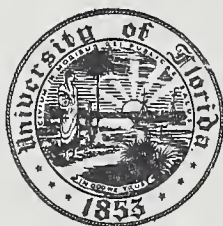


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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

PUBLISHED

By

The Oklahoma Historical Society



Index to Volume XL, 1962

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA

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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA
VOLUME XL, 1962

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Cover: The scene "Buffalo Hunt" on the front cover is from the painting by the noted artist, John Mix Stanley, reproduced here from the original by permission of the Thomas Gilcrease Museum of Art and History, Tulsa, Oklahoma. Stanley visited the Indian Territory in 1842-43, and painted a number of portraits of prominent Indians and scenes in this country. Notice is given him in "Early Oklahoma Artists" by O. B. Jacobson and Jeanne d'Ucel, published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 127-28.

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Cover: The scene of the "Missionary Stone Chapel at Wheelock, Choctaw Nation" on the front cover is from a rare lithograph of a scene in the Indian Territory, the only known scene in this region by the well known Lithographer C. Currier (Spruce St., New York), about 1847. The "Wheelock Stone Chapel," was erected in 1846 by the Presbyterians, members of the Wheelock Church organized in 1832. The "old Chapel" still stands on its original site, the oldest church building in Oklahoma, its location near old Wheelock Academy about two miles northeast of Millerton, McCurtain County. The original drawing from which this lithograph was delineated by C. Dickinson for Currier is in the Gilcrease Institute in Tulsa. A print of the original drawing (Mary E. Chamberlain, artist in 1847) is shown in the article on Union Mission in this number of *The Chronicles*. A comparison of the original drawing and the lithograph (cut on stone for printing) is interesting.



The **CHRONICLES** *of* **OKLAHOMA**

Spring, 1962



"BUFFALO HUNT" BY JOHN MIX STANLEY

Volume XL

Number 1

Published Quarterly by the

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Organized by Oklahoma Press Association, May 27, 1893.)

6.6
57

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Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, 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 three dollars; Life membership, fifty dollars. Membership applications and dues should be sent to the Administrative Secretary.

Second-class postage paid 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*.

Lithographed by Semco Color Press, Oklahoma City

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

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PROGRESS IN THE CIVILIZATION OF THE OSAGE, AND THEIR GOVERNMENT

By Frank F. Finney, Sr.*

After Cyrus Beede succeeded Isaac T. Gibson as agent for the Osages in their new home in the Indian Territory early in the year 1876, he reported that he found them discordant and unmanagemable. In the same report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs he wrote: "The Osages as yet, most of them are wild blanket Indians far from civilized, many of them hardly ready to give up the war dance and the scalping knife."¹ Before Beede took over, Agent Gibson had found them so unruly that he had asked help from the military, and a troop of the 5th Cavalry was stationed at the agency throughout the previous winter.

However some of the leaders of the tribe were able to keep the restive ones under control and took pride in pointing out that the Osages had never been at war with the Government since their first treaty made at Fort Clark in 1808.² They had no organized tribal government,³ but at times the headmen met together in council to discuss their affairs. Each one present was given an opportunity to express his views, which he did in a dignified way taking plenty of time, sure that he would not be interrupted until he had finished and said, "I have spoken."

The tribe was divided into bands with a chief for each band who had considerable influence but no actual powers under any tribal laws. Old traditional customs provided the pattern for

* Mr. Frank F. Finney is a well known contributor to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, for his authoritative articles relating to the history of the Osages. He also has written articles and stories on the life of his father, Thomas M. Finney, early Indian trader among the Osages, Kaws and Pawnees (1873-1915) that have been published in magazines and newspapers including the *Tulsa World*.—Ed.

¹ *Annual Report*, Cyrus Beede, Osage Indian Agent, 1876, p. 54.

² Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 95-72. (7 Stat. 107. Ratified April 28, 1810.)

³ *Annual Report*, R. A. Callaway, Osage Indian Sub-Agent, 1843, Report No. 1, p. 396.

A constitution was adopted August 31, 1861, by a convention of the Osage people "assembled at Council Village on the north side of the Neosho river in the Osage Nation . . ." The constitution was of little or no value in establishing self-government by the Osage Indians. The unsettled conditions in Kansas during the Civil War gave little chance for the laws to be tried out in practice. A copy of this constitution is in the National Archives, Washington, D.C.—See *Constitution and Laws of the American People* (Lawrence, Kansas, Republican print); Lester Hargrett, *Oklahoma Imprints* (New York, 1951).

the Indians' lives, and the wild justice of retaliation, founded on the innate instincts of revenge, took the place of written criminal laws. Victor Texier, a Frenchman who traveled among the Osages over a century ago, left an example of the working of the unwritten code. He wrote:⁴

One Osage killed an inhabitant of a neighboring village during a quarrel. He offered his fortune, that is to say, his lodge, his horses, to redeem his life. The offer was refused. The family of the dead man wanted blood. The murdered had his friends accompany him to the place he was to undergo sentence. When he fell, killed by a bullet, his relatives threw a blanket over him to conceal his agony, took the body away and gave him a handsome funeral. No voice arose in favor of the culprit, no arm was raised to save him from the punishment he deserved.

There were no laws of the United States to apply to Indians for their behavior among themselves, and one Indian could kill another Indian with complete immunity from any punishment by the Federal Government. The law in force in the Indian Country explicitly did not extend to crime committed by one Indian against the person or property of another Indian, and was consistent with the treaties which included pledges that Indians would have the right to govern themselves without interference by the white man.⁵

Much further advanced in civilized ways than the Osages, the Five Civilized Tribes fared very well under their own tribal governments. They had their own churches and schools and had benefited by adopting some of the best features of the white man's civilization, though on the other hand, they had suffered some of the evils growing from contact with disreputable white men who trespassed on their reservations.

In the time of Agent Beede, the Osages retained their inborn sense of superiority, were proud to be Indians and had no desire to model their lives after the white or any other people. Most of them were satisfied with their way of life and suspicious of any attempts to change it, yet there were a few full bloods who saw changes were unavoidable and with the mixed bloods were willing to co-operate with the Government when the agent decided it was time that the Osages like the Five Civilized Tribes should have their own government. This would be in accord with the Indian Department's policy to break up the chief rule and a move towards the final goal of absorbing the Indians in the National life as citizens. It was also Beede's hope that a tribal government would smooth the way in the enforcement of the laws of the United States applicable to them and the Indian

⁴ John Frances McDermott, *Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies*, (Norman, 1940), p. 202.

⁵ Kappler, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Secs. 2145-46, General Laws Regulating Indian Affairs, p. 18.

Department's regulations which he was responsible to enforce.

It had been impossible for the deputy United States marshals to arrest or hardly get a glimpse of the Osages for whom they had warrants for violation of laws for which they were answerable and to bring them for trial in the Federal court at Fort Smith before Judge Isaac C. Parker who had jurisdiction over the vast area known as the Indian Territory. No Osage had yet been arrested for the infraction of the Federal laws, and although some of them had been searched for at times by the officers, and suspects with the help of their fellow tribesmen could never be found.

Pursuant to his plans, the agent called the chiefs to the agency for a council, and an informal kind of a government was formed. The assembly elected Pew-ne-no-pah-she ("Governor Joe") as principal chief who already was recognized by the Indian Department as the nominal governor. A Chief Counselor was elected, who with the Principal Chief, under the authority of the gathered representatives of the tribe appointed five men to comprise an executive committee.⁶

Soon after the newly formed council had its first meeting, deputy marshal Brandon from Fort Smith appeared before the Agent with warrants for the arrest of two young Osages charged with stealing horses from a white man. The marshal told the agent it would be impossible for him to find the fugitives, and suggested holding some of the Osage leaders hostages for their delivery. The Agent saw that such action would wreck the new government at its very beginning, and following a wiser course, he called the council together and with some uncertainty of its action laid the matter before the members. His suspense was soon relieved by their performance, in this the first act of the new government, which gave the Agent much satisfaction and a new respect for his charges.

The *Indian Herald* published at the Agency reported the words as interpreted, of Big Chief, the committee chairman who was the first to speak:

One of these men, whose arrest is sought is my dead brother's son. When dying he asked me to watch over the boy, and I love him as my own child. It makes me very sorrowful to see this my son as I call him, sent from all his friends to a great distance, to be tried upon a charge of crime, in a strange language and among strangers, but he continued, I want to do right, as I understand it, I will do right, however it may pain me. The laws must be respected and obeyed, and we must help maintain them. The young men shall go with the officer of the Government.

There was not dissenting voice. The Indian authorities sent at once for the young men, thirty miles away, who came promptly,

⁶ *Annual Report*, Cyrus Beede, 1876.



(Finney Collection)

BLACK DOG

The last prominent Osage
by this name.



(Finney Collection)

JOSEPH PAW-NO-PAS-KE

First Governor of the Osage Nation.

were delivered to the marshal and proceeded to Fort Smith for trial.

Commenting, the *Herald* said:⁷

It is not within our knowledge, either from observation or history, that the chiefs of a tribe of wild uncivilized blanket Indians surrendered, willingly and from a sense of duty, one of their people, to be taken to a distant point from trial upon a charge of crime. It has been done sometimes under pressure, or to relieve hostages of greater value from peril, but never the full, free spontaneous act of their own, and from the right motive.

Leaders like Big Chief, did not give their word lightly but once given, kept their pledges. Although there were no laws to enforce payment of debts, the old time traders said that the Osages paid their debts faithfully. With the passing of the traders, agents and early settlers, the remembrance of the better qualities of the Osages like the embers of their camp fires, flickers out and today the Indian character is distorted by the television and movie western dramas which depict some treacherous and murderous examples as prototypes for the whole Indian race and as identical as products run off of the assembly lines at the industrial plants.

Barbarous as many Indians were, to use those such as Little Crow, the perfidious Santee Sioux, leader of the Minnesota massacre or the bloody King Phillip, Chief of the Wampanoags of Colonial days as comprehensive types for the make-believe Indians in picture and story, is to ignore the testimony of many observers.

Lieutenant Zebulen M. Pike, George Catlin and Washington Irving were early day visitors with the Osages who recognized them as a superior tribe. Irving in the *A Tour on the Prairies* says of their physical appearance: ". . . the finest looking Indians I have ever seen in the west, . . . fine Roman countenances, . . . looked like so many bronze figures. . . ."⁸

Agent Isaac Gibson many years later wrote in similar terms of his charges: "This tribe of Indians are richly endowed by nature physically and morally. A finer looking body of men, with more grace and dignity, or better intellectual development could hardly be found on this globe."⁹

Perhaps this praise of Agent Gibson's is extravagant and obviously does not take account of any of their faults or shortcomings, but it was shared to a large extent by responsible people who lived on the reservation before the full bloods became more completely integrated into the white race.

⁷ *The Indian Herald*, June 20, 1876, published by the Osage Agency physician, W. McKay Dugan.

⁸ Washington Irving, *A Tour on the Prairies* (London, 1835), p. 18.

⁹ *Annual Report*, Isaac T. Gibson, Osage Agent, 1870.

Courage and fortitude under pain, dignity, poise and aplomb under all circumstances, independence and love of freedom, were qualities they possessed for which the Caucasian race had no better substitutes to offer. The Osages were considerate of their old people, generous with their belongings and jocular with people who had won their friendship and confidence.

A white man early resident said: "In all my long experience and observation of the Indians. they have never been known to inflict corporal punishment upon their children. They scold sometimes, very severely, and it seems to break the heart of the child when the parents berate them."¹⁰

In forming a government, the Osages were taking a stride on the white man's road branching from the familiar trail of their forefathers, with forebodings and instinctive fears for the continuity of their life as they knew it. At this time only 8 out of 1,600 full bloods had adopted civilized dress.¹¹ They were reluctant to change their ways and did not easily submit to coercive measures and dared to bring the displeasure of any government authorities who arbitrarily tried to force objectionable regulations upon them. The attempt of the Indian Department to make them labor for rations purchased out of their own funds, was a miserable failure. The nomad adventurous life of hunters and warriors was ingrained in their natures, and habits of manual work for the men were not a part of their inheritance.

The loosely formed government under Agent Beede was only a beginning and would take on a more substantial form under Agent Laban J. Miles who succeeded him as agent. Soon after "Major" Miles became agent, the ration system was discontinued. Instead of annuity goods issued to them, cash payments were paid from funds deposited with the Federal United States Treasury received by the tribe from the sale of their lands in Kansas, at that time amounting to \$40.00 quarterly for each man, woman and child, and their supplies were purchased from licensed traders.

The agent urged the Indians to stay closer to their home places and hoped that their interest in agricultural pursuits would increase. In this he met with disappointment and five years after he became agent, wrote: "Farming with the full blood Osages is a failure, at least with the present generation, as they look upon work as degrading and to plow and hoe only fit occupations for poor white men who have to work for a living, and they are careful to impress this idea on the minds of their children."¹²

¹⁰ Manuscript by W. E. McGuire, Pawhuska, Sept. 24, 1931, in Frank F. Finney files.

¹¹ *Report*, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1880, p. 33.

¹² *Annual Report*, Laban J. Miles, Osage Agent, 1885, p. 89.

While the women tended the "squaw patches" of corn and vegetables and did work around the lodges, the men engaged in the more agreeable pursuits of hunting and herding or looking for lost ponies of which they were very proud and which they possessed in large numbers. The Osages did not brand their ponies and many ran wild without owners.

They liked to gather in large camps where they engaged in feasting, gambling games and pony races. Their form of religion was a part of their lives, finding expression in dances and in other traditional ways in which the "medicine men" had a large part. A secret organization known as "Taking the Dove," was comprised of members selected for some extraordinary achievement and service for the tribe.¹³

The "War" or "Mourning" dance was of great importance and full of meaning to the Osages. Members of poorer tribes, were sometimes visitors and reaped in "pony smokes" presents of ponies, blankets and other gifts from the hospitable Osages. Benefits of a different nature were also extended to their less fortunate kindred friends, the Kaws and Quapaws.

The Osage had consented to share a portion of their reservation in the Indian Territory purchased from the Cherokees, with the Kaw tribe, confirmed by Congress in Act approved June 5, 1872,¹⁴ and a few years later, members of the Quapaw tribe were given permission to make their homes with them. Both of these tribes had suffered from the intrusion of the white men on their reservations, which they left after becoming demoralized from the introduction of whiskey, much as the Osages experienced before they were removed from Kansas to the Indian Territory.

Agent Miles reached the conclusion that education of the youth was the only way to solve the "perplexing Indian problem," which he undertook against the formidable opposition of many of the Osages who were adverse to the education of their children. It was necessary for the agent to send truant officers to the camps to bring the children to the boarding school maintained by the Government, from the Osage funds, in a large stone building erected under Agent Gibson's administration on the agency hill.¹⁵

Education of the young Osages was greatly advanced after the Indian government was reorganized. The agent managed to

¹³ W. E. McGuire, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ Kappler, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 137 (Chap. 310-17, Stat. 228).

¹⁵ "Uncle Benjamin" and "Aunt Lizzie," Agent Miles' father and stepmother conducted the Government school on the hill at Pawhuska. The Agent's wife and President Herbert Hoover's mother were sisters. When he was a little boy, Hoover visited his aunt and uncle, and remained sometime at the agency.—Thomas M. Finney, Dairy.

have included in the tribal laws a provision for the compulsory education of Indian children, with penalties of withholding annuity payments for the failure of attendance at school. After its adoption and annuity was withheld from about 70 delinquents, the school became overcrowded, and during the first year, 120 boys and girls were sent from the reservation and distributed among the Indian schools at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Houghton, in Iowa, Haskell Institute, Lawrence, and the Osage Mission, in Kansas.¹⁶

In addition to the government school at the agency, there were on its outskirts, the St. Louis School for girls, and fifteen miles west on Hominy creek, the St. Johns School for boys, both established and made possible by the philanthropy of Katherine Drexel, daughter of a wealthy Philadelphia banker. The schools were conducted and maintained with some help from Osage funds, by the Catholic Church.

In December, 1881, a general council was held at the Agency to form a more comprehensive and mature government for the Osage Nation. James Bigheart, an educated fullblood Osage Indian, was one of the foremost promoters and presided over the convention.

The constitution was drawn up by a large committee using the Cherokee code as a guide.¹⁷ The actual framing was mainly done by educated mixed bloods and white men advisers, but the full bloods were responsible for some of its provisions and the exclusion of others which would have outlawed some of their customs, and it was, with one or two exceptions, the full bloods who signed or affixed their marks to the document.¹⁸

Under the constitution the executive authority was vested in a Principal and Assistant Chief elected at large for terms of two years, who with three councilors appointed by the National Council, composed the Executive Council.

The National Council comprised the legislative body and was composed of members to be elected, three from each of five districts in which the reservation was divided, designated as Strike Axe, Big Hill, Pawhuska, Black Dog and Claremore. A sheriff from each district was to be elected.¹⁹

¹⁶ *Annual Report*, Laban J. Miles, Osage Indian Agent, 1885-, p. 90.

¹⁷ *Osage Constitution and Laws passed to November 26, 1890*, compiled by W. S. Fitzpatrick (Press of Cedarvale Commercial, Cedarvale, Kansas, 1895), in Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

¹⁸ *Report*, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1907. The practice of thumb-print signatures began in 1905. Formerly, the illiterate Indian was called upon to touch the pen after the clerk made a cross and encircled it writing in pen and ink.

¹⁹ Interview with George E. Tinker, by Orpha Russell, "Chief James Bigheart of the Osages, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXII, No.

The constitution made provision for a judiciary system comprising a Supreme Court and Circuit and lower courts such as the National Council might ordain. The Supreme Court, composed of the Supreme Judge and two Associate Judges, was authorized to try all civil cases and to select two other persons of good character to join them as a court to decide all criminal cases. There was no provision for jury trial.

No person who denied the being of God or future state of reward and punishment could hold any office, under the stipulations of the constitution.

A provision of legalizing intermarriage with the white race and non-members of the tribe, required the applicant to apply to the National Council for a license, pay a fee of \$20.00 and take oath to abide by the Osage Constitution and laws.

Negroes were denied this privilege and even the right to reside on the reservation. In conformity with an unwritten law of the Osages forbidding inter-marriage with the Negro race, there was included in the written laws a commitment to request the agent to take such action necessary to have all Negroes put out of the Osage Nation, and any citizen employing any Negro on the reservation was subject to a fine of \$50.00.

There is known only one exception to the observance of the unwritten law, the violator being "Prince Albert," a Negro slave of Colonel Choteau at St. Louis. Many of the French pioneers associated with the Choteaus took Indian wives, and "Prince Albert," following their example, married an Osage woman. He spoke the language fluently and came with the tribe to their new home in the Indian Territory.²⁰

Thomas Louis Rogers, who was known by the Osages as "Ehe-sah-pe" or in English, "Blackbeard," had a diversified ancestry shared in varying degrees with the French, Scots, Cherokee and Osage. He took a prominent part in the tribal affairs and became the first Supreme Judge. Judge Rogers was a stern disciplinarian, and when he instituted whipping as punishment a loud cry of complaint came from the Osages. The indignity and humiliation of being publicly lashed on their bare backs was dreaded almost as a death penalty. However, it was effective in restraining the Indians to keep the laws and

4 (Winter, 1954-55). The first Osage election was held in 1882, and each district sent a representative to vote for its chosen candidate. A large ballot box, beneath a giant tree, was surrounded by electors. One man stood on one side holding colored strips of paper; a different color in each hand. These colors represented the candidates.

²⁰ "Pioneer Days with the Osages West of '96," p. 36, Thomas F. Finney, 1925.

was inflicted only in three cases during Rogers' two terms as Chief Justice.²¹

The court of the Osages served to take the place of the "Court of Indian Offences" established at some of the agencies. By having a court of their own, the Osages escaped having foisted on them this bureaucratic Indian Department sponsored court. This court as organized at various agencies, consisted of three Indians subservient to the rules and regulations promulgated by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, as judges. Offences specified included plural marriages, practices of medicine men, certain dances and other customs held by the Indian Department as detrimental to the advancement of the Indians in their civilization and which were punishable by withholding rations, fines, imprisonment and hard work.²²

The first term of Laban Miles as agent terminated at the end of 1885, and he returned in May, 1889. During the time he was absent, Fred Hoover, James I. David, Captain Carroll H. Potter and Thomas P. Smith successively served as agents.

Captain Potter complained in his reports that the traffic in whiskey by peddlers was alarmingly on the increase and that it was impossible to get a sufficient number of good reliable men to serve as Indian police to cope with it.²³ The employment of a certain number of Indians to serve as police at the various Indian agencies to carry out the agents' orders in the administration of Indian affairs and in the enforcement of the Indian laws, had been authorized by Congress ten years before. The law fixed the meager pay of \$5.00 for privates and \$8.00 per month for officers.²⁴

The appointment of United States deputy marshal Bob Dalton as chief of the Osage police proved to be a mistake. Not long after Bob Dalton entered into this service with his younger brother, Emmett as posseman, suspicions were aroused by rumors reaching the agency office that these officers were themselves breaking the laws they were sworn to enforce. One evening, United States Commissioner W. S. Fitzpatrick, stationed at the Agency, received reliable information that some of the Indians were getting noisy near the mill on Bird creek and that the Daltons had been selling them whiskey. After the Commissioner

²¹ Francis Revard, former member of the Osage Council, in *The Morning Bartlesville Examiner*, June 23, 1935.

²² *Report*, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890, p. 84. Organized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and approved by the Secretary of the Interior, April 10, 1883. Put on a quasi legal basis by Congress in appropriating funds to pay judges, June 29, 1888.

²³ Annual Report, Captain Carrol H. Potter, Osage Indian Agent, 1888, p. 102.

²⁴ *Report*, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1880, p. 10.

confirmed the report by the confessions of some of the Indians, he called the Daltons before him, demanded that they surrender their badges and summarily discharged them from the service.²⁵

The Daltons left the agency, started stealing horses, and with their brother Grat, who was also a deputy marshal riding out of Ft. Smith, and some other reckless characters, launched out in their violent career of robbing trains and banks. Their wild course ended at Coffeyville, Kansas, where in their attempt to rob two banks during one raid, Bob and Grat and two other members of the gang were killed, and Emmett was badly wounded.

The Osage country, much of it secluded and unpopulated, had long been a hideout for outlaws "on the scout" and was a favorite retreat for the Dalton gang. For about a year after the "run" in the spring of 1889, when the Unassigned Lands were opened for settlement, until Congress organized the Territory of Oklahoma by the Organic Act, May 2, 1890, there was no organized government. Agent Miles was concerned particularly during this lawless period, for the state of affairs in the Osage Nation resulting from the lack of law enforcement, and said that the reservation was being overrun with whiskey peddlars, gamblers and vagabonds where they had no right to be without a permit.²⁶ Law-abiding homesteaders also drifted through the reservation with their families and appeared as a rule a forlorn lot as their covered wagons creaked along. Children, grimy from travel, peered out from the miscellaneous contents of the wagons. Sometimes a coop of chickens was fastened at the endgates of the wagons which were often followed by a spare horse ridden by a boy or girl, herding a cow or two and one or more dogs trailed along. If it was cold, smoke sometimes could be seen coming from a stove through a stove-pipe protruding from the covering of the wagon.

A system had been put into effect on the Osage reservation for leasing Indian claims to white tenants, after it was found useless to try to induce the Indians to cultivate their lands themselves. A few of the travelers in the covered wagons found places to lease and farm, or employment from the Indians and stayed under permits issued by the agency.

Most of the Osages had selected claims for each member of

²⁵ The late Dr. Fred R. Sutton of Oklahoma City lived as a boy at the Osage Agency where his father was the Government physician. Fred reported to the U.S. Commissioner that he saw the Daltons apparently selling liquor to the Indians, while he was passing on his pony after fording Bird Creek near the mill. He said that Bob Dalton spent much of his time, engaged in target practice and would sometimes give him a quarter, to throw cans into the air for targets.—Interview, Dr. Fred R. Sutton with Frank F. Finney.

²⁶ *Annual Report*, Laban J. Miles, Osage Indian Agent, 1889, p. 193.



(Photo about 1882, Finney Collection)

EMPLOYEES AT OSAGE AGENCY INDIAN SCHOOL

Relatives of Agent Laban J. Miles in the group: left first row, Superintendent Miles ("Uncle Benny"), father, and Mrs. Miles ("Aunt Lizzie"), step-mother, next in first row; Mary Miles, half-sister, first in second row; Ellen Miles, sister, first in the third row, left.

their families and the best land along the creek and river bottoms was claimed by some member of the tribe. These claims were of a transitory nature held pending final disposition under the Allotment Act. No white man could own a foot of land, but could take a lease under the restrictions and requirements of the Agency office. The lessee was required to break the sod, dig a well, plant fruit trees, erect certain buildings and deliver the place back to the Indian free of incumbrances at the end of the lease. Corn was the principal crop, and the fields were to be fenced, the fences usually being of the stake and rider type.²⁷ The results under the exacting terms were none too good, and the improvements were seldom up to standards.

Some leases were made to the white farmers for a share of the crop, and as they worked, the Indian landlords only watched and supervised. Even this was too much effort for some of the Indians like Bare Legs, who walked into a trader's store one evening and addressing the trader by his Indian name said: "Wah-sho-wah-galey, my son, I am very tired. Since the sun was there," he continued, pointing to the east, "I have been sitting on a stump, watching my white man plow corn."²⁸

An act of Congress had removed Federal obstructions to the leasing of Indian tribal lands, and the Osages were free to lease their grass lands for grazing.²⁹ By the time the Cherokee Outlet or Strip opening, September 16, 1893, more than half of the reservation or 831,188 acres had been leased for grazing under 34 leases. These leases ran for three years at the uniform price of 3½¢ per acre. Thousands of Texas longhorn cattle were brought in, and pastured on the large ranches where they fattened on the luxuriant blue stem grass, and were shipped in the fall to the Kansas City and St. Louis markets.³⁰

Elgin, just over the line in Kansas, became a typical cow town, and the largest shipping point of grass fed cattle in the entire southwest. To prevent spreading of Texas fever from the deadly ticks, the State of Kansas had in effect a quarantine law prohibiting Texas cattle from being brought into the state. To evade the restrictions imposed by law, a wire chute more than a half-mile long was constructed from the Osage line to the Elgin stockyards, which permitted loading the cattle on the trains without allowing them to run at large on Kansas soil.

The Indian Department's policy inaugurated under President Grant's administration of appointing Quakers and members

²⁷ *Annual Report*, Col. H. B. Freeman, Osage Indian Agent, 1896, p. 259.

²⁸ Thomas M. Finney, *Dairy*.

²⁹ Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, Vol. I, p. 57 (Chap. 383, 26 *Stat.* p. 794).

³⁰ *Report*, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1893, p. 39.

of other religious bodies as Indian agents, came to a definite end when Congress directed the President to detail officers of the United States army to act as Indian agents under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior.³¹

With the creation of the Department of the Interior in 1849, the Indian Bureau passed from military control.³² Discord between the Interior and War Departments in dealing with the Indians had been unceasing throughout the years, and attempts though often made to have the Indian Bureau reinstated under the War Department were unsuccessful. Now that warfare with the Indians was a thing of the past, the appointment of any officers as agents was surprising and unexpected. Captain C. A. Dempsey was detailed to succeed Agent Miles and Dempsey was in turn followed by Col. H. B. Freeman.

The Indian Department was pressing hard to persuade all Indians to accept allotment of their lands and dispose of their surplus. Millions of acres of Indian lands in Oklahoma Territory had been opened for settlement under the homestead laws, and the Jerome Commission had been busy with the Indians to bring this about. The Dawes Commission created by Congress to negotiate with the Five Civilized Tribes began its work in the summer of 1893.³³

The same summer a commission of three members arrived at the Osage agency to drive a bargain with the Osages. This commission held councils with the representatives of the tribe, and explained the intentions of the Government. The mixed-bloods listened and showed their interest to proceed and work out an agreement, but the full blood contingent, obstinate and defiant, refused even to discuss the proposition submitted to them. Ill feeling erupted between the factions of full bloods and mixed-bloods which would last to the passing of the allotment bill over ten years later.³⁴

The Commission tried again the following year with no more success. After many meetings at the round house in the Indian village adjacent to the Agency, now Pawhuska, a committee of nine members representing the majority of the tribe, headed by James Bigheart and Black Dog, delivered the decision reached. They said in substance that the Osages had not made sufficient progress in civilization to take their lands in

³¹ Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1893, pp. 5-6.

³² Act of Congress, July 9, 1832 (*Stat. L-IV*, p. 564), created the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The Act of March 18, 1849, created the Interior Department, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferred from War Department to Interior Department. *Stat. L-IX*, pp. 395-397.

³³ Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 1, p. 498 (Sess. II, Chap. 209 Sec. 16, March 3, 1893).

severalty and that they were satisfied with their present government and wanted no change.

The Commission persisted in holding meetings, but by August showed signs of weakening and on account of "the weather being extremely hot, the water poor and no ice," the members asked for and received from Washington a leave of absence. They returned after a vacation when it was cooler later in the year but accomplished nothing, and receiving instructions from the Secretary of the Interior to discontinue the negotiations as the effort appeared a "useless waste of time and money," they gave up and departed.³⁴

The strength of the full bloods was to sit still, and they held out for over ten years thereafter against allotment. The stubborn resistance paid off in concessions to the advantage of the tribe. A run of homesteaders to settle on their surplus lands was forestalled, and the ownership of the oil and gas rights were retained as common property of the tribe.

The returns from bonuses and royalties received from the blanket lease granted to Edwin B. Foster by the Osage Council and signed for the tribe by the Principal Chief, James Bigheart, dated March 16, 1896, for a term of ten years, and the successive leases brought riches to every member of the tribe. If the funds had been distributed to owners of individual tracts as done in other reservations, some Osages would have become fantastically wealthy but the greater number would have not shared or benefited.

Most of the older blanket Indians resented the changes being brought about by the white people, and there was much talk in their camps of buying land in Mexico, and migrating there so that they could live as they pleased.

The laws of the United States now covered crimes committed by one Indian against another Indian, to be tried in the same courts, and in the same manner and subject to penalties as all other persons.³⁵ The Osage reservation as a part of Oklahoma Territory was attached to Pawnee County for judicial purposes with two sessions of the district court required to be held at Pawhuska, each year.³⁶ The Supreme Court of the Osage government occasionally met but its decrees were not recognized as legal or binding.

³⁴ Berlin B. Chapman, "Dissolution of the Osage Reservation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 3 (Sept.) and No. 4 (Dec.), 1942; *ibid.*, Vol. XXI, No. 2 (June, 1943).

³⁵ Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 1, Appropriation Act, March 3, 1885, p. 32 (Chap. 341, Sec. 23, *Stat.* 362).

³⁶ Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 1, p. 81 (First Sess. Chap. 182, *Stat.* 26). Congress created the Territory of Oklahoma, defined its boundaries and established a territorial government. The Osage reservation under this Act became a part of Oklahoma Territory, May 2, 1890.



(Photo, Finney Collection)

OSAGE COUNCIL, 1886

In lower, first row left to right: Alvin Wood, Tallchief, Strike Axe, Ne-Kah-Ko-La; top row, left to right, James Bigheart, Nic-Ka-Ke-Pah-Nah, Paul Aiken, Saucy Chief, Ed Matthews.

There was much disorder in the tribal government, and bitterness in the election of the officers was brought about by differences over the allotment question. After the Indian Department's Inspector James McLaughlin decided in the election contest between the "Full Blood" and "Progressive" (or "Civilization") parties in favor of Black Dog, candidate of the full bloods for principal chief, another dispute arose between the candidates for the National Council. In interest of harmony and better administration of their affairs, the Osage government was dissolved by the Indian Bureau which took over entire charge.³⁷

Ordinarily the terms of the Osage agents did not last long and they came and went often. William J. Pollock succeeded Colonel Freeman, who was in turn followed by O. A. Mitscher. Following the Indian Department's program, the Agent at an opportune time when the Indians had gathered at Pawhuska for annuity payments called for a council at the Indian village to consider the long-time "cooking and sizzling hot" allotment question.

Both the mixed and the full bloods gathered at the round house in a serious and contentious mood. Those who opposed allotment had long maintained that the tribal roll contained many names which did not belong there, and that the roll should be purged before any agreement could be reached. Early in the proceedings, one of the white men present who had married a mixed blood woman attempted to speak but was quickly silenced by a member of the group of full bloods sitting stolidly on the ground with their blankets drawn around them. "By what right has this man to be here and speak?" he asked.³⁸

There was tense silence when the prominent Black Dog arose with great dignity to speak. With roached hair and blanket wrapped majestically around him, he was a fine representative of the proud Osage of former days. Black Dog argued that the Indians needed more time to understand things and that they did not learn fast like a white man.

Che-sho-shin-kah or Henry Red Eagle as he was best known, wore a bandeaux of beaver about his head, and his appearance was no less striking than that of Black Dog. This chief also pleaded for more time. "We should take time and not do this like a man who drops a live coal into the water, and bring everything to an end at once," he said.³⁹

Brave, husband of Mary Choteau, the daughter of Colonel Edward Choteau and his Osage wife (Sophia), Bacon Rind and

³⁷ *Report*, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1900, p. 173.

³⁸ *Kansas City Times*, December 17 and 23, 1903.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

some other full bloods spoke, and all wanted more time. These blanket Indians actually knew that they were near the end of their rope and that allotment could not be put off much longer. The full bloods were now in the minority now numbering only 838 as compared to 1,057 mixed-bloods and had steadily decreased in number, year by year as the mixed-bloods increased.⁴⁰

For a week the full bloods held their councils, and under the persuasive influence of James Bigheart, who had come to the conclusion negotiations should proceed, agreed that a delegation consisting of Bigheart, six full bloods and four mixed bloods be authorized to treat with the Government. This delegation accompanied by Agent Mitscher departed for Washington January 30, 1904.

Following conferences of the Osage delegation with officials of the Indian Department, Delegate Bird McGuire introduced a bill in the House of Representatives, March 17, 1904, providing for "the equal division of the tribal lands of the Osage Indians among themselves." The bill was shelved and did not pass but the agitation on the question by no means subsided at home.

In an election held in June, 1904, O-lo-hah-wal-la defeated James Bigheart as Principal Chief, and became the head of the "Business Committee" of nine members acting in place of the dissolved National Council, on a quasi basis.⁴¹

Captain Frank Frantz became Agent July 1, 1904, and was to serve to December 30, 1905, when he was appointed by Theodore Roosevelt as Governor of Oklahoma Territory. President Roosevelt was partial to his comrades in the military service, and Captain Frantz was one of the officers who had served under him in Cuba as a member of the "Rough Riders."

Captain Frantz, together with the chief, was authorized by the Business Committee to appoint a delegation to go to Washington, vested with the power to represent the tribe. Accordingly the delegation with O-lo-hah-wal-la as head, four full bloods, four mixed bloods and interpreter proceeded to Washington with Agent Frantz to confer with the Indian Department.⁴²

The delegation met with Commissioner Francis E. Leupp for the hearings, during which Chief O-lo-hah-wal-la with great solemnity drew forth from the folds of his blanket, the first treaty the Osages made with the United States at Fort Clark in 1808. The treaty was in excellent condition and attached was a long solid gold chain of great value. He said that his people did

⁴⁰ *Annual Report*, O. A. Mitscher, Osage Indian Agent, 1904.

⁴¹ Chapman, "Dissolution of the Osage Reservation," *q.v.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

not favor individual ownership but realized that it must come, and he pleaded with the Commissioner to see that the Government protected his people.⁴³

The delegation did not have immediate success, and it took about a year of negotiations during which time the proposed bill went back and forth between the Department of the Interior and the Osage representatives with divergent views, who visited Washington. Finally a bill agreed upon by all factions of the tribe, was introduced in the House of Representatives in January and passed by Congress and approved June 28, 1906.⁴⁴ Under this bill, known as the Osage Allotment Act, the Osage reservation, consisting of 1,465,380 acres, was divided among, 2,229 members of the tribe, each receiving about 657 acres of which 160 acres was designated as homestead.⁴⁵

Some acreage was reserved for the M.K.&T., Santa Fe and Midland railroads, Indian camps at Gray Horse, Pawhuska and Hominy, the St. Johns and St. Louis schools, a reserve for the Indian school and agency buildings, a tract to John N. Florer, and five townsites, Pawhuska, Hominy, Fairfax, Bigheart and Foraker. The oil, gas, coal and other minerals were reserved to the tribe for a period of twenty five years. The bill restored the tribal council to consist of a principal chief, assistant chief and eight members to be elected by the male adult members of the tribe.

The old order had passed and the white man's civilization had taken over. Since the opening of the Cherokee Outlet, the Osages to their great detriment, were able to obtain liquor from the saloons in the border towns across the Arkansas river. Three railroads ran through the reservation, white tenants occupied many Indian farms, cattle by the thousands grazed on the prairies, and oil derricks loomed against the skies.

Fifteen years before the Commissioner of Indian Affairs wrote:⁴⁶

The Indians must conform to the white man's ways, peacefully if they will, forcibly if they must. * * * This civilization may not be the best possible, but it is the best the Indian can get. They can not escape it and must either conform to it or be crushed by it. The tribal relations should be broken up, socialism destroyed and the family autonomy of the individual substituted. The reservation system must cease to exist. The logic of events demands the absorption of the Indians into the National life, not as an Indian but as an American citizen.

⁴³ Barde Collection, Library of Oklahoma Historical Society.

⁴⁴ 34 Stat. L, 539, Act. approved June 28, 1906.—C. L. Thomas. *Annotated Acts of Congress* (Columbia Missouri, 1913).

⁴⁵ Chapman, *op. cit.*

⁴⁶ *Report*, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1889, pp. 3-4.

The Osages had lost their struggle for the survival of their tribal life, and were compelled to accept the new regime as the Commissioner said all Indians must.

With the allotment of their lands the Osages became full-fledged American citizens, and with the advent of Oklahoma statehood, November 16, 1907, their reservation became the largest county in the new state.

BUFFALO VALLEY: AN OSAGE HUNTING GROUND

*By Orel Busby**

On a sweltering hot day in June, 1834, a weary column of General Henry Leavenworth's First U. S. Dragoons topped a rise of land in what is now northeastern Pontotoc County and looked down upon a welcome sight.

Ahead was an alluvial mountain valley, approximately nine miles long and three to five miles wide, drained by converging streams that flowed from the hills on the north and west. Courses of the creeks were timbered with pecan, cottonwood and many other varieties of trees, and rolling off on either hand were expanses of bottomland and semi-prairie carpeted with bluestem, buffalo and Indian switch grass.

The stretch of well-watered and sheltered land was known as Buffalo Valley by roving bands of Osage hunters. Close association with the area since the turn of the Century has convinced the writer that few regions in Oklahoma ever furnished such a fine natural habitat for northward-ranging buffalo herds.

Probably no area of comparative size in Oklahoma was ever surrounded with a more varied background of our State's earliest history.¹ This conclusion is drawn from careful research into movement of frontier armies, migrating Indian tribes, and the westward march of emigrants along the California Road which skirted the valley in 1849.

* Judge Orel Busby contributes this account of Buffalo Valley to *The Chronicles* from his first hand knowledge of the region and his deep interest in the records and other sources bearing on its history. He has lived all his life around the Valley, a beautiful part of the country lying near the Pontotoc-Hughes county line, south of the Canadian. Judge Busby is a former Justice of the State Supreme Court, and well known attorney of Ada, Oklahoma, where he has his family home. He is active as a leader in the affairs of the Oklahoma Historical Society, serving as a member of its Board of Directors.—Ed.

¹ (a) Shawnee Town was about six miles to the northeast and roughly bounded by the South Canadian river on the northwest and within lines drawn from the present towns of Allen to Gerty to Atwood, in Pontotoc and Hughes counties.

(b) Fort Holmes and Edwards' Store, at the mouth of Little River on the north side of the South Canadian river and about four miles northwest of Atwood.

(c) Marcy's Caravan and Whipple's Caravan and the California emigrants camped at the springs on the north edge of Buffalo Valley (Sec. 34, Twp. 5 N., Rge. 8 E.)

(d) One of the first settlements known as Red Springs Indian (Chickasaw) Church and School was in the middle of the valley (Secs.

Buffalo Valley, drained by Muddy Boggy, Sincere, Sandy, and Rhoda creeks, is visible for miles to the east and southeast from State Highway 12 which spans its northwestern rim. Today the valley is cattle country with alfalfa, bermuda and native bluestem greening under the warm spring sun. But one can stand on a high point of land on the northwest side and visualize the valley as it was on that June day in 1834 when the First Dragoons under General Leavenworth came out of the timber from the east and saw the virgin meadows alive with grazing buffalo.²

Research shows the area is steeped in history. The "Osage Village" historical marker, the first such marker erected in Pontotoc County by the Oklahoma Historical Society, stands beside State Highway 12 on the northwestern edge of the valley. About one-half mile northeast is a bubbling spring on the north edge of what is now a portion of the 4B Ranch, the First Dragoons made camp on June 26, 1834.

General Henry Leavenworth and the Dragoons, including officers Henry Dodge, S. W. Kearney, R. B. Mason, Jefferson Davis, Nathan Boone, and the noted artist, George Catlin, were

16 & 21), Twp. 4 N, Rge. 8 E.,) just east of the old town of Steedman. The old Red Springs Indian graveyard is still there.

(e) The Dragoons' road or trail turned south from Allen toward Wapanucka, and traversed Buffalo Valley on the Texas Cattle Trail, while the emigrants and others traveled on southwest or due west on the south side of the South Canadian.

(f) The old Indian "stick ball" grounds on the Choctaw-Chickasaw Line was in the center of the north part of Buffalo Valley (Sec. 10, Twp. 4 N., Rge. 8 E.)

(g) Research also indicates that the French Post, old Fort Fabry (1741), may have been located at the mouth of Big Creek on the Canadian river about four miles northeast of the present town of Atwood.

² George H. Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1950) pp. 11, 12. One first becomes conscious of the valley in driving northeast on State Highway 12, from Ada to Allen when crossing Sincere Creek near the Cash Ranch. One of the finest views of the north portion of the valley may be seen from the Kemmerer home from a hill on the north side of Muddy Boggy Creek bridge (Sec. 9, Twp. 4 N., Rge. 8 E.) on State Highway 12.

Buffalo Valley was the hunting ground on the "Big Osage War and Hunting Trail" traveled by the Osages from their villages near Claremore Mound, in present Rogers County after their settlement in this region about 1802. This "Big Osage Trail" was marked as a military road by Capt. J. L. Dawson, of the Seventh Infantry, in 1834, from the first Camp (or Fort) Arbuckle on the Arkansas (about 8 miles west of Sand Springs) to Camp (or Fort) Holmes near the mouth of Little River on the Canadian, in present Hughes County.—James H. Gardner, "One Hundred Years Ago in the Region of Tulsa," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (June, 1933), pp. 765-85.—Ed.

on an expedition westward that year to secure peace with Plains Indian tribes.³

The Dragoons on this expedition found a roving band of Osage hunters camped in Buffalo Valley. There were about six hundred Indians (counting the women and children who according to custom went along on the annual hunt), many of whom were occupied in dressing out buffalo killed in the hunt. This particular band was led by Black Dog, second in leadership of the Osage Nation. Near the spring where the Dragoons camped was a village of poles and saplings covered by deer or buffalo hides. In Black Dog's camp the excitement of the hunt prevailed. Black Dog is reported to have been a man of tremendous proportions, seven feet tall and weighing two hundred and fifty pounds.

In Buffalo Valley, when the writer was a small boy going on hunting and fishing trips with friends in the region around Allen, were seen many buffalo wallows. These were usually about one foot deep, generally round, and anywhere from ten to thirty feet in diameter. Also in the valley were occasional alkali spots which show up today when turned with plow or disc. In our present pasture on the 4B Ranch, which constitutes a part of the valley, the cattle still seek out these alkali spots and prefer to lie there. Undoubtedly the alkali dust had some chemical which aided the buffalo in eliminating lice or ticks.⁴ Fifty years ago buffalo skulls were to be found in the valley. Mixed among them were of course skulls of cattle, but the buffalo skulls could be determined by the short horns and wider heads.

A century ago there were four general herds of buffalo that ranged across the Great Plains and along the eastern fringe of the Rockies, their ranges overlapping as the herds moved with the seasons. From north to south they formed the so-called Northern, Republican, Arkansas, and Texas herds. Some of these herds ranged the Great Plains region of Oklahoma. Apparently Buffalo Valley in the old days was merely a choice piece of graze where the great migrating herds from Texas struck about May and remained for awhile on their way northward; some even remaining in the valley that was a "natural" wintering place.

³ The young group of officers leading the Dragoons afterwards became some of the most noted in American history. Thumbnail biography of each is found in Shirk, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 40, 41.

⁴ Scientists have now determined that fine "road dust" or chemical powders fill up the breathing apparatus of insects, including lice and fleas with which buffalo were infested, and kill these insects. The buffalo were apparently ahead of the scientists in this discovery that the powdery fine alkali dust helped rid them of fleas and lice.



(Courtesy, Gilcrease Museum of Art and History)

U.S. Dragoons and Indian Guides met the Buffalo in Western Oklahoma.
From original painting by George Catlin 1834



Looking across Buffalo Valley, 1961

High hills circle the valley practically on three sides, protecting it from the worst blasts of wintry cold. Running out from the valley into the hills are many sheltered canyon-draws where the herds must have wintered. This shows up a contributing factor to the worth of the valley as a hunting ground.

Since 1900, the writer has been interested in knowing why the Osage traveled so far south and east to hunt buffalo as they did when Black Dog's band was found by the Dragoons. During the writer's investigations he talked with many old-time Indians who were familiar with the traditions and folklore of their tribes. It was tradition among them that the "wild Indians" as they called the Osage came into the valley region annually until the near extinction of the buffalo. The Choctaws and Chickasaws gave these "wild Indians" or "big Indians" a wide berth saying they were "afraid of them."⁵ Tradition also was to the effect that these nomads would drive away their ponies if they found them in the vicinity of their camps.

Among other old time Chickasaw Indian "medicine men," was a well known character around Allen in the writer's boyhood days called "Old Jonah" Alexander. He claimed to be one hundred years of age just before his death and he still had all of his mental faculties. He loved to talk about the folklore and traditions of the "old days."

All his life "Old Jonah" lived near the spot of the present Osage Village marker. He said the valley just south of the marker was called Buffalo Valley by all the old time Indians. By "old time" he meant Choctaws and Chickasaws as well as the Osages who were referred to by the same tribes as the "wild Indians." Jonah explained that the valley was a great place to hunt because it had plenty of buffalo grass in the tight flatlands near the streams and the remainder of the area had a good growth of blue-stem and Indian switch grass. Another old time Indian called "Chief" Blackhawk (who died about 1907 at the age of 100 years) had migrated to the region around Allen from Ohio about 1878, and he agreed with "Old Jonah's" traditional stories. There is still buffalo grass, or "mesquite" as the natives call it, growing in the tight bottom lands alongside roads which cross the valley.

⁵ In 1835, a year after the Dragoon Expedition, the Camp Holmes treaty (Arbuckle-Stokes, U. S. Commission) established "Peace and Friendship" with the Comanche and Wichita and associated bands, delegations signing including chiefs and leaders from the Choctaw, Creek, Cherokee, Osage, Seneca, and Quapaw tribes. Articles 6 and 7 expressly stipulated action of the U. S. military with other signatory tribes against any one of the signatory tribes that might give cause for such action by murder and stealing of horses and cattle within the limits of the country assigned by the United States to another of these same tribes.—Charles Kappler, *Indian Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 322-3 (Washington 1903).



(Courtesy of Gilcrease Museum of Art and History)

BLACK DOG, OSAGE CHIEF

From the original painting by George Catlin, 1834

Another reason the valley was a good hunting place is because the Indians could mount their ponies on the hill-tops overlooking the lowlands, locate grazing buffalo, check the wind, and then, using the trees rimming the streams as cover, get close to their game with bows and arrows. Without the advantage of the surrounding hills, the Indians might well have raced their ponies to death trying to bring down choice meat.

At this point it should be noted that the timber growth in this country has changed considerably during even the past fifty years. There is much more timber and brush on the ridges and even along the streams than there was when the writer was a boy. In the early days the ridges were almost devoid of timber. The valley looked like a large savanna or old English park. There were only large trees growing along the streams, mostly pecan, and very little "brush" country. The brush came in after white men overgrazed the regions and eliminated the waist-high grass which grew each year.

Among features of historical interest found today in Buffalo Valley are included the springs where the Dragoons, and later Captain Randolph B. Marcy and emigrants along the California Road, camped on the grueling trip west in 1849.⁶

Eroded scars of the old military road made by General Leavenworth and his men from Allen to the present Belton Crossing on Blue River are to be seen near the springs. Years after the tragic expedition of the Dragoons, this same road was known as the "Texas Cattle Trail," emigrants from Kansas and Missouri following this route across what is now Oklahoma on into Texas where they took up lands.⁷

Looking at the indentations of the old military road⁸ and thinking of the features of the country, it seems strange that the expedition of the First Dragoons should have come to such a tragic end. Some of the finest officers in the nation's history were in command of the colorful regiment. Among those were Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, who later became president of the Confederacy, and a young junior officer, Philip St. George Cooke, a West Point graduate who later rose to prominence in the frontier west as a genius at raising defense against Indians and building pioneer roads. Other officers in the regiment later made impressive records as officers in the Mexican and Civil wars, and one was a member of the U. S. Senate.⁹ There seems

⁶ Grant Foreman, *Marcy & the Gold Seekers* (Norman, 1939) p. 51.

⁷ See Map of Indian Territory and Oklahoma, 1890, in Extra Census Bulletin, *The Five Civilized Tribes of the Indian Territory* (Washington, 1894).

⁸ Sec. 2, Twp. 4 N., Rge. 8 E.

⁹ See biographical data in Appendix Shirk, *op cit.*, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII No. 1, pp. 34, 40, 41.

no doubt that the regiment was well-equipped to carry out an important mission. Yet, except for important treaties made later with the Indians, the expedition of the First Dragoons was a disastrous one which resulted in the death from typhus fever and dysentery of 150 men out of a possible 600 involved.

The United States Dragoons were organized in the summer of 1833, and left Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, for Fort Gibson in the Indian country in the autumn of that year. Every man in each different company was given the same color horse: blacks for one company, bays for another, sorrels for another, and others were mounted on sleek grays. It is doubtful that the U.S. Army has ever decked out a more impressive regiment, but possibly a year in bad quarters at Fort Gibson took much of the stamina out of the men. They did not get their mission fully underway until the next year when the Army determined their first assignment—the expedition two hundred miles south and west to the North Fork of Red River.

What seems strange about the toll of disease in the regiment during that summer is that the country must have had plenty of water and game. In addition to vast numbers of buffalo which Black Dog and his band of Osages were killing and dressing on the edge of Buffalo Valley, it seems logical to suppose that numerous deer and smaller animals thrived in the neighborhood. Deer and small game are still found in the region near present Allen and all along the courses of Sandy and Muddy Boggy creeks; and in the buffalo hunting days wild turkeys prairie chickens, pigeons and other wild fowl were plentiful. Yet, in spite of the fact that the regiment had access to plenty of fresh meat and good water, it straggled back into Fort Gibson that fall sick and emaciated and showing a tragic contrast to the proud ranks upon which Black Dog and his hunters looked in late June.

Another interesting feature of Buffalo Valley in northeastern Pontotoc County, is that the present paved highway between Allen and Ada follows almost exactly the same course as the old California Road. In an article published in the summer of 1960¹⁰ Robert H. Dott,¹¹ formerly of the State Geological Survey, traces the route of the California Road across Oklahoma and attached a map¹² which he worked out, plotted on a modern base. The map based on one made in 1849, by Lieutenant James H. Simpson shows the route followed the general course of the

¹⁰ Robert H. Dott, *Lieutenant Simpson's California Road Across Oklahoma, The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1960), pp. 154-179.

¹¹ Robert H. Dott is Director, American Association of Geological Engineers, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 158.

present State Highway 12. Mr. Dott spent several days in the area in preparation of the article and the map, and he was instrumental in locating sites for new historical markers, including the one by nearby Shawnee Town and two others inside the limits of Pontotoc County, which mark the sites of Natural Mound and Delaware Mountain.

The Shawnee Town marker set up on the west side of State Highway 12 in Hughes County between Allen and Atwood marks the approximate center of what was once a thriving but scattered village of Shawnee Indians. Research shows that the center of the Shawnee settlement was on the higher land a few miles north and east of Buffalo Valley, but it is probable that the southwestern edge of the extensive community of log cabin homes extended right up to the valley rim, near where is now the town of Allen.

Lieutenant Simpson who drew a map of the route in 1849 was a member of Captain R. B. Marcy's command which accompanied an emigrant train of California gold-seekers from Fort Smith, Arkansas to Santa Fe, New Mexico. Captain R. B. Marcy of the Fifth Infantry, U. S. Army, was assigned that year to open up a road from Fort Smith to the west. Marcy and his command left Fort Smith on April 5, 1849 and passed through Shawnee Town about May 15, 1849. The Shawnee Village lying roughly in a triangle beginning at Allen, then to present Gerty, then north through Atwood to the Canadian River and up its south shore to near Allen was mentioned in reports of Captain Marcy.

Before Marcy escorted the wagon train of emigrants through Shawnee Town and on southwest along the upper reaches of Buffalo Valley, the widely-scattered settlement of Shawnee Indians was mentioned in the Report (1849) of Captain Frederick T. Dent. Captain Dent, attached to General Matthew Arbuckle's command at Fort Smith, was assigned to make a preliminary examination of the California Road before Captain Marcy and his command started escorting the emigrants west.

It is safe to assume that the emigrants who stopped in the Shawnee village to trade for corn and other supplies later hunted game along the route within the limits of Buffalo Valley. The valley in addition to being a favorite haunt for roving Osage hunters was possibly a hunting ground for men of the Shawnee village, especially in the winter when game on the higher and more exposed country was scarce. The map as prepared by Mr. Dott shows that the California gold-seekers camped at the springs on what is now the northeastern portion of the 4B Ranch which lies along Sandy and Muddy Boggy creeks.

Four years after Captain Dent made his report on Shawnee Town, Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, commanding the 35th Parallel

Survey, followed closely the route of the California Road across Buffalo Valley. Whipple's first camp inside the limits of what is now Pontotoc County was possibly made at the same springs where the First Dragoons sighted the Osage hunters under Black Dog.¹³ This assumption is drawn from the fact that Lieutenant Whipple's last camp before entering present Pontotoc County was near the town of Gerty, and that distance of a day's travel for a survey party would be about right.

Lieutenant Whipple, a brilliant young officer of the Army Engineers, was ordered west from Fort Smith with his survey party in 1853. It was the desire of "top army brass" and merchants of growing towns in the Indian border country to find a natural route for a railroad running from Fort Smith to the west coast. Whipple was under orders to move westward along the 35th Parallel, following in general the route already established by Captain Marcy.

Lieutenant Whipple, besides being an accomplished engineer, had a vivid style of writing, shown in the following concerning Shawnee Town:¹⁴

A few miles from camp we left on our right the road leading from Little River, and soon afterwards were in a labyrinth of trails. We inquired of an Indian for the right road, but gained little satisfaction. Upon inquiring of our host the direction to Shawnee Town, he seemed nonplussed.

After a while, however, he made us understand that we might consider ourselves already within its precincts. The numerous paths are, as it were, streets uniting various houses of this extensive if not populous place.

There seems no doubt that early-day travelers and soldiers were impressed by the sight of Shawnee Town. Captain Dent in his report had this to say:¹⁵

In this prairie the road forks, the right hand leading to Edwards' Trading Post near Little River. . . . Opposite to the point of entrance to the last mentioned prairie is Shawnee Town, 125 miles from Fort Smith. . . . The inhabitants, like those of the same tribe lower down on the Canadian, show proofs of rapid advancement in civilization. Here, again, we found an abundance of provisions, corn, etc. . . .

Indians occupying Shawnee Town were part of a band of Absentee Shawnees who left Ohio and first settled on the north side of Red River. Later the band moved to the area along the South Canadian where the new historical marker is now set up.

One wonders why the Shawnees did not establish their village in nearby Buffalo Valley. The land was extremely fertile,

¹³ This springs locality is in Sec. 34, Twp. 5 N. Rge. 8 E.

¹⁴ Dott, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

¹⁵ Foreman (1939), *op. cit.*, p. 135.

had many fine springs dotting the country, and was in a more sheltered place. It is possible that the Shawnees did not settle in the valley for two reasons: Either they did not want to disturb the natural habitat of buffalo, or they avoided the roving bands of Osage hunters. Either reason seems a substantial one.

Points of historical interest within a few minutes' drive of Buffalo Valley includes sites of Old Fort Holmes and Edwards' Trading Post. The military installation and the trading post were located near the confluence of Little River and the Canadian and both were often mentioned in writings of early travelers.

Fort Holmes was established by Lieutenant T. H. Holmes the U. S. Army, who later became Lieutenant General in command of the Trans-Mississippi Department of the Confederate Army during the Civil War. Holmes, a West Point classmate of Jefferson Davis, started construction of the fort near the mouth (on the east side) of Little River early in 1834. This was during the time that the ill-fated Dragoons continued on their expedition to the south and west.

Edwards' Store or Trading Post was west and south across Little River from the Fort. A daughter of the Edwards who started the post married the Cherokee scout, Jesse Chisholm. For a time Chisholm was a partner in the store but later rose to fame as a trail blazer in Oklahoma. Soon after the relentless guns of white hide-hunters had exterminated the buffalo off the Plains, longhorn cattle on their way from Texas to Kansas followed the famous Chisholm Trail as well as the Texas Trail through what is now Allen.

Edwards' Trading Post and Fort Holmes were visited by General Leavenworth and the Dragoons in June of 1834. Apparently their first camp after leaving Fort Holmes and riding through Shawnee Town was made at the springs on the north-eastern edge of Buffalo Valley, for years known locally as "Motes Springs."¹⁶ As mentioned before, the historical marker "Osage Village" is located on State Highway 12 near these springs.¹⁷

South of Buffalo Valley as the crow flies, in the rolling hills southwest of the present settlement of Jesse in Pontotoc County, Brigadier General Henry Leavenworth was injured in a horse fall while chasing a buffalo calf.¹⁸ The fall resulted in the

¹⁶ In Sec. 34, Twp. 5 N., Rge. 8 E.

¹⁷ In Sec. 4, Twp. 4 N., Rge. 8 E.

¹⁸ George Catlin, "Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians;" 4th Edition, (New York 1842,) Vol. II, pp. 46, 50, 51. (See, also, Shirk, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12, for description of the "Buffalo Hunt" and scene at the "Osage Village." The Dragoon "Camp Osage" was southwest of present Jesse, probably on present Goose Creek near the Johnston-Pontotoc county line.—Ed.)

General's death on July 21, 1834, in camp west of present Kingston in Marshall County.

Years after the vari-colored mounts of the First Dragoons left their hoofprints on the turf of Buffalo Valley, the land along Muddy Boggy, Sandy, Sincere and Rhoda creeks¹⁹ became compelling lures for farmers striking west after the Civil War. The land was like a breathing delta, just waiting for the clearing and the plow.

And decades of farming and ranching have not entirely wiped out tangible evidence of pioneer times, nor of tangible proof that large Indian settlements were once in Buffalo Valley. Several old log homes of Indians remain, mute reminders of later years when the Choctaws and Chickasaws moved west.

One of these is the Old Scott Johnson house.²⁰ Scott was known as one of the leaders of the Snake faction among the Chickasaws. That is, Scott refused voluntarily to apply for his individual allotment, and the Dawes Commission in 1905 made arbitrary allotments to him and members of his family.

In the heart of the valley (near Steedman and the old Scott Johnson house), looking forlorn in a grass and brush-choked grove of trees alongside a country road, are graves of the old Red Springs Cemetery. This old Chickasaw burial ground was established more than a hundred years ago, and the strange little houses built by the Indians over graves of their loved ones are still standing. Many of the little houses, or coverings, have almost rotted into the earth, showing the ravages of decades of time and weather. Others of more recent date are still in good shape, with possessions of those departed resting under the shading roofs. Others, so old that nothing above-ground is visible except broken and tilted headstones, are scattered through the grove of trees.

Another spot of historic interest in Buffalo Valley is the site of the now vanished town of Steedman. Before and after the turn of the century this was a thriving frontier village, center of an active and widespread farming trade and extensively populated by Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians. The town, previously an Indian settlement, grew rapidly when the Kansas, Oklahoma,

¹⁹ Three historical markers seen as you approach and then after you have passed through the beautiful old Osage hunting ground add much to the interest of Buffalo Valley as a historic point. The Shawnee Town marker was erected by the Oklahoma Historical Society in the summer of 1960. Simultaneously two others along the Old California Road through Oklahoma—for Delaware Mount and Natural Mound—were erected along State Highway 12 inside Pontotoc County a few miles southwest of the spot in Buffalo Valley where scars of the Dragoon Road are to be seen today.

²⁰ In Sec. 21, Twp. 4 N., Rge. 8 E.

and Gulf Railroad built through the valley. This was during the era when farming in the valley outstripped the growing of cattle. All along the courses of Boggy and Sandy creeks were substantial homes of white settlers who for a time—until the land was almost exhausted—made cotton “King.”

Better roads and faster means of transportation to the cities of Ada and Allen finally relegated Steedman to the past but several old homes are still standing. Southeast of the site of Steedman is the Kalihoma Indian School and settlement, a project instigated by the U. S. Government in the middle 1930's. The school building surrounded by log cabin homes of Indians is still standing in a sheltered cove just off the county road. Several Indian families who have not taken well to white man's ways still live in the neighborhood. The old days when an Indian could subsist upon what nature had to offer have about vanished but even today you can see descendants of the first Indian settlers hunting game or digging for wild onions and other plants and herbs along the creeks and fences which cross the 4B Ranch.

Topping the historical sites in the valley—at least from a local standpoint—is the old Choctaw-Chickasaw “ball ground.” Here, on a flat expanse of land which looks much as it did fifty-odd years ago, were played the inter-tribal ballgames among the Choctaw and Chickasaw athletes. There was a time, within my memory even, when these ball games drew contestants and spectators from the far corners of both Indian Nations.

Site of the Indian “ball ground” is on the old Choctaw-Chickasaw line,²¹ which at this point ran north and south. Each spring and fall the Indians from both Nations met to hold their lengthy and sometimes violent contests at “stick ball.” This old ball ground and pony race track is bi-sected by a graveled county road.

Some of the writer's earliest memories of Indian life are tied up in several of those Choctaw-Chickasaw ball games which he attended on the grounds in Buffalo Valley. There was always a great deal of rivalry, with Indians stirring everywhere about the grounds and through the trees nearby.

And no more rivalry was ever stirred there to watch what occurred on a pleasant late spring day in 1903. The Indians were less restrained by rules and regulations than are any type of sport contestants in Oklahoma today. What happened on that day in 1903 turned into a bloody fight that had to be quelled by local U. S. Marshals and members of the Indian Lighthouse. Aftermath of the fight was that the semi-annual Indian ball

²¹ In Sec. 10, Twp. 4 N., Rge. 8 E.

games were abolished. Some violence on the part of the players would perhaps have been expected and tolerated, but not a pitched battle or wholesale riot with the spectators taking a hand in it.

In this matched game in 1903, the Indians were to play until one side or the other "hit the post" with the ball, or made 12 scores. The goal posts were about 100 yards apart, with 12-inch planks attached to the posts for goals. The players, stripped down to breech-clouts, had to hold the ball with their "sticks" and "hit the goal" from the front side. During the play the contestants dashed hither and yon over any part of the field where the ball happened to be tossed. Half the time the players and spectators were mixed as the play got under full steam.

There are several Indians living in the region of the valley today who were present at the game that year. The writer has located two old-timers who played in the game: Mose Burris who lives near Lula, and Impson Frazier, who lives near Citra. Both are in their eighties now.

According to Burris, the game in 1903 was more a contest between two counties in the Indian nations²² than it was a contest between the two tribes. The play was rough and rowdy right from the start with about three hundred people on hand and all of them fired up over the ball game. Betting fever was running rampant, and it was not all confined to the menfolk. Women started betting shawls and aprons, and finally dresses, on their favorite contestants in the game.

It took twelve points racked up by one side to finish the game, and sometimes it took three days to end it. But this game was never completed. When a Chickasaw slammed a Choctaw with one of his sticks the entire crowd got riled and started fighting.

"There were so many people fighting," Mose Burris says, "you couldn't tell who hit who."

It was a bloody affair that has long been remembered by old timers. Talk concerning the game can even get heated today, but mostly in a humorous way, because a time, a period, has come and gone and old timers look back with nostalgia.

And it is not hard to stand on the old ball ground and visualize just how it was. Not if you are "strong" on history. And Buffalo Valley and vicinity in Pontotoc County is a place where history is right at hand.

²² Atoka County, Choctaw Nation, and Pontotoc County, Chickasaw Nation.

JOHN OWEN QUILLIN: COWBOY

*By Henry A. Quillen**

My father, John Owen Quillin, was born May 26, 1854, at "The Oaks," the plantation home of his grandmother, Nancy Rucks Owen, near Princeton, Arkansas. His father, Judge John Quillin, and mother, Josephine Owen Quillin, lived at Camden, Arkansas, where he grew up as a boy.

When the Federal troops invaded Southern Arkansas in the Civil War, Judge Quillin's home was ransacked and about all that was left were some silverware and a painting of Grandmother Josephine that had been hidden for just such an emergency.

After the Civil War was over and their slaves ("servants," as they were called then) were free and their money was worthless, Grandmother Quillin died in 1866. Judge John Quillin and his son, John, moved to Lampasas, Texas, about one hundred miles north of San Antonio in the hill country of Texas, in 1868.

Lampasas was on the cattle trail from the San Antonio country north to the Chisholm Trail, and John being a teen-age boy naturally wanted to be a cowboy. Judge Quillin told him, "Now Johnny, bell spurs and a 'forty-five' have ruined many a promising young man. You stay at home and study law in my office." In the spring of 1871 Johnny, being seventeen years old, could not stand it any longer so he ran away from home and joined up with a cattle drive going to Abilene, Kansas, his first trip over the Chisholm Trail. It was a lonesome trip for Johnny, especially at night when the quietness was broken only by a cowboy on the night watch singing his own version of "The Old Chisholm Trail," or by the yap-yap of a coyote on the prowl. The entire trip across what is now Oklahoma was made without seeing a white person. Occasionally a band of Indians was seen.

The usual celebration was held at Abilene. While there they met some cowboys who told them about the Wyoming Territory. So instead of going back to Texas, daddy and another cowboy decided to go on to Cheyenne, Wyoming. Cheyenne at that time was known as the "hell-hole" of the West. They soon obtained jobs on a ranch north of Cheyenne and southwest of old Fort Laramie.

U. S. Cavalry troops were stationed at Laramie, and the cowboys enjoyed an opportunity to visit the fort and swap stories

* Mr. Henry A. Quillen is active in the Pottawatomie County Historical Society, and now retired from business in Shawnee where he makes his home.—Ed.

with the soldiers. One such visit was at a time when a new captain who had never been west had just arrived to take command of the fort. While visiting with the cowboy foreman, the Captain said, "I have heard how good these cowboys can ride but it looks like they are about to fall off their horses just riding around the parade ground." The foreman asked him if he had any horses in the troop that should be broken to ride. The Captain said "yes," so the soldiers brought one of their broncs out. After looking him over, the foreman said, "I wouldn't let one of my men ride him, but we have a Negro cook along. I'll see if he wants to ride him." The Negro cook rode the bronc all over the parade ground just slick saddle riding, and the Captain agreed the cowboys could ride.

This Negro cook was always wanting to rope a buffalo, so one day out on the range a herd of buffalo was sighted, and the cook was told, "Here is your chance." Mounting his horse, with his lariat ready, he rode toward the herd, picked out a big bull buffalo, and deftly threw the rope around his horns. When the horse set, the saddle girth broke and off came Negro, saddle and all. In the fall, the cook was thrown clear of the saddle, and the buffalo was last seen going over the hill still dragging the saddle while the cook sat on the ground watching them disappear.

John Quillin had the same experience many cowboys have had in crossing streams. Once when crossing the North Platte River in Nebraska, while he was at work to keep the cattle from milling in mid-stream, by flipping water in their faces to turn them, someone called to him and told him his horse was about to sink. John slipped off the horse onto a cow until he made the crossing.

At the time of the Sioux Indian uprising in 1876, before the battle of the Little Big Horn with the Seventh U. S. Cavalry when General Custer was killed, John Quillen was out on the range alone at a small creek twenty miles from the ranch house when he saw through the foliage, a mounted Sioux jump a ditch. Not knowing how many Indians had gone by before the one he saw, he immediately started for the ranch. The Indians evidently were attempting to cut him off on the way back to camp. When the Indians learned that they had been seen, they came out in the open in pursuit, five of them in their war paint and yelling their war cry. John had been in Indian Country long enough to know not to run his horse but just stay out of shooting distance, and let his pursuers come after him. The Indians ran him about twelve miles before they gave up the chase.

The story about the Sioux Indian chase, as most stories do, got bigger as it was retold. The story reached Cheyenne that John Quillin had been killed, and scalped by the Indians. A girl came out to the ranch from Cheyenne to see if the story was true.

Many stories of the notorious bad men of the West also get bigger as they are retold. Some stories are never heard now. When Wild Bill Hickok came to Cheyenne, in 1876, he was considered by the Law and the cowboys as a gambler and gunman. My father said he saw a cowboy back Wild Bill out of a saloon, and Wild Bill would not reach for his gun. He soon left for Deadwood, South Dakota, and he never returned.

In 1879, a horse fell with my father, John, and injured him badly. Unable to ride as a cowboy should from that time, he returned to the old home in Arkansas to farm. The year 1882 was known in Arkansas as the dry year. Crops failed, so he did the only thing he knew to do. He saddled his horse and went to the Chickasaw Nation, and worked on a ranch west of Pauls Valley (Choteau Ranch). Soon he heard about many settlers moving into the southern part of the Chickasaw Nation to lease the land from the Indians for farming and cattle raising. John went to the settlement at Jintown, met and married Emma Wilson. The young couple soon leased some land near Elk, now Poolville, in the northwest part of Carter County, Oklahoma, then in Pickens County of the Chickasaw Nation. On this lease on Tar Creek in a log cabin, I was born in 1892. This Community was known as the "Roundup" because it was on the edge of "Roundup Prairie." The settlers soon erected a log cabin church. About this time, father was ordained as a minister in the Baptist Church, and the first church services I ever attended were in the little log cabin church.

Since ministers were few at that time, John Quillin's services were in demand. He married most of the young folks and buried the older ones as occasion demanded, mostly "for free." Maybe some happy bridegroom would give him fifty cents or a dollar if he felt very prosperous.

There was very little law in the Chickasaw Nation at this time. A Federal Court had been established at Ardmore, and a U. S. Marshal would come through the country once or twice a year and scare some of the worst people out. Maybe he would arrest somebody once in a while. There were no taxes except revenue taxes such as that on tobacco. The average settler paid maybe one dollar in indirect taxes a year.

Through the influence of John Quillen and a few other reliable men in the community of Roundup, a court of arbitration was organized. When trouble was brewing between men (or families) over some wrong, real or imaginary, friends would go to each one and ask him to choose some friend to represent him, and allow the other to do the same. All met at a stated place (such as the little creek back of John Quillin's place), and made an effort to settle the trouble without resorting to violence. The

only requirement was for both parties to come unarmed. Lots of trouble was averted by this method. And a cheap court it was, no cost in actual money to anybody.

This court had no authority. Father was what you might call a moderator at the arbitrations to see that everything was carried on in order. It seemed that there was always somebody at our place to consult with him about something. Some of the lawyers at Ardmore told him that if he should start practicing law, he would have more practice than any of them.

The year 1898-99, John Quillen was Master of the Masonic Lodge in Graham. One day he went to Graham (present Carter County) on Masonic business. In about two hours a friend from Graham drove up in a farm wagon, saying that he had come for us. He told us that when father started to dismount, his horse had thrown him and he was hurt. He came home in about a week but it was thirty days before he was able to work. We children were all too young and small to do much work. Early one morning, about breakfast time, a neighbor and his wife drove up, unhitched the team, unloaded some farming tools and a basket of food, and in thirty minutes there were twenty-six farmers, with teams, farming tools and baskets of food. In one day, everything was done on the farm that needed to be done. Those settlers had no money but they knew how to be friends and neighbors.

The settlers in our community were mostly from Texas and Arkansas. The leases usually expired in about four years. At that time the country belonged to the Chickasaw Nation, and all improvements (houses, fences, etc.) on a land tract were owned by an Indian citizen or a Negro Freedman. Usually the leases were claimed by several Indians and maybe a Freedman or two, and many of the settlers refused to move or pay rent to anybody. They continued living on the place until final allotment of all Chickasaw lands in 1902.

Our lease expired in 1900 and three Indians and one Freedman claimed the place we lived on. John Quillen had come to Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma Territory, in the summer of 1900 and rented some land. We children were all excited about getting to move to a new place, in covered wagons.

The latter part of November, 1900, we were all ready to move, three covered wagons all loaded. We were spending our last night in the old home. About midnight, Father heard a noise beyond our yard gate. Going out to investigate, he found four men camped near by, all armed. One of them was a claimant to the place. They told us they were sorry but when we moved out they were moving in. Father told them that some of the other claimants might have the same idea and that we were

leaving that night because there could be trouble, and he did not want to be a witness. We spent the remainder of the night with neighbors, and left the Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory the next morning in three covered wagons for Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma Territory. After three days on the road we arrived at our new home on the Toupaine place.

Father, John Owen Quillin, died on the 15th of March, 1901, and is buried in the Old Avoca Cemetery, by the old California Trail. Such men are a part of our heritage of the Old West and of Oklahoma chronicles.

MENNONITE MISSIONS AMONG THE OKLAHOMA INDIANS

*By Edmund G. Kaufman**

The General Conference Mennonite Church has always been interested in missions.¹ In fact, this, along with education and publication, was one of the reasons for the organization of the Conference in 1860. The Dutch Mennonite mission work, carried on in Java and Sumatra since 1951, had long been of great interest to some Mennonites in America. Early the General Conference established mission treasures to receive and transmit funds for those missionary efforts.

BEGINNINGS

In 1871 a promising young man, Samuel S. Haury, graduated from the Mennonite Seminary at Wadsworth, Ohio. Because of the general interest in the Java and Sumatra work, he applied for service there under the Mennonite Mission Society of Amsterdam, Holland. This greatly increased the mission interest among General Conference Mennonites in America and helped bring about the setting up of their own Mission board in 1872. They at once contacted young Haury asking him to become their mission worker and withdraw his application from the Dutch Mennonite board. After much urging Haury agreed to do this. He continued his education in Germany, supported by the General Conference until 1875, when he was officially ordained as their first missionary.

After his ordination, Haury was asked to visit Mennonite churches of North America to stimulate interest in the missionary program. At the same time he was to look for a possible mission field among the Indians and elsewhere. He did this, visiting the tribes of the Osages, Pawnees, Sac, and Fox.

In 1877 Haury visited the Cheyenne tribe which had recently been transferred from the North to Indian Territory. He stayed with them two months, visiting and studying them.

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¹ For a more detailed discussion see: Ed. G. Kaufman, *The Mennonite Missionary Interest* (Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Indiana, 1931). On work among Oklahoma Indians, see especially pp. 103-108, 135-151.

It was during this time that he made some contact with the Arapahoes and upon his return he reported to the Board:²

Next spring, perhaps in April, God willing, I shall again return to the Indians there to settle among the Arapahoes. First . . . erect a small building . . . then endeavor to learn the language. . . . By fall of 1878 the Lord will show us how to carry the work further . . . (The reasons for selecting the Arapahoes) are thus: more preliminary work has been done among the Arapahoes; they seem more willing to receive a missionary . . . The Indian agent here has advised me to begin my work with the Arapahoes. But above all, I feel myself drawn more to this tribe.

However, due to serious eye trouble, it was impossible for Haury to return to the Arapahoes until September, 1878, and he found that during the delay the Quakers had started work there. So for the time being this field seemed out of the question. This, again, was a disappointment to the Mennonite churches. The next two years Haury spent touring extensively in Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, looking for a possible opening there.

Upon his return from the Alaska tour, Haury received a letter from the Indian Agent Miles (a Quaker) stationed at Darlington, Oklahoma, which stated that his denomination planned to work only among the Cheyennes, leaving the Arapahoes open to the Mennonites if they wished to begin work there. In April, 1880, three Board members made a tour of investigation and it was decided to begin work immediately.

WITH THE ARAPAHO INDIANS (1880)

On May 18, 1880, Haury and his wife left Halstead, Kansas, for Darlington, Oklahoma. There they stayed with Mr. Miles and his wife until they could get settled in an empty government house.

The news of this work was gladly received by the General Conference Mennonite churches. After twenty years of organization for a mission purpose, mission work was at last a reality. Old Daniel Krehbiel, a leader in the Conference, had this to say about beginning work among the Indians:³

My heart is so full of joy it can find no adequate words to express the innermost feelings. As a river hurls itself against an unbreakable dam, so my emotions in vain seek to express themselves in words. Yes, the everlasting true and all-governing God and Father has at last brought it to pass that the banner of the Cross shall also be erected by Mennonites among the Indians who are so often unjustly dealt with

After the expectation and rejoicing over the beginning of the work among the Arapaho Indians, the enthusiasm of the

² Quoted by H. P. Krehbiel, *History of the Mennonite General Conference*, pp. 238ff.

³ *Bundesbote Kalender*, 1891, p. 21; translated by Krehbiel, *op. cit*



(Bethel College Collection)
Stockade log building at the old U.S. military post Cantonment on the North Canadian
used in the first years of the Arapaho Mission School under the auspices of the Mennonite
Church, in 1880's, Indian Territory.

Conference as well as of the first missionaries was soon to be tested by many difficulties.

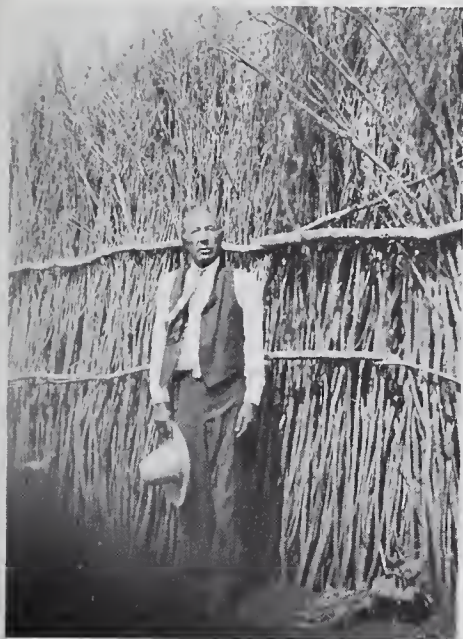
Building operations were begun. A number of volunteers helped to erect the necessary buildings for a school. The large structure, at a cost of about \$4,000, was completed and the school had a promising beginning. However, on February 19, 1882, fire broke out, destroyed the building and four small children, one of them Haury's infant son, Carl. This horrifying experience served as a stimulus to renewed activity. Women of the churches gathered clothing and other materials which were rushed to the missionaries, some of whom had lost everything.

At a special session of the Board in March, the decision to rebuild at once was made. The new building was to be of brick and cost about \$4,500. The Board appealed to the churches for funds and within a few months the Board had a total of \$5,000. By fall of the same year a new and larger building, which housed and cared for fifty children, was completed and ready for use.

During the construction of this building, Agent Miles called attention to the fact that Fort Cantonment, sixty miles northwest of Darlington, would be abandoned by the government and that the vacated buildings could be used free of charge by the Mission. Because of financial difficulties the Board hesitated, but when through Miles' request the government appropriated \$5,000 toward the new building at Darlington, reserving government ownership in it to that extent, the Board decided to start work at Cantonment also. In December, 1882, the Government transferred all of its buildings, except one, at Cantonment to the Mission. This friendliness on the part of the Government further encouraged the congregations in the new undertaking. By Christmas, 1882, there were a total of fourteen workers on the field. The Haurys were transferred to Cantonment and the Reverend and Mrs. H. R. Voth were sent by the Board to carry on the work at Darlington. In the fall of 1883 schools were open at both stations with an enrollment of 28 at Darlington and 23 at Cantonment.

Besides education other phases of activity among the Arapahoes were carried on. A hospital for Indians was arranged at Cantonment under the supervision of A. E. Funk. Haury was also interested in colonizing the Indians and teaching them cattle raising. In 1888, the first convert was baptized. New stations at Shelly and Red Hills (present Geary) were opened.

In 1892, the Government ordered that the Indians should hold their land in severality, a quarter section being allotted to each man, woman, and child, and the rest thrown open to white homesteaders. The readjustment meant considerable confusion.



Guy Heap-of-Birds of the
Cheyenne Mission, Clinton



Kias of the Cheyenne
Mission, Clinton.



Cheyenne Mission of the Mennonite Church at Clinton, Oklahoma Territory, established 1894, church erected 1898. Photos from Bethel College Collection.

The Indians had to become more settled. The impact of the white civilization was felt more and more due to the nearness of the white man from now on. What was known as the "Messiah Craze" accompanied with swooning and visions, developed among the Indians. This fostered the expectation that the coming Messiah would drive out all the whites and again restore the Indian to his glory and right. In 1893, the new school building erected two years previously at Cantonment also burned to the ground. This being the year of the "panic" it was only with much sacrifice that another \$5,000 building was erected here.

In 1896, due to the Indians' moving away and the new requirement that all children of school age in the United States attend government schools, the Darlington station was abandoned. Gradually the Arapahoes from both Darlington and Cantonment centered around Canton, a railroad town seven miles from Cantonment. The Mission followed the Indians, and today the only Arapahoe station is at Canton where Ralph Littleraven is the Indian pastor. At present there are no missionaries officially stationed on this field, but August and Esther Schmidt, who were there previously, help with Sunday morning services.

WITH THE CHEYENNES (1884)

Shortly before the Mennonites began work among the Arapahoes some Cheyennes were transferred to Oklahoma territory where they were kept under strict supervision. This made them rebellious and bitter against everything originating with the white man. When the Mennonites began their work with the Arapahoes at Cantonment, the Friends were doing work at the same place among the Cheyennes. In 1884 the Friends transferred their work among this tribe to the Mennonites. In following years some Cheyenne children attended the Mennonite mission school along with Arapahoe children.

In 1894, a Chapel for Cheyennes was built in Cantonment. In 1897, one member of the tribe was baptized and the following year a congregation was organized with five Christians. In 1894, a new station was opened at Haoenaom (now Clinton) with M. M. Horsch in charge. In 1898 a third station, with H. J. Kliewer in charge, was established at Hammon. In 1907 work at Fonda was begun.

The Cheyennes often talked to the missionaries about their brethren in the North. Hence the missionaries visited the Cheyennes in Montana. Since the language was the same, it was decided to begin work there also. In 1904 G. A. Linscheid and wife, and later Rev. and Mrs. Petter transferred from Oklahoma to Montana. In 1893 Rev. and Mrs. H. R. Voth transferred to the Hopi Indians in Arizona.⁴

⁴ For more details see Kaufman, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

VARIOUS PHASES OF WORK

In the beginning of the work among the Indians much stress was put on education. For many years, the schools at both Darlington and Cantonment had as many students as they could accommodate. In 1882, a new venture in education was begun. This plan involved placing Indian youths in Mennonite homes in Kansas where they were well cared for and attended school, as well as receiving first-hand farm experience and training at the same time. In 1885, an industrial Indian school was arranged for in connection with the Mennonite Seminary at Halstead, Kansas. The purpose was to give the Indian students an industrial and Christian training where they could not get in touch so easily with the rest of their people whose influence was thought to be detrimental.

Two years later, the industrial school was moved to the Christian Krehbiel farm, one mile southeast of Halstead. Here the school was conducted on a large family basis, the boys helping with the outside chores, the girls doing the housework. During the winter they received more formal training by a teacher hired for that particular purpose.

The Board felt that this method of educating the Indians for future leadership in their native churches would be very effective. However, in 1896, the government withdrew its support from all privately sponsored schools and set up government schools in which to educate the Indians. Since then, the teaching area of missions has been restricted to teaching religion in government schools and released-time classes.

Until 1887 most of the work among the Indians was with the children, when the Board decided that more emphasis should be put on work with adults. The resolution on this matter reads thus:⁵

The Board is decidedly of the opinion that in the future we should not confine ourselves to the training of children only but that our workers realize it as their first duty to labor for the saving of souls of the grown people. The training of children should also receive due attention and should not be discontinued. But it is an illusion to expect that without labor upon the parents, these are to be won for Christ, through the children.

As early as 1883, definite work with adults was undertaken in that it was planned to establish an Indian colony in Cantonment by settling as many Indian families there as could be induced to do so. Besides spiritual work, industrial training was also to be emphasized. Money was appropriated for the purchase of a herd of cattle in the interest of the Mission as the region was too dry for agriculture. This herd of cattle was not only to

⁵ Quoted by Krehbiel, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

help support the work but also to afford a means of training the Indians. This undertaking never grew to large proportions, and was later abandoned.

Two of the stations which were established with adult work especially in mind later developed into independent congregations composed of both whites and Indians—Shelly and Red Hills. The white members were recent Mennonite settlers after Oklahoma was opened to homesteaders. These mixed congregations further stimulated missionary interest in the Conference as they furnished an avenue for first-hand contact with the work.

Medical work among the Indians has never been very prominent. However, it was considered helpful for missionaries to have some knowledge of the care of the sick. The compassion shown in ministry of this kind has done much to win confidence. Professional medical work has never been necessary as the Indians have always had free medical care, and a hospital has usually been available on the reservation. Though elementary, the medical work that was done has been of much value to the cause of the mission and to the Indian people.

When in 1891, Rudolphe Petter and his wife arrived in Oklahoma to work with the Cheyennes, the pioneer work had already been done so he devoted himself more exclusively to language study. Before this the Cheyennes had no written language. Through his efforts they now have a complete translation of the Scriptures, a grammar, and a dictionary, as well as a few other books in their own language. This work with the Cheyenne language has made Dr. Petter internationally famous as a philologist. His works can be found in the leading libraries of the world. James Mooney in a Smithsonian publication of 1907 speaks of Dr. Petter as follows:⁶

The Rev. Rudolphe Petter, our best authority on the Cheyenne language, is a native of the same country which gave Gallatin and Gatchet to American philology. . . . By diligent application to the study of this most difficult language he soon learned to use it exclusively in his daily work and contact with the Indians. In addition to his scholarly training by which he is able to preach with almost equal fluency in French, German, English, and Cheyenne, it may safely be asserted that no other white man who ever came to the Cheyenne commanded more of their respect and affection.

The reflex influence of these efforts on the Mennonite church has been significant. It is estimated that approximately fifty persons have served in some capacity in the Mennonite mission among the Indians in Oklahoma. Many of these after some years there returned to serve the Mennonite Church as

⁶ Quoted, *Mennonite Year Book and Almanac*, 1927, pp. 35 ff. For a brief sketch of Rodolph Petter's life and work, see *Appendix* in this article.



(Bethel College Collection)

Mennonite Mission chapel and house, established
at Hammon, Oklahoma Territory, 1898.

teachers and other community leaders. Two became presidents of Mennonite colleges, namely: C. H. Wedel, former president of Bethel College, Newton, Kansas; and S. K. Mosiman, former president of Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

Mention should also be made that besides the General Conference Mennonite work, the Mennonite Brethren, another branch of the Mennonite church, in 1894 with Rev. H. Kohfeld in charge began work with the Comanche tribe in what is now Oklahoma. In 1909, a congregation of twelve members was organized which by 1919 had increased to fifty. Some of them, however, were Mexicans who lived in the neighborhood of the mission station at Indianahoma, Oklahoma. This work never grew to large proportions although it is still in existence.

At present General Conference Mennonites have seven active mission stations among the Indians in Oklahoma: one among the Arapahoes (Canton) and six among the Cheyennes: Clinton, Fonda, Hammon, Longdale, Thomas, and Seiling. Besides these, Sunday morning services are conducted at Concho, and religious instruction is given in the Concho government school.

Since the beginning of the work in 1880 until 1957, over 1,000 persons were added to the church. At present, approximately 500 Indians are church members.⁷

The emphasis in the work carried on has been largely evangelistic. Each station has its own church where it meets every Sunday for Sunday School and worship service. In some places the worship service is still conducted in the native tongue but more and more the Indians are moving away from their own languages to speak only English. In some stations where it is possible to do so, courses in Bible and religious instruction are held in the government schools. Almost every station has its Daily Vacation Bible School sessions in summer. Weekly prayer meetings are held regularly. Audio-visual materials, such as films and slides, are used wherever possible. On some mission stations, an annual week of evangelistic services is held with some other person than the mission workers as the speaker.

In 1958 twenty-one persons were received by baptism into the church at Canton. Summer Bible schools were well attended, and jail and hospital visitation were an important part of the work. In 1949, the first Mennonite Indian Young People's Retreat was held at Longdale; in 1958, fifty-eight young people attended the retreat held at the Roman Nose State Park.

⁷ "Missions at Home Among Indian Americans," *The Christian Mission of the General Conference Mennonite Church*, S. F. Pannabecker, Editor (Faith and Life Press, Newton, Kansas, 1962), p. 24.

In 1950, a new church building was erected for the Arapahoes at Canton; in 1951, a building was set up for the Cheyenne congregation at Clinton; in 1955 a new station was opened at Seiling; and in 1958 the new building for the Cheyennes at Hammon was dedicated.

Movement toward an indigenous church is making progress but it is difficult. The Indians, after generations of support by the government have developed a lack of initiative and responsibility. Some have joined the church for what they could get out of it. The Indians have only limited resources with which to finance the work so they are inclined to rely on missions for this. Despite these factors, however, progress is being made toward the establishment of an independent Indian church. The hope and goal is that in the not too distant future most of the work of teachers and preachers can be delegated to the Indians. At Clinton, Ralph Littleraven is pastor, at Clinton and Thomas, Guy and John Heap-of-Birds serve the pastorates, and the Indian pastor at Hammon is Homer Hart.

The Mennonite missionary efforts among the Indians in Oklahoma have been more than worthwhile. The results go beyond statistics. There have been periods of discouragement, but there is also the satisfaction of seeing congregations come into being and individuals develop into Christian and creative personalities of joy and usefulness.

APPENDIX

RODOLPH PETTER: MISSIONARY AND LINGUIST

One of the rare, valuable volumes in the Library collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society is the *English-Cheyenne Dictionary* by the Reverend Rodolph Petter, Missionary to the Cheyenne Indians, who began his work at Cantonment, Oklahoma, in 1891. The book was published entirely in the interest of the Mennonite Mission among the Cheyenne Indians of Oklahoma and Montana, at Kettle Falls, Washington, in September, 1913, to July, 1915. The author's "Introduction" giving some of the history and the problems in producing this scholarly volume states in part:

"The present book is the result of twenty-four years of labor. Excepting almost three years, all of this time was spent among the Cheyenne Indians in Oklahoma. When I first came to this people only a very few understood English. I soon saw that to reach the Indian's heart a thoru [sic] command of their heretofore unwritten language was the sine qua non of our mission work. By living in close contact with the Cheyenne I had a rare opportunity to listen to them and become thoruly acquainted with their ways of thinking. In course of time, a great amount of linguistic material was collected and the whole classified and systemitized in lexical and gramatical form.

"This Dictionary is the first of its kind in print and is not without mistakes and imperfections. The printing was not done by a printer but in our home. This will account for the typographical errors and the sometimes artibtrary dividing of the words at the end of a line.—

In early editions of the Bible, Psalm 119:161 was made to read: 'Printers have persecuted me without cause' instead of 'Princes'! In an other edition of the Bible (1832) the word 'not' was omitted from the seventh commandment! In the Oxford edition (717) of the same book the heading of Luke 20 reads: 'Parable of the Vineager' instead of 'Vineyard'! Such blunders do not excuse ours but they comfort us to some extent.—The printing was done by my son on the Multigraph; The Oliver Printype (from page 311 on) was not available for the first part of the book.

"The working out of this Dictionary was done almost page for page ahead of its printing, leaving no time for uniform correction and review 'd'ensemble.' In spite of the limited time, experience and means for its printing, the present book offers to students of the Cheyenne a linguistic material which would be very hard and to some extent impossible to gather at the present time.

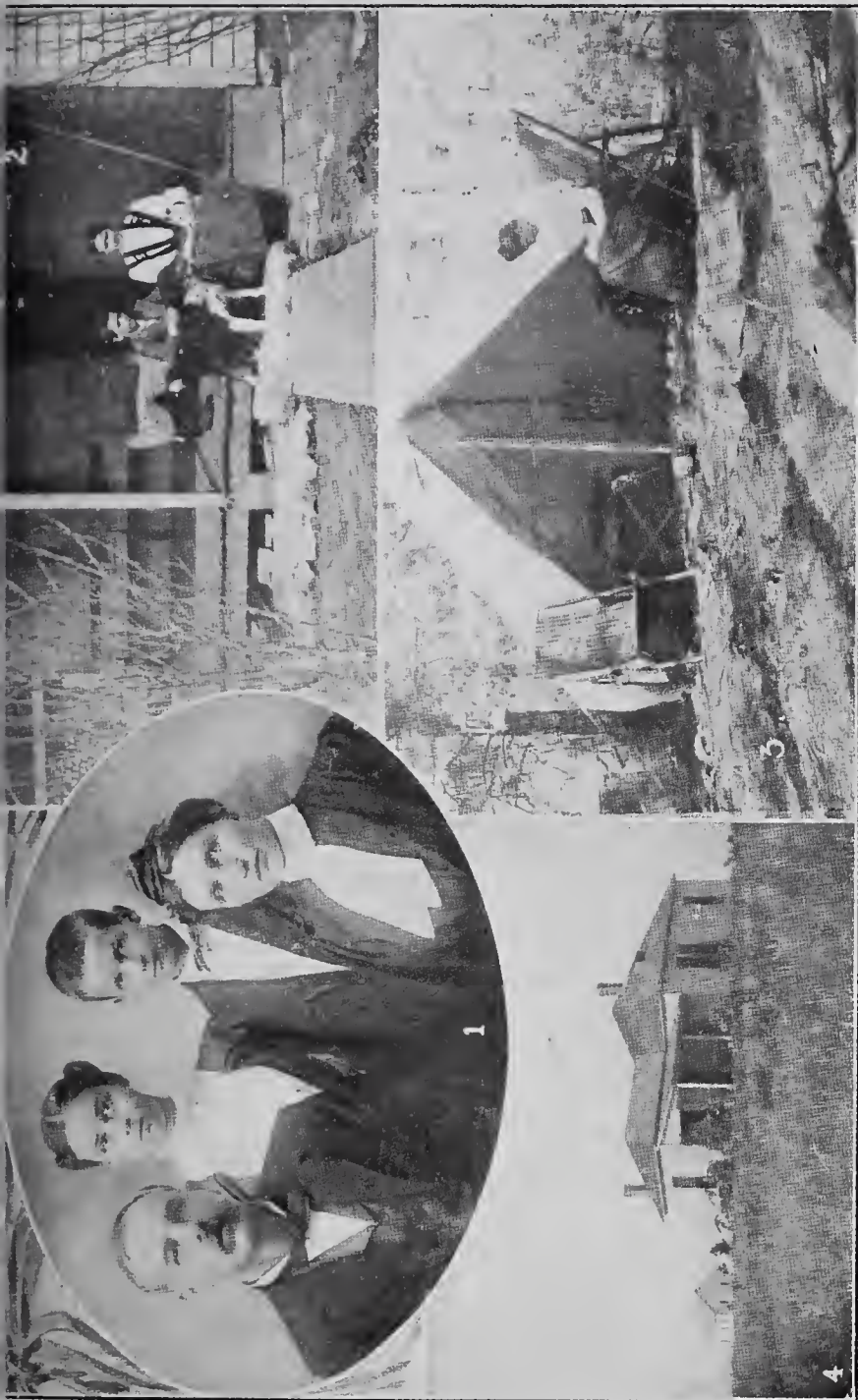
"The English had to be adapted to give as close a literal meaning of the Cheyenne as possible. Thus the second person in Cheyenne in order to avoid confusion with the plural form of the same person.

"The Cheyenne nouns, for the most part, are verbal substantives. . . . Therefore many verbal substantives are not given in this Dictionary; they being only a form of the verb easily constructed.

"New words or expressions coined recently by the younger generation are not recorded in this book, for they reason that most of them are still in the embryo state and very unsettled. I have endeavored to give the correct terms and not what young school boys and girls have coined of late under the influence of the English language."

The *English-Cheyenne Dictionary* has 1,126 pages, size 8 x 12 inches. The English form of the word is followed by the Cheyenne and a number of combinations of the word with others, giving related meanings, in many instances with additional notes on the origin of the words as well as notes on tribal customs, social usages and traditions learned firsthand by Dr. Petter from Cheyenne informants. Some words listed with their different forms and meanings and additional notes cover as much as a page and a half of text.

For example, to illustrate that the *Dictionary* is more than a listing of the English word with its corresponding term in the native language, is the name *Cheyenne* followed by the Cheyenne "Zezestasso" and many combinations of the latter to form other names and words such as "ezesenisz" meaning "he who speaks Cheyenne." Also, the real origin of the name *Cheyenne* is shown to be from the Sioux "Shahi-yena" (or "Shai-ena" or "Shaiela") meaning "people of alien speech," referring to James Mooney's interpretation of this term. Then come a number of origin myths and legends told Dr. Petter by some of the old tribesmen, one stating that the Cheyenne migrated from a distant country in the North; another, that this land was discovered by a man "borne on an eagle's back across a wide body of water, the flight taking four or five days." One intelligent old Cheyenne woman told a story of her own grandmother who knew songs "praising the olden times when they lived on fishes and fowls and did not have to eat 'this nauseating buffalo meat.'" Another story tells about the "great magicians" who lived in mounds or stone habitations "which were beautiful inside, with lions and bears watching the entrance." There are also references given to other works on the Cheyenne Indians that make this one term *Cheyenne* given in Dr. Petter's *Dictionary* a valuable source for any study of the ethno-history of the tribe.



(Barbara Bailey Collection)

Missionary Rodolph Petter and family arrived Cantonment, Oklahoma Territory, 1891, upper left picture; son and daughter, Olga and Valdo Petter, upper right; Petter home and Cantonment chapel, lower left; Mrs. Petter in camp, Kettle Falls, Washington, 1909.

In his "Preface" to his translation of the New Testament in Cheyenne, Dr. Petter writing from Lame Dear, Montana, June 30, 1934, speaks of the problems involved in the work of translation, and states in part:

"The Cheyenne New Testament, translated and printed for the first time in its entirety, is the consummation of forty years of mission work among the Cheyenne Indians of Oklahoma and Montana, making possible an accurate translation of the New Covenant of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. . . .

"The Cheyenne of Oklahoma and Montana speaks the same language but with some dialectic difference; the Montana part of the tribe being prone to contract vowels by aphaeresis, syncopation and apocopation, even of consonants. . . .

"The Cheyenne who gave valuable linguistic and other information, helping towards the translation of God's Word into their language are, Harvey Whiteshield and Robert Sandhill of Oklahoma. Here in Montana, Chief Standingelk, Frank Littlewolf, Ernest King, Milton Whiteman, Anna Wolfname and Susie Woundedeyes. . . ."

The Reverend Rodolphe Petter was a native of Vevey on Lake Geneva, Switzerland, and completed his studies at Basel University. He visited the Jura Mountain Mennonites, and here knew Samuel Gerber, whose sister, Marie, he married. After visiting the Mennonite congregations in France, he joined this church, and was later appointed as missionary to the Indians by the General Conference of Mennonites in America. Mr. and Mrs. Petter came to New York in 1890, and spent a year at Oberlin College in Ohio. They began their work at Cantonment, Oklahoma, in 1891. Marie Gerber Petter died in Oklahoma in 1910, after a long illness. In 1916, after his marriage to Bertha Kinsinger, a missionary teacher to the Cheyennes, Mr. and Mrs. Petter moved to Lame Dear, Montana, and continued his work until his death on January 6, 1947. The story of this pioneer missionary to the Cheyenne in *The Mennonite* for June 14, 1960, pays him this tribute: "Missionary Petter was a devoted Christian, a student of the word of God, a great missionary, a scholar, an outstanding linguist and ethnologist. . . . During his fifty-four years of missionary service, Petter enjoyed an intimacy with the Cheyennes such as few white men have known."—Editor (M.H.W.)

THE SAPULPA AND BRISTOW
COUNTY SEAT CONTEST

By Pauline P. Jackson

Oklahoma and Indian territories progressed slowly toward statehood with the work of the Dawes Commission, in closing the governments of the Five Civilized Tribes. The Act of Congress of March 3, 1893, provided that the commission should negotiate with the Five Civilized Tribes to extinguish the tribal title to their lands. Its work was not completed until June 30, 1905. Meantime the Curtis Act of June 28, 1898, had provided for incorporation of towns whose governments were to be in the hands of both the Indians and the whites.¹

Citizens of Sapulpa were more fully conscious of the progress being made toward statehood after Sapulpa was made a court town of the Western Judicial District of Indian Territory.² O. M. Irelan, as the first deputy clerk of that court, went to Muskogee to get the court seal in September, 1902, and local boosters raised a fund of \$1,000 to be given to the builders of a suitable structure for a courthouse. J. O. Hereford and John Egan contracted to build a two-story brick building, starting work on it in October, 1902, and completing it in the early part of 1903. The lower floor became the court and offices, and the upper floor was furnished as an auditorium and named the Lucile Opera House in honor of Egan's daughter.³

The people of Indian Territory realized the importance of their towns being designated court towns even before statehood or before county lines were drawn by a constitutional convention. Years later, in retelling the story of the county seat fight in Creek County, the *Bristow Record* stated: "When the Indian country was divided up in recording districts, the first fight was made, and delegates were sent to Washington to lobby to get

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¹ Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-297.

² *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXXII, Part II, p. 275 (1902): Roy Gittinger, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

³ "An Early History of Sapulpa," compiled by the students of the Sapulpa Junior College, 1937, *DAR Scrapbook*; "Landmark Building of Early Era Here Is Being Torn Down," clipping dated August 20, 1935, *Harmony Scrapbook*. The first federal judge was Sam P. Jennings; the second was Judge C. L. Leeds; and the Judge Louis Sulzbacker who was on the Sapulpa bench to statehood was the third.

Bristow made a court town, but Bristow lost out, and it was only able to get an occasional commissioner's court."⁴

The newly created courts of the Western Judicial District of Indian Territory helped to solve the problems of law enforcement and appeal in both civil and criminal cases. But still petitions for elections to vote bonds and the approval of land leases for surface or mineral rights had to be handled by the Department of the Interior in Washington.

E. A. Hitchcock, who was the Secretary of the Interior at this time (1900-1905), was often the target of editorial barbs in Indian Territory newspapers. And Charles R. Stewart of South McAlester, speaking at Indian Territory exercises in October, 1904, criticized the Secretary of the Interior and claimed that Hitchcock had been in Indian Territory only forty-eight hours in the four years he had held office. Stewart said this in making a plea for statehood, pointing out that the coming election would leave 700,000 Americans disfranchised and unable to voice their disapproval.⁵ Although many of the citizens of Indian Territory understood the need for statehood, they were divided in their opinions as to the question of single statehood, in which case Oklahoma and Indian Territories would be combined as one state; or double statehood, in which they would be admitted as two separate states.

W. C. Rogers, chief of the Cherokees, called a meeting of the Five Civilized Tribes and the Osages for October 24, 1904. As a result of the meeting, these tribes petitioned the National Government for necessary local government, to be effective when tribal governments would cease in March, 1906. They also sent a delegation to Washington to lobby for double statehood.⁶

On November 21, 1904, the Republican newspaper editors of the two territories met in Guthrie. They passed a resolution for a single statehood and urged the passage of the Hamilton Bill.⁷ When the Democratic editors met in Tulsa in December, 1904, it became known that they too were in favor of the Hamilton Bill.⁸

But the news from Congress was not encouraging. J. J. Jones, a Sapulpa lobbyist and secretary of the Commercial Club, wired the Sapulpa *Light*, "Statehood lost unless Flynn (Dennis

⁴ Bristow *Record*, June 28, 1912. An excellent chronological review of the county seat contest.

⁵ Tulsa *Daily Democrat*, October 3, 1904.

⁶ Sapulpa *Light*, October 21, 1904.

⁷ *Ibid.*, November 25, 1904.

⁸ Tulsa *Daily Democrat*, December 5, 1904. The Hamilton Bill was the one bill of many introduced which finally after many revisions and amendments became the Enabling Act for Oklahoma. Its author was Congressman Edward LaRue Hamilton of Michigan.

T. Flynn, Oklahoma Territory delegate to Congress) can save us."⁹ The news of the defeat of the Hamilton Statehood Bill came. Jones wired again praising all the territorial delegates for their efforts and blaming the federal territorial officeholders for their lack of support. Statehood seemed to be a dead issue to Jones, who felt that ignorance on the part of national representatives of the needs of the citizens of Oklahoma and Indian Territory led Congress to vote down the Hamilton Bill.¹⁰

In April a single-statehood mass meeting was scheduled to be held in Oklahoma City on July 12, 1905. One thousand delegates with several brass bands attended that meeting.¹¹ There were speeches galore. Honored guests included Congressman Edward LaRue Hamilton of Michigan, General John W. Noble of St. Louis, Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, and Congressman Victor Murdock and William A. Calderhead of Kansas.¹²

Robert L. Owen of Muskogee on July 5, 1905, announced a meeting for the double statehood group to be held August 21, 1905, in Muskogee. He commented that the single statehood movement had worked for six years and had gotten nowhere.¹³ In Sapulpa, a committee met to recommend and agree on delegates to the Muskogee convention. Actually the delegates to this convention were, in some cases, the same ones who attended the single statehood meeting of the previous month. The chairman stated that the issue was really statehood at any cost."¹⁴

The separate statehood convention met, appointed committees, and drew up a constitution for the proposed state of Sequoyah. Indians and whites, together, in a very short time produced an excellent plan of government. It was submitted to Congress after approval by the voters of Indian Territory, but was pigeonholed immediately. Congress and the President had made up their minds for a single state. But the activities of the

⁹ Sapulpa *Light*, February 10, 1905.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, March 10, 1905.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, July 14, 1905. The previous Saturday (July 8, 1905) the delegates from Sapulpa were elected: J. J. Jones, H. M. Watchorn, Joe Bruner, J. M. Weeks, Ira C. Perkins, and J. M. McAllister. The alternate delegates were Mat DeLozier, L. B. Jackson, E. B. Hughes, J. J. Mars, L. C. Sheriff, and A. B. Brady. Sapulpa was allowed six delegates; Tulsa, seven; Mounds, three; and Bristow, four. C. S. Walker, Tulsa, was chairman and A. J. Brixley, Mounds, was secretary of the delegation.

¹² *Ibid.*, June 30, 1905. The honored guests were listed in an earlier dispatch (April 7, 1905).

¹³ *Ibid.*, April 7, 1905.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, August 11, 1905. The committee was composed of F. L. Mars, chairman; J. M. Weeks, secretary; and members D. A. McDougal, a Dr. Taylor of Mounds, and F. R. Brennan of Bixby. They chose as delegates Harry Campbell, William A. Sapulpa and Joe Bruner of Sapulpa; F. R. Brennan of Bixby; Noah Gregory of Jenks; Joseph Davis of Mounds; and W. W. Holder of Kellyville.

Sequoyah Convention prepared its members to be the leaders of the coming constitutional convention and almost entirely the writers of the Oklahoma Constitution in the following year.¹⁵

Two very definite similarities between the Sequoyah Constitution and the Oklahoma Constitution were the official state seal and the county boundaries in Indian Territory.¹⁶ Charles N. Haskell and William A. Murray were on the county boundaries committee of the Sequoyah Convention, and Haskell was chairman of the county boundaries committee and Murray president of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention. In the case of Sapulpa's county situation, under the Sequoyah Constitution, her county would have been called Euchee, with Tulsa in its northeast corner. Bristow would have been in Tulladega County. And Article XII, section 8, of the Sequoyah Constitution further provided that the county seat of each county would be decided on the basis of votes cast for this town at the election held for ratification of the constitution by the electors of each county.¹⁷

If the state of Sequoyah had become a reality, the county seat fight probably would have been between Tulsa and Sapulpa, with about the same arguments offered by each city as later developed between Sapulpa and Bristow. Tulsa would have been the larger city by population, but Sapulpa would have been the more centrally located of the two towns in Sequoyah's Euchee County.

On November 7, 1905, the citizens of Indian Territory held an election to determine whether they should adopt the Sequoyah Constitution. In Sapulpa, the voting place was Joseph Bruner's office. Bruner and J. J. Jones were the judges and B. L. Baldwin and E. L. Drake were the clerks. But few people voted and the *Light* published the discouraging headline: "Sequoyah Movement Lost." The vote was light everywhere, particularly in the rural areas where the country people seemed uncertain about where to vote. No votes were cast in Bristow, according to the *Light*. But the votes which were cast elsewhere showed a strong sentiment for the constitution. In fact, in the election to adopt the Oklahoma Constitution only half as many affirmative votes were cast in Indian Territory, which may indicate the disappointment of its citizens in the defeat of double statehood.¹⁸

The Sequoyah Constitution was ratified and a bill for ad-

¹⁵ Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-308.

¹⁶ Amos Maxwell, "The Sequoyah Convention," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXVI (Autumn, 1950), pp. 229-340.

¹⁷ *Constitution of the State of Sequoyah* (Muskogee, I. T.; Phoenix Printing Company, 1905).

¹⁸ Sapulpa *Light*, November 10, 1905; Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

mission was introduced in both houses of Congress. No action was taken on admission of this "state," so that was the end of the State of Sequoyah.¹⁹

Single statehood seemed to be the only practical approach since Congress refused to give the Sequoyah Constitution a hearing. Early 1906 saw renewed activity to revise the Hamilton Bill. The Sapulpa Commercial Club sent wires to other commercial clubs, such as those in Chicago, Kansas City, and Cincinnati, urging them to support the Oklahoma statehood cause by wiring their congressmen to approve it.²⁰ The people of Sapulpa, who had hoped and worked for statehood, were happy when by a unanimous vote Congress on June 15, 1906, passed the Enabling Act, which was signed by the President on June 16.²¹ Also their goal for Sapulpa as a county seat was brought nearer when on June 21, 1906, the Indian Appropriations Act was passed in a revised form, causing Sapulpa to lose five townships but making court towns of both Tulsa and Sapulpa.²² This Act stated that the new recording districts added by it were in addition to the ones made recording districts by the Act of Congress, February 19, 1903.²³ It is interesting to note that all thirty towns named as court towns in the recording districts later became county seats with exception of one. Ryan in Jefferson County lost a county seat election to Waurika.²⁴

The Enabling Act provided for federal judges, senior in service, and certain other officials to frame the districts from which delegates would be elected to the constitutional convention. There were to be fifty-five such districts in each territory and two from the Osage Nation, totaling one hundred and twelve in all. Justice W. H. H. Clayton, Judge Joseph Gill, and Tams Bixby of Muskogee became the District Canvassing Committee for Indian Territory.²⁵

Sapulpa and Bristow were included in District Number Sixty-seven with twenty-three townships. The district did not include Mounds, Beggs or Bixby, as Sapulpa had hoped it would. However, Sapulpa did not agree with Bristow citizens who felt the lines should have been drawn to favor Bristow. Sapulpa citizens pointed out that the district's strength as apportioned

¹⁹ Gittinger, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 307; *Sapulpa Light*, March 16, 1906.

²¹ Edward Everett Dale and Jesse Lee Rader, *Readings in Oklahoma History* (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Co., 1930), pp. 707-722; *Sapulpa Light*, June 15, 1906.

²² *Sapulpa Light*, June 29, 1906; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXXIV, Part 1, p. 343 (1906).

²³ *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXXII, Part I, pp. 842-843 (1903).

²⁴ *Lexington Leader*, July 10, 1908; *Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman*, February 27, 1912.

²⁵ Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

by these boundaries, including the great oil fields, would be a help in any county tax situation. Judge Clayton said the districting would not suit everybody, but time would prove its merits. He also commented that the small town lobbyists had caused the committee considerable difficulty because they wished their respective towns to be favored for the county seat. He further suggested that all factional jealousies be set aside in the election of delegates and that men who were above party and for the state alone be sent to the convention.²⁶

On August 21, 1906, Honorable Frank Frantz, Governor of Oklahoma Territory, and Honorable W. H. H. Clayton, Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for Indian Territory, issued a proclamation calling for an election of delegates by both parties to be held on November 6, 1906, and these delegates were then to assemble at Guthrie on November 20, 1906, for the Constitutional Convention.²⁷

The political parties began meeting to nominate their candidates. In Sapulpa the Democrats met under their temporary chairman, D. A. McDougal, to elect a permanent chairman and to prepare for the nominating convention. Bristow members on the committee brought about the election of J. A. Cheesman of Kellyville chairman, and caused Bristow to be named as the site of the district convention and of Bristow headquarters.²⁸

Sapulpa Democrats then began a campaign for their choice for the Democratic nominee as delegate to the constitutional convention, T. L. Ingram, vice-president of the local Farmers' Union. Bristow Democrats began boosting their candidate, W. W. Banks.

September 26, 1906, was chosen by the Democratic Party chairman, for the township primaries to elect delegates to the nominating convention at Bristow on October 1, 1906. Each of these delegates was committed to a candidate to represent the Sixty-seventh District at the Guthrie constitutional convention.²⁹ On the primary election day in one township, judges and clerks claimed there were irregularities. It was reported that two or three Republicans were voting for delegates favorable to Ingram. A new primary was called in this township; whereupon, two delegates were elected favorable to Banks of Bristow.³⁰

²⁶ Sapulpa *Light*, August 24, 1906; August 31, 1906.

²⁷ William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and a True History of Oklahoma*, II (Boston: Meador Publishing Company, (1945), p. 157.

²⁸ Sapulpa *Democrat*, September 6, 1906.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, October 4, 1906. This account of the primary election was retold at this later date as the beginning of the steam-roller tactics of the nominating convention.

The Democratic nominating convention convened in Bristow's Opera House. W. L. Cheatman called the meeting to order and asked for nominations for a chairman. The name of D. W. Tattershall was presented by the Bristow delegates, and D. A. McDougal was proposed by the Sapulpa delegates. A voice vote was taken and the chair ruled that Tattershall had been elected. A roll call vote was requested by the Sapulpa delegates, but the chair denied the request. Such "steam-roller" tactics became the pattern of the nominating convention.³¹

Delegates were next asked to show their credentials and make their nominations accordingly. There were a number of contested delegates from both Bristow and Sapulpa. In every instance concerning a Sapulpa contested delegate, the chair ruled such a contested delegate could not vote. On the other hand the votes of Bristow's contested delegates were counted. By noon the Convention was in an uproar and a recess was voted.

When the session was resumed L. B. Jackson gave the report of the minority delegates.^{31a} The report was voted down by a voice vote, according to the chairman. Again the appeal of the Sapulpa group for a roll call vote was denied. Even after a speech asking for fair procedures by Clarence Davis, an attorney of Bristow, the Sapulpa members of the Convention could not get the floor.³²

At this point Sapulpa citizens presented a resolution of protest and then bolted the convention.³³ On October 11, 1906, the Labor Convention selected Ingram as its candidate. The Democrats of Sapulpa who had bolted the Bristow meeting gave their support to Ingram³⁴

At the Sapulpa courthouse, the Republicans elected W. P. Root chairman, and Clyde Robinson secretary. Then J. J. Mars nominated J. H. N. Cobb, and he was duly selected as the Republican nominee. Soon every Republican coal lapel was sporting a corn cop badge to advertise his candidacy.³⁵ Cobb's speech of acceptance as nominee was severely criticized by the Demo-

³¹ *Bristow Record*, June 28, 1912. "Steam-roller" tactics was the term applied to the methods used by the chair, by the reporter who reviewed the county seat contest in 1912.

^{31a} See Necrology, Lewis Beal Jackson, by Robert L. Williams, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (Summer, 1946), pp. 240-41.

³² *Sapulpa Democrat*, October 4, 1906. Clarence Davis was burned in effigy near the depot for his support of the Sapulpa delegation.

³³ *Ibid.*; *Sapulpa Light*, October 5, 1906.

³⁴ *Sapulpa Democrat*, October 11, 1906. The Democrats of Sapulpa called themselves the "fair-deal" Democrats in opposition to the Bristow Democrats and their candidate Banks who they tagged "Banker Jones' man."

³⁵ *Ibid.*; *Sapulpa Light*, October 12, 1906.

crats, who said his election would mean a return to the same carpet-bagging crew, Hitchcock and all.³⁶

Tams Bixby, chairman of the District Canvassing Board, placed notices in all Territory papers saying that all certificates of nomination must be in his hands by October 16, 1906, and duplicates of these certificates were to be sent to the vice-chairman, Robert L. Owen. The vice-chairman called for contributions to the Democratic campaign funds.³⁷

Election day brought the three-cornered fight of the Sixty-seventh District to the polls. Although the Democrats polled a strong vote when their votes for both Banks and Ingram were totaled, Cobb won by eighty-seven votes because of the split in the Party. Republicans rejoiced because they felt a Sapulpa man would support the home cause of a county seat for Sapulpa.³⁸

Over the state, however, the Democrats won easily, and Vernon Whiting, secretary of the Republican central committee, conceded a Democrat victory. The Democrats would write the new State's constitution.³⁹

The Constitutional Convention convened at Guthrie ten days later on November 20, 1906. Citizens of Indian Territory were happy because her leaders held all offices in the convention except those of chaplain and secretary. William A. Murray was elected president, and Charles N. Haskell, floor leader of the Labor party, was the vice-president. William A. Durant was the sergeant-of-arms. The other two officers were John Young of Lawton, secretary, and the Reverend Frank Naylor of Pawnee, chaplain.⁴⁰

Progress of the Convention created wide interest and was reported fully by the newspapers. H. M. Watchorn and Dr. H. O. Lyford went to Guthrie later in November to lobby for Sapulpa's interests. They said that there were a lot of good Democrats "down there."⁴¹ But the most clever political move at the convention was made by a Republican, J. H. N. Cobb, delegate from the Sixty-seventh District, who served well the interests of his home city, Sapulpa. He, it was, who took the step necessary to make Sapulpa the temporary county seat.

Here is how he did it: The time when the convention must recess for Christmas was approaching, Haskell and Murray had worked three days and nights to "cut" counties before the recess.

³⁶ Sapulpa *Democrat*, October 11, 1906.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Sapulpa *Democrat*, November 8, 1906.

³⁹ Sapulpa *Democrat*, November 8, 1906.

⁴⁰ Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

⁴¹ Sapulpa *Democrat*, November 29, 1906.

Murray realized it would speed the work of the Constitutional Convention to get the delegates' vote on the entire map before they had to face their constituents. This move would put a stop to most of the bickering over county lines and county seats. If it were not settled, many delegates would face mass meetings which would demand a vote to defeat the map as prepared.

Murray put the vice-president in the chair while he moved about the convention floor. "I would look into the Delegate's eyes as he voted," Murray later related.⁴² But regardless of their president's watchful eye, only one lone Republican voted for the map. It was J. H. N. Cobb. Cobb's vote of "aye" made the necessary majority for passing the resolution to accept the map before the recess. Murray said Cobb was well aware the map showed Bristow as the County Seat, but his town, Sapulpa, from the time of his deciding vote, was designated the county seat.⁴³

On reconvening in January, 1907, however, the Convention found it had not settled the county seat questions entirely. In the case of Moman (Creek) County, the convention discovered the county seat had been incorrectly referred to the county boundary committee for settlement. Now, it was ruled, the committee of the whole was to settle the matter on the convention floor. Therefore, J. H. N. Cobb presented the reasons for Sapulpa's being the logical choice as the county seat.⁴⁴ Sapulpa won the county seat by the convention votes of 49 for Sapulpa to 29 for Bristow.⁴⁵ It was said that the labor group in the convention voted for Sapulpa. Only a petition for an election to determine the county seat, and this after ratification of the constitution, could change its location.⁴⁶

After several recesses, the convention concluded its work on July 16, 1907. Governor Frantz of Oklahoma Territory called an election for September 17, 1907. The people of both territories were to vote on the ratification of the Constitution and for county and state officials. In addition, on a separate ballot, the people were asked to settle the controversial question of prohibition.

⁴² Murray, *Memoirs*, II, pp. 24-26.

⁴³ *Ibid.* Murray does not explain how Sapulpa was made the temporary county seat instead of Bristow. Evidently, his membership on the county boundaries committee gave him power to make such changes (Sapulpa *Light*, December 28, 1906; Bristow *Record*, June 28, 1912) This summary of the seven-year court battle over the county seat pointed out, too, the importance of Cobb's vote which brought favor to Sapulpa in the constitutional convention.

⁴⁴ Sapulpa *Light*, January 25, 1907.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* Thirty-four of the delegates did not vote, evidently.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* When the county boundary committee referred Moman (Creek) County back to the committee of the whole for a vote to determine the county seat they also gave their suggestions for changing of county seats after ratification of the Constitution. See Chapter IV, p. 115.

The framers of the Constitution had not included the prohibition clause in the document because they feared its inclusion would defeat the whole constitution at the polls.⁴⁷

Governor Frank Frantz was chosen by the Republican party to head its ticket. In his behalf they contended that the people must choose Republican leaders if they expected President Roosevelt to sign the measure admitting the state to the union.⁴⁸ The Democrats chose the chairman of the County Boundaries Committee, Charles N. Haskell, as their candidate for governor. Haskell announced his slogan: "Let the People Rule." He was referring to letting the people of each county choose by vote the location of the county seat.⁴⁹

The Constitutional Convention had made the rules for this first county and state election. It had voted to appoint temporary county commissioners, clerks, and secretaries to act as election and canvassing boards in each county.⁵⁰ Accordingly, the appointed officials of Creek County met in Bristow, August 16, 1907, to carve out the precincts and townships. John F. Egan and Henry H. Bogle were the commissioners, with John H. Humphreys as the county clerk. They divided the county into nine townships. (Sapulpa was Township No. 5 and Bristow was No. 9) ⁵¹

Creek County prepared for the election. The newspaper backed the candidates, usually, whose politics was the same as that of the editors. In Sapulpa, however, the Republican *Light* commended L. B. Jackson for his decision to be a candidate for county attorney and said, "It's too bad he isn't a Republican."⁵² Jackson's announcement for office had been made in April, 1907, before the Constitutional Convention closed. Many candidates filed their intentions to run that early, because of the short time available to carry out the election provisions by September 17.

The questionable county seat elections had to await the ratification of the Constitution, so the controversy over its merits and demerits was of primary interest at this time. Many important speeches were made. William H. Murray, "Cockel Burr Bill," came to Sapulpa on September 10, 1907, to speak in behalf of the plan of government he had engineered.⁵³ Clarence Davis, Bristow lawyer, spoke in favor of the Constitution and Haskell's

⁴⁷ Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.*, pp. 311-312.

⁴⁸ Sapulpa *Democrat*, September 9, 1907.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, September 14, 1907.

⁵⁰ Sapulpa *Light*, April 26, 1907. The election provisions (360 pages) were longer than the Constitution.

⁵¹ Sapulpa *Democrat*, August 23, 1907.

⁵² Sapulpa *Light*, April 12, 1907.

⁵³ Sapulpa *Democrat*, September 10, 1907.

candidacy for governor. In the interest of the latter, Davis said he thought both Sapulpa and Bristow would have to agree to the fairness of Haskell's proposal to return the right to select the county seats to the people at elections.⁵⁴

National figures added interest and excitement to the election. William Jennings Bryan spoke for the Constitution, while William Howard Taft was sent by President Roosevelt to speak against its adoption. The president said "it [the Oklahoma Constitution] would not look good in print."⁵⁵ On September 5, 1907, a great crowd of Sapulpa citizens and nearby residents awaited the train⁵⁶ carrying Bryan and his party, including Kate Barnard, who was running on the Democratic ticket for Commissioner of Charities.⁵⁷ Bryan spoke to a cheering crowd from a platform on Main Street. He told the people of Sapulpa the constitution included "all the good features of others [state constitutions]." He maintained it was not too long, as Taft had charged, and had the needed provisions against "predatory wealth." Bryan said the Constitution upheld Lincoln's definition of "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people," and conversely did not have the idea of Taft and the Republicans of "a government of the corporations, by the corporations and for the corporations."⁵⁸

Election of state officials and ratification of the Constitution occurred as scheduled on September 17, 1907, although legal means were used to try to stop it.⁵⁹ Haskell won the governor's office, carrying all but thirteen counties. The Democrats secured most of the county and state offices.⁶⁰ The Constitution was

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, September 14, 1907.

⁵⁵ Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.*, p. 312; *Sapulpa Democrat*, August 28, 1907. Quotes given from *St. Louis Republican* of Taft's criticism of the constitution. *Sapulpa Democrat*, September 6, 1907.

⁵⁶ *Sapulpa Democrat*, August 28, 1907. This was the first of daily announcements (the *Democrat* was a daily paper from May 15, 1907, to October 3, 1907) to advertise the Democratic candidates and their platform for adoption of the constitution.

⁵⁷ Women did not vote, of course, but Miss Barnard ran for this office since it involved caring for the state's needy, prisoners, orphans and widows.

⁵⁸ *Sapulpa Democrat*, September 6, 1907.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, September 10, 1907. An Attorney, A. H. Noah of Woods County submitted a petition to object to the dividing of Woods County.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, September 18, 1907; Oklahoma, *Oklahoma Red Book*, II (Oklahoma City, 1912), pp. 472-473. All the county offices did go to Democrats except two, who were L. O. Shannon, commissioner; and O. C. Copedge, corner. The Democrats elected were Josiah G. Davis, judge; Abner Bruce, clerk; Lafe Spear, registrar of deeds; L. B. Jackson, attorney; P. T. Fry, superintendent of public instruction; Henry Clay King, sheriff; W. W. Banks, treasurer; J. L. Brady, surveyor; E. H. DonCarlos, weigher; and the two other commissioners, M. A. Childress and W. O. Baker.

adopted by a vote of 180,333 to 73,059, and the prohibition clause was adopted by a smaller majority, 130,361 to 112,258. Before the end of the month, President Roosevelt announced he would accept the Constitution. He set the date November 16, 1907, for proclaiming Oklahoma a State.⁶¹

Oklahoma's statehood was celebrated with an elaborate, well attended ceremony, which was held to inaugurate the state officials at Guthrie.⁶² In North Heights, a residential addition to Sapulpa, Col. R. Dingamn displayed a large, lighted 46th star on his water tower.⁶³

Creek County then girded itself for the county seat contest. Bristow, by petition, asked for an election for determining the county seat and it was called for August 12, 1908.⁶⁴ Sapulpa organized its campaign under the direction of the secretary of the Commercial Club, J. A. Boyd,⁶⁵ and L. B. Jackson, county attorney, became Sapulpa's leading spokesman. Bristow's Commercial Club began raising funds under the direction of C. B. Rockwood, campaign manager.⁶⁶

The slogan of Bristow was "Vote for the Center," underlining the Bristow argument that her location, which saved as much as two days travel for citizens living at far points in the county, was the only logical one. Bristow speakers also contended that the owners of Sapulpa's buildings used for county offices (Hereford Building and an office in the Berryhill Building for the county attorney) were charging excessive rents. Personal accusations against the county attorney's neglect in prosecuting liquor stores also became a cudgel in the fight.⁶⁷

The prosecution of liquor-sellers was an open question in Oklahoma. The vote to carry the prohibition clause had been a close one: 130,361 voted for and 112,258 voted against.⁶⁸ Like many Oklahomans, Creek County residents had come from different parts of the United States and their ideas about acceptable living habits varied. Almost equally sized groups believed oppositely on this question. The Prohibitionists, who were backed strongly by some churches, were determined to make the prohibition clause work in Oklahoma. On the other hand, there was an equally vocal group of citizens who felt it

⁶¹ Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 315-318.

⁶³ Sapulpa *Democrat*, November 21, 1907.

⁶⁴ Bristow *Record*, June 28, 1912.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*; Sapulpa *Light*, July 17, 1908.

⁶⁶ Bristow *Record*, June 28, 1912. George McMillan was called the "father" of the contest.

⁶⁷ Bristow *Territorial Enterprise*, July 17, 1908; Bristow *Record*, July 17, 1908.

⁶⁸ Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.*, p. 312

was impossible to legislate a man's thirst. In addition, oil boom towns like those that existed around and in Sapulpa presented a practical problem. Should the county attorney and sheriff conduct endless raids and fill the court dockets with liquor cases which usually had to be dismissed for lack of evidence? Or should the county attorney help to keep the county in order and prevent serious lawlessness? The first Creek County attorney, L. B. Jackson, held to the latter view, a position which caused many to abuse him, and gave Bristow boosters arguments in their campaign and later court battles.

Sapulpa citizens also used arguments which pointed to the greater size of their city and its diversified businesses, and said that Bristow was just a farming town. Sapulpa countered the "center" slogan with the contention that most of the county's population resided in the east part nearest Sapulpa.⁶⁹

Mass meetings were called with the expressed purpose of registering voters, both white and colored.⁷⁰ Speeches were made to show what Sapulpa would lose if it lost the county seat.⁷¹ On July 25, the *Sapulpa Light* announced that this was the last day to register.⁷² Rallies for Sapulpa's cause were held at Newby and Kiefer as the campaign reached "fever heat."⁷³ Members of the Bristow Commercial Club made two trips to Sapulpa in the last few days of July to request that they be allowed to see the registration books, a plea that was denied. The Sapulpans refused on the advice of the county attorney.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ *Sapulpa Democrat*, September 10, 1907; *Hoffhine's Directory of Sapulpa, Indian Territory, 1907-1908* (Springfield, Missouri: Hoffhine Directory Company, 1907); *Sapulpa Light*, July 16, 1908; *Kiefer Searchlight*, July 24, 1908; August 7, 1908; *Bristow Record*, June 28, 1912. The official population of Sapulpa was 6,435, but the local papers objected, saying this figure did not include the new additions to the town. Hoffhine's computed the population to be 8,155 by multiplying the number of names in the directory by three and one-half ($2,330 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$). Bristow's official population was 1,124; Manford, 199; Mounds, 675; and Creek County, 18,365. The *Searchlight* changed hands just before July 1908, and the *Record* in its summary article of 1912 says the owner was L. B. Jackson. These issues of the *Searchlight* devote much space to prove Sapulpa's contention that the city is nearer the center of the county's population. They also itemize the number of court cases filed from each county town, showing that Sapulpa had about five-sixths of the county's court business.

⁷⁰ *Sapulpa Light*, July 16, 1908.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, July 23, 1908.

⁷² *Ibid.*, July 23, 1908.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, August 7, 1908; August 8, 1908; August 11, 1908. The last issue carried a story refuting the charge that a man was killed at Kiefer during the booster's rally on the authority of Sheriff H. C. King.

⁷⁴ *Bristow Record*, July 31, 1908; *Sapulpa Light*, July 28, 1908; The *Light* claimed that L. M. Nichols, editor and owner of the *Bristow Record* wanted to throw out the 4th ward as irregularly registered on the pretext that the inspector was not registered by the authorized

Strangely enough, election day itself was a quiet affair. In *Bristow Territorial Enterprise* of August 12 was published a tabulation of votes by townships which showed Sapulpa the winner by an even 500 votes.⁷⁵ The *Bristow Record* on August 14, 1908, admitted the election belonged to Sapulpa by 500 votes, but claimed it was a double-cross for Bristow. Bristow lost, the *Record* said, because of gross irregularities at Sapulpa and Kiefer. The discrepancy between the number of votes cast in the state election one year before and the number of votes cast on August 12 in Kiefer, pointed toward "mighty shady" circumstances, since Kiefer had lost several hundred population in that year owing to the oil slump.

Meantime, Sapulpa held a victory jubilee on the evening of the day of the *Record's* protest, August 14, 1908, to celebrate its victory in the county seat fight. The Commercial Club band, which had been of great help in the campaign, performed, and a committee of three⁷⁶ handled all the details. Fourteen men were introduced as men who had aided Sapulpa's cause. Mayor Joe Denton introduced L. B. Jackson, who gave the main address of the evening,⁷⁷ and Judge Josiah Davis subsequently gave Jackson credit for doing more than any other man in the county seat campaign.⁷⁸

On September 9, 1908, the city of Bristow filed a petition of contest in the State Supreme Court, attesting "that Bristow was the legally elected town in the recent Creek county seat election, and that Sapulpa was not the legally elected town." Bristow sought to have the certification of election which had been issued by Governor Haskell set aside on the face of the returns of the August 12 election. Bristow lawyers, detectives, and evidence experts had been hard at work for nearly thirty days, and now Sapulpa had thirty days to file an answer.⁷⁹

The *Bristow Territorial Enterprise* on September 18, 1908, published the entire claim against the City of Sapulpa. The plaintiffs said that the election was according to law except in precincts 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 in the city of Sapulpa, 6 in the township of Sapulpa, and 8 and 9 in Mounds Township. The total

registrar. The *Light* claimed that Nichols knew the man he favored for registrar had declined to serve, but Nichols would not admit it.

⁷⁵ *Bristow Territorial Enterprise*, August 12, 1908.

⁷⁶ *Sapulpa Light*, August 13, 1908. The appointed committee were B. B. Burnett, James Boyd, and W. F. Collins. Sapulpa's victory was by 544 votes.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, August 14, 1908. Speeches were given by L. B. Jackson, H. M. Watchorn, Henry McGraw, J. J. Mars, J. H. Smith, L. J. Burt, George L. Mann, W. F. Collins, E. S. Pfleger, J. H. N. Cobb, S. H. Lattimore, J. F. Egan, Ben Thompson, and Bob Fire.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, August 15, 1908.

⁷⁹ *Bristow Record*, September 11, 1908; June 28, 1912.

vote was 4,221. Sapulpa received 2,372 votes and Bristow received 1,859 votes. But the claim was now made that the legal vote was Sapulpa, 567, and Bristow, 1,682. In support of this claim, the Bristow supporters pointed to the irregularities in voting and the methods and times for registration before election day.

In the case of precincts number 8 and 9 in Kiefer of Mounds Township, the charge was made of "persons being intimidated," threatened with violence, and forced to cast their vote for Sapulpa. Irregular voting was alleged, too, because women dressed in men's clothing were allowed to vote. The serious charge was made of influencing the vote for Sapulpa by passing out free drinks of liquor and beer both the day before and on the day of the election. Also, it was claimed that a man who was a Bristow sympathizer was killed in a "joint."

In September, close on the heels of the filing of the petition to contest the county seat election, an ouster suit was brought by the State Attorney, Fred S. Caldwell, against the County Attorney and the County Sheriff of Creek County. The suit alleged these officers were lax in their duties during the county seat campaign at Kiefer where liquor "joints" were allowed to run wide open. This was the beginning of a long series of attacks brought to court by the State enforcement officer and by a grand jury, and in a libel and counter libel suit. All of these, either suits to oust officers or indictments brought by the grand jury, or libel suits, were finally dismissed by the courts.⁸⁰

Sapulpa filed an answer to Bristow's petition and the first hearing was held in Guthrie on October 15, 1908. Sapulpa's attorneys said they would present evidence to prove that "Sapulpa had won honestly and only an honorable fight was waged and a fair election was held."⁸¹ After the arguments were heard by the Supreme Court, the lawyers for Bristow concluded that their complaint would not stand and asked for ten days to file a new complaint. Bristow filed an amended petition on October 30, 1908.⁸²

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, September 25, 1908; *Sapulpa Light*, September 18, 1908; November 5, 1908; May 5, 1909; July 21, 1909; August 18, 1909; August 20, 1909; August 21, 1909; August 24, 1909; August 25, 1909; October 22, 1909; October 30, 1909; October 30, 1909; March 4, 1910.

⁸¹ *Sapulpa Light*, October 14, 1908.

⁸² Case No. 386, filed January 8, 1912, in the Supreme Court of the state of Oklahoma, the incorporated town of Bristow, in the county of Creek and the state of Oklahoma, a municipal corporation, plaintiff, versus the City of Sapulpa, a city of the first class, a municipal corporation in the county of Creek and the state of Oklahoma, defendant (found in the files of the clerk of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma). The report of the referee contains a detailed, chronological history of the county seat contest.

During the year of 1909, while evidence was being taken in both towns, the amended petition was answered and an amendment to the amended petition was filed and an answer given.⁸³ In this year, too, the Supreme Court of Oklahoma appointed C. H. Parker of Enid as the special referee in the case. Many witnesses were called on behalf of each town, but much of the testimony of fifty or more witnesses whose substance as not covered by the pleading was stricken.⁸⁴ The 2,000 typewritten pages of testimony were turned over to an attorney to brief and present arguments before the referee.⁸⁵

Early in 1910, the *Sapulpa Light* quoted the *Enid Morning News*: "Both towns charge the other with permitting immoral conditions and thus the county seat should go to the other."⁸⁶

In February, after a hearing with Referee Parker, the Sapulpa lawyers said the judge would need two to three weeks to examine the lengthy transcript.⁸⁷ Another year passed. A letter, dated January 6, 1911, from Parker said he hoped to file the report with the Supreme Court within the month.⁸⁸ By March, citizens of Sapulpa were urging Attorney McDougal to petition Governor Lee Cruce in an effort to get Parker to render a decision.⁸⁹ But McDougal thought it wiser to write directly to Referee Parker again. Judge Parker replied that his report should be ready by April 1, 1911.⁹⁰

The *Bristow Record* on April 11, 1911, felt that Bristow still had a good chance. It was reported that Sapulpa people were alarmed by the rapid growth of Bristow and they feared an election would favor Bristow by 250 votes.

The Oklahoma Bar Association had a meeting in Guthrie in June, 1911, and Judge McDougal saw Parker there. Parker said the report would be filed before July 1, 1911.⁹¹

Again the press of Bristow registered hope, because Parker did not file the report by July first. It was suggested that it would take a year after the report was filed by the referee to obtain the final decision, after which the lawyers would have sixty days to file an answer. Then would follow the long prepara-

⁸³ *Ibid.*, February 21, 1910.

⁸⁴ *Sapulpa Light*, March 16, 1909; March 17, 1909; March 22, 1909.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, February 21, 1910.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, January 21, 1910.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, February 21, 1910.

⁸⁸ *Bristow Record*, January 6, 1911.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, March 3, 1911. A dispatch from the *Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman*.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, March 10, 1911.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, June 23, 1911. A reprint of an article from the *Sapulpa Light*.

tion for the final argument which the Supreme Court would take under advisement. Bristow felt that delays worked to its advantage.⁹²

The report was promised again by November 1, 1911. In Sapulpa, the county officers looked with some concern at the old courthouse (Herford Building), which was in bad condition. An engineer from Oklahoma City, on order of the judge, examined the building and declared it dangerous. As a result new offices were located in the Ross and Berryhill buildings.⁹³

Referee Parker's long awaited report on the county seat contest was made in December, 1911. Parker threw out the votes cast for Sapulpa at Kiefer, but allowed the votes cast for Bristow, and he held the victor must have a majority. His decision pleased the Bristow attorneys because by these computations Sapulpa lacked 138 votes for a majority.⁹⁴

The Supreme Court of Oklahoma reviewed the case in January, 1912, and found Sapulpa the winner. The Court threw out all the votes cast at Kiefer because the referee's report had shown that in the precincts there much beer and whisky were used to influence the vote and that operators of "joints" were threatened with rigid enforcement of prohibition if they did not vote for Sapulpa.⁹⁵

On May 20, 1912, both sides used an hour for final arguments. The attorney for Bristow claimed the earlier decision, of the referee would confirm Bristow's contention that votes cast at Kiefer for Bristow should be counted as votes cast. This reasoning would leave Sapulpa without a majority. Sapulpa's argument was based on the claim that Bristow had changed its line of reasoning on the basis of the referee's findings.⁹⁶

Justice Jesse Dunn handed down the court's decision on June 25, 1912. He ordered the Governor to call a new election on the basis of the opinions and findings of the referee.⁹⁷

On July 5, 1912, the *Bristow Record* published the complete text of the opinion of Justice Dunn. The referee's findings were

⁹² *Ibid.*, July 7, 1911.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, October 27, 1911. A reprint from the *Sapulpa Light*.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, December 22, 1911.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, January 12, 1912. A reprint from the *Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman* which again follows the original tabulations, but this time the Supreme Court threw out all the Kiefer votes (549) plus six votes from some source, or perhaps there were six mistakes, in counting in the first place.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, February 9, 1912; May 3, 1912; May 24, 1912. The first two stories postdate the final argument but were reported as briefs were filed by attorneys to show the nature of their new pleadings.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, June 28, 1912.

quoted at length to substantiate the decision that "zealous" partisans and the supporters of the city of Sapulpa" corrupted the vote in the precincts at Kiefer. As to the charge that a man had been killed for favoring Bristow as the county seat, the evidence proved he was killed over a personal matter. And as to the charge of women voting in men's clothing, the referee found the evidence inconclusive.⁹⁸

Election day, November 21, 1912, was one of the quietest and driest ever known in the county. Sapulpa again won a majority. Votes cast for Sapulpa were 2,937 while Bristow received 2,692. A giant torchlight parade was held at 10:00 p.m. in Sapulpa when news of victory was heard. Over a thousand people lined the streets of the business district to watch and help celebrate the occasion.⁹⁹

Bristow then began a contest of the November election. The lawyers filed a suit in the Supreme Court in December, 1912, insisting there be a reconsideration of events associated with the election. The petition stated that at the presidential election of November 5, 1912, only 1,410 votes were cast in Sapulpa, but at the special election a few weeks later, 1,882 votes were cast. All but four of the votes were for Sapulpa. Thus, the attorneys reasoned, 516 votes were irregularly cast, giving Bristow the election.¹⁰⁰ In January, 1913, four Sapulpa attorneys asked the Court to set aside the Bristow petition. The motion was denied.¹⁰¹ On March 7, 1913, Bristow was asked by the court to furnish more specific charges within 30 days. Bristow attorneys countered with a motion to look at the ballots.¹⁰² In May, 1913, Judge Preston C. West of Muskogee, appointed temporary referee, gave Bristow fifteen days to file a petition after the inspection of the ballots. On June 13, both Bristow and Sapulpa lawyers examined the ballots and stubs.¹⁰³

The Supreme Court finally awarded the county seat to Sapulpa. The Sapulpa *Light's* headline on August 1, 1913, streamed the victory news across the front page. The Bristow *Record* printed not one word concerning the Court's decision. But later in the month a news article referred to the "former county seat fight."¹⁰⁴

Bristow tried to break away from Creek County and form

⁹⁸ The case of Ryan vs. Waurika and Tecumsae, et l. vs. Shawnee, county seat contest decisions, were introduced by Bristow and were used by Judge Dunn in deciding for a new election.

⁹⁹ Bristow *Record*, November 22, 1912.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, December 20, 1912.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, December 24, 1913.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, March 14, 1913.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, May 30, 1913; June 13, 1913.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, August 15, 1913.

a new county called Oil County, but the petition was denied by the Governor, Lee Cruce. The Bristow attorneys advised their townsmen that there was no way to take the matter to court for the Governor was a final authority.¹⁰⁵ Also, later, Bristow petitioned to be a part of Schaffer County which Cushing supporters tried to create, but the petition failed to get sufficient votes.¹⁰⁶

The County Commissioners of Creek County called an election for the voting of bonds for a new courthouse. The sum to be voted was \$145,000 at five and one-half per cent interest over a twenty-year period. The election was held in March, 1914, and carried by the strength of the vote in the precincts of Sapulpa, Tiger, and Mounds. But in Bristow, Euchee, Kellyville, Newby, Sunny Slope, Olive, and Shannon Townships, the vote was against the bonds.¹⁰⁷

The new courthouse was built and formally taken over by the County Commissioners in December 1915, the furnishings to be delivered in 30 to 60 days. Layton and Smith were the architects and the Manhattan Construction Company was the builder.¹⁰⁸

At long last, after seven years of election and court battles, the county seat of Creek County was settled once and for all. Sapulpa became the center of county business. Many years before the early settlers of Indian Territory in the Creek Nation realized the importance of a town being a county seat. These men of Sapulpa and Bristow had come from many established states where they had seen and known the value of a government center. But in this new land, they, the people, had been given the power to decide the location of their county's place of government. Their first governor had said, "Let the people rule!" It was done in the spirit of the American frontier wherein battles often left scars, yet men decided matters for themselves.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, August 22, 1913.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, November 7, 1913; November 28, 1913; January 9, 1914.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, November 14, 1913; February 20, 1914; March 27, 1914.

¹⁰⁸ Sapulpa *Herald*, December 21, 1915.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

INDEX TO THE CHRONICLES, 1961

The Index to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIX, 1961, compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, is now ready for free distribution to those who receive the magazine. Orders for the Index should be sent to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma.

CIVIL WAR SONG BOOK

Choses Songs of the Civil War: The Sweet Sixteen is a book of 56 pages edited by history students of Oklahoma State University, under the direction of Berlin B. Chapman, Professor in the Department of History. A history of each song is given, and the music is included. The book was sponsored by the Oklahoma Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, and the "Foreword" is by Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary Emeritus of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Copies can be ordered from the Office of the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building at fifty cents each.

EXPERIENCES OF A TEACHER IN OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

The reminiscent notes that follow on early day teaching experiences by Miss Cora E. Farrell, who is now retired and is living in Guthrie, have been contributed through Miss Ina Lee Robinson whose own memoirs as a pioneer teacher were published recently in *The Chronicles*. Miss Farrell had many years of experience as teacher of a Territorial district school, as principal of public school in Guthrie and as County Superintendent of Logan County. Miss Robinson taught with Miss Farrell in Guthrie, and was her deputy when she became County Superintendent.

AN OKLAHOMA TEACHER IN THE 1890's

The writer was a pioneer teacher who kept school in a community of people that had scarcely established themselves in dugouts, sod houses, and a few frame buildings. One such structure 20 x 12 feet, had been abandoned, by a claim jumper maybe—and had become the first schoolhouse in the district about five miles West of Perry, a town of a few months existence. This area was in the Cherokee Outlet, commonly called "The Strip," that had been opened by "run" on September 16, 1893.

Open prairie without roads made traveling possible but slow. A distance of ten miles south of "Old Oklahoma" required several hours.¹

Someone may be wondering how the writer was induced into this lucrative(?) position. Some friends had been fortunate in getting a claim (the word "farm" was not used then). So they sent for "Miss Cora." They had a dugout and four occupants. Since one person was a twenty year old son, privacy was not sufficient to take in the teacher. After a few days' poll of the neighborhood, a dear old Scottish couple offered to board the teacher. Their accent indicated that their sojourn in the United States had been short and their habits and living standards positive proof of this. The recollection of food remains: turnips, fat pork and "holey" light bread.

Even so the old people were kind and well-meaning and deeply religious. There were prayers at night and in the morning before breakfast. The length of these devotionals made the teacher late every day. How she ran the mile to beat the children to school!

Enrollment was small, yet grades ranged from first to eighth. Books from other schools were used as texts. Ray's Arithmetic was standard however. Without blackboards, maps, charts, the building was equipped with seats only.

How was the teacher prepared to guide these unfortunate children who had been deprived of school because of the removal from other places—sometimes other states? One had to complete eighth grade, take an examination for teacher's certificate (it could be a third grade certificate) then get a school board to give her a contract designating time of term and \$30.00 per month salary.

Since the writer had, in addition to a certificate, eight months previous teaching experience in a Kansas country school, confidence was great. Youth was her excuse for such optimism!

Do people now think "integration" and "segregation" are something new? A six year old, light Negro boy was one of the writer's pupils. His parents had a claim in the District. At that time the separate school law had not been passed in Oklahoma Territory so it was legal to permit the boy enrollment.

Two boys, formerly from Texas, ages fourteen and twelve years also were enrolled, and began annoying the little Negro. He became so afraid of them that he shadowed the teacher for protection, even following her to the "*little house*" in the back. The two boys' antagonism extended to the teacher, and they then attacked and beat the little Negro on the road to school. The school board came and suggested and witnessed a switching. The older boy then threw a rock at the members of the Board after which both boys were dismissed (expelled). A similar situation cannot be settled that easily today.

The next teaching position was in "Old Oklahoma." This locality had been settled some time (1889), and since the children had been in school the previous years, the situation was more favorable. However, there was the problem of over-age pupils, some eighteen and more, and there was a large enrollment. Discipline was easy. It seems now when looking back to those early days that both parents and pupils were co-operative, owing no doubt, to lack of outside activities.

¹ "Old Oklahoma" was the region of the Unassigned Lands in Central Indian Territory that had been opened to white settlement by "run" on April 22, 1889.

The school was the central interest in the community. Going to school from home on horseback, the teacher forded the Cimarron River twice each day. On two occasions the river rose too high for crossing. She had stayed with a patron that night, and was at school for last day exercises. But what about the sacks of candy and nuts that were at home? Just as the parents arrived with baskets of food for dinner, a dear half-brother, to save the children and the teacher disappointment, arrived with the treat after fording, a'most swimming, the team and wagon across the turbulent Cimarron River.

At the turn of the Century, some progress was made in the rural schools though the children carried their tin pails of lunch, and drank from a common drinking cup. Salaries of teachers remained at \$35.00 per month, seldom more, even in town schools.

This early-day teacher thinks the most interesting and challenging experience was when her pupils met those of an adjoining district in spelling and arithmetic matches. Parents filled their wagons with the contestants (and the teacher) and went to the other school. The pupils would use their recesses and noonhour to practice for the contest to beat Professor Jones' children. By the way, all men teachers were hailed "Professor," regardless of educational qualifications. Then there were "Literary Programs," alternating with the other school, mostly "speaking pieces," mouth organ music, singing and exploiting any unusual talent discovered in the neighborhood.

Since teachers were judged somewhat by results of these contests, there was a tinge of rivalry between them. One teacher *the writer's children adored* and she could not compete with him. *He was a left-handed ball pitcher.* This is mentioned since he became an outstanding Oklahoma educator.

This teacher experienced many happy times that will have a place in her "memoirs."

—Cora E. Farrell

ISABEL CRAWFORD: MISSIONARY TO THE KIOWA INDIANS

*By Tully Morrison**

Miss Isabel Crawford was born May 26, 1865 at Cheltenham, Canada and died in a rest home November 18, 1961 at Grimsby, Ont. Canada. She was the daughter of a Baptist minister and grew up near Cheltenham and Manitoba, Canada, later living at St. Thomas, North

* Mr. Tully Morrison of Mountain View, Oklahoma, has contributed this brief history of the Saddle Mountain Mission and its founder, Miss Isabel Crawford, as a last tribute expressing the love of the Kiowa people in her memory. Mr. and Mrs. Tully Morrison are the third generation and their grandchildren are the fifth generation of members of the Saddle Mountain Mission Church since its founding by Miss Crawford in 1895. Both Mr. and Mrs. Morrison are members of old Indian families connected with the history of Baptist missions in Oklahoma. Mr. Morrison is a descendant of the Reverend William McCombs of the Creek Nation. Mrs. Morrison is the granddaughter of Ba-ah-tate Longhorn, who was a charter member of Saddle Mission Church and a daughter of Satanta (Kiowa), or "White Bear." Other notes on Saddle Mountain Mission and its founders are in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 3, (Autumn, 1958), pp. 318-19.

Dakota. She had experiences of frontier life at these places and came in touch with the Indians and became interested in them. After graduating from the Baptist Missionary Training School in 1893, she was appointed by the Board of Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society, to the field of work among the Kiowa Indians at Elk Creek near Hobart, Oklahoma. Two years later she began the work at Saddle Mountain, in the Southeast part of Kiowa County, and for nearly 14 years she worked here and gave the best part of her life in not only preaching but teaching the Gospel to the Kiowas or Blanket Indians.

Resulting in a strong work, a fine church was erected by the members and this church still stands in its original architecture, and known as the church built with quilt money. Miss Crawford, says of herself, that her success has been due to "splendid helpers, a cast-iron constitution, Scotch determination, Irish nonsense, the Divine call and the power of the Holy Spirit. Had any of these been lacking the results could not have been the same." She faced the demand of Christmas festivities in remote places, of funerals and weddings, building a church, holding services, killing pigs, training workers, preparing "big eats," doctoring the sick and burying the dead, and has met them all with undaunted courage and a high sense of humor.

Miss Crawford was an extremely bright and facile writer and has told the story of her early life in a book called, "Kiowa," another "Joyful Journey," while another account of her romantic achievements is called "The Heroine of Saddle Mountain." Her dramatic sense led her to render the Lord's Prayer into the Indian sign language, and a record of this has been published in a series of illustrations showing it as done by her in full picturesque Indian costume.

Young woman-like, Miss Crawford had never been put on such fields before she came to Saddle Mountain. She began her work and did a new and unique thing in winning, as a slip of a girl, the confidence of the Indians and in breaking through their antagonism against the white race. Her life was devoted to the demonstration of the possibility of many Indians being good Indians without necessarily being dead ones. Many a quaint saying and legend of these people gathered about her, and she developed a number of most interesting characters among them. New and sparkling views of Indian life and incidents were constantly appearing from her pen and she was in demand whenever obtainable as a vivid and inspiring speaker. There are few of equal authority with her in her chosen subject of the Indians and their advancement under missionary leadership. The Government noted her good work with improving the Indian way of life and co-operated. The Government workers lived in towns but Miss Crawford lived where the help was needed for transition.

In 1906, before one hundred of her members she told them, "I have something to tell you that will make your hearts cry as it did mine." She presented her farewell speech of resignation and gave the reason why. At the end one of the members rose and ask "when you heap die, will you come back and be buried with us? we no speak English, when Jesus come you talk for us." This promise was given and the words "I dwell among mine own people" were selected for the tombstone and she said to them "I would sooner lie hidden among the tall weeds of the unkept Indian cemetery, under the flag that gave me the chance to serve, than in any other burial ground in the whole round world."

After retiring from Saddle Mountain she did organizational and platform work under the American W.B.H.M.S., retiring because of an

accident in 1930. Arrangements in carrying out her wishes were made a year ago, when her niece, Marian Cline with whom she made her home, thought her time was near and called Tully Morrison to make all arrangements with the church, which he did and then waited till November 22 at 1:30 p.m. when she came to the church, via Dodd Funeral Home of Mountain View. Reverend James Treat of the Wichita Indian Mission, gave the Bible message. Ioleta McElhaney, who was missionary at Saddle Mountain until transferred to the Arapaho field, spoke briefly. George Head in charge of the Christian Center at Anadarko, relayed the sympathy from the American B.H.M.S. in New York. Reverend Berry Shongo was in charge of the graveyard rite. Pallbearers were descendants of her first converts, Tonemah, Quoetone, Tappeto, KoKoom, Chaddlestone and Tonekeamha.

I found Miss Crawford's life is written at random during exhausting activities in tents and te-pee. Seven volumes of material in minutes, books, scrap-books, pictures, Church, dining hall, Tabernacle, parsonage, sheds for her buggy, barn for her pony and baptistry, each has a story, they were built with the Indians help. If we preserve and place these, under proper supervised care, many generations will have a chance to view this little missionary's work.

She was indebted to many people and the Woman's Baptist Home Mission Society, whose loyal and spiritual support was given the work here at Saddle Mountain. Hunting Horse, a Kiowa blanket Indian gave Miss Crawford an Indian name Gee-Ah-Ho-An-Mah, meaning "She gave us the Jesus Road." In her later years she wrote this poem expressing her old age. "I cannot hear and cannot walk, But my funny bone's in order, And I surely can talk. Then why should I whimper and act like a goose when there's nothing the matter Save a silly screw loose."

As time grew shorter: "I am quietly waiting for the Guide of the High Way to summon me to enter the Holy City where Joining the Choir Invisible I'll sing praises with loved ones gone before." The last thought: "Unto my friends I give my Thoughts, Unto my God my soul, Unto my foe I leave my love. This is of life the whole."

Ferdie Deering, editor of the *Farmer Stockman* said, "Only a small number of people now living have any knowledge of the great contribution she has made in her effort to comfort and strengthen the faith of the Indians."

BOOK REVIEWS

The Chickasaw Rancher. By Neil R. Johnson (The Redlands Press, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1961. pp. 242. \$5.00)

In Oklahoma history, one of the most intriguing developments was the absorption of the people of the Five Civilized Nations by white civilization. Within this amalgamation process, none was more complete than that of the Chickasaws. In *The Chickasaw Rancher*, Neil Johnson, by telling the story and writing the biography of his grandfather, Montford Johnson, shows how in two generations, through intermarriage and association with white people, the Chickasaws changed from the tribal life of the Indian to the more complicated way of the white man.

The author of *The Chickasaw Rancher* lets the story tell itself. There is nothing didactic nor are there preachments in the narrative. Yet, the story plainly shows that in the latter days of the existence of the Five Nations, and before statehood, that the business and political leaders in Oklahoma were frequently the people of mixed Indian and white ancestry. They were the aristocrats of the Indian Territory when western Oklahoma was opened to white settlement. They were the people with established families and often of established wealth. It is no wonder that their influence on Oklahoma life has far transcended their numbers.

The Chickasaw Rancher as written by Neil Johnson is a remarkable narrative portraying the life of ranching people in the period following the Civil War up to the time of the opening of Oklahoma to white settlement. It shows how far the fiction writers and television script authors miss the mark in their portrayal of the cowboy and the Indian. This book should be required reading for all Hollywood script writers of the Western scene. This biography of Montford Johnson shows how men lived from day to day on cattle ranches. How grueling and often unpleasant was much of the work! How intense were the hours of joy and play!

It is most difficult for anyone born in the ranching country to lay this book down once he has begun to read. *The Chickasaw Rancher* should have a wide reading in Oklahoma, because of the many Sooners who have ranching backgrounds. It should be read by everyone in Oklahoma who wants to know how ranching was done before the sodbusters moved in.

—Elmer L. Fraker

Oklahoma Historical Society
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

NOTABLE REPRINTS

Man of the Plains 1856-1882. Edited by Dr. Donald F. Danker, with "Forword" by George Bird Grinnell. (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1961. Maps, appendix, chronology, index. Pp. 350. \$4.75).

This book is based on the script as written by Luther North originally. North's story was tossed around evidently by a number of historians for a number of years. Luckily it was printed as it is except for editorial requirements. Dr. Danker has done a commendable job as editor.

The North brothers, Frank and Luther, were a pair of prominent military frontiersmen in the Platte River countries of Nebraska, Wyoming, and Colorado. The Norths led bands of Pawnee scouts in the Indian wars of the 1860's and 1870's. The Pawnee hated the Sioux, so did the Norths, who saw a lot of action on the plains.

George Bird Grinnell was the real chronicler of the Norths, and urged Luther to put his life in writing. North's views of people and events are most interesting. We can tell that it was difficult for him to recall some of the events he writes about. The book is valuable for the accuracy of details: little insights into characters, such as Buffalo Bill; his account of the battle of Summit Springs is well worth studying. The Powder River Campaign adds another man's recollections. Some of Luther's tales are fascinating, well like the Indian who was killed by his own arrow. An enemy plucked it from his shoulder, fitted it into his bow and zing! This book ranks among the best for its freshness. It belongs to an overall great plains frontier picture. For those who understand this picture here is excellent reading and source material.

Crazy Horse. "The Strange Man of the Oglalas," a biography by Mari Sandoz. A Bison Book, paper back. (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1961, pp. 428. \$1.65).

This is a reprint of Miss Sandoz' finest production. *Crazy Horse* is basically the story of the great Siouan exodus, written in prose-like style as a Sioux might relate it. No warrior surpassed the field and head work of Crazy Horse. He was a fighter and with strong medicine. He hated white men with a passion. His inexcusable death at Fort Robinson Nebraska, in September, 1877, tolled the "end" for the noble Oglala people.

We are glad to see this popular edition. When thinking of Mari Sandoz' writing, we generally think of her early books—like *Old Jules* and *Crazy Horse*.

—Dean Krakel

Tulsa, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF
DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—
Jan. 25, 1962

President George H. Shirk called the meeting to order at 9:30 a.m. Miss Seger moved, and Judge Hefner seconded the motion, that the reading of the minutes be dispensed with and that they be recorded as they appear in *The Chronicles*. Motion carried.

The Administrative Secretary called the roll. Members present were: Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mr. Q. B. Boydston, Judge Orel Busby, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. W. D. Finney, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Mr. J. Lloyd Jones, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mr. Joe W. McBride, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. James Morrison, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. Fisher Muldrow, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mr. Milt Phillips, Miss Genieve Seger, and President George H. Shirk. Members absent and requesting that they be excused were: Mr. Lou Alrard, Judge J. G. Clift, and Mr. Thomas J. Harrison. Miss Seger moved, and Judge Hefner seconded the motion, that members absent and so requesting be excused. Motion carried.

The Administrative Secretary reported applications for 36 new annual members and announced that there had been a great many items given during the past quarter to the archives library and museum. Miss Seger moved, and Mr. Phillips seconded the motion, that the applicants be elected and the gifts accepted.

The Administrative Secretary reported on the sale of the Cumulative Index, saying that to date eighty-five (85) copies had been sold for a total of \$1,275.00 and that all but \$43.50 of this total had been collected. He added that no advertising of the Index had been done as yet except a letter sent to all members with the ballots for election of Board members and a one-page ad in the last issue of *The Chronicles*. He said that shortly the Society would get out an individual letter to other state societies and libraries calling attention to the Index.

Mr. Fraker reported that President Shirk had been able to be with the staff of the Society at their annual Christmas party. He added that he had received a thank you card from the Crippled Children's Hospital thanking the employees of the Society for the gifts which had been exchanged by them at the party and later collected and taken to the hospital for the children.

President Shirk said he would like to depart from the usual procedure of the meeting to announce that he had applications for life membership of Margaret Evelyn Combs and Catherine Evelyn Hefner. He pointed out that these make nine members of Judge Hefner's family who are now life members. Dr. Harbour moved, and Dr. Dale seconded the motion, to elect these two applicants to life membership. Motion carried when put.

Mrs. George L. Bowman, Treasurer, reported that the Society's receipts for the past quarter had been \$3,694.62, disbursements had been \$3,270.03, with cash on hand as of December 31, 1961, of \$2,276.39. She added that the Life Membership Endowment Fund remained the same, with United States Savings Bonds of \$17,500.00, the balance in the City National Bank of \$318.55, and the balance in the Oklahoma City Federal Savings and Loan Association being \$1,800.00. Mrs. Bowman added that the Society would receive interest at the new rate of 4½% at the end of the next six-month period.

Mr. Shirk pointed out that the report given by the Treasurer covered only Account 18 funds which did not include appropriated funds. He added that over \$9,000.00 had gone through that account during the past quarter with \$2,188.11 remaining on hand. Mr. Phillips moved, and the motion was seconded by Mr. Mountcastle, that the Treasurer's report be accepted as rendered. Motion was put and carried.

Mr. Phillips said he had no detailed report for the Microfilm Committee. He added that about twenty newspapers over the state were now using our microfilm service. The Microfilm Department, he said, was functioning smoothly.

Reporting for the Civil War Centennial Commission, Mr. Bass said he would be making several trips to participate in national events of the Civil War Centennial Commission. He added that there had been a change of personnel at the top levels in the National Civil War Centennial Commission, and that the new president is Dr. Allen Nevins.

Reporting on the activities of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission and activities at the local level, Mr. Bass said that they had never been given any money on which to operate

Mr. Bass said that Dr. Fischer was chairman of the map division and that the proposed map would be a beautiful job when finished. He further said that Dr. Gibson and Mrs. Williams were working on a bibliography and that it was not certain when it would be completed. Mrs. Bass said that a group from Oklahoma was going to Pea Ridge, Arkansas, to help commemorate the centennial of the Battle of Pea Ridge.

Mr. Bass also said that Mr. Shirk's item being published day by day on Civil War actions in the Indian Territory was being used by about one hundred Oklahoma newspapers. Mrs. Mary McCain of KETA-TV, said Mr. Bass, is supervising a contest in which many state school children have participated. He added that the contest had created a great deal of favorable publicity for the Oklahoma Historical Society and for the Civil War Centennial Commission.

Reporting for the Tour Committee, Mr. Miller said that plans for the tour were in order. He added that he hoped everyone participating would use bus accommodations for travel and that there would be no tour participants in private cars.

Mr. Miller then discussed the old sod house north of Cleo Springs, about 35 miles west of Enid. He said that for some years he had been searching for such an old sod house in fairly good condition and had been informed of this one by a man in the Enid school system who wanted to enlist the help of the Historical Society to save this building. He said the sod house was built in 1893, had walls two feet thick, still had the original beams which had been cut on Eagle Chief Creek, and was furnished with the same furniture brought by the homesteaders in 1893. He added that the farm was still recorded in the name of the family who had homesteaded it in 1893.

Regarding the report of the Executive Committee, President Shirk said that the minutes of the last meeting had been circulated and asked if there were any further comments on it. There were none.

Mr. Phillips announced that the Oklahoma Historical Society would present an Oklahoma flag to the Oklahoma Press Association at the official opening of the Oklahoma Press Association Building on

North Lincoln Boulevard and that Mr. Shirk would make the presentation on behalf of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Miss Seger moved, and Mr. Muldrow seconded the motion, that the Oklahoma flag for the presentation be purchased from the Society's unappropriated funds.

Mr. Shirk said that, as required by Article IV, Section 3, of the Constitution, ballots had been mailed to each member of the Society for the election of five members to the Board of Directors. He asked that the Treasurer read to the Board the results of the canvass. Mrs. Bowman said that the ballots had been tallied and that the canvass showed a return of 321 ballots favorable for the re-election of the following directors: Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Mr. R. G. Miller, and Mrs. Anna B. Korn.

Mr. Muldrow moved, and Mr. Bass seconded the motion, that the report of the canvass be accepted as official by the Board. The motion was put to a vote and carried.

After a call for any new business, or any unfinished business from the floor, President Shirk announced that, in accordance with Section 1 Article IV of the Constitution, the Board was to elect new officers. Mr. Shirk pointed out that the Constitution provided for election by written ballot. Dr. Johnson suggested that the rules be suspended and the entire group of officers be re-elected by acclamation. President Shirk said that, of course, he could be overruled by the members of the Board, but he would prefer that the vote be by written ballot. Dr. Johnson withdrew his suggestion and moved that the voting be by single written ballot. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Korn and carried when put. President Shirk appointed a teller committee consisting of Dr. Johnson, Miss Seger, and Mr. Boydston to collect, tally and announce the results of the ballot.

While the teller committee was out, President Shirk said he would like to turn the gavel over to Judge Hefner to preside over the meeting for the tally of the votes and the election of officers.

Judge Hefner remarked that he considered it a privilege to preside over the Board because it was a group working together in complete harmony. The Teller Committee returned and, as presiding officer, Judge Hefner asked the Committee Chairman, Miss Seger, how the Committee found. Miss Seger replied that all of the present officers had been re-elected by unanimous vote.

Mr. Mountcastle moved, and Mr. Curtis seconded the motion, that the Board accept the ballot as official. This motion was carried when put.

Judge Hefner returned the gavel and the conduct of the meeting to President Shirk who announced that at the last meeting of the Executive Committee a special resolution was adopted paying tribute to Mrs. Frank B. Korn who was today celebrating her 40th anniversary as a member of the Board of Directors. Judge Hefner said he would like to make a motion that the entire resolution be read to the Board of Directors, and that the resolution as adopted by the Executive Committee be also adopted by the entire Board of Directors, and that the entire resolution be printed in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. President Shirk read the resolution as requested by Judge Hefner. Judge Hefner's motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and carried when put to a vote of the Board.

Mr. Joe W. McBride introduced new board member, Mr. W. D.

Finney of Fort Cobb. Mr. Finney said it was a pleasure to be at the meeting and that he considered it a privilege to serve on the Board of Directors. He further said he was going to try to fulfill the obligation incumbent on those holding membership on the Board.

Mr. Fraker remarked that it was Mr. Finney who had sponsored the project which resulted in the fine granite marker erected at old Fort Cobb.

Mr. McBride said that as chairman of the Publications Committee, he, Mr. Fraker and Miss Wright had met and discussed problems concerning *The Chronicles*. He added that he hoped everyone would like the new offset production. He said the Publications Committee found it so satisfactory that they planned to continue this same program. Mr. McBride pointed out that the editing of a magazine such as *The Chronicles* was a meticulous and time consuming job. In view of this, he said, Miss Wright's only responsibility was to edit *The Chronicles*, and that production and circulation matters were being handled under the Administrative Secretary's supervision.

Dr. B. B. Chapman announced that the three-act play by Ira Nathan Terrill, concerning the land opening of 1889, is being edited by his history students, the Payne County Historical Society, and the Early Day Settlers of Guthrie, Inc. The play appeared in 1907. The copyright of the new edition will be placed with the Oklahoma Historical Society.

It being determined there was no further business, the meeting was adjourned to be reconvened at 11:00 a.m. for the formal acceptance of the Josh Lee portrait. A copy of the program of that ceremony is attached hereto.

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

R E S O L U T I O N

WHEREAS, Anna B. Korn, through many years as a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society has contributed much in the way of time, money and effort to the welfare of the Society; and,

WHEREAS, Mrs. Korn, by her outstanding leadership in the founding and development of the Oklahoma Memorial Association, has brought great renown to herself and the State of Oklahoma; and,

WHEREAS, innumerable instances of her devotion and loyalty to the people of Oklahoma have been made manifest in her contributions of love and affection to all with whom she came in contact; and

WHEREAS, Almighty God in His Infinite Wisdom has seen fit to permit Anna B. Korn a long tenure of life here on this earth, wherein she has had the opportunity of multiplying her deeds of accomplishment that brought happiness and a better life to the people of this state; and,

WHEREAS, the Oklahoma Historical Society has been made the especial beneficiary of an exceedingly large portion of her good works to the end that the history of Oklahoma has received greater attention and respect.

NOW THEREFORE BE IS RESOLVED THAT, we, the members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, in regular meeting assembled this Twenty-Fifth Day of January, Nineteen Hundred and Sixty-Two, do hereby extend our heartfelt thanks and appreciation to Anna B. Korn for the good she has wrought in behalf of this Society and the Commonwealth of Oklahoma.

GEORGE H. SHIRK

President

ELMER L. FRAKER

Administrative Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED — January 22, 1962

Library

"The Collinsville News" May 12, 1949

"The Collinsville News, Golden Anniversary Edition," May 12, 1949

Donor: Bill Dale, Oklahoma Historical Society Museum

2 copies of "The Sigma Literary Society, 1893-1897" by Willa Adams Dusch

Judge Oriel Busby's Circular Letter on the Oklahoma Historical Society

Donor: Berlin B. Chapman, Stillwater

"Historic Points in and Around Tahlequah" by T. L. Ballenger

Donor: T. L. Ballenger, Tahlequah

1 Roll Microfilm, 1860 Alabama Census: Marshall-Pike County

Telephone Directory of Newberry, South Carolina

Telephone Directory of Aliceville, Carrollton, Gordon and Reform, Alabama, 1960

Telephohe Directory of Ada, Coalgate, Roff, Stratford, and Tupelo, Oklahoma, 1960

Donor: John C. Cheek, Oklahoma City

Michael Stucker of 1759 and his Kinsmen by Essie Stucker

Supplement of Michael Stucker of 1759 and his Kinsmen

Index of Names Bouton-Boughton Family

Donor: Ralph Hudson, Oklahoma State Library

"National Trust Report, 1960-61"

Tulsa Telephone Directory, 1960

1864 Map of Conhecticut, Massachusetts, New York

1865 Map of Nebraska, Dokata, Idaho and Montant

1864 Map of Kentucky and Tennessee

1864 Map of Lower Canada

1864 Map of Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut

1864 Map of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia

1864 Map of Maine

1865 Map of North and South Carolina

1865 Map of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi

1864 Map of Illinois

1864 Map of Ohio

1865 Map of city and county of New York

1865 Map of Georgetown and Washington, D. C.

1865 Map of Delaware and Maryland

1865 Map of Mexico

1865 Map of Central America

1865 Map of Minnesota, Oregon and Washington

1863 Map of Florida

1864 Map of Iowa and Nebraska

1864 Map of Wisconsin and Michigan

- 1863 Map of Georgia and Alabama
 1864 Map of California, Utah, Nevada, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona
 1864 Map of Pennsylvania
 Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City
 2 Indian Territory covers: Tahlequah, May 29, 1901 and May 22, 1907
 Donor: Lester Hargrett, Okmulgee
 1898 Post Card: "Oklahoma City View"
 Donor: Dr. Robert King, Oklahoma City
Military and Genealogical Records of the Famous Indian Woman Nancy Ward by Annie Walker Burns
Ward Families History by Annie Walker Burns
 Donor: Mrs. Annie Walker Burns, Washington, D. C.
 2 pictures: "Ox-team in Indian Territory" and "Corn Cribs in Indian Territory"
 Donor: Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis
The Ladies of the White House by Laura C. Holloway
Narratives of Early Carolina by Alexander S. Salley, Jr.
 List of references of Immigrant Ancestors
 Donor: Mrs. Frank Grass, Oklahoma City
The Morton Lincoln Simonson Family by John Carl Simonson
 Donor: John Carl Simonson, Oklahoma
 "The Salyer Tree and Miscellanea" by Gerge Powell Salyer
 Donor: George Powell Salyer, Maysville
 Picture: "Scene of Fort Reno Park, Washington, D. C."
 Donor: Claude E. Hensley, Oklahoma City
 "The Ingalls Raid"
 Donor: John Booth, Oklahoma City
Lost Cause Press Microcard Catalog, 1962
 Donor: Lost Cause Press, Louisville, Kentucky
 "A Short Account of my Life" by T. J. Hincey
 Donor: Harry Stallings, Oklahoma City
 Indian Claims Commission: "Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Indians of Oklahoma vs. the United States of America"
 Donor: William Howard Payne, Washington, D. C.
 Original letter of George W. Briggs containing information on the Chisholm Trail and the Texas Cattle Trail. Also photostat copy of same.
 Donor: Edward F. Briggs, Granite
 "Oklahoma Poetry, 1961"
 Donor: Leslie A. McRill, Oklahoma City
 Original hand-written address of General Stand Watie
 Donors: Mrs. Victor E. Taylor, Tulsa and Mrs. David McNaught, Los Angeles
 "The Michigan Yearbook, 1961"
 Donor: Michigan Yearbook, Detroit
 "Boston Mountain Poems" by Gerald M. Van Dyke
 Donor: Gerald M. Van Dyke, Mountainburg, Arkansas
Texas Today and Tomorrow
 Donor: Philosophical Society of Texas, Dallas
Graham Patterson of Portage, New York, His Ancestry and Descendants by Norman G. Patterson
 Donor: Norman G. Patterson, Minneapolis
Western Treasures Lost and Found by Jesse Ed Rascoe
 Donor: Jesse Ed Rascoe, Tayahvale, Texas

The Cloud Family by Rachel Pond and Clifton Ray Pond

Donor: James W. Cloud, Oklahoma City

A History of the Fahl-Fall and Allied Families, 1709-1961

Donor: Mrs. Nettie Deal, Jones

The Oklahoma Gardener, Volumes 30-31

Collection of Oklahoma Garden Club Scrap Books

Donor: Mrs. Paul Updegraff, Norman

Indian Archives

2 printed copies of Constitution and By-Laws of the Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma, ratified November 30, 1938.

2 printed copies of Corporate Charters of the Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma, ratified June 2, 1939.

1 mimeographed copy of Report of Special meeting of the Ottawa Tribe of Indians held May 3, 1958, in Miami, Oklahoma.

1 typewritten copy of Roll of Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma, approved by the tribe January 22, 1957.

1 printed copy of Volume 24, No. 158, Federal Register, published August 13, 1959, containing the Ottawa Roll which has not been approved by said tribe.

Donor: Guy Jennison, Chief, Ottawa Tribe of Indians, Miami, Oklahoma.

7 printed copies of Report of the Commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes to the Secretary of the Interior for years: 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914.

4 printed Reports of the United States Indian Inspector for the Indian Territory for the following years: 1904, 1905, 1906 and 1907.

Donor: Thomas J. Harrison, Pryor, Oklahoma

1 mimeographed Brochure relating to "25th Anniversary of St. Paul Lutheran Church, Texhoma, Oklahoma."

Donor: Rev. H. W. Kamman, Texhoma, Oklahoma

3 "Money Order Cashbooks" for Doaksville and Ft. Towson, dated August 5, 1902, May 31, 1905; June 1, 1905 to January 31, 1908; and February 1, 1908 to March 31, 1908.

2 "Registers of Money Orders Issued," one dated April 1, 1909 to June 30, 1911, and the other January 2, 1913 to October 31, 1914.

Donor: Dorothy J. Orton, Acting Postmaster, Ft. Towson, Oklahoma.

Genealogy of the Ward family of Cherokee Indians, prepared by Annie Walker Burns, Washington 4, D. C.

Photostat copy of Macon (Ga.) *News*, of December 902, with article by John T. Boifeuillet about William McIntosh, Creek chief.

Thermofax copy of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship made June 23, 1828, at Cantonment Leavenworth between the "Omahaws-Otoe-Kanza-Republican Pawnee-Ioways-Sack and Shawnee."

Donor: Berlin B. Chapman, Stillwater, Oklahoma

Ledger #6, dated in 1900, from Indian Trading Post, Darlington, Cheyenne & Arapaho Agency. This store was operated by Thomas T. Settle and Joseph O. Hickox from 1885 to 1900.

Donor: Joe Hickox, of California.

Two (2) Day Books kept by John P. Kingsbury, Trader, Doaksville, Choctaw Nation, one dating from June 27, 1856 to July 31, 1857, and the other from August 1, 1957 to July 4, 1859.

One (1) Journal kept by John P. Kingsbury, trader, Doaksville, Choctaw Nation, dating from April 10, 1853 to April 1857.

Donor: Miss Muriel H. Wright, from the Rev. Allen Wright Collection.

*Museum***PICTURES:**

Oil portrait of Henry Lowndes Muldrow

Donor: Fisher Muldrow, Norman, Oklahoma

Hogan Institute, a water color

Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Glenn Nofsinger, Choteau, Oklahoma

Dr. Harry B. Thompson and Dr. B. B. Chapman

Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater, Oklahoma

Tishomingo Street Scene

Donor: Ralph Titus, KWTU Oklahoma City

Pleasant Valley Sunday School—picnic 1903-5 photographs

Gladys L. Conley

Emma and Edward Cowden

Maggie, Evelyn and Frances Niday

Stella Boardman

Mrs. Mollie Evans

Louisa Earnest

Joe Stricklin

Five cars—early models

Donors: Mrs. J. W. Kinnick, Rt. 1, Stillwater, Oklahoma

Home of Quanah Parker

Donor: Mrs. Delmar H. Baldwin

Oklahoma City, May 2, 1889

Oklahoma City, May 5, 1889—First Restaurant

Oklahoma City street scene

Harrah's Store and Post Office at Harrah, Oklahoma 1897

Oklahoma City, April 24, 1889

Oklahoma City, California Avenue, May 5, 1889

Church and Harrah Store, Oklahoma City, 1889

Wells Fargo Express Office, Oklahoma City, 1889

Donor: Cal Harrah, 401 N.W. 46th, Street, Oklahoma City

Joe Gardner, Dewey Round-up, 1913

W. A. McCombs, Dewey Round-up, 1913

Eula Youngblood

Dewey Round-up 1913, three pictures

John Henry

Donor: Ralph W. Hansen, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah

President Harry S. Truman

Thomas Dewey

Midke Supply Company

Carpenter Paper Company

Trinity Baptist Church, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Edward J. Flynn

First Baptist Church, Ada, Oklahoma

523 photographs of prominent Oklahomans

Donor: Bill Finney, South Western Engraving Company, Oklahoma City

Oil portrait of Josh Lee

Donor:

GIFTS PRESENTED*Museum***EXHIBITS:**

Bayonet, secured in England World War II

Donor: Dale Harrison, 3906 N.W. 58th Terrace, Oklahoma City

Campaign buttons, presidential

Campaign handkerchief, James G. Blaine

Portiere tie backs, pewder

Donor: Mrs. Delmar H. Baldwin, San Monica, California

Nose glasses, four pair, gold frames

Frames, one pair gold frames

Hair pin, gold to use with cain for glasses

Reading glasses, three pair, steel frames

Bi-focals, two pair Benjamin Franklin, silver frames

Bi-focals, one pair, gold rims

Badge, Oklahoma Association of Optometrists, 1912 Convention

Frame fitting set with 11 testing lenses

Donor: Dr. M. A. Yourman, Bristow

Batangas knife, made by Philippine Craftsmen

Donor: Hobart H. Hobbs, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Carriage, Phaeton type, one seat, top

Donor: Paul H. Andres, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Automobile Tag, Oklahoma 1-786-1950

Donor: Dr. E. R. Musick, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Automobile Tag, Oklahoma 1-5122-1950

Donor: L. P. Dewitt, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Coins: Louis VX ecu-1719, struck in Nantes

Louis XV 1/6 ecu, 1719, struck in Paris

Louis XV 1/6 ecu, 1719, struck in Lille

Purchased from B. A. Sealy, Ltd., London, England

GIFTS PRESENTED AND ACCEPTED, OCTOBER 26, 1961

Museum

Pictures:

Three photographs of Hiway 18 near Stillwater

Donor: John H. Melton, Stillwater, Oklahoma

Five magazine pictures of Will Rogers and Tom Mix

Donor: Roy A. Wykoff, Davenport, Iowa

Elmer Fraker

Donor: Elmer Fraker, Oklahoma City

Group picture, Miss Muriel H. Wright, Mrs. George Bowman, George Shirk

Donor: Judge J. G. Clift, Duncan, Oklahoma

Group at summer home of Governor Douglas H. Johnston

Donor: Juanita Johnston Smith, Oklahoma City

Oil photograph of Sue Hyson, outstanding 4-H Club Girl

Oil photograph of Micheal Lucas, outstanding 4-H Club Boy

Donor: Ira J. Hollar, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater

Oklahoma

Enoch Moore

Malissa Rankin Moore

Donor: Minton H. Moore, Newport Beach, California

Rear Admiral A. Soucek

Donor: Barrett Galloway, Oklahoma City

Brin Building, early day Sapulpa

Donor: Idaho Historical Society, Boise City, Idaho

Eldee Starr

Donor: Mrs. Callie Starr Wyley, Oklahoma City

Seminole Oil Field, Carter Camp

Seminole Oil Field, Sinclair Camp

Holdenville Oil Field

Street scene Seminole, early day

Donor: Dr. James Newbold, Curator, Peale Museum, Baltimore,
Maryland

Three albums of pictures and 107 pictures of Old Darlington. Traders,
Indians

Donor: Joseph O. Hickox, Pasadena, California in memory of
Millar O. Hickox

Panorama—101 Ranch

Panorama—tornado, Mattoon, Illinois

Donor: Mrs. Charles White, Harrah, Oklahoma

Interiors of Bus #2 and 3, Oklahoma Historical Tour, 1961

Henry Bass, Near Chustenahlah Battle Site Historical Tour, 1961

Greenleaf Lake

Donor: Henry Bass, Enid, Oklahoma

Four color pictures Dedication of Cabi nCreek Monument by U.D.C.

Grave of Epaphras Chapman at Union Mission

Stand Watie's Tomb at Folsom Cemetery

Donor: George E. Broome, Amarillo, Texas

Elizabeth Borden's photos Dug-out, her horse and buggy, on her horse,
entering her dug-out

Donor: Dr. Elizabeth Borden, Oklahoma City

EXHIBITS

White embroidered pillow sham

Donor: Mattie McGess, Watonga, Oklahoma

Wreath of seeds, framed

Donor: Mrs. Spencer Barnhill, Oklahoma City

Trade Tokens, two sets from Reidt Company Stores

Donor: Wm. M. Reidt, McAlester, Oklahoma

Document, excerpt of Cherokee Bible

Donor: Thomas J. Harrison, Pryor, Oklahoma

Tomahawk, iron, H. B. Co., Ltd. 1740

Donor: Eddie Ward, Oklahoma City

Hammer—stone—prehistoric

Hoe—stone

Donor: Hess Moore, Oklahoma City

Document—letter writteh Sept. 26, 1847

Donor: Manton M. Moore, Newport Beach, California

Chair—owner by Governor B. Franklin Overton, Chickasaw

Donor: Mrs. Garnett Love, Denison, Texas

Two beaded canes

Two bows and eight arrows

Three toy Cradle Boards

Two Indian Dolls

Six Moccasins, child's

Purse, beaded, child's

Two Pipe Tamper Sticks, beaded and three pipes

Donor: Joseph O. Hickox, Pasadena, California

Rocking Chair—two straight chairs

Bureau and Tea Cart

Donor: Kathryn M. Long Estate, Stillwater, Oklahoma

Soldier's Pay Book, World War I

Certificate of Horsemanship

Baby Cup

Crochet Hand Bag

Five ornamental combs, bone hair pin, barrette

Letter Openers (2)

Darning ball and hat pin

Donor: Mrs. Charles White, Harrah, Oklahoma

Dress, white silk wedding dress, white slippers and white hose

Bolero, black silk

Donor: Margaret S. Kappa, San Carlos, California

Two Almanacks, dated 1846 and 1847 (Union Room)

Donor: Mrs. Henry O. Davis, Oklahoma City

NEW MEMBERS

QUARTER FOR OCTOBER 26, 1961 TO JANUARY 25, 1962

New Annual Members

Deskins, Mrs. Marybelle

Little, Charles H.

Crawford, Mrs. Blair

Edmondson, Mrs. Justus

Garrett, Mrs. C. W.

Clark, Ivan

Sneed, Frank C.

Landham, D. E.

Cook, Thomas

Lane, A. Durwood

Clement, T. E., Jr.

Clinkscales, Albert Sidney

McCorkle, Mrs. S. H.

Melton, Mrs. Opal L.

Phelps, Charles H.

Reeves, Mrs. Imogene M.

Roberts, Mrs. J. B.

West, Sally Taafe

Bellmard, Mrs. Jesma

Murphy, John Michael

Stoneman, Arch

Siler, Gerald B.

Culp, John H., Jr.

Race, Mrs. M. A.

Harlan, Parks E.

Smith, Mrs. Ethel

Dowell, Lula J.

Knox, Shelby R.

Smith, Mrs. Dema E.

Cannon, Myrl Key

Boone, Mrs. Hugh

Roseberry, Carroll Victor

Lock, Nelson A.

Frank, J. Anton

Bradley, Carter W.

Turner, Eric, Albert

Ardmore, Oklahoma

Checotah, Oklahoma

Drumright, Oklahoma

" "

Ft. Gibson, Oklahoma

Kingfisher, Oklahoma

Lawton, Oklahoma

Midwest City, Oklahoma

Muskogee, Oklahoma

Noble, Oklahoma

Norman, Oklahoma

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

" " "

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" " "

Ponca City, Oklahoma

" " "

Sand Springs, Oklahoma

Seminole, Oklahoma

Shawnee, Oklahoma

" "

Spiro, Oklahoma

Tecumseh, Oklahoma

Tulsa, Oklahoma

" "

" "

Pomona, California

Twin Falls, Idaho

Chicago, Illinois

Oak Park, Illinois

Houston, Texas

Washington, D. C.

Abingdon, Berkshire, England

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
January 25, 1962
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

JOSH LEE

United States House of Representatives 1935-1937
United States Senate 1937-1943

PROGRAM

11:00 a.m.

On the occasion of the presentation
To the State of Oklahoma
Of the Portrait of Senator Josh Lee

Invocation.....Dr. Rupert Naney
Pastor, Nichols Hills Baptist Church
Presentation of Portrait.....Hon. Alfred P. Murrah
Chief Judge, U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, Tenth Circuit
Acceptance.....Hon. George H. Shirk
President, Oklahoma Historical Society

Names
Addresses
United States House of
Representatives 1935-1937
United States Senate 1937-1943

Just Off The Press

CUMULATIVE INDEX

TO

The Chronicles of Oklahoma

From 1921 to 1959

- Inclusive -

More than 125,000

Makes finding of any information contained in
The Chronicles a matter of seconds.

A beautifully bound volume

Price \$15.00

In ordering, make your check to the Oklahoma Historical Society and mail to: Index Dept., Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma.

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Historical Building 5,
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

MARK OF HERITAGE:

A beautifully illustrated brochure in colors, locating all 131 markers erected by the Oklahoma Historical Society and giving historical data concerning each. A history of Oklahoma told by the markers with handsome illustrated map.

Price \$1.00. Add 10c for postage with each order.

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

This booklet tells the story of Oklahoma as revealed by the museums in the Oklahoma Historical Society Building. Each splendid picture is accompanied by a brief article of explanation. Authentic data.

Price 25c. Add 10c for postage with each order.

OKLAHOMA HISTORIC SITES SURVEY:

Listings and brief descriptions of 557 historic sites in the State of Oklahoma.

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ALONG THE WASHINGTON IRVING TRAIL IN OKLAHOMA:

Concise story and description of Washington Irving's *A Tour On The Prairie*. Map of route taken by Irving and his group in 1832.

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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

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Summer, 1962

Volume XL

Number 2

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Cover: The scene of a picket house in Oklahoma territorial days, on the front cover is from an original pen and ink drawing by Augusta C. Metcalf, the noted Oklahoma artist. Well known for her fine paintings and drawings of horses and early day scenes, the artist did this pen and ink sketch for *The Chronicles*, her life story appearing in this magazine in 1955, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1.

THOMAS GILCREASE

BY MARTIN WENGER*

Thomas Gilcrease, a well known oilman of Creek Indian, descent and the founder of the Gilcrease Museum at Tulsa keenly appreciated his American heritage. Early in life he commenced to assemble the remarkable collection of paintings, sculpture, books, manuscripts and artifacts pertaining to the American Indian and the American frontier which has come to be recognized as the Nation's most outstanding collection of its kind.

Thomas Gilcrease was born in Robilene, Louisiana, on February 8, 1890, one of the large family of children of William and Elizabeth (nee Vowell) Gilcrease. When Thomas was a few months old, the family moved to Eufaula, Indian Territory, for Mrs. Gilcrease was of Creek Indian descent which gave her and her children land rights in the Creek Nation. A year later, they settled on a farm just south of Ball Mountain where they were neighbors to the Posey family. Thomas Gilcrease attended his first school in this community, taught by Alexander Posey, later the noted Creek poet in Oklahoma history. In about 1898, the Gilcrease family moved farther west to the Twin Mounds, in present Creek County, where they took their allotments of land at the time the tribal rolls and allotments in severalty were made in the Creek Nation. William Gilcrease opened a little grocery store at the Twin Mounds, and later owned two cotton gins and a grist mill in the vicinity. In 1904, he moved his family to Wealaka, an old post office in the Creek Nation where he laid out a townsite and became postmaster and opened a general merchandise store. His son Thomas as a boy picked cotton and drove a wagon and team on the farms; later he worked in the cotton gins and in the store and post office at Wealaka. Oil was struck four miles from the 160 acre allotment of Thomas Gilcrease in 1905, and his land was soon in the famous Glen Pool of the great Mid-Continent Oil Field that pushed Tulsa on its way to become the "Oil Capital of the World." Young Gilcrease had thirty-two producing oil wells on his 160 acre allotment by 1917.

He attended Bacone College at Muskogee, Indian Territory in 1907-08, soon after oil was struck on his land. A few years later, he attended the State Teachers College at Emporia, Kansas. He moved to Tulsa in 1908, which was really his home throughout his lifetime though he lived in California a short time; he

* Martin Wenger is Librarian in the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art of Tulsa. He also serves on the editorial staff of *The American Scene* published by the Gilcrease Institute.—Ed.



(Portrait by Charles Banks Wilson, in Gilcrease Museum)

THOMAS GILCREASE

also lived in San Antonio for a period of years, and traveled abroad for many years.

Thomas Gilcrease carried on his own business interests at an early age—farming, ranching and dealing in real estate. He purchased a tract of land two and one half miles northwest of Tulsa in Blackdog Township of Osage County, in 1912, where he built a large home and bought his first oil painting, *Rural Courtship* by Ridgway Knight.

Young Gilcrease had started his own oil business and entered the field of banking at the age of twenty-one. He soon owned a large interest in the bank now known as the Fourth National Bank at Tulsa, also owned outright the Bank of Bixby, the State Bank of Wagoner, the State Bank of Coweta and also, at one time, the largest bank in Stillwater.

Mr. Gilcrease formed the Gilcrease Oil Company at Tulsa in 1922. The Company brought in the first oil producer in South Central Oklahoma soon afterward, and it was during these oil operations that Mr. Gilcrease discovered a new oil producing strata which is known today as the Gilcrease sand. This spurred the development of the oil pools in this part of Oklahoma such as the Papoose, Sasakwa, Wewoka and others. The Gilcrease Oil Company established an office in San Antonio in 1936, and operated in the East Texas Field, south to the Rio Grande River, west to New Mexico as well as in North Texas, Southern Oklahoma and Kansas. Later, Mr. Gilcrease also established an office in Europe.

He started his extensive traveling abroad in 1925. It was in this that his interest in American culture intensified, and he accelerated his activities in collecting rare objects of art, paintings, books and manuscripts. His visits in Europe taught him that knowledge of civilizations is established by the things that remain from them. It was in Paris that he determined to assemble a record of the American Indian including the pre-historic period which could be obtained only by archaeological explorations. Much of his time during the last years of his life was spent personally excavating remains of ancient Indian cultures.

The Thomas Gilcrease Foundation was established in 1942, "to maintain an art gallery, museum and library devoted to the permanent preservation for free and public use and enjoyment of the artistic, cultural and historical records of the American Indian." A building was constructed of native sandstone by Indian artisans on land near the Gilcrease home, and the museum was opened by a formal dedication ceremony May 3, 1949.

Mr. Gilcrease presented the museum collections to the City of Tulsa in 1955. He also deeded the building and thirteen acres of land surrounding it to the City three years later. Since then,



(Photo, Gilcrease Museum)

In the Gilcrease Museum of Art and History, Thomas Gilcrease with the portrait of Charles Carroll of Carrollton painted by Thomas Sully. The sculptored, bronze head of Abraham Lincoln is on the right.

the fame of the Gilcrease Collection has grown rapidly. Visitors have come from all parts of the world to see this great museum, now officially known as the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art of Tulsa.

Thomas Gilcrease passed away in the morning of Sunday, May 6, 1962, from the effects of a stroke suffered a few hours earlier. Memorial services were held on the lawn in front of his home overlooking the skyline of Tulsa on the following Wednesday. The Reverend Guy Tetrick of the Methodist Church officiated at the services which were highlighted by a eulogy written and delivered by David R. Milsten. Indian burial rites were conducted by Chief Dode McIntosh of the Creeks, Wolfrobe Hunt and other Indian friends. Burial will be in a mausoleum to be constructed nearby. Mr. Gilcrease was married twice, and is survived by two sons, Thomas, Jr., and Barton of San Antonio, Texas; and a daughter, Des Cygne Gilcrease Denney of Palos Verdes Estates, California.

A friend tells that Mr. Gilcrease once said that of all the things he had ever done, the most useful to the most people—something that will bring pleasure and knowledge—had been the founding of the library and art gallery of the Museum. "It is my aim always to leave something more beautiful than I found it," he remarked.

Thomas Gilcrease enjoyed a rich and happy life that started from humble beginnings. He gave to Oklahoma and America a gift of immeasurable value. He appreciated the ideals and the spirit of the American tradition. He appreciated them so much that he has left for posterity a marvelous and vital presentation of our American heritage that will continue to instill a greater understanding and respect for these ideals in all time to come.

FROM THE BRAZOS TO THE NORTH FORK

The Autobiography of Otto Koeltzow

Edited by A. M. Gibson

Part I

Introduction

Otto Koeltzow's people joined those thousands of restless Europeans who fled chronic economic reverses and tyrannical governments during the 1870's and 1880's to seek a new life in the United States. Much has been written of the South European immigration to the industrial East and Midwest, and of those hardy Scandinavians who ventured into the Trans-Mississippi West and homesteaded the Northern Great Plains region. Otto Koeltzow's *Autobiography* accounts for another migration trail—the settlement of a colony of Germans in south Texas.

The story of Otto Koeltzow's life typifies the resourcefulness and tenacity of these German migrants. It is a saga of endurance and courage. And more than this, it chronicles the vicissitudes of a hopeful people in a new land, of hardship and toil, ubiquitous disappointment, and finally success.

A glimpse is provided of agricultural readjustment in the post-bellum South, notably the operation of tenantry and sharecropping as replacements for the pre-war slave labor. That a people could escape these vicious systems is shown by the Koeltzows' move from the lower Brazos country to free homesteads in Greer County, Oklahoma Territory.

The special problems facing the homesteader on the southern Great Plains are explained in satisfying detail. Survival of the fittest was a deadly reality in Greer County. And Otto Koeltzow's inventiveness helps explain his success in confronting, if not conquering, a capricious natural environment where so many others failed. With all his disappointments, Koeltzow kept his sense of humor, and adversity seasoned his appreciation of success once it had been achieved.

In an age of disintegrating family and group life, one can find comfort in this tight-knit Germany colony with its focus on the church and family solidarity, and its emphasis on the curious folkway, at least curious for our times, of helping one another. An enduring source of inspiration as well as tangible help for Otto Koeltzow was Pastor E. M. Eckhardt who had served south Texas Lutheran churches and parochial schools when the Koeltzows and other German immigrants first settled



Mr. and Mrs. Otto F. Koeltzow and family at their 25th Anniversary in 1925. Front row, left to right, Edwin, Mrs. Koeltzow, Mr. Koeltzow and Alfred; back row, left to right, Elsie, August, Martha, Paul and Alma.

on the Brazos. Pastor Eckhardt well knew the suffering and hardships endured by these hardy people, and he was especially pleased when he visited Otto Koeltzow in 1921 to find him prospering.

Concerned that all knowledge of the German colony on the Brazos might be lost to future generations, he encouraged Otto Koeltzow to write a chronicle of these people. Koeltzow's autobiographical notes, extended to cover group as well as personal experiences, came to the attention of Pastor W. A. Haefker of the Granite, Oklahoma Lutheran Church. He in turn enlisted the interest of Dr. W. A. Willibrand, Professor of Modern Languages, University of Oklahoma, and an authority on German colonies in the Southwest. To both Pastor Haefker and Dr. Willibrand a word of gratitude is in order. And once the editing got under way, Pastor Haefker and Pastor Otto Urban of the Lone Wolf, Oklahoma Lutheran Church were of considerable assistance.

—A. M. Gibson

The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

I

The Crossing

I was born in the rich province of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, near Peterstorf, Germany on April 29, 1876. While my father, Ludwig Koeltzow, was an energetic and capable farmer, he could not prosper because tax collectors took at least half of what the people produced. As I recollect stories told of the oppressions suffered by the German people, I am certain that I would rather be a lowly tenant in the United States than a landowner in Germany. But high taxes were not the only hardships suffered by the German people in the nineteenth century. Compulsory military service and a state-sponsored system of education and religion were disagreeable too. The schools and churches belonged to the central government. The school teachers and clergy were paid from the national treasury. Religious toleration and freedom of worship were not permitted. The families of our community became restless under this tyranny, and several made plans to emigrate to America, where, it was reported, people were free.

Father decided to join the exodus. After selling his land and livestock he had enough money to buy passage to the new country for the eight members of our family. I was seven years old, and had been in school for one year when we sailed from Hamburg aboard the *Ruhgia* in November, 1883.

The weather was mild when we left Hamburg, but on the third day the *Ruhgia* ran into a big storm. At times, crashing waves covered the deck with foam-flecked sea water, and the ship pitched so violently that the cooks abandoned the galley, and

we had nothing to eat for three days. Father tied us into our bunks with ropes to keep us from rocking into the flooded passageway. One passenger, a girl of seventeen, was thrown against the bulkhead with such force that her neck was broken and she died almost immediately. The ship rocked from one side to the other in a regular rhythm, and, at the same time, as her bow nosed into the high breakers, one could see the heavy drive chain grinding on the stern. All aboard feared the big craft would break in two.

On the second night of our ordeal the wind and waves smashed the *Rughia* with renewed fury and the captain came below and warned that, as it was likely we would not see another day, everyone should pray to the Lord for deliverance. Soon thereafter a high-flowing wall of water flooded the rear smoke stack and all seemed lost. But at three in the morning the wind calmed, and the storm passed.

At daybreak the girl who had been killed by the storm was buried in the sea. The ship's crew spread a white sheet over a board about sixteen inches wide, laid the body on it, covered the corpse with another sheet, and tied it with three ropes—one at the head, one at the feet, and a third across the body. A heavy weight was tied to each end of the board. Sadly the passengers and the crew gathered at the railing, and after a brief sermon, the ship was brought to a standstill, and the body was lowered into the sea by two ropes, thus concluding the funeral.

A normal run for the *Ruhgia* between Hamburg and New York was seven days. Our crossing took seventeen, and during the storm we made only one knot, less than a mile, in twenty-four hours.

Changing ships in New York, we landed at Galveston, Texas on the first day of December, 1883. At Galveston we boarded a train for Brenham, Texas. This was a new line, the track was poorly laid, and a repair crew had to work ahead of the train. And to make matters worse, the wood supply used to fire the engine ran out, all of which made the railroad journey seem as slow as the crossing aboard the *Ruhgia*, but finally we reached Brenham, county seat of Washington County.

The region around Brenham was big farming country. Cotton, corn, and cane were the principal crops. In earlier times, local landowners had worked their land with Negroes, but with the arrival of Germans in this part of Texas, proprietors came to prefer German sharecroppers and tenants because, it was claimed, they were reliable workers and produced good crops. It seemed to me that Texas landlords had not as yet learned to work.

Before the Civil War, Negroes had worked in this region as slaves. After 1865, many Negroes had continued on the same land, but as tenants and sharecroppers. Since these former slaves were illiterate, they were easily cheated by their white landlords. The German immigrants came in for their share of exploitation too.

Fritz Summer, a Washington County landowner, had migrated from Germany to the United States before the Civil War. By 1861 he was reported to have owned 4,000 acres of cotton land and 500 slaves. After the war, his slaves, now freedmen, left his plantation and Summer, without laborers to work his land, wrote many letters to relatives and friends in Germany telling them of the freedom and opportunity in America, and promising that if they would come to Washington County, Texas, he would provide a home for them.

Many German families responded to his invitation, including my own. When we arrived at Summer's plantation, he rented a place to father and promised to furnish all the rations and farm tools we would need to make a fresh start. We soon discovered, however, that our landlord had no intention of keeping his part of the agreement. All he furnished was a yoke of oxen and one plow, and one-half bushel of cornmeal and seven pounds of bacon, rationed every two weeks. We had no coffee, sugar, or flour.

Considering our large family, we had only about half enough to eat. Shortly after our arrival in Washington County, father took sick and sent word to Mr. Summer that he needed a little flour. Mr. Summer replied that father could eat cornbread, adding "When I first came to America, I didn't get any flour either!"

There was great hardship that first season in Texas, and several of the children and old people who had settled on Summer's plantation died of starvation. Fortunately the members of my family survived, but all of us worked long, hard hours in the fields every day.

The chief crop in the new country was cotton. We knew nothing about the production of this plant, but we soon learned. Father opened the furrows with the ox team. Mother dropped the seed. The children followed with hoes, covering the seed. When the young plants showed above the ground they seemed to require constant attention. Besides cotton, we raised corn, some vegetables, hogs, and turkeys.

At harvest, after we had delivered Mr. Summer's share of the crops, we had two bales of cotton, a crib of corn, and thought we owed no one a cent. Besides, we had five nice hogs and seventeen turkeys. Mr. Summer, claiming we were still in debt to him,

came to our place and took everything—our cotton, corn, hogs, and turkeys. His other tenants suffered the same fate.

Father went to see a German lawyer in Brenham and reported the situation, but the lawyer warned that Fritz Summer was too powerful to tackle in the local courts. The next day we gathered our few belongings, and, accompanied by four other families, moved to Roan's Prairie, fourteen miles from Anderson in Grimes County, where, we had been informed, was a German colony.

At Roan's Prairie we made one crop—four bales of cotton. Land rent was paid out of the crop. Besides, father paid annual rent of twenty dollars for a yoke of oxen and ten dollars for the use of a plow and a wooden sweep stock. Oxen were plentiful in Texas at this time. Before the war, plantation owners kept herds of these work animals. When their slaves were freed, the landlords found it profitable to rent these beasts to their tenants, adding to this the tool rental and share of the crop.

Of course the tenant was responsible for feeding and caring for the rented ox team. Each night the animals were turned onto the grassland and herded by the children until they had eaten their fill. Then they were penned up in a corral. In the fall, when the trees were hanging full of moss, children went to the woods and pulled it off the trees and stacked it much like hay. This moss forage was fed to the animals each morning and noon.

Our second year in Texas was much better than the first, for, after we had paid the rent, there was enough cotton and corn left to buy one yoke of oxen and a wooden moldboard plow. While Roan's Prairie was a fine farming region, it had its disadvantages. We were fourteen miles from Anderson, the closest trading center and site of the school and our church—the Lutheran. On Sunday, we had to get up at two in the morning in order to get to church on time. When we couldn't borrow a wagon, we had to walk the fourteen miles. So, in the fall of 1885, we moved to a farm near Anderson. My brothers, sisters, and I were enrolled in the local parochial school.

I was nine years old, and, while I had already studied for one year in Germany, most of what I had learned had been forgotten. Thus I had to start all over again. But school days were happy times. The first year we lived just one and one-half miles from school and the children had it easy. I had plenty of time to help my older brother, Paul, herd the oxen and cut wood. While watching the livestock I prepared my lessons, and therefore did not have to study late in the night. The teachers at Anderson were very strict and if we failed to study our lessons we received a licking with a heavy rod.

Our harvest at Anderson was good—nine bales of cotton and fine corn. By the next planting season, Paul was old enough to plow, and so father bought a second yoke of oxen for fifty dollars and rented more land. This required us to move farther from town. It was a four mile walk to school in good and bad weather, but we didn't mind for there were several school boys along the road and we had good times together. Half-way home was a big bridge where we always stopped to rest. There we snacked on the food left over from lunch and studied our lessons for the next day.

School days were happy times, but misfortune continued to dog us. When I was eleven, father was struck down with a serious illness called the Texas Slow Fever. Since this happened during the busy crop season, I had to plow with his oxen. I was not yet tall enough to reach the handles, and Paul had to lower them for me. My first rows were far from straight, but I soon learned to plow as well as anyone. Father finally recovered, and while we made fair crops that season we decided to move onto so-called "new ground" where the rent was not so high. While the soil was rich, most of the "new ground" was covered with timber which had to be cleared off, which explains the low rental.

When this region was first settled, Texans established plantations on the prairies which were easy to work with slave labor. Until around 1882, very little of the woodlands had been opened up. It was at this time that the Germans arrived in Texas in great numbers. These thrifty, hard-working people, seeking new farm lands, were permitted by the owners to clear up the timber. After two or three years, good crops came forth. Most of the clearing was done in the winter. The brush and tree trunks were burned after dark, lighting the sky most of the night. The straight logs were used to build houses, corn cribs, barns, and fences.

Plowing was difficult in a new field because of the stumps. Seldom were horses and mules used in the "new land," for you couldn't stop these brutes as readily as an ox team when you hit a stump. Striking a stump or submerged root generally broke the plow. This meant a trip to town and costly repairs at the blacksmith shop.

Sometimes, when "new land" was first cultivated, the stumps were so thick that only hoes could be used. After the crops were gathered, the stumps were fired and some of the big ones would burn for weeks. It was a pretty sight to see acres of glowing stumps on a quiet winter night. Finally the stumps would burn to the ground level, but it was several years before the roots were out. The average farmer, with a single team of oxen or mules, worked fifteen acres of cotton and ten of corn in cleared land. This was about all one team and family could handle. A

man was able to plow only about two acres a day with oxen, and to do this he had to start early in the morning and plow late into the night. In land with stumps one could expect to plow about one-half an acre each day.

The oxen were grazed in the parks in the timber. On Saturday nights the farmers turned their oxen out in the woods and got them up again on Monday morning, thus saving feed. It was fairly easy to find the animals in the big woods. Each farmer belled one of his animals and every bell had a different sound. The oxen that were worked together generally grazed together. One of my chores was to bring in our work animals each Monday morning. I could tell our bell from all the others and it seldom took me more than an hour to drive our teams to the corral, although on a few occasions I was out half the day looking for them.

The older settlers had wagons, but the poverty-stricken Germans had to haul grain and wood with oxen and crude sleds built from local lumber. We were in Texas four years before we could afford a wagon. Father paid twenty dollars for the chassis, and built the frame and bed from native lumber. While the wagon made our work somewhat easier, our lot, like that of all the pioneer families around us, was hard. All the family worked—father, Paul, and I did the plowing, and mother and the younger children chopped the cotton and corn. At harvest we were in the field from dawn until dark picking cotton and pulling corn. There seemed to be little time for rest for men and women, boys and girls of all ages. Wood had to be cut for the entire year; new land had to be cleared; then it was time to start the field work for the new crops.

During 1889 we worked twenty-two acres of cotton and twelve acres in corn with two yoke of oxen and we had all we could handle. We made a fair crop that year—seven bales of cotton at nine cents per pound, but after paying the land rent, blacksmith bill, church salary, and doctor bill the money was just about all gone. But we had plenty to eat.

Potatoes and cabbages grew well in the new land. We butchered five hogs, and had plenty of cornmeal and eggs. All we had to buy was coffee and a little flour to mix with meal for the cornbread. We could not afford sugar, but we had sweetening. This came from syrup squeezed from sorghum cane. After the juice had been pressed, the women cooked it in big vats over wood fires. When it reached the thick syrup stage it was stored in jars and crocks. Potatoes and cabbages were stored in a root cellar. Some of the cabbage was chopped up for kraut, and it used to be said that you could always tell where a German lived because each household invariably had a barrel of sauer-

kraut on the porch. And we generally had a barrel of home-made wine in the smoke house.

Big mustang grapes grew wild in the woods. When they were ripe the children were busy. The grapevines ran high on the tree trunks and the boys had to climb far up to reach the succulent bunches. The kick of this mustang wine livened weddings and other events, for although we worked hard, we had some social gatherings.

And we helped each other. If a settler was ill and got behind in his work, the neighbors came in and helped out. Money was scarce, and one had to work hard and be thrifty to have even a little to show for his efforts. It took us six years to own two yoke of oxen, one two-year colt, one cow and calf, two wooden moldboard plows, two sweep stocks and a wagon.

One reason a tenant was held back was the landlord's practice of requiring him to pay cash land rent, and some years when cotton prices were low, there was hardly anything left. Our very existence seemed to depend on cotton—our yield and the market price. Father generally took our cotton to the gin, but in the fall of 1889 he was bedfast again with the Texas Slow Fever, and Paul and I had to do this.

Because the gin was six miles from our place, it took all day to make a round trip, and the roads were so poor that four oxen were required to pull a wagon loaded with a 500 pound bale of cotton. Many times we were out as late as ten or eleven o'clock at night hauling cotton. Ginning was very primitive when we first arrived in Texas. There were no self-feeders in the gin stands, which meant that we had to put the cotton in baskets and hand it to a worker standing on a platform who carried it to the gin stands. The lint cotton dropped behind the stands on the floor. There it was picked up, put in the press, and packed by two men.

The simple gin machinery was turned by horse and mule power. Sixteen animals formed the sweep team. A single mule powered the press. Understandably it required considerable time to gin and press a bale of cotton with this crude apparatus. If the mill had a good run, the crew could gin six to eight bales a day. Day labor pay for the gin crew was from seventy-five cents to a dollar and you board yourself. A day's work was figured from sunrise to sunset. The price for ginning was \$2.50 for a 500 pound bale plus ninety cents for wrapping.

In 1885, the steam gin came to the cotton lands of Texas. These early machines were hand fed, had no blowers, and were fired with wood. Fuel was cut in the spring and summer and hauled to the gins by local farmers. Because of the scarcity of

mechanics on the frontier, when a steam gin broke down, there were often long delays. Gins were improved each year and by 1890, most of them were equipped with self-feeders and blowers, although operators continued to use wood for fuel. In the early days the seed collected in front of the stands and was carried away in baskets. Some farmers took the seed home and fed it to oxen. Others left it at the gin to help pay for the ginning. Erich Schumacher, a German immigrant, built the first oil mill at Navasota in 1890. Thereafter the farmers could sell their cotton seed for a reasonable price.

A good crop in those days, enough to pay the rent and other expenses, was from five to ten bales of cotton and from 100 to 200 bushels of corn. We raised hogs, but just enough for our own meat, for there was virtually no local market for hogs at that time. Townspeople of any means had their meat shipped in from the north. We had no flour bread during our early years in Texas. Children shelled corn by hand as part of their chores during the week, and the grain was hauled to the mill on Saturday where a two week supply of meal was ground. Neighbors traded trips to the mill, and since the grain was heavy, it usually took a full day to make the trip.

Time was precious to the German immigrants in south Texas, and it was little wonder that these thrifty people helped each other by taking their respective turns at hauling grain to the mill, making trips to the distant blacksmith shop for neighborhood implement repairs, and herding livestock. Every available hand, small and large, young and old, was needed to make each hour count in the battle to survive in the new country.

II

Settling the Piney Woods

School and church were of primary concern for the German immigrants in Texas, and every German settlement of any size contained a Lutheran Church and parochial school. The first school I attended in America was at Anderson, some four miles from our farm. The walk to school was pleasant in the fall and spring, but during the winter I dreaded trudging that rutted, muddy Anderson road each day. On very bad days it took as much as two hours to cover the four miles. Sometimes I could catch a ride on an ox wagon but these beasts walked so slowly, and no one liked to be late, for the teacher was very strict. Pastor E. M. Eckhardt, who served the Anderson congregation for twenty-three years, taught all the grades in the parochial school. In addition, he preached on Sunday and took care of the regular clerical chores.

When Pastor Eckhardt first came to Anderson, he was fresh

out of college and very young. It is interesting the manner in which the congregation paid him. Besides thirty dollars cash each month, Pastor Eckhardt received from each family in his parish three bushels of corn, twenty-five bundles of fodder or three bales of hay, and two cords of wood. In addition, his wife and he received all the hams and fresh meat they could eat. Our people were generous and his smoke-house was always full.

Pastor Eckhardt also received some salary from the school. Tuition costs varied, according to the number of children in each family. Parents were charged seventy-five cents a month for the oldest child enrolled, fifty cents for the second, twenty-five cents for the third, and the fourth plus any additional children were taught free. While the teachers and clergy received only a pittance, it was difficult for the parishioners to meet their obligations under any circumstances, and especially if the crops failed.

It seemed children worked just as hard at school as they did at home. Even at recess we did chores around the school, including cutting firewood to stove length from the stack of poles the church members brought in. The boys cut the wood and the girls carried and stacked it in the log-walled woodshed. This chore had its pleasant side, however, for Mrs. Eckhardt always served us candy and cake while we cut and stacked the wood.

Because father was ill most of the time, I was able to attend school only half a day since I was needed at home to help Paul with the farm work. But I passed the grades satisfactorily and in May, 1890, at the age of fourteen, I was confirmed.

The year 1890 was a wet one, and although we were late in getting the cotton planted, we had a fair crop. As a matter of fact enough extra was earned for father to purchase a third yoke of oxen. This team was mine. Since I had finished school, I could now work full time in the fields. At Anderson we did not have enough land to keep three teams busy, and unable to rent additional land there, we moved to White Hall, sixteen miles from Anderson.

The country around White Hall was mostly prairie and fine cotton land. It took us nearly twelve hours to make this sixteen mile trip due to the bad roads. The road bed most of the way was deep sand and we had to make frequent stops to rest the ox teams. At the halfway point we stopped to feed the oxen and let them rest an hour. Finally, we passed out of the sandy country to black, prairie loam, and just before dark arrived in White Hall, a typical south Texas town—a gin, store, blacksmith shop and post office.

German immigrants, arriving during the 1870's and 1880's, had converted this sparsely settled region into a prosperous

agricultural community. Father rented sixty acres, about all the land three teams could handle, and purchased two iron moldboard John Deere walking plows, the first in the area. While these plows had only six inch blades, they were the largest we could use in those days.

Before a farmer could prepare the seed bed, he had to root out the old cotton stalks. To do this he plowed the stalks on each side to loosen the roots. After the ground had been cleared of old growth and plowed, a log harrow, extending across three rows, was dragged over the cotton field. This made a fairly level seed bed. Next, the farmer opened the seed furrow with a four-inch sweep. Three persons were required for planting. Seeds were dropped by hand. This was the girls' job. The seeds were covered with a double shovel, a tool with two small three-inch sweeps that straddled the furrow and covered the seed. It always took three for planting. One opened the furrow, another dropped the seed, and the third worker closed it.

Our first year at White Hall was a good one production-wise, but the price of cotton was down, and after paying the ground rent there was not much left. Yet, we did not suffer since we had milk cows, chickens, hogs, and vegetables.

Farming changed somewhat for us in 1892. That year, horse traders started bringing in horses and mules from west Texas and New Mexico. Unless a farmer was working land with brush and stumps, in which case he preferred oxen, he readily bought a team of horses or mules. He could purchase a team fairly cheap, and if he did not have the money to buy a mule or horse team the traders would take oxen in exchange.

Most of these horses and mules were wild and had never been worked. A new chore for the boys of the community was taming these wild brutes, and we had lots of fun, as well as some bruises, cuts, and broken bones. We traded our ox teams, except one, for horses, keeping one yoke of oxen for heavy work.

Our place at White Hall had poor water, fit only for livestock. The landlord regularly promised to dig us a well, but never did. An added chore for me was hauling our drinking water from a neighbor's well, two miles away. For this I used a big wooden barrel fastened to a sled and pulled by the ox team.

Changing to horses and mules required a change in feeding, for these animals, not as hardy as the slow-moving oxen, had to have special care. We soon found that besides corn and hay, horses and mules held up well with a roughage made from corn stalks. After the corn ripened we would hand-pull the leaves from the stalks. To this we added the dried stalk tops, cut one joint above the ear. After the stalks and leaves had been tied in neat bundles, the fodder was stored in the barn. This fodder work

had to be done early in the morning while the dew was still on the stalks, since, when dry, the stalks and leaves would break and crumble, and would not make good storage bundles. During fodder-making season, we customarily went to the cornfield at two in the morning and worked until nine.

When the farmers of south Texas changed to horses, there was a boom in harness-making too. The harness we first used was a collar made of heavy cloth and stuffed with straw or cotton. The hames were fitted to the collar with hooks for the trace chains. Ropes served as lines during the early years.

Soon after horses and mules became popular for crop work, a German harness-maker arrived in nearby Navasota and began making leather harness sets. Within a short time he had a competitor. The penitentiary at Huntsville opened a saddle, harness and wagon shop. The prisoners made fine equipment which sold for less than that produced in the towns. The Huntsville wagon was made of bois d'arc wood, a tough material which lasted longer than other woods, and sold for forty-five dollars. After they had served their terms several of the prisoners who learned the harness, saddle, and wagon-making trades started their own businesses.

Huntsville prisoners also were leased by the state to big land owners. Most of them were employed in clearing up timber land. One proprietor four miles from our place had 200 prisoners cutting timber and clearing new land. The guards bought eggs and butter from us, and I made deliveries to the camps every night. Besides being an interesting trip, this chore was sometimes profitable, for the guards frequently gave me a quarter or so extra.

I saved this money to buy ammunition. My favorite pastime was hunting on the prairies and in the timber about our place. Since we were so busy with farm chores, most of my hunting had to be at night for coons and 'possums, but my favorite game were squirrels and rabbits, which could be taken only in daylight. About the only gun the boys could afford was the old Enfield muzzle loader, a single shot weapon used during the war, and which could be converted into a shotgun. These guns were government surplus and sold for \$3.50 each. While the Enfield was a fine shooting gun, loading it was slow.

One of our best cotton years was 1897. After expenses, father had enough money left to buy me a new single barrel, breech loading, twelve-gauge shotgun. I also purchased a loading outfit which saved half or more on each cartridge. Empty shells cost one cent apiece, powder was forty cents a pound, and shot of any size, except buckshot, cost ten cents a pound. Buckshot, which we used on deer, was fifteen cents a pound. Caps were cheap, costing only ten cents a hundred.

Every now and then during the winter after I had cut and ricked the wood and caught up on all the other chores, I was permitted to take off on a hunting trip. It was great sport to roam the woods hunting squirrels and those big swamp rabbits.

Once in awhile the family could spare me for a deer hunt. On one occasion my brother-in-law, A. J. Felter, and I went on a deer hunt in the piney woods. We were excited about the hunt, and while we packed a sack of provisions, we forgot our water jug. Heading for the piney woods on horseback, we rode for about seven miles when we came to a spring and had a cool drink. Nearby we took up a stand on a game trail, and shortly a big buck came into view. Both of us fired, but only wounded the huge animal. After trailing the wounded buck through the tall timber and into the thickets for four hours we lost all sign. Thirsty and tired, we decided to ride back to the spring for a drink. The day had turned off quite warm and our thirst became severe. After hours of searching we decided we were lost, and gave our horses a free rein. These dumb brutes knew better than we the course to follow, for about dark they carried us into the clearing to the spring. We must have ridden thirty miles out of the way before we turned our horses loose. It was far into the night before we reached home, and the day's hardship taught us a lesson. Thereafter we always carried a canteen and watched our trail for landmarks. This was the only time I was ever lost on a hunt.

Then as now the administration in power in Washington was blamed or praised for the prices the farmer received. In 1892, Grover Cleveland, the Democrat, was elected President. No sooner was he inaugurated than farm prices hit rock bottom and of course he received the blame. Crops were good but cotton was five cents a pound, and corn was thirty cents a bushel with no market at all. And produce men would not buy butter and eggs. Practically all our cash went for doctor bills (we had considerable sickness that year), land rent, and hired help.

While we had a bumper corn crop, there was no market for this grain and we fed it to the oxen, horses, mules, hogs and poultry. As a matter of fact, so heavy was the corn crop that we had to build additional cribs. Father, Paul, and I cut logs, raised the walls, and splied shingles out of pine blocks. So snug were these cribs that our neighbors had us help them erect log cribs too.

The forest furnished logs for practically all our buildings. Some cabins were built from big cedar and pine logs. By 1890 sawmills had moved into the south Texas forests, and several land-owning farmers built substantial two-story homes from sawn lumber these local mills produced. The tenant farmers

bought low grade lumber for from two to three dollars a load, which was as much as could be pulled out of the sawmill with one yoke of oxen. There were no open roads through the pine woods, and sometimes to reach a new lumber camp, we had to make our own road. Frequently we got stuck, and the only way to pull a load of lumber out of that boggy ground was to hitch a second, and sometimes a third, yoke of oxen to the wagon. Quite often we were two or three hours moving a load twenty feet through the bogs.

The lumber camps employed large crews of cutters, mostly local Negroes, who used crosscut saws to fell the trees. It was said that the summer heat was too great for a white man on a crosscut or double-bitted axe in the piney woods.

Some of these trees were over sixty feet high. Once felled, the trees were topped. Then heavy chains and three to four yoke of oxen were used to snake each log to the mill site. Some fine lumber came from these Texas forests. I have seen mountains of boards, cut from logs up to forty feet long, without a single knot in the grain.

With simple tools like the saw, axe, maul, hammer, chisel, and draw knife, German farmers did wonders with this lumber. Barbed wire was expensive, so to fence in vegetable gardens, cow pastures, and make corral rails, we cut oak trees into eight foot lengths and split rails from the trunks. Sometimes gardens and yards were fenced with pickets split from pine logs. Chicken houses, horse stables, and other outbuildings and even houses were constructed from pine and oak logs. We made our axe and hammer handles out of hickory and ox yokes from linwood. Much of the cut-over land was sandy but it would produce fairly good cotton, although corn did not do well on it. Farmers could make a living in this type of land, but it took much hard work to root out the pine stumps.

The year 1894 was another good crop year. Our place produced seventeen bales of cotton and 300 bushels of corn. But prices were down again. Cotton was selling for two to six cents a pound, and corn brought only ten cents a bushel. After picking our cotton I worked for a neighbor who was short handed and my pay was only twenty cents a hundred. But that was all the tenants could pay in the face of low cotton prices.

Local buyers offered only ten dollars a bale for 500 pounds of clean cotton. One of our neighbors, a Negro tenant named Duke Watkins, had made twelve bales. He talked among the Germans, suggesting that a cotton train be made up for Houston where, he had heard, the price was several cents per pound higher.

Twelve German tenants joined Dude Watkins with sixteen

wagons and set out on the sixty five mile trip on a hot September evening. Our plan was to travel at night since it weakened the teams to pull the heavy wagons during the heat of the day. We stopped at midnight and fed, watered and rested the animals. At nine the next morning we had reached Cypress Creek, only twenty-five miles from Houston. We camped there until five that evening. During the day cotton farmers from five counties joined us in a noisy, colorful camp.

We reached the edge of Houston soon after midnight. This was my first trip to this city and I saw many new and strange sights. There were no paved streets in the town. Clumps of pine trees and boggy land flanked the main street. The cotton caravan had to drive along the streetcar line for four miles. Passing streetcars spooked the horses and mules. In an attempt to quiet the teams, each driver dismounted and held his animals up close until the streetcar had passed. Several teams bolted, broke the reins and harness, and overturned the wagons. After a number of runaways we arrived finally at the wagon yard at three in the morning. Dead tired we slept on the cotton bales until daylight.

The wagon yard was managed by the best known cotton buyers in Houston, Henke and Pilot. Their agent paid us five cents a pound, or twenty-five dollars a bale which was the most pleasant surprise we had received for sometime. Before we left for town, Henke's agent warned us to check our guns with him, since Houston had an ordinance forbidding weapons in the city limits. All farmers carried firearms to guard their cotton to market and to protect the supplies and money they carried home.

In the trading houses of Houston we were pleasantly surprised too. Coffee, sugar, flour, and other staples, as well as tools and implements sold for less than half what the same items cost us in the country stores nearer home and where we had traded for years. Thereafter we formed a convoy and hauled our cotton to Houston until local buyers began paying Houston prices.

When we arrived at White Hall, there was no Lutheran Church. After considerable coaxing we persuaded Herman Forster, the Lutheran pastor at Cedar Creek Church, fifteen miles distant, to come twice each month and conduct religious services for us. Since we had no church building at the time, worship was held in the various homes. Eight German families participated in this arrangement. Pastor Forster was a man of courage and great stamina, for besides having to travel great distances over bad roads in all kinds of weather, his life was in constant danger from the outlaw packs that infested the piney woods.

When, in the fall of 1894, two additional German families settled in our community, we decided to build a church and

attempt to persuade Pastor Forster to settle in our community and serve us full time. He accepted the call and we set to work building a church. Since we were financially unable to construct a church and parsonage at this time, it was decided to improvise both under one roof. When we had gathered from here and there lumber and other materials, the men set to work on five acres donated by the landlord, C. B. Stoneham. In a few short weeks we had erected a structure which contained, besides a twenty by thirty foot room for a church and school, four rooms for Pastor Forster and his family. August Meinike, the station agent managed to purchase lumber from a local mill at a substantial saving for us, and the railroad company donated fifty percent of the freight from the mill to Yarborough Station, where we hauled it to the church site. Many of the Germans were expert carpenters, and in no time at all we had finished, besides the church and parsonage, a smokehouse, stable, and chicken-house.

It was a happy day when we moved Pastor Forster and his family, to White Hall. The ladies prepared a big supper and we celebrated the event together. The following Sunday, right after worship, we had the first business meeting. My father, Ludwig Koeltzow, was elected elder, Frank Lang, treasurer and secretary, and Ludwig Mett, Carl Voelter and Fred Weber trustees. These officers, on behalf of the congregation, negotiated the following contract with the new pastor: Salary—\$360 per year; each member to furnish twenty-five bundles of corn or two bales of hay and two bushels of corn for the pastor's horses and chickens; the members to supply all the stovewood needed at the church, school, and parsonage during the year.

For conducting school, Pastor Forster was to receive the customary seventy-five cents per month for the oldest child in each family; fifty cents for the second; twenty-five cents for the third, all additional children in each family to be instructed free of charge. And finally, the congregation agreed to pay the pastor the following rates for various services: marriage, three dollars; baptisms, two dollars; and funerals, two dollars. The pastor agreed to prepare a constitution and covenant for the new congregation, and after a benediction and the Lord's Prayer, the meeting was adjourned.

Our church became a community center not only for worship, but for recreation as well. The highlight of the year was the children's Christmas Eve program. The young people of the church had organized a local branch of the Walther League. This youth group managed the Christmas program. Practically every child and young adult in the community had some part on the program, and we practiced our recitation parts for months before Christmas Eve. The program opened with a Yule message by our pastor. Then the smaller children were examined by him

in the Catechism. After recitations by the older children and young adults, we sang Christmas carols. The program was capped with a bounteous feast. Neighbors came in from miles around for the Christmas celebration and sometimes the sanctuary was so crowded that there was standing room only. While the Walther League's big event was the Christmas Eve party, it also sponsored special programs, dialogues, and picnics through the year.

Besides being the center for community social life, worship, and educating children, our church also sponsored an adult education program. Pastor Forster taught English language classes twice a week. Few of the young men could speak and write English adequately, and this proved a popular course. Seven students, ranging in age from eighteen to twenty-seven enrolled. Since the men were busy in the spring, summer, and autumn with farm work, this language school met four months during the late fall and winter.

After four years of study, all the enrollees could speak and write good English. Our pastor was a capable teacher and I became proficient enough in English to be regularly called upon to write business letters and papers, and to interpret for various citizens in the German settlements. On one occasion, the gin at Navasota broke down. A drive shaft had snapped. The only person competent to grind down a new one to size was an old German mechanic who had only recently arrived in Texas. The directions of the gin owner had to be translated into German, and the mechanic's questions had to be translated into English. The gin owner sent for me. I was building fence, but came right to town, and stayed at the gin from sundown to sun-up, communicating back and forth. Just at daylight the old German mechanic tightened the last clamp and the gin started up again. For this service I was paid fifty cents by the gin operator.

Community picnics drew the largest crowds. These were generally held in conjunction with school activities, and Negro tenants joined us in these. The big celebration for the Negroes was June 19—their Freedom Day. For this event, the landlord furnished a beef and hog which the Negroes barbecued. The whites ate with them on this day, but at separate tables.

Sometimes these former slaves made good workers. Those whose masters had treated them kindly stayed on the old plantations, but where they had been roughly handled, they left. Their places after the war had in many cases been filled by German immigrants as was the case for my family. After we prospered a bit, father hired Negroes to pick our cotton. During harvest season I went to town every Monday morning, picked up a load of these African workers and hauled them out to our place. We got good work from them and had no trouble, but we always

fed them well and paid them what was due, and hauled them back to town on Friday night. Some of our neighbors had trouble because they cheated the Negroes on payday.

In 1896, horse traders began importing mules and big draft horses from Missouri. These animals, because of their greater size and strength, could do considerably more work than the horses and mules we had been using. Father purchased a pair of these Missouri mules from the first consignment to reach Texas.

That year we planted fifty acres of cotton and twenty acres in corn. The growing season was wet and the army worm invaded our cotton. To check this pest we mixed Paris Green in low grade flour. To this compound we added rosin, which made the mixture stick to the cotton leaves. It was dusted onto the plants with a meal sifter, one row at a time, and had to be done in early morning while the dew was on the cotton, since the poison would adhere better to the leaves while they were wet. Many a morning we dusted cotton in the moonlight, beginning about three, and working until nine. This was slow work but it got the army worms.

In later years we speeded up the dusting of our cotton patches. Pure Paris Green was packed in two-pound tobacco sacks. A pouch was tied on either end of a stick spanning two cotton rows. This was carried on horseback between the rows, and dusted out of the pores in the tobacco sacks onto the dew-covered plants. In Texas during wet years there were heavy dews every night, which helped the dusting process. In dry years the army worm was no problem. The insect poison was deadly and it had to be spread when the wind was quiet. Not only was the worker endangered, but the horse as well especially if the animal had sores or became sweaty. Workers protected themselves by covering their mouth, nose, and ears. The boll weevil did not enter south Texas until around 1900. Some say the big storm of that year blew this pest in from Mexico.

III

The Great Brazos Flood

We had considerable sickness during the 1896 crop year, but despite this and the army worm, the cotton yield was fair, amounting to twenty-one bales, and we made good corn. Houston prices were so much better than local prices that we decided to haul our cotton there again. We had only one wagon, so father purchased a heavy four-horse wagon, built a fourteen foot frame on it, and loaded seven bales. Four mules were hitched to this vehicle, one of which was ridden by the wagon guide.

Two wagons were borrowed from neighbors to handle the

remainder of our cotton bales. Sixteen additional wagons joined the caravan. We started at five in the evening to avoid the heat, stopped at eleven, fed and rested our teams for two hours, and as on previous trips, we were twenty-five miles from Houston by nine the next morning at the camp on Cypress Creek. There were nearly 300 cotton wagons at this watering place, representing farmers from five counties. Many farmers were still using ox teams. It took these slower teams at least half a day longer to reach Houston than the horse and mule-drawn wagons. We left the camp ground at five in the evening and arrived at the cotton yard in Houston at one the next morning.

At the wagon yard we met farmers, some of whom lived over one hundred miles distant. Houston was becoming a big trade center. Cotton farmers bought their supplies there, and much cheaper than at the crossroads stores nearer home. Flour came in 200 pound barrels, and sold for four dollars a barrel. Coffee was bought in hundred pound sacks for three dollars. The coffee berries were green, and had to be parched and ground at home. But despite low prices for food, tools, and dry goods, cotton prices were low too. We seldom could buy all we needed, and we were short on necessities most of the time.

Cotton income had to pay the land rent, the blacksmith, church and school salary, and doctor bill. Family sickness during 1896 took \$200 from our cotton cash. And if the landlord, doctors, and merchants did not take all our money there was always the threat from outlaws.

The piney woods abounded in local toughs who took special delight in intimidating Negroes and German settlers. Sometimes their forays were more like pranks and resulted in mischievous destruction of property. They raided our corncribs, stampeded our stock, and every now and then burned a building. They slunk about in the timber during evening worship and disturbed the pastor's prayers with loud noises. One of my sisters was married in December, 1892. During the wedding feast, a gang of these hoodlums cut the circuit rider's buggy harness to ribbons and ran off his horse.

Some of these toughs became hard-bitten criminals and preyed on the farmers, cutting fence and stealing stock. Others ran in packs and terrorized the towns. Shortly before we arrived in Texas in 1883, an outlaw band, headed by the notorious Jim Alden ran wild among the settlement in Falls, Lee, and Grimes counties. Alden had about twelve gunmen in his band. They lived off the settlers, chiefly the timid German immigrants, raiding their smokehouses, rustling their livestock, and robbing the men at cotton payment time.

For years the town of Lincoln in Lee County was tormented by these desperadoes. Every first Thursday of the month Alden's band came to Lincoln, ordered all stores closed except one saloon, and after drinking up all the stock in this place, the gunmen rode up and down the street shooting out store windows and terrorizing the townspeople in their homes.

A merchant in Lincoln, a German named Seigfried Elber, had been looted several times. Dane Rash, a nineteen year old youth, was hired by Elber as a clerk at ten dollars a month. Elber explained that each first Thursday of the month Alden's men came to town for their spree and the store had to close on that day. Dane said he would not close the store if it were his, even if all twelve members of the pack came in the store. Elber then told the boy he was too old to do much fighting, but that if Dane would stay on and keep the store open his pay would be raised to twenty-five dollars a month. As the fateful Thursday approached, Dane cleaned and oiled the weapons old man Elber kept under the counter—a double-barrelled, twelve-gauge shotgun, a Winchester repeating rifle, and a Colt forty-five. The youth loaded several cartridges with buckshot and had old man Elber practice stepping from behind the door with the shotgun ready for close firing.

The pair was ready for Thursday. They waited all day, and the town remained quiet and tense. Next morning about ten, Alden's men roared down Lincoln's main street, spraying the street with slugs, and yelling at all shopkeepers to close their doors. After an hour or so at the saloon, Alden sent a squad of four gunmen to inspect main street. All the shops were locked up tight except Elber's. The twin front doors were wide open.

As Alden's men entered, they saw a young man behind the counter stationed as if ready to wait on them. Hearing a sharp click behind them, they spun as one to face the blazing double-barrelled shotgun, fired from the hip by old man Elber. Two of the squad fell to the floor, nearly cut in two by the close range blast of buckshot. Young Dane swept the Colt from beneath the counter and cut down the remaining two desperadoes.

Grabbing up the Winchester, Dane rushed to the door and waited for the remainder of Alden's party to emerge from the saloon. His careful, deadly fire checked their rush up the street. Two more outlaws fell dead in the center of the dusty street; Several were wounded. Surprised and shocked at this unexpected resistance, Alden's survivors limped back to their horses hitched to the saloon rail and fled from Lincoln. Grateful citizens raised a purse of 500 dollars for Dane Rash. The Alden gang sent threatening messages back to Dane and old man Elber, but the outlaws had all of Lincoln they wanted. Soon Alden's survivors

were bullying citizens in Falls County, but one by one they were cut down by brave peace officers.

We had nothing this serious to deal with, but there were still small bands depredating the farmers and small towns. The desperadoes were especially active during the cotton sales. Sometimes they would plunder the cotton caravans on the way to market, but more often, they lurked along the timber-lined roads, waiting to ambush the farmers on their way home, loaded with provisions and cash.

We always went to Houston armed and traveled in convoys for protection. The closest we ever came to losing everything from the bandits was in 1897. McKinley had been elected in 1896 and farm prices started going up. Cotton was seven cents and we had sixteen bales. As we formed our Houston-bound caravan, word came back that a robber band had raided some farmers camped near Houston, killed two, and took their cotton money. We were especially watchful along the way.

Scouts on horseback rode ahead, on our flanks, and behind the eighteen wagon caravan, ready to sound the warning as we proceeded towards Houston. We had considerable trouble that trip. I was driving a four-mule wagon laden with seven bales. As before we traveled at night and rested during the day so that our teams could escape the heat.

Near Hockley we reached boggy ground. A heavy rain the day before had softened the road. Several wagons mired and this slowed the caravan. My wagon, in the lead, was the heaviest, and stuck first. The mules sank to their bellies. The mule I was riding pitched me into waist-deep water before he mired. High ground was found, the wagons behind the lead one were routed around the bog, and one of these was unloaded and came back to my wagon. We unloaded three bales at a time, and finally got the mules and wagon out of the mud.

It was seven in the evening and nearly dark when we reached our regular camp ground near Houston. A chilling norther blew in. I was still wet from my morning dunking, and the chills were about to take me. One of the boys passed me a pint of whiskey and I handed him back an empty bottle. I was warm and cozy for the rest of the night and I did not have the sign of a cold next morning. Farmers continued to arrive during the night and by morning there were over 400 cotton wagons at the camp ground. We formed up and were on the Houston road soon after five o'clock. After unloading the cotton and caring for the teams, the younger men went into Houston. We had a high time and the old men were sound asleep when we returned near midnight. The next morning we received eight cents for our cotton. While waiting for the sales to conclude, most of the younger men

went to town for dinner. Our meal cost twenty cents and we were served all the fish we could eat. Seldom did we have fish at home and the meal was appreciated by all.

The old men were anxious to leave for home that evening. The younger ones wanted to take in Houston again, and we reminded our fathers we got to Houston but once a year, that the crops were all in, and there was no particular hurry to return home. They finally agreed to wait, and we had another exciting night in Houston.

We were back at the wagon yard, had picked up our guns at the office, hitched the teams, and were ready to depart Houston before daybreak. Just after crossing the bridge outside the wagon yard, father had to halt his team and return to the public toilet, located about 200 yards from the road in a grove of giant pines. Since he was carrying our cotton receipts, 700 dollars in twenty dollar gold pieces, and was unarmed, I walked back with him. As we entered the pine grove, my eye caught two figures slinking out of the shadows of the bridge toward us. After father entered the toilet I slipped around the building, and took a position behind a tall pine tree near the path. When the two men reached a point ten paces from the toilet, I ordered them to halt and drop their weapons. With gun in hand I stepped out and covered them until father joined me in the path, then, sending him to join the wagon train, I backed slowly toward the road. Once on the road, I alerted the drivers, a cordon of armed riders was formed around the older men driving the wagons, and we continued homeward, arriving without further incident.

Our last trip to Houston was in 1898. Thereafter, local buyers began paying competitive prices and we sold our cotton at home. I missed the annual trip to Houston. I believe our patronage of Houston had much to do with its development. It seemed to us the town doubled in size in five years and so many of the trading houses, banks, and allied businesses were related to cotton sales.

Of all our years in Texas, none saw more drastic events and changes in our family than 1900. The year began quietly enough and just before planting season we took stock of our accomplishments. For the first time since arriving in the new country we were modestly prosperous. By hard work and saving we owned six head of mules and two mares, five milk cows, three wagons, and all our farm machinery which included three turning plows, three planters, and three cultivators. And there had been enough extra in 1899, following the cotton sale, to purchase a surrey. This was an item of family pride—no longer did we have to travel to church in the big farm wagon.

Misfortune struck first in the form of illness. A malady

called Texas Slow Fever infected each member of the family starting with father. This was a chronic ailment that lasted all spring and into the summer. We had suffered from the fever before. Common talk held that the heavy morning dew started the ailment. It was more severe in wet years than in dry years. The doctor prescribed a long drink of whiskey before going to the fields in the morning to keep the Texas Slow Fever down. This simple remedy brought amazing results.

When the Texas Slow Fever struck me, I did not respond to the whiskey treatment because complications set in—yellow jaundice and spleen trouble. My sides and back swelled all out of proportion. I was in terrible pain for five weeks, and, as the generally reliable home remedies seemed ineffective, the doctor was called in. First he covered my swollen, fever-racked body with patches of soothing salve, swathed these in bandages, then took a red-hot flatiron and pressed it to the bandages. The heat literally made me see stars. I had to submit to three of these agonizing treatments. Following the third application, I was cured. Although thin and weak, I left my sickbed for I was badly needed in the fields.

Father had rented seventy-five acres and I rented ten acres for myself for cotton. Our rent was \$4.50 per acre making a total charge of \$382, but our landlord agreed that if we could pay him the rent in advance he would let us have the land for \$350, which we managed to raise after some scraping here and there. With additional land it was our fond hope that in this year, 1900, we would finally get on our feet. Plowing and planting were finished early, and light spring rains made everything look good.

At Easter-time a community party was planned at the Navasota Lutheran Church. After chores, I saddled up and covered the sixteen miles in no time at all, little knowing the far-reaching effects the Easter party would have on my life.

Stopping for supper at a friend's place, I was told that some young people from nearby Washington County had been invited to the party. There was always something exciting about meeting new people, especially girls, and I was eager to get on to the party. When we arrived in the church yard, a crowd had already gathered. My eye caught a pretty blonde girl, and soon we were introduced—Elizabeth Emshoff was her name. I was too bashful to do much talking; it was enough just to gaze upon her and stand at her side. Both of us stayed over with friends at Navasota and attended church together Easter Sunday. It was easier to talk at our second meeting, and in no time at all we were well acquainted; as a matter of fact, it seemed to me that I had known her always. My courage mounted and just before we parted Sunday evening I asked if I could call on her, and that if I wrote her would she answer.

Elizabeth was much less shy than I, and her confidence helped me. She not only agreed to answer all letters I might write, but also assured me she would be pleased to have me call. Thereafter, for the duration of the courtship I wrote Elizabeth at least once each week, and called whenever I could be spared at home, although our visits were infrequent since her father's place was thirty miles from ours. I had courted girls in our neighborhood for years, and I was old enough to consider marriage seriously, but up to meeting Elizabeth I had never felt the urge to take a wife. This urge I kept to myself, not even mentioning to the family my meeting Elizabeth and our budding romance.

It was the common practice among the tightly-knit German families for the sons to stay with the parents and work for them until marriage; then when ready for marriage, it was the custom for the parents to set up the sons in farming. It was not always easy to stay on the homeplace, for during some years when crop yields were low or prices down, the sons would not receive a cent for working all year, and most young people then, as now, wished for at least some money for clothes and courting.

Only the year before, when I was twenty-two father had agreed that if I would stay with him until I married, he would furnish me a team of mules, a wagon, farming tools, planting seed, and a year's supply of horse feed, plus one hundred dollars cash for a stake.

With thoughts of Elizabeth and our future constantly on my mind I worked hard at the crops, hoping my ten acres of cotton would yield a bumper crop. Beginning the first of May, we were plagued with rain until mid-June. Our fields were under water most of this time, and, after the water finally went down, we could not get into the crops for another four weeks with the result that grass and weeds nearly took the young cotton and corn plants.

Our farm was located in Grimes County. Elizabeth's family lived west of us in Washington County. Even while we were idled by the rains, I could not call on her, for the Brazos River, which divided the two counties, was out of its banks most of this period, the bridge being under three feet of water. When the fields finally dried out, we worked long and hard cleaning the weeds and grass from the rows. Already twenty-five acres of cotton were lost and it was too late to re-plant. Several neighbors were wiped out by the Brazos flooding. The cotton and corn we had salvaged looked very good—the cotton promised a bale to the acre, and little did we realize that the Brazos flood of May was just the beginning of a wild, stormy season.

When the crops were clean and laid by, I made plans to call on Elizabeth. At daylight on a Saturday morning in July,

I saddled the mare and headed for the Brazos crossing. Travel was slow, for the road was riddled with washes, debris, and huge tree trunks from the flood. The bridge was out and I lost much time finding a ford. At four that afternoon I arrived at Emshoff's farm. Elizabeth was waiting for me in the dooryard.

After supper Elizabeth, myself, and her family sat on the porch until ten o'clock, when her folks went inside to bed. Elizabeth and I talked on until twelve. Finally I mustered enough courage to make a proposal, and she accepted as though she had expected it for some time. That settled, we made marriage plans which we agreed to keep secret for the time being. Elizabeth's father had invited me to stay the night, so at midnight I went to the barn to sleep.

Next morning we rode to Elizabeth's church on horseback, and before worship began I was introduced to her friends. The girls were kind, but the boys were haughty, and pretty well ignored me. There had been considerable rivalry between the young men of Grimes County and Washington County, and I am certain that I was especially resented, for Elizabeth was the center of all male attentions. It was a delightful day I had with her. Following a Sunday evening party at the church and some precious moments alone with Elizabeth, I turned the mare east toward the Brazos. I reached home early Monday morning in time for chores, evasive to my family about where I had spent the weekend, and happier than I had ever been.

Through secretly written letters, Elizabeth and I planned, with another young couple, a railroad excursion from nearby Yarbrough Station to Galveston. This trip was popular among the young people of our area. The train left Yarbrough Station on Friday night at eight and returned Sunday night. The cost was only one dollar per person for the train fare. On Friday night, September 6, 1900, we gathered at Yarbrough Station and anxiously awaited the southbound train. After a long wait the railroad agent came out on the platform and told us that the train would not run that night—a wreck had occurred up the road. Disappointed, we took the girls home, little realizing the strange workings of fate. About midnight a hurricane swept in from the Gulf and smashed Galveston and all else before it. Had we boarded the train at Yarbrough Station, we would by that time have been in the direct path of this savage storm.

This hurricane of 1900 produced an extended storm and flood which took more lives and destroyed more property than any hurricane up to that time or since. Our farm was ninety-two miles from Galveston, but it shoved water to and beyond us as far north as Waco, two hundred miles away. Crops were under several feet of water. No one escaped total cotton and corn loss.

Luckily, we were able to drive most of our livestock to high ground. The Brazos was seven miles wide in Grimes County.

A wealthy farmer near us owned 600 acres of bottom land. On this property, called Steel Plantation, he had erected a substantial two-story house, comfortable dwellings for his Negro workers, big barns which housed 300 work horses and mules, and a gin and store. When warned to evacuate, the proprietor refused claiming that his plantation had escaped earlier floods and that it would certainly weather this one. The water level rose above all previous flood marks, and the proprietor, his family, and the Negro families were trapped in the big house where they had taken final refuge. All were drowned, and every evidence of Steel Plantation—buildings, animals, and humans—was destroyed by the angry Brazos, whose rushing waters set new flood records that year. Over most of the bottom the depth was eighteen feet.

A little town named Courtney had built up on the railroad seven miles from our place. The depot was on some of the highest ground in the county, but even there the water was shin deep in the waiting room. Every day the boys of our community would ride and swim in to Courtney to watch the work of the flood. Houses floating on the current toward the Gulf became so commonplace that we scarcely paid them any heed. Several large frame store buildings from Waco drifted past us the third day of the flood. On one of these buildings stood a man, waving his hat, and crying for rescue. We went after him in four boats but had to turn back as big trees, floating beneath the surface, threatened to capsize our light craft. When finally rescued fifty miles below Courtney, he was out of his mind from the ordeal.

One morning at Courtney we noticed a Negro woman sitting in a tree top which had eddied into shallower water. She was holding a small baby. Some of the boys went out in a boat to rescue her and the infant. The crew-man in the stern reached up and plucked the baby to safety. As he turned back to help the mother into the boat, a heavy, floating log rammed the boat, causing it to capsize, with the result that the baby drowned and the boat's crew nearly lost their lives too. When the Negro mother saw that her baby had been lost in the torrent she cried out: "I held my baby for 150 miles in the worst of the storm; then I lose him so very close to shore." With that she seemed to faint away, fell from her tree perch, and drowned in the deep water.

Every day we saw hundreds of horses, mules, cows and hogs floating to the Gulf. Some were alive, and trying to breast the current and swim ashore; others were dead and floated downstream, made buoyant by the bloat which set in soon after these

creatures drowned. One day a big hog came floating by astraddle a cottonwood tree trunk. It was dead, but apparently not for long, since it was not bloated. Four hungry Mexicans swam out to the hog and, after considerable exertion, finally got the animal ashore. They were disappointed in their prize for there was very little meat on the hams, shoulders, and sides; these had been ripped and shreaded by barbed wire.

Relatives living near Galveston told me of the terror the storm and flood provoked in that city. Two streets were washed completely into the sea. Houses were floating on the water, their roof tops crowded with panic-stricken people, screaming for help. Even the higher ground was covered with water and people waded aimlessly through the dark night, many with children on their shoulders, slipping in the mud and crying out for rescue. I was told that after the waters subsided a bit, looting began. Homes and shops which survived the storm were sacked by mobs. Corpses, victims of the storm, lay in the streets, yards, and in the mud-stained houses. These cadavers were stripped of all valuables; rings were cut from cold fingers.

The Galveston survivors were mustered by city officials and squads of police, and required to clean up the debris, bury the victims, and restore the city. Several of my relatives visiting in Galveston when the storm struck were forced to stay and work with the clean-up squad; some of my friends dug graves for two weeks.

While the storm caused little loss of life in Grimes County, it took a heavy toll in property. When the raging waters of the Brazos finally subsided the damage became apparent. In the rich Brazos Bottom, fields were rutted with holes ten to twelve feet deep. It took several years of hard work to level and restore this wasteland to cropland again. Dead fish of all sizes and species littered the valley. Our corn was flattened and the cotton was bent double from the mud and silt. The stench of decaying livestock, fish, and vegetable matter was nauseating.

On the third day after the flood waters had drained off, the cotton began to straighten, and there was a surge of hope. Then a new scourge struck. Each cotton stalk was alive with insects—on one stalk alone I counted fifty-three voracious, crawling, bugs.

The boll weevil had come to south Texas. Many planters claimed the storm blew this plague in from infested cotton fields in Mexico. Due to the ravages of the Brazos flood and the boll weevil, we harvested only three bales of cotton from fifty acres. All we had worked so hard to build up seemed lost; with thousands of other unfortunates, we were literally wiped out. Ther-

one night a friend came into our dooryard—Sherman Kromer. He had just returned from the new country to the north where, he claimed, land was free and families could make a fresh start—Oklahoma Territory.

IV

On To The Promised Land

Sherman Kromer's description of Oklahoma Territory made us think of it as the promised land. We gathered about the table and drank in every word. When Sherman said he was returning to the country north of Red River in about two weeks to file on a free homestead, Paul jumped up and said to father: "Our crops are lost. All we had was invested in the land rent, the cotton and the corn. Now we're dead broke. Let's go to Oklahoma Territory with Sherman!"

We discussed the proposed move most of the night, and just before daybreak it was decided to leave Texas for Oklahoma Territory. Kromer promised to guide us north. I had been silent through the long family council. My thoughts were of Elizabeth. After the decision had been made to move north, I stood to speak: "I'll go, but wait until I am married, so I can take my wife along."

The family roared with laughter, and Paul claimed I did not even have a sweetheart. After an extended explanation concerning Elizabeth and our secret romance, I finally convinced them that I did have a girl, and that she had pledged to marry me. Father asked how much time the marriage preparations would take. I said two weeks or less, and the family agreed to wait for us. I sat right down and wrote two letters. To Elizabeth I explained the plan to homestead in Oklahoma Territory, and that we must be married on October 25 if we were to accompany the family north. To her father I wrote a request for his fair daughter's hand in marriage. I rushed to Courtney to mail the letters, returned home, and helped with the preparations for the journey.

Four days later I received three letters. One was from Elizabeth confirming her pledge to marry and agreeing to accompany me to Oklahoma Territory. The second letter was from Mr. Ems-hoff. He approved the marriage, and said it would be held at his place on October 25. The third letter was an unsigned note, advising me that the young men of Washington County objected to the marriage, and warning me to stay east of the river.

I left early the following day for Washington County. Since I would have Elizabeth's effects to carry back, I took the wagon and a team of mules. Remembering the warning note, I

wrapped my Colt revolver in a heavy coat, and placed it beside me on the wagon seat. The thirty-mile trip by wagon was much slower than on horseback, and I did not pull into Emshoff's yard until nearly dark. After a big supper, we talked around the table far into the night, mostly about Oklahoma Territory. Washington County farmers had been hard hit by the flood too, and Elizabeth's family showed a keen interest in Oklahoma. I told them all I knew, based on Sherman Kromer's description of the new land.

According to Kromer, all the country between Red River and the southern boundary of Kansas had been the Indian Territory; this vast region running west from Arkansas to the 100th Meridian, through the years had been partitioned into Indian reservations and nations. Beginning in 1889, the central sector of the Indian Territory had been opened to settlement. Kromer said that prospective settlers had lined up on all four sides of this tract, and at the signal given by soldiers patrolling the four boundaries, homeseekers raced in a throng for homesteads. In this way, between 1889 and 1900, the various Indian reservations of central and western Indian Territory had been opened to settlement. As each reservation filled with settlers, it ceased to be Indian Territory, and came under the jurisdiction of the new Oklahoma Territory.

All of the Indian reservations of central and western Indian Territory had been opened, were filled with settlers, and were now Oklahoma Territory, Kromer said, except the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation in southwestern Indian Territory. This was being surveyed and soon would be opened, he said, not by a homesteaders' race, but by a lottery drawing.

There was only one area in Oklahoma Territory with homesteads available for settlers at the present time, according to Kromer. This was Old Greer County. Kromer had told us that this land, forming a sort of triangle—its sides the 100th meridian on the west, the Red River on the south, and transected by the North Fork of the Red—through an error in earlier surveys and maps, had, until four years ago, been regarded as Texas Territory. A Texas county named Greer had been organized, Texas law had applied there, and some settlers, notably cattlemen, had developed a few ranches in the area. In 1896, the United States Supreme Court directed that, in view of errors in earlier surveys, Greer County be attached to Oklahoma Territory. Thereby the unclaimed land in Greer County became a part of the Public Domain to be administered by the United States Land Office, and open to entry by settlers under the Homestead Act. Mangum, leading town in Greer County, was the site of the Homestead Registration Office. I explained to Elizabeth's folks that our plan was to reach Mangum, about 630 miles from Grimes County,

Texas, sometime around December first in order to file for free homesteads before the land was all taken.

Next morning we drove to Brenham, county seat of Washington County, and obtained the marriage license. That evening, Elizabeth and I called on the Lutheran pastor at the little town of William Penn, near Emshoff's farm. After two hours of talk, I finally got around to the purpose of our visit. He told us he would be most happy to marry us. This about completed the marriage arrangements.

On Wednesday morning I went into the timber with Elizabeth's brothers, cut wood, and hauled it to the house for the women who were preparing the wedding feast. Next, we butchered a 200-pound hog, and killed twenty chickens and five turkeys. We were far into the night picking chickens and turkeys.

The wedding day, Thursday, dawned bright. I was so excited that I decided to get off by myself and try to gather my wits. Borrowing Mr. Emshoff's rifle, I went into the woods to hunt squirrels. The day was mild, the forest was silent, and I sat under a tree until noon reflecting on the future. Dinner was on the table when I came to myself and walked back to the house. The kitchen was abustle with wedding feast preparations. All the rooms were clean and decorated, and the yard had been raked and smoothed.

At two in the afternoon, wedding guests started arriving and in no time at all the house and yard were full of people. Toward evening, a storm moved in but I was so numb from excitement I hardly knew it was raining, when the ceremony was concluded, or when the marriage feast began. Elizabeth and I received some nice wedding gifts which included \$12.50 cash. This was welcome, for, after buying the license and paying the pastor, I had only \$7.

About two in the morning the rain stopped, and the guests began to leave, each wishing Elizabeth and me well, and cautioning us concerning the hazards of moving to the new country. After an early breakfast, I loaded Elizabeth's things in the wagon, she bade her family a tearful farewell, and we headed east to join my folks for the trek to Oklahoma Territory. All along the way I looked for trouble from the Washington County boys, but no one attempted to stop us. We had a delightful drive, and the folks were amazed to see the pretty bride I had brought home. A family story for many years was my secret courtship.

Preparations for the trip were nearly completed when we arrived. The farm wagons had been fitted with heavy bows, which were covered with sheets, then oil cloth to keep the sheeting dry, and making a warm, cozy interior. We constructed mule and horse

troughs on the sides and endgate of each wagon. Late Saturday night the last wagon renovation was completed; then we greased each wagon by lantern light. Sunday after worship the neighbors had a farewell dinner and party for us which lasted far into the night. I had a delightful time introducing Elizabeth to all who came.

Monday morning, October 29, 1900, we loaded the wagons and strung the caravan out to travel. The train contained seven wagons, three buggies, one surrey, and a heavy supply wagon for grain and provisions. Twenty-three horses and mules pulled these vehicles, and nine dogs tracked for us. Our party included Sherman Kromer, his wife and three children; Fred Weber, wife, and five children; Adolph Felter and wife; Arthur Kromer; my father and younger brother August, Elizabeth, and myself. Mother, Paul, and a sister were to join us later.

All these people had to show for their twenty years of sacrifice and hard work in Texas were the few possessions loaded in the wagons. In order to make a fresh start in Oklahoma Territory, they had sold their cattle and everything else of value which had survived the Brazos flood, and which they could spare. Fred Weber had \$400; Sherman Kromer had about \$800; and father had \$250. I had the least of all—\$19 in money; but I had great riches in a young wife, and good health, with the promise of a fresh start in the new land. Father had reminded me of his promise to pay me \$100 when I married, but regretted that he could not spare it at this time. I told him not to worry, for Elizabeth and I would make it fine.

We rolled out at nine o'clock. Sherman Kromer, our guide and wagonmaster, was in the lead. The first day's travel was pleasant and uneventful. We were getting the feel of the long drive that faced us. After covering a slow twenty-five miles, we made our first camp stop at Millican.

Kromer worked out a route which ran north along the valley of the Brazos through Grimes, Brazos, Falls, and McLennan counties to Waco. This was the principal wagon road between Waco and Houston. The grades were well packed, and we made fair time, averaging thirty miles each day although at no time did we hurry, since this was new country for all of us, and we enjoyed the sights. Kromer's schedule required that we be up before dawn, have breakfast over, be hitched up, and ready to travel by daylight. We always stopped at noon to rest and water the teams and feed the children, who were always hungry. It was generally my duty to ride ahead of the caravan along toward evening, select a campsite, and guide the wagons to the location. In selecting a campsite, the first considerations were wood and water. Below Fort Worth this was no problem; north of there on the prairie plains, these items were more difficult to locate.

The weather was ideal for traveling until the night of October 31, when a heavy thunderstorm struck our camp. Luckily there was no hail in the storm and the wagon covers kept out the blowing rain, and we were cozy inside. The heavy rainfall muddied the road and slowed our travel next day until noon, when a warm sun dried up the puddles and ruts and we traveled as easily as before.

Feeding twenty people three meals a day quickly drained the stock of provisions which had been packed in the supply wagon, and a stop was made at the little town of Belvert where a supply of coffee, ham, bacon, and hay was laid in. The other members of the party must have sensed my low financial state, for, although I offered, no one would permit me to pay my share.

The only excitement we had before reaching Waco occurred on the evening of November 1, just after we made camp. The dog pack began scrapping. Their snarling frightened the children and the women rushed them to safety in the wagons. The mules and horses had just been turned loose to graze, and the dog fight spooked the entire herd which soon was scattered over the countryside. We let the dogs fight it out, and ran to recapture the livestock. Eight of the dogs finally tucked tail and ran off into the woods. Buff, the biggest mongrel in the pack, strutted his victory and remained with us. He was the only one of our dogs to see Oklahoma Territory. After driving off the other dogs, Buff became a fine watchdog, protected our camp, and was kind to the children.

As a rule people along the way were friendly and kind, and permitted us to camp on their places, cut wood, and carry water from their well or spring. Nights around the campfire were pleasant. We sang, told stories, and made plans for our future in Oklahoma Territory. After the women got the children off to bed, we sometimes played cards or dominoes by lantern light.

Once the teams became adjusted to trail work, and accustomed to their feed troughs, they required little care. After a long day's pull, each team was unharnessed and walked a bit. Then we fed and watered them, and turned them loose. The herd stayed close together and grazed through much of the night. Grass was generally good, we used little hay, and the animals actually seemed to pick up weight on the trip. We stopped each Sunday and allowed the teams to rest.

On Sunday, November 4, we camped near Waco. After we had greased the wagons and tidied up the camp, Kromer suggested that the men go in to look over Waco. It was the largest city thus far on the trail. At noon we decided to eat at the big hotel, where we had a fine meal which cost only fifty cents each.

After eating, we walked down the main street and came to a saloon. In the window was an advertisement announcing whiskey for two dollars per gallon. Kromer suggested we each buy a gallon, pointing out we might need some before we arrived in Oklahoma Territory. I had only eleven dollars left, but I did not hold back for I did not want them to know I was so near the end of my rope. We each bought a gallon and returned to camp, arriving there about three in the afternoon. We spent a nice Sunday evening—the children played along the creek, the horses and mules grazed on the lush grass, and we played cards and dominoes.

Resuming our travels on Monday, November 5, we entered Hill County and made camp at Hillsboro. During the day we passed some of the finest black prairie farming land we had ever seen. Hill County cotton, we were told, easily made a bale to the acre, and corn yielded sixty to seventy-five bushels. The late summer storm and flood had hardly touched Hill County.

Noting the fine crops, Elizabeth asked, in view of the fact that we had only seven dollars left, why I did not suggest that we stay over a week or so and pick cotton. Around the campfire I discussed this with the men, pointing out that we might well need some additional money before we arrived in Oklahoma Territory. The men agreed that this was a good idea, and they promised to think it over. At breakfast Kromer announced that it had been decided that if we passed a good cotton field we would camp and work.

Just as we were hitching up, a man rode into our camp and introduced himself as William Bird, the owner of a cotton farm four miles from camp. He said that he had sixty-five acres of cotton and would pay eighty cents per hundred. He invited us to camp on his place, assuring us there was plenty of wood and water. When we agreed to pick for him for one week, he led us to his place.

We spent a pleasant week on the Bird Plantation. On November 13, the last day we planned to pick, Mr. Bird returned from Hillsboro with news of the election held just a few days earlier. Bird was elated to report that William McKinley had beaten the Democrat, William Jennings Bryan, and all of us were happy and relieved that we would have a Republican President for four more years.

It was with regret that we left the Bird Plantation, but, as we explained to Mr. Bird, we had to be on to Oklahoma Territory before cold weather set in. He complimented us on our work, and we received \$54 from him for picking cotton. Some of the men had pulled corn for \$1.50 a day, and I was paid \$5 extra for keeping the books.

We greased the wagons and buggies by lantern light and prepared to move on at dawn. It was difficult to get the teams back into the routine of travel after a week's rest, but we made our thirty miles that day. A noticeable change was taking place in the weather—while the days continued mild, the nights were getting colder.

At breakfast on November 15, a catastrophe occurred. Every meal, the biscuits had been light and delicious. On that particular morning, they were hard, flat, and tough. The women explained that we had exhausted our supply of milk and baking powder, and that these pellets were made from soda and water. The men joshed the women unmercifully about the breakfast bread, but at the very next stop, a supply of baking powder was laid in, and thereafter, the men took special pains to obtain milk along the way from farmers. The fare was simple, but we ate hearty—ham or bacon, biscuits, syrup, potatoes, and coffee. We had a common mess. The women spread a clean cloth on the ground for each meal. We sat in a circle, and, after grace, we pitched in. Following the meal, the women jumped right up and cleaned the table, so that in a few minutes all was tidy and packed.

The country in Johnson and Tarrant counties changed somewhat—fewer trees, and more hills and sandy roads that slowed our pace. We reached Fort Worth near midday on November 16. Since the hard travel had fatigued the teams, and the women and children needed rest, we decided to stop over for a day or so. At Fort Worth we put in at a wagon yard. Up to this point, in order to save money, we had camped on a creek or at a spring away from the towns. The wagon yard, a common stopping point on the frontier for families traveling by wagon, consisted of camp houses with bunks and cookstoves, and a barn with stalls for fifty to sixty animals. The yard man furnished the animal feed and fuel for the cookstoves. The cost for a night in the wagon yard was fifteen cents for each wagon.

Right after we had unharnessed the teams, a man entered the wagon yard with a thirty-five pound blue catfish he had just caught in the Trinity River. We bought it for \$2.50, skinned and dressed it, and had a big fish fry. After this fine meal, we walked to the streetcar stop. Most of us had never ridden on a streetcar. We saw the town, getting transfers from one car to another, and this long, delightful excursion cost each of us only ten cents. The women and children especially enjoyed their first streetcar ride, which took most of the day, and we did not get back to the wagon yard until dark.

All seemed to have enjoyed our overland journey thus far, the more so, for, although we were eager to reach Oklahoma Territory, Kromer never pushed us, and when we or the teams

became fatigued, a stop was made for a day or so. On the evening of November 17, we stopped to camp near Saginaw on the banks of the Trinity River. The women decided to do a washing next morning since the children needed clean clothes. While they scrubbed clothes on the river bank, the men greased the wagons and made repairs. The women had the clothes dry, the children dressed, and we were back on the road before noon.

That night we camped on a high hill in the open prairie. Not a piece of firewood was in sight, and we had to take the teams one-half mile to a seep for water. A cold norther blew in before dark and the temperature changed from quite mild to very cold in less than thirty minutes. We had no fire to cook supper or keep warm by, and the children were crying from the cold. I searched until dark for wood without success. Near the seep was a long fence with high posts. I borrowed a saw from Kromer, cut the tops from several of these fence posts, and soon we had a warm fire, hot coffee, and contented children.

When we camped for the evening, we always hoped for a clear sky which generally betokened a clear tomorrow and easy travel. The norther pushed lead-gray clouds over us, and these dumped heavy rain for several hours, followed by hail. Luckily, the hail was small and did not puncture our wagon sheets. Next day the road through Wise County was boggy and rutted badly under the heavy wagons. We reached a long hill in upper Wise County in the mid-afternoon. It led to a raging creek which had washed out the crude bridge, and the canyon was too narrow to ford either up creek or down. The men took their axes from the wagons, cut logs from trees along the creek, repaired the bridge, and the caravan was on the north bank in two hours.

During the night, three men rode up to our camp and were in the process of driving off our horses and mules. The dog sounded the alarm, we grabbed our guns, ran out to the herd, and the intruders galloped off. For the rest of the night, and each night thereafter, we posted a guard on the livestock. Each time we were in plentiful wood, we always cut enough for one night's camp and carried it as a reserve in the supply wagon. Since Elizabeth and I had fewer effects in our wagon than those families with children, we packed the corn and hay in our wagon, so as to make room in the supply wagon for the wood. Feather ticks on the top of the corn and hay made a fair bed.

On November 21, while traveling through some of the flattest country I had ever seen, we came upon a prairie dog village. These little creatures especially delighted the children. We pulled into Ringgold, a north Texas town in Montague County, that evening and stopped at the wagon yard. This was to be our last night in Texas, for the Red River separating Oklahoma

Territory and Texas was just north of us. All were excited over being so close to the new country.

Departing the Ringgold wagon yard at eight, we reached Red River at a little past ten in the morning. A ferry carried us across at a cost of fifty cents for each wagon and team and ten cents for single horses. The last wagon and team were unloaded on the north bank before noon. While we still had several days to travel, our hopes were buoyed by safely crossing this river. From Red River crossing we struck due north for a piece, traversing the western Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory. According to Kromer's route, we would soon head west across the 98th meridian which separated the lands of the Chickasaws from the Kiowas, Comanches, Wichitas, Caddoes, and Apaches.

Towns were few and far between in this section of Indian Territory. This was cattle country and sparsely settled, the only towns being Terral and Ryan. A few cattlemen had leases with the Indian nations and grazed their livestock over these vast grasslands. At Ryan we headed west and after a few hours on the trail, met a herd of range cattle driven by six noisy cowboys. Kromer ordered the wagon train off the trail to make room for the approaching cattle herd. One of the riders showing off his horsemanship came so close to one of the wagons that the team bolted and the left front wheel was smashed. Luckily no one was injured. We returned with the wheel to Ryan where a blacksmith charged us \$7.50 to repair it.

That night, while camped in the Ryan wagon yard, a norther blew in. We were accustomed to the mild weather of south Texas, and that night we suffered more from the cold than at any time since leaving White Hall. We visited with two men who were in the Ryan wagon yard that night. They had already filed homestead claims in the territory, and were on their way to Texas in search of work so as to earn money for a grubstake. They explained that the law required that, in order to hold their homesteads, they must reside on their claims every three months for a few days and make certain improvements.

On November 25 our wagon train left Ryan and headed west again. The country was rich sandy loam and light red soil, gently rolling in relief, and covered with belly-deep grass. There was no road leading to Greer County and Mangum, our destination; just a trail beaten smooth by cattle herds. Except for crude cow camps and a few riders, we saw no houses or people for days. The nights were progressively colder with heavy frost, and ice in the wash basin; and at our first camp out of Ryan we heard coyotes for the first time, and even saw a pack of them on a hill in the cold moonlight.

New sights and experiences seemed to come every day now

in this new country. On November 27, we reached Cache Creek and camped near a large Comanche village, and we saw our first Indians. When a mounted party of braves came to call on our camp, the women and children hid in the wagons. We were only six miles from Fort Sill, the military post constructed in 1869, and garrisoned by United States cavalry to curtail the depredations of the fierce Kiowa and Comanche.

Next morning we stopped at Red Store, leading trading post in the Kiowa-Comanche country and only two miles from Fort Sill, where we laid in a supply of coffee. High mountains jutting above the grassy plain were a source of wonderment for all of us. We ate dinner at the foot of Mount Scott, one of the highest of the Wichita Mountains. Two days out we had first seen this peak. After the meal, the men climbed Mount Scott, and when we reached the summit and looked down, the people in our camp appeared like ants. During the descent, I encountered a big rattler sunning himself on a ledge. This, the first rattlesnake I had ever seen, I shot through the head with my Colt revolver.

That night we camped on a creek with a fringe of trees along its banks—beyond on either side was flat, prairie grassland. The Wichitas were still in view, and Kromer estimated that we were close to the Greer County line.

November 29 dawned cold and clear. We arose at five o'clock and greased the wagons and buggies by lantern light. For breakfast we had hot coffee, biscuits, and syrup; we were out of meat and butter again. That day we made thirty-six miles, one of the longest stretches we had covered. Just before dark we came to a crude trading post. Due to the lack of trees for logs and scarcity of lumber, the proprietor did business in a dugout. We purchased some meat at the dugout store and had a nice supper. We also bought corn for the teams; these animals had gone two days with only hay and native grass. The trader told us we had entered Greer County last evening; that we had camped on the Indian Territory-Oklahoma Territory boundary. According to him, up until four years ago, when this was Texas territory, only a few families, mostly cattlemen, had taken up land; but after the Supreme Court decision in 1896, awarding Greer County to Oklahoma Territory, there had been a steady stream of home-seekers from the states. The trader told us that while the land from his store to Mangum, sixteen miles west, had been filed on by cattlemen, there remained considerable free land west and north of Mangum.

Kromer led the train out of camp next morning, November 30, 1900, and we covered the sixteen miles to Mangum by four that afternoon. This was our journey's end. The teams had made the 630-mile trip in good condition. We had much to be thankful

for, and each member of Kromer's party offered silent prayers of gratitude. Our health was good; about the only sickness en route had been colds among the children, and these the mothers had checked with stiff hot toddies. Many times we had been low on food, but we always had something to eat. There had been no quarreling among our members; all got along very well. For all of us, the journey from Grimes County, Texas to Greer County, Oklahoma Territory had been an exciting adventure.

V

Homesteading in Greer County

Mangum, a bustling frontier town and county seat of Greer County, had been established around 1880 as a trading center for cattlemen. When we arrived in Mangum in late 1900, the business district was strung along a single main street. Besides a court house, it boasted two general stores, one drygoods store, two hotels, a funeral home, two saloons and the postoffice.

Since the opening of Greer County to homesteaders, Mangum was changing from a cattle town to a farm trade center. This was evidenced by the new cotton gin and two hardware and farm implement firms. Three wagon yards were doing a booming business, catering to the incoming homeseekers. By far the most popular place in town was the United States Land Office, where each day a long line of settlers formed at the front door waiting to file claims on locations they had selected.

The farm settlement boom had encouraged the Rock Island Railroad to build through Greer County to within a mile of Mangum. Hack service carried people between the depot and town. Until the Rock Island reached the environs of Mangum, all freight and passengers were unloaded at Quanah, Texas, forty miles away.

There were few houses in Mangum when we arrived; most of the people had built dugouts on their town lots. These curious structures were excavated five to six feet. The dimensions varied. One man, with his wife and eight children, lived in a dugout just off main street. His dwelling, set five feet in the ground, measured fourteen feet by thirty-six feet. There was a window in one end, and a door in the other. Three logs carried the roof—one log was set on each side and the third, raised a bit in the center to give pitch to the roof, served as a ridge pole. After sheeting had been nailed crosswise to the logs, the roof was covered with packed, reddish soil.

This soil was a strange sight—deep sandy loam which augured productive farming land. While most of the land around town had already been taken up, not much of it was in cultivation



Otto Koeltzow's threshing machine with old Rumley steam engine, bundle wagons and crew.

yet, for most of the settlers were so poor that, after filing on their claims, they generally returned to the settlements in search of work to earn a grubstake.

The cattlemen, who had held sway over this country for so long, were belligerent. They resented homeseekers coming into Greer County and cutting up the range with 160-acre farms, and they did everything possible to discourage the farmers. A favorite method used by the cattlemen to plague the farmers was to turn their cattle in to graze on the homesteaders' green feed and wheat fields.

When the farmers protested and threatened suits for damages, the cattlemen laughed at their plight and pointed to the "free grass law." In the stock producing areas of the West, the ranchmen favored "free grass law," which permitted livestock to range freely, and required those persons who raised crops to fence their fields. The farmers preferred the "herd law," which required that pasture lands be fenced and permitted cultivated fields be free of enclosures. States and territories generally authorized counties to settle this question by local option. Soon after our arrival in Oklahoma Territory, I learned from conversations with homesteaders that in 1897, when cattlemen were in the majority in Greer County, a referendum was held and the "free grass law" had carried. Now that settlers outnumbered cattlemen in Greer County, the former were agitating for a "herd law" referendum.

Our first stop in Mangum was at Doyle's Wagon Yard. After allowing the teams a day's rest, the various families comprising our wagon train began to scatter in search of homesteads. We had never owned land in America, and the Mangum wagon yards were full of families from north, south, east, and west—homeseekers like ourselves. And there was an ominous rumor about that Greer County, containing nearly the last of the nation's free land, would soon be all taken up with homestead filings. Kromer, Felter, and Weber joined father and headed out the west road seeking unclaimed land.

Father told me before leaving that, in addition to searching for a homestead, he was going to try to find a place with a dwelling on it, which he might rent. Thus he not only would have land to farm in the spring, but more important, mother and the children would not have to spend the winter in the wagon on an undeveloped claim. When father asked why I was not joining the search for homesteads, I explained that I had only \$2.50 left after paying my share of the wagon yard fees, and that I would have to find work in Mangum and earn some money even before I could pay the filing costs on a homestead.

Just after the wagons of our train began to pull out on the homestead search, a railroad superintendent came to the wagon

yard looking for men to unload an oil tank from a railroad car and place it on a foundation. He agreed to pay \$1.50 a day for good hands. We had been accustomed to receiving fifty to seventy-five cents a day (except at Hillsboro where we were paid \$1.50 for pulling corn), and I jumped at the chance to work for him. He told me to meet him at the railroad yards early next day.

At 4:30 on the morning of December 1, 1900, I rolled out for my first job in Oklahoma Territory. Elizabeth cooked me a hearty breakfast, using up most of our remaining provisions, and I left the wagon yard at five. The mile walk to the railroad depot was the coldest hike I had ever made up to that time. It was quiet, bitter cold. The town was sleeping, and I saw no one. I walked around the railroad yards for an hour and finally saw a light appear in the depot. I went to the door and the agent invited me to come in and warm myself. He was just building a fire in the pot-bellied heater.

After thawing out, I explained that I had a job unloading a tank from a flat car, but that the superintendent and remainder of the crew had not showed yet. The agent laughed heartily, asked me my name, where I was from, and then he told me that in Oklahoma Territory men worked only during the day, not at night. He assured me the job would start at eight.

Finally the superintendent and crew of three came into the yards. Apparently I worked too fast, for, after the superintendent left, one of the crew asked me if I wanted to finish in one day. I looked up and noted that I had worked three-fourths around the tank and had just met the other three. At noon, the superintendent sent two of the crew home, but kept me and one other worker, and told us we would have one more day's work.

We quit at five, and Elizabeth was surprised to see me come into the wagon yard so early. I explained that men worked only eight hours a day in Oklahoma Territory on jobs of this sort. Elizabeth had been busy too. She had washed all the clothes and cleaned out the wagon.

After supper we talked with various families in the wagon yard. According to people who had spent several years in Greer County, this night was the coldest on record for that early in the season. Bitter wind out of the north roared at forty miles per hour. But our team was warm in the stalls and the lodge house in Doyle's Wagon Yard was cozy. In talking with one of the homeseekers just in from the western edge of Greer County, I learned that a man named W. E. Kelly, who owned 320 acres of land west of Mangum, had lost his wife, was left with four small children, and wanted to rent his farm. This seemed to be exactly the sort of place father was looking for.

At the end of my second day in the railroad yards, the superintendent paid me three dollars for the work on the tank, and took me to the Stephenson and Brown Lumber Yard. I was introduced to Mr. Stephenson as a strong, reliable hand, and the railroad superintendent asked the lumber company to hire me. Mr. Stephenson was interested in our travels, where we were from, and he asked many questions about the Galveston storm and the Brazos flood. Then he asked what I had brought to Oklahoma Territory. I told him: "A span of mules, a saddle horse, farm wagon, two trunks of clothes, two feather beds, a Colt revolver, a young wife, and \$2.50 cash."

Thanks to the railroad superintendent, Mr. Stephenson offered me a temporary job unloading lumber from railroad cars at \$1.50 a day. When I returned to the wagon yard, Elizabeth had a surprise. She had found a job, too, as a cook at the inn. The owner agreed to furnish both of us room and board and pay her one dollar each week. This was especially good news for we would now be able to save more money, and thus could file on a homestead sooner.

During the late evening, father returned to Mangum and I told him about the Kelly place being for rent. He went out next day, looked it over, and decided to rent it for one year. The Kelly farm was near Jester, which, like so many villages in Oklahoma Territory, had only a store and a postoffice. Father invited Elizabeth and me to move out with him, but I told him he would be pushed for room as it was when mother and the children arrived from Texas. I did ask him to take my mules, wagon, and saddle horse to the farm and care for them so as to save me stable rent. This he was happy to do. At his request I wrote mother that father had a home for them, and I included instructions that she take the train at Navasota for Fort Worth, change to the Chickasha train, then take the Rock Island to Mangum, and that we would meet them at the depot.

After Elizabeth and I moved to the inn, we spent our nights estimating how long before we would have enough money to file for a homestead and how much we would need for a grubstake. Filing alone would cost us \$16.40. Since I had not filed intent to become a United States citizen, the so-called first papers would cost \$2.50. This had to be done before an alien could file for a homestead. And the various homestead fees amounted to \$14.00. It seemed a slow process getting enough together to file for a homestead and there was always the secret fear that all the claims in Greer County would be taken before we had accumulated the required amount.

Elizabeth's helper at the inn, Mary Stacy, was being courted by a young bartender named Pete Kelley. Mary's room was next

to ours, and soon I was well acquainted with Kelley. One evening when Mary and he came to visit, Kelley saw my pistol, holster, and cartridge belt on the bedpost. When he asked if I would like to sell it, I told him not particularly, but after I saw his strong interest in the gun, I told him I would take \$18.50 for it. I was surprised when he said he would buy it. He gave me \$5 down, I kept the gun, and he agreed to pay the balance soon. I hated like all get out to part with that gun, but Elizabeth and I were happy for now we would have the homestead money, and while I was hesitant to part with the gun, we needed a home worse, and I could always get another pistol. I had never dreamed when I bought the Colt .41 at Navasota years before that it would fetch a 160-acre homestead for me. Now we could work for a grubstake, for when we settled on our homestead we would need some furniture, tools, implements, seed, and provisions.

I had to rise at 5:30 in order to get my two-man crew underway by daylight. Farmers were buying up lumber of all dimensions for their dugouts, barns, and chicken houses as fast as we could haul a boxcar load to the yard and stack it. Although there was a heavy demand for lumber, bad weather and slow railroad deliveries made work at the yard spotty. Most of the time I was able to work only two or three days each week.

On the evening of December 8, Kromer came to town. He had found a homestead thirty-five miles northwest of Mangum and he planned to file on it next morning. According to him, the claim was in very rough country, but it was in the only open land left. He warned that we should file soon for the free land was about all taken up. Since there was no work at the yard next day, I went to the Land Office to inquire about filing. Although I left the inn early, there was already a long line of people waiting to file. At eight, the outer office was opened to allow the people to get in out of the cold; the clerk's office did not open until nine. When I finally reached the Chief Clerk's desk and explained my business, he instructed me to return after closing at five, at which time he would explain all the steps I would have to take in order to file. I asked for and received a Greer County township map which included section and quarter-section designations. Six clerks were working in the Land Office and still there were so many homeseekers filing that many had to return the next day.

Just before noon, father and August arrived in Mangum. They had found some vacant land close to Kromer's claim, but they did not know the section number and quarter-section direction, essential information for filing a homestead entry. When I showed them my Greer County map, they located their claims.

After five we went to the Land Office and met the Chief Clerk. This kind official took the time to explain the require-

ments of the Homestead Law. According to him, the homeseeker looked over the available claims and when he found one that suited him, he filed with the Land Office. While he did not have to move onto the homestead for three months, the claimant had to make certain improvements within this period; and if at the end of the first three months he was unable to move onto the homestead, he satisfied the residence requirement by sleeping on the claim at least one night every three months until able to move onto it permanently. After breaking out some land and building a dugout, and after residing on the homestead for five years, the United States Government would issue a patent of ownership; or one could commute or shorten this residence period by residing on the claim for two years and paying \$1.25 per acre.

When I told the Chief Clerk that I did not have my naturalization papers, he said I would have to file first papers, which was a declaration of intent to become a citizen of the United States; then I would be eligible to file for homestead. Since none of the family had filed first papers, the Chief Clerk took applications from father on behalf of himself and all his children. The official allowed us to submit our applications for land and he assured us he would have the first papers ready when we came in to file for a homestead. Before leaving the office, father and I paid \$2.50 each for the first papers.

We planned to ride northwest in search of homesteads next day, but word came to me after supper that a load of lumber had just arrived in the railroad yards which meant I would have to work on the morrow. Next morning I handed father my Greer County map in order that he could match the section numbers with any land he found. I asked that he try to find a quarter-section near his claim for me, and I assured him that I would be satisfied with any selection he made.

After I had unloaded the boxcar and stacked the lumber, Mr. Stephenson called me into the office. Mr. Doyle, owner of the wagon yard, was with him. Mr. Stephenson explained that bad weather and slow railroad deliveries made my work with him uncertain. He added that he realized that I needed steady work so as to earn enough for a grubstake. He explained that Mr. Doyle was there to offer me a steady job. Mr. Doyle told me he was establishing a coal business, and that he would pay me \$25.00 a month and furnish the team and wagon. I accepted this offer since it would be all clear, for Elizabeth's job took care of our board and room—we would have our grubstake now.

That night Pete Kelley came to pay me the balance due on the Colt revolver. When I turned the gun over to him, it was like parting with an old friend. Pete brought a quart of fine whiskey along for me. I told him I would keep it for Christ-

mas—the entire family was planning to get together and this gift would liven the celebration. Pete insisted that we use it for the evening, and he promised to bring me another quart for the Christmas celebration.

Delivering coal in and around Mangum was hard, dirty work, but I did not mind for it was getting me a grubstake; I became acquainted with many people; and I made lifelong friends. I was curious to learn how much the mule team could pull. On a test run in deep sand, the team pulled 3,000 pounds of coal. I hauled coal from the railroad yards to Doyle's place; from there, I delivered the fuel in smaller quantities over town, to the dugouts, and into the country. I always loaded up the night before; thus I was ready to hitch up the mules and start deliveries the next morning without delay. And by doing this, I was able to make considerably more deliveries for Mr. Doyle. I started selling small amounts to the poor people in dugouts and this built up Doyle's business to such a point that he could not get enough coal to take care of all his new customers.

We sold four types of coal: egg coal, nut coal, lump coal, and Colorado heart coal. Farmers generally bought the big lump coal. This fuel they piled handy near the dugout door, and it was heavy enough that high winds could not blow it all over their claims. In town I sold more egg coal which was used for cooking and heating. Nut coal was cheap and small, and was used chiefly in the little bachelor heaters. Colorado heart coal was hard fuel supplied for the heavy stoves in stores and business establishments. It was high priced fuel with only a limited market. After we had been in Mangum about two months, a smallpox epidemic broke out. Every house and dugout was quarantined, but since I had been vaccinated twice, I continued to deliver coal.

On the evening of December 13, father rode into town with the good news that he had found homesteads for all his children. My claim, according to the markings on the Greer County map, was one-half mile from his. Mr. Doyle gave me the next morning off, and father and I went to the Land Office. The Chief Clerk had our papers prepared, we showed him our homestead entries. These were filed, fees were paid, and I was back on the job by ten. Elizabeth and I itched to see our new farm site but we stayed on our jobs and saved every cent for our grubstake.

Mother and the children were to arrive in Mangum at 3:30 on the afternoon of December 15. Father came to town with a wagon and team to haul their effects to the farm. It was a joyous reunion and we decided to celebrate that night at Doyle's Wagon Yard. First we had a big supper. Pete Kelley and Mary Stacy were there, and Pete brought a quart of that fine whiskey and a bottle of wine. The party lasted until midnight, and a good time was had by all.

Before the folks left town next morning, my brothers and sisters filed for individual claims next to mine, thus making the cluster of homesteads a sort of family colony. I asked the Chief Clerk if two adjoining homesteads could be held by a single dugout constructed on the line separating each. I raised this question since sister and brother were unmarried at the time and lacked the money to build separate dwellings for the purpose of meeting the "improvements section" of the Homestead Act. The Chief Clerk ruled that this would satisfy the law if the dugout was sufficiently large. When I proposed a structure fourteen by thirty-two, he agreed this would be satisfactory.

Elizabeth and I had been invited to the folks' rented place for Christmas. We were allowed three days vacation by our employers. Since our team and wagon were at the folks' place, father and Paul drove into Mangum for us on December 24. Pete Kelley handed me a bottle of that fine whiskey for a Christmas present before we left town. The weather was cold but clear, we had a pleasant drive, and all seemed to augur a merry Christmas.

Eighteen people were there when we arrived, eight of them children. Everyone received some sort of gift, but we had no tree. Mother lamented that this was the first Christmas we had ever celebrated without a Christmas Eve children's program and pastor's Yule sermon. We made up for this lack as best we could and still came up with a fair children's program. Father and I talked over the prospects for getting a pastor and church established. At this time there was only one church in the county, a Baptist congregation at Mangum. There were several Catholics, including Mr. Doyle, but no church for this faith had been established as yet. To the best of our knowledge we were the only Lutherans in the county.

After the Christmas Eve celebration, we tried to find a place to sleep. The rented house had only four small rooms. All the beds were made on the floor, several slept in the kitchen, and, by good management, all eighteen persons had a bed of some sort. Our first Christmas dinner in Oklahoma Territory consisted of potatoes, cornbread, navy beans, a little meat, and plenty of good coffee. Elizabeth and I wanted so to see our homestead, but it was a day's drive to Mangum, so next day we returned to town and work.

By January 1, 1901, Mangum was crowded with home-seekers and more were coming in every day. Dugouts seemed to cover the prairie around town, and I delivered coal from before dawn until well after dark. Doyle's wife had a young baby and she needed help about the house. Doyle invited Elizabeth and me to move in with them. He agreed to board us, pay

us \$50 a month, and allow us three days off in January to enable us to visit our homestead. This proposal was agreeable, especially since it meant a grubstake sooner than we had planned.

January 16 was a big day in our lives. We would at last see our homestead. Father picked us up in my wagon and team at daylight. The road to Reed, a tiny village twelve miles west of Mangum, was fair. It had been open for three years. The going thereafter was difficult; as a matter of fact, the county map showed no roads west of Reed. Rough country, hills, and deep canyons made traveling slow. We stopped at noon on Horse Creek, fed the mules, and ate lunch. When we took the mules to water, they would not drink from the creek. On tasting it, we discovered the reason—it was bitter gyp water.

The only cut in the high bank was in deep water, and we were nearly swamped on the crossing. The hill on the west bank was so steep the mules could not pull with us in the wagon, so we all got out and pushed while the mules pulled, and finally reached the crest. The westward road from the creek was no more than a faint trail. It led to a village called Francis, its postoffice and general store patronized for the most part by local cattlemen. Shortly, when farmers came to dominate this section of Greer County, the village was renamed Vinson.

The Francis postmaster told us we were twenty-eight miles due west of Mangum. I showed him my county map, indicating the location of my claim. He advised that my location was on the Newt Abernathy Ranch, which was seven miles northwest of Francis. There was no road, he added, only a trail, and this through four miles of very rough country, although the last three miles leveled off somewhat. He assured us we could make it that night.

Following the tortuous, thin trail, just before dark we met a cowboy. We asked if he knew Sherman Kromer. He nodded, and added he would be the new settler who lived one mile west and two north. The rider warned us there was no trail, just sign. He gave us hills and other landmarks to follow. According to him, Kromer's dugout was in a deep canyon. Just before he galloped off, the cowboy declared: "You settlers are going to have trouble with the ranchers; we don't want you to come in here and take up all the range. We expect to keep it for cattle."

Following the cowboy's directions, we reached Kromer's dugout at eight. They had eaten, but Mrs. Kromer fixed us a bite. Before turning in, I unfolded the county map, and Kromer showed me the location of our claim in relation to his. We were only two miles east of our new home. Kromer did not have room for us in the dugout, so Elizabeth and I slept in the wagon.



Otto Koeltzow's threshing crew and portable cook shack.

After breakfast at Kromer's Elizabeth and I hurried to our claim. We passed a ranch house and stopped at the front gate. A man came out and I introduced myself, and explained that I had filed nearby and asked if he could direct me to the claim. He acknowledged that his name was Newt Abernathy, and that my quarter was just beyond the creek. Then he went into a tirade against homesteaders. He wanted to know why nesters were coming in, trying to farm land that never was intended to raise crops, and driving the cattlemen out of the country. I answered: "God did not make the land just for Texans and cattlemen. The Government gave this land to the farmers to cultivate and develop." And I assured him we would convert it into as fine a farming area as there was anywhere.

Abernathy retorted: "Yes, you people come in here, scratch the earth, and you'll starve to death. This land won't raise anything but grass." I repeated that we would show him. I asked him how many acres he had. He answered that he had 320 in fee, and four sections of government land on which he pastured 2,000 cattle. I asked what he would do with his cattle when additional homesteaders filed on his range. He answered that since this was free grass country, the farmers would have a difficult time.

Free grass doctrine meant little to me at the time, and not wishing to continue the argument, I told Abernathy before we drove off that since we were going to be neighbors, I hoped that we could live together in peace and help one another as neighbors should. As we crossed our property line, I halted the team. This was our land. True, it was hilly, two deep canyons cut through it, and the soil was red. But it belonged to us; no rent to pay; no landlord to plague us. On this land we would build our home, and coax from the red soil food to sustain our children.

(To be continued)

A PIONEER AT THE LAND OPENINGS IN OKLAHOMA

By Maurice Hefley

Jefferson Lemanosky Hefley was only one of a long line afflicted with the urge to travel west. From Germany to Pennsylvania to North Carolina to southern Illinois they had wandered, the Hefleys and the Walchers along with other families of a German colony which could not stay put but could not separate either. And always there was a member, or members out ahead, scouting out new territory for the expanding tribe.

Lem Hefley came home from the War Between the States to Montgomery County, Illinois, took a bride from among the Walchers, and tried to settle down to farming. But far from allaying his wanderlust the war years had only whetted it. Captured and paroled, he had spent a year and a half of the war wandering to the California gold fields; out by wagon train, back by ship via Panama and New York; he had seen much more of the world than the average farm boy and he was determined to see more.

It was fall of 1871 before the call of the frontier pulled him west again. Perhaps greater success in farming might have kept him in Illinois. But having started with nothing, and five seasons on the farm having left him with no increase in worldly goods except for three sons, Illinois had equipped him with little resistance to the call. He set out with his brood for Kansas, following the trail of family ties. First, it was Chautauqua County, then Woodson County, and in late 1874, the wagon trail led to Sumner County.

This was to be home for thirteen years. Here was the real frontier. This was the great plains. Here was dugout living. To this region came the grasshopper plagues, the Indians from below the border, the cattle drives from Texas, the gamblers and saloons and dance hall girls that followed the railroads and the drovers. And to here came more of the family. The tribe was growing again. And Lem's family increased to eight children; the older ones reached young manhood. The country filled up with people, and Lem was ready to move on again.

But to here also came the drought and hard times. Everyone

* Mr. Maurice Hefley has contributed this story to *The Chronicles* in memory of his grandfather, Jefferson Lemanosky Hefley, pioneer settler in the Kiowa-Comanche Country in 1901. The author is a native of Oklahoma, a graduate of the University of Oklahoma, practicing architect and engineer and retired U.S. Army colonel who makes his home in Oklahoma City.—Ed.

went broke trying to raise corn, then even the wheat burned up. It was time to move on. The fall of '87 found the family almost destitute; the homestead and farm equipment were sold at auction and once more the covered wagon, now only a borrowed one, set out for new frontiers.

It seemed, however, best to head for civilization first because somewhere they had to raise a stake. Arkansas City became the choice over Wichita for no apparent reason. And on this simple decision hinged the entire future of the whole Hefley clan.

The family's only real resource now was the will to work for a living. In a few days Lem and the two older boys, Jesse and Harold, were all working for a dollar ten a day in a gravel pit, ten hours a day, six days a week. Grueling but not discouraging. Faith for a better day had never been brighter because conditions could hardly get worse.

A new railroad had just been opened south across the Indian lands to Texas. Product of the gravel operation was going for ballast along this line. It turned out that the maintenance superintendent was a man from Sumner County whose family was well known to the Hefley's. Shortly he proposed to Lem that he and his boys, John too was big enough now to work though only fourteen, ship down into the territory and go to work for the railroad. Camping in the wilderness might have appalled many men, and no doubt contributed to the availability of the jobs, but to the Hefleys nothing could have been more welcome. Besides—in this direction might lie that 160 acres of paradise for which Lem was ever alert.

The assignment turned out to be Norman, a tiny station and a section house in the wild. This was a junction of two sections of railroad maintenance and two crews of a dozen or so men each worked out of here. The section house constituted the only living facilities; here a man and his wife cared for the bunking quarters and prepared the meals. The Hefleys set up in a tent and prepared their own meals. The operators of the section house were not very satisfactory at the time and in a few weeks most of the men were eating at the tent.

Shortly the superintendent proposed to Lem that he bring his family down and take over complete operation of the facilities. More than a year passed in serene and happy pattern; hard work and sweat were nothing new. Come fall the boys, and Lem too, largely quit the work and wallowed in a plethora of hunting expeditions. This time, however, they had an excuse. The huge table had to be served, game was abundant and the railroad offered ready access to commercial markets. Paradise, indeed! But not for long. On April 22, 1889 their paradise was opened

for settlement. Invading hordes of farmers and dudes arrived over night and the wilderness was gone forever.

Not that Lem minded so much as the boys. He was still a farmer at heart and made his plans for homesteading. After the arrival of the first trainload of prospectors from Purcell, and after horsemen who came in across the river southwest of town had passed, he stepped across the tracks and drove his stakes on the quarter section joining the Norman townsite on the southeast. Jesse came in from across the river and staked a bottom land claim west of town. Harold, not yet of age, helped Henry, who was old enough but crippled, to take a claim southeast of town.

But alas for the Hefley dreams, these efforts were all for naught. Jesse found his stakes contested by men with guns and an obvious prior claim. He discovered later that they just as obviously had arrived illegally the day before. Henry's claim was upland and the boys were fundamentally not much interested in land anyway so they decided it wasn't worth proving up. As for Lem, being a permanent resident and being busily engaged in preparation for the big event, he never gave a thought to leaving the area, and no one bothered to tell him he would be forfeiting his right to a claim by staying. Someone immediately contested and after several years of lethargic court and land office procedure his rights were all invalidated.

Contrary to the picture of argument, violence and ill-will painted by many in connection with Oklahoma land openings, Norman's was the height of peacefulness and good humor. Much bustle and disorder to be sure; unfair, even ruthless, advantage taken; but most people took problems in stride, coming to town to relax and swap stories and find out what others were doing.

Business was booming at the section house. Many thousands of people passed through Norman in those first few days. The Hefley table was the only one for public service. No one anticipated the size of the crowd, food ran out before rush orders to Arkansas City could replenish the supply. There was no source of bread so Mrs. Hefley settled into a several days' routine of doing nothing but baking biscuits while others took care of the lesser cooking chores.

But soon the rush subsided and the work of maintaining the railroad went on. And the family had acquired a taste for enterprise. Soon a shack went up where the public could continue to be fed and where bunks could be laid for several paying guests. Later a sizeable hotel was built on the northwest corner of Lem's claim and the board and bed business continued until the final loss of the land. Soon, too, it was discovered that clay deposits existed on the property suitable for making bricks, a



J. L. Hefley Family — 1890

Left to Right Back Row — Jesse (24), Harold (20), John (16), Henry (22).
Left to Right—2nd Row — Nora (14), J. L. Hefley, Mrs. Hefley, Orana
(18). Left to Right—Front Row — Belle (11), Nelle (9).

material greatly in demand for commercial structures. With little skill or knowledge, and hardly knowing how it happened, the family was soon in the manufacturing business. This business was later transferred to the west side of town. These two brick plants were the only ones of consequence ever in the Norman area. They furnished most of the brick used there for twenty years or more.

Meanwhile there was more pioneering in prospect. The children were growing up, the girls beginning to get married, Jesse and John going to the University when possible, but Lem still needed that 160 acres. And opportunities were still presenting themselves as more areas of the territory were opened for settlement.

First was the September 22, 1891 opening of the Shawnee-Pottawatomie lands just to the east of Norman. By this time all areas of the territory were as an open book to the Hefleys because of their hunting trips. And this country appealed not at all from the standpoint of farming. But, more for the fun of an expedition than from any serious intent to homestead, Lem organized a sizeable crew and set off in wagon and on horseback for this new promised land. They drove to Tecumseh, one or two filed on some city lots, but mostly they just enjoyed camping out and watching the excitement.

Actually Lem had had his heart set for years on a claim in the Chikaskia bottom, a country well known from hunting trips while still living in Kansas. He was patiently awaiting the opening of the Cherokee Strip which by now everyone knew would have to come soon. And come it did, almost exactly two years later.

This was probably the greatest single effort of Lem's life. Plans and preparations went on for months. Fine horses were purchased and meticulously trained. Because of friends and relatives still in Kansas, and because of the location of the goal, it was decided to come in from the north. Jesse and Harold were in the party, of course, and a new son-in-law. John was still too young to file but went along to drive the supply wagon. A Walcher cousin went from Norman and an equal group of Walchers and friends was to meet them in Kansas. Hunnewell was the point of registration.

The day dawned clear and warm, too warm for the violent action soon to be required of the horses. But these were excellent, most of the horsemen in the party the finest the frontier could develop. There was no question but that they would be first at their destination. The main crowd was soon left running behind, and many who pressed their horses hard to reach the fore were

soon passed with dead or dying horses at their feet. But after a few miles, quietly, mysteriously from each clump of timber would emerge fresh contestants on fresh horses to take up the race. The country was so full of sooners, it was soon apparent that the legal entry did not have a chance. They entered the Chikaskia River bottom and rode for miles without finding one unstaked claim. At a rendezvous near where Blackwell now stands bitterness of disappointments and frustration was most prevalent. After taking council most of the Kansas contingent decided they had gone far enough but the rest wanted to push on. On to the Salt Fork was the next leg, again covered rapidly and efficiently. But again the bottoms were full of people who couldn't possibly be there. Across the river they rode, and out on to the high plains beyond. From a well marked section corner, they took bearings and discovered they were more than half way across the Strip. It looked like this or nothing. Two members of the party finally put down stakes, in utter disgust the others did not even bother. All rode back dejectedly to pick up the supply wagon. None ever went back to prove up a claim.

This must have been one of the greatest disappointments of Lem's life. The injustices of the system now were so obvious to all that it seemed inconceivable that government officials could have been a party to it. On the other hand Lem, and all his party, had their sights too high. Having been burned out in Kansas they had no use for any upland farm. Hundreds, no doubt, were still available, but none of those left to honest participants in the race were acceptable to these.

It must have seemed to Lem now that his dream of land was never to be realized. Another eight years in Norman were to intervene before the call came again. Rearing of the family was completed, marriage, school and vocational goals took the interests of the children, the lure of the frontier seemed dead. Came also two more land acquisitions by the growing territory, the Kickapoo country and Greer County. These created little interest in the Hefley clan. But one more was to come.

With family responsibilities well disposed of word came at the turn of the century that the vast areas west and southwest of the Territory were to be opened to settlement. Once more the elder Hefleys felt the call. Lem explored and approved the area lying south of the Wichita Mountains in the Comanche reservation and determined on one more try.¹

The Federal Land Commission had discovered the inequities

¹ At this time, the Kiowa-Comanche and the Wichita-Caddo reservations were opened to settlement in southwestern Oklahoma. Drawings for the lottery took place on August 6, 1901, at both Lawton and El Reno, Oklahoma Territory.—Ed.

in the land rush system, and this time determined upon a lottery. It is said 164,000 people registered for 13,000 claims. But at least opportunity was fair to all.

Lem's luck ran well at last. His name was chosen, and his first choice of claims was still available. He picked a spot along Post Oak Creek.² The two things his long experience on the frontier had proved most essential were wood and water. These were here, and they could live out their days.

With the help of the boys when one or more was available, by himself when they were not, Lem hewed a home from this new wilderness: log cabin, log barn, log fences and corrals, and logs for posts and firewood for his neighbors. These made up his life for the next few years. And when drought came here, too, as it always had come before, his timber was his living. Neighbors on the open plains around him had a much harder time.

Later came a real house of real lumber. There came also a degree of well-being, if not real prosperity, such as the family had never known before. There came cattle and horses and hogs; corn and orchard and garden. There came the tranquility of age and wisdom. There were also the visits of children and grandchildren. And there was the respect of neighbors and friends. Lem had found at last his 160 acres.

² This location was 8 miles southwest of Cache, in Comanche County.



This is the original farm cabin on the homestead in Comanche County, built in 1901. At the extreme right of the picture the man on the left is J. L. Hefley, Sr., the other man is a son. The boy on the horse is a grandson.

OPENING THE CHEROKEE OUTLET: AN ARCHIVAL STUDY

*By Berlin B. Chapman**

Part I

"DO SOMETHING WITH THE OUTLET!"

The fifth annual public land opening in present Oklahoma was in the Cherokee Outlet, and included the Pawnee reservation, the southern tip of which was outside the Cherokee Outlet. The area opened was bordered on the south by Oklahoma district opened in 1889, by the Sac and Fox lands opened in 1891, and by the Cheyenne and Arapahoe reservation opened in 1892. Bordering the Cherokee Outlet on the west was the Public Land Strip opened in 1890. The Outlet area opened to settlement included the surplus lands in the Cherokee country west of the Arkansas, and in the Tonkawa and Pawnee reservations; lands in the reservations occupied by the Poncas, and the Otoes and Missourias were not included in the opening. In the country opened a total of 129,106 acres were allotted to Poncas, Tonkawas, and Cherokees. The portion available for homesteads embraced nearly 6,500,000 acres.

Section 14 of the act of March 2, 1889, under which the Cherokee Commission was appointed, provided that if the Cherokees should accept a proposition for the sale of their lands west of ninety-six degrees, like the proposition accepted by the Creeks, the lands should become a part of the public domain. Provision was made for opening the lands to settlement by proclamation of the President. But the Cherokees rejected a proposition like that accepted by the Creeks.

Just prior to the opening of Oklahoma district in 1889, intended settlers were allowed to move "by regular marches and

*This article is a sequel to Dr. Chapman's series of five articles, "How the Cherokees Acquired and Disposed of the Outlet, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vols. XV, XVI (March, 1937, to June, 1938). The series of articles was basic in the case of the Cherokee Nation or Tribe of Indians v. the United States, in which the Indian Claims Commission on April 3, 1961, awarded the Cherokees a judgment in "the sum of \$14,789,476.15 which is the difference between the fair market value" of the six-million-acre tract sold in 1891 and the consideration received. This is the largest sum ever awarded by the commission.

Earl Boyd Pierce, an attorney for the Cherokees, said: "The five articles exhaust the subject in suit. Dr. Chapman richly deserves the deep gratitude of not only the attorneys of the Cherokee Nation, but also of the whole Cherokee people."

This article was prepared under the auspices of the Research Foundation of Oklahoma State University, and with the aid of Richard S. Maxwell and his assistants in the National Archives.—Ed.

in a quiet, peaceful, and orderly manner" across the Outlet to the northern border of the district. The Indians were given to understand that by the passage through the Outlet there was no disposition to appropriate their lands. The Secretary of War directed that after the passage of the emigrants, troops should scout the Outlet and require all persons unlawfully there to move on, either back into Kansas or over into Oklahoma district. In a telegram from Fort Reno on April 26, General Wesley Merritt recommended that to prevent settlement in the Outlet, authority be given and the statement made that intruders there would have their names taken, and be deprived of the right of lawful entry in case the Outlet were opened to settlement.¹

The agreement which the Cherokee Commission concluded with the Cherokees on December 19, 1891, provided for the relinquishment of all the title, claim, and interest of the Cherokee Nation in and to their lands between the 96th and 100th meridians.² The House Committee on Indian Affairs in reporting a bill to confirm the agreement, sought to dispose of the lands under the homestead laws in a way that the honest homeseeker, though humble and poor, might acquire a good home for himself and family for a small sum and upon terms that would enable him from his own industry to pay for the same.³ The committee referred to the well-founded belief that the lands theretofore opened to settlement in Oklahoma had not fallen to the honest and deserving homeseeker as a rule but, upon the contrary, had fallen largely into the hands of "'sooners,' land sharks, speculators, race riders, claim jumpers, and townsite grabbers, etc.," while the man who wanted and needed a home for the sake of a home had been almost if not universally left. In 1892 the Office of Indian Affairs was informed that for over two years a large number of people had been waiting on the southern border of Kansas for the opening of the lands of the Outlet.⁴

Congressman Charles H. Mansur of Missouri, Governor George W. Steele of Oklahoma, and Secretary of the Interior John W. Noble in the early nineties urgently recommended the opening of the Outlet to settlement, and worked toward that end. The Cherokee Commission concluded agreements with the Tonkawas and Pawnees respectively in 1891 and 1892. But the surplus lands in reservations occupied by these Indians were so small in amount, and prospects for a rush of settlers so

¹ Tel. of April 26, 1889, *S. Ex. Docs.*, 51 Cong. 1 sess., ix (2686), no. 72, p. 12.

² The agreement is in *S. Ex. Docs.*, 52 Cong. 1 sess., v(2900) no. 56, pp. 17-19.

³ Report of June 13, 1892, *H. Reports*, 52 Cong. 1 sess., v(3046), no. 1631, p. 2.

⁴ *Ind. Aff.*, 1892, p. 80.

great, that the opening of the lands was delayed until the Cherokee lands in the Outlet could be opened.⁵

The Cherokee agreement stated that if it were not ratified by Congress, and the appropriation of money made as provided therein, on or before March 4, 1893, the agreement should be utterly void. When Representative Samuel West Peel of Arkansas was canvassing his district he assured the people that there would be no opposition to the ratification of the agreement, and that before the spring of 1893 "we would have the lands opened to the honest home-seeker who desires to obtain, before it was everlastingly too late, a little land which he could call his own, and on which to rear his family in his own way."⁶

Peel was of the opinion that if the life of Principal Chief Joel Bryan Mayes had been prolonged, the agreement would not have been negotiated, at least for the price of about \$8,500,000 it specified for the lands of the Cherokee Outlet. He did not think that a new agreement more favorable to the government could be secured, unless the Cherokees were "coerced; unless the Government, by its strong arm, places them in a position where they have no other alternative." He said if the Cherokees retained the lands and were allowed to lease them, they would receive "a handsome revenue." He added: "They would jump at the opportunity if this Government would allow them to parcel it out and sell it as they please. They would be mighty glad to get that privilege."

On February 3, 1893, a month before the expiration of the ratification period, Peel reported the Indian appropriation bill from the House Committee on Indian Affairs. This was H. R. 10415, and contained nine sections when it passed the House on February 27.⁷ It was referred to the Senate Committee on appropriations where Amendments 92, 93, and 94 were added.⁸

⁵ On November 23, 1892, Judge Warren G. Sayre said: "The Tonkawa agreement only covers a little piece of land twelve miles square and to open that [,] there would be a hundred white men rushing after every piece of land"; Proceedings of the councils of the Cherokee Commission held with the Pawnees, p. 136, NA, OIA, Irregular Size Papers. In his annual report for 1892 Agent D. J. M. Wood said that the Tonkawa reservation was visited almost daily by land prospectors, who were sighing for the land and reporting more than they knew about the condition of the Tonkawas; *Ind. Aff.*, 1892, p. 398.

⁶ *Cong. Record*, Feb. 22, 1893, p. 2018.

⁷ The nine sections are in *ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1893, pp. 2228-2233.

⁸ NA, Leg. Sec., *Original House Bills*, 52 Cong., nos. 10375-10490; no. 8227; *Original Engrossed Bills*, House, 52 Cong., no. 10415.

The Senate Committee on Appropriations on March 2, 1889, attached a rider, Section 13, providing for the opening of Oklahoma district. Thus the committee initiated two of the most famous riders in Oklahoma legislation; B. B. Chapman, "Oklahoma City From Public Land to Private Property," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2 (Summer, 1959), p. 217.

These amendments constituted a rider providing for the opening of the Cherokee Outlet, the Tonkawa reservation, and the Pawnee reservation.

On March 2 these amendments were listed as Sections 10, 11, and 12 of the Indian appropriation bill.⁹ Peel, Chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, and Henry L. Dawes, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs and ranking member of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, ardently advocated the retention of the rider on the bill.

Senator Bishop W. Perkins of Kansas was Chairman of the Select Committee to Investigate Trespassers upon Cherokee Lands. In support of the rider, he said of the settlers:

In the event that the agreement is ratified, and in the event that there is legislation providing that in the future in some lawful way they may go in and occupy the land and make homes for themselves, they are willing to abide by the conditions of the legislation. It is only in the event that the treaty is ignored and that there shall be no legislation upon the subject that they have resolved they will go in on the 6th of March.

The incoming Administration will be then at once confronted with the armed occupation of that territory and with thousands and thousands to be evicted by military force. Hence the urgent necessity for this proposed legislation. I am satisfied that that people, notwithstanding their anxiety, will cheerfully abide the action of the Executive, and will conform to the requirements of this legislation, in the event that we secure it.

In the Senate there was little opposition to the rider, but in the House it encountered vigorous opposition. Peel had tried to attach the rider when the bill was in the House. He said: "I am receiving telegrams, letters, and petitions praying me for God's sake to do something with the Outlet."

Congressmen opposed to accepting the rider explained that approval of the Cherokee agreement would obligate the government to pay about \$8,500,000 for the lands at a time when treasury funds were low, and when hard times seemed to be near. They echoed a rumor that if the agreement were approved, certain attorneys promoting it would receive \$600,000 of the funds.

Peel challenged the presentation of evidence that attorneys held such claim to Cherokee funds. Popular pressure to open the lands was frequently mentioned, and Delegate David A. Harvey of Oklahoma Territory estimated that "at least 40,000 people" were camping along the border of the Outlet. In regard to payment to the Cherokees for lands in the Outlet, Peel explained that it was the policy of the government to purchase surplus lands and sell them to homestead settlers so that the government

⁹ The amendments are in *Cong. Record*, March 2, 1893, pp. 2382-2383.

would lose no money, "the price which the Indian receives the settler pays."

In reviewing the history of legislation to secure ratification of the Cherokee agreement, Peel said that the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs had reported back a House bill with an amendment to appropriate the money and confirm the agreement. Peel added:¹⁰

But, finding that unless it could be put upon the Indian appropriation bill it was bound to fall at this session, finding that we could not get a chance to reach the original proposition, as the House had failed to nonconcur on the Senate amendment to our bill and go into conference, they put this matter upon the Indian appropriation bill I wanted to nonconcur in the Senate amendment to the House bill and go into conference, and let this question come up on the regular bill that we had reported and acted upon; but the Senate . . . finding that the bill could not be reached in the regular way, knowing the situation of these lands and knowing that hundreds of thousands of home-seekers had left their all and gone there intending to make homes, in the expectation that Congress would live up to its bargain and ratify this contract, and knowing also, as they do, that unless this is done before the 4th of March those settlers will break over into that country, and the Government will have to use the military to put them out, reported this amendment on the Indian appropriation bill with the changes I have explained to the House, and that is all there is to it.

Representative Jeremiah (Jerry) Simpson of Kansas said:¹¹

There is another consideration in this matter; that is, the fact that a large body of unoccupied land lying uncultivated along the southern border of Kansas furnishes the conditions that create hot winds, that when in the summer months the sun beats down on the short grass, the hard earth reflects back the heat that permeates the whole atmosphere and is carried up over the cultivated fields of Kansas, blasting everything in its course.

The steady movement westward of the rain belt in Kansas shows that settlement and cultivation increase the rainfall and moisture. That is the experience in all the West, and we firmly believe that if this land is thrown open to settlement and, instead of the great waste of wild prairie there should spring up cultivated fields, it will make a vast difference in the climate in that section of the country. . . .

The opening of these lands serve as a safety valve to our Government and perhaps delay for a time the trouble that is sure to arise from the rapid increase of our homeless people. Already we begin to hear the warning cry of an impending panic, when again we will witness the exodus from the great cities. Will it not be well, then, to have this country ready for the millions of people that will eventually find homes in this territory?

And yet another consideration should move you. It is well known that this great vacant territory is a harbour for lawless people, where they flee from justice, where they can issue forth at times to prey

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, March 3, 1893, p. 2589.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2595-2596

upon their neighbors. Open this up and let in the law and light that come with the settlement, with the building of the churches and schoolhouses.

Grant this appropriation, gentlemen, open this territory to settlement, and thereby blot out this dark spot on the map of our fair country, and in time to come the State of Oklahoma will be one of the brightest gems in the starry banner and will complete the foundation on which is being built the great empire of the West, that in time to come will rule the world.

In the House opposition to the rider was sufficient to require two conference committees, the chairmen of which were Peel and Dawes. Peel devoted a considerable part of the last day of his ten years in Congress defending the rider. Dawes asserted that no circumstance should prevent the Senate from ratifying the agreement.

On March 3, the last day of the ratification period, certain representatives voiced interesting complaints about the rider. After the report of the first conference committee, Representative Joseph Edwin Washington of Tennessee, Chairman of the House Committee on the Territories, said that the House members had been "overridden by gentlemen at the other end of the Capitol," and that the agreement should not be "ratified in a conference committee where we do not know what the ratification means."

It seemed to Representative Nelson Dingley of Maine, member of the House Committee on Appropriations, that there was nothing for the House to do but "simply to pass the bill taking the conference report perhaps in the shape it is presented here, if there is to be any legislation in this direction or any appropriation bill passed before the expiration of this Congress today noon." He called the procedure "a vicious system of legislation." Representative Benton McMillin of Tennessee observed that it was "getting to be too much the fashion that what the Senate cannot get through in any other way, they propose to put through as riders on appropriation bills." He said that some bills "come back to us here loaded down like camels freighted for the desert." He suggested this procedure: "Let us strip this bill of everything that is not an appropriation for the Indian service, and pass it. Let us not be bulldozed in dealing with it."

Thus it was that the Cherokee agreement, with certain amendments, was ratified by an act of Congress on March 3, 1893.¹² The act provided that the lands so relinquished, except the portion to be allotted as provided in the agreement, should, upon a certain payment to the Cherokee Nation, become and be taken to be and treated as a part of the public domain. But in any opening of the same to settlement, sections sixteen and thirty-six in each township should be reserved for the use and

¹² 27*Statutes*, 640.

benefit of the public schools to be established within the limits of such lands. The thirteen and one-half sections in the reserve at the Chilocco Indian Industrial School were by the act declared not subject to settlement, but reserved for the purposes for which they were set apart in the executive order of 1884. And by the act of the President, in any order or proclamation which he should make for the opening of the lands for settlement, might make such other reservations of lands for public purposes as he might deem wise and desirable.

The President was authorized, at any time within six months after the approval of the act and the acceptance of the same by the Cherokee Nation, by proclamation, to open to settlement any or all of the lands not allotted or reserved, in the manner provided in Section 13 of the act of March 2, 1889, opening the lands of Oklahoma district.¹³ Congress provided that the land opening should be subject to the provisions of the act of May 2, 1890, and also subject to certain provisions concerning county lines and school-land leases in the act of March 3, 1891;¹⁴ except as to so much of said acts as might conflict with the provisions of the act of March 3, 1893. Each settler on the lands so to be opened to settlement as aforesaid should, before receiving a patent for his homestead, pay to the United States for the lands so taken by him, in addition to the fees provided by law, the sum of \$2.50 per acre for any land east of 97½ degrees, the sum of \$1.50 per acre for any land between 97½ and 98½ degrees, and the sum of one dollar per acre for any land west of 98½ degrees, and should also pay interest upon the amount so to be paid for said land from the date of entry to the date of final payment therefor at the rate of four percent per annum.

Among provisions of the act of March 3, 1893, was one not found in any of the acts providing for the first four land openings in the Territory of Oklahoma. The novel provision was in the rider when it was introduced in the Senate and there approved as part of the Indian appropriation bill. The provision stated that no person should be permitted to occupy or enter upon any of the lands therein referred to, "except in the manner

¹³ 25 *Statutes*, 1005; *Atkinson et al. v. Sykes*, 25 L. D. 504 (1897). One who made in the Outlet a homestead entry which he subsequently abandoned, was not entitled to make another entry in the Outlet under the provision of Section 13 of the act of March 2, 1889, authorizing second entries, incorporated into the act of March 3, 1893; *Ballantyne v. Harmon*, 37 L. D. 188 (1908). However, lands in the Outlet were subject to the provisions of the acts of June 5, 1900 (31 *Statutes*, 267), and April 28, 1904 (33 *Statutes*, 527), relating to second homestead entries; *Phillips v. Thomas*, 37 L. D. 151 (1908). See also *Martin E. Lamaster*, 29 L. D. 246 (1899); *Frederick Huster*, 29 L. D. 372 (1899).

¹⁴ Act of May 2, 1890, 26 *Statutes*, 81; act of March 3, 1891, *ibid.*, p. 1026.

prescribed by the proclamation of the President opening the same to settlement"; and any person otherwise occupying or entering upon any of said lands should forfeit all right to acquire any of said lands.¹⁵ The Secretary of the Interior should, under the direction of the President, prescribe rules and regulations, not inconsistent with the act, for the occupation and settlement of said lands, to be incorporated in the proclamation of the President, which should be issued at least twenty days before the time fixed for the opening of said lands. This provision was in the rider when it was introduced in the Senate.

The act of March 3, 1893, which ratified the Cherokee agreement, also ratified the Tonkawa agreement of October 21, 1891, and the Pawnee agreement of November 23, 1892, and declared the lands thereby acquired to be a part of the public domain. The act provided that sections sixteen and thirty-six should be reserved for school purposes, and that lands not so reserved should be opened to settlement by proclamation of the President at the same time, and in the manner, and subject to the same conditions and regulations provided in the act for the opening of the lands acquired from the Cherokee Nation. And each settler on the lands so to be opened as aforesaid should, before receiving a patent for his homestead, pay to the United States for the lands so taken by him, in addition to the fees provided by law, the sum of \$2.50 per acre; and should also pay interest upon the amount so to be paid for said land from the date of entry to the date of final payment at the rate of four percent per annum.

Before any of the aforesaid lands should be opened to settlement it should be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to divide the same into counties which should contain as nearly as possible not less than five hundred square miles in each county. In establishing said county lines the Secretary was by the act authorized to extend the lines of the counties already located so as to make the area of said counties equal, as near as might be to the area of the counties provided for in the act. Five ranges in township twenty, just north of Stillwater, were attached to Payne County.¹⁶ Provisions for the names of counties,

¹⁵ In an opinion of August 28, 1893, John I. Hall, Assistant Attorney General of the Interior Department, held that the Secretary of the Interior could issue permits to persons to go on the Cherokee Outlet before the day of the opening, for the purpose of establishing stores, lumberyards, etc. He noted that the only legal punishment was that such persons should "forfeit all right to acquire any of said lands." Hall's opinion was addressed to the Secretary of the Interior. It is in NA, Int. Dept., 9198 L. and R. R. Div. 1893 also in the Law Library of the Interior Department, *Opinions of Asst. Attorney Gen. of Int. Dept.*, vol. 10, pp. 37-38.

¹⁶ Eugene F. Weigel, a special land inspector, presented the following suggestion to Secretary Noble on July 26, 1891: "The contemplated

and for the location of lands for county-seat purposes were like those belatedly provided for Oklahoma district opened in 1889, and in the lands of the Iowa, Pottawatomie, and Sac and Fox reservations opened in 1891. All reservations for county seats should be specified in any order or proclamation which the President should make for the opening of lands to settlement. The President might establish, in his discretion, one or more land offices to be located either in the lands to be opened, or at some convenient place or places in the adjoining organized Territory of Oklahoma; and to nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint registers and receivers thereof.

Orville H. Platt of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs said on January 23, 1893, that on the northern line of the Outlet people had been encamped "for months by the thousand" awaiting the opening of the lands.¹⁷ On March 9 S. H. Peters of Mulhall on "behalf of a club of five hundred loyal Democrats," located upon the northern border of Oklahoma district addressed a letter to Secretary Hoke Smith urging the opening of the Outlet in May or June.¹⁸ The letter said in part:

extension of Payne Co. southwardly as reported, would result sooner or later in the removal of the county seat from Stillwater to a point farther south and has caused great consternation among the people there, who have always been loyal to the administration. If the south line could be fixed on the township line between townships 16 and 17, with a view to attaching the odds and ends of the Cherokee Outlet south of the Otoes and Missourias and of the Pawnees to Payne Co. in due time, it would provide for the required area without jeopardizing Stillwater as the county seat"; NA, GLO, L. and R. R. Div., Box 681, Okla. Misc. Papers; see also *Oklahoma Hawk*, March 1, 1893.

On March 2, 1893, Senator William Alfred Pepper of Kansas offered an amendment to the Indian appropriation bill providing that range 1 west, and ranges 1-4 east, in township 20, be attached to and become a part of Payne County. He stated that the citizens of the county asked to have one range of the township on the north added to it. The amendment was agreed to, and became part of the act passed by Congress; *Cong. Record*, March 2, 1893, p. 2390.

¹⁷ *Cong. Record*., 52 Cong. 2 sess., p. 787.

¹⁸ Peters to Sec. Int., March 9, 1893, NA, OIA, 1970 Ind. Div. 1893.

On May 12, 1893, the Department of the Interior received from J. F. Eyler of Stillwater a copy of a petition purporting to represent over two hundred "undersigned citizens of the United States" who were farmers and wished to secure homes of their own. The petition requested the Secretary of the Interior to open the Cherokee Outlet "by allotment that is let a person man or woman entitle[d] to a claim draw a number and register the number of a claim and give them reasonable time to view the claim and see whether it is worth taking or not and if not let him or her return the number and if some one else think they can make a living on the said claim let them file as prescribed by law as there is a large per cent of the land too poor and broken for farming purposes. If opened as Oklahoma and those other Indian lands, the gamblers will get all the good land and the honest person will have no show." Eyler's letter, undated, and the copy of the petition are in NA, OIA, 3761 Ind. Div. 1893.



(From original photo in National Archives)

U. S. Land Office at Perry, Oklahoma Territory, with clerical force and U. S. Deputy Marshals on October 12, 1893.

Many thousands of energetic, intelligent and honest home-seekers are now waiting for the opening of the strip to transform a wilderness into a garden filled with happy homes. A large percentage of the crowd are old soldiers from both armies who insist "the vigor displayed in a military campaign in the sixties would open up the strip to settlement in thirty days" The vigor of youth, strength and energy embodied in the person of the chief of the Department of Interior has given us promise that the dry bones of departmental lethargy may be shaken up and the spirit of "Old Hickory" prevail, Indian tribal relations broken up, and the land rapidly opened to civilization.

The *Norman Transcript* stated that 7,000 families were on the north border of the Outlet waiting for the land opening.¹⁹ The newspaper said:

If the opening is delayed until fall 5,000 people will have to be cared for by somebody. There is no land to rent in this section at rates which will justify the tenant in attempting to put in a crop. Yesterday a correspondent made a drive of twenty miles along the strip country beginning at the Indian industrial school just south of Arkansas City, and proceeding along the Kansas border. Everywhere it was the same story and the same picture.

Camped along every excuse for a stream are dozens of families. They live in shanties, sod houses and prairie schooners, and for the most part their live stock is in prime condition. Out of perhaps a score of these small settlements visited there is not one in which the squatters reported enough funds on hand to last them until fall. They had come to the strip expecting an opening in the spring and had sacrificed everything in order to save their teams, wagons and necessary household effects. All along the route are deserted camps where families had stopped for a time but had been compelled to press on where land could be secured immediately.

Arkansas City has reaped a direct benefit from the people who have come to the edge of the new lands to spend their little surplus in profitless waiting. There is not a vacant house in this town, and in some of them four or five families have located. And between the home seekers and the townsmen and the land sharks bad blood is being stirred up.

The Cherokees issued a deed of relinquishment to the United States for the Outlet on May 17, 1893. The Department of the Interior approved the schedule of allotments for the Tonkawas on April 28, and for the Pawnees on July 10. The making of sixty-two allotments as provided by law, to Cherokees in lands west of ninety-six degrees consumed much time in the minds of impatient whites. It was not until September 7 that the schedule of allotments for the Cherokees was approved. The Department of the Interior in the meantime made preparation for the opening of the lands to settlement.²⁰

¹⁹ "The Strip Boomers," *Norman Transcript*, March 24, 1893.

²⁰ Secretary Smith on March 14, 1893, sent the following telegram to Robert Oder, President of the Board of Trade at Orlando: "Persons seeking to settle on the Cherokee Outlet are strictly forbidden from entering upon or passing through the same and will not be permitted upon the Outlet until it is thrown open to settlement by proclamation

Commissioner S. W. Lamoreaux learned from an official agent that there were thousands of cattle in the Outlet. He asked that the Secretary of War be requested to have them removed and to prevent similar intrusion in the future; Lamoreaux to Sec. Int., May 26, 1893, NA, GLO, *Letter Book* (Secretary), vol. 19, pp. 262-263.

RULES FOR THE LAND RACE

Alfred P. Swineford of Superior, Wisconsin, had served as governor of Alaska, 1885-89. On July 6, 1893, Secretary Hoke Smith appointed him as an Inspector of Surveys General and District Land Offices, at an annual salary of \$2,000.²¹ In Washington on the following day Swineford received instructions directing him to proceed to the Outlet and locate land offices and county seats in the proposed new districts and counties delineated upon a map with which he was supplied; and also to suggest or recommend the number and location of registration booths to be established at points where intending settlers might be expected to enter the Outlet, on the day designated for the opening.

Swineford arrived at Guthrie early in the afternoon of July 14. Immediately he telegraphed Commissioner Silas W. Lamoreaux of the General Land Office that in his opinion the larger half of the Outlet could profitably be added to the "Guthrie and Kingfisher districts."²² He spent several days at Guthrie gathering general information he considered essential to an intelligent prosecution of his work. Being on a duty he considered wholly confidential, he was annoyed by the newspaper press and correspondents who proposed locations for all the county seats and land offices before he had time to begin investigations. Every town and hamlet in Oklahoma Territory appeared to him to be ambitious to possess at least one land office of its own.

On July 18 Lamoreaux advised Swineford by telegram that he must locate all land offices and county seats and be

of the President. Other persons having legitimate business beyond the Strip may pass through the open and known trails and roads, but of the legitimacy of this business the officers of the Army in command must be the judge"; NA, OIA, Ind. Div. (Misc.) *Letter Book* (March, 1893), p. 382.

²¹ The commission is in NA, Appts. Div., *Dept. Commissions*, vol. 2, p. 179. See also appt. files, nos. 674 and 2227; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 12, p. 355.

²² Tel. from Swineford to Lamoreaux, July 14, 1893, NA, GLO, A. 73417-1893. A similar statement is in Swineford's letter to Lamoreaux, July 15, 1893, *ibid.*, A. 74677-1893.

Preliminary activities of the government influenced a restless populace in various ways. James Harry Swope who lived at Stillwater told the author that when the stage arrived at 6 p.m. about mid July, 1893, a report was released that the Outlet had been opened officially. He said a part of the Outlet north of Stillwater was promptly occupied.

back to Washington by August 1.²³ In a telegram the next day Lamoreaux said:²⁴

You will merely locate county seats irrespective of amount of land. We will attend to that. Send your recommendations as to number and location of booths. Make selection of county seats in western part of Strip with consolidations of M N O and P in two counties; also locations if they are not consolidated. Locate land offices for the four districts and upon your return we can make such changes as are desirable.

Swineford at once replied that he was fairly convinced that the four western counties referred to in Lamoreaux's telegram should be consolidated.

Starting from Guthrie, Swineford visited the Pawnee country, and the portion of the Outlet between that country and the Arkansas, known as the "flat iron." Then he turned west and examined the lands of the Outlet as far west as Camp Supply Reservation, and Woodward Station on the Santa Fe Railroad. On July 22 he telegraphed Lamoreaux that the township and section corners were obliterated in the vicinity of Pond Creek.²⁵ He reported that it was difficult to estimate the number and locations of booths without knowing how long they would be open before the opening of the Outlet to settlement. In a telegram of July 27 Swineford designated the points at which booths should be located.²⁶ He said:

If put into operation ten days before opening of Cherokee lands for settlement, booths on R.Rs. and trails at points where they enter Strip from north and south will be sufficient. Vise near Arkansas City, Hunnewell, Cameron, Caldwell, Kiowa on Kansas line, near Goodwin station extreme southwestern corner of Outlet where C. and R. I. and A. T. and S. F. Rs. enter from south north of Hennessey and Orlando, and midway on line between towns. nineteen and twenty, range two east. In my opinion no other plan as to booths is practicable.

The map furnished Swineford showed a division of the Outlet into nine counties. It seemed to him that such division could not have been based upon information in the least degree accurate or reliable, especially as to the portion of the Outlet west of range eight, or west of present Lahoma. Swineford was not advised of the length of time the booths would be open prior

²³ Tel. from Lamoreaux to Swineford, July 18, 1893, NA, GLO, *Telegrams*, vol. 30, p. 121.

²⁴ Tel. from same to same, July 19, 1893, *ibid.*, p. 132; tel. from Swineford to Lamoreaux, July 19, 1893, NA, GLO, A. 75153-1893, cf. footnote 31.

²⁵ Tel. from same to same, July 22, 1893, NA, GLO, A. 76370-1893. Swineford on August 1 said that the reestablishment of township and section corners would seem to be a very necessary preliminary to the opening up of the west half, if not the whole, of the Outlet to settlement.

²⁶ Tel. from same to same, July 27, 1893, NA, GLO, A. 77760-1893. The last named site is just north of Stillwater.

to the date for the opening of the lands to settlement. In the absence of other information he thought desirable, and with a map he considered altogether arbitrary in details, he found it best to take into consideration all matters pertaining to the proper division of the Outlet into counties and land districts, as well as the location of land offices and county seats, and to embody in a general report such other and further recommendations as to the rules and regulations to be formulated for the government of all concerned as to him would appear to be best calculated to prevent fraud and protect the rights of those lawfully entitled to enter upon the lands, when they were opened to settlement.

In a general report of August 1 Swineford recommended that two counties, and not four, be formed from lands of the Outlet west of range eight.²⁷ He found these lands badly broken up and interspersed with salt plains. He noted the aridity of the country and observed that not more than twenty-five percent of the lands at that time were adapted to agriculture. The only land he thought likely to be settled upon was an occasional quarter section where the settler expected to use government lands for grazing purposes free of cost to himself. The only towns he thought likely to flourish in the region north of Camp Supply Reservation were those already founded and inhabited solely "by prairie dogs, owls, and rattlesnakes." Concerning lands of the Outlet between the Arkansas and range eight west, Swineford wrote:

Here will be the great rush for lands and town lots on the day designated for the opening of the lands to settlement, and I do not think it extravagant to estimate the number of persons who will enter this part of the Strip within the first twenty-four hours at 75,000. Already thousands of intending settlers are at the line impatiently awaiting the day and hour when they can legally enter upon and occupy these lands, and the number is rapidly being augmented.

Swineford withdrew his recommendation of July 14 that the limits of Kingfisher land district be extended to include lands in the Outlet. However he still thought that the eastern half of the Outlet could well be attached to the Guthrie land district. He noted that if the Department of the Interior should arrive at a different conclusion, a proper division would locate land offices at Alva, Woodward, and at places he designated for county seats near the present sites of Perry and Enid. It appeared to him that the Beaver district land office in the panhandle of Oklahoma Territory might well be consolidated with the new one to be established at Woodward.

Swineford designated seven locations which he recommended

²⁷ Swineford to Lamoreaux, Aug. 1, 1893, *S. Ex. Docs.*, 53 Cong. 2 sess., i(3160), no. 37, pp. 2-9.

as desirable lands, for county seats. Lamoreaux said the tracts Swineford reported known as Round Pond, Enid, and Perry had been nearly or completely surrounded by Indian allotments, the selections for the same having been made of lands adjacent and contiguous to the tracts selected as townsites.²⁸ The Interior Department selected five other tracts for townsites. The county seat of Grant County was moved south from Pond Creek Station (near Jefferson) to present Pond Creek, about three miles. The county seat of Garfield County was moved south from Enid Station about three miles to Enid. The county seat of Noble County was moved southwest about five miles to Perry, both locations being on the Santa Fe Railroad. The county seat of Kay County was moved north from Kildare, about six miles to Newkirk, both locations being on the railroad named. The county seat of Woods County was moved west about three miles to Alva. The President's proclamation of August 19 opening the lands to settlement approved these changes. Lands Swineford designated at Woodward were, in the proclamation, embraced in a half section reserved for county seat purposes; and a quarter section he designated at the Pawnee agency was likewise included in lands so reserved.

Swineford was of the opinion that the plan of establishing booths at all the principal points of entry into the lands to be opened, at which intending settlers should be required to appear and prove, by affidavit or otherwise, their qualifications, was one well calculated to protect honest settlers against the activities of other persons. He recommended that the booths be opened at least ten days prior to the date set for the opening of the lands to settlement, and be supplied with a clerical force sufficient to hear and determine applications of not less than 100,000 persons within the period of ten days. He said that in addition to proof of qualifications, those found to be legally qualified to take lands should be sworn not to enter the Outlet before the hour set for the opening, under the severest penalties within the power of the Interior Department to prescribe. Swineford was of the opinion that the lands for county-seat purposes should be surveyed and platted, and that such lands should be opened simultaneously with those for agricultural purposes.

²⁸ As soon as Swineford's designation at Round Pond and Enid was announced, the Rock Island Railroad Company "induced some Cherokee Indians to take their allotments at these stations and bought them out in the same deal. The Indians not even seeing or caring for the land but only for the money the Rock Island was willing to pay for a chance to speculate in town sites"; G. E. Lemon, "Pond Creek History," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXII, No. 4 (Winter, 1944-1945), pp. 452-456. See also Marquis James, *The Cherokee Strip*, pp. 13-15. Jefferson is on Round Pond Creek, a north branch of the Salt Fork of the Arkansas. The location was known as Pond, Round Pond, and Pond Creek Station. See act of Aug. 8, 1894, 28 *Statutes*, 263.

A portion of the instructions Lamoreaux gave Swineford on August 5 merits quotation:²⁹

You are hereby empowered and authorized, by direction of the Secretary of the Interior, to give such directions as in your judgment the interests of the Government require and warrant, and you are hereby authorized to make such expenditures, taking proper vouchers for the same, as is necessary to carry out the instructions given you by the Secretary of the Interior orally, and as may be sent you from time to time from the General Land Office and the Interior Department. You will communicate with the Secretary, through the Commissioner of the General Land Office, after facts are ascertained, by telegraph. Additional instructions will be sent you from this office and that of the Secretary. To aid you in carrying out any instructions you may receive you are empowered to call upon such inspectors, special agents, allotting agents, or other officers of this Department, to render you such assistance as may be necessary.

Swineford was instructed to determine the extent to which James W. Duncan, an allotting agent, had completed the work of making allotments to Cherokees in the Outlet, and was instructed to supervise the completion of any of the work remaining undone. On August 15 Secretary Smith telegraphed Swineford to "wire balance of allotments at once." Two days later Lamoreaux telegraphed Swineford to arrange all matters in regard to location of booths, water supply, and temporary buildings or tents.³⁰ On August 18 Smith directed Swineford at once to let contracts for building the four land offices, stating that they must be completed and ready for occupancy by at least September 14.

On August 6 an article in the *Kansas City Journal* entitled, "Hoke Wakes Up," stated that Secretary Smith had decided to set apart a strip one hundred feet wide on the north and south sides of the lands to be opened, for the accommodation of settlers. The article stated that this was for the purpose of defeating land owners in Kansas and Oklahoma, who had been planning to sell rights to settlers wanting to get a favorable start in the race. The recommendation of Swineford that the Outlet be divided into seven counties was approved by the Department of the Interior, and the counties were designated by the letters from K to Q.³¹ Compliance was made with all the terms, conditions, and considerations required by the agreements with

²⁹ The instructions of Aug. 5, 1893, are in NA, GLO, *Copy Book A, Inspectors*, vol. 3, pp. 1-2.

³⁰ Tel. from Lamoreaux to Swineford, Aug. 17, 1893, NA, GLO, *Telegrams*, vol. 30, p. 226; tel. from Smith to Swineford, Aug. 18, 1893, *ibid.*, p. 234.

³¹ K became Kay County; L, Grant County; M, Woods County; N, Woodward County; O, Garfield County; P, Noble County; Q, Pawnee County.—Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma*, p. 168.

the Cherokees, Tonkawas, and Pawnees, and by the laws relating thereto.

On August 19 President Grover Cleveland issued a detailed proclamation declaring that all surplus lands acquired by agreements with those Indians would at twelve o'clock noon (central standard time) on Saturday, September 16, and not before, be opened to settlement under the terms of and subject to all the conditions, limitations, reservations, and restrictions contained in the agreements, the laws of the United States, and in the proclamation.³² Tracts declared not to be opened to settlement included lands in reservations occupied by the Osages, Kaws, Otoes and Missourias, and Poncas; lands in the Camp Supply Military Reservation; lands reserved for the use and in connection with the Chilocco Indian Industrial School; lands in the Eastern, Middle, and Western saline reserves;³³ lands in sections thirteen, sixteen, thirty-three, and thirty-six in each township.³⁴ In each of the reservations for county-seat purposes at Perry, Enid, Alva, and Woodward, one acre of land was set apart by the proclamation as a site for a land office. Four acres in each of the county seats were reserved as sites for court houses. Of importance to many intending settlers was the following provision:

A strip of land, one hundred feet in width, around and immediately within the outer-boundaries of the entire tract of country, to be opened to settlement under this proclamation, is hereby temporarily set apart for the following purposes and uses, viz:

Said strip, the inner-boundary of which shall be one hundred feet from the exterior boundary of the country known as the Cherokee Outlet, shall be open to occupancy in advance of the day and hour named for the opening of said country, by persons expecting and intending to make settlement pursuant to this proclamation. Such occupancy shall not be regarded as trespass, or in violation of this proclamation, or of the law under which it is made; nor shall any settlement rights be gained thereby.

³² The proclamation of August 19, 1893, is in *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, vol. 9, pp. 406-427. The proclamation providing for the opening of Oklahoma district on April 22, 1889, used the words, "twelve o'clock, noon." Confusion resulted because in Oklahoma district central standard time or railroad time was a half hour earlier than meridian time; B. B. Chapman, "The Legal Sooners of 1889 in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXV, No. 4 (Winter, 1957-1958), pp. 382-415.

³³ The three large saline tracts in the Outlet were of much greater value than surrounding lands. Commissioner D. M. Browning considered the tracts too valuable to be classed as agricultural lands, and he thought it would be to the interest of the government to reserve them for such disposition as might be thereafter determined upon; Browning to Sec. Int., July 1, 1893, NA, OIA, *L. Letter Book*, vol. 261, pp. 230-237.

³⁴ By the proclamation, lands in section thirty-three in each township, not otherwise reserved or disposed of, were reserved for public buildings. Congress ratified the reservation of sections thirteen and thirty-three by an act of May 4, 1894; 28 *Statutes*, 71.

Careful examination of this language raised the perplexing question of how a strip "around and immediately within the outer-boundaries of the entire tract of country, to be opened to settlement under this proclamation," could be on the east one hundred feet "from the exterior boundary of the country, known as the Cherokee Outlet." The ninety-six meridian was commonly referred to as the eastern boundary of the Cherokee Outlet, and the act of March 3, 1893, referred to it as such.

The strip "temporarily set apart" was never surveyed or marked out by any authority, and each intending settler was left to ascertain its location.

By treaties of 1828 and 1833, the Cherokees acquired a home tract of seven million acres and "a perpetual outlet, West." It seems that from the treaty of 1866 an impression arose that the 96th degree of longitude was the dividing line between the home and the outlet tracts. In 1892 Commissioner Thomas J. Morgan observed that the western boundary of the home tract had "never been ascertained, and no man knows to this day where the 'home' ceases and the 'outlet' begins."³⁵ The Cherokees had about five million acres east of the 96th degree, or east of present Bartlesville.

In 1889 the Cherokee Commission was authorized to treat with the Cherokees for their lands west of the 96th degree of longitude. By an act of May 2, 1890, Congress set forth conditions under which "the land known as the Cherokee outlet" might become a part of the Territory of Oklahoma. In prescribing the boundaries of the Territory, the Ponca, Tonkawa, Otoe and Missouri reservations were included, and the "Cherokee outlet" was given as one of the boundaries. The Cherokee Commission on January 9, 1892, in reporting their agreement with the Cherokees referred to "the Osage and Kansas reservations, the Tonkawa, Ponca, Pawnee, and Otoe reservations, and the Cherokee Outlet." Contemporary maps, including one issued under the direction of the General Land Office in 1892, designated the Cherokee Outlet as substantially identical with the territory opened to settlement by the President's proclamation of August 19, 1893. In this confusion lay the eastern end of the "Cherokee Outlet," the most valuable of the lands to be opened.

The proclamation provided that in the 100-foot strip, five booths should be on the northern border of the Outlet, and four should be on the southern border. Each booth should be in charge of three officers detailed by the General Land Office. The booths should be opened for the transaction of business on September 11, and should remain open each business day until

³⁵ Morgan to Sec. Int., Jan. 26, 1892, *S. Ex. Docs.*, 52 Cong. 1 sess., v(2900), no. 63, p. 15.

they were discontinued by the Secretary of the Interior. Each party desiring to enter upon and occupy as a homestead any of the lands to be opened to settlement was required to first appear at one of the booths, and there make a declaration in writing to be signed by the party in the presence of one of the officers in charge thereof, which declaration should be certified by such officer. The declaration was a printed form showing the qualifications of the party to initiate a claim on said lands. When the declaration was properly presented, the officers in charge of the booth should issue to him a certificate permitting him to occupy or enter upon the lands after the hour of noon on September 16. The officers of the United States were expressly charged to permit no party without a certificate to occupy or enter upon any of the lands until after the discontinuance of the booths.

Appended to the proclamation were four forms of declarations, known as A, B, C, and E. Form A was for use by one intending to make a homestead entry; form B was for one intending to file a soldier's declaratory statement; form C was for one intending to file a soldier's declaratory statement as agent for a soldier; and form E was for one intending to settle upon a town lot. Declarations A, B, and E included a statement by the prospective settler that he had not entered upon or occupied the lands to be opened to settlement in violation of the proclamation, and that he would not so enter upon or occupy the lands.³⁶

The proclamation designated two certificates, known as forms D and F. Form D should be issued to parties making declarations upon forms A, B, and C, and form F to parties making a declaration upon form E. Certificates were nontransferable. The holder of a certificate should display it on demand, after locating on a claim.

Declarations made before the officers in charge, should be given consecutive numbers beginning at one at each booth, and the certificate issued to the party making the declaration should be given the same number as was given the declaration. When the booths should be discontinued, the declarations, together with certain affidavits required of agents in filing soldier's declaratory statements, should be transmitted to the General Land Office for filing as a part of the records pertaining to the dis-

³⁶ The forms of declarations were published in local newspapers, as the clerks would not have time to explain them to the parties at the booths. The forms or proclamation of the President appeared in such papers as the *Oklahoma State Capital*, *Guthrie Daily Leader*, *Guthrie Daily News*, *Oklahoma Press Gazette*, and the *Oklahoma Times Journal*. The *Guthrie Daily News* carried a list of allotments claimed by the Pawnees and Tonkawas, giving the location of each allotment. Exhibits of publication and correspondence concerning same are in NA, Int. Dept., Appt. Div., Okla. Ter. Papers, box 282.

posals of the lands.³⁷ The certificate was evidence only that the party named therein was permitted to go in upon the lands opened to settlement by the proclamation after the hour of noon on September 16. The certificate of form D should be surrendered when application to enter or file was presented to the district officers, and the party's right to make a filing, homestead entry or settlement should be passed upon by the district land officers at the proper time and in the usual manner. The holder of such certificate should be required when he made his homestead affidavit, or if a soldier or soldier's agent, when he filed a declaratory statement at the district office, to allege under oath before the officers taking such homestead affidavit, or to whom his declaratory statement was presented for filing, that all the statements contained in the declaration made by him, upon which said certificate was based, were true in every particular.

The proclamation set forth the homestead and townsite laws as they applied to lands in the Outlet.³⁸ The lands were divided into the districts of Perry, Enid, Alva, and Woodward with provision for a land office at each of the places named. It was stated that no person should be permitted to occupy or enter upon any of the lands to be opened, except in the manner prescribed by the proclamation; and that any person otherwise occupying or entering upon any of said lands should forfeit all right to acquire any of said lands. The period of inhibition as

³⁷ Before a settler acquired title to a homestead he was required to make an affidavit that he had not entered upon and occupied any portion of the lands described and declared open to entry in the president's proclamation, prior to noon on September 16, in violation of the requirements of the proclamation. The affidavit, and the certificate permitting the party named therein to go in upon the lands, are in many cases found with the other papers of successful applicants in the public land files of the General Land Office. The affidavit, coming later than the declaration, superseded it in importance. It appears that the declarations were destroyed.

³⁸ A homestead claimant in the Outlet would not jeopardize the right to perfect his claim by discovering gas, oil, or coal on the land and utilizing the same to his advantage, provided he complied in good faith with the law; *Ann. Rept., Gen. Land Office, 1896*, p. 93.

By the provisions of the President's proclamation the town lot settlers were required to qualify. Jacob V. Admire, Receiver of the Kingfisher land office, said: "Heretofore in the settlement and occupancy of town-sites in Oklahoma, as well as in Kansas, no special qualifications have been required of settlers and occupants, and men and women, those under age, as well as those over age,—those who had heretofore taken town lots and homesteads, as well as those who had not, were held to be 'qualified' to settle upon in person, or otherwise occupy or hold town lots. Under this practice there has been practically no limitation upon townsite settlers. Men were permitted to make entry of homesteads, and then, either before or after, settle upon, occupy and make final proof upon town lots,"; Admire to Sec. Int., Aug. 23, 1893, NA, Int. Dept., 9473 L. and R. R. Div. 1893.

to occupying or entering upon said lands began with the date of the proclamation, August 19, 1893.³⁹ The proclamation was the first notice to the public that all the conditions of the act of March 3 of that year had been complied with and that the act had become fully operative.

On August 21, Swineford pointed out means he considered necessary for the prevention of soonerism and for the successful prosecution of those who attempted it.⁴⁰ The next day Secretary Smith telegraphed him that "no mistakes must be made and offices and booths must be ready for occupancy a day or so before time set."⁴¹ Swineford in a letter to Lamoreaux on August 24 gave the exact locations of the nine booths, the approximate locations of which he had stated in the telegram of July 27.⁴² After "careful consideration" it was his opinion that 80,000 persons would apply at the booths. He considered it unsafe to discount the figures he gave more than fifteen percent in deciding upon the number of clerks that "must" be sent to the different booths. On August 28, he telegraphed Lamoreaux that it would "not be safe to figure on less than 75,000 at booths."⁴³

In accordance with an order of the President, notice was given on August 25 of the establishment of the four land dis-

³⁹ *Townsite v. Morgan et al.* and *Same c. Traugh et al.*, 21 Land Decisions 496 (1895).

⁴⁰ Swineford to Lamoreaux, Aug. 21, 1893, NA, GLO, A. 86567-1893. The body of the letter is quoted in Appendix following Part I of this article.

⁴¹ Tel. from Smith to Swineford, Aug. 22, 1893, NA, GLO, *Telegrams*, vol. 30, p. 258.

There was nervous excitement among intending settlers. On August 3 a reported telegram that it would be well to fall in line caused "about 400 bipeds of all colors and sizes" immediately to make a rush for the front door of the Guthrie land office; "A Senseless Mob," *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, Aug. 4, 1893. The same paper on August 22 estimated that a thousand homeseekers were camping within a radius of five miles of Arkansas City. Some had been there long enough to arrive almost at "the dignity of local citizenship."

⁴² Letter of Aug. 24, 1893, NA, GLO, A. 87764-1893. Swineford estimated the number of persons for each booth as follows: No. 1, north of Stillwater, 7,500; No. 2, north of Orlando, 10,000; No. 3, north of Hennessey, 12,000; No. 4, south of Goodwin, and a mile north of Higgins, Texas, 2,000; No. 5, at Kiowa, Kansas, 12,000; No. 6, south of Cameron, Kansas, 10,000; No. 7, near Caldwell, Kansas, 7,000; No. 8, near Hunnewell, Kansas, 8,000; No. 9, south of Arkansas City, 12,000.

Swineford stated the locations and accommodations, as is illustrated by Booth No. 8, located near Hunnewell on the northeast corner of the NW 1/4, Sec. 16, T. 29 N., R. 2 E. "Good water within twenty rods. Clerks can find board at house of J. F. Johnston—hotel."

For the role played by southern Kansas towns in the opening of the Outlet see, Jean C. Lough, "Gateways to the Promised Land." *Kan. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXV, No. 1, (Spring, 1959), pp. 17-31.

⁴³ Tel. from Swineford to Lamoreaux, Aug. 28, 1893, NA, GLO, A. 88138-1893.

D.

CERTIFICATE

That must be held by party desiring to occupy or enter upon the lands opened to settlement by the President's proclamation of August 19, 1893, for the purpose of making a homestead entry or filing a Soldier's Declaratory Statement.

No. 3436

Booth in T. _____

SEP 13 1893

Booth in T. 20 N., R. 3 E.

N. P.

THIS CERTIFIES that P. F. Eckroat, 1893.

has this day made the declaration before me required by the President's proclamation of August 19, 1893, and he is, therefore, permitted to go in upon the lands opened to settlement by said proclamation at the time named therein, for the purpose of making a homestead entry or filing a soldier's declaratory statement.

It is agreed and understood that this Certificate will not prevent the district land officers from passing upon the holder's qualifications to enter or file for any of said lands at the proper time and in the usual manner, and that the holder will be required when he makes his homestead affidavit, or, if a soldier or a soldier's agent, when he files a declaratory statement at the district office, to allege under oath before the officer taking such homestead affidavit, or to whom said declaratory statement is presented for filing, that all of the statements contained in the declaration made by him, upon which this Certificate is based, are true in every particular.

Geo McCorkle

Officer in charge.

This Certificate is not transferable. The holder will display the Certificate, if demanded, after locating on claim.
(12280-40 M.) 6-542.

Certificate issued to Peter F. Eckroat at Booth No. 1, North of Stillwater. The date and location were inserted with a rubber stamp and red ink. The officer in charge was George McCorkle. Eckroat proved up on a quarter section ten miles east of Perry.

tracts in the Cherokee Outlet, and of the location of the land offices therein.⁴⁴ On September 1 the registers and receivers of the land offices were instructed to reject any homestead application or declaratory statement presented by a party not holding a certificate before the day upon which the booths were discontinued.⁴⁵ If, however, any person claimed to have received a certificate at one of the booths and lost it, the registers and receivers were instructed to require him to make a statement under oath setting forth the day when, and the location of the booth where he received such certificate, and the number of the same if possible. The matter then should be transmitted to the General Land Office which would determine whether such certificate had been issued, and decide what action should be taken.

(To be continued)

APPENDIX

Letter of August 21, 1893, Swineford to Lamoreaux, pointing out problems in making preparations for the opening of the Cherokee Outlet Lands.

"The people appear to be much pleased over the measures the Department is understood to have determined upon in order to insure as far as possible a 'fair deal' in the opening of the Cherokee lands to settlement. It appears to me, however, that it may be just possible that a few details of importance may be overlooked. The booth system will not achieve all that is expected of it, unless certain other precautions are taken to prevent 'soonerism' on the one hand, and provide evidence for the prosecution of the 'sooners' on the other. I trust, therefore, I may be excused for venturing a few suggestions which may or may not have had consideration of the Department.

"In my opinion, a guard, either of soldiers or deputy marshals should be stationed at each booth for the purpose of preserving order, and making note and taking the names and descriptions of persons who fail to properly substantiate their claims to recognition under the rules and regulations. Such persons, many of them at least, being denied certificates, will not scruple about entering the strip without having proved their qualifications.

"The Ponca and Otoe and Missouri reservations should be patrolled by the cavalry several days before and up to the day of the opening, and effectually cleared of all intruders, and a small guard should be stationed at the stations of the Santa Fe and Rock Island railroads to prevent 'sooners' from dropping off the regular trains, if,

⁴⁴ The notice is in *Ann. Rept. of Gen. Land Office, 1894*, pp. 138-139. On the day the proclamation was issued, August 19, 1893, President Cleveland by an executive order directed that the land office at Beaver be discontinued, and its business and archives transferred to the Woodward land office.

⁴⁵ Instructions of Sept. 1, 1893, 17 L. D. 225-230. The instructions listed, as accurately as possible, the tracts of lands crossed by rights of way of railroads. In *H. Ex. Docs.*, 53 Cong. 1 sess., (3150), no. 27, there is a map dated September 8, 1893, showing the quarter sections of the Outlet, reserved and unreserved, east of 98 1/2 degrees. Booths, counties, railroads, and townsites are shown.

as I have been informed the Companies have agreed not to run any specials' on that day. There are men who will not hesitate to jump from trains running at an average rate of speed, and collusion between 'sooners' and the trainmen is not unlikely, in which case a low rate of speed at certain points—on grades, for instance—would serve the purpose of the first named.

"Perry, where a land office is to be located, is within a short distance of the Otoe and Missouri reservation, and unless proper precaution is taken, hundreds of disqualified persons will go there the night before the opening and lay in hiding ready to make a rush for the choice lots. They will go as 'sooners,' or agents for others, and it will require the utmost vigilance to keep them out. Why would it not be a good plan, in addition to what I have suggested, to have two good reliable men stationed at each principal townsite, who shall be instructed to take names and full descriptions of all persons arriving up to, say two hours after the hour set for the opening, noting the exact minute when they arrive. No one can *legitimately* arrive (if there are no railway trains) in less than an hour and a half after hour named in proclamation at any of the townsites—and if it is announced that measures will be taken in advance to secure evidence against 'soonerism' the effect will be to deter a great many from attempting anything of the kind.

"I have a well grounded suspicion that a great many 'sooners' will attempt to hide themselves among the Pawnees, and with the Cherokee allottees, east of the Pawnee reservation. In my opinion, a company of cavalry should be sent to that section several days before the opening with instructions to clear out all persons not actual residents.

"What I mean by 'sooners' applies to all persons who enter the strip before the hour announced for the opening. A great many persons, having proved their qualifications, and received their certificates will then attempt to violate the law and the regulations, by finding a hiding place near the towns, or the lands they wish to secure—these are the ones most to be feared, or rather who will need to be looked after most carefully."

On August 25, 1893, Swineford sent Lamoreaux the following telegram: "Have you thought of providing against counterfeiting of certificates issued at booths? Every possible scheme will be adopted to defeat booth plan."—NA, GLO, A. 98764-1893.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

COMMEMORATION OF CIVIL WAR EVENTS
BY THE OKLAHOMA CIVIL WAR CENTENNIAL COMMISSION*100 Years Ago in Indian Territory*

JULY 12.—Brig. Gen. Albert Pike last evening received at his headquarters at Camp McCulloch the orders of July dispatched to him by Maj. Gen. T. C. Hindman directing Pike to move to Ft. Smith. In lieu of compliance, Pike today dispatched to Hindman, with the request that it be forwarded to President Davis, a letter of resignation.—**George H. Shirk, president, Oklahoma Historical Society.**

An article in the Civil War Centennial Commemoration series that appeared in *The Daily Oklahoman* for Thursday, July 12, 1962

The feature articles "One Hundred Years ago in the Indian Territory," commemorating a daily history of the Civil War in Oklahoma have proved of much interest throughout the state. They are sponsored by the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission, of which Dr. Henry Bass is President, and have been published by the State Press Association papers since June 1, 1961. Plans are made to continue these articles day by day until the centennial of the surrender of Brig. Gen. Stand Watie, this event taking place on June 23, 1865, when his Indian Division of the Confederate Army laid down arms near old Doaksville, Choctaw Nation.

The short paragraphs on happenings in the Indian Territory one hundred years ago to the day are written by Colonel George H. Shirk, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and compiled in manuscript by him on a quarterly basis; releases are then mimeographed and distributed by the Oklahoma Historical Society to the State Press newspapers.

To promote knowledge in state history of the Civil War and encourage keeping of the Civil War Centennial articles, the Oklahoma Historical Society has provided a fund for the five-

year, centennial period offering cash prizes in a contest for high school and elementary school pupils in the state, the prizes to be awarded those who prepare the best scrap books on the subject of the Civil War each semester. The basis of the scrap book must be a collection of the daily clippings of the Civil War Centennial series, supplemented by additional related material on the subject that may be desired. Mrs. Mary McCain of Educational T.V. Channel 13, Oklahoma City, was appointed State Chairman of the Contest Committee. Winners for the first semester of the school year of 1961 and 1962 were Jeanelle Baptiste and Jack Scudder, both of Oklahoma City. Second semester winners were Charles Baptiste of Oklahoma City, Robert Fry of Beaver and Darlene Bogard of McAlester. The prizes were awarded in ceremonies directed by Mrs. McCain on Channel 13, Oklahoma City.

The following list gives the names of the newspapers in the State Press Association that have published the Civil War Centennial articles, regularly or in part, since June, 1961. The articles appear regularly in the two large metropolitan dailies, *The Daily Oklahoman* and *The Tulsa Tribune*. The United Press International distributes the daily paragraph to its members by its wire service.

Allen Advocate	Eldorado Courier
Alva Review-Courier	Enid Eagle
Anadarko Daily News	Enid Daily News
Anadarko Tribune	Frederick Daily Leader
Arnett Capital	Frederick Press
Bartlesville Examiner Enterprise	Freedom Call
Bixby Bulletin	Fort Cobb News
Blackwell Journal Tribune	Glenco Tri-County Hopper
Blackwell Times Record	Granite Enterprise
Blair Enterprise	Harrah Herald
Blanchard News	Healdton Herald
Bristow Record-Citizen	Henryetta Free Lance
Bristow News	Hcbart Democrat-Chief
Broken Arrow Ledger	Hobart Star-Review
Carnegie Herald	Holdenville News
Chandler News	Idabel Gazette
Cherokee Messenger	Jay Journal
Cherokee Republican	Jones News
Claremore Daily Progress	Kingfisher Free Press
Cleveland American	Lexington Sun
Clinton Daily News	McAlester Democrat
Clinton Custer County Chronicle	McAlester News-Capitol
Clinton Custer County News	Madill Review
Coalgate Record Register	Mangum Greer County News
Covington Record	Marlow Review
Dewey Herald	Marshall News
Duke Times	Maysville News
Duncan Banner	Midwest City Leader
Duncan Eagle	Muskogee Daily (Weekly) Phoenix
Edmond Booster	Newkirk Herald-Journal
Edmond Sun	Norman Transcript
Elk City Daily News	Okemah Leader
El Reno Tribune	Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman

Oklahoma City Livestock News	Temple Tribune
Oklahoma City North Star	Tipton Tribune
Pauls Valley Enterprise	Tonkawa News
Pawnee Chief	Tulsa Daily Legal News
Perkins Journal	Tulsa Southside Times
Picher Tri-State Tribune	Tulsa Tribune
Ponca City News	Turley Northside Times
Pryor Jeffersonian	Verden News
Purcell News	Vinita Journal
Purcell Register	Wakita Herald
Sapulpa Democrat News	Wagoner Record-Democrat
Sapulpa Daily Herald	Watonga Republican
Sayre Headlight-Journal	Waukomis Hornet
Sayre Sun	Waynoka Enterprise
Seminole Producer	Weatherford News
Shawnee News-Star	Weleetka American
Shattuck Oklahoman	Westville Reporter
Shidler Review	Wilson Post Democrat
Stillwater Daily News-Press	Woodward Press
Stillwater Daily O'Collegian	Yukon Sun
Taloga Times Advocate	

AN AWARD TO THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society has been the recipient of \$250.00 as a result of assistance given Oklahoma City television station WKY-TV which won first place in the radio-television history contest co-sponsored by the American Association of State and Local History and Broadcast Music, Incorporated.

In this nationwide contest, WKY-TV submitted its presentation of "The Run" used as a part of its Oklahoma Heritage series, which ran on that station through 1961. The program depicted the 1889 land "run" in Oklahoma.

The television station received a \$500.00 award which was divided between the University of Oklahoma Archives and the Oklahoma Historical Society, each receiving \$250.00 for cooperating in the production of the winning television series.

A number of pictures used in the WKY-TV presentation came from the files of the Oklahoma Historical Society, along with considerable background information. The University of Oklahoma Department of Archives furnished similar materials.

Elmer Fraker, Administrative Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and a member of the governing Council of the American Association for State and Local History, states that this is the third year such awards have been given by that organization in cooperation with Broadcast Music, Incorporated. He states that the 1960 contest was won by radio station KBTV-TV in Denver and the Historical Society of that state.

NOTE ON THE HISTORY OF THE GRAND RIVER DAM AUTHORITY
AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ROBERT S. KERR DAM

The construction of the great dams on Red River, Arkansas River and other large streams in Oklahoma is important in the history of the development of Oklahoma during the last twenty-five years. The creation of large lakes as a result of these great dams—Lake Texoma on Red River, Lake of the Cherokees and Fort Gibson on Grand River, Tenkiller Lake on the Illinois—has made vital changes in the economy and in living conditions in Eastern Oklahoma. Now nearing completion is the great dam near Eufaula and another at Keystone west of Tulsa, both on the Arkansas River, which will form two more large lake areas in the eastern part of the state.

The following note on the history of the Grand River Dam Authority and of the new dam beginning at the old Markham Ferry site has been received from Hope Holway, member of the firm of W. R. Holway and Associates, Consulting Engineers, of Tulsa, Oklahoma:

The Pensacola Dam and the New Robert S. Kerr Dam

During Governor Leon Phillips' administration, the Grand River Dam Authority completed the Pensacola Dam on Grand River, one of the largest multiple-arch dams in the world.¹ The Legislature in 1935 had created the Authority as a State instrumentality to control waters of Grand River for the production of electric power and for flood control. The dam was financed by a \$25,000,000 loan and grant from the United States Government under the Public Works Administration. The project bonds repaying the loan are issued against the revenues from the sale of electric power. No part of the cost is borne by the taxpayers of the State. In addition, to the development of a thriving recreational area around this 45,000 acre lake (Lake of the Cherokees), the Authority is selling electric power for the lowest rates between the Tennessee Valley area and the Pacific-Northwest.

The \$65,000,000 Markham Ferry Project on the Grand River, now (1962) in the first stages of construction and consisting of a third dam and two pumped storage plants, will develop the full potential of the river, with the Pensacola Dam above and the Fort Gibson Dam below. This intermediate dam at the site of the old Markham Ferry has been named the Robert S. Kerr Dam.

—Hope Holway

¹ The gates of the Pensacola Dam were closed and storage of water began in March, 1941; the first generation of power was early in 1941.—W. R. Holway, "Dams on Grand River," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1948), pp. 339-334.

MRS. LESTER O'RILEY, LIBRARIAN OF
ROBERT L. WILLIAMS PUBLIC LIBRARY IN DURANT

Mr. George C. Pendleton, a native of Durant and now of Casper, Wyoming has sent a note to *The Chronicles*, paying tribute to Mrs. Lester O'Riley, Librarian of the Durant Public Library which was founded by the late Judge Robert L. Williams, former Governor of Oklahoma and for many years President of the Oklahoma Historical Society:

Tribute to Mrs. O'Riley, Librarian

On July 1, 1962, Mrs. Lester O'Riley retired as Librarian of the Robert L. Williams Public Library in Durant after serving thirty-six years. I wish to draw attention to the distinguished and very human services that Mrs. O'Riley has given to her community in the hope that *The Chronicles* might devote a few lines of comment as public recognition of her work, which she so well deserves.

The late United States Circuit Judge Robert L. Williams founded the public library in 1925. The beginnings were meager. They consisted of a few hundred volumes from Judge Williams' private collection, an old four-room frame house, and Mrs. O'Riley. Through subsequent bequests by Judge Williams, his estate and the City of Durant, the Library today is one of 25,000 volumes with a building valued in excess of \$150,000. However, it takes more than physical property to establish a public institution. There has to be the human factor to give the institution its character and imprint on the community. In this respect, Mrs. O'Riley has given a memorable account. Her unfailing kindness has made the Library a place where the people and particularly the children of the community want to go. They know that they are always welcome. She has constantly encouraged good reading, and assembled a solid collection of fine books. Her never ending patience and devotion toward these ends have made the Robert L. Williams Public Library an alive and, indeed, vital part of Southeastern Oklahoma. It is the people like Mrs. O'Riley who make Oklahoma.

—George C. Pendleton, Jr.

OF INTEREST TO PRESIDENT HERBERT HOOVER

The following letter has been received from former President Hoover expressing his interest in the spring number (1962) of *The Chronicles*, in which an article appeared on "Progress in the Civilization of the Osage and their Government", written by Frank F. Finney, Sr. Herbert Hoover lived for a time in the Osage Nation when he was a boy.

HERBERT HOOVER

The Waldorf Astoria Towers
New York 22, New York
June 7, 1962

Dear Mr. Finney

It was thoughtful of you to send me that "Chronicle." Having lived a time among the Osages and the Miles family, it surely is of interest to me. Thank you.

With good wishes,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) *Herbert Hoover*

Mr. Frank F. Finney
417 N.W. 45th Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

BRONZE PORTRAIT OF SEQUOYAH, THE GREAT CHEROKEE
IN AMERICAN HISTORY UNVEILED AT TAHLEQUAH

A bronze portrait bust of the famous Sequoyah, inventor of the Cherokee alphabet was unveiled in the old Court House square at Tahlequah on Monday, May 7, 1962, in ceremonies conducted by officials of the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians.

State Supreme Court Justice N. B. Johnson, President of the American Indian Hall of Fame, served as master of ceremonies, in which Mary McSpadden Layton of Collinsville, daughter of Mrs. J. W. McSpadden, member of an old family of Cherokee descent at Tahlequah unveiled the bronze portrait of Sequoyah. The bust is the work of John W. Learned of the University of Kansas, and has been placed on permanent exhibit in the Indian Hall of Fame, a landscaped tract of ten acres at Anadarko, in further dedication ceremonies on Sunday afternoon, August 12, 1962.

Program speakers in the unveiling ceremonies at Tahlequah included T. R. Cobb, Cherokee Foundation Chairman; Logan Billingsly of Katonah, New York, founder of the American Indian Hall of Fame at Anadarko; Tahlequah Mayor Leon R. Daniel, who gave the address of welcome, and Floyd Maytubby, Vice President of the American Indian Hall of Fame, who gave the response. The Cherokee attorney, Earl Boyd Pierce of Muskogee, gave a sketch on the life of "Sequoyah, the Cadmus

of Cherokee Language," hailed as one of the greatest men of America in history, artist, silversmith and inventor who devised eighty-six characters, one for every sound in his native tongue, which forms the alphabet for the Cherokee language. The Reverend Jim Pickup gave the invocation in Cherokee and the benediction in English for the program. A concert by the Tahlequah High School band opened the ceremonies. Among the large crowd present were members of the Cherokee Seminaries Association who were at Tahlequah, attending the memorial observance of the annual homecoming (May 7) for graduates of the old Cherokee Male and Female seminaries which are noted in the history of Park Hill and Tahlequah.

The bronze bust of Sequoyah is the tenth of such portraits of American Indians famous in history, on exhibit in the Hall of Fame at Anadarko. The names of these historical figures, their tribes and the dates when the bronze busts were dedicated at Anadarko are Black Beaver, Delaware (1954); Chief Joseph, Nez Perce (1957); Allen Wright, Choctaw (1957); Osceola, Seminole (1958); Charles Curtis, Kaw (1959); Sacajawea, Shoshoni (1959); Quanah Parker, Comanche (1959); Jim Thorpe, Sac and Fox (1960); Pontiac, Ottawa (1961). In addition to the Sequoyah bust, a bronze portrait of Little Raven (11th bust), noted Arapaho Chief in history, was ready for the dedication ceremonies at Anadarko in August.

All the bronze pieces are done by specially chosen sculptors, and paid for through gifts and membership dues (\$5.00 annually) to the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians. The Sequoyah bronze was paid for by funds from the Cherokee Foundation and other interested donors. Two handsome bronzes, a bear group and a wolf group each six feet in height (valuation \$100,000), the work of the world famous sculptoress Anna Hoyt Huntington, were recent gifts now seen in the Hall of Fame area, adding to the natural scene for the historical setting and enhancing the beauty of the landscaping as a fine arts exhibit.

DEDICATION OF THE RESTORATION OF THE OLD CHEROKEE CAPITAL OF NEW ECHOTA, BY THE STATE OF GEORGIA

A group of Oklahomans including Earl Boyd Pierce and Dennis Bushyhead, Cherokee, attorneys for the Cherokees; Graham Holmes, Choctaw, U. S. Indian Office Area Director; Herbert Branan, Executive Vice President for the Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company Cherokee; and Floyd Maytubby, Governor of the Chickasaws, were invited to participate in the dedication of New Echota, reconstructed Cherokee Capital, on May 12, 1962.

The site of New Echota lies three miles east of Calhoun, in Gordon County, Georgia on Highway 225, and is one of the important historic sites in Georgia. New Echota was the Capital of the Cherokee Nation for less than twenty years, 1819 - 1938. It was here that the first newspaper was published in the native Cherokee language.

The Cherokee Council held its first meeting at New Echota in 1819. It was here in 1821 that Sequoyah demonstrated the practicability of his system for writing the Cherokee language before the principal men of the Cherokee Tribe. In 1825, the Cherokee adopted a constitution and organized a national government for the Cherokee Nation, and named New Echota as its capital. In 1826, the Cherokee Council established a printing office and court house. Elias Boudinot and Samuel A. Worcester started the erection of their homes in New Echota in 1827, and in the same year John Ross was elected Chief of the newly formed Cherokee Nation under a constitution.

The troubles of the Cherokee began in 1822 when the State of Georgia made surveys in the Cherokee country preparing to distribute the land, including New Echota, by lottery to white citizens. This finally led to the tragic removal, known in history as the "Trail of Tears."

The Georgia Historical Commission is restoring this historic site to its original condition in recognition of the cultural heritage of the Cherokees. The home of Samuel A. Worcester at New Echota has been restored. It was the only building standing when the State of Georgia initiated this reconstruction program after the Georgia Historical Commission acquired the property. The house was built in 1827 by the Congregational minister and missionary Dr. Samuel Worcester. It has been restored to its former condition and furnished in keeping with the period of the day. The dedicatory services on May 12 were conducted from the porch of this historic building.

The dedication services were sponsored by the Georgia Historical Commission with Judge Joseph B. Cummings of Atlanta, Georgia as chairman. Earl Boyd Pierce, a Cherokee of Oklahoma, representing the Governor of Oklahoma at this dedication service and Justice N. B. Johnson, Oklahoma Supreme Court, represented the Hon. W. W. Keeler, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, Judge Johnson also represented the Oklahoma Historical Society. Each appeared on the program and had an opportunity to make appropriate remarks for the occasion.

The press, State officials and many other dignitaries attended this meeting. Speeches were made by Earl Boyd Pierce, Justice N. B. Johnson, the Lieutenant Governor and the Governor

of Georgia. Among other leading Cherokees present from Oklahoma were Richard W. Chuculate, member of the Cherokee Executive Committee, and Frank Craig, a direct descendant of Elias Boudinot (or "Buck Watie," own brother of Stand Watie), who was editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, the Indian newspaper published at New Echota.

The national guard handled the parking for the dedication ceremony, and it was estimated that around 3,000 cars and 9,000 people were at New Echota on that day. The Hon. Charles A. Parnell of the Georgia General Assembly read the resolution which was unanimously passed by the State of Georgia repealing the 130 year old restrictive laws against the Cherokees. These laws passed by Georgia in the early 1800's provided wide confiscation of the Cherokee property. The people of Georgia, including its highest officials, made every effort to demonstrate to the Cherokees and the world that they were endeavoring to right old wrongs.

During the hours of the dedicatory ceremony, Georgia flags were over the Oklahoma State Capitol, the capitols of the old Cherokee and the Creek nations, and the city halls of Tulsa and Muskogee, Oklahoma. Tulsa Mayor, James L. Maxwell had proclaimed May 12 as "New Echota Day" in Tulsa.

The Governor of the State of Georgia, Ernest Vandiver gave the following address on the dedication program, at 11:00 a.m., Saturday, May 12, 1962, from the front porch of the old Worcester residence at New Echota:

MR. MINTER, SECRETARY OF STATE FORTSON, CHAIRMAN CUMMINGS, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CHEROKEE NATION, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS AND MY FELLOW GEORGIANS:

Today is a great day in the history of this State.

On this day Georgia offers honor and dignity to the descendants of those proud people so shamefully banished from our borders 128 years ago

The harsh, oppressive laws passed by our ancestors to harass the Cherokee people have been wiped off the books of our State.

Years of painstaking research and reconstruction, and millions of man-hours, have gone into the restoration of this former Capital of the Cherokee Indian Nation.

So, today New Echota lives again!

We know the restoration of New Echota is small compensation for the anguish of the "trail of tears" endured by the Cherokees as armed troops drove them from their ancestral homeland.

But this restoration is more than the mere reconstruction of an historic area as a tourist attraction. This dedication represents the white man's recognition that New Echota was the site of unparalleled



Cherokee Phoenix Print Shop, New Echota, Georgia, Restoration



Home of Dr. Samuel A. Worcester at New Echota Restoration

Cherokee achievements, the fruition of their dreams—and its tragic destruction wrought by the unbridled avarice of our ancestors.

New Echota was the scene of an intense drama in which an Indian nation took upon itself all the monumental responsibilities of modern civilization, created for itself a written language, established a national newspaper, evolved a code of written laws and created a supreme court to administer these laws.

Tragically short-lived, New Echota was but a flash of a meteor across one page of history.

Nevertheless, it was a supreme achievement for a race of relatively primitive and uneducated people.

The very spot on which we stand today was Holy Ground to the brave and progressive Cherokee nation.

The Cherokees once numbered more than 20,000 persons and 6,000 warriors. Their hunting grounds spread through North Carolina, East Tennessee, North Alabama and Western North Carolina.

William Bartram, an English historian, described them in 1776 as a tall, robust race. He said their women were slender, erect and of delicate frame, and their countenances were cheerful and friendly.

Encroachments by white men and other Indians gradually compressed the Cherokees until all they had left was territory in North Georgia, Western North Carolina and Tennessee.

Their national capital was located at Echota, Tennessee, until hostile pressure caused the Cherokee Council in 1825 to establish a new national capital on this site.

The Cherokee Council carefully set up the dimensions of the Courthouse and Print Shop. It was, therefore, easy for historical architects employed by the Georgia Historical Commission to exactly duplicate the buildings.

The architects also had for reference the descriptions of the various buildings listed in the inventories taken by the federal government in arriving at valuations of the buildings. These are now on file in the National Archives.

Our architects insisted on making the same mistake the Cherokees made—cutting a window in the print shop too low.

When the new capital was established here, the Cherokees also adopted a new constitution, thereby creating a republican form of control patterned after the United States government.

The nation was divided into eight districts, and a legislature was established to make laws and approve treaties. Four delegates from each district were elected to the lower house, called the National Council. This Council chose the members of the 12-man upper house, called the National Committee.

The top-level officers—Principal Chief, Assistant Principal Chief and Treasurer—were selected by this Committee.

A remarkable development in the Cherokee progress came in 1821 when the principal men adopted a written form of their native language. It was the invention of a mixed-blood Cherokee named

Sequoyah, who spent several years developing a syllabary of the Cherokee language.

This invention was put into use here at New Echota in the Print Shop which the National Committee and Council approved in 1826. Here the Cherokees established a national press and newspaper.

From this Print Shop came the first issue of *The Cherokee Phoenix*, the first newspaper ever printed in an American Indian language. The paper struggled along until 1834, when the press was battered by troops of the Georgia Guard and the precious type—in both Cherokee and the English language—was scattered in all directions.

Many of the pieces of this metal type have been uncovered in excavations here and are preserved as the instruments by which the Cherokees almost attained a place in the galaxy of cultures and civilized nations.

However, the print shop turned out more than 225,000 pages of literary and religious matter before the curtain went down on the tragic finale of a unique experiment in civilization by a group of American aborigines.

The porch where we now stand represents another important achievement in the progress of the Cherokees. This was the home of the Reverend Samuel A. Worcester, the most noted of the many missionaries sent to spread Christianity among the Cherokees.

When Worcester came to Georgia, he brought with him nine barrels of china and linens, but no furniture. Thus, his typical New England-style home had to be furnished with Georgia-made furniture.

So, in the restoration of his home, the Georgia Historical Commission spent more than two years searching the state for furnishings of that period with which to refurnish this house.

Worcester was deeply impressed with Sequoyah's language invention and worked closely to get the print shop in operation. He wrote articles on Cherokee grammar and language structure in the columns of the *Phoenix*.

He developed a close friendship with Elias Boudinot, a Cherokee who was educated by Moravian missionaries, and later became editor of *The Phoenix*.

Boudinot's New England-born wife, Harriet, died in childbirth here in 1836 and is buried near Chief Pathkiller, a noted Cherokee leader. Her grave has been preserved and may be seen on a knoll overlooking this area.

One of the buildings here which Worcester used for mission purposes was the Courthouse, which reflects the Cherokees legal progress. In this Courthouse, which has been restored by the Historical Commission, the Cherokee Supreme Court met to hear cases appealed from the Cherokee circuit and district courts.

One of the buildings in this restoration did not originally stand here, but similar buildings were on this site. This is a Cherokee-built house erected by Chief James Vann. Had it not been moved here, it would have been destroyed by U. S. Engineers clearing the way for Lake Lanier.

Dr. Henry T. Malone, in his excellent book on the Cherokees,

writes that the progress of the Cherokees in the arts of civilization was steady.

"... But just as steady was the flow of the white population toward their borders with demands for the cession of more and more land."

Pioneer Georgians envied the Indians for their fertile valleys and the Georgia legislature made it even more difficult for Indians to hold onto their property. Finally, when gold was discovered at Dahlonega, white people moved in on the Indians. The State and Federal governments joined hands to move the Indians west of the Mississippi River.

But the Cherokees and Creeks resisted.

Eleven missionaries were arrested in 1831, charged with inciting the Indians to sedition. The Reverend Worcester was one of two who fought back, and the United States Supreme Court reversed his conviction.

The federal government offered five million dollars for the land, but Chief John Ross, who lived on the Tennessee line, held out for twenty million and a majority of the Indians lined up behind him. However, while Chief Ross was in Washington, several minor chiefs called a rump convention here at New Echota and voted to accept the five million dollars.

The infamous "trail of tears" resulted.

For many years afterwards, there was strong resentment against the State of Georgia among the Cherokees.

It is our sincere hope that the restoration of New Echota; our recognition of the past wrongs; this ceremony today, and the recent repeal of the adverse laws against the Indians will wipe out this resentment.

We hope more of them will adopt the philosophical view of Justice N. B. Johnson of the Oklahoma Supreme Court, who said at the Vann House four years ago: "While it is true that the Georgia Guard got rather rough in moving us Cherokees out of Georgia, the United States sat us down on some oil wells and we have done very well."

Chairman Cummings, Mr. Pierce, Justice Johnson and other distinguished guests, I therefore dedicate the restored New Echota to the Cherokee Indian Nation.

May it stand forever as an everlasting monument to a proud and progressive people who were an important part of Georgia's history. May it heal the wounds of resentment and serve as an everlasting bond of friendship between the Cherokee Nation and the Sovereign State of Georgia.

May God grant that New Echota will stand forever as a reminder that greed, avarice and lust for power cannot be allowed to take control of any of our people, or our state and national governments, if all of our people are to progress and prosper.

Thank you and good afternoon.

THOMAS J. HARRISON COLLECTION OF RARE PAMPHLETS

A collection of 103 rare pamphlets relating to American Indian history has been presented as a gift to the Historical Society by Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, member of the Board of Directors, from Pryor, Oklahoma. This collection has been catalogued by Mrs. Rella Looney, in the Indian Archives Division as follows:

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| 1815 Proclamation of President of U.S. re: Treaty of peace and friendship between U.S. and Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, Senecas and Miamies. | bly of Territory of Arkansas re: Western boundary of Arkansas. |
| 1816 Treaties and Conventions, James Madison, President of U.S. | 1824 18th Cong. 1st Sess. Re: Indian depredations upon the Missouri. |
| 1817 "Reflections on the Institutions of Cherokee Indians" | 1824 18th Cong. 1st Sess. re: Indians residing in Missouri. |
| 1822 Report of Select Committee of the House re: certain treaties with the Creek and Cherokee Tribes. | 1824 18th Cong. 1st Sess. Report of Committee on Indian Affairs, re: making provisions for civilization of Indian Tribes adjoining Frontier Settlement of U.S. |
| 1823 Report of Committee of Ways and Means re: extinguishment of Indian Title to certain lands in State of Georgia, etc. | 1824 18th Cong. 1st Sess. Report of Select Committee re: Recession of certain tracts of land to U.S. by United Brethren for propagating the gospel among the heathen. |
| 1823 Message from President of U. S. re: extinguishment of Indian title to land in Georgia and Missouri. | 1824 18th Cong. 1st Sess. Report of Committee of Ways and Means, re: expediency of making an appropriation to compensate friendly Creek Indians for property lost and destroyed during Creek War. |
| 1824 Message from President of U. S. re: proposals made by certain Cherokees for Cession of their lands to U. S. | 1824 18th Cong. 1st Sess. Report of Committee on Indian Affairs re: Execution of Act to abolish Indian Trading establishments. |
| 1823 Message from President of U. S. re: estimate of amount of land in Georgia to which Indian title has been extinguished by U. S. | 1824 18th Cong. 1st Sess. Memorial of John Ross, Geo. Lowrey, Major Ridge and Elijah Hicks, Delegates from Cherokee Indians. |
| 1824 Document from President to House of Representatives re: proposals made by certain Indians of Cherokee Nation for cession of their lands to U. S. | 1824 18th Cong. 2nd Sess. Message from President of U. S., transmitting copy of instructions under which Articles of a Treaty with the Cherokee Indians were formed. |
| 1823 18th Cong. 1st Sess. Letter from Secretary of War transmitting statement showing disbursement for Civilization of Indians. | 1824 18th Cong. 1st Sess. Memorial and Remonstrance of Legislature of Georgia re: extinguishment of Indian Title to certain lands within Georgia. |
| 1824 18th Cong. 1st Sess. Letter from Secretary of War to accompany bill for appointment of two additional Indian Agents. | 1825 18th Cong. 2d Sess. Letter |
| 1824 18th Cong. 1st Sess. Reply to Memorial of General Assem- | |

- from Secretary of War transmitting copies of letters from Joseph McMinn, deceased, etc. re: plan proposed for extinguishment of Cherokee Claim to Lands in Georgia, Tennessee and Alabama.
- 1825 18th Cong. 2d Sess. Message from President of U. S. re: Progress made in execution of Act to abolish Indian trading establishments, etc.
- 1826 19th Cong. 1st Sess. Message from President of U. S., communicating documents touching Treaty with Cherokee Indians ratified in 1819.
- 1828 20th Cong. 1st Sess. Letter from Secy. of War, transmitting list of persons entitled to reservation under Treaty with Cherokee Indians of Feb. 27, 1819.
- 1828 20th Cong. 1st Sess. Letter from Secretary of War, transmitting report of the commissioners appointed to negotiate with the Cherokee Indians for a certain portion of their country.
- 1828 20th Cong. 1st Sess. Message from President of U. S. re: formation of a new government by Cherokee Tribe of Indians within states of North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee and Alabama.
- 1828 20th Cong. 2d Sess. Message from President of U. S. transmitting letter from Cherokee Council to Col. Hugh Montgomery, Agent.
- 1830 21st Cong. 1st Sess. Message from President of U. S. re: intrusions on lands claimed by Cherokee Tribe of Indians.
- 1830 21st Cong. 1st Sess. Memorial of a Delegation of Cherokee Indians.
- 1831 Report of Committee on Indian Affairs re: petition of John Rodgers.
- 1832 22d Cong. 1st Sess. Memorial of a Delegation of Cherokee Tribe of Indians.
- 1832 22d Cong. 1st Sess. Message from Secretary of War re: the Indians for their removal, etc.
- 1832 22d Cong. 1st Sess. Message from President of U. S. re: annuities to Indians who joined the enemy during the late war.
- 1832 22d Cong. 1st Sess. Memorial of citizens of Tennessee re: Cherokee Indians.
- 1832 22d Cong. 1st Sess. Memorial of inhabitants of City of New York, re: Cherokee Indians.
- 1832 22d Cong. 1st Sess. Letter from Secretary of War re: Trade and Intercourse with Indian tribes.
- 1832 22d Cong. 1st Sess. Letter from Secretary of War re: expenses of holding the treaty with the Chickasaw Indians at Franklin, 1830.
- 1832 22d Cong. 1st Sess. Letter from Secretary of War re: payment of Indian annuities in 1830 and 1831.
- 1832 22d Cong. 1st Sess. Report of Committee on Indian Affairs on petition of Joseph Brown for payment for value of property taken by Cherokee Indians.
- 1832 22nd Cong. 1st Session. Report of Committee on Indian Affairs re: depredations of Creek Indians on citizens of Georgia.
- 1832 22d Cong. 1st Sess. Report of Committee on Indian Affairs re: petition of William Young's legal representatives.
- 1832 22d Cong. 1st Sess. Report of Committee on Indian Affairs re: Memorial of Timothy D. and Robert A. Pettigrew and Samuel Nesmith.
- 1832 22d Cong. 1st Sess. Report of Committee on Indian Affairs re: re-examination of accounts of Solomon Betton appointed to assess value of Indian improvements in Creek country.
- 1832 22d Cong. 1st Sess. Report of Committee on Public Lands re: Susannah Graham and Ann V. Llewellyn, Choctaws.

- 1832 22d Cong. 1st Sess. Report of Committee on Indian Affairs re: petition of James Rodgers of Western Cherokees.
- 1839 Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation.
- 1844 28th Cong. 1st Sess. Memorial of John Rodgers, James Carey and Thomas L. Rodgers on behalf of Cherokee old settlers west of the Mississippi.
- 1844 28th Cong. 1st Sess. Report Committee on Indian Affairs re: Claims arising under Cherokee Treaty.
- 1846 29th Cong. 1st Sess. Message from President of U. S. re: internal feuds among Cherokee Indians.
- 1846 29th Cong. 1st Sess. Memorial Cherokee Indians residing in North Carolina praying for payment of their claims agreeably to the 8th and 12th articles of 1835.
- 1849 Exposition of the Claims of Western Cherokees and their creditors.
- 1849 Memorial of Will. P. Ross, W. S. Coodey and John Drew in behalf of old settlers or Western Cherokees, complaining they had been deprived of certain rights accruing under treaty stipulations, etc.
- 1852 32nd Cong. 1st Sess. Letter from Secretary of Interior re: amount of money paid Wm. H. Thomas for and on account of Cherokees of North Carolina.
- 1855 33d Cong. 2d Sess. Letter from Comm. of Indian Affairs re: claim of J. K. Rogers and other Cherokees in states east of the Mississippi River.
- 1856 34th Cong. 1st Sess. Message from President of U. S. re: conflict of jurisdiction between Federal and Cherokee courts.
- 1872 42d Cong. 3d Sess. Letter from Actg. Secretary of Interior re: Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes for release of land ceded to them by 2d Article of Treaty of Oct. 28, 1867.
- 1875 43d Cong. 2d Sess. Letter from Actg. Secretary of Interior re: services rendered by William P. Adair and C. N. Vann to Osage Indians.
- 1875 Statement of W. P. Adair, with appendix, to Board of Indian Commissioners re: account of Adair and Vann vs. Osage Indians.
- 1879 Remarks of William P. Ross of Cherokee delegation before Committee on Territories of U. S. Senate on subject referred to in Resolution of Mr. Voorhees.
- 1879 Statement of Principal Chief and Cherokee delegation to Committee on Territories of Senate of U. S.
- 1879 45th Cong. 3d Sess. Report of Joint Committee re: expediency of transferring Indian Bureau to War Department.
- 1879 46th Cong. 1st Sess. Protest of delegates from Cherokee, Creek and Choctaw nations against organization of territorial government over Indian country.
- 1879 46th Cong. 1st Sess. Report of Committee on Indian Affairs on petition praying for law to enable them to settle in Indian Territory on Quapaw reserved lands.
- 1879 46th Cong. 1st Sess. Message from President of U. S. re: lands in Indian Territory acquired by treaties of 1866.
- 1880 46th Cong. 2d Sess. Report of Committee on Indian Affairs re: bill to reimburse Creek orphan fund.
- 1880 46th Cong. 2d Sess. Report of Committee on Indian Affairs re: petition for passage of bill to carry into effect the second and sixteenth articles of treaty of Jan. 21, 1867 between U. S. and Great and Little Osage Indians.
- 1880 Claim of Old Settlers or Western Cherokee against U. S.; statement of the case and argument for claimants before Committee on Indian Affairs of the 46th Congress.

- 1880 Memorial of Indian delegates from Cherokee, Creek and Choctaw nations petitioning for forfeiture of certain conditional Land-grants of the Indians claimed by certain Railroad corporations.
- 1880 To Congress of U. S. Statement of account of Adair and Vann with Osage Indians.
- 1880 Letter of Cherokee delegation to Secretary of Interior requesting copy of opinion of Attorney General of June 1879 re: jurisdiction of courts of Cherokee Nation in cases of disputed citizenship, and claim of North Carolina Cherokees to participate in lands and funds of Cherokee Nation.
- 1880 Letter of Secretary of Interior to Cherokee Delegation re: Opinion of Attorney General regarding Cherokee affairs.
- 1880 Memorial of Cherokee Delegation re: relief of such citizens of Indian Territory as lost property account of the Rebellion.
- 1880 Protest of Cherokee and Creek delegates against Bill to incorporate Cherokee and Arkansas River Railroad Company.
- 1881 Letter from Delegates from Cherokee, Creek and Seminole nations to Congress of U. S. re: bills pending granting right of way through Indian Territory to certain railroads.
- 1881 46th Cong. 3d Sess. Report of Committee on Indian Affairs re: Memorial of Old Settlers or Western Cherokees.
- 1882 47th Cong. 1st Sess. Message from President of U. S. re: claim of Cherokee Indians for certain lands placed at disposal of U. S. for settlement of friendly Indians.
- 1882 47th Cong. 1st Sess. Message from President of U. S. re: removal of certain members of eastern band of Cherokee Indians to Indian Territory.
- 1882 47th Cong. 1st Sess. Letter from Secretary of Interior re: amounts expended for education of Indian children.
- 1882 47th Cong. 1st Sess. Message from President of U. S. re: action of Osage Indians in declining to accede to reduction of price of their lands in Kansas.
- 1882 47th Cong. 1st Sess. Letter from Secretary of Interior re: lands and funds of Eastern Band of North Carolina Cherokees.
- 1882 47th Cong. 1st Sess. Report of Committee on Indian Affairs re: providing additional industrial schools for Indian youth.
- 1882 47th Cong. 1st Sess. Message from President of U. S. re: proposition of Creek Nation for cession of certain of their lands in Indian Territory occupied by Seminole Indians.
- 1882 47th Cong. 2d Sess. Letter from Secretary of Interior re: claims of Old Settler Cherokees, etc.
- 1882 Decision of Judge I. C. Parker on status of lands in Indian Territory.
- 1882 Letter from Cherokee, Creek, Chickasaw and Seminole delegations to Congress of U.S., protesting against bill to establish a U.S. Court in Indian Territory.
- 1882 Message from President of U. S., transmitting annual report of Board of Indian Commissioners for year 1882.
- 1883 47th Cong. 2d Sess. Message from President of United States re: Cherokee Indian matters.
- 1883 Petition in U. S. Court of Claims, No. 13,828, The Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians vs. The United States of America.
- 1884 48th Cong. 1st Sess. Letter from Secretary of Interior re: amount appropriated March 3, 1883 for Cherokee Nation, and legislation to protect the rights of adopted citizens of said nation.
- 1884 48th Congress, 1st Sess. Letter from Secretary of Interior,

- re: status of certain lands in Indian Territory.
- 1884 48th Congress, 1st Sess. Report of Committee on Public Lands re: Cherokee Indian lands.
- 1884 48th Congress, 1st Sess. Report from Committee on Appropriations re: Indian Appropriation Bill.
- 1884 48th Congress, 1st Sess. Report from Committee on Public Lands re: Land Grants in Kansas.
- 1903 Annual Report of Mine Inspector for Indian Territory to Secretary of the Interior.
- 1900 Annual Report of United States Indian Inspector for Indian Territory.
- 1901 Annual Report of United States Indian Inspector for Indian Territory.
- 1902 Annual Report of United States Indian Inspector for Indian Territory.
- 1899 Sixth Annual Report of Commission to Five Civilized Tribes to Secretary of Interior.
- 1903 Tenth Annual Report of Commission to Five Civilized Tribes to Secretary of Interior.
- 1919 Report of Superintendent for Five Civilized Tribes to Commissioner of Indian Affairs.
- 1917 Proceedings in Statuary Hall of U. S. Capitol, upon the unveiling and presentation of Statue of Sequoyah by State of Oklahoma, Sixty-Fifth Congress.
- 76th Cong. 1st Sess. Acceptance of Statue of Will Rogers presented by State of Oklahoma.
- 1900 Map of Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory, compiled from official records of U. S. Geological Survey.
- 1902 Map of Indian Territory showing progress and status of Townsite surveys.
- 1902 Map of Indian Territory showing progress and status of townsite appraisements.

BOOK REVIEWS

The American Heritage Book of Indians. By the Editors of *American Heritage*, the Magazine of History. (The American Heritage Publishing Company, 1961. Pp. 424. Ills. Index. \$15.00.)

This volume is distinguished by an introduction written by John F. Kennedy, President of the United States. Mr. Kennedy displays an awareness, which may be surprising to Oklahomans, concerning Indians and their place in our American heritage as he writes: "When we forget great contributors to our American history—when we neglect the heroic past of the American Indian—we thereby weaken our own heritage. We need to remember the contributions our forefathers found here and from which they borrowed liberally." The narrative, prepared by William Brandon, indicates here and there a similar notion of the importance of the contribution made by Indian culture to our American way of life, but stops short of the premise advanced by some that what is truly American in our culture, as distinguished from the European, is primarily Indian in origin.

A fascinating compilation, this material on the Indian is prepared in the now familiar format employed so successfully by the *American Heritage* editors. Every phase of the Indian past is presented by picture and word, beginning with probable origins derived from archaeological data and concluding with a short statement on "Indians Today," which points out that "the 'Vanishing American' is far from vanished." The *Book of Indians* is recommended reading for any Oklahoman who wishes a better understanding of our Indian heritage and the tremendous debt Americans and the world owe this "vanishing" race.

—James D. Morrison

Durant, Oklahoma

History of South Dakota. By Herbert S. Schell (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1961. Pp. xxiv, 424. Illustrations, references, index. \$5.50.)

The story of South Dakota unfolds from a wilderness setting to a modern state, in this packed, one-volume work. But the author does much more than trace the history of a single state. In the first part of the book, he takes a wider sweep, and reveals much that is significant historically of the whole Northwest.

"The Natural Setting," "The First People of the Land," "French and Spanish Sovereignty on the Upper Missouri," "Opening the Way to the Western Sea," and "The Saga of the Fur Trade" are titles of chapters of general purport, pertaining to subjects not limited to the historical confines of any one of the Northwestern states.

Many dramatic events growing out of the Indians' headlong clash with the white man's civilization occurred in South Dakota, and their narration sparks the reader's interest, prompting him to read on through the more prosaic, and perhaps less interesting but informative portions of history in the other sections of the book.

An Oklahoman will find much to remind him of the history of his own state in this book, and will discover that his state and South Dakota have much in common. Although two territories were united to form the State of Oklahoma while one territory was divided to form the two states of North and South Dakota, there were similar political fights and turmoil in the formation of these states and the same trouble in locating their capitals.

The subjugation of the Indians, the extermination of the buffalo, and the cattlemen taking over the open ranges, together with their subsequent displacement by the homesteaders, were movements which took much the same course in South Dakota as in Oklahoma. Also the breaking up of the Indian reservations, as the Indian country was placed under the white man's domination and converted to his use, presents striking resemblance to Oklahoma history. Even the discovery of gold in South Dakota and the rush into the Black Hills, with the springing up of Deadwood and other wild and lawless towns, almost overnight, has certain aspects similar to the Oklahoma oil fields and its early boom towns.

Although the scope of this book is such that it will provoke general interest, the author, in order to tell the complete story, found it necessary to include considerable detail dealing with the political, economic, and cultural phases of the progress of the state, which is of more regional interest than of wider concern.

A pictorial review section portrays both white men and Indians involved in the state's history with some interesting and relevant scenes. One of these is Mount Rushmore, which with its sculpturing, stands in grandeur in the Black Hills as a lasting and inspiring symbol for all America.

This book is the fruit of some thirty years of research on the part of its author, Dr. Herbert S. Schell, Dean of the Gradu-

ate School and Professor of American History at the State University of South Dakota. It preserves much interesting and valuable history of South Dakota and the great Northwest, and should be read with both pleasure and profit.

—Frank F. Finney, Sr.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THURSDAY — APRIL 26, 1962

The Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order at 9:30 a.m. in the Historical Society auditorium by President George H. Shirk.

President Shirk said that as was the custom a portion of the annual meeting program would be turned over to honoring some of those who had brought honor to this State and to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The Presidential Commission as United States District Judge of Judge Bower Broadbuss and of Judge W. R. Wallace were presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society by Judge Luther Bohanon in behalf of the families of each of the former jurists. The certificates were accepted by President Shirk for the Society.

Mr. Fisher Muldrow, eldest son of the late Hal L. Muldrow, on behalf of all of the descendants of Mr. Hal L. Muldrow, presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society an oil portrait of his father to be placed in the portrait gallery of the Society. Mr. H. Milt Phillips, first vice-president of the Society, and a long-time friend of the Muldrow family, in a moving speech, accepted the portrait on behalf of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Certificate of Commendation from the Board of Directors was presented by President Shirk to Mrs. Rella Watts Looney for her work in compiling the Cumulative Index to The Chronicles of Oklahoma, which Mr. Shirk said was a very distinguished service in the cause of preserving history of Oklahoma.

Mr. Joe D. McBride moved that all official actions of the Board of Directors during the past year be approved. Judge J. G. Clift seconded the motion which was adopted.

It being determined that there was no further business to come before the meeting, adjournment was had at 10:25 a.m.

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY — APRIL 26, 1962

Immediately following the annual meeting of the Society which was held in the Auditorium, the Board of Directors met in the Board Room with the following members present: Mr. Lou Allard, Judge Orel Busby, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge J. G. Clift, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. W. D. Finney, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Judge N. B. Johnson, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Mr. J. Lloyd Jones, Mr. Joe D. McBride, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Dr. James Morrison, Mr. Fisher Muldrow, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, and President George H. Shirk. Members absent and requesting to be excused were: Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mr. Q. B. Boydston, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Mrs. Frank Korn, and Mr. R. G. Miller. It was moved by Miss Seger and seconded by Judge Hefner that all members absent and so requesting be excused. The motion was put and carried.

The Administrative Secretary announced there were six new life members and 67 new annual members added to the rolls and a number of gifts to the library, museums, and archives. It was moved by Dr.

Harbour and seconded by Judge Johnson that the applicants be elected to membership. The motion was approved when put to a vote.

Mr. Jones moved and Dr. Harbour seconded a motion that all gifts be accepted. The motion was adopted.

In Mrs. Bowman's absence, Mr. Fraker gave the treasurer's report which showed total cash receipts for the past quarter of \$4,355.79, and total cash disbursements of \$3,510.77, with a total cash balance on hand as of March 31, 1962, of \$3,121.40. The report was accepted as given.

Dr. Harbour moved that the Board send an official letter of congratulations to Mrs. Bowman on her election to the state presidency of the PEO sisterhood. The motion was seconded by Dr. Dale and approved.

Mr. Fraker commented on the fine publicity that was being given the Oklahoma Historical Society. He said he regarded the amount of publicity the Society was now receiving as indicative of the increased activities and accomplishments of the staff and Board. A sample of this coverage, he said, was to be seen on the cover of *Orbit* for March 25, 1962, displaying the Society's collection of Oklahoma auto license tags. He also said there had been a front-page story about the acquiring of the Old Fort Washita site. National publicity came when the Oklahoma Historical Society received an award from the National Association for State and Local History for having participated with WKY-TV in the presentation of a story and pictures of the Oklahoma land run.

In connection with the *Orbit* cover pictures, Mr. Shirk asked he be permitted a personal reference in connection with the 1913 tag, number 656, included in the display. He stated the records of the Society indicate the tag was issued to Dr. Rudolph K. Schaefer, of Oklahoma City, and as Dr. Schaefer was the attending physician for his arrival in 1913, no doubt that very tag was on Dr. Schaefer's motor car parked in front of the Shirk home on N. E. Park Place in Oklahoma City on the day of his birth.

The President stated that the American Heritage Award mentioned by Mr. Fraker is of national significance; and he believed a motion in order for the Society to extend formal commendation to WKY-TV. Miss Seger moved that this be done and Dr. Dale seconded the motion, which was approved when put to a vote.

Mr. Curtis said he was presenting the book, *When Swallows Fly Home*, by Julius Medlock, to the Society's library. Mr. Mountcastle moved that the book be accepted and the motion was seconded by Judge Busby and adopted. Mr. Curtis was requested to thank the author.

President Shirk said that as was his custom he was passing around items of correspondence which he believed were of interest to the Board.

In the absence of Mr. Miller, Mr. Shirk asked Mr. Fraker to give the report for the Tour Committee. Mr. Fraker passed around copies of the brochure, saying that he thought the brochure would describe the tour better than he could do. Mr. Shirk added that there were more board members on the tour last year than ever had been before.

In giving the Library Committee report, Mr. Curtis, chairman, said he had a letter from the Oklahoma Genealogical Society requesting that the Oklahoma Historical Society participate, as an associate sponsor, in the meetings to be held at the University of Oklahoma October 12th and 13th. He added that the participation of the Society did not entail any financial responsibility because costs were being

underwritten by the University. Mr. Curtis said he thought it was a very fine idea that the Society had been extended this invitation and that he recommended the Society accept the invitation to become an associate sponsor of the meeting.

A motion was made by Mr. Mountcastle that the recommendation of Mr. Curtis be approved. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion which carried when put.

Mr. Shirk commented that the last quarterly staff report of the Administrative Secretary gave a fine report of the library's activities.

Reporting for the Microfilm Committee, Mr. Phillips said that the Microfilm Department work was progressing very well. The difficulty, he added, was that the department had been producing more film than the Society had funds available to pay for. He said the Microfilm Committee had an opportunity to buy a piece of equipment at nominal cost — a cutter — which became available at the Okmulgee Technical School. Mr. Phillips added that many of the newspapers and local libraries desire the old papers that have been filmed and these requests are granted.

Dr. Dale said that he thought some of the members present knew that he had had a coronary attack. He wanted to take the occasion, he said, to thank the staff and members of the Society for the flowers sent to him when he was ill.

Mr. Shirk said that he knew the members would all agree with him that the Society was indeed a better organization because of Dr. Dale being a Director and that all were happy to note his rapid recovery from his illness.

Mr. Shirk said there was being passed around a copy of a letter he had dispatched to the Georgia Historical Commission. He said they had undertaken the restoration of New Echota and had restored the home of S. A. Worcester and completed a replica of the old printing plant. They have, he said, now found over 5,000 pieces of the original type and are able to unearth more after each rain in the area. He said he hoped it would be possible to obtain some of the type for the museum at some future time. He also said that the formal dedication of the restored New Echota would be May 12th and that he had appointed Judge N. B. Johnson to represent the Oklahoma Historical Society at the dedication.

Judge Johnson remarked there would be no expense to the Society inasmuch as he was also going to represent the Cherokee Nation of Indians.

Attention was called to the action taken at the February 21st meeting of the Executive Committee wherein it was recommended that the Society accede to the request of the Boggy Depot and Wilson Grove Cemetery Association that a certain portion of the cemetery be returned to the donor. This portion, measuring approximately 240 feet by 270 feet, is described:

That portion of the Northeast Quarter (NE $\frac{1}{4}$) of the Southwest Quarter (SW $\frac{1}{4}$) of Section 1, Township 3 South, Range 9 East, described:

Beginning at the center of the said Northeast Quarter (NE $\frac{1}{4}$) of the said Southwest Quarter (SW $\frac{1}{4}$) thence East 375 links; thence South 400 links; thence West 375 links; thence North 400 links to the point of beginning, containing 1.5 acres, more or less."

It was explained by Mr. Fraker that the part of the cemetery in question was of minor historical importance and that few graves were in that section. He said those requesting the return of the tract represented families desiring to make burials at the location. He also pointed out that the return of the designated area would lessen the amount of property to be cared for by the Society.

Judge Hefner moved, and Mr. Curtis seconded the motion, that the recommendation of the Executive Committee be followed and that the previously described area be returned to the Boggy Depot and Wilson Grove Cemetery Association. The motion was put and carried.

The matter of changing the name of the Oologah Dam to the Will Rogers Dam was brought up by President Shirk. A letter from interested parties in the Oologah area was laid before the Board, urging that the Board of Directors join with those requesting the name change.

It was moved by Dr. Johnson that the Oklahoma Historical Society go on record as favoring the change of name from Oologah Dam to Will Rogers Dam. This motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and was unanimously adopted.

Regret was expressed by Dr. Johnson that the money appropriated to purchase and preserve the Pawnee Bill place had not been made to the Oklahoma Historical Society for that purpose. In commenting, Mr. Fraker said that it was to be hoped that sometime in the future the legislature would place care and restoration of all the historic sites in the hands of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Announcement was made by Judge Johnson that on May 7th at 2:30 p.m. a bust of Sequoyah would be unveiled at Tahlequah and later be taken to Anadarko where it would be placed permanently.

Mr. Shirk said that at the last meeting of the Executive Committee two resolutions were adopted expressing sympathy to Mr. H. Milt Phillips and his family on the death of his brother Charles, and to Mr. Thomas J. Harrison on the death of his wife Bea. Mr. Shirk read both resolutions to the Board. Mr. Mountcastle moved that both resolutions be officially approved and be attached to and made a part of the minutes of this meeting. Miss Seger seconded the motion. The motion was unanimously approved by all members present, with Mr. Phillips abstaining from the vote.

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, Charles Phillips has been called from this life by the Divine Creator; and,

WHEREAS, his passing is a severe loss to the members of his family circle and to the many friends who knew him;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT, we the members of the Executive Committee of The Oklahoma Historical Society, in meeting assembled this 15th day of March, 1962, do extend our heartfelt sympathy to H. Milt Phillips, brother of Charles, and fellow member of this Committee; and to Mrs. J. B. Phillips, mother of Charles; and to all other members of the family. It is further our fervent wish that All Mighty God in His Wisdom and Mercy will help heal the wounds on mind and spirit that have been inflicted by the loss of Charles, their beloved brother and son.

George H. Shirk
President

Elmer L. Fraker
Administrative Secretary

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, All Mighty God in His Infinite Wisdom has seen fit to call from this world Bea Harrison, beloved wife of Thomas J. Harrison, fellow member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society; and,

WHEREAS, Mrs. Harrison was beloved and respected by all who knew her; and,

WHEREAS, her loss will be deeply felt by the entire community of Pryor where she so long gave so much of herself in loving service; and,

WHEREAS, her devoted companionship with Thomas J. Harrison, as wife and helpmate, added immeasurably to the joys and accomplishments of his life.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED THAT, we the members of the Executive Committee of the Oklahoma Historical Society, in meeting assembled this 15th day of March, 1962, do hereby extend our most heartfelt and sincere sympathy to Thomas J. Harrison in this his time of grief, and do invoke God's blessings on him to the end that peace of mind and spirit may abide with him always.

George H. Shirk
President

Administrative Secretary
Elmer L. Fraker

At President Shirk's request, Dr. Morrison reported for the Fort Washita Restoration Commission. He said that at 3:47 p.m. on April 25, 1962, the title to the Fort Washita property passed to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Dr. Morrison remarked, "This is a source of personal satisfaction to me, and I hope it never brings any discredit to the Historical Society." He said that anonymous donors had given the Society \$10,000 to purchase the Fort Washita property.

It was observed by Mr. Fraker that everyone was greatly indebted to Dr. Morrison, President Shirk and Mr. Bass for the work they did in helping secure Fort Washita for the Society.

Mr. Shirk said that last year the Society called upon Dr. Morrison to try to buy the property, being the entire 10 acres, for \$10,000. The owners would sell it only to the Historical Society. Mr. Shirk said that the Fort Washita Restoration Commission, as shown in the Executive Committee minutes consists of Dr. James Morrison, Chairman; Mr. Fisher Muldrow; Mr. Henry B. Bass; Mr. Elmer L. Fraker; Mr. Harold Weichbrodt; and Mr. C. M. Milner. He said the Commission as representing the Society would be in charge of the work done at the site.

Mr. Shirk said that additional money, \$3,500.00, was given for restoration work with the firm understanding that none of the money would be spent except under the direction of the Commission.

Mr. Shirk asked the Board if it would be in order then to formalize the action recommended and taken in appointing the Fort Washita Commission in the Executive Committee meeting. Mr. Curtis moved and Judge Johnson seconded the motion that the action adopted by the Executive Committee be confirmed and approved. The motion carried when put.

Comments were made by Mr. Jones regarding the Constitution of the Society and the election of Board Members. He referred to

Section 3 of Article IV. He said that he thought the Society could be considerably strengthened if the members of the Society feel that there is a more vigorous contest for election to the Board, and that he would like to suggest for the Board's consideration that on the ballots there appear five names for directors, plus five other names submitted by a nominating committee of three appointed from the Board by the President of the Society. Each ballot would have on it the names of the incumbents and they would be indicated by an asterisk to differentiate them from the other nominees. He said this would give a contest for Board membership.

Attention was called by Mr. Jones to the Mrs. Walter Ferguson collection in Tulsa. He said it is an essentially Oklahoma collection and one of the finest existing collections of books printed in the Indian language. He said it certainly should be looked at because it might not be sold as a whole and the Society might be able to buy at least some part of it. He said he would like to suggest that some representatives of the Society, appointed by the President, go over and look at the collection and see what would be of particular advantage to the Society. He said he would like to see the Society get at least part of it, whatever would be of particular state interest. He moved that the President name a committee to investigate immediately and do whatever is thought necessary. Mr. Mountcastle seconded the motion which carried when put.

President Shirk appointed Mr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Chairman, and Dr. L. Wayne Johnson to the Committee. It was decided that President Shirk should also be a member of the committee. This was unanimously approved by the Board.

Judge Clift said that there were two members of the Board who worked a very great deal in the interests of the Society and that he wanted to express himself in the form of a motion that the Board did appreciate the time and effort spent by President George H. Shirk and Vice-President H. Milt Phillips on behalf of the Society. Mr. Curtis seconded the motion, and said he would like to add that those who knew Mr. Hal L. Muldrow were deeply touched and moved at the annual meeting by Mr. Phillips' address of acceptance of the portrait. He said he had lived in Norman from 1916 to 1922; knew Mr. Muldrow at that time; thought Mr. Phillips gave a true insight into the character of the man; and he wanted to express to Mr. Phillips his appreciation for a job well done.

It being determined there was no further business to come before the Board, the meeting was adjourned at 12:30 p.m.

George H. Shirk
President

Elmer L. Fraker
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS RECEIVED, APRIL 26, 1962

LIBRARY

Shelby County in the Civil War

Donor: Shelby County Civil War Centennial Committee, Shelbyville, Indiana

Oklahoma Agriculture, 1961

Donor: Oklahoma State Department of Agriculture, Oklahoma City

Cornell's Companion Atlas, 1864, S. S. Cornell.

Donor: A. D. Johnson, Duncan

2 Original Photographs of President John F. Kennedy and Dwight D. Eisenhower at the funeral of Sam Rayburn, Bonham, Texas

Donor: George William Fisher, Jr., Oklahoma City

"Art Edition, The Oklahoma State Capital, 1900"—Arranged and prepared by Marion Rock

Donor: Mrs. Charles B. Allen, Madill

Sevier Family History—Cora Bales

Photograph of William Durant

Donor: Herbert L. Branan, Oklahoma City

The Chickasaw Rancher—Neil R. Johnson

Donor: Neil R. Johnson

Photograph of Sugden, Indian Territory

Donor: Mrs. M. S. Cooter, Oklahoma City

The Pageant of the Press—William J. Petersen

Donor: State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City

Paper Talk, Illustrated Letters of Charles M. Russell

Donor: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, Fort Worth, Texas

Inventory and Calendar Walter F. Brown Papers—Ohio Historical Society

Donor: Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio

Greetings from Old Kentucky—Allan M. Trout

History of Elizabethtown, Kentucky—Samuel Haycraft.

Donor: Mrs. John Howard Miller, Oklahoma City

The Descendants of George G. McKoy—Jesse A. McCoy

Donor: Jesse A. McCoy, Jacksonville, Florida

Collection of Railroad Passes, 1904-1952

Donor: George M. Green, Oklahoma City

Civil War Naval Chronology, 1861-1865, Part 2—E. M. Eller, Director of Naval History

Donor: U. S. Department of the Navy, Washington, D. C.

"Oklahoma Poetry," February 1962

Donor: Leslie A. McRill, Oklahoma City

"Guide to the Civil War in Tennessee"

Checklist of Microfilms in the Tennessee State Archives

Donor: Mrs. Ethelynde Roberson, Chickasha

Early Settlers—James Manford Carselowey

33 copies of the *Peace Officer* Magazine

Donor: O. K. Bivens, Oklahoma City

A Pronunciation Guide to Oklahoma Place Names—C. Joe Holland and Bruce Palmer

Donor: C. Joe Holland, Norman and Bruce Palmer, Oklahoma City

Souvenir Program: "Pioneer Woman Dedication April 1930"

Donor: R. L. Bosworth—Continental Oil Company, Ponca City

2 Maps Texas Cattle Trail and The Chisholm Trail

Donor: F. O. Going, Catoosa

The Cottle Family—Compiled by Velma Cottle-Musick

Donor: Mrs. Velma Cottle Musick, Kingfisher

"The American Indians of Yesteryear"—H. E. (Choc) Wilkes

Donor: H. E. (Choc) Wilkes

Map: Greer County, Oklahoma, 1906

Donor: Glenn Lott, Granite

2 pieces of music "Your Chicago," "Was There Ever a Pal Like Mother"—E. V. Coy

Donor: E. V. Coy, Chicago

Britannica Book of the Year, 1961

Donor: Muriel H. Wright, Oklahoma City

"The English Westerners' Brand Book, The Battle of Adobe Walls, 1874"
—G. Derek West

Donor: Mrs. Zoe Tilghman, Oklahoma City

Copy of Civil War letter from John L. Murray, Saline County, Illinois,
September 1865

Donor: George R. Pulley, Oklahoma City

"The Battle of Pea Ridge, 1865"

Donor: Rogers Chamber of Commerce, Rogers, Arkansas

Photostat copy of coat-of-arms of Harlan Bernhardt Hamilton

Donor: Harlan Hamilton, Kansas City, Missouri

1946 Railroad map of Oklahoma

"Oklahoma County Bar Association Yearbook, 1961"

"Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes—Harry C. Shriver

U. S. Official Postal Guide, July 1941

Negro Folk Songs As Sung by Lead Belly—Alan and John Lomax

"Oklahoma Governmental Guide" 1956, 1957

A Descriptive Hand Atlas of the World—John Bartholomew

"Oklahoma Legal Directory, 1961"

International Stability and Progress—American Assembly

Germans in the Conquest of America—German Arciniegas

I Too, Nicodemus—Curtis Bok

John Adams and the American Revolution—Catherine Drinker Bowen

The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan—Mary Baird Bryan

A Century at the Bar of the Supreme Court of the United States—
Charles Henry Butler

Life on the Mississippi—Samuel Clemens

Madame Curie—Eve Curie

Grecian and Roman Mythology—M. A. Dwight

Citizen Tom Paine—Howard Fast

The Treaty Veto of the American Senate—D. F. Fleming

Paul Revere and the World He Lived In—Esther Forbes

The Covered Wagon—Emerson Hough

Bismarck—Emil Ludwig

Tamerlane—Harold Lamb

On Mediterranean Shores—Emil Ludwig

White House Physician—Ross T. McIntire

Born Under Saturn—Katherine Maclean

Civilization and the Growth of Law—William A. Robson

An Autobiography—Theodore Roosevelt

American Ideals—Theodore Roosevelt

The Rough Riders—Theodore Roosevelt

Benjamin Franklin—Carl Van Doren

A Sub-Treasury of American Humor—E. B. and Katherine White

William Pitt the Younger—P. W. Wilson

Stars and Stripes in Africa—Eric Rosenthal

John Paul Jones—Phillips Russell

A Study of History—Arnold J. Toynbee

Transition—Will Durant

The Affairs of Dame Rumor—David Jacobsen

A Basic History of the United States—Charles and Mary Beard

The Story of Language—Mario Pei

Collier's Photographic History of World War II

Ypres and the Battles of Ypres

The American Negro in the World War—Emmitt J. Scott

"The Nemaha Half-Breed Reservation"—Berlin B. Chapman

Maps: Eufaula Dam and Reservoir and Oklahoma Road Map, 1959

"Guide to Historic Sites on the Fort Sill Military Reservation"
"History and Tourist Information on Eufaula, Oklahoma"—Dean Parkhurst
"Population Summary of Oklahoma City, 1950-1960"
Pictorial History of the World War—S. J. Duncan-Clark
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City

Gifts Received—April 26, 1962

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION

103 Printed Pamphlets dating from 1815 to 1919, having to do with many of the Indian tribes of Oklahoma. (See Notes and Documents, for complete list)

Donor: Thomas J. Harrison, Pryor, Oklahoma

Six (6) cartons of manuscripts and letters of the Grant Foreman Collection

Donor: Mrs. Grant Foreman, Muskogee, Oklahoma

GIFTS RECEIVED

MUSEUM

Pictures:

Stage Coach

Jcsh Lee, copy of an oil painting

Donor: purchased by Society

Real Estate Office of Owen and Welch

First Post Office, Oklahoma City

Cheyenne-Arapaho Delegates, 1889

Osage Oil Field

Oil Wells, Cushing District

Donor: Mrs. J. M. Owens, Oklahoma City

Burney Institute, two views

Soper, Indian Territory 1904, three views

Post Office, Cumberland, Oklahoma

First Post Office, Trosdale, Oklahoma

Post Office, Cliff, Indian Territory, 1896

Madill, street scene

Chickasaw Capitol, Tishomingo

700 Ranch House, Ardmore

Post Office, Schuler, Indian Territory, 1904

Post Office, Brock Indian Territory, 1903

Donor: Mrs. C. B. Allen, Madill, Oklahoma

Doan's Crossing

Lone Wolf

Donor: Meyers Photo Shop, Oklahoma City

Indian School

Drumright Oil Field, four views

Billy Harris

Mr. and Mrs. Lewallen Jones

Cyrus O. Wisiwell

Mrs. Lydia Jones

Billy Harris Family

Yount Home, near Cushing

Hugh and Lester Jones

Donor: Mrs. Hazel Burris, Washougal, Washington

New State Consistory Class, April 4, 1906, McAlester, Indian Territory

Laying Corner Stone, Masonic Temple, McAlester, January 1, 1906

Lyman Hugh Perkins

Hattie Steward Perkins

Donor: Mrs. Hattie A. Perkins Hasson, Oklahoma City

Frederick Page Branson

Donor: William B. Moore, Muskogee

Exhibits:

Anchor, miniature, made from scrap of Battleship Oklahoma

Donor: A. L. Merrifield, Huntington, West Virginia

Seal, Anti-Horse Thief Association, Fairview, Oklahoma

Gavel and Ballot Box

Donor: Truman J. Cunningham, Stillwater, Oklahoma

Moccasins, Cheyenne-Arapaho

Donor: Hugo H. Loewe, San Francisco, California

Typewriter

Donor: Mrs. Orlando O. McCracken, Oklahoma City

Car Tag, 1934, N R A Eagle Design

Donor: Eugene Thomas, Duke, Oklahoma

Flag, United States, forty-six stars

Donor: A. E. Crookston, Logan, Utah

Corkscrew, folding

Donor: G. R. Underwood, Seminole, Oklahoma

Shawl, white silk

Donor: Mrs. Linda McGlasson, Oklahoma City

Currency—100 Rials

Donor: Capt. Nowra Tollahi, Iran

Currency—one yuan, five yuan, ten yuan, Chinese

Donor: Chang Lia, Tiachung, Taiwan, China

New Members—Quarter January 26, 1962 to April 27, 1962

New Life Members

Mrs. Margaret Larason

Fargo, Oklahoma

Mrs. Aileen Twyford Fuller

Oklahoma City Oklahoma

Miss Catherine Evelyn Hefner

" " "

Mr. John Allen Reid

" " "

Mr. R. O. Wilkin

" " "

Miss Margaret Evelyn Combs

West Los Angeles, California

New Annual Members

Mr. Philip Busby

Ada, Oklahoma

Mr. William L. Dobbs

Altus, Oklahoma

Mr. Harold Weichbrodt

Ardmore, Oklahoma

Mr. Mort Woods

" "

Mr. Ben Sharp

Bokoshe, Oklahoma

Mr. P. A. Newbern

Byars, Oklahoma

Mr. Jasper E. Biddy

Caddo, Oklahoma

Mr. Burl P. Prim

Chickasha, Oklahoma

Mr. E. J. Lough

Duncan, Oklahoma

Mr. J. R. McCulley

" "

Mr. James Hoyle Scheer

" "

Mr. A. L. Brewer

Elmore City, Oklahoma

Mr. Paul V. Forsythe

Edmond, Oklahoma

Mr. Ben P. Choate

McAlester, Oklahoma

Mrs. Otis S. Duran

" "

Mr. Kenneth R. Choate

Miami, Oklahoma

Mr. Marion M. Lynch

Midwest City, Oklahoma

Mr. G. D. Ashabranner

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Mr. Edgar Clemons

" " "

Mr. Jerome L. Harris

" " "

Col. Henry J. Hort

" " "

Mr. Stanley Moore Kidd

" " "

Mr. Leo Morrison	"	"	"
Mrs. Francis T. Smith	"	"	"
Mr. W. P. Stagg	"	"	"
Mr. Wes Whittlesey	"	"	"
Mr. M. M. Williamson	"	"	"
Mr. A. M. Foss	Pauls Valley, Oklahoma		
Mr. Jack Grimmett	"	"	"
Mr. R. P. Grimmett	"	"	"
Mr. J. A. Livingston	"	"	"
Mr. W. L. Menefee, Jr.	"	"	"
Mr. T. E. McNeer	"	"	"
Mr. John F. Ringer	"	"	"
Mr. B. A. Sparks	"	"	"
Mrs. F. W. Watts	Shawnee, Oklahoma		
Mr. T. F. Tibbitts	Spiro, Oklahoma		
Dr. William S. Wamack	Tahlequah, Oklahoma		
Miss Linda Black	Tulsa, Oklahoma		
Mrs. William Lee Butler	"	"	
Mr. Marvin J. Hancock	"	"	
Mrs. W. C. Henrici	"	"	
Mr. Bert M. McElroy	"	"	
Miss Daisy M. Romans	"	"	
Mr. E. E. Sappington	"	"	
Mrs. G. B. Robberts	Waukomis, Oklahoma		
Mr. R. A. Elliot	Waurika, Oklahoma		
Mr. Jess Rider Fickas	Apache Junction, Arizona		
Mrs. Mildred D. J. Watson	Phoenix 6, Arizona		
Mr. L. Claude Busby	Los Angeles 34, California		
Mrs. Mary Hollis Casey	Riverside, California		
Mrs. Barbara Ann Vore Whitmore	South Pasadena, California		
Mr. J. L. Cramer	Denver 22, Colorado		
Mr. Clyde A. Lasher	Miami, Florida		
Mrs. Helen Redd Brown	New Lenox, Illinois		
Mr. David Busby	New York, New York		
Capt. L. I. Lindstrom	"	"	"
Chief Levin	Easton, Pennsylvania		
Miss Ethel P. Flippo	Amarillo, Texas		
Neil R. Johnson	"	"	
David H. Carter	Bryan, Texas		
Mr. Ezra Edward Plank	Canyon, Texas		
Mrs. Paul D. Andrews	Houston, Texas		
Col. H. R. Jordan	"	"	
Miss Helen Busby	Washington, D.C.		
Mr. John O. Busby	"	"	
Miss Edna M. Miller	Glenville, West Virginia		

Just Off The Press

CUMULATIVE INDEX

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5, Oklahoma.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Date....., 19.....

To the Oklahoma Historical Society:

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

(Signed)

P.O. Address

.....

.....

The historical quarterly magazine is sent free to all members.

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP due (no entrance fee), three dollars in advance.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP fee (free from all dues thereafter), \$50.00. Annual members may become life members at any time upon the payment of the fee of fifty 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.

PERSONAL DATA FOR PRESERVATION
in the
RECORDS OF THE SOCIETY

THE APPLICANT WILL PLEASE FILL OUT THE FOLLOWING

Full name (including middle name or names, spelled out)

Scholastic degrees, if any: -----

Religious, Fraternal and Club affiliations:-----

Military service:-----

Present business, occupation, profession or official position:

Native state:-----

Date of settlement and place of location in Oklahoma:-----

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

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EDWARD EVERETT DALE

H. MILT PHILLIPS

BERLIN B. CHAPMAN

ELMER FRAKER

Autumn, 1962

Volume XL

Number 3

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Cover. The Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma shown on the front cover is a reproduction of corrected version of this seal, sponsored by the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1957. For details in making the corrections shown here, see the article on the "Official Seals of the Five Civilized Tribes" in this autumn number of *The Chronicles* (1962).

SEALS OF THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES

By Muriel H. Wright

Original paintings of the official seals of the Indian nations, or Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Territory, on exhibit in the Museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society are reproduced on the opposite page in color.

The Indian seals have a part in the large five-pointed star that centers the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma described in Article VI, Section 35 of the Oklahoma Constitution adopted at the time of statehood in 1907. Reading clockwise the Indian seals appear in the five rays of the large star in the Oklahoma Seal, as follows: upper ray, Chickasaw; upper, right hand, Choctaw; lower, right hand, Seminole; lower, left hand, Creek; upper left hand, Cherokee. At the center of the Great Seal is a replica of the Oklahoma Territorial Seal described in *Statutes of Oklahoma*, 1893 (p. 1129), providing the design for the "permanent Grand Seal of the Territory of Oklahoma." Also, outside and between the five rays of the large star of the Great Seal are forty-five small stars representing the forty-five states of the Union when Oklahoma was admitted as the 46th state, in 1907. The many details of the Oklahoma Seal, especially those of the six official seals appearing in the large star at its center, have presented problems in drafting the design accurately for official usage, and in making drawings for illustrative purposes. It has been found that practically every version of the Oklahoma Seal, if not all, from statehood to 1957 was inaccurate, even grotesque in many details. This has been especially true in depicting the five Indian seals.

The Oklahoma Historical Society through special research by the Editorial Department in 1957, provided the corrected reproduction of the Oklahoma Seal shown on the outside front cover of this number of *The Chronicles*. This reproduction gives the five Indian seals like those in the Museum paintings as well as that of the Territorial Seal in the center of the large, five pointed star, the design of the latter shown in *Statutes of Oklahoma*, 1893. It is interesting and gratifying to the Historical Society to note this reproduction of the Oklahoma State Seal a part of the interior decorations seen in the two new office buildings erected by the State north of the Capitol, dedicated

¹ For details on the history and the production of these five paintings, see "Official Seals of the Five Civilized Tribes" by Muriel H. Wright, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (December, 1940), pp. 350-70. Reproductions of the five seals in black and white illustrate this article.



Seal of the Cherokee Nation



Seal of the Chickasaw Nation



Seal of the Choctaw Nation



Seal of the Creek (or Muscogee) Nation



Seal of the Seminole Nation

OFFICIAL SEALS OF THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES
OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY

(Original Paintings by Guy C. Reid in Oklahoma Historical Society)

and opened this year (1962). The entrance doors, the panels over the elevators and other places in the Will Rogers Building on the west side, and even the specially designed chinaware of the new cafeteria show fine replicas of the Society's corrected reproduction of the State Seal. The Sequoyah Building on the east side also uses this reproduction.

The paintings of the Indian seals in the Museum are the work of Guy C. Reid, well known architect of Oklahoma City, that were made and contributed by him at the request of a special committee of the Historical Society to provide the device of each for reproductions in color. Each painting consists of a pen and ink sketch with lettering to scale, hand-painted in water color, the designs based on gold-leaf impressions of the old metal dies, on the old Indian laws providing use of official seals and other data from the records of the Five Civilized Tribes, supplied through special research on the subject in the Historical Society and the U.S. Indian Office at Muskogee.

Replicas of the five paintings have been popular and widely used since they were reproduced in 1940. At the invitation of the Alabama Department of Archives and History through its director, Mrs. Marie Bankhead Owen, white satin banners with the Indian seals embroidered in colors like those in the paintings were presented on Flag Day, June 14, 1940, to Alabama's Hall of Flags in the Historical Building at Montgomery. The banners in lieu of flags are still on exhibit there in memory of the five Indian nations that at one time or another in the past lived within the boundaries of Alabama.

These same paintings of the Indian seals made up the design used by the Post Office Department for the special U.S. postage stamp in 1948, commemorating the centennial of the development and settlement of the Five Civilized Tribes as nations in Oklahoma. During the centennial celebration held in Muskogee this same year, large reproductions of the five seals were painted in the same color scheme on the street, along which five, beautiful floats also depicting the Indian seals in color were a part of a two-hour parade.

The Indian seals from the Museum paintings have been reproduced in "Five Civilized Tribes Jewelry," particularly beautiful silver charm bracelets and necklaces and earrings, at the instance and with the approval of The Inter-tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes, which has its offices at Muskogee. The Council is made up of members of the Five Tribes, and was regularly organized some years ago to promote the welfare of all American Indians.

The Historical Society at one time reproduced the designs of the Indian seals on small silk flags in the predominating

colors of the Museum paintings, that were popular with school children and visitors to the Historical Building. *The Chronicles*, also, carried each of the Indian seals in colors on the front cover besides the Oklahoma Territorial Seal and the State Seal, beginning with the winter number of the magazine, 1955-1956, to autumn, 1957.

Briefly, the history and lore of the five Indian seals are given here:

Cherokee Seal. The seven pointed star in this seal has reference to the seven sacred clans, the legendary beginnings of the Cherokee people. The oak wreath surrounding the star is the symbol of strength, the oak having been used to keep the sacred fire burning in the "town house" located at the central part of the nation, in ancient times. The outside border of this central device bears the words "Cherokee Nation," followed by the Sequoyah characters for "Cherokee Nation," pronounced "Tsa-la-gi-hi A-ye-li"—and the date "Sept. 6, 1838," that on which the constitution of the Cherokee Nation, West, was adopted.

Chickasaw Seal. The Indian warrior is shown in ancient regalia, carrying two arrows in his right hand, a long bow in his left hand, and a shield on his left shoulder. The Chickasaws were noted as a nation of warriors, of which the war-chief Tishomingo is known as a great leader in history.

Choctaw Seal. The outside border of this seal has the words, "The Great Seal of the Choctaw Nation," and the central device shows an unstrung bow, crossed by three arrows and a pipe-hatchet. The Choctaws were known as a peace loving people yet strong in defensive warfare. In ancient times, they smoked the Indian calumet pipe in their councils, the calumet later being replaced by the steel pipe-hatchet in trade with the French.

Creek Seal. In this seal, the words "Great Seal of the Muscogee Nation, I.T." are in the border surrounding the central device that shows a sheaf of wheat and a plow. The people of this tribe referred to themselves as the "Muscogee," the early English colonists having given them the name of "Creek" because they lived along certain creeks in Georgia. The sheaf of wheat and the plow represent the "Muscogee" as an agricultural people, the device apparently having been chosen through the influence of Christian members of the Nation when an official seal was adopted after the period of the American Civil War.

Seminole Seal. The Seminole was smallest in population among the five Indian nations, great authority resting in the office of the Principal Chief. After settlement in the West, the Principal Chief was generally a member of a strong ruling clan or family, who was elected and re-elected for this office through a period of many years. In keeping with this central authority, the official

seal has the words "Executive Department Seminole Nation" in the border, and the device in the center shows a plumed tribesman rowing a canoe across a lake to a village and trading house. This scene is symbolic of the lakes of Florida, the homeland of the Seminoles before the main part of the tribe was removed west to the Indian Territory. Some of the Seminoles never moved west, and their descendants still live in the swamp country of Florida.

The official seals of the Five Civilized Tribes, seen in the Museum paintings based on their old government documents in the historical records, reveal some of the tribal characteristics and much of the lore of the Indian peoples. The paintings of these seals in color, each device done according to data from original sources, have themselves made history in the state, having created a deeper appreciation for the story of Oklahoma and all its people. Continued interest and requests for reproductions of the Indian seals have prompted the full page in color here in *The Chronicles* for autumn, 1962.

—The Editor

FROM THE BRAZOS TO THE NORTH FORK

The Autobiography of Otto Koeltzow

Edited by A. M. Gibson

Part Two*

VI

Feuding on Grape Creek

Elizabeth and I walked over every square foot of our claim. The thick sod was springy under our happy stride. We stood on the brink of the canyons and studied the carpet of knee-deep grass below. Livestock could winter in these cuts without feed, and probably would come out sleek in the spring. The south canyon was so located that it provided a perfect windbreak. We decided to locate our dugout there.

At sunset, we were tired but already full of plans as to where to locate this and that building and field on our claim. Just as Elizabeth was making up our bed in the wagon, a rider came up the canyon. He introduced himself as Silas Witcher, a neighbor whose claim was located two sections south of our place. He got down and we had a pleasant, get-acquainted visit. Although Witcher had lived on his homestead for three years, he had made little progress in farming, largely because of Abernathy's cattle and the "free grass law." Thus far, every crop he had planted and brought to near-harvest stage had been destroyed by Abernathy's cattle.

Before leaving, Witcher promised to watch my place while I was away, and also be a witness that I had spent the night

* The original manuscript of Otto Koeltzow's story has been edited and contributed to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* by Dr. A. M. Gibson, of the History Department and Head of the Division of Manuscripts in the University of Oklahoma. Dr. Gibson's Introduction to Part I of the Koeltzow story appearing in the spring number of the magazine (Vol. XL, No. 1, 1962) points out that the Koeltzows among the thousands of immigrants to the United States in the 1870's and 1880's were a German family that settled among a colony of their countrymen in South Texas. Here these resourceful and courageous people began their life in a new land at a time when tenant farming and share-cropping were replacements for the pre-Civil War slave labor. Part I tells about the Koeltzows' life in Texas, 1883 to 1900, and how they finally escaped the vicious system of agriculture of the time and came to free homesteads in Old Greer County, Oklahoma Territory. Otto Koeltzow and his young wife Elizabeth (nee Emshoff) found and settled on a 160-acre claim in the vicinity of those of his father and other members of the family, about twenty-eight miles west of present Mangum in Greer County.—Ed.

on my claim. The night was cold, but with the bows and wagon sheet over us, Elizabeth and I were warm. Coyotes came close to the wagon and howled an all night protest at our invasion of their domain. Elizabeth was frightened by the din, and it was apparent that I would have to buy a gun before we moved here permanently. Sunrise over our claim was a sight to behold. After an early breakfast at Kromer's dugout, Elizabeth and I reluctantly turned back toward Mangum.

While living with the Doyles was pleasant, for we had good food and a warm, clean place to stay, Elizabeth and I longed to be on the claim. Before the winter was out, Mr. Doyle decided to quit the coal business and construct a grain elevator, so I had to find another job.

When J. B. Johnson, who was planning to open a hotel, offered Elizabeth and me a job which included board, room, and \$10 a week, we accepted. Mr. Johnson had the contract to set out fifty trees around the courthouse and my first assignment was to plant these saplings. While buying a shovel at the hardware store to dig the holes for the trees, I noted in the showcase my favorite gun—a Colt .41 with holster and belt. The proprietor told me I could have the Colt for ten dollars. After inducing him to throw in a box of shells, we closed the deal.

In early March, father sent word that A. J. Felter, my brother-in-law, and he had finished their dugouts and were ready to help build mine. After giving notice to Mr. Johnson that I would be quitting on March 15, I went to see Mr. Stephenson at the lumber yard. I had helped build up his business, and he volunteered to provide all the materials required for my dugout at cost, which ran around \$35. The plan I had drawn called for a structure fourteen by eighteen feet; four feet in the ground, with three-foot frame walls above, covered with a shingle roof, and a window on each side.

On March 16, we loaded the material in two wagons and headed for the claim. I had a chance to try out the new Colt when three coyotes were flushed as the wagons rumbled into the south canyon. I brought down one with two shots at long range.

Selecting the highest point, and thereby the best drained location in the canyon floor, and virtually abutting the windward wall for a windbreak, I drove the corner stakes for the dugout. Since it was nearly dark, we drove to Kromer's place for supper. Next day we started digging. The reddish dirt of this region was called Mesquite soil—dry and hard on top but soft at deeper levels. It required four days' digging to excavate the floor, and a week to construct the dugout. After completing the structure, we packed dirt two feet up all around the house; this was sup-

posed to make the dugout warmer in winter, cooler in summer, and drain rainwater away from the walls.

The day we set the door and installed the windows, Witcher rode by and visited a spell. He admired the dugout, and advised me to plow a fireguard. When I explained that as yet I had no plow, he offered to bring his plow over the next day. The dugout was cozy and Elizabeth wanted to move right in, but since we had no furniture, she stayed at the folks' rented place while I got our claim in shape.

The heavy sod made it impossible to start right off with cotton. Homesteaders had found that the best way to open a field was to break ten to twenty acres of the sod, and plant it to a hardy feed crop such as maize, cane, or kaffir corn. I had decided to break out ten acres, but, due to the "free grass law," I decided to fence the feed field before I plowed and planted it. We brought in barbed wire from Mangum, and then went in search of posts. In Greer County wood was scarce. Father, Felter, and I searched for days and finally located some cottonwood and mesquite trees large enough to yield fence posts. The trees were in a deep canyon on government land. While it was unlawful to cut wood for any purpose on government land, we had little choice, and fortunately we were not caught. The country was so rough and the canyon so deep that one man could never have gotten a load of fence posts out. In no time at all we had cut and hauled enough posts to fence a ten-acre feed patch on each of our claims. After completing the fencing, we cut a ten-furrow fire guard around each fence. This precaution we felt necessary in view of the rumor that the cattlemen, in order to torment the homesteaders, besides deliberately running cattle through their fields, also set fire to the grass on various claims to burn fence posts and other improvements.

After taking this precaution, we went to Mangum and purchased sod plows. The moldboard plow, to which we were accustomed, was unsatisfactory for ground-breaking in this thick sod, which was interspersed fairly deep with tenacious grass roots. The moldboard plow pulled with great difficulty and only tore the surface. Farmers had developed a special cutting tool, the sod plow, for first-plowing in the Plains. The sod plow was fitted with a flat share which had a sharp side-cutter. Rather than breaking and tearing the grassy cover, the sod plow cut the sod and turned it soil-side face up in the open furrow. As the soil was exposed to the air, and as cultivation stirred it, the roots were gradually worked out, and before long, a farmer could use the moldboard plow in preparing his seed beds.

Father, Felter, and I plowed our ten-acre fields in early April. The razor-edge sod plows slipped through the deep grass cover and turned up the damp, pungent earth. Three plowmen,



(Photo in the University of Oklahoma Collections)

A Settler's First Home in Western Oklahoma



(Photo in the University of Oklahoma Collections)

Street Scene, Southwestern Oklahoma Town, 1902

working together, made the work not hard at all. The middle plowman, turning the second furrow, also managed the planter. This was a dishpan nailed to a round board with holes drilled five to six inches apart, and attached to his plow. The seed fell into the furrow he opened and was covered by the inside plowman. After each field was planted, we ran back over the furrows with a crude harrow to cover any seed missed by the inside sod plow.

The warm, sunny spring days brought out snakes of every species. Many were turned up by the sod plows. At times the furrows seemed to be crawling with snakes, several of which were little prairie rattlers, about twelve inches long, and just as deadly as the larger diamond back.

During the spring of 1901, most of the free land in Greer County was taken up by homesteaders. New families were coming every day and filing on land around us, building dugouts, and breaking feed fields. Grape Creek was my north property line. Just beyond the creek was a trail which was fast becoming a well-traveled, if rough, road. The settler who filed on the quarter fronting this creek built his dugout right in the road. No section lines were open as yet, and people traveled wherever, and however, they could. I had to go through two new barbed wire fences to get to father's place. We just pulled the staples, drove across the wire, then nailed the fence up again. Every one carried a pair of wire nippers and a hammer in his saddle bags or in the wagon. Neighborly farmers put up wire gates when they fenced across a road. Later, section lines were opened up by county commissioners and public roads were built, but it was many years before Greer County roads were improved to any degree.

After the feed patches were fenced, plowed, and planted on the various claims, we worked together to plant the cotton and other crops on the folks' rented place. Still lacking the money required to furnish our dugout and equip our claim, I went in search of a job to add to our grubstake. Forty-five miles away, in Texas, I found work on the railroad. This lasted until July 1.

The wheat harvest was in full swing when the railroad job played out, and I found a place with a threshing machine outfit. The wheat thresher was a horse-powered rig, operated with sixteen horses and mules. On each side of the thresher was a feeder table. A man was stationed on each platform. As bundles of dry grain were pitched up, the feeder man cut the twine and fed the bundles into the hopper. This was hard, hot work and the platform crewmen had to be relieved every three hours because of the grain dust. At the thresher exhaust, one man pushed the straw away from the machine while another stomped and stacked it. As we finished at each wheat farm, we left a

straw mountain in our wake. Livestock fed from these straw piles, often eating their way far into the stack and thus creating a warm cover against the wintry blasts. As a member of the threshing machine crew, I worked from daylight to dark, and received besides my board, seventy cents a day wages. This work lasted twenty-two days and I was able to add \$16.50 to our grubstake.

Lonely for Elizabeth and the homestead, I was glad to see this threshing work finally end. She was expectant, and looked real good. Visiting our claim I found the feed crop had made an excellent stand, but a section of the fence was down, and fully half the green feed had been eaten to the ground. After mending the fence, I rode to Abernathy's ranch and told him to keep his cattle off my claim, or face the consequences.

Abernathy laughed at me, said his cattle would graze where they chose since this was "free grass" country, and I rode away before my anger conquered me completely. I stayed overnight at the dugout, and awakened at daylight to find 200 head of cattle grazing in the feed patch. I rushed out and had just succeeded in driving them beyond the fence when a white-face range bull turned and charged me. Running into the dugout, I grabbed up my Colt and encouraged the big animal to rush me again. When he made his circle to charge, I shot him in the flank; this only increased his rage, and I fired three quick shots head-on as he made another swing at me. The volley turned him, he rolled over, got up, and limped down the canyon. He died before reaching the home ranch.

After repairing the fence again, I nailed a warning sign on a fence post: "Keep Cattle Out." This was the last time Abernathy ever attempted to assert the "free grass" doctrine on my claim. When I returned to the homestead in mid-September, the grazed-over feed patch, helped along by plenteous rains, had recovered and was heading out nicely. Since Elizabeth was expecting just any day now, we continued to live with the folks on the rented place, helping with the crops and picking cotton. On September 22, our first child was born—a daughter. After some discussion we decided to name her Elsie.

When Elizabeth was able to travel, we went to Mangum for our dugout furnishings. Besides a bedstead and mattress (we decided that we were unable at this time to afford the luxury of bedsprings), a coffee mill, frying pan, baking pan, wash tub, dish pan, lamp, and coffee pot, we ordered a bachelor stove. This was a small iron combination heating and cooking stove, ideal for the cramped quarters of a dugout. It burned wood, coal, or cow chips equally well. The stove top had two lids for a cooking surface, and a drum for baking rested in the first joint of pipe

above the cooking surface. Just above the baking drum was the damper which regulated the stove temperature.

The supply of tools I purchased, typical of the items required to run a homestead, included a wire stretcher, wire nippers, hand saw, spade, lantern, hammer, nails, and staples. The winter's supply of provisions we laid in on this trip included coffee, sugar, flour, tobacco, potatoes, soda, matches, syrup, apples, rice, baking powder, salt, black pepper, kerosene, and corn meal. Our furniture, tools, and provisions cost \$36. I should add that we bought a supply of Castoria for the baby, for the women in town told Elizabeth it was the newest and best thing for infants, and they assured her that Elsie would thrive on it.

Father made us a table and chairs, completing the simple furnishings for our dugout. We stayed with the folks until the cotton was picked and the feed had been gathered and shocked, and then each family started moving to their own claims. Elizabeth and I settled in our dugout on December 23, 1901.

Right off, several problems arose. Wood was scarce for fuel and building purposes. I had to scratch about for a week before I found enough posts to build a lot for the mules and saddle horse. Water was a problem too. The water in nearby Grape Creek was heavy in gyp solution. Even the mules would not drink it for a long time. Elizabeth and I began to figure right off how we could afford a well, which, we hoped, by producing water at greater depths, would be gyp-free. The most immediate problem facing us was keeping a supply of fuel on hand so as to provide a warm dugout for little Elsie.

On the second day in the dugout, Silas Witcher rode by and left a quarter of beef. I explained that I had no money to spare for a luxury such as fresh beef, but Witcher said that it was a gift, and asked that, when I was able, to pass the favor on to my next neighbor. We had a nice visit. Witcher said that wood on his place was scarce for the trees had been fairly well cut off before he settled there. He was burning cow chips, and finding these hard to come by with so many new homesteaders in the country. But, he added, as long as there was vacant government land with wood on it, he intended to get his share.

According to Witcher, you sure had to watch for cattlemen, since they would turn a homesteader in for taking wood from government land. They were sore as hornets over the nesters filing on their range and driving them and their herds out of Greer County. Witcher said he had scouted a tree-filled canyon six miles away, but since the country was so rough, it would take two men to get the wood out, and because it was near a ranch headquarters, the work would have to be done at night.

I agreed to help, and Witcher said he would let me know when he was ready.

Next morning, Elizabeth used our last stick of stove wood, and a storm and colder weather threatened. While I scoured our canyon for saplings, brush, mesquite roots, or anything that would burn, Elizabeth took a cotton sack and walked into Abernathy's pasture to pick up cow chips. She had just started when Mrs. Abernathy came up and ordered her off the place.

By searching most of the day we found enough wood and cow chips scattered over our place to heat the dugout for a few days. The next day Witcher came to tell me that he was ready to go for wood that night. Mrs. Witcher sent word that Elizabeth and Elsie were to spend the night with her. For our first nocturnal wood gathering expedition, we decided to take Witcher's wagon and my mules. Armed with guns and axes, we went into the deepest canyon I had ever seen. The going was rough, but we cut a big load of wood, chiefly cottonwood, were safely back at Witcher's claim, and had the wood divided by 2:30 in the morning. The following night we returned with both our wagons and cut two big loads. This pretty well solved our fuel problem for some time.

Neighbors passing noticed the big woodpile near the dugout, and wondered where it came from. Witcher and I always changed the subject when the source of our wood was discussed. Fortunately, on subsequent wood gathering trips we were never caught.

One neighbor was caught cutting wood on government land, thanks to a vigilant cattleman, who informed to the United States marshals in Mangum concerning his poaching. When brought to trial, the wood thief was asked by the judge if he admitted taking wood from government land. The homesteader answered: "Yes." The judge then reminded the defendant: "Don't you know that it is against the law to take wood from government land?"

The homesteader replied: "Yes. But I have a wife and five children. A cold norther had blown in. We didn't have a stick of wood on the place. Don't you think it's also against the law to let my wife and children freeze to death if I can prevent it?" The homesteader continued: "I couldn't go thirty-five miles to Mangum after coal, and even if I could, I wouldn't have the money to pay for it."

The judge then declared: "I will let a jury handle this case." After the jury had been picked, the judge asked the homesteader if he was satisfied with the jury, and if he felt that he would have a fair decision from them. The defendant an-

swered: "I'm a newcomer to Greer County and don't know any of these men; all that I ask is that this jury contain men who have never stolen wood on government land."

At that the judge arose and said: "Now that you put it that way, I must disqualify myself." And the jury to a man also arose and said: "We cannot pass judgment." That settled the case and the homesteader was set free. Of course, it would have been most difficult to find a single man in Greer County who had not at some time taken wood from government land. And about the only place trees would grow in any abundance in Greer County was in the brakes and canyons, which would never be filed on anyhow since these badlands were unfit for cultivation.

VII

Mesquite Soil and Gyp Water

As the New Year approached, Elizabeth and I took a careful look at our finances. We had arrived in Oklahoma Territory with about \$2. The two of us had earned \$122 in cash from our various jobs in Mangum. The Texas railroad job had brought in \$20; threshing crew wages had come to \$16; and an additional \$27 had accumulated from picking cotton, all of which totaled \$185. Our expenses for 1901 had been \$136, which included furnishings for the dugout, a sod plow, and provisions, and we were left with a reserve of \$48 to start the New Year.

Planning for our future needs, it was decided that while a moldboard plow, a planter, an additional mule, and a cow to provide milk for Elsie would have to be managed for, by far our most pressing need was good water. It seemed ages since we had been able to enjoy a drink of cool, clear, soft water.

The Grape Creek water was so gyp-ridden that we made coffee from it and drank the coffee, hot or cold, when thirsty. As yet, no soft water spring or creek had been found in our area. Hoping a well would solve this problem, I started digging near our dugout. At forty-eight feet I struck a heavy flow of water, but it, too, was gyp, only less so than the creek; at least the livestock would drink it in preference to the creek water. Not a single rock was struck all the way down; the entire well face for forty-eight feet was red mesquite soil; yet, surprisingly, the well did not cave. After buying a well pulley, rope, and bucket, and lumber for well curbing and trough, I had spent nearly half of our precious reserve.

The disappointment of failing to find a soft water well made me all the more determined to locate a source of good water. The solution to this problem came on a mild Sunday afternoon in February while Elizabeth and I were walking over

the homestead. As we approached a wide-spraddled hill, an idea formed. Studying the extended but gradual drainage on either side of the hill, I explained to her that a cistern at the foot of the hill would trap rainwater which would be soft.

The next day I talked the cistern idea over with Felter and other family members, and it was agreed to help one another in excavating and constructing a water trap on each claim, starting with mine. At the base of the hill a catch basin, twelve feet deep and seven feet square was excavated. With cement from Mangum, and sand from the creek I mixed a plaster to coat the walls and bottom.

After constructing a wooden cover, I plowed a deep furrow on either side of the hill, pitching the drainage to the catch basin. The furrows were to catch all water draining from this hill and conduce the flow to the cistern. About three feet from the cistern mouth I constructed a filter screen to trap debris and silt. Felter's cistern was next, and before we were half finished, a heavy rain came and filled my cistern with clear, clean, soft water. My success led settlers all over the county to build cisterns. Since most of the people lived in dugouts, there were virtually no structures with roofs of sufficient breadth and pitch to catch rainwater for cisterns. High hills on the various claims served the purpose very well.

I was proud of my first crop—ten acres of feed. We cut it by hand, tied the grain in bundles, and stacked these near the dugout. I built a strong fence around the grain to keep livestock out. The maize heads were big and full, and flocks of prairie chickens and Mexican quail came in droves to feed on the grain. I fixed a blind in the canyon and shot these fat birds by the score. The whole neighborhood ate on these wild fowls too. When invited to a neighbor's place, you could expect prairie chicken, navy beans, and cornbread for dinner, and navy beans, cornbread, and prairie chicken for supper.

Among our neighbors was an old couple from Kentucky whom we affectionately called Grandma and Grandpa Reynolds. Grandma Reynolds weighed well over 200 pounds, and was a jolly person who was always in demand during sickness and at childbirth. The Reynoldses visited us often. On one occasion when they came to spend the day, Grandma brought a chicken and cooked it for dinner. She also brought some butter, an item we had very little of since leaving Texas. During the meal, Grandpa observed that we should have a cow, which, besides furnishing butter, would provide milk for Elsie. We discussed where I could find a cow. Grandpa suggested that Newt Abernathy with his vast herds could surely spare a milk cow.

Next day I went to see Abernathy and finally talked him out of a cow. She was very poor and ate like she was starved.

After attempting for a week unsuccessfully to strip some milk from her shriveled udder, I took the animal back to the ranch and asked Abernathy for a better cow. He refused, claiming that the calves needed all the milk his cows produced.

Not long after this, a man rode by and introduced himself as Adam French, a small rancher, who farmed also, on a place seven miles away. We had a pleasant talk. He was interested in the fact that we were from Texas, and that we had been in the Galveston hurricane and Brazos flood. When I mentioned a milk cow, he offered to sell me two polled black cows which he claimed were good milkers—one just fresh, and the other would be soon. French priced the two cows at \$50, and volunteered to defer payment until fall when the crops would be in. I asked him if he wanted me to sign a note, and he said: "Your face is good enough for me."

French had trees on his place, and he allowed me to cut posts for a cow pasture. I had no money for a barbed wire fence, so I sold my saddle horse for \$50. It was painful to part with her; she had carried me from Texas. With this money I purchased enough wire to fence sixty acres.

On the first of February I started breaking twenty additional acres of sod. To make the plowing easier, I decided to burn off the knee-deep grass. As a precaution, before igniting the tinder-dry field, I first plowed a ten-furrow fire guard. There was a slight breeze from the south, and I started the fire downwind. Just as the field was nearly burned off, the wind suddenly shifted to the north, as it does on the Plains, and flames and sparks jumped the fire guard. I fought the flames like a demon, trying to contain the fire before it reached the adjoining ranch.

Retreating from the choking grass smoke to get my breath, I noticed Abernathy leaning on the fence watching me. I hailed him but he refused to come and help. This lack of neighborliness so infuriated me that I let the fire go. A wall of flame, pushed by the stiff north wind, jumped the creek, ignited Abernathy's pasture, and burned over two sections of cured-out grass. Abernathy's posts were burned to an ash. That afternoon the rancher stormed into my dooryard with threats of a court case for damages. When I retorted that it was highly unlikely that the judge would be too interested in hearing a case involving fences on government land, Abernathy sulked off.

The burnt over area turned easily with the sod plow, and I broke out twenty acres for a new feed patch. On the second-year land of ten acres I planted cotton. The feed did real well but we made only two bales of cotton. While the rains had been adequate, a new scourge, the prairie dog, invaded the cotton field and destroyed well over half of the young plants. I tried

various methods to check these burrowing varmints, and finally discovered that by saturating horse manure with Highlife, or liquid carbon, and placing it in the tunnels, then tamping dirt in each opening, that all animals in the burrow were killed. This method was developed too late to save the cotton for 1902, but by starting the application early enough the following year, I eliminated prairie dogs from my homestead. A neighbor bought a rowbinder in Oklahoma City for \$110 and cut feed all over the county, charging one dollar per acre. This was a welcome relief from hand cutting and tying the bundles, as we had done earlier.

During harvest, the fields were covered with prairie chickens feeding on the grain, and we had lots of fresh meat. Since the prairie dogs had cut the cotton yield, and I lacked money to pay for the cows, Mr. French was willing to accept feed in payment. After meeting my obligation to Mr. French, I still had 5,000 bundles of feed left. It took four weeks to haul and stack the feed in the canyon. Elizabeth helped for a few days and Grandma Reynolds took care of Elsie until Witcher came by and offered to trade work. Thereafter we worked together at all the harvest chores.

Our first cotton crop was hauled to Erick, twenty-five miles away, but ten miles closer than Mangum. It required three days to drive to the gin, have the cotton processed and return home. The Erick road was rough and three to four head of mules or horses were required to pull each wagon. If three mules were used, a long chain that reached even with the double tree was tied to the rear axle. A single tree was attached to the chain; thus the third mule pulled from the rear axle. I had to borrow a third mule from father to haul my cotton.

After our second year, it was apparent that we needed several additional items in order to make our Greer County claim more liveable and successful as a farm. Grass roots were still in the broken ground. Thirty acres of crop ground would be ready next year, and root formations in the soil made plowing difficult. Therefore, besides a moldboard plow, I would have to have a third mule. I went to Mr. French, explained the problem, and he sold me a young mule for \$75 on credit.

Grandma and Grandpa Reynolds stayed with Elizabeth while I went to Mangum for a plow. A carload of John Deere implements had just arrived. I managed to arrange for a twelve-inch plow and a set of chain harness, also on credit. It took me fifteen days to get the thirty acres ready for planting. Then I turned to another problem.

The bare earth walls of our dugout attracted all manner of insects. The most dangerous were the tarantula, black widow

spider, and the centipede. We were especially concerned about keeping these varmints out of Elsie's crib. The tarantulas and centipedes were bad about coming out of the walls at night and crawling over our bed. One night I killed a fourteen-inch centipede just poised above Elsie's crib.

On March 16, I started our new dugout, constructing it closer to the cistern and thereby reducing the distance for carrying water. The dimensions were sixteen by thirty-two. The big difference between this dugout and the old one was that I put in a cement floor and plastered the dirt walls, thus making it tight so as to keep the tarantulas and centipedes out. We moved into our new dwelling on April 1.

Already it was sowing time and I needed a planter. In Mangum I found a two-horse one-row Case planter for \$35. The owner of the implement company, Mr. Jackson, let me have the planter on credit. As I was leaving, he remarked that he needed maize seed badly and would pay \$2 per bushel. I promised to bring him some maize seed in a week.

Rushing home, I reflected that I had more feed than I could use in several years, and that here was a chance to pay off my debts. That night I cut several bushels of maize heads from the feed lot, and Elizabeth and I shelled the grain by rubbing the heads on a washboard. The free grain had to be clean of husks to make seed, and removing the hulls was a problem until we hit on the idea of soaking the grain for an hour or so in a tub of water. This freed the husks, they floated to the surface, and were skimmed off. Then we scattered the grain on a sheet in the sun to dry. I delivered five bushels to Mr. Jackson, and he offered to buy all the seed I could bring in. Elizabeth and I worked at night together, sometimes past midnight, and she shelled alone during the day while I planted cotton. Instead of taking cash, I had the seed money apply on my implement notes. The biggest seed delivery I made was twenty-five bushels, with several additional ones nearly as large. Before spring was out, we had paid for all the new tools, implements, the new mule, and we were able to buy a good store of provisions, all from the seed sales.

By 1903, our neighborhood was all settled up. There was a dugout or some other form of crude shelter on every quarter. Some of the late comers built sod houses. These were constructed from sod blocks, cut from the earth and stacked in walls like wide, flat bricks. Sod blocks were used to cover the roof too. The soddy was cool in summer and warm in winter, its biggest drawback being the many insects, some of them deadly, which settled in the thick walls.

The community improved considerably in 1903, when a new village named Carl, containing a store and postoffice, was estab-

lished two miles from our homestead. Buck Armstrong was appointed the first postmaster at Carl. Shortly, a blacksmith shop was installed there, followed closely by an implement yard operated by the John Deere Company. The company was popular with Greer County homesteaders, always short on cash, for they could buy farm machinery on credit through a note signed in the spring, and falling due in the autumn after the cotton sales.

The health of our area improved when John Harris, a physician from Michigan, settled with his brother on a homestead four miles north of Carl. The two brothers filed on adjoining quarter-sections, and while Dr. Harris practiced medicine, his brother developed the two claims. It was not uncommon at all for Dr. Harris to make calls fifteen and twenty miles away at any hour of the day or night, and in all kinds of weather. About the same time, a younger doctor, Robert Francis, came to nearby Vinson and set up practice.

Other local improvements included a cotton gin closer to home. In the spring of 1904, Bob Francis called a meeting of homesteaders and asked if they would support a gin at Carl. The proposal was enthusiastically received, the farmers going so far as to agree to haul all materials required for the gin from Mangum to Carl free of charge. A two or three-mile drive to the gin was much more attractive than the long, expensive twenty-five mile trip to the Erick gin to which we were accustomed.

Sixteen wagons were mustered to haul the lumber and equipment from the railroad yard at Mangum to Carl. I drew the smokestack, which was loaded in three joints on my wagon, and secured with chains. The three sections of thirty-inch pipe were so long that before loading I had to remove the wagon box and construct a special frame.

I led the caravan out of Mangum on the Carl road. A mile out, a strong wind came up, which produced a dreadful, roaring sound as it passed through the joints of pipe. This strange noise spooked my mules, and they broke and ran pell-mell down the rough, rutted Carl road, weaving and jerking at their curious and frightening cargo. It was a battle to stay with the wagon and several times I was on the verge of pitching the reins and jumping to safety in the tall grass that lined the road. But I sawed, tugged, and fought the team for ten miles, and finally approached a steep hill. The heavy load and sharp grade slowed the crazed brutes to a walk, and, when the left rear wheel lodged on a rock, the team came to a dead stop. I waited well over an hour for the caravan to catch up. Before proceeding, we stuffed quilts in the stacks, thereby cutting off the wind tunnels and the resultant siren-like sound. My team pulled quietly for the

remainder of the trip. A crew of builders went to work immediately on the gin and by September 15, it was in operation.

With all these advancements, we missed the Lutheran Church. Our biggest problem in this regard was that we were in a strange land and had no contacts with synod or clergy. Then one day while I was in the blacksmith shop at Vinson, a rider stopped and asked if there were Germans in the area. The blacksmith told the stranger I was German and the man introduced himself as Pastor August Mier, a Lutheran minister. He explained that the synod had sent him to southwestern Oklahoma Territory to search for Lutheran homesteaders. I took him to father's place, and that evening five German families gathered for religious services at the folks' dugout.

Pastor Mier was the first Lutheran minister to reach southwestern Oklahoma Territory, and all who came deeply appreciated his sermon and prayers. Several children had been born into our clan, and were approaching school age, who had received no religious instruction except that rudimentary sort their parents had given them. Many of the youngsters had never been baptized; this included our Elsie. Pastor Mier spent a long day taking care of these many and varied clerical chores. Before riding off, he promised to send a missionary to us once each month.

In a few days I received a letter from B. O. Richter, pastor of the Lutheran Church at Parkersburg, Oklahoma Territory. Pastor Richter advised me that he would come to us one Sunday each month, and explained that the church at Parkersburg was the only Lutheran congregation in the entire region. It was arranged among the five Lutheran families to take turns driving to Erick, twenty-five miles north, meeting the train, and carrying Pastor Richter to our community for a weekend of religious services.

For four years Pastor Richter served us on this once-a-month basis, often exposing himself to the rigors of fierce weather and other hazards in order to bring the gospel to five Lutheran families in Greer County. He was a loyal, devoted clergyman, and he did much to enrich our otherwise arduous lives on the frontier of Oklahoma Territory.

During January, 1903, it was my turn to pick up Pastor Richter at Erick. He had just married, and his new wife accompanied him on the Greer County mission. After a weekend of religious festivities we had an early dinner and were on the Erick road by noon Sunday. I had borrowed a buggy with a top in case the weather turned bad, but when we left father's dugout, where the morning worship had been conducted, it appeared we would have a mild afternoon for the twenty-five mile drive.

Soon a bank appeared in the northwest, and a cold wind whipped up. In no time at all the sky was lead gray, and successively rain, hail, sleet, then snow struck us hard. Travel through the storm was slowed by the many wire fences across the road. Seven wire gates had to be opened and closed within the first ten miles. The last fifteen miles to Erick were as cold as I had ever experienced. Several times the mules lost the road due to the blowing, drifting snow, and I had to get down and lead them back into the rutted trail.

When we finally arrived in Erick, each of us was encased in a shroud of frozen sleet and snow. I helped the pastor and his young wife into the hotel and took the team and buggy to the livery stable. By then I was so cold I could not work my hands and arms to unhitch the buggy. The liveryman did this for me, and I staggered to the hotel where a stiff hot toddy and the warm room eventually thawed me out. Fortunately Pastor and Mrs. Richter and myself suffered no ill effects from this ordeal.

Of all the times Pastor Richter served us, the one we cherished most was the Christmas Season, 1903. The traditional German Yule was celebrated, complete with tree, children's program, gifts, carols, and the Christmas message. And the Christmas dinner was a credit to any feast I could recall. The weather was unusually mild and the children were managed inside father's dugout while the adults ate on tables in the dooryard. It required three hours to feed the crowd which had gathered for the occasion.

Next to having the services of a Lutheran pastor, our greatest pride was in the establishment of the first school in the area. Located at Madge, a village fourteen miles west of us near the Texas line, this frontier school provided children from the entire west side of Greer County with the benefits of an education. We opened a road to Madge to ease travel for the children.

As a matter of fact, by 1904, roads were being opened and improved all over Greer County. Each homesteader was required to work on the roads five days a year, furnish a worker for this period, or pay a \$5 road tax. Many of us donated extra days to get better roads. These public roads were built on the section lines, and the crews had high hills to work down and deep canyons to grade up. Sometimes it took an entire week to cut a road around or over a single hill. Our equipment was primitive and this made the work slow. Besides plows and teams, we used slips, and once in awhile a grader.

Despite these improvements, which were gradually transforming the Greer County wilderness into a more advanced community, we had our hard times. The summer of 1903 was a hot, dry one. Sparse rains and a merciless sun shriveled the

cotton—our bread and butter crop. I had thirty acres in cotton planted that year and managed to scrounge a sorry six bales.

That year a good many homesteaders abandoned their claims and returned to their old homes. Many of our neighbors were from Arkansas. These settlers pined for the timbered hills of their homeland and came to disdain life on the open plains. One day I visited a neighbor who was leaving his homestead and returning to Arkansas. I attempted to dissuade him by claiming that "this was good country." He answered sharply: "You call this good country?" I replied: "Yes, what is wrong with it?" The Arkansawyer then exploded: "The weather is all wind, the water is all gyp, and the wood all cow chips." "But," I soothed, "You are going back into the timber where you have to cut wood. We have it easier here. The cattle produce our wood. All we have to do is pick it up in a sack and carry it to the house and put it in the stove. God created the cow not only to produce milk, but also wood for the people." I had to add, however, that: "One thing about burning cow chips, it takes two people—one to feed the chips to the stove, and the other to carry ashes."

Many of the people who abandoned their Greer County homesteads returned before long and attempted to reclaim them. In this they were generally unsuccessful as they had failed to satisfy the residence requirements, and in the contest cases that followed, the courts usually decided in favor of the subsequent entrymen. But despite drouth and disappointment, the members of our German colony remained on their Greer County claims, worked hard, and were rewarded by better crop years.

VIII

A New Start in Kiowa County

Sustained drouth and attendant hard times caused a general retreat of homesteaders from the Plains during 1902 and 1903. But crop failures and economic want had been common among our clan off and on since our arrival in the United States, and we were well adjusted to disappointment. Hardship had taught us, too, that a situation would remain bad only for so long and then things would look up. And our tenacity was rewarded, for the year 1904 brought fine crops and each member of the German community in Greer County was happy that he had stuck it out.

Elizabeth and I made twenty bales of cotton from our canyon patches, and the highlands produced enough feed for two years. We held our cotton until after the General Election of 1904. Theodore Roosevelt, the Republican, won, and right after the election, cotton went up to fourteen cents a pound. Our neighbors had good cotton too, and most of them started building houses and moving out of their dugouts.

Following the cotton sales, I was able to pay off all debts and had \$500 left over. This was the most prosperous year we had experienced since coming to America, and inasmuch as Elizabeth's birthday was November 19, we decided to have a big neighborhood party. Everyone in the community was invited, including Mr. and Mrs. Abernathy. We had a high time—a real German frolic, with beer and all.

I arranged for Abernathy to sit at the table next to me as special guest. I told him: "Help yourself, Newt. Eat and drink hearty, for I want you to know how I appreciate all you have done for me; such as letting me have that shriveled-up old milk cow." Abernathy said nothing; he just sat, drank beer, and ate.

Several German families came in from Lone Wolf, a town in Kiowa County fifty-five miles east of us in the new country which had been opened to settlers on August 1, 1901. As the guests from Lone Wolf departed, they invited us to come visit and look over the possibility of moving to Kiowa County, a farming region they claimed was so rich that it had no rival anywhere in the world. As an added inducement, they told us of just completing a new Lutheran church and school.

The happy spirit that was stirred among the German families by Elizabeth's birthday party soon was stilled by tragedy. One cold, clear, winter morning, my brother-in-law, F. H. Weber and his nine year old son, Walter, set out to break a new feed field for spring planting. As they passed through a narrow canyon, a rabbit jumped up under Walter's horse. The horse bolted and pitched the boy from the saddle. Walter's foot caught in the stirrup, and he was dragged over 300 yards by the frightened beast. Walter was still alive and trying vainly to free his foot when the horse crashed into a barbed wire fence, reared back, and in doing so, crushed the boy's head under his flailing hooves. Walter was dead when his father reached him.

This was the first death in our clan and it struck us all hard. Sherman Kromer and I set out at five that evening for Mangum to purchase a coffin. The night was bitter cold and we did not reach Mangum until five the next morning. Then we had a three-hour wait for the hardware store to open before we could load the casket. It was too cold to ride in the open wagon, and, to keep from freezing, we walked most of the way home, arriving at Weber's place late that evening.

The women had laid out the body and dressed it while the men dug the grave. The Lutheran pastor from Lone Wolf braved the storm and arrived in time to preach the funeral. Snow and sleet fell all day and we were several hours reaching the cemetery, a distance of only seven miles. The fierce wind cut sharply and

the pastor was so stiffened by the driving sleet that he could hardly hold the Bible to read the funeral scripture.

Right after the funeral, Weber, saddened by the loss of his son, began to look for a new home around Lone Wolf. Paul also was interested in moving out of the rough Greer County uplands onto the level, rich land in Kiowa County. In the spring of 1905, after the crops were up to a good stand, Elizabeth and I joined Weber and Paul on one of their trips east.

Most of the country around Lone Wolf had been settled by northerners who raised wheat and oats. There were few dugouts and sod houses on the claims; practically every settler lived in a frame house.

When this country was opened in 1901, Lone Wolf was only a mail stop on the Rock Island Railroad. German settlers from the North predominated in the Lone Wolf community, and besides erecting general and drygoods stores, a bank, hotel, wagon yard, hardware and implement yards, they established a Lutheran church and school. B. O. Richter and P. Lehenbauer were the first pastors in the area. The general practice was for Richter to preach in German for the morning worship, and Lehenbauer delivered a sermon in English for the afternoon service. Elizabeth and I were kindly received by the Germans at Lone Wolf who encouraged us to take up land in the community.

During this visit, Weber and Paul rented farms in Kiowa County and when they returned to Greer County, each sold his farm and moved to the new country. Elizabeth and I gave considerable thought to joining them, but since she was expecting again, and because our crops showed fine prospects, we decided to remain on our homestead for awhile.

Our first boy, August, arrived in July, and moving to Kiowa County lost its appeal as bounteous summer rains augured a heavy cotton harvest. During the summer the Greer County German colony gradually decreased as our families sold out and moved east. In November, my older sister married a Lone Wolf boy, and that left only my parents, a younger brother, and my family at Carl.

By winter our numbers were so few that we lost the services of the Lutheran missionary, and we had to join other religious groups in the area for worship. Methodist, Baptist, and Church of Christ congregations had organized, but as none of these could afford a church building, each took turns using the school house for Sunday worship and meetings on Wednesday evening.

With most of our family and friends already moved or preparing to move to Kiowa County, Elizabeth and I decided

to spend the Christmas season with friends in Mangum. While tending my mules at the livery stable I noticed, several stalls down, a beautifully-matched pair of buckskin horses, each weighing about 1,500 pounds. I yearned for these horses and finally located the owner downtown. He was agreeable to selling this fine six-year old team and fixed the price at \$250. After two hours of bargaining, we made a swap—his buckskin team for my mules and \$10 to boot. With these magnificent buckskins, I had the finest team in Greer County.

Around the first of the year, I helped Weber and other German families move to Kiowa County. On each trip I inquired about land, and learned that there were several types of farms available. A good number of the people who had drawn homesteads at the lottery (which divided up the old Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita, Caddo, and Apache reservations), were from the North, and, being of comfortable means, had built houses on their claims and were renting the improved farms to tenants.

Another class of available land came from homesteaders, who, dissatisfied with the climate and general environment of southwestern Oklahoma Territory, before returning to their old homes in the North and East, were selling rights to their particular claims. Since the five-year residence period had not been met, this was not deed land, and the sale of claimant rights was called relinquishment. Often one could buy rights of this class of land at a bargain.

Also, in each township the United States Government had reserved a number of sections for the support of common schools and colleges in the Territory. School land could be leased from the Territory of Oklahoma for an annual payment of fifty dollars for each quarter-section. Should this school land subsequently be offered for sale, the lessee could buy it at auction, and if a bid topped the lessee's offer, he received the appraised value of improvements made on his lease.

In April, Paul wrote that a lease covering three quarters in a section of school land was for sale. The leaseholder, a New Yorker and anxious to return home, offered to sell his right to the lease for \$500. We looked the land over, and found it to be level, rich, virgin prairie with no canyons to climb. The only disadvantage with this land was that it was full of mesquite stumps. Early settlers had cut off the trees for fuel and fence posts. The lease had no buildings or fences, and since Kiowa County as yet had no open roads, travelers had cut a thoroughfare across the school land from one section corner to the other. It was ideally situated. Two miles southwest was the town of Lugert, established in 1901 on the Rock Island Railroad, and already a thriving trade center with a grain elevator, cotton gin,

bank, several stores, and a depot. And seven miles north was Lone Wolf, the site of our church and school.

Father, Felter, and I each decided to take a quarter. Lacking the money to purchase the lease, I bargained with the bank at Lone Wolf for \$500 until we could sell our Greer County homesteads. Each of us had to arrange for our naturalization papers before we could receive title to our homesteads. With these documents, which were issued at Mangum, we received clear deeds to our places. I hoped to receive \$10 an acre for my Greer County homestead.

Newt Abernathy wanted to buy my quarter-section, and thus extend his ranch beyond Grape Creek, but, when he offered only \$6 an acre, I refused. A homesteader named Francies, who owned the quarter north of me, was interested, but said \$10 was a little high. I dropped to \$9 cash, and when he offered \$8 with the proposal that I could have the crops (which promised a heavy yield), and that he would buy the feed harvested, we closed the deal. Father and Felter sold their homesteads about the same time, and as soon as the crops were laid by, we took the teams and sod plows to our leases in Kiowa County and began breaking the virgin prairie. The mesquite stumps were so thick that we struck one every two or three feet, and, after breaking one plow, we decided to dig them out. This was slow work, but the rich soil made it worthwhile.

Making a fresh start in Kiowa County was somewhat like homesteading in Greer County, only less severe. Elizabeth and I decided that six years of living underground in a dugout was enough, and we planned a two-room frame house. Building fence and putting the lease in shape for the following year, plus looking after the crops in Greer County, required so much time that our house construction was delayed. But the the folks solved the shelter problem by renting a large house near their lease and inviting us to live with them until our house was completed.

The last harvest on our Greer County homestead was good—twelve bales of cotton, and as heavy a feed crop as we ever raised. The Reynoldses, Witchers, and other Greer County settlers regretted that we were leaving, and just before we moved to the Kiowa County lease, they held a farewell party for us. Everyone in the community, except Newt Abernathy, came to the party, and we talked over old times through the night—our common hardships of pioneering the Greer County wilderness, gathering cow chips, feasting on prairie chickens, and stealing wood from Government land.

Elizabeth and I planned a move to Kiowa County in late January, 1907. Just as we finished packing, a norther blew in with heavy sleet, snow, and sub-zero temperatures, and we were

snowbound in the Greer County dugout until mid-February. Finally the roads became safe for travel and I loaded the two wagons with furniture, tools, and corn. I put the bows and wagon sheet over one wagon to protect Elizabeth and the children from the cold wind, and Elizabeth packed a lunch so that we would not have to stop and feed the little ones. We reached Mangum the first night and put up at the wagon yard. The children were chilled to the bone, and to warm them I walked to the saloon and bought a quart of whiskey. A round of stiff hot toddies warmed us all. Twenty miles of cold travel faced us next day, and before leaving the wagon yard, Elizabeth wrapped the children in heavy quilts. Several coops of chickens were tied to the lead wagon, and as we drove through town, the roosters announced our departure with much crowing. At five that evening we arrived at Lone Wolf without mishap, and appreciated the warm fireside and hot supper at the folks' place.

As soon as the weather moderated, I went to work improving the lease. The settlers in Kiowa County, chiefly from the North, had introduced those crops familiar to their homeland—chiefly wheat and oats. Settlers from the South, like myself, accustomed to raising cotton and feed, adopted the new crops. Thus we had to learn the techniques of producing wheat and oats and we had to buy additional equipment such as drills and harvesters. In the end this fusion of crop production worked to our advantage for thereafter we seldom missed a money crop. Hail and wind might take the wheat and oats, but there was always the cotton to fall back on; and if the wheat and oats made, and the cotton was poor, we still got by. And sometimes the wheat, oats, and cotton all made good.

The lister, a double moldboard plow which threw the furrow slice both ways, was becoming popular, and I purchased one. Four mules were required to pull this apparatus, and so, until I could afford two teams, father loaned me his. After preparing the cropland, I dug a well and struck good water at fifty feet. Then I fenced the pasture, set out a five-acre orchard, and planted twenty-five acres of cotton, twenty of feed, ten of corn, a vegetable garden, and set out a mulberry hedge for fence posts and windbreak. I had rented 100 acres adjoining my lease from two old bachelor settlers from Iowa. In this field I planted wheat and oats. For the livestock and poultry I built a barn and chicken house, and with the help of relatives and friends erected a two-room house, sixteen by thirty-two. It was a happy day for me to move my family into an above-ground dwelling.

After laying out the pasture and cropland, a five-acre patch remained. On it I sowed alfalfa for hogs and purchased two brood sows. Little did I realize at that time that this investment would carry us through some bad crop years. Our first year

in Kiowa County, which marked statehood for Oklahoma Territory, was a very busy one, and our labors were rewarded with excellent grain and cotton yields.

While I had on one occasion worked with a threshing crew, I had never before participated in a wheat harvest. Binders and headers were used. It seemed to me that only northern men knew just how to position the bundles so that the grain, awaiting curing for threshing, would dry properly when rained upon and not heat and spoil.

The year 1908 brought both joy and sadness to our family. In May, our fourth child, Alma, was born. The pleasure of having a healthy, smiling babe in the household was stilled by a tragedy during wheat harvest. A common remedy on the frontier was Epsom salts. Mother had mentioned placing a container of salts on the top shelf in the kitchen of the folks' rented place. One hot July day, my younger brother, August, who was helping on the wheat header, complained of nausea and went to the folks' house to get some medicine. Mother gave him two teaspoons from a container of what she thought was Epsom salts in a cup of coffee. In a matter of minutes, August began to cramp. Mother ran to the cellar for sweet milk and tried to feed a cupful to August, but he could not swallow. In less than an hour he was dead.

All family members were summoned to the folks' place. When I arrived, I picked up the container on the kitchen table and looked at the label—it read "Strychnine Crystals." Neither mother nor father could read English. When the doctor arrived from Lone Wolf, he said that two teaspoons of this deadly material in hot coffee would kill one hundred persons as quickly as it had one. He asked how the poison got in the house and none of us could explain its presence. Upon investigation we learned that John Reilly, who had occupied the house before the folks moved in, had purchased the strychnine for killing prairie dogs and had forgotten the poison when he moved. August's death broke up the folks' household, and Paul decided to build a house for mother and father on their school land lease so they could move out of the big house.

All the family grieved August's untimely death, especially mother. Even fair crop yields did not bolster us, but finally, as Christmas neared, our spirits lifted somewhat with the busy preparations for the Yule celebration. The folks' new house was completed and after a Christmas Eve program at the Lone Wolf Lutheran Church, which included the pastor's Yule message, a tree, recitations by the children, and carols, we went to the folks' new house for a midnight feast; thirty-five children and adults crowded into the small frame house for the night. Christ-

mas morning, we all went to church in one long procession of buggies and wagons. After a sumptuous dinner at the folks' place, and, after parting long enough for chores, we gathered again for supper and games. After the children were tucked in their beds, and pallets, we drank egg nog and played cards all night. This was our second day of Christmas celebration in keeping with the German practice to observe two days of worship and merry making. At daylight we hitched up the teams and went to our homes.

As the new year approached, we made plans to rent and farm more land. This meant additional work in digging out mesquite stumps. We had learned to dig down two or three feet to reach the main root, an operation sometimes requiring three hours, to extricate a single stump. A new 100-acre field I planned to plow and sow to wheat had prairie dogs on it. I used the old horse manure and Highlife carbon treatment, and it worked as before, but rattlesnakes had infested the prairie dog towns, and these varmints were more difficult to kill and certainly more dangerous to work with.

Remarkable wheat yields of twenty to twenty-five bushels per acre over a period of four years enabled me to pay off all debts and purchase riding plows, a wheat drill, and other new agricultural implements. Our operation was more expensive than might be expected for we were producing two crops—wheat and cotton with oats and corn as subsidiary crops. Thus we had to own two sets of farm machinery—one for row crops (cotton and corn) and one for wheat and oats.

In March, 1910, a meeting was called among the local farmers to consider the proposal to build a rural phone line to Lone Wolf. Fourteen stockholders signed up, we started building in April, and had the line ready and phones installed in each house before the month was out. The cost was \$27.50 per member for wire and phones. We performed all the labor, and were proud to have the first operating rural phone line in the Southwest.

Things were looking better for us than ever before, and it appeared that we would finally become prosperous, independent farmers. Grain and cotton yields were good. We had six milk cows with young calves and lots of milk. The hogs thrived on the alfalfa and we had substantial pork sales each year. The orchard promised to be a heavy producer of luscious peaches, apples, and pears. Elizabeth and I were able to build an addition to our house, more than doubling our living space. At Christmas, 1910, we were blessed with another boy—Paul. We had almost forgotten the meaning of hardship and uncertainty, so fortunate had we been since moving to Kiowa County.



(Photo in the University of Oklahoma Collections)

Wheat Field in Western Oklahoma, 1909



(Photo in the University of Oklahoma Collections)

Harvesting Hay, Southwestern Oklahoma

Then came 1911. A dry spring augured a severe drouth that by June had blistered the wheat and stunted the cotton. Our situation was not impossible, however, for we still had a herd of fat hogs to market. Then in September, cholera struck the swine lot. When this plague had run its course, four sows remained from a herd of thirty-six. Our only hope for a stake to carry us through to another crop was the bank at Lone Wolf, and after considerable persuading, Mr. C. H. Griffith, the bank president finally made me a \$500 loan. With enough money to feed my family through the winter and to buy seed and supplies for another planting, I eagerly awaited spring, little knowing that the misery and loss of the past year was only a foretaste of what fate had in store for us.

The spring of 1912 was a wet one, and the drouth seemed to be broken. The fields were green with growing crops and the orchard was a mass of fragrant pink and white blossoms. April 27 came hot and sultry and before noon the sky was a ragged mass of low-lying, leaden clouds. As I came in from the fields for dinner, and just before putting the mules into the barn, jagged lightning flashed out of an ugly bank of clouds to the southwest, accompanied by rumbles of thunder which shook the earth.

Before entering the house, I noticed that the noon train was heading for Lugert with its giant headlight burning. By then the world about us was dark as night. Rain gushed out of the approaching cloud bank and our dooryard was swamped with deep water in a matter of minutes. A monotonous roar followed the burst of heavy rain, and the house shook under the impact of high winds. Shortly, all was quiet outside; no wind, rain, or thunder. Elizabeth and I looked out of the window. Several out-buildings were missing and the windmill was on its side.

Since the storm had passed directly over Lugert, I was concerned about how the town had fared. Saddling a horse, I rode southwest toward the railroad track and up a high hill. From the eminence I looked toward Lugert. All I could see was naked prairie—the town had disappeared! Rushing along the railroad right-of-way, I reached the train I had seen at noon. It was a total wreck. Then I realized that a tornado, or as we called these killer storms then, a cyclone, had struck. And as in every tornado, along with the inevitable death and destruction, there were several freakish occurrences.

The engine and coaltender remained upright on the tracks, but seven cars had been torn from the train and dashed to pieces along the right-of-way. Four intervening cars were on the track, followed by nine additional wrecked cars, and the caboose stood intact on the tracks. One of the cars on its side was a so-called "immigrant car" rented by families to move their

effects and livestock from one part of the country to another. I heard noises inside, hailed some train crewmen up the track, and with axes and bars we finally cut an opening, and out walked a man leading two horses, all unhurt, but shaken up.

After this rescue I rode into the city limits of what was left of Lugert. The only building intact was the depot, and this structure had been blown several feet off its foundation. The bank, hotel, gins, lumber yard, stores, and residences of the townspeople had been levelled and were a mass of tangled debris and wreckage.

A messenger rode to Altus, twenty miles south, and a train was backed up to Lugert. I helped the surviving townspeople gather up the injured and load them in boxcars for shipment to the hospital at Altus. I picked up a woman named Mrs. Stonaland. Her left shoulder and arm had been torn off by a piece of heavy lumber. She died before we reached the train.

On Main street I found a nine year old girl lying in a puddle of water, reddened by blood from a dreadful wound on the back of her head. A heavy stone from one of the buildings, sent flying by the force of the storm, had crushed her. Near her was a girl of sixteen covered with mud and unconscious. The storm had stripped her naked and driven a long splinter into her back. I carried her to the depot where a doctor pulled the splinter out and swathed her in blankets.

I found a little boy with his father, the child crushed to death by a heavy timber, the man unconscious. The Lugert tornado left sixty-four wounded and dead and wiped the town off the map. So complete was the destruction that no effort was ever made to rebuild Lugert. One of the most freakish occurrences of the Lugert tornado concerned two missing boys. After a long search in the wreckage, their father decided that they were among the mutilated, unidentified storm victims loaded in one of the boxcars. Next day these missing boys came walking in from the mountains southwest of Lugert, unhurt, and claiming that the cyclone had taken them up and set them down on the mountain top.

After doing all I could to assist the tornado survivors, I returned home to survey the damage done to my farm. Practically every building except the house was flattened; only by a miracle was it spared. The windmill was twisted beyond repair. Sadly I turned to the orchard. It was the scene of total destruction. Every tree had been pulled up by its roots.

There were no storm cellars in Kiowa County before the Lugert tornado, but in no time at all practically every farmer had a storm cellar on the west side of his house. This location

was used because tornadoes generally struck from the west or southwest and swept all structures and trees in their path. Thus a storm cellar on the west side of the house could be reached quickly, and the occupants would not be buried under the debris should the house be swept away.

Farmers throughout the county suffered from the tornado of 1912. Besides wiping Lugert off the map, this killer storm destroyed buildings, barns, and livestock over the countryside. Farmers already hard-pressed by the drouth of the preceding year were forced to borrow money not only for seed, implements, and livestock, but to reconstruct homes as well.

Rains ceased in May, drouth returned, and the crops yielded poorly, if at all. During fall plowing, preparatory to drilling the wheat, my mules were struck down with a mysterious sickness. Within two days a mule team, for which I had only a few weeks before been offered \$400, died. The malady spread to my prized giant buckskins. The nearest veterinarians were in Kansas, and all my medications and nursing were futile.

In less than a week after the illness struck, I was without a single draft animal to pull the plows and drills for fall planting. And when I called on Mr. Griffith for a loan to buy new teams, he not only refused, but pressured me to pay the \$500 note already past due. All the banks in the area were hard-pressed from loans made to farmers to rebuild from the storm, and the recurring drouths had forced bankers to extend loans already out.

This was my darkest hour, and it seemed that I had no one to turn to. The specter of hungry children and total personal failure was too close for comfort. And our dream of success, which had appeared so close to realization, was shattered.

IX

Friends and the Golden Harvest

That night after I returned empty-handed and disappointed from the bank at Lone Wolf, I wrote a letter to my old Texas school teacher, Pastor E. M. Eckhardt, who was serving the Lutheran Church at Pender, Nebraska. I told him of my family, our move to Oklahoma Territory—first to Greer County then to Kiowa County, about the Lugert tornado, the drouths, the loss of my horses and mules, and the dark future that I faced, and I explained that I needed \$500 to pay off the long overdue note. Five days later I received a card from Pastor Eckhardt which read: "Dear Otto—be patient. I will see what I can do. You will hear from me soon." A letter came the following week with a check for \$500 enclosed.

Eckhardt's help enabled me to pay the note at the Lone Wolf bank, but I still needed money for mules and seed. Therefore, I wrote Eckhardt again, explaining the situation, and I asked if he could give additional help. Christmas Eve, 1912, another letter arrived from Pender, Nebraska containing a \$350 check with a note informing me that the extra \$50 was a Christmas present. With this money I bought a team of big four-year old mules and began spring plowing.

The growing season was dry and by midsummer it was evident the drouth had not run its course. Hot winds shriveled the cotton and wheat, and dried up the pasture. In the spring we had planted five barrels of onion sets. This two-acre venture was the only crop that showed any promise. During July a produce man from Wichita came by and offered me top prices when the thriving onions were harvested, so it seemed fairly certain that our efforts would not be a total loss.

In August, Elizabeth came down with typhoid fever. In a few days, two of the girls were stricken, and for nearly a month I was so busy with nursing and farm work that I got very little rest. Fairly certain of a cash crop from the onions, I had borrowed \$400 from the Lone Wolf bank to stake us through the summer. Just about the time Elizabeth's fever passed and she was able to shift for herself, a late summer cloudburst struck our farm and swamped the fields. In less than half an hour the heavy rainfall had flooded out and ruined the onion crop.

With a sense of futility I rode in to Lone Wolf and talked with Mr. Griffith about the \$400 note. Surprisingly, he offered to loan me enough to cover the cost of planting fifty acres of wheat. Then shortly, cooling fall rains began falling on the parched earth. When it was dry enough to work in the fields, I kept plowing until I had opened up seventy-five acres. One mile east of us lived two bachelors who owned a section. I persuaded them to lease me 100 acres for wheat. When Griffith found out what I had done he exploded. He told me I was crazy, and he expressed the fear that, another drouth year with accompanying crop failure, and we would all go broke. I argued that a good crop year was coming and I assured him that if we stuck together we would make it for sure. I must have persuaded Griffith, for before I left the bank, he made yet another loan to enable me to plant cotton in the spring.

If there ever was a turning point in my life it was the advance Pastor Eckhardt made to me. His confidence in me provided new confidence in myself. And the reluctant assistance of banker C. H. Griffith helped too. A providential nature had brought good rains, the drouth was broken, and my wheat fields produced a bumper wheat harvest in 1914. This proved to be

the turning point. Not only was I able to pay off the note at the Lone Wolf bank, but in addition, I had enough left to send \$500 to Pastor Eckhardt. And the cotton crop was so heavy that I got completely out of debt by sending the remaining \$350 to Eckhardt in the fall.

Renting an eighty here and a quarter there, and hitting good yields of cotton, corn, wheat, and oats during World War I, when farm prices were high, I accumulated twelve head of horses and mules, and new, modern equipment. And in no time at all, I had enough to buy land adjoining our original school lease quarter. Then in 1916, the school land we had occupied under lease was placed on sale with an appraised value of \$3,000, plus \$3,800 for the improvements I had made. My bid was high and thus we had clear title to our original homesite.

One of my best friends in Kiowa County was E. D. Smith, a land agent. Smith helped me a great deal in building up our holdings, which, by 1917, amounted to 250 acres in fee plus a 100 acre lease for wheat. My recovery from the dark years of 1911, 1912, and 1913, was due, besides the stake furnished by Pastor Eckhardt, and the assistance and interest of E. D. Smith, to loyalty and hard work from my family.

Elizabeth was a tower of strength throughout our recent hardship, just as she had been during the uncertain, hardscrabble days of homesteading in Greer County. By 1920, our family numbered eight children, and every single child worked with a will. Elizabeth and our oldest daughter, with the boys and myself did all the plowing and fieldwork, and while we were in the fields, the younger girls did the housework and the cooking. Each morning before daylight the boys joined me at the barn to feed the twelve head of horses and mules, harness them, and make ready for a day in the fields. At the same time Elizabeth and the two oldest girls were in the cowshed milking seven cows. After the boys fed the hogs, we met at the house where the youngest daughter had the coffee made and the table set, ready for breakfast. We were always in the fields by sun-up.

Lots of company came to our place, especially on Sunday. One of the visits I shall always remember occurred in 1921 when Pastor E. M. Eckhardt arrived in Lone Wolf. We spent several delightful days hunting and fishing in the mountains south of my farm. Elizabeth and I were fairly prosperous when he arrived, and he commented on the good use we had made of the money he had loaned us. I had always been curious as to how he had raised that substantial amount (at least substantial for the times) in so short a period. Pastor Eckhardt laughed and then explained that when he received my letter asking for the money, he first had gone to the wealthiest man in his con-

gregation, read him my letter, and asked for the money. This parishioner had agreed that I was in bad shape, but that he could not risk lending that much money to a farmer in far-off Kiowa County, Oklahoma. Next, Eckhardt called in four local Lutheran pastors and read my letter to them. All of them expressed concern that a German Lutheran should suffer so, and with Eckhardt, scraped from their own resources the money I needed.

My lifetime fairly well runs the gamut of the revolution in agricultural equipment, from the most primitive to the modern motorized devices. Over the years, each time I purchased riding plows, cultivators, harvestors, a threshing machine, and finally tractors and a combine, I could not help but recall the crude wooden plows and ox teams of my youth.

By 1921, I was farming 175 acres of cotton and 200 to 300 acres of wheat and oats with sixteen to twenty head of horses and mules, four gang plows, and five cultivators. Each year the flies seemed to become worse. We covered the teams with fly nets and tied sacks around their legs and necks before taking them from the barn. We used sprays and every other conceivable remedy, and still swarms of flies tormented the livestock. Not only were the teams miserable, but it was dangerous hitching them to the plows. One of our neighbors, while hitching his team, was killed by a mule kicking at flies. Finally, we tied lanterns to the plows and worked the fields at night to avoid the pests.

Tractors suddenly became very popular in Kiowa County, and the chief reason for the conversion from horse and mule teams to the motor plows was the fly menace. I bought my first tractor in 1927, but kept several horse and mule teams for cultivating the row crops. In this shift from horse and mule teams to tractors, I was interested in the ratio of investment, and the displacement of rural population brought about by farm mechanization and tractor economics. A tractor and equipment cost \$3,000 in 1927. A farmer working a team was out \$500 for horses or mules and equipment. While the tractor farmer could work more land than the team farmer, the tractor farmer had \$1,000 in expenses for every \$100 invested by a team farmer, and if the crops failed, the tractor farmer often went broke, while the team farmer was able to go on.

The 1920's were generally prosperous years for the farmers of Kiowa County, although we had set-backs every now and then. Of course, the bigger my operations in wheat and cotton, the heavier my losses in bad years. The south Plains' climate during the late spring and early summer produces violent thunderstorms. The hail and wind which inevitably accompany these storms were a constant menace until the wheat and oats were out of the fields. We would average a hail loss of from one-half

to total destruction every three years. Hail insurance became widespread during the 1920's and gave some protection against total loss.

One of the most weird occurrences in nature I ever witnessed took place in 1924. We had just finished cultivating 175 acres of cotton; it looked great, and the wheat and oats promised as fine a yield as we had ever had, when from out of nowhere a host of grasshoppers appeared. In less than an hour the entire cotton field was alive with the pests, and every plant was covered from top to bottom. Quickly we spread poison across the ends of rows and killed the swarming insects by tens of thousands without noticeable effect. In desperation, we unrolled a ball of binding twine, tied rags on the line every fifty feet, and chased the hoppers to the ends of the rows into the poison, and for every insect we killed, ten took its place. When we ran out of poison, I built a trough twelve feet long with a back four feet high and mixed water and coal oil in the trough. As we chased the hoppers along the rows they hit the back of the trough and fell into the coal oil and were killed. I took a wheat scoop to throw out the dead ones, and piled up a mountain of rotting insects. Our efforts were of no avail, for the grasshoppers stripped the cotton to the ground. Then they ate the grain out of the wheat heads, moving from the wheat and oat fields to the pasture, and in a matter of a few days had devoured every blade of grass. The horde ate the bark off the mesquite trees and the bois d'arc posts in the fences. After a week of feverish work and ruin, right after noon the sky turned dark around the sun, shaded by a cloud of grasshoppers. They were going southwest.

Our last prosperous year until 1942 was 1929. We had good crops and made a net income of \$3,000, but deficits began in 1930, and continued for several years. First, the Great Depression knocked farm prices to rock bottom. Wheat tumbled to forty cents a bushel, cotton five to eight cents a pound. Through the 1930's drouth kept production down in some years, but even in good crop years we made slim profits, for we were required by the government to plow our cotton under. The New Deal brought crop controls and government oversight of agricultural production and marketing.

During 1941, on the eve of World War II, cotton jumped to thirteen cents a pound and wheat to one dollar a bushel. Throughout the war years we had good crops and prosperity, with wheat selling for \$1.50 a bushel and cotton sixteen to eighteen cents a pound.

Elizabeth and I decided to retire in 1946. Our sons gradually took over the land, livestock, and equipment for us, and we spent our days fishing, hunting, and enjoying the regularly increasing



Mr. and Mrs. Otto Koeltzow at their Golden Wedding
Anniversary in October, 1950

brood of grandchildren and great grandchildren. In 1950 we celebrated our golden wedding anniversary. The Lone Wolf Lutheran Church held a special service commemorating our fifty years of married life. We expected over 200 people, practically every single one a Koeltzow one way or another, and to accommodate the crowd, I rented the community hall and guest houses at nearby Altus Lake. I had a 900 pound beef barbecued with all the fixings, topped with twenty-five gallons of ice cream, and tubs of cold beer.

As witnesses to the technological revolution and drastic changes that have taken place during the half-century of our married life, Elizabeth and I are impressed and delighted with virtually all the improvements, but for us, none are more dramatic than the automobile. I purchased our first car in 1919—a seven passenger Haynes. The time and space we could conquer with it and with other automobiles we have owned through the years remain a source of constant wonderment. Elizabeth and I especially enjoy two types of trips in an automobile—one is to ride in a closed, heated car to the Lutheran Church in Lone Wolf. Seldom do we fail to remind one another of the early days in south Texas when we walked fourteen miles to church in all kinds of weather, rising at two in the morning in order to arrive on time. The other automobile trip we always treasure is the drive we take every now and then to south Texas to visit our people there, then on the return trip retrace, as closely as the paved roads will permit, the route we followed in a covered wagon to Oklahoma Territory—up the Brazos to Waco, thence to Fort Worth, north to Red River Crossing, west of Ryan along the south slope of the Wichita Mountains into old Greer County, past the lane fronting the Newt Abernathy Ranch to our homestead on Grape Creek.

OPENING OF THE CHEROKEE OUTLET:
AN ARCHIVAL STUDY

By Berlin B. Chapman

Part Two*

"THERE MUST BE NO FAILURE"

As September 16 approached, Commissioner Lamoreux felt increasing anxiety that work of the government should not be so swamped that all qualified applicants at booths could not receive certificates. Emmett Womack of Georgia was reporter of land decisions in the office of the assistant attorney general for the Interior Department. He was given charge of registration on the south side of the Outlet. When he telegraphed Lamoreux on August 30 that it would be necessary to increase the number of men at the booths to accommodate the vast number of men seeking to enter the Outlet, Lamoreux replied that not only could "additional help" be secured to sign certificates, but that Womack might use his discretion in establishing an additional booth within the 100-foot strip on the south side of the Outlet.⁴⁶

Michael A. Jacobs, Chief Clerk of the General Land Office, was a supervisor of registration on the north side of the Outlet. On September 5 he telegraphed Lamoreux that he thought plenty of clerks had been detailed to register applicants at the booths and that he could see no good reason for estimating over 50,000 entries.⁴⁷

When Lamoreux on September 8 suggested the matter of securing "additional help" in the signing of certificates, Jacobs wrote from Wichita:⁴⁸

*Part I of this article is in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XL, No. 2 (Summer, 1962), pp. 158-181. It reviews legislation leading to the opening of the Cherokee Outlet, and gives the rules for the land race, September 16, 1893. Sites for booths, land offices, and county seats were located by Alfred P. Swineford under direction of Silas W. Lamoreux, Commissioner of the General Land Office.

⁴⁶ Tel. from Womack to Com. Gen. Land Office, Aug. 30, 1893, NA, GLO, A. 89653-1893; tel. from Lamoreux to Womack, Sept. 2, 1893, NA, GLO. *Telegrams*, vol. 30, p. 323; tel. from same to same, Sept. 6, 1893, *ibid.*, p. 356; tel. from same to same, Sept. 7, 1893, *ibid.*, p. 368.

⁴⁷ Tel. from Jacobs to Lamoreux, Sept. 5, 1893, NA, GLO, A. 92071-1893.

⁴⁸ Tel. from Lamoreux to Jacobs, Sept. 8, 1893, NA, GLO, *Telegrams*, vol. 30, p. 397; letter from Jacobs to Lamoreux, Sept. 8, 1893, NA GLO, A. 93699-1893; tel. from Womack to Lamoreux, Sept. 8, 1893, A. 92911-1893.

A newspaper correspondent at Arkansas City said in part: "Every train from the North arrives here overcrowded with hundreds of

"I do not think we will have to hire any outsiders, but am pretty well satisfied the clerks with the surveying help we can get is sufficient. Arkansas City will be the worst place of all, then Orlando, and Caldwell or Hennessey. The balance will not be crowded very much. People here think that Perry will have 5,000 inhabitants in 10 days."

On the same day Womack reported that all the booths were erected. The *New York Times* on September 7 carried a news article from Arkansas City stating that the plan of entering registrations at booths was adopted by "those who never saw this land and who apparently had no conception of the privations and sufferings entailed upon the prospective land seekers, who necessarily obey orders regarding registration":

The nine booths are on the open prairie, away from water, with no food available, and without shelter of any kind. Under the orders issued there will necessarily be assembled at each of these places from 2,000 to 5,000 people. As all who contemplate securing lots on the Government sites are placed on the same footing regarding registration as those who seek farms, there will not only be much suffering, but there will inevitably be many deaths resulting from exposure to sun and weather.

On September 11 Womack wrote to Lamoreux that the article was "without any foundation whatever".⁴⁹ He said that the correspondent writing the article was "the only paper man who applied to go in and occupy the Strip and of course I refused him. Knowing full well at the time that he would give the administration a stab, for he was very indignant at my refusal." In a postscript Womack wrote: "The opening will be a success."

Congress by a joint resolution of September 1, extended to the Outlet the provisions for townsite entries provided for Oklahoma district by the act of May 14, 1890.⁵⁰ On September 9 Swineford recommended that special trains be allowed to run to county-seat towns on schedules of eleven miles an hour, or on

passengers, yet the rush to the Cherokee Strip has but just commenced. The two roads entering the Strip, the Rock Island and the Santa Fe, find it more difficult to handle the crowds than they did at the time of the great Oklahoma opening four years ago. The great rush will be for Perry, only twelve miles from the south line of the Strip. Houses have been built in sections, and sufficient goods to supply a city of 20,000 people are all ready for transportation. Perry now contains perhaps a dozen officials, which will be its population until noon on Sept. 16. By 6 o'clock that day there will be at least 10,000 people camped on the town site and a bustling city will appear where the chipmunk now chatters at the moon."; *New York Times*, Sept. 7, 1893, p. 8.

⁴⁹ Letter of Sept. 11, 1893, NA, GLO, A. 96766-1893.

⁵⁰ Joint resolution of Sept. 1, 1893, 28 *Statutes*, 11; act of May 14, 1890, 26 *Statutes*, 109.

schedules which stated their arrival at designated places at a fixed time.⁵¹ He stated that unless this was done thousands of honest homeseekers would be outstripped by as many less deserving persons with fast horses. The trains could be inspected before starting, and only persons holding certificates would be allowed to ride them. Swineford said the railroad companies would strictly observe a schedule prescribed by the Department of the Interior.

In an order of September 11 Secretary Smith directed that no railroad train be permitted to enter the Outlet during the six hours before the time of opening.⁵² For three hours after said time of opening trains should be allowed to enter the Outlet only under the following regulations: 1. They must be for general use, and not leased or chartered to any favored passenger or passengers. 2. The trains should be stationed at the edge of the lands to be opened at least thirty minutes before the hour of noon on September 16, and should not be entered by passengers earlier than thirty minutes before the hour of opening. 3. No one should enter a train as a passenger unless he held a certificate from one of the booths. 4. The trains might start upon lands of the Outlet any time after the hour of opening. 5. Trains must stop at every station, and at intermediate points not more than five miles apart. 6. The trains should be limited to fifteen miles per hour. 7. The regular local rates of passenger charges should not be exceeded. 8. No one should be allowed to board the trains after they entered the Outlet. On the day the order was issued, Swineford was at his headquarters at Guthrie, superintending arrangements for the opening of the lands to settlement.⁵³

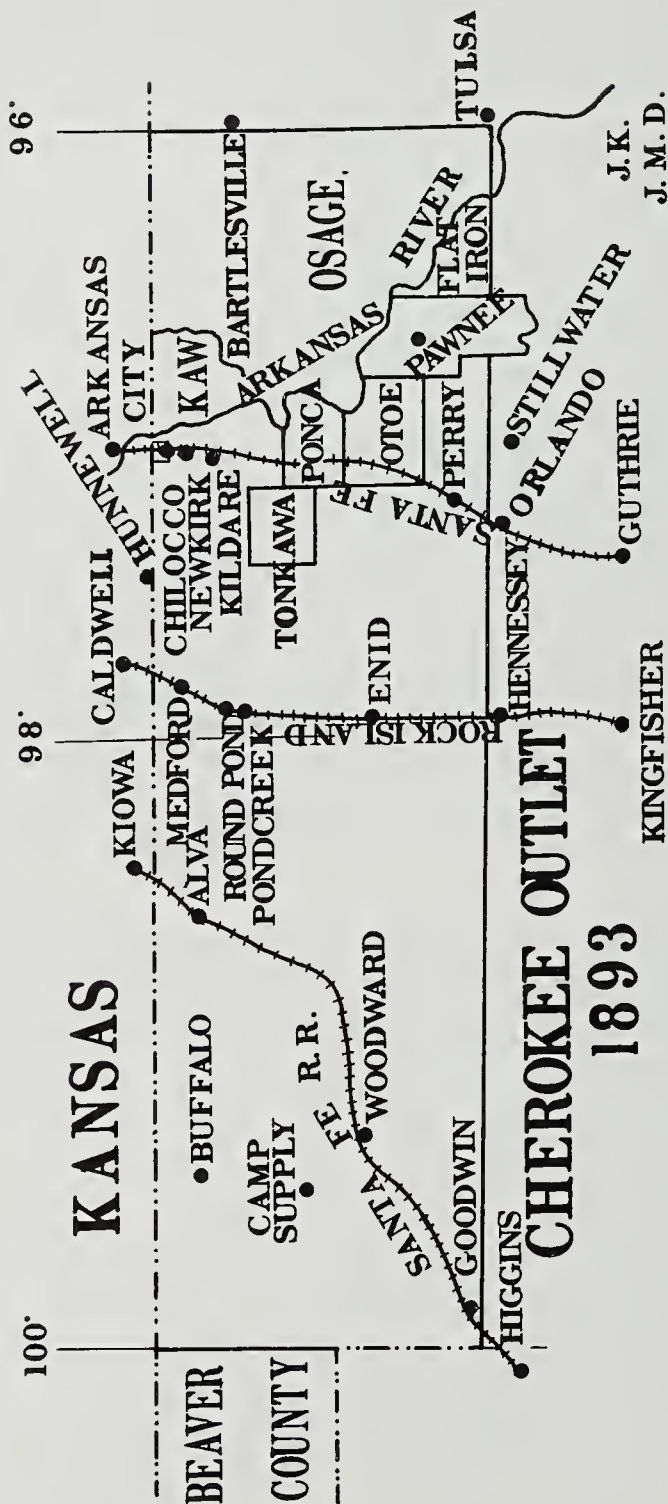
On Monday, September 11, the nine booths, five on the northern border of the Outlet, and four on the southern border, were opened to persons desiring to make declarations in anticipation of the land opening at noon on Saturday. Forty-five clerks were detailed from the General Land Office to take charge of the booths.⁵⁴ The booths were kept open to the public from seven a. m. to six p. m. each business day. Soon after they were

⁵¹ Tel. from Swineford to Lamoreux, Sept. 9, 1893, NA, GLO, A. 101554-1893.

⁵² The order of Sept. 11, 1893, is in NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., *Press Copy Book*, vol. 270, pp. 362-363; see also *H. Ex. Docs.*, 53 Cong. 1 sess., (3150), No. 27, p. 54.

⁵³ Swineford made trips to various parts of the Outlet as occasion required. See his weekly report, Sept. 11, 1893, NA, GLO, A. 95316-1893.

⁵⁴ One of the clerks was Anthony F. Rice, who in 1907 became head of the Homesteads Division of the General Land Office. About 1895 Rice wrote an eight-page account of "The Opening of the Cherokee Outlet, Oklahoma." A copy is in the Oklahoma Historical Society. An excerpt concerning Perry is in the *Perry Daily Journal*, September 14, 1960.



Map of the Cherokee Outlet in 1893, showing the places and Indian reservations mentioned in Dr. B. B. Chapman's article on the land opening in 1893.

opened the rush of business necessitated additional clerks, who were selected largely from the crowd of applicants assembled before the respective booths. New booths were also constructed at places where the crowds were greatest.⁵⁵ There was an unprecedented rush of applicants due in part to the extensive advertising of railroad companies and the misleading statements of the public press as to the quality of the lands and the method of obtaining title thereto. Excessive heat and prolonged drouth continued during all the time the booths were open and for more than a week after the lands of the Outlet were opened to settlement. Prairie fires were numerous. Dust and thirst caused considerable suffering among the crowds. Not all the booths were close to an adequate supply of water. Prospective settlers just south of Cameron, Kansas, were permitted to enter the Outlet for water under rigid restrictions.⁵⁶

Three telegrams Lamoreux sent Swineford on Thursday,

Received information this morning from you and others that it will be impossible to register all who apply. Why was this not reported to department before? Have telegraphed you full instructions and orders, two or three times to hire sufficient force. Now that time is half over you say people are suffering and thousands in line, when you have full authority to establish additional booths with force enough to handle crowds. If booths established are insufficient why is it you men are not attending to business and carrying out instructions and orders of this office? Every man *must* have opportunity to register irrespective of cost. Hire men sufficient to handle crowds and establish booths wherever necessary and do so at once. Department feels that you men are not doing your duty in this matter. We are receiving many dispatches stating that you have not properly posted yourselves as to number of people intending to register. From this on you will employ sufficient force to carry on work. Report by wire twice daily.

⁵⁵ There are three articles by Joe B. Milam on "The Opening of the Cherokee Outlet," in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vols. IX, X (Sept., 1931, to March, 1932). Milam relied heavily on materials in contemporary newspapers, and produced a readable and valuable account of the opening. He noted the establishment of a booth at Guthrie about September 14, 1893.

The question of establishing additional booths came before the Department of the Interior in the case of *O'Hornett v. Waugh et al.*, 28 L. D. 267 (1899). It was contended that Lon O'Hornett was disqualified as an entryman by having obtained his booth certificate from a booth at Arkansas City, which was illegally established by the Secretary of the Interior, such location not having been provided for by the proclamation. Secretary E. A. Hitchcock said: "Conceding the irregularity of this action, it could not tend to disqualify O'Hornett, and appellants can not be heard to question the validity of the order of the Secretary, as it is not shown that O'Hornett gained any advantage over appellants by reason of having obtained his certificate at that place."

⁵⁶ Capt. George A. Dodd to Lieut. Col. Dangerfield Parker, Oct. 5, 1893, *H. Ex. Docs.*, loc. cit., p. 83.

September 14, are self-explanatory, and are so imperative that they merit quotation.⁵⁷ In the first telegram Lamoreux said:

In the second telegram Lamoreux said:

You say you have been failure in registration. There must be no failure. If necessary hire five hundred men and work night and day. There is no such thing as failure in this matter. You are on ground and can hire force enough. Secretary and myself will admit of no failure, and hold you responsible as you have been given full authority to carry out provisions of proclamation. If you have not ability to do this we must find one who has. Every man must be supplied with certificate who applies. Report at once.

In a third telegram Lamoreux said:

Dispatch received. You state condition of things but give no remedy. Why are you at Guthrie and not on line assisting our men at booths and hiring additional men? There must be no failure in this matter. You must not leave everything to Jacobs. See that sufficient men are hired at booths. Am surprised at your telegram giving conditions and suggesting no remedy. You are on ground and have full instructions and power to proceed to meet all contingencies as they arise. Why don't you do it? Shall expect better reports from you tomorrow.

On the same day Lamoreux sent similar telegrams to Jacobs and Womack. To Jacobs he said: "Every man must have opportunity to register. These are orders of Secretary. Am surprised you have misled us in this matter and that you and Swineford have not seen to these matters and fully carried out instructions."

To Womack, Lamoreux said: "Hire enough men to man booths fully so that every man can get certificate who desires one. Keep us fully posted."⁵⁸ Lamoreux admonished Swineford, Jacobs, and Womack to "Work your force day and night."⁵⁹

In the National Archives a casual exploration among thousands of homestead papers filed in the opening of the Cherokee Outlet indicated the rate of registration at various booths. On September 14 at Booth No. 2 north of Orlando, Certificate No. 14,892 was issued. Sometime during that day Booth No. 9 south of Arkansas City issued Certificate No. 12,370. The next day Certificate No. 10,892 was issued at Booth No. 1 north of Stillwater.

Two telegrams Lamoreux sent on September 15 give light

⁵⁷ The three telegrams are dated September 14, 1893, and are in NA, GLO, *Telegrams*, vol. 30, pp. 471-473; 477-478; 493-494. The first dispatch was repeated to Womack, at Orlando; *ibid.*, p. 473.

At Arkansas City on September 14 cattlemen held a meeting and prepared a telegram to President Cleveland, stating that "registration is a farce." The telegram said in part: "A conflict between parties that are not registered and troops is imminent unless the system is abandoned." The telegram is included in the article, "Tired and Angry Boomers," *New York Times*, Sept. 15, 1893.

⁵⁸ NA, GLO, *Telegrams*, vol. 30, p. 492.

⁵⁹ Tels. of Sept. 14, 1893, *ibid.*, pp. 483-485.

on the matter of jurisdiction on the borders of the Outlet. He telegraphed Jacobs at Arkansas City as follows:

I have given Womack instructions to take charge of registration on south line and it seems he has done so in satisfactory manner and all people there will be registered. Am sorry to learn you interfered with registration there, being so far away, as it seems north line was neglected. Womack had full authority to act and I supposed you gentlemen would act in conjunction and harmoniously.⁶⁰

In a telegram to Womack at Guthrie, Lamoreux said: "I congratulate you upon the manner in which you have conducted registration on south line. You had full authority to act irrespective of Mr. Jacobs and am very glad you did so. Mr. Jacobs should not have interfered with instructions given you."

It was reported that all applicants at the booths received proper consideration, and about 115,000 certificates were issued. When we note that surplus lands in the Outlet would make less than 40,000 homestead claims of 160 acres each, and that a large part of the western half of the Outlet was unsuitable for homesteads because of aridity, it is evident that the certificates numbered nearly three times the claims upon which they could be used.⁶¹

Troops under the direction of the War Department had the important and difficult duty of guarding the borders of the Outlet to prevent trespassing upon the lands prior to the hour of the opening. Lieutenant Frank M. Caldwell with forty cavalrymen patrolled a line seventy miles long, just south of Arkansas City. He found it impossible to patrol his district in a proper manner, and he was convinced that there were many sooners in the Outlet at the time of the opening. Swineford stated that many would-be sooners were driven out of the Outlet during the period of registration, and that others evaded the vigilance of the comparatively small force of cavalry on duty. In his opinion the entire strength of the cavalry arm of the United States Army would hardly have been sufficient to prevent all soonerism at the opening.⁶²

A most perplexing question was whether intending settlers could make the run from the east side of the lands to be opened. The act of March 3, 1893, provided that the Secretary of the Interior should prescribe rules and regulations, not inconsistent with the act, for the occupation and settlement of the lands, to be incorporated in the proclamation of the President, which should be issued at least twenty days before the time fixed for

⁶⁰ Tel. from Lamoreux to Jacobs, Sept. 15, 1893, *ibid.*, vol. 31, pp. 9-10; tel. from Lamoreux to Womack, Sept. 15, 1893, *ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶¹ *Ann. Rept. Gen. Land Office, 1894*, p. 101.

⁶² Swineford to Capt. J. M. Lee, Oct. 11, 1893, *H. Ex. Docs., loc. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

the opening of the lands. Lamoreux on August 14 advised Swineford that no entry would be permitted from the Osage and Creek countries.⁶³ The proclamation of August 19 placed no inhibition on intending settlers from making the run from any Indian reservation, nor did it state that the 100-foot strip did not lie along the eastern side of the lands to be opened.

On August 23, George W. Miller of the 101 Ranch addressed a letter to Agent James P. Woolsey of the Ponca agency expressing the opinion that it would not be a good idea to allow prospective settlers to enter upon the Indian reservations to make the run for the Outlet, because the fencing which belonged to the Indians would be destroyed and the cattle would be scattered causing considerable loss to the men whose money had been accepted by the Department of the Interior for the Indians in payment of leases.⁶⁴ Miller knew that if the "boomers" entered upon the reservations they would "tear down the fences and stampede the cattle." He thought the proposed 100-foot strip around lands in the Outlet to be opened would do very well, except along the west side of the Ponca and Otoe reservations. In accordance with Miller's request for protection, Woolsey on August 26 submitted the matter to the proper authorities, adding that he did not think it was a good idea to allow people to enter upon the reservations to make the run.

In the meantime A. C. Harding and S. M. Riddell, publishers at Arkansas City, raised the same question. John I. Hall, Assistant Attorney General, on August 28 gave the Secretary of the Interior an opinion on the matter.⁶⁵ He observed that the Cherokee treaty of 1866 contained a provision that all persons not in the military service, not citizens of the Cherokee Nation, were prohibited from coming into the Cherokee Nation or remaining in the same except as provided in the treaty, and were to be removed as required by the Indian Intercourse laws. Hall said: "These laws require the United States to promptly remove all persons prohibited from going upon the lands of the Cherokee Nation, and to use force for the purpose of accomplishing their removal." He noted that the Cherokee agreement of December 19, 1891, ceding the Outlet declared that all citizens of the United States not residents or legally employed in the Cherokee Nation, should be deemed to be intruders. Hall said that these references showed clearly certain points:

⁶³ Tel. of Aug. 14, 1893, NA, GLO, *Telegrams*, vol. 30, p. 210.

⁶⁴ Miller to Woolsey, Aug. 23, 1893, NA, OIA, L. 32316-1893; Woolsey to Com. Ind. Aff., Aug. 26, 1893, *ibid.*

⁶⁵ Hall to Sec. Int., Aug. 28, 1893, NA, Int. Dept., 2814 Lands and R. R. Div. 1895, filed in box 678. Secretary Smith signed the opinion below Hall's name.

Harding and Riddell published the *Cherokee Strip Guide* from May 20 to September 1, 1893. Some copies are in the Kansas State Historical Society.

... persons cannot enter upon the Indian Territory for any purpose except that specified in the treaty, or by express permission of the United States authorities, without violating the terms of said treaty. The Department of the Interior has control over the Indian Reservations, and you not only have the authority to prohibit persons going upon these reservations for the purpose of making what is called "the run" into the Cherokee Outlet on the day of the opening, but, in my opinion, it would be your duty to take such measures as would effectually prevent any such trespassing on the part of the people who expect to enter the outlet for the purpose of making settlement.

Hall gave the opinion nineteen days before the opening. On the same day Secretary Smith said in a letter to Harding and Riddell: "You wish to know whether it will be permissible for parties designing to make homestead entries to go upon the Osage and Ponca Indian reservations contiguous thereto, for the purpose of entering upon the Outlet at the appointed time. They will not be allowed to do so."⁶⁶

It is well to examine some of the communications concerning settlers making the run from the eastern limits of the lands to be opened. Acting Secretary John M. Reynolds on August 30 advised Watson J. Mendenhall of Eldorado, Kansas, that settlers would not "be permitted to enter the Strip from any Indian Reservation," nor would settlers be permitted to cross the Outlet before the hour of opening.⁶⁷ On September 1, Reynolds instructed Thomas J. Crooks, United States Commissioner, that homeseekers would not be allowed to enter the Outlet from the Osage reservation.⁶⁸ Commissioner Lamoreux on September 4 said that the Secretary of the Interior had ordered that "no person be permitted to enter the Outlet from the eastern boundary."⁶⁹ Of particular importance was the following inquiry made by Womack on September 4:⁷⁰ "There is great clamor for department construction. Does the one hundred feet strip run around the eastern border of tract open to settlement, and will people who lawfully occupy that portion of the strip have a right to go in from there or is the one hundred feet strip limited to the north, south and west lines of lands to be settled?"

On September 5 Lamoreux telegraphed Womack that "the hundred feet cannot be laid off on the East side, and the run made from that side without interfering with Indian reservations

⁶⁶ Smith to Harding and Riddell, Aug. 28, 1893, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., *Misc. Letter Book*, vol. 270, p. 287.

⁶⁷ Tel. of Aug. 30, 1893, *ibid.*, p. 295; tel. from Mendenhall to Sec. Int., Aug. 29, 1893, *ibid.*, 9773 Lands and R. R. Div. 1893.

⁶⁸ Reynolds to Crooks, Sept. 1, 1893, *ibid.*, *Rec. Letters Sent*, vol. 128, p. 55.

⁶⁹ Tel. from Lamoreux to Robert Callison, Sept. 4, 1893, NA, GLO, *Telegrams*, vol. 30, p. 330.

⁷⁰ Tel. from Womack to Lamoreux, Sept. 4, 1893, NA, GLO, A. 91799—1893; tel. from Lamoreux to Womack, Sept. 5, 1893, NA, GLO, *Telegrams*, vol. 30, p. 343.

Settlers will not be permitted to enter the strip from any Indian Reservation, nor will settlers be permitted to cross the strip before the hour of opening.

Booths will be arranged on the Kansas side and also on the Oklahoma side of the strip.

Jas. M. Reynolds,
Acting Secretary.

54.
Paid G. R.

(Copy from National Archives)

Telegram of August 30, 1893, to Watson J. Mendenhall

and Indian allottees. The run therefore should not be made from the East side of the Outlet." These instructions were communicated to the officers of the army and of the land department charged with the duty of enforcing the rules and regulations governing the occupation of the Outlet, and were by them given general publicity.⁷¹ The telegram of September 5 was published in the newspapers; but it was signed by Lamoreux, and did not purport to be given under the authority of the Secretary of the Interior. No penalty was prescribed for those who entered on lands from the east side of the Outlet in disregard of the order.

Lamoreux on September 6 telegraphed Womack that the 100-foot strip would be allowed around the Chilocco Indian school reservation, and the strip was accordingly occupied by intending settlers.⁷² Secretary Smith on September 7 said in a telegram to Ray Hoffman: "Settlers cannot make the run from any Indian reservation nor will the hundred feet reserve extend around the boundaries of any Indian reservation."⁷³ In a telegram on September 13 he advised Ned C. P. Gould that there was no 100-foot strip on the east side of the Outlet.⁷⁴ Smith's telegrams were not addressed to officers of the government, but evidently to private citizens. Swineford advised local military authorities that no run was permissible from the Osage or Creek countries, and that legal entry could be made from Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas only.⁷⁵ The General Land Office continued to advise inquirers that no person would be allowed to enter from the eastern boundary, lands in the Outlet to be opened to settlement.⁷⁶ On September 16 Acting Commissioner Edward A. Bowers wrote at least three letters to this effect.

In general, it can be said that Assistant Attorney General Hall's opinion of August 28 was approved by the Department of the Interior, which sent out several letters and telegrams, mostly

⁷¹ Cagle v. Mendenhall, 20 L. D. 446 (1895).

⁷² Tel. of Sept. 6, 1893, NA, GLO, *Telegrams*, vol. 30, p. 347. Secretary Smith later observed that the lands of the Chilocco reservation could not properly be termed those of an "Indian reservation," because they were lands of the United States and not lands which Indians had a right to occupy and use. The lands were reserved by the United States for Indian school purposes; Welch v. Butler, 21 L. D. 369 (1895). Settlers on the south side of the Chilocco reservation enjoyed an advantage over those on the Kansas line. See statement of Corporal George Morris, Oct. 2, 1893, *H. Ex. Docs.*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

⁷³ Tel. of Sept. 7, 1893, NA, Int. Dept., Ind. Div., *Misc. Letter Book*, vol. 91, p. 343.

⁷⁴ Tel. from Smith to Gould, Sept. 13, 1893, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., *Misc. Letter Book*, vol. 270, p. 369; see also Brady et al. v. Williams, 23 L. D. 533 (1896).

⁷⁵ Tel. from Swineford to Lieut. Col. Dangerfield Parker, Sept. 11, 1893, *H. Ex. Docs.*, *loc. cit.* p. 80.

⁷⁶ See Letters by Bowers, Sept. 13 to 16, 1893, NA, GLO, *Oklahoma Copy Book*, vol. 18.

to private individuals, advising them on request, that the run could not be made from any Indian reservation. The Secretary of the Interior gave the public no official notice to this effect. It appears that dispatches sent out by his department were in response to requests for information, and were without any hearing from parties interested adversely. A careful reading of the documents concerned is convincing that if the prohibition in communications sent out by the General Land Office relative to making the run from the east side of the lands to be opened, was to have the force of law, it should have been included in the rules and regulations of the Secretary of the Interior, and incorporated in the proclamation, issued at least twenty days before September 16.

THE ECHO OF FRAUD

The surplus lands of the Outlet were opened to settlement at the time stated in the proclamation of the President. Trains filled rapidly. At Arkansas City the attempt of trainmen to examine registration certificates was soon given up because it was necessary to give all their time to collecting tickets. Governor William C. Renfrow wrote: "No such a wild exciting run for homes was ever yet made as when the guns fired the signal at 12 o'clock noon, September 16, and yet all was orderly and not many were hurt."⁷⁷ Many horses ridden in the race had been trained for it, and were accustomed to being ridden over prairies for long distances.⁷⁸ Riders on fleet horses left behind railroad trains, which were carrying passengers at the speed of fifteen miles per hour.⁷⁹ A few months after the opening Renfrow esti-

⁷⁷ *Ann. Rept. Gov. of Oklahoma, 1893, H. Ex. Docs., 53 Cong. 2 sess., xv (3211), p. 460.* At twelve o'clock, noon, on September 16, 1893, the Outlet became a part of Oklahoma Territory and its laws governed from that time. On September 16 Swineford was at Orlando and Perry, and returned to Guthrie that night.

⁷⁸ At Arkansas City a correspondent to *The New York Times* wrote on September 6, 1893: "On the race track adjoining the city could be counted at one time this forenoon forty-three men riding horses on the run, a daily practice to harden them. Among those thus exercising their horses was a colored woman weighing about 200 pounds, who was one of the fleetest riders on the track. She proposes to secure a homestead, and, judging from present indications, her red plumes waving over her black face and neck will be seen among the very first in the race of the 16th."

⁷⁹ Ridings, *The Chisholm Trail*, p. 540. For a human presentation of the opening of the Cherokee Outlet, including stories related by persons who took part in it, see *The Last Run: Kay County, Oklahoma, 1893, Stories Assembled by the Ponca City Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution [Oklahoma Daughters], Ponca City Chapter*; J. S. Wade, "Uncle Sam's Horse-Race for Land: The Opening of the 'Cherokee Strip,'" *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXV, No. 2 (Summer, 1957), pp. 147-153; "Into the Promised Land," *New York Times*, Sept. 17, 1893; "The Cherokee Strip," *The Oklahoma Magazine*, vol. 3 (March, 1895), pp. 135-138.

mated the population of the Outlet as 100,000. Many of the intending settlers were at the land opening for speculative purposes. Some settlers went to their homes a few days later, and returned the next spring to lands they claimed in the Outlet.

On September 16 Commissioner Lamoreux by telegrams directed that the booths must not be discontinued until the order to do so was received from the Secretary of the Interior.⁸⁰ On September 19 Secretary Smith directed that the booths be discontinued, and on the same day Lamoreux by telegram directed that all booths be discontinued at once.⁸¹ In spite of the booth system, and all that faithful officials could do, there were a vast number of sooners who took possession of some of the best lands and lots. Renfrow asked that no effort be spared to bring sooners to justice. He reported that registration at the booths had been a useful check upon fraud. Smith believed that while the booth system necessitated some hardships and suffering on the part of intended settlers, it prevented to a large extent the wrongful occupancy of land by people who were not entitled to settle thereon, which wrongful occupancy marked the opening of Oklahoma district in 1889. Lamoreux was satisfied that the booth system was the best that could have been devised under the law by which the surplus lands of the Outlet were opened to settlement. But neither he nor Smith thought the manner of opening was satisfactory. Both considered it advisable, when further large tracts of land were opened to settlement, for Congress to provide by auction, lottery, or otherwise, means necessary to prevent the unseemly rush which had occurred at important land openings in the Territory of Oklahoma.

The booth system with its registration and certificates received little commendation at the hands of historians. According to Buchanan and Dale, the scheme of having every person who expected to run for a claim, to register in advance, "proved a failure."⁸² Thoburn and Wright found that every intending settler visited one or more booths and registered before making his way into the country to be opened. "In fact," they wrote, "registration certificates were regarded as a huge joke by all of the 'sooners'."⁸³ A newspaper correspondent observed that

⁸⁰ Tels. of Sept. 16, 1893, to M. A. Jacobs, Emmett Womack, and A. P. Swineford, NA, GLO, *Telegrams*, vol. 31, pp. 24-26.

⁸¹ Smith to Com. Gen. Land Office, Sept. 19, 1893, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., *Rec. Letters Sent*, vol. 128, p. 131; tel. from Lamoreux to Jacobs, Sept. 19, 1893, NA, GLO, *Telegrams*, vol. 31, p. 72½.

⁸² J. S. Buchanan and E. E. Dale, *A History of Oklahoma*, p. 219; E. E. Dale, *Oklahoma, The Story of a State*, p. 246. "As expensive as Disgusting," *The Norman Transcript*, Sept. 29, 1893.

⁸³ J. B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: a History of the State and its People*, (New York, 1929) Vol. 2, p. 536.

Swineford on September 25, 1893, wrote from Guthrie: "During the week of registration charges were freely made that certificates from

men who had the fastest horses rode from the border "only to find other men with sorry-looking animals ahead of them. Fast teams carrying anxious homeseekers were driven at break-neck speed only to find men on the land who had gone in afoot. Every precaution had been taken to keep out the 'sooner' element, and yet that element, profiting by former experiences, had captured the land."⁸⁴

The long wait and intense excitement weighed heavily on the respect intended settlers had for laws. Some persons secured certificates and then entered the Outlet illegally; others secured certificates and transferred them to persons who entered before noon on September 16. Perry was eight miles from the border of the Outlet, yet seven minutes after the opening a hundred horsemen were on the townsite.⁸⁵ J. F. Eyler of Stillwater, from direct acquaintance with the situation, wrote that it was a "hard matter to get a sooner off for the (y) sware to anything at all so the (y) reach their end in view." A local newspaper observed that the average sooner knew that "for half a pint of whiskey the United States soldier can almost invariably be fixed and while the deputy marshal comes higher he can usually be had at some price."⁸⁶

the Orlando booth were being sold in Guthrie and elsewhere for a money consideration. That the charges were true I have every reason to believe, but I have not been able so far to obtain the least particular of evidence tending towards the implication of any one or more of the clerks sent out from the Gen'l Land Office. It appears that a lawyer of this city named Volney Hoggatt was the principal in the nefarious business, and that the certificates, to all appearances properly stamped and issued, were in some manner obtained by a man named Daugherty, a former clerk in the Gen'l Land Office, who was associated with Hoggatt in doing business at the Orlando booth. Whether the blank certificates were stolen after being stamped, and the signatures forged, or whether there was collusion between Daugherty and one or more of the clerks I am unable to say, nor do I think it will be possible to obtain any conclusive evidence one way or the other,"—Swineford to Lamoreux, NA, GLO, A. 107933—1893.

According to a news release from Guthrie, the registration booths at Orlando were robbed of certificates and the official stamp on the night of September 15, and on the following day thousands of forged certificates were on the market; "Into the Promised Land," *New York Times*, Sept. 17, 1893.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 557.

⁸⁶ *The Daily Oklahoma State Capitol*, July 17, 1893.

In *H. Ex. Docs.*, 53 Cong. 1 sess., (3150), No. 27 there is an interesting collection of documents on the role a regiment and a half of the United States army played in the opening of the Outlet. One reads statements by soldiers telling how they refused bribes of money and whiskey on the prairie where "the air was constantly filled with black dust and as hot as though it came from a furnace"; also statements by citizens telling how soldiers were bribed for one or two dollars. The troops probably did their duty with usual efficiency and integrity.

Booth No. 1, designated by Swineford on August 24, was three miles north of Stillwater, and probably reflects a situation typical of booths on the border of the Outlet.⁸⁷ James Harry Swope of Stillwater was employed to help keep in order lines of registrants at the booth. He said that a long line of persons had not registered when the hour came to open the Outlet.⁸⁸ Swope said:

I left home each morning at daylight and returned home at night. At one time the line of registrants was three-fourths of a mile long. At another time there were four lines of registrants. I was associated with about five men who "rode the line". . . . Various devices were used by some registrants to avoid standing in line. Favored persons would take lunch or a drink of water to the clerks, and register while in one of the tents. Those who could not register by closing time in the evening remained in line all night to retain their places the next day. Soldiers kept order among registrants during the night. I reported to a man by the name of Captain Harris. . . . I was not paid for the week I was hired and so far as I know other additional men were never paid. Probably 20,000 or 30,000 persons were at Stillwater at the time of registration. When the Outlet was opened, not only did this group disperse, but Stillwater lost about half of its resident population.

Captain John B. Johnson reported that the great majority of the people were well behaved and orderly, but that stringent measures were necessary on the part of the troops to prevent delay in the transaction of booth registration. He said:⁸⁹

At Stillwater booth, where probably the roughest element had congregated, at the instigation of Corp'l Tolin, the registration clerks gave up half of their dinner hour, and worked after 6 p.m. as long as they could see, in order to register the sick and women who were taken from

⁸⁷ Swineford to S. W. Lamoreux, Aug. 24, 1893, NA, GLO, A 87764—1893. In 1960 the Committee on Historic Sites, under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society, placed an on-site marker where Booth No. 1 was located. Photographs of this booth and of other booths are in the collection of Robert E. Cunningham of Stillwater.

⁸⁸ Swope's memoir is in B. B. Chapman's, *Founding of Stillwater*, Appendix B.; Swope said the booth consisted of two or three tents probably secured from a military camp, each tent covering a space about fourteen by twenty feet. He thought that persons who had the immediate supervision of the booth spent too much time in hotel lobbies, or in gambling in the tents. He recalled that among authorities in Washington, the name of Hoke Smith was most frequently mentioned by registrants—"and how they cursed him!"

Mrs. Jessie Alvin Baker said of registration at the booth: "Well, everybody who reads at all knows the trouble at the booths. I saw the men in double line a mile long, staying in line day and night with their friends bringing them something to eat and drink"; *Indian—Pioneer History*, vol. 13, p. 149.

Alex R. Matheson said: "We tried to buy some groceries at Stillwater in the morning before the run started at noon, but there was not a bite of food to be bought as they had sold everything in stock"; *ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 437. Other references to registration at the booth are in *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 468; vol. 5, p. 375; vol. 95, p. 276.

⁸⁹ Johnson's statement, Oct 7, 1893, *H. Ex. Docs.*, loc. cit., pp. 48-49.

the line where found. This action on the part of the corporal was heartily cheered by the mob.

After the run, most of the settlers made meagre improvements on the land they claimed and then rushed to the local land office to file a homestead entry as required by law. Within a few minutes after the hour of the opening, lines of people were formed before each of the district land offices, and those at Perry, Enid, and Alva rapidly grew in length until there were over 5,000 persons in line at each of the places, waiting to make homestead entry. According to Sam P. Ridings, persons in these lines formed themselves into companies of one hundred each, elected a captain for each company, and then each man was assigned a number. Each took his number and felt free to return to his home or to his claim and await his turn. Newspapers printed the numbers, showing the last number that was filed each day. Thus parties were enabled to keep track of the time when they would be reached in the process of filing.⁹⁰ Many weeks elapsed before the lines were broken. But apparently all applicants for homesteads had an opportunity to file applications within the period of three months after the opening, as was required by law.

Swineford on September 25 suggested that the object sought to be attained by the registration of settlers could be greatly promoted if a number of the best special agents were detailed to ferret out the sooners. He said that a large number of sooners arrived with certificates and were holding down claims in the hope of being able to sell relinquishments before the expiration of the time fixed by law in which they must make their filings. Swineford wrote:⁹¹

The registration has done much good in the way of protection to the honest homeseeker, but has not entirely accomplished and could not under the circumstances, be expected to accomplish, all that was desired in that direction. A few agents can, in my opinion, very materially further the original aim of the Department to make the opening a fair one—there will be a scattering of sooners as soon as it is known that the Department is on their trail, with the intent of bringing all who can be caught to justice.

In compliance with instructions from Lamoreux, Swineford on September 25 made a report on the charges of improper conduct on the part of officers in the opening of lands of the Outlet.⁹²

⁹⁰ Sam P. Ridings, *The Chisholm Trail*, p. 541. The same practice of assigning numbers was said to have been used on a smaller scale at the registration booths before September 16; A. M. Thomas, "The Opening of the Strip," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXI, No. 4 (December, 1943), p. 421; *Ann. Rept. Gen. Land Office, 1894*, p. 102.

⁹¹ Swineford to Lamoreux, Sept. 25, 1893, NA, GLO, A. 108278—1893.

⁹² The report of Sept. 25, 1893, contains eight pages, and is in NA, GLO, A. 107933—1893. James C. Caldwell was a member of the Board of Regents of Oklahoma A. and M. College. On September 8, 1893, he

The name of James C. Caldwell of Kingfisher appears most prominent in the report filled with charges of improper conduct on the part of many persons. It was charged that Caldwell, in collusion with two men by the names of Dent and Cutlip, had manipulated the line of homesteaders at the Enid land office to his own pecuniary advantage. The plan said to be pursued by Caldwell was to issue cards about one and a half inches by two and a half inches in size.⁹³ The cards contained the following words: " Official No. in line at U. S. Land Office Enid, Ok. Chief Dp 'ty U.S. Marshal." With pencil one could insert a number and initial the signature of the Chief Deputy. Swineford said that for the cards recipients were charged 10 cents each:

This alone, considering that more than 8,000 were issued, netted a neat sum of money but that was far from satisfying their greed. The line was organized into companies of say, 80 each—A, B, C, etc. In issuing the cards ten or fifteen numbers in each company would be held out at intervals, and kept for sale to those having the most money to offer. The numbers thus withheld were sold at prices ranging all the way from \$5 to \$50; but even that did not appear to appease Caldwell's appetite, for he is charged, through collusion with the guard at the door, with having jumped persons having no numbers at all to the head of the line.

On the day Swineford made the report, Caldwell sent the following telegram to Commissioner Lamoreux:

Before any action is taken in regard to holding my commission, would refer you to Gov. [William C.] Renfrow, Secy. [Thomas J.] Lowe, Judge Henry W. Scott, E. L. Dunn, Mayor of Enid, Atty. Gen. C. A. Galbraith. I have not [done] anything but what was honorable, but have been misrepresented to Gov. Swineford by Populists and dissatisfied Republicans. If necessary, wire me at Kingfisher, O. T.⁹⁴

On September 25 Swineford was able to report that affairs were progressing much more satisfactorily to all concerned:

... save and except a few jack-leg land shysters calling themselves lawyers, who will be satisfied with nothing short of the privilege of

was appointed receiver of the Kingfisher land office, at the expiration of the term of Jacob V. Admire.

⁹³ Harry Bacon of Oklahoma City was charged with pursuing the same plan at the Perry land office. Swineford said: "But as near as I can get at it his greatest success was secured by hiring men at day wages to stand in line or hold numbers, the place in line or number to be yielded to the purchaser willing to buy, as a great many were and are. This man Bacon made his boasts some days prior to the opening, I am reliably informed, that he would make \$20,000 out of it." Complaints were made to Swineford that "repeaters" in the line at booths would sell their certificates, and take places again and repeat the operation.

⁹⁴ Telegram from Caldwell to Lamoreux, Sept. 25, 1893, NA, Int. Dept., Appt. Div., Registers and Receivers, box 498. It is with a fat file of recommendations and petitions made in the spring of 1893 urging the appointment of Caldwell. He served a term of four years as receiver and was succeeded by Admire.

running the land offices to suit themselves exclusively. . . . The air is full of charges against both the civil and military officials who were connected with the opening of the Cherokee ceded lands, but with the exception of the foregoing cases and that of the shooting by a soldier on the line near Arkansas City, none, in my opinion, come from sources in the least degree worthy of notice. This is a country of chronic "kickers," and I do not hesitate to aver on my own individual responsibility that can truthfully boast more able-bodied liars and unconscionable scoundrels to the square mile than [any] other section of the United States of which I have any personal knowledge. Every jack-leg lawyer, and his name is Legion, is surcharged and running over with advice as to what should or should not be done, and the government official who refuses to hearken to it in whole or in part, but goes independently about the honest, conscientious discharge of his duty is certain to merit and receive the largest measure of their condemnation and abuse. The tales of hardship and suffering sent out during the week of registration were in the main tremendous exaggerations so well and plausibly told that in one instance I was myself though only a few miles distant from one of the alleged scenes of suffering, deceived into believing them. The registration was successfully accomplished, the opening of the strip confessedly more in the interest of the honest homeseeker than any which preceded it, (if he now pursues the advantage afforded him by the registration), and the Department has much more reason for self congratulation than for annoyance or worryment over the wailings of those who hoped and worked for a dismal failure in place of the gratifying success which has been achieved in the face of unforeseen difficulties.

A proposed Congressional investigation of civil officials connected with the opening and sale of the Cherokee ceded lands disturbed Swineford a good deal. In a telegram to Lamoreux on October 7 he said that "if official rottenness is sought to be exposed it must be looked for in connection with openings prior to that of September sixteenth. There is a rich mine to be found in that direction."⁹⁵ On October 9 he complained that with the exception of a single dispatch from the Secretary of the Interior, in reply to one of his own, and two from Lamoreux, he had not received a line or word from the Department of the Interior since September 18, and had been left to grope in the dark concerning matters of which it appeared he should have direct and full information.⁹⁶ Swineford did not get along well with Horace Speed—"the hold over U. S. District Attorney"—and B. N. Woodson, Probate Judge of K county, both of whom he accused

⁹⁵ Tel. from Swineford to Lamoreux, Oct. 7, 1893, NA, GLO, A. 102272—1893.

In a letter to Lamoreux on October 12, 1893, Swineford urged that the proposed investigation be extended to include an inquiry into all the previous openings of public lands in Oklahoma Territory, because it would turn the tables upon the persons who were clamoring loudest for an investigation of the opening of the Outlet. He claimed to have enough evidence to cause Horace Speed "to be indicted for open and flagrant violation of law"; NA, GLO, A. 105826—1893.

⁹⁶ Swineford to Lamoreux, Oct. 9, 1893, NA, GLO, A. 104600—1893. The date Swineford named in the report is dim, and may be September 16.

of improper if not illegal activities relative to the opening of the lands.

THE LAND OFFICE BUSINESS

Settlers were less able and anxious to pay for land in the Outlet than they were to locate on it. The panic of 1893 increased the difficulty. The Department of the Interior expected payment to be slow. In August, Acting Secretary John M. Reynolds considered it "most improbable that all the first entries will be made for permanent settlement," and continued:⁹⁷

By July 1, 1894, 21,193 homestead entries and 1,326 soldier's declaratory statements had been recorded at the land offices in the Outlet. There were also about 5,000 cases needing action by the General Land Office, because of a question as to the rights of the respective applicants, or because of conflicting claims to the same tract, before the entries could be allowed. In addition to the seven towns established upon lands reserved in the Outlet for county seats, over thirty towns had been established upon lands embraced in homestead entries, and applications made to commute the entries for townsite purposes under the provisions of Section 22 of the act of May 2, 1890.⁹⁸

In 1902 the land districts of Perry and Enid were discontinued as such. The records and business of the land offices of the districts were transferred to Guthrie and Kingfisher respec-

⁹⁷ Reynolds to Sec. of the Treasury, Aug. 30, 1893, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., *Rec. Letters Sent*, vol. 128, pp. 46-49.

On the contrary looking to experience of the Department in land matters it is safe to say that not over one-third of the first entrymen will consummate their entries by purchase. The contests because of disqualification or other sufficient causes alone will reduce the number. Inability from sickness, impecuniosity, or other causes will induce many abandonments, and the constant temptation to sell out, and relinquish the right of entry, offered by speculators or new comers will reduce the number more than all the other causes put together. Under the law a party might enter a tract, hold it for seven years or less time, and then sell his relinquishment to another who would make entry and who could proceed exactly in the same way, sell to another in six months or six years, and so on indefinitely. . . . On review of the whole subject and giving it the fullest consideration, it is the opinion of this Department that it would not be safe to count upon a receipt of more than one third of the proceeds of the sales before the end of the seven years from the opening of the Outlet to settlement, and of the balance at the end of ten years.

⁹⁸ 26 *Statutes*, 81; *Ann. Rept. Gen. Land Office, 1894*, pp. 102-103. In regard to the amount of unreserved lands in Oklahoma Territory occupied from 1894 to 1902, see S. J. Buck, "The Settlement of Oklahoma," *Trans. Wis. Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*, vol. 15, pt. 2 (1907), pp. 362-363. A good study on the settlement of the western part of the Outlet was made by Ralph E. Randels, "The Homesteaders and the Development of Woodward County," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVII, No. 3 (Sept., 1939), pp. 286-295.

tively. The Alva district was discontinued in 1908, and the records and business of the office were transferred to Woodward. In 1915 the Woodward office and business were transferred to Guthrie.

At the Alva land office there were 15,508 homestead entries. At the time the office was closed in 1908, about one half of the homesteaders, or 7,576, had proved up by required residence and they received final certificates. There were 1,630 cash entries which included homestead entries commuted to cash, and other purchases of land. Many of the remaining homestead entries may have been brought to completion later at Woodward, but it is probable that the vast majority were canceled. A tract of land might be entered at a land office and later relinquished. Then another homesteader could file an entry for it. Before the passage of the Free Homesteads Act in 1900 a homestead entry might result in a cash entry and a final certificate.⁹⁹

Business of the other offices was as follows:

Land Office	Homestead Entries	Final Certificates	Cash Entries
Enid	11,229	4,445	1,931
Perry	10,863	4,495	1,131
Woodward	20,622	7,440	8,157

Section 19 of the Indian appropriation act of August 15, 1894, affected the portion of the Outlet opened to settlement

⁹⁹ An example is that of Madison Pierce who made homestead entry for a quarter section east of Newkirk. At the Perry land office on January 18, 1900, he paid \$498.98, principal and interest, for the land. This is listed as Final Certificate No. 378 and Cash Entry No. 968.

If one knows the location of a tract of public land, he can trace the history of its disposition by use of the tract books. These books represent the most complete index the federal government has to land entries in the so-called public land states. The books date from the time the lands in those states were first offered or opened to entry and are laid off by range and township, and under township by section. Entries are made in the books for each subdivision sold or filed upon. The tract books give a brief abstract of each entry. A typical tract-book page provides space for the following information: description of the tract entered, cost per acre, quantity entered, name of entryman, date and number of the entry, name of patentee, date of patent, recordation of patent, and such other information as is important. Two sets of books were maintained, one in the local land office and the other in the General Land Office in Washington.

The several land offices in present Oklahoma used a total of 75 tract books which are now among the records of the General Land Office in the National Archives. The 72 tract books in the Bureau of Land Management are kept up-to-date and afford better service than those in the National Archives. A micro-film copy of the 72 books is in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

and entry on September 16, 1893.¹⁰⁰ The right of commutation was by this section extended to all bona fide homestead settlers of the Outlet, after fourteen months from the date of settlement, upon the full payment for the lands at the prices provided in the act of March 3, 1893. In 1894 practically all of the available land in the Outlet east of the western line of Grant and Garfield counties had been taken up, the percentage being ninety-eight or above in every county except Pawnee, where it was ninety-five percent. Often there were two or three qualified entrymen on a quarter section. In 1894 six percent of the lands in Woodward county and sixty percent of the lands in Woods county were occupied; by the turn of the century practically all of the available lands in these two counties were occupied.

In 1894, 1896, and 1897 Congress passed legislation extending for three years the time when homesteaders must make final payment for their lands.¹⁰¹ The Free Homesteads Act passed by Congress on May 17, 1900, accelerated the rate at which settlers in the Outlet proved up on lands.¹⁰² The act provided that all settlers under the homestead laws of the United States upon the agricultural public lands, including those in the Outlet, who had resided or should thereafter reside upon the tract entered in good faith for the period required by existing law, should be entitled to a patent for the land so entered, upon the payment to the local land officers of the usual and customary fees. The act provided that no other or further charge of any kind whatsoever should be required from such settler to entitle him to a patent for the land covered by his entry. It was provided that the right to commute any such entry and pay for the lands in the option of any such settler and in the time and at the prices then fixed by existing law should remain in full force and effect.

Homestead papers in the National Archives give light on conditions in the Outlet at the time Congress passed the act. At the Perry land office in March, 1900, nineteen homesteaders having the required residence, paid for their lands and received final certificates. In April the number of homesteaders was seven. In May two final certificates were issued, both being adjustments for payments made earlier. With free homesteads, land office business increased. The number of persons who received final certificates at the Perry land office in June was 38; in July, 138; in August, 168; and in September, 189.

At the Perry land office the last final certificate, before

¹⁰⁰ 28 *Statutes*, 336. See also the circular of instructions of January 9, 1895, approved by Secretary Smith and addressed to the registers and receivers of the land offices at Perry, Enid, Alva, and Woodward, in 20 L. D. 1.

¹⁰¹ Act. of July 26, 1894, 28 *Statutes*, 123; act of June 10, 1896, 29 *Statutes*, 342; act of June 7, 1897, 30 *Statutes*, 87.

¹⁰² 31 *Statutes*, 179; Robert F. Boyce, 31 L. D. 162 (1901).

homesteads became free, was issued to a widow, Mrs. Hester A. Hopkins who on April 28 paid the sum of \$499.83 for a quarter section two miles southeast of Kildare. She made Cash Entry No. 1024 and received Final Certificate No. 421. James Harry Swope, later Stillwater businessman, almost missed federal benevolence.¹⁰³ In an affidavit of June 14 he said that the reason he did not make final proof on May 15, "the date advertised, was on account of the sickness of his wife and family." In June the cost to him in proving up on a quarter section seven miles east of Perry was a fee of \$4.00, and \$1.50 for testimony.

After the passage of the Free Homesteads Act, about a hundred cash entries were made at the Perry land office before it was closed on April 1, 1902. These entries were made largely by homesteaders who desired to secure title to lands without residing there five years. In the eastern end of the Outlet the lands were valuable, and some homesteaders found it more profitable to prove up and convey title, than to sell a relinquishment. Even though homesteaders desired to remain on the land, they sometimes considered it profitable to pay \$2.50 an acre and commute a homestead entry to cash under the act of August 15, 1894, and then mortgage the land to secure funds to improve it, or to purchase livestock.

The Pawnee reservation may be considered as representative of conditions of settlement in the eastern end of the Outlet. The schedules recorded 820 allotments to the Pawnees.¹⁰⁴ The schedules were approved by the Department of the Interior on July 10, 1893, and the General Land Office was accordingly directed to cause patents to issue in the names of allottees. Findings of fact by the Court of Claims on December 6, 1920, disclosed that allotments made aggregated 111, 931.61 acres, leaving 171,088.37 acres of surplus lands, of which 755 acres were reserved for school and agency purposes. The balance, 170,333.37 acres, was disposed of by the United States, 142,826.99 acres patented to homesteaders under the Free Homesteads Act, and 6,729.80 acres were paid for at \$2.50 per acre by settlers.¹⁰⁵ About 21,000 acres were granted to the State of Oklahoma for school and other purposes.

"A STRIP . . . ONE HUNDRED FEET IN WIDTH"

Consideration should be given to the leading land decisions

¹⁰³ The homestead papers of J. H. Swope are in NA, GLO, Perry, F. C. 427.

¹⁰⁴ Smith to the President, Nov. 25, 1893, *H. Ex. Docs.*, 53 Cong., 2 sess., xiii (3209), p. xx. The schedules are in Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Schedules of Allotments*, vol. 11, pp. 66-108.

¹⁰⁵ *Pawnee Indians v. United States*, 56 Ct. Cls. 1 A. A. Jones, First Asst. Sec. of Int., to Att. Gen., May 18, 1914, Ct. Cls., *Printed Records*, vol 393, no. 17324, pp. 23-24.

Receiver's Office at Perry, Oklahoma Territory.

April 28th, 1900. 189.

RECEIVED from Hester A. Hopkins, widow of David Hopkins, deceased,
of Kay, County, Oklahoma Territory, the sum of Four Hundred
and Ninety Nine, dollars and Eighty Three, cents; being in full for the
 and including interest for the South West.

quarter of Section No. One, in Township

No. Twenty Six, North, of Range No. Two East, T. 1. N. 1. E.

One Hundred and Sixty,

acres and hundredths, at
 Principal, \$400.00.
 Interest, \$99.83.

\$ 2.50 per acre.

Receiver.

\$ testimony fee received. Number of written words, Rate per

100 words, cents.

(Copy from National Archives)

The last Certificate for a cash entry at the Perry Land Office prior to the passage of the Free Homestead Act on May 17, 1900.

that resulted from the opening of the Outlet to settlement. Just after the opening Swineford was often asked about the status of settlers who made the run from the south side of the Chilocco school reservation. It was estimated that not less than 5,000 persons made the run from that location. Swineford on October 3, 1893, wrote to Lamoreux that nearly all the claims taken by persons who made the run from that location were being, or would be, contested unless the fact that the run was authorized was positively announced.¹⁰⁶ A note was made on the envelope of the letter to the effect that status would be determined when actual cases arose. Secretary Smith in 1895 held that one was not disqualified as a settler because he made the run from the Chilocco school reservation.

The question of whether persons who made the run from the east side of Outlet lands were disqualified entrymen was an important one in the history of the land opening. It has been explained that on August 30, 1893, Acting Secretary John M. Reynolds informed Watson J. Mendenhall by telegram that settlers would not "be permitted to enter the Strip from any Indian Reservation." In a contest with Byron E. Cagle over a quarter section of land on the southwest side of present Ceres, the controlling question was whether Cagle was disqualified because he made the race from a point within a hundred feet from the west line of the Otoe and Missouri reservation.

On February 5, 1895, Commissioner Lamoreux in an able decision held that in reference to the 100-foot strip, the "Cherokee Outlet" and "the entire country to be opened" defined identical territory.¹⁰⁷ Lamoreux noted that the telegram from Acting Secretary Reynolds to Mendenhall concerned Indian lands, and was intended to protect them from becoming a rendezvous for settlers desiring to enter the territory from the east. He said settlers could assemble on the 100-foot strip "around and immediately within the country to be opened to settlement" bordering on these reservations. He noted the congressional provision that the "rules and regulations" should be incorporated in the proclamation of the President, which should be issued "at least twenty days" prior to the land opening. He would not presume that Reynolds "in a telegram to a private individual" would attempt to abrogate a plain provision of the proclamation. Lamoreux said:

The purposes for which this strip was set apart were expressed

¹⁰⁶ NA, GLO, A. 102994—1893; *Welch v. Butler*, 21 L. D. 369 (1895). Persons who ran from the 100-foot strip entered the Outlet prior to the hour of opening. Were they "legal sooners"? See *Oklahoma Daily Times Journal*, Aug. 8, 1893.

¹⁰⁷ Lamoreux to register and receiver, Perry land office, NA, GLO, "H" *Letter Book*, vol. 398, pp. 306-326; *Cagle v. Mendenhall*, 20 L. D. 446 (1895).

in the order, i. e., "to allow intending settlers to enter the same before the hour of noon, Sept. 16, 1893." The object in opening this strip was obviously to protect people owning lands bounding on this country from trespass, and at the same time provide all homeseekers with a common starting place. It would be absurd to provide a starting place sixty or seventy miles from the nearest lands opened to settlement. To reach the land opened to settlement immediately west of the Tonkawa Indian Reservation, a settler starting from 96° west longitude and traveling in a due west course would have to pass over private property a distance almost twice as great as the widest part of the land opened to settlement. Locating this strip east and upon the Osage Reservation, as would be done if the construction be given the proclamation, that the strip should extend around the entire country ceded to the United States by the Cherokees, would not only render the strip of no practical use, but would be a violation of the treaty obligations with these Indians, as it would set apart a portion of their territory for temporary public use, without their assent, and subject their lands to trespass by those who ran from said strip to the lands opened to settlement.

Secretary Smith observed that just prior to the land opening instructions were issued to proper authorities to remove all persons from the 100-foot strip on the eastern boundary of the lands to be opened. He was satisfied that the action of the Department of the Interior in forbidding persons from making the run from the eastern boundary was not inconsistent with the act of March 3, 1893; and it being generally known that such instructions had been issued, settlers like Mendenhall who acted in obedience thereto should not be defeated in their rights by others who, as a matter of fact, obtained an advantage over them by making the run from adjacent Indian reservations. Although Cagle's motion for review was denied, he did not accept the ruling of Secretary Smith, but, it appears, continued to reside upon the land, and in the local courts and otherwise, attempted to continue the assertion of his claim thereto. Mendenhall also resided upon the land, was in possession of the greater portion thereof, and resisted the claim of Cagle. Whatever was done by either Cagle or Mendenhall was done with full knowledge of the continued assertion of the claim of the other.

On December 23, 1896, Secretary David R. Francis in the case of *Brady et al. v. Williams* overruled the decision in the Cagle case for the following reasons:¹⁰⁸ (1) There was no record in the Department of the Interior or any official notice forbidding persons from starting from the east side. (2) The 100-foot strip was created on the east side, as upon all others, by the proclamation of August 19, 1893. (3) The Secretary of the Interior could not by communications abrogate or modify the proclamation. (4) The fact that a person entered from an Indian reservation would not prevent him from successfully acquiring a homestead claim to lands opened to settlement.

Counsel for Cagle on January 10, 1897, filed in the Office

¹⁰⁸ 23 L. D. 533; on review, 25 L. D. 55 (1897).

of the Secretary of the Interior a petition requesting the correction of an error made by Secretary Smith. Secretary Cornelius N. Bliss on February 9, 1898, observed that Cagle had lawfully participated in the race for homestead claims on the day of the opening, and directed that the entry of Mendenhall be cancelled, and that Cagle be permitted to make homestead entry of the land in dispute.¹⁰⁹

There were quite a number of cases involving the identical question raised in the Cagle case and the Brady case, and the cases had been disposed of according to the decision in the latter case. Bliss said that of those who made the run from the "Otoe and Missouri" reservation and effected a prior settlement, Cagle was the only one who had not been awarded the benefits thereof where the claim was otherwise free from objection. Mendenhall's homestead entry was canceled on April 14. On that day Cagle made entry for the land and received a patent for it on October 1, 1903.

Edward C. Forney was within the Ponca reservation before the hour of noon on September 16, 1893, and made the race from said reservation into the Cherokee Outlet. He settled upon and made homestead entry upon a quarter section of land near the present site of Autwine. Robert L. Winebrenner filed a contest against Forney charging him with prior settlement and soonersim. All questions were waived except the one of disqualification of Forney. The Supreme Court of the Territory of Oklahoma in 1902 gave a direct answer to the question in order that parties in the suit, and other persons interested in similar cases, might know their respective rights without delay.¹¹⁰ Counsel for Winebrenner contended that by the provisions of Section 14 of the act of March 2, 1889, all persons were prohibited from entering upon and occupying any of the lands of the Outlet west of the ninety-sixth degree of longitude, no matter whether the lands were claimed by Cherokees, Poncas, or other Indians. Counsel insisted that it was intended by the proclamation of August 19, 1893, to set apart a strip 100 feet wide around all of the country west of the ninety-sixth degree of longitude ceded to the United States by the Cherokees. This construction would place the line from which the run could be made from the east, all the way from twelve to fifty miles east of the land actually opened to settlement. In sustaining the qualification of Forney, the court said:

We cannot agree with this view of the law, because it will be presumed that the President did that which he had a lawful right to do; and it is questionable if he had the right to open up, even temporarily for the use of those who wished to make the run, a strip

¹⁰⁹ Cagle v. Mendenhall, 26, L. D. 177; Mendenhall v. Cagle, 9 Okla. 668 (1900); 12 Okla. 4 (1902); GLO, *Okla. Tract Book*, vol. 42, p. 44.

¹¹⁰ Winebrenner v. Forney, 69 Pac. 879 (1902). See also Sprow et al. v. Miller, 25 L. D. 372 (1897).

of land 100 feet wide off of the east side of the Osage Indian reservation, and deprive the Indians and their lessee of the occupancy thereof, even for the 28 days intervening between the proclamation and the date of opening, while he did have the undoubted right to open up a strip 100 feet wide immediately within the outer lines of the land actually opened up to settlement. And this is what we think he did. These are the lands which he had in mind when he wrote the proclamation. He was not then trying to keep people out of the lands which the government had not even treated for, but out of the lands which he was proclaiming should on a certain day be opened to settlement.

In reference to the location of the strip 100 feet wide, the court said:

If this strip on the east was from 12 to 50 miles east of the lands to be opened to settlement, why provide that such occupancy should not be regarded as trespass, and that no settlement rights should be gained thereby? In fact, why do the absurd thing of granting persons the right to start into a race for a home 50 miles away, on the east of the land to be opened, when such person could make the race from either the north, south, or west, and start from the outer line of the land to be opened? The President must have known that no man would run from the east if he had to start from the east line of the Osage Indian reservation, and we assume that the President did not intend to give persons the right to do that which no sane person would do. The 100-foot strip was a strip of land 100 feet wide around the land actually opened up to settlement. . . . These lands to be opened joined right up against lands owned and occupied by individuals on every side except the east, and it was necessary to give the people a place all along the line from which they could have an equal start in the race; hence the 100-foot strip. If the 100-foot strip had not been set apart, those who intended to make the race would have been compelled to start from the highways on the section lines which led into the country, and these were only four rods wide, and are a mile apart, or they would have been compelled to pay license to make the race from the lands adjoining the lands to be opened, for which privilege in many cases a large sum of money would have been asked, thus giving a decided advantage to the rich; and the same thing might have been true of the Indian reservations. The 100-foot strip gave all an equal show.

The Supreme Court of the United States in sustaining this decision, referred to the "seeming contradiction" between the two clauses in the proclamation defining the location of the 100-foot strip, and observed that the first clause was used in a special description of the strip, while the second clause was found in that portion of the proclamation which defined the purposes for which the strip was to be used. The court held that the strip was one which ran around and immediately within the outer boundaries of the entire body of lands opened to settlement.

One did not become a disqualified entryman because he

¹¹¹ *Winebrenner v. Forney*, 189 U. S. 148 (1903). Two of the nine justices, Edward D. White and Rufus W. Peckham, dissented. The *Winebrenner* decision was affirmed in *McCalla v. Acker*, 200 U. S. 613 (1906).

made the race from the Osage reservation, or from the Chilocco Indian school reservation.

On the forenoon of September 16, 1893, Wesley Collins crossed the Cimarron River to the north bank where he remained until the hour of the opening. He was about fifteen feet from the bank of the river and about 150 feet north of a crowd who lined up in the bed of the river at the edge of the water. He assumed that the 100-foot strip would be measured from the north bank of the river. On October 5 he made entry for certain lands southeast of present Yale. William H. Fritch contested the entry.

The local land officers held that the 100-foot strip should be measured from the center of the stream, and therefore found that Collins, at the time of the opening, was within the prohibited territory. Secretary Ethan A. Hitchcock, in concurring in the view taken by Collins, said:

The one hundred-foot strip was provided for in order that those persons who came to the territory prior to the time of opening intending to settle therein, might have a place within which to camp while waiting, where they would be secure from interference from those who owned the lands immediately adjoining the territory to be opened. It was certainly not intended that the bed of a flowing river should be used for such a purpose.

South of Perry about three minutes before noon on September 16, 1893, someone fired a shot, and the line broke. Captain John B. Johnson saw the impossibility of checking the people, and he immediately gave the signal to go. North of Alva, a similar shot started the race about four minutes before noon. West of the Chilocco reservation there was a "false break" about ten minutes before noon. Sergeant William R. Williard shot and killed John R. (James) Hill of New Jersey, in a futile effort to hold the crowd at the line.

Just before noon several thousand persons were assembled on the southern border of the Outlet, north of Hennessey, at the place where the railroad entered the Outlet. Otho E. Cope was on the 100-foot strip, about one eighth of a mile west of the railroad track. Landa H. Braden was still farther west, and across Buffalo Creek. Along the creek there was quite a growth of timber, which prevented those west of the creek from seeing those east of it. In front of the settlers was a line of sentries, posted by the military authorities, to give the signal for starting by firing their pieces. The settlers formed practically a solid

¹¹² See "Public Lands," in 32 Cyc. 816, and cases there cited.

¹¹³ *Fritch v. Collins*, NA, GLO, "H" *Letter Book*, vol. 483, pp. 329-335; 28 L. D. 167 (1899). Collins testified that he remained on the bank of the river about 15 minutes after the crowd had passed, as he did not think it was twelve o'clock, judging by his compass.

line, and Cope was in or near the front of the line. The railroad train, which was a little distance south of the line, after having been loaded, was moved up to within a few feet of the line in anticipation of the race. In moving up the whistle of the locomotive was sounded, and after a few exhausts of steam, the great majority of settlers near by rushed madly into the Outlet. The rush occurred about thirteen or fifteen minutes before twelve o'clock. It was not premeditated. Settlers evidently thought the train was moving into the Outlet, and took that as a signal for entering the lands. The soldiers succeeded in stopping some settlers who were occupying vehicles. Cope, like the majority of horseback riders, continued on in the rush. He rode nearly eighteen miles and at about 12:43 p.m. he was on, and laid claim, to a quarter section of land less than a mile from Enid.

Braden and those with him could not see the movement of the train because of the timber. Braden entered the race at noon, and at 12:55 p.m. arrived at the quarter section claimed by Cope, and laid claim to it. Braden made homestead entry for the land, and Cope contested the entry, alleging priority of settlement. Each of them remained on the land and followed up his settlement with due and commendable diligence. Each cultivated and fenced large portions of the land and each had other valuable and permanent improvements. There could be no question, so far as the matter of establishing residence in a reasonable time and cultivation and improvements were concerned, and the good faith of each party was unquestioned.

After a hearing at the Enid land office the register sustained Braden, but the receiver recommended that his homestead entry be canceled. Both parties appealed. Assistant Commissioner Emory F. Best in holding that Cope had the superior right of entry, said on March 6, 1896:¹¹⁴

There is a great deal of testimony tending to show that the plaintiff started in the race prior to the hour of twelve o'clock, noon. Several thousand persons, the number is estimated by some witnesses as high as twenty thousand, were located on the line near Hennessey on the day of the race and it would appear that some, at least, of these persons, perhaps five or six thousand of them, left the line between twelve and fifteen minutes before 12 o'clock, noon, and went into the Outlet, while others remained on the line until the proper time for starting.

The plaintiff and several witnesses for him, testify that a soldier was stationed just within the borders of the Outlet, with a flag, and that they were informed by another soldier who rode down the line that they were to start when the flag was lowered, and that they did not start until the soldier dipped the flag, and ran north as the crowd went.

¹¹⁴ Best to register and receiver, Enid land office, March 6, 1896, NA, GLO, "H" *Letter Book*, vol. 439, pp. 484-487; vol. 448, pp. 33-35 (1896); Cope v. Braden, 25 L. D. 341 (1897); 11 Okla. 291 (1901); Baxter v. Crilly, 12 L. D. 684 (1891).

Best noted that Cope was on the land first and said the burden of proof was on Braden to show by a fair preponderance of evidence that Cope started in the race before the signal was given by the soldier above mentioned. In a review of the decision on May 18 Best held that although Cope "entered the territory a few minutes prior to 12 o'clock noon," such entrance was lawful. Best said: "He entered the territory with thousands at a signal given by one in authority to designate the time when 12 o'clock noon should arrive."

Secretary Thomas Ryan said it was idle to attempt to argue that "the restless mass" who began the race when the train moved, did not gain an advantage over those who remained until the lawful time to start. If there had been no contest, Ryan was inclined to think that Cope would be a qualified entryman. But in a contest, Ryan said the burden of proof was upon Cope to show that he was first upon the tract in a strictly orderly way. Because Braden had lawfully entered the Outlet while Cope had entered it prematurely, Ryan sustained the homestead entry. Braden subsequently received a patent for the land.

Notice should be taken of cases involving more of the Outlet than the 100-foot strip. For at least a year prior to the opening of the Outlet to settlement William E. Morris lived in the Creek Nation under a "lease" from said nation. The only water he could get for his family and stock was a half mile north of the south line of the Outlet, and throughout the year he went into the Outlet every other day to procure water. His trips into the Outlet were confined to this purpose. On September 13, 1893, he appeared at a booth and offered a declaration as to his qualifications to enter land, but was denied a certificate by the booth clerk because of his entrance into the Outlet for water. Nevertheless Morris applied to make homestead entry for certain lands north of present Mannford.

Assistant Commissioner Edward A. Bowers followed the doctrine in *Standley v. Jones* which held that presence within the territory during the prohibited period, in violation of the statute and proclamation of the President, disqualified a claimant for lands in Oklahoma.¹¹⁵ Secretary Smith reversed the decision of the assistant commissioner. In sustaining the application of Morris, he held that entrance into the Outlet during the prohibited period for the sole purpose of securing water for domestic use did not operate to disqualify him as a settler.

¹¹⁵ Bowers to register and receiver, Perry land office, March 30, 1895, NA, GLO, *Okla. Letter Book*, vol. 42, pp. 495-497; *Standley v. Jones*, 18 L. D. 495 (1894); *W. E. Morris*, 22 L. D. 613 (1896). One who entered the Outlet during the prohibited period for the alleged purpose of collecting money owed him, was thereby disqualified to make entry for lands; *Ann. Rept. Gen. Land Office*, 1894, p. 124.

On August 19, 1893, Oliver J. Devore was in the Outlet occupying a tract of land he had leased from a Tonkawa Indian. He was there by the written consent of the Indian agent. About August 22 he passed "over the road usually traveled within about three miles of the land in dispute, went to Arkansas City, learned of the opening, and remained until afternoon of September 16."¹¹⁶ Four days later he settled upon a quarter section of land eight miles east of Tonkawa. John A. Riehl on September 23 made settlement upon the land. In a contest between them, Secretary C. N. Bliss decided that Devore's presence in the Outlet during the inhibited period secured him no advantage over others and sustained his claim to the land.

The mere riding through the Outlet on a railroad train during the prohibited period was not considered by the Interior Department to be such an entry upon the lands as would disqualify the person so passing through. The situation was different in the case of Granvil C. Phillips who was charged with planning speculation and sale in the interest of the Medford Town Company. Assistant Commissioner E. F. Best said:

I find that Phillips crossed the Cherokee Outlet several times between September 11, and 16, 1893, on a railroad train. He passed in sight of the land, and saw it from the train. He carried a small sectional map of the Outlet, and from it, he learned the description of the land, and by reason of the examination which he made of it while passing within between one hundred and two hundred yards of the land, selected it.¹¹⁷

On the afternoon of September 16 Phillips filed a soldier's homestead declaratory statement for a quarter section he had selected at Medford, and subsequently made homestead entry for it. William S. Robertson contested the entry, and Secretary Bliss held that since Phillips had taken an advantage over other settlers, the entry should be canceled.

There were several townsite cases in the settlement of Perry, Enid, and other towns in the Outlet. The testimony, exhibits, and decisions of the cases are preserved in the General Land Office records in the National Archives.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Devore v. Riehl, NA, GLO, "H" *Letter Book*, vol. 438, pp. 1-6 (1896); 25 L. D. 380 (1897).

¹¹⁷ Robertson v. Phillips, NA, GLO, "H" *Letter Book*, vol. 459, pp. 233-237 (1890); 27 L. D. 74 (1898).

¹¹⁸ A profitable study could be made on townsites in the Cherokee Outlet. An example of materials available is in the *Perry Daily Journal*, Sept. 13, 1956; Sept. 13, 1959. In the Library of Oklahoma State University is a master's thesis by Ethel Katherine Knox, *The Beginnings of Perry, Oklahoma* (1938). See also City of Perry, 22 L. D. 367 (1896).

In 1894 the House Committee on the Public Lands said that while the registration booth-system "was some protection to honest settlers, it did not prevent fraud and was not satisfactory to the settlers, who were compelled to remain in line for days in dust and wind while the

CONCLUSION

In Oklahoma Territory there were five land runs. The Cherokee Outlet was the largest tract ever opened in a land run, and it involved the most people. Archival sources reflect the administrative procedure in the opening of the Outlet. While thousands of prospective settlers waited impatiently on the borders of the promised land, officers of the federal government worked vigorously near the verge of deadlines. The agreement with the Cherokees for the cession of the lands was concluded on December 19, 1891, but it was not ratified by Congress until the last day of its validity. A rider attached to the Indian Appropriation Bill and ardently advocated by Senator Henry L. Dawes and Representative Samuel W. Peel, saved the agreement and prevented a possible invasion of settlers into the Outlet.

The agreement provided that certain Cherokees be allotted lands in the Outlet, and a total of 62 allotments were made. Some allottees tried to select lands adjoining prospective county seats, and the Secretary of the Interior to diminish this capitalization, belatedly placed county seats at the present sites of Newkirk, Perry, Pond Creek, and Enid. Robert L. Owen exercised a commanding influence in making the Cherokee allotments. They were completed and approved under the shadow of a deadline.

No prior land opening in Oklahoma Territory was marked so much by the effort of the federal government to prevent fraud. On August 1, 1893, Inspector Alfred P. Swineford reported to the General Land Office his estimate that 100,000 persons would apply for registration, and that the booths should be open ten days for that purpose. The time was reduced to 5½ days. There were 115,000 registration certificates issued, and registration was concluded in the haste and confusion of meeting a deadline.

Deception and trickery, including soonerism, occurred in the opening of the Cherokee Outlet, but was no more pronounced than in other land openings. It is the usual story of human greed to secure town lots and good farms. The warmth of human kindness was illustrated in many instances, but the chief desire was to secure valuable property. In registration at the booths and in making homestead entry at the land offices, many persons yielded to the temptation of individual advantage. "Anything to keep out of that line," was the way James Harry Swope defined the temptation.

'sooners,' having registered, secreted themselves on the inside and as usual at such openings got all the choice lands and lots"; "Opening of Indian Reservations to Actual and Bona Fide Homestead Settlers," *H. Reports*, 53 Cong. 3 sess., i(3345), no. 1478, p. 3.

President Grover Cleveland said that the opening of the Cherokee Outlet "furnished an exhibition though perhaps in a modified degree, of the mad scramble, the violence, and the fraudulent occupation which have accompanied previous openings of public land." In his annual message on December 4, 1893, he noted the difficulty of thwarting the schemes of speculators, and recommended a change in the laws concerning land openings.

The designation as an assembly ground of a strip 100 feet wide "around and immediately within the outer boundaries of the entire tract" to be opened was a commendable provision in the proclamation of the President. A belated attempt to close the strip along the west side of the Ponca and Otoe reservations had the endorsement of private interests. The Interior Department indicated that such entrance in the race would be illegal, but the courts sustained the right of settlers to assemble on the eastern border of the lands to be opened to settlement.

At the land opening in 1893 the law provided that settlers within seven years should pay for their lands at the rate of \$1.00 to \$2.50 per acre, depending on location. Six years and eight months after the land opening, Congress passed the Free Homesteads Act which enabled settlers who had paid nothing, or only partially, for their lands, to secure a patent for same on payment of the usual and customary fees. On this nominal charge much of the public domain had been opened, including the fertile Oklahoma district which bordered the Outlet on the south.

Four land offices were established in the Outlet. As business declined, they were gradually consolidated with other offices, and in 1915 the last office was removed from the Outlet. In general, it may be said that the opening of the Outlet illustrates democracy in action in American history.

HISTORIC LETTERS OF GENERAL BEN McCULLOCH AND CHIEF JOHN ROSS IN THE CIVIL WAR

*By Harry J. Lemley**

The following copies of letters are from the original written by Brigadier General Ben McCulloch, Confederate States Army, to John Ross, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, and the reply of Chief Ross:

THE McCULLOCH LETTER

Head Quarters McCulloch's Brigade
Fort Smith, Ark.
June 12, 1861.

His Excellency,
John Ross,
Chief of the Cherokee Nation.

Sir:

Having been sent by my government (the Confederate States of America) to take command of the District embracing the Indian Territory and to guard it from invasion by the people of the North, I take the first opportunity of assuring you of the friendship of my government, and the desire that the Cherokees and other tribes in the Territory unite their fortunes with the Confederacy. I hope that you as Chief of the Cherokees will meet me with the same feelings of friendship that actuate me in coming among you, and that I may have your hearty co-operation in our common cause against a people who are endeavoring to deprive us of our rights. It is not my desire to give offense or interfere with any of your rights or wishes, and shall not do so unless circumstances compel me. The neutral position you wish to maintain will not be violated without good cause, in the meantime those of your people who are in favor of joining the Confederacy must be allowed to organize into military companies as home guards for the purpose of defending themselves in case of invasion from the north; this of course will be in accordance with the views you expressed to me that in case of an invasion from the North you would lead your men yourself to repel it.

Should a body of men march into your Territory from the North, or if I have an intimation that a body is in line of march for the Territory from that quarter, I must assure you that I will at once advance into your country if I deem it advisable.

(Signed) I have the honor to be, Sir:
Your obdt. Ser.,
Ben McCulloch,
Brig. Genl.
Commd.

* Judge Harry J. Lemley served as United States District Judge for the Eastern and Western Districts of Arkansas for nineteen years before his retirement in 1958. He attended Randolph Macon Academy and the University of Virginia. After receiving his LL.B. from Washington & Lee Law School in 1912, he formed a partnership in the practice of law with his brother, Judge W. Kendall Lemley at Hope, Arkansas, which is still his home. Besides his practice of law, Harry J. Lemley was

THE ROSS LETTER

Executive Department, C.N.
Park Hill, June 17th, 1861.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge by the first return mail the receipt of your communication dated at Fort Smith, Ark., the 12th Instant, informing me that you have been sent by the Government of the Confederate States of America to take command of the District embracing the Indian Territory and to guard it from invasion by the people of the North. For the expression of your friendship be pleased to accept my heartfelt thanks, and the assurances that I cherish none other than a similar sentiment for yourself and people, am also gratified to be informed that you will not interfere with any of our rights and wishes unless circumstances compel you to do so nor violate or molest our neutrality without good cause. In regard to the pending conflict between the United States and the Confederate States, I have already signified my purpose to take no part in the same course. The determination to adopt that course was the result of consideration of law and polity and seeing no reason to doubt its propriety, I shall adhere to it in good faith and hope that the Cherokee people will not fail to follow my example. I have not been able to see any reason why the Cherokee Nation should take any other course for it seems to me to be dictated by their treaties and sanctioned by wisdom and humanity. It ought not to give ground for complaint to either side and should cause our rights to be respected by both. Our Courts and Institutions are our own, small the one or humble the other, they are as sacred and valuable to us as are those of your own populous and wealthy state to yourself and your people. We have done nothing to bring about the conflict in which you are engaged with your own peoples and I am unwilling that my people shall become its victims. I am determined to do no act that shall furnish any pretext to either of the contending parties to overrun our Country and destroy our rights. If we are destined to be overwhelmed it shall not be through any agency of mine. The United States are pledged not to disturb us in our rights, nor can we for a moment suppose that your Government will do it as the sacred principles upon which it is struggling for an acknowledged existence are the rights of the states and freedom from outside interference. The Cherokee people and Government have given every assurance in their power of their sympathy and friendship for the people of Arkansas and of other Confederate states unless it be in voluntarily assuming an attitude of hostility towards the government of the United States, with whom their treaties exist and from whom they are not experiencing any new burdens or exactions. That I cannot advise them to do and hope that their good faith in adhering to the requirements of their treaties and of their friendship for all the whites, will be manifested by strict observances of their neutrality enjoined.

well known for his civic and business activities before his appointment to the bench. He was a founder of The First National Bank at Hope, Arkansas; served as a member of the Arkansas State Audit Commission, 1931-1933; and was President of the Board of Trustees of the State A. & M. College, now Southern State College at Magnolia, Arkansas. He is author and co-author of several articles on, Arkansas archaeology and papers on Confederate military history.—Ed.

1. These letters between Gen. Ben McCulloch and Chief John Ross are referred to in *A Standard History of Oklahoma* by Joseph B. Thoburn (New York, 1916), Vol. I, pp. 281-82.

I have the honor to be,
 Sir, Yr. Obedt. Servant.
 To Brig. Genl.
 Gen. McCulloch
 Comd. & Troops of
 Confederate States
 Fort Smith Ark.

Closing and signature of the Chief John Ross letter.

yourself to refuse it -
 I think a body of men march into your Territory from the
 north, or if I have an intimation that a body is in line
 of march for the Territory from that quarter, I must
 assume you that I will at once advance into your
 country if I deem it advisable.

I have the honor to be, Sir:

Your Obedt. Serv.
 Gen. McCulloch
 Brig. Genl.
 Comd.

Your demand that those people of the Nation who are in favor of joining the Confederacy be allowed to organize into military companies as home guards for the purpose of defending themselves in case of invasion from the North, is most respectfully declined. I cannot give my consent to any such organization for very obvious reasons.

1st. It would be a palpable violation of my position as a neutral.

2nd. It will place in our midst organized companies not authorized by law but in violation of treaty, who would soon become efficient instruments in stirring up domestic strife and causing internal difficulties among the Cherokee people. As in this connection you have misapprehended a remark made in connection at our interview some 8 or ten days ago, I hope you will allow me to repeat what I did say. I informed you that I had taken a neutral position and would maintain it honestly. But that in case of a foreign invasion, old as I am, I would assist in repelling it. I have not signified any purpose as to an invasion of our soil and an interference with our rights from the United or Confederate States because I have apprehended none, and cannot give my consent to any.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Yr. Obt. Servt.,

John Ross, Prin. Chief
Cherokee Nation

To Brig. Genl.
Ben McCulloch
Com. Troops of
Confederate States
Fort Smith, Ark.

The background of these letters is largely set out in the sketches of the two men which follow. Briefly, after McCulloch had been promoted to brigadier general in the Confederate States Army, and assigned to the command of troops in Arkansas and Indian Territory, he and others endeavored to make treaties with the various Indian tribes in the Territory. In opposition to this, Chief Ross held off to keep his nation neutral. On May 28, 1861, General McCulloch and Albert Pike, who had been appointed Commissioner for the Confederate States, together called upon Ross, and urged him to recommend to his people that they unite with the Confederacy. Chief Ross politely but firmly declined. This exchange of letters was made shortly after their visit.

BRIGADIER GENERAL BEN MCCULLOCH

General Ben McCulloch, an elder brother of Brigadier General Henry E. McCulloch, C. S. Army, was born on November 11, 1811, in Rutherford County, Tennessee, of Scotch-Irish descent. His father, Alexander McCulloch, won distinction under General Jackson in the British and the Creek Indian Wars of 1812 and 1815. In his youth Ben McCulloch became an expert hunter, raftsman and flatboatman.

In 1835, hearing of David Crockett's expedition to engage in the struggle for Texas independence, he immediately set out

for Texas but was taken ill on the way, and did not recover until after the fall of the Alamo. Upon his recovery, he joined Sam Houston just before the Battle of San Jacinto. During that battle he was in command of a gun in the artillery and was commended for his coolness and bravery. After the Texas Army disbanded, McCulloch settled in Gonzales and engaged in surveying lands on the frontier. In 1839 he was elected to the Texas Congress, after a campaign in which he fought a duel with Colonel Reuben Davis, in which he received a wound in the arm, the full use of which he never regained. During this period of his life, he gained renown in numerous fights with the Comanches and Mexican raiders.

When Texas was admitted to the Union, McCulloch was elected to its first legislature. In 1846 he was appointed major general of all the militia west of the Colorado. At the beginning of the Mexican War he raised a company of Texas Rangers and rendered brilliant service under General Zachary Taylor, leading the opening charge at Buena Vista. Before the war ended he had been promoted to major.

In 1849, during the gold rush, he went to California, and was soon made sheriff of Sacramento County. In 1852 he returned to Texas and was appointed U. S. Marshal and served for six years.

In February, 1861, while he was colonel of State troops he received the surrender of the Federal posts at San Antonio and elsewhere, then under the command of General David E. Twiggs, later a major general in the C. S. Army. In May, 1861, McCulloch was appointed a brigadier general in the Provisional Army of the Confederate States and assigned to command of the troops in Arkansas and Indian Territory. On August 10 of the same year, he won the Battle of Wilson Creek with the assistance of General Sterling Price and his Missouri troops. In General McCulloch's command in this battle was a contingent of Cherokee troops under Colonel (later Brigadier General) Stand Watie.

On March 7, 1862, under the command of General Earl Van Dorn at Pea Ridge, or Elkhorn Tavern, and while directing the right wing of the army, General McCulloch was killed almost instantly by a federal sharpshooter. At the time of his death he was the second ranking Confederate brigadier general. His body was carried overland by a friend and interred in the State Cemetery in Austin, Texas.

CHIEF JOHN ROSS

The life of John Ross from early manhood until death in 1866 is so entwined with that of his people, the Cherokees, that

no realistic sketch of Ross can be written without reference to the history of the Cherokee Nation, during the period of his lifetime.

John Ross, the son of a Scotch immigrant and his Cherokee wife (one-fourth Cherokee by blood) was born at Rossville, Georgia, on October 3, 1790. A letter written by him in 1823 shows that he was postmaster at Rossville.² He was well educated for in his boyhood he had been instructed by private tutors, and later had attended Kingston Academy in Tennessee. He was married twice, first to Quatie, a full blood Cherokee who died at Little Rock, Arkansas, during the removal of the Cherokees from Georgia to the Indian Territory (1838-1839). She is buried in Mount Holly Cemetery at Little Rock, in the lot of General Albert Pike.³ Chief Ross' second wife was a Quakeress, Mary B. Stapler of an old Philadelphia family.

When John Ross returned home from Kingston Academy, he learned that the land left the Cherokees by the Treaty of Holston (1808), in Tennessee was inadequate and not suitable for cultivation. He was a shrewd and practical politician as well as a good business man. During the years 1808 to 1810, he saw service with the Federal Government when a large number of Cherokees moved west under treaty provisions to an area on the Arkansas River, in the vicinity of Fort Clark which had been established as an agency for them. (This is in the general area of Morrilton and Dardanelle, Arkansas.) A band of Cherokees had moved west to this region before 1800, and when they were later joined here by their fellow tribesmen, they became known as the Arkansas Cherokee, or Western Cherokee.

John Ross assisted in drafting the constitution for the Cherokee government with its capital at New Echota in Georgia, and a year later (1828) was chosen principal chief of the Nation, a position to which he was elected term after term in the Indian Territory, until the end of his life. He was a well known figure in the United States of his day, and he is remembered as one of the great leaders of the Cherokees in history.

The Cherokees in Arkansas were finally induced by government commissioners to sign a new treaty in 1828, and they moved farther west to land along the Arkansas River in the

² The original of this letter is in the private collection of Judge Harry J. Lemley. A copy is seen in the *Appendix* at the end of this article.

³ Gen. Albert Pike died in the Masonic "House of the Temple," Third and E streets, Washington, D.C., on April 2, 1891. He was buried at Oak Hill Cemetery, near Georgetown until 1944. At this time, his body was moved to its present resting place in the Masonic Temple at 16th and S streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. (Notes from Claude Hensley of Oklahoma City who recently returned from the National Capital.)—Ed.

Indian Territory, their new country located in what is now Northeastern Oklahoma. Thus, the Nation became divided geographically, for the great majority of the Cherokees still lived in Georgia and Tennessee. It was not long before white frontiersmen were pushing to live in this Cherokee country, especially after gold was discovered in the region. Finally, pressure was brought to bear by the State authorities backed by President Andrew Jackson to move all the Cherokees west, and a treaty was signed on December 29, 1835, at New Echota by Cherokees of the so-called Treaty Party without the consent of Chief Ross and a large majority of the eastern group. The Treaty Party was headed by Major Ridge, his son John Ridge, and his two nephews, Elias Boudinot and Stand Watie, and was largely composed by mixed-blood Cherokees who believed that it would best serve the interests of their Nation to sell the Georgia and other eastern lands though at a fraction of their worth and move west to the Indian Territory. Chief Ross and his followers, mostly fullbloods were bitterly opposed to the terms of the New Echota Treaty. This opposition cost Ross dearly for he was kidnaped by the Georgia Guard, and was thrown into prison together with John Howard Payne, the author of "Home, Sweet Home," who was with Ross at the time.

Unfortunately for the leaders of the Treaty Party, who had acted as they believed in the best interest of their Nation, the way in which the last of the Cherokees were forced out of their homes in Georgia to travel in the midst of suffering and death along wilderness roads to the West—each road now referred to in history as "the Trail of Tears"—widened the breach between the two factions in the Cherokee Nation.

Chief Ross and many others in the Nation prospered after the removal, with plantations and cattle raising on the fine lands of the Arkansas River region in what is now Oklahoma. Ross operated a large plantation with his many Negro slaves, and built a beautiful and spacious home which he called "Rose Cottage," located near old Park Hill. Notwithstanding their prosperous condition, the breach between the two Cherokee factions continued and widened through the years. When the War Between the States began, Stand Watie and his followers, mostly mixed-bloods, embraced the cause of the Confederate States while John Ross and the great majority of the fullbloods held out for a neutral stand in the great conflict between the North and the South. Ross prepared to defend his position, and organized a Cherokee regiment under the command of John Drew, in the early summer of 1861, with the consent of the Cherokee Council to serve as a guard along the Cherokee line bordering Kansas.

Governor Rector of Arkansas, General Ben McCulloch and finally, Albert Pike continued to urge Chief Ross to abandon his

neutral position, and sign up a treaty with the Confederate States, offering the Cherokee Nation many inducements. Believing that the Cherokees would lose the \$5,000,000 owing them by the Federal Government, Ross maintained neutrality until after the Confederate victories at the First Battle at Manassas (Bull Run) and the Battle of Wilson Creek. He was now convinced that the Confederate States would win the War and that it would be to the best interest of his people to sign a treaty with the South. Ross assembled the Cherokee Council, and with its consent a treaty was signed on October 7, 1861, uniting the Cherokee Nation with the Confederate States. The next spring—March, 1862—both Drew's Cherokee Regiment and Stand Watie's Mounted Troops fought under General Albert Pike at the Battle of Pea Ridge. Drew's men left the field and returned home after the death of Generals McCulloch, McIntosh and Slack, while Watie's forces remained and fought to the end of that disastrous battle for the South.

After the defeat of the Confederates at Locust Grove in July, 1862, detachments of Federal troops went on to Fort Gibson and Tahlequah, and Chief Ross was arrested at his home near Park Hill. He was soon paroled but went north with the Federal forces to Kansas. He visited President Lincoln at Washington, and moved to Philadelphia where, it is said he tried to maintain the Cherokee government in exile. Stand Watie was elected Principal Chief of the Southern Cherokees. He continued to fight throughout the War, and was commissioned Brigadier General in the Confederate States Army in 1864.

Stand Watie was the last general officer of the Confederate Army to resign when he surrendered his Cherokee command at Doaksville, Choctaw Nation, on June 23, 1865. John Ross returned to the Indian Territory that summer, and was re-elected principal chief of the Cherokee Nation. A year later (1866), he died at Washington during the negotiations for a new treaty demanded by the Federal Government, his last efforts expended in the defense of the rights and welfare of the Cherokee people.

APPENDIX

A John Ross Letter from Rossville, Cherokee Nation, 1823.

The following letter is a copy of a folded letter dated Rossville, C.N., Aug. 15 and franked "Free, Jno. Ross, P.M.," directed to Messrs. Allen Latham and B. G. Leonard, Chillicothe, Ohio. In the left hand lower corner is the word "Mail."

Rossville, Cherokee Nation
Aug. 12, 1823

Gentlemen:

Having been informed thro' your advertisement that you have been engaged in collecting evidences relative to the claims of those officers and soldiers who served in the Virginia Continental Army and

who are entitled to bounties of lands—I am requested by an old soldier who served in that army and now lives in this section of country to write you for information, whether he is entitled to a bounty of land and the practicability of obtaining it as he states that he has never received any. He further states that he was enlisted on 10th March, 1775 and discharged 10th March, 1777, and that he served under Capt. Joseph Spencer, Garlin Burlen and Wm. White, Lieuts. in said company. He was acquainted with Genl. Woodford and Majr. Nelson and other field officers. The name of this man is Wm. McDonald or McDaniel, he is in very indigent circumstances and would be very thankful, that you write me on this subject for his information as soon as practicable.

I am, Gentlemen,
Yrs. respectfully,
(Signed) Jn. Ross

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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

ORGANIZATION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY BY
THE OKLAHOMA PRESS ASSOCIATION IN 1893

A question on the exact date of the organization of the Oklahoma Historical Society has been brought to the attention of the Editor, and calls for a statement on the subject in this number of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* for autumn, 1962 (Vol. XL, No. 3), preparatory to the 70th Anniversary of the Oklahoma Historical Society next year (1963).

The Oklahoma Historical Society was regularly organized at the business session of the Oklahoma Press Association held on *Saturday morning, May 27, 1893*, during the Annual Meeting of the Association at Kingfisher, Oklahoma Territory.

The outside front cover of *The Chronicles* since the summer number 1961 (Vol. XXXIX, No. 2) has carried the line: "Oklahoma Historical Society—Organized by Oklahoma Press Association, May 27, 1893." The line had appeared on the front of the cover of the magazine for thirteen years with the date "May 26, 1893" having been used for the first time in the spring of 1948 by direction of Dr. Charles Evans, then secretary-manager of the Society, at the instance of President Wm. S. Key and other members of the Society's Board of Directors. The organization date "*May 26, 1893*" followed that given in a pamphlet published in the late 1930's, under the title "The Oklahoma Historical Society," which submits "a brief statement relative to the history and administration of the Society" at the time of publication. The pamphlet had been prepared by Dr. Grant Foreman, a member of the Board of Directors, at the special request of the Board. The first paragraph of this pamphlet states:

"... In Muskogee on March 1888, the Indian Territory Press Association was organized largely through the efforts of the founders of the Muskogee Phoenix, Dr. Leo E. Bennett and Frank C. Hubbard. Three years later this paper first advocated the organization of a historical society for the Indian Territory but nothing was done about it. Two years afterwards on *May 26, 1893*, [italics editor's] at the annual meeting of the Oklahoma Press Association at Kingfisher, the Society was organized. Editors and publishers furnished all the officers and directors and William P. Campbell, a newspaper man from Kansas, was selected at the first custodian of the Society."

In 1961, the Editor had a part in preparing the inscription for an official Oklahoma Historical Marker to be placed at the court house site of the organization of the Society at Kingfisher. The marker was provided under the auspices of the Altrua Literary Club of Kingfisher, through the Oklahoma Historical

Society's program of marking historic sites in the state. The organization date of the Society is given May 27, 1893 on this marker, verified in communications with Mr. H. E. Hubbard, publisher of the *Kingfisher Times and Free Press*, and Mrs. Hubbard, Chairman of the Altrua Club Committee, in addition to special research of records that had recently been brought to light in the Library of the Historical Society from various old files and unfiled materials. One of these records was the pamphlet giving the report of William P. Campbell in 1905, with a complete "Review of Inception and Progress; Accessions and Donors, Historic Papers" of the Oklahoma Historical Society at the time. This report states: "The Oklahoma Historical Society had its inception with the editors of the Territory at their annual meeting at Kingfisher, May 27, 1893." The line on the outside front cover of *The Chronicles* began carrying this date in the summer of 1961, and Mr. Campbell's complete report of 1905 was published in the next number of the magazine, autumn 1961.

Since the question was raised on the organization date of the Historical Society, the Editor has again made a special search of the records to determine the exact date and time of day that the organization of the Society took place in 1893. Among the items taken out of old, unfiled materials in the Library and just recently added to the file of the Society's records, is an original copy of the leaflet by W. P. Campbell, Custodian, printed at Kingfisher on May 29, 1893, two days after the Press Association meeting. This leaflet is "Circular 1" with the heading "Office of Historical Custodian, Oklahoma Press Association, Kingfisher, Okla., May 29, 1893," and a brief review of the Historical Society organized two days before. A facsimile of this leaflet is shown on the opposite page here in *The Chronicles*.

Another small pamphlet in the Library file was printed in 1915, with the title page: "Legal Status of the OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Constitution: Law Summary—State Capitol, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma." The following statements appear at the top of page three:

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Inception

"Resolved, That The Oklahoma Historical Society of the Oklahoma Press Association be organized by this Association." W. P. Campbell placed in charge. (See proceedings Press Association at Kingfisher, May 27, 1893).

Oklahoma Historical Society chartered January 21, 1895, Norman as seat. Made trustee of the commonwealth, Feb. 21, 1895. Collection shipped to Norman, March, 1895. Moved to Oklahoma City, 1901, by special act of the legislature.

Search was also made recently for press reports on the or-

(Cir 1.)

*Office of Historical Custodian,**Oklahoma Press Association.*

KINGFISHER, OKLA., May 29, 1893.

At their annual meeting in this city, May 27, the editors of Oklahoma created a department in connection with the association to be called the Oklahoma Historical Society, of which the undersigned was selected as secretary and custodian, to serve for the ensuing year.

The object in establishing this department is the collection of newspapers, books and periodicals, productions of art, science and literature, matters of historic interest, etc. It is especially desired that publishers send regularly ^{one} ~~two~~ copies of their publications, to be filed, and bound at end of each year.

While this is designed as an Oklahoma institution, anything of the nature suggested will be thankfully received from any source, and will be given a proper place among the exhibits.

For the present, headquarters will be at Kingfisher, where a suitable building has been secured for the storage, safe care and proper exhibition of contributions.

Those feeling an interest in laying the permanent foundation for one of the most important institutions of Oklahoma, are requested to forward as early as possible and as often as they secure them, any articles that may seem of historic interest, beautiful, instructive or curious. Address, prepaid,

W. P. CAMPBELL,

Historical Custodian,

Kingfisher, O. T.

ganization of the Society in the Newspaper Department which is still in the steady process of reorganization and establishment of the new filing system under the microfilm program begun more than five years ago. Bound volumes of old newspapers covering literally millions of pages yet to be microfilmed, remain inaccessible to researchers, having been removed from the old, steel shelves and stacked from floor to ceiling in various parts of the basement of the Historical Building to make way for the microfilm machines and equipment in the floor space of the Department. These details are given here to point out some of the difficulties in making the recent search. It is a satisfaction, however, to have discovered newspaper reports of 1893 that apparently have not been read, nor cited for any history or report on the Historical Society. Data relating to the Press Association meeting of 1893 and to the participants in the three sessions of this meeting add much interest to the story.

The following territorial newspapers available in microfilm give detailed accounts of the Press Association meeting, covering the organization of the Historical Society: *The Chandler News* for Friday, June 2, 1893, Harry B. Gilstrap and Miss Effie Gilstrap, Editors; *The Hennessey Clipper* with a "Supplement" for Friday, June 2, 1893, James D. Campbell, Editor; *The Hennessey Democrat* for Saturday, June 3, 1893, Rube Weesner and Wm. P. Campbell, Editors. These are all weeklies giving reports on the Association meeting held at Kingfisher the week before.

The bound volume of *The Kingfisher Times* for 1893, still to be microfilmed, was located and brought out of the storage stacks. This shows *The Kingfisher Times*, Editor Frank Purcell, beginning regularly with the issue for July 27, 1893, covering 8 pages (20 x 24 inches). One of five small strays (12 x 20 inches) bound in front of this volume is *The Kingfisher Times* for Thursday, June 1, 1893, (Vol. 5, No. 10). This issue of the paper gives front page coverage to the recent meeting of the Press at Kingfisher in three columns, under the headlines (in part), "THE PRESS ASSOCIATION OF OKLAHOMA IN SESSIONS . . . A Banquet at the Johnson House—A Historical Society Organized to be located at Kingfisher. . . ."

This same issue of *The Kingfisher Times* (June 1, 1893) reports the business session of the Association on Saturday, May 27, 1893, as follows:

"At the morning session the following officers were elected: President—J. A. Quein. Vice President—E. E. Brown. Secretary—H. B. Gilstrap. Treasurer—Effie Gilstrap. Executive Committee—Frank McMasters, Frank Purcell and Frank Greer.

"W. P. Thompson, W. P. Campbell and Frank Prouty were appointed a committee to arrange for a trip to the world's fair.

"On motion of W. P. Campbell a territorial historical society was organized and Mr. Campbell was elected custodian to take charge of the collection when made. Each member was assessed \$1 for this fund.

"Guthrie was selected as the place of the next meeting. It will take place the third Tuesday in May, 1894.

"The association decided to accept an invitation to visit Hennessey should such be extended.

"A vote of thanks was extended to the retiring president, the press and the citizens of Kingfisher for the hospitable manner in which the association had been entertained."

All the newspapers cited above give practically the same report for the business session held on Saturday, May 27, 1893. Each paper states that a historical society was organized on this date for Oklahoma Territory, and that Mr. Wm. P. Campbell was chosen custodian to have charge of the historical collections. *The Hennessey Democrat* (June 3, 1893) adds the note that Frank H. Greer, Editor of *The Daily State Capital* at Guthrie, offered a series of resolutions relating to the Association (legal rates, card membership, dues, etc.), which were adopted on motion of W. P. Thompson of Guthrie, during the first part of the session on Saturday morning. *The Chandler News* (June 2, 1893) also reports that Greer's resolutions were offered and adopted on Saturday morning. *The News* here comments favorably on Greer's action in behalf of the Association, and reviews briefly his statements made: "That the press is subject to more imposition, is expected to do more work, and is less protected through organization than is any other business, and yet is the most necessary and influential of all vocations, the most poorly paid, and the least able to cut rates and lower its profession."

A summary of events that took place during the Press Association meeting of 1893 outlined in the foregoing statements, is in order here to verify further the organization day of the Oklahoma Historical Society:

Press Association members arrived in Kingfisher on Friday afternoon, May 26, 1893, most of them coming in on the north bound train at 5:30 p.m. (One report states about 35 persons were in attendance.) Carriages waiting at the station took the crowd around the City, and visited the Anheuser-Busch and the Pabst establishments where ice cold refreshments were served much to the "gratification of the party." Ex-Governor Abraham J. Seay accompanied the visitors, and took them through his beautiful residence and over his fine farm a few miles west of Kingfisher. His niece, Miss Lula Marsh, entertained the visiting ladies, "Mesdames Greer and Nicholson of Guthrie, and Miss Effie Gilstrap of Chandler."

A reception was held for the visiting editors that evening at the Opera House where the Association meeting was called to order at 7:30 o'clock, by the President, J. L. Admire of *The Kingfisher Free Press*. He announced the evening program which

opened with an address of welcome by Mayor J. C. Robberts of Kingfisher. The response was given by Frank McMasters of the *Oklahoma City Gazette*. J. E. Quein of the *Edmond News* gave a paper on "The Newspaper as a Town Builder." The meeting then adjourned until Saturday morning at 8:30. *The Kingfisher Times* (June 1, 1893) reports with regret that few attended the evening meeting since most of the visiting editors were under the impression that the Association sessions would be held on Saturday, May 27, with the banquet on Saturday night.

Instead, the banquet was held on Friday night after the meeting at the Opera House. The editors were soon congregated at the Johnson House where the doors of the dining room were opened at 10:30 p.m., and all were the guests of Vol Sayre, Manager of the hotel. A sumptuous banquet was served with plenty of the finest wines which added greatly to "the spirit of the occasion." A timely warning of some member of the arrangements committee ahead of time brought a glee club to the scene (one report says, "a quintal of colored folk") that furnished lively music and song. *The Kingfisher Times* states that most of the editors "had been without eating since noon, had driven several miles since arriving at Kingfisher, had missed their supper . . . and of course they ate." Frank McMasters was toastmaster, and "During the evening many witty things were said and many pleasant things were done."

The Hennessey Democrat reports a long list of "toasts" made during the banquet, including: "Oklahoma in general and its future," by Ex-Governor Seay; "The Grip was Opened," by C. E. Hunter; "The Subscription list as a Civilizer," by S. S. Cook of the *Cloud Chief Herald*; "Does the devil own the printing office or the printing office own the devil," by W. P. Campbell; "How can a newspaper man serve God, the devil and himself without a stomach," by Frank H. Greer; "Progress of Western Oklahoma," by H. B. Gilstrap; and "Can a Newspaper man enter Heaven," by J. E. Quein closed the banquet program. *The Hennessey Democrat* report, probably written by Campbell, lists only the title and the speaker of all the "toasts" but adds this note to Campbell's offering on "Does the devil own the printing office . . ." saying, "Mr. Campbell didn't digress but proceeded to unfold a tale, but before he sat down traced the origin of the live editor direct to the devil."

Members met for the business session as scheduled on Saturday morning, May 27, 1893. In the absence of the President, J. L. Admire at the opening of the meeting, Wm. P. Campbell was chosen temporary chairman, with Frank Prouty of Guthrie as secretary. Time was spent in "discussing the good of the order," and new members were added to the Association. After the election of officers, the important business of the session on

Saturday covered approval of Frank Greer's resolutions on legal rates and Wm. P. Campbell's motion for the organization of the Historical Society. Adjournment of the Saturday morning session ended the annual meeting of the Press Association for 1893. The following Thursday (June 1), *The Kingfisher Times* closed its report of the meeting: "Ex-Governor Seay did his part. He was in line from start to finish, and added greatly to the enjoyment of the occasion. . . . In truth Kingfisher was disappointed that the meeting should be over so soon." The next weekly issue of *The Hennessey Democrat* (June 3) reported the closing act of the Saturday business session: "A vote of thanks was tendered the citizens of Kingfisher, President Admire, and Frank Purcell, for their excellent treatment of the editors."

Reports on the Historical Society recently found in the Library and placed on file include a few, very small pamphlets that review briefly early activities of the Society. One of these pamphlets is a report for 1899-1900 by Lincoln McKinlay, President, which states that the Historical Society was organized on "May 26, 1893." This date given as "May 26" is evidently either a miscalculation or a typographical error in the printing, for McKinlay had written his report loosely from hearsay, apparently without consulting the records and newspaper reports of 1893, printed seven years before he made his report. Lincoln McKinlay is not listed among the editors at the Association meeting in Kingfisher, and seems to have come to the Territory at the opening of the Cherokee Outlet, September 16, 1893. He became editor of the *Republican News-Journal* at Newkirk, in Kay County.

William P. Campbell was Register of Deeds at Kingfisher. He had joined up with Rube Wessner as editor of *The Hennessey Democrat* early in May, 1893. The week before the Association meeting, this paper carried an editorial item which mentions a feud going on among newspaper publishers in the Territory over cutting rates and contracting for printing in one another's districts. The item particularly expresses feeling against the "Admire gang" at Kingfisher, and reveals the later importance of Frank Greer's action during the sessions of the following week of pouring oil on troubled waters with his resolutions and talk on the necessity of maintaining legal rates in the printing business. The Saturday session apparently closed in an atmosphere of high spirits and friendliness. The editors had been greatly heartened during their visit in Kingfisher over the exciting prospects of the opening of the Cherokee Outlet lands to follow soon after the Presidential proclamation that was expected out of Washington in the summer. Hundreds of thousands of settlers would run into the 6,000,000 acre tract in Northern Oklahoma, business would boom and the "starving" newspapers that were

already in Oklahoma along the borders of the Outlet would reap rich reward in the printing business. Wm. D. Campbell's motion to organize a historical society was right in line to preserve the printed records—registration of deeds, reports on land claims, court cases and many other items in the development of the Territory.

Campbell left the Historical Society in 1895, and was away from the organization for nine years. During the latter part of this period at one time or another, his name is found as editor of different papers in the Territory. He had also served as a news correspondent and had written a play or two. There is mention in one place that he had been an actor for a time. He was reinstated as Custodian of the Society in 1904, with his office in Oklahoma City. The next year (1905), he wrote and published his report which was reprinted in *The Chronicles* for Autumn, 1961 (Vol. XXXIX, No. 3). Two pages (220-221) of this report give a brief review of the history of the Press Association meeting at Kingfisher in 1893.

Campbell here reviews something of the Association program but confuses the order of the "forenoon session" with the "evening session" and the banquet leaving the impression that all had been held on the same day. He was writing from memory twelve years after the event. The closing statement in his two-page review in 1905, however, is corroborated by the old records of the Society brought to light in the recent research, on the date of the Historical Society's organization:

"Thus, the editorial association meeting at Kingfisher, May 27, 1893, inaugurated the move from which has evolved the Oklahoma Historical Society as a Territorial Institution, outclassing in many of its features and value of its collections, like societies of a quarter century or more existence."

—The Editor (M.H.W.)

Oklahoma Historical Society
September 1, 1962

LAND SURVEYORS WITH THE DAWES COMMISSION IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY

Two surviving members of a land survey crew employed in the work of the Dawes Commission, or U.S. Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Territory before Oklahoma became a state, enjoyed reminiscing during the old Cherokee Seminaries' Homecoming at Tahlequah last May (1962). Notes about them and their survey experiences along with an old photograph taken at "Camp 7" in the Choctaw Nation in

1902, have been sent to *The Chronicles*, by Irvin M. Peithmann,¹ Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois. The two members of the crew are James Butler Bushyhead, retired St. Louis attorney-at-law who lives near Booneville, Missouri; and Mr. Peithmann's father, Edward M. Peithmann, a farmer who lives near Hoyleton, Illinois.

James Butler Bushyhead is a member of a well known Cherokee family and great-great-grandson of Captain James Stuart whose story is given in Emmet Starr's *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Oklahoma City, 1921) and other volumes on the Cherokees. Captain Stuart was the junior commanding officer of two companies of Scots in the British Army stationed at Fort Loudon in East Tennessee (1755), who was rescued during a siege of the Fort (1760) by the famous Cherokee chief, Ata-kulla-kulla, and delivered to friends in Virginia. Captain Stuart's wife was Susannah Emory who was one-fourth Cherokee by blood and granddaughter of Ludovic Grant, a Scot. The Stuarts' son was called *Oo-no-dutu* (Uni-dutu) by the Cherokees, meaning "Bushyhead," because he had a shock of blond hair like his father. This name became the surname of his family. Bushyhead married Nannie Foreman who was one-half Cherokee. Their eldest son was Jesse Bushyhead who became the first Supreme Court Judge of the Cherokee Nation West (died 1844), a noted Baptist preacher who had brought a band of Cherokees to the Indian Territory (1838-39) from Georgia during the removal, over the "Trail of Tears." Jesse Bushyhead's wife was Eliza Wilkerson who was one-half Cherokee, and their son was Dennis Wolf Bushyhead who was born near present Cleveland, Tennessee, in 1826. Dennis Wolf Bushyhead went to California with some of the Cherokees during the Gold Rush of 1849, returned to the Cherokee Nation after the Civil War, was elected and served two terms as Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, 1879-1887. He died at Tahlequah on February 4, 1898. He also was known as *Oo-no-dutu* among the Cherokees, and his son, James Butler Bushyhead is one of this noted Cherokee family among the descendants who live in other states of the Union and in Oklahoma. Mr. Bushyhead was in the survey crew with the Dawes Commission in 1902, at "Camp 7" in the Choctaw Nation.

Mr. Irvin M. Peithmann contributed the following notes

¹ Irvin M. Peithmann is the writer of *The Choctaw Indians of Mississippi* published in pamphlet form by Southern Illinois University (1961). While the early history of the Choctaw people is touched upon very briefly, Mr. Peithmann gives his attention here to the history and the present day conditions of the Choctaws who stayed in Mississippi after the main part of the tribe was removed west to the Indian Territory in the 1830's.—Ed.



CAMP No. 7
U.S. Government Survey crew in the Choctaw Nation near Grant, Indian Territory, during the summer of 1902.

about his father who belonged to the same surveying crew in the Choctaw Nation:

Mr. Edward H. Peithmann, Richview, Illinois was first employed by the Dawes Commission in 1899 when he and other appointees began working at South McAlester, Indian Territory. This group of men was assigned the task of assembling the wagons and buckboards that had been shipped to this point by railway. Horses and mules to be used by the Government surveyors were shod and made ready for use to the different survey crews. These survey crews were soon scattered over the Indian Territory surveying lands which were to be allotted to the members of the "Five Civilized Tribes," namely the Chickasaw, Creek, Cherokee, Choctaw and Seminole. Mr. Peithmann continued to work for the surveyors until 1903 when he returned to Illinois.

He has often commented on the incidents that took place while working in the Indian Territory:

"The country was very wild when we worked there, . . . There were no roads, bridges, only trails. The small rivers were forded, and the larger ones were crossed on ferries. When we moved from one location to another, we always tried to camp near a spring or a well. And if we could not find these, we would use creek water for drinking and cooking purposes.

"If you crossed a river on horseback and the horse could not swim in the swift current on account of your weight, you would slip off backward and grab his tail. He would pull you safely across every time but you were soaking wet.

"During the summer of 1902 while working in the Choctaw Nation, I often went out looking for supplies for the camp cook. I recall that one day the Negro cook sent me out to look for buttermilk which he used in making biscuits. I drove up in a buckboard hitched to two mules to the home of a colored family and asked the woman if she had any buttermilk for sale. She said, 'Do you mean sour milk? Why, I have lived in the Choctaw Nation all my life and I never heard it called buttermilk before.'

"While working in the Choctaw Nation in 1902 (now southeast Oklahoma), the surveyors, one of them James Butler Bushyhead came upon a fullblood Choctaw Indian sitting on a rail fence with a Winchester rifle lying across his lap. This Indian told them not to cross the fence. He raised his rifle and said, 'I will kill the first man that crosses my cottonfield.' The surveyors quickly retreated and left it to the United States marshals to handle.

"As far as I can recall, this was the only time we were ever threatened while surveying in this, then wild country."

The photograph of the survey crew at "Camp 7" in the Choctaw Nation, taken in 1902, is accompanied by the following identification list of the men in the picture:

Back row standing, left to right: Bill Hailey (Choctaw), native of Indian Territory—axeman; John Howell, native of Arkansas—head chainman; John Clark, native of Indian Territory—buckboard driver; Charles Knight, native of Texas—axeman; James Butler Bushyhead (Cherokee), native of Indian Territory—buckboard driver; Wallace Freeman of Mill Creek, Indian Territory—mound man (set the corner tones); ? White-

side (no information). *Front row seated*, left to right: William Cassidy—surveyor, or instrument man; James H. Henderson—platted every section; W. S. D. Moore of Knoxville, Tennessee—in charge of U. S. Survey "Camp 7"; William Harris (Cherokee), native of Indian Territory—rear chainman; Edward H. Peithmann of Hoyleton, Illinois—teamster.

Members of the Dawes Commission were appointed by the President under a congressional act of March 3, 1893. Its first members were Henry L. Dawes, Chairman, former U. S. Senator from Massachusetts; Meredith H. Kidd of Indiana and Archibald S. McKennon of Arkansas. The work of the Commission continued twelve years, in which it carried on the division of approximately 20,000,000 acres of land belonging to the Five Civilized tribes and the closing of their tribal governments before Oklahoma statehood. This stupendous task included the survey and appraisal of lands in the Indian Territory (east half of the present state) down to forty-acre tracts and completing allotment of lands in severalty; the registration and enrollment of every Indian member of the tribes, besides the separate registration and enrollment of the Negro freedmen (old ex-slaves from before Civil War times and their descendants) who were given land tracts. During the twelve years (1893-1905), over five hundred clerks besides other employees served in the work of the Dawes Commission, and members of the Commission itself changed. At the death of Mr. Dawes in 1903, Tams Bixby of Minnesota, the vice-chairman since 1897, was appointed to head the Commission. Other members who served on the Commission were Frank C. Armstrong (1895-1905), whose father and uncle had served by appointment of President Jackson as Indian agents in the Indian Territory in the 1830's; Thomas B. Needles of Illinois (1897-1905); Clifton R. Breckenridge of Arkansas (1900-1905); William E. Stanley of Kansas (1903-1904). It was through the influence of Thomas B. Needles that Edward H. Peithmann was employed on the survey party in the Indian Territory (1899-1903).—Ed.

MONUMENT AT TRAIL OF TEARS PARK, CAPE GIRARDEAU

The Trail of Tears Park at Cape Girardeau, Missouri, was the scene of the formal dedication of the Princess Otahki Monument on May 27, 1962, in a ceremony planned by the Cape Girardeau Rotary Club. Hon. C. W. Boutin, former chairman of the Missouri State Park Board who was largely responsible for the creation of the Trail of Tears Park and the monument at Cape Girardeau, was made honorary member of the Cherokee tribe and Ambassador of Goodwill by Justice N. B. Johnson, of the Oklahoma Supreme Court, representing the Cherokees during

the ceremony. Mr. Rush Limbaugh, Sr., gave the main address, telling something of the history of the park's creation and how it got its name. He pointed out that, in 1837 and 1838, thousands of Cherokees passed through the park area during their removal from the eastern mountain region of the Great Smokies on their way west to a new country in the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). The Cherokees suffered great hardship during a terrible blizzard when they came to the Mississippi River, and many died at the Moccasin Springs crossing of the river. Among them was the daughter "Princess Otahki" of the noted Cherokee leader, Jesse Bushyhead who conducted a large group of his people west. The only marking on her grave was a small stone and cross until the Cape Girardeau Rotary Club erected the monument with its octagonal pagoda in the State Park this year.

The Trail of Tears State Park comprising 3,000 acres was a gift of Cape County to the Missouri people. The Missouri Park Board maintains the area, and much progress is being made in the building of roads, camping sites and lakes to make the park one of the finest in the state.

Among those attending the ceremony was James Butler Bushyhead of Pilot Grove, Missouri (retired St. Louis attorney), a grandson of the Rev. Jesse Bushyhead and great nephew of "Princess Otahki." Another attending the ceremony was Mrs. Mary Spitzmiller, executive director of the Otahki Council of Girl Scouts, who told briefly why this name had been chosen by the Council. *The Girardarian* published by the Cape Girardeau Rotary Club reported the event:

Sunday afternoon, in spite of threatening rain clouds, a sizeable crowd attended Rotary's dedication of the monument and grave of Princess Otahki in Trail of Tears Park. Among the many fine things going on, the outstanding one to your writer's mind was the presence of representatives of the Cherokee Nation and the forgiveness and great good will exemplified by them. Mistakes of the past cannot be changed but honorable people can prevent them multiplying and continuing into the present. For decades to come people will visit this shrine in its beautiful setting and be a little kinder because of its message.

THE EUFAULA DAM ON THE CANADIAN RIVER, A CORRECTION

A note on the history of the Grand River Dam Authority appearing in *The Chronicles* for summer, 1962 (Vol. XL, No. 2), p. 185 (1st paragraph) has an error in the statement: "Now nearing completion is the great dam near Eufaula and another at Keystone west of Tulsa, both on the Arkansas River . . ."

Correctly stated, the great dam near Eufaula is on the Canadian River. The Keystone dam is on the Arkansas River west of Tulsa. Both of these dams are in the Arkansas River Basin and will form two large lake areas in Eastern Oklahoma.



(Photo by Hadley K. Irwin, Missouri State Park System)

Monument to "Princess Otaohki," in Trail of Tears State Park, Cape Girardeau, Missouri

The Eufaula dam is on the Canadian River, an airline distance of about fourteen miles east of the City of Eufaula, McIntosh County. This dam is nearing completion at the site in Sections 23 and 27, Township 10 North, Range 14 East.

WHERE IS THE MAIN CANADIAN RIVER IN OKLAHOMA?

Researchers in history become confused on the location of the different Canadian rivers given on early maps of Oklahoma when compared to the Canadian rivers shown on present day maps of the state. Readers of narratives on early explorations and trading expeditions in this region are also apt to wonder about the different Canadian rivers mentioned.

One of the earliest maps showing the beginning of place-names in the Oklahoma region as a part of Arkansas Territory is the "Map of Arkansa" by Stephen H. Long, Major of U.S. Topographical Engineers, published in 1822. This map gives three streams with the name Canadian in the country west of the Arkansas River: (1) The *Canadian River* (main Canadian) flows into the Arkansas from the west, a few miles downstream from the "Falls of the Arkansa" (present Webbers Falls); (2) the *North Canadian*, or North Fork of the Canadian pours into the main Canadian on its north side (left bank), about 35 or 40 miles upstream from its confluence with the Arkansas; (3) the *South Canadian* also a tributary to the main Canadian, flowing in on the south side (right bank) about 6 or 7 miles above the mouth of the North Canadian.

Present day maps of the state show only the *South Canadian River* with its principal tributary the *North Canadian*, or North Fork of the Canadian. The question arises, "What has become of the main *Canadian River*?"

The name of the South Canadian was changed to Gaines Creek some years before the period of the Civil War, the name being that of George Gaines U.S. Agent for the Choctaws who visited this country in the early 1830's. Gaines Creek is a stream in present Pittsburg County, a branch of the "South Canadian" given on present day maps. Maps for many years kept on showing the *Canadian River* and the *North Canadian*, or North Fork of the Canadian. Finally, in spite of protests by those interested in Oklahoma nomenclature, not many years ago, the main *Canadian* disappeared from maps leaving in its place the *South Canadian* with its branch the North Canadian.

The main Canadian is a principal stream across Central Oklahoma, west to east. Back in the 1700's, this river was thought to be a water route from the Arkansas River to Santa Fe, New Mexico, and many attempts were made by early-day explorers to ascend the river to that trading center far west.

The Canadian River was first called the St. Andre River by French explorers and traders in this region in 1740. The name *Canadian* was applied to the river in the later 1700's when traders from Canada, or Canadians were granted large tracts of land near the mouth of river and along the Arkansas by the colonial government at New Orleans. A discussion of this bit of Oklahoma history is given in "Naming the Canadian River" by the late Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn, in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI (1928).—Ed.

MEANING OF THE CREEK INDIAN NAME EUFAULA

An inquiry on the meaning of the Creek name "Eufaula" came to the Editor recently. This spelling Eufaula is a corrupt form for "Yufala" which is closer to the pronunciation in the Muskogee, or Creek language.

Authorities in their studies of the Creek, or Muskogee people, including Albert S. Gatschet (1884) and John R. Swanton (1946), have offered no interpretation of the name. However, the spelling *Yufala* given by both Gatschet and Swanton may be freely interpreted, "at this place, they split up and went into many parts of the country." This interpretation of *Yufala*—a contraction of *yu-falah-le*—is from the Creek words *yu* meaning "this place" or "here"; and *falah-le*, "split into many parts or places." This spelling *Yufala* and its derivation and meaning are significant of the tradition and history of that part or band of the Muskogee people, known as the Yufala or Eufaula who lived in several different places at one time or another, on the rivers in Alabama.

Early in the historic period, the Eufaula people lived on Talladega Creek in what is now Talledega County, Alabama, where their community became known as "Eufaula Oldtown." The people remaining here were apparently later a part of the Upper Creek Division in the tribe. Soon after 1700, most of this "town" had moved to the Tallapoosa River in the central part of Alabama. By 1733, another colony known as "Lower Eufaula" had moved many miles away, down the Chattahoochee River, and there were several villages of the Eufaula band living farther down this same stream, by 1800.

The name Eufaula is well known today as that of a city, both in Alabama and in Oklahoma. In Alabama, Eufaula is located on the west side of the Chattahoochee River, in Barbour County, where the name perpetuates that of the Creek "towns" of the ancient "Eufaula" people in that state.

In Oklahoma, the City of Eufaula is located on the north

¹ Albert S. Gatschet, *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians* (Philadelphia, 1884); and John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Bur. Amer. Ethnol., *Bulletin* 137, Washington, 1946).

side of the Canadian River, about two miles west of the mouth of the North Canadian River (or North Fork of the Canadian), in McIntosh County. This region was settled by the Upper Creek Division at the time of the removal of the tribe from Alabama, about 1836. One of the Upper Creek "towns" located near the Canadian River, some six miles southwest of the present City in McIntosh County, was founded by the people that originated from the "Eufaula Oldtown" group back in Alabama, this new "town" known as "Eufaula Canadian," or "Yufala No. 1." The name is perpetuated in that of the present City that has developed from a small village planted beside the M. K. & T. Railway when it was built through the Indian Territory in 1872.

There is a lot of history connected with this early railroad town in the old Indian Territory, for it was the outgrowth of the pre-Civil War trading post called North Fork Town, located about two miles east of present Eufaula, near the mouth of the North Canadian River. The first U. S. post office was established here and named Eufaula, on February 6, 1874, with John H. Simpson as Postmaster. A post office had been established at or in the vicinity of North Fork Town, called "Micco" on August 4, 1853, with Catlett J. Atkins as Postmaster. Confederate treaties were signed with the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Creek nations at North Fork Town in 1861, with the noted Albert Pike serving as Commissioner for the Confederate States. The old site of North Fork Town will be inundated soon when the Eufaula Dam is completed on the Canadian River.—Ed.

THE JOSEPH B. THOBURN COLLECTION OF HISTORIC PAPERS CATALOGUED

Valuable historical materials of upward of 10,000 manuscript items—letters, notes and reports—of the Joseph B. Thoburn Collection are now being processed and catalogued for the first time, through the interest and steady efforts of Mrs. W. R. Holway and her sister, Miss Clare Kerr of Tulsa. This collection was placed by Dr. Thoburn's daughter, the late Mary Thoburn in charge of Muriel H. Wright in the Editorial Department several years ago, and has lain untouched except for some attempts to make an orderly arrangement of a few of the papers. Mrs. Holway and Miss Kerr have made a fine contribution in giving their time and efforts in this work for the Historical Society, having come from Tulsa at their own expense to do this work two or three days at a time, for the past three years. Collection contains original data covering biography and early-day events in Oklahoma history gathered in Dr. Thoburn's connection with the Historical Society for nearly forty years before his death in 1941. Particularly interesting in the field of archaeology are the letters and notes that form reports on the Thoburn archaeological expeditions in Oklahoma.—Ed.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Osages. By John Joseph Mathews, (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1961, Pp. 786, \$7.95.)

On rare occasions, someone writes a book that is different—with such difference adding to the quality. Such can be said for *The Osages*, written by John Joseph Mathews. This book is a masterpiece in that a rare technique is used in weaving together tradition and folklore with well authenticated history to the end that a people's way of life is revealed in detail. Adding to the quality of the volume is a classic literary style all too rare among the writers of history.

In fact, *The Osages*, as written by Mathews, approaches what might be called a prose poem, partly fantasy and partly reality. Yet, who is to say where fantasy leaves off and reality begins. The author, being of Osage descent, has an insight into the Indian mind and soul that escapes most students and writers in the field.

Although the book may be considered a fine history of the Osages, its greatest merit is probably in its revelation of the Indian's character and his reactions to his environment. It is indeed a look behind the scenes of the stage on which the Osages have played. It has much of the qualities that were written into the *Old Testament* by those who told the story of the origins and development of the Hebrews.

If any basic adverse criticism is to be made of this splendid work of Mathews, it should probably be confined to pointing out that the author sometimes becomes slightly pedantic in his use of terms that are not well known to the general reader.

—Elmer L. Fraker

Oklahoma Historical Society
Oklahoma City

Bad Medicine & Good. By Wilbur Sturtevant Nye. (The University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1962. Pp. xxvi, 291. Illustrations. Maps. Chief Characters and Informants. Index. \$5.00.)

In this book a brief history of the Kiowa tribe serves as a background for the forty-four stories that follow. This prefatory history is a blending of material furnished to the author by the Kiowa Indians, and the stories were told in interviews with him by old members of the tribe who had participated in the events, or by some of the younger ones who had recalled them from the accounts of their elders.

In the native version of their history, the Kiowas originally lived in a country where "water shot up out of the ground." Evidently this was the Yellowstone country in the far northwest, from which the tribe drifted through a period of years in a southerly direction, finally reaching the Southwestern plains beyond the Mississippi river.

A nomad and warlike tribe, the Kiowas roamed with little restraint for years throughout eastern Colorado, western Kansas and western Indian Territory, making occasional raids into Texas and Mexico. During these years they were regarded as the scourge of the Southwest, and even after they were located on a reservation in the Indian Territory, they remained rebellious. Actually it was not until 1875 that they were completely subdued and laid down their arms for good.

It is not strange that events of their fighting days would have a large part in the memories of the old Kiowa braves and provide the favorite subjects for their stories. In addition, the author permits the stories to stand as spoken, with only limited comments of his own and with no editorial apologies for the more savage actions of the Indians. We learn, for example, that to kill and scalp an enemy was a deed the Kiowas delighted in boasting about, and not one to be disavowed. Of course, if Colonel Nye had been their advocate, he could have mentioned that the practice of scalping only grew after the steel knife was introduced to the Indians, and that the spread of the custom was not retarded by the bounties offered by the Colonial governments for scalps taken from the aborigines' heads.

Throughout these stories, the Kiowas' form of religion, impregnated with superstitious beliefs and fantastic customs, plays an important part from which the book receives its title. Brief biographies of the chief characters and informants add validity to the sources from which these stories emerge. Also excellent drawings by Nick Eggenhofer converge harmoniously with the spirit of the stories.

Wilbur Sturtevant Nye, a retired U. S. Army Colonel, is the author of *Carbine and Lance*, the story of Fort Sill and its encompassing army and Indian life. Unlike this earlier successful work, *Good Medicine and Bad* makes no pretensions to being a comprehensive history. It does, however, give glimpses of how the Kiowa Indians lived, fought, and died, and the stories which include this information are told from the Indians' point of view and were originally spoken in their own tongues. Colonel Nye's volume is entitled to be placed among the deserving books of Indian lore and history.

—Frank F. Finney, Sr.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF
DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
JULY 26, 1962

The Quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held in the Board of Directors Room on Thursday, July 26, 1962. President Shirk called the meeting to order at 10:00 a.m.

Roll call indicated that the following were present: Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mr. Q. B. Boydstun, Judge Orel Busby, Judge J. G. Clift, Mr. Joe D. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. W. D. Finney, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Mr. Joe W. McBride, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, and President George H. Shirk. Absent were: Mr. Lou Allard, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Mr. J. Lloyd Jones, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle and Mr. Fisher Muldrow. It was moved by Miss Seger and seconded by Mrs. Korn that absent members be excused. The motion was adopted.

A motion by Mr. Miller, with the second of Judge Hefner, that the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting be dispensed with was approved by the Board.

The Administrative Secretary presented the lists of names of new life and annual applicants for membership, along with the list of gifts that had been presented to the Society, during the quarter. It was moved by Mr. Curtis and seconded by Mr. Miller that the applicants for membership be elected and that the gifts be accepted. Motion was put and adopted.

The Treasurer's report as given by Mrs. Bowman indicated that April receipts amounted to \$10,842.75, with disbursements for the same period showing \$11,187.42, leaving cash on hand at the end of April to the amount of \$2,776.73. The receipts for May were \$4,833.50 with disbursements of \$469.79, which left cash on hand at the end of May of \$7,140.44. June receipts came to \$1,199.30, disbursements \$4,724.58, leaving cash on hand at the end of June of \$3,615.66. It was pointed out that these latter figures showed the balances (Account 18) at the end of the fiscal year 1961-1962. Mrs. Bowman said that assets of the Endowment Fund remained identical to those contained in the last report, with bonds totaling \$17,500.00; balance in City National Bank \$223.69; and \$2,100.00 in the Oklahoma City Federal Savings and Loan account. Income for the 1962 Annual Tour amounted to \$2,625.00. Mrs. Bowman said that the total expenditures came to \$82.03 more than this amount; that such was not a true deficit, however, because some transportation and a number of free meals were furnished to special guests.

In reporting on the tour, Mr. Miller, Chairman of the Tour Committee, said that from comments he had heard, the 1962 tour might well be considered one of the very best. He voiced regret that the tour had not been kept entirely on schedule and that some deviations had been made from the planned tour route. He expressed the hope that such irregularities could be eliminated in subsequent tours. He stated that he hoped the 1963 Tour would be made to the western side of the state. He invited suggestions as to where such tour should go.

Mr. Shirk added that he was happy to note that all officers of the Society were on the 1962 Tour.

Judge Busby observed that Mr. Miller was doing an outstanding piece of work in his column, *The Smoking Room*, that appears daily in the *Oklahoma City Times*. He said this column was doing as much to promote interest in Oklahoma history as any one operation in the state.

Mrs. Korn said she agreed with Judge Busby and that she was continually hearing compliments on Mr. Miller's column.

Mr. Elmer L. Kenison of El Reno was introduced by Chairman Shirk for the purpose of presenting plans he had for advertising the State of Oklahoma. Mr. Kenison outlined plans for a shrine to the American Indian to be erected somewhere in Oklahoma; this shrine would be in the form of a gigantic tepee in which would be displayed the artifacts of Indian workmanship and life. He requested that the Board of Directors endorse the project. It was suggested by Mr. Miller that the president appoint a committee to study the proposal as should be submitted in writing by Mr. Kenison. In line with this suggestion, President Shirk appointed a committee for this purpose consisting of Judge N. B. Johnson, Mr. Fisher Muldrow, Mr. Q. B. Boydstun and Mr. Joe D. Curtis with Mr. Joe McBride as chairman.

The following letter to the Oklahoma Historical Society from the Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes was read by President Shirk:

July 23, 1962

Mr. George H. Shirk, President
Oklahoma Historical Society
Historical Building
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Shirk:

At the meeting of the Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes held in Tishomingo, Oklahoma, it was voted unanimously by this Council to go on record to the Oklahoma Historical Society recommending that, in commemoration of the leadership of the Five Civilized Tribes, the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole, in laying the basis for the organization of, first, the Indian Territory, and, later, the great State of Oklahoma, and

for their advancement in the fields of Christianity, education, complex tribal organization and government, and

for their continuing contributions to the cultural and spiritual life in Oklahoma,

there be maintained in the Oklahoma Historical Society a special space or room for the purpose of preserving for posterity articles of history, culture, literature, etc., reflecting the high state of civilization attained by these tribes.

Further, that this room will constitute a perpetual sanctuary dedicated to the preservation of the evidence of accomplishments and sacrifices of these tribes.

The Council further voted that this Resolution shall be personally presented by a special committee made up of Hon. Floyd E. Maytubby, Chairman, and Hon. Harry J. W. Belvin and Hon. W. E. (Dode) McIntosh, members.

This Resolution is respectfully submitted to you for the consideration and action of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Sincerely yours,
/s/ Marie L. Wadley
Executive Secretary

For the purpose of discussing the letter, Mr. Shirk introduced Hon. Floyd Maytubby, Governor of the Chickasaw Nation, and Chairman of the Committee representing the Inter-Tribal Council. In his remarks, Mr. Maytubby said he had heard "rumors" that pictures of the tribal leaders of the Five Civilized Tribes were to be removed from display in the museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He said it was the purpose of the letter to serve as a protest against any such removal. Mr. Maytubby mentioned the possibility of the City of Davis selling the Turner Falls property to some private commercial concern. He said he would like to see it acquired and made a shrine to the Chickasaws, similar to the memorial to the Cherokees in North Carolina.

President Shirk thanked Mr. Maytubby for his presentation and introduced Hon. W. E. McIntosh, Chief of the Creek Nation. Mr. McIntosh said that he was most hopeful that the leaders of the Five Civilized Tribes would always have a place of honor in the Oklahoma Historical Society museum.

After thanking Chief McIntosh for appearing before the Board, President Shirk read the rules regarding placing and removal of portraits in the museum. He said that he knew of no movement or plan to eliminate the pictures and artifacts of the Five Civilized Tribes in the Society's museums.

President Shirk called upon Mr. Fraker to comment on the museum situation in regard to the Five Civilized Tribes. Mr. Fraker said that he was assuming full responsibility for any reorganization and changes that might take place in the museum; that long range plans for modernizing and improving the museum, as submitted by him previously, had been approved; that these plans called for the main museum to tell the story of Oklahoma from prehistoric times to the present. He assured Mr. Maytubby and Mr. McIntosh that these plans, instead of curtailing exhibits relative to the Five Civilized Tribes, would expand them. He observed that he believed people of the Five Civilized Tribes and their leaders would be delighted with the display of the Five Civilized Tribes when it was completed.

Judge Busby suggested that if any differences of opinion existed relative to the Five Civilized Tribes exhibit in the museum that it be referred to the committee that President Shirk had already appointed for the consideration of the American Indian memorial. Dr. Johnson observed that such matters should be taken up with this committee only after the President and the Administrative Secretary had been contacted and had referred the matter to such committee. It was agreed by the Board that this would be the procedure.

Dr. Morrison, as Chairman of the Fort Washita Restoration Commission, reported that a great amount of ground clearing had taken place on the Fort Washita site. Brush and debris, he said, has been removed from around the buildings still standing and that the road to the cemetery had been improved. He said that signs had been placed on the property warning against vandalism and designating the area as that being cared for by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Dr. Morrison then discussed the possibility of some federal aid on the project, but stated that it was his opinion that the Society would have its best opportunity of securing additional funds for the project from private donors; that Southeastern State College, on whose faculty he serves, would give every possible assistance in maintenance; that consideration was being given to the establishment of a museum on the grounds as a monument to the Colbert family; and that the idea

of a monument to Col. Douglas H. Cooper of the Confederate Army, who is buried at Fort Washita, had been discussed.

Dr. Morrison reported that contacts were being made with the State Highway Department in an endeavor to get the entrance to Fort Washita improved. He expressed the belief that the Highway Department would give some assistance.

In reporting for the Microfilm Committee, Mr. Phillips said he was delighted to announce that more than a million pages of newspapers had been microfilmed during the fiscal year. He said of these 700,000 pages were of old papers and 350,000 were of current newspapers. He added that the operators hit the million-page mark during the time of the first day of the Annual Tour.

The Civil War Centennial Commission report was made by Mr. Bass. He complimented Mr. Shirk on the day-to-day article he was writing for the newspapers in the state. These articles tell what happened in the Indian Territory 100 years ago from the exact day written about. Mr. Bass further reported that the Civil War map of Oklahoma will appear on the back of the 1963 Oklahoma Highway maps. He said that this map was being prepared under the direction of Dr. LeRoy Fischer and Miss Muriel Wright.

Winners for the second semester of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Scrapbook Contest were announced by President Shirk. They were: Charles Baptiste, Oklahoma City John Marshall High School, first place; Robert Fry, Beaver Junior High School, second place; and Darlene Bogard, McAlester Junior High School, third place.

Reporting for the committee that had been previously appointed to view the Walter Ferguson collection in Tulsa, President Shirk said that it was the opinion of this committee that the photograph portion of the collection held the most interest for the Society. He said that Mr. Jones was to try to work out something with Mr. Benton Ferguson so the Society might acquire at least a portion of the collection. He requested the Board's opinion on the matter. It was moved by Mr. Phillips and seconded by Miss Seger that the Board approve such action. The motion was put and carried.

Dr. Johnson submitted the name of Henry G. Bennett as one whose portrait should be placed in the portrait gallery. He moved that the Portrait Committee consider such a portrait. The motion was seconded by Dr. Dale and approved by the Board.

Judge Hefner said the matter of having a portrait of Dr. Henry G. Bennett in the portrait gallery had already been discussed by the Portrait Committee and they were unanimously in favor of the portrait being placed on the walls. He observed that it would be an honor to the Society to have the portrait of such a prominent Oklahoma citizen on its walls.

After this statement by Judge Hefner, Dr. Johnson moved that the report of the portrait committee be approved, and that the family of the late Dr. Bennett be invited to present such a portrait. This motion was seconded by Mrs. Korn and unanimously adopted by the Board.

President Shirk said that his attention had been called by Miss Muriel Wright to the tremendous amount of work Mrs. William R. Holway and Miss Clare Kerr, sisters, and both of Tulsa, had done on a volunteer basis in the archives and manuscript departments of the

Society. He said for this reason, he was recommending that Certificates of Commendation be extended to these two women for the wonderful assistance they are giving the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Fraker pointed out that both women, on their own accord, had taken special training in archival work and that their contributions had been substantial. Upon the motion of Mrs. Korn, and the second of Judge Johnson, that Certificates of Commendation be given Mrs. Holway and Miss Kerr, unanimous approval was given by the Board.

President Shirk requested the minutes reflect that the Board noted with pleasure that the New York City Times of July 21st gave six inches of space to a report on the luncheon served at Pecan Point during the Tour.

Mr. Shirk also requested that the minutes show that the Board noted with appreciation the action of the Oklahoma Education Association in sponsoring the Oklahoma photo contest. He said all photographs, after the contest is completed, will be given to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Judge Johnson told briefly of his trip to Georgia where he represented the Society at the dedication of the Worcester home at New Echota. He said the Secretary of State was there and also the Chairman of the Georgia Historical Society. He said a crowd of 9,000 was on hand for the dedication. He also said he visited Cape Girardeau, Missouri, for the dedication of the Trail of Tears Park in that city on the banks of the Mississippi River.

Judge Johnson announced that on August 12, in Anadarko, the dedication and installation of the statues of Sequoyah and Little Raven would be held.

President Shirk expressed the appreciation of the Board to Judge Johnson for representing the State of Oklahoma and the Oklahoma Historical Society at the two previously mentioned meetings.

Dr. Harbour observed that she had heard that the cigar humidor in the silver service collection of the USS Oklahoma was missing. President Shirk said that it was his recollection that the humidor had been loaned to Rear Admiral John Kirkpatrick for dedication services of the USS Oklahoma City, and that he would contact Admiral Kirkpatrick with regard to its return to the Historical Society exhibits. He commented that if in the future Mrs. Jeanne Cook, Curator, would call such matters to the attention of the Administrative Secretary or the officers, rather than informally to members of the Board, the return could have been expedited.

Mr. Fraker observed that he thought it would be an appropriate gesture for the Oklahoma Historical Society to confer an honorary life membership on Mrs. William S. Key. Judge Busby said that General Key had been one of the most prominent men, both in civil and military life, in Oklahoma and that he thought such an honor was due Mrs. Key. He moved that an honorary life membership be granted to Mrs. Key. This motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and unanimously adopted by the Board.

President Shirk asked that the minutes reflect the Board noted with pleasure and congratulates the television program "Open Window," the theme of which, this year, had been Oklahoma history.

As a member of the National Council of the American Association for State and Local History, Mr. Fraker presented a certificate and a

check for \$250.00 to the Oklahoma Historical Society. He said a similar award was being made to the University of Oklahoma Department of Archives. He said that the American Association for State and Local History, in conjunction with Broadcast Music, Inc., had given WKY-TV television station of Oklahoma City a \$500.00 award as first place in national competition. The program submitted by WKY-TV television was based on the great land rush, called "The Run," in Oklahoma. Much of the material used in the film came from the picture collection of the Oklahoma Historical Society and the archives of the University of Oklahoma.

Dr. Harbour observed this was indeed an outstanding honor to the Oklahoma Historical Society and that she thought the award certificate should be beautifully framed. Mr. Fraker assured her that this would be done.

President Shirk said that with individuals contributing \$13,525.00 for the Fort Washita Restoration Project, he thought it would be in order that the \$250.00 from this award be placed in the Fort Washita restoration fund. It was moved by Mr. Miller and seconded by Judge Clift that this be done. The motion carried.

It being determined that no further business was to be brought before the Board, adjournment was held at 12:00 Noon.

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS RECEIVED—JULY 23, 1962

LIBRARY:

3 volumes *Baroid News Bulletin*

Donor: Stan Hoig, Houston, Texas

The Story of Patents and Progress—E. I. Du Pont de Nemours & Co.

Donor: E. I. Du Pont de Nemours & Co., Wilmington, Delaware

America Illustrated—Russian and Polish editions

Donor: U. S. Information Agency, Washington, D. C.

"Oklahoma's Fabulous Indian Names"—Gladys Wheeler Jeffords and Lena Lockhart Daugherty

Donor: Lena Lockhart Daugherty, Muskogee

When Swallows Fly Home—Julius Lester Medlock

Donor: Joe W. Curtis, Pauls Valley

Civil War Naval Chronology, 1861-1865

Donor: John Kirkpatrick, Oklahoma City

"The Hot Box," April 1962

5 brochures from the Georgia Historical Commission: "Chief Vann House," "Etowah Indian Mounds," "Jarrett Manor," "Midway Colonial Museum," "Crawford W. Long Memorial Museum."

"Guide to Georgia: The Great Locomotive Chase"

Georgia Magazine, October-November 1961

Reprint *Atlanta Century*, April 13, 1862

Reprint *Cherokee Phoenix*, September 3, 1828

"Big Shanty Century"

Program: "Civil War Round Table commemorating the Centennial Anniversary of the Andrews' Raid and the Great Locomotive Chase on April 12, 1862"

Chattanooga News-Free Press, April 14, 1962

U. S. Stamp Catalogue Specialized, 1959

Butterfield Overland Mail Collection

"Louisiana Plantation Homes"

12 Louisiana travel brochures

3 Louisiana Civil War Centennial brochures

"The Civil War in Louisiana, A Chronology"

"Four Louisiana Civil War Stories"

"Texas in the Civil War"

6 newspaper clippings: "The Restoration of Fort Osage"

"Antietam"

Newspaper clipping: "Cynthia Ann Parker and Indian Emily"

Directory—Classic Car Club of America, 1961

Minutes of the Second Session of the 1962-63 Creek (Muscogee) Tribal Council

Minutes of the Creek Tribal Council, Okmulgee, Oklahoma, January 27, 1962

"Guideposts for Community Planning: A Study of the Needs of and Services for the Mentally Retarded"

Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City

"Loco Pioneers Association Semi-Centennial Celebration, June 9, 1957"

Copies of programs from the Otoe Indian School, Red Rock, June 27, 1889 and June 29, 1891

Copy of Certificate of Membership, Cherokee Colony

Copy of letter from Captain R. Young to Colonel Douglas Cooper

Donor: Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Stillwater

Map: Oklahoma, 1911

Indian Land Titles—Henry P. Langworthy

Donor: Theodore Hammett, Denver, Colorado

Tyler, Texas, C. S. A.—William A. Albaugh III

Donor: Robert H. Dott, Tulsa

Widow's pension certificate: Tennessee Williams, January 29, 1887

Donor: Mrs. James V. Price, Inglewood, California

Special 1962 World's Fair edition of the *Seattle Times*

Loftiss Family Records

Donor: L. B. Loftiss, Elk City

1 Roll microfilm: 1870 census of Arkansas, Clark-Hot Springs Counties

Donor: Dr. R. G. Fowler, Norman

Index to the Final Rolls of Citizens and Freedmen of the Five Civilized Tribes

Donor: Claude Campbell, Rosston

Original map of Pontotoc showing location of Collins Institute

Maps for the Oil Industry

Donor: Robert L. Atkins, Oklahoma City

35 copies of *Americas Magazine*

Donor: Mrs. Ladys A. Warren, Oklahoma City

13 copies of *The United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine*

Donor: Mrs. King Larimore, Oklahoma City

"Environment and Culture: The Case of the Oklahoma Seneca-Cayuga"
—James H. Howard

Donor: Dr. James H. Howard, Grand Fork, North Dakota

2 copies "Semi-Centennial Biographical Roster of the Bryan County, Oklahoma Bar"

Donor: John L. Boland, Caddo

Handy Book for Genealogists—George B. Everton and Gunnar Rasmuson

Donor: Mrs. R. M. Hansen, Duncan

- The Rise and Fall of the Patriot Hunters*—Oscar A. Kinchen
Daredevils of the Confederate Army—Oscar A. Kinchen
 Donor: Dr. Oscar A. Kinchen, Lubbock, Texas
- 1 Roll microfilm: 1850 census North Carolina—Bertie-Craven Counties
 Donor: Mrs. Bennie Raine, Holdenville
- 4 copies "Durant's New Motor Bank Mural"
 Donor: Clark Bass, Durant
- The Steins of Muscatine*—S. H. Stein III
 Donor: Simon Gerberich Stein III, Muscatine, Iowa
- Education in World Perspective*
Vassar College Centennial Loan Exhibition
The Magnificent Enterprise
 Donor: Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York
- "Civil War Ordnance"—American Ordnance Association
 Donor: Dr. John F. Lhotka, Oklahoma City
- 19 copies *Peace Officer Magazine*
 Donor: O. K. Bivens, Oklahoma City
- "Conditions Among the Indians of the Northwest Coast"—Samuel A. Eliot
Conditions on the Flathead and Fort Peck Indian Reservations—William H. Ketcham
"Peyote"—Robert E. L. Newberne
The Navajo Indian Problem
Regulations of the Indian Office, 1894
Regulations of the Indian Department, 1884
Executive Orders Relating to Indian Reserves from May 14, 1855 to July 4, 1902
Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States
The Osage People and their Trust Property
Indian Bureau Comments
Report of the Committee on Indian Affairs to the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government
 Donor: U. S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION:

All work papers, index cards and containers of the bibliography of early women teachers in the south and west, 1820-1865. (Final papers in Women's Archives, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts.)

Donor: Mrs. W. R. Holway, Tulsa, Okla.

Tribal Roll, Shawnee Indians, of 1889, acquired by W. W. Ives of Shawnee, Oklahoma.

Donor: John M. Ives, Stillwater, Okla.

MUSEUM

Pictures:

Battle of the Washita Monument

Donor: Capitol Hill Monument Company

Framed picture, "Treasured Memories"

Donor: Mrs. Carolyn Foreman

Hudson's Store in Coalgate

Donor: W. H. Hudson

Historical Tour Group, 1962

Donor: Bob Foresman, Tulsa Tribune

Oil Field, Panorama

Donor: Family of A. W. Gilliland

Will Rogers, Cadet at Kemper Military School and two Friends

Will Rogers, Cadet at Kemper Military School and a Friend

Will Rogers, age twelve

Donor: J. W. Cunningham

Ex-Governor Henry S. Johnston at California Trail Marker
Sawmill, Dierks Lumber Company, Wright City, Oklahoma

Harris House

700 Ranch House

Initial Point

Marker at Camp Leavenworth

Vertical Saw at Dierks Lumber Company, Wright City, Oklahoma

Donor: Bob Foresman, Tulsa Tribune

Two of the oldest Houses in Blanchard

Hotel Barber, Blanchard

Indian Tepees and Tents at Blanchard in 1908

City Hall, Blanchard

Lot Sale in Blanchard, March 1908

Lake at Blanchard, 1908

Indian Dance at Blanchard

Grain and Gin Company, Blanchard 1909

Donor: Reverend Elzie Periman

Jeanelle Baptiste and her Scrap Book

Mr. Henry Bass, Jeanelle Baptiste and Mrs. Helen Kessinger

Jack Scudder and Colonel George Shirk

Jack Scudder's Contest Entry

Exhibits:

Two David L. Payne Badges

Two Piece Carving Set with Deer Handles

Handmade Ink Well

Scarifier

Donor: Ira R. Brown

Handmade Carpenter's Plane

Donor: Vivian Couch Richardson

Shovel used by Governor Edmondson to plant redbud tree

Donor: H. Rucker

Badges (twenty-three)

Street Car Tokens (Four)

Donor: Mrs. Carolyn Foreman

German Belt Buckle

German Shoulder Decoration

Buttons from German Uniform

Russell C. Oldham's Dog Tag (World War I)

Band from Shell

Bullet, Shrapnel, Shell Fragments

Donor: Russell C. Oldham

Badges (First Inaugural Ball, Oklahoma 1907)

Donor: Orian Lewis, Curator, Colorado State Historical Society

Beaver Hat

Donor: Mrs. Norman G. Walker

United States Flag (38 stars)

Cap Case

Donor: Mrs. Guy W. Brown

Pair Baby Shoes (bought in 1901)

Donor: Alex W. Leslie

Two Confederate Bills (\$50.00 and \$20.00)

Donor: Sammy Rains

(New List of Life and Annual Members—July 26, 1962)

New Life Members

Miss Carmen Fisher	Woodward, Oklahoma
Mr. Thomas E. Petty	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Mr. Thomas L. Rider	Dover Air Force Base, Delaware

New Annual Members

Mrs. R. E. Carpenter	Ada, Oklahoma
Mr. A. K. Kimbrough	Allen, Oklahoma
Miss Hope Dolen	Duncan, Oklahoma
Mr. Robert J. P. Jones	Duncan, Oklahoma
Mr. Darryl W. Clark	Edmond, Oklahoma
Mr. Harold P. Gibson	Elmore City, Oklahoma
Mrs. Frances Tate	Gracemont, Oklahoma
Mrs. Ella Marie Corwin	Lawton, Oklahoma
Mr. O. F. Koeltzow	Lone Wolf, Oklahoma
Mr. F. L. Lewis	Madill, Oklahoma
Mr. Paul P. Shunkey	Muskogee, Oklahoma
Mr. Hartwell Hill	Norman, Oklahoma
Mrs. Mary Westrick	Norman, Oklahoma
Mr. E. H. Brewington	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Mrs. Vernoy Campbell	" " "
Mr. Ivan Cunningham	" " "
Mrs. Ralph R. Denham, Sr.	" " "
Mrs. F. H. Dodderer	" " "
Mrs. Jewell Hamm	" " "
Mr. Paul B. Howland	" " "
Mrs. J. W. Hunt	" " "
Mrs. R. L. Jarrell	" " "
Miss Eva Lee	" " "
Miss Kathleen Lowther	" " "
Mrs. Frona McRee	" " "
Mrs. Gordon J. Quilter	" " "
Mrs. C. L. Reeves	" " "
Mr. Jack Rhodes	" " "
Mr. J. Millard Robertson	" " "
Mrs. L. E. Rogers	" " "
Mrs. Hettye Summers	" " "
Mr. B. H. Graham	Pauls Valley, Oklahoma
Mrs. Lyla Key Liese	Ponca City, Oklahoma
Mr. Guy Berry, III	Sapulpa, Oklahoma
Mr. J. G. McDonald	Seminole, Oklahoma
Mr. John B. Foresman	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Dr. Paul F. Hawley	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Mr. Charles Wayne Ellinger	Weatherford, Oklahoma
Mrs. Metta Ediger	Woodward, Oklahoma
Mrs. N. T. Holt	Van Buren, Arkansas
Mrs. Ray McKee	Costa Mesa, California
Mr. Jim Ray McKee	Escondido, California
Mrs. S. W. Longino	Marietta, Georgia
Mr. Calvin Clifford	Arkansas City, Kansas
Mr. S. Allan Daugherty	Wichita, Kansas
Mr. James F. Carr	New York City, New York
Col. Wilbur S. Nye	Wormleysburg, Pennsylvania
Mr. Gerald H. Galbreath, Jr.	Columbus, Ohio
Mr. George S. Story	Providence, Rhode Island
Mrs. Forrest B. Doshier	Amarillo, Texas
Mr. C. R. Alexander	Wichita Falls, Texas
Dr. O. Reed Hill	Lebanon, Tennessee
Miss Charlotte S. Smith	Arlington, Virginia

ELECTION NOTICE TO MEMBERS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Executive Committee of the Oklahoma Historical Society, on authority granted in Article IV, Section 3, of the Constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society, has directed that a ballot for five (5) places on the Board of Directors of the Society be printed in the winter number (1962-63) of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*.

The ballot will automatically contain the names of the five (5) members of the Board whose terms are currently (1963) expiring "and the names of such other eligible persons who may be nominated thereto in writing filed with the Administrative Secretary by the first day of such year by twenty-five members who at said time are entitled to vote at the annual meeting."

Elmer L. Fraker
Administrative Secretary
Oklahoma Historical Society

ELMER L. FRAKER

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

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ELMER FRAKER

Winter, 1962-63

Volume XL

Number 4

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Cover: The scene of the "Missionary Stone Chapel at Wheelock, Choctaw Nation" on the front cover is from a rare lithograph of a scene in the Indian Territory, the only known scene in this region by the well known Lithographer C. Currier (Spruce St., New York), about 1847. The "Wheelock Stone Chapel," was erected in 1846 by the Presbyterians, members of the Wheelock Church organized in 1832. The "old Chapel" still stands on its original site, the oldest church building in Oklahoma, its location near old Wheelock Academy about two miles northeast of Millerton, McCurtain County. The original drawing from which this lithograph was delineated by C. Dickinson for Currier is in the Gilcrease Institute in Tulsa. A print of the original drawing (Mary E. Chamberlain, artist in 1847) is shown in the article on Union Mission in this number of *The Chronicles*. A comparison of the original drawing and the lithograph (cut on stone for printing) is interesting.

ANNA LEWIS: A GREAT WOMAN OF OKLAHOMA

By Winnie Lewis Gravitt*

*"I would rather work in stubborn rock
All the years of my life
And make one strong thing
And set in a high clean place
To recall the granite strength of my desires."
—Untermeyer*

Anna Lewis was born October 25, 1885 near the town of Cameron, Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory. She was the daughter of William Ainsworth Lewis and Betty Ann (nee Moore) Lewis of Choctaw descent.

Anna was the fourth child born into a family of ten children, three of whom did not survive childhood. Of the surviving, she was preceded in death by her oldest brother, Frank, 1923; by a sister, Belle, 1930, and by her youngest brother, Grady, 1952.

Anna passed away August 1, 1961, at her home near Clayton. Her home had been built on the site of the old Tushkahoma Female Institute, four miles from Tuskahoma and six miles from Clayton. She named the home "Nunih Wayah" from the sacred mountain of the Choctaws, where legend says the tribe was created. Her survivors were a brother, Curtis, of Clayton (who died on July 14, 1962); a sister Alice, Mrs. Mark Pierce, Fort Worth, Texas; and Winnie, Mrs. Andy Gravitt, of McAlester; a half-sister Ruth, Mrs. Ruth Miller of Midwest City; and a half-brother, William, Denver, Colorado.

Her early education was obtained from "Subscription Schools" of the era, and private teachers in the home. She entered the Tushkahoma Female Institute in 1900, and was graduated in 1903, later attending Mary Connor Junior College in Paris, Texas. After attending a summer "normal school" at Jones Academy, Choctaw Nation, she was granted a teacher's certificate in 1904 and that fall, began a teaching career which lasted until she retired in 1956. Four years of this period were spent as a

* *The Chronicles* appreciates this contribution and memorial on the life and work of Dr. Anna Lewis, teacher and writer in the field of Oklahoma history, written by her sister, Winnie Lewis Gravitt. Mrs. Gravitt is talented in her own right having had poems and other writings appear in different publications. Dr. Lewis made special acknowledgements in her book *Along the Arkansas* (Southwest Press, Dallas, 1932), to her sister, Mrs. Gravitt for her aid in translating many of the documents from the French in preparation for this book on early French expeditions to the region along the Arkansas River. Mrs. Gravitt makes her home in McAlester, and is retired after serving as Librarian in the Public Library of this City.—Ed.



ANNA LEWIS

student and a graduate student at the University of California at Berkeley. From California University, Anna Lewis received the degrees of A. B. in 1915, and M. A. in 1918. She continued to work toward her doctorate and after completing a year's residence at the University of Oklahoma, she was granted the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1930. She was the first woman to attain this honor from the University of Oklahoma.

Dr. Lewis' first two schools were Choctaw national schools in the Choctaw Nation. After Oklahoma statehood, she taught in Bokchito and later in the Durant City schools.

Returning from the University of California in 1916, she became a teacher in Oklahoma Presbyterian College at Durant. In the fall of 1917, she went to Chickasha to teach in the Oklahoma College for Women. Along with her duties as history teacher, she assumed the duties of Registrar. With the growth of the College, she was later able to devote her full time to the building of the Department of History, being relieved of the duty of Registrar. She became Head of the Department of History and held that position until her retirement in 1956.

As teacher, Dr. Lewis achieved her greatest satisfaction. She was a true teacher, teaching with authority, knowledge and inspiration. She challenged her students to think, to evaluate and to interpret the facts with unbiased mind. She was well known as an after-dinner speaker and lecturer. She held her audience with clear thinking and straightforward delivery. She spoke with charm and wit.

Dr. Lewis' special fields of study were American History and History of the Southwest, with emphasis on Oklahoma. In this field, she had done much research and writing. She is the author of *Along the Arkansas* (published by the Southwest Press in 1932, 250 pages); a Syllabus of lectures on the *American History and Government*; *Outlines of Oklahoma History*; and numerous articles published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*; the *University of California Press*; *Mississippi Valley Review*; *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*. She was a contributor to the *Dictionary of American Biography* and the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

Pushmataha—the American Patriot was published early in 1960, by the Exposition Press, New York. This was the first definitive biography of the Choctaw Chief, Pushmataha. It represented a work of research and writing of more than twenty years. The book was well received and reviews were complimentary. Research was done in the University of California's Bancroft Library; The University of Oklahoma; The State Library of Mississippi, Jackson, Mississippi, and the Library of Congress.

As a teacher, lecturer and writer, Dr. Lewis was well known, and in 1930 was named as one of the twenty-four prominent

women of Oklahoma. In 1932, she was included in that edition of *Who's Who*; later in *Women in Who's Who*; and *Who's Who in Oklahoma*. She was elected in the Oklahoma Hall of Fame in 1940. In 1949, she received a scholarship to the Petersborough Artist Colony in New Hampshire, the gift of the McDowell Club of Oklahoma City.

Dr. Lewis was a member, or honorary member of many organizations. She was a member of the Baptist Church; the Eastern Star; the D. A. R.; Delta Kappa Gamma;¹ American Pen Women; Mississippi Valley Historical Society; Oklahoma Historical Society; American Association of University Women; Business and Professional Women; Phi Gamma Mu; Ohoyohoma Club of McAlester; and Alphi Phi.

Upon retiring in 1956 from Oklahoma College for Women at Chickasha, Dr. Lewis was named professor emeritus of History. Early in 1940, Dr. Lewis had built a home from the stone of the old Tushkahoma Female Institute on her farm near Clayton. It was to this spacious, picturesque home she retired, reluctantly leaving it and each time returning with renewed pleasure.

Dr. Anna Lewis left the loved home for the last time on the night of August 1st, 1961. Burial was in McAlester, Oklahoma August 3rd, 1961.

In "A Tribute to Dr. Anna Lewis," Jeffie Young of Mu Chapter of Delta Kappa Gamma, writes: "We who mourn her passing realize that 'Death is but a horizon and a horizon is the limit of our eyes.' Though she has passed from our sight, her influence lives on. Transcending time itself in immortal love. Though her yesterdays are pages turned forever, on them the Master Teacher has inscribed her deeds. And today, in its book of remembrance, Delta Kappa Gamma places her name with this loving tribute among the members of the chapter eternal."

Dr. Anna Lewis' life was one of great loyalties and service to others, a living Memorial more lasting than Bronze.

¹ Dr. Anna Lewis was one of the founders of the State organization of Delta Kappa Gamma, national honorary teachers' society.—Editorial tribute to Dr. Anna Lewis in the *Chickasha Daily Express* for Wednesday, May 23, 1956, at her retirement from the Department of History at Oklahoma College for Women.—Ed.

THE INDIAN MISSION CONFERENCE OF OKLAHOMA

*By Martha Stewart**

Work among the Indians before the removal of the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, was nothing new to the Methodist Church, for many years before removal there had been faithful missionaries in the East. Many of these workers came west with their Indian friends to help them in any way possible on the journey.¹

At the close of twelve years of work in the Indian Territory the Methodist Episcopal Church consisted of 12 white preachers who were members of the Arkansas Conference; 3 Indian preachers, members of the same conference, and 21 local Indian preachers, among them Samuel Checote, a Creek. There were 1,500 Cherokee members, one thousand Choctaws, and 600 Creek members. Also 150 Negro members and 100 White members making a total of 3,350.

Methodist mission work had been so successful that the General Conference, meeting in New York City, May 1844, authorized the organization of the Indian Mission Annual Conference. Boundary lines of the Conference were Montana, on the north; Rocky Mountains on the west; Arkansas and Missouri on the east, a part of East Texas and all of the present State of Oklahoma on the south.

Bishop Thomas A. Morris was in charge of organizing the Indian Mission Conference. It met at Riley's Chapel in the Cherokee Nation near Tahlequah, October 23, 1844. This was the first Annual Conference ever held in Oklahoma. Preachers who were charter members included Thomas B. Ruble, David Cummings, J. C. Berryman, Edward T. Peery, N. M. Talbot, W. H. Goode, Johnson Fields, Thomas Bertholf, James Essex, Samuel G. Patterson, John M. Steel, Erastus B. Duncan, Isaac F. Collings, William McIntosh, Learner B. Stateler. William

* Martha Stewart is a writer of articles in Methodist Church publications. She is a member of the professional writer group, National League of American Pen Women, Oklahoma City Chapter.—Ed.

¹ The first Protestant Church service was held in the Pecan Point Methodist Circuit by Rev. Wm. Stevenson, a Methodist preacher in the vicinity of present Harris, McCurtain County, in 1818. This was an early white settlement on Red River within the limits of Arkansas Territory. A marker for Pecan Point was erected in 1962 by the Oklahoma Methodist Historical Society, under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Regular mission work among the Choctaws in this area was begun in 1831.

Oakchiah, and John F. Boot. Another member, William H. Goode was elected secretary.²

This was during the critical days just prior to the Civil War and that same year the Methodist Episcopal Church divided into two churches: The Methodist Episcopal Church and The Methodist Episcopal Church, South. This division lasted until Union of the three branches of Methodist, which included the Methodist Protestant Church, in 1939.

The Indian Mission Conference in a resolution deplored the division between the North and the South, but moved to become a part of the Southern branch of the Church. Delegates were elected to a convention in Louisville, Kentucky, in May, 1845. This group voted to have its first General Conference in Petersburg, Virginia, in May, 1846. At the time of organization there were 27 local preachers, 85 white members, 133 Negro members and 2,992 Indian members in the Conference. During the year \$217.31 had been collected locally for missions. There were now about 90,000 Indians in the Territory with some 75,000 belonging to the Five Civilized Tribes.³

The second Annual Conference met at the Indian Manual Labor School in the Shawnee Nation, in Kansas, October 23, 1845. Bishop Joshua Soule presided and James Wheeler was secretary.

The third Indian Mission Conference met at Riley's Chapel in the Cherokee Nation, November 12, 1846.⁴ This Conference adopted sixteen rules to govern parliamentary procedure, which remained in force until 1930, when a special committee on rules submitted to the conference a new list, which was adopted.

The Church now (1846) had mission schools at Quapaw, Fort Coffee, Fort Washita. The Indian Manual Labor School was located at Shevanao in Kansas. In 1843 a school for girls was opened at New Hope near Fort Coffee, Choctaw Nation.⁵

² The Reverend William H. Goode was the author of *Outposts of Zion* (Cincinnati, 1863), which gives a fine history of the Methodist mission work among the Choctaws and Chickasaws before the Civil War. Notes from *Outposts of Zion* have been used in the preparation of this article in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*.

The Oklahoma Methodist Historical Society erected an historical marker for the site of Riley's Chapel, commemorating the organization of the Indian Mission Conference in 1844. This marker is one mile south of the south edge of Tahlequah, roadside type with the inscription and erection under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society, in 1959.

³ Paul D. Mitchell; *From Teepees to Towers*, (Oklahoma City University Press, 1957), pp. 12-15.

⁴ Site of Riley's Chapel, see "Historic Sites in the Tahlequah and Park Hill Area," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1959), pp. 360-63.

⁵ Henry C. Benson, *Life Among the Choctaws*, (Cincinnati, 1860).

A school in the Creek Nation was started near present Eufaula, in 1848, called the Asbury Manual Labor School. This was the largest school in Indian Mission Conference. Choctaw Academy located near present Rufe, McCurtain County, was opened in 1849 but it did not rank as high as the others in the beginning.⁶

Progress in the Creek Nation was the most striking since the Creeks had long been hostile to Christianity. For awhile, only James Essex and Samuel Checote (both Creeks) were the only ones who dared preach in the Creek Nation. Eventually through the influence of Samuel Checote the laws prohibiting preaching by the missionaries were abrogated, and a whole district was formed in that nation. The Presiding Elder, Reverend E. B. Duncan, reported twelve churches and fifty new members added during the year.

In 1852 a school was organized in the Chickasaw Nation called Bloomfield Academy, near Achille, Bryan County.

It is interesting to note that the Tenth Conference met at the Creek Agency near the present site of Muskogee, on October 26, 1853, where not long before the preaching of the Word was forbidden under penalty of at least thirty-nine lashes or even death.

In 1854, William H. Goode, a Methodist Missionary visited Fort Gibson. He said: "the sight is beautiful and commanding. It has a general aspect of neatness and the officers live in good style but religious conditions are far from flattering. Intemperance is one of the greatest curses."⁷

In 1856, Mrs. George B. Hester, came at the age of eighteen years of age from her home in Alabama to teach in the Chicka-

⁶ This Choctaw Indian church is still called "Choctaw Academy," in the Southeast District of the Indian Mission Conference, McCurtain County. The Methodist school established here and opened in 1849 was named after the famous "Choctaw Academy" at Blue Springs, Kentucky, regularly opened for Choctaw Indian boys in 1825, and closed by 1848 because of academies founded for boys (and some for girls) in the Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory. The Choctaw Academy Church has been reported as one of the most active of its Indian membership in the Methodist Mission Conference but few, if any, have known of the origin of the name of this church. The Choctaw Academy, Kentucky, while opened for Choctaw students in 1825 under the sponsorship of Hon. Richard M. Johnson, member of Congress, was operated under the management of the Baptists. The work of the school had begun as a mission for a few Indian pupils as early as 1819 through the Elk River Association (Baptist) in Kentucky. (For history of Indian education in Kentucky from 1825, see Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vols. VI, IX, and X.)—Ed.

⁷ William B. Morrison; *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma*, (Harlow Publishing Company, Oklahoma City), P. 39.

saw Mission near Tishomingo. She organized the first Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, South in Oklahoma at Boggy Depot.⁸

Two other workers who later came made a great impact on the work. They were sisters from Alabama, Misses Dora and Lochie Rankin who came to teach in New Hope. They stayed only one year. Miss Dora returned home and Miss Lochie became the first missionary to China in the former Southern Methodist Church sent out by the women.

The Civil War days brought disruption among the people of the Indian Territory and in the Indian Mission Conference. The Indian Nations were aligned by treaty with the Confederate States at the beginning of the War but the People themselves were divided in their sympathies. No church conferences were held in 1862 and 1863, and there was no regular lay representation until 1866.

Since the Indian Nations considered that they had aligned with the Confederacy, they reserved the right to surrender their own troops at the end of the Civil War, it was not until three months after Lee's surrender that the last Indian regiment surrendered.

The Church had a great task after the war in reorganizing and rebuilding churches and schools. Its influence was directed to re-establish law and help in allaying tribal feuds. The tribal governments under the supervision of the National Government and the national life of the Indians diminished. Chickasaw Academy, Fort Coffee and New Hope were not able to open immediately after the War though New Hope was opened later as a girls' seminary.

Soon after the War, the Reverend John Harrell was appointed Superintendent of the entire Mission. He gave most of his time to the Cherokee and Creek Districts.

Only brief mention can be given here from among the conferences year by year and many of the important events in history up to the work of the present day Indian Mission Conference.

The Twenty-sixth Conference was held at Boggy Depot, Choctaw Nation, October 4, 1871 with Bishop H. N. McTyeire, presiding. John Harrell was secretary. The meeting reported 127 White Members, 4,320 Indian Members, 434 Negroes, and 61 local preachers in the Conference.

⁸ Elizabeth Fulton was born in Georgia (1839), the daughter of Rev. Defau Tallerand Fulton from Virginia—see "Sarah Ann Harlan: Memoirs," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 3 (Autumn, 1961), p. 310.

In 1885 Bishop Galloway presided over the Conference at Vinita, asking for volunteers to go to the "Wild Tribes" of the West or the Plains Indians. Reverend J. J. Methvin volunteered for this work. He gave many years of devoted service and was a loved member of the Indian Mission and Oklahoma Conferences until his death in 1941 at the age of ninety-three years. Among his converts were some of Custer's Indian Scouts, and such leaders as Kicking Bird, Andele and Hunting Horse. Hunting Horse, who lived to be 101 years old has two sons who are retired members of the Indian Mission Conference, Albert and Cecil Horse and one grandson who is an active member of the Conference. He is John Tsatoke ("Horse") pastor of Mount Scott-Comanche Methodist Church.

Andele, a Mexican, was captured as a baby by a wandering group of Kiowas, and reared by them as a son. Recognized in young manhood and restored to his family he could not endure the ways of his own people and returned to the Kiowas. He later became a Methodist preacher under the name of Andres Martinez.

The Indian Mission Conference today is the largest Home Mission Project in the Methodist Church. There are now 123 churches covering the state of Oklahoma with all pastors of Indian blood. Because of the need to follow our people wherever they are, the Conference has established Missions in Dallas, Texas; Arkansas City, Wichita, Topeka, Horton and Lawrence in Kansas. There are now over 10,000 members in the Indian Mission Conference.

In 1918, with Bishop Edwin Mouzon presiding the name was changed to the Oklahoma Conference since there were now more White members and the Indian Mission was organized as a Mission Conference.

It has been estimated that of the Indian population (123,000) in Oklahoma the Methodist Church reaches almost half that number. One in sixteen Indians is enrolled in a Methodist Church but many more look to it for help.

The Conference, covering the entire state of Oklahoma as well as the churches mentioned in other states is divided into four districts, Northeast, Southeast, Northwest and Southwestern Districts, each with an Indian District Superintendent.

The General Superintendent is the Reverend D. D. Etchieson, a member of the Oklahoma Conference; Executive Secretary of the Conference Board of Education is the Reverend S. Frank Wheeler, who is also a member of the Oklahoma Conference. Director of Youth Work is a Kiowa Indian, the Reverend Robert Pinezaddleby, the only Seminary trained minister in the Mission and a member of the Indian Mission and Oklahoma Conferences.

Two are working under the Woman's Division of the Christian Service of the Methodist Church in the Indian Mission Conference. They are Miss Martha Stewart, former Conference Director of Children's Work, and presently working with the Cheyenne-Arapahoe Churches; and Miss Jeanne Conover, present Director of Children's Work for the Conference, formerly Church and Community Worker in the North Mississippi Conference.

At present there is one young minister in one of the new seminaries in Kansas City, St. Paul's Methodist. He will soon be graduating and returning for work with his people. Another graduated last June.

The Conference is well organized with a strong Woman's Society of Christian Service; a Methodist Youth Fellowship and a growing Young Adult group.

The American Indian influence is seen in the Conference by the names of some of the pastors and churches; Ahpeatone, Deer, Tecumseh, Roughface, Wildcat, are only a few of the surnames. Some of the churches are: Thlopthlocco, Antlers, Cedar Creek, Big Cussetah, Hunting Horse, and Mulkahay.

The Indian Mission Conference is a family affair. The whole family attends the meetings. While the pastors are having their meeting the women and youth are having their business meetings and activities are provided for the children. Inside the brush arbor during the Conference meetings ministerial and lay delegates are being led in prayer by one of the older ministers, one of whom is Reverend Frank Bosin, 101 year old Kiowa Chief. Outside, shielded from the hot sun by a tent, a grandmother plays with a little boy. The child is a great-grandson of Hunting Horse the famous U. S. Army Scout.

The Conference, guided by Bishop W. Angie Smith, hears reports of Methodism's growth throughout the Mission area. Occasionally, on invitation, one tribe or another sings in its own native tongue. Or it may present a gift to some visitor.

The greater part of the program is given over to Worship and important Conference business. This blend of the old and the new takes place each summer. They usually meet at one of the District Centers. This summer it will be at the Southeast District Center near Antlers. If you do not know the way, just go to Antlers and follow the Indians! Most of them will be going to Conference.

A visitor could easily mistake the Conference for a Camp Meeting in the best Methodist tradition. Dotted about the grounds are Camp-houses where the churches of the district

serve three meals a day to all visitors. Each table seats twenty people, usually two tables to a house, and these tables are filled three and four times a meal, in each house and sometimes more, depending on the number of people attending the conference. On Conference Sunday, when appointments are read there will be from four to five thousand people on the grounds.

Indian Methodists thoroughly enjoy their Conference because they like to do things as a family. And most of the parents arrange to take vacations at this time so they will not miss this great event, which has become so meaningful to them through the years.

Today, one of our greatest needs is for more workers who understand the Indian and his problems. Someone who can appreciate his culture and his ability.

The need is also for greater opportunity for training and education for our young ministers and others interested in church work. Also for unfailing friendship, wise counsel, and guidance, all vital phases of Christian service to the "first families" of the land.

The hand of Christian fellowship must be extended to him wherever he is. We need to recruit more young people to take their places of leadership in their own conference; to help open doors of opportunity for them, to encourage them in their ambition to help their own people, and most of all to talk with them in the spirit of Christian brotherhood.

SOME CHURCH ACADEMIES IN EARLY
OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

By Frank A. Balyeat

Because the word academy has varied meanings, it is necessary at the outset of this article to make clear the meaning used here. Since Plato's famous Greek academy, in the Fourth Century, B. C., there have been many well known academies and several uses of the term. An organization of learned men and women, with a common interest, such as the Oklahoma Academy of Science, is found frequently in the history of education in both Europe and the United States. Another use is for a training institution with a special function, such as a military academy, an academy of art, or even a riding academy.

In the United States, beginning with Benjamin Franklin's famous academy in Philadelphia, it has usually meant a *non-public secondary school*. It is sponsored by some individual or organization, often a religious denomination. Some have extended their offering upward, including one or two years of college study. In early Oklahoma it was more common to include lower grades, in order that tuition income might be sufficiently increased to pay the faculty.

On the Indian Territory side of what became the State of Oklahoma, there were many academies, provided by one of the Five Civilized Tribes or by a religious denomination and these have been well reported by several writers. Neither these nor the Federal academies for Indians are included in this study. Brief reports of only six of the church academies in early Oklahoma could be included in an article of this length.

Pioneer parents in Oklahoma Territory were confronted with delay and difficulty in providing schools for their children. The seven counties in "Old Oklahoma," opened by run on April 22, 1889, had to wait till December, 1890 before a public school system was legally established. They waited much longer for high school opportunities, except in the larger towns.

This delay was partially relieved by tuition schools in most towns and in a few rural areas, some of these schools including a little high school offering. Most of those teaching some high school work were sponsored by a denomination, often a local church, with contributions by local citizens and firms to help provide needed buildings and equipment. Teacher salary usually depended wholly upon tuition receipts. Some included, also, only the upper elementary grades, but a few

included the kindergarten. Some hoped, and a few promised, to add college work later.

The six schools included here represent six denominations and four of them used the word academy at some time in their existence. The other two were so like the others and the meaning defined above, that they are included, too. They are presented in the order that they began operation: Oklahoma High School, at Norman; Stella Friends Academy, near Cherokee; Northwestern Academy, at Carrier; Oklahoma Presbyterian Academy, at Newkirk; the Cordell Academy; and the Cordell Christian College. These six schools present a variety of sponsors, other means of financial support, aid and guidance from without the area served, and the prevailing plague of lack of financial support. All were, in time, not needed when the public school system developed sufficiently.

OKLAHOMA HIGH SCHOOL, 1890-1895

Known at different times by different names, "Oklahoma High School" was that officially used most of the time by the school sponsored and operated by the South Methodist Church at Norman, from September, 1890 to January, 1895. Though in its latter months it was called a college, it was still largely a secondary school and the full time of its operation is included above.

In the spring of 1890, at a public meeting called to discuss the need for a high school in Norman, the South Methodist proposal met with general approval. A committee was then appointed with power to select a board of trustees. At their first meeting, July 23, 1890, they chose a staff of three teachers, with the Reverend J. T. Farris, A. M., as principal.¹ It was arranged to use as long as needed, the building of the South Methodist Church at the corner of Gray and Tonhawa, and such additional residential rooms as might be needed.

In the August 30, 1890 issue of the *Norman Transcript* was a conspicuous advertisement of the "Oklahoma District High School," which opened September 18, with an enrollment of 130. It should be remembered that most of these were probably in grades 1 to 8, and with none enrolled at the college level. Though some newspaper items referred to the "college," there was no official use of that word then or soon thereafter.

In newspaper publicity and advertising, Farris designated himself as "president." He thus signed an advertisement in the August 15, 1891 issue of the *Norman Transcript*, announcing

¹ Oscar A. Kinchen, "Oklahoma's First College, Old High Gate, at Norman," in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIV (September, 1936), pp. 312-323.

that the "Oklahoma High School" would begin its second year August 31, to run for two twenty-week terms, as was true the first year. He listed tuition rates as follows: Primary, \$2.00 per month; Grammar School, \$2.50; High School, \$3.00; Music, \$4.00; and Art, \$4.00. Kinchen states that the enrollment in the fall of 1891 was 150.

When the third year opened, September 5, 1892, Farris had resigned, too late for his successor to be found. Aaron McDaniel, a Norman business man, directed the school during the first half of that year. Conditions and prospects had become such that it was difficult to get a suitable man to accept the principalship. At mid-year, the Reverend A. C. Morley became president, possibly bringing with him a few pupils from the private school that he then closed at some point between Oklahoma City and El Reno. By January, 1893, the high school enrollment had dropped to 50, says Kinchen, because of obvious and increasing emphasis then on college work for girls. The University of Oklahoma had opened in September, 1892 and the tuition-free Preparatory Department soon drew many who would have attended a tuition school or could not have secured high school benefits.

Late in its first year, and extending through the second year, plans for a building and site developed. A ten-acre site at the "east end of Main Street" had been accepted, donations and pledges were secured, and work had begun on the brick and stone building. In the August 1, 1893 issue of the *Norman Transcript* is a statement that the "High Gate College Building" had been turned to the trustees by the contractors in late summer, and interior work would be finished "at an early date."

Morley still headed the school when its fourth year opened, in September, 1893. Kinchen states that High Gate College moved into the partially finished building early that year, then a school for girls, emphasizing college work, though it still depended for support much on tuition paid by high school pupils. It is probable that by that time the Norman Public School sufficiently cared for elementary pupils. The closing exercises for the fourth year is announced thus by the June 8, 1894 issue of the *Norman Transcript*: "The Female College, known as High Gate College, a South Methodist School, closed last week."

The fifth, and last year, began in September, 1894 with such decrease in enrollment and such unfavorable prospects that President Morley soon resigned when he had secured a pastorate. Kinchen states that pupils steadily withdrew until, by December, few were left and that none returned after the 1894 Christmas vacation. The school was formally closed at mid-year.

In January of 1895, the Oklahoma Sanitarium Company purchased High Gate College and grounds. During the spring,

this company added forty acres to the grounds and remodeled and enlarged the building. Their first contingent of mental patients arrived in July, 1895. The former High Gate building continued to be used until the mid-twenties, when it was razed to make room for a more suitable structure.

STELLA FRIENDS ACADEMY, 1897-1921

Stella Academy was one of the first church academies established in Oklahoma Territory and which survived many years. A member of one of the pioneer families has written a good history of that school. This section is a condensation of her article,² supplemented by information obtained by correspondence with her. She is Mrs. M. L. Coppock, Sr., of Cherokee, Oklahoma.

The Cherokee Outlet was opened to settlement on September 16, 1893. Several families of Friends, sometimes known as Quakers, migrated from farms in northern Kansas to Oklahoma in 1893 and staked claims in a neighborhood about 5 miles northeast of Cherokee and 20 miles east of Alva. They soon built a sod school house and conducted a tuition school for elementary pupils, taught by Stella Howard. It was named Stella School, in her honor.

The twenty-mile distance to the nearest high school was too far for the pupils to travel. A few were sent back to their former homes in Kansas or Iowa, but most adolescents, ready and eager for high school, could not attend. So, by 1895, the parents in this group were seriously considering the establishment of an academy. The financial pledges that they made and paid to erect and equip necessary buildings in that rural area proved a real test of their interest in the education of their children.

In the fall of 1897, the Stella community opened a high school in a tabernacle, pending the completion of their first frame building. The new school, called Stella Friends Academy, was supported by tuition and attended by children of Friends families and others, in that community and adjoining areas.

During that first year a frame building, 28 by 48 feet, was completed and occupied by the academy. All building material was hauled from places 20 to 40 miles distant. The first floor was used for school rooms and the second story provided dormitory rooms for non-resident girls. The first year enrollment was 75, increasing to 90 the second year. In 1907, a dormitory was built for girls, their former quarters then used as a boys dormitory.

² Mrs. Mary Blue Coppock, "Stella Friends Academy," in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2 (Summer, 1959), pp. 175-181.



MAIN BUILDING, STELLA FRIENDS ACADEMY



BOYS DORMITORY, STELLA FRIENDS ACADEMY

At first, the subjects were strictly academic and sufficed for college entrance. Pedagogy was added, thus helping to prepare for rural teaching. In 1911, industrial courses of a very practical nature for that farm community were included. It may safely be assumed that non-sectarian religious teaching was not neglected.

The building and operation of the Rock Island and Santa Fe railroads caused new towns to spring up which, before long, provided high schools for those towns and rural areas within daily riding distance. This caused a decline in Stella Academy enrollment and seriously reduced the income needed to pay the teaching staff. For financial reasons, the school year 1920-21 was the last. The academy was formally discontinued, the high school age pupils then cared for in public schools available to them. The buildings were sold and were razed in 1922.

Very few rural areas in early Oklahoma were so well and so promptly served with opportunities for a good secondary education. Leaders in the Friends church firmly believed in good schooling and were willing to make such sacrifices as were necessary to provide it. Alumni and former students of Stella Academy meet annually at the Friends University, in Wichita, Kansas, where records and mementos of the academy are kept in the University museum.³

NORTHWESTERN ACADEMY, 1898-1910

Northwestern Academy was opened September 19, 1898, at Carrier, ten miles northwest of Enid. It was one of the Congregational academies of Oklahoma Territory that were organized, in part, to serve as feeders for Kingfisher College which had begun in 1895. School work began in the Carrier Congregational church building, but soon had facilities adequate and well suited to the school's needs. It was on a ten-acre tract, given by Zue Carrier, aunt of Floyd E. Carrier who provided and interpreted the material needed to prepare this section. These included annual catalogs of the academy which are now in the possession of Mrs. A. E. Ford, widow of the last secretary of the academy governing board.

There were three frame buildings: (a) a main building, 32 x 44 feet, with auditorium, library, and classrooms on the first floor and dormitory rooms for boys, above; (b) a girls dormitory, 28 by 32 feet, with kitchen, dining room, and recep-

³ The Stella Academy Alumni, Mrs. M. L. Coppock, Chairman, erected an official Oklahoma Historical Marker on the site of the Academy in September, 1959 (roadside type), under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society. This marker is located north of the City of Cherokee, Alfalfa County, on State Highway 11, two miles east of the junction with U.S. Highway 64.—Ed.

tion room on first floor and six rooms, above, for non-resident girls; and (c) the principal's residence. Near the girls dormitory was a storm cellar, 10 by 24 feet. Citizens of Carrier and community provided much of the money for buildings, and at great sacrifices, considering the financial conditions of most pioneers. The Congregational Education Society, Boston, Massachusetts, rendered much "material assistance" especially in later years.

Tuition for the thirty-eight week year was \$28.00 soon after the academy opened, rising slightly in later years. A scholarship plan was designed to draw pupils from areas near Carrier. Each annual catalog listed pupils by school grade and home post-office. While most of them lived in or near Carrier, some came from other districts and from other counties. Though pupils were "accepted from six years of age, and up," emphasis was on serving the needs of high school pupils. The number of primary and elementary pupils decreased as the Carrier Public School District increased its ability to provide schooling for them.

The three high school curricula were: Classical, Scientific, and English, reflecting the prevailing secondary school practices of that time. When the late Victor E. Harlow became principal, in 1904, he was listed as teaching Latin, Greek, and German. At that time, Latin was expected of all pupils in every year of high school.

The principal had special care of the boys, especially the non-resident; a lady teacher, known as the preceptress, had similar responsibility for the girls who boarded in the dormitory. Church attendance was required of all boarding pupils and their morals were carefully safe-guarded, as each issue of the catalog shows.

College preparation was considered a major need of a minority of the pupils; some availed themselves of the opportunity to prepare for rural teaching; but the general needs for successful living was a major consideration for all. Music was stressed, serving many older youth and some adults, who were not enrolled for any other courses.

As the Carrier Public School increasingly provided tuition free, for pupils of that district, and as other towns and areas increased their high school opportunities, the academy enrollment declined, with serious threats to the financial maintenance of the school. By act of the trustees, the academy was closed at the end of the 1909-10 school year, when enrollment had dropped to forty full-time pupils. For twelve years, Northwestern had rendered real service in providing schooling through the 12th grade



(Photos by Courtesy Floyd E. Carrier)

NORTHWESTERN ACADEMY, CARRIER, OKLAHOMA



PRESIDENT'S RESIDENCE



GIRLS' DORMITORY

to many who otherwise would not have been able to attend high school.

The trustees voted to give the piano to the Carrier Congregational church. The buildings were sold in a way that would permit the public school to utilize such rooms as were needed until buildings could be provided. It was also provided by the trustees that the money received from sale of school buildings would retire the \$1,240.00 academy indebtedness.

OKLAHOMA PRESBYTERIAN ACADEMY, 1900-1905

The Oklahoma Presbyterian Academy planning was officially launched in the autumn of 1899 when a resolution was passed by the Presbyterian Synod of Indian Territory, authorizing the establishment of an academy at a suitable place in Oklahoma Territory. The school began in Newkirk in September, 1900, with an enrollment of twenty-nine the first year. The Board of Directors had purchased a quarter-section of land, minus a row of lots on the east side, next to the town. Ample campus provisions were made from this land, the remaining portion sold as residence lots to help finance the school.

The 1902 *Biennial Report* of the Territorial Superintendent of Instruction stated, "A two-story building, requisite for present needs, has been erected." This report told of additional building plans that did not develop. Highly competent instructors were secured from Eastern colleges, William Thurman being the first headmaster. He taught history, mental and moral philosophy, and pedagogy. Another man on the staff taught languages, literature, and natural science. One young woman taught mathematics and the commercial subjects and another taught music and voice culture. On paper, an ambitious offering included four years of Latin, three of Greek, and two of German, but it is highly doubtful that much of this foreign language offering was ever taught. A three-year course in teacher training was included. This academy never included any work below the high school level nor did it attempt to teach college courses.

The academy operated five years, when it was formally closed, mainly because of inadequate income. No doubt it suffered from its geographical location, being too far from most Oklahoma Territory youth. Also, by 1905 the public schools of Newkirk and other towns were providing high school work and without tuition charge. In 1905, the Directors sold the rest of the land as town lots and sold the building to a Catholic group for school purposes.

The class of 1905 consisted of just one pupil, Frank Midgly, still living in Newkirk in 1962. He had completed the full high school course in the Presbyterian Academy there. From him the

Kay County Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Wm. A. Franklin, secured most of the information used in this account of that academy. Additional and corroborating information was found in Territorial reports for that period.

CORDELL ACADEMY, 1906-1911

Cordell Academy was at first officially named "Cordell Academy of the Reformed Church of America." Sponsorship by this denomination assured better planning, supervision, and financial support than was enjoyed by any of the other church academies in early Oklahoma.

Dutch Reformed mission work in Oklahoma was, at first, largely with the Indians. One school thus sponsored was the Seger governmental school at Colony, a few miles northeast of Cordell and south of Weatherford. The pastor of the church at Colony became impressed with the need of secondary schools for white children in the nearby area of the Cheyenne and Arapaho country, which had been opened to settlement in 1892. Dutch Reformed churches had been organized in several towns of that area, including Cordell, by the turn of the century. The Reverend Richard H. Harper, pastor of the Colony church in 1907-1909 and again in 1927-1929, tells much of the background of Cordell academy in his article in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*.⁴

Harper tells of the desire of the denominational leaders to provide secondary schooling for "the young people in the western part of this great territory." When possibility of an academy was publicized, Cordell and Arapaho were the main aspirants for its location. Each made liberal offers of land and money. The Board of Education of the Reformed Church appointed a committee, which studied the relative merits of the two bids and recommended that the Board make an effort to match the amount of money raised by the town selected. Cordell was chosen. "Friends and churches contributed almost \$17,000.00. Of this amount, \$5,000.00 came from Mrs. Charles Nash Harder, of Philmont, New York, as a memorial to her husband . . . and \$5,029.000 was given by the citizens of Cordell." Later, Mrs. Harder gave an additional \$500.00 to furnish the academy building.⁵ The corner stone for this building was laid in February, 1906.

Cordell Academy began its first term September 12, 1906, enrolling sixty-five the first year, drawing from several towns from that area, then and through the five years that it operated. The first faculty of five, headed by Myron B. Keastor, was an

⁴ Richard H. Harper, "The Missionary Work of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America, in Oklahoma, Part III" in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIX No. 3 (June 1941), pp. 170-179.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

unusually well prepared staff. In 1908, the Reverend Jacob Poppon, Ph. D., became principal, still with carefully selected teachers who had graduated from eastern colleges. Courses included Classical, Scientific, Latin, English, Commercial, and others added later. Tuition was \$6.00 per quarter. No work was then, or later, offered below the high school level, but, in its latter years, some courses were taught at the junior college level, probably to very few of those enrolled.

In 1907, there was the first graduate, the only one that year, Alfred Floss Cherry, of Colony. In 1908 the only graduate was Gertrude Ash, of Cordell, now Mrs. A. R. Ash, of Cordell. She is secretary of the association of former students and teachers of Cordell Academy, which has met annually since 1941. Their collection of records and mementos is kept in the Cordell Public Library. Mrs. Ash has helped much in providing and interpreting information needed for this brief account.⁶

During the fifth year of operation as Cordell Academy, there was a "culmination of thinking" among representative church leaders that there were "too few people of that denomination coming into Oklahoma" to justify continuation of the school at Cordell. It was then voted that "the Reformed Church should retire in Oklahoma" and close the school at the end of the 1910-11 school year. An effort to continue one more year under combined Dutch Reformed and Southern Presbyterian sponsorship "was an experiment that did not prove satisfactory." The building was sold to the Cordell school district for \$8,000.00 and this money "was remitted to the principal donor of the building." Thus closed a most successfully planned and supported church academy which maintained high standards throughout its entire five years.

CORDELL CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, 1907-1918

WESTERN OKLAHOMA CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, 1921-1925

OKLAHOMA CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, 1925-1931

From September, 1907 to January, 1931, with a three-year interruption during and immediately following World War I, the Church of Christ operated in Cordell a school under the three names shown above. Though called a college, it always included a high school department and usually some elementary grades. In fact, the secondary school enrollment usually exceeded that in college. Therefore, this denominational school is included in a history of some of the church academies in early Oklahoma.

⁶ The Alumni Association through Mrs. A. R. Ash, erected an official Oklahoma Historical Marker (roadside type) under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society commemorating the site of "Cordell Academy," in 1958. Location of this marker is in the Cordell City Park, Washita County.—Ed.

Cordell Christian College opened September 1, 1907. Since no building was then ready, the Dutch Reformed Cordell Academy, then in its second year, shared space. For the additional space needed for classrooms, the Church of Christ building was used. On the opening day, seventy-two were enrolled. From the beginning, financial conditions and prospects were so discouraging that President J. H. Lawson soon resigned. The remainder of the year the school was administered by two "joint managers," chosen from the faculty.⁷

Cordell citizens raised sufficient money to buy land for a campus and erect a three-story building. With improved prospects, it was possible to attract J. N. Armstrong, who ably served as president from 1908 to 1918. In 1908 "the courses included elementary work, high school work, and a two-year college course."⁸ During the third year, 1909-10, enrollment reached 200. By 1912 a four-year college program was "offered," but it is not probable that many, if any, of the advanced courses offered were really sufficiently in demand to be taught. The below-college courses were still the main part of the school.

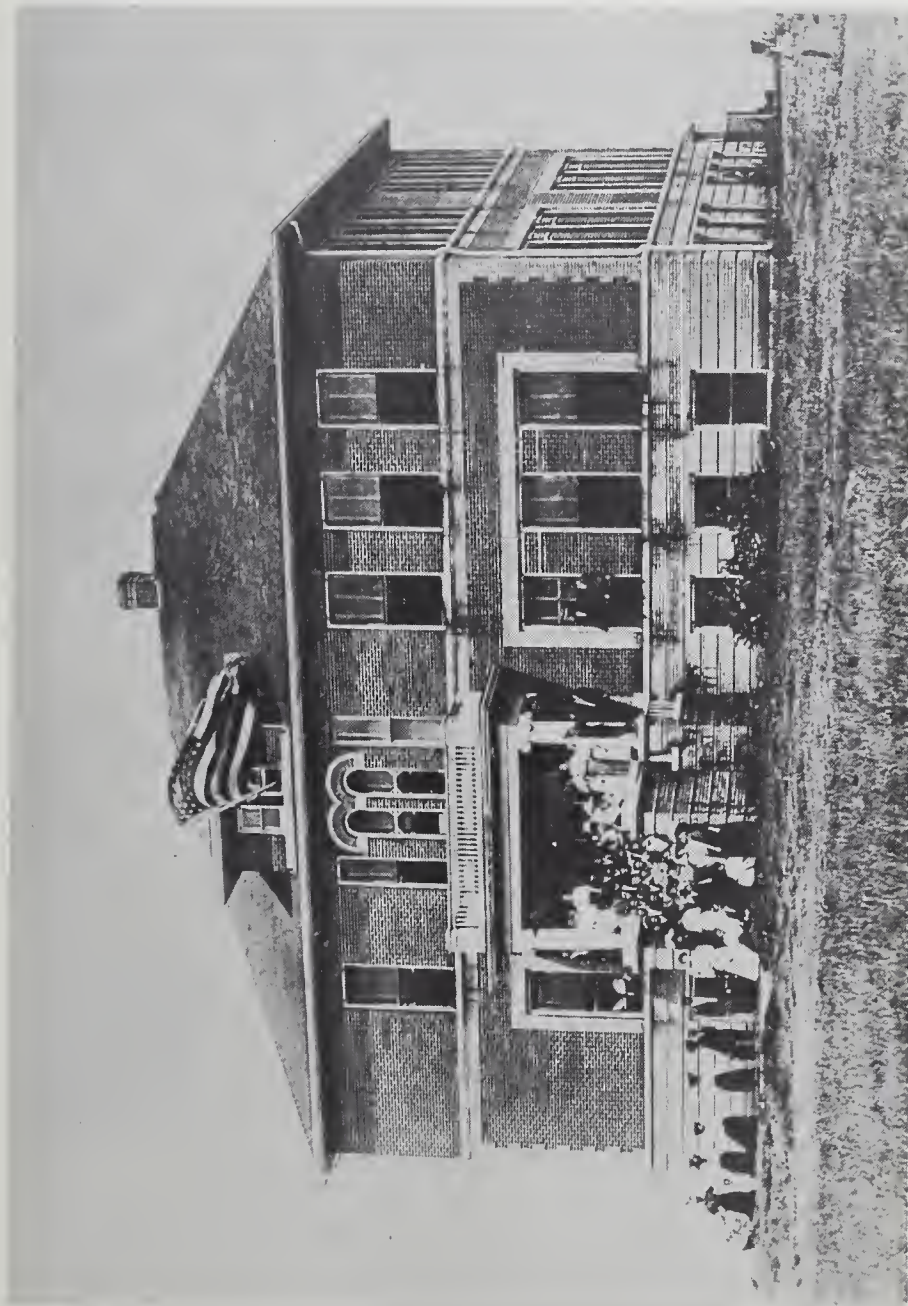
Between 1918 and 1921, the school did not operate. This was largely because of local and denominational dissension, caused by charges of pacifism brought against some faculty members. In 1921, the denominational leaders in Oklahoma made plans to resume college work, and in the town where there was the best prospect of success. The Cordell Chamber of Commerce led in raising enough money to clear the school property of debt. Work was then resumed at Cordell, but under the new name of "Western Oklahoma Christian College." "The first eight grades were taught, a full high school course was given, and the school was accredited for two years of college work."⁹ In 1924-25, the State Department of Education reported an enrollment of 181, with 121 of them below college level.

In 1925, the name was again changed to "Oklahoma Christian College." In the last five and a half years of its existence, the school had four presidents. The last of the four began in the autumn of 1930. By mid-year, the financial situation was desperate, and the school was officially and finally closed. The buildings were sold to the City of Cordell, under stipulations made in 1921. Furnishings and equipment were sold at public auction. A persistent and courageous effort of nearly a quarter of a century then ended, after ably serving many children and youth with high level schooling.

⁷ Wallace Brewer, "History of Advanced Church Education in Oklahoma," an unpublished Ed. D. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1945, p. 192.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 195

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 199



CORDELL ACADEMY, 1908

(Courtesy, Mrs. A. R. Ash)

HASTINGS BAPTIST COLLEGE

By Hugh D. Corwin

The long departed educational institution, best known as "Hastings Baptist College, or, Hastings Baptist Academy," was first established by the Southwestern Association of Congregational Churches, at Hastings, Oklahoma Territory. It was founded as a preparatory school in 1903, but had a precarious financial existence from the start, and was finally sold by Court Order in 1907 to satisfy creditors.¹

The Southwestern Association of Congregational Churches had named the school "Southwest Academy," and had intended it as a feeder for the Kingfisher College at Kingfisher, Oklahoma. The real sponsor of this movement was the Congregational Education Association of Boston, Massachusetts.²

A site consisting of two city blocks was secured from J. A. Marley, in the Marley Addition to Hastings. This was east of the townsite of Hastings, on a slight elevation with a good view in all directions. When the Academy failed, the land and the three story building reverted to J. A. Marley, who immediately offered it to the Baptist people of Hastings for a school. For four years after it was started the school did not function, successfully. It did operate for a part of three years.

The Baptist people of Hastings assisted by the citizens, purchased the property and tendered it to the Comanche and Mullens Baptist Associations at their respective sessions of 1907, on condition that these associations finish the building and maintain a school. (The Mullens Baptist Association was, and is, composed of the counties of Stephens and Jefferson, in Oklahoma.)

The name "Hastings Baptist College" was chosen for the institution. School opened again October 28, 1907, under the auspices of the Hastings Baptist Church, with the Reverend C. H. Hairfield, pastor of the Church as President of the College and his wife as a teacher. The enrollment the first day was 29,

¹ Fred W. Watts, "Baptist Educational Efforts in Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 1939), Vol. 17, pp. 33. (Hastings is in the western part of present Jefferson County. Its location was in Comanche County [Lawton the County Seat] which was organized in 1901. soon after the opening of the Kiowa-Comanche reservation. The first post office at Hastings, Comanche County, was organized on March 12, 1902, with Nancy Hopkins as Postmaster.—Ed.)

² J. M. Dyer, *History of Jefferson County* (Waurika, Okla., 1957), p. 62.



HASTINGS BAPTIST COLLEGE

but before the close of the year more than 100 were in the school. At the close of the first session Mr. Hairfield resigned, and the Reverend R. A. Rushing was elected President. When the Board of Trustees came to charter the school it was agreed that a name more suited to the location should be given it, and it was chartered as "The Southwestern Baptist College." However, it was known locally, and is still called by former students, "Hastings Baptist Academy."

After one year as President of the struggling institution, Mr. Rushing resigned and Mr. J. M. Dyer was elected President in 1909, and served one year. During this session 152 students were enrolled according to the records kept by President Dyer. He wrote:

"The Southwest Baptist College was a 'Voice in the Wilderness' preparing the way for a greater institution of religious education in Oklahoma. That institution became a reality in Oklahoma Baptist University at Shawnee, Oklahoma. There are those men and women in a score of different states that are making their marks high in the Ministerial, professional and commercial halls of the nation who look back with pleasure to Southwest Baptist College."

Mrs. Eunice Williams, Mrs. Nellie (Turner) Chilton and Homer P. Turner, all of Lawton, were enrolled in the "Old Academy" in September, 1908. Homer Turner recalls many of his school day experiences during the term of 1908-1909, while he was a student.

At this time there were not more than 60 or 70 students in attendance. The Reverend Rushing, the President, also taught classes. Mr. C. H. Hairfield, his wife and Miss Pearl Lattner were teachers. In 1908, the basement and top floor of the building were unfinished. The first or main floor was the only one in use, although the second floor was finished but not needed. The building was brick, three floors and basement. There were three class rooms on each floor, with coal burning stoves in each room for heat. Mrs. Rushing, wife of the President, was Matron of a boarding house for girls where twelve girls and two young men were housed. Homer Turner and Ben Sawyer were the fortunate or unfortunate boys to be housed with the girls. The two boys were required to use a separate back stair and were not allowed downstairs except for meals and at study time every evening when all were required to assemble around a long table in the parlor and prepare lessons for the next day. Discipline was strict, and both young men and young women were given to understand they were there to learn and must apply themselves to this task. Most students went home over the week ends. A number of those attending lived on farms nearby and several lived in Hastings. There was a High School in Hastings and the subjects taught in the Academy, were in some instances

the same as those in the High School, but stress was placed on religious education at the Academy.

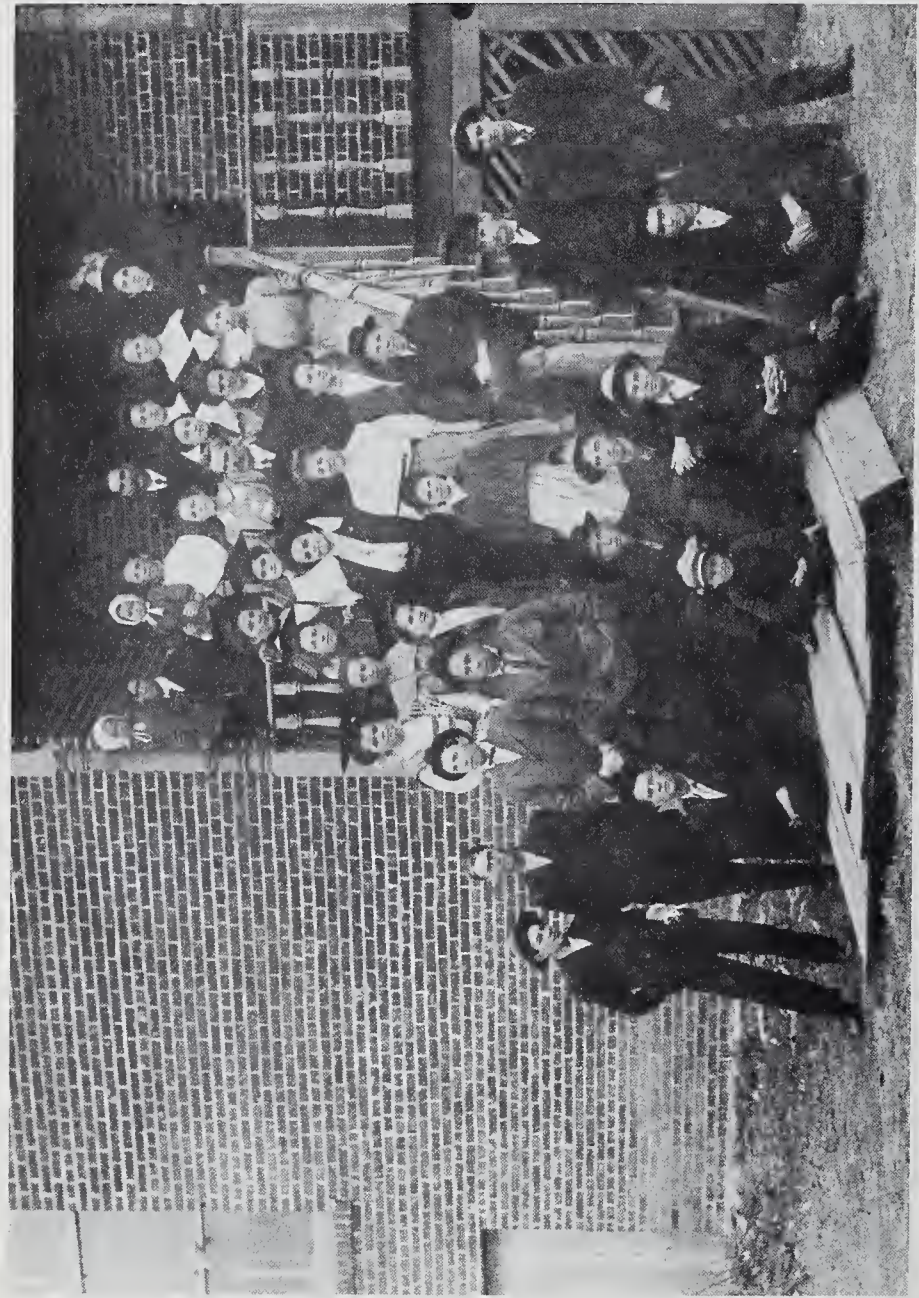
Among those enrolled in 1907-08 were the following:

Nellie Turner	Henry Paschell
Essie Davis	Homer Turner
Letha Watson	Roger Reynolds
Jewel Blades	Fender McGuire
Cora Williams	Edgar Wax
Maud Horn	Ben Sawyer
Marguerite Griffin	Frank McGuire
Eunice Reynolds	Walter Grundy
Julia Powers	Joe Boyd
Stella Tubbs	Arthur Grundy
Rev. Curbb and Wife	Henry Reynolds
Effie Shaffer	Herbert Clarkson
Ora Mae Shelton	Mattie Jones
Vanetta Staley	Vera Reynolds

In 1910, it was decided to move the Baptist College to Mangum, Oklahoma, since the school was in debt, and the First Baptist Church at Mangum had a building sufficiently large in which to house a College. The Reverend J. L. H. Hawkins was Pastor of the First Baptist Church and President. The College succeeded operating until 1913 when it, too, closed its doors forever. In this venture, some six hundred students received instruction, and approximately \$100,000.00 was expended.

The building at Hastings was never finished and stood unused and empty for many years, finally being destroyed by fire some thirty years ago. In 1957 the Mullens Baptist³ Association, in connection with the Baptist Church at Hastings purchased and installed a "Marker of History" alongside State Highway 5, on the Fiftieth anniversary of "The Hastings Baptist College."

³ J. M. Dyer, *ibid.*



CLASS 1907, HASTINGS BAPTIST COLLEGE

UNION MISSION, 1826-1837

By Hope Holway

In the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society is a precious document of Oklahoma history, the *Journal of the Union Mission*,¹ which tells the story of that first mission to be established by Protestants west of the Mississippi from April, 1820, to June, 1825. After the last entry, one has to rely for the history of the Union Mission, on letters written to the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Mission Board by the Reverend William F. Vaill,² Superintendent, or by Abraham Redfield,³ school teacher and property manager. There are glimpses, too, of those last years from diaries and letters of passing travelers or of casual sojourners at the Mission.

The "Mission Family" was a group of twenty-one persons, carefully selected by the Board of the United Foreign Missionary Society.⁴ Young Reverend Epaphras Chapman was their spiritual leader, Doctor Marcus Palmer their physician, and John Spaulding and Abraham Redfield, the teachers. There were carpenters, stone masons, and a wheelwright, as well as young women recruited as seamstresses and housekeepers and for teaching and missionary service.

The *Journal* tells the story of the long and difficult journey from New York to the site on Grand River in what was then

¹ The journal was secured by the Historical Society in 1920, from F. G. LaSalle, a book dealer of Beatrice, Nebraska, who married a granddaughter of Rev. Vaill, daughter of Thomas Scott Vaill.

² Rev. William Fowler Vaill, graduate of Yale University, pastor of the North Guilford, Connecticut, Congregational church, 1808 to 1819, the present edifice built under his ministry. Born in Hadlyme, Conn., 1783; died in Weathersfield, Ill., 1868. After leaving Union Mission in 1833 he served several parishes in New England and in the Middle West. His early life is outlined in "History of Plantation of Manuntakuck" by Bernard C. Steiner, 1897.

³ Abraham Redfield born about 1800 in Orange County, N.Y.; died 1862 at Deerfield, Mo. Carpenter and millwright by trade, also a lay preacher. His marriage to Phoebe Beach at Union in 1821 is probably the first Protestant marriage west of the Mississippi. In 1918 his only surviving son, David, then living in Ardmore, Oklahoma, writes of him: "After moving to Missouri he had a good farm, also practised his trades. He was an ardent Union man and was badly treated and robbed during the War. He was elected to the Union Convention in 1862, but died about that time."

⁴ The United Foreign Missionary Society was founded in 1817 by the merger of the Northern Missionary Society (founded in 1797 to minister to northern New York State Indians), the New York Missionary Society, and the Western Missionary Society of Pittsburgh, Pa., a union of Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed, and Congregationalist missionary effort.

Arkansas Territory. In happy anticipation of saving the souls of the heathen Osage Indians, the Family landed on February 15, 1821, and found a pleasant meadow blessed with a spring of abundant sweet water. Five log cabins under one roof were partially completed, but cooking and eating were carried on under a brush arbor until the next August, awaiting the completion of the common dining-hall and kitchen.

By that time "intermittent fever" had stricken practically all of the workers, slowing the comfortable housing of the Family. The mosquitoes themselves were a grievous plague, but in those days no one knew of the evil they carried.

The completion of the buildings, temporarily built of logs, was also delayed by the bitter realization that the timber in this locality was not at all suitable for the frame houses planned for permanent buildings. The *Journal* tells of the arduous labor which brought good pine logs down from the Spavinaw country, twenty-five miles up the river.

Early in 1826 Vaill writes to the Board⁵ that the dwelling houses are "about a dozen log cabins, decayed and uncomfortable." He lists also:

40' by 60' barn, a well-covered frame building

12'-square stone spring house, the spring flowing through it

20'-square storehouse, two-story, well-covered

13'-square frame shoemaker's shop

log schoolhouse in poor condition

kitchen and dining-hall under one roof, built of logs and
in a state of decay

old storehouse, carpenter shop, blacksmith shop, and smoke-
house, all of log construction

In September of that year came the highest flood man had ever seen on the Grand River.⁶ All the houses were filled with muddy water; some, even two-story ones, were entirely covered. Two were washed away. Furniture and clothing were ruined or lost, with bedding, utensils, and supplies. Some of that household equipment was dearly cherished, for it had been brought from those distant homes back East. Almost as hard to bear was

⁵ Vol. ABC18.4 (call number at the Houghton Library of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.) of the papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (hereinafter referred to as ABCFM), entitled "Osages, Chickasaws, and Mackinaws; Sept. 1824 to Sept. 1831."

⁶ *Missionary Herald*, Vol. XXIII (1827), p. 149.

the loss of everyday items, like pins, needles, thread, mosquito bar, quills, paper, and ink. Thirty acres of corn ready for harvest was ruined; cattle and pigs drowned. It was a hard blow both physically and psychologically.

A year and a half later, in May, 1828, the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury and David Green⁷ wrote to Jeremiah Evarts,⁸ the Board Secretary: "Location unfortunate—in a narrow, sunken, wet valley. A good spring of limestone water in the center of the yard the only thing that can recommend it . . . Garden soil hardens here so that crops do not grow well, and in several of the buildings water runs under the loose, open floors in wet weather, a very unhealthy condition."⁹

Plans for permanent buildings were hampered by the uncertain future which soon faced the Mission because its site was included in that part of the designated hunting outlet to the Plains allowed to the Cherokees by the Treaty of 1817 and later was definitely included by treaty in the Cherokee lands from which the Osages were to be moved farther west and north. Consequently the lifetime of any mission to the Osages at this place must be short, unless the work of the mission were transferred to other tribes coming late into this area. As early as October, 1826, the Mission writes to Vaill, then in the East:¹⁰

We have not made any preparations for building because we have received no order from the Board. We would venture to put up a

⁷ Cyrus Kingsbury, born at Alstead, N.H., 1786; died at Boggy Depot in the Choctaw Nation in 1870. Graduate of Brown University and Andover Theological Seminary, ordained to the Congregational ministry in 1815, he began his service as a missionary of ABCFM and founded Brainerd Mission in 1817, later serving at Elliott and Mayhew. In 1836 he and his wife, Electa May of Goshen, Mass., arrived at Pine Ridge in the Choctaw country. He was active in the service until his death at the age of eighty-four, greatly respected and loved by his co-workers. W. B. Morrison "Diary of Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III (1925), p. 152.

David Greene, Yale and Andover graduate, followed Jeremiah Evarts as Secretary of the ABCFM Board. In 1826 he took an eight months' tour of Indian Missions, visiting thirty stations and traveling 6,000 miles. Later he was editor of the *Missionary Herald* and was associated with Lowell Mason in developing church psalmody.

⁸ Jeremiah Evarts (1781-1831), one of the founders of ABCFM, first editor of *Missionary Herald*, Corresponding Secretary of the ABCFM Board for ten years and Manager of the American Bible Society. Very strongly opposed to moving the Indians west, in 1829 he wrote for the *National Intelligencer*, under the pseudonym of "William Penn," "Essays on the Present Crisis in the Condition of the American Indian." He died of tuberculosis at the age of fifty.

⁹ Kingsbury's Report, May 8, 1828—ABC18.4.8, Document No. 119.

¹⁰ ABC18.4.8, No. 52. As early as 1824 Richard Graham, Indian Agent, writes to the Secretary of War; "If Clamore's village is removed, it will be necessary to remove the missionary society established on the Verdgrease to some other point." *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, Vol. XIX, Ark. Ter.—1819-25, p. 617.



(Courtesy of Gilcrease Institute, Tulsa)

Print from the original drawing of Wheelock Mission Church, by Mary E. Chamberlain, 1847, Choctaw Nation. The reproduction of this original drawing, is shown on the front cover of this number of *The Chronicles*, from the rare lithograph by the noted Currier. Wheelock today is the oldest church building in Oklahoma, erected by Presbyterian missionaries in 1846 and now owned by the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. (South), near Millerton, McCurtain County.

house, but not knowing whether this station is to be retained by the Board, we do not know whether to put up a log house or to begin the putting up of a new frame house. Every mail we expect some order from the Board.

Four months later Vaill writes, "Lovely's Purchase being settled—makes site of Union more uncertain."¹¹

The workers at Union were never sure of just what to plan about permanent buildings, and their Missionary Board back East was no more certain concerning the future and so could not advise. The replacing of the first log buildings with framed ones, sealed with pine boards, was a slow process, even though the lumber was sawed in the Mission mill up on the hillside.

This mill, completed in 1823 at a cost of \$4,000, was the pride of the Mission, although Kingsbury's 1828 report speaks of it as costly to operate and "not a profitable appendage to the Mission." In a large building with wheelroom 49 feet square, the 36-foot wheel was moved by oxen, for no good water-power seat could be found nearby. The saw-mill could cut 1,000 feet of board "between sun and sun," and the grist mill could grind 80 to 90 bushels of grain in the same time. It was a great convenience to the surrounding country as well as to the Mission, but its costly operation required sixteen oxen and two men. The pasture contiguous, not over eighty acres, was hardly enough to feed so many oxen. However, by dint of repairs growing ever more frequent, the mill operated until 1835, when Redfield reports, "The irons under the great wheel are worn out."¹²

The mill gave rise to annoyances other than frequent breakdowns, for a letter from William Requa of Hopefield to Henry Hill in 1831, states "Union charges \$2.00 a bushel for wheat and every fifth goes for toll. \$12 a barrel for flour—will order from Chouteau—it is half as much."¹³

The hope to replace all the log buildings was never quite fulfilled. In 1829 Vaill reports that the houses for Redfield, George Requa, and Doctor George Weed are raised and enclosed. The dining-hall is enclosed, a men's room for older male pupils at the school is added to the Vaill house, and a meat-house is

¹¹ ABC18.4.8, No. 92, Feb. 9, 1827. William L. Lovely, assistant to Col. Return J. Meigs, Indian Agent, transcended his powers when he bought for the Government 7,000,000 acres north of the Arkansas River between the Verdigris and White Rivers in exchange for Cherokee and white claims against the Osages. In 1824 all these lands were included in Arkansas Territory.

¹² ABC18.4.4, No. 199. Call number of ABCFM volume in the Houghton Library. titled "Chickasaws, Creeks, Osages, 1831-37."

¹³ Document #159 in ABCFM Papers Vol. 79 (old number), Jan. 15, 1831. Henry Hill was treasurer of the ABCFM Board.

built. In 1830, a house was being build for Mr. Woodruff, the blacksmith—"cannot do without a blacksmith." The truth of this remark is evident from a bill submitted to the Reverend Isaac McCoy, in his work for the Government surveying parties from August to October, 1831, totaling \$88.25¹⁴ Besides horse-shoeing, the bill includes such items as "handling frying-pan," bracing spades, cutting of wagon tongues, making steel markers, and linch pins, repairing guns and pistols.

To quote a few of the prices:—bracing spades, \$1.25; 1 pr. bullet molds, \$1.50; bridle bits, 25c; repairing canister and pail, 12½c. Similar work was done for the Mission Family, especially the repairs, for there was no corner store nearby to replace broken utensils. Other farm equipment had to be supplied since the ploughs brought by the Family were not heavy enough for the rough prairie sod, and required constant strengthening.

In May of 1831 Richard and Sarah Vaill are writing to their Aunt Ursula Selden in Connecticut and tell her:¹⁵

Our house room is now more extensive and we generally have plenty of company to occupy them as the road from Wisconsin to Arkansas passes here and people generally make it a stopping place. The log cabins in which we were once crammed are nearly all demolished for firewood. The Mission now rather has the appearance of a neat little village. There are about six or seven dwelling houses besides the dining-hall and storehouse and several outhouses. These are placed around a square about twenty rods long and ten rods in breadth which forms the Yard and is now set with a row of trees on each side.

Washington Irving's *Journal* speaks of the comfortable house of Mr. Vaill where he and U.S. Commissioner Ellsworth were accommodated. Latrobe, the English naturalist traveling with them, writes of the pretty situation and arrangement of the buildings. But Vaill's house was damaged in the gale of 1835, and Mr. Redfield regrets that he cannot repair it before he leaves.

In 1831, Vaill reports as follows on the Mission property, estimated at a value of \$15,000,¹⁶ not including provisions, utensils, furniture, etc.

1,000 acres ploughed land, 80 acres pasture	
8 yoke oxen	\$ 300
10 steers	200
200 head cattle	1400
100 hogs	400

¹⁴ McCoy Papers, Vol. 19, July 12, 1831. Isaac McCoy was Baptist Missionary and Government surveyor of Indian tribal boundaries, founder of the American Indian Association and editor of their journal, and author of "History of Baptist Indian Missions" (1840).

¹⁵ Typescript in Union Mission File—Oklahoma Historical Society Library.

¹⁶ ABC18.4.4, No. 92, Nov. 10, 1831.

5 dwellings/700	3500
Mill	2000
Other buildings	2000

Six years afterward (in 1837), William Requa is down at Union, "looking things over,—not much to salvage."¹⁷ By 1839 the passing traveler could see only the overgrown ruins of a few buildings and the cemetery on the hill.¹⁸

In that cemetery, clustered around the white stone of the young leader, Epaphras Chapman,¹⁹ were many rude headstones, markers for the little graves, among them one for the Vaill's two-year-old daughter, born at Union in 1824, and one for little Charles, son of Isaac and Christiana McCoy. Seven Redfield children slept there, four of them dying in that terrible summer of 1834, months of extreme heat and drouth and resultant cholera, when the Mission suffered the great sorrow of the deaths, within a few weeks of each other, of Reverend and Mrs. Wm. B. Montgomery of Hopefield.²⁰ They were buried beside the little graves. Susan Comstock Requa²¹ of Hopefield also lay under the oaks on that quiet hill.

Asenath Selden Vaill, wife of Reverend Vaill, became depressed and not herself in that same ill-fated year and her husband took her back to her home in Hadlyme, Connecticut, where she succumbed to the results of the hard work of mission life which she had come to believe was futile and useless effort. She died at the age of thirty-nine, a young woman with mind and body broken. William Vaill, the most hopeful of the leaders, a man who evidently somewhat enjoyed the work of setting up an outpost of civilization in the wilderness, felt himself defeated and resigned from the missionary service that same year.²²

¹⁷ ABC18.4.4 No. 211, May 7, 1837. William C. Requa of Tarrytown, N.Y., was one of the founders of Hopefield Mission.

¹⁸ *Arkansas Gazette*, June 12, 1839, p. 3, Col. 1. Copied from St. Louis Saturday News, "Sketches of Arkansas and Life among the Indians."

¹⁹ M. L. Wardell, "Protestant Missions Among the Osages, 1820 to 1838," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Vol. II (1925) p. 284; Oscar W. Davison, "Oklahoma's Educational Heritage," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, (1940).

²⁰ Rev. Wm. B. Montgomery of Danville, Pa., and his wife, Harriet Woolley of New York City, leader of the original Harmony Mission party, who, in 1821 established a station among the Osages, 150 miles north of Union.

²¹ Susan Comstock Requa, wife of William, came from Wilton, Conn., as a member of the Union Mission Family, but after her marriage lived mostly at Hopefield. Richard Vaill, in a letter to his aunt, speaks of her plan to make a sketch of the Mission grounds for the friends back home.

²² Facsimiles of Vaill letters, in the Union Mission File of the Oklahoma Historical Society Library.

Phoebe Beach Redfield²³ was perhaps of sterner stuff than Asenath Vaill or her love of teaching carried her through the loss of seven children and the hard manual labor which every woman in the Mission had to undergo, for she and her husband were the last to leave Union, staying until 1837, when everything was closed. They then went to Missouri to live.

Sixty years later Ann Eliza Robertson writes to a daughter-in-law of Phoebe Redfield of her memory of Phoebe when the Worcesters lived a short while at Union, when Ann Eliza was a ten-year-old girl:²⁴

Your parents lived just across the Yard from us, and I always counted it a great privilege to go and see Mrs. Redfield, for she was a truly lovely woman. Her seven children slept side by side in the Mission graveyard on the hill, but a little adopted Osage girl of two years old had her loving, motherly care. What told me much of what she had been to the Indian girls in that school was seeing Osage young women in their wild Indian dress come to her and take hold with practiced hands to help her in her work and noticing the loving trust between them and her.

Phoebe was only about thirty-five years old at the time Ann Eliza was at Union. Married only fourteen years, she had borne and lost seven children.

The amount of physical labor necessary merely to sustain life in the early missions is staggering to think of. Not only satisfying the hunger of a "family" approaching one hundred persons when the school was at its height, but the spinning, weaving, sewing, cleaning, and mending of all the clothing, even the footwear of so many. There were the seasonal chores of making soap, dipping candles, salting the meat after the butchering, and the boiling down of the salt spring water, a tedious method of providing salt. All this with materials and utensils hard to get. The slow, precarious journeys of the missionary boxes from the East were one of the trials, but their arrival was one of the joys of missionary life.

Nature added some plagues other than floods. For three months of 1827 the prairie flies were so bad that the cows and calves had to be turned into the thickets of the range, and so no milk or butter.²⁵ Work with the oxen and horses had to be done at night. The continuing depredations of the Indians,

²³ Phoebe (Beach) Redfield, member of the Union Mission Family, born about 1800 at Newburgh, N.Y.; died in Deerfield, Mo. in 1866. During the sixteen years she was at Union Mission, teaching the small children and training the older girls in household arts, she bore seven children and lost them all. After the move to Missouri there were three more sons,—John, William, and David, the latter surviving to old age.

²⁴ Ann Eliza Robertson, the oldest daughter of Samuel Worcester, briefly lived at Union Mission when she was ten or eleven years old.

²⁵ *Missionary Herald*, Vol. XXIII, (1827), p. 310.

stealing and killing the livestock, was another source of anxiety. At one time as many as forty pigs were stolen in one night.

There were happenings now and then that were exciting. Terror caused by the Pawnee and Delaware raids within a very few miles of the Mission drove the Osage families of the French traders nearby and the Hopefield Osages "panic-struck with fear," into the protection of the Mission. They came pouring into the houses and even crawled under the beds.²⁶ The missionaries themselves did not fear attack which would offend the Great White Father, but the drain on Mission resources was too heavy and appeal was made to the Fort Gibson Garrison to remove the Indians to its protection, which General Arbuckle did.

In the late 1820's there was bi-weekly preaching at the Garrison to such of the soldiers and their families who would listen. Few of the Osages were coming to Union to hear the sermons; and even the preaching tours out into the tribe met with difficulties. Interpreters were hard to secure; the Indian agents were reluctant to allow preaching. Chief Clermont did not want preaching in his village, the largest of the Osage settlements, twenty-five miles away. But one of the missionary's obligations was to preach the Gospel to the heathen. Nathaniel Dodge from Harmony, Cephas Washburn from Dwight, and William Vaill from Union undertook a preaching tour among the Osages of three weeks' duration in 1832.²⁷ There was also a tour in the Creek country, but neither met with great success.

Besides the tours, there was considerable coming and going of the Mission Family. In 1826 Vaill went East and with him his daughter Elizabeth for further schooling and Sister Chapman, leaving the Mission after her husband's death. The next year, Mrs. Vaill's sister, Miss Eliza Selden, came to marry Mr. Douglas, the steward. His appointment as such by Reverend Vaill caused some talk, for George Requa, William's cousin, had been appointed steward by the Family during Vaill's absence. Very much offended by Vaill's action, Requa resigned as a missionary and became a hired hand, responsible for the care of the stock and the meat supply.

The William Requa family had to live at Union while Hopefield was being rebuilt after the flood and moved farther up the river. Requa wrote to David Greene in January, 1829,²⁸ "We feel that we were charged pretty high for our board while called by Providence to tarry there for a season." The board bill

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid, Vol. XXVIII (1832), p. 288. Also Vol. XXVI (1830), p. 286—a discussion of missionary preaching.

²⁸ ABC18.4.8, No. 79, Jan. 8, 1829.

was \$28.00 for seven weeks for the Requa family and \$2.50 a week for Mrs. Montgomery and child.

A fifty-mile journey to Dwight Mission to visit Cherokee chiefs along the way, undertaken by William Requa in 1828, was a journey more laborious than a trip to Europe today. His hope was that this tribe would be willing for the Mission to remain within their territory and serve them, but the Cherokees greatly feared that missionary establishments would encroach on their new land and bring in too many white people. So they refused to allow the Mission to stay on the banks of Grand River.²⁹

In 1830, the William B. Montgomerys came to live at Union and the young Dr. George Weed and his wife came from Dwight Mission, for someone was needed to take the place of Dr. Marcus Palmer who had gone to Fairfield Mission among the Cherokees the year before with his wife, Clarissa Johnson from Connecticut, a member of the original Family, teacher and religious worker for these eight years. Her sister Jerusha, later to be Dr. Palmer's second wife, arrived in Union in 1832. Dr. Weed and his wife Eliza Lathrop of Massachusetts, remained at Union only two years, he serving as physician and also as keeper of accounts, and their house was a boarding home for Indian children.

In 1833 John Fleming and his wife, Margaret Scudder, came to Union from a year's stay in the Creek Country. Fleming speaks of his wife as teaching a small school. Just what that school was is problematical, for in 1833 Mr. and Mrs. Mathias Joslyn were teaching the Mission school, Mrs. Joslyn taking charge of the mission children when the school was closed. Elizabeth Vaill comes back from the East, hoping to teach in the school, but when she finds Mrs. Joslyn there, she decides to be married instead to William Waldo, a trader and merchant.

Her sister Sarah had been married the year before to Reverend John Montgomery, Princeton graduate and a missionary of Illinois. Also this year Mr. Redfield takes his only vacation in twelve years and goes back to New York for a few weeks.

There is no mention in the records of a building especially for church services or funerals, or for the meetings of the Indian Mission Presbytery, loyally sustained by the handful of ministers from Dwight, Harmony, and Union. There was also the Neosho Temperance Society. In 1833 there were thirty-seven members, about half Indians with two blacks.³⁰

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ ABC18.4.4, Vaill to Greene, July 28, 1822 (No. 117).

In 1826, the affairs of the United Foreign Missionary Society were "assined" to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which meant support and direction would come from a new source. When the Committee from the Board came to look them over as did Cyrus Kingsbury and David Greene in 1828 and Kingsbury again in 1835, there must have been much conjecture and desperate hope as to the contents of their report.

In 1834 Cassandra Lockwood³¹ and her husband Jesse rode on horseback from the Dwight Mission, fifty miles away, to make a visit in the Osage country. Union was one of their stopping places and Cassandra speaks of Vaill, Montgomery, and Redfield and their good health. "With their mission family we had some precious seasons of religious conversation and prayer. We talked of the uncertainty of life and 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." This is a tribute to a group which had differences of opinion but which seemed never to have serious rifts or quarrels.

Besides the families from Hopefield there were others who came to live at the Mission for a few months at a time. In June of 1831 Isaac McCoy, the Baptist missionary employed by the Government to survey the Indian boundaries came to Union with his wife Christiana and four of his children to live there while he made the surveys with his eldest sons, Calvin and Rice, and Dr. Andrew Jackson Donelson of Tennessee, the nephew of President Andrew Jackson's wife. The McCoy children were Charles, two and a half years old; little Isaac, six; Eleanor, ten; and twelve-year-old Nancy, a child afflicted in both mind and body.

Their journey from daughter Delilah Lykin's home in Missouri was three hundred miles of exposure to rain, high water in the streams, wet ground for a bed, and perilous crossing of the rivers in open canoes with log contrivances attached, which process they called "rafting." To get across the rivers with this party of twelve persons, three wagons and ten horses, three cows and two calves, meant unloading and loading, easing everything down the steep river banks, and pulling all up again on the far side—sometimes a whole day to cross one river. From June 8 to June 28, Christiana and her children traveled toward an unknown home. McCoy had the Osage Agency in mind, but found no white people there at that time. So Union Mission

³¹ "Letters of Cassandra Sawyer Lockwood, Dwight Mission, 1834," annotated by Joseph B. Thoburn, in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII (1955), p. 202.

with its kindly Family must have seemed a haven of refuge to the McCoy's.³²

In the fall of that year (1831) Vaill writes to Lewis Cass,³³ Secretary of War, "We were happy to open our doors to accommodate them (the McCoy's) with a temporary residence at this central station, knowing him to be devoted to the cause of the poor Indians. We have found him and his family to be very worthy and agreeable people."

And in August Vaill had written to David Greene:

It is a matter of joy to me that so good a man is at the head of this business, a man who, I have no doubt, has the good of the Indians at heart, although he has been an unqualified advocate of their removal. . . . he found me agreeing with him in this position—let us do good to them as we have the opportunity to do what we can to alleviate their circumstances, taking their condition as it is or may be.

This is one of the few references in these sources to a burning question of the day,—the removal of the Indians from their home in the East to these western lands, Vaill apparently not a strong supporter of such a policy, but desiring to help the Indian wherever he might be.

McCoy came and went during the weeks of that summer on his government business and on the Sabbaths he preached and exhorted many times for the Mission and once for the Presbytery meeting, although it was always in his mind that this was a Presbyterian Mission and the Baptists ought to bestir themselves to set up a mission of their own in this locality. He was much interested in John Davis, the young Creek Baptist convert, who was for a time a student in the Union school. He married Maria Reed, another Creek student there. He was building a cabin thirteen feet square for himself and wife when the McCoy's arrived.

One wonders whether this is the cabin where Jothan Meeker³⁴ stayed with Davis the next winter after the McCoy's had gone. Davis had received an appointment from the Baptist Board at \$"200 a year and one horse" to preach among the Creeks and to McCoy he seemed "pious and devoted to doing good among his people."

Meeker had no appointment and came at McCoy's urging to spend the winter at Union while deciding where to locate. It was a personal arrangement of McCoy's—one of his "contrivances." He wrote Meeker, "We will live—or starve—together." Meeker was a printer and McCoy evidently had an idea that

³² McCoy Papers, Vol. 19, Aug.-Dec., 1831.

³³ ABC18.4.4, No. 92, Oct. 1, 1831.

³⁴ Jothan Meeker's diary in the Manuscript Division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

the printing press which had been promised the Cherokees in their treaty at a cost of \$2,000 might be brought here for Meeker, and with two Baptist preachers located here—and a press—there was a possibility of a Baptist Mission establishment. But Meeker stayed only a few weeks and then went north to the station where his real work was done among the Ottawas.

In spite of the easing of their domestic finances with the \$5.00 a day government pay for Isaac and \$3.00 a day for Calvin and Rice, it was not a happy stay at Union for McCoy's family. Little Isaac fell from a tree and broke his arm, which his father says was never entirely healed. There is no mention of a doctor attending him. The death of little Charles, whose sprightliness and prattle made him a favorite of all about him, was a great sorrow. Rice, the second son educated to be a physician, began to show serious signs of the illness which was to take him away from them the next year. When the heavy snows came in December, it was decided that the family should move to daughter Delilah's house at Shawanoe. Another toilsome 300 mile journey in the midst of winter, a party of seventeen this time, for the surveying hands were returning to their homes in Missouri. But it was only ten days before they reached Delilah's, for some of the rivers could be crossed on the ice, which was a much quicker method than "rafting."

Isaac McCoy's busy and dynamic presence at Union that year must have added to the "secular business" which Palmer and Redfield deplored and of which the Missionary Board did not at all approve. Perhaps Vaill was of a different mind and realized more than the others that some of the government money being disbursed for these surveys might as well come to Union Mission and serve to assist its finances.

In the McCoy letters at Topeka, there is a lengthy and very neat statement in Vaill's hand, of the articles furnished by the Union Mission "for the use of the U.S. in exploring and surveying Indian lands" from July to December, 1831, in amount \$311.12½. There is beef (some salted) at 30c per lb.; corn, 50c to \$1.00 per bushel; oats, "for packing," 15 bundles \$1.00; tobacco at 37½c per lb.; crackers, 37½c; sugar, \$1.25 for 6 lbs.; ½ bu. onions 75c; and there is flour and meal, tea, salt, and potatoes. Perhaps the Union supply of these latter was low, for Reverend Dodge of Harmony furnished McCoy with sugar, salt, and tea, sent to him at the Osage Agency in July. Other supplies were scythes, powder and lead, axes (\$3.50 for a large one), 16 foot plank for table, and a charge for a team drawing boards for a corn crib, which must have been at the surveyors' camp. There are also pine planks for canoe poles and one-half the amount of a canoe (\$3.00).

Historically speaking, the most important tenants of Union in the later years are Samuel A. Worcester and his family, then consisting of Ann Orr, his thirty-six-year-old wife with children Ann Eliza (ten), Sarah (eight), Hannah (four), and Leonard, born a few months after arrival. A long journey of fifty-one days brought them from the Eastern Cherokee country to Dwight Mission. After a short stay there in the fall of 1835 they came to Union to live. The press was already set up there and remained until the late spring of 1836, when it was moved to Park Hill near the Fork of the Illinois, considered a more suitable location for a Cherokee printing establishment. While at Dwight Worcester planned and carried on his negotiations with the Cherokee Council,³⁵ which ended in a somewhat grudging permission for his press to be located at Park Hill. Buildings had to be erected there and tedious arrangements made for the establishment of the Mission and the press, but this interval was filled with a surprising amount of printing accomplished at Union during the year of 1836.³⁶

Of these months we have a recollection of Ann Eliza (Worcester) Robertson when she was a little girl at Union, in her letter of 1898 to Mrs. Redfield:

In this Mission your husband's parents had been laborers for many years but when I knew them the Mission had been discontinued and the Osages were moving away to give place to the Cherokees, for whom their land had been promised, and your father-in-law was in charge of the business in closing the Mission. He was my S.S. teacher that year, and I have always been thankful that he had us commit to memory hymns as well as Bible chapters for our lessons.

A gruesome recollection of Ann Eliza's was the eating of a Mission cow by the wolves, a reminder of the nearness of the wild, unsettled country.

All contacts with the outer world were not of the character of Mrs. Lockwood's visit or of Mrs. Robertson's recollections. Though Union Mission was a spot in the wilderness, a settlement thirty miles from the nearest postoffice at Fort Gibson, the old road from St. Louis and the northern settlements practically ran through the Mission yard, leading down to the Red River and Texas. It was first an Indian trail and then the Osage Trace for the hunters and trappers carrying their pelts to St. Louis as far

³⁵ Alice Robertson Collection, Letter 3B, (facsimile—original in ABCFM Papers in Houghton Library. Given in full in "Samuel Austin Worcester, a Dedication," Muriel H. Wright, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVII (1955), p. 2.

³⁶ "Oklahoma Imprints, 1835-1890,"—Lester Hargrett (Bibliographical Society of America, 1951). ABCFM Annual Report of 1849 lists the Cherokee translations in "Books Printed in the Cherokee Language previous to Jan. 18, 1848," and this list includes "Child's Book—1835—18mo—8 pps.—200 copies."

back as 1802.³⁷ For many years it was the only road to the Texas country and was called the Texas Road or "Trace." The Mission Family were spectators of the journeyings of explorers, soldiers, premature settlers, traders and hunters, and driven bands of wild horses heading toward a market to the north. Frequent was the sound of rattling mule or horse-drawn wagons, jangling harness of military companies, or the slow plodding of pack mules, all passing by their doors. The dust of summer rose in clouds; the mud of winter caked upon their paths. The Mission men came to the rescue of those who attempted the fording of Grand River in flood or directed the new traveler to the nearby salt spring. Sometimes soldiers from the Garrison stopped on their way up the Grand to cut pine lumber needed for the fort; sometimes travelers asked for food and were supplied from the mission's scanty store; sometimes it was a physician that the passer-by was looking for.

The camping grounds nearby were used by large parties for a short stay, but even then the party leaders would be welcomed and hospitality would be offered. In 1828 a delegation of Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws from the East, forty-two persons in all, came by on their way from St. Louis to appraise the lands as far south as the Canadian River, offered to them by the U.S. Government in exchange for their lands in the East.³⁸ The party was under the command of Capt. G. H. Kennerly, Lieut. Washington Hood was topographer, and Isaac McCoy was treasurer. Peter Pitchlynn was one of the Choctaw chiefs and Levi Colbert was with the Chickasaws. They passed by the Mission on November 28, 1828. Although in the official mission diaries there is no comment, McCoy's Journal remarks that the Indians did not think it was very good land which was being shown them. He also speaks of the jealousy and cupidity of the agents being a handicap for the Indians. At that time Union must have looked like a permanent settlement, for the frame buildings were completed and the outbuildings repaired. The mill was running at full capacity and the school had thirty Indian pupils. But in 1831 McCoy remarks that the Mission settlement looks much better than it did in 1828.

In the fall of 1832 the Mission's most distinguished visitor, Washington Irving, at that time a famous author,³⁹ spent a night there. He arrived from Col. Chouteau's establishment at the

³⁷ "Down the Texas Road"—Grant Foreman (University of Oklahoma Press. 1938).

³⁸ McCoy's Journal, edited by John F. McDermott in the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII (1944-45), p. 400. The Foreman Papers (Gilcrease Institute), Vol. 36, p. 42, mentions this expedition, referring to Letter Book No. 5, page 10, of the Office of Indian Affairs.

³⁹ George H. Shirk, "Along the Washington Irving Trail in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXV (1957).

Grand Saline in a "dearborn," a two-horse wagon, government property, loaned by Isaac McCoy from his survey party,—a proper loan, for Irving's companion was Henry Ellsworth, U. S. Commissioner sent out to "study the territory, to mark the boundaries, to pacify the warring Indians, and to establish order and justice," according to a law passed that summer by Congress on President Jackson's recommendation. Mr. Ellsworth, forty-one years old, was president of the Aetna Life Insurance Company of Hartford, Conn., and had been Mayor of that city, a man with a strong religious strain, kind-hearted and conscientious. Irving speaks of him in his journal as a "very gentlemanly and amiable person." He was on his way to meet the other two commissioners at Fort Gibson. Meeting by accident, Irving was intrigued at the prospect of a tour in the wilderness with such a companion. Irving's journal for the 7th of October, 1832, a Sunday, says that they left the Grand Saline at two o'clock that afternoon in the dearborn, driven by their guide Tonish,⁴⁰ and ran into a heavy thunderstorm on the prairie so that they had to put down the oilskin sides of the wagon. They crossed swollen brooks and drove through little groves of trees. The sun set in a clear streak but there were clouds overhead as they arrived about seven at Union Mission and were "comfortably housed in Mr. Vaill's house, his wife a Connecticut woman." Irving's somewhat patronizing tone in speaking of his hostess is pleasingly countered by a passing mention of "Mr. Irwin" in one of Vaill's letters.⁴¹ The fame of this man had not reached the Reverend Vaill. At the ring of a bell the travelers repaired to the refectory in another building where they ate with the pupils of the school. Irving speaks of the Cherokees as Delawares. On Monday morning they left the Mission after breakfast and started on their way down to Fort Gibson. Arriving there, Ellsworth found that Capt. Jesse Bean of Tennessee with his company of Rangers recruited from his mountain neighbors to be of assistance to the Commissioners had started off to explore the country without waiting for them. When Ellsworth found that the other Commissioners would not be at Fort Gibson for a few weeks, he immediately decided to find the Rangers and so the "Tour on the Prairies" began in October, 1832.

But he and Irving were not alone. Also by accident they had met with Charles Joseph Latrobe, the English traveler, botanist, geologist, sportsman, sketcher, and in Ellsworth's opinion a "cheerful and busy man." With him as a protege was the nineteen-year-old Swiss Count, Albert Pourtalis, "irritating libertine," according to Ellsworth. In the letter to his wife which Ellsworth

⁴⁰ Tonish was Antoine de Hatre (or Deshetres), a well-known guide of Florissant, Mo. Latrobe's servant was Anthony Lombard.

⁴¹ Foreman Papers, Vol. 74 "Missionary Correspondence," p. 284. (Gilcrease Institute)

wrote immediately on his return to Fort Gibson from the "Tour," transcribing his journal, he tells of an incident which was very mortifying to him and to Irving and which must have caused considerable excitement at Union Mission. Latrobe and Pourtalis remained for a day or two at the Grand Saline after the others left and Col. Chouteau injudiciously told the young Count that he would have no trouble in securing an Osage maiden to accompany him as his squaw, an ambition which Albert had provided for by bringing a packhorse loaded with presents appealing to Indian women.

In Ellsworth's words:

His passions led him to great extremes . . . his conduct at Union Mission was censurable in the highest degree. Stimulated by the example of Col. Chouteau, he attempted to seduce an amiable young Indian girl at that school. The mother had been won by presents, but went to talk with Mrs. Vail, the wife of the Superintendent about the matter and see whether the girl might go. What presumption, indignation and refusal! Ought to have covered the Swiss gentleman with shame . . . There were other instances of conduct more gross, but I will not pollute my pages with a recital of them . . . I told Mr. Irving some remarks I had heard about the "Irving Party" which mortified him very much; and he determined, however he respected Mr. Latrobe, he would not travel any more with M. Pourtalis.

A few days after Irving and Ellsworth spent the night at Union, Isaac McCoy, still in charge of the Indian boundary survey, passed through Union on his way to Fort Gibson to confer with Ellsworth, who had stopped at McCoy's house at Shewanoe on the way down from St. Louis and had been disappointed that the survey would not be sufficiently completed to aid the Commissioners. That was when Ellsworth borrowed the wagon from McCoy. When McCoy arrived at Fort Gibson Ellsworth was already on the "Tour" and did not return until the 9th of November. McCoy used the interim while waiting to catch up his accounts and reports and journal.

In 1834, in the September heat of that year, two companies of Dragoons from Fort Gibson, looking for a cooler climate, set out to winter in Iowa. Co. H was in command of Capt. Nathan Boone (son of Daniel) and Co. I under Capt. Jesse H. Brown. By the time they reached Union, Capt. Brown and some of his men were ill and they stopped by the Mission to rest. They speak of the few Osage families that were left there, living on game and fish and a few vegetables from their patches.

The young French traveler, Louis Courtambert, in the spring of 1836 was an overnight visitor to Union while the Worcestersters were there. The story of this brief visit he tells thus:⁴²

⁴² Louis Courtambert, "Journey to the Country of the Osages," p. 41. (Paris, 1837) A pamphlet in French in the Gilcrease Institute Library.

I continued my route toward the south, always following the course of the Niosho. I shall never forget the charming hospitality that I received at this Mission in the house of one of the Missionaries. I had expected much less because it was the Sabbath Day and because we were fourteen travelers. If I had been disgusted with the American people, three families like that would be sufficient to reconcile me with them.

The Mission at Union, which is also (like Harmony) on the point of being closed down, contained a printing press for the languages of the Cherokees and the Creeks . . . The printer, who was a white man, volunteered to show me his press and offered me the Gospel of St. Matthew in Cherokee, and a sheet containing the explanation of the alphabet; this has quatre-vingt-dix letters. They have also printed a book in the Osage language with our letters.

One of these casual visitors, Charles Joseph Latrobe, Irving's fellow traveler in the prairie country, writes:⁴³

In both this (Harmony) and the sister settlement of Union on the Neosho, it appeared that the ends aimed at by the missionaries were chiefly the establishment and maintenance of a school for the Indian child and the introduction of a taste for agriculture, and that their views of usefulness were limited to these objects.

This conclusion of a casual observer may be partly true. In the address to the Osages which the Mission Family carried with them from the UFMS Board in 1820 the Indians were told that these laborers in the field "will teach you to spin and weave, to knit and sew, to read, write, and number." Irving in his *Journal* speaks of "Old Father Vail" preaching to the Indians on the necessity of industry as a means to happiness. One old Indian responded that ploughing the fields and building fences was not his idea of happiness. Father Vaill's answer is not given.

From that hot day in September, 1821, when the Mission School opened, to the closing day in February, 1833, it was a focal point, not only in the current activities of the Mission but in the hopes and plans for the future.. Originally intended as the instrument of education for Osage children only, the school was never able to enroll as new pupils more than seventeen Osage children in any one year (1826) and during the twelve years of its life only seventy-nine Osage children attended the school, some of these for only a few weeks. The appeal of the hunt and village life could not be completely overcome. Under this discouraging attendance the first dream began to fade. In October, 1831, Vaill writes to the Secretary of War:⁴⁴ "Its first design was the civilization of the Osages. But as they as a people have been indifferent to the advantages of the school and as other tribes have removed near the institution, it has for three years

⁴³ Charles Joseph Latrobe, *The Rambler in North America* (1835).

⁴⁴ ABC18.4.4, No. 92, Oct. 1, 1831. The list of pupils who attended the school is in ABC18.4.4, No. 107.

past embraced the children of three tribes,—Osages, Creeks, and Cherokees.”

The curriculum of the school was elementary as to book subjects,—reading, as much as enabled the scholars to read their Testaments; writing and “composition,” simple arithmetic, some grammar and geography, all interspersed with Bible verses and the singing of hymns which the children loved. Work in the fields and pastures was required of the boys; in the kitchen and dining-hall and spinning rooms of the girls, all necessary if the Family was to be kept fed and clothed. Clarissa (Johnson) Palmer and Phoebe (Beach) Redfield were the chief teachers of the girls: Mr. Redfield and Reverend Vaill of the boys. Abraham Redfield was also caretaker of the buildings and superintendent of the mill. “Should a minister of the Gospel be so taken up with secular affairs as I am?”⁴⁵ Perhaps some of his discouragement comes from too heavy and distracting burdens outside of the school. “Missionaries should not be burdened with families.”⁴⁶

One continual source of worry was the inadequacy and poor condition of the school building, at first a log structure, one room 18' x 20', later added to so that by 1826 it was at least 20' x 40' and probably two rooms. But still only a log schoolhouse. Here are some expressions of troubled minds over this matter:—Vaill (1826)—“schoolhouse of logs in poor condition; better buildings desirable”; Palmer (1826)—“should put forward frame school”: . . . “a new schoolhouse should be built, for it will not do for this winter. It cannot be made tolerable”: Kingsbury to Evarts (1828) — “Improvements justified. Buildings ruinous and temporary.”

Adding to the difficulties of poor attendance and inadequate physical plant, complete agreement as to the ideal type of school was never attained. There were arguments about the value of the boarding school over the day school. Redfield in 1832 writes Greene⁴⁷ that he is against boarding all the children; there should be some local day schools; he is utterly opposed to large mission establishments. Many of the brethren in the East agreed with him, but men like Vaill saw the advantage of having a close control over wild, unfettered children that had no idea of punctuality or responsibility such as could be given in a boarding school. Vaill, however, felt that the schools should be more of the parental type, the pupils being part of a family.

Out of discouragement arose also diverse opinions as to the place of the school in a mission program. Vaill, the optimist,

⁴⁵ ABC18.48, No. 76, Feb. 25, 1827. (Redfield to Evarts).

⁴⁶ ABC18.4.4, No. 186, June 17, 1833. (Redfield to Evarts).

⁴⁷ ABC18.4.4, No. 185, Dec. 28, 1832.

writes to Evarts in 1828⁴⁸ "School now the chief engine to aid the Osages at present. Must have interpreters and teachers." Redfield and Palmer each expressed a desire at times to leave this busy community and go out into the Indian country by themselves to preach the Gospel; in fact, there was always dispute as to whether there should not be more preaching and less teaching. The Board back in the East was inclined to the preaching. But Vaill says in this same letter that it would be a waste of time for him to leave the school and go out into the Nation.

Redfield and Palmer especially were never quite sure in themselves as to which should come first in the missionary work with the Indians,—the school or the pulpit. Redfield writes to Evarts in 1827:⁴⁹ "The school is little ahead after seven years,—reduced from 40-60 to 20-15. Money has been expended on Indian children now running wild on the prairies. Shall we labor on this way?" He adds that the school was premature, the beginning of the mission work was at the wrong end. In 1833 he writes to Greene that⁵⁰ he thinks it best to give up Union. "The Gospel comes first before education." Missionaries should preach the Gospel first—then colonize. Marcus Palmer writes to Evarts in 1827⁵¹

"The Indians must be civilized before they are Christianized—but the Gospel will civilize—*then* have schools." He adds that he thinks there is Divine disapprobation of the secular business. Men laboring together under such a basic difference of opinion as to the reason for their little progress must have been very unhappy at times, but they never give any evidence (in written words) that they are not tolerant of each other's opinions. The most Redfield ever said was that, in his opinion, a business man should be head of a mission,—*"Ministers are not suitable."*⁵²

Perhaps, too, these teachers were aware that the world outside of the Mission, the world of travelers and traders, had no respect for their training of the Indian. If they heard of these opinions, as they probably did, it must have tried their forbearance. Washington Irving's *Journal* speaks of Antoine Lombard, Latrobe's guide and a former Union Mission pupil, as "one of the worthless breed engendered and brought up among the missions." Irving also quotes Colonel Chouteau's comparison of two half-breeds, "This one had been twice as long at the Mission as the other and therefore is twice as good for nothing." This remark could mean, of course, that such Indians were not so

⁴⁸ ABC18.4.8, No. 100, March 22, 1828.

⁴⁹ ABC18.4.8, No. 77, August 21, 1827.

⁵⁰ ABC18.4.4, No. 186, June 17, 1833.

⁵¹ ABC18.4.8, No. 61, July 23, 1827.

⁵² ABC18.4.8, No. 77, Aug. 21, 1827.

easily exploited as those who could not read and write; or it could mean that Mission life was easier and therefore produced an Indian less able to cope with his environment. At any rate, it was no encouragement to the Mission teachers.

One cannot say when the suspicion first began among these men that Union Mission was not going to fulfill their hopes and aspirations, but it became a conviction during the last years of their work. The *Journal* entry for the close of their "fiscal" year in 1825 is by M. Palmer "On behalf of the Family," and it is the utterance of a man beginning to despair. "We realize more than ever that the prospects and interest of the Mission is wholly in the hands of an over-ruling Providence . . . (sentence crossed out) . . . And when shall we behold the wonders of God's power and grace in this land of heathen darkness?" If the wonders of God's power were ever consummated in the history of Union Mission they were not in the form and shape that the Family had prayed for.

In October of the next year Vaill writes to Evarts:⁵³ "I do not allow myself to think or feel that we are ready to vanish away . . . appearances are dark . . . but is not the population greater than all of the Sandwich Islands?"

Vaill's question is one of the scattered comments throughout these later letters which indicate that these missionaries felt that too much of the Board's funds were spent in distant lands and not enough allocated to the missions among the American Indians. Isaac McCoy felt this very strongly; he and Vaill must have been in agreement on this point. In July, 1828, William Requa writes to Evarts from Hopefield,⁵⁴ which shared all of Union's anxieties: "As a general thing in all religious meetings the Indians have given a respectful attention; yet they appear to be but little interested in them." He goes on to say, "We have no real cause for discouragement."

During the early 1830's there were worries and annoyances which are reflected in the letters from the Mission. "We must hold the Field—the Baptists and Methodists are coming in," Vaill writes to Greene in 1832.⁵⁵ Two years later Redfield repeats the warning that other denominations will be established if Union closes. He had attempted in 1831 to establish a mission among the Creeks and felt his failure was partly due to the pressure of other denominations. These devoted men seemed to take it hard that there were other paths to salvation besides their own particular one; it was almost as bad for an Indian to be a Baptist or a Methodist as to be a heathen. Perhaps this

⁵³ ABC18.4.8, No. 89, Oct. 31, 1826.

⁵⁴ ABC18.4.8, No. 78, July 18, 1828.

⁵⁵ ABC18.4.4, No. 93, January 20, 1832.

can be called denominational jealousy, but it was truly a source of worry and grief to them, faced with a sense of their own failure. When John Fleming, a Baptist, was at Union he had some words of criticism which hurt Vaill's feelings very much, but Vaill writes Greene that he will forgive him. However, this criticism and the feeling that Fleming had been sent as an observer probably added to Vaill's feeling of failure.

The last act of the Mission story takes place when, in 1837, Redfield and Colonel A. P. Chouteau under direction of Governor Montfort Stokes, appraise for the U.S. Government the improvements made by the Missionary Board so that the Board might be reimbursed and establish another mission for the Osages in their new lands to the north. The appraisal was made, setting a value of approximately \$10,000, but the new mission was never established.⁵⁶

Redfield had already written the final words in a letter to Greene in the spring of 1835, ". . . painful to think how little has been accomplished . . . find the Osages in the same ignorant and degraded state as when we came among them."⁵⁷

All that is left in that valley meadow today are a few mounds under the persimmon trees with rude stone blocks evident under the grass and weeds. On the hill is the cemetery,—rough, unmarked headstones scattered here and there inside the enclosure built by the Oklahoma Historical Society. Under the canopy is the stone of Epaphras Chapman; across the road is a granite marker erected by the Oklahoma Press Association to mark the spot of the first printing in Oklahoma. On the hill beyond there are faint traces of that once busy road, but all is quiet now. Where once there was exhortation and prayer, the voices of children in hymn or Bible verse, the grinding of the iron wheel and the slow tread of oxen, the ring of hammer and chisel,—where there was once hope and faith, courage and endurance, now there is only the murmur of the brook flowing down to the river, the rustle of leaves, and those few mounds of earth.

⁵⁶ The chronology of this appraisal, and the efforts of the Commissioners to collect their fees, and an investigation of the question of payment to the ABCFM and of the whereabouts of the appraisers' report, all covering the years between 1829 and 1861, is on file in the Editorial Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society and in the Gilcrease Institute Library, with source citations, results of a thorough search at the National Archives and in the ABCFM official papers. The title to the land was in question as late as 1871. The appraisal report itself has not been found at this writing.

⁵⁷ ABC18.4.4, No. 193, May 15, 1835. See *Appendix* at end of this article for additional bibliographical notes by Hope Holway, on Union Mission.

Union Mission! What was it all worth? Note the discouragement and sadness that closes the story, yet one cannot help but feel that dedication like Union Mission, in itself, where the dream be real or a chimera, has a value because it is an effort that vitalizes and ennobles the human race; men and women toiling and sacrificing for the sake of their fellowman.

APPENDIX

By Hope Holoway

Almost the whole story of the last years of Union Mission is set down in the official papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, now to be read in the Houghton Library of Harvard University at Cambridge, Mass. The two volumes most concerned with these years are "Osages, Chickasaws, and Mackinaws; Sept. 1824-Sept. 1831" and "Chickasaws, Creeks, and Osages, 1831-1837," Houghton Library call numbers ABC18.4.6 and ABC18.4.4, respectively. Much of this material, with some few additions, may be found in the volumes of the Missionary Herald and the annual reports of the American Board for these years.

The papers of the United Foreign Missionary Society, under whose auspices Union Mission was founded but which merged with the American Board in 1826, are included in the above papers at Houghton Library. The origins of these missionary societies is partly set out in Joseph Tracy's *History of American Missions to the Heathen* (1840), Oklahoma Historical Society and Gilcrease Institute Libraries.

Introduction to the lives of Philip Milledoler, Joseph Evarts, and David Greene, secretaries to these Societies, may be found in any work of biographical reference.

In the quarterly publication of the Oklahoma Historical Society (*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*) may be found many articles dealing with Union Mission life in the later years, particularly with the personalities involved; and, although these articles may be considered secondary material, they contain voluminous references to original sources. All these articles up to 1959 may be expeditiously found by referring to the Cumulative Index, recently made available in publication.

The Thoburn Papers in the Editorial Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society, now being processed, have yielded original information on the later life of Abraham Redfield and his family, (Folder RE-1). Also in these papers is the correspondence concerned with the acquisition in 1920 of the original "Journal of Union Mission" from descendants of Rev. Wm. Vaill, (Folder Un-1).

In the Library of the Society are the facsimiles of ten letters written by Rev. Vaill from 1825 to 1848, the originals loaned to the writer by Lynde Selden of New York City. These letters throw much light on the last days of Asenath (Selden) Vaill and the lives of her husband and children after her death in 1835. There is also other material on the Vaill family in the Union Mission file of the Library.

On file in the Editorial Department of the Society are discussions, with references to original sources, written by the author of this article, listing and commenting on the names of the Union Mission Indian pupils during the short life of the school, a chronological story of the

final appraisal of the Mission property, and further comments on the first printing to come off the Worcester press.

The Alice Robertson Collection in the Library of the University of Tulsa contains much original material on the stay of the Worcester family at Union and the work of the press there. Letters quoted here are No.'s 3B and 956. In W-biog-12 there is a copy, in Worcester's hand, of the resolution of the Cherokee Council (October 29, 1835) which enabled him to set up his press at Park Hill. The original signed copy of this resolution is in the Library of the Gilcrease Institute in Tulsa.

The story of the McCoy family and their stay at Union is contained in Isaac McCoy's "History of Baptist Indian Missions" (1840), written largely from the journal and letters now deposited in the Manuscript Division of the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka, Kansas.

The incident of Washington Irving's visit to Union Mission with Commissioner Henry Ellsworth and the traveler-naturalist Joseph Latrobe is related in the "Western Journals of Washington Irving," edited by John P. McDermott (University of Oklahoma Press, 1944), and at length in Henry Leavitt Ellsworth, *Washington Irving on the Prairie or A Narrative of a Town of the Southwest in 1832* (American Book Company, 1937). It is also mentioned in Latrobe's *The Rambler in North America*, published in 1835. The original diary which Latrobe kept while on this journey is now in the Gilcrease Institute.

For those interested in the total history of Union Mission, mention must be made of the War Department Papers, to which this author has not had access, except for the few photostats of these papers in the Foreman Collection at Gilcrease, which are mostly concerned with the early years. But regular reports were made to the Department and are on file in Washington, D.C. in the National Archives.

SACRED HEART ACADEMY AT VINITA
ESTABLISHED 1897

By Velma Nieberding

Vinita had its beginning in 1869, when the Government authorized an east and west and north and south railroad through the Indian Territory under the Indian Treaties of 1866, the charter promised to the road that first reached the border.

That the Missouri, Kansas and Texas ("Katy") won the race, entering the Territory on June 6, 1870, is well known. Less known, perhaps, is the efforts of the Atlantic and Pacific (now the 'Frisco) to establish its station at Downingsville, located three miles north of the present Vinita.

The struggle of the two railroads, settled after some bloodshed and a court action, resulted in a new townsite which Elias Boudinot, a Cherokee Lawyer and member of the Cherokee National Council, named "Vinita" in honor of Vinnie Ream, the noted Washington sculptress who had befriended him.¹

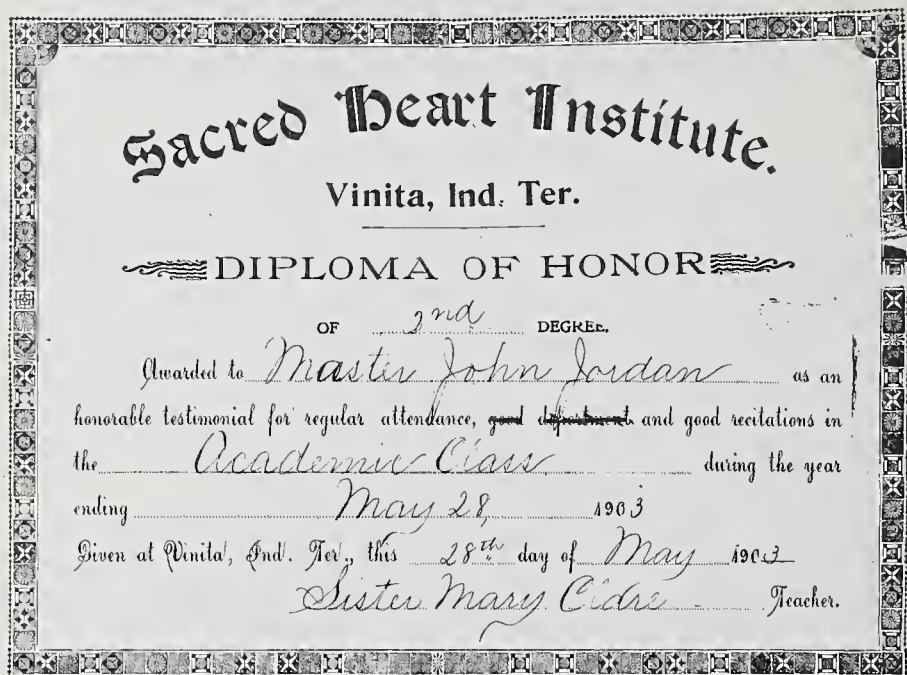
The history of Boudinot's manipulations between the "Katy" and the A. & P.; notes from newspapers about his "change of face" from Masterson's work are interesting sidelights in Cherokee history.

Vinnie Ream was the artist who did the famous statue of Abraham Lincoln in the Rotunda of the National Capitol in Washington, D.C. She had an interesting life and many friends of political note in Washington. She is noted in history for many of her beautiful sculptured pieces, a collection of books and photographs of these now on exhibit in the Museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The builders of the railroad, called "The Irish Brigade" were for the most part Catholic. Following them into the Indian Territory, Jesuit priests from the Osage mission in Kansas, came intermittently to serve their spiritual needs. The Reverend J. L. Setters, Phillip Collerton, John Schoenmaker and Paul Ponzigilione, said Mass in the home of Frank Sheehan, a section foreman, or in box cars where the section hands lived.

After the establishment of Sacred Heart Monastery on the Potawatomi reservation in 1877, by Benedictines, priests from this center visited Vinita on their trips to the Quapaw reservation. Not until 1892, when the Reverend William H. Ketcham

¹ An Eastern-schooled, university-bred lawyer, Boudinot was a man who had done more than any other of his race to bring the railroad into Indian Territory. Before the opposition of a great majority of his people had been broken down he had been practically exiled by his tribe.—V. V. Masterson. *The Katy Railroad and the Last Frontier* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), p. 105.



Diploma of Honor to Master John Jordan

E OF CATHOLIC PRIEST. VINITA, OKLA.



Holy Ghost Rectory, Vinita, Indian Territory, 1903

was placed in charge of all the Catholic missionary work in the northeastern part of Indian Territory, was there any permanent Catholic establishment in Vinita. Father Ketcham visited Vinita regularly, beginning the "Vinita Mission Baptismal Record" on June 3, 1892.²

In 1894, Father Ketcham built a small church in Vinita, and it was dedicated by Bishop Theophile Meerschaert on April 28, 1895. The Church had cost \$1,500 and its donor was not known but the bronze bell hanging in the steeple was inscribed, "Cherokee to the Catholic Church at Vinita, I.T. 1895."

The Reverend Arthur Versavel, who had been sent to Vinita in 1894, was the first resident pastor of the church, which had been dedicated as "Holy Ghost Catholic Church." The priest was born in Belgium in 1871 and had come to the Indian Territory as a missionary. He died in Denver, Colorado in 1952.

In 1897, a school built by funds furnished by Mother Katharine Drexel of Philadelphia, had opened with an enrollment of thirty pupils. It was staffed by the Benedictine Sisters of Shoal Creek, Arkansas.³

The year 1894 marked not only the establishment of a church but it was likewise an important occasion in the life of the Cherokee Indians. This was the year when a wagonload of silver came to Vinita—when members of the Cherokee tribe drew \$6,640,000 "strip money" or payment for the "Cherokee Strip" which the tribe had sold to the Government. J. C. Harris was the principal chief at the time and J. Caleb Starr was the treasurer. U.S. Marshals were on hand to keep the crowd of more than 5,000 people moving as pitchmen, gamblers and gyp artists had their day. One writer reported "Peace disturbers were merely tied to a tree until they were willing to behave."

Soon after the Catholic school opened in 1897, the *Vinita Indian Chieftain* reported in its columns of January 1, 1898: "This number (30) of pupils has doubled besides the numerous music and art pupils who take special lessons in these branches. Though Sacred Heart is a Catholic School it admits pupils of

² William Ketcham was the first priest ordained for the Indian Territory by Oklahoma's first Bishop, The Rt. Reverend Theophile Meerschaert.—Diocesan records.

³ Mother Mary Katharine Drexel died March 3, 1955 at the age of 96. She was the foundress and first Superior General of the Sisters of The Blessed Sacrament for Indian and Colored people. The organization which she founded has carried her missionary work to 24 archdioceses and dioceses in 21 states and operates Xavier University, New Orleans (Catholic University for Negroes). She helped to build every Catholic Indian mission in Oklahoma. Velma Nieberding, "*The Richest Nun*," in *Southwest Courier*, March 19, 1955.

any denomination within its walls and no attempt is ever made to influence the religious convictions of any of them."

The next year (1899) the Sisters of Mount Carmel of New Orleans took over the school and taught until the end of the school year, 1903.⁴

In 1904, the Sisters of Divine Providence of San Antonio, Texas, assumed charge of the school and have continued its operation to this day. The school and the land on which it is situated were deeded to the Sisters, by the Cherokee Indians, as an inducement for them to assume responsibility for the isolated mission school. Sister M. Elizabeth was the first principal.

The boarding school was originally for Indian girls but a day school was maintained for both boys and girls. No record of Indian students attending has been found in Catholic directories for the period, but in 1904 the total enrollment of the school was 80 students. Attendance reports before statehood do not designate the number of Indian pupils. In 1907-08 no report is extant in these directories but in 1909 and 1910 the attendance was 145; no breakdown in the figures as to Indian or White or boys or girls. In 1911, for some reason, the total enrollment is reported as 30. In 1913 it was 80.

The fluctuations in enrollment figures may have resulted from the fact that Indian appropriations for supplies had been withdrawn by the Government where children attended mission schools. In 1907, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had drafted an item that children in mission schools would be entitled to funds under treaty stipulations, although it was reported that in only three mission schools in the United States had they been received.

The last church record entry by Father Versavel was made on November 30, 1902. He left the Indian Territory to join the Jesuit Order, and was soon thereafter sent on foreign mission work in British Honduras.

During much of his pastorate he was the only priest in the whole northeastern section of the Indian Territory. He was constantly on the move by horseback or buggy to care for both Catholics and non-Catholics who saw a priest but infrequently. He often slept along the trail with only the sky as his roof and the howls of prairie animals as his companions. Vinita

⁴ The Sisters teaching in Sacred Heart Academy at the close of the year 1903, were M. Clare; Mechtilda; Maurice and Laurence. ("A Trip to Quapaw in 1903" by Sister M. Laurence), *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, No. 2, (Summer, 1953).

⁵ *The Indian Sentinel*, a publication of the Catholic Bureau of Indian Missions, Annual number, 1907.

was a wide-open "cow town" and it was not unusual for the cowboys to celebrate on pay day. One incident is reported by the Reverend T. F. Kramer: One night Father Versavel was sitting at his desk by an open window when cowboys began to shoot up the town. As the bullets ricocheted around the parish house the priest dived under a table. A lamp on his desk was smashed to pieces by the bullets.

In 1900, Father Versavel had received as his assistant, his cousin from Belgium, the Reverend Maurice D'Haenens (later shortened to "Dannis" because his name was too difficult for the Indians to pronounce). Father D'Haenens stayed in Vinita but one year, going then to St. Mary's of the Quapaws to work among that tribe in 1901.

Charles Van Hulse succeeded Father Versavel in 1903 and ministered to the Vinita parish for fifteen years. In 1909, he built St. Ann's church at Welch, and remodeled the original Vinita church increasing its seating capacity to two hundred. His last baptismal entry was made in 1917.

During this interval of fifteen years, other priests either visited the parish or served it and the school, because the following names are listed on baptismal registers: Eldephonse Elissalde, O. S. B.; P. Casser, Raymond O'Keiffe, C. P.; L. S. Wiersma, W. Huffer, Philip B. Gordon, and Anthony Redinger, O. S. B.

Father J. F. Davlin, whose first baptismal entry is dated March 25, 1917 was the next resident pastor. During this year the Sinclair Oil Company located a refinery at Vinita and the city grew to over 5,000 inhabitants. The church built by Mathias Splitlog at Cayuga, over which the Vinita parish had had jurisdiction for many years, was abandoned as a mission church.⁶

Father Davlin was succeeded by Father F. D. McCreedy who served until 1925. After his service Father T. F. Kramer, a scholarly priest, writer and lecturer had the charge at Vinita. Father Kramer worked to build up the parish and school until his transfer in 1947 to Merrill, Wisconsin.

Father Rupert Landoll was the next priest, serving until 1955 when he was succeeded by Father Joseph Beigler, the present pastor.

The Sisters of Divine Providence have been in charge of the academy since 1904. During these years a constant series of improvements have been made to keep the school a foremost educational institution. In 1917 the first building was replaced

⁶ Velma Nieberding, "Chief Splitlog and the Cayuga Mission Church" *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXII, No. 1 (Spring, 1954).



The Reverend Arthur Versavel, first resident pastor of Holy Ghost Catholic Church, Vinita, Indian Territory, 1894

by a new frame structure and in 1922 a wing of brick was added to the school. In 1927 a gymnasium was built.

In 1944, a grotto to "Our Lady of Lourdes" was erected on the school grounds and recently a more modern gymnasium and auditorium have been completed.

The Academy is both a grade and high school with a boarding school for girls. It is accredited to the University of Oklahoma and Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio and through it to the Catholic University of America. It draws many of its students from surrounding communities.

But the colorful days before statehood when little boys and girls from many Indian tribes learned to study together, are gone. The school today is of predominantly white enrollment.

Mrs. Blanche Evans Freeman, a granddaughter of Mathias Splitlog, the builder of Cayuga mission, has vivid memories of two great pioneer church leaders: Father Ketcham and Bishop Meerschaert. Now some seventy years old, Mrs. Freeman recalls that once as a small child she objected angrily to being introduced to the Bishop as "Matt Splitlog's granddaughter."

"My name is Blanche Evans," she insisted staunchly. Several of the Splitlog grandchildren attended the school, as did the late John Jordan of Cherokee, Cherokee Nation. Jordan, a grandnephew of General Stand Watie and a grandson of Col. William Bell of Confederate Army fame, recalled that the Sisters would commend him for his good grades, but deplore his low marks in "deportment."

The Vinita parish has a new church dedicated on June 28, 1952 by the late Bishop Eugene J. McGuinness. The original church is used as a parish hall. At the present writing the academy has an enrollment of 169 which includes boarding students. The principal is Sister M. Stansia.

The Sisters of Divine Providence and their students celebrated the Golden Jubilee of Sacred Heart Academy on October 30, 1953.

MARY BOURBONNAIS ORGANIZED A SUNDAY SCHOOL

By Florence Drake

After the United States had taken over the vast region west of the Mississippi River, known as the "Louisiana Purchase," President Jefferson promoted the plan to move the Indian tribes living east of the Mississippi to the vast area in the west where they could establish their homes and own governments. This would be the Indian Territory, the southern part of which, now Oklahoma, was ceded to the Five Civilized Tribes from the Southeastern States though many other tribes were moved to this region after the War Between the States, from other regions. Kansas and Nebraska and parts of other western states and territories were organized out of the original Indian Territory in the Louisiana Purchase. After the Indians had pioneered the wilderness, the American frontier pushed into this part of the West with white men wanting to settle the rich farming country. The Osages and many small tribes from north of the Ohio River had been settled in Kansas, including the Potawatomi who lived in Illinois in the region of Chicago.

A treaty made in 1867 provided that many small tribes in Kansas should sell their lands and purchase reservations from the Five Civilized Tribes in the country still called Indian Territory. One of these Kansas tribes was the Potawatomi which was divided into two groups: The Prairie Band and the Citizen Band. The Prairie Band had established their farms and homes and did not want to leave Kansas, so they accepted homestead allotments and remained living there under the laws of that state. The Citizen Band, largely intermarried with the whites particularly the French, wanted to go south to the new country where they could make their own laws and live under their own government. They accepted the reservation selected and assigned them (thirty miles square in the former Creek and Seminole country), located between the North Fork of the Canadian and the main Canadian rivers, in what is now Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma.

A group of the Citizen Band came to their Indian Territory reservation in 1872. In this group were Antoine Bourbonnais and his wife, Mary (both of French Indian descent) and four other families, numbering twenty-eight persons including their children. They settled on the fertile land near the Canadian River (now called "South Canadian") built homes, cleared fields and prospered. Some of the grown people had attended school in Kansas, and were anxious that their children should learn to read and write. Working together they built a log

schoolhouse, hauled the lumber from Coffeyville, Kansas, for the floor and benches and finished up a good building. But they had no teacher! After a time, others of the Citizen Band came to the reservation and established homes. They, too, wanted a school for their children.

In the meantime some of the Shawnee tribe that were living in Kansas at the time of the Treaty of 1867, were told that the same land that had been assigned to them for a reservation was part of the Potawatomi country and that the Potawatomi were living there. So the Shawnee moved to the region some miles north, near the North Canadian River. This caused some discord between the two tribal groups but the bad feeling gradually disappeared. Both groups were under the supervision of the U.S. Agency for the Sac and Fox, a site about five miles south of present Stroud in Lincoln County.

The Potawatomi had difficulty getting a teacher for their school. Their first teacher was a renegade white man who turned out to be a horse-thief—everyone hated a horse thief in those days. This teacher left in the night. The second teacher was an “old maid,” and the third, was a Mormon preacher. None of them was satisfactory to the Potawatomi settlers, and they almost despaired of getting a teacher!

John Pickering was the United States Indian Agent at the Sac and Fox Agency in 1873. He was a religious man appointed under President Grant’s policy of selecting and using members of the Friends’ Society (Quaker church) for Indian agents and employees. Agent Pickering went to visit the Potawatomi settlement down on the Canadian. He talked and persuaded them to organize a Sunday school, promising them that he would see that they would have a school teacher if they would organize a Sunday school themselves. They were very anxious to secure a school teacher, so they did their part and organized a Sunday school.

Mary Bourbonnais wrote a letter telling about this Sunday school, which was published many years later in a Pottawatomie County paper. Here is what she said in her letter:

“We knew nothing about a Sunday school. Only a few of us could read, not a Christian among us. Our greatest delight was to feast and dance. Mr. Pickering told us to organize, and offered a prayer for us. He selected *Me*, Mary Bourbonnais to be the superintendent.

“I objected but the others insisted. I don’t know why, unless it was because they all knew that when I undertook anything, good or bad, I carried it through. Mr. Pickering sent us some Bibles and song books. The next Sunday we started our Sunday school.

"One poor old drinking man started a hymn, a few of us followed him. I as superintendent kneeled down and repeated the Lord's Prayer which I had learned at school. Then, the Bibles were passed around. I selected a chapter in the New Testament. All who could, read verses about until the end of the chapter. No questions were asked, no explanations, or interpretations were given. Then we closed with another hymn, only from the lips, with sin in our heart.

"Mr. Pickering remembered his promise, and sent us a school teacher paid by the Government.

"About the time Franklin Elliot opened a Friends' Mission at Shawneetown among the Shawnee people, about twenty-five miles from our settlement. He came twice a month to preach to us; he taught and explained the Scripture to us.

"In 1880, both I and my husband were converted. I was glad to give up my sins, and lead a better life. I told Franklin Elliot that I wanted to join the Friends for their doctrine reached right down into the heart where sin had been—but what about dancing? You Friends don't dance. I can't give up that.

"His reply was, 'Give your heart to Jesus, and dance as long as He wants you to!' I felt at liberty to dance, so I gave up my all to Him, and bless the Lord I have never wanted to dance again. He had something better for me.

"In 1882, we moved to Shawneetown near present Tecumseh where Antoine died. I was the superintendent of the Sunday school in the Friends' Church until 1900."

—Mary Bourbonnais

Many of the older residents of Pottawatomie County remember the work of Mary Bourbonnais, affectionately called "Auntie Bourbonnais" who was active in the religious life of the community, and all efforts for upbuilding Indian character and education.

Thus, the work of humans end with life but earnest endeavor leaves indelible effects on people and the history of a community.



Antoine Bourbonnais



Mary Bourbonnais

ALTUS ON THE HILL ABOVE FRAZER IN OLD GREER COUNTY

By Barbara Kay Shelton

INTRODUCTION

The manuscript of this story has a story in itself. This manuscript came with a letter to the Editor from Mrs. Weldon Ferris, journalism teacher in the Altus public schools, who wrote of her pleasure when two of her students followed her suggestions in class, and interviewed their pioneer grandmothers for an article assignment. Mrs. Ferris went on to say that "Barbara Kay Shelton chose to record that horrible night when Bitter Creek and Salt Fork met and the town of Frazer was no more. Mrs. Rogers, her grandmother, is one of the survivors of that flood upon which Altus was founded . . . Mrs. Rogers told Barbara several incidents I had not heard before. We decided it would be most effective to leave it as nearly as possible in the words in which she recalled the event . . . The picture of early day Altus was made some years later but shows some of the wooden front buildings constructed soon after the move up the hill to the 'high place' Altus."

*Barbara Kay Shelton was a senior in Altus High School when she wrote this story about two years ago. She, too, wrote a fine and very interesting letter to the Editor, saying that it would mean so much to her grandparents to have her story appear in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. This in itself is a compliment because Barbara is the daughter of Stan Shelton, magazine editor of the *Wichita Falls Record-News*, and he had wanted her to write the story of the Frazer flood as a feature story for the *Wichita Falls*, or the *Denver Post's* western history section. Barbara's story appears here in *The Chronicles* just as she has written it, giving some history of Old Greer County as her grandmother told it.*

—The Editor

A Young Girl and a Town

This is the story of a pioneer family and a town. The town is Altus, Oklahoma; the family is that of Dr. J. E. Fowler.

Dr. Fowler moved to Frazer from Star, Texas. He and his wife traveled by wagon. When Dr. Fowler started west his family told him he would be back. Dr. Fowler retorted, "If I do it will be in a box." He spent the remainder of his life in southwest Oklahoma.

Dr. Fowler was one of the first doctors to settle in the part of old Greer County that is now Jackson County. His oldest daughter, Mrs. M. E. Rogers, tells of the move made from Frazer to Altus in June of 1891, at the time of the great flood:

"When we settled in Greer County we lived at Frazer. That's where Bitter Creek and North Fork of Red River meet.



The east side of the Altus Square in 1899

Papa ran the drugstore. J. D. McMahan ran the post office.¹ We lived in the back of the drugstore. Papa used to watch the post office for Mr. McMahan when he was gone, and Mr. McMahan would watch the drugstore for Papa when he was on call.

"Papa was out a lot being the only doctor around. Mr. C. C. Hightower had a general store too. (Mr. McMahan and Mr. Hightower later founded banks in Altus.)

"That June (1891) Papa was sick. He had yellow jaundice. The flood happened one night; we were all in bed. We had a big rain that night. The two creeks overflowed and ran together. Jim Russell came and got us out.

"I think a headrise came down the North Fork. That was the blackest night I ever saw. You couldn't see your hand in front of your face except when it lightened. Jim walked at the head of the horses in waist-deep water and got the wagon and us out. He took us to Uncle G. Russell's place. That was on West Broadway now. Everybody gathered at Uncle G's.

"I don't remember much else. I remember Mama walking from bed to bed on chairs because there was so much water on the floor.

"Tom Baucum's daddy named the new town Altus."

At the time of the flood Mrs. Rogers was four years old. She lived in the drugstore with her brother and Dr. and Mrs. Fowler. A few weeks later, July 13, 1891, Mrs. Fowler died of typhoid fever. The typhoid fever epidemic was caused by the flood.

Frazer received mail and supplies from Vernon, Texas. The trip took three to four days. The men forded the Red River because there were no bridges. During the winter, wood was hauled from Indian Territory.

Later Dr. Fowler built a twelve-room, two and one-half story mansion for his family just two blocks east of the new town

¹ The post office was established October 27, 1890. (This note by Barbara Shelton refers to the Post Office established at Altus. This date is correct, and the first postmaster was Wiley Bancum. In 1901 to 1904, the name of this Post Office was Leger. The first post office at Frazer in Old Greer County [when it was still counted as part of Texas] was established on February 18, 1886, with Jennie A. Holt as Postmaster. Frazer post office was discontinued on December 31, 1895. [Refer to George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952)].—Ed.)

square. The big, Victorian type house still stands, one of the few remaining examples of the homes of the Altus founders. An original stone wall surrounds it. In the sidewalk a name-plaque designates it as the home of Dr. Fowler. Mrs. Rogers continued to live in the Altus area until 1926 when she and her husband, Murph Rogers, a merchant, moved to Abilene, Texas. They returned in 1936, and now live across from the original Fowler mansion.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

TULSA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY ORGANIZED 1962

The Tulsa County Historical Society was organized in the spring of 1962, and the following officers were elected: W. E. (Dode) McIntosh, President; Mrs. E. Fred Johnson, Vice President; George H. Bowen, Secretary; James E. Gourley, Assistant Secretary; Lee C. Eckhard, Treasurer; Mrs. P. P. Manion, Assistant Treasurer.

The autumn meeting of the Tulsa Historical Society was held in Lorton Hall at the University of Tulsa on Monday, October 15, 1962.

President McIntosh presided, and in his opening remarks pointed out the importance of a historical society to preserve community records and outlined briefly the American Indian background of Tulsa County. He stated that through the efforts of Alfred E. Aaronson, Chairman of the Tulsa County-City Library Commission, space will be provided in the new Central Library on the Civic Center for office space for the County Historical Society and its files of materials. President McIntosh introduced Mr. Aaronson who was the man with the original thought of creating the County Historical Society and deserved the credit more than anyone else for starting the Society. In a few brief remarks, Mr. Aaronson insisted that many persons should share the credit for the organization of the Society. He said that he came to Tulsa in 1913, and stressed the need for a County Historical Society and the benefits that it could provide for future generations.

Mr. A. R. (Tony) Alcock from England, a visitor of Mr. George H. Shirk, an attorney of Oklahoma City, was introduced by President McIntosh. Mr. George H. Shirk is the President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and was introduced as the distinguished speaker of the evening.

President Shirk complimented Tulsans on their desire to organize the Tulsa County Historical Society, and particularly stressed the good fortune of this Society in having the support of both City and County officials. He emphasized the need of adequate documentation today for the benefit of the future generations, declaring Oklahoma is rich in history and should stress it more. He pointed out that a society or a civilization or a community, a state or any group of people is no more equipped to deal with others or daily life without history to call on than individuals are without calling on their own experiences. He said that the Oklahoma Historical Society needs the help of local community societies such as that of Tulsa County.

President Shirk remarked on Oklahoma's fifty-five years of history since statehood, saying "There is no place where man has built so mightily in the span of a lifetime than in Oklahoma." He urged that all Oklahomans "make certain in this heritage, we today take for granted, is not lost but remains" for the future.

President McIntosh of the Tulsa Society took the chair for the close of the meeting. He stated that the County Society has 157 members at present but has promise of a much larger membership by 1963. He expressed thanks in behalf of the Society to Mr. Jess Chouteau, of the University of Tulsa, and to the University for the use of Lorton Hall for the evening meeting. In conclusion, a membership in the Creek Indian Council was presented to Mr. Alcock, and he can now return to England saying that he is really associated with and knows some of the leading American Indians of the ancient Creek (or Muscogee) tribe in Oklahoma. (From notes on the Minutes of the Tulsa County Historical Society, October 15, 1962.)

Series on Historical Sites in the Vicinity of Fort Sill and Southwestern Oklahoma

Mr. Hugh D. Corwin, author of the well received books on *The Kiowa Indians* and *Comanche-Kiowa Captives* (published by the author, 1958 and 1959) is writing an interesting series of brief histories of Historical Sites in Southwestern Oklahoma, which have appeared weekly in *The Lawton Constitution-Morning Press*, beginning on August 19, 1962. The subjects cover old trading posts, churches, schools and ghost towns, etc., giving their sites as found today and the way to reach them along U.S. and State highways. Mr. Corwin is making a contribution to history in this series, and is preserving data that will be lost if there is no special effort like that he is doing.—Ed.

EXPLANATION OF A BIT OF HISTORY, "THE PRINTER'S DEVIL"

Mr. Claude E. Hensley, retired newspaper man, reared in Oklahoma and long a resident of Oklahoma City, is well known for his wide knowledge of Western Oklahoma history, especially that of Fort Reno and his acquaintance with some of the early day U.S. Army scouts such as Ben Clark and other famous characters who were in the Indian Territory before 1889. Recently, in the Editorial Office, Mr. Hensley offered some notes on the origin of the term "the printer's devil." In *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Vol. XL, Autumn, 1962), the review of the "Organization of the Oklahoma Historical Society, 1893" mentioned W. P. Campbell's "toast" at the organization banquet at King-

fisher, in which he referred to the "printer's devil." Many know the origin of this term but for those who do not, Mr. Hensley has contributed the following manuscript of notes that he collected and wrote up some years ago which may interest readers of the magazine:

Devil (The Printer's)

"Aldus Manutius, a printer in Venice to the holy church and the doge, employed a Negro boy to help in his office. This little black boy was believed to be an imp of Satan, and went by the name of the 'printer's devil.' In order to protect him from persecution, and confute a foolish superstition, Manutius made a public exhibition of the boy, and announced that 'anyone who doubted him to be flesh and blood might come forward and pinch him.' (Ref.—'Character Sketches of Romance, Fiction, and Drama' in Revised American Edition of the *Reader's Handbook*, 1892.)"

Aldus Manutius, a diminutive of Theobaldo born 1449, established a print shop in Venice in 1490 and became the greatest printer of his time. Among his publications were the Aldine editions and others. He invented Italic type, which was first used in an Italian version of Virgil printed in Venice in 1501. Shortly after opening his print shop in Venice in 1490, he employed a Negro boy as an apprentice. This black boy was believed to be an imp of Satan, as very few had ever seen a Negro and he was called "The Printer's Devil."

The Hell Box

One of the duties of a printer's apprentice (Printer's Devil) was sweeping the office. He picked damaged type, leads, slugs, etc., and deposited them in a box placed conveniently, known as the "Printer's Devil Hell Box."

Mr. Claude E. Hensley has one of the finest collections of original data, or photostats of original data, on the history of Fort Reno, Darlington Indian Agency, early Indian fights, biographical data on some prominent Army officers and U.S. scouts that served in Oklahoma long before statehood, besides photographs on these subjects. Mr. Hensley has written many historical sketches that have been published in the *El Reno American* and other state newspapers.

Mr. Hensley is a member of a distinguished family in Oklahoma whose ancestry stems back to early colonial times. His father was the late Travis F. Hensley who made the "run" into Oklahoma when the Cheyenne-Arapaho surplus lands were opened to settlement in 1892. He established the *El Reno Democrat* and was owner or publisher of a number of other early Oklahoma newspapers, including the *West Side Democrat* at Enid on September 16, 1893, the first newspaper published on the opening day in the Cherokee Outlet. Mr. Travis Hensley served as the sixth president of the Oklahoma Press Association, and also served in the State Legislature several sessions (member of the House 1912 and 1914 member of the State Senate, elected 1916 and 1918). His wife, Mary Emily (Mullen) Hensley, was

well known as an editor and writer in her husband's newspapers. At the time of her death in 1938, a necrology of her life was written by the late Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn (*Chronicles*, Vol. XVII, No. 1), stating that Mary Emily (Mullen) Hensley was a direct descendant of John Endicott, the first Governor of Massachusetts. She inherited the famous Daniel Boone compass through her Mullen ancestry, which she left to her son Claude E. Hensley who greatly prizes this early frontier relic in his historical collection.—Ed.

"METHODIST TRAILS TO FIRST METHODIST CHURCH OF TULSA"

Readers of church history and its far reaching effects on Oklahoma life should have a copy of this little book, written by Mrs. J. O. Misch as an assignment for the 75th Anniversary of the First Methodist Church in Tulsa. The narrative begins with notes on the "Methodist Trails" from England to America, continuing a resume of the work to the first services by circuit riding preachers at Pecan Point in the Indian Territory, among the white settlers of 1817.

Most of the book, paper bound with 142 pages and many illustrations, is devoted to notes and history that began with the founding of the Tulsey and the Red Fork missions in 1885, by the Methodist Conference meeting at Chetopa, Kansas. The narrative gives much that is little known on the Indians of the region and continues with the present activities of the First Methodist Church of Tulsa. The last pages are devoted to brief notes that are valuable for information on historical events, Methodist Indian Conference meetings and listings of names of Bishops, Elders and others with dates, besides many "firsts" of the happenings in the history of the Methodists in America.

Bishop Angie Smith of Oklahoma City wrote Mrs. Misch upon the publication of *Methodist Trails*: "This volume will not only mean a great deal to the present generation but will be a source book to historians in the years to come. I want to express my deepest appreciation to you."—Editor

"TALES OF OLD CENTER"

Lester Albert Medlock was brought at the age of three weeks in the arms of his parents from Mexia, Texas, in 1894, who made their home for many years at "Old Center," Indian Territory (the site of Center is in the northwestern part of present Pontotoc County). Oklahoma has been his real home ever since, and he is now engaged in ranching about five and

a half miles southwest of Pauls Valley in Garvin County. These are historical facts, and Mr. Medlock loves history but at heart he is a poet. He is a writer of verse, and has served as President of the Oklahoma Poetry Society (1958-59), in addition to his busy life as a teacher (Ed. M., University of Oklahoma) for twenty-five years, service in World War I and employee in the Douglas Aircraft Company in California, World War II.

Mr. Medlock has contributed to State history in his interpretation of life in an Indian Territory town—recounting its joys, sorrows, everyday life and some wild events—in writing and publishing his book (hardback, illustrated, pp. xii, 173, with map of the old town), titled *When Swallows Fly Home (Tales of Old Center)*. His reminiscences are nostalgic for he loved his old home and the people round about.

The author sums up his thought in the "Introduction":

"Every city and every town has a history all its own. It may cover a period of hundreds of years, or it may extend back over only a short period of time, but regardless of the number of years of its existence its history is unique and individualistic . . . each has a history which distinguishes it from all others of its kind.

"A city or town is unfortunate indeed, and something sacred and irreparable is lost to the world and the sum total of history, if there is not somewhere a soul . . . who knew and loved it to the point of recording, or at least attempting to record, its history as a memorial of the past and as a treasure for the future."

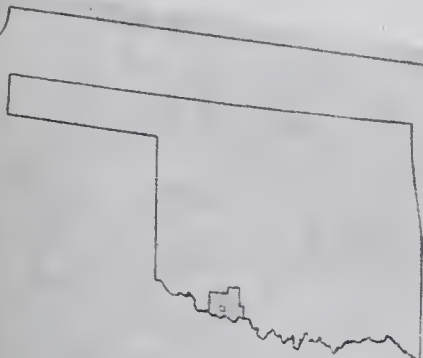
—Editor

MONOLITH MARKERS

In 1959 the Oklahoma Historical Society began a program, under the direction of the Administrative Secretary, of erecting monolith type markers at important historic sites in the state. The first of these monuments was placed in Twin Bridges State Park located in Ottawa County. It commemorates the accomplishments of the Wyandot tribe of Indians, whose present homeland is in the general region of where the monument stands.

The second monolith marker is in the city park at Fort Cobb and was set in 1960. The Fort Cobb monument tells of the great military importance of old Fort Cobb that once flourished and functioned at that place.

The most recent monument to be erected (1962), under this program is the one located in Grandfield commemorating the opening of the Big Pasture. It also tells of other historic events that took place in that area.



BIG PASTURE

WHEN KIOWA-COMANCHE-APACHE LANDS IN OKLAHOMA OPENED TO WHITE SETTLEMENT 1901, THERE WERE 505,000 ACRES RESERVED AS GRAZING LANDS. THIS AREA BECAME KNOWN AS BIG PASTURE MOST OF REGION LEASED FOR CATTLE RANCHING.

BECAUSE OF SOIL'S FERTILITY, WHITE PEOPLE SOUGHT OPENING OF BIG PASTURE TO SETTLEMENT AND FARMING. CONGRESS PASSED ACT, SIGNED BY PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT JUNE 5, 1906, PROVIDING SUCH OPENING. BEGINNING DECEMBER 10, 1906, FARM LANDS AND TOWN LOTS SOLD TO HIGHEST BIDDERS ON SEALED BID BASIS. BIDS OPENED STARTING MARCH 15, 1907. WAS LAST BIG LAND OPENING IN OKLAHOMA.

WITHIN ONE YEAR'S TIME 2,337 FAMILIES LIVING IN BIG PASTURE AREA, ESCHIT AND KELL, COMPETING TOWNS, COMBINED IN 1908 TO FOUND GRANDFIELD.

ONLY FEW MILES FROM HERE, APRIL OF 1905, FAMOUS WOLF HUNT WAS HELD LED BY PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

CAPTAIN R. B. MARCY AND TROOPS, WITH LT. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN SECOND IN COMMAND, PASSED SHORT DISTANCE NORTH OF THIS POINT 1852 ON WAY TO FIND SOURCE OF RED RIVER.

— OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY 1962 —



FORT COBB

ESTABLISHED OCT. 1, 1859 BY U. S. TROOPS UNDER MAJOR W. H. EMORY AS PROTECTION AGAINST RAIDS OF PLAINS INDIANS ON CHOCTAWS, CHICKASAWS, AND ON WHITE EMIGRANTS MOVING WEST.

EVACUATED MAY 5, 1861 BY UNION TROOPS AND SOON OCCUPIED BY CONFEDERATE FORCES UNDER COLONEL W. C. YOUNG. ALTHOUGH SACKED BY HOSTILE INDIANS OCT. 23, 1862, HELD INTERMITTENTLY BY CONFEDERATE COMMANDS UNTIL CLOSE OF CIVIL WAR. RUINS REBUILT AND RECARTRONED BY FEDERAL UNITS AUTUMN 1868.

AFTER BATTLE OF WASHITA, GENERALS PHILIP SHERIDAN AND GEORGE CUSTER MOVED COMMAND HERE DEC 17, 1868. CHIEF LONE WOLF AND SATANTA HELD HOSTAGES UNTIL KIOWAS SUBMITTED.

MAR. 12, 1869 FORT COBB ABANDONED. TROOPS MOVED TO RECENTLY SELECTED SITE WHICH BECAME FORT SILL.

COUNCIL BETWEEN FIVE NATIONS AND PLAINS TRIBES HERE JULY 25 1872.

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY 1960

Monuments of this type are erected only at exceedingly important sites. They are of Oklahoma granite and approximately seven feet in height. Cost of such markers is divided between the Oklahoma Historical Society and the community in which they are erected.

—Elmer L. Fraker

RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY

The following list compiled by Mrs. Dorothy Williams, Librarian, gives the titles of books accessioned and catalogued in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society, from July 1, 1961 to July 1, 1962:

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- American Library Directory, 1962*. New York: Bowker Co., 1962. 1066 pp.
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- Americana Annual, 1961*. New York: Americana Corporation, 1961. 906 pp.
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- Beard, Charles A. and Mary R. *Basic History of the United States*. New York: Garden City Pub. Co., 1944. 508 pp.
- Beckett, Arthur Lee. *Know Your Oklahoma*. Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Co., 1930. 183 pp.

- Bedichek, Roy. *Adventures with a Texas Naturalist*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961. 330 pp.
- Boland, Charles Michael. *They All Discovered America*. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1961. 384 pp.
- Book, Fredrik. *Hans Christian Andersen*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. 260 pp.
- Botkin, Benjamin A. *The South-west Scene*. Oklahoma City: Economy Co., 1931. 115 pp.
- Boughton, Willis A. *Index of Names, Bouton-Boughton Family*. Fort Lauderdale, 1958. 200 pp.
- Bowen, Catherine Drinker. *John Adams and the American Revolution*. Boston: Little Brown & Co. 1950. 699 pp.
- Boyd, Julia P. (Ed.) *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. Volume 16. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961. 675 pp.
- Bradley, Van Allen. *More Gold in Your Attic*. New York: Fleet Pub. Co., 1961. 415 pp.
- A *Brief and Impartial History of the Life of Andrew Jackson*. Boston: Stimpson & Clapp, 1831. 216 pp.
- Brindze, Ruth. *The Story of the Totem Pole*. New York: Vanguard Press, 1951. 64 pp.
- Brinkerhoff, Henry R. *Nah-nee-ta, A Tale of the Navajos*. Washington: J. H. Soule, 1886. 236 pp.
- Bronson, Edgar. *Reminiscences of a Ranchman*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962. 370 pp.
- Brown, Mark H. *The Plainsmen of the Yellowstone*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1961. 480 pp.
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- Bullard, Edgar J. *Bennett and Allied Families*. Detroit, 1931. 37 pp.
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- Carselovey, James Manford. *Cherokee Pioneers*. Adair, Okla., 1961. 75 pp.
- Carselovey, James Manford. *Early Settlers*. Adair, Okla., 1962. 57 pp.
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BOOK REVIEWS

Six Thousand Miles of Fence. By Cordelia Sloan Duke and Joe B. Frantz (University of Texas Press, Austin, Texas, 1961. Pp. 231. \$4.50).

In the late 1800's, the XIT Ranch sprawled for 3,000,000 acres across the Texas high plains, jammed against the New Mexico border. The saga of this fabulous spread will always loom large in the history and development of the west.

It has taken a slight, gentle woman, who in 1907 married Robert L. Duke, a ranch hand who had risen to a division manager for the XIT, to tell a different story of this giant ranch. What makes it different? She tells it as seen through the eyes of the ordinary cowboy that rode for this empire in the short grass country.

Cordelia Sloan Duke, always an eager observer, began a habit, early in her marriage, of keeping a diary. As time passed, she had the foresight to realize that the sweaty, tired and hungry cowhand was a unique phase of American life.

Over the years, she persuaded these nonwriting men—some barely literate, some with a fine sense of communication—to jot down descriptions of what they did as cowboys. This gentle persuasion resulted in Mrs. Duke's obtaining enough material for several books. In this book, she gives us a wonderful, deglamourized picture of the working cowhand.

These cowboys, wagon drivers, windmill mechanics and wranglers were quite remarkable in their story-telling. Some of them may have held a pencil no more than twice a year. Some of them wrote their thoughts, much the same as they spoke; straight to the point in as few words as possible. Nevertheless, they had much to say about men and horses, girls and dances, grass fires and blizzards, wind and windmills; very little about guns and gunmen.

Mrs. Duke and Mr. Frantz have presented the XIT cowboy as he was before and after the turn of the century and for this we are indebted to them, for the history of any era is made by the people who live it.

This is the first book in the M. K. Brown Range Life Series to be published by the University of Texas Press. This series was established through the generosity of Montagu K. Brown of Pampa, Texas, himself a Panhandle pioneer.

Hominy, Oklahoma

—Arthur Shoemaker

HISTORY IN PUBLICATIONS OF THE MENNONITE CHURCH

Mennonite Country Boy. The Early Years of C. Henry Smith. By C. Henry Smith. (Faith and Life Press, Newton, Kansas. \$4.00.)

This autobiography is another in the Historical Series published for the Historical Committee of the General Conference Mennonite Church.

The story of C. Henry Smith begins with the dream filled years of his youth lived in an Amish-Mennonite community in Pennsylvania. His father was a bishop in this community whose people gradually pulled away from what became known as the Old Order Amish and eventually became Mennonites. It ends with what he called the end of his long educational trail, when he was about to receive his doctor's degree from the University of Chicago.

This is a beautifully written book and a scholarly account of his research in the history of his religion. He portrays the Mennonites as pioneers in the rise of religious toleration, as the spiritual forefathers of both the Baptists and the Congregationalists, and as a race of nonconformists whose whole social program was the Sermon on the Mount completely and literally accepted.

Prairie Pioneer. The Christian Krehbiel Story. By Christian Krehbiel. (Faith and Life Press, Newton, Kansas.)

This autobiography of Christian Krehbiel is also a historical account of the Palatinate immigrants to the Middle West, beginning in the 1830's, and the Mennonite migration from Russia in the 1870's.

Christian Krehbiel began his life in the German Palatinate. He came with his parents and relatives to America in 1851. They lived for a short time in Ohio and then settled on farm land in Illinois. Christian was ordained to preach in 1864. After ten years in Illinois, he moved his family to Kansas, where he lived the remaining years of his life. He worked his farm on week days and preached on Sundays. However, his duties as a preacher soon demanded more of his time as he was called upon to assist in organizing churches in the various groups.

The stream of Mennonite immigration from Russia in the 1870's did not limit itself to the Middle West. Many larger and smaller groups settled in Minnesota, South Dakota, and Canada. This wide dispersal was good for the church. It was expected that they would rapidly multiply and, had they all settled in one colony, they would not have expanded as they have.

The agricultural abilities and business enterprises of these Mennonites brought them prosperity. Lest this good fortune lead them astray from the true source of help, the fathers spared no effort in building churches and denominational schools.

It was during Christian Krehbiel's lifetime that the union of the Mennonite Church was accomplished, and the General Conference Mennonite Church was organized. The fruits of this endeavor are seen today in the district conferences, schools of higher learning, church papers, and the missionary program in many of our states and several foreign countries.

This book was published for the Historical Committee of the General Conference Mennonite Church as one in its Historical Series. It was translated from the original German by a granddaughter of the author, Mrs. Elva Krehbiel Leisy.

Stillwater, Oklahoma

—Mattie S. Johnson

The Progressive Years. The Spirit and Achievements of American Reform. Selected and Edited with Introduction and Notes by Otis Pease. (George Braziller, Inc., New York, 1962. Pp. 491. \$8.50.)

This is the third book in a projected six volume "The American Epoch Series" devoted, according to the blurb on the dust jacket, "to pivotal periods in American history as revealed in the writings of the men and women who participated in the shaping of those periods." Two volumes in the series previously have been published. Books of "readings" seem to be a popular form of bookmaking these days, and this is perhaps one of the more successful efforts. In contrast to many edited works of a similar character which are composed of short snatches from the writings of many authors, this collection, except for two or three cases, gives the whole composition or such long excerpts that the reader will probably gain the gist of the views and evidence of each contributor. This is a difficult book to review. Perhaps most of the selections are from the familiar literature of the so-called "progressive movement," (a label, incidentally, which Professor Pease seems to have assiduously avoided using), to which students of American history have been exposed for four or five decades, and some of the works are available in paperbacks.

The progressive movement was a many faceted thing with each reformer usually sticking to his own particular interest and not especially concerned with remaking the whole image of America. One might be concerned with the city (settlement houses, tenement houses or structure of government), another with political reform of city, State or Nation, another with

trust "busting," regulation or control of big business, still others with protection of women and children in industry or of the small business man, or improving the economic, intellectual and social conditions of labor and small farmers, or with other facets of the evils or undesirable effects of the industrialization of American society and how to remedy them. Thus, any selection of writings from the period must necessarily rely upon the judgment of the editor. Pease has provided no particular criteria as to the basis for his selections, but in his choice from the writings of an even dozen authors he has included those who may be said to have provided the intellectual leadership of the reform movement between the turn of the century and American intervention in the first World War, which mirror the philosophy, hopes and expectations of the reformers of the period. And within the limits of the material available, Professor Pease has included several selections which do portray more than one phase of reform in a single article. Writers represented in these pages are Frederic C. Howe, Jane Addams, Robert De Forest and Lawrence Veiller, Lincoln Steffens, Basil M. Manly, Eugene V. Debs, Theodore Roosevelt (2 selections), Woodrow Wilson (6 speeches), Walter Lippman and William James. Since most writers of the progressive period were so deadly serious, the short selections from Finley Peter Dunn's *Mr. Dooley* provide a welcome relief of humor and irony on labor troubles, immigration, the Philippine peace and the Hague Conference.

While at first glance this collection seems to cover a variety of subjects, there is a common thread which unifies these, as well as the writings of most reformers during these years,—the undesirable results which industrial development has imposed upon, perhaps, the majority of the people of the United States, and the need for the government to expand its powers and functions for the benefit of all of the people. Most of the writings demonstrate a confused line of thinking, infused with a hope and a naive faith in a mystical sort of Democracy and salvation to be gained by more democracy. Although the progressives regarded themselves as forward looking, from the perspective of more than half a century it would appear that while they were looking forward in some degree, many of them were often looking backward in a greater degree to providing through government intervention the better conditions of a past era. They vaguely assumed that the masses of mankind, if provided with the proper leadership and reform of the structure of government, would bring about the good society. None of those whose writings are included were revolutionaries. In some respects they would appear to the historian of the present generation as conservatives who were bent on modifying and patching up the existing structure, rather than of destroying it, or even changing it in fundamental ways.

One might quibble as to why the editor did not present some examples from the more sensational muckraker literature of the period, or why he included the long and strident defense of his foreign policies taken from Roosevelt's *Autobiography*, which may or may not represent the attitude of most progressives. However, it is the prerogative of an editor to choose what, to him, is most significant or representative for the purposes he has in mind.

Professor Pease has provided a broad and sweeping introduction of twenty-one pages which will help to orient the reader into the conditions and spirit of the time. He has also included a useful introduction to each of the five parts into which the book is divided. The collection as a whole will prove of interest to the reader who has neither the time nor inclination to read the voluminous literature extant on the progressive movement, and it should also be a useful reference book for college students in recent American history courses, as well as for the scholars of the period.

—O. A. Hilton, Professor of History

Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Atlantic Crossings before Columbus. By Frederick J. Pohl.
(W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York, 1962. Pp. 315.
Ills. Selected Bibliography. Index. \$4.40.)

This new book by Frederick J. Pohl, well known as an authority for his studies of the expeditions of the Vikings and other pre-Columbian voyagers across the Atlantic is interesting—even exciting—to Oklahomans since the whole of Chapter 4 is devoted to the "Heavener Runestone" in Le Flore County, counted as one of the mysteries in Oklahoma. This great flat rock standing 12 feet above ground, 10 feet in width and 2 feet thick, on which are 8 characters each 9 inches in height, evidently very old carvings like ancient "runes" of Northern Europe, is located in an almost inaccessible part of the Poteau Mountain northeast of Heavener, hence the name the "Heavener Runestone."

This great rock and its peculiar carvings deeply interested a young girl, Gloria of the community (now Mrs. J. Ray Farley of Heavener), and to learn about the meaning of the strange writing became a hobby that has developed into a long-time study of the ancient, monolith of stone on the side of the mountain. She made little headway in gaining the attention of those in authority on geological formations and peculiar inscriptions. Yet she wrote to many persons on the subject, sent for

and read all that she could find on so-called "rune characters." At last, after many letters of description and some of the verifications that the great rock and its "runes" had been seen by persons in the vicinity for many, many years, Mrs. Farley had interested Mr. Pohl in the great stone with its peculiar inscription. He and Mrs. Pohl made the cross country drive from New York to Heavener, Oklahoma, to talk with Mrs. Farley and her friends. A trip was arranged by them, and by jeep and long walks of rough-going through the hillside brambles, woods and rocks, Mr. and Mrs. Pohl reached the great stone monument near a gulch on the side of a ridge on the Poteau Mountain. Oklahoma was honored by Mr. Pohl's visit, and a special committee from the Oklahoma Historical Society headed by Mr. George H. Shirk, President of the Society, went to Heavener to meet the author and his wife. There was much skepticism on the subject at the time, and no definite decision was made on the possible identity of the "rune stone" inscription or its history though some conclusions were made on the geological formation of the stone and that the "rune" characters had been carved there for a long period. A report of the visit with Frederick J. Pohl and some of the background of the great stone in local history, illustrated with a facsimile of the actual "rubblings" made of the eight characters carved on the stone, were given by Mr. Shirk in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, autumn number (1959), Vol. XXXVII, No. 3, pp. 363-68.

Frederick J. Pohl is the author of several books on pre-Columbian expeditions across the Atlantic to America, the first titled *The Sinclair Expedition to Nova Scotia in 1398*, and among the other books his volume *The Lost Discovery*, in which he goes far back in history—as early as 800 A.D.—and retraces the expeditions of mariners of many nationalities in their voyages across the Atlantic. The exploration of the Northeastern Coast of America by Leif Ericson about 1,000 A.D. is a well known and accepted part of American history. Mr. Pohl made a special study of Norse literature, and other related relics referring to the Voyages of the Vikings from Europe to the New World.

Atlantic Crossings before Columbus gives new materials on the Vikings and other nationalities in America, the book containing twelve chapters that include Leif Ericson's Vinland, Prince Madoc of Wales, the Round Stone Tower at Newport, Rhode Island, and a whole chapter devoted to the subject "Inscriptions, False and Genuine." Mr. Pohl's approach is always the work of a scholar, indicated by his "Selected Bibliography" at the end of the new book, as well as extensive travel and study in this country and abroad, and his archaeological findings in two "digs" for the Massachusetts Archaeological Society. Chapter 4—"Heavener Runestone"—reveals much that sheds light on

the meaning of the inscription of eight characters and the possibility of its great age. These points have led Mr. Pohl to state that "in the present state of our small knowledge, which is limited to runic inscriptions, no valid objection can be raised against the combination of runic forms in the Heavener inscription; that the philological evidence corroborates the geological evidence as to its great age."

It is truly said that the talent of Frederick J. Pohl as a writer and researcher lies in his "uncovering commonly held misconceptions," and that he has the true detective awareness of the "difference between persuasive evidence and proof."

Readers of *Atlantic Crossings before Columbus* will find thorough and convincing reconstruction of pre-Columbian voyages and reading as "exciting as fiction yet the author never fails to search for truth as a revelation of human nature."

—Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma Historical Society
Oklahoma City

Sheridan in the Shenandoah. By Edward J. Stackpole. (Harrisburg, 1961. Maps. Index. Pp. 413. \$5.95)

The name of Philip Henry Sheridan evokes much interest in Oklahoma. He was in present Oklahoma many times, whether as a military commander or in Oklahoma informally on a hunting expedition. He was a great figure and a superb soldier; and any book that brings to us a century later a clear-cut and well chiseled portrait of his character and personality is worthwhile.

Throughout the War the Shenandoah Valley was a continuing lure to the Confederates. Rich agriculturally and thus of logistical importance, it was of great strategic value in that it seemed to General Lee as the ideal entry road to Lincoln's Washington. The Spring 1862 Valley campaign of Stonewall Jackson helped sustain the belief. In 1864, Lee determined to again make the Valley a scene of a major Confederate effort; and the presence in the Shenandoah of General David Hunter contributed to Lee's decision.

In the Summer of that year, General Jubal Early, a sharp-tongued and strong-willed personality, was given command of a major Confederate force with instructions to clear the Valley of Yankees and to institute a drive on Washington. Early entered upon his task with vehemence and vengeance; and was so successful that he was actually within eye-sight of Washington. A fascinating quirk of history will remain an enigma as to why Washington escaped.

Swift Union countermeasures were required. Sheridan was designated to drive Early to the south. From then on, the campaign became a fierce and vicious contest between these two men. Sheridan was to succeed; and his three victories of Winchester, Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek provide the subtitle for this volume, for indeed Sheridan was the nemesis for Jubal Early.

The volume is complete, to the point, and is understandable to the arm-chair Civil War tactician. The device of showing all Confederate units, commands, and names in italics adds to the ease in following the respective forces. The cartography is quite good, and the appendix includes a table of participating troop units and casualties.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City

Short Stories on the Bible. By Bert Hodges. (The Christopher Publishing House, Boston, 1962: Pp. 117. \$2.50.)

The author's presentation here of subjects from the Scriptures has substance and is stimulating and to the point, giving fresh emphasis to the wonderful thoughts of Biblical times that are fitting and inspirational today.

Mr. Hodges' wide experience in both the newspaper business and State affairs together with his natural gift and profession as a writer makes his book *Short Stories of the Bible* particularly readable. It will interest the most critical for its pungent, penetrating style of writing. The thirty-three stories are scholarly and give evidence of the author's long and extensive reading and study of the Bible.

Each of the stories is short and in an attractive format with good print, covering such Bible subjects and thoughts as "St. John, the Divine," "David's Poetic Mind," "Joseph's Wise Provision," "Love" and "Fear." One of the stories on "Chariots in the Bible" brings us close in Oklahoma history though none of these facts are recounted by Mr. Hodges since they go beyond his writing. Mention here is made of the song "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" which was composed and first sung in the Indian Territory long before the Civil War. A stone monument in memory of the noted tribal academy for Choctaw boys, named for Secretary of War John C. Spencer, has been erected on the original site of the school in Choctaw County, by the Oklahoma Historical Society. This monument mentions the song "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" so well known in America, and tells about its Negro slave composer "Uncle Wallace" and his wife, Minerva, who joined him in the singing as they went about their

work, inspired by hearing the Bible read and the preaching of the Christian missionaries in charge of old Spencer Academy.

The author, Mr. Bert Hodges long a resident of Okmulgee, Oklahoma, is well known in the newspaper field as former owner of the *Okmulgee Daily Times* and as a columnist for nearly thirty years. He served several terms in the State Legislature beginning in 1917, and in a special session, he introduced and obtained so many laws affecting newspapers that the Speaker of the House referred to him as "The Man from Newspaper County," which is still his nickname among his old associates. Mr. Hodges also authored the bill that passed the State Legislature securing woman's suffrage in Oklahoma before National legislation gave this privilege. In a later session, he obtained passage of the bill that vitalized the national legislation on woman's suffrage.

Short Stories of the Bible gives fresh thought and guidance in this time of vast changes and of unsolved problems, an antidote that will lead to the author's own conclusion in his book: "If there are some whose Bibles have gathered dust for want of use, neglect not its teachings . . . for inside its covering are the keys to eternal life."

—Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma Historical Society
Oklahoma City

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA LIBRARIES

MISCELLANEA PUBLICATIONS

Laws of the Creek Nation. Edited by Antonio J. Waring. (University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1960. Paper bound. Ills. Pp. vii, 27. \$1.00.)

Number 1 of "Miscellanea Publications" of the University of Georgia is the first publication of the "Laws of the Muscogee Nation" in manuscript written by Chilly McIntosh for his cousin, Governor George M. Troup of Georgia, on January 7, 1825. Chilly, born about 1800 near Coweta, Georgia, was the oldest son of the noted Chief William McIntosh of the "Muscogee Nation" (i.e. Creek Nation), and as a young man held the commission of major in the United States Army during his residence in Georgia. He was a signer of the Creek treaty at Indian Springs, Georgia, in 1825, which was repudiated by the great majority of the Creek people, for the sale of their tribal lands, and resulted in the feud in the Nation that brought the death of Chief William McIntosh. Chilly McIntosh moved to the Indian Territory at an early date and was always prominent in the

affairs of his Nation. He was a signer of the Treaty of 1838 at Fort Gibson, and the Treaty of 1856 at Washington, as a delegate of the Creek Nation. At the outbreak of the War Between the States, he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the Second Creek Regiment in the Confederate States Army. He commanded a battalion of the Creek Regiment, and was in the thick of the Battle of Round Mountain, November 19, 1861, against the Union Creeks, fought near the "ox bow" of the Red Fork (or Cimarron) River in the so-called Keystone Region, some 7 or 8 miles south of present Cleveland in Pawnee County. The name of "Lieut. Col. Chilly McIntosh" appears among the officers in this battle, cited for their "great coolness and courage" by Colonel Douglas H. Cooper, Commanding Indian Department, C.S.A.

Editor Antonio J. Waring has made a fine contribution to history in his *Laws of the Creek Nation*, his introduction briefing the history of the Creek people and the prominent McIntoshes in the period just before the final removal of the Creeks from Alabama. His book gives a facsimile of the first page of the Creek laws in the handwriting of Chilly McIntosh, and publishes (with notes) the fifty-six laws in force on March 15, 1824. Mention is made of Agent Benjamin Hawkins, one of the greatest of U.S. Indian agents in history, who dedicated his life to the Creek people and, in return, was respected and revered by them. The first written laws of the Creek people appeared in 1818, that point up the character and the progressive development of their Nation prominent among the so-called Five Civilized Tribes in the history of Oklahoma.

John Howard Payne and His Countrymen, Edited by Clemens de Baillou. (University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1961. Pp. v, 61. \$2.00.)

Number 2 of "Miscellanea Publications" of the University of Georgia is a reprint of "John Howard Payne to his Countrymen" from the *Knoxville Register* (Tenn.), the original address by John Howard Payne having been submitted by Robert Campbell and published in *The Augusta Constitutionalist* on December 23, 1835. This address gives an account of his abduction from the State of Tennessee and his imprisonment in Georgia by the Georgia Guard. Campbell in his note of transmissal to the paper says that all should be acquainted with this outrage, adding, "Every man of patriotic feeling within its borders will regret that any power with the semblance of state authority should have acted in such a Banditti-like manner towards the amiable and talented author of 'Home Sweet Home!'"

In his introduction to the book, Editor de Baillou briefs

the life of John Howard Payne as well as the events in the Cherokee Nation before the sale of their lands in Georgia, stating as a part of his conclusion: "Payne speaks not only for the Cherokees, but blends his literary style and feelings with theirs; an almost Biblical, dramatic style with a touch of classical rhetoric had become their own. The simplicity of early Christian civilization had developed under the influence of missionaries, and with it purity of feelings and expression. This address, far from being merely a political pamphlet, will be remembered for its literary value."

Payne's address is literature and true history as well. The University of Georgia and its Press are to be congratulated on this fine reprint in the hands of Editor Clemens de Baillou. It is another recent expression of appreciation and deep feeling of goodwill of the people of the State of Georgia toward the Cherokees, along with the beautiful restoration of the New Echota; the Cherokee capital near Calhoun, Georgia, and its dedication in 1962. See, Dedication Ceremony and Governor Vandiver's address in *The Chronicles*, summer, 1962, (Vol. XL, No. 2).

—Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma Historical Society
Oklahoma City

Rebel of the Rockies. The Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad, By Robert G. Athearn. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1962, pp. 395, \$10.00.)

It is a truism to say that the story of the westward development of the American railroad is the history of the westward course of American civilization. Usually, eastern railroad development connected existing centers or were to serve areas already opened by earlier means of transportation. In the West, however, the railhead was literally the terminus of man's development; and any volume dealing with the creation of a western rail system serves as the skeletal frame upon which much history may properly hang.

The late Wilson McCarthy, then President of the Denver and Rio Grande Western, saw the importance of an objective and complete history of his line and the contribution it would make to the bibliography of western history. As mentioned in the volume's preface, the author agreed to accept the commission "provided no control of any kind would be exercised and that all interpretations and conclusions" would be his alone. The wisdom of such an approach is rewarding and has resulted in a most excellent book. Several of our other railroads have in like

manner made possible the publication of volumes of merit and this present contribution will rank among the foremost.

The history of man's conquest of the Rockies, resulting in the first Colorado line west from Denver to cross the mountains is a fascinating and exciting tale. Rich with illustrations and documented with at least a dozen maps, the inherent worth of the volume is full recompense for the price. It is recommended to all who find fascination and pleasure in the great West.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF
DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—
OCTOBER 25, 1962

President George H. Shirk called the meeting to order at 10:00 a.m.

The roll was called by the Administrative Secretary and the following members were present: Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mr. Q. B. Boydston, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge J. G. Clift, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Mrs. Frank Korn, Jr., Joe W. McBride, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. Fisher Muldrow, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, and Mr. George H. Shirk. Those members absent and requesting that they be excused were: Mr. Lou Allard, Judge Orel Busby, Mr. W. D. Finney, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, and Mr. R. G. Miller.

A motion by Miss Seger, seconded by Mr. Mountcastle, that all absent members who had so requested be excused, carried when put to a vote.

The Administrative Secretary reported that there were five new life members, thirty-five new annual members, and that numerous gifts had been made to the museum and to the library.

A motion was made by Mr. Curtis, seconded by Mr. Bass, that all of the applicants be elected to membership and that all gifts be accepted. The motion carried when put to a vote.

The Administrative Secretary said that he had received a letter from Dr. Clifford L. Lord, Dean of the School of General Studies of Columbia University, and a member of the National Council of the American Association for State and Local History, indicating that a formal invitation would be welcomed by the American Association for State and Local History and the Western History Association to have their joint meeting in Oklahoma City in 1964.

After discussion by the Board, Dr. Harbour moved that such an invitation be extended by the Board of Directors. The motion, seconded by Mrs. Korn, carried when put to a vote.

The Administrative Secretary said that Mr. Dale, Chief Curator, had a request from Dr. Marvin Tong of the Great Plains Museum in Lawton for the loan of some material for exhibits he was planning; that he had discussed this with Mr. Dale; that he recommended the loan be made; and that this would involve things that are now in storage.

Dr. Harbour asked if the material lent to Cheyenne had ever been recovered. Mr. Fraker said they had not, but that the Society had never requested the return of the materials. Mr. Shirk asked if it was desired that the materials lent to Cheyenne be returned. Mr. Bass said he thought the Society should have some report on it. Mr. Fraker replied that Mr. Dale had checked on this loan semi-annually since it had been made and that it was apparently receiving excellent care. Mr. Bass said that under these conditions he thought the materials should be lent to the group at Great Plains Museum. He said he was aware of the work that group was doing and that he thought they deserved every encouragement. He added that he felt if this Society did not participate, they would deprive the people of Oklahoma of a chance to become better acquainted with the history of the state.

President Shirk quoted from Section 4 of Article I of the Constitution regarding lending of materials: "... the Society may from time to time determined by the Board establish temporary displays or exhibits at other locations in conjunction with fairs, exhibitions or other meetings of historical, educational or scientific interest."

Judge Clift moved that the material requested be lent to the Great Plains Museum, and the motion, after being seconded by Dr. Dale, carried when put to a vote. Mr. Shirk asked that it be noted that this referred to such materials as the Administrative Secretary should determine could be spared and that such materials were to be loaned in accordance with the provisions set forth in Article IV, Section 1.

Mr. Fraker referred to his recent illness and said: "I am grateful to the staff members for how they carried on during my stay in the hospital. These people worked wonderfully well and I want to especially commend Mrs. McIntyre, because she handled the details of the administration while I was absent. And I want to thank the Members of the Board for their visits, letters, flowers and cards."

Mr. Shirk said he had made a trip to Malmaison recently and that he was going to pass around some prints of government films that had been taken prior to the 1942 fire which had destroyed the buildings. He added that compared to the condition of this site, the Oklahoma Historical Society was doing a fine job with our own historic sites.

Mr. Bass said that he would like to see something done about preparing a publication of the fourteen flags that had flown over present Oklahoma. Mr. McBride said that the Publications Committee would take it under advisement.

Mr. McBride asked the Board if they were pleased with *The Chronicles* now being printed by the offset method. He said the Publications Committee would welcome any comments, complaints or suggestions.

Dr. Chapman asked if the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society had, at any time, passed any motion adopting any certain spot as the official location of the first battle of the Civil War in Oklahoma. Dr. Chapman then said, "I think most of you read in the *Daily Oklahoman*, on the 15th and again on the 20th of this month, the article regarding the Twin Mounds tracking station." Dr. Chapman said that he wanted to read from a letter received from Capt. Charles J. Finley, USAG, Project ANNA officer, some recently released classified information regarding Twin Mounds:

"The Air Force has primary responsibility for the optical portion of Project ANNA. This includes control of the satellite-borne flashing light and all DOD optical observation equipment. The geodetic stellar cameras to be deployed worldwide have a focal length of from 300mm to 1000mm. The Air Photographic and Charting Service will control the deployment and operational scheduling of these cameras. The Twin Mounds installation will be a geodetic stellar camera tracking station and not a missile site as indicated in your letter. The magazine articles bear out the fact that this endeavor is no less important to both our military and scientific efforts.

"No doubt, you are aware of the particular significance of Twin Mounds to the geodetic and cartographic world since its establishment many years ago as the initial point of the North American Horizontal

Control Datum. All maps and charts in the United States, Canada, Mexico and Central America are directly related to that one fixed point. All official government geodetic survey networks are adjusted to Twin. This control has now been connected to the South American Datum and extended down the Atlantic Missile Range. Project ANNA will attempt to tie all major world geodetic datums into one World Geodetic System. The importance of this basic knowledge to the improvement of our Space Vehicle World Tracking Network and to the overall effectiveness of our defensive and offensive missile systems is self evident."

President Shirk requested that the minutes show that, in response to the inquiry from Dr. Chapman, the Chairman confirmed the fact that the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society has never taken a formal action as to the precise location of the first battle of the War-Between-the-States in Oklahoma.

Reporting for the Microfilm Committee, Mr. Phillips said that over four million pages of reader film are now available to researchers. He said that a part of this was procured from other microfilm sources who were microfilming on a commercial basis. Mr. Phillips further stated he thought the department was making good progress. Mr. Phillips said that, even though this program had been developed on a trial and error basis, the Society would soon have a microfilm project and a newspaper library that will stand along side any others in the United States. He added that the Society was continuing to provide to the newspapers the old papers that had been filmed. He said that these old newspapers were being turned first to their original owners, second offered to the schools.

President Shirk said that a formal invitation had been extended to the family of the late Henry S. Bennett and that they seemed delighted with the invitation to offer a portrait of Dr. Bennett. He said that he had indicated to the family that the Society would perhaps have a presentation ceremony at some future time as yet undetermined.

Reporting for the Civil War Centennial Commission, Mr. Bass mentioned that he had made a trip to the Honey Springs battlefield and that he believed people over there are going to do something about preserving the battlefield. He also mentioned that some families were picking up bullets and other items on the battlefield and that he felt some attempt should be made to get some of these for preservation. Mr. Mountcastle said he would make an attempt to do this.

Mr. Bass said that he wanted to mention again the tremendous amount of work that President Shirk is doing on the day-to-day articles. He said he thought every interested person should write the editor of the local newspaper and encourage him to carry these articles.

The President introduced Dr. LeRoy Fischer who said he had been working on a Civil War map with Miss Wright for about a year and a half. He said it would be a full color map showing the land call designating the sites of the Civil War battles and would also give highway route and access to the sites. Dr. Fischer said that since this map would have a value beyond that of the usual highway map, they were hoping to have about double the usual quantity printed. He said he was hoping for a wide distribution.

Dr. Johnson asked about the treatment on this map of these disputed sites, and Dr. Fischer replied that at the June meeting of the Civil War Centennial Commission motion was made, seconded, and

approved, that the two disputed sites be designated as the Battle of Round Mountain and that they both be indicated on the map as disputed sites.

Mr. Phillips asked if once this map plate was made, would it be available to the Oklahoma Turnpike Authority for making their annual map. He said, "They print a map, update annually, showing turnpikes feeding into this turnpike."

Mr. Bass asked if it would be out of order to ask Mr. Phillips to go with the members of the Civil War Centennial Commission to meet with the Highway Department regarding the map. He said the maps would certainly get a wide distribution in this manner.

Mr. Muldrow asked if it would be possible, when this plate is made, that mats might be made for newspapers and trade publications. Dr. Fischer thought this would be a decision to be reserved to the State Highway Department.

In making the Treasurer's report, Mrs. Bowman pointed out that the quarter just passed was the first quarter of the new fiscal year. She said that the total of all cash on hand at the beginning of the period was \$3,615.71; that cash receipts for July were \$1,160.55, cash disbursements were \$1,233.44, leaving cash on hand at the end of July of \$3,542.82. Mrs. Bowman reported the cash receipts for August were \$1,420.22 and disbursements were \$821.42, leaving cash on hand of \$4,141.62. Cash receipts for September were \$936.91 and disbursements were \$529.87. Total of all cash on hand at the end of September and at the end of the first quarter of the new fiscal year were \$4,548.66.

Mrs. Bowman said that the Board Members might be interested in hearing about some of the items that brought in the cash receipts. They were, she said, new annual memberships, renewals of annual memberships, sale of individual copies of *The Chronicles*, sale of museum brochures, marker brochures, postal cards, flags and jewelry.

Mrs. Bowman said that the funds in United States Savings Bonds remained the same, a face maturity value of \$17,500.00. The amount in the Life Membership Endowment fund in the Oklahoma City Federal Building and Loan was reported as \$2,800.00 and the amount in the City National Bank was reported as \$39.00. Mrs. Bowman added that the Society had a small sum in the First National Bank and Trust Company in the Tour account. A small amount is left in that bank to keep the Tour account open.

Reporting on Tour expenditures and receipts for 1962, Mrs. Bowman said that total receipts had been \$2,725.00, total expenses \$2,807.03, and that there had resulted a gross deficit of \$82.03. This deficit would be somewhat smaller if the small amount had not been left in the bank to keep the account open.

Mr. Shirk said that the deficit covered materials that probably would be chargeable properly to the Society anyway.

Mr. Muldrow remarked that he was delighted with the growth of the Endowment Fund from the life membership.

Mrs. Bowman said that she wanted to pass around the scrapbook that is kept in the office preserving all news clippings in which the Society, its staff, directors and members are mentioned. She added that the sizeable collection in this book represented the publicity received by the Society in 1962.

Dr. Johnson said one of the finest collections of books regarding the Civil War is in the library of the Oklahoma State University and that it is there largely through Dr. Fischer's interest in this area of history.

President Shirk said he would like to close the Committee reports with a discussion of the budget for the new biennium. He said that it had been necessary to send in the usual preliminary forecast of funds needed, and asked Mr. Fraker to enlarge upon those figures shown in the minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee.

Mr. Fraker said that the suggested budget shown in these minutes had been approved as far as the Executive Committee could go. He said this type estimate must be filed so that estimates could be made for each department and in turn the State Budget Office could estimate the overall cost of state government. The proposed budget, as submitted by Mr. Fraker and approved by the Executive Committee, included the request for one new employee. The budget asks for \$57,000 for personnel, \$25,000 for operations, \$25,000 for the Microfilm Department, \$22,000 for Historic Sites and \$1,000 for the Salina Day Celebration. Mr. Fraker called attention to the fact that this was up \$9,000 for personnel, \$5,000 for the Microfilm Department and \$15,000 for Historic Sites. He pointed out that these items totaled \$130,000.

The Administrative Secretary said that in addition to this, the Society was proposing a quarter of a million dollars for an oil museum to be added to the facilities of the Society located on the Society's grounds.

Mr. Shirk remarked that \$57,000 represents a 7% to 8% increase in the total salary.

Mr. Fraker said he would like to comment that this budget is approximately between one-third and one-half of that of our neighboring state of Kansas.

Mr. Bass moved that the proposed budget for the new biennium be approved. The motion was seconded by Dr. Dale, and upon a vote, was adopted.

Dr. Morrison said they were trying to keep the site at Fort Washita clear and that this had been a problem because of the Johnson grass. He said that they had been able to have the site designated a game preserve by the Oklahoma Wildlife Department and this should keep the hunters out and help prevent vandalism and damage. He added that he had been able to secure the interest of some members of the American Institute of Architects and they might be willing to do some research and make some drawings showing how the restored buildings might look.

Mr. Shirk called attention to the fact that the Society will be seventy years old on May 27th of this next year. "It has been suggested," he said, "and some preliminary work has been done, that a joint meeting with the Oklahoma Press Association be held in their new building.

Dr. Harbour moved that the regular annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society be postponed until the 27th of May, with the officers meeting on the regularly scheduled date and that a joint meeting be held with the Oklahoma Press Associ-

ation in their new building. Motion was seconded by Miss Seger and carried when put to a vote.

The President then appointed a committee of Mr. Fraker, Mr. McBride and himself to work on the details of this joint meeting.

The President then introduced his friend and houseguest from England Mr. Tony Alcock. Mr. Alcock spoke with warmth and enthusiasm of his visit in the United States, recounting his meeting with President John F. Kennedy, adding that he was much impressed with the youthful and vigorous president; telling of his many visits to historic sites of the Revolutionary War and the War-Between-the-States. He said that this visit had been a terrific experience for him and that he had especially been impressed with this visit to Oklahoma—that something unique in world history had happened here and that these people have much to be proud of, a wonderful heritage.

Mr. McBride said it was refreshing to him to hear someone who spoke from a different viewpoint and with a fresh approach. He repeated that it was a pleasure to hear Mr. Alcock and that his remarks should make us appreciate our heritage which may be too close for us to appreciate properly.

Dr. Dale expressed regret that he had not been able to bring his Australian houseguests in to be introduced, but said they were making a tour of the Historical Society Building.

Mr. Shirk mentioned that Mr. Smith Luton of Hugo wanted to dispose of some of his collection. Mr. Shirk said that while the bulk of this collection probably would hold no interest for the Society, there might be some items of value.

Mr. Fraker said that if materials are to be acquired for the museums, libraries or other departments, that staff members should be the ones to check such items. He observed that in this instance Mr. Dale, Miss Wright, and Mrs. C. E. Cook would do a good job.

Dr. Harbour moved that Mr. Dale, Miss Wright and Mrs. C. E. Cook be assigned to look over this material Dr. Morrison seconded the motion which was put to a vote and adopted.

President Shirk called attention to Article IV of the Constitution which provides that five expiring directors will go on the ballot January 1st together with names nominated from the membership. Mr. Muldrow asked who were the members whose terms expired in January and President Shirk said they were: Mr. Finney, Dr. Johnson, Judge Busby, Mr. Boydston and Dr. Morrison. Mr. Shirk then asked the Board to rule on how the ballot is to be sent out.

Mr. Mountcastle moved that the ballot be included in *The Chronicles*. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion which was put to a vote and carried.

Dr. Johnson moved that President Shirk be directed to pursue the possibility that the Society might acquire part of the Ferguson collection. The motion was seconded by Mr. Bass and carried when put to a vote.

Mrs. Korn called attention to the critical condition of Mrs. Hefner and moved that a letter be sent to Judge and Mrs. Hefner. The motion was seconded by Mr. Muldrow and was adopted unanimously.

There being no further business the meeting was adjourned at 12:00 Noon.

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS RECEIVED, OCTOBER 24, 1962

LIBRARY

1. "Oklahoma Poetry" August, 1962
Donor: Leslie McRill, Oklahoma City
2. "Texana at the University of Texas"
Donor: Texas State Historical Association, Austin, Texas
3. *Magna Charta*, Part VIII—John S. Wurts
Donor: Judge Robert A. Hefner, Oklahoma City
4. *The Wassell Family*—Wassell Randolph
The Barrackman-Barrickman Families of West Virginia—June B. Barekman
Year Book of the American Clan Gregor Society
Donor: Oklahoma State Library, State Capitol Building
5. Bohemian Land Case Papers
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. W. C. McConnell, Oklahoma City
6. George H. Shirk Papers:
Washington Irving Tour, 1955
Oklahoma Historical Society Correspondence, 1951-1957
Collection of Oklahoma photographs and negatives
Newspaper article: "Prelude to Pea Ridge"
"Memories in Marble—The Story of the 4 Confederate Monuments at Front Royal, Virginia"
"Fauquier County Virginia Bicentennial"
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City
7. Copy of Resolution adopted by Carter County Bar Association, August 22, 1962 concerning Thomas Watts Champion
Donor: Carter County Bar Association, Ardmore, Oklahoma
8. Highway and Transportation Map of Cherokee County, Oklahoma, 1936
Railroad Map of Oklahoma, 1949
Donor: Herbert L. Branan, Oklahoma City
9. *Parable* by Clarence Alva Powell
Donor: Clarence Alva Powell
10. Two reproductions of Civil War prints: "Confederate Commanders" and "Union Commanders"
"A Bibliography of the American Civil War" Bruce Catton
"Claude Jean Allouez the Apostle of the Ottawas"
Donor: Philip J. Hohlweck, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
11. *Cullen Baker, Premier Texas Gun Fighter*—Ed Bartholomew
Photograph of Ragtown (Wirt), Oklahoma, 1920
Donor: Mrs. Muriel Teel Cooter, Oklahoma City
12. *Victory Boomer*, 1919
Collection of Lumber Yard Records from Ripley, Oklahoma, 1904-1937
Papers of the Oklahoma Conference on Genealogy
Donor: Harry C. Stallings, Oklahoma City

13. *Cherokee Outlet in the Indian Territory, 1893*—Oscar Monrad and Roscoe H. Sears
Donor: Oscar Monrad, Oklahoma City
14. Highway Map, Beaver County, Oklahoma, 1952
Highway Map, Texas County, Oklahoma, 1952
Color slides of Wapanucka Academy and Fort Washita
Color prints of Official Governor's Flag of Oklahoma
"Nellie Johnstone No. 1"
"Oklahoma Newspaper Directory"
"Oklahoma Corporation Commission, Rules and Regulations, 1946"
Donor: Robert L. Atkins, Oklahoma City and Ardmore
15. *The Landon Carter Papers in the University of Virginia Library*—Walter Ray Wineman
Donor: Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia
16. "As I See It"—Gerald M. Van Dyke
Donor: Gerald M. Van Dyke, Cordell
17. 2 Photographs of William P. Bill Atkinson
Donor: George William Fisher, Jr., Oklahoma City
18. *Father and His Town*—Wilma Baker
Donor: Wilma Sinclair LeVan Baker, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
19. Photostat copy of deed to lots in Seiling, Oklahoma
Signed by David Nation and Carrie Nation
Donor: Tom J. Ruble, Taloga
20. Supplement to *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 16, 1962
Donor: Walter Annenberg, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
21. *Pryor Cemetery*—James Manford Carselowey
Donor: O. K. Bivens, Oklahoma City
22. *John Francis Snyder: Selected Writings*
Donor: Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield
23. Map—Oklahoma, 1933
Donor: Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Stillwater
24. "United States Congressional Cemetery"
Donor: Claude Hensley, Oklahoma City
25. "The Kansa Indians"
"The Pottawatomies of Kansas"
Donor: Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas
26. *Four Years in the Stonewall Brigade*—John O. Casler
Donor: S. Merritt Setzer, Oklahoma City

GIFTS RECEIVED OCTOBER 24, 1962

MUSEUM

Pictures

Col. Daniel N. McIntosh, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Donor: W. E. McIntosh

Hotel Weaver, Oklahoma City

Ben Miller Residence, Oklahoma City 1888

Lieut. Waite's Camp, Guthrie Town Site, 1889

Cotton Wood Creek (three views)

Lieut. Carson's Camp (two views)

Oklahoma Pioneers

Choctaw Rail Road Camp on the Canadian River

Oklahoma City, April 22, 1889

Cheyenne Camp on North Canadian River

Indian Camp

Pioneer Farm Home
Curtropolis Hotel, Parsons, Kansas
Oklahoma City June 18, 1889
California Avenue, Oklahoma City, May 2, 1889
Round Grove Capitol Site, Guthrie
Abraham Lincoln
Oklahoma City Street Scene
"A Boomer"
Cotton Wood Creek at Guthrie (2 views)
North Guthrie
Guthrie Town Site—Camp Carson
Soldiers Camp Before Opening
South Guthrie
Boomer Under Arrest
Eclipse of Sun
Oklahoma City, 15th Street (2 views)
Skirvin Hotel
Skirvin Hotel, interior
Oklahoma City Wholesale District
Epworth University, Oklahoma City
Cotton Compress, Oklahoma City (2 views)
Lee Huckins Hotel
U.S. Post Office Building, Oklahoma City
Main Street, Oklahoma City
Threadgill Hotel, Oklahoma City
Birds Eye View of Oklahoma City
Broadway Looking South, Oklahoma City
Broadway Looking North, Oklahoma City
The State House, Guthrie, November 8, 1908
Santa Fe Depot, Oklahoma City
Oklahoma County Court House, Oklahoma City
St. Anthony's Hospital, Oklahoma City
Carnegie Library, Oklahoma City
The Run, September 16, 1893
The White Temple, Oklahoma City
Celebration at Guthrie
Oklahoma City, 1889
Guthrie, 1889
Scene Near Guthrie
 Donor: Miss Nadine Pendleton, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Norman Bagwell presenting Award to George Shirk
 Donor: George Shirk, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Group including Frank Frantz, last Territorial Governor
 Donor: Garrett Muchmore, Ponca City, Oklahoma
William (Billy) Bruner
 Donor: Roy L. Sherron, Tulsa, Oklahoma
Grave Marker of William H. Fitzhugh Payne, Warrenton, Virginia
Monument in Warrenton, Virginia
Grave Marker of Lindsay Lunsford Lomas, Warrenton, Virginia
 Donor: Tom Frost, Warrenton, Virginia
Scene at site of Cut Throat Massacre
 Donor: Hugh Corbin, Lawton, Oklahoma
Elias Boudinot, colored tintype in case
 Donor: Miss Rebecca Bryan, Van Buren, Arkansas
Grove on William Murray's Farm
Farm Home of William H. Murray
Charles N. Haskell

J. E. (Jack) Love

Governor Charles N. Haskell and H. T. Laughbaum

Governor William H. Murray

Governor Robert L. Williams

Governor William H. Murray, taken when he was President of the Constitutional Convention

Donor: H. K. Laughbaum, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

South Canadian Lodge, South Canadian, Indian Territory

Donor: Mrs. C. E. Cook, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Oil Painting of Indian Chief

Donor: Mrs. Edward K. Livermore, Sapulpa Herald, Sapulpa, Oklahoma

Chisholm Trail, lithogravure, by Robert Lindneux

Buffalo Scouts, lithogravure, by Robert Lindneux

Stolen Sweets, lithogravure, by Robert Lindneux

Donor: B. E. Bond, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Exhibits

Car Tag, Oklahoma License Plate, 1924 Number 30 F 538

Donor: Mrs. Lucille White, Dacoma, Oklahoma

German Helmet, World War II

Donor: Orville Don Harper, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Handmade wool scarf made in 1833

Donor: Mrs. R. B. Bradley, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Pawnee Head-dress, owned by Pawnee Chiefs, Brave Chief, John Moses, James Moses

Donor: Orlando Moses, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Green Blouse worn by Ella Lake Douglas Wood, wife of Captain W. R. Wood

Ribbon Banner with "Tennessee" in white letters

Donor: Maggie Lake White Sullivan (Mrs. Bloomer Sullivan) Durant, Oklahoma

Handmade Brick from New Echota, Georgia

Handmade Brick from Malmaison, Home of Greenwood LeFlore, Greenwood, Mississippi

Donor: George Shirk, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Document, Receipt for \$40.00 signed by Elias C. Boudinot

Donor: Miss Rebecca Bryan, Van Buren, Arkansas

Match Holder, yellow glass

Sugar Bowl, clear glass

Spoon Holder, clear glass

Cake Stand, clear glass

Compote and cover, Bracelet Pattern

Salt Dish, clear glass

Salt Dish, Frosted Three Face Pattern

Match Holder, China

Wine Glass, clear glass

Donor: Myrtle Lucille Brown, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Locket, double gold locket with picture of Samuel Benton, worn in 1830

Quill Cutter, used by great-grandfather of Joseph H. Benton in 1790

Donor: Joseph H. Benton, Norman, Oklahoma

Four Wire Bracelets, found near Mooreland, Oklahoma

Donor: Joyce Eilers, Mooreland, Oklahoma

Two Seminole Dolls made by Florida Seminoles

Donor: Mary Ruth Tener, Miami, Florida

Slate shingle from the Washington-Lee Chapel in Lexington, Virginia

Donor: George Shirk, Oklahoma City

(List of New Life and Annual Members of July 26, 1962 to October 25, 1962)

NEW LIFE MEMBERS

Gates, Floy Perkinson	Durant, Oklahoma
Boydston, Q. B.	Fort Gibson, Oklahoma
Ferguson, Benton	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Knox, Shelby R.	" "
Smith, Carolyn Tolbert	Atlanta, Georgia

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS

Duvall, Daisy M.	Ada, Oklahoma
Griffin, Mrs. Marcus R., Jr.	" "
Lenahan, James A.	" "
Lenahan, Syble T.	" "
Steiger, John	Bartlesville, Oklahoma
Minnett, Norma E.	Chickasha, Oklahoma
Munn, Irvin W.	" "
Colston, E. B.	Grady, Oklahoma
Hodnett, Louise A.	Marlow, Oklahoma
Bailey, Hurshel	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Brown, Pat	" " "
Doyle, David J.	" " "
Farris, Mrs. Cecil S.	" " "
Flusche, Ernest A.	" " "
Hover, Isola B.	" " "
Jones, Mrs. E. W.	" " "
Seybert, Alene E.	Pryor, Oklahoma
Mitchell, James C.	Purcell, Oklahoma
Adams, Mrs. Russell	Sharon, Oklahoma
Cash, Gordon L.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Chamberlin, Mrs. Cecil C.	" "
Jones, Gabrielle Watson	" "
Dannenberg, J. Y.	Garden Grove, California
Peithmann, Irvin M.	Carbondale, Illinois
Cook, William R., Jr.	Haysville, Kansas
Donahue, W. H.	Lawrence, Kansas
Sparks, Van J.	Neodesha, Kansas
Brainerd, E. L.	Minneapolis, Minnesota
Edwards, Bannye	Cherokee, North Carolina
Beaird, Panola R.	Nashville, Tennessee
Lane, Wilson H.	Amarillo, Texas
Bernard, Joanna S.	Dallas, Texas
Wyatt, E. R.	Pleasanton, Texas
Cadman, Mrs. M. V.	Tyler, Texas
Montgomery, Monte	Wichita Falls, Texas
Owen, Cannon A.	Washington, D. C.

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publication Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are \$3.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership may be secured upon the payment of \$50.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is \$4.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), \$1.00 each plus postage. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.



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