas and dust.

¹² Memorial services are observed annually at the Knights of Pythias cemetery, Savanna, for the victims of this disaster.

Again, those fearful ones, wives, children, friends, and relatives gathered at the scene while miners from the area and as far away as Lehigh came forward to join in the rescue attempt. Instead of hours, this took days. A minimum estimate of the number killed was 68; more than twice that number were maimed or burned. At least thirty-one women were made widows and eighty-one children fatherless by the explosion. Here, again, the emigrant miners showed a trait exemplified as a frontier characteristic: Miners at Lehigh and other points in the Territory donated a day's wages to the injured survivors and the relatives of those killed.¹³

After this disaster mining companies immediately installed safety measures, required by the Congressional Act of March 3, 1891.¹⁴ Typical were the regulations posted by the Osage Coal and Mining Company one month after the explosion. These provided that coal in entries or other narrow work under 12 feet wide was to be undercut to the full depth of holes drilled for blasting, and that shot-firers were not to fire any shots unless coal was cut as specified. Only one shot was to be fired at a time and the following shot was not to be fired until the smoke from the preceding blast had cleared away. No shot was to be fired while anyone other than shot-firers was in the mine. Only enough powder for one day's use was to be stored in the mine at anytime; it was to be kept in air-tight cans in a closed, locked box at least 300 feet distant from any working face.¹⁵

The following excerpts from reminiscences of miners who worked in the Choctaw mines during the 1880's and 1890's give a glimpse of working conditions:¹⁶

. . . . Take our lamps, for instance. A lamp was a sort of can with a spout; a cotton wick went through the spout down into the can. We burned kerosene, or a thick black oil called Black Jack, or a sort of grease called lard oil. The light flickered and smoked and the hot oil dripped on a man's arms and scalded them, or soaked into his hair and made him bald.

. . . . The company store sold lard oil and kerosene for our lamps but we could swipe Black Jack, a thick oil, at the engine house. Lots of us burned Black Jack. A man never needed to get a hair-cut; that stuff kept our hair burned off.¹⁷

. . . . We set our own shots. We didn't have fuses but used a home made contraption called a squib. We placed powder for a shot then made a hole through the dirt to the powder with a long needle; next came the squib, then we'd light this and run.

Our shots were made with black powder. This was dangerous because black powder makes a flash of fire when it explodes, and was liable to set off an explosion of gas."

¹³ It is unnecessary to point out that workmen's compensation laws were non-existent; that employers were not liable for the act of a fellow servant. *Oklahoma A Guide to the Sooner State*, (Norman, 1942), p. 302, cites interesting material culled from the Indian-Pioneer collection, Foreman Papers, (Oklahoma Historical

... Where we worked all blasting was done 'on solid' which means the vein wasn't undercut. Shooting on the solid makes slack—and we were not paid for slack.

Miners were paid only for lump coal that could pass over a two-inch screen. Tined forks were used for loading and screens for sifting the coal. One expert, William Cameron, expressed the opinion that not more than one-third of the coal mined passed this test, at least thirty per cent was slack.¹⁸

Mine No. 1 at Hartshorne was a shaft mine, about 212 feet deep. When veins come to the top they are called croppings; a slope mine starts at the cropping and follows the vein. If the vein turns downward it is called a pitching vein. A shaft mine is one where a shaft is sunk directly to the vein.

By 1895 there were about 500 men working Mine No. 1. Every thirty-six feet along the entry we would turn a room. A room was about fifty feet wide, five feet high, and went back into the vein sometimes a hundred feet or more—how far depended on a number of things, but we never ran a room through to another entry.

Usually two men worked in a room. If the entry was level we had rooms on both sides. If it sloped we had rooms only on the upper side. It was hard to get coal out of a room that slanted downward.

Most mining underground followed the pattern set forth above. Two men, buddies, sometimes isolated, worked together at the coal face. Invariably buddies were of the same race, oftentimes of same family, Negro with Negro, South Italian with South Italian, Slav with Slav, etc., sometimes a father and son, cousins, or brothers who shared work and pay.

... Ventilation was always a problem. We drove cross-cuts to rooms as aids, and hung doors of canvas into the entry. Our mine had an air shaft for additional ventilation and boys were employed who kept a fire going in a big kettle at the foot of the shaft. The warmed air helped draw circulation.

... We left more coal than we ever took out. We never took more than a third of a vein. The rest was left for support.

... A lack of knowledge of long-wall mining caused us to leave a lot more coal underground than we ever took out. Good, producing properties at Coalgate were abandoned because of squeezes.¹⁹

Society) on Krebs. Mention is made of a drugstore, established in 1888, which, because of numerous injuries associated with the mining industry, stocked vaseline in five hundred pound quantities, raw linseed oil in fifty barrel lots, and iodoform in ten pound lots. The store stayed open night and day for two weeks following the January 7 explosion.

¹⁴ "An Act for the Protection of the Lives of Miners in the Territories," 26 U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 1104-1106.

¹⁵ "Notice," posted by the Osage Coal & Mining Company, February 8, 1892.

¹⁶ These are random samplings from the Foreman Collection of Indian-Pioneer History, 120 volumes (Oklahoma Historical Society).

¹⁷ Carbide safety lamps were introduced into the mines in the 1890's but it was more than ten years before they came into general use.

¹⁸ "Testimony of William Cameron," April 9, 1906, in *Senate Report* 5013, part II, pp. 1786-1802, 59 Congress, 2 Session (Washington, 1907, Serial 5063). Cameron had been engaged in the coal mining industry in the Choctaw Nation for 24 years, 19 years as mining superintendent for the Gould interests or the Missouri-Pacific Railway.

¹⁹ Long wall mining, the use of coal pillars permits maximum production from coal deposits. Where capital investment permits, mining is begun at the end of the vein and workings progress back toward the shaft. This allows the waste to close-up the rooms. This is called "retreating long wall."

Mining conditions in the Territory were conducive to the formation of labor organizations. Skilled miners from Pennsylvania and West Virginia had belonged to unions while those from Europe had a thorough understanding of trade unionism. It was natural, therefore, that the first concerted effort to improve the status of the working man in Indian Territory came from these men.

Dan McLauchlan, Coalgate labor leader in the 1890's, expressed the workingman's viewpoint very ably:²⁰

. . . . The miners know the effect of unreasonable competition. In the past the companies have come to us and said, "The Blank Coal Company has been furnishing a large establishment with coal. If you work for a little less we can get their contract and give you steady work".

We have accepted the reduction only to find that in order to hold the contract we must accept another, and another. And when we could not go any lower, the companies combined and restored the price of coal in the market, but never restored our wages.

We now say to the company: "We will, as near as possible, put you on an equal footing as far as the cost of producing coal is concerned, but if there are to be any reductions they must be made in your dividends. You can get along without your trip to Europe better than we can do without our breakfasts."

Rarely did the Indian Territory miner work more than 160 days during the year. After April 1, 1894 the price miners received for screened coal per ton at Alderson, Lehigh, Hartshorne and Coalgate was reduced from 94 cents to 75 cents; at Krebs, from \$1.02 to \$0.80. The price offered for mine run coal at all points was reduced from 81 cents to 60 cents and day men received an average wage reduction of 20 per cent.²¹ During a series of unsuccessful strikes the miners were warned by the operators that 'a dollar would look as big as a cart-wheel', that the mine owners would see them beg in the street rather than let them back in the mines.

Strikes were countered by the operators with the federal power of injunction, and strikers found they were effectively denied employment in the mines of the Choctaw Nation by the circulation of their names on a 'black-list' among the operators. Another effective deterrent employed by the companies was the eviction of strikers from company houses and the threat of deportation. Choctaw law provided that non-citizens of the Nation should pay twenty-five cents per month for a residence fee. This fee was normally deducted from the earnings of miners and paid by the company. Striking miners automatically became non-paying miners or intruders.

A squeeze is caused by the gradual closing of the workings by the settling of overlapping strata.

Oklahoma folklore suffered an irreparable loss when Frank E. Lorince, Enid, died April 22, 1952. His "Tony Baloney" stories based on early day experiences in the Lehigh area entertained thousands of Oklahomans during his lifetime.

²⁰ *Indian Citizen* (Atoka), January 3, 1891.

²¹ "Annual Report on the Conditions of the Coal Mines in the Indian Territory," *House Executive Document* 1, part 5, p. 515, 53 Congress, 3rd Session (Washington, 1894, Serial 3307).

During the disastrous strike of 1894 federal troops were quartered at Lehigh, Coalgate, Hartshorne, Alderson, and Krebs. The eviction of miners and their families prompted one sympathizer to write: "... in the recent ejection of so-called intruders of Hartshorne, the mantle of disgrace has been thrown over the Stars and Stripes. . . . It is enough to astonish the demons of Hell and make the angelic hosts of Heaven weep!" The British and Italian ambassadors protested to the State Department over the forcible removal from the Choctaw Nation of citizens of those countries during this crisis. They were informed the Choctaw officials had acted within their legal rights.²²

In 1903 mine operators of Indian Territory and states in the area met with union leaders at Pittsburg, Kansas and agreed upon eight hour shifts, recognition of the union, the weighing of coal in pit cars rather than that received by railroad cars, and a satisfactory wage scale. When the contract expired March 15, 1906 it was renewed June 16 at Kansas City and continued in effect after statehood.

The State Constitution, adopted in 1907, and enabling legislation resolved many of the obstacles faced by the imported labor force for the Choctaw mining industry. Although a section of the constitution forbade the appropriation of money to support a Bureau of Immigration and a separate article provided for prohibition, other provisions clarified points that had caused difficulties during the territorial period. Free public schools were made mandatory; a state Department of Labor was established and provision was made for the creation of a Board of Arbitration and Conciliation. The office of Chief Mine Inspector was created; the incumbent to have eight years' actual experience as a practical miner. Enabling legislation caused best safety devices to be put into effect. The eight-hour work day was written into the constitution and boys under sixteen can not be employed underground. The common law doctrine of fellow servant liability was abrogated, every employee of a person, firm, or corporation engaged in mining in the state "shall have the right to recover for every injury suffered by him for the acts or omissions of any employee or employees of the common master that a servant would have if such acts or omissions were those of the master himself in the performance of a non-assignable duty."²³ A Court of Indus-

²² The *Indian Citizen* (Atoka), June 21, 1894; South McAlester *Capital*, June, July issues, 1894; The *Caddo Banner*, June 22, 1894. The editor of the *Banner*, who wanted the Territory opened to white settlement, added this comment: "Agent D. M. Wisdom has at last dumped a few poor miners who were struggling for an honest living for their families, over in Arkansas. If they had been wealthy like the cattle owners who are grazing thousands of heads of cattle, contrary to law, under Agent Wisdom's nose, they never would have been molested."

The *Foreman Transcripts*, Superintendent For Five Civilized Tribes, volume 19 in *Indian Archives Division*, Oklahoma Historical Society, contains correspondence relative to strikes in 1894 and 1898.

²³ *Constitution of the State of Oklahoma*, Article IX, Section 36. See also *Ibid*, Article IX, Sections 12, 33, 42; Article XXIII, Sections 4-5, 7; Article VI, Sections 20, 21, 25; Article V, Section 48; Article XIII, Section 1.

trial Commission was established in 1915 to pass upon claims of injury or death and to administer the state's Workmen's Compensation Act.

No industry or segment of people had a profounder effect upon Oklahoma's organic law, the Constitution, than the Choctaw coal mining industry and the labor force employed in it.

APPENDIX A

TABLE I

Percent of Foreign-Born Males in the Bituminous
Coal Mining District of the Southwest, in 1908

RACE	Number Reporting Complete Data	PERCENT IN UNITED STATES EACH SPECIFIED NUMBER OF YEARS				
		Under 5 Years	5 to 9 Years	10 to 14 Years	15 to 19 Years	20 Years or Over
English	246	11.0	10.2	4.1	6.1	68.7
Scotch	137	9.5	9.5	2.2	4.4	74.5
Irish	92	13.0	7.6	3.3	6.5	69.6
French	212	26.4	23.6	6.6	14.2	29.2
German	181	19.9	13.3	3.9	17.1	45.9
Italian, North	1160	38.4	36.7	9.7	7.9	7.2
Italian, South	427	40.7	35.4	13.3	4.9	5.6
Lithuanian	121	24.0	34.7	17.4	14.0	9.9
Magyar	48	39.6	39.6	6.3	6.3	8.3
Mexican	109	26.6	23.9	22.0	19.3	8.3
Polish	216	39.8	31.0	13.9	8.8	6.5
Russian	106	28.3	37.7	13.2	6.6	14.2
Slovak	128	43.0	27.3	6.3	16.4	7.0
Slovenian	195	40.0	33.3	9.7	9.7	7.2
Total, and Average Percent	3378	33.1	29.9	8.8	9.2	19.0

APPENDIX B

TABLE II

Percent of Foreign-Born Male Employees in
Choctaw Coal Mining Industry, by Occupation
Before Coming to the United States

RACE	Number Report- ing	PERCENT WHO WERE ENGAGED IN:					
		Mining	Farming or Farm Labor	General Labor	Manu- factur- ing	Hand Trades	Other Occu- pations
English	129	87.6	5.4	—0—	.8	3.9	2.3
French	144	90.3	3.5	2.1	1.4	.7	2.1
German	144	65.8	14.9	7.0	.9	8.8	2.6
Italian, North	853	21.6	46.8	19.5	1.2	8.1	2.9
Italian, South	319	9.4	40.1	44.2	.6	2.8	2.8
Lithuanian	109	11.0	65.1	11.0	—0—	11.0	1.5
Mexican	98	71.4	17.3	5.1	—0—	5.1	1.0
Polish	175	33.1	44.6	5.1	1.7	8.0	7.4
Russian	88	13.6	67.0	6.8	6.8	3.4	2.3
Scotch	90	87.8	3.3	3.3	—0—	4.4	1.1
Slovak	122	54.1	34.4	5.7	.8	3.3	1.6
Slovenian	99	53.5	35.4	6.1	—0—	2.0	3.0
Total, or Percent	2340	43.0	34.6	13.2	1.2	5.5	2.5

THE HOOK NINE RANCH IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY

By Ellsworth Collings*

Numerous requests from Oklahoma people have been made for an article on the old Hendrix and Royer ranch, known widely as the Hook Nine Ranch, because the cattle brand was in the shape of the old figure "9" with the hook pointing upward, hooking around the hipbone of the cow. Since this Indian Territory ranch was distinctive, unique and had a definite part in the development of cattle-feeding in the Southwest, the chronicle of the old outfit should be recorded in Oklahoma history.

There has been hesitation on the part of the writer to attempt an account of the Hook Nine Ranch for fear of the inaccuracies that might appear in the manuscript from the fact that slightly more than half a century has elapsed since the ranch was in operation. Then, too, there were no section lines nor townships by which its boundaries might be described.¹ There were few, if any, ranches or settlers near that might be referred to on the map for proper identification and location. No effort will be made to quote the number of acres in the ranch, but the writer will say that it ran from 1,500 to 2,000 cattle the year round.

The ranch was formed by F. D. Hendrix, and C. E. Royer in 1890, as the result of a meeting in Gainesville, Texas, alongside the old Lindsey Hotel. J. D. Hendrix was a 100 per cent cowman, while Royer, a native of Pennsylvania, was more of the student type and a man of business, but was thoroughly intrigued by the cattle business.

Opportunity was great in the Indian Territory in those days. The country was not allotted then and the only settlers in the section were

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¹ From its description given by Dr. Collings, the Hook Nine Ranch was located in the Chickasaw Nation which had been one of the first regions in present Oklahoma, surveyed by the U. S. Government in the 1870's. However, the township lines and the section lines were generally unknown, and ranches lay scattered without surveyed boundaries, over the Chickasaw country until the section lines were rerun by the Dawes Commission land appraising parties in preparation for Indian allotments, beginning in 1897.—Ed.



Headquarters for Hendrix and Royer Ranch, East Timbered Hill, Arbuckle Mountains

along the fertile valley of the Washita and some of the larger creeks tributary to it, where agriculture was beginning to take hold. Cotton was being grown in these sections, with no market for the cottonseed except at Purell and Ardmore, both of which had oil mills. Inland gins had no market for their seed because they had to be hauled by wagon to some point on the Santa Fe and shipped to these mills.

F. D. Hendrix and Royer were firm in the belief that seed could be purchased and fed on the grass to cattle at a profit. Their first year in the Indian Territory was on a small pasture known as the Hog Creek pasture, a few miles northwest of Ardmore, where they tried their experiment of the grass and cottonseed. Finding it profitable, they moved to larger acreage on what was known as the Eph James pasture, just below the mountains. Just above it lay the Arbuckle mountains, with high, rock-covered ridges and low timbered hills. These hills were covered with strong grasses high in mineral content—grama and bunch grass. The region was almost unapproachable from the south. Buzzard Hill, a sort of cap rock for the area, was composed of flat rock that looked as though it had been planted there in windrows by the hand of man, rather than by nature. Those who pass along U. S. Highway No. 77 will recall this queer formation between Ardmore, Springer, and Turner Falls.

Two distinct mountain ridges predominate the area—they were known as the East Timbered Hills and the West Timbered Hills. Because of its roughness and the fact that cowmen were looking farther north for range in the more level country around Ada, and were going to West Texas, the possibilities of the area had been overlooked by cowmen. The partners scouted it and found it to their liking. From the Eph James camp they laid out a road from Springer, which was then located about one mile north and a mile or so west of the present Springer, over Buzzard Hill. For better description, it is located in what is now known as the former Moss Patterson Hereford Ranch. The road was built by knocking off the tops of the slanting flat rock until a 4-mule team and wagon could negotiate it. At the top of the hill, the road bore to the left along the ridge and the east end of the mountain and to the first rick yard established by the ranch.

Headquarters were established on Honey Creek about two miles above Turner Falls in a log cabin that was there when the ranch was established. The headquarters were as primitive as the country. Mr. Hendrix states there was less than ten dollars worth of material, including nails, in the three rooms. The photograph of the ranch headquarters accompanying this article will bear out this statement of cost, with its log walls chunked with mud, clapboard shingles, and mud chimney. The righthand portion of the cabin was used for cooking. The fireplace was used for this purpose during the first years of occupancy. The left wing was filled with bunks for sleeping, and the area between the two rooms was used for loafing (if any). The

leanto on the left end was used as a smokehouse and storeroom. Water was carried from a spring about 50 yards from the corner of the kitchen.²

As long as the ranch operated, the Honey Creek camp was headquarters. It was strictly a "stag camp"—old cowboys do not recall that a woman ever entered its doors.

A huge corral was built just back and a little to the left of the house, that would handle from 500 to 700 cattle. This was split into two corrals by a long branding chute extending almost across it, with a cutting gate at the end, so that branded cattle could be turned into one of them from the chute after branding. Like the balance of the equipment, these pens were built of rails laid between two uprights and well braced. The log saddle and harness room, with a log corn crib, completed the ranch improvements.³

When the ranch had got going good, a camp was built at the West Timbered Hills to care for that section of the ranch. Royer was to use this camp, and it was built somewhat according to his ideas, which in a way resembled some ranches of later dates. It consisted of a log cabin about sixteen feet square for his use, and another detached cabin for cooking and eating. This cabin also contained quarters for a negro man and his wife—the former being a cow hand and his wife attending to the housekeeping. Like the headquarters, this camp was of logs—the only concession to nature being a corrugated sheet iron roof. F. D. Hendrix always objected to the iron roof, saying that it made so much noise he could not sleep when it rained or hailed. No doubt he had in mind the soft patter of rainfall on the sodden and weatherbeaten clapboard roof of the headquarters outfit.⁴ A set of corrals and a branding chute—also of rails and logs, were built. Unlike the headquarters pens, this west camp had a spring and spring branch running through one corner of it. Royer at one time rigged up a primitive shower by driving nail holes into an old bucket which could be drawn over a limb with a rope. He had the negro fill it with ice-cold spring water one cool morning, after which he stripped off and stepped under it. When the cold spring water, mixed with the mountain air, struck him he jumped and let out a yell that could have been heard at the headquarters camp six miles away.⁵ He was a confirmed bachelor, and I do not believe that a woman was ever in his camp.

The ranch was fenced with black jack or post oak posts which were sharpened and driven into the ground with mauls. Getting these posts out was generally done by settlers who would come in and con-

² Interview with John M. Hendrix, June 10, 1946. Mr. Hendrix was a son of H. D. Hendrix, and worked on the Ranch during all the time it was in operation.

³ Interview with H. O. Davis, June 11, 1953.

⁴ Interview with John Russell, May 1949.

⁵ Interview with John M. Hendrix, June 15, 1950.

tract for a mile or so of them, sharpened and strung along the route of the fence, for from four to six cents each. The fences followed no section lines because there were none to follow. The fence line went where the ground was best suited for it and where a post could be driven more easily. In many instances, extra heavy anchor posts were placed on top of the hills and the four wires weighted down until they could be stapled to the post. There was never a pair of post hole diggers on the ranch, but there was a goodly number of crow bars and post mauls.

When the ranch was finally fenced, it constituted almost a small kingdom in a mountain fastness, with few neighbors, and roads and trails. The whole thing was very primitive, and well might be likened to Longfellow's "Forest Primeval." Does dropped their fawns each spring in the black jack motts that dotted the pasture. Flocks of wild turkeys, led by stately gobblers, ate and reared their young among the pecan trees along the streams. Squirrels were as thick as cotton tail rabbits in a West Texas prairie dog town. Every hollow contained a spring branch fed by a bold spring at its head. Bob whites in abundance called to each other in the early morning. Honey Creek gurgled, brawled, and sang its way over the rocks and riffles and into cool, limpid pools, as it made its short way from its spring source down over Turner Falls to its junction with the Washita. The creek was filled with perch of tremendous size, and a mess of trout could be taken with a home-made fly created from a bit of red blanket and a few feathers. After the ranch was settled, the boys caught several otter in the creek. Huge diamond back rattle snakes lived and sunned under the ledges and atop the flat rocks. It was not unusual to kill one of these rusty old fellows that had 17 rattles and a button. A queer species of lizard, eight inches to two feet long, the color of which varies according to the color of the rock it is lying upon, abounded. They were called "mountain boomers." They were a species of chameleon.

Nature supplied most of the ranch needs. It is doubtful, with the exception of barbed wire and salt, that more than one hundred dollars worth of material was ever hauled to the ranch in the eight years the ranch operated. There were no wells, tanks, pipe, or well curbing on the entire ranch. A flat stone at the spring served as a stepping stone and foot rest when a bucket of water was to be dipped up. The headquarters outfit did not boast of a single article of furniture that was not home-made, except a small cook stove. Tables were made from goods boxes, and chairs were of hickory and rawhide. There was not a bedstead or set of springs in the camp. Sturdy two-story bunks, equipped with shuck mattresses made the beds.

Down the Washita Valley ante-bellum Negro families grew their own tobacco and made their own lye from ashes in a hollow log. With it they made the most excellent corn hominy. The seed-haulers got

their supply of both tobacco and hominy for the ranch from these Negroes, in passing their cabins.⁶

If a bridge was needed on a creek or hollow, logs were cut and used; or if a spring branch spread out in the path between rock ledges, creating a bog, by the same processes logs were cut and a corduroy road was built. Even at shipping time the tall hickory saplings along creek and river furnished prod poles, which were cut and seasoned.

Turner Falls was then a hidden beauty spot which at that time had been seen by very few people because of its inaccessibility. Honey Creek rises a mile or so above the Falls, being fed from a series of fine springs, and then drops off over the Falls as the stream seeks its way to the lower level of the Washita. It could be reached easier by riding down the creek bed from the headquarters than in any other way. Otherwise, one had to go around the mountain and down a rough and circuitous canyon trail.⁷

There may be inaccuracies in the writer's description of the ranch; but as to its operation he is on firm ground, for he has the books of the old outfit, which reflect its purchases and sales and expenses for the eight-year period. The "books" consist of three small leather memorandum books such as the commission companies gave their customers in the early 1890's. These bear the imprint "C. M. Keys Livestock Commission Company, Kansas City, Missouri." So far as the writer knows, there were no other books kept on the outfit. It was a fifty-fifty deal, with little or no capital for a start. Its assets consisted of a few saddle horses and half a dozen wagons and teams which had been acquired slowly.

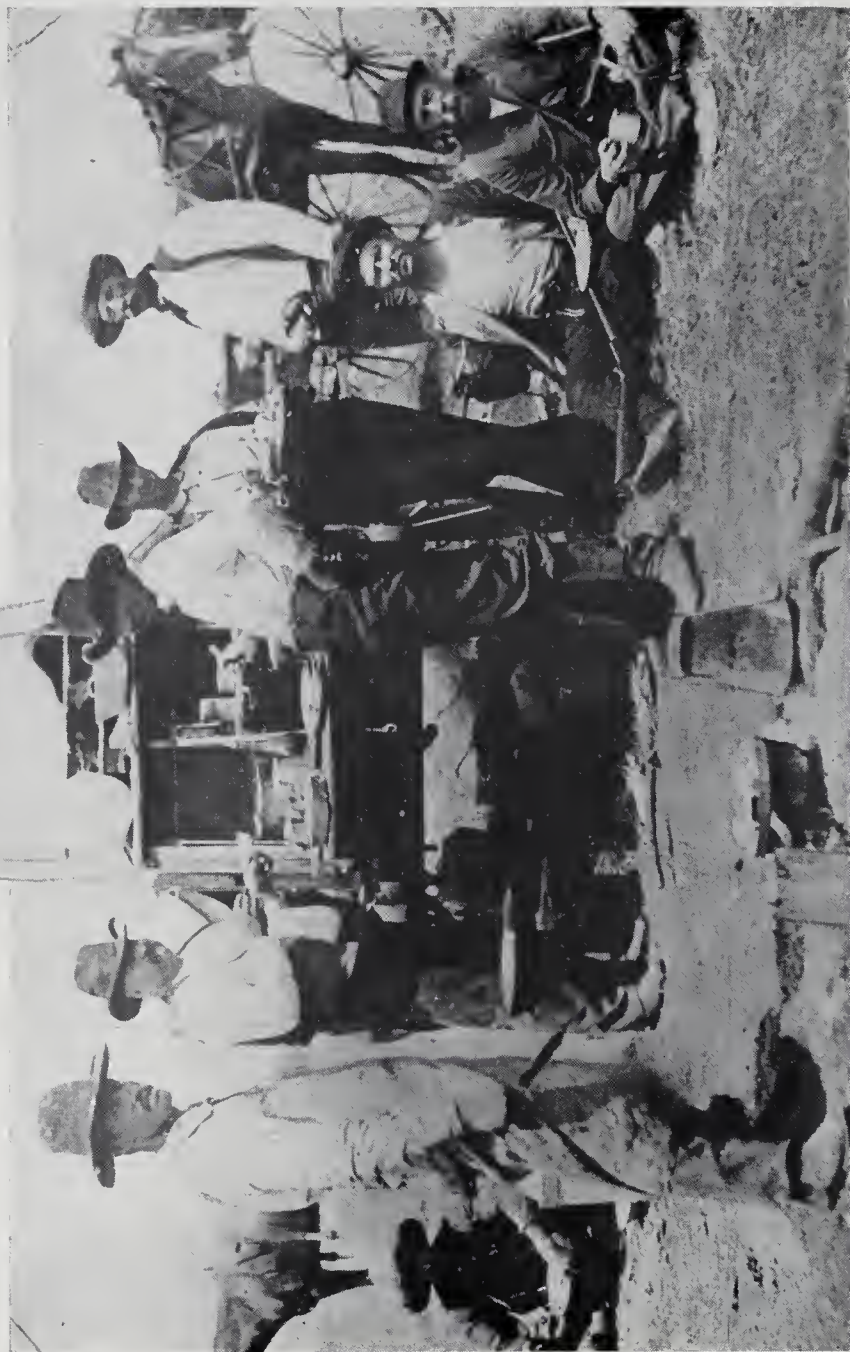
Interesting and humorous was the fact that the first cattle brought to the ranch were twelve head purchased from an old man in the Sivals Bend Country, Texas. Four of these were branded DAMU, another four UDAD, and the other four UFORK—the fork being depicted by a crudely scrawled pitch fork. This must have been an old-time family way of expressing affection or vice versa.

Several buyers or speculators, who had served the firm at Hog Creek, or the Eph James pastures, were commissioned to buy steers for the partners who evidently set up a standard of what they would pay for their cattle, as practically all of the animals seem to have been bought at \$9.00 per head for steer yearlings and \$13.50 for two-year olds.⁸ This method was apparently not successful in securing the cattle needed, so the partners began branching out into Central Texas for their cattle. Records indicate that a man in Caldwell, Texas, in

⁶ Interview with C. R. Russell, January 1952.

⁷ Interview with John W. Williams, Dec. 1945.

⁸ Interview with John M. Hendrix, March 1950.



Hendrix and Royer chuckwagon. Cook with butcher knife, Robert Wheeler. Next to Wheeler, Alva Roff, for whom town of Roff was named. Standing at end of chuckbox, D. D. Hendrix, Ike Morrison leaning against wagon. Standing by Morrison, Bud Parker. Seated, left, Will Childs; right, two visitors, unknown.

1895, assembled a herd of 1,100 head for them at prices quoted above. Another draft came from the Sulphur Springs area; some from Taylor, Texas; and one bunch from Strawn in West Texas. These were a poor type of cattle, as standards go today. There were a multitude of brands and a multitude of colors, but the partners took into consideration the average improvement of cattle moved from South and Central Texas north to the mountains, with its highly nutritious grasses and the fact that they would be wintered heavily on cottonseed.

Early in June each year H. D. Hendrix would take a chuck wagon, horses, and five or six good men, and pull out for the South to receive and bring steers back to the ranch. In addition to the men he brought with him, he usually hired two or three men where the cattle had been received, to assist in getting them out of the country—these turning back at Fort Worth or Gainesville. The herds came in by Gainesville, crossed Red River at Rock Crossing into the Bill Washington country, and on to Caddo Creek just north of Ardmore, and up over the Buzzard Hill to the ranch. Even as early as 1894 or '95, it was not easy to get a herd of cattle out of Central Texas without causing some damage to growing crops. Expense items show where some damages to crops were paid. Sometimes an entire field and crop were purchased and used for a day or two as a holding ground.

At the ranch the steers were allowed a few days' rest after their trail trip; then they went into the long chute to receive the big "9" on their left hip and have the left tip of their horns cut off. This last was a very distinctive type of marking and enabled one to recognize a Hendrix and Royer steer in a round-up instantly. The use of this mark had a tendency to cause the left horns to drop, and as a result, a high percentage of the steers were droop-horn when they grew up. This mark, though, always attracted attention on the Kansas City market. Both ears were undersloped to make them look as uniform as possible. There is no record that any cattle of the several thousand they handled were ever shipped on to the ranch. All were trailed in.⁹ By July 15 of each year, the steers were luxuriating in the summer pasture on the tall bunch grass and were beginning to pick up after the trip and branding.

While Mr. Hendrix had been getting in the cattle, Royer had been busy calling on the gins of the near neighborhood, and contracting for cottonseed. All of his visiting was by horseback. There was never a hack or buggy owned by the ranch. Seed was bought at Berwyn, Davis, Woodford, Springer, Hoxbar, Hennepin, and Cornish. The partners had a fixed price they would pay for cottonseed of 10½ cents per bushel. They did not contract seed that could not be hauled from gin to ranch in one day, including the round trip. This per-

⁹ Interview with John M. Hendrix, March, 1945.

mitted a good deal of latitude, for the wagons were usually on their way around 5:30 in the morning. As the seed came in to the rick lots, it was loaded onto ricks 350 to 400 feet long and about as high as the top of a wagon box. There were usually four ricks of seed to each lot. The seed was carefully unloaded and the ricks slapped and packed to prevent damage from rainfall. By the time the ginning season was over, the yard held from 350 to 500 thousand bushels of seed. These were never referred to by the ton, and the records indicate that the seed was bought by the bushel. Seed at the Springer Gin, at the foot of Buzzard Hill, was allowed to accumulate at the gin until other points farther off had been taken care of. Then the entire force of wagons were put on the haul and a camp established (again a log camp and lots) at Buzzard Hill Springs, where a snap team was maintained to help the wagons over the hill, as it required a six-mule hitch to get as many loads of seed over the hill as four mules could haul anywhere else on the route. This camp was then in the present Moss Patterson pasture.¹⁰

The seed hauling equipment consisted of half a dozen long, heavy wagons specially built by the Peter Shuttler Company in their Kansas City branch. They were built long, so as to enable the load to spread out, rather than be stacked high, which lessened the danger of the wagons turning over in the rough country. There was also developed a special type of spring seat which rested upon and was hinged to permanent standards to prevent jolting of the seat and the driver off the wagon. Specially built brakes with long foot levers were provided. Motive power was provided by some 25 or 30 big, young Missouri mules bought on the horse market in Kansas City. The lead teams of these four-mule hitches were almost uncanny in handling themselves among the seed ricks and the gin houses.

The hired personnel did not vary greatly, and usually consisted of eight men. The records give the names of Will Wilson, Will Gray, Will Childs, Scott Locke, Matt Watson, Wes Carless, and Bill Holder the last two being colored. They were big, strong, middle-aged men, highly temperate and used to hard work. They were of good character, and loyal. They were excellent cowmen, but in no sense of the word specialists. They were adept at teaming, fencing, and whatever had to be done at the ranch. There was no regular cook except when the wagon was on the road. The men usually selected one from their number, based on his ability and willingness. They were a thrifty bunch too. None of them drew more than \$20.00 per month. and page after page show where they occasionally would draw from 50c to \$2.50, and that sundry items were charged to their account from time to time. At settlement time they all usually had most of their wages yet coming to them.¹¹ They got along together excellently,

¹⁰ Interview with Rodge Dickerson.

¹¹ Records of Hendrix and Royer Ranch.

as there was little or no time for horse play among them. Each was adept at horseshoeing. Due to the rough country, all horses had to be shod all around. It was often said that the men could do as good a job horse-shoeing with a rasp, butcher knife, and hatchet as the average blacksmith. Each man carried horseshoe nails and staples in his saddle pockets. A sprung shoe was soon straightened and replaced.

No effort was made at farming. Corn could be bought cheaply from farmers along the Washita. A few days' hauling with the big seed wagons would put enough corn in the cribs for the saddle horses, work mules, and for fattening hogs for the winter. Early every summer a hay contractor would come in to cut and bale what prairie hay would be needed for the winter.

Camp expenses were at a minimum. It cost approximately \$3.00 or \$3.50 per month each to board the hands. They were well fed on good, strong, coarse food necessary to hard-working men.¹² H. D. Hendrix was a firm believer in navy beans, and always saw to it that there was a good pot of them on the stove. Principal purchases were of flour, navy beans, dried peaches and apples, and a small amount of canned tomatoes and corn. Being a steer outfit, very little beef was eaten. Usually, at the time when the trail outfit got in, a milk pen calf was killed if there was one available, and all had a good bait of beef. The woods were full of hogs of all ages, kinds, and colors. Early in the fall of each year 40 to 60 barrows were put up for fattening. At the first sign of cold weather, a general hog killing for both camps was held, which lasted a couple of days. Usually from 70 to 75 hams and about the same amount of sidemeat were put down. This coupled with the sausage and the lard that was made, usually lasted through the season. The stock hogs ran wild and fed entirely on acorns and mast. Groceries were brought in by the seed wagons. Record books of the Ranch show that single purchases hardly ever exceeded \$3.00 or \$4.00. Quoting from a page of one of the old expense books, here is a sample:¹³

Will Childs, Cash.....	\$.50
Will Wilson, Pants.....	.85
Soda, 2 packages.....	.35
6 Shooter Cartridges.....	.75

Stealing was never a problem. The ranch was well fenced, and the fences were ridden and watched daily. Always the dirt in the gateway, when one of them was used, was cut up thereby obliterating the tracks of men working on the ranch. If anyone went through the gates during the night, the tracks they left in the dirt would be evidence that rustlers were looking for cattle. The men on the ranch

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

were all loyal and constantly on the lookout for strangers, which were few and far between. Ninety per cent of the visitors rode horseback when they came to the ranch on business.

Another big day on the ranch was in the late summer, set aside for repairing and greasing the 25 or 30 sets of heavy leather harness used on the work mules. The harness were completely dissembled at the buckles and given a bath of hot water, followed by a treatment of tallow and neatsfoot oil, then hung out on a rail fence to dry. There were no sore-shouldered mules nor sore-backed horses as the men had good saddles and blankets and cared for them well.

During the winter months seed was hauled from the rick lots to the high feeding grounds. Two men worked on a wagon, one driving and one shoveling. H. D. Hendrix or Royer was usually on the feed ground to watch how the cattle cleaned up the feed and to drive in stragglers. It was a nice sight to see 500 to 600 fattening steers quened behind a wagon. The cattle were fed all they would clean up each day, and were fed from about November 15 to the rise of grass each year, after which they went into the summer pasture.¹⁴

Shipping began early in August, or just a little ahead of shipping time in the Osage and Kansas country—the cottonseed having given our cattle a slight advantage over their cattle. At shipping time the cattle were handled as easily as possible. Large wire pens for cutting out the herd were built in traps containing about a section of land. Cattle were worked in those pens, and those selected turned loose in the trap for a few days' rest, or pending a favorable telegram from the commission company in Kansas City. Pens and traps were built at the closest point to the railroad—about six or eight miles usually from Berwyn or Davis.

On shipping days—always Saturday—cattle were started walking as soon in the morning as they could be rounded and counted, en route to Davis, across the Washita River. The cattle crossed the Washita at a ford near "Old Man" Perry Russell's place. The banks were of dirt and very high. In making the crossing, the banks were dug down until the crossing had the appearance of a long chute on each side. If the river was not on a rise, the cattle were walked down the chute and into the water with little difficulty, and soon were up on high ground away from the flies and heat. The pens were reached about noon, and the boys were sent to Satterwhite's grocery store for a bait of cheese, crackers, sardines, and salmon—with a couple of onions given them gratis by the proprietor, who also furnished dishes and spoons (these showing considerable fly-speck and former usage).

¹⁴ Interview with Rodge Dickerson, October, 1951.

After dinner the cattle were loaded and before five o'clock were en route to Kansas City, which was reached late Sunday night. This gave the cattle a chance for rest and fill before coming on Monday's market. A shipment usually consisted of ten to twelve cars, according to the market.¹⁵

H. D. Hendrix and one of the hands usually accompanied the shipment. During the years the ranch was in operation, all of the cattle were consigned to C. M. Keys Livestock and Commission Company.¹⁶ The banking business was done in Kansas City at the Interstate National Bank, which is still in business. The Santa Fe Railroad was always highly co-operative about cars and loading. They appreciated the ranch business and for a number of years furnished the partners with annual passes.

Late in 1897, U. S. engineers moved in along Honey Creek, established their camps, and began the work of surveying the Chickasaw Nation into sections and townships, in anticipation of Statehood. The handwriting was on the wall—or rather on the tree—for the old outfit, as the surveyors cleared a space on top of the highest of the East Timbered Hills, leaving only a tall bushy-top tree for a back-site. The tree could be seen for miles, and bore a canvass sign on its trunk that it was the property of the U. S. An airline beam now occupies the site of the tree. There was a \$500.00 fine for mutilating or destroying it. This sign was emblematic of things to come, and the partners began shaping the ranch business toward a final settlement.

When it came time to settle, the partners had an excess of \$200,000 in money, 660 head of stock cattle, 35 horses, and 32 mules and

¹⁵ Interview with Rodge Dickerson, March, 1947.

¹⁶ Earlier in this article reference was made to 1,100 steers that had been trailed from Caldwell, Texas. These cattle have been traced through the books, and details are given here for their marketing the following year:

111 head	Weight 971
121 head	Weight 964
108 head	Weight 951
110 head	Weight 960
50 head	Weight 1,069
These brought an average of \$3.45 per hundred weight. Another draft shows:	
100 head	Weight 1,040
108 head	Weight 1,040
108 head	Weight 925
182 head	Weight 1,050
156 head	Weight 1,030
275 head	Weight 1,020

These cattle weighed 500 to 700 when they came onto the ranch. The lighter-weight cattle were yearlings, and the heavier weight 2's—which would indicate a good gain and a fair profit. These prices are about typical of weights and gains of all cattle so handled by the ranch.—Records of Hendrix and Royer Ranch.

An expense item that partially explains the gain and growth is a series of scale tickets from Suggs Brothers Gin, Berwyn, Oklahoma, which shows that they sold the ranch twelve four-mule loads of cottonseed to weigh approximately five tons each, at an average price per load of \$32.40: the total for the twelve loads being \$335.56, or an average of 10½ cents per bushel.

wagons to divide. There was no outstanding indebtedness. Not big money, as money goes now, but the \$200,000 was all their own, and was their reward for eight years of hard work and hard living. It was the result of following a carefully planned operation and taking advantage of a low expense.¹⁷

There is no place in the books to show where they owned a foot of land or paid lease or tribute to anyone for what was used—nor were there any charges for taxes of any kind. The entire country was under the Federal Courts. Occasionally a deputy U. S. Marshal would visit the ranch as a sort of routine call. He usually had a pocketful of warrants for the persons wanted.

During the existence of the partnership there was no dissension, despite the fact that Mr. Hendrix was a rockribbed Democrat and Royer an equally staunch Republican. Probably the biggest argument ever had was over the roof on Royer's camp. Fortunately, no wars occurred during the time the outfit was operating. However, it wound up during the early part of the Spanish-American War. The partners were amazed when they were forced to place a few cents' worth of documentary stamps on certain papers having to do with final settlement.

Final settlement was made in the summer of 1898. Royer held on a couple of years and finally sold out to Hugh Moore, of Fort Worth. It has passed into many hands and owners since then.¹⁸ It occupies what is now the southern-most portion of Hereford Heaven. Some of the best cattle in the world are produced in this section. One or more of these Hereford Ranches are now in the environs of the old ranch.

¹⁷ Interview with John M. Hendrix, April, 1948.

¹⁸ Interview with John M. Hendrix, July, 1950.

FRED SEVERS CLINTON, M.D., F.A.C.S.

By Louise Morse Whitham¹

"The history of Oklahoma, however condensed the historian might make it, could not be written without including the name of Fred S. Clinton. In his profession of medicine and surgery, in the civic life of Oklahoma and of Tulsa, and as a pioneer in the industry that has made the state and the city famous throughout the world, Dr. Clinton has achieved eminent rank among the founders and builders of a splendid state."

—Richard Lloyd Jones.²

Fred Severs Clinton was the eldest son of Charles Clinton, rancher and cattleman, who came to the Territory from Georgia in the early 1870's. Mrs. Charles (Louise Atkins) Clinton, was a member of the Creek Nation and a teacher in its schools. Dr. Clinton was born near Okmulgee, April 15, 1874. Next year the family moved to the Half-Circle-S ranch on Duck Creek, and in 1884, to Red Fork where Clinton Junior High School now marks the long-time Clinton homestead.³ His father died when Fred was fourteen but his mother lived to see her children well established in booming Tulsa. His brothers, Lee and Paul, were brokers. Vera, the only sister, married J. H. McBirney, founder and President of the National Bank of Commerce.⁴

This incident of Fred's early boyhood has been told as typical of his native spirit: "It became necessary to send a message immediately to Muskogee, fifty miles from Red Fork, over a rough country with trails hardly discernible by day, yet the boy rode through the night, guided only by the stars and his instinct, and reached his destination before sun-up."⁵

Dr. Clinton enjoyed telling tales about the Presbyterian Mission at Muskogee where he had some of his elementary schooling under Dr. Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson, who once gave him a sound paddling, "And, I deserved it," the doctor would add.⁶

¹ Louise Morse Whitham was a teacher in the Social Studies Department of Central High School, Tulsa, from 1918 to 1950, with community history as her major field. To enable her students better to carry on civic projects and research in local history, The Tulsa Historical Society of Central High School was organized. Dr. and Mrs. Fred S. Clinton were among its first advisors. Several projects and articles covering fields of student research have been published in *The Chronicles*. Mrs. Whitham was awarded a Civic Recognition Scroll by the Tulsa Chamber of Commerce in 1943 for sponsoring the organization of The Tulsa Historical Society.—Ed.

² Richard Lloyd Jones, *Oklahoma and the Mid-Continent Oil Field*, 1930, p. 230.

³ *Who's Who in America*, 1920-1921, "Clinton, Fred S.", p. 595.

⁴ *The Tulsa World*, April 26, 1955, pp. 1, 4.

⁵ Richard Lloyd Jones, *op. cit.*

⁶ Miss Alice Robertson, daughter of Dr. A. E. W. Robertson, also was one of Fred Clinton's teachers; and later, first Congress-woman from Oklahoma.

Grammar and secondary schools attended by the long-legged young Clinton were: St. Francis Institute, Osage, Kansas; and Drury College, Springfield, Missouri. He attended the Gem City Business College, Quincy, Illinois and graduated from Young Harris College, Georgia. His professional training was from the Kansas City, Missouri, College of Pharmacy and Allied Sciences, Ph.G., 1896; and from the Kansas City University Medical College, M.D., 1897.⁷ In the summertime, young Dr. Clinton had been getting practical experience with Dr. J. C. W. Bland, with whom he began active practice after his graduation. Shortly thereafter, he married Miss Jane Heard, of Elburton, Georgia, whose musical ability and social charm added much to Tulsa's cultural life.⁸

The ruling passion of Dr. Clinton's life was to relieve or to cure human ailments. His mind was analytical and his mental and muscular coordination so perfect that for over thirty years Dr. Clinton had foremost rank among the city's surgeons. In fact, he was the official surgeon for all the transportation lines in or through Tulsa. For several of those years he had to work under primitive, frontier conditions without a hospital. Old timers still tell of mangled bodies being brought to the Frisco station and Dr. Clinton saying "There's no time to lose. Cover the windows and we'll operate right here."

Sometimes a counter at the rear of a general store served as an operating table; sometimes it was a cot in a tent; sometimes the patient could be taken to Red Fork, to the doctor's mother.

In those days, Dr. Clinton was crusading for better public health facilities, water, sewers and fireproof buildings. Tulsa grew at a convulsive and prodigious rate. Provisions had to be made for all sorts of utilities, and then, almost at once, it seemed, they had to be expanded and modernized. Dr. Clinton was in constant demand as a speaker for these city needs; was often quoted. Withal, he yet found time to write for national medical journals and to take part in many professional movements.⁹

Hospital operation was forced on Dr. Clinton when, in 1900, a severe small-pox epidemic raged over the area. With others whom he interested, Dr. Clinton secured a large house on Tulsa's outskirts where he cared for quarantined patients. By 1905 he was building Tulsa's first permanent hospital and nurse's training school, and in 1915, he led in the building of the modern Oklahoma Hospital, still in use at 9th and Jackson Streets. He also served as medical director of the emergency hospital set up during the influenza epidemic of 1918.¹⁰

⁷ *Who's Who in American Medicine*, 1926, p. 290.

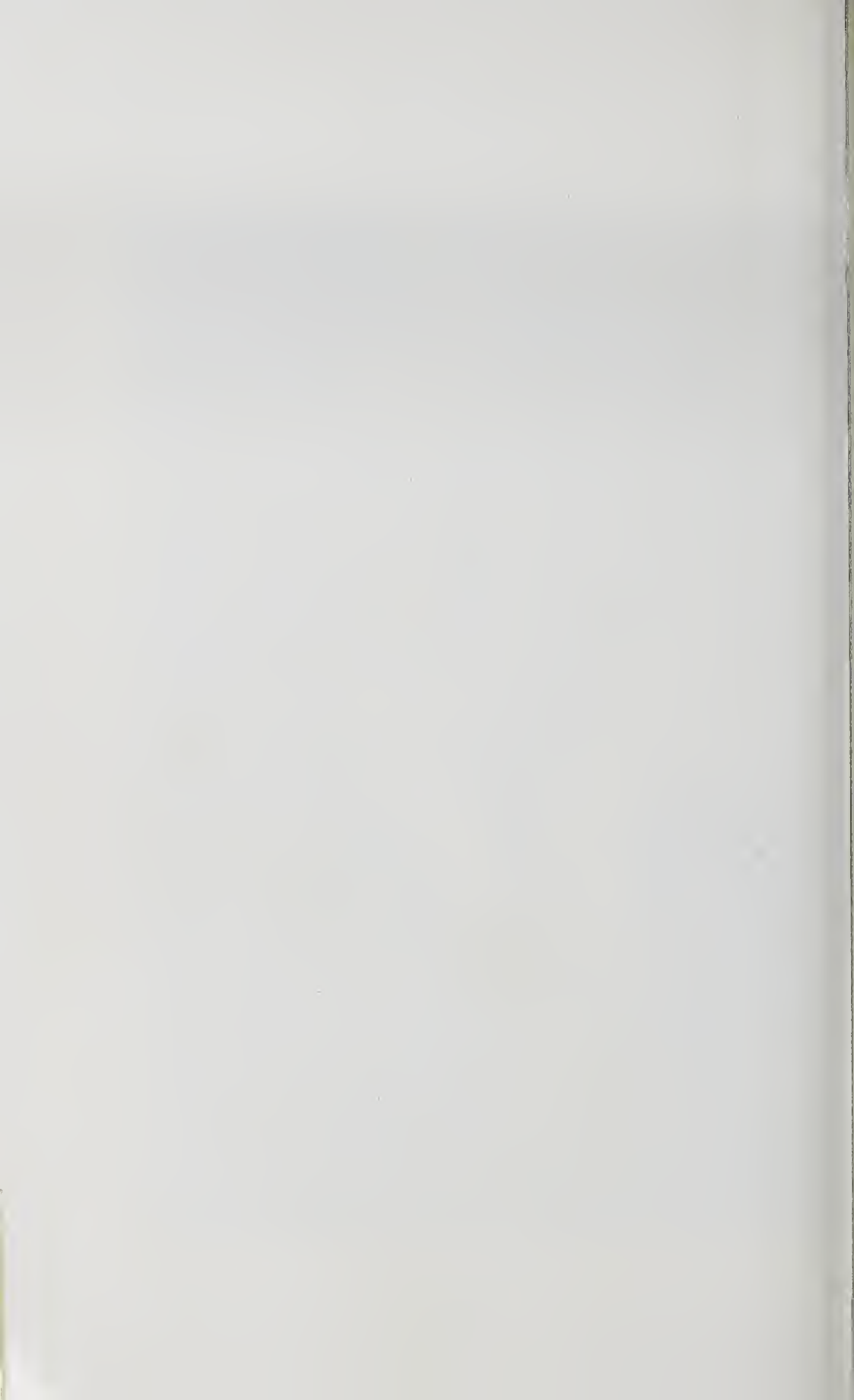
⁸ *Women's Who's Who in America*, 1914-1915, "Clinton, Jane Heard," p. 186.

⁹ *Who's Who in American Medicine*.

¹⁰ Fred S. Clinton, "First Hospitals in Tulsa," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXII, No. 1 (Spring, 1944), pp. 40-69.



FRED SEVERS CLINTON



Dr. Clinton's leadership extended far beyond his locality. He was the first Indian Territory representative of the Red Cross organization. He served as President of the Indian Territory Medical Association. In 1906 he helped combine the Territorial and the Oklahoma branches into a single unit—The Oklahoma State Medical Association. For many years he was Hospital Chairman of the Oklahoma Medical Association. He served as Vice-President of the Mid-West Hospital Association and then (1929-30) as its President. He was named a Fellow of the American College of Surgeons. In later years he was made an honorary life member of Tulsa County Medical Association.¹¹

Dr. Clinton was active in and honored by many civic and cultural movements. The Tulsa Masonic Lodge voted him an honorary membership as did the Oil Industry Pioneers. He was a charter member of the Association of Tulsa Pioneers, and of the Tulsa Civic Association. He was a Sponsor of the Oklahoma Hall of Fame, an active member of the Tulsa Philharmonic Society, and of the Hyeckka Society. Dr. Clinton had part in the erection of the three edifices used by the Boston Avenue Methodist Church in the fifty years during which he served on the Board of Stewards of that congregation. He was also happy to have been a charter member of the Tulsa Commercial Club, now the Chamber of Commerce, and likewise of the International Petroleum Exposition and Congress which has given Tulsa its place in the oil world.

Again, quoting Editor Jones, "From his part in the drilling of Tulsa County's first oil well, rests Dr. Clinton's unique part in Oklahoma history." Just what was "that part?" Dr. Clinton was not, as is so often assumed, owner of any part of the "Bland-Clinton-Red Fork" well. He was largely responsible for the idea of drilling on the Bland property; he helped finance it, and then when the well blew in, June 25, 1901, on the very day when Dr. Bland was suddenly ill, he acted for his physician-partner. Mrs. Bland, as a Creek citizen, was entitled to a homestead allotment. Dr. Clinton hurried to Muskogee where he contacted officials of the Indian Office under the Dawes Commission, and duly filed a claim for certificate of allotment of the well-area for Mrs. Bland. A marker erected under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society now locates the well-site.¹²

As an oil producer the Sue A. Bland No. 1, was small, but its attendant opportunities were great. Therein lay the "unique" results which Dr. Clinton foresaw. Before he left for Muskogee he set in motion the publicity which spread nation wide, and was the foundation of Tulsa's later growth. Independent producers and big oil companies hurried to the new field, thus effectively stopping the

¹¹ *The Tulsa Tribune*, April 26, 1955, pp. 25, 31.

¹² Fred S. Clinton. "First Oil and Gas Well in Tulsa County," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 3. (Autumn, 1952) pp. 312-32.

granting of large blanket-leases by the Creek National Council, that had seemed imminent but had never yet been approved by the Interior Department. In still another way Dr. Clinton helped fix Tulsa's importance as an oil center. He erected a six story, "ultra modern," fireproof office building for the oil companies. In later years, Clinton owned oil stocks in other companies. For his constructive imagination, he has been called "Tulsa's Big Brother."

The Clinton home was ever a center of hospitality. The Doctor loved his crepe myrtles and his magnolias and the nesting red birds, but most of all, he loved his friends.

The mettle of a man is shown as much by the way he meets disaster as by the work of his vigorous youth. Reverses in health and fortune came to Dr. Clinton in the early nineteen thirties, brought on by a progressive anaemic condition and the financial depression of those years. Bedfast for months at a time, handicapped by sudden blindness in the right eye, he was unable to carry on as a surgeon and so could not protect some of his major investments. Only his physician and his wife knew about the loss of sight. It was part of his pride not to whimper; it was part of his honor not to attempt an operation with imperfect sight. His left eye did double duty until the last year of Dr. Clinton's life. Even when, in 1945, Dr. Clinton lost his beloved wife, there remained a gallant spirit which refused to sink into self pity. He found new avenues of service to his community.¹³

Dr. Clinton was interested in all phases of education. He had part in the establishment of Henry Kendall College, now Tulsa University. He was a Life Member of the Oklahoma Historical Society and served for several years on its Board of Directors; he was a most helpful Sponsor and Advisor of the Tulsa Historical Society of Central High School. Research writers came to him for source material and advice. He had time and patience for hundreds of interviews.¹⁴

This public interest in local history spurred the great undertaking of Dr. Clinton's later years, the writing of a series of articles published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* and reissued in monograph form. Recognizing the value of these studies, the Tulsa Chamber of Commerce honored Dr. Clinton in 1944, with a Civic Award and scroll. The citation reads:

"Certificate of Civic Recognition for outstanding services to the city of Tulsa. Presented to Dr. Fred S. Clinton for research and publication of basic source history of Tulsa."¹⁵

¹³ Angie Debo. "Jane Heard Clinton," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, (Spring, 1946) pp. 20-25.

¹⁴ Angie Debo. *Tulsa, From Creek Town to Oil Capital*, Preface, p. IV.

¹⁵ Indicative of Dr. Clinton's life-long interest in contemporary and local history are the following subjects from his many published writings:

1915 "Tulsa, Oklahoma," a twelve page booklet reprinted from the May issue of the *Journal of the Oklahoma State Medical Association*. It contains his famous

There were blessings and comforts in Dr. Clinton's long years of semi-invalidism. His circle of friendships widened and deepened. He was most fortunate in his second marriage. Miss Beulah Jane Elliott, a long-time Tulsa teacher, married Dr. Clinton in Kansas City, Missouri, July 20, 1946. She read to him, helped with his research and gave him a sense of security. Together they made long drives to the Southern states, to Canada, or wherever their interest led them.

Dr. Clinton went to St. Johns hospital "for observation" November 16, 1954. He died there April 25, 1955. Characteristic of his whole life was his consideration of others during the illness and his appreciation of those who ministered to his needs. Memorial services were conducted by Dr. Paul Galloway of the Boston Avenue Church. Interment was in Oaklawn Cemetery.

Young Jenkins Lloyd Jones, now Editor of *The Tulsa Tribune*, who knew Dr. Clinton only in the last twenty-five years of his life, wrote of him:¹⁶

Few men have been granted the deep pleasure of such a wide range of interests as characterized the life of Dr. Fred Severs Clinton. Few cities have been granted the boon of having such men among their pioneers.

Since before the turn of the century, he took high pride in his community and in his profession. He was a man of medicine with all a doctor's understanding of people in sorrow and trouble. He was also a city builder, with all the hopes and ambitions of a man who continually sensed the tremendous promise of the future. He was responsible for Tulsa's first hospital. He was credited with Tulsa's first skyscraper. His activities included the petroleum industry which helped make Tulsa great, and also the history which recorded the steps to that greatness.

Few people will be followed to their resting place by so many remembrances of so many people. His monument will be in the hearts of all who knew him.

narrative, "The Pioneer," concerning Archie Yahola, Creek Chief and founder of Tulsa.

1918 "Interesting Tulsa History," a seven page leaflet distributed by the Oklahoma Hospital.

1943 "From Brush Arbor to Boston Avenue," a historical review of the development of the Boston Avenue Methodist Church, distributed at the Golden Jubilee dinner.

1943-1949 The following were published by *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, then issued in reprints and distributed by the author: "Hyeckka Club", "James Hugh McBirney", "Tulsa's Water Supply", "First Oil and Gas Well in Tulsa County", "Beginning of the International Petroleum Exposition and Congress."

Also, in *The Chronicles*, articles in Dr. Clinton's professional field: "First Hospitals in Tulsa", "The First Hospital and Training School for Nurses in Indian Territory—now Oklahoma", "The Indian Territory Medical Association", "Beginning of the Oklahoma State Hospital Association," and "University of Oklahoma Medical School Crisis Averted."

¹⁶ Jenkins Lloyd Jones, (editorial) *The Tulsa Tribune*, April 26, 1955, p. 40.

JOHN D. BENEDICT: FIRST UNITED STATES SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY

By Muriel H. Wright

The years 1893 to 1907 were momentous in the history of the Five Civilized Tribes, climaxed in the passage of the Curtis Act of 1898 by Congress, which provided for the allotment of their lands in severalty and the final dissolution of the five Indian governments in the Indian Territory.¹ Under this Act, John D. Benedict, outstanding for his record in grading and organizing rural education in the State of Illinois, was appointed in 1899, the first United States Superintendent of Schools of the Five Civilized Tribes in the Territory.

Conflicting opinions soon arose among tribal officials over the interpretation of a clause in the Curtis Act whereby the Secretary of the Interior assumed control of all the schools of the Five Civilized Tribes and appointed the new superintendent. The citizens of these nations had a background of history in federal relations that had begun soon after the founding of the United States, they were experienced in their own constitutional forms of government during a period of nearly seventy-five years, and they were the communal owners of millions of acres within each of their respective tribal domains, fabulously rich in natural resources—timber, building stone, coal, oil, and other minerals. Surrendering their rights and interests in their own governments and in these valuable properties to out-

* John D. Benedict made his home in Muskogee from the time of his appointment as First U. S. Superintendent of Schools among the Five Civilized Tribes, 1899, to his death on January 26, 1946. His appointment brought him the responsibility of planning and establishing a new system of Indian schools in the Indian Territory, under Federal control. The operation of the schools among the Five Civilized Tribes had been under the direct control of the respective tribal governments, with appointment of principals and teachers and appropriations for maintenance and operation made under their own laws, through their legislative councils. The original plan of boarding schools supervised by superintendents and teachers from the different Church mission boards had been abandoned by the Indian governments about 1890, to make way for the appointment to these positions, of their own young men and women who were considered qualified for the work, many of them having graduated from educational institutions in the states. Mr. Benedict's program for changes in these schools was not instituted without considerable criticism (some of it constructive in the light of the existing laws in Indian affairs) and disapproval on the part of the Indian leaders and officials in the Five Tribes. For a biography of Mr. Benedict and resume of his work, see Grant Foreman, "John D. Benedict, Pioneer Education in Oklahoma," *Oklahoma Teacher*, Vol. XXVII, No. 9 (May, 1946), pp. 17-18.

¹An Act for the protection of the people of the Indian Territory, and for other purposes, approved June 28, 1898, 30 *Statutes*, p. 495.



JOHN D. BENEDICT

side forces was not done without a struggle on the part of the elected Indian leaders in behalf of their people. Probably at no time in their history under their own constitutions and laws, were their institutions so weak and ineffective as in 1899, especially their schools, a feeling of demonstration, growing in view of their certain end as a people.

Disruption of their whole social and economic system by new laws and ways of living under complete federal control was leading to statehood for Oklahoma, owing to continued outside pressure for opening the Indian country to white settlement. Politics in the Indian Territory was more often than not prompted by interests in the financial and industrial life of the American people in the neighboring and even faraway states. Unfamiliar with local conditions and the details of Indian history as Mr. Benedict was when he came to this country, nevertheless it was an honor to the Territory that a man of his ability, integrity of purpose, and experience in the field of public, rural education was appointed to the responsible position of first United States Superintendent of Schools among the Five Civilized Tribes. He served in this position for eleven years and accomplished notable work in education in the history of Oklahoma.

John Downing Benedict, the son of David and Lydia Ann (Downing) Benedict, was born at Clermont, near Indianapolis, Indiana, on May 27, 1854. His father was a teacher and a native of the State of New York, and his mother was a native of Mason County, Kentucky. Mr. Benedict attended the common schools of his home town in Indiana, and after his family settled on a farm in Eastern Illinois in 1869, he attended Rossville High School. He taught school for several years, spending his summer vacations in study at the University of Illinois and in the state normal schools. He served eight years as County Superintendent of Vermillion County, Illinois, and subsequently as Assistant State Superintendent with offices in the State Capitol at Springfield. When Mr. Benedict was appointed Superintendent of Schools in the Indian Territory in 1899, he settled in Muskogee where he became active in civic affairs. He was a Master Mason, past exalted ruler of the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks, and a past grand chancellor of the Knights of Pythias. He was held in honor in Muskogee for his ten years' service as member of the Board of Education during which time the City erected ten substantial school buildings including Central High School. He was elected one of eight to write the City Charter in 1910 when Muskogee voted to adopt the charter form of government.

Mr. Benedict won the respect and confidence of Indian leaders in the nations of the Indian Territory. During the Convention to form a Constitution for the State of Oklahoma, meeting at Guthrie in 1906, he was called upon for his advice and suggestions in planning the educational system for the new State in the following per-

sonal letter from Hon. O. H. P. Brewer, member of the Convention and Chairman of the Committee on Education:²

Guthrie, Okla., Dec. 6, 1906

Hon. John D. Benedict,
Muskogee, I. T.

My dear sir—

In my opinion you are more familiar with the educational needs of the proposed new state than any other man within its confines.

I therefore invite you to submit to the constitutional committee on education any propositions you think will prove conducive to the best interest of our future educational system.

I will consider it a personal favor if you will at once comply with this sincere invitation, which is almost a request.

Yours very respectfully,

O. H. P. BREWER,

Chairman Committee on Education.

After Oklahoma statehood, Mr. Benedict was appointed by Governor Charles N. Haskell a member of the first State Board of Education, and a member of the first State Textbook Commission which selected the textbooks for use in the public schools. A writer in later years, he made a notable contribution to the history of the State in the publication of a three volume history *Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma*.³

The manuscript copy of the following reminiscences bearing the original signature of John D. Benedict, together with a scrapbook of clippings kept by him on early day school affairs and other data pertaining to the Indian Territory, is in the Joseph B. Thoburn Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

² The original of this letter is in the Scrapbook (p. 71) kept by John D. Benedict, in the J. B. Thoburn Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society. Hon. O. H. P. Brewer was a citizen by descent in the Cherokee Nation, born near Webbers Falls in 1871. He was named for his father, Oliver Hazard Perry Brewer, who held many important positions in the Cherokee Nation, at one time serving as a member of the Cherokee Supreme Court. His mother, Mrs. O. H. P. Brewer, Sr., before her marriage was Delia A. Vann, the daughter of "Rich Joe" Vann of Webbers Falls; she was educated in the Cherokee schools, in the Sawyer School for Girls at Fayetteville, Arkansas, and in Mount Holyoke Seminary, Massachusetts. Hon. O. H. P. Brewer (Jr.) was elected member of the Cherokee Senate in 1899-1902; served as President of the Cherokee Board of Education for six years; elected delegate to the Constitutional Convention (District 77) of Oklahoma; studied law and admitted to the Bar, 1913; appointed postmaster of Muskogee, 1913; elected County Judge of Muskogee County, 1926-32; elected District Judge, 8th Judicial District of Oklahoma, in 1934, which position he held to his death on November 17, 1951, at Muskogee.

³ *Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma*. Including the counties of Muskogee, McIntosh, Wagoner, Cherokee, Sequoyah, Adair, Delaware, Maves, Rogers, Washington, Nowata, Craig, and Ottawa. By John D. Benedict (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1922), 3 volumes. Illustrated.

REMINISCENCES

By John D. Benedict

During the Autumn of 1872, I was attending the High School of Rossville, Illinois, and was in the advanced class.

The County Superintendent of schools came up to Rossville to conduct an examination for teachers' certificate for our end of the county. Our Principal suggested that my class take that examination just for practice. We went into the examination, although I had no hope of passing successfully, inasmuch as, at the time, teachers were required to take an examination in the natural sciences in addition to all the common school branches. To my surprise, in the course of time I received a letter from the County Superintendent, stating that my grades entitled me to a first grade certificate. Several members of my class received second grade certificates, but only one of my classmates outside of myself, a young lady, received a first grade certificate.

With my highly prized first grade certificate in my pocket, I had no difficulty in convincing a country school board of directors that I was thoroughly equipped to teach school. I taught for five years in the country and village schools of Vermillion County, Illinois, and then went to Danville to study law. Within about a year I had spent the small amount of money which I had saved up and began to look around for something to do. About that time, the Board of Education of the City of Danville appointed a special examining committee and adopted a rule requiring all their teachers and new applicants to pass a special examination for city certificates. I went into that examination with about forty city teachers, which examination lasted for two days and nights, and I felt very much puffed up when the examining board notified me that I stood second in a class with forty city teachers. A young lady, a high school teacher and a graduate of an Eastern college, received the highest grade. The result of this city examination assured me a position in the City schools, where I taught for two years, one year in charge of the eighth grade and the next year as principal.

During these years I spent portions of the summers in taking special courses in the State University and Normal schools.

In December, 1889, I was elected County Superintendent of schools of Vermillion County, which position I held for eight years. Prior to my election as County Superintendent, there had been no supervision of rural schools, the duties of the County Superintendent being confined to issuing teachers' certificates and collecting school statistics. Upon assuming the duties of County Superintendent, I was ambitious to do something toward improving school conditions and to make a good record as an official. I rehearsed conditions as they

had existed in the country districts, and I recalled that no effort had ever been made to establish or enforce any systematic courses in any schools, except in the cities. Each country school teacher taught whatever subjects he chose, or whatever his pupils wished to study—provided he was able to teach the subjects selected by the older pupils. A first year pupil was not expected to learn much more during the first term than to be able to recognize the letters of the alphabet, and perhaps repeat them backward and forward.

Frequently, the older boys would want to study nothing but arithmetic, and they would “cipher” with slate and pencil throughout the entire day. The principal motive which impelled them to “cipher” industriously was that they might be able to do their own “figuring” on the farm and prevent “sharpers” from cheating them.

The big girls usually took kindly to grammar—but the boys never. The study of grammar in those days consisted largely of memorizing the conjugation of verbs, carrying them through all their modes, tenses and voices. The verb “to love” was usually chosen as the sample, and was fully outlined in the textbooks for the pupils to memorize. The girls seemed to indulge in that kind of exercise willingly, but the boys were too bashful to stand before the school and repeat mechanically “I love—thou lovest—he loves—we love—you love—they love,” etc. This exercise seemed easy, but when they came to the potential mode in the passive voice, it ran like this: “I might, could, would or should have been loved”, “Thou mightst, couldst, wouldst or shouldst have been loved”, and the boys rebelled against it and not infrequently the girls would also weaken.

As a result of this want of system in the country schools whenever a boy or girl desired to attend a high school, he or she was invariably compelled to be classed with younger pupils because of their being deficient in one or more of the common school branches. This condition was embarrassing to the country boys and girls and often subjected them to ridicule.

As county superintendent, I recalled these unorganized conditions existing in the country districts and began to try to devise means for their improvement. I soon learned that two other county superintendents were thinking along the same line and we met to consider the matter together. We three decided that we would divide each country school into three divisions, viz: Primary, Intermediate and Advanced. First and second reader pupils constituted the primary division; third and fourth reader pupils were the intermediate division, and all pupils above the fourth reader were called the Advanced division.

We next outlined a course of study which was intended to include a minimum of what should be taught in each division each month. Certain lessons were outlined for the primary division in reading,

spelling, numbers and language. The intermediate division, in addition to the branches of the Primary division, were to study elementary geography, language and U. S. history. The Advanced division were to complete the common school branches.

In order to know that each teacher carried out our course of study, we sent out to the teachers each month certain questions. based upon the preceding month's outlines, upon which the teachers were required to examine their pupils and send us their examination papers. At the close of each year, we held a final examination for all pupils who had completed the work outlined for the Advanced division.

We soon had arrangements made by which any pupil holding our Advanced grade certificate would be admitted to any high school in the county without examination. The result of this work soon became noticeable in the increased enrollment of pupils in the high schools of the county. We revised this crude course of study from year to year, other county superintendents fell into line with us and finally the State Teachers' Association recognized our work by petitioning the legislature of Illinois to make an appropriation for publishing and distributing to all the rural schools of the State a uniform course of study. I was chosen as one of the committee to prepare this state course of study, which was much more elaborate than the little county courses with which we began.

So far as I know, we three county superintendents were the first to attempt to grade and systematize the county school anywhere in the United States. In this connection, a rather amusing incident occurred in Oklahoma City about twenty years ago. I was invited to attend a meeting of the Board of Education of Oklahoma Territory at Oklahoma City, at which time the members of that Board explained to me that, inasmuch as the two Territories would probably be one state in the near future, we ought to get acquainted and carry on our school work along similar lines as nearly as possible. They outlined their school system to me and stated that they had found a good course of study for rural schools which had originated in Illinois and had been adopted in Kansas, and they were now proposing to use it in the country schools of Oklahoma Territory. They were quite anxious that I adopt the same course of study in the Indian Territory, and they went somewhat into detail in explaining the system of grading the country schools as outlined in that course of study, as they were desirous that I should understand the system in all of its details. I listened very patiently to all their explanations and recommendations and, when they had finished, I quietly remarked to them that I felt compelled to endorse all they had said about the new course of study inasmuch as I had helped to write it.

While sitting in my office one day, near the close of my eight years' work as county superintendent, I received a telegram from the State Superintendent (Dr. Richard Edwards), asking me to come to Springfield at once on business. I wondered what mischief I had done which made it necessary for the state superintendent to call me to account. Upon arriving at the State House in Springfield, Dr. Edwards informed me that he had decided that he wanted me as his assistant. By that time the new state course of study for rural schools had been published and sent out to the county superintendents for distribution to the schools, but many of the 102 county superintendents did not seem to understand how to use it, and I have always believed that my experience in the work of grading the rural schools of Illinois led the State Superintendent to conclude that he needed me to assist in carrying on that work throughout the State. Dr. Richard Edwards was one of the grandest old men that God ever created. He was one of the ablest and most eloquent educators I ever knew. He was one of the first graduates of a Massachusetts State Normal, and, for many years, was President of Illinois' first State Normal school. But for several years just previous to his election as State Superintendent he had been President of a college and was not familiar with our plan of grading rural schools, which by that time had become one of the most important school problems in the state. At that time, the State Superintendent was allowed but one assistant and I found the work very heavy. I had to write opinions upon all of the districts of the state. I had to compile the school statistics from the 102 counties. I had to hold meetings of county superintendents throughout the state to explain our system of grading rural schools, and attend to a portion of the daily correspondence of the office.

About the close of Dr. Edwards' term of office, I broke down with nervous prostration and was unable to walk for more than a year. I was compelled to abandon school work for awhile and devote my time to regaining my health.

Upon returning to my former home, Danville, Illinois, I was appointed Master of chancery of the circuit court, which position I held for four years. During that time, however, I was not entirely out of touch with educational work as I served, for several years, as a member of the Board of Education of Danville, and as a member of the State Board of Education.

In 1898, I was appointed by President McKinley as the first superintendent of all the forest reserves of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, with headquarters at the historic old town of Santa Fe. The climate of those territories and the out-of-doors exercise which I had to take resulted in the rapid restoration of my health, and a description of my experiences as forest superintendent (sometimes thrilling, but always interesting) would, of itself, fill

a fairly sized volume. Perhaps my wildest experience was that of exploring the headwaters of the Gila River in Western New Mexico, a mountainous region, seventy miles from a railroad, where I was ordered to go by the Secretary of the Interior, and explore a mountainous region about forty miles square, for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not it contained a sufficient amount of pine timber to justify the Government in establishing a forest reserve in that vicinity. I was warned by the U. S. Marshal that the Mogollon mountain country around the branches of the Gila River was the rendezvous of the worst band of train robbers in that western country, but, while I met some pretty tough-looking characters, they did not make known to me their occupations, and I frequently found that discretion was the better part of valor. As the result of that wild trip, the Gila River Forest Reserve, as shown on the new maps of the United States, was formed. The weird petrified forest of Arizona, near Adamana, was created into a National Park upon my report and recommendation. During a visit at Holbrook, Arizona, I learned that for many years prior to that time Indians, cowboys, campers and travelers had been in the habit of blowing the petrified logs into pieces with dynamite, or breaking them into chips with sledge-hammers, in search of choice specimens of petrified wood. The petrified forest would have soon been destroyed, if the Government had not taken control of it.

On February 9th, 1899, in company with one of my assistants, I was at Phoenix, Arizona, investigating the water supply of the Salt River, which rises up in one of the forest reserves. The farmers near Phoenix had sent a complaint to Washington, to the effect that the farmers farther up the river were wasting the water and those near Phoenix were left without sufficient water for irrigating their crops.

At the close of the day's drive up the river, we returned to Phoenix, passing by the big Indian reservation school, where about five hundred boys and girls of the western tribes were being educated. As we approached the school buildings, I noticed some Indian boys at work in the yard and, as the front gate was open, I drove into the grounds and chatted quite a while with the boys about their school work. As we left the school grounds to drive into Phoenix, I remarked to my assistant that school work had always been very attractive to me and that it was hard for me to keep away from it. I also remarked that, at some time in the future, I would like to have charge of a nice Indian School. At that time, however, I had no thought of ever coming to Oklahoma. I did not even know that the Government was planning to take charge of the schools of Indian Territory.

Imagine my surprise, upon arriving at the hotel, when the clerk handed me a telegram from Washington, asking me if I would accept the superintendency of the schools of Indian Territory. I had never even heard of such a position, and I immediately drove back to that

big reservation school, hoping that its superintendent might be able to tell me something about Indian Territory schools. He told me that he knew nothing about conditions here, except that he had heard that educational conditions were pretty bad and that the Government was considering the matter of sending a man here to take charge of the schools of the Five Tribes.

As I drove back to the hotel, all of my old school associations seemed to come back to me and, as I was regaining my health, my desire to get back into the educational work prompted me to telegraph my acceptance of the position to Washington. On the next day, I received a telegram ordering me to come to Washington at once for instructions. This cut short my experience in New Mexico and Arizona, which, although somewhat thrilling at times, had been exceedingly interesting as well as beneficial to my health.

Upon arriving in Washington, D. C., a set of rules and regulations to govern the schools of Indian Territory was handed to me, which had been prepared before my arrival. These regulations provided that I should assume entire control of the schools of the Five Civilized Tribes and no intimation whatever was given me that the Indian Tribes' officials had not agreed to relinquish control of their schools to the Federal Government.

I arrived in Muskogee, Indian Territory, on the 27th day of February, 1899, only a few days after the big fire which had destroyed practically all the business section of the town, including the depot and only hotel. Muskogee was then a muddy town of about 4000 people and a lot of cheaply built houses. The people were but squatters—in the sense that not one of them had title to the lot upon which he had erected his home or shop. The title to the real estate was still vested in the Indian tribe. I soon learned that each of the Five Tribes had its own school laws, its own school system, its own school buildings, its own teachers and its own school officials in control of its schools. Most of these schools and school laws had been in operation for half a century or longer, during all of which time, the Federal Government had had nothing whatever to do with them, they having been constructed, managed and maintained exclusively by the Indian tribes.

My feelings can scarcely be imagined upon learning that every one of these tribal officials insisted that the Federal Government had no right to assume any control whatever over their schools and that, as a Federal school official, I had no business here. I felt very much like "The Man Without a Country", and I had longed to be back in the pine forests of Arizona.

I soon learned that the Secretary of the Interior based his right to control the schools of the Five Civilized Tribes upon one little clause of the Curtis Act, which had just been passed by Congress and

which said in effect, "No tribal funds shall hereafter be paid to the tribal officials for distribution, but shall be disbursed under such rules as the Secretary of the Interior shall prescribe."⁴

The tribal officials thought that they would be allowed to remain in control of their schools and other institutions just as they had been for fifty or more years, and that the Secretary would simply provide a method of paying their bills. But the Secretary of the Interior held that, inasmuch as Congress had placed upon him the responsibility of properly disbursing the funds of the tribes, he must see that competent superintendents and teachers were employed, and that involved the control of the schools.

The Cherokee schools were controlled by a Board of Education consisting of three members elected by the Cherokee council.

In the Choctaw Nation, the Principal Chief was the president of his Board of Education, the other members being a superintendent and three trustees chosen by the tribe.

In each of the other tribes, the schools were controlled by a superintendent, elected by the tribal council, who must have been a member of the tribe. Some of the tribes had laws which provided that only citizens of the tribe were eligible to the responsible position of superintendent of a boarding school, and no educational qualifications were required.

These positions were considered political patronage, handed out by members of the tribal council to the Indians who could control the most votes in their districts. Several of these boarding school superintendents were unable to converse with me in the English language, yet they were supposed to be giving the children under their charge an English education. It had been customary for the tribes to spend most of their school money upon their boarding schools, to which their favored children were sent, boarded and taught at the tribe's expense, leaving their country schools poorly equipped and poorly taught.

As the school year was approaching its closing period, I saw that it would not be advisable to make any immediate changes, but

⁴ Section 19 of the Act approved June 28, 1898, 30 *Statutes*, provided: "That no payment of any moneys on any account whatever shall hereafter be made by the United States to any of the tribal governments or to any officer thereof for disbursement, but payment of all sums to members of said tribes shall be made under direction of the Secretary of the Interior by an officer appointed by him, and per capita payments shall be made direct to each individual in lawful money of the United States, and the same shall not be liable for the payment of any previously contracted obligations."

For further references to the supervision and control of Indian schools in the Indian Territory, by the Secretary of the Interior, under the Curtis Act, see *Report of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes* for 1900, pp. 112, 156.

I devoted my time to getting acquainted with educational conditions and people, hoping that by the end of that school year I could convince the Indians that I was here to help them and that it would be necessary to make some radical changes in order to effect much improvement, but every suggestion which I made, looking toward improvement, was invariably met with the reply that "it could not be done because it was not in accord with the laws of the tribe."⁵

I cannot undertake to describe in detail all of my experiences with the various tribal school authorities, some of which were discouraging and perplexing, but will relate one of my earliest experiences in the Creek Nation. The Creek schools were under the absolute control of a tribal superintendent, appointed by the Creek Council. They had ten boarding schools and sixty-five day schools, the tribal superintendent being an uneducated half-breed, who resided on his farm. Whenever he came to Muskogee, I tried to find him and talk with him about school work, but he shunned me as much as possible, telling his friends that he did not need my advice or assistance, and that he did not intend for me to have anything to do with the management of Creek schools.

I soon learned that the majority of the teachers were totally incompetent, many of them admitting to me their incompetency by way of apology and saying that they had never had any help of any

⁵ See *Appendix A* for copies of the published letters of Samuel H. Mayes, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, and of Green McCurtain, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, and a published statement from Alex McIntosh, Superintendent of Schools in the Creek Nation, with reference to the action of the Secretary of the Interior in assuming control of the Indian schools, and, also, for letter of Superintendent Benedict.

The situation in the Choctaw Nation was set forth in a letter to Superintendent Benedict, by J. W. Everidge, Superintendent of Public Instruction in the Choctaw Nation, written from Grant, I. T., on August 7, 1899, which stated in part:

"As the time is at hand for the beginning of our next scholastic year it would be well that there be an understanding between us (Department officials and Choctaw Board of Education) as to our relations.

"There is considerable difference of opinion and consequently confusion on this point—some thinking that the Choctaw authorities yet had control of our schools, others that the Department Officials have full control, while there are still others who think the two authorities will act in conjunction with each other. There should be an understanding, both between us and publicly, as to the relationship, if any, existing between the two authorities. Now, upon reflection it will be plainly seen that there can be no conjoined action between us—the Department officials getting their authority from one source and the Choctaw authorities getting their's from another.

"Whatever is done by the Department officials must be done under the directions of the Secretary of the Interior, while our actions must be under the authority of our own laws. And as the plans adopted by the Department for the government of our schools differ in material points from those under our laws and customs, there would necessarily be a clash of duty in conjoined action.

"Mr. Everidge concluded his statements with his own view that, assuming that the Department had full control, the Choctaw Board should remain silent and let the Department officials exercise full control."—Newspaper clippings in Scrapbook, pp. 3, 7, 8.

kind, nor any summer normals. I concluded that I would try to arrange with the tribal superintendent to give the teachers of the Creek Nation a summer normal, immediately following the close of their schools in the month of June of that first year, 1899. I hunted up the tribal superintendent and proposed the summer term for teachers, but he assured me that he held a normal every summer for teachers and intimated that he knew just how it ought to be conducted, without my assistance. I proposed to him that the normal be held immediately after closing schools in June, as the teachers would all be here at that time. He objected, saying that the Creek law required him to hold it in August. I then tried to persuade him that the normal should be held in Muskogee, inasmuch as Okmulgee had no railroad. But he objected, saying that the Creek law required that it be held in Okmulgee, the Capital of the Creek Nation.

I mentioned the matter of selecting some instructors who would be competent to teach the teachers something, but he assured me that he would see to that.

I had heard that the annual weekly normals which he had held were rather farcical, so I finally decided that I would let him go ahead and "organize" his summer normal as usual and that I would attend merely as a visitor. I intended, however, at the close of his normal, to assert my right to see that a fair examination of teachers was conducted. On the day preceding the opening of the normal, in company with my assistant for the Creek Nation, I drove, with team and buggy, from Muskogee to Okmulgee.

Okmulgee consisted, at that time, principally of a row of frame houses built around their public square, in the center of which stood the Creek Capitol building, in which building the normal was to be held. Okmulgee had but one hotel, a little two-story frame shack, which was already crowded with teachers when I arrived. I looked around and finally obtained permission to sleep in a little room on the second floor of Captain Severs' store, which faced the Capitol building.

On the next morning, the teachers, about sixty in number, began to assemble in the main hall of the building and, at nine o'clock, the bell rang for the opening ceremonies. I found a seat in the rear of the room, but was entirely ignored by the teachers. They had been warned against recognizing me and had been told that, if I were permitted to have anything to do with the examination, I would make it so severe that none of them could pass it. The Creek superintendent called the meeting to order and, after a song and prayer by one of the boarding school superintendents, the tribal superintendent announced that they were assembled for their annual institute and he proceeded to collect a dollar from each teacher. He announced that the dollar was his postage fund for the year. He pocketed the

money, told the teachers to go ahead and organize their normal, and left the room.

The teachers proceeded to "organize" by electing a 200-pound country teacher as President. Then, with as much parliamentary pomp as would be required to organize Congress, they perfected their organization by electing a first vice-president, a second vice-president, a secretary, a treasurer and a marshal-at-arms. I wondered what the duties of the last-named official would be, he being given an elevated seat at the right of the president, but I learned later that his was a responsible position. After the "organization" was perfected, the president announced the appointment of a committee of three to prepare a program for the week's work.

To my surprise, no one had been selected to take any part in the exercises of the week—no instructors, no lecturers.

The program committee retired to a private room and, without taking the pains to find out whether any of the teachers had come prepared to discuss any of the subjects or give any instruction, they arbitrarily arranged a program, in about five minutes, which ran something like this:

Your committee begs leave to report that we have prepared a program for the week, as follows:

Arithmetic.....	Mr. John Simpkins
Reading.....	Miss Susie Drinkwater
Grammar.....	Mr. Bill McGilbra
Geography.....	Miss Peggy Peters
History.....	Mr. Jasper Overalls
etc., etc.	

When the program committee made this report, the president somewhat boldly announced that the Institute was now completely organized and that, inasmuch as the noon hour had almost arrived, they would adjourn until one o'clock p.m., at which time he warned all teachers to return to the hall, preparatory to entering upon the real work of the week.

At one p.m., the bell rang again, the teachers assembled and, after another song, the president congratulated the teachers for their promptness and upon the prospect of a week's profitable work. He then announced that they would now proceed, without any further preliminaries, to carry out the program which had been arranged.

The president then said: "The first thing on our program will be an exercise in Arithmetic by Mr. John Simpkins." For a moment, a deathly quiet seemed to pervade the hall, but there was no response from Mr. Simpkins. The president, turning to the right, said: "Marshall-at-Arms, where is Mr. Simpkins?" The marshal-at-arms arose from his elevated seat and, after saluting the president and looked around the hall, replied: "Mr. President, I fail to find Mr.

Simpkins." The president, with some manifestation of indignation, exclaimed: "Mr. Marshal-at-Arms, you will proceed to produce Mr. Simpkins."

The marshal-at-arms dignifiedly walked out of the hall and around the public square, returning to the hall in about ten minutes and reporting that he had been unable to locate Mr. Simpkins. The president rather indignantly announced that they would deal with Mr. Simpkins later, but that he would not let Mr. Simpkins' absence interfere with their program.

The president then announced that the next thing on the program would be "an exercise in Reading, by Miss Susie Drinkwater". Another moment of profound silence ensued, while waiting for Miss Drinkwater to respond to the call of the president, and then the command of the president to the Marshal-at-Arms to produce Miss Drinkwater. The marshal-at-arms again scoured the town and returned to the hall and reported that she was no where to be found.

In the same manner, the president and marshal proceeded to the end of the program, without finding any one of the teachers who had been assigned to parts on the program. Every one of them had hidden out, and could not be blamed for so doing, for they had been given no notice nor time for preparing any exercises.

When the pompous president had reached the end of his program without getting any response from anyone, he seemed to be at a loss to know just what to do next. After a few moments more of suspense, a teacher arose and rather timidly announced that he understood that Mr. Benedict, the U. S. Superintendent of schools, was present and perhaps he would like to say a few words. The chairman seemed to hesitate for a moment (they had all been told to pay no attention to me), and he then asked me if I would like to say anything. I arose from my seat in the rear of the hall and told the chairman that I did not desire to interfere with the regular work of his program, but that when he was through with it, I would be glad to talk to the teachers. The chairman replied: "Well, I reckon we might as well hear you now." I walked to the platform upon which the president sat and, assuming as pleasant an attitude as it was possible for me to assume, I told the teachers that I was glad to be with them, that I wanted to become acquainted with each one and that I was anxious to help them in any way I could. I then presented some methods of teaching arithmetic and, in doing so, I asked them some simple questions, which they seemed proud of being able to answer. I purposely made my questions simple, at first, in order to overcome the impressions which I knew they possessed, to the effect that I was expected to be severe with them. I had not proceeded very far until I noticed that the teachers in the rear of the hall began to come forward and take seats nearer the front. I do not remember just how long I talked to them that afternoon, but I asked them a number of easy

questions, answered some questions for them, and illustrated a number of simple methods of teaching arithmetic.

During that afternoon, I accomplished the task which I was anxious to accomplish, viz: that of convincing the teachers that I was their friend—not their enemy; that I was there to help them and not to hurt them. To my surprise, at the close of my talk, the teachers voted to extend to me an invitation to come back after supper and talk to them again. At the night session, I talked to the teachers from 8:00 to 9:30, then went across the hall into another room where the negro teachers were meeting and talked to them for an hour. It was a very hot August night and, when I went across the street to my room over the store at 11:00 p.m., I was as wet with perspiration as if I had jumped into a river. About midnight, my supervisor woke me up, saying that he thought he heard some men down on the street in front of our room, cursing our proposed examination. It was a bright moonlight night and, as I got up and looked out of the window, I recognized the Creek superintendent and one of his leading boarding school superintendents, wrestling and reeling around on the edge of the street, both gloriously drunk.

The next morning, the Creek superintendent failed to report at the institute but his comrade seemed to think that he ought to be present, drunk or sober. He came into the hall at the opening of the next morning's session but was so drunk that he had to be escorted from the hall.

During the remaining days of the week, I had no trouble in getting acquainted with the teachers, many of whom came to me begging that I do not make the examination too severe for them, saying that they had never had any help or any opportunity to improve, having never had any summer normals worthy of the name. I could not avoid sympathizing with them, under the circumstances, and purposely made the examination as easy as possible. At the close of the weeks' work, the teachers voted unanimously to ask me to give them a four weeks' normal during the next summer and, as a result I gave them a four weeks' review term every summer thereafter during my eleven years' term.⁶

On the following week, I learned that the Creek superintendent had begun to appoint teachers and boarding school superintendents for the ensuing year, regardless of our examination. I felt that the

⁶ A news report was published at Eufaula, Indian Territory, under the date of June 30, 1905, with the headlines: "Creek Normal Closes Today—After the Most Successful Session ever Held in the Creek Nation—Instructors and Teachers highly Gratiſied at the Hospitality of the Eufaula People." The report stated that Mc McIntosh, Superintendent of Schools in the Creek Nation, "by his presence and words of encouragement, by his frequent visits to the different classes, and his timely suggestions and sound advice, spoken with that eloquence of expression so characteristic of him, has been a welcome guest as well as an important factor in the success of the normal."—*Ibid.*, p. 58.

time had come when I must either demonstrate my authority over the Indian schools or resign my position, for the school officials of the other tribes were watching, with a good deal of interest, the outcome of the squabble over the Creek schools. I notified him that the teachers appointed by him would receive no pay unless their names were submitted for my approval before they entered upon their next year's work. I also notified him that I could not consent to retain the boarding school superintendent who was drunk at the Institute. He then removed that superintendent but, without consulting me, he appointed another in his place, who, I learned, was no better qualified than the first one. When I notified him that I could not consent to his new appointment, the man just appointed wrote me that he was in possession of the boarding school and he intended to stay there.

After trying vainly for several days to persuade the new appointee to vacate, I called upon the U. S. Indian Agent for the services of one of his most reliable Indian policemen. Captain West, a noted Indian policeman of old-time Territorial days, was assigned to me and I instructed him to go to that boarding school, put out the man who was in possession, and install a new superintendent whom I had assigned to that position. When the Captain appeared at the school building, wearing his two six-shooters, which it was customary for those old-time Indian police to wear, the man threw up his hands and exclaimed: "Oh! Captain, I don't want any trouble; I am ready to go."⁷

This experience convinced the officials of the various tribes that I intended to exercise some control over their schools, but it did not put an end to their opposition. This opposition was not directed against me personally, for they always treated me very courteously, but it was prompted by several causes, viz:

1. The tribes maintained that the Federal Government had no legal right to exercise any control over their schools.
2. Each tribe had built up its own system of schools and its own system of school laws and, for more than half a century, had exercised undisputed control over them. They maintained that their schools could not be conducted in any other way than by their own laws.
3. The tribal politicians saw that they would lose their hold upon the schools if the proposed change was permitted. These politicians had managed to select their own children and their friends'

⁷ The following editorial appeared in the *Eufaula Journal* in August, 1899: "If the powers at Washington would send to the Indian Territory such men in all departments as General Superintendent Benedict there would be no objection to arbitrary rule until such time as the people might govern themselves. Mr. Benedict is fast getting the educational machinery of the country in beautiful condition for good work. We only wish the government would send us able and good men in other departments."—*Ibid.*, p. 11.

children to be sent to their boarding schools, where they were boarded, clothed and educated, at the tribe's expense, while the poor full-blood who had no political influence could only send his children to the poorly equipped and poorly taught country schools. In some instances, these Indian politicians were receiving money from Indian parents for getting their children assigned to the boarding schools and were being paid for securing positions for teachers. I recall that, during that first year, I received a letter from a teachers' agency in an adjoining state, asking me to confirm a contract which had been in force for several years and which provided that the agency would pay to tribal officials \$25.00 each for securing positions for fifty teachers.

One of my first tasks, after entering upon my work here, was to go to Fort Smith to meet the Choctaw Board of Education (Chief Green McCurtain, his tribal superintendent and three school trustees) for the purpose of investigating and auditing outstanding claims against the Choctaw schools, amounting to a good many thousand dollars. At this first meeting with Chief McCurtain, I was not very favorably impressed with his attitude and appearance. I thought that he seemed rather surly and arbitrary but, in the months and years following, as I came to know him better, I found him to be not only quite intelligent but also honestly and sincerely interested in the welfare of his people. He was one of the best Indians Indian Territory ever produced.

Shortly after returning from Fort Smith to Muskogee, some additional claims were filed against the Choctaw schools, and it became necessary for me to go to the little town of Grant, just beyond Hugo, to see the Choctaw superintendent about them. I went down to Denison, Texas, crossed over to Paris, Texas, and came back into the Territory on the Frisco railroad to the town of Grant. In those days, I was a stranger to everybody and was not telling people who I was, but was gathering information concerning Indian Territory from every possible source. As I got on the train at Paris, I sat down by the side of a big, burly man of dark complexion and flowing moustache, wearing a broad-rimmed hat. I surmised that he was an Indian Territory cow-man, probably an inter-married citizen, and I thought I might learn something from him. I asked him a number of questions and found, as I had anticipated, that he was well acquainted with the Choctaws. After a while, he turned on me and, in his blunt way, began to question me.

"Where are you going?" he asked.

I replied that I was going to the town of Grant.

"Who do you want to see there?" he next asked.

I replied that I wanted to see the Choctaw superintendent of schools. He then seemed to imagine that I was a Texas teacher, looking for a job. He replied:

"H--m, I guess it won't do you any good to see him."

"Why not?" I asked.

"Well", I said, "I should not think that Benedict would turn out over our schools now, and a man up at Muskogee by the name of Benedict is going to run them."

I replied: "Is that so, I wonder what kind of a man Benedict is?"

"Oh", he said, "I guess he is a damned shyster."

"What makes you think Benedict is that kind of a fellow?" I asked.

"Well", he replied, "I understand that he will turn out all of our Choctaw teachers and bring in a lot of strange teachers from the states."

"Well", I said, "I should not think that Benedict would turn out your Choctaw teachers if they are competent to teach."

"Oh, damn the difference about the competency", he exclaimed. "The money belongs to the Choctaws and they ought to have it."

As the train came to a stop at the station of Grant, the cow-man raised the ear window and, pointing to a man standing on the platform near his window, he said to me, as I bade him goodbye: "There's your man."

I stepped off the train and, as I approached the superintendent, he recognized me and called me by name. The cow-man heard my name called and, jerking off his big hat and thrusting his head further out of the window, he exclaimed: "Say, Benedict, I guess I must be the damned shyster." I accepted his last remark as his apology, waved him a farewell as the train pulled out, but I never afterward made any effort to learn his name.

My first trip to the Cherokee Nation was with team and buggy from Muskogee to Tahlequah, as Tahlequah had no railroad at that time. Upon arriving at Tahlequah, I called at the office of the Cherokee board of education, in the Capitol building. I found but one member of the board in the office, who treated me courteously, but rather coolly. I tried to persuade him to accompany me to the Cherokee Female Seminary, a beautiful building located in the northern suburbs of Tahlequah (now the Northeastern State Normal), but he declined to go. It seemed to me that he did not want to recognize me to that extent. I visited the Female Seminary alone, during the afternoon, and stayed over night at the old-time Capitol Hotel. I had planned to visit the Male Seminary during the forenoon of the following day, and drive from there back to Muskogee in the afternoon. Just before starting, I called again at the office of the Cherokee board

and found the same member in, whom I had met on the previous day. He asked me quite a number of questions concerning my visit to the Female Seminary. I told him of some changes which might be made toward improving conditions, but gave him to understand that changes should be made gradually, not hurriedly. I then invited him to accompany me to the Male Seminary. He hesitated at first, but finally agreed to go provided I would agree not to criticise the work of the school in the presence of the pupils or teachers, but would tell him what changes ought to be made, at the close of my visit. I told him that I was not accustomed to criticising school work publicly, and I cheerfully complied with his request.

We spent the forenoon together at the Male Seminary and, after dinner, he followed me out to the road as I was ready to start back to Muskogee. We stopped at the gate and chatted for a half hour, during which time I told him of a number of improvements which might be made. At the close of our conversation, he told me that, when he heard that the Federal government proposed to take charge of their schools, he trembled for fear that the government would send some man down there who would tear their school system to pieces and would inaugurate methods that would be so foreign to the needs of the Indians, that their schools would inevitably be broken up. But, he said he believed that I had come to help them build up, rather than tear down their school system, and he assured me that he would be glad to cooperate with me to that end. But he left the impression that whatever changes were to be made should be made by the Cherokee Board and that my work would be only advisory.

Not long after that, the Tahlequah weekly paper announced that the Cherokee Board was planning some important changes in their schools.⁸ I was entirely willing for the tribal board to have the credit of making improvements, just so long as we could get them made. Although occasional differences arose concerning school management, my experience with the Cherokees, upon the whole, was very pleasant. As the years advanced, it seemed to me that the tribal councils selected better qualified men for their school offices. With such Cherokees as O. H. P. Brewer and A. S. Wyly, who afterward served upon the Cherokee board of education, the work was indeed pleasant and harmonious.

⁸ Under the heading of "Rules and Regulations," J. T. Parks, President, and Jas. F. McCullough, Secretary, published the "Rules and Regulations of the Board of Education of the Cherokee" recently adopted on June 30, 1899, relating to the examination and appointment of teachers in the common schools of the Nation. The commissioners assigned to have charge of teacher appointments were James F. McCullough for the First Educational District embracing Cooweescoowee and Delaware districts; J. T. Parks for the Second Educational District embracing Saline, Tahlequah, Goingsnake, and Flint districts; and H. W. C. Shelton for the Third Educational District embracing Sequoyah, Illinois, and Canadian districts. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

After I had canvassed the situation here pretty thoroughly, I became convinced that better school work could be accomplished by allowing the tribal school boards to continue, and give them joint control with us in the management of their schools, than to entirely ignore them. I, therefore, asked the Interior Department to modify the rules and regulations which had first been given to me, so as to continued the tribal boards and give them joint control of the schools with my supervisors and myself. This change was granted by the Secretary of the Interior and, after the modified regulations were put into force, we had but little friction.

Although the majority of the teachers in the Indian Territory were then but poorly qualified to teach, yet I concluded that, inasmuch as they were acquainted with the Indians, it would be advisable to keep as many of them as possible, rather than bring in an army of strange teachers from the States. Many of the teachers apologized to me for being so "rusty", but invariably informed me that they had never had any help nor intelligent leadership. This condition caused me to begin to plan for having some summer normal terms for teachers, but it seemed that there was no town in Indian Territory at that time that could furnish suitable boarding or classroom accommodations.

I finally hit upon the plan of bringing the teachers of each Nation together at a central Indian boarding school, and boarding and instructing them during the month of June. Some of the tribal officials objected to such use of their boarding schools, but their objections were overcome and the plan was adopted. We agreed to furnish board, room and instruction to each teacher for four weeks for twelve dollars. Out of the money received from this source, we paid the actual cost of the provisions and the surplus was divided among the instructors. By close economy, we were able to pay our grocery bills and pay each instructor an average of \$25.00 per week. The plan proved very popular among the teachers, as it became a sort of annual reunion for them. These summer normals grew in popularity as well as in efficiency as the years came and passed and, after two or three summers, I was able to persuade the Interior Department to allow me a few hundred dollars for special lecturers. With this extra allowance, we were enabled to give the teachers some good pedagogical lectures.

In Illinois, in the years gone by, I had employed Professors Silas V. Gillan of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Joseph Carter of Rankin, Illinois, as Institute lecturers, and, although they could command much better salaries at home than we were able to pay them here, they both very willingly made the sacrifice and spent several summers with us, lecturing for one or two weeks in each of our four summer normals, which we conducted during the month of June.⁹

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 36, 43 and 58.

While my official position and duties did not require me to give attention to any except the Indian schools, yet as I traveled over the Territory, I soon became impressed with the utterly helpless condition in which the thousands of white children were left, so far as their being able to secure even the primary elements of any education. All of the lands, including both town lots and farm lands, still belonged to the Indians and could not be taxed for any purpose. Congress had just passed a law which provided that incorporated towns could be converted into school districts, and operated under the Arkansas school law, by vote of the people residing in such towns. Even then, the incorporated towns could only levy taxes upon personal property which, at that time, gave them but very little funds with which to build school houses and employ teachers, while the country neighborhoods were still powerless to tax their own property for any purpose. The rural neighborhoods would occasionally raise a fund by subscription with which to employ a teacher for two or three months during the winter but these schools were scarcely worthy of the name. The teachers employed here, with but few exceptions, but poorly qualified to teach, and the school buildings and furnishings, which also had to be secured by subscription, were of the crudest character.

My sympathy for these thousands of helpless white children induced me to try to do something for them. I began by urging the newspapers to advocate a congressional appropriation, and, in this work, I was ably assisted by some of the public-spirited men of the Territory. I went to Washington City and was given a hearing by the Committee on Appropriations of the Lower House of Congress, but they turned me down upon the grounds that Congress had never appropriated money directly for the support of white schools. They explained to me that there were hundreds of neighborhoods in the states that were too poor to maintain public schools, and that it would be establishing a bad precedent for them to give our white people an appropriation, for Congress would then be besieged by every poor settlement in the United States to help them maintain schools.

I came back to Muskogee somewhat discouraged, but determined not to give up the fight. Our white people who were acquainted with members of Congress back in the states were induced to write to them, urging aid for the white children of the Territory. Public meetings were held and resolutions were adopted which were sent to various Congressmen. One of the most important of these meetings was held in Purcell in December, 1900, which was attended by people from several towns in that section. I delivered an address at this meeting, which the people printed in pamphlet form and mailed a copy to every member of Congress. A Texas Congressman made a speech in our favor in the lower House of Congress and incorporated my

address in his speech, which was published in the Congressional Record.¹⁰

By this time, the members of Congress had become pretty well informed as to educational conditions in the Territory, but there was still some opposition to appropriating money directly for the benefit of white schools, because of the dangerous precedent which some of the members feared it might establish. In order to dodge that precedent, the following clause was finally attached to the Indian appropriation bill and was passed by both houses of Congress:¹¹

For the maintenance, strengthening and enlarging of the tribal schools of the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole Nations and making provision for the attendance of children of non-citizens therein, and the establishment of new schools under the control of the tribal school boards and the Department of the Interior, the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated to be placed in the hands of the Secretary of the Interior, and disbursed by him under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe.

While the phraseology of this clause appeared to make an appropriation for tribal schools, I was told that it was so worded in order to escape the precedent of appropriating money directly for white schools, yet I was informed that I should use it as I thought best.

This fund was not sufficient to enable us to establish schools in every community, but we endeavored to locate schools where they would accommodate the greatest number of children. With this appropriation, combined with a portion of the tribal funds and such additional funds as the neighborhoods were able to raise by subscription, we maintained 445 rural schools, in which were enrolled 5,170 Indian children and 20,995 white children, and also 78 Negro schools which were attended by 4,034 Negroes.

¹⁰ Under the heading "General Territory News," the text of the address by Superintendent Benedict, delivered at a "free school" convention held at Purcell in the late fall of 1900, was published as a newspaper report from Muskogee, I. T., December 7. In his address, Mr. Benedict championed the cause of free schools for white children in the Indian Territory. He stated in part: "The Indians of the Territory are fairly well supplied with educational funds, but no part of their school funds can be used for the education of white children of the Territory. The Indians are vested with the title to all lands of the Territory and they are non-taxable. . . . This territory is peculiarly the home of the Indian, but the white man has been lawfully admitted here. He has paid no license to transact business here. He has builded homes and cities and developed farms, and they have vastly enhanced the value of the Indians' allotments. He has built railroads, school houses, churches, erected hotels and business houses. He has created a market for the native products, and if he proves true to his Anglo-Saxon characteristics, he is here to stay. Since he has been admitted as a neighbor to the Indian, far better for the Indian to have him educated. An educated, intelligent white population can be of great benefit to the Indian, but an ignorant degraded white man is the Indian's worst enemy. The American common school is the greatest civilizing force in our midst." *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹¹ 31 *Statutes*.

We made such a good showing with this money that Congress increased this special appropriation for the following year to \$150,000.00, and, thereafter, Congress gave us \$300,000.00 per year. It would be almost impossible to estimate the benefit which these special appropriations supplied, for they enabled thousands of children, Indian, White and Negro, to attend school who had never before possessed any school privileges, and it was the beginning of free schools for Indian Territory.

When this first special appropriation was made by Congress, the Interior Department provided that the funds should be paid out to teachers by the U. S. Indian Agent at Muskogee, upon certified reports made by my supervisors and approved by me. This plan worked well for a time but, by reason of a cumbersome, red-tape system of bookkeeping, there soon came a time when the Indian Agent was unable to have any school money deposited to his credit, because of the fact that he had on hand a large amount of funds received from tribal taxes and other sources, and his bond limited the amount of funds which he was permitted to have on hand at one time.

Our schools opened in September, as usual, but our teachers were not paid any money until the following January (1901). Many of the teachers were located in strange neighborhoods and needed their salaries promptly, with which to pay their board and other living expenses. They seemed to think that I was responsible for the delay and some of them notified me that they would have to quit teaching unless I paid them. The situation became so desperate that, about Christmas time, I appealed directly to the Secretary of the Interior to relieve the situation by providing some way by which the teachers could receive their pay. A Government Inspector was sent here to investigate the trouble and, when I explained to him that our schools would be broken up unless the teachers could be paid more promptly he left my office saying that he would see me again within a day or two.¹²

He returned to my office on the next day and said that he had decided to have me appointed as paymaster, or special disbursing agent. I objected, for the reason that it would keep me confined too closely to my office and prevent my giving time to visiting schools. He replied that I had the schools so well organized that I could now leave the visitation of schools to my supervisors. The school money was immediately placed to my credit in the U. S. Treasury and I was required to pay one hundred dollars per year for a surety bond, which the Interior Department refused to refund to me. But I had the sat-

¹² An editorial appearing in *The Times*, Muskogee, I. T., in April, 1901, stated in part: "When it came to the establishment of the superintendency of the federal government over the schools of the Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw nations there was a remonstrance sent up from all who in the past profited by the loose and neglected methods in use by the tribes, and the Chickasaw tribe flatly, and has to this day persistently refused to be governed by federal supervision and the result is that the Chickasaw tribe owes \$100,000 to the school teachers."—Scrapbook, p. 38.

isfaction of being able to pay teachers promptly, and the assurance that they would receive their pay promptly thereafter tended to improve the efficiency of the school work quite materially. At one time I had as many as a thousand teachers on my payroll and, at the close of my term, after having disbursed several million dollars, the U. S. Treasurer notified me that he had a balance of \$2.33 to my credit.

As an illustration of the amount of good which these special appropriations accomplished for the white children of the Territory, I will mention but one case. I remember that, at one time, a white man, who had married an Indian woman and had reared a family of six children, wrote me asking me to send a teacher to his neighborhood. We did not have sufficient funds with which to establish schools in every neighborhood and I wrote him to that effect. Some days later he came to see me, pleading for a teacher. He said that his neighborhood had never had a school, although they had both white and Indian children. The neighbors had scraped up enough money to build a school-house, but they were unable to raise money for a teacher. At that time, our funds were almost exhausted, but I promised to send him a teacher. I sent him a middle-aged lady, who had taught for several years, and she happened to be just the teacher needed. I heard nothing from the school for several months but, after a while I began to get letters from the same man, begging me to come and visit his school. I finally went and stayed over night at his home. He was a white man, rather above the average in intelligence, who had married an Indian wife, and had a family of six children, each member of the family having a quarter section of land, yet none of whom had ever had any school privileges.¹³ After supper, he and I

¹³ The matter of schooling for the white children in the Choctaw Nation was mentioned in the letter by J. W. Everidge, Superintendent of Public Instruction in the Choctaw Nation, dated from Grant, I. T., August 7, 1899, to Hon. J. D. Benedict, *op. cit.* Mr. Everidge's statement was as follows: "Another matter to which I wish to call your attention is, that of educating from our school funds children who have no Indian blood in them, but whose parents or other relations were admitted by the courts, such as where a white man has once had an Indian wife and the Indian wife is dead and the white man has since married a white woman, an attempt is made to school the children, issue of marriage to the white woman, no Indian blood present, etc. There are cases of this kind in our nation and unless due care is exercised, this class will slip in on us. The education of such children would be in direct violation of our agreement, provided they were educated from our school fund. See Act of Congress approved June 28, 1898. Section 28, which says in part, 'The revenues from coal and asphalt, or so much as shall be necessary, shall be used for the education of the children of Indian blood of the members of said tribe.'" (The reference made by J. W. Everidge can be found in Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, Indian Affairs, Vol. I, p. 652.)

The federal census for 1900 shows a total population in the Indian Territory of 392,060. It was estimated that approximately 200,000 of the total population were white people who had come into the Territory within recent years. The movement for free public schools for white children was soon well under way after the passage of the Curtis Act. For some years, subscription schools were operated in the towns and in some rural communities, attended by both white and Indian children, the tuition for the latter paid out of tribal funds.

went into the sitting room, while the wife and children cleared the supper table and washed the dishes. I soon noticed that the clatter of dishes had ceased out in the kitchen and quiet prevailed. He then asked me to step out into the kitchen again, saying that he wanted to show me something. There, seated around the dining table, were his six children, all studying their lessons for the next day. With tears of gratitude in his eyes, he pointed to his children and said that, although he had lived in that neighborhood for twenty years, he had never had the pleasure of witnessing such a sight in his house until this teacher arrived. We then went down to the school-house, where I saw that the teacher had organized a night school for grown-up folks. It was, indeed, an interesting sight to see the married men and women poring over their lessons in reading, writing and arithmetic.

I returned home the next day, feeling that we were doing some good for the people of the Territory and wondering how many of the thousand teachers who were then at work were doing as much good as was being accomplished in this school.

The Curtis Act of Congress, passed in 1898, provided that all tribal affairs should be settled up and all tribal property sold by March 4th, 1906, and, as that date approached, we expected to receive orders from Washington to close all tribal schools. We had planned to close on the 3rd of March, 1906, but, on March 2nd of that year, a bill was rushed through Congress, authorizing us to continue the schools for the remainder of that scholastic year.¹⁴ Some of the pupils and employees of the boarding schools had already gone home and our schools were somewhat demoralized, but nearly all of the pupils returned at once and we finished the school year fairly well.

During that year, Congress passed an act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to continue the schools until such time as the new state was formed and prepared to take care of the education of all the children. At the same time, we were warned by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs against spending much money upon repairing the old tribal boarding school buildings, inasmuch as they were to be sold as soon as the State could put a system of public schools into operation. Nearly all of these school buildings had been erected by the tribal authorities from forty to fifty years prior to that time and were becoming old and dilapidated. Knowing that the schools might be discontinued within a year or two, we were unable to plan any further improvements.

Soon after statehood, some friction arose between the state school authorities and us concerning the continuance and plan of conducting the several hundred rural schools which we had established and helped to maintain for whites and Indians combined, the state school

¹⁴ "Joint resolution extending the tribal existence and government of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians in the Indian Territory," March 2, 1906.—34 *Statutes*, p. 822.

authorities claiming the right to absolute control of all of them. They had a perfect right to make this claim, provided the state was prepared to maintain a system of public schools throughout the entire state, but they apparently overlooked the fact that throughout the Eastern half of the state the land was nearly all owned by the Indians and, at that time, was not taxable. The Secretary of the Interior had no right to turn over to the state school authorities the funds which had been appropriated for rural schools and he insisted that we should supervise its disbursement.

This controversy was finally settled between Governor Haskell and the Secretary by an agreement by which the state school authorities were to complete the organization of school districts and conduct the rural school as long as the state funds would carry them, then we were to continue the schools until our special appropriation was exhausted. This agreement also provided that the Secretary of the Interior should have a representative on the State Board of Education and should have the right to appoint one member of each county board as examiners. Secretary of the Interior Garfield appointed me as his representative on the state board and our supervisors were to assist the county examining boards.

Statehood brought us additional troubles. In all of my school experience, I had positively refused to consider political affiliations in selecting teachers and superintendents. The education of our children always seemed to me to be a task too sacred to permit it to be influenced by any political preferences or prejudices, and I have always insisted that only educational and moral qualifications should be considered in selecting the men and women who are to have charge of the education of our youth. By faithfully following this policy, I incurred the displeasure of some of the politicians, who seemed to think that the Indian schools should be linked up with the political machinery of the new state. At the beginning of the first statehood campaign, I was also notified that I had been assessed \$350.00 for campaign purposes. I did not pay it for several reasons: 1st—I was not able to spare the money; 2nd—I was under no obligation to these politicians for my position; 3rd—President Roosevelt had said that we were not subject to such assessments.

From that time forward, complaints and absurd charges began to be forwarded to Washington concerning my work. President Roosevelt and the Secretary of the Interior heard their complaints but paid little attention to them. Later on, however, when (Richard) Ballinger became Secretary of the Interior, they found in him a willing listener. Secretary of the Interior Garfield, two Commissioners of Indian Affairs and the U. S. Superintendent of Indian Schools had visited us at different times and had commended our work, and no Government Inspector or other official had ever offered a word of criticism.

I knew that these politicians were desirous of getting me removed from office and of getting some one in my place who would do their bidding, but I paid no attention to their scheming, thinking that if any serious charges were preferred against me at Washington, I would, of course, be given an opportunity to answer them.

On the morning of January 11th, 1910, I was utterly dumbfounded by the announcement in the morning papers that I had been suspended from office by Ballinger, Secretary of the Interior, the same Ballinger whose questionable acts in other matters contributed so largely to President Taft's ignominious defeat in the election of 1912. I immediately telegraphed Ballinger for permission to come to Washington to defend myself, but he refused to authorize me to come. Within a few days I learned what the charges were, upon which I had been suspended. They were, as follows:

1. *I was charged with employing incompetent superintendents and teachers.*

This charge was notoriously false, for the man who succeeded me admitted that I had a better class of employees than the Government Reservation Indian Schools had. Not one of these superintendents or teachers was dismissed, but some of them secured responsible positions in the State schools and are still recognized as being among the best teachers of the State.

2. *I was condemned for having accepted an appointment from Governor Haskell as a member of the first State Text Book Commission.*

Ballinger's predecessor, Secretary Garfield, had urged me to work in harmony with the State School officials, and by agreement between him and Governor Haskell, I was appointed as a member of the first State Board of Education without solicitation on my part. Governor Haskell asked me to accept a position as a member of the first State Text Book Commission because he thought that I knew what textbooks would best suit the Indians, and I felt no hesitation in accepting the position, as it was in perfect accord with the instructions which Secretary Garfield had given me.

3. *I was charged with giving part of my time to the banking business.*

When the State Bank law was passed, I assisted in organizing the Guaranty Bank of Muskogee and accepted the position of its first president, with the distinct understanding that I should receive no salary and should not be called upon to give it any attention during business hours. The only attention that I ever gave the bank was to attend an occasional meeting of the Board of Directors at night and I had severed all connection with this bank eight months before these charges were against me.

4. *I was charged with having allowed the Indian Boarding School buildings to become old and dilapidated.*

These buildings were erected by the Five Tribes from fifty to seventy years ago and were badly dilapidated when I took charge of them. The Curtis Act of Congress, passed in 1898, provided that all the tribal institutions should be closed by March 4th, 1906, and as that time approached I was repeatedly advised by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to make but few repairs, as the schools would soon be closed and the buildings sold. At the time of my suspension, the Commissioner had in his office two requests from me to be allowed to make some badly needed repairs, which requests had been in his possession for several weeks but not yet granted. On March 2nd, 1906, Congress passed an act, hurriedly, authorizing us to continue the schools temporarily, but I was again warned against spending much money upon repairs, as Congress might order the schools closed at any time.

5. *The most absurd and outrageous charge against me was to the effect that thirteen Chickasaw school girls were led astray in one year.*

This charge was absolutely false and the man who made it knew it to be false. The only possible excuse for making such a charge was that when I took charge of the Indian schools in 1899, there was then a rumor afloat to the effect that, several years prior to that time, the moral conditions in one of the Chickasaw schools were deplorable, but such a condition never existed during my term of office, and I doubt if it had ever been as bad as represented. The man who furnished the false information, upon which this charge was based, came very near to being arrested for trying to bribe a hotel porter to assist him in gaining access to a lady teacher's room at ten o'clock at night.

Immediately upon receiving a copy of these charges, I boarded the train for Washington for the purpose of demanding that the Secretary of the Interior give me a fair trial upon these charges, although he had shown an inclination to give me no opportunity of defending myself. Upon arriving at Washington, I called upon Secretary Ballinger and told him that, on account of the unfair treatment which I had received, I did not desire to work under him any longer, but that I must insist upon a fair trial. In an hour's talk with him, I convinced him that I understood the motives which prompted the filing of these charges and I furnished him some evidence that caused his inclination to carry out the wishes of the politicians to weaken. He asked me to come back to his office on the next day, when he said he would consider my case further. On the next day, I called upon him at the appointed hour and, after a few minutes' conversation, he advised me to return home, saying that he thought that I would be satisfied with his final decision, which he promised to render within a day or two.

Before I reached home, a telegram came from him dismissing all charges against me. Ballinger wrote me a letter containing a weak apology and he paid my salary for another month, although I did not go back into the office.

About the time when these charges were presented against me, charges emanating from the same source were filed against Mr. J. George Wright, the U. S. Indian Inspector for Indian Territory, but, as Mr. Wright had been under the civil service for many years and was in Washington when the charges were filed, he was able to refute them. I was not under the civil service. An assistant U. S. Attorney informed me, while in Washington, that the practice of filing false charges against officials had been quite common in some of the departments, the purpose being that the false charges would discourage or disgust such officials to such an extent that they would voluntarily resign.

After returning to Muskogee, I learned that secret meetings had been frequently held in a certain office in Muskogee by the politicians who sought my removal from office, while these charges were being formulated. I also learned that the agent of one of the school book companies, who had failed to get what he wanted from our State Text Book Commission, lent a hand in formulating these false charges against me. In the midst of so many defalcations of public officials, I have always felt proud of the fact that, of the several million dollars which I disbursed during my eleven years of service in this office, no one has ever intimated that one dollar had been misspent. Even Secretary Ballinger assured me that my honesty had never been questioned.

While I was frequently annoyed by the red-tape rules of the Interior Department, yet my relations with the Department officials at Washington were always pleasant and I shall never forget the kind treatment and the encouraging words which I received from such men as Secretaries of the Interior Hitchcock and Garfield, Assistant Secretary Thomas Ryan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Jones and Mr. J. H. Dortch, Chief of the educational division of the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

As I recall conditions as they existed in February, 1899, when I landed in Muskogee, and compare them with present conditions, I can but wonder what the future has in store for us. Then, Muskogee had but one railroad and Okmulgee had none. I was compelled to travel by team and buggy from Muskogee to Tahlequah, Coweta and Sapulpa, over roads which had never been worked, crossing streams that had no bridges. Upon several occasions, I forded the Arkansas River although, in doing so, my buggy-bed was flooded with water.

In those early days, Tulsa was but a small village, scarcely worthy of a place on the map. For a few years, I had to allow Tulsa, Okmul-

gee and Sapulpa a portion of the special appropriation which Congress had been induced to give us for support of day schools, as they were unable to raise sufficient money with which to pay their few teachers.

Somebody, somewhere in Indian Territory, had found a little oil in a well or two, but oil in paying quantities was not yet to be had. While we considered that a trip to Okmulgee was a hard day's drive, now it is not unusual for an automobile to make the trip before breakfast. Then, there was not a school building in Indian Territory that would accommodate two hundred pupils, except the tribal boarding schools and the denominational mission schools.

Perhaps, before another quarter of a century shall have passed into history, areoplanes will be as common as automobiles now are, and our boys and girls will receive their educational training at home by radio.

When the Cherokee Female Seminary at Tahlequah was finally closed in May, 1909, and converted into the Northeastern State Normal School, the Cherokee authorities published a very handsome Year Book, containing an interesting historical sketch of the Seminary written by Mrs. R. L. Fite, one of the leading Cherokee women. In referring to me and to my work as Superintendent of Schools for Indian Territory, it says:

On February 11th, 1899, he was appointed, without solicitation, Superintendent of Schools in Indian Territory and continues in the service. He has made an efficient and vigorous officer. The tribal schools have been strengthened and developed and have greatly increased in number since his appointment and, by means of congressional aid, have been shaped toward a workable system for an organization of county and state schools. This is especially so in the Cherokee Nation. He has established summer normals in each of the Nations and has urged the training of teachers in these schools. He has accomplished the grading of the country schools and brought about the use of uniform text-books. Recently he has introduced the study of elementary agriculture in the rural schools. Mr. Benedict has won the appreciation and admiration of the Cherokee teachers and the Cherokee Nation, not only by his efficiency as an educator, but by his kindly sympathy as a friend and adviser.

In view of the fact that my first few visits to Tahlequah were accorded quite a cool reception (the Cherokees denying the right of the Federal Government to exercise any control of their schools), I appreciate this complementary notice very highly.

¹⁵ See *Appendix B* for tribute to Hon. John D. Benedict that appeared as an editorial in the *Muskogee Phoenix*.

APPENDIX A

CLIPPINGS IN BENEDICT SCRAPBOOK, PUBLISHED NEWS REPORTS IN 1899,
SCHOOLS IN INDIAN TERRITORY:

(1) *Letter from Samuel H. Mayes, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation:*
Executive Department, Cherokee National, Cherokee Nation,

Tahlequah Indian Territory, June 22nd, 1899.

Hon. B. S. Coppock, School Supervisor, Tahlequah, I. T.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of date of June 21st, 1899; transmitting a communication from Hon. John D. Benedict, superintendent of schools for the Indian Territory, in which I am advised that inasmuch as the Curtis act provides that "No payments of any moneys on any account whatever shall hereafter be made by the United States to any of the tribal governments or to any officer thereof for disbursements, but payments of all sums to members of said tribes shall be made under direction of the Secretary of the Interior, or by an officer appointed by him," that the Hon. Secretary of the Interior holds that no teacher shall be paid unless appointed or the appointment consented to by the Superintendent of schools for the Indian Territory and the Supervisor of schools for the Cherokee Nation.

The Cherokee Nation does not contend that our appropriation acts repeal any provisions of the Curtis Act, but we assert that the language in that payment of "all sums shall be made under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior" was intended to mean and should be so construed as to place the disbursement of our funds under the direction of the Secretary in accordance with our tribal laws. If our laws are not to be the guide then there are none. How many schools are you going to establish? What salary are you going to pay teachers? How much are you going to expend annually? If you can disburse this money without an appropriation, then there is no limit to the amount you can use annually. In case Congress intended that you should have the management of our schools, why did not the act say so, not, as we hold, by an unfair implication, but by specific language?

The Curtis bill was approved June 28th 1898 yet the appointment of teachers was made last summer and the following winter by the Cherokee Board of Education in accordance with Cherokee law. Warrants were drawn to compensate the teachers for the services rendered, and these warrants have been held valid by the comptroller of the treasurer of the United States and have been paid "under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior."

If these warrants issued for said services were valid, the appropriations were necessarily legal, and if they were legal last summer under appropriations made without the President's approval, for a stronger reason, the Cherokee Board of Education has the right to make the appointments at present.

We contend that the language above quoted was only intended to take the disbursement of our moneys from our treasurer and place it under the supervision of the Secretary, but that Secretary has no more authority over funds than the Cherokee treasurer formerly had. In other words, the Secretary is the Nation's banker and must disburse the Nation's money in accordance with tribal law. What the treasurer could have done, the Secretary now can do.

The Hon. Assistant Secretary of the Interior, as well as Judge Smith in charge of the Bureau for the Indian Territory and as well as every

member of Congress with whom I talked last winter, agreed that the above was the proper construction to be placed on the act.

In making disbursements, the Secretary is following tribal laws. He pays warrants in the order of their issuance and out of the funds upon which they are drawn. He pays the interest on warrants as our law provides. We have three other funds. General, Orphan and Asylum funds. We are drawing warrants monthly upon the funds to pay officers and employees for services rendered under elections or appointments made by Cherokee authorities. If the language of the Curtis Act, that payment of all sums "shall be made under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior," applied to our school fund, by necessary implication means that the appointment of all teachers must be made under his supervision, then necessarily, as applied to our other funds, it means by the same implication, that the secretary must supervise their election or appointment. He would then have the appointment of every officer in the Cherokee Nation and the people would have no voice whatever in their selection.

I cannot give my consent to this construction, not that I desire to antagonize the department of the interior, and I beg to personally assure you that it is not through any ill will entertained against the superintendent of the schools or the supervisor; but only from a firm conviction, after mature deliberation, that my construction of the law is the proper one. I submitted these views to the department last winter, both in writing and more at length verbally. I have no desire to antagonize the government of the United States, as the department is aware. The Curtis bill abolished our courts on July 1, 1898, and provided that no further compensation should be paid the judicial officers. This provision was complied with and no more warrants were issued to such officers. The act of June 3, 1897, provided that all acts of our council should be submitted to the president for his approval, and this, as well as other provisions of this and subsequent acts of congress have been recognized by the Cherokee Nation.

As I have often verbally assured you and advised you by letter, there should not be any objection to the superintendent of schools having access to all our records, attending the examination of all applicants for schools, to see that such examinations are fairly and properly conducted and to investigate any charges which, for any reason, might be preferred. Your advice and the result of your experience would gladly, no doubt, be accepted by the Cherokee board of education, and would be of great benefit to the educational interests of our country. I want to assure you that it is not my desire to shield a single incompetent teacher. None but those well qualified, not only from an educational standpoint, but morally as well, should be employed, and if a mistake is made it should be summarily remedied in the interest of our country. Believe me, I am thoroughly in sympathy with any movement for the betterment of our educational facilities, but I cannot consent to what I construe to be an open violation of law. Our law provides for a Board of Education, prescribes the duties of the members thereof, provides in detail for the examination and appointment of teachers, the compensation of each, in what way reports shall be made, etc. Upon certificates of local directors requisitions are issued, and upon these warrants are drawn, and in no other way, under existing law, would I feel authorized to issue them. Teachers could not be paid quarterly, as suggested, for two reasons: first, because our annuities are paid semi-annually and second, for the reason that our school fund is in arrears. Hence they must be paid by warrant and not in cash direct.

I have confidence in the integrity and efficiency of the Cherokee Board of Education as at present constituted, but allow me to assure you that in case my attention is officially called to any official misconduct to the detriment of the school system all the power I have will be invoked to its

correction. The records of the Board of Education will at all times be open to your inspection, the examination public, the examination papers placed on file and record made of the grade of each applicant in the different branches.

S. H. MAYES, Prin. Chief, Cherokee Nation.

(2) *Letter from Green McCurtain, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation:*
EDUCATIONAL BOARD SHOULD ADJOURN SINE DIE SO WRITES

GOVERNOR MCCURTAIN TO HIS OFFICIAL PAPER

From *Choctaw News*, 1899.

San Bois, I. T., July 31.—Editor News:

In your paper of recent issue I notice it is stated that there is a breach between the officials of the interior department and the Choctaw officials in regard to schools, and that the Choctaw officials have withdrawn from any further participation in the school affairs and refuse to assist in the work; saying that they will neither assist or obstruct the work, but will let the department officials work out their own salvation. I desire to say that, while the facts are not exactly as stated, the conditions are about the same as represented.

It is not denied that the interior department has a right to control our schools, that right is given in the agreement to the department, nor have the Choctaw authorities at any time questioned that right, so there could have been no breach in the exercise of a right by the department officials that was not denied by the Choctaw authorities. But in formulating their plans for the government of our schools, the Choctaw school board, our school laws and customs were entirely ignored by the department officials as though we had no part in the school affairs of this nation; this we considered unfair, and to say the least disrespectful, as we are or are supposed to be, beneficiaries of this new system.

I am perfectly willing for the interior department to have full control of our schools, and I think I voice the sentiment of the other members of the board in this, for I believe the department will make a success of the school work; however, it will require some time for the new system to get in good working order. But after being snubbed as the Choctaw authorities have been in this, it would be very unbecoming in them to take up any drudgery work that might be assigned them by the department officials. In my opinion the Choctaw board of education's day of usefulness has passed, and it would now be in order for the board to meet at some convenient place (at council) and adjourn sine die; in other words, as an evidence of a disposition on our part to do the right thing, council should abolish the board of education and cut down expenses.

Very respectfully,

GREEN MCCURTAIN,

Principal Chief, Choctaw Nation
and Ex-Officio Pres. of the
Board of Education. C.N.

(3) News report from *Kansas City Journal*, 1899:

ARE UP IN ARMS

CREEKS BITTERLY OPPOSE CONSTRUCTION OF CURTIS LAW, SCHOOLS MAY BE CLOSED

(Appointment of Supervisors the Bone of Contention)

Alex McIntosh, Superintendent of the Creek Schools, Will Insist That Money Be Prorated if Government Continues on Present Lines.

"The Creek council will hold up the public school funds, and the schools will be closed if the interior department continues to impose on us its system of school supervision" said Alexander McIntosh, superintendent of schools for the Creek nation, while in the city this week. "In appointing supervisors last spring for the schools of the five civilized tribes the secretary of the interior caused all the trouble. The broadest construction has been placed upon the Curtis law by the department in all matters touched upon by it, and its purpose, to destroy our civic institutions, has been carried out until today we have only two officials left with any power, the governor and superintendent of schools. Now an attempt is being made to take from our control the schools, although the Curtis act does not even remotely touch upon the subject.

"It is going too far and if the worst comes our legislative body will withhold the funds altogether and demand that the department distribute the school money pro rata among the people so they may send their children outside the nation to educate them.

"The Curtis act is a mere skeleton of a law, suggesting to the interior department the lines along which it may make rulings that will become laws then and there. Under it our own administration machinery has been wrecked completely, and no substitute has been provided by the United States. It is as near the chaotic state as any government ever was in. The federal executive as well as the entire judicial body of the Creek nation. Imagine, if you can, a land where a decision or an order of a court must be awaited on the thousand questions arising. The uncertainty brings stagnation.

"In the case of the schools J. D. Benedict was appointed supervisor for the five nations a few months ago. Supervisor Ballard, another man who had never been in the territory before his appointment, was sent to take charge of our schools in the Creek nation. When they announced July 1 as the time for holding their institute and the thirteen branches on which the teachers would be examined, the teachers in the seventy-five neighborhood schools and in the boarding schools made it known that they would quit. Only a few could have passed such an examination as was proposed. That tore the government supervisor all to pieces. They acknowledge they have failed in everything they have attempted. When they first came to me and wanted me to indorse their plans, in consideration for which I was to continue to draw my salary, I began the fight. I said if they could show legal authority to interfere, I would quit and under no condition would I be bought by a paltry salary to give their rulings legal force.

"I announced just before coming to Kansas City that my institute will be held August 1, and no applicant will be recognized who does not attend my institute. My examination will cover the six fundamental branches."

(4) Letter printed in *Indian Citizen*, Atoka, Indian Territory:

CHOCTAW SCHOOLS

THE CONDITIONS AS VIEWED BY SUPERINTENDENT BENEDICT

Muskogee, I. T., Nov. 27, '99.

Editor *Indian Citizen*, Atoka.

In one issue of your paper, a few weeks ago, you hinted that possibly I had "soured" on the Choctaws, and in your issue of last week you express the hope that I will continue to work in harmony with the officials of that nation. I assure you that I experience none but the very kindest feelings toward the Choctaw people and am extremely anxious to see harmony reign, especially in school matters. As to my statements concerning the former bad management of the schools, it is only necessary for me to say that my information was based upon my own observation and upon scores of letters received from Choctaw citizens. Concerning these conditions, I might add, also, that the half has not yet been told. No one individual or official is to blame for this condition, but the fault has lain with the system.

I have done everything in my power to promote harmony, knowing full well that harmonious action is necessary to the upbuilding of the schools.

I have invited the Choctaw citizens to write me fully concerning school matters.

I have asked the citizens in each neighborhood to select their own local trustees.

I have held examinations in every part of the Choctaw Nation, and have endeavored to secure positions for all Choctaw teachers who proved themselves competent.

I made a special request of the Secretary of the Interior that the District Trustees be still allowed to receive reports from neighborhood teachers, and issue certificates for their pay.

After I had made this special request, and had arranged to work in perfect harmony with these Trustees, the Council ordered them not to do the very thing which I had asked the Secretary of the Interior to allow them to do.

The real trouble down there arises from the fact that certain members of the Council denied the right of the Secretary of the Interior to take control of their schools. The Hon. Secretary considered that question and decided it long before he asked me to come to the Territory, and I have no right to change his rules and regulations in any manner. I am under obligations to carry out his instructions in every particular. I know, too, that he is anxious to improve the schools of the Territory.

It must be understood, however, that improvements cannot be made without making changes. Improvement implies change. Wherever, then, we have failed to follow the Choctaw rules, the change has been made because some other method or rule was considered better.

The Council certainly has the right to appeal to the authorities at Washington if it believes that any of its powers have wrongfully been taken from it, but these officials should not antagonize their own schools, for in so doing they are simply injuring the welfare of their own children. We have more good teachers at work now in the Choctaw Nation than in any other nation in the Indian Territory, and we have only begun to improve conditions.

I most heartily invite the hearty co-operation of all the good citizens of that nation, and can assure them that I shall continue to exert every effort

toward making their schools better, to the end that their children may be better prepared for the responsible duties of life.

Yours truly,

JOHN D. BENEDICT,

Supt. of Schools
in Ind. Ter.

APPENDIX B

Editorial in the *Muskogee Phoenix* for January 4, 1910:

ONE OF THE FIRST CITIZENS OF THE STATE

Just how much of the damnable policies of designing politicians entered into the causes of the suspension of Mr. John D. Benedict as superintendent of the Indian schools perhaps, will never be known to the people of Oklahoma and those of the eastern part of the State where Mr. Benedict has lived for the past eleven years. It is useless to comment upon this phase for the very fact that the causes, so called, that led up to the act of suspension are so supremely ridiculous that people in this state know that they were put forth as an excuse of the perpetration of a peculiarly cowardly political deal, that has no parallel in the history of the many political intrigues that have disgraced the state—or rather the old territorial part in years past. The suspension is an accomplished fact, the alleged causes preposterous rote, but seemingly sufficient, with a coterie of unprincipled politicians back of it, to do its work.

The editor of this paper has been intimately and personally acquainted with John D. Benedict for the past eleven years. Not only has the writer been thus favored but he has had cognizance of the tribal authorities, then by the federal government. Only the closest paring of accounts, only the most minute supervision of the various boarding schools, only the most circumspect management of the entire school system as Mr. Benedict found it would have enabled the tribal or federal authorities to have maintained a semblance of a system of education with the five tribes of the old Indian Territory. Scores—hundreds of as intelligent teachers as ever attempted to train and educate a child will corroborate this statement. Hundreds of young women and young men who have taught in these tribal schools will unhesitatingly attest to the statement that every conceivable scheme for the betterment of the territorial schools was brought forth and tried, was adopted and promulgated, was practiced and put into operation to the end that the work might not only be acceptable to the authorities, but more so to the eventual development of the children who were given under the charge of this man. To the people of the east side of the state there is no use in going over the details, of painting, or attempting to paint, the chaotic condition that Mr. Benedict found here, the children of the tribes had to be unlearned. The system was different and every impediment was seemingly placed to prevent the fullest development. The unceasing wonder is that the man lasted two years, under the storm of criticism that came from the very quarters that he was aiding, but with a rare perseverance, with a patience that was inexhaustible, the work was continued. And while the results are not as Mr. Benedict wished, yet taken all in all they are flattering and are something that he need not feel ashamed to confront before the whole world.

The people of Muskogee have faith in John D. Benedict. The people of the state have faith in him. The hundreds of teachers, male and female that have come under his rule have faith in him. They found him a man who knew school work. They found in him a man who could enter into

their troubles and their difficulties and one who exerted always the best kind of influence over those who worked under him. These teachers supplement the character of the man. They add to his qualifications as an official their personal regard which is unquestioned. Mr. Benedict has stood for years in Muskogee as one of her first citizens. His integrity has never by any man now known been questioned. His life has been an open book to the hundreds of men and women in this town who gave to him and will continue to give to him their very highest regard, their most sincere respect. John D. Benedict is a personal friend of the writer. We are glad of it and we take the greatest pleasure in voicing the unanimous sentiments of the people of Muskogee who have at every opportunity delighted to honor a man whose friendship was a charm and a privilege that was held in highest esteem.



(Robt. E. Cunningham Collectio

WILLIAM POLLOCK

WILLIAM POLLOCK: PAWNEE INDIAN, ARTIST AND ROUGH RIDER

By Frank F. Finney

William Pollock, a full blood Pawnee Indian came to manhood in that difficult period when the reservations were being broken up and the Indians were taking allotments and becoming full-fledged United States citizens. At the age of 22, under the Congressional Act of March 3, 1893, he received his allotment comprising the Northeast quarter of Section 35-Township 22, Range 4E, about three miles west of the Pawnee Agency. Unlike most of the older Indians, this young Pawnee whole heartedly accepted the white man's ways.

He received the Pawnee name of Tay-loo-wah-ah-who as a child, and at the agency school became William Pollock, a namesake of an official in the Indian service and who was at one time agent for the Osages at Pawhuska. From the agency school he advanced to the Haskell Institute at Lawrence, Kansas, where he became an outstanding student. He played in the band but was preeminently gifted as an artist and in this realm was a predecessor of his fellow tribesman, Acee Blue Eagle, the famous artist of the present day.

As an artist, he is best remembered by those of us who lived at the Pawnee agency, by his paintings on wagons used by the Indians. These small Studebaker wagons which were assembled at the Haskell school and sent to the Indians, bore his paintings of Indian portraits on the side-boards and spread-eagles on the end-gates. His ability as an artist began to be recognized on a wider scale when some of his work was exhibited at the Smithsonian Institute at Washington.

During the time our family lived at the Pawnee Agency and my father and J. H. Sherburne had the store there, Pollock was employed in the Agent's office. I remember him as being tall, straight and athletic. One day he was in the store and my father said, "Pollock, draw me a picture", and handed him a piece of wrapping paper. The young artist obliged and sketched an Indian head adorned with a war-bonnet.

Pollock was destined to be a warrior with the courage of his fighting forebears, but went into battle with his hair cut short and without their paint and war bonnets. Although a warlike tribe, the Pawnees had ever been friends and allies of the United States Government. Soon after General Custer's command was wiped out on the Little Big Horn, Major Frank North came to the Pawnee Agency to enlist Indian scouts to fight in General Crook's punitive expedition being organized against the Sioux. Major North was highly

thought of by the Pawnees and many of them had formerly served as scouts under his direction. My father, who then resided at the Osage Agency recorded in his journal that Major North passed through the Agency with a company of about one hundred Pawnee Indians on their way to Coffeyville, Kansas, to entrain for the Northwest. He said that Major North was authorized to enlist only one hundred men, but so eager were the Pawnees to fight their old enemies, that many of those left behind after the quota was filled, straggled through the Agency on foot with a few pack ponies, trying to catch up with Major North and his band in the hopes that they would still be accepted.

When the Spanish-American war became imminent, Pollock was among the first to volunteer. As a member of the 1st Volunteer Cavalry, (Roosevelt's Rough Riders), he fought in the battles of Las Guasimas, San Juan Hill and Santiago with distinction and won special commendation from Col. Theodore Roosevelt. In his book, "The Rough Riders", Roosevelt wrote, "Among the men I noticed leading the charges and always nearest the enemy, were Pawnee Pollock, Simpson of Texas and Dudley Dean."

Further along in his book and at more length, Roosevelt said:

One of the gamest fighters and best soldiers in the regiment was Pollock a full-blooded Pawnee. He had been educated, like most of the other Indians, at one of those admirable Indian schools which have added so much to the total of the small credit account with which the White race balances the unpleasant debit account of its dealings with the Red. Pollock was a solitary fellow—an excellent penman, much given to drawing pictures. When we got to Santiago he developed into a regimental clerk. I never suspected him in having a sense of humor until one day, at the end of our stay in Cuba as he was sitting in the Adjutant's tent working over the returns, there turned up a trooper of the First who had been acting as a barber. Eying him with immovable face, Pollock asked, in a guttural voice, "Do you cut hair?" The man answered, "Yes"; and Pollock continued, "Then you had better cut mine," muttering, in an explanatory soloquy, "Don't want to wear mine long like a wild Indian when I am in a civilized warfare."

Billy McGinty, Roosevelt's personal orderly, who still lives in Ripley, Oklahoma, served for a time with Pollock in Troop "D." He says, "Bill Pollock was a fine fellow. He drew pictures around the camp a lot. A braver man never wore the American uniform. In one battle he took off his shirt and lost it. I found another one for him to keep him out of trouble."

Edward F. Loughmiller, another member of troop "D" and a comrade of Pollock, lives in Oklahoma City. He says, "In an engagement the bullets were flying fast and everyone was lying down excepting Pollock who was standing behind a tree. Our Lieutenant, Dave Goodrich of the auto tire family, tried to get him and order him to get down, but the fire became too hot for him to reach him and he decided to let the Indian fight in his own way. Goodrich said Pollock was firing deliberately and making every shot count."



(From Painting, Smithsonian Institution)

Painting by William Pollock
William F. Cody, "Buffalo Bill," on horse at right.

Pollock survived the Mauser bullets and returned to his people safely. His sojourn with them was brief after the war ended, and he died of pneumonia at Pawnee in March, 1899. Not long before his fatal illness, he had signed a contract to join Buffalo Bill's show for a tour of the country and appearances in Madison Square Garden in New York.

He was buried with military honors in the Pawnee cemetery and the Pawnee Post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars was named for him. The life of Pawnee William Pollock was short but long enough for him to leave a proud and honorable record in the annals of Oklahoma and his tribe.

BILLY BOWLEGS

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

A noted Creek chief of the name of Secoffee in 1750 separated from the Creek Nation, and with a large number of adherents settled in a part of the country called Alachua¹ in the center of the Florida peninsula. An early (1848) history of the Seminoles states:²

"He was a man of noted courage, violent passions, and possessed a most active and vindictive mind. Combined with an indomitable will, his seductive oratory and subtle cunning secured him influence, and insured success to all his measures He died in the year 1785, at the advanced age of seventy, and was buried near the present site of Fort King. He was, in fact, the founder of the Seminole nation.

Finding himself fast approaching his end, he called his two sons to his side. Payne and Bowlegs, and in a most fervent and pathetic manner detailed his plans"

The Creek settlement at Alachua was the beginning of the Seminole tribe, of which the best account is by Bartram, according to John R. Swanton who has stated further:³ "The destruction of the Apalachee towns had partially cleared the way for the settlement of Florida by Indians from the north, and in the period immediately succeeding bodies of them gradually pushed southward from the large Creek towns on the Chattahoochee River"

Further notice of the Seminoles points out that their first band came to Florida in 1750 under the leadership of Chief Secoffee, John Swanton confirming this date as important for "the beginnings of the Seminole as a distinct people" Another note by

¹ Alachua was a former Seminole town in what is now Alachua County, Florida. It was settled by Creeks from Oconee, on Oconee River in Georgia, about 1710 (Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Bur. Amer. Ethnol., *Bulletin* 30, [Washington, 1912], Part I). A third division of the Creek Confederacy became known as the Seminole by 1770 and their most notable settlement early in the eighteenth century was at Alachua which was directly west of St. Augustine. Their leader was the warlike Cowkeeper (John Richard Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier* [Ann Arbor, 1944], pp. 9, 10).

² John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848), pp. 18, 19. James W. Silver, *Edmund Pendleton Gaines* (Louisiana State University Press, 1949), pp. 78, 79, note 84. Major Albert G. Brackett in his *History of the United States Cavalry* (New York, 1865) copied several pages from Sprague's *History of the Florida War* in which Bowlegs is frequently mentioned on pages 41, 42, 45, in the narrative of the Negro interpreter, Sampson (Bryant and Gay, *A Popular History of the United States* [New York, 1886], Vol. 4, pp. 253-54).

³ John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors*, Bur. Amer. Ethnol., *Bulletin* 73, (Washington, 1922), p. 398. Bartram wrote: "The Seminoles are but a weak people with respect to numbers. All of them, I suppose, would not be sufficient to people one of the towns in the Muscogulge [Muskogee or Creek] . . . Yet this handfull of people possesses a vast territory; all East Florida and the greater part of West Florida." (Mark van Doren (ed.) *The Travels of William Bartram* [New York, 1928], p. 182).

Fairbanks states incorrectly that Secoffee "left two sons, head chiefs, Payne and Bowlegs." Swanton referring to Fairbank's statement adds: "This is, of course, an assumption natural to a white man, but descent was in the female line among both the Creek and the Seminole, and Cohen is undoubtedly correct when he says that Cowkeeper was 'uncle of old Payne', and Cowkeeper was an Oconee chief."⁴

A letter, written supposedly by Bowlegs, to the Governor of St. Augustine, Don Jose Coppinger, states that the writer had been unable to find a person to write an answer to a recent letter from the Governor, thus explaining his delay and seeming neglect. The epistle continues:⁵

I shall be very happy to keep up a good understanding, and correspondence with you, and hope you will, when occasion offers, advise me of such things as may be of service to myself and people. My warriors and others that go to St. Augustine, return with false reports, tending to harass and distress my people, and preventing them from attending to their usual avocations. At one time, the Americans and Upper Indians, supported by a force of about three thousand men, were running lines far within the Indian Territory; at another time, are collecting a force at Fort Mitchel, in the forks of Flint and Chatahoochee rivers, to fall on the towns below.

Now, sir, we know of no reason the Americans can have to attack us, an inoffensive and unoffending people. We have none of their slaves. We have taken none of their property since the Americans made peace with our good father, King George. We have followed the order of his officer that was with us, Lieutenant Colonel Edward Nichols, and in no wise molested the Americans, though we daily see them encroaching on our territory, stealing our cattle, and murdering and carrying off our people.

That same officer also told us, we, as allies, to the Great King, our father, were included in the treaty of peace between our good father and the Americans; and that the latter were to give up all the territory that had been taken from us before and during the war. Yet, so far from complying with the ninth article of that treaty, they are daily making encroachments on our land . . .

The principal chiefs of the nation, with the head warrior, assembled at my town on the 8th instant, and came to the resolution of informing the British minister at Washington, of the conduct of the Americans and the officers of their Government toward us. It has been done accordingly, and copies sent to England

After Hillis Harjo (Francis) and Himollemico were ordered hung, Andrew Jackson advanced with the least possible delay to the Suwanee River, where Billy Bowlegs had his headquarters. Arbuthnot

⁴ See the following references in order for the above statements: Daniel G. Brinton, *Notes of the Floridian Peninsula Campaign* (Philadelphia, 1859), p. 145; Swanton, *op. cit.*; G. R. Fairbanks, *History of Florida*; M. M. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns* (New York, 1836), p. 238.

⁵ This letter was written by the Scot Alexander Arbuthnot. Arbuthnot was an Indian trader who had been in Florida many years, and had established friendly relations with the Indians. "He had also sympathized with the Indians, and had exerted himself in their behalf in many quarters."—William Graham Sumner, *Andrew Jackson* (Boston and New York, 1899), pp. 72-3.

owned a trading post there and when he learned of Jackson's advance, he wrote to his son, who was his agent at Bowlegs' village, to transport the goods across the river. It was through this letter that the Indians got warning of Jackson's move so that they were able to escape across the river into the swamps.⁶

Bowlegs disappeared for some time after the Creek war on the Georgia frontier but his name was again a familiar one in the later history of the Seminoles for he survived many years. One authority writing on the early exploits of Bowlegs makes these statements about him:⁷

Inferior Seminole chief who was brought temporarily into notice in 1812 during the Indian war on the Georgia frontier.

When early in that year King Paine (*sic*), also a Seminole chief, at the head of sundry bands of Seminole and negroes, started on a mission of blood and plunder, Bowlegs joined him. A small force under Capt. Williams was met and defeated Sept. 11. Their force being considerably increased, they soon thereafter marched from the Alachua towns to attack Gen. Neuman (*sic*) who had been sent against them with orders to destroy their towns. After 4 severe charges in which King Paine was killed and Bowlegs wounded, the Indians were driven back. With this occurrence Bowlegs drops from history, though he probably lived several years longer. In a document exhibited in the trial of Arbuthnott and Ambrister his name is signed Boleck.

In the fight which took place near Payne's town in 1812 King Payne was mortally wounded, but the white invaders were compelled to retreat during the night. Payne was succeeded by his brother, Bowlegs, whose Indian name was given by M. M. Cohen (*op. cit.*), as *Islapaopaya*, meaning "far away." Cohen also states that Bowlegs was killed in 1814 by the Tennesseans and that he was succeeded by Mikonopi "Top Chief," who was the nephew of King Payne and Bowlegs. Swanton declares that "Mikonopi came as near being 'head chief of the Seminoles' as any at the outbreak of the great Seminole war. We may therefore say that the nucleus of the Seminole Nation was not merely a body of 'outcasts' as has so often been represented, but a distinct tribe"⁸

Billy Bowlegs was one of the group of great fighters that stood off the United States forces for years and cost the lives of many white soldiers and the government forty million dollars during the Seminole Wars.

His Indian name was *Halpuda Mikko* which signifies a chief belonging to the Alligator (*Halpuda*) clan. He was a son of Secoffer, an ally of the British against the Spanish. He was a brother of "King Payne" who was only a minor chief. These two Indians became notor-

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Cyrus Thomas on "Bowlegs" in *Handbook of American Indians*, Bur. Amer. Ethn., *Bulletin* 30, (Washington, 1912), Pt. 1.

⁸ Swanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-400.

ious because of their hostile attitude against the white settlers of Georgia, particularly in 1812 when an encounter took place between them and 117 men under Colonel Daniel Newman, of the Georgia volunteers on September 26. The Indians had 150 warriors and the fight resulted in the capture of Payne and the wounding of Bowlegs; by desperate fighting the Seminoles recovered Payne from the white troops.

When Florida came into the possession of the United States in 1821, there were within the limits of the area four thousand Seminoles, and eight hundred slaves. The government did not recognize the claim of the red men and it was not until the treaty of Payne's Landing was concluded on May 9, 1832 that part of the Indians relinquished their rights to the territory.⁹

Sam Jones (or Arpeika) was regarded as a medicine man and his advanced age gave his opinions and advice great importance. At the beginning of the war he planned attacks, fired the first gun, then retired to take care of the wounded. By certain medicines, and prayers offered to the Great Spirit, he infused into the young warriors a resolute daring. "He instigated the attack on Fort Mellon—fired the first rifle, and then left Coacooche to fight the battle. The active war-chiefs in the Big Cypress Swamp, were Holatter Micco or Billy Bowlegs, Parsacke, Sho-nock-Hadjo, and Chitto-Tustenuggee" ¹⁰

An active band of Seminoles occupied the area south of Pease Creek, through the Big Cypress Swamp to the Everglades. Billy Bowlegs, The Prophet (Otalke-Thlocko) and "Shiver and Shakes" (Hospertacke), were the leaders. Part of the friendly Indians from Arkansas were operating in that vicinity, from the camp at Sarasota. Many interviews were held with this band of Seminoles in which promises were made to assemble for migration.

The expedition under Lieutenant Colonel Harney of the Second Dragoons and a detachment of the Third Artillery, in December, 1840, caused great alarm among these bands of Seminoles who had taken refuge in this last foot-hold in the territory.¹¹

Sampson, the Negro interpreter for the army had many close calls from death. He was absent two years in the Big Cypress Swamp before he made his escape. When he learned that a camp had been

⁹ Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *The Indian Tribes of North America* (Edinburgh, 1934), Vol. 2, pp. 8-16.

¹⁰ Sprague, *op. cit.*, 318-19. Samuel G. Drake, *The Aboriginal Races of North America* (New York, 1880), p. 406. Sam Jones was chief of the Tallahassee band of Florida Indians, with whom he lived, and fought against the white soldiers until he was more than 80 years of age. —Grant Foreman, "Report of Cherokee Deputation into Florida," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (December, 1931), 427, note 4.

¹¹ Sprague, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

made on the Carlos Hatchee River he stole a pony and rode forty-eight hours in the hope of reaching Ponta Rossa. He finally discovered a party of soldiers who came to his relief.

The story related by Sampson was the means of breaking up the league supporting the Prophet. He was present at the attack on the Second Dragoons under Harney in December, 1840, and he saw Bowlegs bring in Sergeant Simmons, whose life had been spared through his influence, but who was killed three months later by decree of the council, Sam Jones and the Prophet. The following year Sampson's life was spared through the inter-position of Bowlegs.¹²

In the following years an almost constant fight was waged between the Indians and the white people in Florida; General Wesley Thompson agent to the Seminoles, was killed and the horrible massacre of Major Francis L. Dade and his troops took place.

The different bands had been driven far into the Everglades in July, 1839, when Bowlegs attempted to better the fortunes of his people. With two hundred warriors he rushed upon the tents where Colonel William Selby Harney with thirty men were sleeping. Eighteen were killed and the rest fled; Harney escaped by swimming to a fishing smack anchored in the Caloosahatchee River. The attack was made at dawn, on the morning of July 22, 1839, by 250 Indians, led by Chekika, the Spanish chief Hospetarke, and Billy Bowlegs.¹³

Because of this daring raid, Bowlegs soon succeeded the aged Sam Jones, but his warriors numbered not more than eighty fighters, and he realized that a treaty was the only means left for him and his people. The United States government was only too happy to cease fighting and on August 14, 1842 it was announced that the Florida War was ended.

A delegation of Seminoles was sent to examine lands in the West for a new home and by a misunderstanding on the part of the Indians they were induced to subscribe to a so-called treaty. It was on that document that the name of Halpatter Micco (or Bowlegs) first appears. Later it seemed that the young sub-chief of Sam Jones was bribed or flattered to signing the paper while Micanopy (*Mikonopi*) and Osceola repudiated the treaty.

Peace continued until 1856, when some skirmishes took place and conditions were unsettled for two years until the spring of 1858 when Bowlegs, with thirty-three warriors, eighty women and children embarked for New Orleans. The chief is said to have been bribed with money and liquor before he could be induced to join his people in Arkansas. He was accompanied by Long Jack, a brother-in-law; Ko-kush-adjo, his inspector general; and Ben Bruno, his interpreter and advisor, who was an intelligent Negro.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 316-17.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 233.



Wm Bowlegs 1858

(Photo by Clark, reprinted by Gifford in 1925)

Chief Billy Bowlegs, Seminole, 1858

Bowlegs was received as a hero in New Orleans and liquor was offered and accepted in such quantities that the chief reeled along the streets; a convincing illustration of the fact that the whites were a demoralizing and destructive agency with the Indians.

The Seminole chief was called good-looking. His height was above medium, his person stout, though not fat. His forehead was broad and high and his flashing black eyes showed shrewdness and cunning.¹⁴ His family consisted of two wives, one rather young; one son and five daughters; and fifty slaves. When he left Florida he was in possession of one hundred thousand dollars. He wore the picturesque costume of his nation and his chest bore two silver medals with the likenesses of Presidents Van Buren and Fillmore. The real name of Bowlegs was *Bolek* and referred in no way to his physical appearance, being only a family name. It is believed that he never renounced his native religion or embraced the Gospel of Christ; "a sad but not a singular fact, with the lessons of his intercourse with the supplanters of his race."¹⁵

In the first Seminole War (1817-18), General Andrew Jackson had called for two thousand Tennessee volunteers; he organized a body of Georgia militia and a thousand regulars from Fort Scott, a force as numerous, perhaps, as the entire nation of Seminoles. The Creeks also took the field under Chief McIntosh.¹⁶ Jackson was determined to crush the Seminoles without further ado, and he marched 107 miles from St. Marks to Bowlegs' town on the Suwannee River, through a wilderness, in the unbelievable time of eight days. He had his trouble for nothing as the Indians had dispersed, having been warned by a letter from Alexander Arbuthnot to his son in which he said: "Tell my friend Bowleck that he is throwing his people away to attempt to resist such a powerful force as will be drawn on Sahwahnee."

¹⁴ A quotation from an article on Bowlegs, in *Harper's Weekly* for June 12, 1858, given in *Billy Bowlegs and the Seminole War* by John C. Gifford, describes the Seminole chief when he was in New Orleans in 1858: "Billy Bowlegs—his Indian name is *Halpatter Micco*—is a good looking Indian about fifty years. He has a fine forehead, and a keen black eye; is somewhat above medium height, and weighs about 160 pounds. His name of 'Bowlegs' is a family appellation, and does not imply any parenthetical curvature of his lower limbs."

It was while Bowlegs was in New Orleans in 1858 that a photograph was taken of him, by Clark, a print of which appears in this article in *The Chronicles*. For further note on this photograph, see Notes and Documents this number, page—Ed.

¹⁵ Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *The Indian Tribes of North America*, (Edinburgh, 1934), Vol. 2, pp. 8-13, and notes. The portrait of Bowlegs included in this volume was probably painted by King when a Seminole delegation visited Washington in the winter of 1825-26, but as it does not appear in the earliest edition of McKenney and Hall it may have been painted at an earlier date (*Ibid.*, 16, note 19).

¹⁶ *Great Events by Famous Historians*, Richard Hildreth, "Florida Acquired by the United States," Vol. 16, p. 58.

The Scot trader Arbuthnot had dealt honestly with the Indians and he took an interest in their prosperity. General Gaines described him as "one of those self styled philanthropists who have long infested our neighboring Indian villages in the character of British agents." He declared that the Americans had not complied with the Treaty of Ghent and he advised the Upper and Lower Creeks to unite against the United States. In letters to the English, he said that the English government should save the unfortunate red people from destruction.

After the departure of the Seminoles from Sarasota in April, 1841, "no means whatever remained to renew hostilities or negotiations, neither *guides* or *runners* could be obtained" by the army. A council of chiefs had been held, consisting of Bowlegs, Sam Brown, The Prophet and several other less important Indians, where it was agreed that the bearer of messages from the whites should be put to death and Sole-Micco, a sub-chief, barely escaped with his life when he returned among the Indians.¹⁷ Waxey-Hadjo, one of the youngest and most intelligent chiefs of the Big Cypress, was intercepted on his retreat north from Lake Okechobee. He was accompanied by seventeen men and thirty women and children, but he could not give any satisfactory information concerning Billy Bowlegs, the Prophet, nor Sam Jones. The last time he had seen them they were in the Everglades, with only their families, retreating from the swamp.¹⁸

From Fort Waka-sasa, August 26, 1842, George A. McCall wrote his father:¹⁹

Jubilate the war is closed! At least it is so by proclamation. I learn that Octe-Archy, Tiger-tail, Bow-legs, &c., &c., have come in, and have agreed to the Government proposition to remove south and remain at peace. Many of their people, it is said, are already getting ready to go to the west of the Mississippi, and the rest, it is thought, may be induced to do so in the course of the winter.

Alligator sent a talk to Waxey-Hadjo and Bowlegs in which he urged them to come in and join his people. Part of the message read:²⁰

You say you don't want to leave this country, because you want your bones to rotten in this land; but this is not right, you must go with Alligator to a better land, where your friends are awaiting to receive you, and where you will live happy. You must not listen to the word of the Prophet, because he will certainly bring you trouble; come therefore, and come quickly.

When the Government decided to make peace with the remaining Seminoles the most influential survivor was Billy Bowlegs who had become powerful during the latter years of the war. "He was

¹⁷ Sprague, *op. cit.*, pp. 295, 297.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 399-400.

¹⁹ Major General George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontier* (Philadelphia, 1868), p. 411.

²⁰ Sprague, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-53.

fairly young at this time and very intelligent. In his dealings with the whites he always gave as little ground as possible and exacted a high price for the concessions he made." He met Colonel William J. Worth at Fort Brooke on August 5, 1842, authorized by his people to make any arrangements which would allow them to plant their crops.

A council was held at Cedar Keys attended by Colonel Worth and Bowlegs. At this meeting, an area virtually identical with that designated by General Macomb was assigned to the Seminoles, about three hundred in all, regardless of their habitation in Florida. As a consequence Worth reported in November, 1843 that the Seminoles were planting their crops and hunting on the west shore of Okeechobee Lake.²¹

In a list of Seminole slaves surrendered to General Worth a number were turned over to the Seminole chiefs at Fort Gibson on January 2, 1849, in the presence of the Agent; among them were thirteen belonging to Billy Bowlegs and ten to Harriette Bowlegs that had been brought in by August and Latty at Fort Jupiter. Among the Negroes who came in at Peas Creek were one to Harriette Bowlegs and sixteen to Billy Bowlegs.²²

General Twiggs wrote to the Secretary of War from Tampa Bay, September 23, 1849, that Bowlegs and the chiefs had met him on the eighteenth at Charlotte Harbor and disclaimed for the nation any hostile feeling. They promised to deliver some murderers to justice on the nineteenth of October.

The *New York Journal of Commerce*, October 8, 1849, set forth a long account of the above meeting, copied from the *New Orleans Delta*. The item was dated September 21, Fort Brooke (Tampa Bay) Florida:²³

On the 15th inst. General Twiggs embarked on the steamer Colonel Clay for Charlotte's Harbor—the scene of the depredations of the Indians—for the purpose of holding a 'talk' with the principal chiefs of the Seminoles

The General was accompanied by four officers and a company of artillery as "military guard and escort." The steamer reached her destination on the 17th, and anchored near an old trading house, on the east side of the Bay, a few miles from its mouth. Here the head chief Billy Bowlegs, accompanied by the acting chief of the Micasookies and several warriors, went on board of the steamer, and held a 'talk' with General Twiggs.

The chief is described as being a fine looking warrior, about forty years old, with an open, intelligent expression of countenance, totally devoid

²¹ Alfred Jackson Hanna and Kathryn Abbey Hanna, *Lake Okeechobee* (Indianapolis, 1948), p. 51.

²² National Archives, Office Indian Affairs: Seminole File j 143.

²³ *New York Journal of Commerce*, October 8, 1849. Correspondence of the *New Orleans Delta*.

of that wild look which so frequently characterizes the inhabitants of the forest. His figure is about the ordinary height, and well-proportioned, and evincing much self-possession in his manners.

His beard [head] was enveloped in a red shawl, surmounted with white feathers, encircled with a silver band, the crescents of the same material suspended from his neck, to which was appended a large silver medal, with brackets a likeness of President Van Buren on its face; his throat was thickly covered with strands of large blue beads, and he also wore bracelets of silver over the sleeves of his decorated hunting shirt.

A broad, showy bead belt passing over his breast, suspended a beautifully beaded rifle pouch under his left arm; the red leggings, with brass buttons, which were thickly embroidered with beads where they covered the upper part of the mocassins, completed the costume of the king of the Seminoles.

The amount of the "talk" was, that the Indian nation was totally opposed to war with the whites, and would exert themselves to continue on terms of peace; that the depredations were committed by a party of five young men, who would be given up to the General as soon as they could be sent after to the Kissimee, where they were in custody, and the party could return; that the whole country was covered with water, this could not be done sooner than thirty days, but at the end of that time, he (the head chief) pledged himself that they should be delivered up to the General.

Before the Seminole delegation left North Fork Town in October, 1849 for Florida, to try to induce his people to remove, Wild Cat had a talk with Agent Marcellus DuVal in which he declared that the Seminoles were not satisfied with their location near the Creeks and that he wished to take them to Mexico. He asked the agent to tell the President that if he favored the plan that he would induce Bowlegs and his people to remove to that country. Wild Cat told his friends in the delegation to advise Bowlegs to hold on until he could get the government to make a treaty by which they could remove below the Rio Grande.²⁴

General D. E. Twiggs and his staff reached Tampa Bay November 17, 1849, where they met a party of fifty or sixty Seminoles who had been waiting there nine days. The General described Billy Bowlegs as a fine looking fellow of forty," with dignity of manner when he spoke, and reported the chief's talk:²⁵

We have now made more stringent laws than we have ever had before, and I have brought here many young men and boys to see the terrible consequences of breaking our peace laws. I brought them here that they might see their comrades delivered up to be killed. This business has caused many tears but we have done justice.

I now pledge you my word that, if you will cease this talk of leaving the country, no other outrage shall ever be committed by my people; or, if ever hereafter the worst among my people shall cross the boundary and do any mischief to your people, you need not look for runners or appoint councils to talk. I will make up my pack and shoulder it, and my people will do the same. We will all walk down to the seashore, and we will ask but one question: Where is the boat to carry us to Arkansas?

²⁴ Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), p. 261.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 249-50.

General D. E. Twiggs wrote to the Secretary of War Crawford on January 22, 1850, that Bowlegs had been in council with him and that he was willing to emigrate. He promised to meet Captain John C. Casey within seventeen to twenty days to report on his success in inducing his people to emigrate, but on April 15, 1850, Bowlegs and his followers refused to leave Florida, and all hopes of a peaceful settlement were at an end.²⁶

Captain J. T. Sprague who had great experience with the Indians in Florida estimated that in 1850 there were only 120 capable of bearing arms—70 Seminoles, 30 Mickasuki, 12 Creeks, 4 Yuchi, and 4 Choctaw, who with their families constituted a population of 360. They included Sam Jones who was ninety-nine years old; Billy Bowlegs, thirty-three years of age who spoke English fluently and had supreme control over the Indians.²⁷

From Tampa Bay, March 11, 1850, DuVal wrote to the Commissioner of Indian affairs that he had been as far inland as Fort Clinch and had met Captain Britten of the Seventh Infantry "who had been a considerable distance beyond without seeing or hearing anything of the Indians." He saw places which had been deserted only a short time, the Indians having gone south. They may have gone south to be nearer Bowlegs, and possibly come in with him. The steamer *Col. Clay* had returned that morning from Caloosahatchee without bringing any information concerning Bowlegs. Halleck Tustenuggee and Jim Factor went with DuVal to Fort Clinch and returned with a small party of Indians as far as Fort Meade, where they were to remain until sent for by General Twiggs to go to New Orleans aboard the *Fashion*.

A party of armed Creek Indians and some white men went to the Negro town of Wewoka to take possession of some Negroes. This caused great excitement and Captain F. T. Dent of the Fifth Infantry ordered the Creeks to cross to the north side of the Canadian River. As a result of this disturbance about 180 Negroes headed by Jim Bowlegs, a slave belonging to Billy Bowlegs started for Texas. "The intruders included Ninan McIntosh, Siah Hardridge, Tom Carr, Joe Smith and John Sells, Creeks, Wm. Drew, Dick Drew and Martin Vann, Cherokees, and P. H. White of Van Buren, J. M. Smith of Fort Smith—Mathews from near the Creek Agency & Gabriel Duval of Montgomery, Alabama."²⁸

At the end of the war the settlement of south Florida required the reclaiming of a swampy wilderness and getting rid of the In-

²⁶ National Archives, Adjutant General's Office, Old Records division, T 29. *Ibid.*; T 38 & T 4.

²⁷ Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

²⁸ Adjutant General's Office. Old Files Division, 210 D 50. John Drennen Aug. 13, 1850 to Comm. Ind. Affrs. enclosing: Capt. F. T. Dent 5th Infy to Adgt. Gen. 7th Mil. Dept.

dians. Billy Bowlegs, as shrewd as Osceola and no less able, was involved in this matter. The whites claimed that the state was losing settlers because of the manner in which the government was appeasing the Indians, and in order to get the matter in better shape to please the Floridians the Seminole question was transferred from the War Department to the Interior, April 15, 1851. Luther Blake was sent to Florida as agent to replace Captain John C. Casey who had held the position several years.

As soon as Blake arrived, he departed for Arkansas to bring back a delegation of Seminoles to assist him in inducing the remaining Indians to remove to the West. He spent eight months among the Seminoles and in July, 1852 he finally had a talk with Bowlegs who called his attention to the fact that Colonel Worth had granted him and his followers permission to remain in Florida. The agent made no impression on Bowlegs, and in September he and three other Indians were conducted to Washington for a conference with the Great White Father who was expected to assure the red men that they could not remain. The delegates were given a trip to New York and outfitted with fine clothes at a cost not to exceed \$600. By such treatment the men were induced to sign an agreement to remove.

The *Boston Daily Advertiser* recounted on September 21, 1852, that the Seminole Indians had an interview with the President in the presence of General Luther Blake, the secretaries of War, Navy and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Bowlegs made a speech setting forth the anxiety of his people to remain in Florida. "He loved his home very much; yes, if it were only a little place with a pine stump upon it, he would wish to stay there. He would do anything at all so as to stay." On their return to the Everglades Bowlegs firmly decided against keeping the agreement signed in the capitol; it is possible that he had never intended to leave Florida, or abandon the interesting trips to Washington and New York.²⁹

The Commissioner of Indian affairs in his report of 1852 gave a different account of the plans of the Seminoles:

The famous Seminole chief, Billy Bowlegs, with several other prominent Indians from Florida, have recently visited Washington, and, while here, they signed an agreement, in which they acknowledged that they and all the Seminoles in Florida were under obligations to emigrate, and promised to use their influence to effect their entire removal with the least possible delay. Late advices from the special agent represents that Bowlegs adheres to his promise since his return. A council of his people had been called for the purpose of making preliminary arrangements, and a general emigration may reasonably be expected at an early day."

In 1854, Bowlegs and some of his people visited Washington to secure an abatement of the persecution to which he and his people were subjected. While in the north Bowlegs visited Major J. T.

²⁹ Hanna, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 59, 60.

Sprague at Governors Island, New York, who said that "he assured me in the most positive and angry manner of his determination not to leave Florida . . . Bowlegs has a sister in that country (Arkansas) in whom he has confidence; there are also many Indian Negroes once owned by himself and his father who might be used effectively at the proper time."³⁰

Lieutenant George L. Hartsuff, on December 7, 1855, headed a party of eleven men on a survey near the margin of the Big Cypress Swamp in Florida. When they were ready to leave some of them raided Billy Bowlegs' garden two miles distant and destroyed his prized banana plants. When the chief returned and saw the damage, he became furious and started to the camp of Lieutenant Hartsuff. "The theft was coolly admitted without the slightest offer of compensation, apology or even explanation beyond the desire to see how 'Old Billy would cut up.'"

The affair was not so amusing when their camp was attacked the next morning. Several of the white men were killed and the Lieutenant was badly wounded although he escaped. This attack caused a renewal of hostilities on both sides. The Indians went on the warpath, killed and scalped settlers, burned their homes and carried away their stock. Two fights resulted and one was north of Lake Okeechobee between Fort Meade and Fort Frazier at a point called Bowlegs Creek. This battle took place on June 16, 1856 and the Seminoles lost severely in the encounter.

A trick used by Bowlegs was to hide the women and children in the wilds of the Big Cypress Swamp; in the meantime his warriors scouted at a distance, fighting and killing bodies of troops. Another account says:

"The story is told of one occasion when Bowlegs prepared an ambush for the force of Captain John C. Lesley, who was getting too close to the Indians for comfort. Lesley was coming opposite the hidden warriors and Bowlegs' hand was already touching the trigger to give the signal for the attack when he heard sounds of marching at the rear and realized, just in time, that he was between two lines of soldiers. Quickly changing his plans, he and the other Seminoles lay quietly in the bush as both enemy forces passed by"

The hide-out of Bowlegs was the principal object of the white troops whose officers thought that once it could be destroyed the Seminoles would surrender. Captain John Parkhill led the scouting party that captured several Indians among whom were two women who were supposed to be wives of Bowlegs.³¹

O. O. Howard as a young officer was stationed at Watervliet Arsenal, near Troy, New York, when he was ordered to Florida where

³⁰ Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

³¹ Hanna, *op. cit.*, 63, 64, 67, 68.



(Courtesy of Thomas Gilcrease Foundation)

"Billy Bow Legs," from original painting
by Carl Wimer (1828-1862)



Billy Bowlegs was on the war path. It required more than half a month to reach Fort Myers where General Harney was staying. "Here I met my general and learned something of the fierce Indian leader Billy Bowlegs, who kept a large part of Florida in a state of alarm for over a year."

In writing of the old chief Micanopy and the massacre of Major Dade, Howard states:

Micanopy had with him at that time his young grandson, who was about twelve years of age. This boy rode a small Florida pony on that eventful day, and when the battle began he led his pony behind a clump of earth and grass, called a hummock Then the boy took his bow and stringing an arrow ready for use, lay down in the tall, thick, prairie-grass near Micanopy. I suppose this boy's real name was Micanopito—for that means the grandson of Micanopy in Spanish—but he began when he was so very young to ride astride big horses, and on top of such large bundles, that it made his legs crooked, and his father, who knew a very little Spanish, nicknamed him Piernas Corvas, meaning bowlegs.

This chief was thirty-two years old when he first led his warriors into battle. About 350 Seminoles refused to go West when most of the Creek Indians went to live in the Indian Territory after Osceola died, and it was these who followed Billy Bowlegs. He was a full blooded Seminole, a perfect marksman, and his powers of endurance were remarkable as his ability to appear and disappear in the most unexpected manner. This was possible because he was so well acquainted with the Everglades, and never went very far from that region . . .

In this last Indian war in Florida, Bowlegs had more warriors than horses, but in spite of his short crooked legs he could go on foot through weeds and swamps faster than any other Indian. At one time he took 100 of his warriors on foot sixty miles from the Everglades to Lake Kissimmee to attack a United States stockade. This structure was made of small logs set close together, deep in the ground; loopholes were cut in the walls so that soldiers could push their rifles through. Troops were sent to help the beleaguered men but when they arrived at the stockade Bowlegs and his band had disappeared into the Everglades.

When General Harney was transferred, Colonel Gustavus Loomis³² was sent to Florida to try to overcome Bowlegs. He sent many companies of soldiers in different directions toward the Everglades. One of the details came upon a party of Seminoles moving from hummock to hummock with Bowlegs in the lead. The mounted soldiers fired upon the Indians and killed some of them, captured others, but Bowlegs, true to form, escaped.

Colonel Loomis was distressed when he learned that some children had been wounded in the attack and he ordered Howard to go into the Indian country with two companies of soldiers in an attempt to have a talk with Chief Bowlegs. He was accompanied by two companies of soldiers, an Indian woman named Minnie, and Natto Jo as interpreters. Minnie was sent with messages to Bowlegs

³² Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Gustavus Loomis," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (September, 1940), pp. 219-28; Major General O. O. Howard, *Famous Indian Chiefs I have known* (New York, 1908), pp. 19, 24, 25.

but she never returned. However, when "Johnny Jumper" and a party of Indians arrived on a visit from the Indian Territory, he soon learned that Bowlegs would like to come in to talk peace. He was afraid that the whites would ignore his flag of truce and shoot him. In his report of the event, Howard says:³³

Johnny Jumper was a friend of the white man, and when he heard this he took "Polly", a niece of Billy Bowlegs, with him and went straight into the Everglades to see the chief. They succeeded, and the result was that Colonel Loomis sent out a proclamation, saying that the Florida war was ended, and Billy Bowlegs with 165 other Indians, went with one of Uncle Sam's army officers to the "Indian Territory" to live in less than a year after his arrival in the new land he died, honored and praised, as always, by his own people.

In 1857, when the new administration under President James Buchanan came into power the policy with the Seminoles was changed. The President took advantage of the rumor that Chief Bowlegs desired to surrender in order to migrate. Under the jurisdiction of the Interior Department, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Arkansas, Elias Rector, was commissioned to negotiate with the Seminoles. He was greatly aided in his work by the fact that a new treaty had been concluded between the Seminoles and Creeks by which the tribes were separated and the Seminoles were assigned new land.³⁴

Brevet Major and Captain J. T. Sprague, Eighth Infantry, wrote to Hon. Jacob Thompson, secretary of the Interior from Fort Marcy, Santa Fe, New Mexico on June 25, 1857:³⁵

From my long acquaintance with the people in peace and war, I have entertained an interest in their happiness, as well as the interests of the Government in the time of danger have been protected by their chiefs, and when in the Camps treated with the utmost kindness During the summer of 1854, when the Seminoles were visiting Washington, Bowlegs was at my quarters on Governors Island, N. Y. When he assured me in the most positive and angry manner of his determination not to leave Florida, giving his reasons freely and fully. There are Indians in Arkansas who could be induced to exercise a beneficial influence upon the Seminoles. Bowlegs has a sister in that country in whom he has confidence; there are also many Indian negroes once owned by himself and his father, who might be used effectively at the proper time.

In the winter of 1857, Elias Rector, Southern Superintendent of Indian affairs, Samuel Morton Rutherford, Western Agent for the Seminoles, and W. H. Garrett, Creek agent took a delegation of forty Seminoles and six Creeks to Florida at an enormous expense. On their arrival Rector engaged several influential Seminoles including Billy Bowlegs to search the Everglades. The Seminoles negotiated almost three months with the Indians whom they could reach trying to induce them to emigrate. All was not peaceful negotiation, however, if one may judge from Rector's letter to Com-

³³ Howard, *ibid.*, pp. 19-37.

³⁴ Hanna, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-8.

³⁵ National Archives, Office Indian Affairs, Seminole S 400.

missioner Charles E. Mix from Fort Myers: "Col. Rutherford had taken with him a niece of Bill Bowlegs who was a prisoner at Egmont Key, as a guide; she says that Bowlegs is disposed to negotiate, which statement is confirmed by the last prisoner taken, who is an Indian of Bowleg's Band, and now in the hospital at this place, having been shot in the leg in being captured.' ''³⁶

On March 14, 1858, a council was held and Bowlegs was informed of the terms of the treaty and offer of other inducements by the government. By dint of great labor 165 hostile Indians had been secured for removal. One hundred and twenty-five were women and children and the remainder were warriors. Finally when Bowlegs agreed to move Rector engaged teams and wagons to be used in collecting the tribesmen.

On May 4, Rector and his charges sailed from Fort Myers aboard the *Grey Cloud* with 125 Seminoles, and at Egmont Key in Tampa Bay, they took 40 more aboard. When the boat arrived in New Orleans the Indians caused quite a sensation and Bowlegs was hailed as "Our Lion-in-Chief." In the family party of the Chief were his two wives, a son and five daughters. He also removed his forty slaves and \$100,000 in cash. He had given \$5,000 as a present and \$2,500 in claims for stolen cattle. The warriors each received \$1,000 and the women and children \$100.³⁷

In 1862, *La Vie dans le Nouveau Monde* by Xavier Eyma was issued in Paris, and this book contains a history of the "King of the Everglades—Billy Bowlegs," who, during the summer of 1858, with the remnant of the celebrated tribe from the Everglades arrived at New Orleans. The story goes that the news of his arrival produced some excitement in the city. In exchange for his kingdom in the Everglades, he had accepted for the warriors who remained land in Arkansas, and for himself an annual sum of \$10,000.

The precaution was taken to shut them up in the large barracks outside the city and they were prohibited from going about within it. Billy Bowlegs was the only one who was given the royal privilege of showing himself wherever he wished. He arrived in the city in the morning practically in his right mind and he was carried out dead drunk in the afternoon. Curious persons who went to visit the tribe in the barracks were admitted to contemplate the hero in that state.

The book reports that Bowlegs appeared to be about sixty years old; he was colossal in height and of Herculean strength. His color was a darker red than the other Indians, more brown and verging a little on black. His father was a fugitive slave who took refuge

³⁶ Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 273; , *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932), p. 385. National Archives, Office Indian Affairs: Seminole R-481. Elias Rector, Ft. Myers, Fla., 1858.

³⁷ Hanna, *op. cit.*, 69, 70.

among the Indians and married there. He had a small head, fine features although forceful, eyes strong and keen, and his hands delicate like a woman's contrasted singularly with the strength of his limbs.

It had been planned to fete Bowlegs in New Orleans like a real king, but he showed himself so inclined to drunkenness, and he concealed so little the cupidity which almost amounted to begging, that the prestige connected with his name soon disappeared. He became merely a curiosity and people went to look at him as they would a lion in a cage. On the visible parts of his body the scars of thirty-two wounds could be counted. His wife threw a long coat over his sleeping form to hide him from curious people. She was still a young woman, with a simple face, but who must have been very pretty.

Profound respect was shown Bowlegs by his people. He was guarded all the time and had an escort of police during his walks. He drank full glasses of gin and whisky and he became a public danger from drink. The savagry came to life suddenly and the police got him dead drunk and returned him to the barracks—this hero of twenty fights, who at the age of fifteen was raised to the dignity of a *brave*. He spoke both English and Spanish.³⁸

The removal of the Seminoles cost the United States government \$70,352.14. Rector described Bowlegs as "a personage with whom little can be done without money and nothing without plain speaking." There were estimated to be less than 100 Seminoles left in Florida after the departure of Bowlegs and his party. No other Indian in that part of the country ever had the authority or held a like position such as he occupied among the Indians.³⁹

Rutherford reported to Major Elias Rector at Fort Smith on August 18, 1859, from the Seminole Agency that he had arrived at Fort Smith May 28, aboard the steamer *Quapaw* with the emigrants from Florida. On June 1, 1858 Bowlegs and his party, numbering 164 persons, were placed in his charge by Superintendent Rector and he proceeded with his Indians to their country in the West. They encountered much disagreeable weather, bad roads and high water so that they did not arrive at their destination until June 16. A large number of the Seminoles were ill and four persons died on the way. The emigrants were furnished with provisions until July 5, after which contractors provided food. The Indians preferred to receive their meat rations in stock cattle which Rutherford encouraged. The Indians continued to suffer from an illness which became like typhoid and many cases ended fatally.⁴⁰

³⁸ Xavier Eyma, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-15, 245-46, 250.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 327, 329.

⁴⁰ *Report*, Commissioner Indian Affairs, 1858, pp. 152-53.

Superintendent Rector wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, J. W. Denver from the Southern Superintendency, Fort Smith on November 23, 1858, saying that on his recent visit to the Seminole country west, he had succeeded in making the necessary arrangements for a delegation to proceed with him to Florida for the purpose of inducing the Seminoles still remaining there to migrate to the West:

I found Bowlegs disposed to interpose difficulties on several points, and was compelled to talk to him in very plain and positive terms; and in order to secure his influence in obtaining for me the particular persons whom as faithful and reliable men I desired to accompany me, I found myself compelled to agree to pay him the sum of two hundred dollars . . .

I have arranged for not more than four of the late emigrants, with two of the old Settlers of the Tribe, and an interpreter to accompany me, each at a compensation of one hundred dollars per month. They are to be at this place by the 10th of December next; and I shall immediately upon their arrival proceed to Florida, and use every exertion in my power to effect the removal of the remaining Seminoles. I do not anticipate being delayed here beyond the day mentioned.

Bowlegs' Town is mentioned in many accounts of the Seminoles in Florida. Thomas S. Woodward in his *Reminiscences* located the place on the "Sawanee" River. In 1858, he wrote of being in a severe brush with the people of the Negro Village, near Bowlegs' Town. The name of the famous chief is preserved in Florida in Bowlegs Creek and Bowlegs Landing.

A few descendants of the Seminoles remain in Florida who are inter-married with the descendants of the bands once ruled by Billy Bowlegs, and others once ruled by Sam Jones, sometimes called Aripeka. "They are now mostly half-breeds, and are rapidly becoming amalgamated with the Indian race."⁴¹

The Reverend J. S. Murrow wrote to a friend from Micca, Creek Nation, March 10, 1859:

Billy Bowlegs and his party are still in the Creek country and he acts and speaks very independently. He has written word to the Creek chief that he is not ready to move and does not intend to move until he does get ready. Billy is very popular among his own people who speak very strongly of turning their present chief, John Jumper, out of office and making Billy chief

On April 2, 1859, Mr. Murrow sent a letter to the *Index* (place of publication not given) in which he wrote:

Billy Bowlegs, well known Seminole warrior of Florida notoriety, is dead. He died a few days since while on a visit to the "New Country" for the purpose of selecting a place to settle. A few of his followers were with him and buried him in the true old Seminole style: viz. with everything he had with him. They first killed his pony, and were hardly prevented from killing a negro man whom he had with him in attendance. His rifle, money, and everything else, were buried. Billy was very wealthy, owning, it is said, more than one hundred negroes, besides large herds of cattle, ponies, &c.

⁴¹ Joshua R. Giddings, *The Exiles of Florida* (Columbus, Ohio), 1858, p. 315.

He was very popular with the Semioles, who spoke frequently of raising him to the office of principal chief.

Rector reported to Hon. A. B. Greenwood, Commissioner Indian affairs, from Fort Smith, September 20, 1859: "Bowlegs, fortunately for his people, is dead; but others survive who are inclined to create difficulties, and may need a salutary lesson. Otherwise, the Semioles are peaceable" ⁴²

A story appeared in *The Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), on May 23, 1923, regarding the location of the grave of Chief Billy Bowlegs. The headline stated "Location of Grave of Chief Uncertain. The great warrior not buried at Fort Gibson." The name Bowlegs was borne by several Seminoles and the story related by Thomas Hendricks, an eighty-four year old Cherokee, concerned an Indian of the Civil War period. Mr. Hendricks lived west of Park Hill and during the Civil War he was a soldier in a Cherokee Federal regiment; he knew a young Creek who bore the name of the celebrated Florida Indian. This lad died at Fort Gibson near the close of the war and with other soldiers was interred in the National Cemetery when it was established there. ⁴³

The Oklahoman continues with the account of Bowlegs: ⁴⁴

Concerning the genuine Billy Bowlegs, Rev. J. S. Murrow of Atoka (Indian Territory), who arrived in Indian Territory sixty-six years ago, was acquainted with the warrior, who was removed to the west in 1858, with 150 of his followers by Col. Samuel (M.) Rutherford, United States agent to the Seminoles. Bowlegs spoke English fairly well and made his home six miles from the missionary station near the mouth of Little River in the vicinity of Fort Holmes. When the old warrior died in 1860, he was buried after the Indian custom near his home.

The Seminoles and Creeks are in reality of the same race and the name of Billy Bowlegs may have been the family name of the man buried at Ft. Gibson or he may have adopted the name as a compliment to the warrior who fought in the swamps of Florida, bitterly opposing removal to the west.

At the beginning of the Civil War the Seminoles who favored the Federal government, headed by another Billy Bowlegs (Sonuk-mek-ko), refused to retreat with General Albert Pike; although they received no encouragement from the government or President Lincoln to whom they wrote: "Now the wolf has come, men who are strangers tread our soil, our children are frightened and the mothers

⁴² Report, Commissioner Indian Affairs, 1859, p. 529.

⁴³ For many years this grave has been marked by a United States Army stone and it was in the east section of the cemetery. One of the superintendents of the cemetery moved the monument to the officers circle in the center of the grave yard probably thinking that it marked the resting place of the aged Seminole warrior Billy Bowlegs.

⁴⁴ May 23, 1923, Section D, page 3, col. 5.

cannot sleep for fear''. These people soon joined the Loyal Creeks and fought on the side of the Union throughout the war.⁴⁵

Opothle Yohola, the great Creek leader, was joined in his journey to Kansas during the Civil War, by a number of Seminoles under their chiefs, the Billy Bowlegs of that time, and John Chupco, who had refused to enter into a treaty with Albert Pike.⁴⁶

Wildcat's Indians and Negroes had left the Indian Territory some time before for Mexico, but part of these people had returned to the Territory. In 1883 Sergeant David Bowlegs, a Seminole scout, eager for a better life for his people than was possible on the Texas-Mexican border, brought a party of thirty-seven Seminole Negroes, mostly the property of the Bowlegs, Bruner, and Wilson families, back to Seminole County, Oklahoma, where they were well received.⁴⁷

Burton Rascoe, the Oklahoma writer once stated:⁴⁸

My parents had a farm adjoining that of Billy Bowlegs, descendant of the Seminole chief of the same name. Billy was a personal friend and so was Mrs. Bowlegs; they and my parents often visited together. Billy was an Agricultural College graduate and a prosperous farmer. His wife was unusually good looking for a Seminole. They had a nine year old boy and a six months old infant.

One night two drunken Seminoles, one of them a former suitor of Mrs. Bowlegs before her marriage (came to the Bowlegs home) and asked Billy for a cup of coffee. Mrs. Bowlegs was asleep in one room and the children were asleep in the other. While Billy had his back turned making the coffee, they shot him to death, then went in, beat Mrs. Bowlegs unconscious and raped her. The nine year old boy hid under the bed. The rapists seized the baby and, holding it by the heels beat his brains out against the wall.

Mrs. Bowlegs recovered consciousness and crawled out of the house and halfway through the corn field towards our house, where my mother found her, summoned by the boy but she was barely alive and died in Mother's arms. The lad was the only one who knew what happened and the only witness to identify the murderers and testify against them. They were caught, tried and hanged The Bowlegs farm was about ten miles west of Wewoka and about five miles East of Maud.

Burton Rascoe.

The town "Bowlegs (840 alt., 500 pop.)" in Oklahoma was named for a member of the Seminole Tribe on whose allotment the town was built. The first oil well drilled in the Seminole Field in 1924 was also on the land owned by a Bowlegs, a grandson, according

⁴⁵ Alice Hurley Mackey, "Father Murrow: Civil War Period," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (March, 1934), p. 60.

⁴⁶ Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma*, (Norman, 1942), p. 105; Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951), p. 233.

⁴⁷ Kenneth W. Porter, "Seminole in Mexico, 1850-1861," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Summer, 1951), pp. 167-68.

⁴⁸ Letter dated October 24, 1950, from Burton Rascoe, New York City to Grant Foreman.

to local report, of that tribal chief, Billy Bowlegs, who fought against removal of the tribe from Florida.⁴⁹

The Daily Oklahoman, April 24, 1927, mentioned the murder of David Bowlegs, but it did not connect him in any way with Chief Bowlegs. The names of his wife or relatives were not given in the account of his death which occurred in 1913. David Bowlegs was murdered by two Indians but the mystery of the crime was never solved according to the newspaper account which stated that the Bowlegs Oil fields in Oklahoma were named in his honor.

⁴⁹ *Oklahoma A Guide to the Sooner State* (Norman, 1941), p. 391.

SOME RECOLLECTIONS

By James K. Hastings*

Before Oklahoma was ever opened for settlement, the opening was agitated for years. Land-hungry farmers, having no homes, reasoned that it was part of the public domain and that citizens should be permitted to homestead it. I can remember articles and pictures in *Harper's Weekly* of the army destroying the dugouts down on what is now Perkins Road, Stillwater, and driving out the rebellious men tied to the rear of their wagons. This was authenticated by a man I met once, who as a boy had lived at Pawnee Agency in that day. He was the son of an employee of the Agency and was running wild. In the tall grass on the hill east of Stillwater he and an Indian policeman were watching while the troops destroyed the huts and dugouts of the sooner settlers.

Sixty-six years ago we old-timers rode into Oklahoma and made homes of the land that some of us felt we were getting from the hand of God. Most of us came from high priced land in the East. There were temporary tenants here before us, the Indian who hunted over it, and the cattlemen who ran cattle on it; but neither of them left much trace of their sojourn. Picture if you can the feelings of hordes of land-hungry men who had never owned a rod of land before, now having 160 acres of it presented to them. They must pay a small filing fee and reside on it for five years, but where else would you want to live? Not every 160 was good farm land and the best land had been taken by sooners. I can remember stable rooms for several teams along the creeks where dogwood had been chopped out to hide them in. It was a shame! But not all hogs have four feet.

I can remember hearing my father, when I was a boy in my Ohio home, tell of the fine piece of land in Indian Territory that would some day be opened to settlement by homesteaders. We had little money to use in getting started; but when I finished high school it was required that we should prepare an essay on our choice of a subject, and I had the poor judgment to choose, "Where there is a will, there is a way." All I had to do now was to prove it. I rather doubt that the young men of today would want to work a ten-hour day on the streets of the larger towns with pick and shovel for fifteen cents an hour as we did. Times have changed, haven't they?

* This paper of reminiscences was submitted for publication in *The Chronicles* by James K. Hastings shortly before his passing at his home in Stillwater in July, 1955. A tribute to the memory of this writer who told of the pioneer days is found in the *Appendix* by Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Department of History, Oklahoma A. and M. College at Stillwater.—Ed.

What I saw of the opening of Old Oklahoma was not as picturesque as that of the Cherokee Strip or Outlet, which came some years later. There were at the first opening only a dozen or more men in a pocket in the edge of the timber waiting for Jack Hartenbower to stake his homestead; and then we were off. We did not know it at the time, but later found that we were all sooners; for we started at the north edge of Township 19 North, and the Strip line was a few rods farther north. I found the Strip line corner stone a year or so later surrounded by a grove of post oaks.

The Strip opening came some years later on a bright September day and I saw it on a piece of prairie in south of Pawnee Agency. I did not want any land, but used the mules and surrey to take in my father and brother, who did want some. The day and surroundings were perfect. The wind had turned to the north facing us, to refresh our horses as we waited at the line. Most of the people were on horses, which had become as nervous as their owners.

The young Irish cavalryman was enjoying his position of importance waiting to give the signal, when Mrs. Carl, a young widow, clasping her baby to her breast dashed across the line and set her stake on a claim that no one else wanted. Then the fat was in the fire. It is doubtful that a troop of cavalry could have stopped them then. The one guardian of the law when he saw that wave of the land-hungry sweep past him, jerked his carbine from the scabbard and fired into the air; and we were legally on our way. We ran to the Agency and on northeast, where an old Civil War comrade of Father's took a claim that the Santa Fe railroad later paid him ten thousand dollars for, and they or someone else built the town of Skedee on it. That sum of money was enough to buy a much to be desired farm in his old home in Tennessee, and Father's friend saw Oklahoma no more.

It was rank folly for us to break out considerable tracts of land to sow to wheat as some of us did, and have to sell that wheat for thirty-five cents a bushel. We were really slaves of the Chicago wheat pit, as we had no storage space as yet. The situation was made to order for the Populist orators of that day. Really we should have been limited to breaking out not more than ten or twenty acres of the sod a year. The soil was wholly different from the heavy clays of our old homes, where drainage of a tract was much to be desired. Here it started soil erosion.

We started our plows early, for the yield from sod crops or first crops from broken sod was not of much value. The sod-breaking was done largely with a rod plow, where the mold board was replaced by four half-inch round rods to save draught.

All this time we lived in tents or meager huts, and picketed out our work stock. It took money to buy barbed wire, which was universally called "bob wire." Changing a picketed animal two or



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three times a day for fresh grazing and to take to water is hardly a pastime. Our homes were slowly being provided, and were often sod houses if on the prairie and dugouts on rough land.

Original Oklahoma was opened in April, but the Strip in September four years later. We heard of people freezing to death, who had not managed proper shelter in the Strip. Fuel in our homestead cabins was wholly wood, and if we had made no provision earlier it took considerable time in winter to get enough. For lighting our homes kerosene was used, often bought five gallons at a time. There was not a motor car, truck, or tractor in Oklahoma Territory then, and it was up to us to care for our horses. When snow fell later and had a crust on it that cut the fetlocks of the mules, we took a grain sack and started for town afoot, filled the sack there with mail and groceries, and packed it home. When I was crossing a neighbor's yard on one of these trips, he asked if I were practicing to begin packing over the Chilcoat Pass in Alaska.

When an effort was made to get one-cent first class postage, we notified our delegate to Congress, Dennis Flynn, that we would prefer rural delivery, and in time we got it. There was not a rural telephone in the territory, and I can remember riding an unbroken colt one cold winter night to get a doctor, who was sorely needed.

No farmer of that day ever thought of buying bread. Some of us took wheat to a custom mill in south of Crescent, where the grist was ground at night while we slept in the cob bin beside the boiler. Then we started home the next morning. But a good many bought flour made in Kansas and sold in the stores. There were two brands that were generally used: one was B. B. and the other was Eli. Each had its supporters until a neighbor went to the mill in Kansas and found both kinds being sacked from the same bin.

Once two of my friends went to Guthrie to buy their stock of flour. Coming home they forded the Cimarron River near Camp Russell. The team stalled in some quicksand, and so the wagon had to be unloaded. One man removed his trousers to keep them dry and then carried out the flour, a sack at a time, on his back. The water was deep, and his shirt made from a flour sack floated out behind him, as the other man, who was fat and lazy, kept encouraging him from the bank with, "Go it Eli."

Before any oil was discovered in Oklahoma, a speculator came along taking drilling leases. His proposition was that he would give a dollar for a five-year lease on 160 acres; but we did not even get the dollar, for he kept it to record the lease. I did not bite, but some good men did in their efforts to help the country. When nothing was done, they found they had clouded their title and it took an expensive suit in district court to clear it.

We generally got some entertainment out of elections. One cold November day we were standing in line before the log cabin housing the polls when an Irish friend of mine, Mike Grace, came up behind me. He looked much as usual except he had a "shiner" on one eye. I had to take some notice of it, so I said, "Mike, I though they never turned black until the next day." He looked a little cheap, and I let the subject drop.

One cold winter day Mike came to our house and got to telling us about the potato famine in Ireland when he was a boy. He had little education, but he was a perfect orator on that day; for he had gone through it and seen the dire need of the poor and the nobleness of his father. The Catholic priest had brought his father some money for the family and when he handed it to the old man it was so hard for him to accept charity that he could not close his fingers on it and it fell to the ground.

I can remember that my first apple and peach orchard was a possession of much value in my eyes; but my little sister, not having other children to play with, hitched a small calf to her little wagon, and in his desire to be free he skinned up those young trees to perfection.

We had two old men in the neighborhood who were not very work brittle. One could spell a trifle, and so we made him justice of the peace and called him "judge." The other was road boss, and could keep track of the men's time in his head. They both enjoyed going to town, and did their shopping at a store selling "wet goods." The judge used to come to me in town and explain that Helen, his wife, wanted a few spools of thread; and I dug up the thread money that bought in his hands some wares that used to come to town in kegs.

The judge shone later, when we had a killing. There was a widow with a family of children, the oldest of which was a son in his late teens. We hoped that the black sheep who came along and married the widow would go to work and help her care for the children, but his fondness for "red eye" interfered. He came home one day drunk and was beating his wife, whereupon the oldest son put a few slugs in him and he died. Now was the time for the judge to shine. He asked my oldest sister, an early day physician, how to word the verdict; but the sheriff came and got the boy and the county attorney took over the case. It was soon tried and the verdict of justifiable homicide rendered; but the temper of the neighbors was to reward the boy some way.

Once in my bachelor days I got hungry for some oatmeal porridge. I had no cow, but must have milk to eat with it; so I walked six miles to town, where a Kansas boy had brought in a herd of milking cows. He was making money pasturing the rich grass near the railroad and selling the milk to the townspeople. I had my por-

ridge and enjoyed the change from a straight diet of flapjacks. But the boy with his dairy herd lost every cow from Texas fever. He was herding them near the stock pens on the railroad. A shipment of cattle came in from Texas and were unloaded in the pens to be rested and fed. (The law required that stock be unloaded, rested, and fed after so many hours travel.) This shipper having no feed with him waited until dark and then turned his ticky steers out to graze; and they scattered ticks that killed every cow that Kansas boy had. That was before the day of our wonderful A. and M. College Experiment Station at Stillwater.

One of the crops grown by the poorest of us was castor beans. This crop is grown in rows like corn, but must be harvested by cutting the spikes before they are wholly ripe and taking them to a pop yard to ripen. They are like the Mexican jumping bean, and when ripening tend to pop out and be lost unless they are walled in with sod. There were two objections to the crop with most of us: the odor from a field cost many a man his breakfast; and the system of marketing by which one man was purchasing agent of the crop for the whole territory, gave too much chance for graft.

One of the faculty of the Agricultural College came to our schoolhouse one evening with a bunch of students to have them practice on the farmers. His object was to train them for county agent work. Some of them were quite capable and some were not; but he and I got into an argument over the purpose of college training for the boys. He believed that the college trained them to go out as teachers, while I thought that some of us older chaps with plenty of land had a claim on our sons after four years of school to come back and take over. Neither of us convinced the other.

In later years in casting about for crops that our land was adapted to I decided to try growing melons for market. I had some clay land under a few inches of sand that proved excellent. I grew sweet clover the year before to supply nitrogen, and bought a ton of phosphate to put in the hills. Also hen manure was kept dry and a handful put in each hill. I had to send to Los Angeles to get hot caps to cover them so they could withstand late frosts. Incidentally I paid as high as five dollars a pound for seed. The professor of entomology at A. and M. College could not have been kinder, for he taught me what insects troubled the crop and how to combat them. By guaranteeing every melon I soon had a splendid trade worked up. I nearly worked myself to death each August disposing of my crop, but seventeen years of melons helped all my children through A. and M. College.

Funerals, like church services and literary society programs, were well attended. A neighbor with a large family of children did so enjoy green corn, generally called "roasting ears," in its season

that one day for the noon meal he ate seventeen large ears. The funeral was well attended.

We had some wind storms but never any serious damage was done where we lived. Retreat to the cellar was common in the early day and some timid souls regularly slept below ground, but most of us risked it above ground. When in later times I got to building with reinforced concrete, I lost many of my fears. I did cut down a 74-foot cottonwood tree standing southwest and near the house for fear it might fall on the house in a storm.

We had a threshing outfit nearby that had a large wood-burning engine. Near the end of the threshing season a job across a deep creek was offered the threshermen. There was a bridge across the creek but it was known to be unsafe for so heavy an outfit, so the farmer made a crossing of many poles beside the bridge. The threshermen used this to go to the job. Then after finishing it and a hearty dinner with plenty of home-made wine, he decided to take the outfit over the bridge and started; but he went through to his death.

Oklahoma was laid out in townships six miles square—36 sections or 144 quarter sections. One day two young men came to the southwest corner of the township and methodically called on every family in it, advocating the brand of religion they had been taught in their home. We took them into our homes and gave them the best we had, but at Sunday school we found that they were not very proficient in the Scriptures. At one of the homes one of them made the remark to the hostess, "I cannot see why you people make such a fuss about polygamy, for Jesus Christ had two wives—Mary and Martha." The remark made as much of a sensation as an exploded bomb would have and after that there was no use for the young men to hand out tracts or make any further attempt to teach us.

I realize that since that day their church has abandoned teaching plural marriages and that they have done many wonderful things since the time their people came out from the eastern part of the United States with their wooden-wheeled carts to settle Utah and build a great community. This included storehouses for their tithes so there were no poor among them. Many other churches could well adopt this custom.

A. C. Magruder was I think the first technical man employed at the Agricultural College at Stillwater. He was a pleasant young man from Mississippi, and was employed to teach agriculture. This included in that day agronomy, horticulture, dairying, and animal husbandry. He was the lay reader for the Episcopal Church and was a welcome addition to the young people of the town. He would come to our farm homes scattered over the county and advised us with our problems.

In time he paid marked attention to the daughter of Mr. Duncan (for whom Duncan Street is named), the miller of the Babcock Bros. flour mill. Malaria laid hold on the young woman. When it became apparent that she would hardly recover, he insisted on marriage so he could help in caring for her. That also permitted him to assume her funeral expenses, which relieved her father of them. This is one picture of early life in Oklahoma. Professor Magruder later studied medicine and practiced it for years in another state.

In my boyhood for several years we lived in southern Colorado. There were three boys of us in our family, of which John, the second, was by far the best one. In the summer we spent much of our play time in the irrigating ditch attempting to keep cool. Some way John contracted typhoid fever, and with no ice or even cool water he died. Following his death my brother and I had typhoid too. Looking back that fateful summer of 1876 with Colorado entering the Union and General George Custer meeting his fate on Little Big Horn with Sitting Bull, I believe our sickness was caused by the common house fly. The benefit that came from screened doors and windows, fly swatters, sticky fly-paper, and D.D.T. saved countless lives. We owe a debt to each one of them. One fly causes a sensation in the modern home today. We had them by the millions then, as did early Oklahoma settlers.

During those early years I made two attempts at teaching school. I say this guardedly, as I was stopped the first time and the school was closed by that fine old county superintendent, Dr. R. B. Foster. He said the building was not fit and the children would suffer. We, in our desire to keep out of debt, had built a small building of green cottonwood; and in his report Dr. Foster might have said, "The cracks are too wide." The district built a better schoolhouse later, and I taught a longer term in it and enjoyed myself every day.

What fun it is to teach any one who wants to learn! Three members of the older class are living yet and how they do enjoy getting together. The older boy at Christmas time spoke that delightful poem, "It is just 'fore Christmas and I'm as good as I kin be." You ask what salary I drew for teaching those children with their bottles of pokeberry juice for ink, and their muddy feet? It was hardly a salary, but wages and thirty dollars a month and I was tickled pink to get it; for that winter my first little son was born, and I was sitting on top of the world. The children were good, and we all learned something.

APPENDIX

James King Hastings died at his home in Stillwater on July 12, 1955, at the age of eighty-seven. A sketch of his life appeared in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* in 1952 when a manuscript volume, "Papers of James K. Hastings," was presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society.¹ This is a rare collection. In the National Archives one finds scores of references to homesteaders who received leaves of absences issued by local land offices. But the only original document of such a leave that I have seen is in the Hastings volume. The leave was issued by John I. Dille and Cassius M. Barnes of the Guthrie land office in 1889.

Hastings took a homestead in the Run of '89, and because of unusual ability to mirror the past he was a prominent member of the Payne County Historical Society. He knew pioneer life in the fullest sense of the word and his articles serve those interested in the history of the region of Oklahoma.² Sound recordings of his narrative are in the Library of the Oklahoma A. & M. College. A diary he kept most of his life is in the possession of his family.

Beginning about 1924 Hastings contributed for twenty years the column, "Plow Points," to the *Farmer-Stockman*. In a readable and practical way he dealt with the planting and harvesting of crops, fencing, fertilizing, rainfall, and he included contemporary items now of historical value.

Hastings was married September 26, 1895, to Carrie A. Barnes. Their children were Howard King (deceased), Annie L., Lois B., Ruth (infant deceased), and Joel H. Here was a pioneer who was true to his convictions, and one of them was the preservation of the history of Oklahoma.

—B. B. Chapman.

¹ "The James K. Hastings Papers," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 2, (Summer, 1952), p. 236.

² Articles by James K. Hastings include, "The Opening of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1, (Spring, 1949), pp. 70-75; "Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College and Old Central," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, (Spring, 1950), pp. 81-84; "Log-Cabin Days in Oklahoma," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1950), pp. 143-153; "A Boy's Eye View of the Old Southwest," *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. XXVI, No. 4 (Oct., 1951), pp. 287-301; "A Winter in the High Mountains, 1871-72," *Colorado Magazine*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3 (July, 1950), pp. 225-234; "Boyhood in the Trinidad Region," *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, No. 2 (April, 1953), pp. 104-109.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

OFFICIAL SEALS OF INDIAN NATIONS, TERRITORIAL AND
STATE GOVERNMENTS IN OKLAHOMA

This number of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Winter, 1955-56), begins a series of new cover designs in colors, to include the official seals used by eight different governments within the boundaries of Oklahoma, 1860 to 1907. These seals will appear consecutively on the front cover of the magazine for the next two years, and will include those of each of the Five Civilized Tribes, the Territory of Cimarron, the Territory of Oklahoma, and the State of Oklahoma. The official seals of the five Indian governments will be shown in the order of their treaties assigning each tribe a country in the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma: Choctaw, 1820; Creek (or Muscogee), 1826; Cherokee, 1828; Seminole, 1832; Chickasaw, 1837. Following these, the next in order will be the seals of Cimarron Territory, the Territory of Oklahoma and the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma, the last in the series to appear on the front cover in autumn, 1957.

NOTES ON DOAKSVILLE, CHOCTAW NATION

Doaksville for many years before the War between the States was the largest and most important town in the Choctaw Nation, located about a mile west of Fort Towson. It was established the same summer that the fort (established 1824, abandoned 1829) was rebuilt and regarrisoned under the command of Major Stephen Watts Kearney, Third U. S. Infantry (May 1, 1831. The first post office on the site of Doaksville was called "Fort Towson," on September 7, 1832, with George C. Gooding as Postmaster; the name was changed to "Doaksville" on November 11, 1847, with Joseph R. Berthelet as Postmaster.¹

A visitor to Doaksville in 1844, gave this description:²

Doaksville I found to be a flourishing town, the largest in the Indian country. It is mainly surrounded by large cotton plantations, owned by Choctaws and Chickasaws, mostly half-breeds, and worked by slaves. It is a brisk, neat-looking place, with a good church, an excellent public house, kept by my host, Colonel (David) Folsom, on temperance principles, quite a number of stores, mechanics' shops, etc., and all the marks of thrift and prosperity. It commands a fine view of the garrison buildings at Fort

¹ George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), pp. 198, 203.

² Rev. William H. Goode, *Outposts of Zion* (Cincinnati, 1864), p. 187. The author (*ibid.*) stated that he "had also the kind attention of Mr. Berthelet, a Canadian gentleman," a trader at Doaksville to whose care he had been commended by his friend John Hobart Heald, a partner in business with Mr. Berthelet (see Muriel H. Wright, "John Hobart Heald," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. 3 (September, 1924), pp. 311-18).

Towson, a mile distant, and is within a few miles of Red River and the Texas line.

Important treaties between the Choctaws and the Chickasaws were written and signed at Doaksville, the first of which was the Treaty of 1837, its terms providing for the purchase of the rights of citizenship and the sharing of lands in the Choctaw Nation by the Chickasaws. The second was signed in 1854 by delegates of the two nations, establishing the boundary line between the Choctaw Nation and the Chickasaw country.

The first newspaper in the Choctaw Nation was the *Choctaw Telegraph*, published by D. G. Ball, the first issue dated June 6, 1848; Daniel Folsom, a native, served as translator and editor of the columns in Choctaw. The *Telegraph* was succeeded by the *Choctaw Intelligencer*, at Doaksville, first published in June, 1850, by D. D. Alsobrook, with John P. Kingsbury and Jonathan E. Dwight as editors.

There is nothing left today to mark the site of Doaksville except the old cemetery where the graves of many prominent Choctaws and others are found, among them being that of the noted David Folsom (died September 24, 1847) who had been the first district chief of the Choctaws, elected under their first written constitution in Mississippi, in 1826. David Folsom married as his second wife, Jane Hall, daughter of William and Susan Hall of Skullyville (Choctaw Agency) located in the northern part of the Nation, about fifteen miles west of Fort Smith.³ After the death of her husband, Jane Hall Folsom married David G. Ball who had published the *Telegraph* at Doaksville.

Interesting notes that reveal life at this one-time flourishing Choctaw town have been contributed for publication in *The Chronicles*, by Mr. E. W. Bowers, District Court Clerk at Clarksville, Red River County, Texas, taken from the old records of the District Court of Red River County at Clarksville. Notes and copies of some of the old court cases contributed by Mr. Bowers follow here, making mention of a number of the early day citizens of Doaksville, with footnotes by the Editor:

Some Laws and Customs of the Choctaws

In the papers and minutes of the District Court of Red River County at Clarksville are the proceedings in a number of lawsuits which give a picture still preserved of the economic and social life of Doaksville.

On January 7, 1852 David G. Ball and Jane H. Ball were proprietors of one of the taverns at Doaksville and the largest mercantile firm was the partnership of Joseph Berthelet, Robert M.

³ The grave of William Hall is one of the earliest at old Skullyville cemetery, the handsome tombstone now broken and weatherworn bears the inscription, "William Hall, Aged 45—Died 1838."

Jones⁴ and Henry Berthelet going by the firm name of Berthelet, Jones and Company. Ball and wife had become indebted to Berthelet, Jones and Company and to settle this debt and get some future advances Ball and his wife went to Berthelet and Jones and gave them a bill of sale to a negro woman, Melinda, "a slave for life" for the sum of \$600.00.

The note was not paid when due and shortly after it was due Ball and wife gave up the tavern and took Melinda and moved to Clarksville, Red River County, Texas.

Berthelet and Jones employed a very able lawyer, J. A. N. Murray, of Clarksville, who filed their suit on May 23, 1853. The petition admitted that the Bill of Sale was really a mortgage and Ball and wife had the right of redemption when and if they should pay the note. Besides this Ball and wife kept possession of Melinda who continued to work for them as before. Murray sued for the possession and control of Melinda.

Ball and wife, seeing that they had a lawsuit on their hands, employed Amos Morrill and J. J. Dickson to represent them, and on June 7, 1853, answer was filed. Both the petition and the answer agreed that the suit should be tried according to the laws and customs of the Choctaw Nation. In the answer, it was claimed that during the year 1852 the Balls were keeping a public tavern at Doaksville; that the note was made for the future purchases of pork, bacon, flour and various articles for the tavern; that they had been supplied with only a small part of the goods and consequently owed only a very small debt.

On November 30, 1853 Morrill & Dickson filed an interpleader for Albert Folsom stating that he was the son of Jane H. Ball and her first husband David Folsom and that he was the rightful owner of the slave Melinda; that he was only thirteen years of age and was a minor. The suit first came up for trial on September 5th, 1856. Many depositions were introduced besides numerous other witnesses

⁴ Robert M. Jones was the wealthiest Choctaw planter in the Southwest, one-time owner of 500 Negro slaves. He was educated in the Choctaw Academy at Blue Springs, Kentucky, where he was highly regarded as a student of promise; his certificate of merit at the time of his graduation is now in the archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He was in the employ of the Government during the removal of the Choctaws to the Indian Territory, and first had a trading store at Tamaha (Pleasant Bluff) on the Arkansas River, above Fort Smith. He settled at Doaksville in the late 1830's, and later erected a handsome residence called "Rose Hill," the site of which was southeast of Hugo, in Choctaw County, where his gravestone bears the date of his death in 1873. Colonel Jones had served as the Choctaw national delegate to the Confederate Congress at Richmond during the War between the States, the outstanding leader in the Choctaw Nation that had signed the Confederate Treaty in 1861. During his life time he amassed a great fortune, and was the owner and operator of a number of trading stores, one of which was located at Boggy Depot when the Chickasaws first settled there in 1838. His post office and activities always centered at Doaksville where he was a charter member of the Masonic lodge.

who appeared in person. Deposition subpoenas had been issued for taking the testimony of George W. Harkins, District Chief of the Choctaw Nation and for Peter P. Pichtlyn, Sampson Folsom, John Kingsbury, Sarah Garvin and Elijah Goodridge.

The deposition of George W. Harkins, taken on May 16, 1854, stated:

I am 44 years old and I reside 6 miles from Doaksville in Apuckshunubbi District of the Choctaw Nation. I am well acquainted with the parties to this suit. As I have been born and raised among the Choctaws, I think my opportunities have been pretty good to know what are the customs and laws of the Choctaws. I am at this time holding the office of Chief.

In order for a Bill of Sale, deed or mortgage to pass and be valid it is necessary to be witnessed by some individual. There is no written law on this point but this has always been the custom of the Choctaws. Neither is there any law saying that the signature to any instrument of writing shall be valid and good but it has always been the custom of the Choctaws. But we have a written law saying that whatever property a woman had before marriage is considered her own and she has a right to dispose of it in such manner as she may see fit without her husband's consent.

Ball himself had no Indian blood in him but his wife had a certain amount, as I am well acquainted with her Indian relations.

I am acquainted with the negro woman Melinda said to have been mortgaged to Berthelet, Jones and Co. It was understood at the time of the division of the estate that this negro woman should be turned over to her son Albert Folsom though she Mrs. Ball was the original owner to the woman Melinda. But she having disposed of one of the negroes belonging to the Estate, it was agreed that her son Albert should have Melinda. I think this was the way of it as near as my memory serves me. I did not understand at the time of the division of the estate that she released and sold her son Albert her interest and right in said negro Melinda upon condition she should have his interest in the homestead in Doaksville. Mrs. Ball at the time of the division preferred drawing the home place and consequently did not draw an equal portion of negro property with the other heirs. I know nothing of the contract between Mrs. Ball and the individual she sold her place to—I presume she got pay for it.

—Geo. W. Harkins.

On December 4, 1854 Sarah Garvin gave her deposition at the residence of David G. Ball at Clarksville as follows:—

"I am forty five years old and reside in the Choctaw Nation. I am acquainted with both the plaintiff and defendant to this suit. I know Melinda. She was raised by W. Hall. She has been owned by Albert Folsom since 1848. Albert Folsom owns her at this time. He came in possession of her in the Spring of 1848 at the division of his father's estate. Melinda previous to that time belonged to Jane H. Ball but in order that she might get the home place entire she transferred Melinda to Albert Folsom for his interest in said place. I am Jane Ball's aunt. I was at Doaksville at different times during the division of the property. Mrs. Jane H. Ball is the mother of Albert Folsom.

her
Sarah x Garvin
mark

Sampson Folsom gave his testimony:—

I am thirty four years old and reside in Doaksville, Apuckshunubbi District of the Choctaw Nation. I have a good opportunity to know the laws and customs of the Choctaws. I think a bill of sale or a mortgage would be valid by the customs and laws of the Choctaws with one subscribing witness as it would with two and I would have no hesitation to risk such a bill of sale.

Sampson Folsom.

The first trial ended in a verdict in favor of Berthelet and Jones for \$600.00, holding Melinda liable for the debt. But this verdict was set aside and a new trial granted. The case was again tried on February 25, 1857 and the verdict gave Berthelet and Jones a judgment for \$600.00 but held Melinda to be the property of Albert Folsom and not liable for the mortgage.

The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of Texas which then held at both Tyler and Austin on May 8, 1858. The Supreme Court issued its mandate signed by John Hemphill as Chief Justice, but the opinion was written by O. M. Roberts, one of the Judges. This was a very able and learned exposition of the law, in favor of Berthelet and Jones, and reversed and remanded the case.

The decree is long but the final conclusion of the Court was as follows:—

... neither of the witnesses profess to state facts of their own knowledge. Admitting they had, though they differ as to what was given in exchange for this woman they agree in establishing that it was an exchange of property and not a gift. The exchange was between the mother and her infant son five years old; and one of the witnesses says that the other heirs acted as agent for Albert. By what authority they acted does not appear, certainly not by consent of Albert for he was not capable of giving consent, either to the agency or to the exchange. None of the precedents, formalities, or circumstances of this exchange are developed. There was no evidence that any notoriety or publicity was given to this transaction—or that it was ever known or heard of except as deposed to by these witnesses, or that it was ever acted on by the parties as a real transaction—But on the contrary Jane H. Ball continued as before to possess and use the slave and finally mortgaged her in satisfaction of this debt.

We think such evidence entirely deficient in establishing what must have been an affirmative, positive fact. The change of title in the property by exchange or otherwise from Jane H. Ball to her son Albert.

It is the policy of the law to require transactions not reduced to writing between parent and child residing in the same family and the child a minor of tender years should be established by testimony of reasonable certainty when the rights of third parties are effected by them. The evidence is deficient in manner and matter—being the unexplained understanding of one witness and hearsay of another, and not developing the particulars of a valid exchange of property. Whether the facts disclosed may be a portion of those which if properly developed might constitute a good title in Albert Folsom it is unnecessary now to decide. (Clifton-vs-Lilley 12 Tex. 130) A new trial should have been granted.

Judgement is reversed and cause remanded.

O. M. Roberts

Clerk's Office—Supreme Court
At Tyler.

Berthelet, Jones and Co.
No. 1598 V. Error Red River
Folsom.

May 13th, 1858
Thomas S. Green, Clerk.

David G. Ball had died in 1855 but Mrs. Ball⁵ had continued the fight up to this point. After the case was received back it lay inactive on the docket for a long period as all parties seem to have tired of the suit now over five years since it was filed and they seem to have arrived at some sort of settlement.

Liquor Was "Perishable Goods" in 1852

In the year 1851 the owners of the Steamboat *Woodsmen*, Joseph R. Berthelett, Robert M. Jones of Doaksville, Choctaw Nation, and Isaih D. Wells, sued one John C. Freeman for their bill of freight hauled on the *Woodsmen*.

The bill specified these charged:—

1851. Freight on:—Goods 50#	@ \$2.00	\$100.00
5 Pieces of Mdse	@ \$3.00	15.00
10 bbls of sugar	@ \$2.00	20.00
5¼ casks of brandy		5.00
17 barrels of whiskey		34.00
4 Boxes Tobacco	@ 10/	5.00
10 sks coffee		20.00
1 cask wine		2.00
3 baskets		1.00
5 Boxes Mdse.	@ 8?	5.00
2 Boxes Mdse.		1.00
6 boxes of Sperm candles		6.00
1 case Mdse.		8.00
2 Boxes of Lemon Syrup		2.00
10 Demijohns Liquor		10.00
2-½ casks of brandy		2.00
½ Pipe Brandy		1.00
2 Dozen Demijohns		5.00
To passage Down to N. O.		15.00
Cash in N. O.		15.00
Passage from N. O.		20.00
		<hr/>
		\$297.00
Credits.		
Cash from Grant	\$100.00	
Wright's Draft	\$62.00	
5 bbls of Flour	35.00	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
		197.00
Dr.		
To cash paid John Green		\$100.00
Amount Paid Peter Kinzer		48.50
		23.60
		<hr/>
Balance Due		\$172.10

⁵ Mrs. Jane Folsom Ball died at Clarksville, Texas on October 5, 1858.

This suit was filed by William Cocke Young and Simpson H. Morgan for plaintiffs. A citation was issued but at that time Freeman was not found so Young and Morgan got out an attachment and on August 20, 1851, the following goods were attached by John M. Bivins the then sheriff of Red River County: at Wright's landing at Kiomitia (Texas side, opposite Doaksville landing) where Freeman had his place of business. List of Goods attached were: One half pipe of brandy; Two fourth casks of brandy; 3 Show cases of playing cards; 9 drums of figs; 5 boxes of cigars; 7 demijohns of Irish whiskey.

Before the case was tried Simpson H. Morgan came into court and made his affidavit and called the attention of the court to the perishable nature of the goods attached and asked that sheriff be instructed by a writ of *Venditioni Exponias* to sell the goods and impound the money pending the outcome of the suit which motion was granted. This order was granted by Hon. William Trimble, Special Judge. The case finally came up for trial and on December 2, 1852 the jury gave a verdict in favor of Berthlett and Jones and Wells for the sum of \$100.00.

—E. W. Powers.

KEEPING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

A letter has been received by the Editorial Department from William C. Sturtevant, Department of Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, calling attention to the mistaken identity of an Indian shown in an illustration appearing in the recent book, *Beyond the Cross Timbers* (Norman, 1955):

Billy Bowlegs, not Marcy's Scout Bushman

A recent publication of the University of Oklahoma Press—W. Eugene Hollon's *Beyond the Cross Timbers; the Travels of Randolph B. Marcy, 1812-1887* (1955)—contains a curious error which seems worthwhile pointing out. One of the illustrations (opposite page 146) bears a caption identifying the individual shown as *John Bushman, in 1858, who was Marcy's chief scout on the 1852 Red River expedition*. "A true specimen of the Indian type, dignified, reserved, and taciturn, self-reliant, independent, and fearless." One might expect at least a picture of a Delaware, if not actually John Bushman, to appear above this caption, since Bushman was a member of this tribe (Hollon, p. 149) which supplied so many army scouts. However, such is not the case. The illustration is an engraved portrait of the famous Seminole chief Billy Bowlegs, "from a photograph by Clark, of New Orleans," reproduced from page 376 of an article, "Billy Bowlegs at New Orleans," in *Harper's Weekly*, vol. 2, No. 76 (June 12, 1858), pp. 376-378. Hollon's reproduction is credited to

the Library of Congress. The same picture appears also in "*Billy Bowlegs and the Seminole War*, by John Gifford (Coconut Grove, Fla., 1925). That the identification as Billy Bowlegs is correct, is evident. [See p. 517 for reprint of this picture in this number of *The Chronicles*]:

1.) Below the engraving appears a nearly-illegible signature, "Wm. Bowlegs 1858" (reproduced also by Hollon)!

2.) The engraving is captioned "Billy Bowlegs, Chief of the Seminoles," in *Harpers Weekly*;

3.) The facial features and costume details agree with other engravings and photographs of Billy Bowlegs made in 1852 and 1858—e.g., *Illustrated London News*, vol. 22, No. 623, 1853, p. 396 (reproduced in K. Porter, "The Negro Abraham," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, vol. 25, pp. 1-43, 1946); *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion*, vol. 3. No. 17, 1852, p. 257; a photograph in the Bureau of American Ethnology, reproduced opposite page 26 of Charles H. Coe, *Red Patriots; the Story of the Seminoles*, (Cincinnati, 1898); another photograph in the B. A. E. files, taken in 1852; an 1858 photograph in the files of the Museum of the American Indian, New York; and a portrait in later editions of *The Indian Tribes of North America*, by T. L. McKenney and J. Hall (e.g., the 1933-1934 Edinburgh edition), reproduced on plate 47 of J. R. Swanton's *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*, B. A. E. Bulletin 137, 1946;

4.) The costume is plainly that of a Seminole man of the 1850's or thereabouts.

—William C. Sturtevant.

PUSHMATAHA AND EDWIN FORREST

Both Pushmataha, the noted hero chief of the Choctaws, and his sister, Natona, have been portrayed in well known dramatic scenes on the American stage. Victor Herbert's "The Hawk Song" from his operetta *Natona* has been popular on Indian Programs. Recently, Mrs. Grant Foreman, of Muskogee, contributed a note on Pushmataha from Eleanor Ruggles, *Prince of Players Edwin Booth* (New York, 1953), p. 112: "Edwin Forrest as 'King Lear was unforgettable and so were his noble, simple, half-savages like Othello, Spartagus, the gladiator, and Metamora, the Indian chief—he had modeled this role on Pushmataha, an Indian friend . . . ' with whom he had once lived familiarity."

Pushmataha, born in Mississippi in 1764, died in Washington, D. C., December 24, 1824. "Edwin Forrest, born in Philadelphia in 1806, died December 2, 1872. He was one of the most successful of





(From photo, Kirk Collection
Oklahoma Historical Society)

Mrs. Jane Phelps, "Queen of the Ottawas," at the
age of 115 years, January 6, 1882.

American actors. He performed the roles of Othello, Macbeth, Richard III, Spartacus, etc." (Joseph Thomas, *Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography* [Philadelphia, 1888], p. 1016).

A CORRECTION IN *The Chronicles* FOR AUTUMN, 1955

A line of text was left out by mistake in printing the article, "S. Alice Callahan," that appeared in *The Chronicles* for Autumn, 1955 (Vol. XXXIII, No. 3), p. 306. The first paragraph of this article by Caroline Thomas Foreman should include the missing third line to read (p. 306):

"While reading an account of the death of Captain S. B. Callahan, the writer came across a paragraph at the end of his obituary saying that his beautiful daughter who died at the age of twenty was the author of a book entitled '*Nema*.' This is now thought to be the first novel written in Oklahoma."

NATIVE HISTORIANS OF CHIEF PONTIAC'S TRIBE, THE OTTAWA

Chequah Watbee, affectionately called "Grandma King," long the historian of her people, the Ottawa, died at the great age of 120 years on the Ottawa Reservation in Oklahoma, in 1886. Present Ottawa County perpetuates the name of this ancient Algonquian tribe, of which the famous Pontiac was chief and warrior (1720-1769). Grandma King's role as historian is now carried on by her great-grandson, Guy Jennison, present chief of the Ottawa in Oklahoma, who lives near Miami.

Grandma King (Jane King) had come from Ohio at the time of the removal of the Ottawa to Kansas in 1836-37. Thirty years later she came with her kinsmen to the new Ottawa Reservation in the Indian Territory. She had her picture made on her birthday when she was 116 years old, in 1882, at her home near present Miami, in Ottawa County, and an original of this rare old photograph is now in the Oklahoma Historical Society collections.

Notes of interest on the life of Grandma King of the Ottawa have been contributed by the well known Oklahoma writer, Velma Nieberding of Miami:

Che-quah Wat-bee or Mrs. Jane Phelps, better known as "Grandma King," was born on the Maumee River in Ohio, in 1766. She died in 1886 and was buried in the Ottawa Indian cemetery about four and a half miles southeast of Miami, Oklahoma.

Grandma King was Godmother, historian and Medicine Woman of the Ottawa tribe. Her husband, Wa-bee was the 8th Ottawa signer of the Treaty at the Foot of the Rapids of Maumee of Lake Erie, 1817. He signed Ke-ne-wa-ba. He was a grand-nephew of Chief Pontiac.

Grandma King was the mother of Sallie Wa-bee Wind and grand-mother of Catherine Wind Jennison who was the mother of Guy Jennison, the present Chief of the Ottawas. Thus, Mr. Jennison traces his ancestry to the family of Chief Pontiac.

The celebration of "Aunt Jane's" birthday was a notable event in the tribe during her later years. During the celebration of her birthday when she was 115 years old, she watched the dancers awhile, then went among them and showed how the Ottawas danced "a hundred years ago." She did not like the new-fashioned coal-oil lamps when they were first used by her friends but insisted on hand-dipped candles. She never slept in the dark but always with a candle burning beside her bed.

THE PIONEER WOMAN OF OKLAHOMA, 1955

The nomination of the Pioneer Woman of Oklahoma was made in 1955 for the first time in the history of the State. This honor went to Ollie Magdalene Butler who at the age of eighty-three years has lived for sixty-three years in Dewey County, Oklahoma. She came here as a young woman with her husband, Frank Butler, and their two small sons, making their home near Taloga where Mr. Butler had staked a land claim at the opening of the Cheyenne and Arapaho country in the run on April 19, 1892. Mrs. Butler today counts nine children of her own, twenty-five grandchildren and twenty-five great grandchildren. Her granddaughter, Mrs. H. G. Buchanan of Oklahoma City (Rte. No. 3, Box 265J), has stated part of Mrs. Butler's wonderful record:

"Of the nine children, two have died, five are professional people and the others married to self-supporting men. Of the grandchildren, there are seven boys, five of whom have given military service and the other two are not old enough; fifteen of the twenty-five have attended college, and the others are not old enough. Among all these descendants, there have not been any divorces, no recipients of public charity and no delinquents."

Mrs. Butler for sixty-three years has been a member of the Taloga Christian Church, and served as a Sunday school teacher for nearly twenty-five years. She helped to organize this church and is its oldest living charter member. She also at a different time helped to organize Union Sunday school and church held in the homes, and the Lone Pine Sunday School and Church. Her civic activities have included early day Literary Club, Red Cross, Council of Defense, Missionary Society, Home Demonstration Club, 4-H Supervisor, Stitch & Chatter Quilting Club, Willing Workers (Ladies Aid Society) and Lone Pine Homecoming Organization. She still resides on the farm that has been her home for fifty-five years, the family homestead rights having been completed by 1900.

A statement giving Mrs. Butler's life history and her qualifications for nomination as the State's Pioneer Woman was submitted to the judges in a statewide contest for the honor, signed by leaders in her home community, as follows:

Mrs. Butler, a True Pioneer Woman in Oklahoma

Courage never turns back; nor did Mrs. Ollie Butler after she boarded the wagon with her husband, the late Frank Butler, and two small sons at Englewood, Kansas in November of 1892. Just twenty years of age, with their every earthly possession packed securely about them and "Old Bess" (the cow) led from behind the wagon, they launched forth through the untamed wilds into Oklahoma. In the Cheyenne-Arapaho country her husband had acquired land "by run" on April 19, 1892, for the "farm out west" that he had so long dreamed of.

Undaunted by the parting words from her mother, "The Indians will scalp all of you before you get half-way," and still with an onward vision when they awoke after camping overnight to dig themselves from their snow blanketed bed. Only faith could spur one onward as they listened one evening to a panther hovering near answering the cry of their baby. Once when prospects for getting out of boggy Wolf Creek near old Fort Supply looked very dismal, General Miles with his company of guards rode into view. Had they not waded into the mud, carried out the heavy possessions and pushed with all their strength, the entire holdings of the family no doubt would have been lost.

"On the sixth day our home lay before us; Taloga, which means 'In the cradle of the hills'," Mrs. Butler recalls.

The home which grew from a tent dwelling to a sizable picket house not only housed the growing family but also many progressive movements in the growth of the community. It was their intent to build a "house by the side of the road where the races of men go by." They did build such a house and the race of men did go by: good men, bad men, men with their families coming into the new country to make homes; cowboys, Indians, outlaws (fully gunned, and booted), yes, and even the famous "Saloon smasher," Carrie Nation, found lodging within this family dwelling.

Many there were that came to rest, partake of the good water, or to seek a night's lodging. No person left the place hungry, and most people left with a rag doll for the baby, a stick of taffy or a pop-corn ball for the older children, a small piece of meat, a hand-out of meal, or anything that would help folks along their journey. Groups met in this home for Sunday school before churches were organized. From one of these groups the present Christian Church of Taloga originated of which Mrs. Butler is the oldest living charter member. Within these walls sewings, quiltings, singings, taffy-pulls, and holiday parties wove a community of staunch friendships.

Friendships called for much service in time of need in those early days, therefore, many were the visits Mrs. Butler made far and near, night or day, to help in caring for the sick, helping to bring new babies into the world, as well as assisting with the burying of the dead.

Homestead rights were completed by 1900. It was then with her husband and three boys she moved to the farm two miles southwest of Taloga where she lived in a dugout lined with cottonwood lumber and covered with cedar post, straw, and dirt for about three years. It is on this farm she made her home for more than fifty-five years; it is here she still resides.

She was ever busy assisting with the growing of crops, herding of cattle, cooking over a wood fire for harvest crews, and fighting the prairie fires that were sometimes a menacing danger. Many and varied were these daily tasks but never so prevalent she could not take time to make extra pop-corn balls so that every child would get something from the community Christmas tree, nor to take a tub of flowers to the cemetery on Memorial Day to decorate the graves of loved ones who had been called away—remembering them in life and remembering them in death.

Through floods and drouths, crops of plenty then famine, harsh winters versus burning summers, illness and disaster, an ever forward look she has had for her family and community.

Admirable traits of character grew into her nine children all of whom reached man and womanhood. Never a case of divorce or a criminal record among any of them. They are just a sturdy family of farmers, housewives, attorneys, machinists, bankers, and teachers, who learned through example that a loving and courageous heart is the beginning and end of success through any generation.

Time and era have marched on since that day of June 14, 1872 when Ollie Butler was born. The reconstruction period after the Civil War and the winning of the west were passing with law and order established, the United States was reaching out to become a land of forty-eight fully organized states, the ox teams and covered wagons were coming to an end by the wayside. Whiskered, booted, and gun toting bad men now are gone; dugouts and sod houses are replaced by fine modern homes; wood and cow chip fires have given way to gas and electricity. The trails made by the pioneers are now fine hard surfaced roads, the voice of the trail driver is carried by the siren on a fast stream-liner, while cities, towns and villages now cover the camps and gathering places of the pioneer. Ollie Butler lives and has been a part of this great kaleidoscopic journey in human events; search far and wide and no more of a true and actual pioneer can be found.

I now present Ollie Butler, the true, the actual pioneer woman.

(Signed)

Ival Sauter, President
Kiwani Club of Taloga.

Nora Fairchild,
of Stitch & Chatter Quilting Club

Bart W. Wheritt, Asst. Supt.
Christian Church School

Bernece Hargrave, President
Federated Club.

Mary Taylor, President
Taloga Home Demonstration Club

The selection of the Pioneer Woman of Oklahoma in 1955 was made through a statewide contest in charge of a Central Committee headed by Mrs. Martha Meis Aaron, of Oklahoma City, who had first promoted and sponsored the idea. Letters were addressed to the county superintendents of schools throughout the state giving the rules and qualifications for entries in the contest, and each in turn carried on through a specially appointed county committees that made the selection by elimination of names and records submitted by individuals and organizations in the county. The three broad qualifications of the candidate were that she could not have been born in the state of Oklahoma, and must have accomplished something in pioneering that present day women are not called upon to do; she should be a married woman, preferably a mother whose children are an honor and credit to her; she should be a woman of deep religious conviction, who had given outstanding service to her community. Thirty-eight counties nominated candidates who qualified and whose records were reviewed by a committee of three in Oklahoma City: Dr. C. Q. Smith, President of



MRS. OLLIE BUTLER
Pioneer Woman of Oklahoma, 1955

Oklahoma City University, Judge Edgar S. Vaught, United States District Court, and Miss Muriel H. Wright, Editor in the Oklahoma Historical Society. This Committee made its report signed by the members on August 30, 1955, as follows:

We have carefully examined and considered the records of thirty-eight counties submitted to us, and our one regret is that we cannot award this special recognition to each one nominated. We have been deeply impressed with the hardships, sacrifices and accomplishments disclosed by the record of each.

However, in making our decision we have tried to follow the instructions of your committee by properly evaluating certain factual situations, and have been faced with the embarrassing necessity of making comparisons.

It is our unanimous opinion that the first choice of "The Pioneer Woman" should go to Mrs. Ollie Magdalene Butler, Taloga, Dewey County, and the second choice should go to Mrs. J. W. Harmon, Buffalo, Harper County.

Ponca City, noted for the famous "Pioneer Woman" statue by the sculptor, Bryant Baker, entertained and feted Mrs. Ollie Baker and twenty-five other candidates who were able to make the trip from their homes for the occasion, during the City's annual September celebration of the opening of the Cherokee Strip made in the famous "run" of September 16, 1893.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE TINKLING SPRING, HEADWATER OF FREEDOM: A STUDY OF THE CHURCH AND HER PEOPLE, 1732-1952.

By Howard McKnight. (Fishersville, Virginia. The Tinkling Spring and Hermitage Presbyterian Churches, 1954. Pp. xvii, 392. \$8.00.)

This history of a local rural church in the Valley of Virginia is a delightful volume for Presbyterian readers and for others interested in a segment of the American heritage not too well known. It is more than a church history; it is the history of a region. Here is illustrated once more the fact that colonists migrated from Europe to escape persecution for religious convictions only to discover that they also had to keep moving to escape such persecution after their arrival on this side of the Atlantic. The Scottish and Scotch-Irish migrants into the Great Valley beyond the Blue Ridge sought land, of course, and political and religious freedom as well. These they struggled for generations to obtain, during colonial years, the American Revolution, and the Civil War; the story of that struggle is here, with the emphasis on the experiences of one congregation. Much of the account of frontier hardships will be old stuff to many readers. The work is scholarly in the sense that it is heavily documented by citations to sources and rare secondary works; but the narrative is not orderly and is featured by rambling and numerous digressions, long quotations, and lists of names. For the reader who likes to wander with the author—as this one did—the many digressions are no hindrance. The trivia add seasoning, and reward the persistent reader with the feeling that he was really there. Dr. Wilson uses superlatives and exclamation points with great liberality so that the non-Presbyterian may decide that he is being given an overdose of Presbyterian propaganda, of special pleading for the Presbyterian share in the making of our history. This does not presume to be the work of a trained historian, however, but that of a pastor engaged in a labor of love as he chronicles the “story of two hundred and fourteen years of Christian citizenship” Numerous illustrations, the ones from later years too obviously posed, are scattered throughout the volume. The maps are adequate and the appendices and index overwhelming. Finally, all Oklahomans will be pleased with the frontispiece, selected to symbolize the pioneer virtues with which much of the text deals, for it is the Pioneer Woman of Ponca City.

James D. Morrison

Southeastern State College

Durant, Oklahoma

Six-gun and Silver Star. By Glenn Shirley. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1955. Pp. vii, 235. Illus. Bibliography and index. \$4.50.)

The title of Glenn Shirley's new book awakens an interest that leads on through his narrative to the very end. The records of old court cases form the basis of the author's research in western history, that show up the notorious outlaw gangs and thieves as they were in Oklahoma territorial days. His search for their stories in newspapers and journals of the period and his analysis of conflicting statements sometimes found in these and other writings have added many details to the well known scenes of outlawry. This is one of the first published narratives on the subject as a whole, revealed in first hand accounts and actual records of the time when such officers as Nix, Tilghman, Madsen, Canton and Heck Thomas waged war against outlaws on the last frontier.

The author gives a reason in his Preface for having written the book, saying in effect that the sentimentalists have long held some of the worst outlaws in this country as under-privileged individuals who for some hidden frustration or another had first brushed with the law and then bravely held their own against a force that would wipe them out. Such "legend builders" lose sight of the fact that almost without exception every member of an outlaw gang had a chance to choose his way and lead a better life. Furthermore, the author says that the days of the boomer and the homesteader have been emphasized with "too much sweetness and light" in most works on Oklahoma history.

The Prologue briefs the historical background of Oklahoma that "sprang into being in one day" in 1889. Chapter I follows under the title, "Hell's Fringe," the country fringing west of the boundary line between old Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory where the outlaws of the day played their game. The acts and proclamations for the many different openings of Indian lands to white settlement, that added millions of acres to Oklahoma Territory between 1889 and 1907, lacked the provisions for keeping law and order in these areas, a situation that existed for a time due to the hurry and push of political forces representing the greed for land when the bills for opening the Indian reservations were up for enactment by Congress. The notorious outlaws came here from many states. It was on the border of Hell's Fringe that a battle took place in 1891, at an outlaw camp near the Twin Mounds, in eastern Payne County, between a large posse of farmers and a gang of horse thieves, a few weeks after the Dalton gang held up a Santa Fe passenger train at Wharton in the Cherokee Outlet.

The thread of the narrative picks up in Chapter 2 "The Daltons Gone Wild," for the Doolin gang and later gangs of outlaw fame had their beginnings with the Daltons in one way or another. Doolin

was with the Daltons before he organized the most dangerous gang of all, Tom Daugherty (alias Arkansas Tom) joining up with him. The handwriting was on the wall for the outlaws in the battle at Ingall's near Hell's Fringe, on September 1, 1893, two weeks before the "Run" into the Cherokee Outlet. Three officers and others were killed in the fight. Doolin carried on at large for another two years but Arkansas Tom was arrested at Ingalls, and served a long term in the penitentiary. After his discharge many years later, he never returned to Oklahoma but was the last outlaw when he was killed by the police in a bank holdup at Joplin, Missouri.

Six-gun and Silver Star is a contribution to the history of the fight for law and order in Oklahoma Territory. A graduate of La Salle School of Law and the IAS School of Criminology of Chicago, the author is captain of the Bureau of Identification of the Stillwater, Oklahoma, Police Department, who has prepared and taught police courses in both the University of Oklahoma and Oklahoma A. and M. College. Glenn Shirley writes in this book as one who has made a study of law and order and lawlessness in the history of the "Old West."

—Muriel H. Wright.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Saddles and Spurs. A Saga of the Pony Express. By Raymond W. Settle and Mary Lund Settle. Harrisburg: The Stackpole Company. Pp. 217. \$3.75.)

When one first discovers that the Pony Express was a very short lived experiment, the operations of which extended over a period of eighteen months, it is reasonable to conclude that fiction writers as well as historians have over publicized the adventure. However, after reading *Saddles and Spurs* by Raymond and Mary Settle it is not difficult to visualize every month of this adventure-packed chapter of American folklore.

The three men who were responsible for the express were Alexander Majors, William H. Russell and William Waddell. William H. Russell is most prominently associated with the romantic organization. It was these three in the partnership of the Central Overland California and Pikes Peak Express Company that first set up the outstations, bought provisions, horses and hired riders to make that first run at St. Joseph, Missouri on April 3, 1860. The account of the first run that these experienced writers give carries tremendous power. Vividly, the authors tell how everything is planned perfectly "About one hundred nineteen stations dotted the approximately one thousand nine hundred sixty-six mile long trail between St. Joseph and Sacramento. Every seventy-five to one hundred miles was a home station where a rider could rest for a short time before starting

back. Each rider covered the route between two of these stations, changing horses on the average of six to eight times going in both directions."

With the aid of fifty-five superb illustrations, short biographies of many of the men who actually carried the *Mochilas* (mail sacks) from station to station, and a wonderful account of the Pah Ute War, *Saddles and Spurs* makes its debut as a fine volume of American history.

—David B. Hooten.

Idabel, Oklahoma

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING, THE
BOARD OF DIRECTORS, THE OKLAHOMA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER
ENDING OCT. 27, 1955

On Thursday, October 27, 1955 the regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held in the Directors Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building. President William S. Key called the meeting to order at 10:00 a.m. Upon roll call it was found that the following members were present: Mr. H. B. Bass, Judge George L. Bowman, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Mr. Joe Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Judge N. B. Johnson, Gen. William S. Key, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mr. R. G. Miller, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mrs. Willis C. Reed, Miss Genevieve Seger, Col. George H. Shirk, Judge Baxter Taylor, and Judge Edgar S. Vaught. Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Treasurer, was absent because of illness and Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, Mr. Exall English, and Mr. H. Milt Phillips were unable to attend due to other commitments. Upon motion of Mrs. Korn, seconded by Judge Cole, excuses were granted to the absent members.

Mr. Joe Curtis of Pauls Valley, who had recently been elected to membership on the Board, was introduced by President Key, who welcomed him to membership on the Board. In reply, Mr. Curtis expressed his thanks for having been elected to the Board of Directors and for the opportunity it would give him to serve in a field of endeavor in which he was tremendously interested.

A letter from Mrs. J. Garfield Buell tendering her resignation was read by General Key. In her letter Mrs. Buell stated that she had found it impossible to attend the regular Board meetings. Various members of the Board expressed their disappointment that Mrs. Buell found it necessary to tender her resignation. Judge Cole moved, and Judge Hefner seconded, that the resignation of Mrs. Buell be accepted with regrets. The Board unanimously adopted the motion.

When the reading of the minutes of the previous Board meeting were called for, Judge Hefner pointed out that, inasmuch as all members of the Board had the opportunity of reading the minutes in the Fall issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, he wished to move the dispensing of their reading. Judge Bowman seconded the motion, which was adopted.

In his report to the Board, Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary, stated that the Society is being operated well within the limits set by the budgets. He pointed out that, although there had been rather heavy expenses during the previous three months, the income from new memberships and renewals had been sufficient to retain the balance in the Special Fund at its normal level.

Mr. Fraker said that he was pleased to report that the Oklahoma Historical Society had reached an all-time high mark in membership. He said the records showed that there were in excess of 2,100 members in the Society. He attributed this growth in membership to a constant and continued program of mail contacts with various business and professional men throughout the state. He stated that this work was being done by Mrs. Olin Stephens, Financial Clerk of the Society. Mr. Fraker further

stated that the growth in the Society's membership was being aided by the appearance of various staff members as speakers and lecturers throughout the state.

The Administrative Secretary reported that he had recently attended the meeting of the National Association of Secretaries of Historical Societies, which was held in Williamsburg, Virginia. He stated that he had learned that most historical societies are better financed than is the Oklahoma Historical Society, and recommended that, as soon as finances can be provided, the staff of the Historical Society be increased to take care of the increasing amount of work that is required.

Col. George Shirk, after a brief discussion of increased costs in the operation of the Oklahoma Historical Society, moved that a committee be appointed to study the advisability of raising the amount of membership dues. His motion was seconded by Mr. T. J. Harrison. Judge Baxter Taylor expressed opposition to any increase in Society dues. He stated he would oppose any such increase, should such proposal be presented to the Board. The motion to have a committee appointed to investigate the matter was adopted, and General Key appointed Board members Harrison, Korn, and Shirk to make a study of the proposal and report at the next regular Board meeting.

Mr. Harrison called the Board's attention to the fact that fellow Board member, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, had recently recovered from a serious illness, and expressed the happiness of the Board over his recovery and his presence at the Board meeting. Mr. Mountcastle thanked the Board for the sentiments thus expressed.

Judge Robert A. Hefner said he would like to make an announcement that would probably be rather unique. He said that he was herewith submitting the application for a Life Membership for his great grandson, who had recently arrived within the Hefner family circle. This young man's name is R. A. Hefner IV, whose father is R. A. Hefner III, and whose grandfather is R. A. Hefner Jr. This makes all four of the Robert A. Hefners Life Members in the Oklahoma Historical Society. President Key stated that he doubted if there was another historical society in existence where the great grandfather, grandfather, father, and son were all members.

Miss Genevieve Seger called the Board's attention to the fact that her father, who is a pioneer Oklahoman and greatly interested in Oklahoma history, would celebrate his 79th birthday on December 2. In his honor she was presenting him with a birthday gift of a Life Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society. Members of the Board expressed their pleasure at having Mr. Seger become a Life Member of the Society, and the Secretary was authorized to send him a message of congratulations and good wishes on his birthday.

The matter of the condition of many of the portraits in the Portrait Gallery was brought up for discussion by Judge Vaught. It was stated that a number of pictures needed retouching in order to restore them and prevent cracking and permanent damage. It was moved by Judge Vaught, and seconded by Judge Bowman, that the Secretary contact the donors of the pictures, acquaint them with the condition of the paintings, and ascertain if such donors would be willing to pay for having the original artists restore the pictures. The motion was put and carried.

Judge Vaught reported that his committee was checking into the matter of seeing that appropriate monuments, or markers, are placed at the graves of Joseph B. Thoburn and former Governor Jack Walton. Judge Vaught said that several relatives and close associates of Walton had been contacted. He stated that the Oklahoma Press Association is giving their as-

sistance in the matter, and he believes that the situation can be cared for without the Historical Society's spending any of its own funds. Both Judge Vaught and Mr. R. G. Miller discussed the Thoburn Memorial. It was brought out that the officials of Rose Hill Cemetery had offered to provide an appropriate site for the Thoburn grave, without any remuneration. Mr. Miller said that the Oklahoma Press Association was giving publicity concerning the Thoburn Memorial project, and that the Society might expect a considerable number of contributions from various sources within the near future. Mr. Mountcastle moved that the report of the committee be accepted, and that it be instructed to continue its work. The motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and adopted by the Board.

Mr. T. J. Harrison, chairman of the Oklahoma Historical Society's Oklahoma Day Committee for the celebration at Salina, reported that all members of his committee were present and participated in the planning of the program, which had recently been held at Salina. Other members of the committee are Mrs. Willis C. Reed and Mr. H. Milt Phillips. Mr. Harrison stated that it was his opinion that the program was a great success, and said it was the committee's belief that next year's Oklahoma Day program would be even better.

It was reported by Colonel Shirk that the old cannon standing in front of the Historical Building had been dismantled because of the danger of its falling over and injuring someone. He stated that the Secretary had investigated the cost of placing the barrel of the old cannon on a granite pedestal. He pointed out that the barrel tube is the only part of the cannon which has actual historic significance. The Secretary had found that the Laingor Monument Company would mount the old cannon on a granite pedestal, with appropriate lettering, for \$120.00. Judge Johnson moved that this amount be approved for preserving the old cannon. Both Mrs. Reed and Mrs. Korn seconded the motion, which was unanimously adopted.

The matter of a series of the various seals that had Oklahoma significance being used on the covers of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* during the period of the 50th Anniversary of Oklahoma statehood was presented by Colonel Shirk. He said that the series had been suggested by Miss Muriel H. Wright, Editor of *The Chronicles*, and that it was the opinion of the Publications Committee that this was a worthwhile project. Dr. Dale urged the committee to approve the proposal, which would cost about \$75.00 per issue for eight issues of *The Chronicles*. It was moved by Mr. Harrison and seconded by Miss Seger that this proposal of the Publications Committee be approved. The motion was put and unanimously adopted.

In discussions concerning the placing of the Lew Wentz bust in the halls of the Historical Society, it was moved by Judge Johnson that the Administrative Secretary ascertain from the Building Superintendent and the State Board of Affairs as to where the bust might be located without endangering the floors of the Historical Society Building. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Korn and passed unanimously.

Judge Johnson made the observation that all Directors should have their pictures on the walls of the Directors Room. He suggested that an effort be made to see that all frames and pictures are made uniform, and moved that the Secretary be authorized to see what could be done in bringing this about. Mrs. Reed seconded the motion, which was adopted.

By way of making a report on the proposed 1956 Historical Society Tour, Mr. R. G. Miller advised the Board that tentative plans called for the Tour being a re-run of the Chisholm Trail. He stated that the route would start somewhere near the Red River and follow as closely as possible the historic old Chisholm Trail to the Kansas line. He said there was a possibility of the Kansas and Texas Historical Societies participating in the

Tour and that, if such were the case, the Tour could be extended to the south in Texas and to the north in Kansas.

In discussing the Tour, Mr. Henry Bass stated that he had talked with officials of both the Kansas and Texas Historical Societies, and that they had shown considerable interest and enthusiasm concerning the Tour. He expressed the belief that these two Societies would be willing to participate in the Tour to any extent the Oklahoma Society might desire. It was moved by Mr. Bass and seconded by Dr. Harbour that the Tour Committee be authorized to work out the details of the itinerary and financial plans for the 1956 Tour, and make a full report of their recommendations at the January meeting of the Board.

The Board authorized expenses for the Administrative Secretary to attend the Southern Historical Society meeting at Memphis, Tennessee on November 9th, 10th, and 11th. Dr. Dale stated that he would also attend this meeting, and Dr. Harbour pointed out that he could represent the Oklahoma Historical Society along with Mr. Fraker.

General Key announced that two vacancies existed on the Board of Directors due to the resignation of Mr. S. E. Lee, of Buffalo, and Dr. John W. Raley, of Shawnee. Ballots were prepared and the Board members voted to place Dr. Wayne Johnson, of Stillwater, and Dr. James D. Morrison, of Durant, on the Board of Directors.

Judge Cole, who is chairman of the Board's committee to promote interest in local historical societies, requested that all Board members assist in stimulating interest in the creation of city and county historical societies. He stated that such groups would be of great assistance in helping the state celebrate its 50th Anniversary, which will be in 1957.

Dr. Dale reported that he had recently received correspondence from Mrs. Alexander Posey, who lives in Phoenix, Arizona, expressing the wish that she might secure certain objects belonging to the Posey family, which had been presented to the Historical Society many years ago. It was pointed out that the Historical Society no longer accepted loans, and that all objects presented to the Society had become the property of the Society. Further discussion brought out the possibility that Mrs. Posey had not received notice of this action of the Society, and that exception be granted in her case so that she might have returned to her one or two items from the Posey collection. Dr. Dale moved that Mrs. Posey be allowed to choose two objects from the collection and that the Secretary be authorized to return the said two objects to her. Judge Bowman seconded the motion, which was adopted by a majority vote.

Mrs. Korn extended an invitation to all members of the Board and staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society to attend a reception for Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Penny, of White Plains, New York, and Mr. Jay G. Puterbaugh on the evening of Thursday, November 17.

It was announced by Dr. Chapman that the Payne County Historical Society is working on a project to give recognition to the first battle of the War between the States to be fought in Oklahoma. He requested that the Oklahoma Historical Society give its full assistance in helping mark the site and in furnishing further information.

General Key presented the letter from Mrs. Jessie Moore in which she expressed regrets that, due to illness, she was unable to attend the meeting. Judge Johnson moved that the Board go on record as expressing their best wishes to Mrs. Moore and the hope of an early and complete recovery from her illness. Both Dr. Harbour and Mrs. Korn seconded the motion, which was unanimously adopted. Judge Johnson was authorized by General

Key to write to Mrs. Moore and tell her of the Board's action.

Gifts that had been given to the Library, Museum, Archives, and Memorial Halls were presented by the Secretary, together with a list of new membership applications:

LIFE MEMBERS:

Mr. Lucian B. Sneed	Bristow, Okla.
Mr. Ernest W. Hulsey	Chickasha, Okla.
Miss Mary Kathryn Ashbrook	El Reno, Okla.
Mr. Isaac P. Edwards	Enid, Okla.
Mr. Neatha H. Seger	Geary, Okla.
Mr. Neal Crawford	Lindsay, Okla.
Dr. Albert E. Bonnell	Muskogee, Okla.
Mr. Carl B. Anderson	Oklahoma City, Okla.
Mr. Wm. H. Atkinson	"
Mr. B. H. Carey	"
Mrs. Corinne Andrews Gould	"
Mr. George I. Laingor	"
Mr. Joe W. McBride	"
Mr. R. G. Miller	"
Mr. Patrick Fred LaForest	Sapulpa, Okla.
Mr. John Thomas Smith	"
Rev. Marvin F. Bell	Shawnee, Okla.
Mr. Cleo Fitzgerald	Stillwater, Okla.
Mr. Leslie Ray Barto	Tulsa, Okla.
Mr. Caswell L. Carter	"
Mr. Milford E. Quimby	"
Mrs. H. C. Miller	Vinita, Okla.
Mr. Robert T. C. Head	San Francisco, California
Mr. Ben G. O'Neal	Wichita Falls, Texas

ANNUAL MEMBERS:

Mr. Jack T. Conn	Ada, Okla.
Rev. Clarence C. Goen	"
Mr. Nolen Young	"
Mrs. Jessie E. Hickman	Altus, Okla.
Mr. W. J. Ivester	"
Mr. Carroll Spangler	"
Mr. Jack T. Rairdon	Bethany, Okla.
Miss Constance Spruce	"
Mrs. Harry B. Pierce	Boswell, Okla.
Mr. Herbert L. Arthurs	Bristow, Okla.
Mr. Charles A. McWilliams	Broken Arrow, Okla.
Mrs. Raymond A. Moore	"
Mr. Wm. Edgar Addy	Chickasha, Okla.
Dr. Mary W. Beckwith	"
Mr. R. C. Kelley	"
Mr. Bruce Myers	"
Mr. James R. Shroyer	"
Mr. Robert E. White	"
Mr. Orval P. Morrison	Cordell, Okla.
Mr. George M. Tyner	Dewey, Okla.
Mr. Bill Cleverdon	Eldorado, Okla.
Dr. B. E. Carder	El Reno, Okla.
Mr. B. T. Conway	"
Mr. Don Butler	Fairview, Okla.
Mr. J. D. Houk	"
Mr. Robert Clark	Fairfax, Okla.
Mr. L. L. Dillingham	Hobart, Okla.
Mr. Finis C. Gillespie	"

Mr. Lambert Barkman	Idabel, Okla.
Judge C. E. Pittman	"
Mrs. Joe Grimes	Kingfisher, Okla.
Mr. Ollie F. Burgess	Mangum, Okla.
Mr. Wade H. Shumate	"
Mr. Philip H. Hodnett	Marlow, Okla.
Mr. and Mrs. O. C. Sparks	"
Mr. John A. Shawver	Maud, Okla.
Mr. R. M. Snelson	"
Mr. W. S. Thatcher	"
Mr. F. O. Wilcox	"
Rev. Roy Autry	Mountain View, Okla.
Mr. Leonard M. Logan, Jr.	Norman, Okla.
Dr. Gertrude Nielsen	"
Mr. Otto B. Askins	Oklahoma City, Okla.
Dr. Charles N. Atkins	"
Mr. L. W. Atkins	"
Mrs. Idamay Kelsey Babcock	"
Rev. Sidney H. Babcock	"
Dr. H. G. Bennett, Jr.	"
Mr. John B. Blakeney	"
Mr. Edward M. Box	"
Mr. Carl Evan Brammer	"
Mr. Donald W. Bush, Jr.	"
Dr. W. K. Hartford	"
Mr. George S. Henry	"
Miss Edith M. Johnson	"
Mr. Fred McArthur	"
Dr. Ardell N. Taylor	"
Rev. Leland Clegg	"
Creek Indian Museum,	Okmulgee, Okla.
Mrs. Jean Risor, Curator	
Mr. J. H. Alexander	Ponca City, Okla.
Mr. L. S. Barnes	"
Mr. Marvin S. Hatcher	"
Mr. James A. McNeese	"
Mr. Chester Ray Webb	"
Mr. Samuel T. Allen	Sapulpa, Okla.
Mr. Willie T. Brackett	"
Dr. Edward K. Norfleet	"
Mrs. W. F. Cornels	Sayre, Okla.
Mr. Earl C. Webb	Shattuck, Okla.
Mrs. J. G. Abernathy	Shawnee, Okla.
Very Rev. Eric Beevers	Stillwater, Okla.
Dr. Dorothea Estelle Curnow	"
Mrs. Laura Elizabeth Long	Talihina, Okla.
Mrs. Louise Ackley	Tulsa, Okla.
Mrs. Bessie S. Bennett	"
Dr. John F. Blankenship	"
Mr. Glenn Scott Dille	"
Mr. J. H. French	"
Mr. Charles D. Gibson	"
Dr. Worth M. Gross	"
Mr. Ward B. Lewis	"
Mrs. Bertha Ann Plemons	"
Mrs. Evalyn Louise Shaw	"
Mr. Joseph B. Teichman	"
Mr. Richard B. Tuttle	"
Dr. F. M. Adams	Vinita, Okla.
Dr. Kenneth S. Lane	"
Dr. J. M. McMillan	"

Mr. Jack R. Crocker	Wagoner, Okla.
Mr. J. O. Dickey	Weatherford, Okla.
Mr. Theodore Fruechting	"
Mr. Clyde James Alden	Wellston, Okla.
Rev. H. L. Cloud	"
Mr. Ray Pace	Fort Smith, Ark.
Mrs. Martin Byock	Garden Grove, Calif.
Mr. Michael Harrison	Sacramento, Calif.
Dr. Henry T. Malone	Decatur, Ga.
Mrs. John Vineyard	Independence, Mo.
Mr. Lester Witchey	Bellaire, Ohio
Mrs. Pearl C. Turner	Arlington, Va.
Mr. Frank K. Woolley	Brady, Texas

*GIFTS PRESENTED**LIBRARY:*

Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Oklahoma, 82nd Annual Convention of the G.I.T. of Oklahoma Territory, 62nd Annual Convention of the G.L. of Oklahoma Territory, and 47th Annual Convention of the G.L. of the State of Oklahoma

Donor: Oklahoma A.F. & A.M.

"Red River Valley—Then and Now," 1948, by A. W. Neville.

Donor: A. W. Neville, Paris, Texas

Annual Yearbook, The 89'ers, 1955-56; Constitution and By-laws of the 89'ers. Revised 1955.

Donor: The 89'ers

U. S. News and World Report, 21 issues; Chronicles of Oklahoma, 13 issues; The Readers Digest, 16 issues; Picture of Turner Falls; American Heritage Foundation, Historical Items, 15; Missouri, New Capitol Building, 8 Historical Items; Genealogy and History, vol. 2, #12; Pictorial Brochure, Washington, D.C.; "The Bible Unmasked," by Joseph Lewis; "Facts about the Bible," by Dr. Gerald B. Wingrod; The Mississippi Historical Review, vol. 10, #1, June 1923; "The Ranchman's Last Frontier," by Dr. E. E. Dale; Sorosis Club Year Book, 1913-1914.

Donor: Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

History of The MacDowell Club, 1954-55.

Donor: The MacDowell Club, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Manual for the General Court, 1955-1956.

Donor: State Library, Boston, Massachusetts

History of the American Legion, Oklahoma City Post #35. Dr. Oscar Lee Owens, Historian.

Donor: The American Legion, Post 35, Oklahoma City

Papers and Proceedings, Fifteenth Biennial Conference, Southwestern Library Ass'n, Nov. 3, 4, 5, 1954

Donor: Southwestern Library Ass'n

Annual Report, President of the University of Oklahoma to the Board of Regents, the Governor, and the Citizens of Oklahoma, 1948.

Donor: University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, back issues for 1921, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1932, 1934-1941, 1943, 1944.

Donor: Mr. J. B. Wright McAlester, Oklahoma; from the Estate of Mrs. Edwin Ludlow (Anna Wright)

Kyneuwisbok Year Books, Guthrie High School, 1913-1917; McGuffey's Electic Primer, 1909 and McGuffey Calendar; McGuffey's First Electic Reader, 1907; "Lubrifications," by W. G. (Bill) Long, autographed book of poems; "In God's Out-of-Doors," by William A. Quayle; "Riley Roses," by James Whitcomb Riley; "Business Prose-Poems," by Walt Mason; "Cuddy's Baby," by Margaret Hill McCarter; "Glorious Mother," by Samuel Francis Woolard, compilation, 1909; "Oklahoma Outlaws," by Richard S. Graves; "A Merchant Marine and A Marine Insurance Company," by Wm. Patrick Hackney; "The American Merchant Marine—Its Rise and Fall and Why," by Wm. Patrick Hackney; "Americas for Americans, How They Can Control the Foreign Commerce of the World," by Wm. P. Hackney; Address by Hackney—"The Personality of the Almighty Father and The Divinity of His Son, Christ Jesus;" Memorial Address, Decoration Day, Wichita, Kansas by Wm. P. Hackney; Souvenir Program, John Philip Sousa, 1919-1920; Autographed Life Story of John Philip Sousa; "Rocky Mountain Wild Flowers," by Patience Stapelton; "Leaves from a Grass House," by Don Blanding; "Songs and Flowers From Riley;" 32 clippings, pictures, pictorial brochures, and other historical items.

Donor: Col. Horace Speed, Jr., Alexandria, Virginia

"Archives in a New Era," report of the Chief Archivist of Central American Archives for period Jan. 1, 1949-June 30, 1954.

Donor: Central American Archives, Salisbury, S. Rhodesia

Economic Survey of Oklahoma by Southwestern Bell Telephone Co., 1929, General Commercial Engineering Dept., St. Louis, Mo.; The Daily News Almanac and Year Book, 1913, compiled by James Langland, published by Chicago Daily News Co., Chicago.

Donor: Col. George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City

"The Knapp Family," compiled by Mrs. Victor M. Jones; History of the Corn and Headley Families, 1818-1953.

Donor: Ralph Hudson, Librarian, Oklahoma State Library

Additional Books and Pictures from the Mrs. A. S. Heaney collection: Columbus Junction Herald, Iowa, vol. 1 and 2, 1875-76; The Adline, New York, vol. 5, #7, July 1872; The Oklahoma War-Chief, "Payne's Oklahoma Colony," Caldwell, Kansas, June 18, 1885; New Imperial Atlas of the World, 1906 and 1912, Rand McNally & Co., Large Rand-McNally Road Map; Early twp. map of Oklahoma Country; Early map of Noble County; Early School District Map of Oklahoma County; large scrapbook containing historical clippings on Oklahoma City government; 2 large pencil drawings; large picture of Theodore Roosevelt and Cabinet; copy of penmanship chart, Miss Sutherland's School; long panel picture of first Legislature of Oklahoma Territory, 1891; picture of fourth Legislature of Oklahoma Territory; long panel group picture of first Annual Convention Nat'l Indian Association; picture of first Oklahoma City High School; 49 books of history and English literature, and miscellaneous subjects; 17 pictures of early day educators.

Donor: From the estate of Mrs. A. S. Heaney, secured through the interest of Miss Golda Slief, Okla. City

MUSEUM:

Blouse worn by Potawatomi woman; powder horn; pair of Potawatomi moccasins; Shawnee skirt, black broadcloth, trimmed with ribbon embroidery; woven wool belt; ribbon shoulder pin; leather head-band with human hair braids; Caddo head-dress showing Spanish influence; black broadcloth leggings trimmed with ribbon embroidery; garters beaded with long fringe; Shawnee blouse trimmed with 114 silver disks; old woven basket; map of Indian reservations in 1906.

Donor: Mrs. Emma Goulette, Tuscon, Arizona

Cheyenne knife case; beaded Cheyenne purse; Arapaho roach of dyed horse hair; Arapaho necklace of blue beads and turkey bones; Cheyenne ceremonial fan; tomahawk with crude stone head, leather covered handle, and beaded; hair brush of porcupine bristles; Dance Stick; rattle with weighted end; wooden spoon; leather rattle with deer's head painted on one side; pipe owned by Wattan, Arapaho Chief; pipe owned by Wolf Chief, Cheyenne; stick game: necklace, imitation wampum.

Donor: Mrs. Reese Kincaide, Clinton, Oklahoma

Service flag flown by Mrs. Horace Speed during World War I; beaded head-band with long side pieces; beaded watch case; small beaded purse; 6 intricately beaded necklaces; head-band with bead work 2 inches wide; beaded purse; beaded leather watch case; pair of child's moccasins; long, beaded shoulder decoration; beaded garter; black, beaded broadcloth breech cloth; small plate from Honolulu; 57 pictures of early Guthrie.

Donor: Col. Horace Speed, Jr., Alexandria, Virginia

Gun found on the site of the massacre of Pat Hennessey; gold-plated spurs presented to Joe Grimes by Gordon Lillie.

Donor: Mrs. Joe Grimes, Kingfisher, Oklahoma

Black feather fan

Donor: Bernita Bess Bennett, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Copy of Chickasaw Seal; newspaper, Chickasaw Centennial issue.

Donor: Carl E. Reubin, Tishomingo, Oklahoma

Copy of Chickasaw Seal

Donor: Miss Emma Plunkett, Edmond, Oklahoma

Pictures of Indians, animals and flowers in Okmulgee County, 328 scenes.

Donor: Mrs. Jennie Elrod, Okmulgee, Oklahoma

Pictures of Ezra Meeker and Tom, Dick and Harry, the world's largest steers

Donor: Mrs. Joe Grimes, Kingfisher, Oklahoma

6 colored prints, 18x24, (Remington's)

Donor: Mrs. Logan Billingsley, Katonah, New York

Photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Provaznik

Donor: Mrs. Sophia Dlouhy, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Picture of Constitution Hall at Guthrie

Donor: Guthrie Register News

Framed picture of E. G. Barnard

Donor: George Barnard, Enid, Oklahoma

Portraits of Virginia Wyatt and Zerle Carpenter, outstanding 4-H girl and boy for 1954

Donor: Ira J. Holler, Stillwater, Oklahoma

17 pictures of early day educators

Donor: Mrs. A. S. Heaney Estate, secured through the interest of Miss Golda Slief, Oklahoma City

Old flat iron; homemade iron spear head; old iron cavalry stirrup; 2 old carriage steps; 1 long hand-made nail; 3 prong iron gigs for catching fish.

Donor: S. L. Matheson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

ARCHIVES:

Additions to the Grant Foreman collection already in the Archives: Valuable note books kept by the Foremans; manuscripts of articles published by them; letters to and from Grant Foreman; diaries; newspaper articles.

Donor: Mrs. Grant Foreman, Muskogee, Oklahoma

CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL HALL

Annual Reports of the past Presidents of the Oklahoma Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, compiled by Mrs. Herman Smith of Stillwater.

Donor: Mrs. King Larrimore, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

"The Confederate Veteran Magazine," 2 copies, August, 1917-1923.

Donor: Mrs. John Howard Payne, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Proceedings of the 18th and 19th conventions of the UDC of Missouri; proceedings of the General Convention of the UDC, Washington, D. C., 1923 as reported by Mrs. Korn; "The Origin of the Flag," "The Negro Question," and "The South in the Building of the Nation," all written by Mrs. Korn.

Donor: Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

"The Confederate Reunion at Houston, Texas" in 1895; booklet of the history and pictures of Crowder City, Indian Territory in 1896; a poem, "My Suit of Confederate Grey," by Mrs. A. L. Bond; a photograph of Confederate mementoes; copy of "The Confederate Veteran Magazine," May, 1909.

Donor: Mrs. A. L. Bond, Dallas, Texas

When it was determined that there was no further business to come before the Board, the meeting was adjourned at 12:30 p.m.

WM. S. KEY, President

ELMER L. FRAKER, Secretary

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Date.....19.....

To the Oklahoma Historical Society:

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

(Signed)

P. O. Address.....

.....

.....

The historical quarterly magazine is sent free to all members.

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP due (no entrance fee), two dollars in advance.

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

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

Nominated by



26397

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