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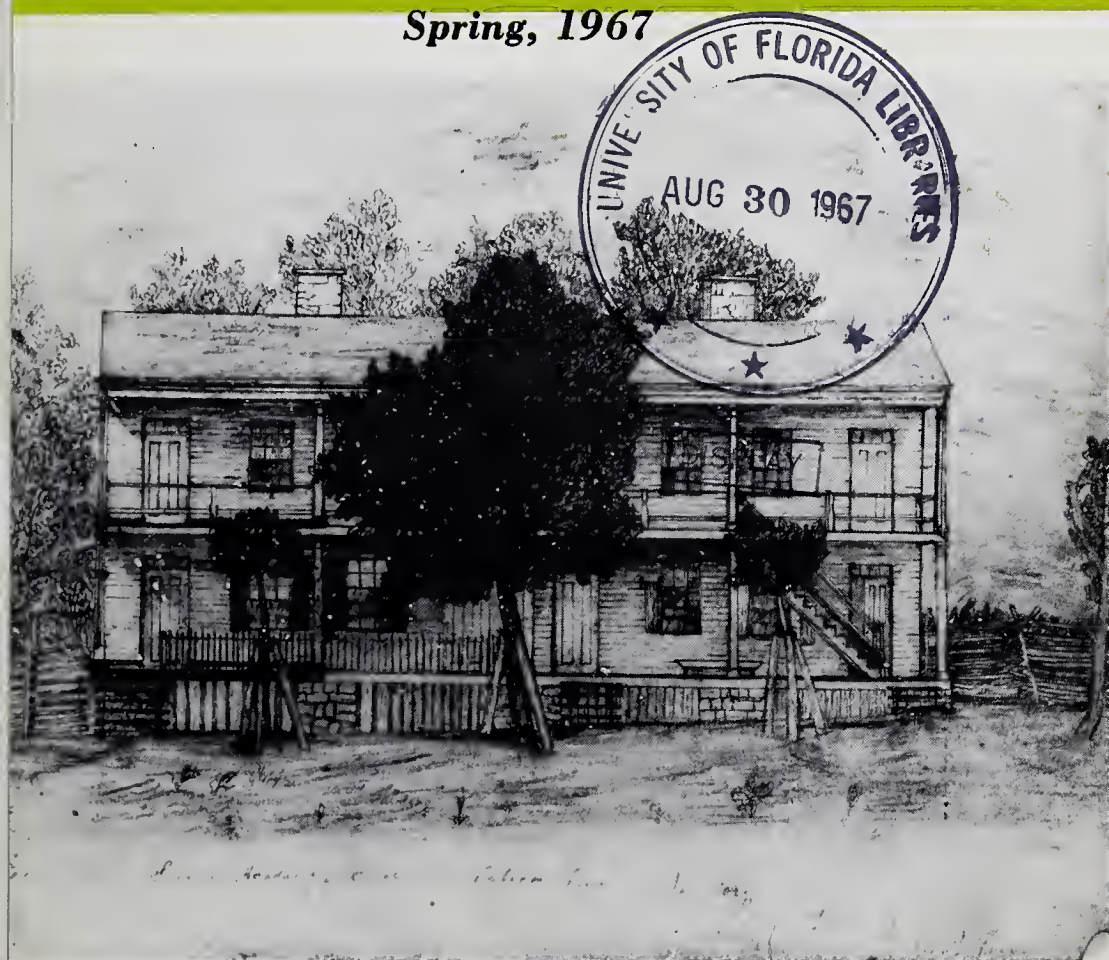
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Cover: Jones Hall, Old Spencer Academy, Choctaw Nation. This print is from the original drawing of the building in 1861. Jones Hall was erected (1842-1844) as a dormitory for this noted school for Choctaw boys. See the article on Spencer Academy in this number of *The Chronicles*.

FROM THE NATCHEZ TRACE TO OKLAHOMA:
DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION
AMONG THE CHOCTAWS, 1800-1860

*By Arminta Scott Spalding**

Protestant missionaries came down the Natchez Trace, "Path to the Choctaw Nation" in 1818, to establish a mission school for the Choctaw Indians in Mississippi Territory. There they found a culturally and politically developed community of peaceful and friendly Choctaws whose economy was established on agricultural and trading skills and whose government was representative in organization centered in three chiefs and a council. They had no knowledge of Christianity, but had a tribal religion based on animism and belief in magic.

When the Choctaw Nation signed the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek with the United States in 1830, they agreed to leave their homeland in Mississippi and move west.¹ They carried with them the seeds of a Christian Civilization that had been sown in their hearts and minds by missionaries and mission schools in the preceding decade. This work was tenderly nourished and cultivated in their new land by the missionaries and teachers who migrated with them. The full fruits of the missionary labor from the Natchez Trace to the Indian Territory, west, was reaped in the bountiful harvest of a mature Choctaw Christian civilization by the time of the Civil War.

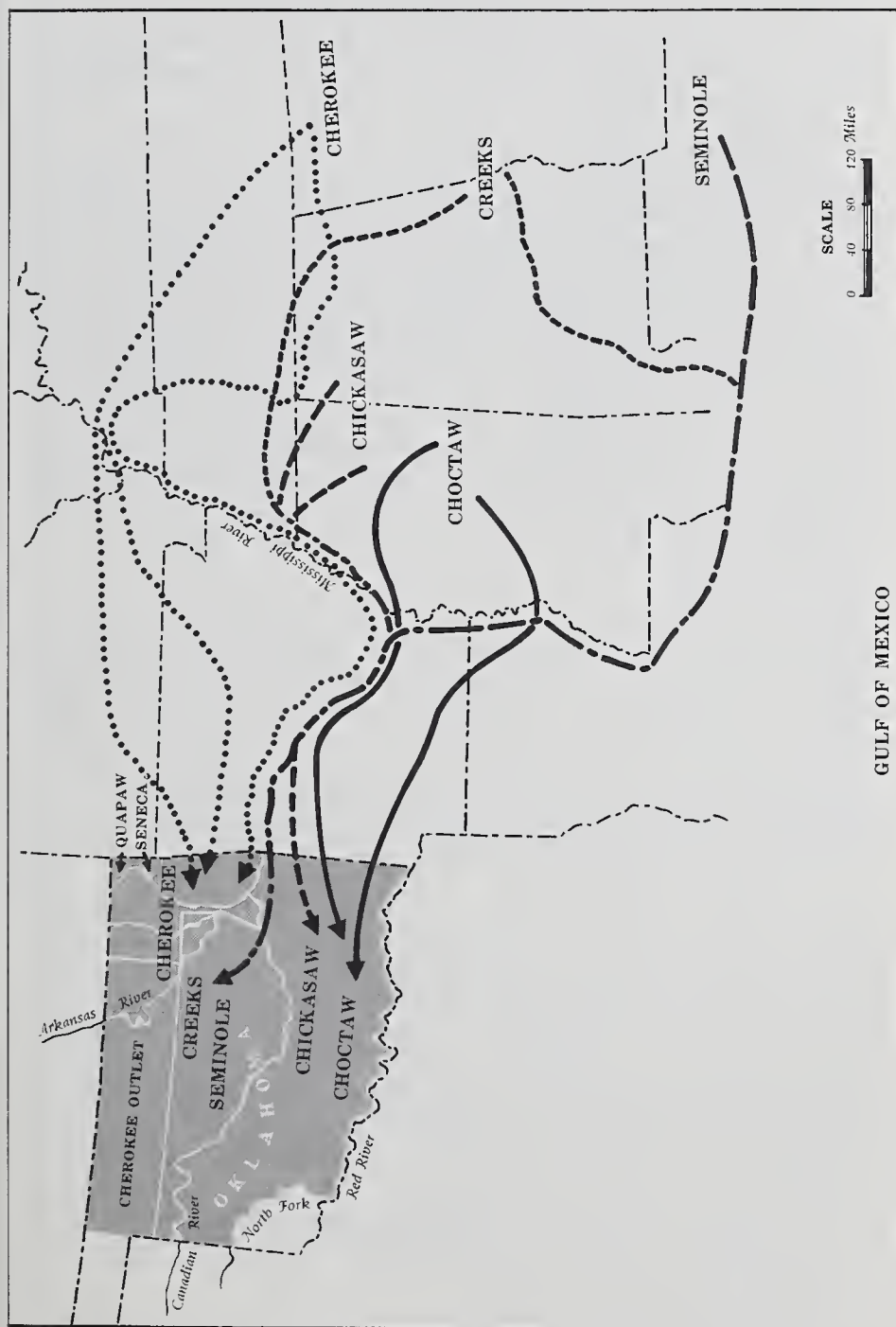
From buffalo and Indian path to national parkway, the Natchez Trace east of the Mississippi River has played an important role in the settlement, civilization and economy of the whole Southwest, Old and New. Legend tells that the buffalo was the chief trailmaker during the Pre-Columbian period. By instinct he was a "civil engineer" and chose a path of least resistance. He made a path from the salt licks near Nashville southwest to the bluffs of the Mississippi River at Natchez. Artifacts from mounds reveal that prehistoric man likewise followed the Trace.²

The Natchez Trace has worn many names. It was first called the Chickasaw Trace from Nashville to the Chickasaw Nation near Tupelo, Mississippi. There it intersected another trail connecting the Choctaw and Natchez tribes and appears on

* Arminta Scott Spalding, a native of Mississippi has contributed this article, adapted from her paper for graduate credit in the University of Oklahoma.—Ed.

¹ Grant Foreman: *Indian Removal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), pp. 19-31.

² *Trails and Trade Routes*, Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, D.C., 1957), pp. 1-7.



REMOVAL OF SOUTHEASTERN INDIAN TRIBES, 1830-1842.
Map Showing Routes traveled to Oklahoma

French maps of the 1730's. The southern part of the trail appears on British maps of the 1770's as the "Path to the Choctaw Nations."³ Between 1800 and 1830, when this old Indian trail became an important frontier road, it was known as the Natchez Trace. It was the most heavily traveled road of the Southwest during this period.

Dominating this area at the time of the first white settlement in 1700 were the closely related Choctaw and Chickasaw Indian tribes. The Choctaws, 15,000 in number, were concentrated in east central Mississippi northwest of Meridian, and were the largest and most powerful. The Chickasaws were less numerous, about 3,500, and were located to the north of the Choctaws.⁴ The five principal tribes of the southeastern part of the United States were the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek and Seminole Indians. These five tribes have been designated as the Five Civilized Tribes since the Civil War, because of the progress they made in adopting the white man's culture. The earliest notice of the Choctaw Indians is found in the narrative of the De Soto expedition of 1540. All of these tribes are of the Muskogean family, except the Cherokee that are of the Iroquoian family.⁵

A national legend of the Choctaw people tells of their ancient migration to the Natchez Trace country from a distant country in the west, *hushi aiokatula* or "place where the sun falls into the water," to the country in the east where a sacred mound, *Nanih Wava* or "productive mountain" was erected.⁶ The story told by E. T. Winston, former mayor of Pontotoc, Mississippi, and "best informed man in that section of the country on the Natchez Trace and the Indian lore of the historic centers about Pontotoc,"⁷ supports this legend.

According to Mr. Winston, the Toltecs of Central America sought a new country in the seventh century. They packed all their belongings together including the bones of their ancestors and the seeds of cotton, corn, tobacco, potatoes, peppers and beans. On the day of migration, the chief priest or medicine man produced a "divine guide" to direct their journey toward the rising sun. He also carried a pole to be planted in the ground at each sunset to indicate the day's travel by the direction it leaned at sunrise. The "divine guide" was a very small, snow-white

³ Dawson A. Phelps, "The Natchez Trace Indian Trail to Parkway," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI (September, 1962), p. 3.

⁴ *Natchez Trace Parkway Survey*, Senate Document No. 148, 76th Congress, 3d Session (1941), p. 10.

⁵ Muriel H. Wright: *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*. (University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 1951), p. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁷ "Hearings Before the Committee on Roads," 73 Cong., 2nd Session (H.R. 7312 and H.R. 7345, 1934), p. 59.

dog, which, true to the medicine man's prediction and the leaning of the pole, led the way to the east each day. The journey continued many suns and moons until the group reached the west bank of the Mississippi River. Standing about in groups in utter amazement, they heard their oldest and wisest prophet exclaim, "misho-sip-okani," literally translated, "beyond the ages," and meaning father of all its kind or father of waters.

The next morning at sunrise the pole again pointed to the east and the group made rafts and canoes for the crossing of the river. The little white dog was placed alone upon a raft which was immediately whirled away by a swift current and never seen again. The Toltecs, perplexed by the loss of their "divine guide," crossed the river and placed the pole in the ground on the opposite shore. The pole pointed meaninglessly in several directions before finally standing erect and motionless. These strange manifestations brought about dissension in the group and a small party of the Toltecs refused to continue the journey. This group became known as the Natchez Indians.⁸

The remaining Indians followed the trail, later known as Natchez Trace, to the interior of the region, where many died from a terrible epidemic. The alarmed young chief *Chicasa* took his clansmen and moved north. His followers became known as the Chickasaws. The term *chickasha* is from the original phrase *chikkih ashachi* meaning, "they left as a tribe not a very great while ago."⁹

The majority of the Indians who did not leave died and were buried in a mound named *Nana Waya*.¹⁰ The present tribe miraculously came "as living souls from the womb of the dead that lie in their sacred mound . . . and became the great Choctaw Nations."¹¹

Prior to the arrival of the missionaries, the Choctaw had no conception of prayer. They believed that when the Creator had made the earth and its inhabitants, he had given them their regulations and returned to his place above. No manner of worship, homage or supplication was required nor was there any revelation of his will. Therefore, in times of distress the Choctaws did not apply to their god for relief. They appealed to the sun for success in war. They called upon the rain-makers in times of drought; and upon the dry-weather makers for sun-

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁹ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 100.

¹¹ "Hearings Before the Committee on Roads," *op. cit.*, p. 61.

shine in times of flood. "Doctors" who claimed hidden knowledge of the natural and supernatural elements treated their illnesses.¹²

The Choctaw Nation was divided into three "beats" or districts, each under a chief called "Mingo" (from the word minko) and independent of each other. In the districts, there were sub-chiefs referred to as "captains." Councils for the entire nation were called by the head chiefs acting in concert to deal with external matters of policy concerning peace, war or foreign relations. These councils were slow and deliberate in reaching conclusions after the issues were debated by the orators.¹³

Noted for their stoicism, the Choctaw people met the death sentence with no show of emotion. After the trial, the convicted person was allowed his freedom until the appointed time of his execution, for there were no jails in the nation until long after the removal west. On the day set by court order, he returned punctually to meet his sentence of death which was executed by a rifle shot into his heart.¹⁴

The education of both male and female children was the responsibility of the mother until they reached the age of twelve. At that time the boys were turned over to an individual tutor called the "Ancient." He schooled the boys in the manly arts of hunting, fighting and farming. Since the Indian boy received no whippings as corrective measures, appeals to his pride or shame were used to accomplish discipline.¹⁵

For food and subsistence, the Choctaws relied mainly on their principal food crop of corn. This crop was often produced in abundance and traded to neighboring tribes. The Choctaws organized "big hunts" periodically and traveled as far west as the areas now known as Arkansas and Oklahoma. The forests of Mississippi yielded many herbs, fruits, and plants which supplied food and medicines. The forest acorn was a useful source of vegetable oil.¹⁶

Compared to other Indians, the Choctaws were distinguished for their peaceful character and friendly disposition. They greatly respected home and country and seemed to have an innate

¹² H. B. Cushman: *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Natchez Indians* (Greenville, Texas: Headlight Printing House, 1899), pp. 300-302.

¹³ John Reed Swanton: *Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1932), p. 96.

¹⁴ Cushman, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158.

¹⁵ Frank E. Smith: *The Yazoo River* (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1954), p. 18.

¹⁶ Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-118.

politeness and hospitality. "In much the same way that we speak of the grand Southern aristocracy of whites, many historians refer to [these] Muskogean as the elite of aboriginal days."¹⁷

Before the establishment of the first Protestant mission school in the Choctaw Nation in 1818, attempts by missionaries to Christianize the Indians met with little success. As early as 1726, a Roman Catholic mission was opened in the Six Town district and another at Yazoo. These efforts were without any known result.¹⁸ Some Protestant itinerant preachers traveled the Trace through the Choctaw Nation during the early 1800's but met very little response. One of the first of these missionaries was James Hall who was commissioned by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church to go to the Mississippi Territory in 1800. He described his travels in *A Brief History of Mississippi Territory*, as follows: "Some of the Indians and half-breeds were able to offer milk and fresh corn to the weary traveler, although the milk was set before the guests in an iron kettle which had served for all purposes of life."¹⁹

The most picturesque of all the itinerant preachers was Lorenzo Dow, a Methodist evangelist from Coventry, Connecticut. Due to his eccentric habits, he was frequently referred to as "the crazy preacher." During each trip down the Trace he jotted down items of interest which were later published. In 1807, Jacob Young, another Methodist itinerant preacher, described his trip down the Trace in a chapter of his *Autobiography of a Pioneer*. Others who preached the gospel along the Trace at this time were Learner Blackman, Nathan Barnes, Moses Floyd, Tobias Gibson and Thomas Nixon.²⁰

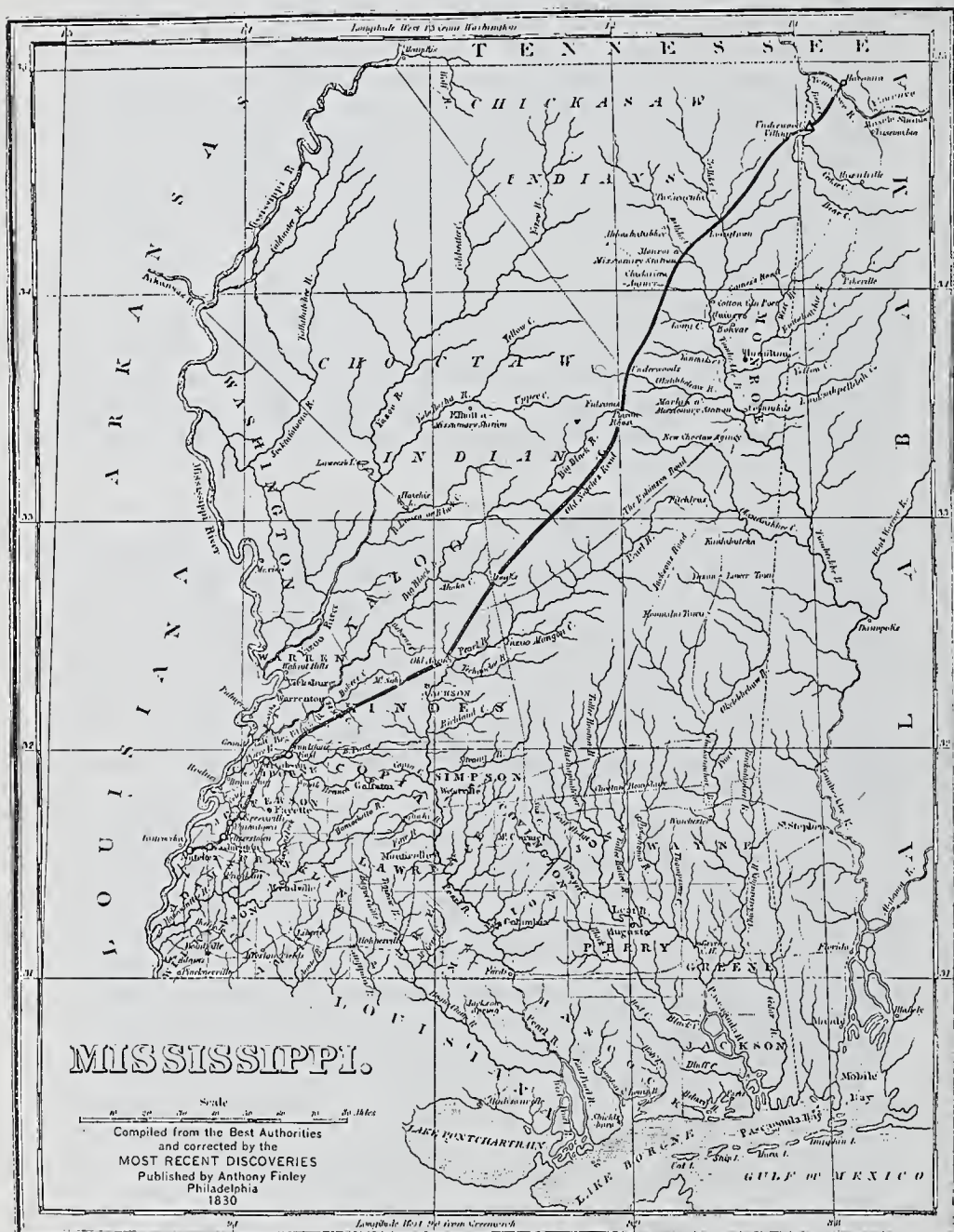
Although these first missionary efforts along the Natchez Trace were without any apparent influence upon the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians, the story changed after the War of 1812. The establishment of a mission in the Choctaw Nation by missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Presbyterian from 1837) became the major influencing factor in the history of the Choctaw civilization. This historic step toward Christian civilization was initiated by the Choctaw people who felt that their only hope for the future lay in education and the adoption of civilized institutions. Within a

¹⁷ Clark Wissler: *Indians of the United States: Four Centuries of Their History and Culture* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1948), p. 141.

¹⁸ Angie Debo: *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), p. 30.

¹⁹ *Natchez Trace Parkway Survey, op. cit.*, p. 60.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 77.



MAP OF MISSISSIPPI, 1830

few years, the Choctaws became noted for their educational system and schools. They were the first of the five great southern tribes to move as a nation to the Indian Territory of Oklahoma and they set the pattern for similar schools and institutions for the other nations.²¹

The first mission school in the Choctaw territory in Mississippi had its origin in New England in 1806, when three students of Williams College held a prayer meeting in a haystack. The outcome of the haystack meeting was the organization in 1810 of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, a non-denominational agency supported by members of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches of New England and New York. Their primary interest was in foreign missions. By 1816 they organized a mission to the Cherokee Indians at Brainerd, near the present site of Chattanooga, Tennessee. The Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury, a native of New Hampshire, served as the director. He was a graduate of Brown University and Andover Seminary and an ordained missionary of the Congregational Church at Ipswich, Massachusetts.²²

The goal of the American Board for Foreign Missions as stated by the Prudential Committee in 1816 was to:²³ . . . establish schools in the different parts of the tribe . . . for the instruction of the rising generation in common school learning, in the useful arts of life, and in Christianity, so as gradually, with the divine blessing to make the whole tribe English in their language, civilized in their habits, and Christian in their religion.

Furthermore, the United States Congress on March 3, 1819, appropriated ten thousand dollars per year to instruct the Indians in the mode of agriculture and mechanical arts suited to their situation and to teach their children in reading, writing and arithmetic. The Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, decided that the best method of attaining the desired results would be to subsidize the missionary Indian schools.²⁴

Prior to this action, the Choctaw Nation petitioned the American Board to establish a mission in their country so that their children could be taught the "better way of life," which was found in the "White Man's Book." They reminded the Board that they had always been at peace with the whites and

²¹ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

²² "The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," *Annual Report*, 1834, p. 134.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Dawson A. Phelps: "The Choctaw Mission," *The Journal of Mississippi History*, Vol XIV (January 1952), pp. 38-39.



NATCHEZ TRACE IN MISSISSIPPI, 1830

that the Choctaws had never shed a white man's blood in war.²⁵ The Board appointed the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury to organize a mission to the Choctaw Indians.

Mr. Kingsbury, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. L. S. Williams, started overland from eastern Tennessee for their new field on May 30, 1818. Their wagons carried them over the Tennessee River at Colbert's Ferry, down the Natchez Trace to the Chickasaw Agency and thence westward through the forest to a place on the Yalobusha River. They chose a site for the first mission and named it "Eliot," in honor of the "Apostle to the Indians," who had translated the Bible for the Indians near Boston during the years 1647-1663.²⁶

From the date they felled the first tree in August, 1818, to the following April when school opened with ten Choctaw children, the missionaries had erected seven log dwelling houses. In addition, they had built a stable, a store house and two other

²⁵ W. B. Morrison: "The Choctaw Mission," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (1926), p. 171.

²⁶ *Missionary Herald*, 1819, pp. 242-243.

out-buildings, cleared and fenced thirty-five acres of good land, planted a garden and set out fruit trees.²⁷ Soon afterward, they organized a church but very few converts were made during the early years. The Choctaw people were concerned only with education at this time.

Explaining the attitude of the Choctaw in general toward the white man's religion, Mr. Kingsbury wrote in his autobiography that:²⁸

In the spring of 1818 . . . the Choctaws were still in their original heathen and barbarous state or worse than when the first European touched these shores. During the French occupation of Louisiana, in the early part of the last century, efforts were made by Roman Catholic missionaries to convert them, but without success. The Spanish, English, Irish, French and American traders—almost the only representatives from Christian lands with whom they had had intercourse were men of corrupt minds, and generally of very debased characters, from whom they had learned much evil, and little if any good.

Within two years after the founding of the Eliot Mission School, the student body had increased to 80 and the number of instructors to 20. The instructors consisted of teachers, mechanics, farmers, weavers, spinners, a doctor and a blacksmith.

The leaders of the Choctaw Nation were pleased with the progress of the mission and the general council, and voted an annual payment of \$6,000 for seventeen years for the support of the school.²⁹ This amount was part of the \$16,000 annuity which the United States, by the treaty of 1816, had agreed to pay the Choctaw for the cession of their land east of the Tombigbee River.³⁰ These donations partially paid for the board of the children. The missionaries received no salary, only their bare necessities. An old chief justified the Indian support for the school in an address to the missionaries in these words: "The Choctaws are ignorant; they know when day comes and when night comes. That's all they know. We expect to die in our old habit, but we want our children to do better."³¹

Encouraged by the response of the Indians to the mission, the American Board instructed the Reverend Kingsbury to make a tour through the Choctaw Country to select a site for a new mission. Mr. Kingsbury set out from Eliot on February 10, 1820, accompanied by Colonel David Folsom (one-half Choctaw by

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Cyrus Kingsbury, Sue McBeth Papers (Mss. in Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma).

²⁹ *Missionary Herald*, 1820, p. 380.

³⁰ George Dewey Harmon: *Sixty Years of Indian Affairs: Political, Economic, and Diplomatic, 1789-1850* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941), pp. 152-153.

³¹ *Missionary Herald*, Vol. X, p. 224.

descent) of high character and Major John Pitchlynn, an Englishman who had married a Choctaw woman. Mr. Kingsbury established the new station in what is now Oktibbeha County, Mississippi and named it "Mayhew" in honor of Thomas Mayhew, a seventeenth century missionary to the Indians of Massachusetts. Kingsbury moved to the new station that remained the missionary headquarters for ten years.³²

In 1821, the Reverend L. C. Williams established a third mission, Newell, on the Old Natchez Trace and a fourth, Bethel, one year later. Expansion of the schools continued until there were thirteen stations established by 1830, the date of the removal treaty. These additional missions were Emmaus, Goshen, Hockha, Ai-id-hun-nuh, Bok-e-tun-nuh, Juzon, Gibeon, Hebron and Yok-nok-cha-ya. Native graduates of the various stations held other schools in the southern part of the nation.³³

An interesting account of the daily activities of one of the schools appeared in a London, England publication in 1820. The author was Adam Hodgson, a distinguished merchant of Liverpool, who visited Eliot and Brainerd on a journey from Natchez to Virginia. Referring to his visit at Eliot, he wrote:³⁴

In the morning, at day-light, the boys were at their agriculture, and the girls at their domestic employments. About 7 o'clock, we assembled for reading, singing, and prayer; and soon afterward for breakfast. After an interval for play, the school opened with prayer and singing, a chapter in the Bible, and examination of the subject of the chapter of the preceding day. The children then proceeded to reading, writing, accounts, and English grammar, on a modification of the British system. The instructors say they never knew white children learn with so much facility.

As soon as the school was over, the boys repaired to their agricultural labors; their instructor working with them, and communicating information in the most affectionate manner, the girls proceeded to their sewing and domestic employments, under the missionary sisters. They were afterwards at liberty till the supper bell rang. . . . After supper a chapter in the Bible was read, with Scott's practical observations. This was followed by singing and prayer; and then all retired to their little rooms in their log cabins.

I could not help imagining, that before me might be . . . the future founder of institutions which were to enlighten and civilize his country. . . . The present system of combining the two objects of civilizing and Christianizing the Indian tribes, is already "in the full tide of successful experiment."

Indeed, the mission experiment of civilizing and Christianizing the Choctaw Indians, made rapid progress through the tireless efforts of the teachers and missionaries. A testimony of appreciation for this work was sent to the mission at Eliot, July

³² Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

³³ *Missionary Herald*, Vol. XXIII, p. 9.

³⁴ *Niles' Register*, Vol. XXII (1822), supplement, Hodgson: *Letters from North America*, p. 63.

17, 1829, signed by David Cochnauer and A. T. Brashears. The statement reads, in part, that:³⁵

We the undersigned, parents and friends of the children in the mission school at Elliot, desire to express our hearty approbation of the manner in which it has been conducted, and our confidence in those to whom the interests of the school have been committed. The improvement of the children in every nature has fully equaled our expectations, and in many instances altogether surpassed our most sanguine hopes; and we do hereby express our warmest thanks to the teachers and patrons of the school for the interest they have manifested in behalf of ourselves and our children. And we do desire especially to return thanks to Almighty God, for his goodness and mercy to us in the establishment of this school . . .

The never ceasing labor of the missionaries and teachers was truly a labor of love, for no pecuniary compensation was received and in some instances, life and health were expended. Seven, with one exception, came to the missions with vigorous health and in the bloom of life, but died soon after.³⁶ Others worked with the Choctaw in Mississippi and moved with them to their new home in the west in the removal. Of these, the four most prominent missionaries of the American Board were the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury, the Reverend Cyrus Byington, Ebenezer Hotchkin and Dr. Alfred Wright. Each made significant and lasting contributions to the work.

The Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury, "Father of the Choctaw Missions" and founder of the first mission school at Eliot, traveled hundreds of miles each year visiting the stations in Mississippi and meeting the problems in a statesman-like manner. Lame from his youth and frail in health, he nevertheless remained active and devoted to the cause of leading the Choctaws from a heathen nation to a Christian one. "Limping Wolf," as the Choctaws called him, lived to be eighty-four years old. He died in 1870, and was buried at Boggy Depot in Atoka County, Oklahoma.³⁷

As Kingsbury was the statesman of the Choctaw Mission, so Byington became its scholar—both Presbyterian leaders. The Reverend Cyrus Byington arrived in the Choctaw country in 1822. He was born in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, March 11, 1793, and late in his youth he studied Latin, Greek, Hebrew and law. In 1814 he was admitted to the bar and practiced law for a few years. He felt the call to become a missionary, however,

³⁵ Sue McBeth Papers, *op. cit.* See "The Diary of Sue McBeth, a Missionary to the Choctaws, 1860-1861," annotated by Dr. Anna Lewis in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXI, No. 1 (March, 1943) pp. 186-195. Also, see "A Report on Research for the Record of Sue McBeth, Missionary," by Hope Holway in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIV, No. 2 (Summer, 1966), pp. 222-225.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

and entered Andover Seminary. Soon after receiving his license to preach in 1819, he was commissioned by the American Board to go to the Choctaw Nation.³⁸

Mr. Byington realized the importance of gaining a knowledge of the Choctaw language to make a permanent impression on the nation and to gain a hold on the minds and hearts of the adult population. This language had never been written and there was no alphabet. There was a great need for words suited to convey moral and religious truth to the native mind.³⁹ Mr. Byington preached the first sermon in the Choctaw language in April, 1824 and composed a hymn in the language.⁴⁰ Because of his style of oratory, the Indians named him "Sounding Horn."

He went west with the Choctaws at the time of their removal and established a school at Eagletown on the east side of the Mountain Fork River, which he named Stockbridge after his birthplace in Massachusetts. Mr. Byington wrote a dictionary of the Choctaw language,⁴¹ prepared a speller, translated several hymns and wrote a Choctaw grammar. He was working on the seventh revision of his dictionary at the time of his death in 1868.⁴²

The school teacher of the Choctaw missions was the Reverend Ebenezer Hotchkin who came to Mississippi in 1828, the year of a great revival throughout the nation. He became a licensed minister (Presbyterian) in 1832 soon after marrying Philena Thacher, a missionary to the Choctaws. "Mrs. Hotchkin's family history is remarkable. Her paternal ancestry can be traced back in a direct line for fifteen generations, and with but one exception they were all ministers, and all named Peter Thacher save one."⁴³ The descendants of Ebenezer Hotchkin and Philena Thacher Hotchkin have furnished one or more missionaries to the Indians in every generation.⁴⁴

Among the first to renew the mission work beyond the Mis-

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

³⁹ Sue McBeth Papers, *op. cit.*

⁴⁰ Autobiography of Cyrus Kingsbury, Ms. in Sue McBeth Papers, *op. cit.*

⁴¹ John R. Swanton and Henry S. Helbert, Eds.: *A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language* (Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 46, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1915), pp. vii-viii, "Introduction on Cyrus Byington," Author.

⁴² Byington Letters, Mss. in Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma. Two volume typescript of the letters in the Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

⁴³ Sue McBeth Papers, *op. cit.*

⁴⁴ W. B. Morrison: *The Red Man's Trail* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1932), p. 55.

Mississippi was Dr. Alfred Wright, the "beloved physician," who was born in Connecticut and graduated from Williams College. Sixteen miles east of Fort Towson, Dr. Wright opened a station which he named Wheelock in memory of the first president of Dartmouth College.⁴⁵ The stone church his congregation built near his station in 1846 is still standing, the oldest church building in Oklahoma.⁴⁶

Harriet Wright joined her husband, Dr. Alfred Wright, in his various missionary endeavors as a physician, preacher and scholar. From ten to fifteen persons came to their home every day for medicine or medical treatment and from thirty to fifty pupils attended Mrs. Wright's school each day. "Among these young children," she believed, "there was a chance for permanent achievement."⁴⁷ Mrs. Wright was of great assistance to her husband in his translations of books of the Bible, including Joshua, Judges and Ruth. Dr. Wright died at Wheelock in 1853. Mrs. Wright went to Georgia where she died and was buried in 1854.

David Folsom, a Choctaw Indian, was the first lay missionary of the Choctaws. To him, education was the hope of the nation. He was one of the first Choctaws to ask for the establishment of schools among his people. In June, 1829, he and three brothers, Isaac, Samuel and John, united with the church. He was instrumental in sending two brothers, McKee and Israel Folsom, away to school in Connecticut for four years. They performed a great service to the missionaries in translating books for church and school. It was Israel who first translated the Lord's Prayer into the Choctaw language. David, assisted by his brothers, ordered a shipment of books from Boston which became the nucleus of the first Choctaw Indian library. He served his people as Chief for four years, having been with the noted Chief Pushmataha when he died in 1824, in Washington, D. C. David Folsom had charge of one of the first parties of the Choctaw that migrated west to the new country. His tomb at old Doaksville, in Oklahoma, carries the following inscription: "David Folsom, the first Republican Chief of the Choctaw Nation, a promoter of industry, education, religion and morality."⁴⁸

The first national school for Indian boys was the Choctaw

⁴⁵ Cyrus Kingsbury, Sue McBeth Papers, *op. cit.*

⁴⁶ Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-118.

⁴⁷ Althea Bass: "Oklahoma Had Its Heroines Century Ago," *Tulsa World* (Tulsa, Oklahoma), 1936.

⁴⁸ Czarina C. Conlan: "David Folsom," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol., IV (1926), pp. 340-355.

Academy, established in Kentucky in 1825 by the Baptist General Convention and supported by the Choctaw Nation.⁴⁹ Colonel Richard Mentor Johnson, hero of the Battle of the Thames, 1813 and member of the United States Congress, founded the school. He continued his leadership after he became Vice-President of the United States in 1837. Concerning his role in the Battle of the Thames, a rumor goes like this: "Rumpsey, Dumpsey, Hickory Crumpsey, Colonel Johnson killed Tecumseh."⁵⁰

Under Colonel Johnson's able direction, the Choctaw Academy enrolled twenty-five Choctaw boys, carefully chosen from the mission schools for the first term. Later, attendance increased to approximately two hundred boys with other tribes represented. Some boys of leading white families attended this noted academy. During the twenty years of the Academy in Kentucky, young men who attended the school became lawyers, physicians, ministers, teachers, translators and artisans and returned to their people as leaders in their nation. The school roll was always fifty per cent Choctaw and almost identical with the list of subsequent leaders of the Choctaw Nation.⁵¹

The Choctaw Academy in Kentucky was closed in 1841. Spencer Academy was built in the Choctaw Nation and opened in 1844 with the idea of accomplishing the work of the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky. The money formerly appropriated for the Choctaw Academy was used on Spencer Academy. In 1845 Spencer Academy was placed under the charge of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.⁵²

Removal of the Choctaw from Mississippi to the West was a severe blow to the American Board which had invested thousands of dollars in the Mississippi Missions. The Board memorialized Congress to refund the cost of the buildings and improvements but received less than \$5,000. Since the missionaries had worked without salary most of the time in Mississippi, all movable property such as livestock and household furniture was given to them.

The Choctaws actually began moving west in the fall of

⁴⁹ Ethel McMilan, "First National Indian School: The Choctaw Academy," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII (1950-51), pp. 52-62.

Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI (1928), pp. 453-480; and Vol. X (1932), pp. 77-114.

⁵⁰ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI (1928), p. 453.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 453-480. See lists of students.

⁵² Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright: *Oklahoma, A History of the State and Its People* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1929), Vol. I, pp. 189-218.

1831 following the Treaty of 1830. This treaty provided for the cession of all Choctaw lands in Mississippi to the United States. In return, the Choctaw received a designated area, all of present southern Oklahoma, in fee simple, besides certain sums to be paid in annuities for government buildings and education of the Choctaw youth.⁵³ Confusion, demoralization, heartache and strife marked the years during removal, 1831-1834. The Christian Choctaws sent urgent appeals to the American Board in petition for the missionaries to pray for them in their time of distress, and to accompany them to their new homes in the "wild woods."⁵⁴

There were divisions among the Choctaw people as well as among the missions concerning the advisability of removing to the new country. The newly organized Methodist followers under the leadership and influence of Dr. Alexander Tally and Colonel Greenwood LeFlore as well as the full-blood faction, encouraged removal. Colonel David Folsom and the members of the Presbyterian and American Board Missions, who had started their work long before the Methodists and Baptists, favored remaining in Mississippi. They feared that the progress and the interest of the Indians in their own improvement would be retarded.⁵⁵

Nevertheless, the Choctaw began the long and wearisome journey west in bands of from five hundred to fifteen hundred in 1831. At least ten per cent of the people died along the way from exposure, fatigue and cholera. It is noteworthy that throughout the long trek west, the Christian Indians stood the ordeals with unshaken faith and courage. They held morning and evening prayer and praise services to God every day en route. "Their singing and praying made the passage appear like a continued meeting," the Government agents accompanying them declared. "The Christian Indians wrought less than half the trouble than the others," the agents added.⁵⁶ The following observation and prediction was made concerning the Christian Indians:⁵⁷

The patience with which they submitted to trials, their meekness under persecution, their long-suffering under afflictions of every kind, evinced

⁵³ Harmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-259.

⁵⁴ Morrison, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, p. 179.

⁵⁵ Muriel H. Wright, "The Removal of the Choctaws to the Indian Territory, 1830-1833," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, No. 2, (1928), pp. 103-128.

⁵⁶ *Missionary Herald*, 1834.

⁵⁷ Reverend Enoch Mudge: *History of the Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, in *History of American Missions To the Heathen, From Their Commencement To the Present Time*. (Worcester: Published by Spooner & Howland, 1840), pp. 540-542.

the sincerity of their profession, and reality of their religion. They buffeted every trial in their removal, and in forming new settlements, in the spirit of persevering faith and prayer. They will undoubtedly exert a salutary influence on the settlement of that extensive territory.

The mortality rate was alarmingly high the first years of settlement in the "wild woods" of the Indian Territory. During 1833, every baby under one year of age died and within a two month period, Dr. Alfred Wright attended 332 cases of illness out of a settlement of approximately 500 people. Throughout the following year at the same station each family averaged one death. In a remarkably short period, however, the Choctaw were settled and adjusted to their homes.⁵⁸

Upon settling in their new territory, the Choctaw organized their country into three districts and named their capital *Nanih Waya* in memory of the sacred mound in Mississippi. They adopted a written constitution for the Choctaw Nation in 1834. This was the first constitution written and adopted in Oklahoma. Under the new law, a provision was made for a "Declaration of Rights" and three departments of government—legislative, executive and judicial. Trial by jury was guaranteed. Punishments consisted of fines, whippings and death. A fourth district was added with the admission of the Chickasaw Indians to their nation in 1837. Laws of the Choctaw Nation were printed in both the Choctaw language and in English. They have left more laws and documents in their native language than any of the Five Civilized Tribes.⁵⁹

That the missionaries had used their influence to encourage legal and constitutional development among the Choctaw Indians was notable as early as 1822 with the formation of the light-horsemen serving as enforcement officers. Other steps in development were taken in 1826 when the Choctaw General Council outlawed the traffic in liquor for the entire nation and adopted a code of written laws.⁶⁰

As the Choctaw became increasingly noted for their educational system, their schools became the pattern for similar institutions in the Creek and Seminole nations. The funds for the Choctaw schools were derived from offerings from churches and individuals, through the American Board, direct appropriations by the Federal Government, tribal appropriations from annuities and gifts from individual Choctaws. The teachers were almost entirely missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Congregational and Presbyterian)

⁵⁸ *Missionary Herald*, 1834.

⁵⁹ Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, p. 105.

⁶⁰ *Debo*, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

who had worked with the Choctaw Indians in Mississippi and moved west with them. These teachers were generally from the East and had received the best training available. They were greatly respected and loved by the Indians. Qualifications for women teachers in Oklahoma from 1820 to 1860 were listed by mission boards as follows:⁶¹

Certainly strong minds, stable emotions and stout bodies with the implication of educations as liberal as the time afforded . . . those characteristics which make for patience under trial, judgment under stress, industry under fatigue, and cheerful outlook under discouragement—all in such balance as to exemplify attainment which a people eager for a better life would desire, and so blended as to accomplish the great purpose of Christian missions, the acceptance of the teachings of the Master Teacher.

The American Board sent over three hundred missionaries, lay and clerical, to labor among the Indian tribes that came to Oklahoma from the East. There were more mission stations and a larger force of workers in the Choctaw Nation than in any other part of the Indian Territory before the Civil War. Twelve neighborhood schools were in operation in the Choctaw Nation in 1838.

By 1842, these missions were largely supported from the Choctaw national funds, amounting to an annual appropriation of \$26,000. Experienced missionaries established and supervised boarding schools for boys and girls. The General Council of the Choctaw Nation appointed a board of trustees to inspect and report annually to the Council the progress of all schools within the nation. Besides boarding schools and day or neighborhood schools, "Sunday Schools" were established by the missionaries and councils. Adults camped about the churches and schools for instruction in the rudiments of arithmetic, reading and writing in the Choctaw language. They were soon a literate people.⁶²

Although the majority of the missionaries to the Choctaw Indians in Mississippi were commissioned by the American Board, the Methodists and Baptists made significant contributions to the missionary efforts. The first missionary work of the Methodist Episcopal Church among the Choctaw Indians, was begun by itinerant preachers. In 1825, the Reverend W. Winans and the Reverend Wiley Ledbetter commenced a mission among the Choctaws and appointed Alexander Talley superintendent. By 1830, the mission reported three missionaries, three interpreters and four school teachers and counted approximately 4,000 church members, including a principal chief of the nation, Colonel

⁶¹ Ethel McMilan: "Women Teachers in Oklahoma, 1820-1860," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII (1949), pp. 18-31.

⁶² H. C. Benson: *Life Among the Choctaw Indians* (Cincinnati: L. Swormstedt & A. Poe for the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1860), pp. 40-41.

LeFlore.⁶³ The Reverend Talley was the principal leader in the removal cause among the Methodists and migrated with the Choctaw people. He established a mission in the West at old Shawneetown, McCurtain County, in 1831 and was assisted by Oakchiah, the first itinerant Choctaw preacher.⁶⁴ Although the Methodist ministry was primarily concerned with visits from house to house, a few boarding schools were established under the management of the Reverend Edward R. S. Ames, known as "Big Thunder" for his loud, earnest and eloquent style of preaching.⁶⁵ Fort Coffee Academy was under the charge of the Reverend William H. Goode, superintendent; and the Reverend H. C. Benson, teacher. The Methodist Episcopal Church divided in 1845, over the issues of slavery and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South was organized. Some of the Methodist missionaries left the territory at this time to return East.⁶⁶

The Baptist contribution to the missionary effort east of the Mississippi was the founding of the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky in 1825. In the new territory, the Baptists established Armstrong Academy in present Bryan County, and transferred it to the Cumberland Presbyterian Board of Foreign and Domestic Missions in 1855. The first Baptist missionary to work with the Choctaw after removal west, was the Reverend Charles E. Wilson at Skullyville. He was succeeded in 1835 by the Reverend Joseph Smedley, an English subject.⁶⁷ Pertaining to his mission work, Mr. Smedley wrote that the United States Government employed him as one of the earliest teachers and preachers among the Choctaws in the Northern District of the Nation at Pheasant Bluff (sometimes called Pleasant Bluff) on the Arkansas River, 1835 to 1843. The War Department at Washington "wished the Indians to have specimens of domestic and religious economy."

In 1843, at the request of the Reverend Isaac McCoy, Corresponding Secretary of the American Indian Mission Association, a newly organized society for Baptist people, Mr. Smedley was employed by the Mission Board as a regular missionary to the Choctaws, Creeks and Cherokees until the beginning of the Civil War. "My average quarterly travel on horseback," he wrote,

⁶³ Mudge, *op. cit.*, p. 540.

⁶⁴ Sidney Henry Babcock and John Y. Bryce: *History of Methodism in Oklahoma Story of the Indian Mission Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, Vol. 1 (1935), p. 25, See J. Y. Bryce: "Death of Oak-Chi-Ah, A Missionary," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (June, 1926), pp. 194-199.

⁶⁵ Benson, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁶⁶ Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-218.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

“was some 8 or 9 hundred miles.”⁶⁸ At Mr. Smedley’s request, the Mission Board in 1855 employed some native Choctaws as missionaries to their own people. All the Choctaw preachers were full bloods, except⁶⁹ “my brother Peter Folsom, who was my regular interpreter to the Choctaws and Chickasaws. For freedom of utterance, fervor, and Christian zeal and solemn feeling, I never saw their superiors, either in any native land, old England, or elsewhere.”

Peter Folsom was the first Choctaw who united with a Baptist Church. He attended the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky and was termed “the father of the Baptist mission work in the Choctaw Nations.”⁷⁰ He enjoyed the confidence and esteem of “everybody” and probably organized more churches, preached more sermons and helped to ordain more preachers than any other man in the Choctaw Nation.⁷¹

Mission schools and academies developed rapidly in the Choctaw Nation under the direction of the American Board (Presbyterians and Congregationalists), Methodist and Baptists. By 1847, outstanding graduates of the academies were granted scholarships by the Choctaw National Council enabling them to attend colleges and universities in the East. Even before the Civil War, the Choctaw Nation boasted of graduates of Dartmouth and Union.⁷²

The American Board closed its work in the Indian Territory in 1860, after forty-four years of efficient Christian service among the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes. Throughout the years, many of the young men and women influenced and taught by the early missionaries, completed their educations and returned to become teachers and ministers in their nation.

At the close of the missions and the opening of the Civil

⁶⁸ Smedley mimeographed manuscripts to Miss Muriel H. Wright, by Elbert D. Costner, August 12, 1965, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Choctaws appointed:

1. Peter Folsom, my regular interpreter to the Choctaws.
2. Ishiutubby, [?] Attorney, and very interesting preacher.
3. Lewis Cass, full blood.
4. Shoonubby, one of the most [?] and distinct speakers I ever heard.
5. Simon Hancock, full blood.
6. Istumby, full blood, and District Judge.
7. Istumby’s brother.

⁷⁰ Cushman, *op. cit.*, 317.

⁷¹ E. C. Routh: *The Story of Oklahoma Baptists* (Shawnee, Oklahoma: Oklahoma Baptist University Press, 1932), p. 66.

⁷² Arrell M. Gibson: *Oklahoma A History of Five Centuries* (Norman, Oklahoma: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1965), p. 164.

War, Dr. Kingsbury could write that the Choctaws were a Christian nation, in the popular acceptance of that term, in that twenty to thirty per cent of the whole population were connected with the different churches; that the Sabbath was observed as a divine institution; that sessions of the General Council were uniformly opened and closed with prayer and the Choctaw leaders were active temperance workers.⁷³

Did the mission succeed in achieving its objective of raising "a tribe of our fellow beings from barbarism to Civilization, from the wretchedness of heathenism to exalted principles and hopes of Christianity . . .?" Many voices through the years have responded to this question in various tones but the answer is self-evident through the deeds and lives of the Choctaw people. The closing report of the Mission Board stated that, "Few nations have made more rapid progress in Christianity and its attendant civilization than has been witnessed among the Choctaws."

APPENDIX

The influence of the Christian missionaries and mission schools in the evolution of a Choctaw heathen nation into a Choctaw Christian civilization may be best summarized and illustrated through the testimonials of those who witness to the fruits of their labor:

Historian, Angie Debo: *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*: 74

"Taken as a whole the generation from 1833 to 1861 presents a record of orderly development almost unprecedented in the history of any people. The Choctaws had settled a wild and remote frontier, accepted an alien religion and code of morals, established an educational system completely foreign to their aboriginal conceptions, adopted the constitutional and legal system of an unrelated racial experience, and modified their agricultural and commercial practices to conform to a complex economic system, and these innovations had been so eagerly accepted that they had become fundamental in their social and economic life."

The Honorable Charles J. Rhoades, Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1929): 75

"The aim of both Indian Service employees and church workers is to fit the Indians to be self-sustaining, self-respecting American Citizens. The Christian missionary was active in this field of service long before the government, and the missionary has an essential function in the cultural development of the Indian. Religious education and character training are necessary factors in the development of the Indian."

Methodist teacher, H. C. Benson: *Life Among the Choctaws*: (1844) 76

"... in the advancement of the nations in civilization and Christianity . . . it should not be overlooked or lightly esteemed that Christianity blesses man *physically, intellectually, and morally*. There is but little decency or

⁷³ *Report Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1848, pp. 504, 508.

⁷⁴ Debo, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

⁷⁵ Morrison, *The Red Man's Trail*, p. 128.

⁷⁶ Benson, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

purity where vital piety does not dwell in the heart to mold and renovate character; it is the only fountain of purity in the universe."

The Reverend William H. Goode: *Outposts of Zion* (1845) : 77

"To meet and to resist all this tide of corruption and debasement, the only available influence brought into exercise has been that of missionary instruction and labor. . . . Enough has been done to demonstrate to the Government, and to the world, the salutary effects of these labors. What Indian tribes have made most progress in agriculture, education and morals? What tribes have made the nearest approach to civilized life, and are now advancing most rapidly? Invariably those that have been favored with steady, faithful, persevering missionary labor. No valuable advancement has been made without this."

William L. Hiemstra: "Presbyterian Missionaries and Mission Churches Among the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians, 1845-1860," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (1940) : 78

"The various schools exerted a good influence upon the Choctaws. . . . A developed mind, capable of exercising sound judgment, was the acquisition of the average student . . . a moral stability, fostered by Christian instruction . . . not to be minimized. . . . The schools encouraged habits of industry by precept and example. These habits reaped benefits for the Indian in his economic life. . . . From the church and school there came a stream of ministers, physicians, legislators, judges, lawyers and teachers to serve their nation."

From the "Introduction" to the manuscript of the *Choctaw Grammar* written by Cyrus Byington (Byington Letters, Gilcrease Institute) :

"A list of changes wrought in the lives of the Choctaw Indians by the influences of the Christian Missions (1850's) : 79

"(4) Idleness was universal among the men. Labor was considered to be inconsistent with the dignity of manhood. Time was wasted in long visits in wandering about in amusements, sports, ball plays, games of chance, dances, in attending marriage and funeral ceremonies. At the present time, men are *honorably* engaged in the labors of the farm and shop and store. The people are acquiring habits of industry in lawful and suitable employments in their corn and cotton fields, among their herds or about their buildings—or in reading books and newspapers—in attending religious meetings and Sabbath Schools, Courts, Councils and temperance meetings and other meetings for moral reform and in the observation of the Sabbath.

"(5) Drunkenness was formerly very common and universal among the men. They learned this of white men. . . . But for about 40 years the Nation has been decidedly opposed to the introduction of whiskey and have enacted laws to exclude it from their country. . . .

"(6) Poverty in everything that relates to the comforts of life . . . belted this poor people in great degradation—But now it is far otherwise. Their thoughts and language are such as they never knew before . . . comforts and conveniences of life give a spring to their thoughts & language. They are like a people in a new world.

77 William H. Goode: *Outposts of Zion* (Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock, 1863), p. 455.

78 William L. Hiemstra, "Presbyterian Missionaries and Mission Churches Among the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians, 1845-1861," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII (1949), pp. 33-40.

79 Byington Letters, Gilcrease Institute, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

"(7) The servile position of the women was very oppressive and yet was thought to be right and honorable. Field & house were alike places for female. Men looked on & sometimes gave directions & commands. . . . Now the men are adopting civilized manners and usages and they work in their own fields with own honor. . . . All this influences their thoughts, affections, and words.

"(8) Their civil government was imperfect and of a patriarchal character having no part of it reduced to writing. Now they have a written constitution and an established form of *republican government*. This awakens much thought and brings forth a new stream of language, in every part of the nation during all the year.

"(9) Their whole *literature* consisted of their hundles of slit cane—which the chiefs made . . . when councils were called. . . . Now they have both day schools & boarding schools & private libraries, male & female Academies, newspapers, pamphlets, Bibles, & a printing press & frequent interchange of letters in the Choctaw & English language of Bible Society and Tract Society.

"(10) They had no commerce and knew not the use of money . . ."

Quotation taken from Sammy D. Hogue, *The Goodland Indian Orphanage A Story of Christian Missions* (1939) :80

"Not only do these boys and girls receive a training that is mental, physical, practical, and social; but at the very heart of the daily routine is that which led Miss Muriel H. Wright to declare, in an article published by *The Daily Oklahoman*, Aug. 1, 1926, that Goodland is 'the school with a soul.' The secret of 'the spirit of Goodland' lies in the fact that the crucified and risen Lord is the acknowledged Head of the institution. In addition to the Bible study in the class-room, Sunday School worship services, young people's and children's societies, and morning prayers, there are the bedtime prayer groups in the dormitories—all intended to produce a spiritual growth that is both natural and wholesome. . . . Instinctively the American Indian is deeply spiritual. . . .

"Goodland . . . dedicated to training of young lives for service . . . now and for all eternity."

Jesus of Nazareth: "Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them."⁸¹ know them.

⁸⁰ Sammy D. Hogue: *The Goodland Indian Orphanage A Story of Christian Missions* (Goodland, Oklahoma: The Goodland Indian Orphanage Publishers, 1940), pp. 81-82.

⁸¹ New Testament, St. Matthew 7:20.

SPENCER ACADEMY, CHOCTAW NATION, 1842-1900

By W. David Baird*

The removal of the Choctaw Indians in the 1830's to a new home west of the Mississippi River delayed but did not deter arrangements for formal education. Once in Indian Territory the tribe continued to send promising students to the Choctaw Academy in Scott County, Kentucky, but when confidence in the eastern school waned, the Choctaws envisioned an academic institution in their own country west, that would supply the training necessary to advance the youth of their nation.

By an Act of the Choctaw Council in 1842, the Nation authorized a boarding school for boys at a site ten miles north of Doaksville. Grants of \$2,000 from the United States Indian Civilization Fund, \$6000 from annuities received by the tribe, and \$833 from the federal government as salary for the principal teacher provided the annual endowment of the institution. The academy was named for Secretary of War, John C. Spencer, and governed by a Board of Trustees selected by the Choctaw general council. The Choctaws sought a pious, Presbyterian minister to superintend the new school and directed Indian Agent William Armstrong to contact the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions about a qualified man.¹

The Board of Foreign Missions, an agency of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, had headquarters in New York City. Organized in 1837 to place the denomination directly in mission activity, it did not compete with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.) which received support from numerous church organizations, Presbyterian included. Thus, in contacting the Foreign Mission Board the Choctaws were seeking assistance from a strictly Presbyterian organization.

Since the academy was scheduled to open in November,

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¹ *Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1843, pp. 368-9; American Indian Correspondence, mss., 1843, 1844, Box 9, Vol. 2, Presbyterian Historical Society (hereafter cited American Indian, mss., PHS); Joseph P. Folsom, Comp., *Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation* (New York, 1869), p. 79; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI (1928), p. 453.

1843, Armstrong urged the mission board to recommend a superintendent to act under direction of the school's trustees. The mission board suggested Edmund McKinney, a native of Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania, who was already at their Seminole mission. McKinney received notice of his selection to the superintendency in November, 1843 and departed immediately with his wife and two sons for the Choctaw Nation, arriving at Spencer on December 8.²

Turmoil met McKinney. Items purchased by Agent Armstrong and essential to the school were on a Red River landing, while the trustees insisted on beginning the first term on January 1, 1844. The new superintendent postponed the enrollment for thirty days, using the interval to transport the supplies and construct additional facilities for Spencer's first class of sixty boys. The academy opened to a hopeful future, but after two years of conflict with the Choctaw trustees, McKinney recognized the need for different administrative arrangements and resigned his post. Yet he left with some measure of success for, to his credit, it was the commencement of the institution's first term and the construction of a third dormitory.³

Many leading Choctaws from the first questioned the value of direct tribal control of Spencer. The McKinney administration bore out their fears. Nonetheless the two-year experience was "of much profit to the nation, as the people are now satisfied they cannot do it," Baptist leader P. P. Brown observed in 1847.⁴

To supervise their national academy, the Choctaws turned to church groups. In 1845 the Methodists and the A.B.C.F.M. rejected a proposal to manage the school, but the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions which recommended McKinney accepted the invitation for fear that "Presbyterianism [might] be rooted out of the Nation and ignorant fanaticism reign." For the position of superintendent the Board chose thirty-one year old Reverend James B. Ramsey, a native of New York and Princeton graduate. On June 1, 1846, Ramsey accepted control of Spencer Academy in behalf of the Presbyterian Church.⁵

One of Ramsey's early reports provided a description of

² American Indian mss., 1843-44, Box 9, Vol. 2, PHS.

³ *Annual Report*, 1844, p. 79; American Indian mss., 1843, Box 9, Vol. 2, PHS; McKinney to Peter P. Pitchlynn, Spencer, Sept. 25, 1844, Pitchlynn Papers, Gilcrease Institute; *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions*, 1846, p. 5 (hereafter cited as *Board of Foreign Missions*, date).

⁴ *The Indian Advocate*, September, 1847, p. 4.

⁵ William H. Goode, *Outposts of Zion* (Cincinnati, 1863), p. 185.

Spencer and its environment. The superintendent's home was directly in the center of the academy's grounds which extended over two and one-quarter square miles. Most of the school's buildings were constructed of roughly-hewn logs. The three dormitories—named for trustees Peter P. Pitchlynn, Robert M. Jones, and William M. Armstrong—formed a quadrangle, measured sixteen by sixty-four feet, had two stories with upper and lower porches, and were constructed of crudely sawed boards. On both floors of the dormitories were four, sixteen-foot-square rooms, each with three windows and an outside door. The walls were coarsely plastered and whitewashed, and the buildings were roofed by homemade shingles. Situated on a gentle knoll and encircled by tranquil highlands, the academy held considerable charm for its eastern administrator.⁶

By directing the academy the Presbyterians hoped to evangelize the students. Yet a church was not organized at Spencer until January, 1848, a milestone that did not satisfy Ramsey. "We have not enjoyed those visible evidences of God," he declared, by which he meant conversion of the students. Ramsey harshly attributed the mission effort failure to the unfaithfulness, worldliness, lack of consecration, and selfishness of the missionaries. He placed special blame on the school's cooks, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph McClure, who once suggested that the missionaries made "a god of their belly." The McClures refused to leave upon Ramsey's request, but in September, 1847 were summarily dismissed by the Mission House in New York.⁷

The adversities and trials of the institution pressed heavily upon Ramsey. In March, 1849, with his health deteriorating and staff disunity at a peak, he submitted his resignation. In June he received the welcome news that his replacement was enroute, but before he could depart both his wife and infant son died. As the truly pious do he blamed his afflictions upon his own actions, and considering himself a hypocrite, he refused to pray.⁸

Alexander Reid was selected as Spencer's new superintendent, arriving at the school on July 11, 1849. Reid was born in Kirkmichael, Scotland, in 1818, and immigrated to the United States in 1831. A tailor by trade, he graduated from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1849 and entered the service of the missionary board. Reid was a very able superintendent, and

⁶ American Indian mss., 1846, Box 9, Vol. 2, PHS.

⁷ *Board of Foreign Missions*, 1847, p. 7; American Indian mss., 1847. 1848, Box 9, Vol. 2, PHS; J. B. Garritt, *Historical Sketches of the Missions Under the Care of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 3rd. ed., rev. (Philadelphia, 1886), p. 28.

⁸ American Indian mss., 1849, Box 9, Vol. 2, PHS.

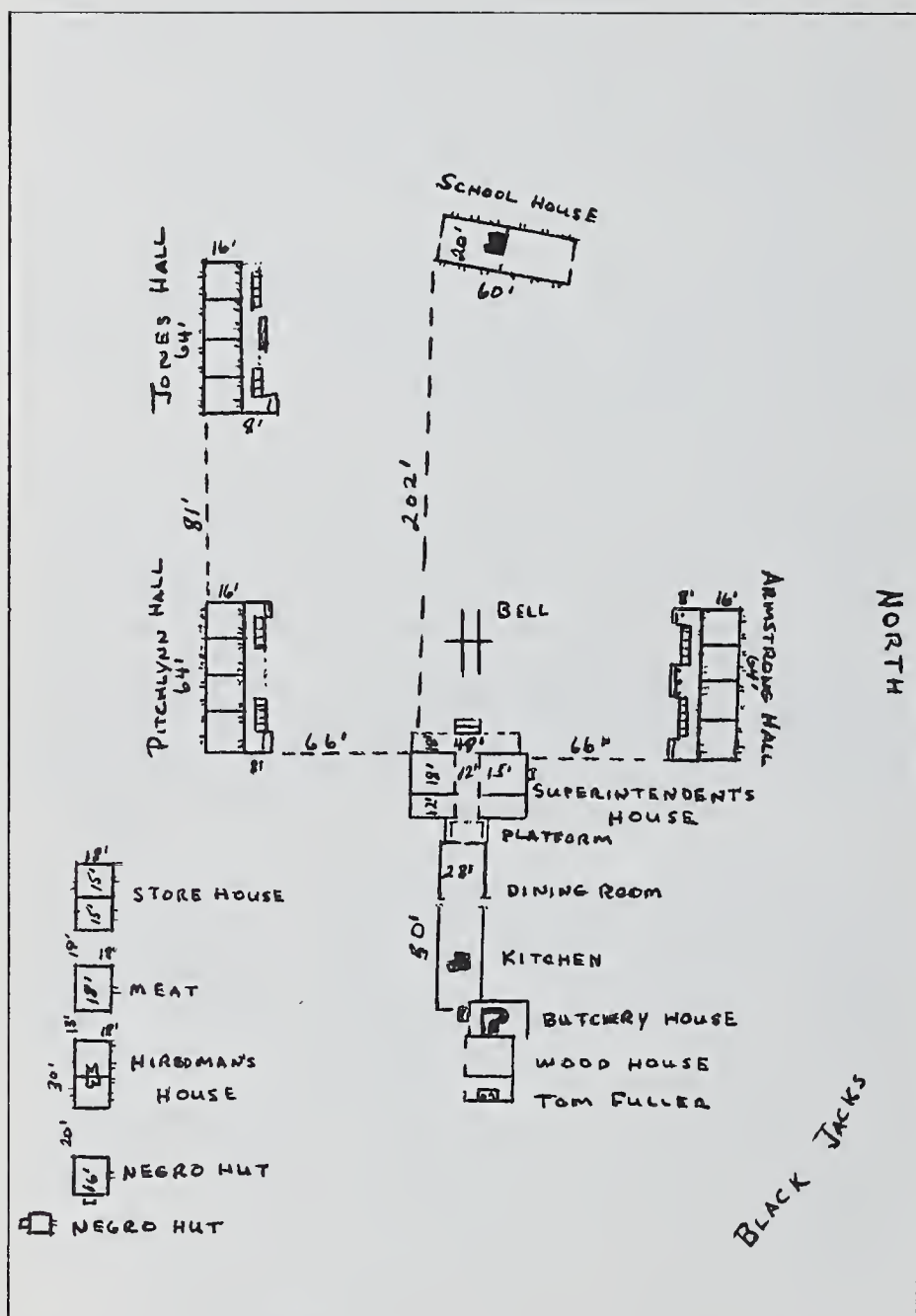


DIAGRAM OF BUILDINGS AT SPENCER ACADEMY,
CHOCTAW NATION, 1846

Traced from Ramsey's report to W. Lowrie, Spencer, 13 Aug. 1846,
American Indian Correspondence MSS., Box 9, Vol. 2,
Presbyterian Historical Society.

under his guidance the academy came to fulfill tribal expectations.⁹

Much to Reid's dislike a well-managed school required the use of Negro slaves, as the Choctaws did few menial tasks. Leased from Indian owners and more than just field hands, the Spencer bondsmen were an intricate part of academy life. Wallace and Minerva Willis sang for the students and missionaries, songs that reflected the trials and desires of oppressed souls. Reid later taught these songs to the Fisk University Jubilee Singers at Newark, New Jersey in 1871. Sung before Queen Victoria, among those pieces composed by the Spencer slaves in the academy's fields were "Steal Away to Jesus," "The Angels Are Coming," "I'm a Rolling, I'm a Rolling," and "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot." Yet this contribution to American folk music did not soothe the superintendent's anti-slavery conscience.¹⁰

To Reid ordained ministers had not the grace and women not the stamina to serve as missionaries at Spencer. "The bare thought of a man and his wife coming puts me in a fever," he wrote. The superintendent's own experiences particularly prejudiced him against women. His first wife died shortly after the birth of their first child in January, 1854, and Reid concluded that Spencer labors crucified her. He was certain that other women would pay the same price, and he determined to obstruct their coming to the academy. But one year later his attitude mellowed, and he married and brought to Spencer Miss F. K. Thompson, a missionary teacher at Wapanucka Institute, Chickasaw Nation. Additional female teachers soon followed, yet ordained ministers he always considered unsuitable.¹¹

Reid had duties other than managing the school. He traveled and lived among the Choctaws for better acquaintance and evangelical purposes. In the one summer of 1851 he spoke fifty times, rode nearly 1,500 miles, and saw over 3,000 people. He reorganized the Spencer church in April, 1854, and that summer he also saw a religious revival among the Choctaws living near the academy. As many as 700 Indians were present at different sacramental meetings between 1854 and 1855. Reid was also the unofficial dean of the Foreign Board's Choctaw mission and frequently advised other mission administrators.¹²

⁹ *Necrological Reports and Annual Proceedings of Princeton Theological Seminary*, Vol. 2 (Princeton, 1899), p. 88; American Indian mss., 1849, Vol. 2, Box 9, PHS.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1852, Box 12, Vol. 1, PHS; J. B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People*, Vol. 2 (New York, 1929), Appendix, p. 826; Muriel H. Wright, "Early River Navigation in Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII (March, 1930), p. 82.

¹¹ American Indian mss., 1851, 1854, 1855, Box 12, Vol. 1, PHS.



ALEXANDER REID, SAGE OF SPENCER
From Robert E. Flickinger, *The Choctaw Freedmen*.



GROUNDS OF OLD SPENCER, 1965.

Photograph by the author.

After seven years, the cares of Spencer prompted Reid to resign his post in favor of Gaylord More, a New York minister. More arrived at the academy the first of November, 1856, but after only one month advised the mission board he would leave at the session's end. Conditions were more rustic than he expected. When the New York agency in desperation implored Reid to return to the academy, he accepted the assignment and quickly restored the confidence of the Choctaws in their national academy. But at the end of the term, Reid returned to his wife in New Jersey.¹³

What was restored was lost in the next term. James Frothingham, who served as acting-superintendent for the 1858-59 session, proved incapable of coordinating the diverse interests at Spencer. For the second time without his wife and now seemingly indispensable, Reid came back in August, 1859. His arrival inspired the good will of the Indians, and after several months Reid could report the school in "as good or better shape than ever." But he was unable to say the same for the Choctaw people.¹⁴

The issues dividing the United States in the 1860's were also at work in the Indian Territory. Slave-holding Choctaws reacted negatively to abolitionist sentiment, the tribal Council in early 1854 having required all abolitionists to leave the nation. Thereafter local missionaries either honestly or prudently remained silent on the inflammatory question. For such discreetness the ardently anti-slave A.B.C.F.M. dismissed its Choctaw representatives, an action that reinforced the tribal suspicions that missionaries were abolitionists. When H. A. Wentz, a former Spencer teacher, was seized selling firearms on May 20, 1861, few doubted the subversiveness of mission activity. On the following day the school was visited by an armed mob in search of additional weapons, and fearing a return visit, administrators closed the academy. Most of the missionary-teachers left the academy in May, and by September only Reid and his family remained. Despite his opposition to slavery, Reid said: "I intend to remain here as long as I am allowed to do so undisturbed."¹⁵

The divisive forces of slavery and sectionalism in the United States affected not only the federal government but religious organizations as well. Southern churches withdrew from the Presbyterian General Assembly, and after the formation of the

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1856, 1859, Box 10, Vol. 2, PHS.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1859, 1860, Box 10, Vol. 1, PHS.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1854, 1855, Box 10, Vol. 2, and 1859, 1861, Box 10, Vol. 1, PHS; *Board of Foreign Missions*, 1862, p. 14.

Confederacy, established the Presbyterian Church, Confederate States of America. This southern organization desired to duplicate the many services of the General Assembly, especially the foreign mission activity. Accordingly, it formed a mission agency and appointed as secretary, J. L. Wilson, who resigned a similar post with the northern churches. When the Choctaws cast their lot with the South, Wilson hastened to the Indian Territory and encouraged the remaining Choctaw missionaries to accept the oversight of his board. The invitation was accepted, and Wilson specifically recommended that Alexander Reid receive the confidence of southern Christians.¹⁶

Spencer Academy did not function as an educational institution during the strife that followed southern secession. The dormitories in 1863 were used as a Confederate hospital for eighteen months, accepting casualties from minor military skirmishes. Confederate General Douglas H. Cooper arrived at Spencer on December 14, 1863 with the Wells Battalion and established a headquarters without disturbing the hospital. After the winter's incampment, Cooper withdrew to Fort Washita, leaving the academy to succor a flood of refugees displaced by the fortunes of war. To hundreds who suffered extreme privations Spencer offered shelter and sympathy.¹⁷

Alexander Reid held undisputed possession of the superintendent's house, dining room, and kitchen during the military occupation. General Cooper gave strict orders not to disturb him, but life for the Reid family was nonetheless sadly complicated. In October, 1861, after his fellow missionaries had departed, Reid's third child was born. The childbirth retarded Mrs. Reid's recovery from feeble health, and she died tragically on July 10, 1864. And for the second time the devoted missionary deposited the remains of yet another loved one on the small hill west of the academy.¹⁸

After the war Reid worked to reestablish Spencer and re-

¹⁶ Nevin, *Encyclopaedia of the Presbyterian Church in U.S.A.*, p. 1017; American Indian mss., 1861, Box 12, Vol. 1, PHS; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. XXII, Part II, p. 1099; Reid to Ainslie, Spencer, March 27, 1866, Sue McBeth Mss., Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

¹⁷ Mrs. S. O. Lee to Mrs. Woodruff, Omaha Mission, 20 May 1867, Box C-35, Colonial Dames Collection MSS, University of Oklahoma Library; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, XXII, Part II, 1099; Reid to Ainslie, Spencer, 27 March 1866, Sue McBeth Papers MSS, Oklahoma Historical Society.

¹⁸ Mrs. Lee to Mrs. Woodruff, Omaha Mission, 20 May 1867, Box C-35, Colonial Dames Collection mss, University of Oklahoma Library; Reid to Ainslie, Spencer, 27 March 1866, Sue McBeth Papers mss, Oklahoma Historical Society.

ligious interest among the Choctaws. In February, 1869, he left the nation to enroll his children in an eastern school, but only after the tribal council the previous autumn had authorized the rebuilding of the academy. Calvin Ervin was employed to make the repairs and worked steadily for two years before Spencer reflected its antebellum splendor. On November 2, 1870, the tribe withdrew \$6,000 from the neighborhood school fund in anticipation of opening the academy and contacted the Baptist, Methodist, and both northern and southern Presbyterian church mission boards about supervising the school and supplying teachers.¹⁹

The mission agencies of both northern and southern Presbyterian Churches agreed to oversee the academy. Some Choctaws preferred Spencer's oldest benefactor, but the council favored the mission board of the southern church that had agreed to resuscitate Spencer only to prevent it from falling into "hands that would make it a curse to the Nation." As superintendent the southern Presbyterians selected the Reverend J. H. Colton, a native of Fayetteville, North Carolina. Colton accepted administration of Spencer Academy on May 24, 1871, under terms of a contract that stipulated an enrollment of sixty boys. But unable to recruit sufficient teachers, he entered only thirty-two students.²⁰

The lack of teachers detracted from the success of Colton's first year, yet when J. L. Wilson visited Spencer again in 1874, he reassured his denomination that the school had never been "in a more flourishing condition." Wilson's observation, however, was subterfuge as there was no comparison to earlier years. Only fifty students were enrolled in 1874 while in the antebellum period Reid had accepted three times that number.²¹

After a brief trip to North Carolina in early 1875, Colton experienced one crisis after another. Choctaw leaders accused him of arbitrarily expelling students and of refusing to consult the Board of Trustees about school policy. He was believed to

¹⁹ Reid to Sue McBeth, Princeton, 10 Feb. 1872, Sue McBeth Papers mss., Oklahoma Historical Society; Mrs. Lee to Mrs. Woodruff, Spencer, 6 Dec. 1860, Box C-34, Colonial Dames Collection mss., University of Oklahoma Library. See also E. E. Christian, "Memories of my Childhood Days in the Choctaw Nation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, IX (June 1931), 153; *Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1869, 410, and 1870, 293; Acts of the Choctaw Nation, 2 Nov. 1870 (a manuscript collection, University of Oklahoma Library).

²⁰ Reid to Lee, Princeton, n.d., Lee Family Papers mss., Presbyterian Historical Society; Acts of the Choctaw Nation, 23 Oct. 1871; *Annual Report, Executive Committee of Foreign Missions*, 1871, 4, and 1872, 6; *The Missionary*, April, 1871, 51.

²¹ *The Missionary*, May, 1874, 99.

have established a store at the academy and to have delayed the opening of the term beginning in the fall, 1875. Accordingly, the last of October, 1876, the Spencer Board of Trustees formally requested the southern Presbyterians to dismiss Colton.²²

John J. Read replaced Colton. Read was born in Hinds County, Mississippi in January, 1843. He served four years in the Confederate Army and entered the ministry at the conflict's end. He came to Spencer in December, 1876 with his wife and infant daughter from a parish in Houston, Texas.²³

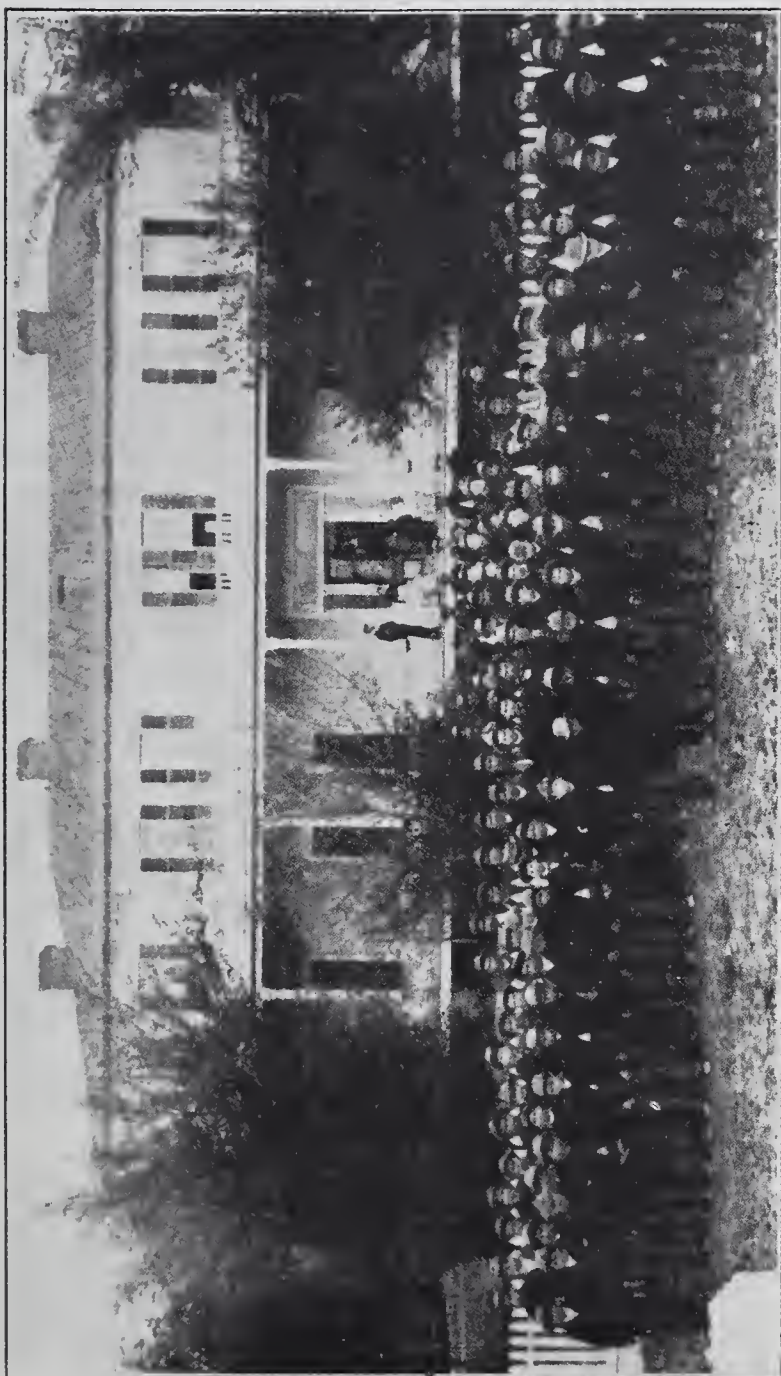
For five years Read worked to raise the level of education at Spencer Academy. His most puzzling problem was the lack of English comprehension among the students, a difficulty not new to Spencer, only to the superintendent. Read made admirable progress, but his work was terminated because of the southern church's decision not to renew its original ten-year administrative contract, ostensibly because of deteriorating facilities. But published motives for withdrawal did not reflect the true circumstances, for the Choctaws actually left the southern church little choice. In November, 1880, the tribal council had indicated its dissatisfaction with the practice of having students do specific chores at Spencer by noting that the boys were "to go to school and not to work." As the discontent was then mutual, Read left Spencer in the summer of 1881. Unfortunately the school's buildings were no longer usable as the home of a thriving educational institution, and the facilities north of Doaksville ceased to function as Spencer Academy.²⁴

But the school did not die. In late 1877 the Choctaw council had authorized the removal of the institution to Nelson, twenty miles west of the old location and near present Soper, Oklahoma. Principal features of the site were proximity to the railroad, central location, and accessibility during high water. The Choctaw Council provided for erection of new buildings. A wooden, two-story dormitory was built, measuring ninety-three feet in front and two wings which extended 105 feet. Facing south, the structure contained twenty-eight rooms, and instead of several buildings, permitted sleeping rooms, classrooms, kitchen, and dining room to be in one large edifice. At a later

²² Acts of the Choctaw Nation, 21 October 1876; *The (Atoka) Vindicator*, 6 Dec. 1876.

²³ William B. Morrison, *The Red Man's Trail* (Richmond, c. 1932), pp. 78-9; Natalie Denison, "Missions and Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXIV (Winter 1946), p. 433.

²⁴ *The Missionary*, May, 1877, 110; *Annual Report, Executive Committee of Foreign Missions*, 1881, 12; Acts of the Choctaw Nation, 5 Nov. 1880.



NEW SPENCER ACADEMY

From *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 6 (September 1928).

date an additional dormitory was constructed to the west.²⁵ The academy was identified at the second location as New Spencer.

The new site was selected before the southern Presbyterians relinquished control of old Spencer. Thus when Allen Wright, Superintendent of Schools and former Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, requested the northern Presbyterian Church to resume administration of Spencer, it was understood that there would be new facilities. This knowledge and the availability of Oliver P. Stark, a former Spencer teacher, to serve as superintendent persuaded the northern church to resume control of the academy in the summer, 1881.²⁶

The first term in the facilities at New Spencer began in November, 1882. Stark, in the twilight of a distinguished career, was something less than an adequate administrator and proved incapable of progressive leadership. After his death in 1884, Harvey R. Schermerhorn became the superintendent. The following year, however, the Choctaw council without prior notification revoked the contract with the northern church because Schermerhorn had supposedly "exercised unwarranted authority" in expelling students as well as put "in a farm for his own use." But leading Choctaws soon doubted the wisdom of the Council's action and in a complete reversal, in March, 1886, Schermerhorn was asked to remain at the academy and direct the school under the supervision of the Choctaw government and without church connection.²⁷

Schermerhorn reluctantly accepted the appointment. He worked to return Spencer to its previous benefactor, and after securing appropriate Choctaw authority for the transaction in November, 1886, Schermerhorn urged the northern mission board to return to Spencer and "hold this land for the Lord and the Presbyterian Church." The mission board subsequently agreed to a one-year contract, and the superintendent again in behalf of the northern church accepted control of the school in April, 1887.²⁸

²⁵ Report of Allen Wright, Superintendant of Public Schools, 28 Dec. 1880, Box W-25, Allen Wright Collection, University of Oklahoma Library; Acts of the Choctaw Nation, 5 Nov. 1881.

²⁶ Reid to Lee, Atoka, 10 May 1887, Lee Family Papers mss., PHS.

²⁷ Acts of the Choctaw Nation, 24 Oct. 1882; *Board of Foreign Missions*, 1883, 5. Harvey Schermerhorn to J. Lowrie, Nelson, 22 June 1883, American Indian, mss., PHS. Number 105, Roll 15, University of Tulsa Library. See also Acts of the Choctaw Nation, 9 Nov. 1885; Turnbull to Schermerhorn, Goodland, 26 July 1886, Box 11, Vol. 4, American Indian, mss., PHS.

²⁸ Acts of the Choctaw Nation, 5 Nov. 1886; Schermerhorn to J. Lowrie, Nelson, 13 Jan. 1887 and 4 April 1887, American Indian, mss., PHS, Society, Numbers 29 and 62, Roll 15, University of Tulsa Library.

Harvey Schermerhorn left New Spencer when responsibility for the administration of the school was transferred to the Board of Home Missions of the northern Presbyterian Church in July, 1888. The Home Board directed mission activity in the territories of the United States, and by an 1885 agreement with its sister agency, the Foreign Mission Board, was invested with the mission work among the Choctaws. Reverend R. W. Hill, Superintendent of the Presbyterian Home Missions in Indian Territory, accepted temporary oversight of Spencer. In November, Alfred Docking from Kansas was named the permanent superintendent, and Hill returned to his headquarters in Muskogee. For personal reasons, Docking resigned his position after three years in 1891. The new superintendent, W. A. Caldwell was also a capable educator and administrator and for the first time since the Civil War provided for the stipulated one hundred students.²⁹

Upon tribal request the Board of Home Missions on July 1, 1894 returned Spencer Academy to the Choctaw Nation, and Caldwell left Indian Territory. The Choctaw Board of Education then assumed direct responsibility for Spencer selecting J. B. Jeter, a Choctaw citizen and former Superintendent of Schools, as superintendent. But tribal direction of the academy presented unexpected difficulties. The annual cost increased \$2,000 over a church-connected administration, and of course, home rule was no insurance against disaster.³⁰

On October 3, 1896, Spencer's main building and storeroom burned. Three students whom Jeter had disciplined saturated the front and back stairs of the main building with coal oil late one evening. Once ignited the wooden structure burned rapidly, but most students jumped to safety. Yet the toll was nearly

²⁹ William E. Moore, ed., *The Presbyterian Digest, 1886* (Philadelphia, c. 1886), pp. 557-8; *Annual Report, Board of Indian Commissioners, 1888*, 34; Sherman H. Doyle, *Presbyterian Home Missions* (New York, 1905), 83; *Annual Report, Board of Home Missions, 1887*, 17. Also see Schermerhorn to J. Lowrie, Nelson, 30 Aug. 1887, American Indian, mss., PHS, Number 101, Roll 15, University of Tulsa Library; November vouchers of Spencer Academy, November, 1888, and W. A. Caldwell to Honorable Board of Education of the Choctaw Nation, Nelson, 1 Oct. 1892, Choctaw Schools—Spencer Academy File, Oklahoma Historical Society.

³⁰ Caldwell to Board of Education, Muskogee, 8 Oct. 1894, Choctaw Schools—Spencer Academy File, Oklahoma Historical Society; *Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1893*, 146; Acts of Choctaw Nation, 14 Oct. 1886 and 20 Oct. 1894; Jeter to Board of Education, Nelson, 31 Aug. 1895 and Tushkahoma, 13 Oct. 1896, Choctaw Schools—Spencer Academy File, Oklahoma Historical Society.

incalculable: five dead, seven seriously burned, and the chief educational resource of the Choctaws was destroyed.³¹

At the Council session in 1897, Jeter urged the rebuilding of the academy. "If the property [were] sold, it would be a waste of money and a crime against the people," he maintained. Accordingly, the Choctaws acted to restore the academy upon its burnt foundations, but funds were not available until November, 1897 and the school failed to open until the fall, 1898.³²

The first term in the new academy building was the last. The Atoka Agreement of 1897 which provided for the division of Choctaw lands and the dissolution of Choctaw government enabled the United States to also appropriate its school system, and particularly Spencer. The federal government appointed Wallace B. Butz to superintend the academy, but federal control lasted only one year. Spencer burned again on June 23, 1900. Sparks from a fire in the steam pump entered a window in the main building's second story, ignited bedding, and continued to fuel a blaze that spread rapidly through the unplastered, frame structure. No one was injured, but the \$7,000 building was a total loss.³³

No real effort was made to restore Spencer. After a feeble attempt to wrest control from the United States, the Council authorized the sale of the remaining facilities and grounds. The school was advertised for sale on December 20, 1900, but Superintendent Butz refused possession to Choctaw officials. The land remained in possession of the United States Indian Office until it was allotted at the end of the Choctaw National government.³⁴

During its existence the goal of Spencer Academy was to

³¹ Jeter to Board of Education, Tushkahoma, 30 Sept. 1897; Jeter to General Council, Tushkahoma, 13 Oct. 1896, Choctaw Schools—Spencer Academy File, Oklahoma Historical Society; *The (Atoka) Indian Citizen*, 8 Oct. 1896; Interview with Mrs. Rosa Oakes Huff, "Indian-Pioneer Papers," Vol. V, Foreman Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society; Mrs. Howard Morris, Soper, Oklahoma, personal interview with the author at Soper, 17 April 1965.

³² Jeter to Board of Education, Tushkahoma, 30 Sept. 1897, Choctaw Schools—Spencer Academy File, Oklahoma Historical Society; Acts of the Choctaw Nation, 29 Oct. 1897 and 11 Nov. 1897.

³³ Angie Debo, "Education in the Choctaw Country after the Civil War," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, X (Sept. 1932), p. 386; *Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1899*, 87-9; 1900, 156; 1901, 224. Also, *Annual Report, United States Indian Inspector for the Indian Territory, 1900*, pp. 81, 95; Thomas Ryan to United States Indian Inspector, Washington, 10 Dec. 1900, Vol. 19, Foreman Transcripts, Oklahoma Historical Society.

³⁴ Two separate Acts of the Choctaw Nation, 31 Oct. 1900. Also, H. S. Sanguin to Honorable G. W. Dukes, Goodland, 18 Nov. 1900, Gilbert Dukes Papers, mss., Oklahoma Historical Society.



CEMETERY, OLD SPENCER, 1965

Photograph by author.



NEW SPENCER, 1965

Photograph by author.

mold its students into useful citizens through an intellectual and spiritual education. Instruction at Spencer was a day-to-day affair with an established moral and academic routine. Early in the school's history the students rose at daybreak, dressed, and prepared for the required morning prayers, after which they worked at odd jobs until breakfast at seven o'clock. Following breakfast, the grounds were policed, rooms cleaned, and beds made. Classes began at nine and lasted until lunch. Studies resumed at half past one and, with an interval devoted to recreation, continued until half past four when the boys turned again to manual labor. The final meal was taken at sundown when prayers were offered again. By nine the young men were in bed.³⁵

Spencer was a mission point to its religious benefactors and all superintendents placed emphasis upon spiritual instruction. In addition to morning and evening prayers, Edmund McKinney required the students to attend a Sunday afternoon Bible class. Alexander Reid permitted those "anxious over their souls" to meet with him at half past four each morning and each Wednesday night. Every day at eleven o'clock he spoke to the boys from a different Bible chapter, and the students also memorized Bible verses and answered questions in the shorter Presbyterian catechism. But efforts to convert the students to an organized church were largely unsuccessful. James Ramsey and Reid recorded more conversions than other superintendents, though rarely did more than ten per cent of the students ever embrace formal Christianity. Yet those who did accept the Presbyterian doctrine were of unusual dedication. For example, Daniel Pinson, Allen Wright, Thomas R. Benton and Alfred Wright all became effective Presbyterian preachers.³⁶

As a boarding institution Spencer and the missionaries were both home and parents to the students. Children entering the academy were assigned rooms in one of the four dormitories where there were seldom less than five in one room and frequently as many as seven. During James Ramsey's administration six boys were in each room and three in each bed. The Mission House in New York provided either ready-made articles supplied on the basis of representative measurements or yard

³⁵ McKinney to W. Lowrie, Spencer, 20 June 1844, Box 9, Vol. 2, American Indian, mss., PHS.

³⁶ McKinney to W. Lowrie, Spencer, 20 June 1844, and Ramsey to W. Lowrie, Spencer, 23 June 1848, Box 9, Vol. 2; Reid to W. Lowrie, Spencer, 15 March 1851, 24 May 1855, and Reid to J. L. Wilson, 24 May 1855, American Indian, mss., Box 12, Vol. I, PHS; *Home and Foreign Record*, September, 1852, 136-7. See also S. O. Lee to Mrs. Woodruff, Spencer, 5 Feb. 1861, Box C-34, Colonial Dames Collection mss., University of Oklahoma Library; *The Missionary* May, 1877, p. 110 and June, 1878, p. 141.

goods. In the latter event, eastern Ladies Aid Societies sewed the garments from the patterns furnished, and once at Spencer, missionary wives maintained the clothes.³⁷

Meals were prepared in the kitchen and served in the dining room attached to the rear of the superintendent's home. A basic meal consisted of meat, sweet potatoes, molasses and "Tom Fuller" (hominy). In season the garden provided a variety of vegetables, particularly at New Spencer. Strawberries and blackberries were abundant in the spring, and wild honey was available year around. Fish, squirrel, and other game were served when caught by the boys, and on special occasions turkey and roasted peanuts were prepared. Peter Hudson, a student after the Civil War, remembered that the boys "lived on beef, corn bread, milk and a cup of coffee. Biscuits were given only on Sunday morning." Another student recalled that the table was set with prunes, rice, sugar, coffee, vegetables, pork, corn, wheat, beef, milk, and butter. During Spencer's existence the diet normally was varied and sufficient, and no cases of malnutrition were ever reported.³⁸

Yet the health of the students was not always good, for a family of one hundred boys was fertile ground for most communicable diseases. James Ramsey called doctors from Doaksville to attend the students, but their services were expensive—\$353 for one fifteen-day period. Alexander Reid was his own doctor, mixing and administering medicines, delivering his own and his colleagues' children, freely advising on home medical remedies. He cupped and bled the youngsters and prescribed a teaspoon of brandy for some ailments. He also prescribed for the young wives of the missionary workers, in their illnesses.³⁹

Intellectual pursuits were the most significant at Spencer. To facilitate instruction Edmund McKinney originally divided the students into primary, intermediate, and advanced depart-

³⁷ Ramsey to W. Lowrie, Spencer, 10 June 1846, and Ramsey to D. Wells, Spencer, 24 Dec. 1846, American Indian, mss., Box 9, Vol. 2, PHS; Mrs. Lee to Mrs. Woodruff, Spencer, 11 Nov. 1859, Box C-34, Colonial Dames Collection, mss., University of Oklahoma Library.

³⁸ *The Indian Advocate*, Sept. 1847; Mrs. Lee to Mrs. Woodruff, Spencer, 12 May 1861, 4 Nov. 1859, 14 Dec. 1859, and 23 Dec. 1860, Box C-34, Colonial Dames Collection, mss., University of Oklahoma Library; "Recollections of Peter Hudson," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, X (Dec. 1932), p. 519; Interview with J. Norman Leard, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. 78, Foreman Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society.

³⁹ Ramsey to W. Lowrie, Spencer, 10 July 1848, 21 Jan. 1847, Box 9, Vol. 2, and Reid to W. Lowrie, Spencer, 6 April 1854, Box 12, Vol. 1, American Indian, mss., Box 12, Vol. I, PHS; Mrs. Lee to Mrs. Woodruff, 12 Oct. 1859, Box C-34, Colonial Dames Collection, mss., University of Oklahoma Library.

ments according to ability to speak and understand English. Alexander Reid, however, classified the students on the basis of age and years spent in school. Subject matter varied from term to term and superintendent to superintendent, but basic courses were reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic. McKinney and James Ramsey also instructed and examined students in Latin, and the library from the first contained Greek and Latin lexicons, Greek grammars, and Latin texts of Horace, Caesar, Virgil, and Cicero. Reid deleted classical instruction maintaining that Latin recitation was folly especially when few understood English. Spencer boys also received instruction in geography, natural philosophy, United States history, algebra, and Bible history, as well as astronomy and vocal music.⁴⁰

Highly educated men provided the instruction at Spencer. Most were graduates of Princeton Seminary and were as well trained as any teachers in the United States. Lane Seminary, Hampton-Sydney, and Columbia Seminary also had graduates at the school. Yet success in teaching was measured by ability to speak English, and gauged by this standard alone, Spencer was a signal failure. After four years of training, some students could not understand simple instructions such as "bring a stick of wood" or "go for a bucket of water." Enrolment in the academy did not improve with experience, for seventy per cent of the students did not understand the language as late as the 1890's. ⁴¹

Judgment of Spencer Academy must not rest entirely upon the success or lack of success of English instruction. The academy demonstrated its value in other areas. In 1848, the six boys selected by the tribe to attend eastern colleges were from Spencer, as were seven of the ten boys sent to Tennessee to learn vocations in 1853. Furthermore, the officers of the Choctaw troops during the Civil War were largely graduates of the national academy. And some of the leading men of the Nation passed through the halls of Spencer. Principal Chiefs B. J. Smallwood, Jefferson Gardner, Allen Wright, Jackson McCurtain, and Gilbert Dukes were all educated here. Judge Charles Vinson, National Treasurer William Wilson, educators Peter Hudson and Simon

⁴⁰ *Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1844*, 387; Reid to Bureau of Indian Affairs, Spencer, 22 Aug. 1853, Box 12, Vol. 1, and W. Wilson to W. Lowrie, Spencer, 25 Dec. 1845, Box 9, Vol. 2, American Indian, mss., PHS; *The Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, October, 1846, 289. See also *Home and Foreign Record*, February, 1851, 27-8; *Report of the United States Indian Inspector for Indian Territory, 1900*, p. 95.

⁴¹ Charles Fishback to W. Lowrie, Spencer, 20 Dec. 1848, American Indian, mss., Box 9, Vol. 2, PHS; J. B. Jeter to Board of Education, Nelson, 31 Aug. 1895, Choctaw Schools—Spencer Academy File, Oklahoma Historical Society.

Dwight, Doctor E. N. Wright and the Reverend Frank Hall Wright were trained at Spencer. Gabe Parker, a teacher at Spencer during its last years, Choctaw National Attorney and a member of the committee that provided the Great Seal of Oklahoma, also was a student at the academy. Through these and others the school's influence pervaded the whole tribe.⁴²

Thus Spencer Academy stands as an important educational institution among the Choctaws. The tribe was pleased with the school's efforts and generally satisfied with the results. Most agreed with John Hobart Heald, a well-educated Indian trader, that Spencer Academy was "equal to any of the good old schools of New England."⁴³ To the Choctaws it was a moral and intellectual fountain providing sustenance to a people hungry for civilization.

⁴² Silas D. Fisher, Peter Folsom and Thomas LeFlore to Samuel Rutherford, Doaksville, 14 Jan. 1858, National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Western Superintendency, Letters Received, Microcopy 616, Roll 199; Reid to W. Lowrie, Spencer, 13 Dec. 1852, Box 12, Vol. 1, American Indian, mss., Box 12, Vol. I, PHS; *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in C.S.A., 1862*, p. 30.

⁴³ Muriel H. Wright, "John Hobart Heald," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, II (Sept. 1924), p. 316.

RECONSTRUCTION IN THE CHICKASAW NATION: THE FREEDMAN PROBLEM

*By Parthena Louise James**

The Chickasaw Nation joined the Confederate States of America in July, 1861, for many reasons, both logical and justifiable. After the war, the Chickasaws found it necessary to negotiate a new treaty with the United States. It was unfortunate for them to be placed in this position since this allowed several issues to be discussed and placed in the Treaty of 1866 which had nothing to do with the Civil War and reconstruction, but only hastened the day when the Chickasaw Nation would cease to exist. Most of the problems growing directly out of the Chickasaw involvement in the war were soon solved. The major reconstruction problem came to be the status of the Chickasaw freedman. The Treaty of 1866 allowed the Chickasaw people two options in dealing with their freedmen, but both of these failed largely because of inaction by the United States. Problems growing out of the war lost their importance as the Chickasaw Nation was threatened by advancing white civilization which decades earlier had forced the Chickasaws out of their Mississippi homelands. In the end the Chickasaw people could not stop this tide, and this made the reconstruction period much more difficult.

The Chickasaw legislature followed Governor Winchester Colbert's advice to decide quickly on their solution to the problem of the Chickasaw freedmen. The legislature first ratified the Treaty of April, 1866, and then on November 9 of that same year, requested by unanimous vote that the United States keep the Chickasaw share of the \$300,000 for the benefit of the Chickasaw Negroes who were to be removed by the United States from within the Chickasaw Nation as provided for by the third article of the treaty.¹ This request for removal came because of the increasing number of Negroes in the Chickasaw Nation. If only their own freedmen had been present in the nation, the Chickasaws probably would not have requested removal. In July, 1866, Colbert had suggested the adoption of the freedmen. He realized that settlement of the freedmen in the Leased

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¹ U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Miscellaneous Document Number 29*, 42d Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), p. 2, and U. S. Congress, Senate, *Report Number 774*, 45th Congress, 3d Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879), p. 327.

District would attract other Negroes from all over the United States and Indian Territory. This all-Negro community would probably have become quite large in a few years, and Colbert decided that the Negroes would "be anything but desirable neighbors as a separate community." The Governor knew that the Indians then outnumbered the Negroes in the Chickasaw Nation, and he advised his people to keep their freedmen in the nation where they would be under Chickasaw control as a valuable labor supply.²

By fall, when the legislature convened, the freedmen problem appeared to be worsening for the Chickasaws. Even before the war, the Chickasaws had trouble with freed Negroes living within the nation, and at that time they passed many regulations governing trade and relations with these Negroes. The problem became so serious in October, 1869, that the legislature had required county judges "to order out of the limits of their respective counties any free Negro or Negroes." Negroes who refused to move could be sold for a term of one year, with the purchaser having a title as if the Negro had been born a slave for life. This could be done each year until the Negro left the jurisdiction of the Chickasaws.³ After the war, the Chickasaw freedmen were joined by former slaves from the Choctaw Nation and Texas. The Chickasaw Nation had a small Indian population, the Indians naturally did not wish to be outnumbered in any part of their territory. This led to the legislative action of November 9, 1866, when the Chickasaws requested removal of their freedmen.

The Chickasaws, to avoid further conflict, wished to rid themselves immediately of Negroes from all other slave holding areas. On November 10 the legislature requested the United States to issue an order requiring all Negroes not embraced within the Treaty of 1866 "to forthwith leave the Chickasaw Nation and forever stay out of the same, or procure, by the recommendation of good citizens, a permit to remain."⁴ Colbert notified United States authorities of the Chickasaw desire to remove at once all but Chickasaw freedmen. The legislation passed on November 9 provided for removal of their own freedmen within the time period agreed on in the treaty. The Chickasaws believed that these actions solved the freedmen problem. Intruder Negroes were to leave immediately; the United States

² Address of Peter P. Pitchlynn and Winchester Colbert, John Ross Manuscripts and Papers, Number 275573, Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma.

³ *Constitution, Laws, and Treaties of the Chickasaws*, pp. 157-158.

⁴ John Ross Manuscripts and Papers, Number 275552, Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

would remove Chickasaw freedmen within the two years provided for in the Treaty of 1866 to the Leased District. The Chickasaws waited for the United States to act.

The Chickasaw freedmen also believed the United States would assume its treaty obligations toward them. In December, 1866, a group of freedmen met and signed a memorial which was sent to the United States Congress. The freedmen advised Congress: "Our position is much different than that occupied by the freedmen of the states, for their former masters are white men, while ours are Indians, with all the hatred and vindictiveness of their race toward a weaker race, who they formerly controlled and oppressed." The freedmen were ready to move to any land designated by the government, but they preferred Cache Creek in the Leased District, about 100 miles southwest of Fort Arbuckle, Chickasaw Nation. The freedmen also advised that the Chickasaws were willing to give up their portion of the \$300,000, which could be used to provide transportation for the freedmen and their families and for supplies to enable them to begin life in a new location. The freedmen wanted to move immediately, rather than allow the two years designated in the treaty to pass.⁵

Two years elapsed and no action was taken. On June 8, 1868, Cyrus Harris, the Chickasaw governor, wrote President Andrew Johnson submitting a copy of the legislation of November 9, 1866, which he hoped would "be satisfactory evidence of the desire of the Chickasaws."⁶ That August the Chickasaw legislature reminded the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of the legislature's failure to provide their freedmen with equal rights and forty acres of land. Instead the Chickasaw legislature had requested removal of all persons of African descent from the Chickasaw country along with the forfeiture of \$75,000, the Chickasaw share of the \$300,000 to be paid for Choctaw and Chickasaw rights in the Leased District. Governor Harris requested the United States to remove the freedmen as had been provided for in the Treaty of 1866.⁷

No Negroes had been removed from the Chickasaw Nation, not even those that had come in from other slave holding areas. A group of these joined the Chickasaw freedmen in filing another

⁵ U. S. Congress, Senate, *Document Number 157*, 55th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), pp. 15-16, and John Ross Manuscripts and Papers, Number 2755⁵², Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma.

⁶ U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Miscellaneous Document Number 29*, 42d Congress, 1st Session, p. 1.

⁷ U. S. Congress, Senate, *Document Number 157*, 55th Congress, 1st Session, p. 16.

petition in June, 1868, requesting immediate removal, but inaction on the part of the United States complicated this issue for many years.⁸ No action was taken in 1869 when L. N. Robinson, Superintendent of the Southern Superintendency, requested Negro removal. He reported that Negroes were oppressed and persecuted because the Chickasaws regarded all of them as intruders. Robinson added that the "feeling that the provision of these treaties of 1866, conferring citizenship upon the blacks, was a compulsory measure, is growing in the Indian mind, and sooner or later will manifest itself in acts of hostility toward the colored race."⁹

The freedmen themselves attempted to get action when a delegation went to Washington in February of 1869 and submitted a memorial to Congress urging the United States to fulfill its treaty obligations.¹⁰ Nothing came of this mission, nor from the efforts of a delegation of Chickasaws who also filed a memorial for the removal of the freedmen to a tract of land west of the Seminole Nation.¹¹

In the fall of 1869 the Chickasaw agent, George Olmsted, was authorized to hold a council of freedmen from both the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations to obtain the views and wishes of the freedmen about remaining in Indian Territory.¹² The council of over 300 Negroes was attended by Governor Harris, and Allen Wright, the principal chief of the Choctaw Nation. The freedmen exhibited a new attitude for no longer were they requesting removal from the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations. Their goal had become adoption into the tribe, and the council petitioned the United States: "We consider ourselves full citizens of these nations, fully entitled to all the rights, privileges, and benefits as such, the same as any citizen of Indian extraction."¹³

⁸ U. S. Congress, Senate, *Executive Document Number 82*, 40th Congress, 2d Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), p. 4, and John Ross Manuscripts and Papers, Number 275552, Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma.

⁹ U. S. Department of the Interior, *The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year of 1869* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), p. 399, hereinafter cited as *Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report for 1869*.

¹⁰ U. S. Congress, Senate, *Miscellaneous Document Number 24*, 53d Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), p. 30.

¹¹ U. S. Congress, Senate, *Executive Document Number 166*, 50th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), p. 13.

¹² W. G. Cady to George T. Olmsted, September 14, 1869, in Letters sent by the Office of Indian Affairs, July 8-October 14, 1869, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

¹³ U. S. Congress, Senate, *Executive Document Number 71*, 41st Congress, 2d Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), p. 4.

Failure to act on the part of the United States placed these freedmen in an unusual and difficult position. They were not under the jurisdiction of Indian laws, but they were treated like United States citizens resident in the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations. This meant that Fort Smith was the nearest federal justice for the freedmen, and that distance, expense, and methods of travel discouraged action in a case involving a Negro. A Negro law breaker was not under the jurisdiction of the Chickasaw law, and a Negro plaintiff had no right to Chickasaw justice.

The freedman's status in the Chickasaw Nation was uncertain. He could farm and build on unused land in the nation, but always there was the threat of having to leave his home and move further west. He saw his children growing up in ignorance, since the Chickasaws did not provide schools for Negro children, and the Negro community was unable to meet this need itself. The United States failed to act, and the Negro child in the Chickasaw Nation seldom saw a classroom.

Always there were reports of Chickasaw mistreatment of the freedmen. Olmsted pointed out in 1870 that the "rumors and reports which have been in circulation concerning their ill treatment by the Indians are almost entirely without foundation." Olmsted described the Negroes in the Chickasaw Nation as industrious and better able to take care of themselves than the Negro people in the Southern states. "The Government should remove them," he concluded, "or otherwise provide for them as soon as possible as it is evident that there is a determination on the part of the citizens to wait for the Government to act first in this matter."¹⁴

A request by the Chickasaw agent for the United States to take action became a part of each annual report. Agent T. D. Griffith wrote in 1871 that the condition that caused him the most anxiety in the affairs of his agency was the solution to this perennial question: "What is to be done with and for the freedmen?" Griffith suggested removal since under current conditions the freedmen would be nothing but hewers of wood and drawers of water.¹⁵

Congressional action was attempted in 1872. A bill was in-

¹⁴ U. S. Department of the Interior, *The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year of 1870* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), pp. 291-292, hereinafter cited as *Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report for 1870*.

¹⁵ U. S. Department of the Interior, *The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year of 1871* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), pp. 570-571, hereinafter cited as *Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report for 1871*.

troduced in the House of Representatives by George H. Brooks of Massachusetts for the relief and removal of the Choctaw and Chickasaw freedmen. The bill was read twice, referred to the Committee on Freedmen's Affairs, and never reported from the committee.¹⁶ The freedmen by this time had hopes of remaining in the Chickasaw Nation and were made uneasy by the intent of this bill to remove them.¹⁷

Then on January 10, 1873, the Chickasaw legislature, tired of waiting for United States action, passed a law adopting the freedmen and their descendents. The Chickasaws desired their share of the \$300,000, with interest; the Negroes were not to share in any of the \$300,000 or any of the Chickasaw invested funds, claims, or common domain, except for forty acres of land. Other rights and privileges were authorized by the treaty including the right to be a witness, to be paid for labor, and to be treated fairly and equally under Chickasaw law.¹⁸

The Secretary of the Interior presented Congress with a copy of the adoption law on February 10, 1873, and recommended that Congress extend the time the Chickasaws needed to comply with the provisions in the Treaty of 1866 to pass legislation giving the freedmen their civil rights in the nation. The Secretary of the Interior requested that the Chickasaws be given until July, 1875 to enact this legislation. The subject was referred to the Committee on Freedmen's Affairs, but no further action was taken.¹⁹

The Chickasaws regarded the adoption of the freedmen in 1873 as the final solution to the problem, even though Negro civil liberties were not well defined. There was a dispute over allowing the Negro the right to vote and providing educational facilities for his children. The Secretary of the Interior, E. P.

16 U. S. Congress, *Congressional Globe*, 42d Congress, 2d Session (Washington: Rives and Bailey, 1872), Part II, p. 1578.

17 U. S. Department of the Interior, *The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year of 1872* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), pp. 237-238, hereinafter cited as *Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report for 1872*.

18 U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number 207*, 42d Congress, 3d Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873), p. 3, and An Act to Adopt the Negroes of the Chickasaw Nation, January 10, 1873, John Ross Manuscripts and Papers, Number 2755, Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

19 U. S. Department of the Interior, *The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year of 1887* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887), p. LXI, hereinafter cited as *Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report for 1887*, and U. S. Congress, Senate, *Document Number 183*, 55th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), p. 3.

Smith, advised the Chickasaws that the freedmen had voting privileges, but many Negroes failed to vote for fear of offending the Indians.²⁰ The Chickasaw agent, A. Parsons, was still hesitant to encourage the freedmen to make permanent improvements until his rights were established by law.²¹

The next year, Congress attempted to legislate a solution to the freedman's dilemma. Congress had failed to respond to the Chickasaw legislature's adoption of the freedmen, possibly because there was reason to doubt Chickasaw sincerity in establishing and protecting the freedmen's civil liberties. On April 4, 1874, the Acting Secretary of the Interior, B. R. Cowen, wrote the Speaker of the House of Representatives, James G. Blaine, suggesting Congressional action since eight years after the Treaty of 1866 the Chickasaw legislature had not yet enacted laws, rules, and regulations in behalf of its Negro population.²² Blaine acted the same day. A bill was introduced in the House of Representatives to give the freedmen, "all the rights, privileges, and annuities, including the right of suffrage, and the right to an equal share in annuities, money, and the public domain."²³ The House adopted the measure, and the bill was introduced in the Senate on April 8, 1874. It was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs and strongly endorsed by Columbus Delano, the Secretary of the Interior.²⁴ The committee favorably reported the bill without amendments on May 27, 1874, but a vote was never taken because of Congressional adjournment.²⁵

The Chickasaw Negroes remained free but without equal civil rights.²⁶ In March of 1875 the Secretary of the Interior appointed J. P. Shanks to investigate and report on the adjustment of the Negro in the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations. He arrived

²⁰ U. S. Department of the Interior, *The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year of 1873* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), p. 209, hereinafter cited as *Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1873*.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 237-238.

²² U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Miscellaneous Document Number 294*, 43d Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), p. 4.

²³ U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number 212*, 43d Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), p. 4.

²⁴ U. S. Congress, Senate, *Miscellaneous Document Number 118*, 43d Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), pp. 2-3.

²⁵ U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record*, 43d Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), Vol. II, Part V, p. 4280.

²⁶ U. S. Department of the Interior, *The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year of 1874* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), p. 71, hereinafter cited as *Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report for 1874*.

in the Chickasaw Nation in September to attend the annual session of the Chickasaw legislature.²⁷ The Chickasaws at this session had been urged by Governor Benjamin Franklin Overton to consider the unsettled condition of the Negro question.²⁸ The legislature appointed a commission, which met in October with members of the Choctaw Nation in an attempt to find a joint solution to the problem.²⁹ No solution was forthcoming, but representatives of the two Indian nations were to meet often after 1875 in the effort to find a joint settlement of the problem.³⁰ Shanks reported to the Secretary of the Interior at the end of December. He opposed removal of the freedmen and made recommendations that the United States "secure their recognition as full citizens in those nations." As with so many previous reports and requests, nothing happened.³¹

The Chickasaw legislature pressed to settle this issue, so in October, 1876, it again sent commissioners to meet with the Choctaw Nation. Again Chickasaw thoughts turned to removal, and the delegation to the Choctaws was authorized to agree upon a plan for the freedmen and their descendents to be removed from the limits of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations.³² Not only was the Chickasaw commission to confer with the Choctaws on expelling the freedmen, but the Chickasaw legislature passed an act repudiating the adoption of the freedmen.³³

Then came 1877, when the last United States troops were removed from the Southern States. This marked the end of political reconstruction in the United States, but for the Chickasaw Nation their most pressing reconstruction problem was no closer to solution than it had been in 1866. During the years from 1865 to 1877 the Chickasaw slaves had been freed, but little else was accomplished, due to the inaction of the United States government and the Chickasaw refusal to accept Negroes as equals.

During this time the Chickasaws and the United States had made a treaty ending hostilities and freeing the Negro. This treaty allowed the Chickasaws two options in dealing with the freedmen, and the choice they desired was to have the freedmen withdrawn from the Chickasaw Nation. Their legislature had expressed this desire, and the freedmen, finding it an accept-

²⁷ *Vindicator*, September 18, 1875.

²⁸ *Oklahoma Star*, September 17, 1875.

²⁹ *Vindicator*, October 27, 1875.

³⁰ Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*, p. 104.

³¹ *Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report for 1887*, p. LXI.

³² U. S. Congress, Senate, *Document Number 157*, 55th Congress, 1st Session, p. 27.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

able solution in 1866, waited for the United States to remove them. But time passed, and the freedmen began to put down roots among the Chickasaws. They desired to stay in the Chickasaw Nation as full citizens of that nation under protection of the United States. The fulfillment of these desires, however, needed the approval and action of the United States. This action never took place. The former Chickasaw slave was free, but without schools for his children, without the right to own land, and without the right to vote. He faced an uncertain and difficult future. The Chickasaw Legislature choose 1877 to repeat its actions of 1866, hoping this time the United States would be moved to act. On February 17, 1877, the Chickasaws reconfirmed the adoption of the Treaty of 1866, and reminded the United States of section three and the promise therein to remove the freedmen from the limits of the Chickasaw Nation.³⁴

Congressional interest in the freedmen issue was finally aroused enough in 1879 for the Senate to conduct an extensive investigation into the condition of the Negroes in the Chickasaw Nation. Testimony from former slaves confirmed the condition of the freedmen who were without schools, the right to vote, the right to sit on a jury, and the protection of the Chickasaw law; in other words, they were being treated like any citizen of the United States resident in the Chickasaw Nation. These freedmen were often advised not to make permanent homes, but to wait for final solutions to their problem, as they had been waiting since 1866. Some freedmen testified to mistreatment by the Indians, but most requested that they be allowed to remain in the Chickasaw Nation and be adopted into the tribe as equals. For the freedmen, this investigation brought little except a chance to express their views and describe their position.³⁵

The fight against adoption of the freedmen soon became the problem of the Chickasaws alone. On May 17, 1882, Congress enacted an important piece of legislation, when a sum of \$10,000 was appropriated out of the \$300,000 mentioned in the Treaty of 1866, for the purpose of education for Choctaw and Chickasaw freedmen. The Chickasaw freedmen were to receive one fourth of the money, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior. If either tribe adopted its freedmen before the expenditure was made, the money would be paid directly to that tribe instead of for the education of its freed-

³⁴ U. S. Congress, Senate, *Miscellaneous Document Number 24*, 53d Congress, 3d Session, p. 29.

³⁵ U. S. Congress, Senate, *Report Number 774*, 45th Congress, 3d Session, pp. 151, 755, 786, 787, 789, 803, and 809.

men.³⁶ The Choctaws adopted their freedmen in the spring of 1883 in spite of Chickasaw protests over unilateral action by the Choctaws.³⁷

To clarify their own position in the matter, the Chickasaws in the fall of 1885 again rejected the adoption of their freedmen. The legislature gave two reasons for this rejection. First, they could see no reason why the Chickasaws should be required to do more for their freed slaves than the white people in former slave holding states were doing for theirs. Second, the Chickasaws had purchased their slaves at high prices from white people, after they saw the white people around them buying slaves. The Chickasaws had been forced as the result of the white man's war to free their slaves at a great loss; the Chickasaws did not feel that their nation was basically responsible for the freedmen's situation, since the condition had been caused by Chickasaws following the example of white people. Thus the Chickasaws notified the Department of the Interior that they refused to accept or adopt their freedmen "upon any terms or conditions whatever." The United States was requested to provide a means to remove the freedmen from the Chickasaw Nation. The Indians gave the freedmen two years to dispose of their property and move.³⁸

The Negro population continued to grow in the Chickasaw Nation for several reasons. The immigration of freed Negroes from other slave holding areas had resulted in the first great increase in Negro population. Also, the natural increase appeared to be greater among the Negro population.³⁹ By 1887, the Negroes outnumbered the Chickasaws in Pickens and Pontotoc counties, and constituted nearly half of the voting-age population in Tishomingo. By 1893 the Negro population in the Chickasaw Nation outnumbered the Indians.⁴⁰

Representatives of the Negroes met in September 1887, with Robert L. Owen, United States Indian Agent, in another attempt to find a solution to the freedmen problem. Owen found the

³⁶ U. S., *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America* (78 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1848-1965), Vol. XXII, p. 72.

³⁷ U. S. Congress, Senate, *Document Number 157*, 55th Congress, 1st Session, p. 3.

³⁸ Homer, *Constitution and Laws of the Chickasaw Nation Together with the Treaties of 1832, 1843, 1837, 1852, 1855, and 1866*, p. 171.

³⁹ U. S. Congress, Senate, *Executive Document Number 166*, 50th Congress, 1st Session, p. ii.

⁴⁰ U. S. Department of the Interior, *The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year of 1893* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), p. 145, hereinafter cited as *Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report for 1893*.

freedmen "were decently and well clad, and seemed in a fairly prosperous condition." The freedmen declared they had been well treated by the Chickasaws, and wished to remain in the nation. Owen suggested removal to the northwest of present day Pottawatomie County. After this conference, the Chickasaws presented another memorial to Congress defending their position: "The number of freedmen being so great, if adopted, will soon control our schools and government."⁴¹

The 1882 appropriation by the United States of the \$10,000 for the education of freedmen brought into question how much of their share of the \$300,000 had already been paid to the Chickasaws, and this was not settled until 1887. By the Treaty of 1866, the Chickasaws were to receive \$75,000 as their share of claims to the Leased District. If they chose not to adopt their freedmen, the Chickasaw share was to be used to help finance the removal of these freedmen. The original sum of \$300,000 was established because of the estimated 3,000 Negroes in the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations. If the Indians chose removal of these Negroes, \$100 per Negro, the United States government estimated, should cover the expenses involved in their emigration.⁴²

Congress did not allow the two years mentioned in the treaty to pass before appropriating in July, 1866, \$50,000 to be advanced to the Chickasaws for the cession of the Leased District and the use of Chickasaw land by the Kansas Indians.⁴³ The Chickasaws received their \$50,000 share on February 8, 1867.⁴⁴ Even after both tribes had decided against adopting their freedmen, another appropriation was made in 1869 of \$15,000 interest due the Choctaws and Chickasaws on their remainder of the \$300,000.⁴⁵ By the time of the 1882 act providing that \$10,000 would be spent for educating Chickasaw and Choctaw freedmen, the Chickasaws had received about \$55,000 in payments for the Leased District claims and the use of Chickasaw land by Kansas Indians. The Chickasaw people became concerned about their position in this matter. If they accepted nearly \$55,000 as payment for the Leased District, then they were in effect agreeing to adopt the Negroes; if, as the Chickasaws appear to have thought, the payment was for the proposed use of Chickasaw land by Kansas Indians then the old issue of Negro removal

⁴¹ U. S. Congress, Senate, *Executive Document Number 166*, 50th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 8-10.

⁴² U. S. Congress, Senate, *Report Number 550*, 52d Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892), p. 11.

⁴³ U. S., *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, Vol. XIV, p. 259.

⁴⁴ U. S. Congress, Senate, *Document Number 166*, 50th Congress, 1st Session, p. 2.

⁴⁵ U. S., *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, Vol. XVI, p. 39.

was still valid. When the Chickasaws accepted the first payment, they had already notified the United States that they desired Negro removal; the Chickasaws assumed that the money must be for Kansas Indians. By 1882 no Kansas Indians had arrived in the Chickasaw Nation, and the Chickasaws were informed that the money was for Leased District claims. The worried Indians got a ruling by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on January 25, 1887, which held that the \$55,000 had been paid the Chickasaws for the Leased District and the adoption of the freedmen. The Chickasaw legislature immediately agreed to refund all of this money to use it for the removal of the freedmen.⁴⁶

The United States did not acknowledge this offer on the part of the Chickasaws to return the \$55,000. Chickasaw agents continued to urge removal of the freedmen, in spite of the fact that most Negroes wished to remain in the Chickasaw Nation.⁴⁷ Judge Isaac Parker of the Federal District Court at Fort Smith handed down a decision removing any doubt about the legality of the United States settling the freedmen of the Five Civilized Tribes on the lands acquired from the Seminoles and Creeks. This action was urged for the Chickasaw freedmen by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, J. D. Atkins, but again nothing happened.⁴⁸

The problem remained unsolved in spite of requests, memorials, and reports on the part of the Chickasaws, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and the freedmen. Then on August 15, 1894, the United States Congress approved the Chickasaw law of 1873 adopting the Negroes into the Chickasaw Nation.⁴⁹ This action by the United States made a hopeless tangle out of the problem of the Chickasaw freedmen. The Chickasaw legislature in 1873 had agreed to the adoption of the freedmen in order to settle the issue once and for all. But when the United States ignored this action on the part of the Indians, the Chickasaws repudiated the adoption in 1876 and again in 1885, since the delayed solution had allowed the Negro population to increase out of proportion to prewar days. This made the Chickasaws more determined than ever to prevent adoption. The approval by Congress of the old Chickasaw law of 1873 in 1894 complicated matters even more because of the Dawes Commis-

⁴⁶ U. S. Congress, Senate, *Document Number 166*, 50th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 5, 10.

⁴⁷ *Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report for 1887*, p. LXIV.

⁴⁸ U. S. Congress, Senate, *Document Number 166*, 50th Congress, 1st Session, p. 5.

⁴⁹ U. S. Congress, Senate, *Document Number 157*, 55th Congress, 1st Session, p. 4.

sion, which would soon be trying to establish standards for allotment of the Chickasaw public domain to individuals. The freedmen then claimed that the approval by Congress of the Chickasaw law of 1873 settled their status and entitled them to a share in Chickasaw allotments.⁵⁰

The work of the Dawes Commission destroyed the Chickasaw Nation. The nation ceased to exist with the allotment of land and the sale of the surplus land. It was only as the nation was destroyed that the problem of the Chickasaw freedmen was finally solved. The years from the Civil War to 1894 brought only confusion for the Chickasaws with regard to the status of their freedmen. During this period freedmen status remained always an issue that could arouse Chickasaw feelings and fears. It also made the maintenance of law and order in the Chickasaw Nation difficult, for so large a part of the population was composed of aliens subject to United States authority alone, an authority inadequately enforced by federal marshals operating out of a district court.

This confusion could have been avoided had the United States acted as required under the Treaty of 1866. The Chickasaws were given the opportunity in this treaty of adopting their freedmen within two years and providing legislation to make them equal. If the Chickasaws did this they would receive \$75,000 as their share of the cession of the Leased District to the United States. The Chickasaws could refuse to adopt the freedmen, and then this money would be used to finance the removal of the freedmen to some other place. The Chickasaws acted on this decision immediately and they chose removal. The freedmen agreed. The United States failed to act, however, in spite of numerous pleas and memorials from both groups. Then in 1873 the Chickasaw legislature decided to settle the issue and adopt the freedmen, but again the United States ignored the Chickasaws. After waiting three years the Chickasaws reverted to their old decision to remove the freedmen and never again wavered from this position.

If action had been taken soon after the Civil War the position of the Chickasaw freedmen would have been settled. The Chickasaws and the freedmen would have accepted either decision at the start of reconstruction; it was only after the situation was allowed to stay in an unsettled state that both sides became insistent on different solutions. As the freedmen began to settle, build, and farm in the Chickasaw Nation, they had no desire to move. As they were joined by more and more Negroes, the Chickasaws became equally determined that they would not

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

allow the freedmen to remain, thus running the risk of losing control of their nation. Timely action by the United States would have prevented this confusion and difficulty for the Chickasaws and their freedmen. Fortunately for the Chickasaws, other problems of reconstruction were much easier, and in these areas they could rely on their own ability and initiative, without having to depend on action by the United States.

GRANDMA BERRY'S NINETY YEARS IN OKLAHOMA

By Becky Berry*

INTRODUCTION

In that old two story white house next to the big red barn on Berry Road lives my ninety year old grandma. She has seen a lot of changes in her life from buggies and log cabins at Boggy Depot, Indian Territory, to watching the family forty acres divided and commercialized, that she and my grandpa settled. Here they raised truck-farming vegetables in order to put five children through the University. She has seen a lot of history in these past ninety years.

GRANDMA REMEMBERS

I was told that five generations before I was born my ancestors Peter Buckholts and his brothers Abraham and Jacob Buckholts, who originally came from Prussia, were among the earliest settlers in South Carolina. Peter's grandson William Buckholts II married a one-fourth Choctaw girl, Elizabeth Breshiers.¹ Our Choctaw line comes from the fullblood Choctaw John Turnbull and his fullblood wife. Elizabeth was John Turnbull's great granddaughter. Elizabeth and William Buckholts II's one-eighth Choctaw son William Buckholts III, married Matilda Null September 16, 1841. This was my grandfather. One of their twelve children was my daddy James Madison Buckholts. He was born near Jacksonville, Mississippi, August 6, 1845. He and his parents then moved to Smith County, Texas from Jacksonville where previously Mrs. Buckholts II had elected to stay when the Choctaw tribe was being moved to Indian Territory.²

My daddy, James Madison Buckholts, enlisted in the Confederate Army when he was eighteen years old. He joined Lieutenant Robinson's Texas regiment, 33rd Cavalry, Terrell's Brigade, Company K, in August 1863 and was stationed in Texas and Louisiana. The two most important battles in which he participated were Mansfield and Pleasant Hill near Alexandria, Louisiana, and the Battle of Yellow Bayou which was fought where the Red River empties in the Mississippi River.³ After

*Becky Berry, an honor student and member of Pi Beta Phi Sorority at the University of Oklahoma, contributes these reminiscences of her grandmother, Mrs. H. H. Berry of Norman, whose ancestors were fullblood Choctaw back in Mississippi and Alabama 150 years ago. The paper gives some local history and well known families like the Buckholts near Boggy Depot after the Civil War. Becky is one like thousands of girls and boys of her generation in Oklahoma who have a trace of Indian blood of one or another of the 67 Indian tribes and parts of tribes in this state.—Ed.

1 Mrs. H. H. Berry, personal interview, November 28, 1965.

2 Mrs. H. H. Berry, unpublished personal files, November 28, 1965.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

the war he returned to his family at Smith County, Texas. He married my mother Janetta Perryman, who had been born May 8, 1843 in Tipton County, Mississippi and then while still a child had moved to Smith County. In 1872 mother, daddy, and my sister Cora moved from Smith County, Texas to the prairie just outside of Boggy Depot, Indian Territory. They wanted to prove that they were members of the Choctaw Indian Tribe so that they would be able to get their allotment of land in Indian Territory. My grandfather William Buckholts III, married daughter (my aunt Elizabeth), and her family also came. They had four small mules hitched to the wagon and two mules tied behind. There was no bridge where they crossed the Red River near Denison, Texas. After crossing the Red River they stopped at a blacksmith's shop to see what they could find out about the new country. While all the men were in the shop talking to the blacksmith, the four mules hitched to the wagon got restless and kept twisting and turning until they broke the tongue of the wagon. Consequently, the whole crowd had to camp that night near the blacksmith's shop and wait for him to repair the wagon tongue.⁴

After my relatives all settled near Boggy Depot, my grandfather went before the Choctaw Council at Tuskahoma to prove that he and his family belonged to the Choctaw tribe. He did this by telling the members of the Council that his brother Zedic was educated by the Choctaw government while they were still living in Mississippi and by showing the members his mother's bible. Finally, my grandfather Bockholts II, and my aunt Elizabeth James and her family, my daddy James Madison Buckholts, my mother Janetta Perryman Buckholts and my older sister Cora were declared to be members of the Choctaw Tribe.

While they still lived on the prairie, five miles out from Boggy Depot, I was born February 23, 1875, and my little sister Allie was born in September 1877.

I really cannot remember much that happened when we moved from the prairie to Boggy Depot, but I was six years old and ready to go to school. We moved into a small log cabin. In this house was a beautiful walnut table that I now have in my house. Since my daddy did not have any sons Allie and I helped Pa. One spring while planting corn, we dropped our bucket and spilled the seeds all over the ground. We tried to pick up all of the seed, but finally we decided to just cover it up with dirt. When the corn came up Pa knew why he had run out of seed corn.⁵

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

The school house was about a quarter of a mile from our house. Allie and I took our lunch in a little tin pail, but at noon instead of eating our lunch we ran out to play mumble peg and ball. When we returned home with our lunch uneaten we told Ma we had not been hungry. During the winter months every father had to furnish a half cord of wood to keep the fire going. The school house was the meeting place for all of the community activities. Our social life consisted of parties, box suppers and square dances. Allie did not dance, but I just loved it. We used to go horse back riding on dates in the afternoon. The girls wore riding skirts and rode side saddle.

In September of 1888 I remember going to a school owned by the Baptist denomination in Atoka, Indian Territory for two years. The spring of 1889 my dad bought me a piano. Because of high water in Muddy Boggy, we could not get it home so the piano was stored at the school building at Atoka. Two or three times a day I would walk up to the school and look at the big box that contained my very own piano. I had already learned to play by going to the school building and using their piano during the vacation periods. Soon I was able to play for Sunday school and church. Eventually, when the water had gone down, Pa loaded the piano and me in the wagon and away we went home. How happy I was to really see it!

At Christmas time the young people decorated the school building with cedar that we had gathered from the woods. We had one big Community Christmas tree, and everybody brought their presents to it to be distributed Christmas Eve night. There were always pretty sacks made out of different colors of cheese cloth stuffed with an orange, an apple, candy and popcorn balls for all the children. After the Christmas tree the men of the community would go to the blacksmith shop and shoot off charges of gun powder, using two blacksmith anvils. No one but the men were allowed to go to the shop for fear of the women and children getting hurt. "Don't you know that the men had a high old time?"⁶ These years flew by us, but we had very happy times.

In September 1890 Allie and I went to Kidd-Key College, Sherman, Texas. (In 1890 it was quite rare for women to attend college.) This was a wonderful experience for us. All summer Ma made our clothes, which we packed in a trunk and tied with a small rope. Each of us had our own trunk. These clothes lasted us all the school year. We only went home at Christmas time and when school was out in June. I graduated in June 1894. For my graduation present Pa gave me a gold watch and I was

⁶ *Ibid.*

so proud of it. One day I lost it on the streets of Sherman but luckily a young boy found it who had seen the advertisement which I had placed in the paper and returned it to me. I gave him a reward, but I do not remember how much.

In September, after my graduation in June, the school at New Boggy Depot needed a teacher for one month, so I taught that month, and they paid me \$20.00 all in gold coins.⁷ It was the first money that I had ever made and I really thought I had a fortune. The next year I taught in a country school near Lehigh. I lived with a family who had eight girls all in school. One day an Indian student taller than I came to school with a pistol. Soon one of the younger children saw the gun and came running to tell me. This was at recess. I picked out two children to go get one of the trustees who lived near the school. The man came and said he wanted to visit the school, which often happened from other patrons. He sat down in the seat with this Indian boy, talked to him and asked me if he and the boy could be excused. They went outside, and in a few moments the boy came back inside and sat down. The man had taken the Indian boy's gun, but he had told him to come by his house on his way home that afternoon, and he would give it back to him. This was about the most exciting thing that happened all during the school year. I taught two years and then did substitute teaching at New Boggy Depot.

Before statehood all of the Indians had to enroll for their allotments of land. My father James M. Buckholts decided to select his allotment near Wayne, in the Chickasaw Nation (Oklahoma), so in 1901 we moved to a farm near Wayne. We loaded our things in three wagons and the buggy. Pa drove one wagon, Ed Dwight drove one, and a Negro man, whose name I cannot recall, drove the third wagon. Ma, Allie and I rode in the buggy. Ma had had her father's clock, and when we were ready to leave we had no place to put it so she said "Good-bye old clock, I hate to leave you but we have no more room, and we have to move on." We had a bunch of turkeys and since they did not come up the night before we left, we had to leave them, too.⁸

Houston Henry Berry came from Georgia to Wayne to visit his cousin Matilda Nix. He stayed there, and he and his brother-in-law opened a store. Soon after we moved to Wayne Mr. Berry's cousin kept telling me about him. So one night there was a box supper at Wayne, and Hattie Mills, who later married Delaney, fixed us up boxes and we went to the supper. We had spent hours decorating the boxes with crepe paper. We made

⁷ Berry, *op. cit.*, December 3, 1965.

⁸ Berry, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

ruffles with this paper and pasted them on the boxes and last I put a big rose on the lid. When we spied a fellow who was bald headed, I told Hattie that I sure did not want that bald headed guy to get my box. Mr. Berry had already made it up with the auctioneer that when my box went up for sale, the auctioneer was to pull his ear. Well, the auctioneer unconsciously rubbed his ear and nearly caused Mr. Berry to get the wrong box. Then mine went up and sure enough he bid on it until he got it. I cannot remember exactly what we had in the box, but I am sure it must have had fried chicken in it.⁹

Then we were married. When we decided to get married, Mr. Berry wrote to Preacher Cagle in Pauls Valley and told him to meet us in Purcell at the Court House on Wednesday morning. Since Mr. Berry had a buggy and a little team of mules he wanted to know if I would rather that he borrow some other buggy and a team of horses. I told him no, that it made no difference to me. I had decided that even though he was bald headed he was a pretty good looking fellow anyway, so away we went to Purcell and were married on October 7, 1903.

One week after our wedding we moved to what is now Washington, but there was not a town there at that time. By 1907 the railroad was built from Atoka to Chickasha and the town of Washington was started. We did not have much furniture and few farm pieces of equipment, but we made out. One day there were two men who came along and wanted to spend the night. I remember getting out, killing a chicken, and fixing up the best supper that I knew how to cook. We did not have much money, so after we went to bed I whispered to Mr. Berry "How much do you think they will pay us for spending the night." He said they would not pay us anything because they were politicians and needed lodging for the night. My feathers fell because I just knew we would make some money from this. The next morning I fixed them breakfast, but I did not go all out for them this time.¹⁰

Rennie, LeRoy and Curtis were born while we lived at Washington. When Rennie was a baby, I asked Mr. Berry to get her a coat when he went to town. When he came home he had a little white coat, and said, "You know I asked all the clerks to show me a red coat, and all they had were white ones," so he bought her a white coat.

I raised turkeys while living at Washington, but I did not have them penned up. One day I needed to go look after the turkeys that were making their nests away from home. I could

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

not take Rennie with me, so I put the bed post on her dress, and it held her until I got back.

We moved from Washington back to Wayne in the fall of 1907. We moved the house that was on the farm there out near the road, and that is where it stands today. Odele and Leo were born on this farm. Leo was born March 24, 1915. We had a big folding bed with a mirror in the headboard. We ate and cooked in the side room. The doctor, whom I had never seen before, came in the night to deliver Leo. The next morning, after the doctor had eaten, he started to walk back through the room where the bed with this mirror on it was located and saw himself and said, "Good Morning." He thought he was meeting someone else. Mr. Berry roared with laughter.

On Christmas after we moved back to Wayne we all went to Allie and Ed's home. Ed had built Mrs. Dwight, his mother, a little house beside their home. Since Mrs. Dwight had gone to visit some of her people during Christmas we used this little house. Cora came and brought her children. That night we all gathered at this little house, and there was Cora and her two children, Allie and Ed with Jim, Leslie and Vennie, Mr. Berry and myself with Rennie, LeRoy and Curtis. Just as we started into the house that night Mr. Berry said "I want to tell you something." We stepped back outside, and he said he wanted to fix a dough face. I did not know what one was, so he told me to make up some dough, roll it thin, spread it over his head, let it come down over his face, and punch out eyes and nose. This I did, and then he put on his hat and pulled his coat up around his neck. He picked up a cap pistol, and I went back into the house. In a few minutes here he came ringing a bell.¹¹ Jim was sitting way back looking at him, Leslie was saying, "Santa Claus, please don't shoot me." LeRoy was scared and started to run through the window, and if Mr. Berry had not caught him in time he would have. Then we had our Christmas tree.

The children went to Hopping School which was one and three-fourths miles from our house. One winter morning it was so cold, in addition to wearing overshoes, we tied veils over their faces. By the time they got to school their breath against the veils had caused ice to form all over their faces. Curtis was the maddest because he had to wear a stocking cap and a veil.¹² LeRoy broke his leg in the late summer before he was seven years old. LeRoy went out to feed the mules and I went to milk the cows. He threw one block of hay down from the hay loft and with a hay hook started to pull another bale of hay. The

¹¹ Curtis Berry, personal interview, December 10, 1965.

¹² *Ibid.*

hook slipped out, and he fell out of the loft and landed partly on the block of hay that he had already thrown down. He cried out, "I have broken my leg," and sure enough he had broken it.¹³ When school took up that fall he was not able to go for a while, but when he could manage his crutches he started back to school. Those crutches were quite a novelty to the other school children. Since we lived the mile and three-fourths from school, it was too far for him to walk, so we had a two seated wagon and a donkey which the children called Nellie. Rennie, Curtis and LeRoy used this means of transportation to get to and from school. Curtis thought it was his donkey that they were singing about in school when they sang the song "My Darling Nellie Grey." He thought they had taken his donkey away.¹⁴

This is the tale Curtis tells about how hard they had to work. By the time they got to the house from school they had all of their clothes off except their pants and shoes and were ready to go to work at something their daddy had told them to do before they had left for school.¹⁵ Odele, who is younger than Curtis and LeRoy, used to play with them. She could climb a tree or chin the rod just as good as they could. One day Curtis and Odele were playing sheriff and robber in the barn. Odele crawled under the crib. Curtis, who had a new BB gun said "Come out with your hands up or I'll shoot." She did not come out so he stuck the gun under the crib and shot without aim. He hit her just below the eye. That game was never played again.¹⁶ While Odele was the tomboy, Rennie was always the helper. She could wash dishes from the time she could stand on a box and help. She was also very good to look after the younger children of the family.

One time all the kids got colds. Mr. Berry was our doctor. That night when we all got ready to go to bed, he melted tallow, coal oil, and turpentine and put this on rags and then pinned it to the cloth of their union suits. He told them that they were to leave it there all night, and not take it off. During the night LeRoy's chest started to burn, so he stuffed the sheet down between the cloth and his chest. Curtis and Odele were so badly blistered the next day that they could not wear their cotton sack strap, so Mr. Berry had them rub sprouts off Irish potatoes instead of pick cotton.¹⁷

The day after Christmas in 1920 we moved to our home place in Norman. Mr. Berry had rented our land at Wayne to

¹³ H. Berry, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁴ C. Berry, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

a Methodist preacher and had bought 80 acres here in the southwest corner of Norman which was way out in the country at that time. We moved the furniture in wagons and we rode up in our car. As soon as we got there Odele ran and climbed up into the barn but Rennie went to fixing up the house. There was a small five room house already here, but we could not get all of our things into the house so we stored part of them in our barn. We still had that same folding bed with the mirror in the headboard, but we stored it in the barn. One day one of the mules came along and saw himself in it. He then proceeded to turn around and kick the mirror out. Don't you know he was surprised when the mirror shattered and he discovered that it was not another mule. We were a long ways from town. There were only two houses even near us. One was the J. B. Smith's house on Lindsay and the other house was located on Flood Street.

As soon as we got settled Mr. Berry plowed up the ground and started planting various vegetables such as potatoes, onions, beans, cantaloupe, watermelon, tomatoes and such to sell. We planned to build a larger house, so we ordered the plans from Sears Roebuck. We moved out into the smokehouse and put our things there and in the barn. We dug a basement as big as the house, and that took as long to do as it did to build the house because the ground was so hard. LeRoy and Curtis mixed the cement with their hands on a big board.¹⁸ As soon as the basement was completed and the foundation laid, we moved into the basement and continued to work. It was long hard work, but we all worked and our new home was completed in 1924.

All three of my boys and two girls, Rennie and Odele, attended the University of Oklahoma. Both Rennie and Odele graduated in Home Economics. Son Curtis graduated from Oklahoma Medical School in 1951. LeRoy left college and became a full time employee of the Highway Department. Leo went to California at the end of his junior year, and joined the Navy Air Corps. He was killed in an airplane accident near Pearl Harbor in March, 1941.

Since our family was the first to live on what is now Berry Road, the children and I wanted to name the street after their daddy, who had died in 1934. We used to stick up signs with Berry Road written on them, but some people who by this time lived down the road were determined that the street be named after their family. Finally, Thomas Morren, who was the County Commissioner, helped us to get the road officially named Berry Road.¹⁹

¹⁸ LeRoy Berry, personal interview, December 12, 1965.

¹⁹ Mrs. H. H. Berry, *op. cit.*, December 4, 1965.

BECKY REMEMBERS

Now that you have heard Grandma's side of the story, I would like to bring you up to date on some of the current events that I best remember about Grandma.

When we were small, my sister Suzanne, and my cousin Virginia and I were staying over at Grandma's house. We decided to pop some popcorn, but in the process we forgot to put on the lid. I can still see that popcorn flying out of the skillet. Finally, when all of the excitement was over, Suzanne and Virginia swept the popcorn down into the basement. After Grandma found it, the three of us spent the rest of the afternoon picking up popcorn in the basement. We never left the lid off again.²⁰

For many years all of her children and grandchildren would come to grandma's house on the Fourth of July and on Thanksgiving. On the evening of the Fourth we would all set on the front porch and watch my uncle set off fire crackers. I would sit on my daddy's knee, and he would help me hold my ears when the noise popped. The one tradition that we have kept is eating Thanksgiving dinner at Grandma's house. The men watch the ball games while we help get the dinner ready. All of the grown-ups use to eat at the big walnut table while the six grandchildren ate at what we called "the kiddie table." Even now that the six grandchildren have grown up, three of them have children of their own, six little faces still remain at the "kiddie table." My generation has been promoted to the big table and a new generation has moved into our places.

At age seventy-five, Grandma started the hobby of raising registered Herefords. She had some of the most beautiful cattle in the state, and she could call every one of them by name.²¹ Recently she has sold her cattle because her land is now being subdivided. Each section of land that belonged to Grandma and Mr. Berry has been divided among the four children. My family built our home on daddy's part here in Norman, and I have been able to keep my horses here. Eventually, they will have to be moved to the country, because my uncle is now planning business around us. In interviewing Grandma, I could understand how much she has loved her homeplace. She is in favor of progress, but I know in her heart that with all the hard work and fond memories she has had of the place, it is hard to visualize her land as anything other than the Berry Farm. Grandma's favorite expression of excitement is "Oh, Grannies." One of the first times I remember her saying it was in 1960 when she was

²⁰ Suzanne Berry, personal interview, December 18, 1965.

²¹ Mrs. H. H. Berry, unpublished "87th Birthday Wish," personal files, February 23, 1962, (Typewritten).

notified that she had been chosen as one of ten outstanding women to be congratulated by the Governor as Mother of the Year. It was an exciting occasion for our entire family.

Yes, my grandma has seen a lot of changes in her life from buggies and log cabins to the subdivision of the homeplace. Those first ninety years have been packed full of a young girl's hopes, dreams, ambitions, and realization, and with God's help there will be many, many more exciting and heartwarming events to follow in her life.

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SYLVESTER WITT MARSTON

By Winona Hunter Chilcott

"A Great Leader" is the caption for the Missouri Baptist Centennial, published in 1906, used to introduce Sylvester W. Marston, D.D. Besides the work in Missouri, Dr. Marston spent two exciting years in Indian Territory and years of educational and religious work in New England, Illinois, Iowa and Texas.

He was born in Bedford, Maine, July 23rd, 1826, a descendant of William Marston who migrated from York, England, to Salem, Massachusetts in 1632. There had been a strong influence of the Quaker Society in the Marston family. However in his twenty-first year—and the year of his marriage to Susan Hodson Carpenter—he united with the Baptist Church and decided to enter the ministry.

Sylvester's father did not approve of the decision and gave no financial help toward the ministerial training. Earning a living, studying, and attending family needs must have kept the young man very busy. In June, 1852 he was graduated from Collegiate and Theological Seminary of New Hampton (New Hampshire) with a Doctor of Divinity degree.

Years of teaching and preaching followed. In 1858 he accepted the presidency of Burlington University (Iowa). Ten years later he returned to religious work. Here is a quote from the Baptist history mentioned above: "The man to whom must be given the credit for having led Missouri Baptists in their first general organized Sunday School work was Rev. S. W. Marston, D.D. During five epochal years he labored with marked ability and marvelous success. One is amazed at the amount of, and character, and results of the work of this remarkable man. During the period of his Sunday School activity the number of Baptist Sunday Schools in the state increased from seventy-four to eight hundred sixteen. His was a work of inspiration as well as organization. He was a prodigious worker and a tireless traveler."

In many communities the Sunday School was the only work of the church. It is remarkable that in the days of rough roads and rugged trails he visited every city, town, and hamlet in the state during those five years. Each year he preached over three hundred sermons and carried on a heavy correspondence. Important as all this was we must not overlook Dr. Marston's subtle influence as a reconciler.

At the time he went to Missouri the state had not recovered from a war that had divided it. Missouri Baptists aimed to keep

politics separate from their religion. However "immigrants", mostly preachers, had caused friction by mixing politics into religion. No one ever accused Dr. Marston from Maine of having political prejudice. There was universal confidence in his motives. He conceived the "Missouri Plan" which granted every church and every individual the right to choose as recipient either the Northern or the Southern Mission Board.

After three years as Superintendent of State Missions of the General Association (Baptist Church) with an office in St. Louis he left Missouri to accept an appointment from President Grant as Agent, Union Agency, Muskogee, Indian Territory.

Working with the leadership of The Five Civilized Tribes was an inspiring and stimulating experience. Also called "Five Civilized Nations" these people were organized in the pattern of states with executive, legislative, and judicial departments. Letters to their "Principal Chiefs" show his respect for them. He appreciated the pressures that were brought against them by settlers with eyes on their lands; and by railroad officials who looked ahead to more business under white settlement. Dr. Marston had always sympathized with the Indians when solemn treaties were broken; when "deals" somehow counted them out. In his first report to the Secretary of the Interior he reviewed the achievements of the Five Civilized Tribes in the organization of democratic governments, efficiency in agriculture, and a high standard of living. Then he recommended more U.S. courts to deal with illegal liquor traffic and the "intruders" who came by thousands into the territory to make trouble.

Dr. Marston could have been depressed and discouraged by the limited facilities at Union Agency. The following letter to Washington shows more fighting spirit than despondency: "I enclose an invoice of articles of property belonging to Union Agency as turned over to me by Major Upham. And I wish to say in regard to the horses that they are in very bad plight—only one of them is really fit for service. They have been overworked. There is a necessity for two teams at this agency and I would like an order to sell two of the horses and buy three good ones. The double harness is worn and it's tied up in several places with buckskin strings. A new double harness is needed. The ambulance, having been exposed to rain and sunshine by day and by night for years, is in need of repairs. I propose hereafter to keep it and the harness under cover when not in use. The stable, which is partly built but for want of a roof cannot be used, should be finished. This would require but a small expenditure of money. The house, built last year, has only been painted once over (primed) and that with coal oil mixed with

the paint, as one of the painters has asserted. It needs two more coats, which I hope may be done." This last sentence probably referred to the clerk's house. Mrs. Marston did not go to the Agency immediately. And for some time the family had meals with a neighbor.

While not in school during the summers the two sons of Dr. Marston lived at the agency. A daughter and her husband also lived there. The daughter, Ella, served for a time as clerk. The oldest son, Edgar L., later had a commission in Indian Territory.

Duties of Agent Marston were many and varied. There were endless disputes over taxes on those who were given permits to do business with the tribes, renter's contracts, lumber rights, etc.

The thousands of former slaves living in the Territory created many problems. Their rights on the Indian rolls had to be determined. There was the matter of schooling for these Freedmen.

A dispute with the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad required many conferences. There had been an illegal appropriation of land for the purpose of "right-of-ways."

Another duty was to pay annuities to the Delawares. Agent Marston went to St. Louis to pick up the money. Not knowing this tribe which had been assigned to the Cherokee reservation he asked for military escort. Paying took several days but there was no trouble from the Indians. Some of the traders who had given credit to them were over-zealous in the matter of immediate collection.

Then there was the matter of other help for the Delaware tribe. It was evident that these people had suffered from being moved from the cool north to the hot south. Many died. Agent Marston asked that the tribe be supplied with "public physicians." Since transportation was difficult there was an advantage in having resident doctors.

The hue and cry for white settlement grew stronger. Congress was pressured to open lands not in actual use by the Indians. Some felt that they were being coddled by the United States government. Congress did not appropriate funds for the operation of Union Agency after June, 1878. The Secretary of Interior requested S. W. Marston to close the agency. This he did in a very efficient way. All supplies were carefully invoiced and dispatched.

Following the closing of Union Agency Dr. Marston was engaged by the Home Mission Society of New York to superintend the work among the Freedmen of the South. He conducted this work with his usual marked ability, holding Minister's and Deacon's Institutes among the Negroes and establishing a school for them at Marshall, Texas. In 1882 he became District Secretary of Missions in the Southwest, serving Illinois, Missouri, Indian Territory and Texas. His headquarters were in St. Louis. This was his final assignment. He died in 1887.

Sylvester W. Marston was a strict disciplinarian. Quickly and clearly he distinguished between right and wrong. He regarded order and industry necessary attributes for worthwhile living. While a bit impatient with human frailties he had great love and understanding toward others. There was often a twinkle in his eyes. A report to the Secretary of the Interior has this: "The meeting houses are, with few exceptions, built of logs and similar in character to the neighborhood school-houses. The seats are hewed logs without backs and not well adapted for sleepy Christians."

Appraising the results of another life is risky. One might surmise that a man with Sylvester Marston's talents could have accomplished more in some other capacity than the various works he chose. He was a born leader and doubtless could have easily won elective offices. Might he in Congress have had more voice in protecting the Indian Brothers from the aggressiveness which constantly reduced their lands? Would he have been more effective in correcting problems which he saw so clearly? And how to measure exactly his influence? There might be less understanding in the world today had he not chosen religion and education as life work. During his last illness he remarked to a friend: "Missouri and the world need the gospel of reconciliation."

APPENDIX

NOTES ON UNION AGENCY FROM THE INDIAN ARCHIVES, OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Major Vore describes *Agency building* as stone—34 by 47 feet—Venetian blinds. Rooms below used as office—stone kitchen attached—cellar under kitchen. *Clerk's House*—24 by 30 feet—lath and plaster—rough—four rooms below—two rooms above—small attached kitchen. *Stable*—logs—considerably decayed. "Small" improvement at base of hill on which agency is built was purchased by Agent Ingalls, and removed by Agent Marston, at his own expense, for the benefit of Mr. Shanafelt who has cultivated about 16 acres of land on the agency Reserves.

Barn is frame—put up box fashion. Is one and a half stories high—four horses

250 bushels grain—room for general purposes. Shed at west and to shelter government ambulances.

Well, dug 40 ft. no water—used as cistern. Spring at base of hill. Value, \$6515

Value Seminole building, \$3,700

INVOICE

of property received this 4th day of June, 1876 from Major J. J. Upham, Acting Agent, Union Indian Agency, Indian Territory:

Three horses

One ambulance (Note: This was a light wagon type vehicle)

One set double harness

Two office desks

Four office chairs

One ink-stand

One hay fork

Two stoves

Fifty tons of hay

Fifteen bushels corn

Three buckets

One bench

One washstand

One folder

One eraser

One pt. ink

One ream letter paper

Five hundred small envelopes

One hundred official envelopes

One safe

Two tables

Three bottles carmine ink

One Pounce Box (Note: Pounce was material used for drying ink on paper)

One book case

One letter press

544 3 cent stamps

216 6 cent stamps

22 12 cent stamps

One ax

One saw

(Signed) S.W. Marston
U.S. Indian Agent
Muskogee, I.T. June 3, 1878

A NOTE IN OKLAHOMA HISTORY:
HENRY C. BROKMEYER AMONG THE CREEK INDIANS

*By Donald K. Pickens**

White men came to the Indian Territory for many reasons. The reason for Henry Conrad Brokmeyer's (1828-1906) presence is engaging. The effect of his sojourn on the Creek Indians is a historical mystery.

Born near Murden, Prussia, Brokmeyer received a German common school education. Rebelling against conscription, he migrated to the United States. With a few English words and less money, the youth, as a jack-of-all-trades, worked his way across the country to Mississippi via the Ohio river valley. In the South, he made a small fortune in a shoe factory using slave labor. Tiring of business, he entered Georgetown University (Kentucky). Later, he attended Brown University. At both institutions his love of scholarly disputation limited his formal academic achievement. In 1854, discontented with civilization, he settled in Warren County, Missouri for a pastoral existence. Apparently, at this time, his discovery of Hegel softened his financial difficulties. Two years later the philosopher arrived in St. Louis where he worked days as an iron molder. His nights were spent studying German literature and philosophy.

By 1858, in St. Louis, Brokmeyer met William T. Harris (1835-1909), the future United States Commissioner of Education and other serious idealists. After another brief time in the wilderness Brokmeyer returned to St. Louis. Supported by Harris and other individuals, Brokmeyer began a translation of Hegel's *Logic*. He completed the first draft on the eve of the Civil War.

Putting aside the manuscript and with it the hope of making St. Louis the philosophical capital of the New World. Brokmeyer raised a Union regiment and became a colonel. Just as quickly, false charges of disloyalty put him in jail. Indicative of the tempestuous times, after his hasty release he was elected to the Missouri legislature. He opposed efforts to punish Southern sympathizers.

After the war, as a lawyer, he climbed the local political ladder. He played a significant role in the state constitutional

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convention of 1875. Elected lieutenant governor, for the next two years he served as acting governor because of the elected governor's illness. Thwarted in his ambition to be a United States senator by the election of an ex-Confederate, Brokmeyer retired from politics.¹

Meanwhile, in his personal life, his first wife died in 1864, and he remarried three years later. In his philosophic activity, he became President of the St. Louis Philosophical Society in 1866. Working with Harris and Denton J. Snider (1841-1925), the Society published the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, whose learned pages gained a greater reputation in Europe than in the United States.² The group strove to make St. Louis the center for Hegelian philosophy, the future creed (they hoped) for post-war Americans. Accordingly, St. Louis' material growth would match this philosophic desire. Unfortunately, Chicago became the economic center of the middle west and Americans, lay and learned, ignored Hegelian dialectics. By 1880, Henry C. Brokmeyer, ex-politician and fulltime philosopher was weary of civilization.

After his political retirement, Brokmeyer became a legal counsel to a railroad company.³ The business took him to Oklahoma; he developed an interest in the Creek Indians. After serving as a Missouri elector for Grover Cleveland in 1884, he spent longer periods of time among them. He returned on rare occasions to midwestern cities to lecture on Hegel and thereby help Snider spread the gospel. The last ten years of his life,

¹ For fuller biographical details see Henry A. Pockmann *German Culture In America 1600-1900* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press., 1957), pp. 643-645. Robert C. Whittemore *Makers Of The American Mind* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1964), p. 265-268.

² For a fuller explanation of the St. Louis Movement see *ibid.*, p. 267 and Pockmann *German Culture In America*, pp. 257-294. Snider was a "writer of books" who published his own works. See the citation below for his autobiography. All the references cited in this note contain information on Snider's life and career. The University of Oklahoma library has some Snider manuscripts. See *The Norman Transcript* (January 20, 1930) for a description of the holdings, and Charles M. Perry "The St. Louis Movement in Philosophy" *The Sooner Magazine* (November, 1929). For an account of the movement in a larger context see Henry A. Pockmann *New England Transcendentalism and St. Louis Hegelianism* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation Inc., 1948).

³ Indicative of the meager and sometimes confusing historical materials about Brokmeyer's career, two different railroads are named that employed him. See the letters Herbert C. Calhoun to Cleon Forbes (November 21, 1928), C. W. Turner to Cleon Forbes (November 27, 1928) and E. C. Brokmeyer (Henry's son) to Charles M. Perry (July 5, 1929) all cited in Charles M. Perry, editor *The St. Louis Movement In Philosophy, Some Source Material* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1930) on pages 47, 48, 50. This book is a vital source on the history of the movement.

Brokmeyer spent in St. Louis working on his translation of Hegel's *Logic*. His literal translation was never published. A manuscript copy is in the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis.

For students in Oklahoma history the record of Brokmeyer's stay among the Indians is meager. Two witnesses claimed that Brokmeyer neither taught philosophy to the Indians nor organized a philosophical society among them.⁴ The first historian of the St. Louis Movement, Denton J. Snider, however gave a different account though tribal records are silent about this event:⁵

. . . deeply disillusioned, he quit political life and fled from civilization back to the Redmen of the forest, where he stayed long and formed a little philosophical Society. Once at Muscogee [*sic.*] in the Indians Territory, I heard him explaining the deeper philosophy of deer-stalking in a pow wow with some Creek Indians. They all seemed to hail him as one of themselves: "Big Indian, good Indian." And he looked it—the massive grimace, the coppery tint, the wild eye of him.

Mightier in verbal conflict than with the pen, Henry Brokmeyer left no written account of his days in the Indian Territory. Never comfortable in writing English, the only existing Brokmeyer book is *A Mechanic Diary* written in 1856 and privately published after his death. Many questions come to mind about the situation.⁶ But the answers do not exist. For example, did he take his family with him to Oklahoma? The answer is apparently no. The Creeks did confer upon him the title of "'Great White Father'" and offered him his choice of the fairest maidens of the tribe—an offer which his Hegelianism compelled him regretfully to decline.⁷

⁴ Cleon Forbes "The St. Louis School of Thought" *Missouri Historical Review* XXVI (October, 1931), p. 76. See also the letters written by C. W. Turner cited in Perry, editor *The St. Louis Movement In Philosophy*, pp. 47-48.

⁵ Denton J. Snider *The St. Louis Movement In Philosophy, Literature, Education, Psychology With Chapters of Autobiography* (St. Louis: Sigma Publishing Company, 1920), pp. 101-102. He (Brokmeyer) once persuaded Snider to leave his Homer classes to him and start a kindergarten for Indian children in Muskogee. Forbes "The St. Louis School of Thought" in *Missouri Historical Review* Vol. XXV (October, 1930), p. 99.

⁶ Letter from Mr. Clyder Busey, Tribal Operations Officer Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior, Muskogee, Oklahoma, August 17, 1966 to D. K. Pickens; also, a letter from Miss Theda Wammack, Director Creek Council House and Museum, Muskogee, Oklahoma, October 1, 1966 to D. K. Pickens. Brokmeyer's son claimed his father "was a warm personal friend of the late General Pleasant Porter, Chief of the Creek Nation." A letter from E. C. Brokmeyer to Charles M. Perry cited in Perry, editor *The St. Louis Movement In Philosophy*, p. 50.

⁷ Pockmann *German Culture In America*, p. 644.

Disappointments in politics and philosophical endeavors encouraged his lengthy visits among the Indians. Undoubtedly his wanderlust, his Germanic sentimentalism about primitive values and the folk spirit, encouraged his desire to see the Creek Indians as natural men living honest lives in opposition to the white man's civilized artificialities. The curious historian can only wonder about the Creek understanding of Brokmeyer's dialectical explanations of Indian life. The detailed story of this missionary of Hegelian speculation among the Creeks must remain a curio of Oklahoma history.

OSCAR AMERINGER AND THE CONCEPT OF AGRARIAN SOCIALISM

By H. L. Meredith*

To most modern readers, Oscar Ameringer's thoughts on socialism employed in a rural American environment appear as so much incomprehensible nonsense. There are several obvious reasons, however, for attempting to discover what Ameringer expressed on this subject in his body of writings.

First, the steadily increasing collection of literature on southern and southwestern economic history challenges us to comprehend this area of radical thought. As more primary and secondary materials are made available, there is more concern lest we misconstrue the basis of agrarian socialism and its reaction to twentieth century America. In a recent article, "Agrarian and Agrarianism: A Study in the Use and Abuse of Words," Thomas P. Goven earnestly tries to persuade the historical profession that consistency in the use of terminology is the only way to avoid absurdities. His article makes possible a fresh approach to the concept of agrarianism or agrarian socialism, and should stimulate the desire to understand Ameringer's concepts.¹

Furthermore, in nearly all his works Ameringer utilizes, for illustrative purposes, concepts and experiences drawn from the rural Oklahoma of the early twentieth century. He applies the concepts of socialism to the problems of farm tenancy, political reform and marketing of produce, maintaining a remarkable consistency of thought throughout. The concept of a rural based socialism lies behind everything he wrote after 1907, whether it is about civil rights, religion, philosophy or society in general. It appears with such regularity, confidence and sincerity that the reader must regard it as the most cherished idea of a man of high morale.²

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¹ Gerald D. Nash, "Research Opportunities in the Economic History of the South After 1880," *Journal of Southern History*, XXXII (August, 1966), pp. 308-324; Thomas P. Goven, "Agrarian and Agrarianism: A Study in the Use and Abuse of Words," *Journal of Southern History*.

² Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons (Eds.), *Socialism in American Life*, I (2 Vols., Princeton, New Jersey, 1952), p. 572. Oscar Ameringer's more important works include: *Communism, Socialism, and the Church: A Historical Survey* (1913); *If You Don't Weaken* (1940) [Ameringer's autobiography]; *Socialism for the Farmer Who Farms the Farm* (1912); *Socialism, What It Is and How to Get It* (1911); *Talks to Farmers* (n.d.); also important are the articles and editorials he wrote for the *Industrial Democrat*; *Oklahoma Pioneer*; and the *Oklahoma Leader*, all of which were published in Oklahoma City under his editorship.

Finally, Ameringer speaks as an authority on agrarian socialism. Not only does he give ample evidence of having read the important socialist works, both European and American, but he judges it necessary to correct the errors in logic and fact which he discovers. His interest stimulated him to produce works which are of an educational nature, rather than merely polemical in tone. To overcome the disadvantage of introducing alien radical thinking, he made a deliberate attempt to "Americanize" socialist theory by reshaping it along more familiar lines. Ameringer, with Eugene Victor Debs, has been recognized among the most influential of those who infused a strong "native populist" strain into the socialism of their time.³

These changes in theory draw heavily at times from ideas suggested by earlier and contemporary farm movements, especially that of the Farmers' Alliance and the Populists. The extent and nature of these borrowings have attracted scholarly attention in the recent past. Yet, only the indebtedness to the Populists has received the study it deserves.⁴ The article by Donald K. Pickens entitled "Oklahoma Populism and Historical Interpretation," makes for a much better understanding of this, but over-emphasizes certain connections between the two movements. On a much broader scale, David A. Shannon in "The Socialist Party Before the First World War: An Analysis," takes pains to direct attention to a widely divergent socialist background.⁵

Paralleling Ameringer's borrowings, it is necessary to make a close study of his own contributions, which brought about the adaptiveness of socialism in the southwest. This can clarify some of the confusion about agrarian socialism and provide an excellent introduction to the attitudes of the radicals of his period.

³ Egbert and Persons (Eds.), *Socialism and American Life*, I, p. 520.

⁴ Donald K. Pickens, "The Principles and Program of Oklahoma Socialism, 1900-1918," unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1957.

⁵ See Elmer Fraker, "The Spread of Populism into Oklahoma Territory", unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1938; Donald K. Pickens, "Oklahoma Populism and Historical Interpretation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XLIII (Spring, 1965), pp. 275-283; David A. Shannon, "The Socialist Party Before the First World War: An Analysis," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXVIII (September, 1951), pp. 179-188. The two farm movements that affected Oklahoma in the later nineteenth century came from different regions—the Farmer's Alliance from the south and Populism from the north. For some explanation of these movements in the bordering states, see Ralph Smith, "The Farmers' Alliance in Texas, 1875-1900," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XLVIII (January, 1945), pp. 346-369; H. L. Meredith's "Charles W. Macune's 'Farmers Alliance,'" *University of Texas Library Chronicle*, VIII (Spring, 1966), pp. 42-45; and Walter T. K. Nugent, *The Tolerant Populists; Kansas Populism and Nativism* (Chicago, 1963).

Ameringer's comments on his conception of ideology highlight the struggles to relate socialism with rural farm needs in both political and economic terms. The ideological structure he built, rested on four primary ideas, which for the sake of brevity may be designated as "gradualism," the land question, class struggles, and the social gospel. The first of these is undoubtedly the most important and affects Ameringer's thoughts on the other three. Yet, all four of these general concepts are of importance, when seen as a whole they form the structural foundation of his agrarian socialist beliefs in the early twentieth century.

A sentence from the socialist newspaper, the *Oklahoma Pioneer*, provides an introduction to Ameringer's gradualism or non-revolutionary attitude: "The word 'Socialism' indicates association, organization and co-operations."⁶ This formula is not unlike that of the Farmers' Alliance or the Farmers' Union, which were primarily non-partisan economic arms of those in agriculture. Always, he sees the socialist takeover as possibly being achieved through education of the exploited class and proper use of the electoral process. Only when the two means are used jointly could success occur. Thus Ameringer reflected the so-called "yellow" conception of the socialist party leadership. In the constant conflict of the two counter-parts, the "red" or revolutionary and the "yellow" or non-revolutionary, one sees the anomalous situation which caused Ameringer no end of trouble. For although opposed to violent over-throw of the government, he held that revolution always stood as a last resort for the masses when they could not improve their condition by peaceful means.⁷

Yet, in Ameringer's mind, the two forces have a common strain. These represent opposite energies of one and the same course. Incorporating the teleological view of history, as Marx did, Ameringer believed that out of the present system: "... grows the society of the future. Within capitalism itself are found the seeds of the co-operative commonwealth. Socialism is not coming some day, it is coming now."⁸ The socialist movement existed whether the balance of the two opposing viewpoints maintained itself or not. Thereby, the revolutionary strain never was pushed completely out of Ameringer's thinking, even though he remained a thorough-going "yellow" socialist.

This compromise that Ameringer sought in promoting so-

⁶ *Oklahoma Pioneer*, January 12, 1910.

⁷ Ameringer, *If You Don't Weaken*, p. 454; also see *Harlow's Weekly*, I (October 26, 1911), p. 19.

⁸ *Oklahoma Pioneer* (March 2, 1910); Oscar Ameringer, *Socialism, What It Is and How To Get It* (Milwaukee, 1911), pp. 28-29; H. M. Sinclair, "The Real Democracy of the Socialist Party," *Harlow's Weekly*, V (April 25, 1914), pp. 21-22.

cialism through legal means within the existing governmental system was destroyed during the First World War. The revolutionary elements of the Socialist movement in 1917 rose in armed conflict in what was known as the Green Corn Rebellion. To explain the destruction brought on by the activists, Ameringer noted that neither the actual fighting nor the imprisonment of those involved was important to the people of Oklahoma. What was of significance was that the existing power elite pointed to the overt action as an example of treason. The fact that the non-revolutionary segment of the movement disapproved of the rebellion made little difference to the populace. Although the party leadership opposed the revolutionary action, the short lived rebellion was seen as what William B. Bizzell called a "green rising," a peasant revolt, as opposed to a "red" or proletarian movement.⁹ While the wartime crisis and the rebellion discredited the socialist movement, its leaders sought a new approach to the problems of the farmers. Inspired by the Non-partisan Leagues in the Dakotas, Ameringer and others organized the Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League. Through a coalition of the various farm and labor groups, the League captured the Democratic party only to see no real benefit come from the move.¹⁰ Thus the socialist movement, which could not balance the forces within it, oscillated between the extremes of revolutionary and legal action with a loss of distinct identity.

Ameringer's concept of the non-revolutionary ascent of socialism needs to be thoroughly understood in the light of the party collapse in Oklahoma. Basically, he did not believe that the movement could progress through the means of anything approaching revolutionary action. Thus, he objected that all the rebels would do was ". . . destroy the splendid Socialist movement we have built up in Oklahoma at such a high cost of labor and sacrifice."¹¹ Only with some difficulty, did Ameringer reconcile his non-revolutionary belief with the concept that insurrection could be used as a last resort. He solves the problem in much the same way as do the modern students of "American character." He used the concept of the "American Dream" and the fluid class structure of the United States, especially active

⁹ Ameringer, *If You Don't Weaken*, 356; W. B. Bizzell, *The Green Rising, An Historical Survey of Agrarianism* (New York, 1926), p. 3.

¹⁰ Egbert and Persons (Eds.), *Socialism and American Life*, I, p. 307; also see Theodore Saloutous, "The Rise of the Nonpartisan League in North Dakota, 1915-1917," *Agricultural History*, XX (January, 1946), pp. 43-61; Gilbert C. Fite, "The Rise and Decline of Agrarian Socialism in South Dakota," paper read before the Mississippi Valley Historical Society, 1947 (in the possession of Professor Fite); and Gilbert C. Fite, "Oklahoma's Reconstruction League: An Experiment in Farmer-Labor Politics," *Journal of Southern History*, XIII (November, 1947), pp. 534-555.

¹¹ Ameringer, *If You Don't Weaken*, p. 354.

in such an area as Oklahoma which was still in many ways a frontier environment. Thereby the socialist position was not regarded as arbitrarily dictated or held in a fixed state, but was a force struggling in diverse environments to ever-clearer expression. Whatever its achievement, socialism always had to adapt to its environment.¹²

To illustrate his concept of adaptation, Ameringer made use of the land question, which was important to a large majority of the rural population of Oklahoma. When Ameringer wrote that: "Fundamentally Socialism stands for the abolition of exploitation. As a means to this end it demands the common ownership of the means of exploitation." He was in fact thinking in terms of eliminating large land holdings through taxation rather than forceful confiscation.¹³ As he noted in his autobiography, after reading *Progress and Poverty* and *Looking Backward*, he became something of a "single taxer and socialist" which flavored his thinking from that time forward.¹⁴ Hence he did not want to "separate the actual farmer from his farm, but . . . to separate the landlord from the land which he used as a means of exploitation."¹⁵ He was concerned only with establishing a proper relationship in terms of ownership of land, and then use this as the principal means to attack the problem of farm tenancy.

In the early spring of 1907, when Ameringer arrived in Oklahoma, he held traditional socialist ideas about the class struggle. To his credit, however, he admitted many doubts as in this passage:¹⁶

Farmers were not wage earners. They were capitalists, exploiting wage labor. They owned the means of production. They had a great deal more to lose than their chains. They had acres of land, thousands of dollars' worth of farm implements, fine homes and big barns to lose. And before they'd give them up, they'd fight. I explained all this to Otto Branstetter [State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Oklahoma], sparing him none of my opinions on this vital point.

The secretary confessed there wasn't much of a proletariat in Oklahoma to build a proletarian revolution on, and with. Further east in Indian Territory, he told me, there were ten thousand coal miners. A fine, fighting bunch, and a good number of them members of the Party. The conservative building-trade workers of the larger towns were fairly well organized, but on the whole a poor crowd to work on. If anything was to be done in the line of social revolution, there was no choice but enlist the farmers who formed the overwhelming bulk of Oklahoma's population.

The concept of the class struggle seemed nonsensical to Ameringer, who had thought of the industrial proletariat as

¹² Oscar Ameringer, *Talks to Farmers* (Milwaukee, n.d.).

¹³ *Oklahoma Pioneer* (September 24, 1910); Oscar Ameringer, *Socialism for the Farmer Who Farms the Farms* (St. Louis, 1912). pp. 27-32.

¹⁴ Ameringer, *If You Don't Weaken*, p. 182.

¹⁵ *Oklahoma Pioneer* (September 24, 1910); *ibid.* (January 12, 1910); *Industrial Democrat* (October 15, 1910).

¹⁶ Ameringer, *If You Don't Weaken*, p. 227.

the true base of the socialist movement. The answer came to him on his first speaking tour through western Oklahoma. The southwest had an exploited class that served as the working base of the movement—the landless tenant farmer. As a result, Ameringer was able to fit the Marxist labor theory of value, which was determined by the working class' worth and not the capitalist market place, into this rural context. Thus the Oklahoma socialist appeal was aimed along strict class lines at tenants and workers.¹⁷

Ameringer sought to strengthen this working class by two means, co-operation and expansion of numbers. Co-operation, in his thinking, was one of the strongest weapons of the working class. Yet, he warned that it was a mistake to regard it as a sufficient method to abolish capitalism.¹⁸ More important to Ameringer was the second means, expanded numbers through a broadened franchise. The Socialists attempted this by bringing together a coalition between Negroes and whites, although this did not find favor with the more conservative elements in the movement. This opposition was so violent, that Ameringer stressed that: "This bitter race hatred has been a nightmare to every clear-seeing socialist working man in the South."¹⁹ He noted on countless occasions that the middle class used the race hatred to break down class lines and thereby weakened the socialist movement. While he failed to convince a majority of those in the party, his thoughts convey a striking sense of logic in that a large proportion of the tenants were of the Negro race.²⁰

Ameringer's socialist thought was influenced further by conditions in Oklahoma, for the Christian element had a strong appeal to the farmer. So, as in other periods in history, the Bible became an ideological symbol for Social protest. In reference to this infusion of the familiar, Ameringer remarked that: "They took socialism like a new religion," which in essence it was. The adaptation to this religious temper gave rural socialism its peculiar flavor. The new gospel was spread through the medium of the week-long encampments, similar to the old-style evangelist camp meetings. The new Socialist religion was by no means secular in nature, but rather one in which divine intervention was confused with thoughts of historical materialism as an explanation of social causation.²¹

¹⁷ Ameringer, *Socialism, What It Is and How To Get It*, p. 32.

¹⁸ *Oklahoma Pioneer* (March 2, 1910); also note *Appeal to Reason* (January 16, 1915).

¹⁹ *Oklahoma Pioneer* (August 27, 1910).

²⁰ Ameringer, *If You Don't Weaken*, pp. 266-267.

²¹ Oscar Ameringer, *Communism, Socialism and the Church; A Historical Survey* (Milwaukee, 1913), pp. 56-63; Egbert and Persons (Eds.), *Socialism and American Life*, I, 306; David A. Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America, A History* (New York, 1955), pp. 59-62.

With these four basic areas of thought, "gradualism," the land question, class struggle, and Christian elements in socialist ideology, Ameringer helped give meaning to the structure of socialism in Oklahoma and the Southwest. His reasoning incorporated many strains of thought and adapted it to the rural environment in a way so as to make socialism as strong and helpful to the working class as possible. It should be noted that although he borrowed from different movements, he did not accept necessarily the movement itself. The best example of this was the case with Populist thinking, in which he agreed with A. M. Simons, another socialist writer. They both noted negative attitudes in this agrarian movement's opposition to railroads and industrial concentration. On the other hand, they felt that the socialist sought positive means to bring about "industrial democracy."²²

The farm population found an outlet for their grievances in the socialist movement in Oklahoma, for their problems did not cease with the demise of the Alliance and Populist movements. The rurally based socialist thought, adapted to their needs, gave the logical avenue to the feelings in the pre-war years of the early twentieth century. Oscar Ameringer in seeking answers to their problems gave new outlook for socialism and agrarianism.

In the preceding pages the four concepts that form this outlook have been examined separately. These ideas with their individual meanings do not exhaust the purport of agrarian socialism. But, they do provide the main structural elements about which its appeal took shape. They are, as Ameringer broached them, the skeleton of the movement. Two things are to be observed about the total significance of the concepts. First, they possess a symbolic unity; that is, all four achieve realization through the image of the radical frontier spirit. Throughout this spirit or concept the agrarian socialists' leading ideas were projected. The second point to be made about the ideas is that they possess a logical unity. The concepts are inter-related so as to give a logical coherence which makes a whole. Ameringer's concept of agrarian socialism was not of his making so much as it was a creation of the time and the environment, that gave a radical answer to the problems of a landless rural class. As such, it approaches the meaning Goven put forth—a co-operative movement "growing wild in the field."²³

²² Ameringer, *If You Don't Weaken*, pp. 260, 264; A. M. Simons, *The American Farmer* (2nd Ed., Chicago, 1906), pp. 146-147; John Chamberlain, *Farewell to Reform: The Rise, Life and Decay of the Progressive Mind in America* (Chicago, 1965), p. 321.

²³ Goven, "Agrarian and Agrarianism," p. 47.

CYRUS STEVENS AVERY

By Ruth Sigler Avery

"Cy Avery was a wiry little man but his accomplishments were as great as all outdoors. He was the last of the giants who thought big in the days when Tulsa was struggling to become a city. His hobbies were good farming and good roads. He was Oklahoma's first Highway Commission Chairman. He was a potent factor in bringing Spavinaw water to Tulsa. He was one of a small group of civic boosters who carved out and underwrote the Tulsa Municipal Airport. He served as Tulsa County Commissioner, and as President of the Tulsa Chamber of Commerce. A former school teacher, he served twice on Commissions studying Oklahoma educational problems.

"At no stage of the game did he falter in his belief that Tulsa was destined to become a metropolis, and he lived to see a fulfillment of all his dreams in that respect . . .

"Every year, until last year, he made a nostalgic journey to the headwaters of Tulsa's two municipal lakes . . . Spavinaw and Eucha. An avid student and lover of nature, he would gather wild herbs and roots and make a broth of them which he would drink. He said that was one source of his boundless energy. He did not retire from active life until approaching his 90's. His mind was astute and active to the very end.

"Tulsa should erect a monument to his memory. A good location for it would be between the two lakes that provide Tulsa's bountiful water supply. No other man did more to make that dream come true."

Thus, with his renowned perspicuity, Glen Condon, Tulsa's outstanding newscaster of KRMG capsuled the life of his dear friend, Cyrus Stevens Avery, who died July 2, 1963 at the age of 91 while visiting at the home of his daughter in Los Angeles, California.

Cy was born at Stevensville, Pennsylvania on August 30, 1871, son of James Alexander and Ruie (Stevens). He was keenly proud of his heritage as a member of the Groton-Avery Clan that settled in Connecticut in 1616. His father brought the family to the Cherokee Nation in 1883 to what is now part of Delaware County, and they lived on Spavinaw Creek, about five miles southeast of Jay, Oklahoma. Their home was a two-story brick and frame house which, years later, became the residence of the custodian of Eucha Lake. Cy's adolescence was spent roaming those three hundred acres nestled in the foothills of the Ozarks. A lover of nature, his early impressions of the sparkling waters of Spavinaw Creek would change the water supply of a city.

From there, the family moved to Noel, Missouri, and established a farm which is still owned by a nephew. Cy entered the near-by Teachers Institute, and took a State examination. At nineteen, he was awarded a three year certificate to teach

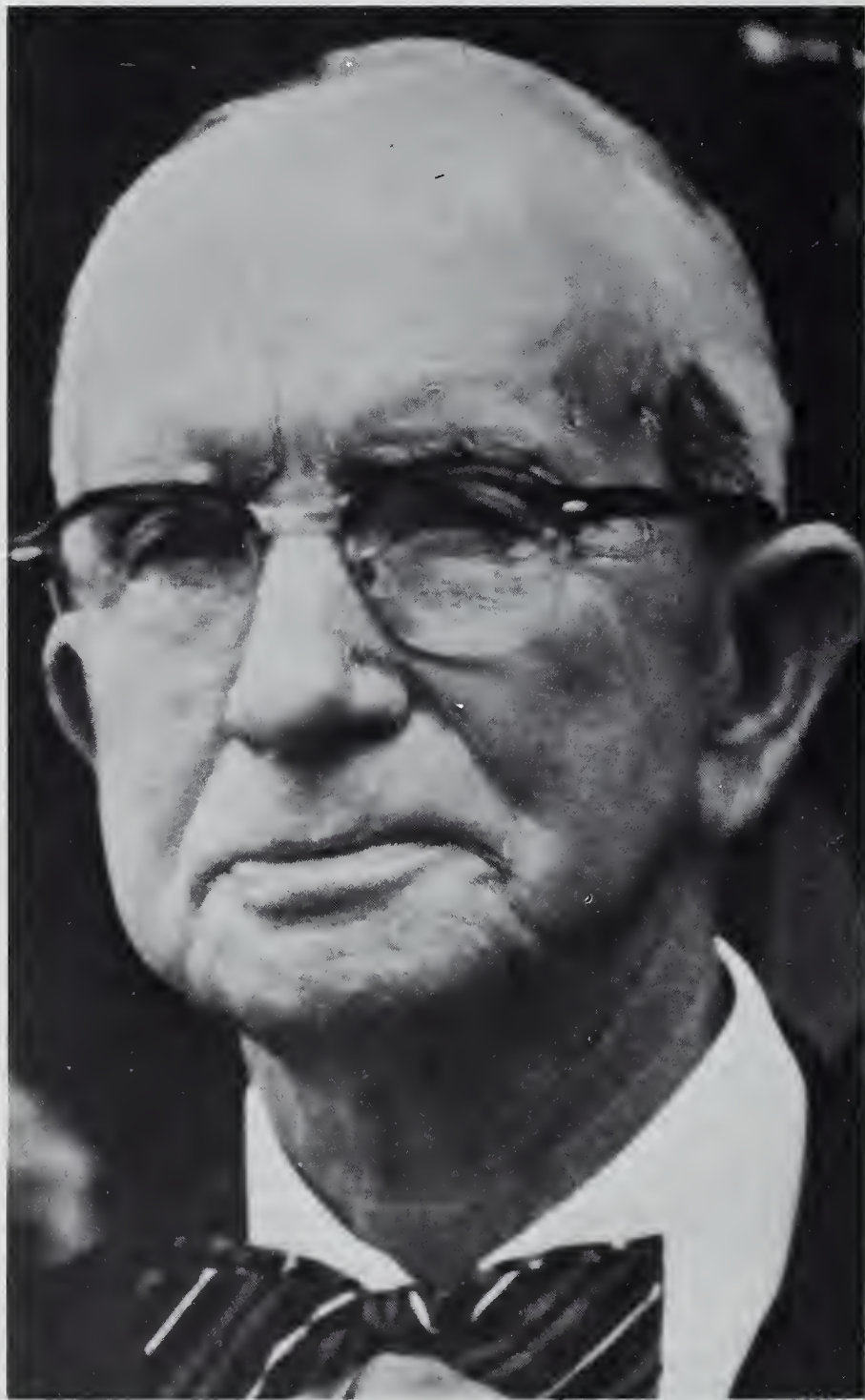
the first grade in any county in Missouri. He entered William Jewel College at Liberty, Missouri in 1893, and was graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1897. During the first week after he entered, he met the sister of his favorite classmate, a Miss Essie McClelland, whom he married upon graduation. The union lasted for sixty-five years.

He and his bride moved to Oklahoma City where he represented the Equitable and the New York Life Insurance Companies. Their eldest son, James Leighton, was born in 1902 in a four-unit brick apartment on Robinson Avenue, one of the first apartments built in Oklahoma City. The family then moved to Vinita in 1904 where Cy started in the real estate and farm loan business. This was the birthplace of their second son, Gordon.

The year Oklahoma became a state, Avery moved to Tulsa which was his home for the rest of his life. He acquired 1,400 acres for a farm northeast of Tulsa on State Highway 33, where the present traffic circle is located. He planted his first crop of Kentucky Blue Grass, Alfalfa, Timothy, Red Clover and other meadow grasses, and thus began an interest in field crops which lasted all of his life. He became one of Tulsa County's best-known and most imaginative farmers. His knowledge of meadow grasses resulted in the publication of two of his books on the subject of *Tame Meadows and Permanent Pastures*. He also became a breeder of Holstein and Ayrshire cattle, Duroc hogs, Shropshire Sheep and Percheron horses.

He organized the Avery Realty Company, was Vice-President of the Leavell Coal Company, and secretary-Treasurer of the Togo Oil Company. During the next few years, he acquired leases in the Bartlesville area, and was associated with Harry Sinclair in developing some property in that area. He also procured and developed leases in the Bird Creek section of Tulsa County.

In 1913, he was elected County Commissioner and served until 1916. This Board of County Commissioners developed the first system for dragging roads in Oklahoma with what is known as the split-log-drag. They had these made and delivered to the farmers, allowing one dollar per mile for dragging the road after each rain. Over 150 miles of highway were maintained in this manner, and Cy was referred to as the "Father of Good Roads" in Tulsa County. As County Commissioner, he purchased some unhulled sweet clover from a banker at Kingfisher, and sowed it along county highways. Many of the right-of-ways along county roads still produce a luxuriant crop of the legume.



CYRUS STEVENS AVERY

The following year, he was elected President of the Eastern Oklahoma Agricultural Association, and co-operated with the Federal government in placing Farm Agents in each county. At this time, he also organized the Albert Pike Highway Association to develop a highway from Colorado Springs, Colorado to Hot Springs, Arkansas. He served as President of that organization for nine years. Through Oklahoma, this route is designated as U.S. Highway 64.

On November 1, 1918, he was appointed Agricultural Advisor to the District Exemption Board, Eastern Division No. 2, and had charge of twenty-three counties in Eastern Oklahoma.

In 1919, he constructed of native stone The Old English Inn and Service Station adjacent to the Avery Farm at the junction of Highways 33 and 75. This became a landmark for all of Tulsa, and was referred to as "Avery Corner."

Under Senate Bill No. 19 enacted by the special session of the Legislature in 1921, Mr. Avery was appointed by Governor J. B. A. Robertson as a member of the Educational Survey Commission, and following a year's work of this Commission, the final report and recommendations were approved and published by the U.S. Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, December 11, 1922.

In 1921, he was elected President of the Associated Highways of America, composed of 42 organized Highway Associations throughout the United States, and his work in this organization had a nation-wide influence on state and national highway legislation.

This same year, he was appointed to the specially-created Water Board of the City of Tulsa for the purpose of purchasing the land necessary to build the Spavinaw Project. He served until the completion of the project in 1923 during which time nearly eleven million dollars were spent to bring water to Tulsa from Spavinaw. He and the other members of the Board received one dollar per year in salary. It was Cy's delight to return in the ensuing years regularly on his birthday to the headwaters of Spavinaw, drink a cup or two of the water, brew his famous "spicewood tea," and wade in the stream as he used to do as a small boy.

Mr. Avery was appointed in 1924 to succeed Paul Nesbitt as State Highway Commissioner of Oklahoma. He accepted this appointment with the understanding that a Highway Commission would be created consisting of three members whose tenure of office would be for two, four or six years, and who could not

be removed except for cause. The other members on this first commission were Roy Johnson of Ardmore and French Gentry of Enid. Mr. Avery, probably more than any one man, was responsible for the writing of this law which created a fund for the Highway Department from gasoline tax, and a portion of the automobile tax, and fixed the salary of State Highway Commissioners at \$10 per day when in actual service of the State. Under this law, Mr. Avery was appointed Chairman of the Commission which laid out a State Highway System for Oklahoma, organized the maintenance, established a system for marking, and had markers installed on the highways.

In 1925, he was appointed by the United States Department of Agriculture through the Bureau of Public Roads, as Consulting Highway Specialist for the purpose of laying out and creating what is known as the United States Highway System. He later became a member of a sub-committee of five which allocated to different roads the numbers which they bear today. Through his work on this Board, the transcontinental traffic that used to pass through Kansas from St. Louis, and on west over the national Old Trail, was diverted to U.S. Highway 66 from Chicago to St. Louis, and extends 423 miles through Oklahoma. In later years, Cy was honored for his work with roads in Tulsa County when the name of the scenic drive starting at the Sand Springs bridge and going east to the intersections of West 21st Street and Chandler Park Road was changed from South River Road to Avery Drive.

Cy served as a member of the executive committee which underwrote and built the Tulsa Municipal Airport in 1928. He was a member of the Board which built Tulsa's beautiful Mohawk Park, and donated some of his land for this use. A few years later, he developed the Avery Golf Club south of the same park.

In 1929, Governor Wm. J. Holloway appointed an Honorary Educational Survey Commission for the purpose of making a further study of the State's educational problems, and to make a report and recommendations to the State Board of Education. Mr. Avery was again called to serve on this commission, and its report was published by the State Board of Education in December, 1930.

During the next two years, he engaged in a big subdivision project, serving as Secretary-Treasurer of the Woodland Park Development Company. He was also a Director of the Tulsa National Bank.

The Tulsa Chamber of Commerce elected Cy unanimously

as their President in 1933. He had served on their Board of Directors since 1917.

Well-known in political circles and a life-long Democrat, he was an unsuccessful candidate for governor for that party in the 1934 primary election. For the years of 1935 and 1936, he was active as District Director of the Works Progress Administration for District No. 1 covering thirteen counties in Northeastern Oklahoma. Expended in this district during that time was approximately six million dollars for roads, water supply, dams, school buildings, disposal plants, city halls, court houses, armories and various other projects. During this term, Mr. Avery had in the employment of the WPA projects as high as 18,000 workers at one time.

During this time, he had acquired a cattle ranch on the Coyote Trail, southwest of Sand Springs, which he operated until his death. "My newest ambition," he said at the time of organizing Lucky Ranch, "is to prove you can put every known tame pasture plant into a native meadow, and never plow the land or use mechanical planting." Cy believed that this theory could mean millions of dollars to northeast Oklahoma farmers. His theory—auxiliary seed, grazing cattle, and let nature do the work! He took great pride in his herd of Herefords that thrived on his nourishing pasture land.

In 1948, he was employed by the City of Tulsa to secure the right-of-way for the second Spavinaw water line. He resigned this position in 1950 to accept one as Sales Representative in the State of Oklahoma for Lock Joint Pipe Company. He served actively in this capacity until his retirement on June 30, 1958 at the age of 87.

Mr. Avery was a Rotarian, a 32nd Degree Mason, also a member of the Consistory and Mystic Shrine. He was listed in "*Who's Who In America*" and in *Men of Affairs and Representative Institutions of Oklahoma*. With his keen appreciation of history, he took particular pride in his association as a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, and the activities in which his forefathers had participated. He was a prodigious reader of the classics, news magazines and agriculture publications. He and Mrs. Avery were both charter members of the First Baptist Church in Tulsa.

Active until nearly the day of his death, when he was interviewed by a *Tulsa World* reporter on his 88th birthday, he had this advice for his younger friends: "Live so you have good health, and have ants in yours pants. Look around you, be

curious! In your business dealings, remember you can't sell somebody anything unless you have it to sell."

When Ken Neal, reporter for the *Tulsa World*, talked with Mr. Avery on his ninetieth birthday, Avery advanced the plan for Tulsa to build a dam on the Illinois River. This would assure an adequate secondary water supply to furnish the small growing "clean" electronics and missile industries which are now in their infancies. He remarked: "It's a jet age we're living in now, not a water age . . . We're too close to the mountains to see it. You don't get anything without trying, and you don't build a city without some fellows who set an objective and go after it. We've got to make a place for the average man to live!"

The pioneer civic leader pretty well summed up his own philosophy for getting along with people in a remark about the Russian leader, Khrushchev, during that interview. With his blue eyes twinkling through his steel-rimmed glasses, he sagely observed "You just can't browbeat people and make 'em like you and fight for you."

His recipe for happiness was just as simple: "I believe happiness has three facets: someone to love, something to do, and something to look forward to."

All three of his children, Leighton, Gordon and Helen attended Oklahoma University. His sons were members of the Nu Omega chapter of the Phi Gamma Delta fraternity which their father, along with nine other 'brothers', had helped to start. Cy was honored by that chapter a few years before his death at a special dinner he attended as being the oldest Phi Gam in Oklahoma.

His wife, Essie, died unexpectedly in October, 1962 while visiting their daughter in California. Mr. Avery is survived by his son, Leighton and granddaughters, Sharon and Joyce; Helen Avery Berghell and grandson, Robert; Gordon's sons, Cyrus Stevens Avery II and great-grandchildren, Cyrus Stevens Avery III and Allison Anne, and Alan and his two children, Gordon Stevens and Seeley Elizabeth.

In July, 1963, a Resolution was entered into the permanent record of the City of Tulsa noting the death of Cyrus S. Avery; paying tribute to his outstanding ability and devotion to public service, and expressing sympathy to his family. It was passed by the City Commissioners, and signed by Mayor James L. Maxwell, and other city officials.

The following editorial appeared in the *Tulsa Tribune* on July 5, 1963:

It is easy to write in praise of Cyrus S. Avery, who died Tuesday in California after living far more than a normal span in Tulsa. He was a devoted servant of his community and his state, and he leaves both deeply indebted to him.

The news stories have told of his achievements in highway and water planning, in the Chamber of Commerce and the courthouse. They are lasting memorials. We shall also remember him for his gentler interests in the flora and fauna of his state, in its beautiful homes and many of its humble but interesting people. He was a booster in the best meaning of the word.

"Many individuals go to heights along with their institutions. Cy Avery rose as an individual, who used his adult years magnificently to help his community unselfishly. He was an interesting creative worker who will be long honored."

The heading for the library file for the Tulsa newspapers is an apt description of this gentle but vital character: "Statesman, oil operator, farmer, real estate developer, rancher and civic enthusiast."

When Cy Avery died, the thinning ranks of the men who helped to build Tulsa suffered an irreparable loss. Like many of the grand old men of the pioneer days, Cyrus Stevens Avery truly exemplified "The Tulsa Spirit."

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

LIFE AROUND ASHLAND AND WILBURTON IN
EASTERN OKLAHOMA, 1909

Some notes from his memories of Eastern Oklahoma are here contributed to *The Chronicles*, by Mr. Clarence Alva Powell, world-wide traveler who makes his home in Detroit, Michigan. Mr. Powell is a writer of verse and some non-fiction, his latest work appearing in *Human Voice Magazine*, winter 1966:

Early Oklahoma Sketches

The author's first year of residence, in the area which now is the State of Oklahoma, was at Ashland, Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory. This, however, was at an age too early to remember. The earliest recollections, clear and comprehensive, began at about the year 1909. Oklahoma, at the time but two years removed from Territorial status was, particularly at Ashland, Kiowa (in Coal and Pittsburg counties) and surrounding areas a sparsely settled, rather arid place. The population in the towns and on the prairies, and at Wilburton (Latimer County) and especially southward of there was quite scattered and with a marked prevalence, justly so, of Indians.

The residence in Ashland was slightly more than three years, with only the latter half recalled. The events which occurred during the eighteen-month period remembered, however, were tranquil, tumultuous and nostalgic, the impressions stamped indelibly on the mind. The many incidents which followed, the summer interlude on the prairies south of Wilburton, the years at Kiowa and the various journeys and brief temporary residences elsewhere, were equally memorable. These were further enhanced, progressively, by the keener perception and greater comprehension derived from the diversity of experiences and particularly, of course, from each added year of age.

The first year of school the pupils numbered all Indians but one. The second year several whites attended. The two years are memorable for several reasons, one, among others, being the close affinity to the environment and the friendly attachment to the youthful companions. The earliest so-called "uncle"—the donor of small gifts, the knee-coddling and patient listener—was Tom Tubby, Choctaw Indian: the quiet-spoken narrator of wondrous tales, melodious guitarist and fiddler, and singer, in his own language, of strangely sad Indian songs.

The Indians in the area at the time were mostly Choctaw. There were, however, some Cherokee and a number of Chick-

asaw. It was not uncommon to encounter, Creek and Osage Indians, and on rare occasions, a Seminole. At this time the area had been, only two years earlier, the Choctaw Nation. Adjoining the Indian Nation were the Chickasaw and the Creek. The Seminole Country was west while the Osage lived some distance north on the Kansas line. The occasional visits of Indians from tribe to tribe, or from nation to nation were not unusual.

There were, in the course of my father's travels during the early years, trips by train, wagon and horseback to each of the areas of the former Indian Nations, and to other parts of Oklahoma, as far southward as across the Red River to Denison and Texarkana, Texas, westward to the limits of Oklahoma and northward into Kansas. There were trips, also, particularly one by wagon, to Fort Smith and Van Buren, Arkansas, and northward from there to Pea Ridge, Arkansas, where we resided for a year and a half, and from which location we traveled on shorter excursions to Fayetteville, Bentonville and Rogers, Arkansas, and to Joplin, Missouri. There was the trip by horseback, with my father and an older cousin, Amos Christian, from Kiowa to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and following the completion of the business transaction there, the return by horseback to Kiowa; and another by wagon from Kiowa to Wilburton and southward from there to the open prairies where we lived, all summer long, in tents, and where the men, with full complement of horse-drawn and stationary equipment, engaged in the cutting and baling of wild prairie hay.

The distances involved in these and other trips were not great except for the mode of travel at the time. The railroads did not serve all the objectives of personal enterprise or desire, and other travel facilities, as wagons, covered-wagons, buckboards and saddle-stock, were necessarily brought into service. Such trips as these by horseback and particularly by wagon were, therefore, major accomplishments, and sometimes real experiences; and while most of them offered a degree of pleasure, lending on occasion a mood of genuine happiness, a kind of pioneering thrill, requiring, as they did, from a few days for the shorter trips to several and in some instances many days for the longer trips, the chore each day was an arduous one, embroiling man and beast in heat, dust and thirst; sometimes there were strong winds and blowing sand, thunderstorms, lightning, hail, sand-storms and gales up to near-cyclonic force, settling often to steady, torrential downpour for days, and sometimes there were cyclones; the sky clearing, daytime and sun reappearing eventually, becoming intensely hot again, the heat waves shimmering; and in extreme summer temperatures the traveling done at night, with rest and exhausting sleep during the mid-

day hours, camped often in scant shade beside some sluggish and dwindling stream.

ASHLAND

The early Ashland period, the brief pre-school time, was a solitary one, the days for a four- or five-year old being spent much alone, the play-occupations in the house and yard following such pursuits and diversions as devised by one alone and remote from other than parents, broken only by infrequent visits of distant relatives; remote especially from other children, there being none near by, nor even Indian children living closely enough to our house to offer companionship.

An example of such activities, typical of the time and place, follows: The pet horned toad (of which there were several), six to eight inches in length, from blunt-spiked head down knobby spine to tip of stubby tail; short scaly legs and fat feet; sponged and dried and brushed each day, fly- and red ant-fed; harness carefully wrought from leather shoe-laces and resined twisted cord, ornamented with nickel-plated trimmings (cast-off chap-conches, etc.); small wooden wagons and wooden carts, hand-painted red, drawn around the graded well-head road; the wooden sleds with tall sideboards, loaded with clay cowboys-on-horses, clay longhorn cattle, clay Indians, and some real Indian arrow-heads discovered on the ground in the wooded area behind our house, and found in plenty on the nearby open prairies.

Other Ashland scenes: the dusty main street, valiant dust-covered shade trees, pale green leaves; the frail red and yellow roses blooming, watered each day by the women-folk; the trees, the flowers, spare lawns, the pomegranates, gourds, quinces, the locustpods, pecan trees and mistletoe, even the sun-baked buildings always bright and fresh and clean following a sudden blowing rain; the board sidewalks, the hitching-posts or rails, with almost invariably the few horses tied there, tired and sweat-streaked; the water-troughs, the flat, hot front of the red-painted Mercantile Store with its silver-shimmering galvanized, corrugated roof, the wide verandaed frame boarding-house, the idlers—the proverbial whittler, the tobacco-spitting expert, the perspiring rotund drummer attired in dark broadcloth suit and narrow-brimmed derby, and the oldster reclining asleep, sitting in the shade.

There were highlights at Ashland, of course, occasional week-end exhibitions of local color in which both the white man and the Indian competed: horse races, rodeos, roping contests, and bulldogging, the competitions in marksmanship with rifle and revolver; the frequent visits to the level, marked-off field,

with the two distantly placed upright board for the goal posts, where we witnessed the Choctaw Indian ball-play; the Sunday band-concerts, held in the sheltered octagonal-shaped, elevated bandstand which was situated in the center of the town square, where early military, folk and semi-classical airs were played; the Sunday evening, church singing; the Saturday night, square and country dances; the box-lunch, cake and pie suppers where the delicacies were auctioned to the highest bidder, who not only enjoyed the fine food but also the company of the lady cook, whose name appeared on the paper slip inside the package. All paired off following the sale to the picnic tables on the grounds, the dinner accompanied by music, singing, and the gait of much laughter, and spiced sometimes by illy-concealed jealousies.

—Clarence Alva Powell

BOOK REVIEW

The Letters of George Catlin and His Family. By Marjorie Catlin Roehn. (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles. 1966. Pp. 463. \$8.50.)

This book is based upon nearly two hundred letters written by members of the Catlin family. None of them has ever been published or even accessible to George Catlin's biographers. Much has been written about this artist who became famous for his paintings and writings of the North American Indians; yet little was known about the family in which he was raised. No one has known what sort of son, brother, husband or father he was.

This magnificent family archive is made up of 174 letters addressed to or written by various members of the clan from 1798 to 1870. It consists of letters by George's father and mother, by the artist and his wife Clara, and by brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, and various in-laws. This collection of family papers had come down through the generations in classical fashion, preserved in an old trunk stowed away in the attic of various Catlin homes.

In 1834, Catlin accompanied the Dragoons on their historic march to the Comanche country from Fort Gibson. In 1836, he visited the Red Pipestone Quarry in Minnesota. These were just two of many field research trips that added authority and substance to Catlin's dream of a great museum of the American Indian, the walls of which would be covered with hundreds and thousands of paintings and artifacts, authentic beyond all question.

Catlin, the painter, the researcher, was a sensitive man. One can wonder what those trappers and traders in the wilderness thought of him. He must have been hated, laughed at, and sneered at, many times. Here was a man who neither drank nor smoked. He did not want a squaw, and he waxed poetic over a sunset on the prairies. In his fervent efforts to get across to the people all that he felt about the Indians, George often spoke too hastily and too strongly for his own good and thereby alienated important people. He attempted to convince the people that their government was treating the Indian unfairly, and that the demoralizing influence of the fur traders would not only ruin a

noble race, but would bring on Indian trouble all through the west.

No ancestor-worshiper, Mrs. Roehm has provided splendid, bridging commentary that is candid, perceptive, critical and delightful.

—Arthur Shoemaker

Hominy, Oklahoma

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

JANUARY 26, 1967

Immediately following the call to order of the Board of Directors meeting on January 26, 1967, a brief tour of the Oklahoma Historical Society building was made. The tour was conducted by Mr. Fraker for the purpose of showing members of the Board the improvements that had been made with \$125,000 that had been set up for that purpose in the recent bond issue that had been voted by the people of Oklahoma.

The roll was called by Administrative Secretary Elmer Fraker. Members present were: Lou Allard, Q. B. Boydstun, J. G. Clift, Joe W. Curtis, E. E. Dale, W. D. Finney, Boh Foresman, Morton R. Harrison, R. M. Mountcastle, LeRoy Fischer, Joe McBride, W. E. McIntosh, James Morrison, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, Earl Boyd Pierce, and George H. Shirk. Absent members were: Henry Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, B. B. Chapman, Robert Hefner, John Kirkpatrick, R. G. Miller, and Genevieve Seger. Mr. Mountcastle made a motion that all who were absent from the meeting be excused. Mr. McBride seconded the motion which carried unanimously.

Mr. Fraker reported to the Board that Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, President Emeritus of the Society, had passed away Wednesday, January 25, 1967. The members bowed in silence for a few moments in memory of Dr. Harbour. President Shirk asked that the Chairman of the Publications Committee arrange for an appropriate article to appear in *The Chronicles* in memory of Dr. Harbour.

It was reported by Mr. Fraker that 32 new annual members were added to the rolls during the past quarter and that numerous gifts had been received. Mr. McBride moved that the Board accept the new memberships and gifts. The motion was seconded by Mr. Curtis and carried.

The Administrative Secretary further reported that correspondence from Dr. James Baird, President of Oklahoma Christian College, had been received requesting cooperative association between Oklahoma Christian College and the Oklahoma Historical Society in the College's Living Legend Library project. A pamphlet concerning this project was passed around for the Board Members to view. Mr. Phillips moved that the Oklahoma Historical Society cooperate with Oklahoma Christian College in this program. Second was by Mr. Muldrow. The motion passed when put.

Legislative action on the Oklahoma Historical Society's Appropriation Bill was discussed by Mr. Fraker. He said that the Society's Bill had been introduced in the House of Representatives as House Bill 579. He pointed out that, wherein, the Society was asking for a total of \$187,200 per year, the measure as introduced provided \$124,000 annually, which is exactly the amount of the present Historical Society's appropriation. At a House Appropriations Committee hearing, Representative Lou Allard, a member of the Board of Directors, and Mr. Fraker had appeared for the Society. Mr. Allard, at that meeting, outlined the reasons for the Society's budget requests. After a number of questions had been answered by Mr. Allard and Mr. Fraker, the Appropriations Committee recommended that a total of \$168,000 be set up for the Society. It was pointed out by the Administrative Secretary that this was only the first step in the progress of HB 579 through the Legislature.

Mimeographed copies of the Treasurer's report were distributed.

Judge Cliff moved that the Treasurer's report be accepted. It was seconded by Mr. McIntosh and passed unanimously.

Mr. Phillips, in his report for the Microfilm Committee, said that in the February issue of *The Oklahoma Publisher* there would be a feature on the Microfilm Department. This is the 10th anniversary of the establishment of that department. Mr. Phillips has requested that special copies of that paper be sent to each member of the Board of Directors. He also reported that on Saturday, January 28, 1967, Mrs. Louise Cook, Newspaper Librarian, and he would be presented with Certificates of Appreciation by the Oklahoma Press Association for their work in preserving the newspapers of Oklahoma. He said that at a recent Board Meeting of the Press Association a glowing report was received on the fine service given in the Newspaper Library.

He further reported that in the 10 years of operation, two and one-half million pages of current newspapers and five and one-quarter million pages of old newspapers had been microfilmed.

As Chairman of the Publications Committee, Mr. McBride observed that considerable difficulty had been experienced in getting out the last two issues of *The Chronicles*. This had been brought about, he said, because the printing company that had the contract for *The Chronicles* had moved its entire plant, which had slowed down production on *The Chronicles*.

The Fort Washita Commission report was made by Dr. Morrison, who distributed a bulletin detailing restoration activities for the past three months. He said he was pleased to report that Mr. Ward Merrick is continuing his financial contributions to the restoration work at Fort Washita.

Mr. McIntosh stated that the Historic Sites committee is trying to acquire the Coweta Mission and Cemetery. Mr. Elbert Costner, Field Deputy for the Oklahoma Historical Society, gave information on Coweta Mission and its location. Mr. Pierce made a brief report on the Tullahassee Mission. After discussion of the Sam Houston-Wigwam Neosho Site, Mr. McIntosh suggested that this site be purchased at the earliest possible time.

President Shirk asked the Administrative Secretary to work with the Historic Sites Committee to determine the condition of the General Building Fund as set up by House Bill 1019, relative to purchasing the Coweta Mission, Tullahassee Mission and the Sam Houston-Neosho Site.

Mr. McIntosh moved that the Administrative Secretary be authorized to proceed with having repairs made to the barracks building at Fort Gibson, the cost not to exceed \$6,000. The motion was seconded by Mr. Mountcastle and carried.

In the absence of Mr. Bass, Mr. Fraker made the Chisholm Trail Centennial Report. He briefly explained plans for the Chisholm Trail Tour. He asked approval of the dates for the Tour to begin on August 19, 1967. Judge Cliff moved that the dates of the tour be set to correspond with the Chisholm Trail Centennial program as requested by Mr. Fraker. Mr. Curtis seconded the motion, which passed when put.

President Shirk informed the Board that Governor Bartlett had received authority from the United States Government to designate a state agency as the one to handle historic sites restoration with matching funds furnished to the state by the Federal Government. Mr. Muldrow moved that the Oklahoma Historical Society petition the Governor to designate the Oklahoma Historical Society as the agency of the State of Oklahoma to work with the Federal Government in this matter; and that the Honey-springs Battle Site be the first project to be considered for joint Federal

and State participation. This motion was seconded by Mr. McIntosh and unanimously adopted.

President Shirk appointed Dr. LeRoy Fischer as Chairman of the committee to see that this work was done and said he and Earl Boyd Pierce would serve as members of the committee.

President Shirk appointed Milt Phillips, Joe Curtis and W. D. Finney as a committee to work with the coordinating committee of the Oklahoma Memorial Association in planning a cooperative program.

President Shirk brought up the matter of the cannon from Fort Gihson. He commented that two years ago he and Mr. McBride had attended a meeting of the then Planning and Resources Board and asked that the cannon be returned to the Historical Society, and that a picture of Colonel Arhuckle be loaned to the Society so that a copy could be made. The Planning and Resources Board passed a motion to that effect and the motion carried. The cannon was returned to the Society and Mr. Jordan Reaves completely restored it at his own expense.

Representative William Nigh had written the Industrial Development and Park Commission, said Mr. Shirk, asking that the cannon be returned to Fort Gihson. President Shirk felt that the cannon should remain with the Historical Society where it is on display and is protected from the weather and from destruction. Mr. Pierce moved that Mr. Shirk and Mr. McBride appear before the Industrial Development and Park Commission, explain to them the history of the cannon and ask them to reconsider their action. Mr. Boydston seconded the motion, which carried.

President Shirk told the Board that Mr. Jordan Reaves is willing to restore the Gatling Gun now owned by the Society, in the same quality as the cannon restoration project, providing he could acquire the same for that purpose. Mr. Curtis moved that the Society turn the Gatling Gun to Mr. Reaves so he might proceed with its restoration. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion. The motion carried.

Dr. E. E. Dale presented the Oklahoma Historical Society with two books, *Frontier Trails and Frontier Ways*. He gave a short account of the books. Dr. Chapman, by mail, presented the Society with a copy of his book, *The Otoes and Missourias*. Dr. Fischer made a motion that the Board express its sincere appreciation to Dr. Dale for the books and for the work and support that he has given to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. McBride and Mr. Phillips seconded the motion. Mr. McBride made a similar motion regarding Dr. Morrison and his work at Fort Washita. Mr. McIntosh seconded the motion. Both motions carried. Dr. Morrison and Dr. Dale were presented with Commendation Certificates during the meeting.

Representative Lou Allard supplemented the legislative report that had been made by Mr. Fraker by pointing out that the action of the Appropriations Committee of the House in acceding to some of the requests of the Society, indicated that the Appropriations Committee was in accord with the Society's request for increases, but did not indicate the legislation would be adopted. He said he would do everything possible to see that the House version of the Oklahoma Historical Society's appropriation measure was adopted.

Mr. Allard said that Representative C. H. Spearman of Edmond is helping him in a project to get the brother of Wiley Post to give some of the artifacts of his famous brother to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

In compliance with the provision of the Constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Mr. Fraker cast on ballot, each for the five Board members whose terms were expiring, for re-election for a five year term. He said this procedure was being followed because no nominations for these positions were received from the membership. The members re-elected were: Joe Curtis, Mrs. George L. Bowman, R. G. Miller, W. E. McIntosh and Earl Boyd Pierce.

Mr. Finney moved that the Newspaper Committee cooperate in the work of acquiring items for the proposed Newspaper Museum. Mr. Boyd-stun seconded the motion. The motion was adopted.

Upon a motion by Mr. Mountcastle, seconded by Mr. Curtis, the meeting was adjourned.

George H. Shirk, President

Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary

GIFTS RECEIVED IN FOURTH QUARTER, 1966-1967

LIBRARY:

- Military Collector and Historian*, Vol. 18, No. 2, Summer 1966.
- The Muster Roll of the Company of Military Historians*, April 1964
- Dimension*, Theology in Church and World, Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring 1966.
- The White House Conference*—"To Fulfill These Rights", June 1-2, 1966, Washington, D.C.
- Interplanetary Intelligence Report*, Vol. 1, No. 1, May 1965, Oklahoma City.
- The McCone Report*—Its Content and Significance, 1965. Reprinted from the *Los Angeles Times*.
- Report of the *President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia*, 1966.
- National Survey of Professional, Administrative, Technical and Clerical Pay*, Winter 1961-1962, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.
- Occupational Wage Survey*, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, August 1962.
- Annual Report, 1964, Oklahoma City Fire Department.*
- Annual Report, 1965, Oklahoma City Fire Department.*
- Second Annual Governor's Conference on Community Concerns*, October 1964.
- Annual Report and Directory*—55th, Joe B. Hunt, 1962.
- Annual Report and Directory*—56th, Joe B. Hunt, 1963.
- A Report of the Health and Hospital Planning Committee of the Community Council of Oklahoma City and County to the Hill-Burton Council of the Oklahoma Department of Public Health.*
- Community Resources Available to Returnees*—A Study Conducted for the Treatment Staff, El Reno, El Reno Reformatory, August 1966.
- The Role of Voluntary Agencies in Providing Day Care Need and Services*, 1966.
- Oklahoma City Safety Council*, 1962.
- Presidential Succession and Inability*, January 1965.
- "The Education of a Mayor" by Earl Sneed.
- Names*—Journal of the American Name Society, Vol. 14, No. 3, September 1966. "The Racial Ghetto Crisis in America—Challenges and Opportunities" by Jack E. Wood, Jr., October 1966.
- Beauty of America*—Proceedings of the White House Conference on Natural Beauty, May 1965, Washington, D.C.
- Report to the President and the President's Response*—White House Conference on Natural Beauty, Washington, D.C., May 1965.
- Intergovernmental Relations in the Poverty Program*, April 1966.

Oklahoma Council on Libraries, October 1966.

A Survey of the Metropolitan Library System of Oklahoma County "65". Urban Extension, October 1966.

The Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center Area Development Plan—Special Report, June 28, 1966.

Oklahoma City Growth at a Glance—1950-1965.

Proposed Interstate Rocky Mountain-Gulf Thruway, October 1964.

Water by Worthington Corporation, 1965.

WNYC-TV—World's First Non-Commercial Municipal Television Station, The Morse Communication Research Center.

State Legislative Program of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, October 1966.

Sixteenth Biennial Report of the Oklahoma Tax Commission, July 1, 1962-June 30, 1964.

Donor: Mayor George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Some Wilsons of Ulster by Louis A. Astell.

Donor: Dr. Louis A. Astell, 906 South Lynn Street, Champaign, Illinois.

Oklahoma Grand Chapter Order of the Eastern Star—Proceedings of the 57th Annual Session, November, 1965.

Donor: Mrs. Ethel Johnston, Grand Secretary, Perry, Oklahoma.

History of the Perry Land Office, compiled by B. B. Chapman.

Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.

Microfilm (2 rolls)—Goodspeed Histories of Tennessee.

Donor: Mrs. John W. Ervin, 2619 N.W. 65th, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Birch, Burch Family in Great Britain and America, Vols. I and II by Marilu Burch Smallwood.

Some Colonial and Revolutionary Families of North Carolina, Vol. 1, by Marilu Burch Smallwood.

Donor: Mrs. Charles Smallwood, 24 Avenida Menendez, St. Augustine, Florida.

The D. M. Madrano Plan by D. M. Madrano.

Donor: Miss Irene Reese, 1402 Thompson Building, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Oklahoma Drivers Manual—Translated into Cherokee Language by Calvin Turner and Arch Foreman. For use in teaching the Adult Drivers Education Program in Delaware County, Oklahoma, November 1966.

Donor: Robert (Bob) Lester, Commissioner of Public Safety by O. K. Bivins, Oklahoma City.

Complete collection of *Washington County (Oklahoma) Historical Society, Inc. Newsletter*, March 1965-October 1966.

The North Washington County (Oklahoma) Historical Society Tour, May 21, 1966.

Donor: Harold R. Farrar, 127 S.E. Rockwood, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

The Rohrbough Family 1735-1962, by Fred Ware Rohrbough.

Donor: Oklahoma State Library, State Capitol Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Congressional Document No. 76; 29th Congress, 2nd Session, February 8, 1847 re "Texas Indians"—Report of Messrs. Butler and Lewis.

Donor: Pierce Butler, 3726 Richland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee in honor of Mrs. Grant Foreman, 1419 West Okmulgee, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

Colonel Samuel Watson and His Descendants by Eleanor Guy Bankhead, 1966.

Donor: Mary Lee Martin Ervin (Mrs. John W.), 2619 N.W. 65th, Oklahoma City, in memory of her mother, Otelia Hill Martin.

Microfilm Census: 1840 Illinois, Roll 19, Cook (part)—Henry counties;

1840 Alabama, Roll 4, Madison (part)—Wilcox; Lists of North Carolina Land Grants in Tennessee, 1778-91, Roll 1; 1830 Illinois, Roll 24, Greene-Jo Daviess counties; 1830 Missouri, Roll 72, Lincoln-Cape Girardeau counties.

Donor: Mrs. John W. Ervin, 2619 N.W. 65th, Oklahoma City.
Pioneering for Research by Dean Mark R. Everett.

Donor: Mark R. Everett, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Christmas Family Letter: Garrison, Stout, Lasswell and Snodgrass connections.

Donor: Paul Garrison, North Tulsa, Oklahoma City.
Memoranda For A History of Delta Epsilon Chapter #75 of Sigma Nu Fraternity at the University of Oklahoma, assembled by Errett R. Newby.

Donor: Errett R. Newby and Elmer L. Fraker, Oklahoma City.
Handbook on Engineering, 1904 by Henry C. Tulley.
Midget Road Map of Oklahoma, 1925.
National Society United States Daughters of 1812, News-Letter, Vol. 41, No. 1, July 1966.

Harding High School Yearbook-Directory, 1957-1958.
Phi Kappa Sigma Fraternity News-Letter, Summer 1966, Vol. 109, No. 1.
Northwestern University Alumni News, Vol. 46, Nos. 1-2, January 1967.
The Oklahoma Professional Engineer, 3 issues, 1966.
The Oklahoma Mason, 2 issues, 1966.
Daily Oklahoman's Orbit Sections, 12 back issues, 1966.

Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Harry Stallings, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Newark by John T. Cunningham.

Donor: Harry S. Reichenstein, City Clerk in the name of the Mayor and Municipal Council of Newark, New Jersey.

Roster State and County Officers and Election Returns, November 3, 1964. Compiled by Basil R. Wilson, Sec. State Election Board of Oklahoma.

Roster State and County Officers and Election Returns, November 8, 1966. Compiled by Basil R. Wilson, Sec. State Election Board of Oklahoma.

Donor: Ray Asplin, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Microfilm Census: 1880 Pennsylvania, Roll #1121, Crawford (part) and Cumberland (part) counties.

Donor: Miss Estella Gregory, Oklahoma City.
Indian Territory Statutes—In force at the close of the 2nd Session of the 55th Congress of the United States by Dorset Carter.

Donor: Travis W. Brown, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Microfilm Census: 1840 Louisiana Census, Roll 39, Lafayette—Union Parishes. 1890 Louisiana Census, Roll 4, Orleans-Winn Parishes.

Donor: C. E. Blunt, 2804 Warwick Drive, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Composite Catalogue of Oil Marketing Equipment, 1930 Edition, Gulf Publishing Company, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of Oil Refinery and Natural Gasoline Plant Equipment, 1930 Edition, Gulf Publishing Company, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of Oil Refinery and Natural Gasoline Plant Equipment, 1931 Edition, Gulf Publishing Company, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of Oil Refinery and Natural Gasoline Plant Equipment, 1932 Edition, Gulf Publishing Company, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of Oil Refinery Equipment Including Process Handbook, 1934-1935 4th Edition—The Refiner and Natural Gasoline Manufacturer, a Gulf Publishing Co. Publication, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of Oil Refinery Equipment Including Process Handbook, 1936 Edition—The Refiner and Natural Gasoline Manufacturer, A Gulf Publishing Co. Publication, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of Oil Refinery Equipment Including Process Handbook,

1937 Edition—The Refiner and Natural Gasoline Manufacturer, a Gulf Publishing Co. Publication, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of Oil Refinery Equipment Including Process Handbook, 1938 Edition—The Refiner and Natural Gasoline Manufacturer, a Gulf Publishing Co. Publication, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of New and Standard Oil Field and Pipe Line Equipment, 1931 Edition, *The Oil Weekly*, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of New and Standard Oil Field and Pipe Line Equipment, 1931 Edition, *The Oil Weekly*, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of New and Standard Oil Field and Pipe Line Equipment, 1932 Edition, *The Oil Weekly*, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of New and Standard Oil Field and Pipe Line Equipment, 1934 Edition, *The Oil Weekly*, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of New and Standard Oil Field and Pipe Line Equipment, 1935 Edition, *The Oil Weekly*, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of New and Standard Oil Field and Pipe Line Equipment, 1936 Edition, *The Oil Weekly*, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of New and Standard Oil Field and Pipe Line Equipment, 1937 Edition, *The Oil Weekly*, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of New and Standard Oil Field and Pipe Line Equipment, 1938 Edition, *The Oil Weekly*, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of New and Standard Oil Field and Pipe Line Equipment, 1939 Edition, *The Oil Weekly*, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of Oil Field and Pipe Line Equipment, 1940: Equipment Edition, *The Oil Weekly*, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of Oil Field and Pipe Line Equipment, 1941 Edition, *The Oil Weekly*, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of Oil Field and Pipe Line Equipment, Vol. I A to K, Vol. II L to Z, 1943-1944 Edition, *The Oil Weekly*, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of Oil Field and Pipe Line Equipment, Vol. I A to K, Vol. II L to Z, 1946-1947 Edition, *The Oil Weekly*, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of Oil Field and Pipe Line Equipment, Vol. I A to K, Vol. II L to Z, 1948 16th Edition, Gulf Publishing Company, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of Oil Field and Pipe Line Equipment, Vol. I A to K, Vol. II L to Z, 1950 17th Edition, *World Oil*, Gulf Publishing Company Publication, Houston Texas.

Composite Catalog of Oil Field and Pipe Line Equipment, Vol. I A to J, 1951 18th Edition, *World Oil*, Gulf Publishing Company Publication, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of Oil Field and Pipe Line Equipment, Vol. I A to J, Vol. II K to Z, 1954-1955 20th Edition, *World Oil*, Gulf Publishing Company Publication, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of Oil Field and Pipe Line Equipment, Vol. I A to J, Vol. II G to N, Vol. III O to Z, 1957 22nd Edition, *World Oil*, Gulf Publishing Company Publication, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of Oil Field Equipment and Services, Vol. I A to E, Vol. II F to N, Vol. III O to Z, 1962-1963 25th Revision, *World Oil*, Gulf Publishing Company Publication, Houston, Texas.

Composite Catalog of Oil Field Equipment and Services, Vol. I A to E, Vol. II F to N, Vol. III O to Z, 1964-1965 26th Revision, *World Oil*, Gulf Publication of Gulf Publishing Company, Houston, Texas.

Donor: Gulf Publishing Company, Houston, Texas.

Microfilm Census: 1840 Louisiana, Roll 39, Lafayette-Union Parishes; 1880 Louisiana, Roll 474, Webster (part) to Winn Parishes; 1890 Louisiana, Roll 4, Orleans to Winn Parishes.

Donor: C. E. Blunt, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, 20 back issues 1964-1966.

Donor: Robert O. Wilkin, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION

"The Carr-Bartles Mill," by Harold R. Farrar, 4 page printed leaflet, distributed when a marker commemorating construction of the grist mill was unveiled Oct. 21, 1966.

Donor: Harold R. Farrar.

Postcard showing oil field near Okmulgee, Okla., dated Jan. 1, 1967 with cachet "Creek Capital 100th Anniversary 1867".

Donor: Mrs. Beverly Robinson.

Letter dated Jan. 19, 1861 to Wm. Walker, Attorney, concerning case of James Bengé, Cherokee, being tried for attempting to kill a white man.

Constitution, By-Laws and Resolutions of Association of Inter-Married and Adopted white citizens of Choctaw Nation, dated Oct. 24, 1894. Printed pamphlet of 14 pages.

Act of Choctaw Council, signed by Coleman Cole, Principal Chief, November 9, 1875, relating to marriage of Choctaw Indians and whites.

Two (2) Thanksgiving Proclamations dating Nov. 16, 1877 and November 14, 1878, signed by Charles Thompson, Principal Chief, Cherokee Nation.

Mineral lease dated Feb. 7, 1882, from Cherokee Nation to Lewis Rogers and G. P. Hefflefinger, to mine Stone Coal in Cooweescoowee District, Cherokee Nation, for a period of 5 years.

Donor: Mrs. C. E. Cook, Curator, Museum, Oklahoma Historical Society, transferred above from Museum to Indian Archives.

Indian Voices, August, September, October and November 1966.

Donor: Robert K. Thomas.

Summary report of meeting of The Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes held at Arrowhead Lodge, near Eufaula, Oklahoma, on October 12, 1966.

Donor: Muskogee Area Office, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

Texas Public Library Statistics 1965

Texas Libraries, Fall 1966.

Donor: Texas State Library.

Oklahoma Genealogical Society Quarterly for March 1966.

Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society.

Postoffice Journal beginning Oct. 15, 1884 and ending Feb. 6, 1888, for Grand River P. O., Indian Territory.

Donor: Charles Robitaille, Wyandotte, Okla.

Two (2) newsletters dating Oct. 15, 1966 and December 15, 1966, written by Henry B. Bass.

National News, American Legion Auxiliary, Dec. 1966.

News Release from Bureau of Indian Affairs, Dec. 7, 1966: "Job Training and Related Services for Mississippi Choctaws."

"A New Day for the American Indian" by Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President, United States of America. A reprint.

The Amerindian, July-August, September-October 1965, January-February, March-April and May-June 1966.

Indian Affairs, Newsletter of Association of American Indian Affairs, Inc. September-December 1966.

Donor: N. B. Johnson.

Newsletter from Pittsburg County Historical Association organized April 2, 1965.

Donor: Mrs. Ruth Crisler.

MUSEUM

Pictures:

Dedication of General Douglas H. Cooper Monument (8 photographs)
General Douglas H. Cooper Monument.

Donor: George Shirk.

Group of Teachers
 Graduating Class at Hennessey 1896 (Roy Cashion in picture)
 Territorial Teachers Institute
 L. B. Snider and group of teachers
 First School at Clinton
 Hennessey Teachers 1896
 Myron Smith Family Reunion 1905
 Old School House at Pawnee 1897
 Prof. J. W. Bremer
 I. N. Holcomb
 Group Osage Indians
 Eagle Chief and Rev. Murray 1890
 Rural School No. 35 Arapaho 1910
 Court House Employees at Arapaho
 Teachers Institute
 Port School in Washita County
 Lucille Snider
 L. B. Snider and Class at Campbell University
 Prof. Frederick Holmberg
 Lettie Holman 1895
 Mille, Claire
 Mr. and Mrs. Daniels, Weatherford
 Metta K. Segler
 Pawhuska High School 1915
 L. B. Snider and Group of Students
 Donor: Lucille Snider Parks Estate
 Tascosa Stage Station
 Sod House and Group
 C. O. Cummings Dug-Out
 Donor: Norval L. Brown
 Cabin Creek Monument (negative)
 Donor: Wayne T. Walker
 Black Beaver Marker
 D. P. Karns
 Photo of Portrait of Roman Nose
 Geronimo's Grave
 Marker, Old Boggy Depot
 Black Kettle Museum
 Gate at Pawnee Bill's Ranch
 Baptist Mission, Wetumka
 First Club House in Atoka
 Hiway Marker Jesse Chisholm Grave
 Hiway Marker Site of Cantonment
 Chickasaw Capitol
 Dormitory, Old Town Anadarko
 Riverside Indian School at Anadarko
 Concho Indian School
 Gate at Concho
 Original Indian Agency at Old Town Anadarko
 Superintendent's Home at the Agency at Old Town
 Log Cabin, Birthplace of Robert S. Kerr
 J. J. McAlester Home in McAlester
 4H Club Monument at Tishomingo
 Chickasaw Capitol Building at Tishomingo
 Old Entrance to Pawnee Bill's Ranch
 Monument at the Sheridan House
 Original Capitol of the Chickasaw Nation
 Monument at the site of Grand in old Day County
 Co-operative Publishing Company at Guthrie

Commercial Bank Building, Guthrie
 Hiway Markers
 Site of Cheyenne-Arapaho Agency
 Camp Supply
 Old Military Trail between Duncan and Comanche
 Tishomingo
 Old Greer County
 East Boundary—Run of 1889
 Washington Irving's Camp at Arcadia
 Wapanucka Academy
 Peace on the Plains
 Battle of the Washita Village
 Fort Sill Indian School
 Fort Holmes
 Osage Village
 Emahaka Mission
 Cordell Academy
 Dodge City Trail
 Perryville
 California Road
 Battle of the Washita
 Monument—Fort Holmes, Edwards Trading Post, Oak Ridge Mission
 Marker "Indian Citizen-Democrat" at Atoka
 Marker at the Seminole Whipping Tree in Wewoka
 Old Boggy Cemetery—Monuments of Rev. Isreal Folsom and Lovica Nail
 Monument, Battle of the Washita
 Monument at the site of Old Boggy Depot and Overland Stage Stand
 Grave Stone of James Neugent, C.S.A. April 25, 1862, Atoka Confederate
 Cemetery
 Grave Stone of I. J. Runnels, C.S.A. April 25, 1862, Atoka Confederate
 Cemetery
 Grave Stone of F. M. Johnson, C.S.A. April 25, 1862, Atoka Confederate
 Cemetery
 Grave Stone of Carrie Crosby, Atoka Confederate Cemetery
 Monument of Joseph Samuel Morrow at Boggy Depot
 Marker at Black Beaver's Grave, Anadarko
 Black Beaver's Grave, Anadarko
 Odd Fellows Home at Carmen (3 views)
 Observation Tower at Pawnee Bill's Home
 Middle Boggy Battle Monument
 Old Model Car
 Library at Guthrie
 Home of Douglas H. Johnston, Chickasaw Governor (6 views)
 Original Jail at Court House in Tishomingo
 Second Chickasaw Capitol (brick)
 Third Chickasaw Capitol (stone)
 Original Bloomfield Academy
 Douglas H. Johnston
 Bloomfield Faculty
 Wirt Franklin #1 Well Head Marker in Healdton
 Cantonment (3 views)
 Entrance to Pawnee Bill's Home
 B.O.Q. at Fort Supply
 Brick Building at Fort Supply
 Custer and Sheridan House at Fort Supply
 Old Guard House at Fort Supply
 Teamsters Hut at Fort Supply
 Fire Department #1 Fort Supply (2 views)
 Artesian Hotel at Sulphur
 Rock Academy, Chickasaw School—Bromide

Site of the Battle of the Wasbita
Pawnee Indian School
Watonga Coaches and Team
Group of Coaches
Concho Indian School Students
Indian Hospital—Pawnee
Jail at Old Town Anadarko
Lincoln County Museum, interior
Indian Hospital, Lawton
Indian School (class rooms)
Indian School (dormitory)
Rector Cheadle Home (2 views)
Home in Atoka
Fort Sill Indian School
Indian Agent's Home at Pawnee
Agency for Pawnee, Otoe and Kaw at Pawnee
Indian School at Pawnee
 Donor: Jim Pritchett
Rag Doll
 Donor: Wanda J. Beebe
Wrench, Hand Forged
 Donor: George E. Wilkerson
Marbles, baked clay brought to Chickasaw Nation in 1884.
 Donor: Harvey A. Lakey, Sr.
Boys Knickerbocker Suit, size 16
Boys Knickerbocker Suit, size 14
Boys Knickerbocker Suit, size 14
Boys Knickerbocker Suit, green
Pants, Knickerbockers, size 14
 Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Ned L. Jones
Uniform, Complete Uniform of "Greens" (Engineers)
Uniform, "Pinks" tie and belt
Spectacles G.I.
Caps (5) Overseas and Garrison
Trench Coat
 Donor: Lowell J. Bailey
Level, used in the building of the Oklahoma State Capitol
 Donor: Tom Beasley

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

October 28, 1966 to January 26, 1967

Adams, John S.	Oklahoma City
Amick, Miss Georgia	Columbia, Missouri
Ash, A. Russell	Alexandria, Virginia
Aycock, Mrs. J. C.	Oklahoma City
Baird, James O.	Oklahoma City
Barker, John B.	Vinita
Bearden, Mrs. R. C.	Tishomingo
Cannon, Doris	Oklahoma City
Chisum, Mrs. Clyde H.	Odessa, Texas
Clark, James L.	Coalgate
Cornelius, Lawton	Oklahoma City
Cox, Eddie	Coalgate
Farrar, H. A.	Bartlesville
Filson, Mrs. Theo. M.	Oklahoma City
Gleason, Mrs. Dorothy	Guthrie
Green, Gene	Stratford
Goodman, Mrs. J. E.	Oklahoma City
Howard, Dr. R. Palmer	Oklahoma City
Huddleston, Charles F.	Oklahoma City
Kelly, Ted A.	Broken Arrow
Knight, Clara H.	Meeker
Lundy, Sherman P.	Springer
McCreery, H. L.	Oklahoma City
Murray, Betty L.	Maysville
Pierce, Vernon L.	Oklahoma City
Reeds, Tom	Tulsa
Ross, Guy Jr.	Oklahoma City
Scalf, Henry P.	Prestonsburg, Ky.
Scott, Mary	Mooreville, Indiana
Shebl, Joseph J.	Salinas, California
Thorpe, Roy Blanton	Dewey
Woods, Clyde R.	Knoxville, Tennessee

* Residents in Oklahoma, unless otherwise indicated.

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 Publications 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 \$5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is \$100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is \$6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), \$1.50. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.



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

Summer, 1967



THE WORLD'S FIRST INSTALLATION OF PARKING METERS
OKLAHOMA CITY, 1935

Volume XLV

Number 2

Published Quarterly by the
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Organized by Oklahoma Press Association, May 27, 1893

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CHANGE OF ADDRESS—Send notice of change of address to Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma—73105.

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. *The Chronicle 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.

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The Oklahoma Historical Society assumes no responsibility for statements of facts or opinion made by contributors, in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*.

* Deceased

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Summer, 1967

Volume XLV

Number 2

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COVER: This is a photo from the Oklahoma Publishing Company showing the world's first installation of Parking Meters, Oklahoma City, in July, 1935. A history of the development of the Parking Meter is given in this issue of *The Chronicles*.

REMINISCENCES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARKING METER

By H. G. Thuesen

With Annotations and Bibliography

By LeRoy H. Fischer

INTRODUCTION

Professor H. G. Thuesen, the author of these memoirs, is the co-developer of the world's first operable parking meter. A member of the College of Engineering faculty at Oklahoma State University since 1925, he served as head of the Department of Industrial Engineering and Management from 1930 to 1957, when he asked to be relieved of administrative duties to devote more time to teaching, research, and writing. Since June, 1963, he has been professor emeritus.

Thuesen is a pioneer in the application of method improvement to the petroleum industry, is the designer of a timing device for research in the time-and-motion field, and the developer of a portable timer for high accuracy in time-study work. His most recent contribution, which has attracted widespread interest and application, is the invention of a unique memo-activity camera.

His textbook, *Engineering Economy*, was published by Prentice-Hall in 1950 and revised in 1957. He was an early editor of the *Directory of Oklahoma Manufacturers*. With Dean M. R. Lohmann of the College of Engineering of Oklahoma State University, he wrote *Job Design*, an Engineering Experiment Station bulletin. Other bulletins and articles in professional journals are among his many publications.

During his career, Thuesen has served as a professional consultant to numerous firms, including the General Electric Company, Western Electric Company, Westinghouse Corporation, Phillips Petroleum Company, Dual Parking Meter Company, and Magee-Hale Park-O-Meter Company.

For his accomplishments in the development of research devices, Thuesen received the Academy of Time Award from the Benrus Watch Company in 1947 and again in 1948. He was named Oklahoma State University's "Outstanding Teacher" for the 1960-61 school year by the Alumni Association and university students. The nation's highest and most esteemed industrial engineering honor, the Frank and Lillian Gilbreath Industrial Engineering Award, was presented to him in 1964 for his impressive



(College of Engineering, Oklahoma State University)

PROFESSOR H. G. THUESEN

Faculty member of the College of Engineering, Oklahoma State University, 1925-1963, and co-developer of the original parking meter.

accomplishments during forty-two years of engineering service and his devotion to education and research.

A member of numerous organizations, both honorary and professional, Thuesen has been chairman of the Industrial Engineering Division of the American Society of Engineering Education, has served as vice-president of Region IX of the American Institute of Industrial Engineers, and as a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Industrial Engineering*.

Thuesen was born near Cedar Falls, Iowa, in 1898. After army service in World War I, he received the Bachelor of Science degree in 1921, the Professional degree in 1927, and the Master of Science degree in 1930, all in the field of mechanical engineering, from the State College of Iowa.

Thuesen's contributions to the development of the parking meter are of international significance. Today many cities in foreign countries and most cities in the United States with a population of 2,000 or more have installed parking meters for the purpose of policing and solving parking problems. Although from its beginning the parking meter has been a controversial social institution, it has revolutionized the parking of automobiles and proved to be a significant and permanent industry growing out of Oklahoma ideas, enterprise, and capital.

In addition to vividly recounting the invention and development of the parking meter, Thuesen's recollections suggest the close working relationship between the public and Land-Grant institutions of higher education such as Oklahoma State University in fields of service beyond classroom instruction. His account also provides insight into the sources of ideas that in time find applications in inventions which have far-reaching economic and social implications. In addition, it reveals much of the complex nature of the background of invention and of a mechanical device designed to meet one of man's specific needs in the machine age.

—LeRoy H. Fischer*

PROFESSOR THUESEN'S REMINISCENCES

My first recollection of the parking meter idea is associated with a luncheon given by Phillip S. Donnell, Dean of the Oklahoma State University College of Engineering, in his residence at Third and Garfield streets in Stillwater, Oklahoma, probably in January, 1933. Present were the heads of the departments of

*The preparation of Professor Thuesen's reminiscences was supported by a grant from the Research Foundation of Oklahoma State University, and this assistance is deeply appreciated and gratefully acknowledged.—LeRoy H. Fischer, Professor of History in Oklahoma State University.

the College of Engineering and Carl C. Magee, the editor of the Oklahoma City *Oklahoma News*, a Scripps-Howard newspaper.¹ Magee explained that he had been studying the parking problems of Oklahoma City as chairman of the traffic committee of the Chamber of Commerce. He pointed out that in spite of one-hour parking regulations, regular policing, and periodic crack-downs, something on the order of eighty percent of all automobiles remained parked on the streets in one location all or most of the day. These long-time parkers were primarily proprietors and employees of nearby downtown businesses. Consequently, Magee explained, potential customers and clients found it increasingly difficult to be served by parking space near at hand, and this was considered undesirable by businessmen and professional people. What was needed, said Magee, was a parking meter, a mechanical device that he wanted the College of Engineering to develop for him. He seemed confident that his meter idea would solve most parking problems in Oklahoma City and other urban areas.

Dean Donnell had known Magee for some years. When Donnell served as a professor of engineering at the University of New Mexico, he had come to the defense of Magee, then a crusading Albuquerque newspaper editor who had recently exploded the Teapot Dome oil scandal that rocked Washington and the nation.² Donnell was especially glad because of their previous association to assist in every way possible with the development of the parking meter idea, and he arranged a series of meetings with College of Engineering department heads O. M. Smith, Ren G. Saxton, DeWitt Hunt, Albrecht Naeter, E. C. Baker, Phillip Wilbur, L. E. Hazen, and myself.

At one of these meetings Magee suggested that the College

¹ Carlton Cole Magee (1873-1946) received his undergraduate degree from the State College of Iowa in 1894 and the Master of Arts degree from the Upper Iowa University in 1896; served as superintendent of schools in Carroll, Iowa, 1896-1901; admitted to the Oklahoma Bar, 1903, and practiced law in Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1903-1920; editor, Albuquerque, New Mexico, *Journal*, 1920-1922; Magee's *Independent*, a weekly New Mexico newspaper, 1922-1923, and the New Mexico *State Tribune*, 1923-1927; editor, *Oklahoma News*, an Oklahoma City newspaper, 1927-1933; editor-in-chief, 1937-1939, Brownsville, Texas, *Herald*, Harlingen, Texas, *Valley Morning Star*, and McAllen, Texas, *Monitor*; president, Dual Parking Meter Company and Magee-Hale Park-O-Meter Company, 1935-1946, of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; a leader in the exposure of the Teapot Dome oil scandals, 1923. *Who's Who in America, 1946-1947* (Chicago, The A. N. Marquis Company, 1946), p. 1483. Magee always used the name Carl in place of his given name of Carlton.

² For additional information on Magee's role in the Teapot Dome affair, see William G. Shepherd, "How Carl Magee Broke Fall's New Mexico Ring," *World's Work*, Vol. 48 (May, 1924), pp. 29-40, and Burl Noggle, *Teapot Dome: Oil and Politics in the 1920's* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1962), pp. 68-69.

*(Oklahoma State Alumnus)***CARL C. MAGEE**

The originator of the idea for automating the policing of parking by means of a coin operated meter, is shown at his office desk, Dual Parking Meter Company, Commerce Exchange Building, Oklahoma City, soon after the world's first installation in Okla-

of Engineering conduct parking meter design and model contests among its students. Magee offered to finance the contests. I shall never forget when he pulled from his pocket five \$100.00 bills for prize money and handed them to Dean Donnell. Department heads at that time were receiving \$300.00 or less per month, and salaries were cut from that amount by thirty percent later in 1933 as Oklahoma and the nation moved deeper into the Great Depression.³ Magee had even brought with him a very crude model of a parking meter, admitting that he could not make it work and that he cared to go no further with the needed engineering on his own.⁴ He clearly wanted the College of Engineering to work out a design and model for a parking meter.

Dean Donnell appointed Professor Hunt, head of the Industrial Arts Education and Shops Department, as chairman of the committee to administer the parking meter contests, with Professor Baker, head of the Mechanical Engineering Department, and myself, as head of the Industrial Engineering Department, to serve as members of the committee. Both design and model contests were conducted during the spring semester of 1933, with the design contest coming first. As I recall, \$160.00 of the \$500.00 was offered for design prizes, \$240.00 was offered for model prizes, and the balance of \$100.00 was allocated for model building supplies.

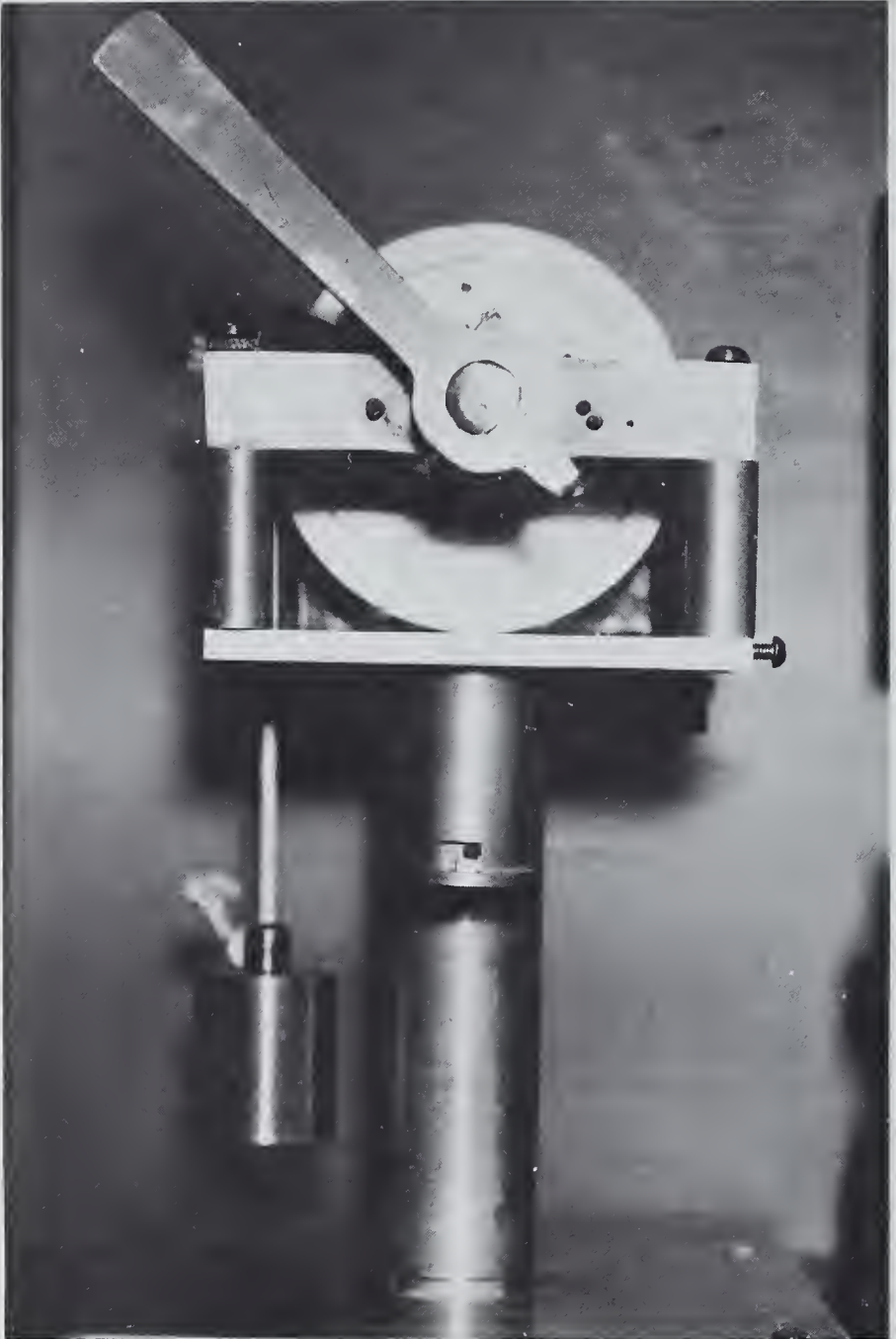
The design contest was judged in the Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company offices in Oklahoma City by Clair Drury, an architect; S. L. Rolland, an engineer with the Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company; Ward Sherman, of the Sherman Iron Works of Oklahoma City; Carl Boerner, engineer; and A. E. Phillips, of the Capitol Hill High School of Oklahoma City. Prize winners, all students in the College of Engineering, were Victor L. Rupe, first prize, \$75.00; Vivian Sicks and Wayne Robinson, second prize, \$40.00; Lloyd Goodwin, third prize, \$25.00; Marshall Maxwell and Clarence Glasgow, fourth prize, \$15.00; and S. K. Lynn, fifth prize, \$10.00. In spite of the inexperience of these students and the complexity of the problem, the designs submitted were quite sophisticated.⁵

The model building contest was judged on May 6, 1933, and although I do not recall most of the names of the judges, they

³ For information on salary cuts in 1933 in Oklahoma's institutions of higher education, see the Oklahoma State University *Daily O'Collegian*, January 6, and March 1, 1933.

⁴ The element of a parking meter model improvised by Magee was probably the first to be built by anyone. It is on display in the Department of Industrial Engineering and Management at Oklahoma State University.

⁵ The parking meter design contest at Oklahoma State University is discussed at length in the *Daily O'Collegian* for January 7, 14, 24, 27, and February 3, 4, 5, 1933.



(Division of Public Information, Oklahoma State University)

MAGEE'S INITIAL MODEL OF A PARKING METER ELEMENT

Submitted to the College of Engineering at Oklahoma State University when he requested technical assistance for the development of the parking meter.

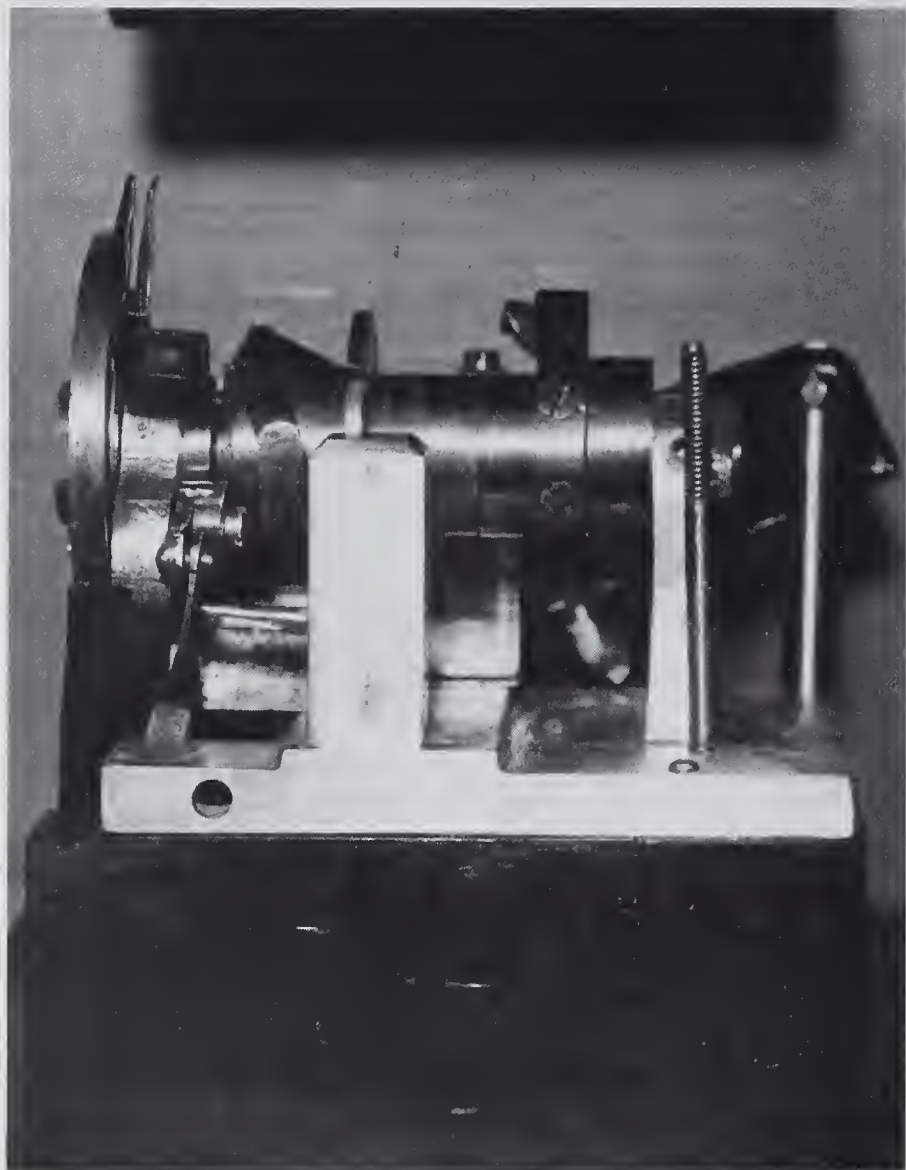
were composed of College of Engineering faculty. Dr. Clark Dunn, a professor of Civil Engineering, was one of the group. Again, only College of Engineering students were permitted to compete. The meter models were crudely improvised and even made use of parts from old alarm clocks. Lloyd Goodwin won first prize, \$100.00; S. K. Lynn, second prize, \$60.00; Victor L. Rupe and Gordon Buckle, third prize, \$40.00; Vivian Sicks and J. J. Moss-hammer, fourth prize, \$20.00.⁶ In my opinion, the model contest was not as successful as the design contest, for the lack of experience in model construction on the part of the contestants was a handicap.⁷ Another problem was that the shop equipment of the College of Engineering was entirely inadequate for the complexity of the work attempted. But the students of the College of Engineering were vitally interested in both contests, and the prize money was undoubtedly a factor in encouraging them, since the contest was held at the depth of the Great Depression, when many students and their parents found it well-nigh impossible to provide even the minimum food, shelter, and clothing needed for a student to stay in the university.⁸

The student design and model parking meter contests were but the first steps in the invention of an operable and effective device to meet the needs of Magee's idea. The contests had promoted much thought in my mind as to the requirements for a parking meter, and a review of contest accomplishments revealed to me two important concepts. One was that the signal indicating the amount of parking time should be enclosed in the meter case, but be visible through a window in order to avoid tampering and even vandalism. The second was that the device should be constructed so that the last coin inserted would be visible through a window, thus making elaborate false coin rejectors unnecessary. The idea was that the customer's automobile would be impounded if police detected that an improper coin in the window had been used for parking time. This preventive device on the meter was considered basic during the years of the Great Depression, when money was so very scarce and parkers were therefore more prone than today to use slugs and other obstructive objects to avoid parking fees.

⁶ Only the parking meter model constructed by S. K. Lynn in the student contest is known to be extant. It is on display in the Department of Industrial Engineering and Management at Oklahoma State University.

⁷ Copy of a letter of the author to Carl C. Magee, May 5, 1933, in the H. G. Thuesen Collection, University Archives, Oklahoma State University Library, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

⁸ The parking meter model contest at Oklahoma State University is discussed at length in the *Daily O'Collegian* for April 25, 27, and May 6, 1933.



(Division of Public Information, Oklahoma State University)

PARKING METER MECHANISM MADE BY S. K. LYNN

A student in the College of Engineering of Oklahoma State University, Lynn entered this mechanism in the model building contest conducted for Carl C. Magee in 1933.

Mechanisms had fascinated me even as a farm boy in Iowa. At the age of sixteen, I made application on March 21, 1914, for a patent on a speed indicator and revolution counter which embodied a timing device. For this invention I was granted Patent Number 1,159,551 on November 9, 1915.⁹ I later had some experience in the design of a coin-operated mechanism while in Fort Wayne, Indiana, as an employee of the General Electric Company. At that time an associate and I had tried to work out a coin operating vending device capable of withstanding tampering and other abuses. In consideration of a parking meter device, I began to see use problems. For instance, the parker might insert a coin halfway in the slot and return later to complete the operation, if necessary, thus hoping that the presence of the coin would provide evidence of good faith to an inspecting police officer. What was needed, I concluded, was a mechanical device that would require the operator to supply energy to a point at which he would lose control and the energy that had been accumulated would be released to store the coin, set the elapsed time device, raise the elapsed time signal, and start the timer.

With the close of the spring semester at Oklahoma State University in late May, 1933, I was in a position to devote the needed time to working out a practical parking meter design and model. In addition to the desire to accomplish this task, I had the time to devote to it during the summer months, for there were no consulting jobs available for engineers due to dire economic conditions caused by the Great Depression. I immediately thought of a former student, Gerald A. Hale, a 1927 industrial engineering graduate of Oklahoma State University, as an associate in working out a parking meter design and model. Hale was then on the faculty as an instructor in the Department of Mechanical Engineering. I knew I would like working with Hale, for a year or two earlier I had cooperated with him in developing a power rug-hooking device needed in one of the industries operated on the campus of Oklahoma State University to provide employment for students earning their livelihood while studying at the institution during the Great Depression. Hale, too, felt challenged by the parking meter design and model problem, and he also was glad to have an interesting and worthwhile project during the summer months.

Consequently, we began the design of a parking meter shortly after the end of the spring semester in 1933. The plan was to incorporate the mechanical ideas for a parking meter that I had evolved in my thinking to this point, namely, a case containing a signal visible through a window, a current operating

⁹ United States Patent Office, *Official Gazette*, Vol. 220 (November, 1915), p. 430.



(Division of Public Information, Oklahoma State University)

G. A. HALE, CO-DEVELOPER OF THE FIRST PARKING METER

A former faculty member of the College of Engineering at Oklahoma State University, Hale later became president of the Magee-Hale Park-O-Meter Company of Oklahoma City.

coin seen through a window, and a provision for the accumulation of energy supplied by the operator, which in turn would set the meter after control had been lost by the operator.

Hale and I worked two or three weeks designing the mechanism. We set up our drafting tables in a second floor office of the old Engineering Building, later rechristened Gundersen Hall after a colorful and long-time faculty member of the Department of Mathematics. As we worked we probably sensed some future possibility of financial gain for our efforts, especially because Magee was not only unusually capable, imaginative, and well-known, but he was an able promoter, and a man of wealth as measured in the days of the Great Depression.

As soon as we had completed the parking meter design, Hale and I got in touch with Magee in Oklahoma City. He came at once to Oklahoma State University, where we provided a detailed explanation of the meter design. Although not technically trained, he quickly grasped the salient features of the design, and after some moments of consideration, asked us if we could build a working model. We assured him we could, and he asked, "How long will it take?" I replied, "About ten days." Then he said, "What will it cost?" I replied, "\$100.00," and he said, "Let's do it." As he left, he pointed out that he was going to Albuquerque and asked that we telephone him there when we completed the model.

Hale and I went to work at once on the model, and within ten days we had completed it and affectionately named it the Black Maria.¹⁰ With the exception of the case, which was made by a local plumber, and a Yale lock, Hale and I made essentially all the parts. We made all the castings, did all the machine work, and completed the assembly. Our parking meter model was constructed in the Industrial Building (Engineering Shops) located immediately east of the present-day Engineering North Building.

We at once attempted to telephone Magee in Albuquerque to tell him we had completed the model, but we could not reach him at the address provided by his Oklahoma City office. We replaced the telephone call at intervals of approximately a week, but two months or more elapsed before we finally got in touch with him. During this interval Hale and I conjectured that Magee would want to know the cost to tool up and manufacture the device, so we prepared drawings to submit to a manufacturer to get this information. As I recall, we submitted these drawings

¹⁰ This parking meter model is on display in the Department of Industrial Engineering and Management at Oklahoma State University. The name "Black Maria" is a colloquial expression meaning patrol wagon, the official vehicle, originally a black closed wagon, in which prisoners are locally transported, as from jail to court.



(Division of Public Information, Oklahoma State University)

THE OLD COLLEGE OF ENGINEERING BUILDING (1912-1938)

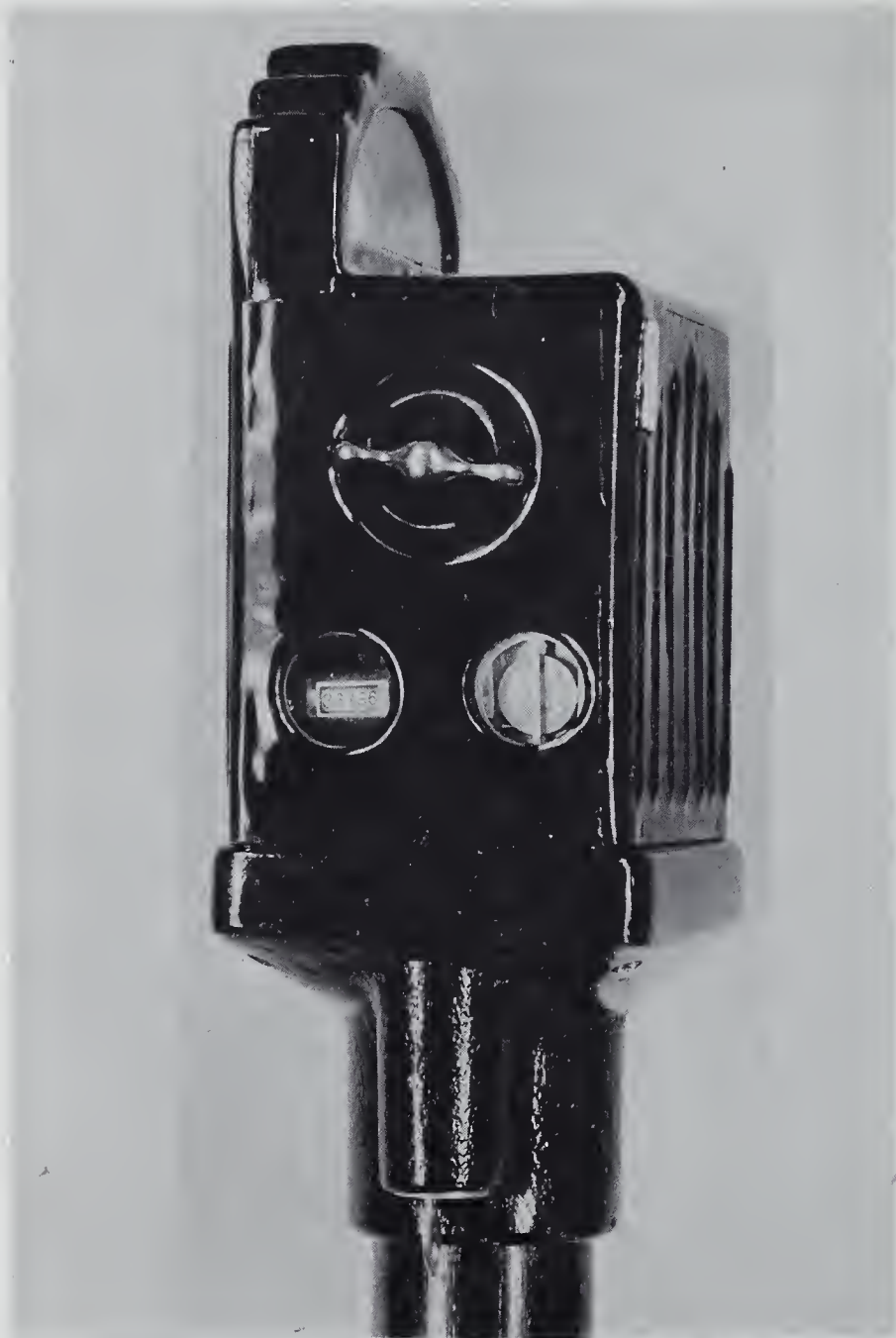
Now Gunderson Hall, at Oklahoma State University, where H. G. Thuesen and G. A. Hale designed the world's first operable

to the Century Electric Company of St. Louis and several other firms, asking them to give us an estimate of the cost of constructing manufacturing tools such as jigs, fixtures, and dies for making each part, as well as the cost of manufacturing enough of each part to construct 1000 meters.

In the late summer or early fall of 1933 we finally reached Magee and told him we had completed the parking meter model. Meanwhile, Magee had returned to Oklahoma City, and he immediately came to Oklahoma State University to see the meter. We demonstrated our model to him, and after viewing it for some time, he seemed pleased with the result of our work. He pointed out that the next step would be to learn what it would cost to build. Hale and I played our trump card by bringing forth the estimate of both tool costs and manufacturing costs prepared for us by the Century Electric Company. This foresight pleased Magee greatly. About this time he intimated that if we worked along with him on his parking meter project, he would take "care of us" beyond our basic fee of \$100.00 for building the model if it should develop into a money-earning device.

I next devoted some days to the development of the parking meter during the Christmas vacation of 1933-34, when my family and I motored to Sterling, Illinois, to visit with my wife's parents. From there I went to Milwaukee and Chicago to talk with possible suppliers about the outside case, die castings, and other parts for the parking meter. I kept my expenses in a notebook and lived as frugally as possible. I traveled by train and street car and stayed at the Wabash Avenue Y.M.C.A. in Chicago; without an advance of money from Magee, I could not live at a higher standard, for the previous March, along with all other faculty members of Oklahoma State University, my salary had been cut by thirty percent. I assembled much valuable information on this trip, and when I reported my expenses to Magee, he looked only at the total and said, "Whenever I travel for a client, I settle expense allocations by spending out of my left pocket for myself and out of my right pocket for my client." He concluded by saying that if this method of expense accounting was not agreeable to a client, he would not accept an assignment from him. Also, Magee never liked to do business by letter or telephone. Even for simple exchanges of information he would come to Oklahoma State University for a visit or ask us to go to Oklahoma City to see him.

Hale and I continued to work on perfecting the design and model of the parking meter. We made a complete set of blueprints of the Black Maria, and these are dated from January through June of 1934. We divided the work on the blueprints. I prepared the rough drawings from which Hale made the ink



(University Archives, Oklahoma State University)

THE BLACK MARIA

The first complete and operable parking meter. This was designed and constructed by Professor H. G. Thuesen and Professor G. A. Hale at Oklahoma State University in 1933.

drawings. This division of labor seemed logical, for at that time I had had greater experience in design and manufacturing methods and Hale was an excellent draftsman. In fact, he was teaching drafting in the Mechanical Engineering Department, and I was teaching manufacturing processes in the Industrial Engineering curriculum. Our blueprints carried penciled notations such as \$225 — 13c. The first amount referred to the cost of a tool to produce the piece, and the second referred to the cost per piece in lots of 1000.¹¹

After my arrival at Oklahoma State University in late summer of 1925, from time to time on trips to Tulsa, I noticed on the road between that city and Sand Springs, Oklahoma, a building which carried the name Nic-O-Time. I learned that this company manufactured a coin operated device as well as timers for exploding nitroglycerin in oil wells, and that it had a variety of machine tools adapted to model building. But when I attempted to contact this concern in the spring of 1934, I found it was no longer in business, and I concluded it was another victim of the Great Depression.

Soon thereafter Magee took me on an automobile trip to work out plans for the manufacture of the parking meter. We visited first of all the shop of a Sand Springs machinist we had employed some weeks earlier to make improvements on our parking meter model, but we found his efforts were not satisfactory. At the moment this seemed unimportant, because we had narrowly escaped being sideswiped by another automobile as Magee crossed the railroad tracks and turned east onto the Sand Springs-Tulsa highway. From Tulsa we traveled to Kansas City, Missouri, where we called on two manufacturers, one a die caster and the other a slot machine producer. The results of these visits were also unsatisfactory, and we continued on to Chillicothe, Missouri, where we stayed for the night. In working with our model in my hotel room, a small spring popped out and for a time was lost. I was much perturbed until it was found, for without the special spring I would have been unable to demonstrate the meter in St. Louis, our destination the following day. When we reached that city we had a conference with officials of the Century Electric Company. They assured us that they could build both the tools and the parts necessary to undertake the manufacture of our parking meter. The Century people were generous in making estimates of tool and manufacturing costs, for—unlike today—engineering companies during the Great Depression were eager for work to keep their personnel busy at anything that even remotely promised to lead to business. Noth-

¹¹ A set of these blueprints is in the Thuesen Collection, University Archives, Oklahoma State University Library.

ing came out of the conference with Century Electric that Hale and I did not know about from our earlier contacts with this firm. Magee wanted to see and hear first hand, however, the tool and manufacturing costs for our parking meter as drawn up by that company, and this approach was typical of all of his promotional business contacts. Actually, Century Electric was not enthusiastic about the practical use of the parking meter, although they were willing and anxious to take on the manufacture of the device as a matter of economic survival. Magee took no action on the offer of Century Electric.

During our automobile trip I came to know Magee well. Though much older than I, it developed that he had lived the early part of his life in Cedar Falls, Iowa, near where I grew up on a farm. I received my first seven years of grade school education in that city under the direction of Wilbur H. Bender, who had served as superintendent of schools in Carroll, Iowa. He was "thrown out" of the Carroll High School in 1896 by the older boys, a not uncommon fate of early-day school superintendents. Magee had been employed as the replacement for Bender on assuring the school board that he could maintain discipline. Soon the high school rowdies tested Magee's ability to keep order, and when four students came forward to forcibly remove him from the building, he put his experience in boxing to work by hitting one on the jaw and knocking him unconscious. He asked the other three boys to carry their fallen comrade outside. Magee also told me that while he was school superintendent, he was engaged by an insurance company to investigate the death of a farmer who had apparently committed suicide shortly after taking out a life insurance policy for one or two thousand dollars. Magee advised the insurance company that it could probably avoid payment on the merits of the case, but in view of the general skepticism in the community in regard to the integrity of life insurance companies, he recommended that the policy be paid in full. He suggested also that the insurance company take full advantage of the good will that full payment would bring by increasing its sales efforts. Magee was then appointed local agent for the company and, because of the confidence engendered by his decision, sold an inordinate amount of life insurance during the succeeding two or three months. This remarkable man was intelligent, and during his lifetime he engaged not only in teaching and life insurance selling, but worked as a journalist, a lawyer, and a businessman. He was also an able civic leader and a good speaker.

During the vacation period following the 1934 Summer Session at Oklahoma State University, Mrs. Thuesen and I took the children on a trip through Illinois, Iowa, the Black Hills



(Division of Public Information, Oklahoma State University)

**THE INDUSTRIAL BUILDING (ENGINEERING SHOPS)
AT OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY**

Where H. G. Thuesen and G. A. Hale constructed the world's first
operable parking meter.

of western South Dakota and northeast Wyoming, and Colorado. It was in Colorado that we visited with Hale and his family, also on vacation. He told me that Magee had been in contact with the Macnick Company of Tulsa and that George E. Nicholson, the former proprietor of the Nic-O-Time Company, and J. B. McGay had formed this new company and were designing a parking meter somewhat different from the pattern Hale and I were developing. Both Nicholson and McGay were well qualified by talent and experience to cope with parking meter design, and they also had a well-equipped shop in which to manufacture the device. At the time they were probably the only shop in Oklahoma with a line of light automatic lathes and punch presses. Their manufacturing experience included the production of bomb timers and recording meters.

A mechanical designer always bears in mind the equipment available, the tool cost of getting into manufacturing, and the cost of production. Hale and I in our design contemplated the use of standard machines requiring a minimum initial tool cost. Macnick, on the other hand, based their design on the equipment available to them, and they planned to use primarily punch press sheet metal parts.

Hale, Magee, and I met several times with Nicholson and McGay of the Macnick Company. I am sure that Magee was using us in evaluating the Macnick design, which used an enclosed signal visible through a window and provided for the last operating coin to be in view through a window. The meter itself was operated by a thumb handle. It did not require the operator to complete the winding cycle and was so constructed that a clever operator could cause the device to "hang up" in such a manner that it would give the appearance indefinitely that the automobile was legally parked. The ingenious operator could also partially operate the mechanism so that the signal flag would indicate legal parking and yet the coin would be left in the machine so that it could be used to repeatedly re-operate the machine. In other words, the Macnick design did not cause the operator to store energy in the mechanism over which he lost control and which subsequently drove the mechanism through its complete operating cycle. This feature was incorporated in the first parking meter that Hale and I constructed, which was the first complete and fully operable parking meter built by anyone. I am sure that Nicholson and McGay of the Macnick Company were not pleased with our observations, but they were broadminded enough to accept most of our recommendations and to partially overcome the handicaps of their first design. Our meetings with the Macnick representatives probably began in the early fall of 1934 and continued for many years.



(University Archives. Oklahoma State University)

**WORLD'S FIRST INSTALLED PARKING METER,
OKLAHOMA CITY, 1935**

The type of parking meter used in the world's first installation in Oklahoma City in July, 1935. This meter was manufactured for the Dual Parking Meter Company of Oklahoma City by the Macnick Company of Tulsa.

During the early part of 1935 the Dual Parking Meter Company was organized in Oklahoma City with offices in the Commerce Exchange Building. The actual parking meter manufacturing would be done in Tulsa by the Macnick Company. Nicholson and McGay, together with Magee and several others, were among the principal backers of the Dual Parking Meter Company. Hale and I were given stock in the company for our contribution to the development of the parking meter soon to be produced.

Hale and I went to Oklahoma City on July 16, 1935, to view the world's first installation of parking meters.¹² As I recall, the day was hot and sunny. One hundred and fifty meters had been installed, and for this test they were placed on one side of the street in one block and the other side in the next. Thus every block along the business streets had a free side and a metered side. Clustered around each parking meter was a group of citizens voicing their opinions on the new device. Hale and I were somewhat disturbed by the resentment expressed, but when we began to ask the most vociferous if they drove a car, we found they did not, and this caused us to breathe a bit easier. Newspaper writers and newsreel cameramen were busy taking notes and shooting scenes of those who used and talked about these first parking meters, and for a day Oklahoma City was the source of a major news story nationally and abroad. So effective were the meters in providing parking space in downtown Oklahoma City that by the end of three days merchants on the free side of the streets had petitioned the City Council to install meters on their side also.

But the legal status of these first parking meters installed in Oklahoma City was not long in being challenged. Ed Butterfield, a local politician, sought an injunction to prevent their use soon after they were installed. Magee as a lawyer recognized at the outset that the legality of making a charge for parking would be the determining factor in the use of meters. He was of the opinion that a charge could not be collected for the rental of parking space on streets because streets are dedicated to public use. On the other hand, he held that a charge could be made for policing traffic on dedicated public domain and that parking is an element of traffic. Thus, he reasoned, charging for parking as a policing activity is legal. This view was sustained by Judge Sam Hooker of the District Court of Oklahoma County

¹² See the article titled "Park-O-Meter — Yea? Bah?" in the *Oklahoma City Times*, July 16, 1935, for an account of public reaction to the first day of their use in Oklahoma City.

in July of 1935 in response to Butterfield's efforts to obtain an injunction.¹³ Subsequent decisions in many courts of law in a number of states followed the same reasoning concerning the legality of parking meters.

When I took my wife and children to Sterling, Illinois, for a visit during August, 1935, Hale wrote me encouragingly about the Oklahoma City situation: "Public taking to the machines beautifully. Last day's shakedown netted over \$160. City council voted Tuesday to install more machines. Councilmen who had been against installation stated that they had been wrong in their position and were changing their vote. Two or three cities lined up which will repay stockholders and provide working capital. Magee meeting a second day with N. Y. Commission."¹⁴ Within a year, Dallas, Texas, Long Beach, California, and Kansas City, Missouri, were trying out our invention.

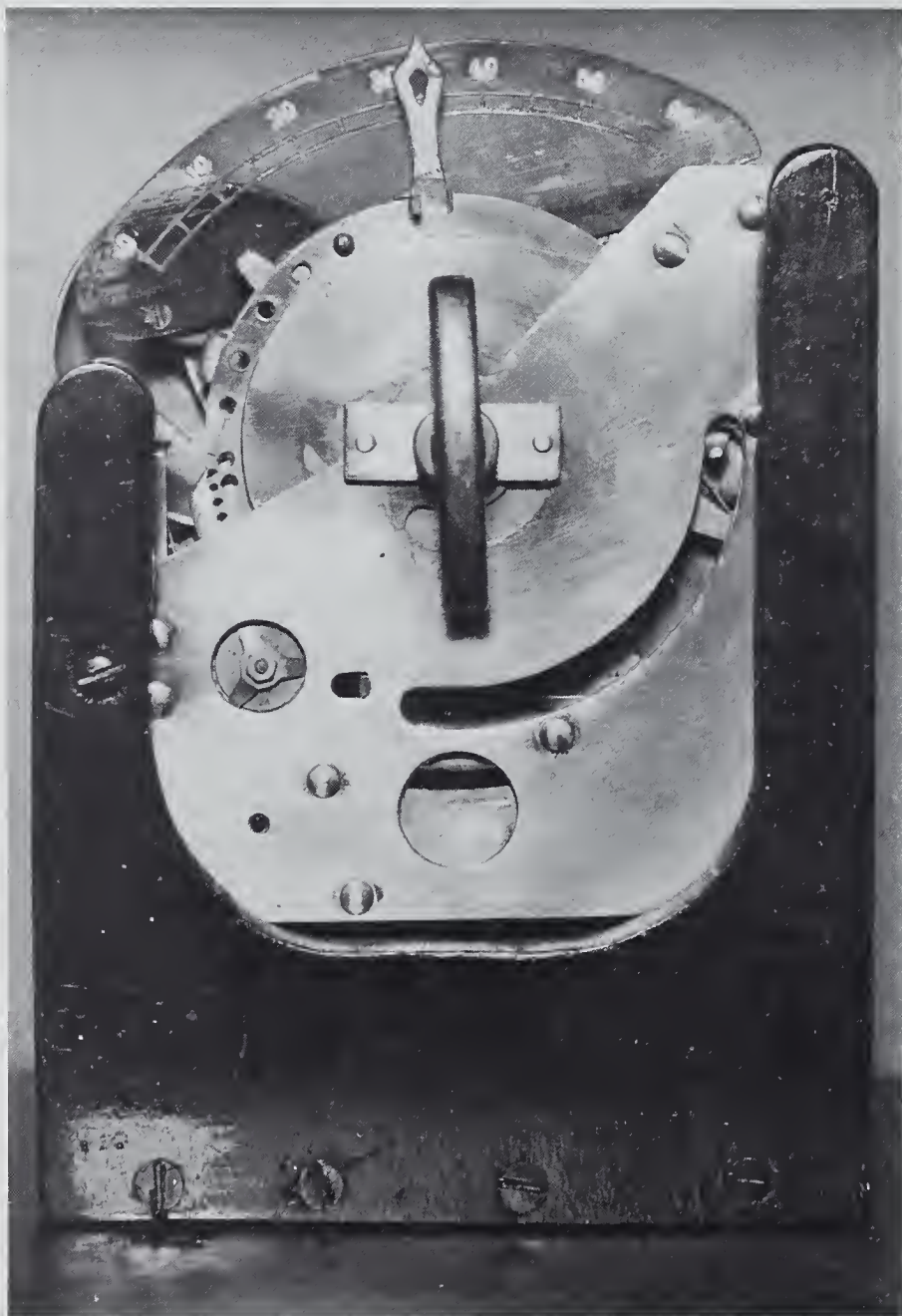
The first meters installed in Oklahoma City were manufactured by the Macnick Company of Tulsa. The shortcomings of their design, which embodied some but not all of the recommendations that Hale and I had made, were not long in making themselves evident. Since the meter mechanisms in the Oklahoma City installation were proving a maintenance and misuse problem, Magee and the Dual Parking Meter Company were much interested in the second design and model of a parking meter that Hale and I had recently developed. We began the design of this new meter—based upon the use of punch press parts—in the fall of 1934, and by the summer of 1935 had constructed a model.¹⁵ We applied to patent it on March 9, 1936, and it was granted on November 15, 1938, as Patent Number 2,137,111 in the names of Hale and myself as inventors, with Loyal J. Miller of Oklahoma City as our attorney and the Dual Parking Meter Company of Oklahoma City as assignee.¹⁶ Our

¹³ The opening statement, brief, and argument of W. H. Brown, Oklahoma City attorney, together with supporting data and Judge Hooker's decision, was published by Magee on August 17, 1935, in a duplicated pamphlet titled "Is the Park-O-Meter Legal? Read the Record." A copy of this pamphlet is in the author's possession. The parking meter lawsuit in the District Court of Oklahoma County was Number 87,560 and was titled "Ed Butterfield, Plaintiff, vs The City of Oklahoma City, et al, Defendants."

¹⁴ Postcard in the Thuesen Collection, University Archives, Oklahoma State University Library.

¹⁵ This parking meter model, except for the case, is on display in the Department of Industrial Engineering and Management at Oklahoma State University.

¹⁶ United States Patent Office, *Official Gazette*, Vol. 496 (November, 1938), p. 800; see also letter of Loyal J. Miller to the author, February 17, 1936, in the Thuesen Collection, University Archives, Oklahoma State University Library.



(Division of Public Information, Oklahoma State University)

**THE SECOND THUESEN-HALE PARKING METER
MECHANISM DESIGN**

This meter was developed to use punch press parts. It was constructed during 1934-35 at Oklahoma State University.

second meter was a mechanical improvement over the first, although it too caused the operator to store energy in the mechanism over which he lost control and which subsequently drove the mechanism through its complete operating cycle. Our second meter was operated by turning a handwheel. Its design was clearly an improvement over the design manufactured by the Macnick Company at that time and was therefore an alternative for the Dual Parking Meter Company to consider. I am sure that our design was instrumental in stimulating if not goading the Macnick Company into producing a design for a fully automatic meter, which requires the operator to insert the coin, whereupon the device takes over and supplies the energy from a previously wound spring to carry it through the required operating cycle.

The Macnick Company was not long in producing a design and model for a fully automatic parking meter. In the meantime, the Dual Parking Meter Company had decided to manufacture the second meter that Hale and I had developed. With the fully automatic meter of the Macnick Company available, the Dual Parking Meter Company again faced a decision as to which design to manufacture. Magee called a meeting to make this choice on the afternoon of Sunday, December 15, 1935, in the Dual Parking Meter Company office in the Commerce and Exchange Building in Oklahoma City. McGay, Nicholson, Magee, Hale, and I were present and perhaps others. Nicholson and McGay of the Macnick Company explained the operation of their new meter version with the aid of a handsome and skillfully made model. After a thorough discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the two meter models, Magee asked each of us in turn which of the two meters we thought the company should put into manufacture. In coming to a decision, the fact had to be considered that one or more competing meters made by other companies were coming on the market.

It was my judgement at this conference that an automatic meter would be somewhat more costly to build, but would be less subject to tampering and faulty operation and would perhaps require less maintenance than a hand-operated machine. Furthermore, the automatic meter appeared to me to have superior sales appeal. I admitted these points somewhat reluctantly and expressed my belief that the company should go ahead with the manufacture of the automatic model. This meant abandoning the production of the brain child of Hale and myself. As I recall, Hale expressed also the opinion that the manufacture of the automatic meter should be undertaken. It is my belief that this early adoption of the automatic meter was a sound decision and a major factor in the continued leadership of Magee and his associates in the parking meter field for nearly a third of a century.

The reason that I recall the date of this Sunday meeting in the offices of the Dual Parking Meter Company was that my daughter Betty Jeanette was taken ill the preceding Friday, December 13, and I was somewhat apprehensive about her during the meeting. Unfortunately, the illness was ileitis, virtually unknown at that time to medical science, and the needed sulfa and penicillin which might have saved her were not to become available for several years. She was a victim of progress not yet made.

About October of 1936, as I recall, Hale accepted employment with the Dual Parking Meter Company. I regretted to have this good friend leave the Engineering faculty of Oklahoma State University, but his decision to go into the emerging parking meter industry proved to be a wise choice. The business of the Dual Parking Meter Company picked up slowly but surely before the beginning of World War II and, after considerable success, the firm was sold to Eastern business interests on the eve of that conflict.

It was during the war that Magee, Hale, McGay, and Nicholson organized the Magee-Hale Park-O-Meter Company. Magee was president of the new firm, and Hale served as executive vice-president and engineer until the death of Magee in January, 1946, when he became president and major stockholder. Nicholson and McGay continued active in the new firm, which also used the Macnick Company of Tulsa as its manufacturer. In 1957 the Magee-Hale Park-O-Meter Company opened its own manufacturing plant in Oklahoma City in a new building located in the Willow Springs Industrial District.¹⁷ The business continued under the direction of Hale until the company was sold to the Rockwell Manufacturing Company in May, 1962.¹⁸

Hale, who retired when the Park-O-Meter Company was sold, has an outstanding story to tell of his relations with the colorful Magee, and as a key figure in both the organization and operation of the two parking meter companies with which he was associated. He knows also the succession of parking meter

¹⁷ The most complete description of the new plant constructed for the use of the Magee-Hale Park-O-Meter Company, together with its manufacturing operation, is in Bob Wolf, "Magee-Hale Park-O-Meter Co.," *Oklahoma Economic Development News*, Vol. 5 (January, 1960), pp. 6-7.

¹⁸ The Rockwell Manufacturing Company is a major industrial firm with factories in several cities, including Tulsa. Parking meters were manufactured in the former Magee-Hale Park-O-Meter plant for approximately a year after the purchase of the Magee-Hale Company by the Rockwell interests. Since then the structure has been used for other purposes and parking meters are no longer manufactured in Oklahoma City, the location of the first installation.

design, patent, and engineering problems. I hope for these reasons that he will publish his parking meter recollections in full.¹⁹

For my contributions to the development of the parking meter I received without cost to me shares of stock in the Dual Parking Meter Company and the Magee-Hale Park-O-Meter Company. My stock in the Dual Parking Meter Company grew to two and one-half times the initial cost to stock purchasers at the time of the organization of the company. When this money came to me, I decided to purchase a portion of the farm in Iowa on which I was born and reared. This proved to be a good investment, both in terms of the growth in the value of the land and of annual income. When the Magee-Hale Park-O-Meter Company was organized, I did not receive stock in it; but in the early 1950's, I decided I would like some stock in this firm. I asked Hale if I could purchase stock in his company, and when he informed me that that there was none available, I gave the matter no further thought. I was surprised some months later when the mail brought several shares of Park-O-Meter stock, a gift from Hale and his firm. I could not conceal my pride when I noted that Hale, a former student and colleague of mine at Oklahoma State University, signed the shares as president of the Park-O-Meter Company.

Over the years from the formation of the Dual Parking Meter Company in early 1935 until the sale of the Magee-Hale Park-O-Meter Company in 1962, I continued a casual consultant relationship with Hale for the purpose of working on meter problems. Many were the times also that I visited him out of friendship at his office in the Commerce Exchange Building and at the new Park-O-Meter plant in the Willow Springs Industrial District. As I recall, probably in 1936 or 1937, difficulty was experienced, particularly in cold weather, with the clock mechanism in the meters being manufactured by the Dual Parking Meter Company. At this time the firm gave some consideration to designing a meter with an electric clock in place of a mechanical clock. An electric clock is essentially an electric motor, and its operation is accompanied by the wastage of electrical energy, which in a parking meter would provide a welcome source of heat. Also, with electric current available, the entire design of the parking meter could be greatly simplified. With the thought that this avenue should be thoroughly explored, I designed and built a model of an electrically-operated parking meter for the Dual Parking Meter Company. Meanwhile, the mechanical clock

¹⁹ Hale has published two articles on parking meters and their use, "Parking Meter Aggie Designed," *Oklahoma A. & M. College Magazine*, Vol. 22 (December, 1950), pp. 5-8, and "Parking Meters Made in England," *American City*, Vol. 70 (May, 1955), p. 7. Hale's residence is in Oklahoma City at 1712 Randel Street.

mechanism was improved to the extent that the advantage of an electric mechanism would not offset the additional expense of providing a source of current at each parking meter.

During the World War II years when government restrictions prevented the manufacture of new parking meters, Hale developed an entirely new meter mechanism for the Magee-Hale Park-O-Meter Company to manufacture when materials became available after the war. I followed this design effort and exchanged ideas with Hale relative to it. I prepared several mechanism sketches, kept in correspondence with Hale, and in a modest way contributed to the final design of the post-war parking meter manufactured by the Magee-Hale Company.²⁰ The mechanism under consideration required that, by action of a spring, the time indicator hand snap to a position on the time scale determined by the coin used. Theoretically the hand should stop "dead" at the end of the stroke, but in practice the hand rebounded, thus shorting the customer of his paid-up time. The amount of rebound was erratic so that it could not be compensated for readily. Hale was wrestling with this problem one day when I entered his office. I immediately thought I had the remedy for it, and the solution that suggested itself came to me on a long thread of memory. Sometime prior to the year 1910 when I was perusing a copy of the United States Patent Office *Official Gazette*, my eye had fallen on an illustration of a reboundless hammer. This type of hammer has a cylindrical cavity in which a steel ball is free to move slightly in the direction of the blow of the hammer head. On striking a blow, the ball lags the downward motion of the hammer. An instant after the hammer head begins to rebound after striking its blow, it is struck on the inside by the loose downward moving ball. The two opposite momentums then cancel each other and the head falls "dead."

Even as a boy I knew something of hammers and their rebound on anvils. My grandfather who died before I was born was trained as a professional blacksmith in Denmark before he came to live in the United States, and my father inherited his tools and was a capable amateur blacksmith. With this background of experience and memory, I suggested to Hale that we try riveting a washer onto the indicator hand in such a manner that the washer would be free to move in the direction of the movement of the hand. This suggestion was immediately tried, with the materials and tools available, and proved successful. The

²⁰ Copy of a letter from the author to Hale, with a parking meter mechanism sketch, February 28, 1943, and letters to the author from Hale, with parking meter mechanism sketches, April 8, and 24, 1943, in the Thuesen Collection, University Archives, Oklahoma State University Library; also undated parking meter mechanism sketches of the same period, in *ibid.*



(University Archives, Oklahoma State University)

THE MAGEE-HALE PARK-O-METER

The Magee-Hale Park-O-Meter of the immediate post-World War II period, designed by G. A. Hale. This meter incorporated the pasher rebound device suggested by Professor H. G. Thuesen of Oklahoma State University.

Macnick Company, manufacturers of parking meters for the Magee-Hale firm, did not care for my unsophisticated solution to the problem, and at first experimented with several buffer pads and friction retarders. In the end, however, my solution was incorporated into the design of the post-war Park-O-Meter, and for many years the loose washer could be seen through the signal window by anyone who knew of the washer solution. This was probably my last concrete contribution to parking meter design.

One of my students at Oklahoma State University, Robert W. Hamilton, Class of 1951, carried on my working interest in parking meter design when he accepted employment after graduation with the Magee-Hale Park-O-Meter Company. Hamilton had superior inventive ability and contributed many clever ideas to parking meter design and improvement.

The parking meters of today still embody the two basic concepts of the designs submitted by students of the College of Engineering at Oklahoma State University in the contests of 1933 and those embodied in the first functional model of a parking meter, known as the Black Maria, built by Hale and me in the summer of 1933. These concepts were (1) an inside signal visible through a window in the case, (2) the last coin visible through a window in the case, and (3) a mechanism so designed that the operator receives no parking time until he loses control of the coin, following which the time cycle of the meter moves to completion.

In the development of American industry, students and professors of institutions of higher education have rarely been able to contribute as much to industry and society as did the College of Engineering of Oklahoma State University to the invention and manufacture of the parking meter. I have long looked with pride on the inventive genius and leadership of Hale in working with parking meters, and I view similarly the initiative and ingenious qualities of Magee that produced the idea for this device and brought it into commercial production. If Magee had not come up with the parking meter idea, how long would the appearance of parking meters have been delayed? I consider it a privilege to have been associated with these outstanding men, and I am pleased also to have been in a position to make a personal contribution to this invention that has revolutionized the parking of automobiles throughout the world.

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NOTE: The following list illustrates the widespread public interest in the parking meter from the first installations in Oklahoma City, in July, 1935, when an article titled "Oklahoma City Slot Machines Sell Nickel's Worth of Parking Time" appeared in *Newsweek*, of mass national circulation. The *Readers Guide to Periodical Literature* alone indexed 239 parking meter articles, from which this list was compiled, between 1935 and 1966, inclusive. This bibliography suggests also the broad scope of periodicals in which articles on the parking meter have appeared.

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FRANCIS, CHICKASAW NATION, 1894

*By Reita Sturdivant**

Material for this historical sketch was taken from Governmental records, from newspapers printed in the Territorial days and from talking with people. Records from the Post Office Department, Washington, D.C., show that the post office at Francis, Pontotoc County, Oklahoma, was established as Newton, Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory, on April 17, 1894. Its name was changed to Francis on June 5, 1902.

W. I. Cleveland was the first appointed postmaster in 1894 and held that position for a number of years. Newton was the beginning of one of the most thriving and colorful towns in the Chickasaw Nation. It grew slowly at first and then seems to have sprung up over night. Newton consisted of one store and the post office and was established on the present townsite of Francis, but later was moved about one mile east near what is now Cedar Grove. When the Frisco railroad was laid in 1900, it missed Newton by a mile and the town was moved back to the present site.

Francis was surveyed by the United States Government January 7-15, 1898. The town was approved by the Department of Interior, six years later, on November 12, 1903. During the intervening years, 1898 to 1903, there was some difficulty in getting the name changed from Newton to Francis. There was already one post office by the name of Francis in the Indian Territory, about three miles out of Sapulpa, and the Post Office Department refused to allow the name to be changed. The post office remained Newton, but the station was called Francis. Thus we find a town with two names. Perhaps it is the only town in the state which can claim this distinction.

* Mrs. Reita Sturdivant was reared in Francis, Oklahoma, and moved to Ada in 1924 entering East Central State College with her daughter Luceille. In recent years she has devoted her interests to handicraft, restoration of old furniture and wood carving. She is also an artist and talented in music, which she taught in public schools for several years. In her interest in antiques, she found an almost mutilated copy of *The Francis Banner* printed in 1901. This is a "Special Trades Addition" giving many notes on the history of this once thriving town on the Frisco Railway in Pontotoc County. From this old paper and additional research among some of the old-timers, she has produced a history of Francis for *The Chronicles*.

Mrs. Sturdivant is the daughter of the late L. C. Oliver, a business man of Allen, Oklahoma. Her mother Mary Etta Latta was seven-eighths Choctaw Indian. Her daughter Mrs. Luceille Braithwaite of Virginia now holds a position in the State Department of Virginia. Her son, C. O. Sturdivant operates a manufacturing business in Houston, Texas.

Mrs. Sturdivant's home in Ada has much of her art work and handicraft, including chairs which she carved and made. In preparing this history of Francis she produced a complete copy of the old newspaper, *The Francis Banner* column for column, including her own drawings of the prints of individuals and scenes that appear in this paper.—Ed.

Francis, named after ex-governor David R. Francis of Missouri, President of the St. Louis World's Fair Association, was a very popular man in St. Louis. Some of the "Old Timers", however, say the town was named for Bob Francis, Assistant Superintendent of the railroad. The records show that Francis was really named for ex-Governor David R. Francis, who was very proud of his namesake and well pleased with her bright prospects.

A few years prior to the birth of Francis the Indian Territory was a vast unknown country—a veritable forest and prairie combined—the abode of the "Red Man" who reigned in peace serene, as given in glowing accounts of this region.

The general topography was that of rolling prairies, level prairies and hills with streams, ponds and lakes intermingling. Mineral and stone was found in abundance, plenty of wild game such as quail, turkey and deer. In winter and spring, ducks and geese were added to the list. The fertile soil consisted of three types, the black loam, the red and the gray. Any kind of vegetable, fruit and grain could be grown in either one soil or the other. The luxuriant growth of native grass was especially good for raising stock. There was also plenty of oak timber for manufacturing purposes, fencing and fuel.

All of these qualities boosted the Chickasaw Nation as the "cream of the country", truly a "land flowing with milk and honey," which was believed to have more commercial worth than any other area of equal size, affording thousands of opportunities to the farmer, stockman, the business and professional man. The laws of the Chickasaw Nation were enforced by both its own officers and the United States Government, making it a safe place in which to live.

The establishment of the Frisco Railroad system in 1900, was an important factor to the growth and prosperity of the town. Francis was made the junction of the Red River Branch of the Frisco line. The first train service was December 16, 1900; the first United States mail agent and his car was put on the road March 26, 1901. H. E. Harkrider was local agent, a native of Texas who had been railroading since 1880. He was also agent for the Wells-Fargo Express Company, and issued money orders to all parts of the world. He was always found at his post of duty.

With the railroad came the roundhouse where the big steam engines were repaired and kept in good condition; also, the turntable where the engines were guided into different stalls or turned around for a return trip. Francis was selected as the location for a freight division due to the fact that it was almost exactly mid-way between Sapulpa, Oklahoma and Sherman,



(Photos Courtesy, George Dale of Francis)

FRISCO RAILWAY STATION, ABOUT 1901



Texas. Also because of its bountiful supply of soft water. With the establishment of the Frisco Railroad system, people were attracted to the community. Francis began to grow and prosper. Businesses were established in tents while the people waited for materials to be brought in from adjoining states. Rawhide lumber buildings were next established and later were torn down and buildings of stone and mortar were made.

Excerpts from the Special Trades Edition of *The Francis Banner* printed Thursday, July 11, 1901, will give a general idea of what was going on in Francis at that time:

Hotel Gaines, owned and operated by Mr. and Mrs. D. F. Gaines, is a credit to Francis. The well prepared meals and well furnished, lighted and ventilated rooms, have a good impression on the traveler, and serve as a booster for the town.

Mr. C. S. Norman came from De Witt, Arkansas and established a hardware and lumber business. He handles nothing but first class articles, the Charter Oak stove is a specialty. He also carries furniture and mattresses.

The modern mercantile establishment is conducted by W. T. Meadors. In this store there is an array of goods of all descriptions, suitable for every taste and adapted to every purse. Mr. Meadors has earned a reputation for reliability, honest and square dealings of which he can justly feel proud. He carries a line of groceries, a complete stock of furniture, implements, harness and millinery. Mr. Meadors is a native of Kentucky, he came west in 1893, to Holdenville, where he was engaged in the cattle business. He came to Francis at the birth of the town.

W. I. Cleveland was born in Newton County, Mississippi in 1868. He came to the Territory eighteen years ago. He was appointed Post Master in 1894, and was the only Post Master Newton ever had until the present one was appointed. Mr. Cleveland is now Manager of the R. S. Floyd General store. Mr. Cleveland owns a forty acre farm which is well improved and has a good orchard.

OTHER PROGRESSIVE BUSINESS MEN

Leon Lance was born in Davis County, Iowa, and has been in the Indian Territory twenty-one years. He moved into Francis among the first. He owns ten lots, a large feed yard, a fine stallion known as "Steel Dust", he owns the best Kentucky jack in the Territory. Mr. Lance also runs a water tank distributing good water throughout the village. He is one of the largest property holders in Francis.

Coulson and Jeffrey's is a modern mercantile enterprise which has a record of steady and continuous growth in public favor. J. R. Jeffreys is a native of Alabama. He came to the Indian Territory six years ago and engaged in farming near Dougherty, coming to Francis in January, 1901.

J. E. Coulson is a native of Mississippi. He came west six years ago, and to Francis six months ago. He has had fourteen years experience in the general merchandise business.

Mr. J. S. Robbins is one of the pioneers, having lived in this section twenty years. He is a native of Alabama. He came to Francis five months ago and is engaged in the general merchandise business. His store is the "Red Front," 24 x 60 feet and he owns it. His stock consists of dry-goods, boots and shoes, groceries, furniture, hardware and harness.

Mr. E. Henson was born in Missouri. He came here at the birth of the town and erected a fine livery, feed and sale stable. Mr. Henson, whose large livery barn is well known, makes it a point to keep good horses and

vehicles with competent drivers. If you want a good team and carriage to drive, either for pleasure or business, call at his barn and it will be furnished you in a prompt manner. This barn is head-quarters for eastern horse buyers.

Mr. L. Vincent is a native of Missouri, a barber of four years experience. He came here at the birth of the town and is the leading tonsorial artist. He has a two-chair shop 12 x 10 feet. He is agent for the Pierce City Laundry, and is a very enterprising citizen.

Mr. A. S. Johnson is a native of Kentucky. He came to the Territory twelve years ago. He owns and operates a small general store. He carries a diversified line of groceries, dry-goods, tobacco, teas and coffees. Country produce is taken in exchange for goods.

Dr. W. B. Wynns is a native of Texas, and educated in the common schools. He graduated in medicine at Ann Arbor and has been practicing twenty-three years. Nineteen in the Territory. In Dr. Wynn the town is possessed of a physician, surgeon and pharmacist of unusual ability and skill. The drug store occupied, known as the "Little Gem", is stocked with every drug, chemical, proprietary remedy, etc. Also perfumes and toilet articles. A specialty is made of the Single Binder cigars and mixed paints.

W. M. Broughton owns a shop 18 x 30 and is engaged in blacksmithing, woodworking, horseshoeing and repair work. Horseshoeing has become almost a science and few are the defects in a horse's gait that can not be overcome by one who has made such a deep study of the subject as has Mr. Broughton. He has been successful in curing interfering kneeknocking etc. He guarantees to overcome all defects occasioned by inferior work.

Captain Thomas J. West was born in Maryland, was left an orphan at the age of ten years. He was cabin boy on a ship for two years. He came west at the age of sixteen and located in Kansas. He moved into the Indian Territory forty-two years ago. He resides upon an old homestead on the south banks of the Canadian river and in sight of the Frisco road, one mile and a half north of Francis. He served in the War in the Chickasaw Brigade four years. He owns a two-story building (24 x 60 feet) in Francis, with the Masonic Lodge above. He has always played a prominent part in all affairs of the Nation, has been a friend to the poor and a willing helper in any laudable enterprise. The Chickasaw Nation is much indebted to him for valuable service rendered during the pioneer days of her existence.

REPRESENTATIVE FARMERS

The Chickasaw Nation contains some of the finest and most productive farms in the Territory, and upon which are some magnificent homes. Seemingly it is but a few years ago when this country was covered with a luxuriant growth of blue joint grass, prairie pinks and spuler lilies. This was suggested to us by a visit to the farm home of L. C. Oliver, one of the Chickasaw Nation's representatives and progressive agriculturists. Mr. Oliver is a native of South Carolina and he came west about twenty years ago [1886] and has been in the Indian Territory about fourteen years. He married an Indian woman of Chickasaw and Choctaw descent, whose maiden name was Marietta Latta. Mr. Oliver owns 400 acres of land and an 80 acre farm about three quarters of a mile east, well improved with a fine orchard and a beautiful home. His name will certainly be entitled to mention among the pioneers who helped to civilize and develop the Indian Territory.¹

¹ In the early 1890's Mr. Oliver moved to a farm four miles west of Francis. Here he built a one room schoolhouse and set up a subscription school. Farmers and people living in the neighborhood sent their children here to school. The price was the same as in other subscription schools, one dollar a month for each child that attended. This school was maintained until a public school was established in Francis. The Webster Blue Back speller was used in this school along with the McGuffey's fourth and fifth readers, and the Baldwin's Third reader.

T. M. Fannin is a native of Kentucky and was reared in Missouri. He came here six months ago and he owns three lots and one business house. "The Home Of Bargains," you will find here a line of groceries, tobacco, flour, the Oklahoma corn meal and all kinds of feed for man and beast. Mr. Fannin is an enterprising citizen and deserves the success he is meeting.

Doctor D. C. Brady, a native of Mississippi, conducts one of the best pharmacies in the Chickasaw Nation. A varied stock is handled including, aside from drugs, fancy and toilet articles, proprietary medicines, stationery etc. After receiving a common school education he attended college and graduated in Medicine at the Chicago Medical College. He has been practicing twelve years, eight in the Territory. His practice is a general one and extends all over the nation. He is a member of the Territorial Medical Association. Mrs. Brady clerks in the store and is a registered pharmacist.

Mr. Will Newman, a native of Texas, came to the Territory twenty-one years ago, and to the Chickasaw Nation four years ago and to Francis six months ago. He runs a pool hall in a two-story building. He handles cold drinks, lemonade etc. His place of business is always quiet. He is a liberal citizen and will contribute his share toward the upbuilding of the town.

Mr. T. E. Miller established a drug store here last December in a building 24' x 80'. The stock carried includes everything in the drug line, patent and proprietary medicines, of standard reputation, trusses and other surgical appliances, dye stuffs, toilet accessories and luxuries of all kinds.

In conclusion, we desire to thank the many public spirited citizens of Francis for judicious support and kindly encouragement in making this special issue of the Banner a success. But to the enterprising citizens who were instrumental in making the city what it is and were the means of transforming these once vacant fields into the fine little village you now have, and who can recognize in a measure the Power of the Press, we doff our broad brimmed hat, and, as the breezes sweep through our floating tresses, make our profoundest, most respectful editorial bow.

The Francis Banner was owned and edited by J. S. Dearing and Sons. Burt Dearing was editor, J. S. Dearing was the all around hustler and experienced newspaper man. Jack Dearing was the "printer's devil" who did all the work and took all the cussings. *The Banner* had a large circulation, a good job office, and the work was handled to the best possible advantage.

The first school was a subscription school and parents paid one dollar a month for each child that attended. In this way the teacher received his pay. Mr. Orrin Nelson was the teacher. As yet there was no appropriation for schools, but that came in due time as arrangements had already been made for a good school system.

Mr. Dave Watson, one of the early pioneers, came to Francis in 1902. When the railroad was established and came through Francis instead of Center, Mr. Watson's home town, he and his brother moved to Francis and established a General Mercantile Store. Mr. Watson was later Postmaster at Francis. On February 1, 1911, Mr. and Mrs. Watson moved to the farm about one half mile west of Francis. They reared nine children. Mrs. Watson passed away a number of years ago. Mr. Watson, at the age of ninety-two, had an excellent memory and loved to talk about his life at Francis. In 1963 when the Francis High School held its homecoming, Mr. Watson and seven of his daughters attended the program.

Mrs. Leona Edwards, who is ninety-five years young, yet is very alert and loves to recall things that happened there. Her husband came to Francis three weeks before she did and established an ice house. Mrs. Edwards arrived in March, 1901. She and Mr. Edwards came from Olena, Arkansas. Mr. Edwards was better known as "Icy" Edwards and folks still call Mrs. Edwards, Mrs. "Icy". She has one son living in Hot Springs, Arkansas, A. C. Edwards.

Mrs. Minnie Nelson is one of the pioneers of Francis. Her husband taught the first school in 1903, and later was Mayor of Francis in 1910. The Nelsons came to Francis and established a General Merchandise Store. Mrs. Nelson is ninety-eight years of age; she has a host of friends and as a shut-in loves to grow African Violets. She has quite a collection of them and loves to share them with her friends. Her daughter, Mrs. Hazel Huckins, lives in Ada to be near her mother. There are three grandsons and a number of great grandchildren. Mrs. Nelson was very active until a few years ago. She did paintings and kept her house until her health failed. She is very alert, has a wonderful memory and loves to talk of the "Good Old Days."

Francis continued to grow, but with the coming of statehood, came also the panic of 1907, which paralyzed business for a time and greatly retarded its growth. As a result of the hard times caused by the panic, the Superintendent's office was temporarily abandoned and the work of this division was handled from Sapulpa. But with the reorganization of the Frisco, the Red River Division was restored and headquarters located permanently at Francis. Plans were approved for a new office building, a twelve stall addition to the roundhouse, a new machine shop, new turntable, new storage track and numerous other improvements.

A wonderful Harvey House, managed by H. R. Hochstrasser, better known as Mr. "H," was one of the best in the country and was said to serve better food than the Big Harvey House in Kansas City. Two passenger trains at noon, one going north and another going south, had twenty minutes for lunch. While the travelers ate, the engines were supplied with water and coal. This same thing was repeated again in the late afternoon when two other passenger trains, one northbound and another southbound, had a twenty minute stop over.

A newspaper borrowed from R. G. Davis of Francis, shows that by 1910, Francis had a population of 1,350. A good school with a four year highschool course. Seven instructors were employed in the system. The school was under the supervision of Professor A. G. Bowles, a graduate of the State Normal School.

R. G. Davis is the son of L. H. Davis, one of the pioneers of Francis. L. H. Davis was foreman of the repair department

in the Frisco Yards. Was Mayor of the town in 1906-7. L. H. Davis was a third cousin of Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, and was connected with the families of William Henry and Benjamin Harrison. He was a Mason and a member of the Scottish Rite.

By 1910, *The Francis Banner* had changed hands twice. First to Felter, who gave it the name "The Wigwam," which was continued by L. R. Clarke who was editor and manager. The "Booster" addition of the "Wigwam" printed February 3, 1910, shows that Francis had asphalt, rich soil, soft water, fine climate, hospitable people, a railroad division, four general stores, a live commercial club, a wide-awake newspaper, four exclusive grocery stores, one exclusive dry goods store, the Bank of Francis, The Woodward Hotel, Carson Lumber Company, H. A. Kroeger real estate and loans, and a pay roll of \$17,000 monthly.

Francis was for a time the home of Wayne King, the "Great Waltz King of Music." His father was Assistant Superintendent of the Frisco in 1912. When going home from school, Wayne liked to walk behind Edith Sampson and tantalize her by blowing his horn in her ear, and pulling her hair.

From about 1914-1918, the town seemed to be at its peak. Francis was located about twelve miles northeast of Ada, and during these years many young people came from Ada, to Francis to enjoy music and dancing. The dancing took place in the Palace Drug Store, which was owned and operated by Mr. and Mrs. John Vickory. They were interested in the young people and they provided the place for dancing, a second floor which was called "The Mezzanine" or "Dance Platform." Music was furnished by the talented Miss Johnnie Anderson, who came with a group of young people from Ada. She played the piano entirely by ear. She could play anything she ever heard. When one of the young folks wanted her to learn to play a new piece, he or she would simply hum the tune, phrase by phrase, and Johnnie would play it phrase by phrase. Once over was enough, from then on it was hers. When the weather was too warm for dancing inside, the dancing took place in the street. Fred Fontle-roy, another one of the group, played a saw. There were others too that played some kind of instrument. The music of these young people was much in demand, playing for dances all around the country.

Even though Francis was a thriving community it was not without its tragic moments. One incident was when wheat was being shipped to the mills by freight. It was reported that the engines were being serviced when the railroad inspector noticed blood dripping from one of the cars. The car was set out and an investigation was made. The body of a small boy was found

in the wheat. Later on it came out that his step-father had murdered him and had thrown his body in the carload of wheat.

Another incident, a small boy started to cross the railroad track and a group of men were standing at the crossing. One man told him he could make it across, while cars were being set out. Another told him not to try it. The boy became confused, started across the track, was caught between the switching cars and killed instantly.

The greatest tragedy came when one of the young men who was employed by the Frisco, took a five gallon can of alcohol from a box-car that was enroute to Sherman, Texas. There was a tent show in town and he supplied the show people with alcohol. He also took some home. His mother made egg-nog and he and his mother and two older brothers drank it. The four of them died within a few hours time. About fourteen people lost their lives as a result of the alcohol which was wood-alcohol. A huge grave large enough for four caskets was dug and the mother and her three sons were buried in the one grave. This was a dark day in the early part of the year. A slow freezing drizzle added to the gloom of the tragedy. The roads were in very bad condition with rain and ice which kept the cars skidding around.

The coming of World War I, brought much strife and anxiety. Factions arose such as the "Industrial Worker of the World" (I.W.W.) and the "Working Class Union," (W.C.U.). These organizations rebelled against induction into the service of their country. They planned a march on Washington to demand that the government provide them with homes and food; that the people who had worked and accumulated a home and property, be made to divide with them. They seemed to be stronger in this area, creating much excitement in the community. They started their march at the school house in Francis, marching on through Francis with guns and ammunition. They were in wagons and on horseback. They crossed the Canadian River and camped in the vicinity of Seminole. There they stole a beef and killed it and roasted corn taken from the field of a farmer. This was to be their means of livelihood on to Washington. But at this point their luck ran out. The law finally caught up with them and many were arrested. Others fled and hid out in the brush and the countryside. They scattered destruction in many places. They burned the south end of the Frisco bridge across the Canadian river. By the time the word of the burning was received at the depot it was almost time for No. 539 freight train to approach the bridge. The only means of communication at this time was the telegraph and telephone and since these lines were broken when the bridge burned it was necessary to rush the switch engine crew to the river to try and stop the train. "D" Wilcoxson, one of the members of the crew on the engine, waded across the river and flagged the train and avoided what might have been

the worst disaster in the history of Francis. "D" Wilcoxson grew up in Francis and started working for the Frisco at an early age. He was the son of Jeff Wilcoxson who owned and operated a meat market and who was one of the early settlers in Francis.²

Edgar Caperton was the conductor on the No. 539 freight train which might have plunged into the river. Edgar dealt with the I.W.W. and W.C.U. often, as many of the trouble makers would try to steal a ride on the rains. When he put them off the train, they would flash their red card and say, "Just wait until we get into power." Edgar started working for the Frisco in December, 1911, as the station helper at Randolph, Oklahoma. In April 1914 he worked as time-keeper for an extra gang. He came to Francis in 1914, then started working as brakeman. In 1919 he was promoted to conductor of train-service. There were two divisions of service for the Frisco, that of train-service and that of engine-service. Edgar married Mary Cody of Francis, and they still make their home in Francis. They have one daughter, Ola Mable, who graduated from the Francis High School. She went on and took teacher's training at East Central College in Ada. She teaches Physical Education in Lakeland High School at Lakeland, Florida, an outstanding figure in the field of teaching. Ola Mable is one of the founders and a charter member of the Polk County Health, Physical Education and Recreation Association. She was the first state President of the Physical Education and Recreation Association, Lakeland. She accomplished a statewide survey of safety practices in physical education, and presented the findings to the National Convention. She edited a pamphlet titled, "Preparing Your High School Course of Study."

The induction of the boys into the service in World War II took many young people out of the town. From then on, it seemed to begin to fall apart. The First National Bank burned and was never restored. The adjoining buildings were damaged and later torn down. The Harvey House was destroyed by fire which spread to the depot, and it also was destroyed. Later the depot was re-built, though it was a smaller building. Francis then began to disintegrate. Little by little it has been demolished until there is nothing left except a few scattered buildings. Grass grows where the buildings used to be. Several walls are left standing. Debris is scattered around. This once thriving and colorful little town is nothing more now than just memories of what it used to be.

² This trouble is known in Oklahoma history as the "Green Corn Rebellion," which occurred in Pontotoc and Hughes counties in 1917. For further mention of this subject see "Texas Fever in Oklahoma," by J. Stanley Clark in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 429-43.—Ed.

GOVERNOR WALTON'S WAR ON THE KU KLUX KLAN:
AN EPISODE IN OKLAHOMA HISTORY

1923 to 1924

By Sheldon Neuringer*

With the onset of the 1920's a new Ku Klux Klan was beginning to make itself felt on the American scene. Founded in Atlanta in 1915 by William Joseph Simmons, the Klan did not attract much of a following until the middle of 1920. During the previous five years Simmons, effective as a spell-binder but inept in practical matters, had managed to build up a membership of only four or five thousand, concentrated mainly in Georgia and Alabama. Then, Edward Young Clarke and Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler, two talented promoters, entered the picture, and as a result of their efforts Klan membership leaped to about 100,000 within a time span of less than a year and a half.

During this period of rapid growth, from about June, 1920 to October, 1921, stories of violent acts attributed to hooded bands began to appear with increasing regularity in the nation's newspapers.^{1a} Press attention to the Klan culminated in the

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PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS

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famous expose of the *New York World*. The disclosures contained in the *World's* articles aroused so much alarm and indignation that they led to a congressional investigation of the hooded order. Imperial Wizard Simmons was the star witness at the hearings, and his performance constituted a *tour de force*. Effectively portraying himself as a man of absolute sincerity and purity of intention, Simmons denied that his organization had engaged in lawless acts, and affirmed that the Ku Klux Klan was dedicated solely to the perpetuation of American ideals, among which was obedience to the law. The exposures by the *New York World* and the United States Congress, instead of weakening the Klan, probably contributed to its accelerated growth.¹

The Order of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan with its secrecy, its colorful, if childish ritual, its dedication to one hundred per cent Americanism, filled a need in the lives of many old stock American Protestants living in small towns across the nation. The post-war period was one of insecurity, as the old and familiar America seemed to be threatened by a host of alien forces. Bolsheviks, foreigners, the Pope, the crime and corruption of the big cities, the apparant breakdown of the traditional morality, all seemed to be destroying the America with which native-born Protestants were familiar. Into this atmosphere of uncertainty stepped the Ku Klux Klan armed with a program designed to combat the alien forces that were subverting the old America. This underlying factor of insecurity coupled with the promotional work of Clarke and Mrs. Tyler, the free publicity accorded to it by the press and the ensuing congressional investigations, led to the Klan's spread into practically every state in the union by 1922. Probably its peak period in terms of membership was reached by January, 1924 where the Klan was said to have an enrollment of 4,500,000 men and women.²

The growth of the Klan also induced the rise of opposition. Emnity toward the hooded order was stimulated by such factors as its pandering to racial and religious prejudices, its involvement in acts of violence, and its disruption of community harmony through its arousal of fear and suspicion. Waging war on the Klan entailed considerable difficulties and risks. Membership was kept secret. Perpetrators of atrocities could not be easily brought to justice because masks protected them from being identified. Moreover, in many places the law enforcement agencies actively or passively cooperated with the Klan. In some areas the hooded order was so strong that threats of physical harm were not even necessary to silence an adversary. In such places economic boy-

¹ Mecklin, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-16.

² Frost, *The Challenge of the Klan*, p. 8.

cott or social ostracism usually sufficed. In addition, the Klan very often attracted cooperation and sympathy from officials of local government and from individuals from the white Protestant population who were not actually enrolled as members, but who approved of the aims of the hooded order.

By the end of 1922, the menace of the Klan had become so conspicuous that for the first time governors and state legislatures began to take restrictive measures against it. The outgoing governor of Kansas, Henry Allen, was probably the first state chief executive to attempt to check the hooded order. During the summer and fall of 1922, the Klan had managed to gain a foothold amongst striking railway employees in the southern part of the state. In November, Governor Allen, desiring to see the speedy conclusion of the railway strike, filed for a court injunction against the Klan on the grounds that its activities were detrimental to the welfare and safety of the people of Kansas. Although the governor was unsuccessful in obtaining an ouster injunction, the movements of the Klan in Kansas were to be hampered through the able efforts of Charles B. Griffith, the attorney general in the administration succeeding Allen's.³ In New York the Klan also encountered stiff restrictive measures. In May of 1923, the state's Roman Catholic governor, Al Smith, signed a bill which was designed to incapacitate the hooded order by destroying its main source of strength, its secrecy. The new law called for the Klan to file with the Secretary of State a sworn copy of its constitution together with a roster of its members and a list of its officers.⁴ By the end of 1923, three more states—Iowa, Michigan, and Minnesota—were to take legislative action against the hooded order. In these mid-western states the legislatures passed laws restricting the type of occasions during which Klansmen could legally wear their hoods and regalia in public.⁵

The New York, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, and Michigan Klans were relatively small and impotent organizations; but in one state, Oklahoma, in which the governor attempted to take restrictive action against the Klan, the organization turned out to be a deeply entrenched and politically powerful force. The Oklahoma Klan, established in 1918, had attained by 1923 a huge 103,000 membership. In addition, it controlled numerous local and county governments, and had on its roster the names of a majority of the members of the state legislature.⁶ Any governor, then, having the intention of taking bold action against such a powerful organiza-

³ Duffus, "The Ku Klux Klan in the Middle West," *loc. cit.*, pp. 365-66.

⁴ "The Klan Defies a State," *loc. cit.*, p. 12.

⁵ Higham, *Strangers In The Land*, p. 298.

⁶ Bliven, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

tion would be creating an extremely formidable task for himself. It is true, however, that circumspection was not one of John C. Walton's character traits. Walton was to wage war on the Klan so vigorously that his measures were to bring Oklahoma to a state of near-civil war, to attract national attention to events in the Sooner state for three dramatic months and, finally, to result in his own impeachment and ouster from office.

John Calloway Walton, the man who made war on the Oklahoma Klan, was born in Indiana in 1881. His family moved to Nebraska when he was a small child, and he spent his formative years there and in Ft. Smith, Arkansas. Walton first came to the Oklahoma Territory at about the turn of the century and spent some time as a laborer on a railway construction gang. Later he became a locomotive engineer and went down to Mexico for a number of years. There, as he was later fond of relating, he became an engineer on the private railroad of Mexican dictator, Porfirio Diaz. According to the proud Walton, he was the only man in all of Mexico whom Diaz would trust with the job of driving his private train. After his stint with Diaz, Walton returned to the United States and went to work in Kansas City as a salesman. In 1913 Walton moved back to Oklahoma to stay. In partnership with another man, he established a sewage system and water plant installation company. The considerable success with which this venture met was due in large measure to Walton's personal magnetism and ability as a salesman.⁷

In 1917, the ambitious Walton, now residing in Oklahoma City, decided to enter politics. He became a candidate for the post of city public works commissioner. Immediately, the city's newspaper, seeing the connection between his firm and the post which he was seeking, began to attack him. Despite vehement opposition from the press, Walton won the election by arguing that his experience in the sewage and water plant line constituted an asset rather than a liability for the office he sought. After two years as public works commissioner Walton threw his hat in the ring for the mayoralty contest. Again the press lambasted him. He was accused of dishonesty in office, and was taken to task for not resigning as public works commissioner before entering the mayoralty race. Few people in Oklahoma City gave Walton much of a chance of winning the election. Walton waged a vigorous campaign. Accompanied by a jazz band, he made the rounds of the city's busiest street corners where he gave informal speeches and handed out leaflets. To the surprise of the political prognosticators, Walton was elected mayor.⁸

⁷ Tucker, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-6.

⁸ McBee, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

While Walton was serving as mayor of Oklahoma's capital and largest city, rumblings of discontent began to be heard around the state. Oklahoma's farmers, caught in a price depression, smarted under usurious interest rates charged by state banks. Organized labor felt disgruntled at a succession of Democratic administrations which seemed always to be slighting its interests. Many of the state's plain citizens viewed the vast political power of the oil interests with concern. The Socialists, a powerful element in Oklahoma politics before the War (I), seemed to be stirring again. In February of 1922, delegates representing the Farmer's Educational and Cooperative Union, the Oklahoma Federation of Labor, and a Socialist group, convened in the town of Shawnee and formed the Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League, modeled in organization and aims after North Dakota's Non-Partisan League. Two months later the League called a convention for the purpose of drawing up a platform and choosing a slate of candidates for the upcoming elections. An enthusiastic group of 751 delegates, again meeting in Shawnee, drew up an eighteen-point platform, outlining a program of reform.⁹

The task now at hand was to choose a slate of candidates and a suitable man to head that slate. A group of labor delegates offered the name of the mayor of Oklahoma City for the gubernatorial nomination. During his stint as mayor Walton had done much to endear himself with organized labor. In the winter of 1921-1922, he aided striking packing house workers by providing them with police protection and by helping to raise \$800 for their relief fund.¹⁰ Moreover, "Our Jack," as Walton came to be called by his enthusiastic League supporters, was an able campaigner and a proven vote-getter. As there were no other figures of comparable popularity to give him competition, Walton easily won the League's gubernatorial nomination.¹¹

In August, the League entered the Democratic primaries. Walton faced two other contenders for the gubernatorial nomination. The first was Judge Thomas Owen, a conservative, who ran as a stand-pat Democrat. The second and more formidable opponent was R. H. Wilson, former state superintendent of schools who belonged to and had the endorsement of the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan, which had already made itself felt in local and county elections, marked 1922 as the year of its first state-wide test. The Oklahoma organization, conforming to standard Klan political strategy, did not wish to make itself an issue in the campaign and kept its endorsement of Wilson secret. A week before the election the Klan began circulating petitions for the initiation of a bill

⁹ Ameringer, *op. cit.*, pp. 373-74.

¹⁰ McBee, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹¹ Ameringer, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

making public school attendance compulsory for all children. This alarmed the Catholic voters in the state, some 41,000 strong, because if this measure were adopted it would spell doom to their parochial school system. Then, two days before the primaries the Klan, believing that Wilson had moved into the lead, made their endorsement of him public.¹² The Catholic voters now had to choose between Owen and Walton, and when it was made known to them that the latter's wife was a member of their faith, they threw their support to him. Walton won the primary, beating Wilson by 35,000 votes and Owen by 50,000.¹³

In the November elections Walton ran against the G.O.P. choice, John Fields, the editor of an agricultural newspaper. Touring the state with his now famous jazz hand, Walton pushed the Reconstruction League's Shawnee platform which promised a new and better order of things for Oklahoma's down-trodden.

The Klan issue played little part in the election. Although the hooded order viewed with disfavor Walton's association with the "socialistic" Reconstruction League, it saw no reason to wage a vigorous campaign against him. True, during the primary Walton had taken advantage of the religious issue; but at no time did he attack the Klan by name. Moreover, Fields, Walton's adversary, was no friend of the hooded order either. The Klan, then, refrained from taking an official stand on either candidate. In the November elections Klansmen voted as members of their political parties rather than as members of their hooded order.¹⁴ Walton, probably with the votes of a considerable number of Klansmen since he was a Democrat as were most members of the hooded order in Oklahoma, defeated Fields by a 50,000 vote majority.¹⁵

Walton began his administration with a grand flourish. In honor of his staunchest supporters, the common people of the State of Oklahoma, the new governor prepared an inaugural celebration the likes of which, perhaps, had not been seen in America since the days of Andrew Jackson. One enthusiastic Waltonite described it thus:¹⁶

More than 125,000 persons attended. The celebration lasted for three days. A barbecue was given at the state fair grounds where three miles of trenches were dug for the army of chefs who prepared the eats. In the capital twelve brass bands furnished music for the visitors who danced the old time square dances. This took the place of the usual inaugural ball attended only by the society folks.

¹² Frost, "Night Riding Reformers," *loc. cit.*, pp. 439-440.

¹³ *Harlow's Weekly*, August 4, 1922, pp. 2-4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, November 11, 1922, p. 5.

¹⁵ McBee, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

¹⁶ Tucker, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

No previous governor of Oklahoma had ever begun his administration with greater popular appeal than did John Calloway Walton. His ungrammatical and rough-hewn speech, his ability to identify himself with the plain citizen made him an idol of many an Oklahoma farmer. His popularity with the farm element was so great that in one agricultural county, Caddo, in the central part of the state, a special election was called for the purpose of voting on changing the county name to "Walton."¹⁷

In the early part of his administration Walton got along amiably with the Klan. As a means of gaining the support of this powerful organization the governor saw fit to appoint many Klansmen to positions in his administration, and he even made one member of the hooded order, Dr. A. E. Davenport, his state health commissioner. Walton's relations with the oil interests were also friendly.¹⁸

However, from the very beginning of his term in office Walton took actions that antagonized important elements in the state. The suspicions of the Reconstruction Leaguers were aroused when he began to use the terms "red" and "radical" in referring to them in speeches delivered before business groups. The Leaguers, moreover, felt disgruntled at the fact that the man whom they put in the governor's chair did not see fit to appoint anyone from their organization to high state office.¹⁹ Walton also began to draw sharp criticism from the press because of his abuse of his pardoning and parole powers.²⁰

In March Walton, in an attempt to assuage the growing hostility of the Reconstruction League, fired the president of the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater and replaced him with an important League figure, George Wilson. The Wilson appointment induced more criticism than anything Walton had yet done as governor. The college's faculty and alumni protested on the grounds that Wilson did not even possess a bachelor's degree. The American Legion attacked the appointment because Wilson was known to be a vocal foe of its organization. Conservatively inclined citizens feared Wilson's radicalism; and the press branded Walton's action as a cynical attempt to shore up his political fortunes at the expense of debasing the quality of education at one of the state's leading institutions of higher learning.

By the summer of 1923 Walton's political stock was to take an even steeper downward turn. There was talk of impeachment.

¹⁷ McBee, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹⁸ Matthews, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-41.

¹⁹ Ameringer, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

²⁰ McBee, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

There were hints that Walton had engaged in widespread payroll padding and misappropriation of state funds.²¹ The Wilson appointment continued to rankle. At the beginning of July Walton, in order to regain some of his lost prestige, gave a banquet for the thirty-two Democratic members of the state senate. To his unpleasant surprise the twenty-one senators who attended the affair came armed with a resolution censuring him for padding payrolls, for abusing his pardon and parole powers, for giving state contracts without competitive bids, and for appointing George Wilson to the presidency of the Oklahoma A&M College.²²

In August, Walton, in an attempt to bolster his political fortunes, fired George Wilson. This act brought down the wrath of the Reconstruction League and resulted in his final break with that organization.²³ Also, during this period an old foe of Walton's, former corporation commissioner Campbell Russell, began circulating a petition for a constitutional amendment which would empower the lower house of the legislature to convene without having to be first called into session by the governor, if the purpose of the session was to consider impeachment action against a state official. Needless to say, Walton did not view the Campbell Russell petition with much enthusiasm.²⁴

It was at this point, during a period of growing disaffection with Walton, that an event in Tulsa touched off the first phase of his war with the Ku Klux Klan. On the afternoon of Friday, August 10 a group of unmasked men abducted a Tulsa boarding-house operator by the name of Nate Hantaman. Hantaman had just been questioned and then released by the police when two men hustled him into a car parked less than a block away from the station house. Hantaman was driven to a deserted area on the outskirts of town, tied to a tree, and given a severe flogging. His assailants then dragged him into their car and drove to a field where they dumped him. From there Hantaman crawled to a nearby road, was picked up by a passerby, and brought to a hospital.²⁵ Hantaman's wife, upon discovering what had happened to her husband, made a long distance phone call to the governor's office and charged that the Tulsa police had abetted the assailants. On the same day Walton ordered a preliminary investigation, and it was revealed that a police car had given chase to the abductor's car, but was unable to overtake it. Moreover, Hantaman revealed that his assailants knew the reasons why the police

²¹ *Harlow's Weekly*, July 7, 1923, pp. 8-9.

²² McBee, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-54.

²³ Bynum, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

²⁴ *Tulsa Tribune*, October 2, 1923, p. 1.

²⁵ *Harlow's Weekly*, August 18, 1923, p. 8.

had brought him in for questioning. The facts, then, pointed to a strong possibility of police collusion in the Hantaman incident. Walton thereupon announced that he would declare martial law in Tulsa unless Hantaman's abductors were apprehended within three days.²⁶

The matter rested until Monday, August 13 when a representative of the governor brought Hantaman to Oklahoma City for interrogation by Aldrich Blake, Walton's executive counselor, who was attending to matters in the capitol while the governor was taking a brief vacation at the resort town of Sulphur. During the interview between Hantaman and Blake the latter received a phone call from Walton. Apparently Blake had given him a summary of developments in the Hantaman case; for when he returned from the phone, he announced that the governor had ordered him to declare martial law in Tulsa to take effect at noon the next day.²⁷

There existed some uncertainty as to why Walton took the drastic step of declaring martial law in Tulsa. Most of the evidence indicated that he acted without any ulterior motive. The Hantaman incident did suggest the strong possibility of police collusion; Hantaman's assailants were not caught after the three day deadline. All this would seem to indicate that Walton, confronted with a municipal government that was not giving its citizens full and proper protection from mob rule, merely performed his duty as chief law enforcement officer of his state and took action which he deemed necessary for coping with an apparent breakdown of law and order. Moreover, if Walton did intend to improve his political status by taking drastic action against Tulsa's municipal regime, he only had to recall the almost universal condemnation he received from the state press when he instituted martial law in Okmulgee County for a short time back in June.²⁸

Yet some of the evidence indicated that Walton did decide to take drastic action in Tulsa because he wanted to shore up his political fortunes. This view was presented by Ernest Bynum, one of the governor's advisors, who wrote the only insider's account of the Walton administration ever published. Bynum contended that Executive Counselor Blake, a bitter foe of the Klan, convinced Walton that he could regain much of his lost political prestige, if he cleaned up the situation in Tulsa.²⁹ Bynum's contention had much to support it. As we already mentioned, dissatisfaction with the governor was on the upturn as of the middle of August. Moreover, at the beginning of the month Walton had

²⁶ *Tulsa Tribune*, August 14, 1923, p. 3.

²⁷ *Harlow's Weekly*, August 18, 1923, p. 9.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, June 28, 1923, pp. 7-8.

²⁹ Bynum, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

announced that in 1924 he intended to run for United States Senator.³⁰ He could have easily recognized that the Tulsa affair, by giving him an opportunity to pose as a champion of good government, would enhance his chances for achieving his senatorial ambitions.

From the evidence, then, it is impossible to draw any firm conclusions as to Walton's reasons for declaring martial law in Tulsa. The motives that move men to action are usually complex, and it is possible that when Walton made his decision he was influenced not by one or the other motives given above, but by both of them. Whatever his reasons for doing so, Walton, on Tuesday, August 14, sent a contingent of national guardsmen into Tulsa to enforce his martial law edict. The guard, under the command of General Baird H. Markham, took control of the offices of the Tulsa county sheriff and the municipal police commissioner. At the same time General Markham, as the governor directed, set up a military court to investigate the connection between county and municipal officials and perpetrators of acts of mob violence.³¹

Thus far Walton had in neither his pronouncements to the press, nor in the text of his martial law declaration made any mention of the Klan by name. Probably his original intention was to avoid an open clash with the hooded order. There existed good reasons for this course of action. First, although the Klan almost was certainly to blame for the situation in Tulsa, nothing as yet had been proven against it. Moreover, as we have already noted, Walton nurtured senatorial ambitions, and he had no desire to antagonize a powerful voting bloc. However, an open clash with the Klan was practically unavoidable.

A day after martial law went into effect the *Tulsa World*, one of the state's leading Republican newspapers, which had been a consistent critic of Walton, recognized in an editorial that the governor's fight against lawlessness in Tulsa was in reality a fight against the Klan. Exclaimed the *World's* editorial: "As between the Invisible Empire and its flagrant disregard of the rights of citizenship, its treasonable defiance of orderly government as evidenced by the blazing crosses and mob activities, the *World* frankly admits that its choice is with Governor Walton."³² As the *World* further noted, it was no secret that the present Tulsa municipal and county regimes had been endorsed by the Klan in the elections of the previous fall, and at least a goodly proportion of the acts of mob violence could be laid to the doorstep of

³⁰ *Harlow's Weekly*, August 4, 1923, p. 5.

³¹ Tucker, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

³² *Harlow's Weekly*, August 25, 1923, p. 5.

the hooded order.³³ Thus, an investigation conducted with any degree of honesty and thoroughness would in the end reveal the guilt of the Ku Klux Klan.

Right at the start, the Tulsa Klan had put pressure on Walton to lift the investigation. Apparently Klan insistence grew so great that Walton on August 23 issued a statement denying that the military court inquiries in Tulsa were "directed against any (particular) organization."³⁴ A few days after this announcement the military court made its first indictments. Four Tulsa men admitted membership in the Klan and involvement in an unsolved flogging. One of the men, moreover, was revealed to be a constable. These confessions, as far as anyone knew, constituted the first instance where the guilt of a Klansman was ever demonstrated by a court of law. The press of Oklahoma, which had been largely critical of Walton for instituting martial law in Tulsa, now praised him for the achievements of his military court. Out-of-state newspapers, which had begun to observe events in Oklahoma with increasing interest, also chimed in with praise.³⁵

At this point Walton emboldened by the plaudits of the press and miffed by the lack of cooperation shown by many of those called to testify at the military court inquiries, threw all caution to the winds. On the last day of August in clear violation of the state constitution, he suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*. In addition, he tightened up martial law restrictions, sent in another 200 troops, and excoriated the citizenry of Tulsa for not cooperating with the military court. Feeling on the part of both the Tulsa authorities and the Walton camp started to run high, and irresponsible statements began to issue forth from the latter.³⁶ On September 2, Aldrich Blake, in an unfortunate reference to America's symbol of despotic government, declared that in Tulsa "the governor has the power of George III."³⁷ On the same day Walton, undermining any image he may have created for himself as a champion of law and order, exclaimed that "I feel just this way about that whipping crowd. The men who compose it are no better than murderers, burglars, and thugs. I don't care if you burst right into them with a double barrelled shot gun. I'll promise you a pardon in advance."³⁸

Finally, on September 6, three weeks after he had instituted martial law, Walton for the first time attacked the Klan by name. He bitterly accused the hooded order of impeding the

³³ Frost, "Night Riding Reformers," *loc. cit.*, p. 439.

³⁴ *Tulsa Tribune*, August 24, 1923, p. 1.

³⁵ *Harlow's Weekly*, September 1, 1923, p. 11.

³⁶ *Tulsa Tribune*, September 1, 1923, p. 1.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, September 3, 1923, p. 1.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, September 4, 1923, p. 1.

efforts of the military court by intimidating the witnesses who were summoned to appear before it; he announced that the evidence thus far gathered by the court pointed to the Ku Klux Klan as being solely responsible for the reign of terror that existed in Tulsa; and demanded that the wearing of masks in public be outlawed.³⁹ The grand dragon of the Oklahoma Klan, N .C. Jewett, proclaimed defiance at the governor's pronouncement by declaring that "Walton and all his cohorts will never break the power of the Klan in Oklahoma." Open warfare between Walton and the Klan, which had been held in abeyance for three weeks, could be prevented from breaking out no longer.

There existed a number of possible reasons why Walton took the bold step of openly assailing the Klan. First, encouraged by a press which applauded his exposures at Tulsa, the Governor may have now felt that he had more to gain politically by attacking the Klan than by courting its favor. Walton was purportedly interested in the Democratic vice-presidential nomination. Knowing full well that the Klan would be one of the major issues confronting the 1924 Democratic convention, the governor may have surmised that a victory over the hooded order in his state would make him a prime possibility for the number two spot on his party's national ticket.⁴⁰ Also, the transcript of the proceedings of the military court revealed tales of atrocities so horrible that Walton, cynical politician or not, could have been easily jolted into the realization that the menace of the Klan was so great that an all out attack upon it had to be undertaken. As an indication of what the Klan or those using its methods were capable of, we cite the following excerpt from testimony presented to the military court by James Smitherman, a Tulsa man, who had been victimized for attempting to register Negro voters in the 1922 primary elections:⁴¹

The mob then buckled me to a tree and they all whipped me. One of them would whip me until he got exhausted, then the other would whip. Finally, the man that spat in my face came over and pulled his gun, stuck it at my head and says, (sic), "I am going to kill you," and there was an elderly man, one of the unmasked, who prevented it. (Then) this little fellow came up, pulled his knife out of his pocket, caught hold of my ear and cut it off and said: "You will be a marked mother sucker the balance of your life." Then he tried to make me eat my ear, and I would not do it.

Following Grand Dragon Jewett's defiant rejoinder to his pronouncement of September 6, Walton ordered a state-wide prohibition of Klan parades and demonstrations. He also warned that if his order were disobeyed, he would put the entire state under martial law.⁴² Jewett, deeming it expedient to comply with the

³⁹ *Ibid.*, September 7, 1923, p. 1.

⁴⁰ *Harlow's Weekly*, September 29, 1923, p. 6.

⁴¹ Tucker, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-32.

⁴² *Tulsa Tribune*, September 8, 1923, p. 1.

governor's demands, announced to the press that "the Klan is for law and order first, last and all the time. Because of this fact any parade or masked meeting of any kind in the state of Oklahoma is forbidden absolutely."⁴³

As the just cited statement of Grand Dragon Jewett might indicate, the Klan handled itself with considerable skill during its clash with Walton. After the governor had threatened Tulsa with martial law following the Hantaman incident, Jewett, in an open letter to all Oklahoma Klansmen, issued a reproof to those responsible for the Hantaman flogging and exhorted the members of his order to rely on the courts and law enforcement agencies rather than on mob action for meting out justice to wrongdoers.⁴⁴ Officials of the hooded order were also quick to point out that the four confessed Klansmen who were indicted by the military court in August also stated in their testimony that the floggings in which they took part had not been authorized by their organization. In addition, spokesmen for the hooded order did a good job in indicting the purity of Walton's motives. They branded him an opportunist who, caring little for law and order, merely desired to improve his political fortunes by using their organization as a whipping boy.⁴⁵ Oklahomans had only to remind themselves of their governor's over-lenient pardon and parole policies, and this charge levelled against Walton assumed considerable substance.

During the second week of September the tide of public opinion began its decisive and permanent swing against Walton. From this point on, the governor's path led steeply downhill toward impeachment and ouster from office. Irresponsible statements, the unconstitutional suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, the effective Klan counter-attack, the failure of the military court to make additional indictments, and the threat to put the entire state under martial law—all inflicted irreparable damage to Walton's position. Had he been more moderate in his statements and actions, he may have been able to maintain a level of anti-Klan feeling high enough to extract concessions from the hooded order. But, as we have seen Walton chose to throw caution to the winds, while at the same time the Klan, solemnly proclaiming its attachment to law and order, refrained from any provocative acts. After the passage of the crucial first week of September a decisive number of Oklahomans came to believe that at that moment their governor represented a greater menace than the Klan. This group, which wanted "neither Klan nor King," temporarily allied itself with the hooded order and other anti-

⁴³ *Ibid.*, September 11, 1923, p. 8.

⁴⁴ Frost, "Behind the White Hoods . . .," *loc. cit.*, p. 494.

⁴⁵ Frost, "The Klan, The King, And a Revolution," *loc. cit.*, p. 530.

Walton elements to seek his ouster from office.⁴⁶ From this point on Walton, although he was to act as if he were fighting the Klan, was in actuality fighting to prevent his impeachment.

The next act, then, in the drama in Oklahoma was to center around Walton's desperate and abortive attempt to stave off ouster from office. In about the middle of the second week of September, Campbell Russell announced that enough signatures had been affixed to his petition for it to be placed on the ballot of the special election scheduled for October 2. Walton, who had ordered this election for the purpose of holding a referendum on a veteran's bonus, knew very well that if the Russell petition were approved by the voters the now hostile lower house of the legislature would be able to convene and impeach him. In an ill-conceived attempt to block the petition the governor ordered the document checked for false signatures; but, whether intentionally or not, he handed the petition over to state employees rather than to an impartial agency. This gave Russell and his friends the excuse to initiate a movement to convene a grand jury in Oklahoma to investigate the governor's alleged interference with the right of petition. Those behind the grand jury movement also announced that they intended to expand the inquiry into an overall investigation of the Walton administration. Walton was then advised that under state law he could be suspended from office if the grand jury were to hand down an indictment on even one of the innumerable charges that would probably be lodged against him at the inquiries. Responding to the grave threat that confronted him, Walton declared that "the Klan is preparing to call a grand jury to prefer charges against me. I intend to take it over (the grand jury) if I have to use troops to do it."⁴⁷

Those behind the movement to convene the grand jury, mainly Klansmen to be sure, did not bow to Walton's threat, and on the following day, September 15, the governor put the entire state under martial law. It seems clear that if Walton intended merely to stop the grand jury, he would have limited his martial law edict to Oklahoma City. Apparently it was his aim to take the offensive against the hooded order. In doing so, he activated an additional national guard contingent, created a large number of special deputies, and set up a military court in the capital city to conduct an investigation of the entire Oklahoma Klan. Maintaining the Klan's policy of avoiding provocative deeds or statements, Grand Dragon Jewett, when asked how his organization would react to the governor's martial law edict, replied that it would "simply pursue the even tenor of its ways and obey the law in letter and spirit."⁴⁸

⁴⁶ McBee, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

⁴⁷ *Tulsa Tribune*, September 16, 1923, p. 3.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, September 22 and September 20, 1923, p. 1.

The state press almost unanimously assailed Walton's latest move. Editorials called the governor's action despotic and pointed out that the extreme measure of state-wide martial law was justified only during a state of armed insurrection, a situation which clearly did not exist in Oklahoma.⁴⁹ The contentions of the state press were true; the situation in Oklahoma did not warrant martial law. Walton, however, had no choice but to take extreme measures; for he was involved in a struggle for his political life. His only hope was that by humbling the Klan he could dissipate the rapidly growing impeachment movement. "The Invisible Empire," Walton was shortly to declare, "shall not pass into this state. If necessary I shall arm every man in the state who is opposed to this empire. I have crossed the Rubicon."⁵⁰

Walton, successful in thwarting one threat, that posed by the Oklahoma City grand jury, now was to be confronted by another. At the beginning of August a small anti-Walton group in the state House of Representatives initiated a movement to obtain his impeachment. This group, disaffected by Walton's alleged corruption and incompetence, had failed to make much headway in its efforts to secure support from other solons until the second week in September. At that point, one of the leaders of the Walton ouster movement, William D. McBee, announced that a majority in the lower house was now in favor of convening to consider impeachment action. On September 20 sixty-five members (eleven more than a majority) met informally and drew up a proclamation in which they declared their intention to assemble on September 26, at noon in the capitol building to initiate impeachment proceedings. In the proclamation, which was modeled after the Declaration of Independence, the solons accused the chief executive of wantonly abusing his powers, grossly violating the state constitution, and creating a situation in Oklahoma conducive to civil war.⁵¹

Walton's reaction to the threat from the legislature was immediate and blunt. He branded the projected special session an "unlawful Klan assembly" and pointed out that under the state constitution the legislature could not convene unless summoned by the governor.⁵² This was indeed the case; but the solons interpreted this imprecisely worded clause of the constitution as being applicable only to instances where the legislature intended to convene as a law-making body. Therefore, they declared, their attempt to meet for impeachment purposes was perfectly legal and that on the appointed time of 12 noon, September 26, they

⁴⁹ *Harlow's Weekly*, September 29, 1923, p. 5.

⁵⁰ *Tulsa Tribune*, September 21, 1923, p. 1.

⁵¹ McBee, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 84-88.

⁵² *Tulsa Tribune*, September 22, 1923, p. 1.

would endeavor to enter the state capitol to carry out the task that they had set for themselves.⁵³ Walton, angered by the defiance of the law-makers, threatened them all with imprisonment if they should attempt to go ahead with their plans and in the heat of his anger rashly exclaimed that "the troops will be ordered to shoot to kill if that is necessary to prevent the assembly."⁵⁴

During Walton's war of words with the legislature the out-of-state press, which had up till that time been sympathetic toward the governor, began to show a change in its attitude toward him. The *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, for example, observed that⁵⁵

... in his war against the proven intolerance of the hate filled Ku Klux Klan, Governor John C. Walton of Oklahoma has shown himself to be fully a sintolerant as the Klan itself and promises to be far more dangerous to the public interest. When he threatens an entire state with martial law . . . and threatens with imprisonment duly elected members of the state legislature . . . the governor is setting himself up as an executive despot. He is out-Klanning the Klan.

An air of tense expectancy filled Oklahoma when the sun rose on September 26. The showdown between a threat-hurling governor and a defiant legislature was now at hand. However, long before noon, the appointed hour of the impeachment session, it became evident that there existed little likelihood of violence. On the previous day William McBee, the chief spokesman for the Walton ouster movement, had made a strong request of his colleagues to carry no weapons whatsoever—"not even a penknife. . . . We want no violence." McBee further stated that "We will go to the House corridor and if we are not permitted to enter we will leave the building immediately."

The governor also took precautions. He ordered an additional contingent of national guardsmen to the scene so as to prevent the gathering of crowds and demonstrators in the vicinity of the capitol building. With the arrival of the noon hour the sixty-five legislators who had been permitted to congregate in the rotunda of the capitol were ordered by the military commander of Oklahoma City to leave the building. The solons, without any outward show of defiance departed, but gathered once again near the capitol steps. The speaker *pro tem* of the house attempted to call his colleagues to order when the military commander interrupted him and read to the assemblage the governor's order to disperse. The legislators immediately obeyed and left the vicinity of the capitol. Later in the day Representative McBee stated that "the fight has just begun" and that the next step in the campaign to convene the legislature would be an appeal to the state supreme court. Walton had once more postponed his ouster.

With the termination of the bout between Walton and the legislature, attention now focused on the Campbell Russell petition

⁵³ McBee, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁵⁴ *Tulsa Tribune*, September 25, 1923, p. 1.

⁵⁵ *Harlow's Weekly*, September 29, 1923, p. 4.

and the special election of October 2. Walton, desperately seeking to prevent the petition from being voted upon, succeeded in getting the Oklahoma County district court to uphold the legality of his act striking the Russell proposal from the ballot. Russell and his friends then appealed this decision to the state supreme court and obtained a reversal.⁵⁶ Walton with his back to the wall thereupon called off the election. At this point the state attorney general, George Short, whose distrust of Walton had been mounting in recent weeks, issued a reversal of the governor's rescinding order on the grounds that there existed no legal basis for the cancellation of the election. Walton, in response to Short's pronouncement, once again called off the election and declared that if necessary he would use troops and special deputies to see to it that his order was enforced.

County law enforcement and election officials, confronted with conflicting orders from their governor and attorney general, for the most part were to heed the latter. Walton ordered his special deputies throughout the state, if need be, to prevent the opening of the polling places. County law enforcement officials, on the other hand, were authorized by the attorney general to resist any attempt to interfere with the election. A potentially explosive situation had thus developed in Oklahoma. On the day before the election, however, Walton relented. After branding the Russell petition a manifestation of the Klan conspiracy to oust him from office, he offered to re-schedule the October 2 election for December 6. When this offer met with no response, the governor on the evening of the same day announced resignedly that he would order his deputies to make no attempt to interfere with tomorrow's balloting. On October 2 the voters of Oklahoma by a count of 209,452 to 70,638 registered their approval of the Russell petition and in doing so gave their governor the most unequivocal rebuke that he had yet experienced in his fight to save himself from impeachment.⁵⁷

Walton, bloodied but unbowed by the outcome of the October 2 election, was still not ready to yield. His next step was to obtain from the Oklahoma County district court an order temporarily restraining the state election board from certifying the returns of the previous day's balloting. Spokesmen for the legislature thereupon branded the governor's latest move a delaying tactic, declared the election returns valid, and announced that they and their colleagues had decided to convene on October 17.⁵⁸

In a surprise move, Walton then issued a proclamation calling for a legislative session for October 11 to take up the matter of

⁵⁶ *Harlow's Weekly*, September 29, 1923, p. 11, and October 6, p. 4.

⁵⁷ McReynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

⁵⁸ *Harlow's Weekly*, October 6, 1923, p. 14.

anti-Klan legislation. This was a shrewd maneuver on Walton's part. He and his advisors had resigned themselves to the fact that sooner or later the legislature would receive clear-cut legal sanction to convene. They expected the state supreme court to uphold the solons in their appeal of the September 26 dispersal and believed almost a certainty that the high court would reverse the Oklahoma County district court's temporary restraining order on the state election board. Under such circumstances, Walton's endeavor to put the legislature on the defensive constituted the wisest course of action he could have pursued. The solons had promised to make an investigation of the Klan and enact legislation against it, and now they were being challenged to deliver.

But popular sentiment was by now so overwhelmingly against Walton, that his challenge had no effect whatsoever in swaying the solons. Spokesmen for the legislature asserted that they and their colleagues would heed the governor's call for an October 11 session, but added that they intended to adhere to their original plan of dealing with the matter of impeachment first and come to grips with the Klan problem afterward. At this point, Walton, acknowledging for the first time that his chances for averting impeachment were practically nil and wishing to salvage the remnants of his political reputation, offered to resign from office if the legislature would enact a Klan unmasking law. The solons, however, were determined not to let Walton off so easily. William McBee, once again acting as spokesman for the legislature, stated that "if the governor can get away with his new move he might appear in the next campaign with only his own explanation of his official acts. . . . Nobody wants him to establish himself as a martyr on a side issue in order to close the book on his official acts . . . by the resignation route." The stage was now set for the last act of the drama in Oklahoma.⁵⁹

Throughout his battle with the legislature Walton kept charging that the law-making body of his state was under the absolute domination of the Ku Klux Klan and that the solon's only purpose for seeking his ouster was to prevent him from making further attacks on the hooded order. This charge, like most made by those who tend to view reality in terms of black or white, amounted to a distortion of the true situation. The evidence did uphold Walton in one important respect. A majority of the members of the legislature were members of the Klan.⁶⁰ Walton's allegation that the actions of the solons were controlled by the grand dragon's office did not, however, withstand the evidence. Whatever else it may have been, the Oklahoma Klan was not the all powerful monolith that Walton and many other of its ardent foes had made it out

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, October 13, 1923. pp. 8-9.

⁶⁰ Frost, "Behind the White Hoods . . ." *loc. cit.*, p. 493.

to be. This was substantiated by the fact that Grand Dragon Jewett saw fit to institute a vigorous campaign to urge all Klansmen throughout the state to write their representatives in the legislature to support the impeachment movement.⁶¹ If the grand dragon had truly had the majority of solons under his thumb, a Klan letter writing campaign would not have been necessary. The evidence also indicated that at least some Klan members of the legislature joined the hooded order not so much because they agreed with its principles, but because they needed its endorsement to get elected. Such men were not likely to follow the Klan line, unless it appeared expedient for them to do so. Finally, most Klansmen in the legislature were also members of the Democratic Party. To the majority of them the governor of their state probably looked like a reckless adventurer who had to be ousted from office lest he damage the prestige of the Democratic Party.

The second part of Walton's allegation, namely, that the legislature intended to impeach him only in order to prevent him from further attacking the Klan also did not withstand the weight of the evidence. It was probably true that for some Klansmen the interests of their order were uppermost in their motives for wanting to impeach Walton; but, as was previously noted, Klansmen, being Democrats too, had cause to seek the governor's ouster because his conduct in office was doing harm to the reputation of their party. Moreover, it was probable that many Klan solons, sincerely believing their own anti-Walton propaganda, became convinced that he indeed was nothing more than a dangerous, self-seeking adventurer. Finally, the Walton ouster movement was not entirely a Klan affair. One of the most active of all the anti-Walton solons was Wesley E. Disney, a non-Klansman. Disney had personal reasons for opposing the governor. In January, at the beginning of the regular session of the legislature, he had tried for the Speaker's post; but Walton threw his support behind another man who ultimately gained the position. Next to William McBee, Disney probably did more than any other solon to engineer Walton's ouster. He had been a member of the original impeachment clique and he was to serve as the chief prosecutor in arguing for Walton's conviction before the state senate. Another indication that the governor's ouster was not solely a Klan enterprise, lay in the fact that the lone Roman Catholic member of the lower house, Joseph O'Brien of Oklahoma City, voted affirmatively on all save one of the twenty-two articles of impeachment drawn up against Walton.⁶²

On October 11, 1923, the lower house of the legislature finally convened to get the impeachment proceedings underway. The first order of business consisted of creating a special investi-

⁶¹ Witcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 and 106-107.

⁶² Harlow's *Weekly*, October 13, 1923, p. 10, and October 27, p. 10.

gating committee to be charged with carrying out hearings on Walton's conduct in office and formulating the testimony therefrom into articles of impeachment. For nine days the committee listened to testimony, and on October 22 it presented twenty-two articles of impeachment to the House of Representatives for ratification.

The impeachment bill consisted of three counts of misappropriation of public funds, three counts of involvement in graft, three counts of malfeasance in the area of appointments, one count of unwarranted interference with the conduct of a grand jury, one court of unwarranted suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, four counts of unwarranted imposition of martial law, one count of unwarranted prohibition of the assembling of the Houses of Representative, one count of unwarranted interference with the freedom of the press, one count of unwarranted interference with the special election of October 2, one count of violation of state law in prohibiting the death penalty, one count of abuse of the pardoning and parole powers, one count of violation of the inaugural oath, and one count of general incompetence.⁶³

On October 23, the day after the special committee had presented the articles of impeachment, the House assembled for the purpose of voting on them. Before the roll call could get underway, a note from Walton was handed to the Speaker. In this message the governor charged that Grand Dragon Jewett had \$250,000 available with which he intended to bribe certain legislators to vote affirmatively on the articles of impeachment. Walton further urged that the legislators, before they do anything else, summon Jewett to testify on this matter. However, the solons eager to get on with the main business of the day, dismissed Walton's message as an obstructionist tactic. By the afternoon the solons had adopted two of the articles, and these were immediately filed with the senate.⁶⁴

Under the Oklahoma constitution the filing of impeachment charges against a state official with the upper house of the legislature meant that official's automatic suspension from office. Thus, as of October 23, 1923, John C. Walton was no longer acting governor of Oklahoma. For an additional three days the solons deliberated on the remaining articles. On October 26, they completed the voting with the result that all save one of the twenty-two counts were adopted by huge majorities. The only one which had rough sledding consisted of a charge against the governor for violating freedom of the press when he imposed a one day censorship of the *Tulsa Tribune* on September 29. The

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 8-9.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

solons adopted this article by the relatively small margin of 51 to 42.⁶⁵

There existed but little doubt that the irate solons were being too harsh on Walton; for some of the charges lodged against him did not really constitute impeachable offenses. We speak of the four martial law counts, the count involving the violation of freedom of the press, and the one involving the unwarranted prohibition of the legislature's assembling on September 26. The solons could not rightfully presume the illegality or unconstitutionality of the actions embodied in these six counts, since Walton's justification for them rested on statutes or constitutional provisions that were imprecise enough in their wording to be susceptible to conflicting interpretations. These same six counts, as a matter of fact, later caused the legislators some embarrassment, as Walton was to utilize them as the basis for his defense before the senate.⁶⁶

At the beginning of November with the work of the House of Representatives completed, the focus of attention shifted to the Oklahoma Senate which was to sit as the court of impeachment. Walton in the meantime was making preparations to defend himself to the bitter end. Still trying to gain sympathy as a martyr for a noble cause, the suspended governor, a few days before his trial began, announced to the press that "if by sacrificing myself and humiliating and disgracing my family, I can be the means of saving the state from mob rule which has been operating in the dark, trying their victims by chaining them to trees and administering brutal punishment and other mutilations, then I am ready to be sacrificed."⁶⁷ The governor then filed an application with the federal district court in Oklahoma City for a restraining order against the senate on the grounds that the impeachment proceedings constituted a violation of due process of law. The United States court, as was expected, shortly handed down a denial of this application.⁶⁸

On November 6 the trial got underway. The court read the twenty-two impeachment counts, and Walton entered pleas of not guilty on all of them. From the 6th to the 15th of November the court heard testimony on the various charges. On the 16th the big break in the trial occurred. Wesley E. Disney, the chief prosecutor, asked for the dismissal of the charges involving the martial law impositions, the free press violation and the thwarting of the legislature's assembly. The senate then voted on the prosecution's request and upheld it by a narrow margin.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ McBee, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-160.

⁶⁶ *Harlow's Weekly*, November 3, 1923, p. 11.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶⁸ McBee, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-158.

⁶⁹ *Harlow's Weekly*, November 24, 1923, pp. 5-6.

The dismissal of these six charges knocked the props from under Walton's strategy of defense. After days of listening to little but damaging testimony against their client, Walton's attorneys had decided that the best course of action for him would be to seek public vindication for his conduct by showing that the measures embodied in the six charges were justified because of the lawless situation created by the Klan. Walton, shortly after he gave this defense strategy his approval, announced to the press that he intended to call as many as one thousand witnesses whose testimony, he declared, would vindicate him for his conduct in fighting the hooded order.

In the meantime the solons, catching wind of this defense scheme of Walton's, had calculated that it would prolong the trial by many months and cost the state a huge sum of money. Moreover, some solons, maintaining that the purpose of the trial was to deal with Walton and not with the Klan, announced that the governor by trying to shift attention to the hooded order intended to steer the court into an irrelevant side issue. Finally, although no member of the prosecution or the senate ever openly stated that he wished to protect the Klan from a damaging expose, there probably existed a few for whom the interests of the hooded order were uppermost in their motives for thwarting Walton's defense strategy.

On November 17 shortly after the proceedings of the day had begun, Walton, in the most dramatic move of the trial, unexpectedly rose from his seat and addressed the following statement to the chief justice and the members of the court: "I have been sitting here fighting for my honor, for my rights, and for my home for ten days. I don't wish here to criticize any of those honorable members, some of them no doubt want me to have a fair trial in this court. Knowing that, I am withdrawing from this room. I don't care to stand this humiliation any longer, for myself, my family or my honorable attorneys. You may proceed as you see best."⁷⁰

Thereupon Walton followed by his wife and six attorneys left the courtroom. Many of the participants and spectators at the trial were reported to be visibly moved by the governor's action; but some, stating that they saw Walton's attorneys start to pack their briefcases before he even finished the first sentence of his speech, expressed the belief that the whole affair had been staged.⁷¹ Regardless of whether Walton's exit was a spontaneous one or not, it did constitute the most expedient move he could have made. The court on the previous day had undercut the only course of legal defense acceptable to him and the melodramatic

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

effect of his exit served neatly to accentuate the martyr's pose he had assumed since the outset of the impeachment proceedings.

On November 19, 1923, two days after Walton's withdrawal from the trial, the court completed the gathering of testimony. Later in the same day the senators voted on the remaining sixteen of the twenty-two charges that the House of Representatives had lodged against the governor. A two-thirds majority on any one of those sixteen impeachment counts was all that was needed for conviction. As it turned out, the senators upheld eleven of those counts and voted acquittal on five. On two of the counts—one of those involving graft and the one concerning the abuse of the pardon and parole powers—the votes of the senate were unanimous. Thus, the two-month campaign to oust a governor who had used unsavory methods to fight an unsavory organization had come to a successful end.⁷²

With the business of ousting the governor completed, the solons now turned to the matter of anti-Klan legislation. It will be recalled that Walton, however offensive his methods in doing so, did succeed in arousing powerful sentiment against the hooded order. This anti-Klan feeling had remained so strong even throughout the impeachment furor, that the legislature had seen fit to promise an investigation of the hooded order and the enactment of a law curbing its activities. During the two-week interval between the passage of the impeachment articles and the beginning of the trial, the legislature created a six-man joint committee to investigate the Klan.⁷³

The bill that this committee drew up and presented to the legislature, if passed, would have constituted the most stringent anti-Klan measure in the entire country. The Anglin Bill, named after the president *pro tempore* of the senate, Tom Anglin, an ardent foe of the hooded order, called for (1) tri-annual filing of Klan membership lists with the various county clerks; (2) heavy prison terms for Klansmen convicted of threatening the life or property of any citizen; (3) liability to conviction of perjury for those, who upon being called to testify before a court of law, refused to answer questions regarding membership to the hooded order; and (4) drastic limitation of the kinds of occasions during which Klansmen could legally wear their hoods and regalia in public.⁷⁴ The Anglin Bill had virtually no chance of being enacted into law by a legislature in which the majority of the members were Klansmen; for the bill sought to destroy the hooded order's most potent weapon, its secrecy. As most ob-

⁷² McBee, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-176.

⁷³ *Harlow's Weekly*, November 3, 1923, p. 10.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, November 17, 1923, p. 10.

servers expected, the measure was drastically amended in both Houses with the result that only the last section, the so-called un-masking provision, was enacted into law.⁷⁵

The foes of the Klan, branding the new law a cream puff measure, accused the legislature of slavishly following the orders of Grand Dragon N. C. Jewett. Although the old charge that the legislature took orders from Jewett had little basis in fact, it was true that both Klan solons and the grand dragon saw eye to eye on the kind of legislation that would best serve the interests of their organization. Both, opposing the anti-secrecy provisions of the Anglin Bill also saw the desirability of un-masking legislation.⁷⁶ Ever since early September when Walton first began his war on the Klan, spokesmen for the hooded order had been arguing that the atrocities which the governor had attributed to their organization were in reality perpetrated either by non-Klansmen or unauthorized members who took advantage of their organization's secrecy and immunity from reprisal in order to settle disputes of a personal nature. This argument probably had considerable basis in fact.

By 1923 the Oklahoma Klan had attained sufficient numerical strength and influence so that it no longer needed to resort to physical violence in gaining its objectives. During its earlier years the hooded order with a small membership did employ strong-arm methods in dealing with those whom it regarded as its foes; but by 1921 it began to attract members from the better element of the community—that is, ministers, businessmen, professionals, and politicians. As a result of this growth in the quantity and quality of its membership the Klan's political power began to increase, and it succeeded in gaining control of many town and county governments. With the allegiance of governmental and law enforcement agencies behind it, and with its power to inflict social ostracism and economic boycott, the Klan soon discovered that violence, far from benefiting their organization in any way, actually caused it great harm as was demonstrated by all the enmity it aroused during its embroilment with Governor Walton.⁷⁷ The unmasking act of December 1923, then, was no mere sop to silence the critics of the hooded order. The leaders of the Klan genuinely desired this law because it was designed to protect their organization from those perpetrators of acts of violence who would wear the hood to escape detection and arrest.

The year 1923 did not mark the end of John C. Walton's war with the Ku Klux Klan. In 1924 the ex-governor, running on an

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, December 8, 1923, pp. 14-15.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, December 1, 1923, p. 5.

⁷⁷ Frost, "Behind The White Hoods . . ." *loc. cit.*, pp. 492-493.

anti-Klan platform, won the Democratic senatorial primary and in doing so may have inflicted more harm on the hooded order than he ever did as governor. Walton, it will be recalled, had first expressed interest in a senate seat early in August of 1923 shortly after the aging incumbent, Robert L. Owen, had announced that he would not seek another term. How, it may be asked at this point, did a man, who having been ousted from one high political office after being convicted of numerous acts of malfeasance, ever become a contender for another less than eight months later? The answer to this question lies in the fact that Walton, during the earlier stages of his fight with the Klan, portraying himself as a crusader against a menacing Invisible Empire and later during the impeachment campaign as a martyr who was being sacrificed so that this evil Invisible Empire could survive, succeeded in making himself appear in the eyes of Oklahoma's huge body of ardent Klan foes not as a grafter or reckless adventurer but as the martyred champion of their cause. It was this extreme anti-Klan element coupled with the farmers of the southern part of the state who continued to virtually idolize him, that constituted for the ex-governor the basis for his political comeback.

In the August Democratic primary Walton was confronted by four other men: C. J. Wrightsman, a millionaire Tulsa oilman; E. B. Howard, the United States congressman from Tulsa; Prince Freeling, a former attorney general; and Thomas P. Gore, a former United States senator attempting a political comeback.⁷⁸ Most political observers, underrating the importance of anti-Klan feeling as a factor in the election, did not consider Walton's chances for victory as bright. Despite his unacceptability to the press, the Protestant clergy, and most Democratic politicians, the recently ousted governor managed to win the election. He had sensed the strong residue of anti-Klan sentiment in the state and, posing as the martyred victim of the hooded order, centered his campaign around a hardhitting attack upon it. Another factor favorable to the ex-governor's cause was the presence of a relatively large number of opposition candidates, a factor which served to fragment the anti-Walton vote. Finally, what also aided Walton in emerging victorious with only thirty per cent of the total vote was the fact that Oklahoma law required no run-off election.

As well as a feeling of disgust, Walton's victory also aroused recriminations within Klan circles. A week before the election Grand Dragon Jewett had put his organization's stamp of approval on C. J. Wrightsman; but two days before the primary Jewett switched the endorsement to E. B. Howard. After the

⁷⁸ *Harlow's Weekly*, July 19, 1924, p. 3, and October 11, 1924, p. 3.

election the pro-Wrightsmen Cyclops of the Muskogee Klan, W. R. Sampson, attacked Jewett for perfidy and for handing the victory to Walton by causing the Klan vote to be split between two candidates. Jewett, a Republican, was also accused of purposely splitting the Klan vote so that his party's candidate in November would face the Democrat's worst choice, Walton.⁷⁹ The Walton victory, moreover, clearly and painfully pointed out to Democratic politicians who were Klansmen that the hooded order could, if enough voters felt strongly against it, turn into a political liability.

For the Oklahoma Klan the remaining months of 1924 were to be marked by dissensions and defections. In November Grand Dragon Jewett initiated a movement to impeach Walton's anti-Klan successor, Martin Trapp. The majority of Klan solons, despite the governor's feelings toward their organization, would have no part of Jewett's scheme. The official organ of the Oklahoma Klan, the *Fiery Cross*, then went so far as to call for the expulsion from the order all legislators who opposed the Trapp ouster movement. Another inter-Klan row occurred during the reorganization of the new legislature after the November elections. Many Klansmen, turning their backs on the candidacies of Jewett's adherents threw their support to pro-Trapp men for the key posts in the new House and new Senate. Two major defections took place in late 1924 when Wash Hudson, floor leader of the state senate, and W. Shelly Rogers, the Cyclops of the Tulsa Klan, both withdrew from the hooded order in protest to Jewett's meddling in Democratic politics. The latter half of 1924 had opened some deep cracks in the Klan wall of solidarity. Although the Klan was to remain a significant factor on the Oklahoma scene until about 1930, never again was it to enjoy the political influence that it had during the years between 1922 and 1924.

As for Walton's fortunes during the remainder of 1924, they also were to decline. In the regular election the ex-governor, trying to gain more mileage from the Klan issue, met with resounding defeat at the hands of his Republican opponent, W. B. Pine, an Okmulgee oilman, who trounced him by a 145,000 vote margin. Oklahoma, going Democratic in the presidential, congressional, and state elections, had, it seemed quite clear, given its ex-governor a ringing personal rebuke. In 1926 Walton once again tried for the senatorial nomination which he seemed to covet so greatly; but this time he was stopped at the primary, placing second in a three man race.⁸⁰ Throughout the 1930's

⁷⁹ *Harlow's Weekly*, September 6, 1924, p. 7, December 6, 1924, p. 3, and November 29, 1924, pp. 9, 13.

⁸⁰ *Harlow's Weekly*, August 7, 1923, p. 10.

Walton was to remain a figure in Oklahoma politics. In 1932, the voters, apparently unmindful of what happened nearly a decade before, elected him to a seat on the state corporation commission. In 1934 and 1938 Walton entered the gubernatorial primaries and placed poorly in both races. With the advent of the '40's the former governor retired from the political arena for good. He died on November 25, 1949 in Oklahoma City at the age of sixty-eight.⁸¹

⁸¹ Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-362; and *New York Times*, November 26, 1949, p. 15.

RECONSTRUCTION IN THE CHEROKEE NATION

By Hanna R. Warren*

When the Civil War began, the Cherokees occupied a large area of land in present northeastern Oklahoma and were a prosperous and civilized people with comfortable homes, immense herds of cattle and horses, and numerous schools. Four years later, there was a vast difference. Many of the returning Cherokees found their homes burned, fences and farm implements destroyed, and almost nothing remaining but the land. Not even that was left to the Confederate members of the tribe, as the Loyal Cherokees had confiscated their property.¹ This act increased the bitterness between the factions in the long-standing feud dating back to the removal of the tribe from Georgia. Animosity was so great that the Southern Cherokees could not return to their homes at the end of the war.²

Before General Stand Watie surrendered on June 23, 1865, leaders of the Confederate Cherokees and representatives of other Southern Indians were converging at Camp Napoleon, where they entered into a compact for mutual protection. They hoped by combining to be strong enough to be an effective bargaining body.³ In June a second grand council of the Southern Indians assembled at Armstrong Academy to plan for concerted action when meeting with the United States peace commissioners at a council called for September 1, also at Armstrong Academy. The meeting place was later changed to Fort Gibson and then to Fort Smith, so that these people, gathering first at Armstrong Academy, were late in arriving at Fort Smith.⁴

The peace council at Fort Smith had been in session more than a week when the Southern Cherokees arrived. The Northern delegation was there for the opening on September 8, although Chief John Ross did not arrive from Washington until September 14.⁵ The Ross faction considered themselves the logical party

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¹ Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People*, Volume I (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1929), p. 383. House Executive Documents, 39th Congress, First Session, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, Volume II, Number 1248 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1866), p. 438. (Hereinafter referred to as House Executive Documents).

² Rachel Caroline Eaton, *John Ross and the Cherokee Indians* (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company, 1914), p. 204.

³ Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian Under Reconstruction* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1925), pp. 139-140.

⁴ Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

⁵ Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), pp. 189-190.

to deal with the United States peace commissioners, since in February, 1863, they had repudiated their treaty with the Confederacy and had freed their slaves. They were not prepared for the hostile attitude of the commissioners nor for the uncompromising tone of the opening address of Chairman Dennis N. Cooley, in which he classed them with tribes that had forfeited their rights by signing treaties with the Confederacy. Also, Cooley refused to recognize Ross as Principal Chief even though he had represented the Cherokee Nation in Washington and had maintained relations with Federal officials since 1863.⁶

As chairman of the United States peace commissioners, Cooley instructed the Indians to choose five from each tribe to represent them and to sign treaties. The Cherokee delegation, as did delegations of other tribes present, averred that they did not have authority to make treaties. Cooley then presented these terms as a basis for making peace: (1) Each tribe would make peace among themselves and with the United States and aid in forcing the Plains Indians to maintain peace; (2) slavery would be abolished and Negroes would be taken into the tribes on an equal footing with members or be taken care of in some other suitable manner; (3) the tribes would give up part of their land for settlement of friendly Indians from Kansas; (4) it was proposed that all the tribes be joined under one government; and finally, (5) no white persons, except officers, agents, or employees of the Government, would be allowed to live in the territory unless they were incorporated into a tribe.⁷

Elias C. Boudinot and others of the Ridge faction⁸ accepted most of these terms, but objected to extending tribal rights to Negroes and to placing all tribes under one government. They, too, were disappointed by the unfriendly attitude of the commissioners. They had hoped that the Federal officials would negotiate in their behalf with the Ross faction for the immediate return of their confiscated land so that they might bring their people home from Arkansas, Texas, and the Choctaw Nation where they had taken refuge during the war. At the instigation of the peace commissioners, committees from both factions met, but were unable to settle their differences. The only accomplishment was a promise of the Ross faction to refer to their

⁶ Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-381.

⁷ House Executive Documents, No. 1248, p. 202.

⁸ The Cherokee tribe became divided before their removal from Georgia. The faction that accepted the removal treaty of 1835 became known as the Treaty or Ridge party. Its members included Major Ridge, John Ridge, Elias Boudinot, and Stand Watie. John Ross was leader of the group that opposed removal, and, hence, gave his name to that faction. The division during the Civil War was along these lines, with the Ridge faction joining the Confederacy and the Ross faction favoring the Union [after 1863].

National Council the question of return of property to the Southern Cherokees.⁹ Despite their differences, both groups signed the preliminary agreement, but the Loyal Cherokees did so only on the understanding that "they did not acknowledge they had forfeited their rights and privileges to annuities and lands."¹⁰ The Fort Smith peace council adjourned on September 21, 1865.

The Southern Cherokees did not obtain their objective at Fort Smith. Their people would have to await further negotiations before returning to their homes in the Cherokee Nation. They faced another winter with scant supplies of food and clothing. William P. Adair and other Southern leaders appealed to the Federal government in their behalf, and Commissioner Cooley appointed special agents to set up depots in different parts of Indian Territory where the destitute Indians of all tribes could receive food during the winter and spring of 1865-1866.¹¹

In the spring of 1866, delegations of the Five Civilized Tribes were called to Washington to renew treaty negotiations. Cherokee treaty-making was still hampered by disagreement between the factions and by the continued refusal of Federal officials to recognize Ross as Principal Chief. The Southern faction was more amenable to the wishes of the United States peace commissioners, particularly in regard to settling other tribes in the Territory, to making liberal land grants to railroads, and to establishing a territorial government.¹² Cooley favored the Southern Cherokees. He made determined efforts to discredit Ross, but the Northern leaders were unyielding, and it was with them that the treaty was signed on August 11, 1866¹³

The Southern representatives in Washington did not sign the treaty, but they accepted its terms. Though they did not achieve political division of the tribe and the land as they had desired, the confiscation laws were repealed and the Canadian District, south and west of the Arkansas River, was set aside for the settlement of Southern Cherokees and Negroes.¹⁴ Boudinot

⁹ Luther B. Hill, *History of Oklahoma*, Volume I (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1910), p. 124.

¹⁰ House Executive Documents, No. 1248, p. 519; Abel, *Reconstruction*, p. 199.

¹¹ Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), p. 239; Eaton, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

¹² Joseph B. Thoburn, Editor, "The Cherokee Question," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, II (Number 2, June 1924), p. 144; Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 389.

¹³ House Executive Documents, No. 1284.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12; Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 396.

kept Stand Watie informed after the latter left Washington to return to Indian Territory, and, of the treaty, he wrote:¹⁵

We have been beaten; that is to say we have not been successful in securing an absolute separation. I am in doubt as to the proper course to pursue. Adair and the others wish to defeat the treaty the Rosses have signed, but I incline to the opinion that the better policy would be to accept what he put in their treaty as it does not commit us to anything, and gives us a good chance to renew the demand for a division at a more favorable opportunity.

The treaty grants a general amnesty, declares confiscation laws void, and gives the Ross party no jurisdiction over us in civil and criminal cases before the courts.

There were thirty-one articles in the reconstruction treaty signed by the Cherokees. Among those that affected the Nation to the greatest extent were the following: (1) All Cherokees and Negroes who had resided in the Cherokee Nation prior to June 1, 1861, had the right to settle, if accomplished within two years, in the Canadian District. (2) The Cherokees agreed that all freedmen living in the Nation and those that returned in six months would have all the rights of native Cherokees. (3) They also agreed to grant a right of way two hundred feet wide—twice that at stations, switches, water stations, and river crossings—to any company authorized by Congress to build a railroad “from any point north to any point south, and from any point east to any point west of, and which may pass through, the Cherokee Nation.” (4) A general council, consisting of delegates elected by each nation or tribe residing in Indian Territory, was to be organized. It was to meet annually and legislate on matters pertaining to the entire Territory. (5) The United States could settle civilized Indians, “friendly with the Cherokees and adjacent tribes,” in unoccupied Cherokee territory. If the resettled tribes desired, they could give up their tribal organization and become a part of the Cherokee Nation by paying their proportionate share into the Cherokee national fund. If the tribes retained their tribal organization, they could settle in an area of land with each person allotted not more than 160 acres, the price to be agreed upon by the Cherokees and the tribe concerned, subject to the approval of the President of the United States. (6) The Cherokees ceded their land in Kansas, for which they were to receive an average of not less than \$1.25 an acre, exclusive of improvements.¹⁶

One of the first problems facing the Cherokees after the treaty was signed was that of revising their constitution to in-

¹⁵ Elias C. Boudinot, Washington, July 25, 1866, letter to Stand Watie, quoted in Dale and Litton, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

¹⁶ Edward Everett Dale and Jesse Lee Rader, Editors, *Readings in Oklahoma History* (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1930). The complete text of the treaty of 1866 between the Cherokee Nation and the United States government is reprinted in this volume, pp. 274-386.

corporate the provisions of the treaty. The National Council met in October, 1866, and William P. Ross was elected Principal Chief to fill the unexpired term of John Ross who died in Washington about the time the treaty was signed. The Council also chose Ross, Riley Keys, and Jesse Bushyhead to represent Cherokee interests in Washington. Amendments were drawn up, and Chief Ross called a general meeting for November 26 at Tahlequah to confirm the peace treaty and to consider the amendments.¹⁷ The amendments were approved, including the one guaranteeing citizenship to free Negroes and freed slaves who were in the Cherokee Nation at the beginning of the war and who returned within six months from July 19, 1866.¹⁸

The Southern Cherokees were not consulted concerning the constitutional amendments, and they did not agree with the actions taken at Tahlequah. Ross was less sympathetic toward them than Lewis Downing who had served as Acting Principal Chief until the National Council elected Ross. Late in December they met at Brier Town schoolhouse to hear reports of the negotiations in Washington and to elect a new delegation to represent them there, since they did not trust the one chosen by the Northern Cherokees. Adair, J. A. Scales, and Richard Fields were selected. They went to Washington in January, 1867, and were recognized by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.¹⁹

The two Cherokee delegations in Washington were combined later in the year through the efforts of Downing and Evan and John B. Jones, Baptist Missionaries who had been friends of Chief John Ross. These three and others believed that peace could be achieved more readily in the Cherokee Nation by a realignment of parties, combining the Watie-Boudinot-Ridge faction with the full-bloods who had followed John Ross. Downing was more acceptable to this group than was William P. Ross and, when it was time for the regular election in the spring of 1867, these people joined and were successful in electing Downing as Principal Chief. This group was called the Downing party, and the other faction, led by William P. Ross, the National party.²⁰ It was then that the new Chief appointed a committee of men chosen from both parties to care for the Nation's interests in Washington. William B. Davis, agent to the Cherokees, reported that after the election of 1867: "The Cherokees may be regarded as one people, all working harmoniously for the advancement and prosperity of their tribe. They are build-

¹⁷ Wardell, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-207.

¹⁸ J. B. Davis, "Slavery in the Cherokee Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XI (Number 4, December 1933), p. 1071.

¹⁹ Wardell, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-209.

²⁰ Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 459.

ing up their wasted fortunes, and rapidly repairing the desolations of the late war.”²¹

Despite the treaty provision and the constitutional amendment concerning citizenship, the question of status of the Negro remained a touchy one. At the end of the war, Secretary of the Interior James Harlan sent General John B. Sanborn to travel through Indian Territory to check on the condition of the Negroes. Even though he was able to report that “in general he found the freedmen without grounds for complaint,” the Cherokees resented this interference on the part of the Federal government. If General Sanborn’s recommendations had been carried out, the Negroes would have been settled east of the ninety-seventh degree of longitude in a military district under martial law. He asked that his commission be terminated in May, 1866, as the treaties to be completed in Washington would, he thought, take care of the Negroes.²²

The Negroes who heard of the six-month deadline came back within the allotted time. In some instances, because families were separated or for other reasons, husbands and fathers came back without their wives and children. This created a hardship for the relatives who were brought in later. They were not considered citizens and were not eligible to receive the rights and annuities due members of the tribe. Agent Davis realized that legally certain Negroes should be evicted but he pursued a rather lenient policy. He could not bring himself to “separate husband and wife, parents and children,” so he postponed action by appealing to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for a decision as to the proper course.²³

Agent John N. Craig, who followed Davis in office, thought that the treaty provision did not allow enough time; he believed that some Negroes were held in slavery in Texas for several years after the war. Craig expected the Cherokee Legislature at its next session in 1870 to take steps “to include all colored people legally residing within the country in 1861 among citizens of the nation.”²⁴ During sessions in 1870 and 1871, Chief Downing recommended their adoption as citizens, but the bills failed to pass. Courts were later set up to pass on citizenship, and some Negroes were classed as intruders. However, the Indian

²¹ House Executive Documents, 40th Congress, Third Session, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, Volume II, Number 1366 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1869), p. 741.

²² House Executive Documents, No. 1284, p. 284.

²³ House Executive Documents, No. 1366, pp. 741-742.

²⁴ House Executive Documents, 41st Congress, Third Session, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, Volume I, Number 1449 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), p. 747.

office generally pursued a lax policy and allowed the Negro intruders to remain. The Negroes stayed in the Cherokee Nation without legal status. They were not active in politics and usually caused no trouble.²⁵

Among the tribes taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by the treaty of 1866 to become citizens of the Cherokee Nation were the Delawares, the Munsies, and the Shawnees. These fulfilled the necessary requirements and began moving from Kansas in 1867. The Osages sold their land in Kansas and also bought land in the Cherokee Outlet.²⁶ After these and other tribes were settled, there still remained large areas of unoccupied land. The Department of Interior began moving in tribes from other states. Some of these removals were made without the approval of the Cherokees and without regard to the treaty stipulation that the tribes removed were to be civilized and friendly to the Cherokees. After a war in 1872-1873, the Modoc tribe was moved in from Oregon to be incorporated into the Cherokee Nation. After the Sioux War, white settlers in their area wanted all of the Sioux moved into Indian Territory; there was even more agitation for removal of the Indians after gold was discovered in the Black Hills. But people in Kansas and Texas, and the Five Civilized Tribes, objected. Up to this time the Department of Interior had been using the funds appropriated for removal purposes to move any tribes without express approval of the Cherokees or special authorization by act of Congress. In 1877 when the Indian appropriation bill came up for consideration in the House of Representatives, it was amended with the proviso that it not be considered as authorization to move the Sioux to Indian Territory. Roger Q. Mills of Texas won a place for himself in Oklahoma history by leading and winning the fight for the amendment.²⁷

The Cherokees had some trouble with the friendly tribes that settled in their territory. The Delawares were dissatisfied because they were not given political equality; the Quapaws tried to induce them to move to their area and purchase head rights from them. The Osages, because of an inaccurate survey, were settled in the wrong section and had to move again in several years.²⁸

²⁵ Davis, "Slavery in the Cherokee Nation," p. 1072; Wardell, *Political History*, p. 227.

²⁶ Hill, *History of Oklahoma, I*, pp. 136-137; House Executive Documents, No. 1366, p. 465.

²⁷ Dan W. Peery, "Oklahoma, A Foreordained Commonwealth," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIV (Number 1, March 1936), pp. 40-41.

²⁸ House Executive Documents, No. 1449, p. 753.

The tribes that were settled in the Outlet were located in the eastern part so that the unoccupied portion was separated from the Cherokee owners. With no one to oversee it, this vast area of over 6,000,000 acres was unlawfully used for grazing. Kansas cattlemen moved in on the territory from the north, and drovers from Texas on their way to northern markets fattened their herds there for weeks and months at a time. For more than ten years after the close of the Civil War the Cherokees obtained no revenue from the Outlet.²⁹

As soon as the treaty was signed in August of 1866, various persons and railroad companies began determined efforts to get grants of land or to buy the land very cheaply. Before the month ended, Secretary of Interior Harlan arranged to sell the Neutral Lands (a tract in Kansas, bordering the Missouri line) to the American Emigrant Company for one dollar an acre. When Orville H. Browning succeeded Harlan, he investigated, found the sale to be unauthorized, and cancelled the contract. He subsequently sold the land to James F. Joy, a representative of a railroad company. Cherokee officials made a treaty with the United States in the spring of 1868 in order to authorize the sale of the Neutral Lands. The treaty reaffirmed the American Emigrant Company contract and cancelled the Joy agreement. Then, under questionable circumstances, Joy again secured the contract. He agreed to pay the Cherokee Nation \$75,000 on ratification of the contract and the remainder in installments.³⁰

Agent Craig tried to protect the interests of the Cherokee Nation. He suspected that some of the Cherokees themselves were entering into intrigues with railroad companies to release to them large grants of land with the expectation of receiving personal gain.³¹ In 1870 Craig reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad Company was trying to get possession of an immense tract of fertile land with valuable water and mineral resources. He warned that³²

Every effort has been made to induce this nation to consent to grants of their lands to the railroad companies, but without success. All the companies interested, apparently, with the belief that the civilized Indian nations could be easily induced to part with their territory, or, if not, that it could be legislated away from them, at first asked grants of alternate sections. The aggregate of what was demanded would cover all the good lands the Cherokees own. Assent to the grants was refused, and now the Indians are threatened with summary measures.

²⁹ Edward Everett Dale, "The Cherokee Strip Livestock Association," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. V, No. 1, (March 1927), pp. 59-60.

³⁰ Wardell, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

³¹ House Executive Documents, 41st Congress, Second Session, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, No. 1414 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), pp. 848-849.

³² House Executive Documents, No. 1449, p. 751.

The Cherokee agent worked toward preventing exploitation of his charges in other areas also. Certain persons had been given the right to obtain and pay bounties and pensions due the Cherokees. These were often unscrupulous men, who felt that the Indian was fair game. They were to extract a designated fee for the service, usually ten per cent, but they often took fifteen. They almost habitually secured further profit by forcing the Indians to take merchandise at a specified store instead of part of the funds due them or, in some instances, wait indefinitely for their money. Some of the Indians came from great distances and were usually in need, so they accepted the supplies in lieu of part or all of their money. Craig changed this procedure of payment. He had the transactions made in his presence and took care that the Indians received full value. He appeared to have proof of the illegality in the handling of Cherokee funds, as he reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that "the papers of the pension agent lately seized by order of the Secretary of Interior, which are under seal awaiting further instructions, will furnish what information the authorities desire in investigating past irregularities in the business." He recommended that thereafter all transactions concerning money be supervised by the United States agent to the Cherokees.

Continually working in the interest of the Cherokees, Craig further reported that there were two post offices filled with appointees who were not citizens of the Cherokee Nation and that he believed competent Cherokee citizens were to be preferred for local offices.³³ He discovered that an extensive illegal trade in whiskey was being carried on by white men and half-breed Indians who were bringing it in from neighboring states, and he requested of the Commissioner that mounted troops be stationed in the territory to patrol the main roads in an effort to stop the traffic.³⁴

In the Forty-first Congress of the United States, a bill providing for the organization of Indian Territory under the name of Oklahoma was referred to a joint committee composed of members of the Committee on Indian Affairs and the Committee on Territories. No further action was taken, but this move made many of the Indians apprehensive. They felt that the railway interests were trying to get passage of a bill for a territorial government which would relieve them of treating with the Indians. They decided it was time for concerted action, and, since Congress had appropriated the money to pay the expenses of a general council provided for in the treaties of 1866, the leaders called for a council of representatives of the various tribes to

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 746-747.

³⁴ House Executive Documents, No. 1414, p. 846.

meet at Okmulgee in the Creek country on September 27, 1870. Since all the tribes were not represented, the council adjourned to reconvene on December 6.³⁵ Commissioner of Indian Affairs Ely S. Parker expected the general council to result in the establishment of a territorial government.³⁶ Agent Craig thought that the Cherokee Nation, "as the most important member of an Indian confederacy," would exercise a good influence over the wild tribes, and they would realize what could be accomplished for themselves.³⁷ The general council reconvened at Okmulgee on December 6 and passed a resolution authorizing a committee of twelve, with Ross as chairman, to draw up a constitution for a permanent organization of Indian Territory. The constitution was adopted by the council, but tribal voters did not ratify it. The Five Civilized Tribes completely renounced the constitution and retained their own form of government.³⁸

Vincent Colyer, United States Special Indian Commissioner, visited the Indian Territory to report on conditions there to Felix R. Brunot, Chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners. Of the proposed territorial government, he wrote that³⁹

The problem of a purely Indian territorial government requires much care. These Indians are very different in their degree of civilization. From the Cherokee government, with its complete judicial system, and thirty-two schools in operation, and the Cheyenne nomads who have just been placed in that territory, there is a wide difference. That these unequal elements may be trained to form a harmonious common government in time, and by judicious fostering, is likely, but the statesman who proposes to abolish the only governments that are of any use, and trust to the new experiment before it has had time to develop, only plays into the hands of the land speculators, individual and corporate, who hunger and thirst for the destruction of the existing governments, and will make haste to pronounce its successor a failure.

The Cherokees were to struggle for years with the problems arising from the provisions of the reconstruction treaty of 1866, but by 1870 they had made some progress in recuperating materially from the Civil War. Craig was able to report that crops had been abundant and that herds of cattle and horses, almost destroyed by the war, were to some extent replaced. Concerning the people themselves, he wrote that the factions were becoming reconciled and all were working as "a unit in purpose and effort to advance the common good."⁴⁰

³⁵ "Journal of the General Council of the Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III, No. 1, (April, 1925) pp. 33-34.

³⁶ House Executive Documents, No. 1449, p. 471.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 749.

³⁸ Peery, "Oklahoma, A Foreordained Commonwealth," p. 39.

³⁹ House Executive Documents, No. 1414, p. 516.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 478.

THE OTTAWA INDIANS OF OKLAHOMA AND CHIEF PONTIAC

By Norman G. Holmes*

The writer's Ottawa Indian ancestors handed down from generation to generation information that Pontiac was the son of a young Ottawa Indian chief of the Otter Clan of Ottawa Indians. His mother was not of the Ottawa tribe but more than likely of the Chippewa tribe. This assumption is logical because of the close relationship of the Chippewa and Ottawa tribes. *Handbook of American Indians* makes this statement on Pontiac's parents:¹ "Though his paternity is not positively established, it is most likely that his father was an Ottawa chief and his mother a Chippewa woman."

The name Pontiac, originally spelled *Pondiach* or *Pondiac*, has never been clearly defined or interpreted. Researchers have defined the first part of the name *Pon* as "stop or stopping." The writer's uncle, Walter King, Sr., who spoke the Ottawa language, made the following interpretation of the name Pontiac: "My people used to say the word *diackus* in a sentence in describing pain."²

Example: Ottawa: op-chic-go diackus mon-pe
 English: very painful here

Separate the word *diackus* thus, *diac-kus*. Its meaning in English is the word "pain-ful." Cancelling the syllable *ful* leaves the word *pain*; add the word "pain" to the researcher's "-Pon"-stop or stopping, and there are the words: "stopping pain," *Pondiac*, or *Pontiac*.

The year 1714 for the birth of Pontiac is by comparing the ages of his sons and grandsons with his probable age. Writers have listed Pontiac's age at various years. Francis Parkman in his book stated that in the year 1761, "Pontiac was now about 50 years old."³ This would place his year of birth about 1712-14.

Pierre Chouteau, Indian trader, knew Pontiac well. Chouteau stated that Pontiac was between 50 and 60 years of age when he was killed in 1769. McKenney and Hall in the portfolio, *Indians of North America*, stated that Pontiac was born in 1714.⁴

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¹Frederick W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Smithsonian Institution *Bulletin* 30, Vol. 11, Washington, D.C. 1911.

²Walter King Sr., "Sparks from Ottawa Campfires," *Northwest Ohio Quarterly*, Vol. XXVI, No. 4, p. 292.

³Francis Parkman Jr., *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac*, (Boston 1868), p. 164.

⁴McKenney & Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*, (Philadelphia, 1854), p. 37.



(From Painting by Susie Holmes)

PONTIAC

When Pontiac was murdered in 1769 by a Kaskaskia Indian, two of his grown sons were nearby, and were notified of their father's death. Pontiac at this time had three known sons. They were Ne-gig, She-gen-e-ba and O-tusa. It is believed that the two grown sons who were with Pontiac were Ne-gig and She-gen-e-ba. Comparative ages reveal that O-tusa was about thirteen years of age when his father, Pontiac was killed. Thus, O-tusa was born about 1756. O-tusa's mother was Kan-tuck-e-gun, probably much younger than Pontiac. Ottawa tribal history is that Kan-tuck-e-gun lived until after 1831.

O-tusa had four sons who came west with the Ottawas from Ohio in 1831, 1837 and 1839. These sons were Waseon, Ottokee, Wassonquette and Notino. The muster rolls of Ottawa Indians migrating west lists each of the four sons of O-tusa as being between 25 and 50 years of age at the time they left Ohio. Usually the ages of Indians were estimated since there were no records available to show their birth dates. Younger persons' ages could be estimated close; however, older persons' ages would be more difficult to estimate.

Notino was the oldest of the four brothers and according to Jotham Meeker, Baptist Missionary to the Ottawa in Kansas, Notino died October 30, 1846.⁵ Notino was principal chief of the Ottawas at the time of his death and was one of the older men in the tribe at that time. He must have been near fifty years of age when he left Ohio in 1839 since he had a son, Shaw-bon-da, who was born in 1817. It appears more likely that Notino was near sixty when he left Ohio in 1839, which sets his birth date at 1781. His father O-tusa would have been about twenty-four years of age when Notino was born.

The comparison of ages shown offer sufficient justification and some proof of the birth year of Chief Pontiac as 1714.

Frederick B. Hodge states that there were in the latter part of the 17th Century four or five divisions or clans of the Ottawa Indian tribe.⁶ These divisions, he states, were the Kiskagon or Bear Clan, the Sinego or Gray Squirrel, the Keinouche or Fish Clan the Nassaueketon or Fork People and the Sable. This is in agreement with Ottawa tribal history except in the last division which shows Sable. Tribal history shows this group to be the Ne-gig Otter Clan. Perhaps historians and writers identified the animal as the *sable* rather than the *otter* since the two animals resemble each other, both being from the weasel family.

⁵ Jotham Meeker, *Original Manuscript Daily Journal*, Kansas Historical Society, October 30, 1846.

⁶ Hodge, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 170.

Ottawa tribal history is that the Nassaueketon Fork People and the Ne-gig Otter Clan separated from the other three clans in the late 1600's and settled on the west shores of Lake Huron and the southern shores of Lake Erie. They occupied the country from Detroit to the vicinity of Beaver Creek in Pennsylvania. This area would include also the Maumee Valley in Ohio.

In the year 1635 a segment of the Ottawa Nation was living, according to Father Vimont, south of the Amikwa Beaver Nation on an Island Mantoulin in that fresh water sea Lake Huron. The above again verifies Ottawa tribal history that a segment of the Ottawa Nation, the Fork People and the Otters, were living in the Great Lakes region during the early 1600's.⁷

Pontiac was born at the forks of the Maumee and Auglaize Rivers in Ohio. His father was Chief of the Otter Clan, therefore, Pontiac was a member of the Otter Clan of Ottawa Indians. Historical documents reveal that treaties and other documents entered into by the Ottawas were signed by Pontiac during his time as Chief by his drawing a crude picture of the Otter on the document opposite his name. The practice of signing documents with clan symbols was common among Indian tribes during the 16th and 17th Centuries.

All of Pontiac's business transactions with governments were between the Ottawa Indians and France in early history. Later they were between the Ottawa and the British government.

The writer has a copy of an agreement dated September 3, 1765 between Pontiac on behalf of the Ottawa Nation and Mr. George M. Dougall of the British government in which it was agreed that a certain tract of land situated on the south side of the Detroit River in the vicinity of Detroit, be deeded to Mr. Dougall. Mr. Dougall was a lieutenant in "his Majesties Royal American Regiment." The copy of this document was obtained from the Public Record Office, Colonial Office, London, England. The signature shows a crude picture of an otter lying upon its back. It is this writer's assumption that the reason the otter was drawn lying upon its back is due to the way the document was presented to Pontiac for his signature. When the writer of the document finished writing it, he probably pushed it over to Pontiac to sign. The document would be upside down and Pontiac would draw his otter at the place indicated. Therefore, the picture of the otter would appear lying upon its back.⁸

The Ottawa Indian tribe of Oklahoma consists generally of members who are the descendents of the Otter Clan and Fork Peoples who migrated from Ohio to Kansas in 1832, 1837 and 1839, thence to Oklahoma Indian Territory in 1870.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁸ See *Appendix A* for the original Agreement with Pontiac (1765), in the British Colonial Office.

known men of this presents that I Pontiac Chief
 of the Ottawa Nation of Indians, do for my self & by the
 the consent of the whole of the said Nation in the presence
 of Lieut Col. John Campbell of the 11th Regt. & Commandant of
 this place. George Croghan Superintendent of Indian Affairs
 Esq. for the Goodwill & reward is borne by the whole of the
 said Nation unto George H. Dougall Late Lieut in his Majesty's
 Royall American Regt. Grant Give & release & by these presents
 both Grant Give & release unto the said George H. Dougall his
 Heir &c. &c. & assigns for ever A certain Tract or parcel
 of Land situate lying & being on the south side of Detroit
 River, beginning at the East side or point of the land now
 occupied or in possession of the said Dougall and at the water
 mark, from thence running up the river the length of eight
 acres, from thence running back from the river towards or into
 the woods eight acres, keeping in every part the breadth
 of eight acres, all -- French measure to have & to hold
 this & these eight acres for ever, me. I do hereby Acquit for my self
 and the said Nation of Indians & our heirs all claim to the
 aforesaid Tract or parcel of Land, but gives it to the aforesaid
 George H. Dougall as a free gift without any Lett Hindrance
 or Molestation from us or our Heirs



Sealed & Delivered in
 the Presence of

Thomas Inain

Henry Shueberger

Trowbappy

Given under my hand
 at Detroit this third day
 of September Anno Domini one
 thousand seven hundred & sixty five

Pontiac his  mark
 Ogichison his  mark

(Copy from Record Office, London, England)

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE OTTAWA NATION AND THE BRITISH, 1765

Signed by Chief Pontiac with his mark, an otter lying on its back.

When the Ottawas left Ohio, muster rolls of each group were made by the person in charge of the migration. Copies of these rolls are located in the National Archives in Washington, D.C., as well as the Historical Society in Topeka, Kansas.

Muster Rolls show only the name of the head of the family group. This could be either male or female depending upon the marital status of the individual. If a father is shown and has a family, the members within the family group would be shown under headings of male and female. Three headings for each group are shown, i.e.: all male members 10 years of age and under; over 10 years but under 25 years of age; over 25 years of age and under 50; all over 50 years of age. The same categories apply to the female members. The last column shows the total number in the family unit.

Indian tribes generally had an official and sometimes an unofficial historian whose duty it was to learn the history of the tribe and to remember important happenings in the tribe during his lifetime. The historian always had a younger assistant who learned everything the older person knew concerning tribal history. In this manner, it was possible to pass on from generation to generation certain amount of tribal history. Non-Indians have many times mistaken tribal history for fables and fairy tales made up by Indian people rather than historical items of the tribe. This is particularly true concerning the Indian's religion.

In the Ottawa Indian tribe of Oklahoma, the writer's cousin, Clarence E. King Sr., present chief of the tribe, now maintains the tribal records. His grandmother Lizzie Wolf King, passed on to him much of the past history of the Ottawas. Her knowledge had been passed on to her by her grandmother, Na-wutch. Na-wutch was born in Ohio and migrated to Kansas in 1837, and on to the Oklahoma Indian Territory in 1870.

Na-wutch told her granddaughter Lizzie Wolf that Pontiac's surviving widow, Ke-tuck-e-gun, came west with the Ottawas in 1832. Na-wutch also advised that Ke-tuck-e-gun was the sister of Ottawa Chief, Kee-tuck-kee, who was one of the chiefs signing the Treaty of the Ottawas and the U. S. Government at Maumee, Ohio on February 18, 1833.

Francis Parkman, the writer of Indian history states: "One of Pontiac's widows was living in 1807 in the Ottawa village on the mouth of the Maumee with her son O-tussa. Her name was Kee-tuck-e-gun."⁹ Parkman also wrote briefly of Pontiac and his children in the following account: "Pontiac left several children. A speech of his son She-gen-e-ba in 1775 is preserved in *Forces America Archives*, 4th Series III, 1542. There was another son

⁹ Parkman, *op. cit.*, p. 573.



MRS. LIZZIE WOLF KING

named O-tusa, whose grave is on the Maumee. A few years ago he agreed to remove with his people West of the Mississippi."

Howard E. Peckham's book of Pontiac and Indian Uprisings contains a reference to Lewis Cass who was planning in 1821, to write a life of Pontiac. This item refers to a descendant of Pontiac, Chief Tas-saw who, in 1825, was supposed to write about his famous forebear.

In the account by McKenney and Hall, a reference is made to Ottawa Indian Chief Pontiac and his son Tisson who lived on the lands at the junction of the Maumee and Lake Erie since, perhaps before the Revolutionary War.¹⁰ This is, of course, true since the Ottawas lived there, particularly Pontiac's family, long before 1700. A reference in McKenney and Hall's *Indians in North America* is made to Wash-keno-ket, also spelled Wau-soinquette which signifies "a Cloud Far Off," as the only surviving son of Tisson; and that he, Wash-ken-o-ket was living recently on the reserve land of the tribe on Maumee Bay at the mouth of the river of that name. There were, of course, other living sons of O-tusah (Tisson, Tassaw) whom the writers of the *Indians of North America* did not know about.

Ottawa tribal history reflects that the name of O-tus-sah or Tisson was known and that he was the son of Pontiac.

O-tus-saw (also spelled Tesson, Tisson, Tas-saw, O-tussa) was definitely the son of Pontiac. Peckham relates in his book as follows:¹¹

"All these sources show the established fact that O-tus-sah or Tisson (Tus-saw etc.) was the son of Chief Pontiac. He was undoubtedly the youngest of Pontiac's sons.

"McKenney and Hall's *Indians of North America*, further states that Tisson died by poison administered by someone of his tribe in gratification of revenge or jealousy, and was buried on the east bank of the Maumee in sight of the present town of Manhattan, Ohio.¹²"

There has always been knowledge among the Ottawa in Oklahoma that Pontiac was of the Otter Clan. There was also

¹⁰ McKenney & Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

¹¹ Howard H. Peckham, *Pontiac & Indian Uprisings*, p. 316.

As for Pontiac's descendants they are as shadowy as his family life. His wife Kan-tuck-ee-gun was reported living at the mouth of the Maumee in 1807 with her son O-tussa. She was still there in 1815. B. F. Stickney, one of Lewis Cass's agents, found at this Ottawa Village in 1825, a Chief named Tus-saw undoubtedly the same as O-tussa but then Stickney identified him as Pontiac's nephew. A few months later the same writer spoke of him as Pontiac's grandson. Whoever Tus-saw was, son, nephew or grandson, he was engaged in dictating a biography of his celebrated ancestor to Stickney for Cass. The manuscript notes evidently unfinished, have not been found.

¹² McKenney & Hall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 417-19.

knowledge that at least two of his grandsons, both chiefs, came west with the Ottawas from Ohio. These two were Waseon (also spelled Wasien, Waseone) which signifies "Far Off" and Ottokee (also spelled Autokee or Ottowukkee). Muster rolls of emigrant Ottawas coming from Ohio to Kansas show Autokee as the Chief of the group arriving in Kansas on July 25, 1839. Waseon was the second name shown on the list of those arriving in Kansas on August 31, 1837. The position of his name on the list would indicate that he was also a chief. The head chief of this group was Wassoinquette.

Some Ottawa tribal history has been handed down from generation to generation regarding the Otter Clan but not too much in reference to ancestors. This is partially true due to the taboo or superstition of members in the tribe that prohibited mention of the name of a relative after his death.

From Ottawa tribal history in Oklahoma until recently, not a member of the tribe knew he was a living descendant of Pontiac. However, former Chief Guy Jennison has always claimed to be a lineal descendant of Chief Pontiac but could not trace his lineage back through the known ancestry to Pontiac. This article will prove that Mr. Jennison actually is a descendant of Pontiac through an entirely different line than he has always thought. Other members of the present-day Ottawas will be equally surprised to learn that they are descendants of Chief Pontiac even though they had never made claim of such relationship. They are, however, blood descendants of the famous Ottawa Chief.

We Ottawas have claimed relationship to other members in the tribe but could not explain how we were related. It is now known that some of us are related as descendants of Chief Pontiac.

Recently, the writer discovered new additional information which adds light to Pontiac and his descendants. This information has not been made public until now from an article in *Howe's Historical Collections in Ohio* about the Ottawa Indians of the Maumee.¹³ It refers to Waseone and Ottokee and two others as Ottawa Chiefs and the sons of the noted Chief O-to-sah. Strange as it may seem, the writings did not identify Chief O-to-sah as the son of Chief Pontiac. The article is written as follows in its entirety:

Waseone and Ottokee were noble red men; finer or more perfect specimens of the human physique or of natural mental ability are seldom found anywhere. Ottokee, the oldest of the two brothers or half-brothers as they really were was a man six foot high weighing about 200 pounds and when speaking on the floor of the council lodge was as dignified and as noble in demeanor as a Clay or Webster and had much force and eloquence as their limited language would permit.

¹³ *Howe's Historical Collections in Ohio*, Vol. 1, p. 664.

Waseon which signifies "Far Off" was not so fleshy but had a heavy frame and was quite a large man as his older brother Ottokee, yet not quite so great an orator but very intelligent man and a good speaker.

There were two other brothers of this family named No-to-no, or the Calm, and Was-sa-on-quet. The latter was at one time the Head Chief of the Maumee Valley Ottawas but through dissipation and debauchery, consequent upon his intercourse with the white trader, he was "broken" of his office and reduced to a private member of the tribe. He was one of the most eloquent speakers I ever heard. He died from the effects of whisky soon after being removed West of the Mississippi.

No-ti-no, the oldest of the four brothers was living the last I knew of him. He was a good speaker but not so eloquent as either of his brothers. These were the sons of the noted Ottawa Chief, O-to-sah, if I remember correctly by different mothers, no two of them, I think, were full brothers polygamy being a legalized institution among Indian tribes of which I have been personally acquainted.

Another reference and writing on Wash-kon-ket, same as Was-sa-on-quet or Wassoinquette, is as follows:¹⁴

Wash-kon-ket, "A Cloud Far Off," the only surviving son of Tisson, was dwelling on the reserve land of his tribe, on Maumee Bay, at the mouth of the river of that name, a few years ago. His mother was a French Half-breed and he exhibited in his countenance and complexion strong indications of his European blood which ran in his veins. He was 5'9" in height, erect and well made for action or fatigue, with a round body and full chest. His forehead was large and inclined backward, his nose straight, but rather broad, his eyes a dark grey and his lips prominent. He was affable, courteous and hospitable in his intercourse with the whites, but dignified, firm and somewhat reserved in his manners towards his own people by whom he was much loved and over whom he maintains a strict rule. When the Government purchased the lands of his band of Ottawas with a view to their removal to the west, he received \$2500 for his proportion after which he became profuse in his expenditure. He had two wives who lived together in perfect harmony. Our intelligent correspondent adds: He and his branch of the tribe have moved over the Mississippi to the lands appropriated for them by the Government. When about leaving his inheritance, he appeared sometimes thoughtful but neither expressed hope, nor joy nor regret.

Near the time of his departure I observed him standing in the principal street of the town we had laid out as a part of their council ground and burial place, with his arms folded on his breast, looking on the land, the river and the bay with deep composure of features which the Indians so commonly possess but which is so difficult to describe for the closest observer would not discover in his countenance the indication of a single passion that moved in his breast.

Chief Was-son-quette, the records show, was restored to the office of Chief before he left Ohio. He and 173 of his people left there on August 31, 1837, arriving at Westport, Kansas October 31, 1837. He remained as Chief of his group until his death which occurred, according to Missionary Jotham Meeker, on January 10, 1840.

His name headed the muster roll list of the group migrating to Kansas under John McElyain, Superintendent. Interesting to note that Superintendent McElyain made a record of Shawboneda Roll which showed that an infant from the family of Shawboneda

¹⁴ McKenney & Hall, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 417-19.

died at Waverly, Ohio enroute to Kansas. Another note stated "One infant died out of this family on 9th., 15 miles from the Ottawa Reservation." This was the family of Otta-wan-se. A third note shows, "One woman died of this family on 24 September, at St. Louis." This family was of Bun-e-zis. The last note stated: "This man left the emigration on 4 September at Cleveland, Ohio." The person was Pan-tee.

Referring to the present-day descendants of the above four grandsons of Pontiac, the following accounts are given:¹⁵

Waseon: Waseon died on December 31, 1839 of consumption in Kansas on the Ottawa Reserve. He left a widow and two sons. His widow was Keep-sits. Waseon and Keep-sits are also believed to have been the parents of the boy that Reverend Jotham Meeker, Baptist Missionary, took to raise after the death of his parents. Meeker in his daily journal made an entry on October 20, 1840 stating: "Dig grave and make coffin for Keep-sits son." This would account for one of Waseon's sons. Meeker later related in his daily Journal on October 19, 1848: "We took a boy by the name of Pontiac into our family to bring up as our own son. He is ? of age. We call him Robert Merrill. He is a lineal descendant, a great grandson of the noted war Chief Pontiac. He is an orphan without father or mother." Robert Merrill later took the name of Robert Payne. He died in Kansas in 1869 leaving no descendants. It is believed that he was the second son of Waseon and Keep-sits.

Autokee: Ottokee or Ottokwukkee. Autokee died on March 18, 1840.¹⁶ He was survived by his widow who was a sister of Ottawa, the father of James Keah and Punzo. The Keah family of present-day Ottawas would be related to Pontiac by marriage but not by blood. There is no record of any surviving children of Ottokee or Autokee.

Wassoinquette: Wassoinquette died January 10, 1840 in Kansas.¹⁷ He was survived by one known son, John Holmes. Documentary evidence in Howe's writings has brought out the fact that Wassoinquette was also a grandson of Pontiac. Present-day descendants of John Holmes (and Wassoinquette) are the children and grandchildren of Joseph Holmes (No-wato). John Holmes II (Akito) and Eliza McCoy (She-baush-mo-quā) were Joseph's father and mother. He was born on the Ottawa Reserve in Kansas about 1850. The relationship of John Holmes to Wassoinquette has been known for years but it was not known until discovery of Howe's writings that Wassoinquette was a grandson of Chief Pontiac.

¹⁵ Jotham Meeker, *op. cit.*, December 31, 1839.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, March 18, 1840.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, January 10, 1840.



JOSEPH HOLMES AND WIFE, MARGARET PHELPS HOLMES

There are several living descendants of Joseph Holmes among whom is one son, Ephraim A. Holmes (Se-candaus)¹⁸ who has one son, Robert E. Holmes, and a daughter, Imogene Holmes Fields. Joseph Holmes had one other son, William Holmes (Chick-yus) who is deceased. Surviving William Holmes is one son, Norman G. Holmes, the writer of these notes on Chief Pontiac.

A daughter of Joseph Holmes was Louise Holmes King who is deceased. She was the mother of present Ottawa Chief and the writer's cousin, Clarence E. King Sr., Acquanoxcey. She also left sons Curtis, Kenneth and Don as well as daughters Myrtle K. Weston, Ada Mae K. Sovoy, Lorraine K. Montgomery and Mary K. Angelo. There are several great and great great grandchildren of Joseph Holmes.

Notino: Notino died October 30, 1846.¹⁹ One of his sons, James Wind Shawboneda was Chief of the Ottawas in Kansas and later in Oklahoma Indian Territory after their removal from Kansas in 1870. One of James Wind's grandsons, Guy Jennison, was Chief of the Ottawas in Oklahoma for many years and is still living. He is about seventy-five years of age. He has a daughter and one son plus several grandchildren. Other grandchildren of James Wind are Glen Jennison, Edna J. Utter and Kathryn J. Roberson plus several great grandchildren.

Notino also had a surviving daughter named Se-se-el or Cecile. She was married twice. First she married David Green Shon-ge-wesh by whom one daughter survived. Her name was Sophia Green. After David Green died on June 26, 1845, Se-se-el married Thomas Looker Pe-mo-se-quan by whom a daughter, Sarah Looker survived. Both Green and Looker were members of the Ottawa tribe.

Sophia Green married David Barnett Pe-as-so-we-shik by whom she had five children of which two survived, Mary and Ellen Barnett. Ellen Barnett married a non-Indian, Lon Walker and their children were Jacob, Ethel and Ida Walker.

Sarah Looker married a non-Indian named Williams. Their children were Isaac, Oliver, Lena, Abraham, Albert and Jessie Williams. Mary Barnett married a non-Indian, Wesley Jones. Their children were Ira, Wilbert and Bell Jones.

¹⁸ The Original Transcript Roll of discharges with the names of Indians belonging to the Ottawa Nation, Kansas shows the second name in the list as: Age 19, Ephraim Holmes, 5'7" in height. Rank of Private in First Kansas Battalion. Eyes—Black, Hair—Black, Complexion—Dark. Enlisted from Franklin County, Kansas on June 9, 1863. Occupation—Farmer. Discharged at Nashville, Tenn., on June 14, 1865.—Transcript Roll from Original Discharges of Indians belonging to the Ottawa Nation, Kansas, in the Union Army of the Civil War, in the National Archives, Washington, D.C.

¹⁹ Jotham Meeker, *op. cit.*, October 30, 1846.



**EPHRAIM HOLMES AND WILLIAM HOLMES, GREAT GREAT
GRANDSONS OF CHIEF PONTIAC**

It is true also, in Mr. Guy Jennison's case that he knew of his relationship to Notino but it was not known that Notino was a grandson of Pontiac until it was discovered in Howe's writings. Mr. Jennison has believed most of his life that he is a lineal descendant of Pontiac, however, his belief was through a different person whose ancestry and relationship to Pontiac has never been proven. The foregoing data set forth that Mr. Jennison is a lineal descendant of Chief Pontiac through Notino, which proves what Mr. Jennison has always believed to be true.

When Pontiac was murdered in 1769, two of his grown sons were reported to be nearby and were notified of their father's death. They left to report of his death to the Indian tribes who were followers of Chief Pontiac. The record did not name the two sons but events in later records would indicate them to have been She-gen-a-ba and Ne-gig.

Ne-gig, The Otter, was the son of Pontiac, mentioned by Richard McCarty (a trader at St. Ureseula, Illinois) on June 7, 1778, in a letter to John Askin, Indian Trader. This account is found in *Burton Historical Collections* of John Askin's account and letters. McCarty mentions that Young Pondiac, son of the Great Pontiac, had gone to Detroit with some other Indians where Pondiac hoped to get a medal. Ne-gig (the Otter) was a signer of treaties of the Ottawas dated July 4, 1805 and November 17, 1807. The name Pontiac appears on the Treaty of September 29, 1817. It is believed that Negig and Pontiac as mentioned here are the same person since there is no record of still another son named Pontiac.

The present-day Ottawas listed herein live in Oklahoma, and are the only known descendants of Chief Pontiac of the Otter Clan of Ottawa Indians. There is no reason to believe that any of Pontiac's descendants are with the Ottawas in Michigan as some persons believe or claim.

During the time and period that the Ottawas of the Otter Clan were together in Ohio, Kansas and Oklahoma, they lived together as a tribe and the fact that during this time it was a practice established for centuries that members usually remained within their own clan. This was particularly true of the male members.²⁰

Pontiac was a member of the Otter Clan of Ottawa Indians and four of his known grandsons migrated west with the Maumee Ottawas, all four being chiefs of the tribe. There is no known record of any of Pontiac's daughters which he undoubtedly had. It could well be that some of his daughters did associate with other Ottawa Clans through marriage. Thus far, however, no

²⁰ The portrait of Pontiac in this article is from a painting (1965) by Susie Holmes, daughter of Norman G. Holmes, based on descriptions of Pontiac. See *Appendix B*.

records have been located which might shed any light on the daughters of Chief Pontiac.

Thus, from tribal history handed down from family to family, generation to generation, plus historical records in the 1800's, the descendants of War Chief Pontiac of the Ottawa Indians are now known.

Appendix A

AGREEMENT WITH PONTIAC (1765) IN THE BRITISH COLONIAL OFFICE, LONDON, ENGLAND

Know all men by these presents that I, Pondiack, Chief of the Ottawas Nation of Indians, do for myself and by the consent of the whole said nation, in the presence of Lieut. Co. John Campbell of the 17th Regt. and Commander of this place and George Crogham Superintendent of Indian Affairs Esqrs. for the goodwill I bear and is borne by the whole of this nation unto George McDougall Late Lieut. in his Majesties Royal American Regt. grants give and release and by these presents doth grant give and release unto the said George McDougall his heirs Exrs [?] admns and assigns forever, a certain tract or parcell of land situate lying and being on the south side of Detroit River, beginning at the east side or point of the land now occupied or in possession of ————— [?], and at low water mark, from thence running back from the river toward, or into the woods eighty acres, keeping in every part the breath [*sic*] of eight acres—French measure to have and to hold his Heirs and assigns for ever, and I do hereby request for myself and the said nation of Indians and our Heirs all claim to the afreset Tract or parcell of land, but gives it to the aforesd. George McDougall as a free gift without any lett hindrance or, molleslation from us or our Heirs.

Given under my hand
and seal at Detroit this third day
of September Anno Domini one
thousand seven hundred and sixty five
Pondiack his ————— mark
Oquhion his ————— mark

Seald and Delivered in
the presence of
Thomas Swain
Henry Shnieberger

trow Copyy

APPENDIX B

DESCRIPTIONS OF PONTIAC

1. "At maturity Pontiac was not attractive in appearance by the beauty standards of the white race. A fairly reliable source testified that he was a tall man and not handsome yet another reporter calls him a remarkably well-looking man: nice in his person, and full of taste in his dress, and in the arrangement of his exterior ornaments. He was physically strong, as would be expected of a good warrior, and his frame was solidly filled out. Of course, his hair was black and straight, and his face was free of beard. His skin was said to be lighter than average and probably was shiny from frequent oiling with bear fat. His body must have been considerably tattooed in conformity with custom. On ceremonial occasions he also painted his face according to his own design. His hair was worn in a narrow short pompadour, diminishing from front to back. The Ottawas told Cadillac it gave his enemies less to take hold of. Besides the beads in his ears, the stone in his nose, and silver bracelets on his arms. Pontiac may have worn a collar of white plumes or beads around his neck and a few feathers tied in his short hair." — Howard H. Peckham, *Pontiac and Indian Uprisings*, p. 28.

2. "Then Pontiac rose, and walked forward into the midst of the council, according to canadian tradition, he was not above the middle height though his muscular figure was cast in a mould of remarkable symmetry and vigor. His complexion was darker than is usual with his race, and his features, though by no means regular, had a bold and stern expression, while his habitual bearing was imperious and peremptory, like that of a man accustomed to sweep away all opposition by force of his impetuous will. His ordinary attire was that of the primitive savage—a scanty cincture girt about his loins, and his long black hair flowing loosely at his back; but on occasions like this, he was wont to appear as befitted his power and character, and he stood before the council plumed and painted in the full costume of his descendants." — Francis Parkman, Jr., *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac* (Boston, 1868), p. 179.

ALEXIS PIERRE BEATTE

By Arthur Shoemaker*

Those unexplored reaches of land that now make up the present-day State of Oklahoma, once held a particular fascination for men during the early 1800's. This land, drained by the Red, Washita, Canadian, Cimarron and Arkansas rivers, was known only to traders and trappers. It was said to be the home of the wild tribes of Plains Indians.

The well-known Chouteau family of Missouri and the eastern portion of Indian Territory made early inroads into the area. The Chouteau family association with the Osages, who were themselves renowned traders, opened the way for trading posts to be established at Grand Saline, in the present Mayes County, one near Lexington, in Cleveland County, and another near the site of Fort Sill, Comanche County.

One of the first persons of note to heed the call of adventure and to explore the region was Washington Irving, the first American writer to achieve renown at home and abroad.

Irving began his adventure in the Autumn of 1832 in the Company of companions and a detachment of U. S. Rangers.¹ Using Fort Gibson as a base, the party headed for what Irving called, "the Pawnee hunting-grounds."² After heading up the Arkansas, the party crossed to the west near the mouth of the Cimarron, then traveled west, southwest to the vicinity of Oklahoma City. It was here that the group turned south moving to the Norman area before making the swing back to the east that eventually brought the party back to Fort Gibson.

Irving published the story of these travels under the title, *A Tour on The Prairies*. It was in this simple narrative of everyday occurrences that we were first introduced to Pierre Beatte. Irving

*Arthur Shoemaker is an active member of the Board of the Osage County Historical Society, who makes his home in Hominy, Oklahoma. He is a well known writer in Oklahoma (*Oklahoma Today*, *Tulsa Tribune*, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*), having authored the article on "The Battle of Chustenahlah," the principle Civil War battle in present Osage County fought 106 years ago (see *The Chronicles*, Vol. XXXVIII, Summer 1960). —Ed.

¹ The Rangers mentioned were among the first U. S. soldiers on the Oklahoma frontier. They wore no uniforms, but followed the rough dress of the frontiersman.

² *A Tour on the Prairies* by Washington Irving. Edited by Joseph B. Thoburn and George C. Wells (Harlow Publishing Co., Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1930). This book was reprinted by Harlow Publishing Company in 1955.

is not impressed with Beatte, reputation nor qualifications notwithstanding.

Irving writes:³

I confess I did not like his looks when he was first presented to me. He was lounging about, in an old hunting frock and metasses or leggings, of deer skin, soiled and greased, and almost jappanned by constant use. He was apparently about thirty-six years of age, square and strongly built. His features were not bad, shaped not unlike those of Napoleon, but sharpened up with high Indian cheek bone.

In fairness to Irving, and his unflattering statement, this estimate of Beatte, from the time he first appears until the journey is completed, shows that he changed his mind. Beatte proved indispensable to the party, serving as guide, hunter and interpreter.

Charles J. Latrobe, the English gentleman who was one of Irving's traveling companions, also wrote an account of this same tour, which was published as a part of his two-volume work entitled, *The Rambler in North America*.³ In the main, each corroborates the story as related by the other, though Mr. Latrobe does not put forth the early criticism of Beatte.

Beatte was well known on the southwestern frontier for many years. According to the records of the Leavenworth-Dodge Dragoon Expedition of 1834, he was present at the big peace council which was held at the Wichita Village, on the North Fork of Red River, and spoke briefly on behalf of the Osage delegation, of which he was interpreter.

Both Irving and Latrobe described Beatte as a half-breed Indian, Latrobe even going so far as to state that Beatte's mother was a member of the Quapaw tribe. George Catlin, the painter of Indian scenes and portraits, knew him well and traveled with him on the Dragoon Expedition. Enroute from Fort Gibson to St. Louis, Catlin visited with him at his home. In Catlin's account of that journey, he made the following mention of this visit to Beatte's home:⁴

"On my way, I visited Requa's village and lodged during the night in the hospitable cabin of my old friend Beatte, of whom I have often spoken, heretofore, as one of the guides and hunters for the Dragoons on their campaign in the Comanche country. This was the most extraordinary hunter, I think, that I ever met in all my travels. 'To hunt' was a phrase almost foreign to him for, when he went out with his rifle, it was for meat, or for cattle — buffalo, and he never came in without it. Beatte lived in this village with his aged parents, to whom he introduced me and with whom I spent a very pleasant evening in conversation. They are both French and have spent the greater part of their lives with the Osages and seemed to be familiar with their whole history. This Beatte (Pierre) was the hunter and guide, the

³ *The Rambler in North America*, MDCCCXXXII-MDCCCXXXIII by Charles J. Latrobe (London, 1836).

⁴ *North American Indians* by George Catlin (Leary, Stuart & Co., Philadelphia, 1913).

summer before our campaign, 1832, with whom Washington Irving made his excursion to the border of the Pawnee country and of whose extraordinary character and powers Mr. Irving has drawn a just and glowing account, excepting one error which I think he was inadvertently fallen into — that of calling him a half-breed. Beatte had complained of this to me often while out on the prairies and, when I entered his hospitable cabin, he said he was glad to see me and almost instantly, continued: 'Now you shall see, Monsieur Catlin, I am not a half-breed. Here I shall introduce you to my father and my mother, who, you see, are two very nice and good old French people.'"

In 1926, the Harlow Publishing Company of Oklahoma City published a special school edition of *A Tour on The Prairies*.⁵ This small, paperback edition was edited by Joseph B. Thoburn, then Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and George C. Wells, High School Inspector of Oklahoma. Notes compiled by them add greatly to the historical significance of the journey.

In commenting on Beatte's Indian lineage, they reflect that the fact that neither of Beatte's parents were Indians does not signify that he was not of Indian descent. Many, if not most, of the early French settlers of Missouri were from Canada and there was much Indian blood in the veins of many of the Canadian-French people.

It is from this same series of notes that we are able to learn of the last years of Pierre Beatte. In 1926, there was still living in Carthage, Missouri, a Mr. R. T. Greer who, not only knew Beatte personally, but in 1867, accompanied him on a horseback journey from Fort Gibson, past the site of the Creek Agency — Chouteau's trading post — and on up the Arkansas, for some distance over practically the same ground that had been traveled by Irving and his party, thirty years before.

Mr. Greer stated that Beatte was then living with the Little Osages and the half-breeds on the Neosho River near Osage Mission, in southern Kansas. With the opening of their new reservation in Indian Territory, the Osages moved from Kansas and Beatte went with them, settling on the Caney River not far from No-pa-wal-la crossing and village, where he kept a store for a number of years. It is generally believed that he died around 1880 at the age of eighty years. He had taken an Osage wife and was highly regarded by the Osage people, who called him Be-att, or Alexo Be-att, his full name having been Alexis Pierre Beatte.

⁵ The Leavenworth-Dodge expedition of the First Dragoons had some notable officers. Brigadier-General Henry Leavenworth was in command, but was fatally stricken and died while on the trip. Colonel Henry Dodge was next in command and was in charge for most of the trip. Among officers who later distinguished themselves were: Colonel Stephen Watts Kearney, Captains Nathan Boone (youngest son of Daniel Boone), David Hunter, Clifton Wharton, Lieutenants Jefferson Davis and P. St. George Cooke. The Wheelock Journal of this noted expedition appears with annotations by George H. Shirk, under the title of "Peace on the Plains," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII (1950).

Thus it is that history rang down the final curtain on a man who became a legend in his own lifetime. He had traveled with and befriended noted men of letters, a famous artist and distinguished Army officers, yet he was a simple man of the plains. Nevertheless, he earned the respect of all that knew him and it is unfortunate that so little is known of his final years. The name Beatte or Be-att is nearly forgotten in Osage history and does not appear on the Osage rolls. It is hoped that more can be learned about Pierre Beatte so that his final resting place can be located and marked.

THE SOD HOUSE OF MARSHAL McCULLY:
A LAST RELIC OF THE GREAT PLAINS HISTORY

*By B. B. Chapman**

* Dr. B. B. Chapman, retired from Oklahoma State University, is now teaching in the History Department of The Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.—Ed.

Homestead papers from the National Archives add to the history of the sod house in Alfalfa County, built by Marshal McCully, and purchased in 1963 by the Oklahoma Historical Society.¹ McCully was born near Moberly, Missouri, December 9, 1867, the son of Jane Sumpter and John William McCully.

During his childhood, McCully's parents moved to Chanute, Kansas. There he grew up and attended school. When McCully was a young man, the family moved to Harper County, Kansas. Soon thereafter he went to Washington state and spent a few years in the logging camps. He played professional baseball with an Olympia team. His life-long interest in many states may be traced to his early travels.

About 1890, McCully located at Sharon, Kansas, where he farmed land owned by his father. In his homestead papers is a form "D" certificate which he received at a registration booth at Kiowa on September 11, 1893. The certificate permitted him to go upon the lands of the Cherokee Outlet after the hour of noon, September 16.

At the land opening, McCully took a claim south of the Great Salt Plains, near present Jet. His claim was jumped, and several days after September 16, he took a claim of 163 acres in present Alfalfa County, four miles north of Cleo Springs.

On November 1, at the Alva land office, McCully paid a fee of \$14 and made Application No. 2503 to enter the land as a homestead. He signed an affidavit, stating that he had not entered upon and occupied any of the lands of the Cherokee Outlet, prior to noon on September 16. He also signed an affidavit stating that he had not made a prior homestead entry. Here McCully was destined to spend the remainder of his life as a farmer.

He established residence on the homestead on April 10, 1894. For a time he lived in a dugout. In August, he built the sod

¹ McCully signed his first name with one "l" in filling out homestead papers. However, his daughter, Mrs. Hubert L. Elliott of Aline, noted that the family Bible includes that letter twice in his name. She also noted his Scotch descent, noted that he used horses (not mules), that he smoked a pipe, and enjoyed playing solitaire.

According to Mrs. Elliott, Jane Sumpter was a niece of Gen. Thomas Sumpter, the "Gamecock of the Revolution," and later U. S. Senator from South Carolina. Fort Sumpter was named in his honor.



(Original Photo Loaned by McCully Family)

MARSHAL McCULLY AND HIS DAUGHTER, LETHA MINNIE

house, consisting of two rooms that are approximately 10x12 feet each. The walls were made of tough buffalo grass that grew in a draw, a mile north of his home site. They are 18 inches thick. Bill Edson of the *Enid Morning News*, described the procedure as follows:

He hitched a 14-inch sod plow behind his team and split the grass into long rows. With a flat shovel he chopped the rows into lengths 18 inches long. He laid the sod like bricks for the walls.

From the blackjacks that grew in the area he split poles and laid them across the top for a roof.² With mud he plastered the cracks and then piled a layer of dirt on top of that for a roof. He found an alkali salt spot a few miles west and used the mud from that to plaster the inside walls.

In September, 1894, McCully brought here his bride, Sadie Steele, an Enid school teacher. They reared one child, Letha Minnie, who was born in the sod house. Sadie died of lung trouble in 1902.

In the meantime McCully had met requirements of the homestead law. Since lands in the Cherokee Outlet had been purchased from the Cherokees, Congress provided that the settlers should pay for them. Land occupied by McCully was priced at \$1.50 an acre. However, on May 17, 1900, Congress passed the Flynn Bill, which canceled for settlers in the Outlet, all unpaid sums for their lands.

On February 1, 1902, the *Chronoscope*, a newspaper prepared at Aline and printed at Cleo, stated that at Cleo on March 8, McCully would make final proof of his claim before U. S. Commissioner, James L. Hughey. For witnesses, McCully offered the names of George W. Bockoven and James A. Dawson of Cleo, and of Louis C. Thomas and David R. George of Aline.

On the day appointed, McCully made homestead proof accordingly. Buckoven and Dawson were called to testify for him. McCully stated that his land was most valuable for farming, and that annually for eight seasons he had cultivated 100 acres. He said that his family consisted of "myself, wife, and one child." He also said: "I built my house in March and established actual residence thereon, April 10, 1894; one house 12 x 24; one frame 12 x 12; one barn 24 x 24; one well and windmill; one orchard of 6 acres; 160 acres under wire fence; value \$600." For fees and testimony, McCully paid \$4.99.

On April 15, A. R. Museller, Register of the Alva land office, issued Final Certificate No. 4354, stating that on presentation of the certificate to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, McCully should be entitled to a patent for the land. For purposes of mortgage and sale, a final certificate was considered equal to a patent. A patent was issued on December 31, 1903.

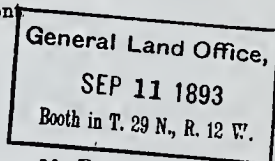
² According to Mrs. Elliott, these were not blackjack but cedar poles from "Cedar Canyons."

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. 771



Booth in T. N., R.

....., 1893.

THIS CERTIFIES that Marshal McCully 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.

J. R. Kiley

Officer in charge.

This Certificate is not transferable. The holder will display the Certificate, if demanded, after locating on claim.
(12345-40 M.) 8-545.

APPLICATION BY MARSHAL McCULLY FOR HOMESTEAD
IN THE CHEROKEE OUTLET

4-196.

HOMESTEAD.

Land Office at Alma, Okla.April 15., 1907FINAL CERTIFICATE
No. 4354APPLICATION
No. 2503

It is hereby certified That, pursuant to the provisions of Section No. 2291,
Revised Statutes of the United States, marshal m^c cully
has made payment in full for

S. 1/4 - N. 2/4

of Section No. 18, in Township No. 23 N, of
Range No. 11 W, of the Indian Principal
Meridian, containing 163.27 acres.

Now, therefore, be it known, That on presentation of this certificate to the
COMMISSIONER OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE, the said marshal
m^c cully shall be entitled to a patent for the tract of land
above described.

AR Museller
Register.

0-2

FINAL CERTIFICATE ISSUED TO MARSHAL McCULLY FOR
HOMESTEAD CLAIM IN CHEROKEE OUTLET

On March 20, 1907, McCully married Pearle Bowen, who came from West Plains, Missouri. Two years later he built a two-story frame house west of the sod house, and closer to the road. Thereafter he used the sod house for storage. In it was a meat curing box, and incubators for chickens and turkeys. The sod house was cool in summer and warm in winter.

To the second marriage was born a son, Thomson Benson, who died in infancy; and Louvisa, now Mrs. Hubert L. Elliott.

McCully loved his Oklahoma farm, and grew a large orchard there. He was industrious, generous with neighbors, but was quick to denounce indolence. He increased the farm to 240 acres, and worked on it as long as he was able. People of the Cleo vicinity remember him as an avid baseball fan. He was a member of no religious denomination. He was a member of the Aline Masonic Lodge, a 32° Mason. He was also a member of the '93ers Association.

A few years ago, Bruce Selby, Assistant Superintendent of Schools at Enid, noted the historic importance of the sod house, for it is the only one still standing, built by an original homesteader. Selby consulted Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society. On January 30, 1962, Selby and Fraker visited McCully and told him of the desire of the society to secure the sod house. McCully died on August 26, 1963, at the age of 95, and was buried at Aline. Mrs. Elliott arranged for the sale to the society of nearly an acre, containing the sod house. On payment of the sum of \$1,000, a deed was executed on December 31, 1963, exactly 60 years after issue of patent.

The Society has built a sheet metal structure, which gives complete protection to the sod house. The earthen structure was restored to its original condition, so that visitors may see the reality of a homesteader's life. A large monolith marker has been erected in front of the sod house by the Historical Society, as a memorial to all people who lived in sod houses in Oklahoma.

The story of McCully and of his sod house, illustrates how contemporaries contribute to history, often when unaware of the importance of their work. McCully built better than he knew. Emblematical of his work is a tiny elm he planted by the sod house, one that now spreads its limbs across the whole yard. A copy of his homestead papers of 16 pages, secured for the Oklahoma Historical Society through the Research Foundation of Oklahoma State University, helps later generations to understand pioneer conditions in the Cherokee Outlet.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS
INDEX TO THE CHRONICLES, 1966

The Annual Index to *The Chronicles*, Vol. XLIV, 1966 compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, is now ready for free distribution to those who receive the quarterly magazine. Orders for this Annual Index should be sent to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. 73105.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF TWO BABIES, ARAPAHO INDIAN

Mr. Charles J. Callahan of Kansas City, Missouri, has sent the following history of the Arapaho Indian named Two Babies, whom he knew many years ago in Washita County, Oklahoma Territory. In his letter with the picture shown on the opposite page, are notes about Two Babies. Mr. Callahan remarks that he was told that a family group Indian picture of this kind is unusual. He also remarks that the picture sent *The Chronicles* was identified by a Mr. Melton of Independence, Missouri, who identified Two Babies as he knew him. Mrs. Melton also said that she had known Two Babies when she was a little girl, saying "He used to pull my hair braids and say, 'Make fine scalp.'" Her father's name was Dick Cullers who lived near Mr. John Seger, who had a fine library. When she was a girl, Mrs. Melton was invited by the Segers to use the library books in her school work. Mrs. Melton also said, "Two Babies grew so big around he could hardly go through a door."

Mr. Callahan's notes follow:

A SOUVENIR OF THE LAST FRONTIER

Oklahoma Territory was the last frontier in the United States. Created out of the west half of the Indian Territory; it was opened a little at a time in the 1890's.

Washita County was a part of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Reservation prior to April 19th, 1892. On that date it was opened for settlement by a "run." Washita County was designated County "H" by the Government, and Cloud Chief was laid out and designated the county seat. Early in the 1900's the county seat was moved to Cordell, about ten miles west.

I took this picture in August, 1899, at Cloud Chief. The man on the left is Two Babies, an Arapaho Indian, with his wife and child. (He had another wife and several other children.) The white man is Judge Duke, a lawyer. The other Indian is Wau-Tan, a preacher, (a brother-in-law of Two Babies) and his wife and child.¹

¹ Wautan (or Wattan) was the well known Arapaho artist, Carl Sweezy in later years. He is the subject of the recent, beautiful little book, *The Arapaho Way: A Memoir of Indian Boyhood* by Althea Bass (New York, 1966). reviewed in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* for Winter, 1966-1967 (Vol. XLIV).



(Courtesy of Charles J. Callahan)

**PHOTO TAKEN AT CLOUD CHIEF, WASHITA COUNTY,
OKLAHOMA TERRITORY, 1899**

Standing back row, left to right: Two Babies (hair in braids); Judge Duke, Attorney; Wautan, an Arapaho (preacher and brother-in-law of Two Babies). Seated first row: wife and infant of Two Babies; wife and daughter of Wautan.

Two Babies lived on an allotment just north of Cloud Chief and spent a lot of time in town and was well known and well liked by the town people. He could speak English very well.

Posing for this picture was possibly Judge Duke's idea.

TWO BABIES

The friends I showed a preview of this souvenir said it did not tell enough to be really interesting. So I offered the following to make you better acquainted with Two Babies. The settlers were terribly short on money, so the deer, turkeys, prairie chickens and finally the rabbits all went into the pot to help the last frontier to become a substantial state.

Now the Indian periodically had money, not a lot, but it was real money, "grass" money paid over to them for the use of the grass lands for cattle pasturage. So one grass payment time (September, 1893) the sheriff and his deputy, with some cowboys following, went into Two Babies neighborhood and arrested an Indian for carrying a gun without a permit, and the others present for resisting arrest.

The Indians were not civilized enough to co-operate. So the law officers came back to Cloud Chief empty handed, but the word got out that the Indians were on the war path, which caused some uneasiness for several days.

A couple of years later I came to town and saw quite a crowd on the court house square. The court house square was full grown, but the court house was about the size of a three car garage.

When I got up to the crowd I saw Two Babies moving dirt from one side of the court house square to another with a two wheeled push cart. I was told they had kept him in jail for two days, and were now softening him up so he would listen to reason when the local legal talent went to work on him.

The cause? Same as before, "grass" money. Two Babies had some of it, so they arrested him and jailed him (charged with stealing a saddle). Then the Department of Indian Affairs representative dropped in and told them they were wrong, and that they knew it, and any more such tricks would mean a trip to the Federal pen.

So that put an end to all Indian troubles. That is, all except my own mixup. I hit Two Babies in the belly with a snow ball one day and he went on the war path right now. That big red devil could really move fast, and things looked bad for awhile. Several of the town people with Judge Duke's help got him cooled down, and we got to be about as friendly as a middle aged man and a hairbrained young man ever could.

The Two Babies in the picture was born about 2 p.m. on a balmy May day on the porch of Melers Brothers store in Cloud Chief. He was born a twin; the other baby died shortly after birth, so they named him Two Babies. This seems to be the only picture ever taken of Two Babies who was well known among his people, the Arapaho.

—Charles J. Callahan

CHIEF MOSES GEORGE HARRAGARRA

Last Medal Chief of the Oto and Missouri Tribe

Chief Moses George Harragarra died at the age of eighty-eight at his home west of Red Rock in Logan County on Thursday, May 12, 1966. Burial was at Red Rock Cemetery. He was the last chief through the transition period from the old customs and ceremonies of the Oto to modern times.

Moses Harragarra was born on October 15, 1877 in Beatrice, Nebraska, the son of Chief Big Soldier of the Oto. When the United States Government moved the tribe to the Indian Territory in 1879 he came with his family, and at the time of his death, it is said, that Harragarra had lived in Noble County longer than any other person. He was married in 1897 at the Oto Agency near Red Rock to Mary McGlasslin who died in 1956. They were the parents of eleven children. The survivors include three sons: Virgil, Kenneth, Eugene, and four daughters—Henryetta, Evelyn, Virginia and Delphine, all of whom are married and make their homes in Oklahoma and other states.

Moses Harragarra held his position as head chief of the Oto tribe by heredity: His father was Chief Harragarra, and his grandfather was Chief Big Soldier.

Chief Big Soldier was the first principal chief or head chief of the Oto and Missouri tribes in their country back in Nebraska. This election was held sometime in the 1850's probably soon after the signing of the Oto and Missouri Treaty at Washington on March 15, 1854, when George Manypenny was U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Before this the Oto and Missouri were a confederated tribe, made up of seven clans, each with its own head chief. These seven chiefs went to Washington and signed the Treaty of 1854, five representing the predominant group of the Oto and two representing the Missouri. Each of these seven chiefs was presented a medal to indicate his authority at home in the tribal council. Chief Big Soldier's name appears as the fourth signer on the Treaty of 1854, both in the English spelling and the tribal spelling which is given as "Mi-ar-ke-tah-hun-she" (*Kappler's Indian Treaties*, Vol. II, Published 1904). His medal in due time was owned by his grandson Chief George Moses Harragarra.

Chief Harragarra succeeded as head chief of the Oto at the death of his father Chief Big Soldier. The Oto name Harragarra is said to signify "He went a long way but got what he went forth to get" (or literally "going off to a great distance"). His certificate recognizing him as Chief of the confederated Oto and Missouri was issued by the United States Indian Office in 1874. In 1881, Chief Harragarra as the head chief of the Oto and Missouri led them when they left their country in Nebraska and came to their new reservation which they purchased with their own tribal money, in the Indian Territory. The Chief had called a council of the head men and leaders near the Oto Agency in Nebraska in July, 1881, during which they considered the expenditure of their tribal funds for the erection of buildings including a school on the new reservation in the Indian Territory. Chief Harragarra was the leader in selecting these lands in the Cherokee Outlet which became known as the "Otoe and Missouria Reservation," in what is now Noble County, Oklahoma. The new "Otoe Agency" was located on a low bluff near the crossing of the U. S. Mail route on Red Rock Creek in the fall of 1881. The members of the Oto and Missouri tribe settled in this region and made their homes. Chief Harragarra died near Red Rock in August 1894.

Chief George Moses Harragarra born in Nebraska in 1877 was an infant when his father settled in the Indian Territory. On his deathbed in 1894, Chief Harragarra called his oldest sister Mrs. Hoke Dent to keep his head chieftain right and papers for his only son George Moses who was attending school at Red Rock and was too young to take over the responsibilities of chief. George Moses attended Chilocco Industrial School from 1895 to 1898. He was chosen as head chief of the Oto by the Chiefs Council in December 1899, and kept the medal that had been a symbol of the head chiefs office, owned in turn by both his grandfather Chief Big Soldier and his father Chief Harragarra before him. In the meeting of the Oto council when young George Moses was chosen chief, the old Oto peace pipe was used in tribal ceremonies for the first time in many years. This ceremony was of great importance for it was a symbol of the close ties of the Oto people inherited from ancient times down through the last days of Chief Moses Harragarra. He bore himself with dignity and wore the peace medal and the colorful costume adapted over 100 years ago when the chiefs went to Washington and signed the Manypenny Treaty.

The late ex-Governor Henry S. Johnston of Oklahoma wrote of the Chief "The present Harragarra presides at ritualistic service and tribal ceremonies and has the ancient sun and fire rites by heart. He is revered and considered their most distinguished old time dignitary."

Chief Moses Harragarra and his wife Mary had a good home having lived together for fifty-two years, at the time of her death in 1956. She herself was a fine Indian woman with great influence in the life of her husband. At the time that he was chosen chief, she led the family group that gave a big feast in celebration. This was a sacred ceremony when each individual guest was presented a gift by Moses and Mary. Most of the guests belonged to the Omaha Tribe. After the dinner the newly elected chief spoke with the old chiefs who gave him good advice and encouraging words so that "all of his acts in the future would stand straight to heaven and earth." It was a happy occasion and the visiting Omaha returned to their homes in Nebraska in good spirits.

In World War II when the Harragarra's had lost one of their three sons who were in military service of the United States, Mary Harragarra was an active member of the American War Mothers organization. She was active in the organization and served as Oklahoma State Chaplain in the National Convention at Kansas City, Missouri, in 1945. In one of the sessions of the convention Mrs. Mary Harragarra led the large assembly in prayer. She did not know until a few minutes before she stepped to the microphone that she was to have the honor of leading the American War Mothers of the United States in prayer. Her prayer was humble, sincere, and spontaneous and was long remembered by the War Mothers over the nation. Mary Harragarra had been elected to her position at Oklahoma State Convention of American War Mothers at Enid in 1944. She was elected President of the Oto Indian Chapter at Red Rock, the first all Indian group in the state. A tribute to her reports that she had retained "a beautiful custom of her people and contributed much in beauty and spiritual uplift . . . It is more than an art to be a guiding light to younger mothers taking prayer, living and good standing for the right principles."

(M. H. W.)

**"PASS RECORD" OF THE KIOWA-COMANCHE AGENCY:
A RECORD OF PATRICK HENNESSEY ON THE CHISHOLM TRAIL**

Patrick Hennessey is noted in Oklahoma history, a freighter on the Chisholm Trail and to Fort Sill, killed by unknown parties on the morning of July 4, 1874. The tragic event is known in history as the "Massacre of Patrick Hennessey," though four freighters were reported killed. Patrick Hennesseys' body was discovered, identified, and buried in a shallow grave on the spot. The grave was known to freighters through the years and a well known bluff seen a short distance away became known as Hennessey Bluff. After the "run of 1889" a town was laid out in the

vicinity and named Hennessey. The grave of Patrick Hennessey here was the center of the "Hennessey Memorial Garden" provided by Mrs. Annette Blackburn Ehler whose story appears in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* for Autumn 1953 (Vol. XXXI, Number 3).

These brief notes on Patrick Hennessey point up to an interesting document in the Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, from the Kiowa-Comanche Agency at Fort Sill. This is the "Pass Record" listed as "Passes to, through and from Reservation," with a record of the passes issued, giving the title on the second page as "Pass Book commencing 7th Mo. 1st 1873." The list shows the date, number of pass, name, age, height, complexion, residence, time, mules, horses, brands, "for what purpose granted, etc., etc." The second entry on pages 6 and 7 for the date "8th Mo," is Pass No. 74 for the name "Patrick Hennesse" (*sic*) with the data: Age 30, Height 5 ft. 10, (Complexion) Light, Place of Residence Kansas, Days —?, 2 Mules, 2 Horses, 2 Brands, 2 Wagons, Purpose — Freighting."

The Pass Record, pages 8 and 9, gives the date entry of 9th Mo. 9th day, Name P. J. Hennessee (*sic*), Pass No. 123, Age 30, Height 5 ft. 10, Complexion Light, Residence Kansas, Days —3, 2 Horses, Brands "J.T." "I.S.," 1 Wagon, Purpose—Fort Sill—Potatoes.

Pages 12 and 13 give the date of 10th Mo. 21st day, Name Jas. Patrick Hennessey (*sic*), Height 5 ft 10, Age 30, Complexion Light, Residence Kansas, Days — 2, 4 Horses, Purpose —To sell potatoes.

Again on pages 18 and 19 are: Name P. Hennefsee (*sic*), Pass No. 66, Age 40 (*sic*), Height 5 ft 10, Complexion Sandy, Place of Residence Wichita, Kansas, Days — 3, Mules 2, Purpose — To sell potatoes.

This Pass Record is a fine source of information on freighter transportation up and down the Chisholm Trail and the trail leading off to Fort Sill. It happens that this old book of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency at Fort Sill has never been used by researchers. It was recently checked for possible data on a far different subject other than passes along the Chisholm Trail by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, Oklahoma Historical Society. While all the records are marked Indian Archives pertaining to the early Indian Agencies and the many Indian tribes in Oklahoma, they are real Americana rightfully placed in the Oklahoma Historical Society as the state depository and research center for the rare documents and first published data not only for the Indian people but for others — Irish, German, Dutch, French, English, Mexican — whose names and activities make up the pages of history in the West. —(M.H.W.)

BOOK REVIEWS

Polignac's Texas Brigade. By Alwyn Barr. (Texas Gulf Coast Historical Association, Department of History, University of Houston, 1964. pp. 78. Illus. Index. \$3.00.)

The study which resulted in the publication of *Polignac's Texas Brigade* was begun with the discovery of letters from James E. Harrison to William Pitt Ballinger during the Civil War (1861-65), now among the Ballinger papers in the Archives of the University of Texas Library. It was soon revealed through additional research that the Ballinger letters gave detailed information about a brigade of Texans that had almost disappeared from history of the great conflict. The investigation was continued revealing many rare and unique features in the story.

The Brigade was recruited from several different sources in Texas: Union inhabitants of North Texas holding different views of the War and generally lacking "The War Spirit" found in most other portions of the state; The 22nd Texas Cavalry recruited in Fannin, Grayson, Collin and adjacent counties of north Texas in the Winter of 1861-62; The 34th Texas Cavalry, its companies representing the region bordering the Indian Territory along Red River, east to Red River County.

The Commander of this new brigade, appointed by General Kirby Smith of the Trans-Mississippi Department was Camille Armand Jules Marie, Prince De Polignac, son of the last Prime Minister of Charles X of France. The author writes of him: "He had served with the French army in the Crimean War and had been in Central America when the Civil War began. He had immediately offered his services to the Confederacy and had distinguished himself as a staff officer under Beauregard and Bragg east of the Mississippi. In appearance Polignac was 'a typical Frenchman,' thin and erect in stature with countenance which varied from grave to fiery according to the occasion, 'a keen black eye, white teeth that showed brilliantly when he smiled,' a Napoleon III beard, 'and a dark waxed mustache which lent a fierceness to his expression.'"

The campaign and marches of the regiments are given up to the time of the consolidation of these forces covering service under D. H. Cooper and other Confederate officers well known in the Indian Territory. Experiences of the men are described by Lieutenant Colonel Harrison when they marched south from Johnson's Depot on the Canadian River and from Fort Smith to Red River: "We have been *literally marched to death*. We have lost More Men than we should have (probably) lost in a dozen pitched Battles."

The chapter headings give a clue to the experiences and marches of Polignac's command: "*Our trail was a long grave*

yard" — Arkansas, Missouri, and the Indian Territory, 1862-1863; "Run right over them and give them hell" — Louisiana 1863; Chapter III, "My boys, follow your Polignac" — Louisiana and Arkansas 1864; Chapter IV, "A little soap and a chew of old flat" — Texas 1865.

The brigade had moved in mid-February from Muddy Boggy encampment to Camp Kiamichi near Doaksville, Indian Territory and thence to Shreveport where Kirby Smith appointed the new Commander Prince De Polignac, in June, 1863. Throughout the chapters are excerpts from unpublished manuscripts by those who served in this Texas brigade, giving hitherto unknown details of the Civil War in the Trans-Mississippi Department — Indian Territory, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas.

This book is in paper back, very valuable for students with its complete bibliography of source material. Rare photographs and maps of the region add much to its importance.

Author Alwyn Barr and the Texas Gulf Coast Historical Association have made a fine contribution to the history of the Civil War in this *Polignac's Texas Brigade*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, Publication Series of 1964.

Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma Historical Society

The XIT Ranch of Texas. By J. Evetts Haley. (University of Oklahoma Press. Norman. 1967. p. 258. (\$2.00)

This reprint of J. Evetts Haley's classic work on the staked plains of Texas and the XIT Ranch is volume 34 of the distinguished series of books by the OU Press called the Western Frontier Library.

That area of Texas, the high plains or "up on the caprock," was the last section of the state to be settled. After the Indian had been placed on reservations and the last of the great buffalo herd slaughtered, this vast ocean of waving grass became a legend in the cattle business. In exchange for funds to erect a state capitol building in Austin, the state of Texas patented three million acres of land to the Capitol Freehold Land and Investment Company of Chicago.

The development and operation of this pastoral enterprise and its relation to the history of Texas is the subject of this great and widely discussed book by Mr. Haley. It is the story of a wild prairie, roamed by Indians, buffalo, mustangs, and antelope, that became a country of railroads, oil fields, prosperous farms, and carefully bred herds of cattle. But there are thousands who recall the era when mustangs and longhorns grazed beneath the brand of the XIT.

The author is a cowman, plainsman, and a distinguished historian with many outstanding books to his credit. It would do well to keep all of them in print for many years.

Jesse James Was His Name. By William A. Settle, Jr. (University of Missouri Press. Columbia. 1966. p. 263. \$6.00)

No other bandits in American history can match the record of Frank and Jesse James for evasion of the law. For sixteen years after their first bank robbery, they went unapprehended. Even then, officers of the law did not capture them. Jesse was shot from behind by a traitor in his own band; Frank voluntarily handed his gun to the governor of Missouri. Their exploits were indeed real; their crimes are of public record.

The legend of the James brothers has become so tangled with so much nonsense that it is extremely difficult to separate fact from fiction. How did these cold-eyed bandits who gunned down unarmed men and terrorized the countryside become heroes? How did their robbing and murdering become the stuff of legend?

Professor Settle, head of the Department of History and Political Science at the University of Tulsa, is well qualified to tackle the James myth. For a number of years he has been on the trail of the James brothers through the column of old newspapers and records of county courts. He has critically examined the contemporary accounts of their activities and has interviewed men and women who could give eyewitness or close hearsay evidence of them.

While there is no one simple explanation of the making of the James legend, the band's career of lawlessness and the growth of the legend are deeply rooted in the events of the Civil War and its aftermath. Even Oklahoma can lay claim to a share of the legend due to the fact that Frank James lived on a small farm near Fletcher during the years 1907 to 1911. Jesse also rode through eastern Indian Territory more than once.

The wealth of material presented in this book is amazing. Everything from biased newspapers and lurid dime novels to Jesse's own letters to the editor helped create the legend that Jesse was an American Robin Hood. For this definitive study no significant source of information concerning the Jameses has been neglected. There are extensive chapter notes and a large bibliography in this most interesting book.

—Arthur Shoemaker

Hominy, Oklahoma

NECROLOGY

THE REVEREND JIM PICKUP

1884-1967

The Reverend Jim Pickup, a full blood Cherokee Indian and a missionary Baptist Minister among the Cherokees for sixty-five years died May 17, 1967, in a local hospital in his home city of Tahlequah, Oklahoma. He was born near there January 8, 1884 of the Wolf clan, the son of William and Nancy Pickup who were both full blood Cherokee. He spent most of his life in the vicinity of his birth and received his education in the public schools of Illinois District in the Cherokee Nation.

He was one of the most highly respected and prominent persons among the Cherokee Indians of Northeastern Oklahoma. Tall and straight as an arrow he spoke gently in a soft voice in perfect English or Cherokee whichever the occasion required. His modest genial manner and pleasing personality endeared him to all who were privileged to know him.

His avowed ambition was to help his fellow tribesmen find a better way of life socially, economically, and spiritually and he affiliated with groups and organizations seeking that end.

He was converted at a Baptist meeting near Wagoner, Oklahoma and was baptized in Little Spring Creek near Peggs, Oklahoma, when he was only seventeen years of age. He early saw the need for Christian workers and ministers who could speak the Cherokee language and work among the non-English speaking groups. In response to that need, he began preaching at the early age of twenty. He received his license and was ordained by the Swimmer Baptist Church at Fourteen Mile Creek. His first pastorate was an Indian Baptist Church at New Mission. As a Missionary Baptist minister he pastored more than twenty churches in Cherokee, Delaware, Sequoyah, Adair, Mayes, Wagoner and Muskogee counties. He preached in both the Cherokee and English language.

Following the death of his first wife Martha J. Daugherty, a white woman, he married second Miss Sarah Leslie during his ministry in Sequoyah county. A dedicated Christian, she and her husband made an ideal evangelistic team. She served as translator and interpreter in their English and Cherokee speaking groups and taught Sunday school in the Cherokee language for more than thirty years and assisted her husband in arrangements for conducting services for congregations mixed with English speaking groups and Cherokees. Reverend Pickup read the scripture in English, and Mrs. Pickup translated it in Cherokee. His favorite scriptural selection on which he anchored his faith was John 3:16. His religion was one of service to his Master and his fellowman.

Reverend Pickup at the time of his death was pastor of the New Green-Leaf Indian Baptist Church, eight miles southwest of Tahlequah, Oklahoma. He served with distinction as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Cherokee Indian Association of the Baptist Church, and was an active leader for twenty years with the Southern Baptist Convention's Home Mission Board in Northeast Oklahoma. He retired from this position when he was sixty-five years old.

He was a member of the Knights of Pythias and the Masonic Lodge. He served many years as the first and only chaplain of the Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes and as the first and only chaplain of the Executive Committee of the Cherokee Nation.

As Chief of the United Keetoowah Band of the Cherokee Tribe of Oklahoma, an organization numbering more than 5000 members, he and his group supported programs through the use of Cherokee residual funds to improve the social, economic, and educational standards of the Cherokees and



(Courtesy Muskogee Area, U. S. Indian Office)

THE REVEREND JIM PICKUP

supported and co-operated with the U. S. Indian Office, the Chief of the Cherokees, and the Executive Committee of the Cherokees in their efforts to attain this goal.

A letter to Mr. W. W. Keeler from the E. S. Rabeau, M.D., Director of Indian Health is a tribute to the subject of this sketch:

Bureau of Health Services

May 25, 1967

Mr. W. W. Keeler
Principal Chief, Cherokee Nation
%Phillips Petroleum Company
Bartlesville, Oklahoma 74003
Dear Chief Keeler:

The passing of Reverend Jim Pickup, an outstanding Cherokee leader and minister, creates great sorrow among the Public Health Service, Division of Indian Health staff. As Director, Division of Indian Health, I am proud to have known him and to have worked with him in recent months.

Our health staff has encountered the influences of his leadership on the Cherokee Executive Board, the Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes, President of the United Keetoowah Society and in the daily occurrences of his religious activities. He has contributed to the Indian health program through each of these activities. More than this, Reverend Pickup motivated the Cherokee people to participate in such health improvement projects as the sanitation facilities and clinical improvement programs. His contributions will live in the lives of many people throughout the State and country.

We also wish to express our sympathy to his family.

Sincerely yours,
Signed/E. S. Rabeau, M.D.
Assistant Surgeon General
Director, Division of Indian Health

Impressive funeral services for the Reverend Pickup were delivered in both the Cherokee and English language with songs in Cherokee. His burial was in the Tahlequah City Cemetery. Surviving him is his wife Sarah of the home in Tahlequah; three sons and two daughters of the first marriage and one adopted son. The sons, Guy, Joe and Jerry live in Oklahoma as well as the two daughters, Mrs. Eddie Jones of Broken Arrow and Mrs. Allison England of Muskogee. The adopted son Jerry Lee resides in Chicago. Also surviving him are 19 grandchildren, 28 great grandchildren and 1 great grandchild.

One of God's noblemen, Jim Pickup possessed high character and vision for the spiritual uplift of his people. He worked tirelessly and steadily in this service. In his passing, the Cherokee people have lost a great leader.

—Judge N. B. Johnson

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

DR. EMMA ESTILL-HARBOUR

1884-1967

If I were asked to name the most important contribution of Dr. Emma Estill Harbour to her fellowman, my reply would be she was a great teacher. If I were asked to design a suitable memorial for her, I would not consider monuments of stone, steel or other things that might be made by the hands of man, for such as these can be designated by fiat for anyone. Likewise memorials such as these might be destroyed, buried or forgotten by the whims of leaders and the fickleness of mankind.

Instead, I would state the only suitable memorial for this great teacher is to be found in the hearts and minds of the thousands of men and women in Oklahoma, the nation and throughout the world who sat in her classes and had their minds informed, their ambitions kindled and their ideals and goals redirected and sharpened as a result of her teaching.

While others may be honored by places and things bearing their names — places and things that may be forgotten or destroyed — Dr. Harbour's memorial is a living one that will go on forever in that hundreds of those she taught now teach others — who in turn teach others — with the same zeal and inspired purpose that marked her life and activities.

Dr. Harbour's memorial is an earned one that cannot be given by fiat or influenced by the power of position or the pressures of politics. Likewise it is one that cannot be taken away by these or similar forces even though time may dull memories and the accumulated events of the past conceal those of lesser achievements.

In truth, if I may paraphrase the scriptures, she stored her treasures and accumulated her wealth in the hearts and minds of her students where no thief can steal, rust or moth corrupt or others take away.

This great lady was a product of the American Frontier and of the pioneering process in Oklahoma. The attributes of the frontier, such as self reliance, loyalty, eternal optimism and steadfast devotion to purpose never left her.

She joined the staff of Central State College in 1912, five years after statehood, and served the young people of Oklahoma at this institution until her retirement in 1952. Before and during her tenure at Central, she studied at Colorado College, Columbia University, the University of Colorado, the University of Chicago and the American Academy of Dramatic Arts. She earned a bachelor's degree from the Oklahoma College for Women and a Ph.D. degree from the University of Oklahoma.

In the pursuit of her education, her pioneer heritage of discontent with the status quo and of always seeking the best never left her. In fact, the same drives that impelled thousands to leave the security of settled communities of Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas and surrounding areas to try for homes in what is now Oklahoma, compelled Dr. Harbour to take leave of her place at Central and earn her doctorate at the University of Oklahoma in 1933.

As was the case with the pioneer, Dr. Harbour was constantly seeking new areas of activity and new outlets for her many and varied activities. Along with teaching a full schedule of classes at Central State College and assuming her share of extra and co-curricular activities, she found time to serve in the American Association of University Women, the National League of Pen Women, the Oklahoma Educational Association, the Oklahoma Historical Society, the Federated Clubs, the Mississippi Valley Historical Society, the American Academy of Political Science, the National Council of Social Science, the Southwestern Political Science Association, the Oklahoma Writers, the MacDowell Club of the Allied Arts, the American Academy of Dramatic Arts, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the

Daughters of 1892, the Daughters of the American Colonists, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the American Legion, the Overseas Women's League, the Presbyterian Church, Alpha Phi, Delta Kappa Gamma, Phi Gamma Mu, Alpha Psi Omega and others that space and time will not permit us to mention.

Although her activities were many and varied, Dr. Harbour did not affiliate with organizations just to have her name listed on their rosters. She was active in all of her associations and frequently achieved positions of responsibility and leadership as evidenced by her service as state president of the American Association of University Women, president and director of the Oklahoma Historical Society and as one of the founders of Delta Kappa Gamma, to name but a few of her positions of influence.

Over the years her reputation as a teacher coupled with her contributions outside the classroom brought a variety of honors that come only to the few. She was elected to the Oklahoma Hall of Fame in 1935, was listed in Who's Who in American Education, Women of the Southwest and Who's Who in Oklahoma. Dr. Harbour was honorary secretary of the National Democratic Convention in 1924, was a member of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, was appointed by Governor Trapp to the State Illiteracy Commission and was appointed by President Hoover to the National Commission for Better Homes. She was a frequent contributor to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, to the *Southwestern Political Science Review*, the *Oklahoma Teacher* and had a large number of book reviews under her by-line.

Busy as she was, Dr. Harbour was never so occupied she could not counsel personally with students and give them of her time and understanding. To her, individuals were important and students were more than names in a record book. The pioneer trait of helping others and opening one's doors to those in need was a characteristic entwined in all her teaching and activities.

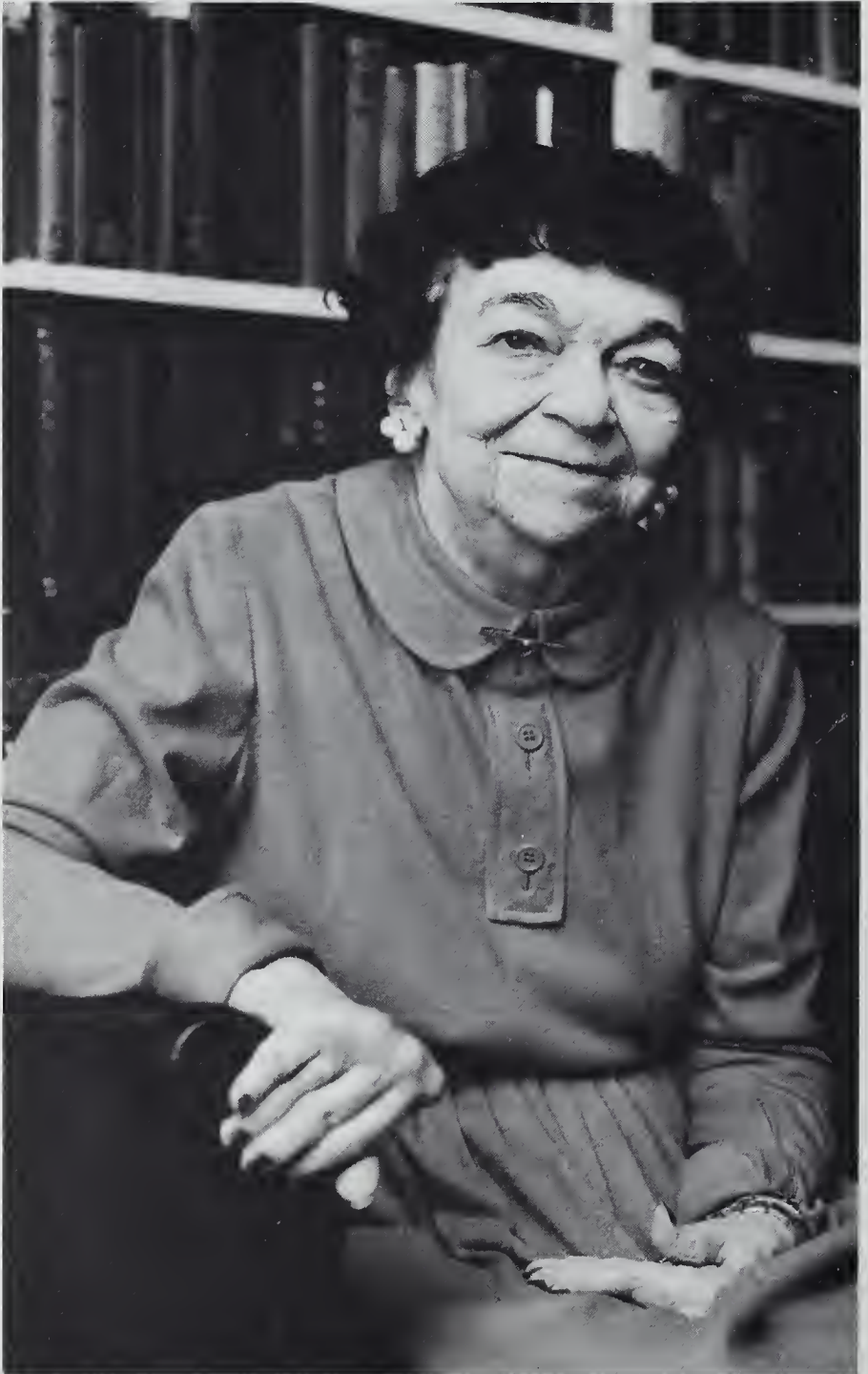
In fact, if all of those to whom she extended personal help as well as those she aided in untangling the "web of life" were to assemble with us today, only the largest of auditoriums would accommodate them. In such a group we would find judges, doctors, mayors, engineers, writers, teachers, college presidents, congressmen, ministers, governors, corporation presidents, housewives, laborers, farmers, ranchers, business men and countless others living in every clime and region of the world.

All of these, mingled with the thousands of others whose lives she touched in the classroom and out of the classroom where she served as more than just a teacher, more than just a leader, and more than just a counselor constitute the living memorial for this great lady whose mortal life began November 27, 1884 and ended, January 25, 1967.

As we pause briefly here today in her memory, let us be reminded that Oklahoma, the nation and the world is a better place because she came this way — a greater tribute can no mortal receive.

—Joe C. Jackson

Central State College, Edmond, Oklahoma



DR. EMMA ESTILL-HARBOUR

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
APRIL 27, 1967

The Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held in the auditorium of the Oklahoma Historical Society building on Thursday, April 27, 1967. The meeting was called to order at 9:30 a.m. by President George H. Shirk. Mr. Shirk reported that he had just left Governor Bartlett's Prayer Breakfast. Mr. Shirk had requested that the Prayer Breakfast serve as the invocation for the Annual Meeting. This met with Governor Bartlett's approval.

President Shirk gave a short talk on the progress of the Historical Society and its duty to the State of Oklahoma in preserving and protecting artifacts of importance throughout the state.

Dean J. C. Jackson of Central State College, Edmond, gave a memorial to Dr. Emma Estill Harbour. His speech is attached and made a part of these minutes. Following Dean Jackson's tribute to Dr. Harbour, the audience rose in silent memory to her.

Mr. Fisher Muldrow made a motion, which was seconded by Mr. McIntosh to place a copy of Dean Jackson's Memorial in the next issue of *The Chronicles*. The motion carried.

Mrs. Frank Grass thanked the Board of Directors for all the improvements that have been made in the library. She also wanted to discuss with the proper person a method to protect books in the library. She was referring to books that are "borrowed" or taken out of the library without permission. Mr. Shirk invited Mrs. Grass to attend the Board of Directors meeting after the Annual Meeting.

Mr. Phillips made a motion that all acts and deeds of the officers and Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society be confirmed and ratified by the membership. Mr. Muldrow seconded the motion, which passed.

After it was determined that there was no further business to discuss, Mr. Harrison made a motion that the meeting adjourn. Mr. McIntosh seconded the motion. The meeting was adjourned at 10:00 a.m.

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF
DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
APRIL 27, 1967

The Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order, in quarterly meeting, by President Shirk at 10:15 a.m. in the Board Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Thursday, April 27, 1967.

Those members present were: Lou Allard, Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George Bowman, Q. B. Boydstun, Joe W. Curtis, E. E. Dale, W. E. McIntosh, W. D. Finney, Bob Foresman, Morton Harrison, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Robert Hefner, Joe McBride, Dr. James Morrison, R. M. Mountcastle, Fisher Muldrow, Milt Phillips, Genevieve Seger, and George Shirk. Absent were: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge J. G. Clift, John E. Kirkpatrick, R. G. Miller and Earl Boyd Pierce.

Miss Seger made a motion to excuse all those who were absent from the meeting. Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion which carried.

The Administrative Secretary reported that thirty-nine annual members and two life members had made application to join the Society during the last quarter. He also reported that numerous gifts had been received. Mr. McIntosh made a motion to accept all new members and to approve the gifts. Mr. Foresman seconded the motion. The motion passed when put.

Mr. Fraker then made a brief report on the progress of legislation relative to the Society then before the Legislature.

Mrs. Bowman distributed copies of the Treasurer's report and a copy of the Report of the State Examiner. Miss Seger made a motion that the Treasurer's report be accepted and approved. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion, which was unanimously adopted.

President Shirk informed the Board that the State Examiner's office declined to audit the Endowment Fund Account. He asked the Board to determine whether the Society should employ a private auditor for this fund or accept the report of the Treasurer as true and correct. Judge Hefner made a motion that the Board accept the Treasurer's report as a true and correct statement. Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion, which was passed by the Board.

The Administrative Secretary briefly outlined the schedule for the 1967 Tour of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The tour will take place on August 19, 20, 21, and 22; and will be a part of the Centennial program of the Chisholm Trail.

Mrs. Bowman said she wanted to compliment Mr. Fraker on his talk to the Rotary Club of Kingfisher about the Chisholm Trail and, also, on the new brochure that was recently published called "The Chisholm Trail — a Sketch." She said the Chamber of Commerce of Kingfisher had asked her to purchase 300 copies of this brochure for that organization.

Mr. Shirk paid special congratulations to the Creek Nation for its special postmark cancel commemorating the Creek Nation Centennial.

A motion was made by Miss Seger to accept the bust sculpture of Governor Henry Bellmon as executed by Willard Stone. Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion. The Board approved.

Dr. LeRoy Fischer and Miss Muriel Wright were commended on their authorship of "Civil War Sites in Oklahoma".

The Board was informed of a note of appreciation that had been received from the family of the late Carolyn Thomas Foreman for flowers sent by the Society for Mrs. Foreman's funeral.

In his report for the Microfilm Committee, Mr. Phillips said that by the end of June approximately one million pages of newspapers will have been microfilmed this year.

Mr. McIntosh, after commending Mr. Elbert Costner, Field Deputy, for the assistance he had given, reported that he, himself, had made six trips to the site of the Coweta Mission and cemetery and had talked to the owners about buying the site, complete with repairs and a parking lot for the amount of \$5,000. Mr. Phillips made a motion that Historic Sites Committee be authorized to purchase the Coweta Mission site when completed with improvements and repairs for not over the sum of \$5,000. Mr. Harrison seconded the motion. It passed when put.

In his report on the Tullahasee Mission site, Mr. McIntosh read an article regarding the exact site of the Neosho Wigwam. Historical records establish the site to be the Scott place. Mr. Harrison moved the committee be permitted to purchase the Neosho Wigwam site when they shall have found and determined the exact location. Mr. Muldrow seconded the motion which passed. Mr. Shirk asked Mr. Pierce to prepare a summary of testimony regarding the exact site.

Mr. McBride reported for the Publications Committee that *The Chronicles* was back on schedule. After much discussion of the letting of the contract for *The Chronicles*, Mr. Phillips moved that the Board request the State Board of Affairs to award *The Chronicles* contract in May. Mr. McBride seconded the motion, which passed.

Mr. Harrison moved that the request made by Mrs. Frank Grass at the Annual Meeting of the Society be referred to Mr. Curtis for consideration. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion which was passed by the Board.

During the discussion of the Chisholm Trail Centennial, Mr. Shirk reported that Governor Bartlett had appointed a new Chisholm Trail Centennial Commission on April 24 and Mr. Bass was Chairman of the new Commission. Mr. Bass said there would be no cattle transported on the trail as part of the centennial program. He also said that the Oklahoma Historical Society tours are the finest there are and urged all members to take the tour this year.

Mr. Bass reported that a Santa Fe baggage car is being made into a museum on wheels, depicting Chisholm Trail events. He also said that former President Eisenhower will meet the tour in Abilene if his health permits. Regarding the formal brochure about the Chisholm Trail Centennial, he said, ten pages will be devoted to Kansas, ten pages to Oklahoma and ten pages to Texas.

Mr. Shirk made a report on PL 89-665. Each state governor is to appoint a representative. Mr. Shirk has been appointed as the official representative of the Oklahoma Historical Society, which has been designated the state agency to implement the program. Mr. Shirk stated that possibly by 1970 Congress would implement the program with an appropriation for site acquisition. Mr. Shirk appointed Mr. Fraker, Mr. Foresman, and Dr. Fischer as a committee to review the regulations of the Secretary of the Interior and to make sure they are suitable for Oklahoma. Mr. Mountcastle made a motion to accept the appointment of the Oklahoma Historical Society as the state agency. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion and it carried unanimously.

Mr. Allard said that the present session of the Legislature had more interest in the Oklahoma Historical Society than any session in the last twenty years. He introduced Representative Spearman and commented that Mr. Spearman was a good friend of the Society.

Mr. Shirk announced that Mr. James Leake, of Muskogee, has agreed to repair and restore the 1903 Cadillac of the Society's. Mr. Harrison moved the Society accept the offer of Mr. Leake to restore the Cadillac. Mr. McBride seconded the motion. The motion was carried when put.

Mr. Shirk also reported that Mr. Leake had offered to rehabilitate the bake oven at Fort Gibson and underwrite a project to bake bread in it to sell to tourists. Mr. Mountcastle made a motion to accept Mr. Leake's offer to fix the bake oven. Mr. McIntosh seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Mr. Mountcastle moved that the Board, in honor of Dr. Harbour, not fill the vacancy on the Board of Directors created by her death until the next meeting. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion. The motion carried unanimously by the Board.

The meeting was adjourned at 11:45 a.m.

GEORGE H. SHIRK,
President

ELMER L. FRAKER,
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS RECEIVED IN FIRST QUARTER, 1967

LIBRARY:

Who is Who in the 31st-32nd Oklahoma Legislatures — Compiled by Legislative Reference Division, the Oklahoma State Library, 1967.

Donor: Oklahoma State Library, 109 State Capitol, Oklahoma City.

Land, Wood and Water by Senator Robert S. Kerr, 1960. Copies of Text of President John F. Kennedy's Big Cedar Address — October 29, 1961.

Donor: Elbert Costner, Poteau, Oklahoma.

Frontier Ways—Sketches of Life in the Old West by Edward Everett Dale.
Frontier Trails—Autobiography of Frank M. Canton, edited by Edward Everett Dale.

Donor: Dr. E. E. Dale, Norman, Oklahoma.

The Otoes and Missourias by Berlin Basil Chapman.

Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Tallahassee, Florida.

Sand Hill Chronicles—The George Edwin Hardin family of Lincoln, Nebraska, 1905-1916.

Donor: Dr. Robert Allen Hardin, Norman, Oklahoma.

Some Alabama Marriages: Clarke County 1814-1834, Chambers County 1834-1847. A reprint from *The Alabama Genealogical Register*.

Donor: Mrs. Gerald (Frankie Garrison) Followwill, 125 S. E. 57th, Oklahoma City.

Listing of Genealogical References.

Donor: Capt. E. L. Dinius, Marine Barracks, NAD, McAlester, Oklahoma.

Oklahoma Statehouse Reporter, Vol. 35, No. 4, Inaugural Edition, January 1967.

Donor: Ray Asplin, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Georgia Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. III, Series 3, March, 1967.

Donor: The Georgia Genealogical Society, P.O. Box 4761, Atlanta, Georgia.

The Bar Register, 1964 — Pre-Eminent Lawyers of the United States, Canada and Other Countries.

The Bar Register, 1965 — Pre-Eminent Lawyers of the United States, Canada and Other Countries.

The Bar Register, 1966 — Pre-Eminent Lawyers of the United States, Canada and Other Countries.

Military Collector and Historian, Vol. 18, No. 3, Fall, 1966.

Military Collector and Historian, Vol. 18, No. 4, Winter, 1966.

Names — Journal of the American Name Society, Vol. 14, No. 4, December, 1966.

Annual Report of the Board of Governors of Licensed Architects of Oklahoma — To the Hon. Henry Bellmon, Governor, July 1966.

Research — A Report of the Oklahoma Medical Research Foundation, 1966.
Oklahoma Anthropological Society Newsletter, Vol. 12, No. 2, Feb. 1964.

A Program for the Development of the Oklahoma State Capitol Area, 1966.
Proposed Interstate Rocky Mountain-Gulf Thruway.

The Budget in Brief, 1968.

Manufacturers in Oklahoma City, 1967.

Public Television — A Program for Action, 1967.

Oklahoma Philatelic Society Publication — Official Bulletin, Jan. 1956—May 1965.

Oklahoma Christian College Annual Report, 1966.

Improving the Quality of Urban Life — A Program Guide to Model Neighborhoods in Demonstration Cities.

Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot — Semi-Weekly by Nathan Hale, Vol. LXXI, No. 5532, Wednesday Morning, March 26, 1834.

The Daily Progress — Raleigh (North Carolina), Vol. IV, No. 276, October 22, 1863.

Donor: Mayor George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Personal Check to James Merriman on First Bank of Fallis, Oklahoma, June 20, 1904 signed by T. C. Arbuckle.

Donor: H. D. Flow, 2732 Kerry Lane, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Semi-Centennial Biographical Roster of the Bryan County, Oklahoma Bar, August, 1967.

The Civic and Cemetery Club, Caddo, Oklahoma, 1962-1963, Oklahoma State Federation of Women's Clubs Program.

Donor: Herbert L. Branan, Oklahoma City.

Related Royal Families by Marilu Burch Smallwood, 1966.

Donor: Marilu Burch Smallwood, 24 Avenida Menendez, St. Augustine, Florida.

Microfilm: 1810 Pennsylvania Census, Roll 51, Huntingdon, Mifflin, Northampton, Tioga and Westmoreland Counties.

1830 Pennsylvania Census, Roll 152, Bedford, Indiana.

1830 Pennsylvania Census, Roll 166, Huntingdon, Lycoming Counties.

Donor: H. R. Downs, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Congressional Record — House HI961 March 1, 1967: Hon. Carl Albert Memorial to Mrs. Carolyn Thomas Foreman, Oklahoma author-historian.

Carter-Welch Families from Oklahoma — newsclipping "Welch Home is Treasury of History and Sports Lore."

Donor: Hon. Carl Albert, Washington, D.C.

First Christian Church—Okeene, Oklahoma—History, 1915-1965.

Donor: First Christian Church by George Hollander, Okeene, Oklahoma.

The Perkins Journal, Perkins, Payne County, Oklahoma.

Phi Kappa Sigma Newsletter, Fall 1966, Vol. 109, Nos. I and II.

The Hermitage — compiled by Mary C. Dorris, June 1, 1931.

Midget Road Map of Oklahoma, 1925.

The Oklahoma Home, Vol. V, No. I, 1928.

The Earth Mover, Vol. 22, No. II, Nov. 1935.

Airport Bulletins, U. S. Dept. of Commerce Aeronautics Branch, Wash., D.C., July, 1932.

Harding Parent-Teacher Association Directory 1937-1938 of Harding High School, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Construction Materials of Oklahoma, Vols. I and II, Emergency Relief Administration of Oklahoma, Project Number S-F2-89, Charles N. Gould, Director, Dec. 1934.

Report of Analysis of Approved Projects, Works Division, State of Oklahoma, 1934-1935.

Standard Specifications: Road and Bridge Construction, Jan. 1931 of Oklahoma State Highway Commission, Oklahoma City.

Handbook on Engineering, 1901 by Henry C. Tulley.

Harding Highschool Directory—Yearbook, 1957-1958.

Donor: The Harry Stallings, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
1812 War Records and Pensions.

Donor: D.A.R. Genealogical Records Committee, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Civil War Pea Ridge Battlefield Map.

Donor: James E. Murray, Box 506, Rogers, Arkansas 72756.

Capsule History Booklet — Silver Anniversary Tinker Air Force Base, 1942-1967 by Ken Patchin, OCAMA Historian.

"Biography General Clarence Leonard Tinker."

Donor: Bill B. Stacy, Assistant OCAMA Historian, Tinker Air Force Base, Oklahoma, 93145.

Through The Years — A History of the First Baptist Church, Muskogee, Oklahoma 1890-1965. Compiled and Edited by Ed Gill.

Donor: Ed Gill, Muskogee, Oklahoma for the First Baptist Church.

"Tishomingo National Wildlife Refuge."

"Welcome to Tishomingo, Oklahoma!"

"Devil's Den — Scenic Wonderland of Oklahoma, Tishomingo, Oklahoma."
"Madill, Oklahoma."

Donor: Harry Revelle, Jr., Oklahoma City.

Microfilm: 1880 Pennsylvania Census, Roll #1119, Columbia and Crawford (part) Counties.

Donor: Mrs. Estella D. Gregory, 741 Culbertson Drive, Oklahoma City.

Tools of the Earth Mover — Yesterday and Today — Preserved in Pictures by J. L. Allhands.

America's Builders, Pepperdine College, Los Angeles, California, Vol. 8, No. 6, August 1965 containing "The Mule" by J. L. Allhands.

America's Builders, Vol. 9, No. 6, November 1966 containing "Postscript: 'The Mule'" by Bill Youngs.

Donor: J. L. Allhands, 1416 Commerce Building, Dallas, Texas by Walter Nashert, 16 N.E. 27th, Oklahoma City.

Genealogical Atlas of the United States of America by George B. Everton, Jr.

Donor: Editorial Department of Oklahoma Historical Society.

Reference Encyclopedia of the American Indian by Bernard Klein and Daniel Icolari.

Donor: Elmer Fraker, Administrative Secretary of Oklahoma Historical Society.

A History of the State of Oklahoma, 1908, by Luther B. Hill (2 vols.)

McGuffey's Eclectic First Reader, 1853, by William H. McGuffey.

McGuffey's Alternate Second Reader, 1887.

National Elementary Speller, 1859 by J. Madison Watson.

The National Second Reader, 1857, by Richard Greene Parker and J. Madison Watson.

Ray's Intellectual Arithmetic, Second Book, 1860, by Joseph Ray.

The National Fourth Reader, 1870 by Richard Greene Parker and J. Madison Watson.

The Holy Bible, 1871.

Scrapbook of Mrs. Mary Sill Owens, wife of Benjamin Franklin Owens, early-day City Marshal.

Illustrated History of Oklahoma, 1890, by Marion Tuttle Rock.

The Cottage Bible, 1856 — Early Scottish Bible originally chained to pulpit.

Donor: Jean Collins Patton (Mrs. David F. Patton) 4901 N.W. 31st Terrace and Henry Walker Collins, Jr., Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, the grandchildren of the late Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin F. Owens, Oklahoma City.

Gnomedal—Heavener (Oklahoma) Runes — A poem by Leslie A. McRill.

Donor: Leslie A. McRill, 1817 N.W. 14th Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Thesis: *Francis Leonard Bacon* by Alfred John Consol.

Donor: Arthur C. Spencer, Field Representative, Oregon Historical Society, 1230 S.W. Park Avenue, Portland, Oregon.

Anza and the Northwest Frontier of New Spain by J. N. Bowman and R. F. Heizer.

Donor: Southwest Museum, Highland Park, Los Angeles, California.

Handbook of Oklahoma Employment Statistics, 1939-1966.

Economic Base Report, Nowata County, 1966.

Economic Base Report, Harmon County, 1967.

Economic Base Report, Jefferson County, 1966.

Donor: Harry Revelle, Jr., Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

McCormick-Deering Farmall-A Tractor Instruction Manual, 1943.

Donor: H. Hammonds Books, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Contributions to Mesa Verde Archaeology: III Site 866, and the Cultural Sequence at Four Villages in the Far View Group, Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado by Robert H. Lister.

Contributions to Mesa Verde Archaeology: IV Site 1086, An Isolated, Above Ground Kiva in Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado by Robert H. Lister.

Chinese Representation in the United States by Earl Swisher.

1825: The Decisive Year of Charles X's Reign by Vincent W. Beach.

Donor: University of Colorado, Series in History Studies, Boulder, Colorado.

Site Lan-2: A Late Manifestation of the Topanga Complex in Southern California Pre-history by Keith L. Johnson.

Archaeology of the Point St. George Site, and Tolowa Prehistory, by Richard A. Gould.

Donor: University of California Publications in Anthropology, Berkeley, California.

Early Skeletons from Tranquillity, California, by J. Lawrence Angel.

The Black Partizan Site by Warren Caldwell.

The Hitchell Site by Richard B. Johnston.

Donor: Smithsonian Institution River Basin Surveys, Office of Anthropology, Washington, D.C.

Witten-Cecil Family Genealogies.

Donor: W. H. Witten, Box 523, Mountain View, Oklahoma.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION

Oklahoma Genealogical Society Quarterly, June 1966.

Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society.

News clippings about problems of Cowlitz Indians.

Plat of graves, Shaker Church Cemetery, Tacoma, Washington.

Plat of graves, Harmony Cemetery, Tacoma, Washington.

Donor: Mrs. Francis Willard Clegg, Castle Rock, Washington.

Photocopies of 8 letters and orders relating to Removal of Cherokee Indians to Indian Territory in 1838-39.

Donor: Lieut. Col. Lucien B. Webster, Fort Sill, Okla.

Summary Report of Meeting of The Inter-Tribal Council of The Five Civilized Tribes held at Jones Academy, Hartshorne, Okla., Jan. 11, 1967.

Donor: Muskogee Area Office, Muskogee, Okla.

Smoke Signals, No. 52, Spring 1967, "Plains & Woodlands Metalwork"

Donor: Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Washington, D.C.

Indian Voices, December and January 1967.

Donor: Robert K. Thomas, Editor.

Gnomedal "Earth Spirits Dale", Heavener Runes, a poem by Leslie A. McRill.

Donor: Leslie A. McRill, Oklahoma City, Okla.

53 pages of documents and letters dating from 1906 to 1909 in re allotment in Chickasaw Nation (now Johnson County, Okla.), of Sibbie Morris, Choctaw, Enr. No. 1976, deceased, her heir, Braziel Noah, brother, and later sale of said allotment by said heir.

Donor: Milt Phillips, Seminole, Okla.

Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, News Releases: Nov. 15, 1966, "New Building for Indian School at Concho, Okla." Feb. 10, 1967, "Six Tribes to Prepare Rolls for Judgment monies" which includes Miami Indians of Oklahoma.

Mar. 3, 1967, "Rule Changes Proposed in Osage Election Regulations".

Mar. 15, 1967, "Amphenol Dedicates New Plant on Land Leased from Seminoles of Florida."

Governing Bodies of Indian Groups under Federal Supervision, Jan. 1966. Introduction by N. B. Johnson of Phileo Nash, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Nov. 4, 1964, on occasion of Will Rogers Birthday, at Claremore, Okla.

Indian Record, Special Issue: Education, published monthly by Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Interior.

Donor: N. B. Johnson.

MUSEUM:

PICTURES:

Convention, Christian Endeavor

Convention, Rural Mail Carriers

Donor: Charles J. Cansler, Edmond, Oklahoma

Doaksville

Donor: Copied by the Society

Oilton, Oklahoma, early day

Donor: James Marler, Lawton, Oklahoma

Troop "L" 5th U.S. Cavalry, Ft. Sill, Indian Territory, 1880

Col. James Cagney and Col. John H. Brandt

Donor: John H. Brandt, Los Angeles, California

Elmer Fraker, photograph

Donor: Elmer Fraker, Oklahoma City

Durant, Indian Territory 1895

Elizabeth Louise Randell

Robert MacDonald Jones

Robert Jefferson Jones

Group at Fort Washita

Home of Wilson N. Jones, Governor Choctaw Nation

W. T. Clark Store, Durant 1890

Street Scene, Durant 1895

Dr. Parks and his Office, Durant 1895

Street Scene, Durant 1890

Robert M. Jones and wife Susan Colbert Jones

Donor: Robert L. Williams Collection

Oil Painting of Senator Robert S. Kerr

Donor: Kerr Foundation

South McAlester, Indian Territory before statehood

Donor: Copied by Society

EXHIBITS:

Coat, Wedding Coat 1870's

Hair Clippers

Mah Jongg Game

Book, A B C

Book, Mother Goose Rhymes

Attendance Certificates

Report Cards

Book G.A.R. War Songs

Stereographs

Motto, framed

Sheet Music, vocal and instrumental

Donor: Jessie Krone Spencer Estate

Harness—double work harness

Donor: Mr. Whorton, Cleo Springs, Oklahoma

NEW LIFE AND ANNUAL MEMBERS*

January 27, 1967 to April 27, 1967

*Life Members*Brown, Myrtle Lucille
Oklahoma CityHanna, Wilma Mae
Tulsa*Annual Members*Andrews, Emma Kendrick
Arthur, StanleyHugo
Rolla, Missouri

Asplin, Ray

Oklahoma City

Bond, Greg

Weatherford

Casey, Orben J.

Oklahoma City

Combs, Nadine

Oklahoma City

Cooper, William O.

Scottsdale, Arizona

Fletcher, James F., Jr.

Oklahoma City

Freeman, Marguerite M.

Hastings

Gage, Duane

Oklahoma City

Goodwin, Thelma R.

Tulsa

Journeycake, Ben

Lawton

Journeycake, Mrs. J. J.

Tulsa

Key, William S., Jr.

Boulder, Colorado

King, Jeanne

Norman

Little, Dan V.

Madill

McCombs, Holland

Dallas, Texas

Masterson, Ray W.

Claremore

Meador, Ira J.

Oklahoma City

Miller, George

Oklahoma City

Moore, Mrs. Mayme

Shawnee

Moorhead, Mrs. John L.

Oklahoma City

Neff, Lucinda B.

Tulsa

Osborn, Frank

Oklahoma City

Parmley, Mrs. George

Arkansas City, Kansas

Paul, Harold

Tulsa

Purkey, Lloyd E.

Tulsa

Rathbun, William Ade

Boynton

Rice, Mrs. Eugene

Muskogee

Rodgers, Tillie V.

Oklahoma City

Rodriguez, Mrs. Rosita

Missoula, Montana

Salzer, Jerry J.

Edmond

Sanders, Julia Grace

Tulsa

Seymour, Lee

Blackwell

Sherley, O. L.

Stigler

Smith, Mrs. Earl R.

Alexandria, Virginia

Staudt, John G.

Tulsa

Stevenson, Harold

Idabel

Wilson, P. G., Jr.

Oklahoma City

* All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

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 Publications 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 \$5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is \$100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is \$6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), \$1.50. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.



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



INDIAN PEACE COUNCIL AT THE MEDICINE LODGE, 1867

Volume XLV

Number 3

Published Quarterly by the
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Organized by Oklahoma Press Association, May 27, 1893

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Q. B. BOYDSTUN, Fort Gibson	

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BERLIN B. CHAPMAN, Stillwater	

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BOB FORESMAN, Tulsa	

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1971

MISS GENEVIEVE SEGER, Geary	H. MERLE WOODS, El Reno
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A. M. GIBSON, Norman	

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1972

JOE W. CURTIS, Pauls Valley	R. G. MILLER, Oklahoma City
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EARL BOYD PIERCE, Muskogee	

CHANGE OF ADDRESS—Send notice of change of address to Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma—73105.

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. *The Chronicle 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* for its members. Annual membership dues are five dollars; Life membership, one hundred dollars. Membership applications and dues should be sent to the Administrative Secretary.

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The Oklahoma Historical Society assumes no responsibility for statements of facts or opinion made by contributors, in *The Chronicle of Oklahoma*.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

ELMER L. FRAKER, *Business Manager*

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Autumn, 1967

Volume XLV

Number 3

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COVER: Print of painting of the Indian Peace Council with U.S. Commissioners at the Medicine Lodge in Kansas, October, 1867. A pageant was held commemorating this great Peace Council in October, 1967, with descendants of the Indian chiefs and leaders who signed the Medicine Lodge treaties in attendance. Many of the descendants of the great peace leaders of the Kiowa, Chief Stumbling Bear and Kicking Bird were there.

BLACK KETTLE: A NOBLE SAVAGE?

By Duane Gage*

Before dawn on the bitterly cold morning of November 27, 1868, Black Kettle stepped from his lodge on the snow-covered banks of the Washita River. The fifty-six-year-old Cheyenne chief planned to move his band of 180 lodges two miles downstream, where the encampment of several thousand tribesmen offered greater protection. On the previous day Black Kettle had returned from a meeting with Indian Agent W. M. Hazen at Fort Cobb. Black Kettle had sought to make peace through Hazen, but Hazen warned him that General Philip H. Sheridan, in command of the Department of the Missouri, had organized a winter campaign to punish the southern tribes for various depredations committed that autumn.¹

Virtually within minutes after Black Kettle stepped from his lodge, the Cheyenne village was wiped out in a surprise attack by General George A. Custer's Seventh United States Cavalry. More than a hundred warriors, women, and children were killed. Among the first to fall was Black Kettle himself.

A controversy has raged ever since the Battle of the Washita over Custer's responsibility for a supposed unjustifiable massacre of Black Kettle's band. At the heart of the controversy is the question of the character and integrity of Chief Black Kettle. General Sheridan approved Custer's action, which "wiped out old Black Kettle and his murderers and rapers of helpless women." As far as Sheridan was concerned, Black Kettle was nothing but "a worn out and worthless old cypher."²

Defending Black Kettle's name were various Indian agents. Superintendent Thomas Murphy praised the virtues of the chief and his services to the whites. Agent Edward W. Wynkoop called Black Kettle a true "noble savage" and described him as "the ruling spirit of his tribe . . . looked upon by all the nomadic tribes of the Plains as a superior — one whose word was law, whose advice was to be heeded. His moral dignity and lofty bearing, combined with his sagacity and intelligence had that moral effect which placed him in the position of a potentate."³

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¹ Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1869, p. 390.

² Sheridan to Sherman, Nov. 1, 1869, 41 Cong., 2d Sess., *House Exec. Doc. No. 1*, pt. 2, pp. 47-48.

³ Donald J. Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), p. 331.



(M. H. Wright, Photo Collection)

GROUP OF THE ARAPAHO AT DENVER, 1864

Identified by the late George Bent: front row seated, left to right, One-Eye, Black Kettle holding pipe, Bull Bear and White Antelope; back row standing, left to right, Neva, Heap O'Buffaloes.

The conflicting opinions of the military officers and the civilian agents reflect the intense rivalry between the War Department and the Interior Department over authority to deal with the Indians. This rivalry lasted for years and invariably resulted in further misunderstandings and resentment by the Indians.

Popular histories of the Indian wars have added fuel to the controversy. Many books that blatantly distorted the truth are still considered good reading because their romantic treatment of the subject is exciting and entertaining. These biased accounts are noxious to students of history today, but when originally published they proved very effective in shaping public opinion. The hero worship of the Indian fighters, combined with pure sensationalism, was consistent with the spirit of the times.

Black Kettle's reputation usually has not been spared by popular historians. De B. Randolph Keim, an eastern newspaper correspondent who accompanied Sheridan's troops on their winter campaign, labeled Black Kettle "the terror of the Osages" when describing the barbarity of Indian atrocities.⁴ Writing for the *American Fights and Fighters* series, Cyrus Townsend Brady, an ardent admirer of Custer, called Black Kettle "one of the most ferocious and brutal of the Plains Indians. The blood of scores was upon his hands and upon the hands of his followers as well. Torture, infamy, treachery, shame beyond estimation, had stained that band."⁵

At least one non-objective historian has written in Black Kettle's defense. Charles J. Brill, a sharp critic of Custer, called Black Kettle a "mighty hunter, daring warrior, wise in council, . . . the most renowned of all the great leaders who lifted the Cheyennes to preeminence among the wild tribes . . . Without his personal sacrifices, his constant efforts to avoid hostilities, his firm leashing of warlike spirits, . . . the story of the subjugation of the western frontier would have been far more sanguinary than it is."⁶

There has been disagreement concerning Black Kettle's role in the Indian raids on the Kansas frontier in the summer of 1868. The hostility began after the federal government delayed in issuing supplies promised to the Cheyennes in the Medicine Lodge Treaty, a treaty under which the Cheyennes lost a large portion of their hunting grounds. In early August a

⁴ De B. Randolph Keim, *Sheridan's Troopers on the Border* (Philadelphia: Claxton & Hoffelfinger, 1870). p. 122.

⁵ Cyrus T. Brady, *Indian Fights and Fighters* (New York: McClure, Phillips, & Co., 1905), p. 157.

⁶ Charles J. Brill, *Conquest of the Southern Plains* (Oklahoma City: Golden Saga Publishers, 1938), p. 49.

large war party of resentful young warriors from the camps of Black Kettle and three other Cheyenne chiefs swept through the Saline and Solomon River valleys, murdering and pillaging several isolated farm settlements.⁷

Punishment of the Indians was immediately demanded; all Cheyennes were suspected. In a letter to President Andrew Johnson asking for protection, Kansas Governor Samuel J. Crawford described the raid:⁸

I have just returned from . . . the scene of a terrible Indian Massacre . . . Forty of our citizens were killed and wounded by the hostile Indians. Men, women and children were murdered indiscriminately. Many of them were scalped and their bodies mutilated. Women after receiving mortal wounds, were outraged . . . Two young ladies and two little girls were carried away by the red-handed assassins, to suffer a fate worse than death . . . How long must we submit to such atrocities?

Other depredations throughout the autumn led to General Sheridan's winter campaign which culminated in the death of Black Kettle and the destruction of his village.

Did Black Kettle deserve such a fate? To what degree could he be held responsible for the depredations upon the Kansas settlements? In his standard and generally accepted work, *Westward Expansion*, Ray Allen Billington states that the August war party was led by Chief Black Kettle himself, and calls the raid "Black Kettle's raid."⁹ However, Black Kettle's participation in the hostilities was denied by Agent Wynkoop, who wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs N. G. Taylor: "In regard to the charge that Black Kettle engaged in the depredations committed on the Saline River during the summer of 1868, I know the same to be utterly false, as Black Kettle at the time was camped near my agency on the Pawnee Fork."¹⁰

Wynkoop did not dispute the fact that many warriors from Black Kettle's band took part in the raids. Black Kettle himself admitted this, in a meeting with Agent Hazen at Fort Cobb only a short while before his death. "I have always done my best to keep my young men quiet," Black Kettle told Hazen, "but some of them will not listen, and since the fighting began, I have not been able to keep them all at home. But we all want peace."¹¹

To appreciate Black Kettle's problem with his young warriors, one should examine the political and social structure of the Cheyenne tribe in Black Kettle's time. The political affairs of the tribe were in the hands of a tribal council of older men

⁷ Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1868, p. 72.

⁸ Samuel J. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties* (Chicago, 1911), pp. 291-292.

⁹ Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion* (2d ed.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1960), pp. 663-64.

¹⁰ Senate and House Documents, 40th Cong., *Exec. Doc. No. 35*, Jan. 28, 1869.

¹¹ Capt. W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance* (Norman: Univ. of Okla. Press, 1938), p. 57.

who had distinguished themselves in battle. The council consisted of four members from each of ten bands, and four general chiefs. Members retired at the end of ten years and were allowed to choose their successors; in practice, however, public opinion played a strong part in the selection of a chief. The council mediated disputes, planned hunts and ceremonies, ruled on matters concerning peace treaties, yet had no machinery to enforce its rulings.¹²

The soldier societies were the only organized military force of the tribe. These were strong warrior groups whose rise in social status depended upon success in war. Consequently they often ignored and thereby nullified the council's peacemaking decisions. Any ambitious young man who could persuade others to follow him could lead a war party. War, the primary way for young Cheyennes to demonstrate their energy and bravery, was considered man's true profession.¹³

No doubt there were several ambitious young warriors in Black Kettle's band who still had their reputations to make. Black Kettle himself had earned fame on the warpath, not against the white man but against the traditional enemy, the Pawnee. By 1853 Black Kettle had achieved such prestige in intertribal warfare that he was given the honor of carrying the sacred medicine arrows into one of the most important battles ever fought against the Pawnees.¹⁴ Since the medicine arrows were the strongest of all Cheyenne medicines, their capture meant disaster; therefore they were entrusted to only the best warriors.

During Black Kettle's early manhood, from 1830 to 1850, there had been no tribal policy concerning the white traders, trappers, and wagon trains which entered the Northern Plains. Such small numbers of white men presented no threat to the buffalo hunting grounds. At that time the Cheyenne and Arapaho hunting territory extended between the North Platte and Arkansas Rivers. This area was formally assigned to the two tribes in a treaty made at Fort Laramie in 1851. Eight years later a gold rush in the Platte River area attracted more than 100,000 whites. Soon white hunters were destroying the buffalo herds, and the infuriated Indians took to the warpath. It is likely that white scalps allegedly found in Black Kettle's lodge by Custer's men were taken by the chief during this turbulent period.

By 1859 the white invasion had compressed the Cheyennes

¹² Elman R. Service *Profiles in Ethnology* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), p. 122.

¹³ E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Cheyennes* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960), pp. 47, 70.

¹⁴ Brill, *op. cit.* p. 50.

and Arapahoes into a small circle of land, and the tribe faced extinction. Several Cheyenne chiefs, including Black Kettle, asked Agent William Bent to approach the government for a new treaty. "A desperate war of starvation and extinction is imminent and inevitable," Bent warned the government, "unless prompt measures shall prevent it."¹⁵

Bent's persistence for a treaty finally led to the Treaty of Fort Wise, signed on February 18, 1861. The government guaranteed the Cheyennes and Arapahoes peaceful possession of their reservation in exchange for the tribesmen's good behavior. The peace chiefs who signed the treaty were headed by Black Kettle. What had changed him from a war leader to a strong advocate for peace? Mari Sandoz, who interviewed scores of Cheyennes while researching *Cheyenne Autumn*, wrote that "a vision in a warring time had made a peace man of Black Kettle."¹⁶ George Bird Grinnell, one of the very few historians who knew how to get authentic information from Indians, felt that Black Kettle and the other peace chiefs sought peace with the whites "not because they loved the white people, from whom they had received nothing good, but because they loved their own tribe and wished to guide it in paths that would be for the tribe's greatest advantage."¹⁷

Apparently Black Kettle's decision to turn to diplomacy rather than force followed the realization that the whites would eventually secure their desired ends by the sheer weight of numbers. Of all the Cheyennes, Black Kettle was considered by Indian agents as the chief most capable of fully understanding matters crucial to the future welfare of the tribe.

After the Fort Wise Treaty went into effect, the same situation existed that had previously brought trouble. Streams of white people continued to pour into the best Cheyenne hunting ground. They were either ignorant of the reservation boundary, or ignored it. Black Kettle continued to work for peace, but could not gain support from many of the resentful young warriors who wanted war. Sporadic raids occurred throughout western Colorado in 1862 and 1863. In the summer of 1864, while Indian agents spoke of peace, the army was in the field looking for raiding parties. In September, 1864, Black Kettle went to Denver to offer new peace proposals to the Colorado state government. "All we ask is that we may have peace with the whites," he said. "I want you to give all the . . . soldiers here to under-

¹⁵ Report, *Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1859, p. 139.

¹⁶ Mari Sandoz, *Cheyenne Autumn* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953), p. 215. Cheyenne warriors often performed certain self-tortures in order to acquire visions of a guardian spirit to safeguard them on the warpath.

¹⁷ George B. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), p. 309.

stand that we are for peace, and that we have made peace, that we may not be mistaken for enemies."¹⁸

Colorado Governor John Evans and his militia commander, Reverend John M. Chivington, refused to accept the peace offer. They realized that further hostilities would serve to end Indian title to Colorado territory, and the way would be opened for the white settlers to present a legal claim to the lands they were occupying.¹⁹

Following his rebuff by the Colorado officials, Black Kettle led his people to Fort Lyon to seek the protection of federal troops. Meanwhile a decision was made by Chivington to attack the Cheyennes at their camp on Sand Creek. On November 29, while Black Kettle stood beneath a United States flag, Chivington led the Third Colorado Cavalry in a surprise assault on the camp. Nearly two hundred Indians were killed.

For a time following Sand Creek, Black Kettle wanted revenge. The Cheyenne code called for the killing of many enemies to bring consolation to the people who had been aggrieved. After only a few weeks of raiding along the overland routes, however, Black Kettle decided to retire south of the Arkansas River.²⁰

In the spring of 1865 President Andrew Johnson authorized a peace commission to make a new treaty with the Plains Indians. Still sullen over his betrayal at Sand Creek, Black Kettle would not take part in the first truce parley. Not until other tribes had signed a truce did he meet with the peace commissioners. His speech to the commissioners reflected his lack of confidence in the white man's word:²¹

Your young soldiers, I don't think they listen to you. You bring presents, and when I come to get them I am afraid they will strike me before I get away . . . I once thought that I was the only man that persevered to be the friend of the white man, but since they have come and cleaned out our lodges, horses, and everything else it is hard for me to believe white men any more.

On October 14, 1865, Black Kettle and six other leaders from his band signed the Treaty of the Little Arkansas. This treaty, which confined the Cheyennes to the land south of the Arkansas River in Oklahoma, was accepted by only a small faction of the Tribe. From this time on Black Kettle, bitterly ridiculed for his peace efforts, had little influence outside his band.

In 1867, the extension of the Kansas Pacific Railroad stirred up new hostilities. Black Kettle ransomed white captives with his

¹⁸ William J. Mellor, "Military Investigation of Col. John M. Chivington," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XVI (Dec., 1938), p. 453.

¹⁹ Berthrong, *op. cit.* p. 211.

²⁰ For accounts of Black Kettle's activities from Sand Creek to his death at the Battle of the Washita, see Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes*, pp. 224-228, 240-242, 297, 302, 331.

²¹ *Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1865*, pp 520-21.

own ponies and protested so vigorously against the outbreaks that for a time the angry warriors forced him to leave the Cheyenne camps. A new peace commission met on September 2, 1867, to negotiate the Medicine Lodge Treaty. Black Kettle took part in the peace talks despite the threat of having his horses killed by the soldier societies.

The outbreak of hostilities in the summer of 1868 has already been discussed. Following the annual buffalo hunt that autumn, Black Kettle brought his band to their winter quarters on the Washita River. Several of his young men continued to attack wagon routes and scattered settlements along the Smokey Hill River. In late November the first heavy snow of the season forced them to return to the winter camp.

It was their trail in the deep snow that led Custer's troops to Black Kettle's village.²² The plunder they brought home from their raids was recovered by Custer's men and offered as evidence to justify the massacre.

So, it was that Black Kettle's inability to control the young warriors in his band indirectly cost him his life, just as his peace efforts over the previous eight years had cost him prestige. The drive for military prestige played a major role in the Black Kettle drama. The political structure of the Cheyenne tribe depended upon the leadership of strong warriors who had successfully arisen from encounters with the enemy. This situation bred a war psychology into the tribe which made coexistence with white civilization impossible. Black Kettle realized this before his people did, so he sought peace and a new beginning. Instead, he fell victim to the ambitions of George A Custer.

²² Grinnell, p. 301.

PRESIDENT JACKSON AND WILLIAM FAULKNER'S CHOCTAWS

By Elmo Howell*

The fiction of William Faulkner, more than that of most American novelists, is the product of the author's cultural background. The Civil War is the central cataclysmic event in Faulkner's view of history. Most of his novels and short stories deal with the effect of the war on his part of the country, the changes brought about by the demise of one social order and the advent of the new one, which he doesn't like. Only rarely does he write about the war itself, or the halcyon period preceding it. But bit by bit he has pieced together the chronicles of his mythical county of Yoknapatawpha in North Mississippi, beginning with Indian times, before the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830 and the Treaty of Pontotoc in 1832, which provided for the removal of the Choctaws and the Chickasaws to the new territory in the West. He has celebrated these first inhabitants of Mississippi in four of his finest short stories and in passing references throughout his work, particularly in his long story, "The Bear."¹

The Chickasaws lived in North Mississippi, the Faulkner country, with their headquarters in what is now Pontotoc County, about forty miles east of Faulkner's home in Oxford. The kindred and vaster nation of Choctaws occupied the southern part of the state. Faulkner's knowledge of history is erratic, and since he has the artist's, not the historian's, point of view, he makes no effort to distinguish between the two tribes. As the conception of the Yoknapatawpha saga developed, he invariably labeled his Indians Chickasaws, but he seems to have drawn more freely from the Choctaws, who were more distinctive in tribal customs and practices.² He could not have known them from experience, as he knew his Negroes and poor whites, since the Chickasaws have vanished from Mississippi and only a few small colonies of Choctaws remain, the largest in Neshoba County, where they exist, in Faulkner's words, "a good deal like animals in a zoo."³

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¹ "Red Leaves," 1930: "A Justice," 1931; "Lo," 1934; "A Courtship," 1948, *The Collected Stories of William Faulkner* (New York, 1950), pp. 313-403; "The Bear," *Go Down, Moses*, Modern Library edition, pp. 191-331.

² As for example in their funeral rites, which Faulkner makes use of at Sam Fathers' death in "The Bear." See H. B. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Natchez Indians*, ed. Angie Debo (Stillwater, Oklahoma), p. 165 ff.

Completely subjective in approach, he makes his Indians a primitive, amoral people, at times comical, always dangerous, upon whom a great injustice has been perpetrated. And he amplifies the meagre details of history and legend to suit his own needs.

The story "Lo" deals with an occurrence common in the early history of the country, the visit of an Indian chief to the "Great White Father" in Washington. Faulkner's story appears to be a composite treatment of two such visits by Choctaw chiefs in Mississippi, Pushmataha in 1824 and Greenwood Leflore in 1831. Faulkner's character, Francis Weddel (or Vidal: his father was Francois Vidal, a general of Napoleon and a knight of the Legion of Honor), goes to Washington to have the President affirm the innocence of his nephew, who is accused by the Mississippi Indian agents of murdering a white man. Weddel had sold to the white man a few acres of worthless land surrounding a river ford, not realizing his intention of fencing in the property and erecting a toll gate. After an argument with the nephew, the white man dies, of a split skull. Francis Weddel's real purpose in making the trip is to dramatize the complaint of his people over the continued encroachment of the white settlers.

Though the outline of the story is taken from history, Faulkner's Weddel is an independent creation. He is an "obese mongrel despot and patriarch" with "the face of a Gascon brigand and the mannerisms of a spoiled eunuch." For fifteen hundred miles across a winter wilderness, he leads his people, in his own carriage, with the nephew beside him with "one fat, ringed hand beneath its fall of soiled lace lying upon the nephew's knee." In Washington the Indians pitch their tents and wait, with more arriving daily, until at length the President is driven to act. The old Indian is an astute leader, and Andrew Jackson, "that well nigh infallible expert in the anticipation of and controlling of man and his doings," is for once confounded. With an army of Indians encamped in the city and half-naked savages squatting in the corridors, waiting, he grants the interview with Weddel and declares the innocence of the nephew, properly inscribed for all the world to see.

In the battle of wits, the President comes off second best. "We are only Indians," says Weddel. "Doubtless these busy white men have but little time for our small affairs." He had hoped to hear the innocence of the boy proclaimed "in the big white council house beneath the golden eagle." The harried President assures him that the "white council house" is now occupied by a council of chiefs "who are more important there than I am." And it will be so occupied, the Secretary adds, "until the last snow

³ *Faulkner in the University*, eds. Frederick L. Gwynn and Joseph L. Blotner (Charlottesville, 1959), p. 43.

of winter has melted among the flowers and the green leaves." "Good," the uncle says in his cheerful manner. He will wait, and then the rest of his people will have time to arrive. Again the President gives in, and a full parade follows, "led by the carriage containing the President and the uncle and the nephew, the fat, ringed hand lying again upon the nephew's knee. In the ceremony which follows in the Capitol, the President reads ten sonnets of Petrarch, in Latin, after which the guns are fired, and then he turns to address the boy: "Nephew of Francis Weddel, you are free. Return to your home."

*"And now the uncle spoke, again his finger waggled from out its froth of lace: 'Heedless boy,' he said. 'Consider the trouble which you have caused these busy men.' He turned to the Secretary, almost briskly; again his voice was bland, pleasant, almost mirthful: 'And now, about the little matter of this cursed ford . . .'"*⁴

The character of Weddel was suggested to Faulkner by Greenwood Leflore, the last of the Choctaw chiefs east of the Mississippi. In 1831, after the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, Leflore journeyed to Washington in his own carriage, trimmed in solid sterling silver and upholstered with "rich, figured cream silk damask,"⁵ to complain about the treatment of his people at the hands of the Indian agents. He was promised redress by President Jackson, though the Indian agents retained their positions and Leflore himself was discredited among his own people and as a consequence remained in the state as a private citizen after the other Choctaws moved to the West. His place in Mississippi history is secure. He became a wealthy planter (his plantation house Malmaison was named, according to Faulkner, "in honor of a French king's mistress"⁶), and served in the state legislature. During the Civil War, he remained staunchly loyal to the Federal Government. Mississippi has honored him by naming a county and county seat after him.

Unlike Leflore, whose father was French, Pushmataha was a full-blood Indian who always identified himself with his people. He fought with Andrew Jackson against the Creeks at Horseshoe Bend in Alabama and later against the British at New Orleans. He had met General Washington and had gone in 1804 to the capital to see "my father Jefferson." He was not intimidated by greatness. Once in an assembly when General Jackson asked "Brother Push" to tell them how he came to be the leader of so powerful a nation, Pushmataha replied to the interpreter: "Tell the White Chief it's none of his business."⁷

⁴ *Collected Stories of William Faulkner* (New York, 1950), p. 400.

⁵ Allene DeShazo Smith, *Greenwood Leflore and the Choctaw Indians of the Mississippi Valley* (Memphis, 1951), pp. 78-79.

⁶ *Requiem for a Nun* (New York, 1950), p. 106.

⁷ William H. Murray, *Pocahontas and Pushmataha* (Oklahoma City, 1931), p. 38.

In 1824, in late autumn, Pushmataha and a delegation of Choctaws, including two other prominent chiefs, Moshulatubbee and Puckshenubbee, started for Washington to lay the complaint of their people before the President, James Monroe. The Treaty of Doak's Stand in 1820, with General Jackson representing the Government, was to have been an "eternal" arrangement, whereby the Choctaws were to swap a designated area in Mississippi for a much larger territory in the West. Later it was discovered that white settlers had already occupied part of the new territory, that part which was subsequently incorporated into the state of Arkansas. Pressure was brought on Washington to abrogate the treaty. The Government stalled, delaying the removal of the Indians, while calling for another council and more concessions. Pushmataha refused to treat with the Mississippi agents. It was his pride, and the pride of his people, that the Choctaws had never taken up arms against the Americans, and he would state his case before the President himself.

In every respect, the mission was a failure. They journeyed by way of the Natchez Trace to Nashville, and on through Kentucky to the capital. At Mayesville, Kentucky, the old chief Puckshenubbee died of a fall from an upper-story window, the result of too much drink, perhaps at the connivance of the government agents accompanying the delegation, since Puckshenubbee was even more obstinate than Pushmataha in negotiations with the whites.

In Washington, the Indians were housed in Tenneson's Hotel, at Government expense, but President Monroe refused to see any member of the delegation, their only communication being with Secretary Calhoun. Their bills for food and drink were enormous, and though Pushmataha could digest the possum and rabbit on the waters of the Buckatunna, the highly seasoned dishes at Tenneson's, and the spirits accompanying them, were too much for him. The Government was playing a canny game.

"Father," Pushmataha finally wrote the President, "I have been here many days, but have not talked with you and have been sick." On Christmas Eve he died. He requested to see his old friend General Jackson, and Choctaw tradition says that Jackson visited him in the night and that the old chief's last words were directed to him: "When I am dead, let the big guns be fired over me." He was buried with military honors in the old Congressional Cemetery, where his monument states simply that he "died of a croup" and that he was "on all occasions the white man's friend." With the death of their leader, the Choctaws were ready to negotiate and return home.⁸

⁸ Anna Lewis, *Chief Pushmataha: American Patriot* (New York, 1959), pp. 170-197.

The essential element of Pushmataha's journey which Faulkner uses in his story "Lo" is the long stalemate in Washington, with the savage Indians loitering about the city streets and in the corridors of the Capitol, in half pagan, half European dress. The Government ordered a suit for each of Pushmataha's men (Congress appropriated \$1,134.75 to cover the bill⁹), the trousers of which, according to Faulkner, the Indians carried neatly rolled under their arms, exposing heavy woolen flannels. They crouched outside secretarial doors, barefooted, gnawing ribs of meat, with gamecocks beside them in wicker hampers, while officials, including the President, used back exits to avoid them. Faulkner, with the artist's eye, fills in the details of this strange confrontation of two cultures, avoiding the pathos in Pushmataha's story and turning the tables to place the Government on the defensive.

His thesis is implicit: the unjust treatment of the Indians by the whites. "I think the ghost of that ravishment lingers in the land," he said in an interview at Virginia, that the land is "inimical to the white man" because of the way it was taken from the Indians.¹⁰ But in dramatizing the Indians' tragedy, he did not fall into the kind of easy generalization that was common in the nineteenth century. His Indians owe nothing to Rousseau and the concept of the Noble Savage. They may be generous and loyal friends, but they are also ruthless and cruel. Along with his Negroes, they reflect what Faulkner feels are the characteristics of their race, but of greater importance they embody as individuals the various components of human nature. Driven back on their own resources in the face of hopeless odds, they suggest something sinister and fatal, a latent quality in our nature which we prefer to forget.

Francis Weddel resorts to cunning to achieve his ends. Interminably cheerful and obliging, he outfoxes the soldier president, who prefers the battlefield to the council table. In the autumn following Weddel's visit to Washington, President Jackson receives another letter: once more a white man has disappeared, this time in a swimming race with the same nephew, and the nephew stands accused by the President's agents in the Choctaw nation. "And so now there is nothing for me to do save to bestir old bones and bring this rash boy to you for you to reprimand him. We will arrive in about . . ." Frantically, the President orders his troops to head off Weddel. "Shoot every horse, mule, and ox. I know they won't walk." And then in his own element again as a field commander, he sallies out, to "turn his flank and drive him."¹¹

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

¹⁰ *Faulkner in the University*, p. 43.

¹¹ *Collected Stories of William Faulkner*, pp. 402-403.

Faulkner's Indian stories are a curious jumble of fantasy, history, and unassimilated lore. "I never read any history," he once said. "If I got it straight it's because I didn't worry with other people's ideas about it."¹² He probably read a great deal, but "Lo" is a good example of his latitude with the facts, in arranging the details to suit his artistic needs. The character of Francis Weddel is fashioned out of Choctaw history, but unlike the voyages of Pushmataha and Greenwood Leflore, his trip to Washington did not fail. Not the facts but the meaning he could impose on the facts was Faulkner's concern. The pleasure of the story is in the unexpected triumph of the underdog, who at least deserved to win.

APPENDIX

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William Faulkner and the Chickasaw Funeral

The death of Sam Fathers in William Faulkner's "The Bear" marks the passing of the wilderness from north Mississippi. It also reflects Faulkner's indifference to historical accuracy, for in his account of Sam's funeral he confuses the customs of the Chickasaw and the Choctaw Indians, the two major tribes that occupied what is now the state of Mississippi.

The Chickasaws lived in the north, in the Faulkner country, until after the Treaty of Pontotoc in 1832, when they moved west to Oklahoma. Faulkner could have learned nothing about them from observation, and in this respect his Indians stand apart from the other Yoknapatapha characters. The speech of the Negroes and the poor whites is drawn from experience; his Indian English is mere effrontery which succeeds. The striking details—the doctor who comes in a skunk vest and hurns sticks, the girl working in her shift in a melon patch, the feast of haked dog and succotash—are products of Faulkner's imagination, not experience or study. He had a vision of the primitive Indians as an amoral people, at times comical, always dangerous, who yet in their association with "the old days" strangely fascinated him, and trimmed his details to fit his vision with regard to Chickasaw lore.

Sam Fathers is the son of a Chickasaw chief and a Negro slave. He lives as a Negro on the plantations but he is proud of his Indian heritage and goes back in his old age to live in the wilderness of the Tallahatchie bottom. Boon Hogganback, one quarter Chickasaw and three quarters white, attends Sam when he dies because of their kinship in the old blood. He erects "a platform of freshly cut saplings bound between four posts" and places Sam's body wrapped in a blanket upon it. When McCaslin and Major DeSpain return to the woods three days later, they find Boon squatting beside the platform in a death watch. "Stand back," he says. "By God, you won't touch him. This is the way he wanted it. He told us. He told us exactly how to do it. And by God you aint going to move him. So we did like he said, and I been sitting here ever since to keep the damn wild cats and varmints away from him."¹³

The Chickasaw Indians were a practical people and buried their dead as soon as possible in the most convenient place.¹⁴ The Choctaws probably

¹² Robert Cantwell, "The Faulkners: Recollections of a Gifted Family," *Faulkner: Three Decades of Criticism* (East Lansing, 1960), p. 57.

¹³ "The Bear," *Go Down, Moses*, Modern Library Edition, pp. 252-53.

¹⁴ H. B. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw Indians*, ed. Angie Debo (Stillwater, Okla., 1962), p. 404.

furnished the idea for the platform. Their funeral rite was elaborate, the most curious and distinctive of all their ceremonies. A body wrapped in "a bear skin or rough kind of covering" and laid upon "a high scaffold erected near the house of the deceased, that it might be protected from the wild beasts of the woods." It remained exposed until it decayed, during which time the relatives would come to the foot of the platform to wail and mourn. In warm weather, the stench was intolerable, and women sometimes fainted while performing their mourning duties. When the body was decomposed, "the *hattak nipi Foni* (bone picker), the principal official in their funeral ceremonies," was called to pick the flesh from the bones with his long nails, which he let grow for this purpose. The decayed flesh was burned or buried and the clean bones placed in a container or stored.¹⁵

When Faulkner began writing his Indian stories, he showed little interest in their tribal origin. In 1931, in "A Justice," Doom is a Choctaw; in subsequent stories he is a Chickasaw. In "Mountain Victory," published in 1932, Francis Weddell is a Choctaw chief; in "Lo" of 1934, he is a Chickasaw chief. As the conception of the Yoknapatawpha saga developed, the Indians were invariably labeled Chickasaws, but Faulkner remained unconcerned about variation in customs and ceremonies. Sam Fathers, son of a Chickasaw chief, seemed destined for a Choctaw funeral until white men returned to the forest to interrupt Boon Hogganbeck's plans. "I never read any history," Faulkner once said. "I talked to people. If I got it straight it's because I didn't worry with other people's ideas about it."¹⁶ Not the facts, but the meaning he could impose on the facts was Faulkner's concern. Artistically his Indian stories are valid, in spite of the curious hodgepodge of fantasy and unassimilated lore.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

¹⁶ Robert Cantwell, "The Faulkners: Recollections of Gifted Family," William Faulkner: Three Decades of Criticism, ed. Frederick J. Hoffman and Olga W. Vickery (East Lansing, Mich., 1960), p. 57.

ALICE M. ROBERTSON,
OKLAHOMA'S FIRST CONGRESSWOMAN

By Ruth Moore Stanley*

On February 8, 1921, three hundred and fifty women were invited to the Tulsa Town Club to "feast their eyes on 'our own Miss Alice,'" newly-elected congresswoman from Oklahoma and second woman in the United States Congress. Holding out her hand "to quiet the hubbub," the lady president predicted that by 1941 half the seats in the halls of Congress would be filled by women. To the exhilarated clubwomen, happy with their lately-won enfranchisement, the prediction did not seem extravagant. Had not Miss Jeannette Rankin of Missoula, Montana, gained a seat in the U. S. House of Representatives even before women generally were given the vote? And now Miss Alice Robertson of Muskogee, Oklahoma, Republican in a Democratic state, had been elected over a veteran Democratic representative who was, moreover, a Cherokee Indian. Miss Robertson had announced as her platform:

"I am a Christian

I am an American

I am a Republican."

Her campaign slogan had been, "I cannot be bought, I cannot be sold, I cannot be intimidated." Voters rarely take such campaign promises seriously, but it turned out that Miss Alice, as she was called in Oklahoma, meant exactly what she said.¹

Her well known devotion to American soldiers was an important reason for election victory. Sixty-six years old when elected to Congress, she had long since distinguished herself for helping to recruit Troops L and M of Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders. These troops were cowboys, former soldiers from the old frontier Army, and Indians, including some former students from Miss Alice's mission schools. For each member of the territorial troops she had personally prepared a field kit, putting in sewing necessities and a small Bible.² In 1916, when 15,000 troops passed through Muskogee enroute to the Mexican border, Miss Alice met the trains and provided the men with postcards, sandwiches, cakes and milk from her farm.³

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¹ *Tulsa Tribune*, Feb. 8, 1921; *Los Angeles Times*, Jan 2, 1922.

² "A Woman Who Got into Congress through the Want-ad Columns," *Literary Digest*, Dec. 4, 1920.

³ MS., Grant Foreman. Archives of Oklahoma Historical Society (hereafter designated as OHS Arch.)



(Oklahoma Historical Society)

ALICE ROBERTSON,
Member of Congress from Oklahoma, Washington, D. C., 1921

But it was during World War I that she became most famous as the soldiers' friend. Trainloads going to the many camps in Texas passed through Muskogee, and Miss Alice did not wait for Red Cross funds or assistance. Loading her Ford with refreshments from her farm and cafeteria — cookies and pies, sandwiches from her home-baked hams, candies, cigarettes, postcards and checking-gum, "and towering over all a big smoking can of hot coffee," she would set forth to be on time for every regular or special train that might carry a soldier. At times she sat up all night on the station platform. But soon the railroad company placed an old passenger coach on a siding to serve as a Red Cross canteen, and here Miss Alice presided over a corps of volunteer workers in white uniforms. The Muskogee canteen became a pattern for those in other towns. At her cafeteria in Muskogee, named "Sawokla" from her Sawokla Farm ("Saw-okla", a name coined from Creek, signifies "gathering place"), she allowed no soldier or member of a soldier's family to pay for a meal. Something over five thousand troops accepted her hospitality in 1917 and 1918. Furthermore, soldiers soon learned that if they were hard up or otherwise in trouble, they could find help in a visit to Miss Alice of Muskogee.⁴

Early in 1920, when Oklahoma Republican leaders approached Miss Robertson about running for Congress, she answered, "Why, you can't elect a Republican here!" "Not just any Republican, but we can elect you." People of the second district were astonished when they learned that Miss Alice had agreed to run, for she had been a determined foe of woman suffrage since 1916, had even been Vice-President of the state Anti-Suffrage League.

In her election campaign she made few speeches. "It's the handshaking that counts," she said, and most of the handshaking was done in the Sawokla cafeteria, where she went from table to table greeting patrons and giving to each one a small card which read: "There are already more lawyers and bankers in Congress than are needed. The farmers need a farmer. I am a farmer. The women need a woman to look after their new responsibilities. The soldier boys need a proven friend. I promise few speeches, but faithful work. You can judge my promise by past performance.—*Alice M. Robertson.*"⁵

Since neither daily paper in Muskogee supported her candidacy, she extended space in the "want ad" column in which

⁴ Grant Foreman, "The Lady from Oklahoma," *The Independent*, March 26, 1921.

⁵ *Boston Sunday Herald*, May 29, 1921. *Muskogee Times-Democrat*, July 1, 1931. Alice Robertson Collection, OHS Arch.



(University of Tulsa, Alice Robertson Collection)

SAWOKLA

Alice Robertson's residence, erected 1910

she had been accustomed to advertising Sawokla Cafeteria each day:⁶

We do not find "business as usual," but better than usual, and we wonder vaguely if the increase is caused by a pardonable curiosity to see the one and only woman candidate for Congress. Lots of hot soup today, and catfish, fried brown. Sweet potatoes, getting sweeter every day; pole beans, boiled with bacon in the pot; corn bread, made from white meal; buttermilk; cherry pie.

* * *

Watermelons better every day. Fried chicken extra good tonight. Our campaign seems to be going very well, even if we are not neglecting our customers.

* * *

I'm glad not to see the wondrous beauty of flower-like cottonfields today, nor gins with long processions of waiting wagons heaped with snowy fleece, for you may not see one without seeing also the haunting, almost hunted look of the farmer who is meeting sore disappointment in the price he gets. As a Republican I am glad that it is under a Democratic administration that this comes to pass, but after all, the fact that we are not responsible does not help the farmer. When he suffers, the whole foundation of our national life is assailed.

Miss Robertson's campaign advertisements soon rivaled the news columns for local interest, as readers turned first to the want ad columns "to see what the woman candidate says today."

In all, her campaign expenditure was \$2,940. In the primaries, from a field of five candidates for the nomination, she had received a majority of all Republican votes cast, but in the November election she won by less than 300 votes. Nationally it was a Republican year, in which Harding received 404 electoral votes in 37 states to Cox's 127 in 11 states, and in which the Solid South legend was broken by the G.O.P. in Democratic Oklahoma. The Republicans elected five out of eight members of Congress, with Alice Robertson one of the five.⁷

Her appearance in Washington was attended by considerable comment about her old-fashioned appearance. Asked if she intended to shorten her skirts to the fashionable length of the twenties, she replied that all her dresses would be the same length as usual, to the ankles. As for silk stockings, she had never owned a pair, and never intended to. Cotton stockings were good enough for her, nor did she aspire to "georgette waists." "Miss Alice Robertson is an unpretentious dresser," wrote one observer. "Her blue eyes are piercing—shrewd but kindly. Her white hair is brushed back tightly above the ruddy face of one

⁶ Tom P. Morgan, "Miss Alice of Muskogee," *Ladies' Home Journal*, March, 1921.

⁷ Editorial, *Tulsa World*, Nov. 9, 1920; Joseph Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929.)

whose life has been in the open. She scorns the false, even in hair, and wears no switch.⁸

After Congress convened, a newswoman wrote of her: "Built on similar architectural lines as the late Champ Clark, she moves with the same deliberate tread. One never knows quite what Miss Alice has on. Her costume is always black, and of a cut behind the prevailing mode, but it somehow suits the snow-white hair and matronly style of the lady from Oklahoma who is called 'the Jane Addams of the South.'"⁹

Miss Robertson had announced that she would devote her chief attention in Congress to legislation for the Indians, women, farmers, soldiers and working people, and no one in Oklahoma was surprised. The surprise came later, when in almost the first headline about her from Washington Miss Alice denounced the League of Women Voters. This newly-formed organization was completely misunderstood by Miss Robertson for about four years. "It is the province of women voters to stand off in a wholly non-partisan way, look down into the pit where the fight is going on and say, 'You're not doing it right,'" she said in a New York speech which contradicted her previous strictures, but which described rather accurately if crudely what the League of Women Voters was trying to do. Four years later, when the purpose and methods of the League suddenly became clear to Miss Alice, she was forgiven—at least in Oklahoma—for her wrong-headed early comments, and even made an honorary member of the Tulsa League.¹⁰

But her 1921 misconceptions, coupled with a general hostility to any measure which she thought originated with suffragists, led her into a number of battles on Capitol Hill. The first was against the Sheppard-Towner, or "maternity bill," one of the early welfare measures which heralded the more sweeping social legislation of the New Deal. Soon after taking office, Miss Robertson attacked the Sheppard-Towner bill as "paternalistic . . . threatening overthrow of the American family . . . Bolshevistic in some of its features." In her mind any law which threatened to produce "federal tyranny" was "Bolshevistic." "The state chairman of the Oklahoma League of Women Voters wrote me about this so-called Maternity Bill," she announced with some asperity. "They said, 'We want this bill passed in its present form, that is, giving its administration to the Children's Bureau, not to the Public Health Service. We are sure you are interested in saving the lives

⁸ *Santa Barbara Morning Press*, June 28, 1922; *San Francisco Examiner*, Nov. 11, 1920. Undated Muskogee clipping, ca. Feb., 1921; *Washington Herald*, Jan. 15, 1921.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *New York Tribune*, Nov. 5, 1920; *Kansas City Star*, Nov. 10, 1920.

of 12,000 mothers and 100,000 babies each year.' " Miss Alice continued:¹¹

At once I began efforts to inform myself. The bill does not provide medical or nursing attendance, or milk or baby clothes. All the bill promises is "instruction" and the establishment of an autocratic, practically uncontrolled, yet federally authorized, center of propaganda. It would create many jobs for women, and give them powers they may not be qualified to fill. Throughout the land, whenever at the supreme hour there is need, the Good Samaritan neighbor woman is ready to help as best she may. In due time the Children's Bureau would purvey "instructions" to the effect that medical attention should be secured, and proper food, bedding, baby clothes and a trained nurse provided, for none of which appropriations are authorized by the maternity bill. A great danger is that good women everywhere believe that with its passage the Federal Government will assume all care of maternity and infancy. They are led to expect everything; they will receive practically nothing.

At the House hearings for the Sheppard-Towner bill Miss Robertson first met her later friend and benefactor, Mrs. William Lowell Putnam of Boston, a sister of President Lawrence Lowell of Harvard and also of Amy Lowell, *avant-garde* poet of the time. Several witnesses against the bill, including Mrs. Putnam, representing the Women's Municipal League of Boston, admitted that there was nothing extremely harmful or expensive in the legislation as proposed, but said that if passed it would be the "entering wedge" to further paternalistic legislation. Let the federal government get its foot in the door and there would be no end to it. "If a country gets accustomed to paternalism from the federal government," pronounced Mrs. Putnam, "inevitably the virility of the population is destroyed."¹²

Witnesses in favor of the Sheppard-Towner bill came from the state Boards of Health, the American Association of University Women, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Board of the Y.W.C.A., the National Consumers' League, National Federation of Business and Professional Women, National Women's Christian Temperance Union, National League of Women Voters, Council of Jewish Women, and even from an organization of which Miss Robertson was an ardent member, the Daughters of the American Revolution.¹³ Against this impressive array, she stood her ground. "They are trying to scare me into support for the bill," she said, "but I can't be scared." They were not to do her thinking for her, nor would she permit "emotional appeals" about saving the lives of 12,000 mothers and 100,000

¹¹ Washington correspondence, *Muskogee Times-Democrat*, April 9, 1921. *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, Aug. 12, 1921; undated clipping from *Tulsa World*, by Bascom N. Timmons, ca. April, 1921.

¹² *Hearings before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives, 67th Congress, 1st Session on H. R. 2366 (Sheppard-Towner Bill, Public Protection of Maternity and Infancy)*, July 12-13, 1921. Washington, D. C.; *Who's Who in America*, 1920-21, Mrs. William Lowell Putnam.

¹³ *Hearings*, etc., *op. cit.*

babies to sweep her off her feet. She cited again her campaign slogan, "I cannot be bought, I cannot be sold, I cannot be intimidated," and declared she was not a representative of the women of America, but an American representative in Congress. "They have threatened to get my scalp. Well," with a sigh, "perhaps they will."¹⁴

When first elected to Congress Miss Robertson had refused to discuss any phase of international politics. "What do I know about recognizing Russia, for instance?" Absolutely nothing!" she had exclaimed in a Muskogee interview.¹⁵ But by the time she reached Washington, she was ready to give an opinion on the League of Nations. She was opposed to it, she said, in the un-American form in which Woodrow Wilson conceived it. "I am so completely American, I could not be for the League of Nations as it now stands. We are not a hermit nation, therefore we will have some sort of league," she conceded. "But I do not favor one where the religion of God cannot go. Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, may utter the Lord's prayer meaningly, but how about the nations who believe in idols? Would you want them in your League? I think not."¹⁶

By December, 1921, when the agitation arose to free Eugene V. Debs from his prison sentence, Miss Alice had become fully articulate. Mayor London, Socialist congressman from New York, read to the House a memorial presented to President Harding by several war veterans, asking for the pardon of persons now in prison for having opposed the war. A recent conference between Debs and Attorney General Daugherty was then discussed. Resolutely Miss Alice took the floor, receiving applause at intervals as she went on:¹⁷

I look with horror at a man who would say the things against the government of the United States which Debs said. I do not see how anyone can claim and receive the benefits of American liberty and be so disloyal to the United States. They say that all other nations have released political prisoners. Did they have many to release? Did they not shoot them as they went along? Has not America shown more tolerance in her lenient treatment of un-Americanism than any other country? If any man in prison in this country is not ready to be a loyal American, he ought to stay in prison.

Many Americans had come out of World War I with a militant patriotism. According to one historian of the time, Americans in the early twenties had come to distrust "anything and everything that was foreign." If it was foreign, it was probably "radical," and this radicalism the hundred-percent American saw as

¹⁴ "By the Eavesdropper," Washington, D. C., Oct. 18, 1921. OHS Arch.

¹⁵ *The Daily Oklahoman*, Nov. 6, 1920.

¹⁶ Undated clipping, OHS Arch.

¹⁷ *Muskogee Phoenix*, Dec. 3, 1921.



(Oklahoma Historical Society)

ALICE ROBERTSON FROM OKLAHOMA AND JOSEPH G. CANNON
FROM ILLINOIS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, D.C., 1921.

"the spawn of long-haired Slavs and unwashed East-Side Jews."¹⁸ It was true that in these years there was a noticeable drift toward socialistic ideas in American labor unions and among liberal intellectuals. The American Communist party was organized in the spring of 1920. American Socialists, watching the drama of the Russian revolution, spoke at times of the "inevitability" of violent mass-action in the United States.

There was bound to be legislation to restrict immigration in the 1920's, for during the first half of 1921 some 800,000 immigrants had crowded into the United States, hoping to escape from the poverty and post-war suffering of Europe. Miss Robertson was not only in hearty accord with the Harding administration's immigration policy as reflected in the Emergency Immigration Act of 1921; she was in favor of further restrictions. "We are taking in foreign people so rapidly that we cannot Americanize them," she stated in an interview. "Too many are here already who do not appreciate American liberties and are doing their best to tear the nation down."¹⁹

Early in 1922 she prepared a mimeographed letter for distribution in Oklahoma, setting forth her views on a number of subjects. On immigration she said:²⁰

I may say that my blood goes directly back through ten generations of Presbyterian ministers, to Pilgrim, Puritan and Scotch Covenanters. I am an American of the sort that has no drop of blood that did not flow through the veins of a soldier of the Revolution . . . Since coming to Congress, I have aligned myself with those who are stubbornly, persistently fighting to prevent further foreign immigration. Till we have done this, talk of Americanization is idle. Atheism, bigotry, fanaticism, defiance of American ideals—all are evils attendant upon the poison stream of immigration.

In the same letter she condemned the Towner-Sterling bill which proposed a federal Department of Education. It would, she thought, promote the "Prussian tyranny of federal interference with local schools. Massachusetts does not object to colored children sitting in the same school seats with white, but Mississippi does. When a strong centralized power is to be allowed to control our educational affairs it will not be long until we have a state church."²¹

With such views, it was not surprising that Miss Robertson found herself in complete sympathy with the Harding administration's proposals for a new protective tariff law to supersede the Democratic free tariff acts of 1913. The tariff laws enacted under Harding—Emergency Tariff Act of 1921 and Ford-

¹⁸ Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday*, (New York, 1931, ed. 1946), pp. 64, 65.

¹⁹ *Morning Oregonian*, June 7, 1922.

²⁰ From a form letter by Alice Robertson, ca. May, 1922, mimeographed for distribution to constituents. OHS Arch.

²¹ *Morning Oregonian*, *ibid.*

ney-McCumber Act of 1922—raised tariff rates to the highest levels yet known, and virtually insured American products against foreign competition.²²

Oklahomans, who had been pinched by the Democratic free trade laws of 1913, were willing to go along with Miss Alice and the Republicans on the new protective tariff. But they were stunned and incredulous when they next heard from Washington that Miss Alice was opposing the Soldier Bonus. She, who had been known above all as the soldiers' friend, whose narrow margin of election victory had probably turned on her generous aid to the troops—she who had gone to Washington promising to work for "our boys!" Could this be Miss Alice Robertson? True, she had helped to obtain a Veterans' hospital for Muskogee, and was proclaiming that all ex-soldiers unable to work or needing vocational training, should have government help. But it was reported that she had said at a speech in the Plaza Hotel in New York that veterans should not "put a price on their patriotism." She had spoken of her own ancestry, then praised the soldiers of the Civil War and Spanish-American War. "Those men of '61 and '98 didn't ask for bonuses," she said, according to the newspapers. "We can give our veterans of today a quit-claim deed if they want it. The men of my ancestry didn't want it and didn't ask for it. If our boys today want the government to put the dollar sign on their patriotism, we can do it."²³

In Muskogee two weeks later, trying to defend herself before an angry meeting of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Miss Alice insisted that she did not make any statement about "patriotism with a dollar mark." However, the New York speech was so reported far and wide. Miss Robertson rarely wrote her speeches in advance, relying on the inspiration of the moment, and it is likely that she did not know exactly what she had said at the Plaza Hotel.

She protested to the veterans in Muskogee:^{23a}

We cannot measure what you boys have done, least of all in money. I believe that every man who became rich during the war because of profiteering will lose that money. I have shed tears for every boy in my district who was buried during the war. You boys know that I would not have a slacker around my place—that I sent every one out who would not enlist, and that I saved a place for every boy who returned.

Her enemies were not to be placated. They pointed out that the boys of '61 and '98 were not drafted, but enlisted of their own free will. They complained that Congress had readily voted twenty millions to Russian relief, and twenty-five millions for the Colum-

²² Hicks, Mowry and Burke, *The American Nation* (Boston, 1963), pp. 464-465.

²³ *New York Tribune*, Feb. 13, 1922; *Morning Oregonian*, June 7, 1922; *Santa Barbara Morning Press*, June 27, 1922; *Muskogee Phoenix*, March 30, 1922.

^{23a} *Ibid.*

bia treaty. The worst of it was that Miss Alice did not seem to have any particularly good reason for opposing the bonus. She said she would be for it "in better times." "I have been in close touch with the men who know the finances of the country, and I know that the Treasury is practically empty. I voted against the Sheppard-Towner bill and I voted against the millions to Russia because I am against every appropriation we can do without. If a bank is broke, why give a check on it and make the check bad?"

She added, weakening her position, "When President Harding said last summer that we couldn't afford the bonus, I believed him. I stood by the President, and I will stand by him. If he says there is some way we can have the bonus—all right." A storm of hostile criticism broke over her head. Almost no one defended her. The state executive committee of the American Legion's Women's Auxiliary published a resolution against her in April, pointing out that she was the only Oklahoma Congressman, regardless of party, to vote against the five-fold compensation plan (bonus), and "condemning her action as unworthy of American womanhood."²⁴

She was flooded with letters from ex-soldiers:²⁵

A woman like you should not be a representative in Congress you know that Soldiers themself never proposed the Bonus now you say we lacked patriotism thousand of Soldiers enlisted in the army like myself I fought and was cripled in the war and when a woman like you can stand up before a audience and talk that way it is time that voters picked up their ears.—A Cripled Soldier

There was a brief respite from these troubles two weeks later, when Lord and Lady Astor from the British House of Lords and House of Commons paid an official visit to Washington. Viscountess Astor, England's only woman member of Parliament, and Miss Robertson, America's only woman member of Congress, met and clasped hands at the National Press Club, April 26, 1922. Various social events were arranged for the Astors, the largest being the reception given by the National League of Women Voters. Alice Robertson, as an outspoken enemy of the League, was not invited; but newsmen decided that historical logic demanded a meeting of the two women, not to mention what good copy they would make together: "Two Women Share Limelight—Direct Opposites in Many Ways, Alice Robertson and Lady Astor Meet"; "Lady Astor is Eulogized by Our Aunt Alice—Congressman Says Titled Virginia Woman Far Ahead of Mere Man." The mere contrast in their appearance was startling—Lady Astor a graceful figure in fawn-colored crepe, with pearls, long gloves and a plumed "picture hat"—Miss Alice with her plain black dress, cotton stockings and sensible shoes. Most of what they said to

²⁴ Muskogee, March 3, 1922, and Muskogee, April 10, 1922. OHS Arch.

²⁵ Undated letter, University of Tulsa Alice Robertson Collection (hereafter designated as Tulsa, AR Coll.)



(Oklahoma Historical Society)

ALICE ROBERTSON AND LADY ASTOR
WASHINGTON, D.C., 1922

each other was lost "in the cannonade of flashlights and the applause of the newspaper men." Only this survives: "Isn't this terrible?" shouted Lady Astor above the din. "You know Rameses was the oldest mummy in the world and these people make me look like his grandmother." Miss Robertson, "though she disapproved of suffragists, melted under the smile of the beautiful Virginian, and squeezed her hand affectionately as if they had been anti-suffragists from Dixie all their lives."²⁶

"More wonderful things have happened than you can imagine," Miss Alice wrote to her sister Augusta in Oklahoma. "God has given me more than I ever dreamed possible could come into my life. P.S. Imagine me escorted to dinner by Lord Astor!" The occasion was probably the farewell dinner given by the League for Political Education at the Hotel Astor shortly before the British couple sailed for home. Speakers were the Astors and Miss Robertson, and among the fifteen hundred guests were Miss Margaret Woodrow Wilson, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, and the Astors' New York hosts, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Dana Gibson. Mrs. Gibson, the former Irene Langhorne of Virginia, was Lady Astor's sister.²⁷

There were others whose attentions pleased Miss Robertson and whose views influenced hers, foremost among them being the President and Mrs. Harding. She was fond of describing the Hardings in her speeches as "human, kindly American folk." Mrs. Harding she described as "the ideal Republican woman." For their part, the Hardings invited Alice Robertson for excursions on the yacht *Mayflower*. On occasion she was the only woman present except Mrs. Harding. "I am invited to the White House tonight," she wrote sister Augusta, "for the little gathering which Mrs. Harding is very often pleased to have after a dinner party, to share the music provided." Again, "I lunched with the President and Mrs. Harding last week," and "I was the only outside guest at the only Cabinet dinner given this season at the White House."²⁸

After the President's sudden death in 1923, Miss Robertson eulogized him at a memorial service: "I studied Warren Harding carefully. And I found that there was not a trace of sham in his makeup. The kindness he gave in life will remain forever imprinted in the minds of those who knew him best."²⁹

For all her plain attire and unpretentious manner, Miss Alice was inwardly dazzled by the pomp and circumstance into which

²⁶ Washington, Apr. 26, 1922; May 6, 1922. OHS Arch.

²⁷ *New York Herald*, May 22, 1922.

²⁸ Letter, Alice Robertson to Augusta Robertson (Mrs. N. B.) Moore, May 3, 1922. OHS Arch. (Letters hereafter designated as, *e.g.*, AR to ARM, May 3, 1922.)

²⁹ Undated Muskogee clipping, ca. August, 1923, OHS Arch.

she had suddenly ascended. Her confidante was sister Augusta, who she knew would exult with her in all the happy details. She wrote Augusta shortly after taking the oath of office:³⁰

It's the most wonderful world anyone ever lived in. I made my first appearance at the Republican caucus last night—when my name was called there was handclapping from everybody and they all stood up and applauded until I had to stand and repeatedly bow my acknowledgements. They tell me I have not yet made a mistake. It keeps me praying, praying that I may not forget God, and that it is not *I* but my ancestry recognized through me.

She spoke at the Pittsburgh Press Club anniversary banquet and was a guest in the home of an old friend and benefactor of the missionary Robertson family, Mrs. William K. Thaw, mother of Harry K. Thaw. Mrs. Thaw, seventy-seven years old in 1921, had written to Miss Robertson, "I want you to meet some of my friends," and had arranged a luncheon at the William Penn Hotel. Seated near Miss Alice, as she wrote her sister, were:^{30a}

Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Mrs. Thaw, next the former stage beauty Lillian Russell (now Mrs. Alexander P. Moore) and her husband, publisher of the *Pittsburgh Leader*. The table was thickly strewn with fern, roses, sweet peas, etc. Theodore Roosevelt and I were the principal speakers. I made a hit. Don't remember just how, but they laughed and wept. They gave me an ovation. Came away with an armful of roses. More reporters and photographers. Banquet at night, reception before, a thousand people—nearly all, I think, shook hands with me. Speakers' table long, raised on platform, sat this way—toastmaster, me, Mr. Andrew Mellon, Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt. Banquet lasted fully four hours, my conversation being with Mr. Mellon with whom I discussed quite freely his going into the cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury. I was rather glad that I did not know beforehand that next to John D. he is the richest American. I knew he was a multi-millionaire. Imagine, please, poverty-stricken me sitting next to that wealth, but he was "plain as an old shoe"—quiet, keen, and giving a feeling of great power. I think we'll have at least a pleasant acquaintance down in Washn. They sent me corsages, wonderful rosebuds with orchid center from the Press Club, violets—hundreds of them, with rose center, no card—and a big bunch of lavender and purple orchids from the Quota Club. After speaking, a great bouquet was sent to me—sweet peas, lilies of the valley, freesias, etc. Got home midnight.

In June she went as commencement speaker to her alma mater, Elmira College in New York, which she had attended, 1871-73. Financial stringencies had kept her from finishing with a B.A. degree, but the college in 1886 had awarded her an honorary Master's degree.³¹ Now she wrote to Augusta:³²

Think what it meant to me to have so wonderful an ovation at Elmira. I wanted you to see me in cap and gown when my long-ago, seemingly hopeless ambition to be on the platform at Commencement, was realized on the fortieth anniversary of the day I saw my class graduate without me, and spent the time while they were being toasted at the Alumnae dinner with my head buried in the pillows, crying out my heartache. Wednesday some of my old classmates sat in the audience, as I had so long before, while I

³⁰ AR to ARM, March 1, 1921, OHS Arch; AR to ARM, Feb. 22, 1921,

^{30a} Ibid.

³¹ Scribner's *Dictionary of American Biography*, "Alice Robertson," by E. E. Dale.

³² AR to ARM, June 18, 1921, OHS Arch.

mounted the steps to a seat of honor, a golden tassel of bonorary degree on my cap.

But "this life is nerve-trying," she next wrote her sister, and declared she would make no more out-of-town speeches. It was, however, a resolution she did not keep: ³³

I cannot live a social or personal life and do my work in the House. Right now I'm writing in the Speaker's lobby at one end of a long table, with Meyer London, the Czechoslovakian Socialist member from New York, correcting the reporter's notes of a very incendiary speech he made a while ago. He is a meek-looking little man, but fiery as a bluejay. (I'm just sick to hear a mocking bird, I miss them so.) I would go back to my office, but I feel I ought to stay to vote on the pending bill. Now Nicholas Longworth has a big chair and a newspaper near me, while through the door comes the voice of Blanton, the Texas Terror, who does at least ten percent of the talking in the House. I see Volstead and McFadden, talking about their two pending bills, I suppose. "Jack" Garner of Texas is talking, I must get his angle. I'm sending in a separate envelope the bills we've bad up today.

* * *

My political fences are in terrible shape everywhere. I made a speech which was so mishandled in the telegraphic reprints in the newspapers that I am being seethed in boiling oil just now about the Soldiers' Bonus. The Democrats of Oklahoma think they have something on me now. I don't propose to answer them because they should know what I have *done* and not rejoice over what I am *said* to have said. I will try to be as patient as possible and it will all come out right in the end.

But for Miss Alice, this time, it did not all come out right in the end. A Republican in a district normally Democratic, she would have had a hard fight in any case. Months before the November, 1922, election, commentators spoke of the "somewhat doubtful re-election prospects of Miss Alice Robertson of Oklahoma." They pointed out that she had incurred the wrath of "the woman's party, specifically because she spoke and voted against the Maternity Bill, and generally because she refuses to be driven about like a dumb sheep by lobbyists, male and female."³⁴ The women's groups were saying that she was "a generation behind her time," that she represented "the female opinion of the early General Grant period," that "she would have been an impossibility if it had not been for the long and earnest work of women like Susan B. Anthony, Anna Howard Shaw and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt."³⁵

Miss Robertson, outwardly unperturbed, replied:

Of course all the women's clubs are against me because I would not champion bills to allow them to keep their maiden names after they are married, and the like. They are lambasting me because I would not vote for the Sheppard-Towner maternity bill, which will not help the mothers of America one bit, but will give a lot of jobs for others in the bureaus of Washington. The women are against me, because I was not for suffrage originally, but I don't mind. I think I have a fighting chance, or I would

³³ AR to ARM, August 11, 1921, and AR to ARM, Feb. 17, 1922. Tulsa, AR Coll.

³⁴ *Muskogee Phoenix*, Jan. 14, 1922, quoting Springfield, Mass., *Union*, Jan. 4, 1922.

³⁵ Undated clippings, OHS Arch.

not be running at all. I come from fighting stock and I will scrap hard. The women did not vote for me before and I was elected.

But she was forgetting that the soldiers, who voted for her in 1920, were against her now. She thought that the new Veterans' hospital obtained for Muskogee would help, and she sent out campaign cards with a photograph of herself in the uniform of the Red Cross canteen service, wearing badges of membership in the Auxiliary of Foreign Wars and the Spanish War Veterans. She had another postcard printed showing her, gavel in hand, at the rostrum in the House of Representatives. She marshalled the support of the Indians. Her many friends and relatives sent out hundreds of letters in her behalf. Her main campaign poster was simply a large photographic portrait with the slogan: "Alice M. Robertson. She Has Made Good. Let's Send Her Back."

For those who might read a pamphlet, she defended her record by quoting the oath of office in which she had sworn to defend the Constitution. She spoke of her votes in favor of all farm relief measures, and of her work on three house committees. "All this," she concluded, "I bring and lay before the men and women at whose hands I have received it, and with whom I have kept the faith committed to me."³⁶

Miss Alice indeed believed she had kept the faith, but the thundering voice of her constituents on November 7 showed that they thought otherwise. To make the overwhelming defeat harder, gloating letters poured in from Oklahoma and other states. Despite the hurt, she was outwardly cheerful. "God has better work for me, I am sure," she wrote Mrs. Thaw. To a Washington newspaperwoman she said, "I've been a Cinderella at 69, but now the pumpkin is round the corner waiting to whisk me back." She declared she was looking forward to hearing the larks and mockingbirds of Sawokla farm once more, to seeing the dogwood thickets and flashing bluejays, the peach and apple orchards in bloom in the spring.³⁷

Alice Robertson's last congressional speech was in behalf of the Indians. In it she paid tribute to Indian character, speaking especially of the Pueblos and Creeks:³⁸

In my immediate family, in the 98 years of our missionary history, 26 persons have been engaged in religious and educational work among the Indians. I have seen their evolution. Of actual personal knowledge, throughout a life fast approaching the allotted three score years and ten, I know the story of the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes. There are among them today no less interesting examples of Indian communities than are found among the Pueblos. The inherited religion of these people is beautiful in

³⁶ Tulsa, AR Coll., June, 1922, and Nov. 8, 1922.

³⁷ Interview with Mayme Ober Peak, undated Washington, D. C., clipping, ca. March, 1923. OHS Arch.

³⁸ *Congressional Record*, 67th Congress, Fourth Session, "Title to Lands Within Pueblo Land Grants," by Hon. Alice M. Robertson of Oklahoma, in the House of Representatives, Sunday, March 4, 1923. OHS, Arch.

its simplicity, and near akin to the Christian religion. They were not, are not, pagans, but men whose so-called vices are really the primitive virtues. They worship the Great Spirit; they live a communal life that is beautiful in its hospitality and golden-rule simplicity. Gathered around their sacred fires, the mystic ceremonies of their faith are not so far remote from Christianity but that the acceptance of the Christian religion comes without violent reaction to them. The ceremonial dances of the men and women are strangely appealing in their stately dignity. These people have had arbitrarily conferred upon them American citizenship and individual ownership of land. They are an intelligent people, who keep the records of their council in their own language. This condition is paralleled in almost every particular among a branch of the Creeks. They cannot understand why faith was broken with them when these western lands were guaranteed in the deed to be theirs "so long as grass grows and water runs."

As she was leaving Washington, someone described Miss Robertson as "a bit of the spirit of Plymouth Rock transplanted to Oklahoma."³⁹ This was almost literally true, since her mother was directly descended from the sister of Governor John Winthrop of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and also from the sister of Jonathan Edwards. Her grandfather, the Reverend Samuel Austin Worcester (for whose family Worcester, Massachusetts was named, and whose uncle Samuel Austin was an early president of the University of Vermont) began his missionary career among American Indians in 1825, and eventually became famous as the translator and printer of books and parts of the Bible in the Cherokee language. Under his supervision in 1827 special type was cast in Boston for the Cherokee alphabet invented by Sequoyah. In 1835 he journeyed to the wild domain "west of Arkansas," as Indian Territory was then called; and there his daughter Ann Eliza (Alice Robertson's mother) translated the New Testament into the Creek language, for which scholarly work she was given an honorary Ph.D. by Wooster College in 1892. Alice Robertson's father, the Reverend William S. Robertson, was another pioneer educator among the Creek Indians and was principal of the old Tullahassee Mission in Indian Territory. The exiled Creeks from southeastern United States had made their first settlement north of the Arkansas in the vicinity of Tullahassee, near enough to Fort Gibson that they might seek protection from the troops in case of need. At Tullahassee, Miss Robertson's father obtained a small printing press and assisted his wife in the preparation of books, pamphlets and tracts in the Creek, including her translation of the New Testament in Creek.⁴⁰

Alice Robertson's own early life is almost more interesting than her life as a congresswoman. The land into which she was born in January, 1854, was almost wholly Indian. She was old

³⁹ *Morning Oregonian*, June 7, 1922.

⁴⁰ Althea Bass, *Cherokee Messenger* (Norman, 1936), *passim*; Scribner's *Dictionary of American Biography*, "Samuel Austin Worcester," by E. E. Dale and "William S. Robertson," by E. E. Dale; *Literary Digest*, *op. cit.*

enough to remember the outbreak of the Civil War, when Tullahassee Mission had been seized by a southern faction of the Creeks and the New England missionary family with its known Union sympathies had been forced to flee North almost overnight. They spent the Civil War years moving from place to place in Kansas, Wisconsin and Illinois. Augusta Robertson, the older sister, remembered that from the age of eight years Alice was intensely interested in politics, "devouring every word of Grandfather Robertson's *New York Tribune* in Winneconne, Wisconsin."⁴¹ In 1866, the family returned to Tullahassee Mission by covered wagon, twelve-year-old Alice rising before dawn at their camp sites to help build the fires, start the tea kettle boiling, and make biscuits for the family of six.⁴²

Back again in Indian Territory she frequently acted as interpreter between white people and Creek Indians. Her only teachers were her well-educated parents until she was seventeen, when she was sent east to Elmira College in New York. College came to an end after two years, so that Alice might earn money to assist the younger children of the family with their educations. She took a clerkship in the Indian Office of the Department of the Interior in 1873 — at nineteen, the youngest and the only woman clerk in the service. "Tears of homesickness blind my eyes," she wrote to the family at Tullahassee Mission. "I pine for the wide free prairies and the simple life of 'my ain countree.'"⁴³ At college she had majored in Civics; in Washington, after hours, she taught herself shorthand and typing and studied Domestic Science. U. S. Grant was the President whose White House receptions the young clerk attended on occasion.

In 1880 she became secretary to Captain R. H. Pratt, superintendent of the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. Soon after arriving at Carlisle, however, word came that Tullahassee Mission had burned to the ground. No lives were lost, but the missionary Robertsons were greatly concerned about the interrupted education of their Creek students. Alice Robertson got permission from Captain Pratt to take the first train to Washington, where she interviewed Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior, and within twenty-four hours had his order for the twenty-five older students to enroll at Carlisle. (At this time members of the Five Civilized Tribes were not eligible to attend government schools except by special order.) Now she must arrange their transportation from Indian Territory to Pennsylvania. Armed with letters of introduction, she went to New York and secured from Russell Sage free passes for the twenty-five stu-

⁴¹ Questionnaire, Augusta Robertson (Mrs. N. B.) Moore, for Grant Foreman. OHS Arch.

⁴² *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, July 2, 1931; *Muskogee Times-Democrat*, July 1, 1931.

⁴³ AR to her mother, Mrs. Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson (hereafter designated as AWR) : Dec. 13, 1876 and March 20, 1884, Tulsa, AR Coll.

dents as far as Philadelphia; from E. D. Worcester she got passes on the Pennsylvania railroad from Philadelphia to Carlisle.⁴⁴

Two years later Alice Robertson returned to Indian Territory. Her father had died, and her mother was trying to conduct a small Indian school in the ruins of the burned mission. The Creeks at that time, heavily in debt and fighting among themselves, were not interested in opening a new school. Alice and her mother lived for a time in a rough outbuilding which had been Tullahassee's laundry. When the Green Peach War broke out among quarreling factions of Creeks, a large body of warriors camped near the ruins of the mission and used up the Robertson's entire supply of winter fuel. Since it was bitterly cold and no man could be found to get firewood for the two women, Alice took a team and axe and went to the woods herself for a new supply. She and her mother continued to teach some of the Indians, Alice concentrating on such practical matters as hygiene, cooking and housekeeping. When a commission came from Washington to make peace among the warring Creeks, Alice, as the only stenographer then in Indian Territory, was pressed into service as secretary.

The conquered faction of Creeks, once the treaty was signed, expressed a wish for education of their children. Alice and her mother at once wrote to members of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, who asked Alice to come east under their auspices and raise money for the new Indian boarding schools. For almost two years she went from church to church, college to college, giving fund raising talks, the first before a Presbyterian conference in Saratoga, New York, the second at Elmira College. "I made people laugh, I made them cry," she wrote home, "and best of all I made them give — and yet I should not say that I did it, for it is only after the most earnest prayer that success comes." On she went to Watertown, Ogdensburg, Ann Arbor, Detroit, churches on Long Island, in Brooklyn and New York City. "My success fairly frightens me. I am simply overwhelmed with requests to deliver addresses. An old lady in Ogdensburg shook hands very warmly, telling me how all her life she had wanted to see a real live missionary." It was Dr. Henry Kendall's office at the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions in New York that Alice Robertson first met Mr. and Mrs. William K. Thaw, the parents of Harry Kendall Thaw who was then a child. The elder Thaws became generous benefactors of American Indian schools, and lifetime friends of the Robertson family.⁴⁵

In 1884 Alice decided she had raised enough money for a beginning, and that it was time to return to Indian Territory and

⁴⁴ Althea Bass, "William Schenk Robertson", *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1.

⁴⁵ *Kansas City Journal*, Dec. 17, 1904.

establish the schools. "I am tired of speechifying," she wrote home, "sick of being told what a wonderful gift I have for this, which I feel is a dangerous thing to me." Nuyaka Mission School ("Nuyaka" is the approximate Creek pronunciation of New York, from which most of the funds had come) was opened in 1884, with Alice's sister Augusta installed as superintendent.⁴⁶

Alice Robertson's own boarding school started with two little girls in her own home. When she saw that many other girls of the Five Civilized Tribes — Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Seminoles — wanted an education, she went east again and obtained more money, this time from a wealthy cousin, Loring Andrews Robertson. The new school was first named Minerva Home in honor of the benefactor's sister.⁴⁷ Later, "We built cottages in Muskogee, in which there was the family life and individuality which would make more successful the fight against trachoma and tuberculosis. I have seen little children come to these cottage homes dirty and vermin infested," Miss Robertson said in a speech in Congress in 1923. "Many are now useful citizens of Oklahoma — homemakers, wives and mothers, farmers, teachers, ministers of the gospel."⁴⁸

Minerva Home in Muskogee grew in size under Alice Robertson's superintendency. Dozens of orphan girls, taken under her wing, were married in her home. For sixteen "daughters" she bought trousseaux. Alice wrote her sister Grace from the school:⁴⁹

Saturday was a frightfully dreary day, coming after like days of rain and mud and storm. So I gave the girls a reception. We had a table spread with a white cloth and in the center that open-work centerpiece you gave me a year ago Christmas. Then we served three kinds of cake, coffee and hot chocolate. I bought chocolate, eggs and butter for the cakes, and sugar for icing, at a cost of about 40c. Coffee, milk, sugar and flour the school furnished me. We entertained nearly fifty guests—students and lady teachers. This took my entire Saturday, but it paid, for so many girls said they were blue and homesick and the "party" had cured them.

In 1894 the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions took over the school, which now had several buildings, operating it as Henry Kendall College in honor of Dr. Kendall who was known as "the father of home missions."⁵⁰ Alice Robertson was the college's first professor of English, and since the faculty was small she also "held the chair of Civics and History." To augment her meager income and support her aged mother she ran a

⁴⁶ AR to AWR, Sept. 23, 1883, and AR to AWR, March 20, 1884, Tulsa, AR Coll.

⁴⁷ *Literary Digest*, *op. cit.*

⁴⁸ *Congressional Record*, "Title to Lands Within Pueblo Land Grants," *op. cit.*

⁴⁹ AR to Grace Robertson Merriman, Jan. 18, 1898. Merriman-Robertson Letters, OHS Arch.

⁵⁰ *Muskogee Times*, Nov. 25, 1897; booklet, "He Was Home Missions," owned by Mrs. Hisel, published as tribute to Dr. Henry Kendall by "Presbyterian Publishing Board." OHS Arch.



(University of Tulsa, Alice Robertson Collection)

ALICE ROBERTSON

Superintendent of Minerva Boarding School for Indian Girls Muskogee,
Indian Territory (1886).

photographic gallery on the side. Some years later Henry Kendall College was moved to Tulsa, where in 1920 it was chartered as the University of Tulsa. At the charter day ceremonies, Miss Robertson — who a year later was honored with an LL.D. degree from the new institution — was introduced as “the mother of Kendall,” and replied that if so she must then be the mother-in-law of the University of Tulsa.⁵¹

One other event which occurred in the ten years between the founding of Minerva Home and Henry Kendall College should be mentioned. Alice Robertson was named as a member of the celebrated Mohonk Conference which held annual meetings on Indian problems at Lake Mohonk in the Catskills. In 1891 she was invited to address the conference on the education of the Five Civilized Tribes. In the invited audience of some hundred editors, writers, teachers and government officials was Theodore Roosevelt, at that time U.S. Civil Service Commissioner. He listened so attentively that Alice soon found herself “forgetting the rest of the audience and speaking to that one understanding face. After the speech was over, Roosevelt made his way up to the platform. ‘I could not wait for an introduction,’ he said. ‘I just had to tell you how fine I thought your talk was. Your views on Indian education are mine also.’”⁵²

This was the beginning of a long friendship. After the Spanish-American War their exchange of letters became more frequent, and Roosevelt paid tribute to Alice Robertson in his book, *The Rough Riders* (1899). The last pages, in fact, included a long letter he had received from Miss Robertson about the Indian boys of Troops L and M, and after her signature he added his final sentence: “Is it any wonder that I love my regiment?” Upon his election as Governor of New York she wrote congratulations, and he replied in warmest terms that he looked forward to a visit “to the Indian Territory and seeing you and my beloved boys.”⁵³

After the beginning of the Curtis Act which provided that the 20,000,000 acres of land belonging to the Five Civilized Tribes should be allotted in severalty and all tribal governments closed within six years, Alice Robertson was in 1900 appointed U. S. Supervisor of Creek schools. A letter of praise from Theodore Roosevelt had helped to secure the appointment. “Wher-

⁵¹ Elizabeth King Cowgill, “Interesting Women of the Southwest: Alice M. Robertson, Second Congresswoman,” *Holland's Magazine*, Feb., 1921; “Day of Ceremony Introduces Tulsa University,” *Tulsa Daily World*, Feb. 9, 1921.

⁵² *Literary Digest*, *op. cit.*

⁵³ Theodore Roosevelt to Alice Robertson, Nov. 14, 1900, Tulsa, AR Coll. F. W. Hodge, “Mohonk Indian Conference,” in *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (New York, 1959).

ever she is, whatever her surroundings, she is one of the great women of America.”⁵⁴

Her new work included the appointment of teachers for a territory roughly the size of Connecticut, visits to the schools, management of two teachers' institutes each summer, auditing of accounts and the preparation of statistics, and the making of quarterly and annual reports to the Federal government. She drove with horse and buggy in all kinds of weather into sparsely settled Creek communities and was never harmed, although sometimes in fording swollen streams she was nearly drowned, and once, caught in a sudden blizzard while crossing a big pasture, she had to take refuge in a haystack. There were few hotels, but thanks to her knowledge of Creek language and customs, she was usually welcomed and entertained as a friend in the Indian camps.

On one of these country trips she heard of the death of President McKinley, and knew that her friend Theodore Roosevelt had become President of the United States. In her letter of congratulation to him she said that she was content with her position and salary, but Roosevelt in 1904 evidently decided that at fifty years of age she deserved a better salary and less strenuous life. In December of that year he appointed her postmaster of Muskogee, a position which she held until 1913, when Roosevelt's second term ended. A local paper described her during this time as “Muskogee's postmaster, Miss Alice Robertson, who can bake bread or ‘throw the lariat,’ who can write a story or make a speech, who can decorate a church or talk practical politics.”⁵⁵

In 1910 she fulfilled her long-cherished dream of building a home of her own in the country. Historic Agency Hill, now known as Honor Heights, was then three miles west of Muskogee; there Miss Robertson built Sawokla, a spacious residence of native rock and shingles, surrounded by oak and blackthorn trees and looking out over the beautiful valley of the Arkansas River toward Fort Gibson and the site of old Tullahassee Mission where she was born. Inside there were three large stone fireplaces in the oak panelled living-room. Several broad porches overlooked the wooded slopes below. Sawokla soon lived up to its Creek name and became the “gathering place” for many events, including reunions of war veterans. In a large hall on the second floor Miss Robertson kept her collection of Indian art and artifacts. There was also a little cabinet made by her grandfather, while he was in prison in Georgia; there he had become known as “the St. Paul of the Cherokees” because he suffered imprisonment for his determination to befriend and preach to the tribe. On the little cabinet were several Bibles, among them Dr.

⁵⁴ *Ladies' Home Journal*, *op. cit.*

⁵⁵ *Muskogee Times Democrat*, Oct. 8, 1906.

Worcester's translation of both Old and New Testaments into Cherokee, and Miss Robertson's mother's translation of the New Testament into Creek.⁵⁶

Sawokla Cafeteria in downtown Muskogee began as a club for working girls, with a reading room, showers, and country-style food sold at moderate prices. From this it was only a step to the establishment of a profitable business by which hundreds of people were fed weekly. Miss Alice, now past sixty, had at Sawokla farm a large herd of Guernsey and Jersey cattle, a thousand chickens and several big vegetable gardens, the produce from which helped supply the good food for which Sawokla Cafeteria became renowned.⁵⁷

At this point our story began, with the use of the cafeteria for feeding soldiers and supplying canteens during World War I, and the 1920 campaign for Congress conducted in the cafeteria and its newspaper advertisements. After Miss Alice returned from Washington everything seemed to run down hill. Sawokla Cafeteria, sold in 1921, had gone out of business. The Hardings promised Miss Robertson a Federal job, and Mary Copley Thaw asked her old friend, Secretary Mellon, to help "arrange something for the Honorable Alice." Miss Robertson wanted to work with Indians, but instead Mrs. Harding persuaded her to accept a post with the new Veterans' Hospital in Muskogee. By executive order President Harding waived Civil Service regulations, in "just recognition of her very great merits."⁵⁸

Miss Alice started the new job bravely. In characteristic fashion she bought a piano for the patients with her own slender means. She supplied other needs as well, from pajama cloth and cigarettes to flyswatters. She paid for the repair of the hospital's Victrola, and she cashed too many bad checks for the patients. Even so, local politicians began almost at once to seek her ouster. One of their number, it seemed, had expected to be appointed welfare worker. Her political opponents declared that most of the patients did not want Miss Alice because she had voted against the bonus bill, and they also accused her of being active politically, in defiance of Civil Service rules, a charge in which there was some truth. In less than two years she was dismissed from her salaried post and named "spiritual advisor" to the patients, without pay.⁵⁹ Indignantly, she left the hospital, announcing that she was going to Oklahoma City to become state president of the Women's Coolidge-for-President Club. She said she

⁵⁶ *Holland's Magazine*, *op. cit.*

⁵⁷ *Ladies' Home Journal*, *op. cit.*; *The Independent*, *op. cit.*

⁵⁸ President Warren G. Harding to Col. Scott, April 14, 1923, published in Muskogee, ca. April 15, 1923, OHS Arch.

⁵⁹ Augusta Robertson Moore to Mr. and Mrs. Grant Foreman, Feb. 28, 1934. OHS Arch.

was not worried because her new job paid no salary. "God will take care of me. I have always done right."⁶⁰

In 1925 she opened a tea-room at Sawokla Farm, but during one of her absences the building burned to the ground. With a part of the insurance money she opened another tea-room in Muskogee; it failed. Most of the insurance money had been promptly given to a needy foster-daughter with a family. "At this time I was realizing in its fullest bitterness the lack of wage-earning occupations for the aged," Miss Alice wrote later in one of her newspaper columns, "when a helping hand was held out to me with work that I could do." The *Muskogee Daily News* asked her to write a column entitled, "Miss Alice Says," and also to go to Washington occasionally as their correspondent. But after only a few months the *Muskogee Daily News* failed.

Miss Alice began to hold sales in the spring and fall, offering home-made jellies, preserves and pickles, as well as many of her heirlooms and treasures — linens, old lace, dishes and glassware, and some Indian artifacts which had been given to her years before. (Fortunately the heirlooms and most Worcester-Robertson papers had been removed from Sawokla Farm before the fire.) With time on her hands, Miss Alice began to sort books and papers, preparing to write "the family history of a hundred years of missionary work among the Cherokees and Creeks."⁶¹

Relatives heard of her plight and contributed welcome but inadequate sums. Mrs. Thaw sent occasional gifts of money and clothing.⁶² When Miss Alice sent her old and true friend, Elizabeth Lowell Putnam of Boston, an Indian treasure "for one of her grandchildren," along with a newspaper clipping telling of the sales, Mrs. Putnam responded with a series of checks.⁶³

In 1927 the Oklahoma Historical Society elected Miss Robertson to the position of research assistant at \$125 a month. She was proud of the recognition, but the salary was scarcely a living wage in pre-depression years. She added to it by writing feature stories about early Oklahoma for the *Sunday Phoenix* of Muskogee, at five dollars per week.⁶⁴

During these years public schools and university dormitories were being named for Alice Robertson, trees planted in her honor, college annuals dedicated to her, portraits painted and ceremoniously unveiled. Will Rogers made her a subject of one of his

⁶⁰ AR to ARM, July 9, 1924, Tulsa, AR Coll.

⁶¹ "Miss Alice Says" column, *Muskogee Daily News*, Oct. 27, 1925; *ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1925; *Muskogee Times-Democrat*, July 2, 1931.

⁶² Mary Copley (Mrs. W. K.) Thaw to AR, Aug. 28, 1923, *et. ff.* Tulsa, AR Coll.

⁶³ Elizabeth Lowell (Mrs. W. L.) Putnam (hereafter ELP) to AR, Jan. 22, 1927, Tulsa, AR Coll.

⁶⁴ *Muskogee Times-Democrat*, July 1, 1931, OHS Arch.



(University of Tulsa, Alice Robertson Collection)

"OKLAHOMA'S MOST FAMOUS WOMAN," 1929

Alice Robertson (center front with cane) and cast of characters in the pageant of her life-story, presented by the National Convention of Business and Professional Women, Mackinac Island, July, 1929.

famous syndicated columns beginning, "Well all I know is just what I read in the papers," calling it "Ain't Old People Lovely?"⁶⁵

The Oklahoma Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs selected her, as Oklahoma's most famous woman, to be the subject of the pageant they presented at their national convention on Mackinac Island in June, 1929. They took Miss Alice to the convention in a wheel chair and showed her seated by a campfire, "dreaming of her past life as she turns the pages of an old album." An unseen voice gave the prologue and explained the episodes which then unfolded. The prologue, which was probably meant to be "free verse" of the twenties, is worthy of note:⁶⁶

*Adventure like the surging of a restless sea
Beats unceasingly
Upon the boundaries of old Indian Territory.*

Then:

*Into the Indian nations
Came the white man!
Two types there were of him,
The one — coming for exploitation*

Preying upon the native

Cheating him

And undermining him

By sinister influence.

*The other — for education
Counselling the native
Teaching him
And lifting him*

By benign precept and example

To this last group

Belonged the parents

Of Alice Robertson.

The missionary's daughter, "dressed in a shabby frock," then entered, accompanied by Indians in costume. Next came a stenographer, "for Miss Robertson taught herself shorthand that she might record the deliberations of Indian councils." Next, the educator, holder of a degree from Elmira College, and founder of Henry Kendall College which became the University of Tulsa. Fourth, the war worker, dressed in Red Cross canteen costume and accompanied by soldiers of World War I. Last, the second congresswoman in the United States. The unseen voice, "to a background of soft music," spoke the last lines as the curtain fell:

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, July 29, 1929.

⁶⁶ "Report of Special Pageant Committee at Oklahoma Federation of B.&P.W. Clubs," Blackwell, Oklahoma, April 26-27, 1929, Tulsa, AR Coll.

*Oklahoma presents to you
Alice Mary Robertson
That versatile pioneer who blazed the trail
From a remote Indian village
Straight to the halls of Congress.*

But later that year the Oklahoma legislature failed to appropriate the funds for Alice Robertson's small salary, and she then suffered "the darkest financial hour" of her life. Mrs. Thaw died. Her clothing was sent to Miss Robertson, but there was no mention of her old friend in the will.⁶⁷

Miss Robertson was forced to the bitter humiliation of letting Elizabeth Lowell Putnam in Boston know that she was again without funds. "Noblesse oblige" was the motto of Augustus Lowell's daughter, and Mrs. Putnam promptly resumed the monthly checks, writing to Alice Robertson with great tact and sympathy, "It is funny that the people who do things in the world seldom realize how much they do, nor what sort of people they are. These remarks apply to you, my dear friend. When you say you do not know what you have done to deserve things, you make me feel much more strongly — what have I done that I should be able to help you out? Do keep me posted as to how you are getting on, because I am always affectionately yours."

By November of that year, 1929, prominent citizens of Oklahoma formed an organization for the especial purpose of providing an annuity of \$200 a month for the remainder of Alice Robertson's life.⁶⁸ She was now seventy-five. The governor of Oklahoma was present at the meeting during which one speaker pointed out, "Alice Robertson might have been a wealthy woman had she been less generous in past years. The wealth that might have been hers, she has spent on humanity. Literally, she has 'taken no thought for the morrow,' in the firm belief that the morrow would bring its own recompense. And so, in her old age, she has found herself impoverished, so far as earthly wealth is concerned."

Miss Robertson's battered pride was somewhat restored when she was able to write Mrs. Putnam that she would in future have an adequate income "because of services rendered to my community and state. It is very wonderful to see how much affection there seems to be for me in my native state."⁶⁹ She was particularly gratified by a resolution passed at the organization's meeting to memorialize Congress asking that a statue of Alice Robertson be placed near that of Sequoyah in Statuary Hall in the national capitol. Miss Alice cherished this thought during the remaining year and half of her life. She was not to know that after

⁶⁷ AR to Mrs. Thaw's trustees, Aug. 6, 1929, Tulsa, AR Coll.

⁶⁸ *The Presbyterian Advance*, July 16, 1931; *Muskogee Times-Democrat*, July 2, 1931.

death of Will Rogers in 1935, Oklahoma voted that his statue should stand beside Sequoyah's to represent the state.⁷⁰

Mrs. Putnam congratulated Alice Robertson on the promise of the annuity, but either she sensed the coming depression of the thirties, or was wise in the ways of voluntary associations, for she wrote, "I want you to promise me, however, that if you fall again on hard times you will let me know. Promise!"⁷¹ She enclosed her check for \$500 "for the Fund." Will Rogers and other prominent Oklahomans sent generous checks.⁷²

Lew Wentz, a millionaire oilman and philanthropist of Ponca City, Oklahoma, announced that he would contribute \$100 a month — a promise he kept, but unfortunately the announcement, together with generally worsening financial conditions, had the effect of reducing other contributions to a trickle. Precariously, Alice Robertson got through the year 1930, helped chiefly by Lew Wentz; but when early in 1931 she was hospitalized for cancer, Elizabeth Lowell Putnam again came to the rescue, paying most of the hospital bills, insisting on the best of care. Miss Robertson died on July 1, 1931.⁷³

Her life had begun in the presidency of Franklin Pierce and ended in the presidency of Herbert Hoover. Because she had known President Hoover as Secretary of Commerce in the Harding administration, he sent a telegram of sympathy to her sister Augusta: "The death of your sister, Alice Mary Robertson, former Representative in Congress and a leader in education of Indian youth, ends the career of a woman whose ancestry, idealism and outlook on life linked the pioneer past with the progress of the present. Hers was a life rich in usefulness. I wish to express to you and members of the family my deep sympathy."⁷⁴

Alice Robertson was more than a link: She was an actual figure from the pioneer past — a special kind, the missionary pioneer — moving about incongruously in the changed world of the new century. To people faced with the accelerating post-war problems of the 1920's, a missionary pioneer's heroic simplicities and uncomplicated beliefs seemed scarcely relevant. Yet it was not to be expected that Alice Robertson would change with the changing times. She kept some old maxims, or "motto cards," as she called them; they were found in an envelope of the Muskogee General Hospital after her death — well thumbed, in Old

⁶⁹ AR to ELP, Nov. 26, 1929. Tulsa, AR Coll.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*; McReynolds, Marriott, Faulconer, *Oklahoma, the Story of Its Past and Present* (Norman, 1961), p. 348.

⁷¹ ELP to AR, Jan. 17, 1930, and ELP to AR, Feb. 10, 1930. Tulsa, AR Coll.

⁷² Will Rogers to Alice Robertson, March 19, 1930, Tulsa, AR Coll.

⁷³ *Muskogee Times-Democrat*, July 2, 1931; July 3, 1931.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*.

English script with small flowers like illuminated manuscripts.⁷⁵

"There is but one rule of conduct for a man — to do the right thing."

* * *

"What are we for, but to love and help one another?"

* * *

"I shall pass through this world but once. Any good thing, therefore, that I can do, or any kindness that I can show to any human being, let me do it now. Let me not delay or neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again." — St. Francis of Assisi.

⁷⁵ Given to Grant Foreman by Augusta Robertson (Mrs. N. B.) Moore, "Alice's Wise Motto Cards," OHS Arch.

EDWARD EVERETT DALE:
A BIOGRAPHY AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY

By Jimmie Hicks*

Ironically enough, the Dean of Oklahoma Historians was born in Texas and it took a decision of the United States Supreme Court to make him a citizen of Oklahoma. Dr. Edward Everett Dale was born in a log house on the edge of the "Cross Timbers" near Keller, Texas, on February 8, 1879. But he grew up on a homestead close to the Kiowa-Comanche Indian Reservation in the vicinity of Altus, then a part of Greer County which had been organized by the State of Texas. In 1896, by a Supreme Court decision, Texas lost its claim to Greer County and the following year Congress made Greer County part of Oklahoma Territory. By this action, Dr. Dale became an Oklahoman.¹

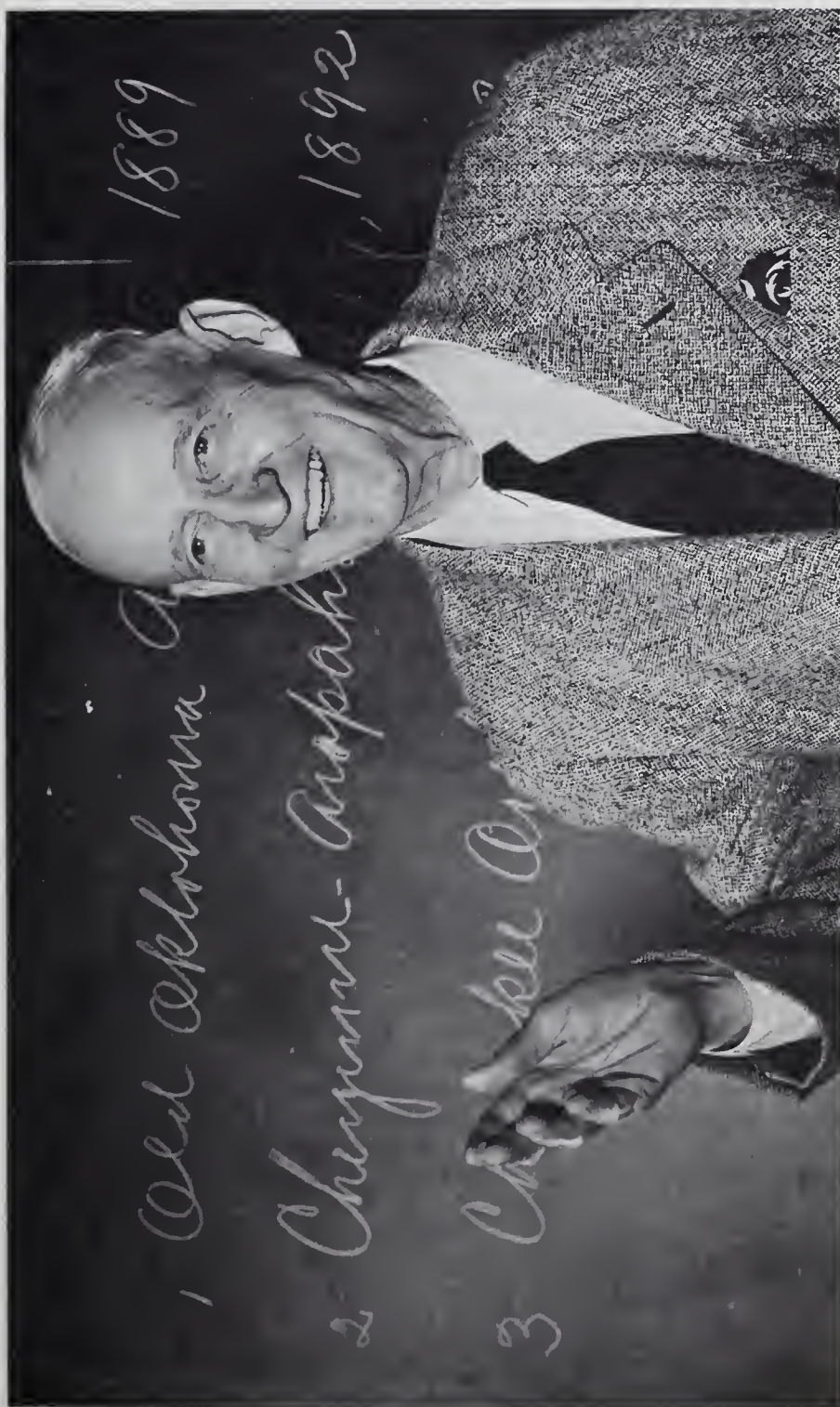
As a youth, Dr. Dale tried his hand at various jobs. He spent two winters hunting and trapping. For a time he worked in a store at Navajoe. He slept in a loft which was used for storing various items including a dozen coffins of different sizes. Later he worked as a cowhand. Then he and his brother George developed their own ranch. Their cattle bore the D/ brand. For a short time, Dr. Dale also served as a deputy sheriff of Greer County. When he and his brother went broke in the cattle business, he was forced to take a job picking cotton. An offer of a school teaching position if he could obtain a certificate, however, quickly took him out of the cotton fields. His previous education had consisted of completing the eighth grade in a country school. But he attended a summer normal school in Washita County and obtained the needed certificate. Then for the next four years he was a country school teacher. In 1906 he went to Central State Teachers College at Edmond. Dr. Dale claims that at first they put him in the "sub-normal department," but if this is so, he quickly made it into the "normal department," and completed his work there in 1909. During this period he was also the superintendent of schools at Headrick. He was superintendent at Roosevelt in 1910 and at Blair during 1912-13. He also found time to get his A.B. degree from the University of Oklahoma in 1911.²

Dr. Dale spent the school year of 1913-14 at Harvard Uni-

* Mr. Jimmie Hicks is an instructor in the Department of History, California Institute of Arts, Los Angeles. He has contributed this "Biography and Bibliography" in tribute to Dr. Edward Everett Dale who has been a member of the Publication Committee for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* for forty-six years (1921-1967). Mr. Hicks is a former student of Dr. Dale at the University of Houston, Texas, 1954-56.—Ed.

¹ "Oklahoma's Historian," *Oklahoma Statesman*, September, 1947, p. 19; *Who's Who in America, 1966-67* (Chicago, 1966), p. 489.

² "Oklahoma's Historian," *Oklahoma Statesman*, September, 1947, p. 19.



DR. EDWARD EVERETT DALE

Teaching a Class in Oklahoma History

versity obtaining his M. A. degree. When he returned home, he received an appointment as instructor in History at the University of Oklahoma. In 1919 Dr. Dale returned to Harvard, as he tells it, determined "to get my Ph.D., flunk out or starve to death." But this time he did not go alone. For on July 18, 1919, Dr. Dale had married Miss Rosalie Gilkey of Norman. They had been in Boston for only a short time when President Lowell of Harvard requested the aid of students to help keep order during the famous Boston police strike. As a former lawman, Dr. Dale was quick to volunteer. But when he was handed a police pistol, Dr. Dale asked that instead he be allowed to wear his own gun. He was allowed to wear his own gun but he was told to carry the police pistol also. So Dr. Dale strapped on both guns and went out to help keep order. Soon his fame spread and newspapers carried the story of "Two-Gun" Dale from Oklahoma.³

Now Dr. Dale had gone to Harvard to study — and study he did. At Harvard he worked under some of the top men in the History profession including Worthington Ford, Edward Channing, Charles Homer Haskins, Albert Hart, Charles McIlwain, and Frederick Jackson Turner.⁴ Of Turner, Dr. Dale has written: "Great as were most of my teachers at Harvard, Turner did more to influence both my writing and my teaching than did all of the others combined."⁵ Turner directed the writing of Dr. Dale's dissertation which was entitled, "A History of the Range Cattle Industry in Oklahoma." During his work with Turner, Dr. Dale came to relate his own experiences on the frontier to Turner's ideas in regard to the influence of the frontier in American History. "What I had been ignorantly observing all my life was history in the making. It was all a part of the American scene and as such had great significance."⁶ Or as Dr. Dale expressed the same sentiment in verse:⁷

"He brought me into pastures fresh and green
By waters still he led me by the hand,
And things, which I in youth had often seen
As meaningless, he made me understand."

Upon completion of his work, Harvard conferred the degree of Doctor of Philosophy on Edward Everett Dale in 1922. Two years later, Dr. Dale was promoted to professor of History and chairman of the department at the University of Oklahoma. These

³ Emily B. Smith, "Two-Gun Dale Writes Another Book — Gives Range Cattle History," *Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman*, August 24, 1930; Kenneth C. Kaufman, "Oklahoma's Cowboy Professor, Two-Gun Dale, Rides Again," *Daily Oklahoman*, May 10, 1942.

⁴ E. E. Dale to J. H., May 8, 1963.

⁵ E. E. Dale, "Turner—The Man and Teacher," *University of Kansas City Review*, XVIII (Autumn, 1951), p. 19.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁷ Dedication to Frederick Jackson Turner in *Frontier Ways*.

posts he held until 1942. He was a research professor of History from 1943 to 1952 when he officially "retired". But he has remained active. In 1953 he was Fulbright lecturer in History at the University of Melbourne in Australia. Dr. Dale was a visiting professor of History at the University of Houston during 1954-55, the spring of 1956, and 1958-59. In addition, over the years he has taught and lectured at a number of colleges and universities in all sections of the United States.⁸

Dr. Dale has given much of his time to a number of organizations. A long time member of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Dr. Dale has been a member of its Publication Committee since the first issue of its quarterly, the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, in 1921. He was president of the Oklahoma State Folklore Association from 1915 to 1919. He also has served as president of the Agricultural History Society (1925-27), and of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (1936-37).⁹

In 1925 Dr. Dale was appointed a research agent for the United States Department of Agriculture. Out of this work came the manuscript for his book, *The Range Cattle Industry*, published in 1930. During 1926 and 1927, he served as a member of the Indian Survey Commission of the United States Institute for Government Research. This commission made a detailed study of Indian conditions in the United States. Dr. Dale is very proud of his work on this commission which took him into all of the States west of the Mississippi River. He visited about eighty Indian reservations to hear grievances from the Indians and to receive their suggestions for improvement of their living conditions.¹⁰

In 1928 Dr. Dale persuaded the Oklahoma oilman, Frank Phillips, to donate funds for a collection of historical materials relating to the history of the American West. Dr. Dale served as Director of the Frank Phillips Collection until his retirement. The Phillips Collection has become an important part of the Library of the University of Oklahoma as well as a significant part of the heritage of all of the citizens of Oklahoma.¹¹

In his personal life, Dr. Dale has been fortunate. His wife, whom he has called "a real Pal o' Mine," is a gracious lady of real warmth and rare good humor. It is easy to see why Dr. Dale has written of her:¹²

"For though years may come and go
You must surely, surely know

⁸ *Who's Who in America 1966-67*, p. 489.

⁹ Fred Grove, "Famous Western Historian," *The Cattleman*, XXXIX (August, 1952), pp. 54-62.

¹⁰ Grace E. Ray, "A Man Who Immortalizes Oklahoma," *Daily Oklahoman*, March 25, 1928.

¹¹ Grove, "Famous Western Historian," p. 60.

¹² Edward Everett Dale, *The Prairie Schooner and Other Poems* (Guthrie, Oklahoma, 1929), p. 42.

That my love will ever grow,
Pal o' mine."

In one of his essays, Dr. Dale has written that it "was a cardinal principle of Cow Custom that in any situation a man should so act that his wife would be proud of him."¹³ Perhaps, in these words Dr. Dale was also expressing his own code of conduct.

The Dales have one son, Edward Everett, Jr., who teaches Botany at the University of Arkansas. They also have a foster daughter who is half-Indian. She lived with the Dales while she received her education at the University of Oklahoma.¹⁴

As a teacher, Dr. Dale has done far more than simply conduct classes in History. He opened new areas of study at the University of Oklahoma by introducing classes in Western History and the History of the American Indian. Yet even more important, he has made History a living and vital part of the lives of the students he has taught. As Angie Debo wrote in the dedication to her book, *Prairie City*, Dr. Dale "has taught the children of pioneers to love the story of their origins." His lectures are gems of knowledge presented in elegant but earthy prose and spiced with wit and anecdotes that illustrate with effortless ease the point he is trying to make. It is History without pain for, as he has often said, he takes History "seriously but not solemnly."

Of equal importance is the personal relationship he has had with his students. For just as there is no dogmatism in his teaching, there never has been any pretentiousness in his relations with students. Each student has always been treated with courtesy and fairness. No one who knows Dr. Dale would dispute his statement that "I will do anything that I can for a student except give him a grade he has not earned."¹⁵

The most enduring monument of a historian, however, must always be his published writings. Even before he first went to Harvard, Dr. Dale had the desire to write. He has attempted almost all forms of literature. His poetry has much the same flavor as his historical essays. One of his poems, "The Prairie Schooner," is often reprinted as an example of the spirit of the Southwest. Dr. Dale has said that he has no philosophy of History but he does have, perhaps unconsciously, a philosophy of life. This philosophy, which can be found in many of his writings, is expressed in these lines from "The Prairie Schooner":¹⁶

"And I know within the schooner
'Neath its cover worn and brown,

¹³ Dale, "Cow Custom," *American Hereford Journal*, LII (July 1, 1961), p. 773.

¹⁴ Grove, "Famous Western Historian," p. 62.

¹⁵ For another view of Dr. Dale as a teacher, see Angie Debo, *Oklahoma: Foot-loose and Fancy-free* (Norman, 1949), pp. 137-140.

¹⁶ Dale, *The Prairie Schooner*, p. 14.

There are hearts with hope a-tingle,
There is faith that will not down.
Though a man may meet misfortune,
Failure never is confessed
When he mounts a prairie schooner
With the tongue a-pointing west."

Dr. Dale's first major historical work, *The Range Cattle Industry*, was one of the pioneer studies of this industry. Its lasting worth led to its re-publication thirty years after it was first issued. In his review of the book, Professor John D. Hicks pointed out that the book was the first to cover the whole range cattle industry rather than just a part of it, but he commented that the material on the northern range was not as satisfactory as that in Ernest S. Osgood's *The Day of the Cattleman* which concentrated largely on that area. He added that the chapters on Texas and Oklahoma "show the author at work with material that he knows better than anyone else." Professor Hicks, however, expressed his disappointment that Dr. Dale had pared away so much interesting detail and had not given any of his rare knowledge of cowboy lore. And he added: "But perhaps the most melancholy observation to be made in this connection is that the rarest humorist in the Mississippi Valley Historical Association has written a book without a laugh in it—unless, perchance, one so construes that portion of the map on page 41 which locates Council Bluffs on the Big Sioux River."

In conclusion, Professor Hicks called the book "a significant contribution to the literature of a significant subject."¹⁷

Dr. Dale's favorite of his books is *Cow Country*, a view shared by many others. One reviewer said of the book: "Edward Everett Dale has produced in *Cow Country* an extremely readable and accurate volume on the Great Plains cattle era which gives as true a perspective of that phase of our national life as any book offered to the general reader." The reviewer expressed regret over the omission of footnotes and a bibliography but he added that "the author has taken no liberties with history, has interpreted his subject soundly, and has so carefully avoided any of the flamboyant exaggerations common to many writers on the cow country that his latest work carries authority and distinction."¹⁸

In writing *The Indians of the Southwest*, Dr. Dale tackled a difficult and controversial subject. The book was justly praised for the author's judicious handling of the subject. One reviewer commented that Dr. Dale "has succeeded in giving the specialist a scholarly work of exposition and reference, and he writes so

¹⁷ Review in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVII (March, 1931), pp. 645-647.

¹⁸ Review by Walcott Watson in *American Historical Review*, XLVIII (April, 1943), p. 599.

well that he has almost accomplished the feat of making administrative history interesting to the general reader.”¹⁹

The individual chapters in *Frontier Ways*, with one exception, had been published separately before they were brought together to form the book. They fit well together, however, and they include some of Dr. Dale’s best writing. As Professor Robert C. Cotner wrote in his review: “He uses the tools of the scholar and writes with the insight of a poet. His essays reveal the kind of life developed on the plains after 1880. . . . Dale writes as a keen observer, for he was often himself a participant.” Cotner compared Dale with Walter Prescott Webb and commented that “Dale writes in happier vein, tells how the people adjusted, survived, and found new ways to express old cultural patterns.” Cotner declared that “the romance of the range looms large to Dale because ‘the soothing effects of time’ have softened the memories of sandstorms, northers, and alkali water.” But he admitted that in the last chapter on “Old Navajoe,” Dr. Dale “dispels much of the glamor that books and motion pictures have erected concerning the life of the cowboy.”²⁰

The best answer to Professor Cotner’s criticism is to be found in Dr. Dale’s own words. He has pointed out that “folks have always appreciated an optimist. A pessimist didn’t last long in the West. He didn’t have anything to offer because he couldn’t look ahead.”²¹ Dr. Dale shares that spirit of optimism which was characteristic of the pioneer. A man had to be an optimist to be willing to pull up his roots and move to an unknown frontier just in the hope of finding a better life. The pioneer, however, had the conviction that somehow tomorrow could be made better than today. He was no stranger to sandstorms, northers or alkali water but he never allowed them to destroy his optimism. They did not really matter because they could be overcome. J. Frank Dobie once called Dr. Dale “the grass roots historian.”²² This is an apt phrase for Dr. Dale knows well the people he writes about and the spirit that he expresses is their spirit.

The spirit of optimism is also the spirit of youth. Now in his eighty-eighth year, Dr. Dale still retains his youthful spirit and continues to work. He has said: “If you continue to work at something that’s worthwhile, you’ll stay young a lot longer. The person who admits he’s done is done. There’s no reason for not continuing (to do something) clear on up to the time when

¹⁹ Review by Joseph C. Green in *American Historical Review*, LV (July, 1950), p. 948.

²⁰ Review in *Arizona and the West*, III (Summer, 1961), pp. 180-181.

²¹ Grove, “Famous Western Historian,” p. 54.

²² Quoted in H. C. Nixon’s review of *Cow Country* in *Journal of Southern History*, IX (February, 1943), pp. 133-134.

the clock strikes. The man who does this will not be afraid of life or death."²³

Dr. Dale's most recent book, *The Cross Timbers*, was published last year. It is a delightful re-creation of the events of his boyhood years in Texas. One reviewer described it as "a deeply moving, usually amusing but occasionally sad, account of life on a small North Texas farm in the latter part of the 19th century." And he called the book "a significant contribution to American social history."²⁴ Dr. Dale is now at work on his memoirs. But like the pioneer, he has always had his eye on the future and not the past. In fact, he has expressed only one concern about old age. He has said with a twinkle in his eye that "I hope when I grow old, I'll grow old gracefully, that the sap turns to sugar and not to vinegar."

Many years ago a friend and co-worker, Lewis Meriam, described Dr. Dale as "that rare and happy combination of scholar, southern gentleman, breezy western cow-puncher, poet, story teller and kindly, gentle human being." And a former colleague, Carl Coke Rister, wrote of him: "He is beloved by all those who have come in contact with his congenial personality."²⁵ With these sentiments, all who have had the privilege of knowing Edward Everett Dale would agree without qualification.

I. BOOKS WRITTEN BY DR. DALE

Territorial Acquisitions of the United States. Blair, Oklahoma: Privately Printed, 1912. 53 pp. Introduction. Bibliography.

A collection of seven sketches presenting the salient facts and most interesting episodes of the territorial acquisitions of the United States. The sketches deal with the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory, Florida, Texas and the Mexican Cession, Oregon, Alaska, Hawaii, and the Spanish Cession of 1898.

Tales of the Teepee. Boston: D. C. Heath & Company, 1920. v and 119 pp. Introduction.

Fourteen Indian stories gathered in travels among the tribes of Oklahoma. Written for both adults and children, this book has had wide popularity and it remained in print for about forty years. There is a glossary of Indian names and words at the end. The book is illustrated with 12 photographs.

Oklahoma—A Pageant. Bartlesville, Oklahoma: Bartlesville Pageant Association, 1923. 12 pp.

This is the program for the Oklahoma Pageant which was given on November 12, 13 and 14, 1923, to mark the formal opening of the Bartlesville Civic Center. The lines for the pageant, which were written by Dr. Dale, are printed on pages 3-7.

(with James Shannon Buchanan) *A History of Oklahoma.* Chicago: Row, Peterson and Company, 1924. xvii and 356 and iv pp. Preface and Intro-

²³ *Houston Post*, February 15, 1959.

²⁴ Review by Ralph A. Wooster in *East Texas Historical Journal*, IV (October, 1966), p. 168.

²⁵ These two quotes are from C. C. Rister, "Making Doors of Opportunity," *The Cattleman*, XVI (January, 1930), p. 17.

duction to the Teacher. Index.

A history of Oklahoma written for use as a text in the public schools. Widely adopted, this book sold a total of 166,000 copies in twenty-one printings. It contains 6 maps and numerous illustrations. Revised in 1929, 1935 and 1939.

(with Morris L. Wardell) *Outline and References for Oklahoma History*. Norman, Oklahoma: Peerless Printing Company, 1924. 58 pp. Preface and Introduction.

The history of Oklahoma is presented in twenty chapters with short essays and bibliographical references. There is also a list of suggested thesis topics.

(with Lewis Meriam and others) *The Problem of Indian Administration*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928. xxii 872 pp. Letter of Transmittal. Index.

The report of a survey of Indian conditions made under the direction of the Institute for Government Research for the Secretary of the Interior. The work was done by a staff of ten persons. Lewis Meriam was Technical Director. Dr. Dale wrote Chapter X which is on "General Economic Conditions."

The Prairie Schooner and Other Poems. Guthrie, Oklahoma: The Co-Operative Publishing Company, 1929. 85 pp. Preface and Introduction.

Fifty of Dr. Dale's poems brought together in one volume. They deal with various subjects but most are about the West, and were written, as the author states, with the hope that "the reader may catch a little of this odor of the West as he scans the lines of this little volume." There is a short essay on "The West" preceding the poems.

The Range Cattle Industry: Ranching on the Great Plains from 1865 to 1925. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1930. xvii and 216 pp. Preface and Introduction. Bibliography and Index.

A historical study of the range cattle industry emphasizing economic history. The book has 8 illustrations and 17 maps. A second edition was issued in 1960 with a new preface and 11 illustrations. xv and 207 pp.

Grant Foreman: A Brief Biography. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933. 15 pp.

A sketch of the life of the Oklahoma lawyer and historian with a bibliography of his writings.

Cow Country. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942. ix and 265 pp. Preface. Index.

A collection of eleven essays on various aspects of the range cattle industry on the Great Plains designed to present an informal history of ranching on the open range. The Preface to the book states that these essays had all been published previously in various periodicals. This is incorrect as only five of the essays in the book had been printed previously. A short verse written by Dr. Dale precedes each chapter and a line drawing by Richard G. Underwood is placed at the beginning of each chapter. A second edition was published in 1965 as volume 27 in The Western Frontier Library by the University of Oklahoma Press with a new preface and without the index. xii and 258 pp. The new preface states incorrectly that only four of the chapters in the book had been previously published before their republication in *Cow Country*.

(with Morris L. Wardell) *History of Oklahoma*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948. x and 572 pp. Preface. Index. A history of Oklahoma presenting the essential features of the development of the "Sooner" State, designed to serve as a college text. The book is divided into twenty-three chapters; Dr. Dale wrote the first seventeen. Each chapter has a list of suggested readings. There are 33 illustrations and 11 maps including a color map of Oklahoma inside the front cover.

(with Dwight L. Dumond and Edgar B. Wesley) *History of the United*

States. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1948. xvi and 847 pp. Preface. Index.

A history of the United States designed for use as a text in high schools. The book divides American history into seven epochs. The section for each epoch is divided into five chapters, each of which deals with a different topic. The five topics in each section are entitled: (1) Migrating and Settling, (2) Making a Living, (3) Living Together, (4) Building a Government, and (5) Rising Among Nations. There are numerous illustrations and maps. An Appendix contains the Declaration of Independence, the Federal Constitution, a Glossary, a list of Books Cited, and information on the States.

The Indians of the Southwest: A Century of Development Under the United States. (The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Volume 28.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949. xvi and 283 pp. Preface. Bibliography and Index.

A history of the Indians of Utah, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, and California from 1848 to 1948, dealing mainly with relations between the Federal government and the Indians. The book has 32 illustrations and 5 maps.

Oklahoma: The Story of a State. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1949. 448 pp. Preface and To the Teacher. Index.

A history of Oklahoma written for use as a text in the public schools. The book contains 17 maps and numerous illustrations. It has sold more than 40,000 copies since publication. Revised in 1955 and 1963.

(with James D. Morrison) *Pioneer Judge: The Life of Robert Lee Williams*. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1958. xvii and 433 pp. Preface and Foreward. Bibliography and Index.

A biography of one of Oklahoma's pioneer leaders based largely on his personal papers. R. L. Williams served in the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention, as the State's first chief justice, as the third Governor of Oklahoma, and for many years as a Federal judge. Dr. Dale was responsible for the writing of all the book. There are 20 illustrations.

Frontier Ways: Sketches of Life in the Old West. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1959. xiv and 265 pp. Preface and Foreword. Index.

Twelve essays dealing with various aspects of social and cultural life on the frontier in particular with that of the Great Plains area. All but one of these essays were previously published in slightly different form in various historical journals. Each essay is preceded by a verse written by Dr. Dale and an introductory paragraph. The book is illustrated with 12 full-page drawings by Malcolm Thurgood. A Spanish edition was published by Plaza and Janes of Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1965. 316 pp. Paperback.

Frontier Ways. A Ladder Edition at the 3,000 Word Level. Adapted by Edward A. Symans. New York: Popular Library, 1963. 128 pp. Paperback. An edition of *Frontier Ways* adapted for those with a limited knowledge of the English language. It can be read by anyone who has learned 3,000 words of English. The book contains condensed versions of eleven of the twelve essays in the original book. The essay on "Cowboy Cookery" in the first edition is not included in this book. The verses and illustrations in the original edition are also omitted. There is a glossary of unusual words and terms used in the book. Not sold in the United States. This book was published in an Arabic edition in 1965 and a Hindi edition in 1966. The Hindi edition was published both as a paperback and a hard-cover book.

The Cross Timbers: Memories of a North Texas Boyhood. (Personal Narratives of the West Series, J. Frank Dobie, General Editor.) Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966. 186 pp. Preface and Introduction. Index. Dr. Dale's recollections of his boyhood years from the age of 3 to 13 when he lived on a farm near the town of Keller, about fifteen miles from Fort

Worth, Texas. The book is illustrated with 15 drawings by John Biggers.

II. BOOKS EDITED BY DR. DALE

The Journal of James Akin, Jr. Norman: University of Oklahoma Bulletin, 1919. 32 pp. Preface.

A sketchy journal kept by a member of a wagon train that traveled from Iowa to Oregon. Edited with footnotes and an introduction by Dr. Dale. The book has 3 photographs of pages from the original journal and a map of the route taken by the party.

Lafayette Letters. Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1925. 64 pp. Preface and Introduction.

A collection of fifteen letters written by the Marquis de Lafayette and members of his family. These letters were found in the possession of a nephew of Captain Francis Allyn, commander of the ship *Cadmus* in which Lafayette and his son came to the United States in 1824. The book is illustrated with 5 photographs and reproductions of the original letters.

Frontier Trails: The Autobiography of Frank M. Canton. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930. xvii and 237 pp. Preface and Introduction. Conclusion.

The memoirs of a frontier peace officer who was a Texas Ranger, United States Marshal, livestock inspector, sheriff, and secret service man. He was appointed Adjutant General of the Oklahoma National Guard by Governor Charles N. Haskell in 1907. The book has a foreword by Canton and 12 illustrations.

A second edition was published in 1966 as volume 30 in The Western Frontier Library by the University of Oklahoma Press with a new introduction by Dr. Dale. xix and 237 pp. The 12 illustrations in the first edition are not included in this edition.

(with Jesse Lee Rader) *Readings in Oklahoma History.* Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1930. xi and 865 p. Preface.

A collection of some of the more important materials required in the study of Oklahoma history. It covers the period from the early Spanish explorers to the date of publication. The selections are divided into twenty chapters with a brief introduction to each chapter. The volume contains three articles by Dr. Dale: "History of the Ranch Cattle Industry in Oklahoma" (Pp. 404-415), "The Passing of the Range Cattle Industry in Oklahoma" (Pp. 580-592), and "The Spirit of Sooner Land" (Pp. 858-865).

A Rider of the Cherokee Strip. By Evan G. Barnard. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936. xviii and 233 pp. Introduction by Dr. Dale. Foreword by the Author. Appendix and Index.

The autobiography of a man who worked as a cowpuncher on the plains of Kansas, Texas, and western Oklahoma. He saw much of the rapid change that brought that land from an area of open range to one of cultivated farms, 1882-1936. The book has 14 illustrations and an Endorsement of Authenticity by Zack T. Miller, President of the Cherokee Strip Cowpunchers Association.

(with Gaston Litton) *Cherokee Cavaliers.* (The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Volume 19.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939. xxiii and 319 pp. Preface and Introduction. Calendar of Letters and Index.

This volume contains two hundred letters from the correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot family which together form an informal history of the Cherokee nation from 1832 to 1872. The letters are divided into seven chapters with a brief introduction at the beginning of each chapter. In addition, the book has 6 illustrations, a map of the Cherokee nation in 1873, and a genealogy of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot family.

III. ARTICLES AND ESSAYS

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I (January, 1921), pp. 30-59.

"Additional Letters of General Stand Watie." *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume I (October, 1921), pp. 131-149.

"America's Mary and Martha." *The Southwestern*, Volume VI (February and March, 1922), pp. 193-201 and 229-232. These two articles comprise a talk given by Dr. Dale at Southwestern State College at Weatherford, Oklahoma, on February 22, 1922.

"The Ranchman's Last Frontier." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Volume X (June, 1923), pp. 34-46.

Reprinted in *The Cattleman*, Volume XI (March, 1925), pp. 75-83.

"The Spirit of Sooner Land." *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume I (June, 1923), pp. 167-178.

Reprinted in *Readings in Oklahoma History*.

"The Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association." *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Convention of the Southwestern Political and Social Science Association*. Austin, Texas: The Southwestern Political and Social Science Association, 1924. Pp. 97-115.

Reprinted in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume V (March, 1927) pp. 58-78; in *The Cattleman*, Volume XII, (June, 1925), pp. 21-28; and in *Cow Country*. This article was also reprinted in a pamphlet with a facsimile of the charter and by-laws of the association by the First National Bank of Wichita, Kansas, in 1951.

"The Passing of the Range Cattle Industry in Oklahoma." *The Cattleman*, Volume XI (November, 1924), pp. 9-17.

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"John Rollin Ridge." *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume IV (December, 1926), pp. 312-321.

"Ranching on the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation, 1880-1885." *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume VI (March, 1928), pp. 35-59. Reprinted in *The Cattleman*, Volume XV (December, 1928), pp. 22-27 and 30-32; and in *Cow Country*.

"Letters of the Two Boudinots." *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume VI (September, 1928), pp. 328-347.

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"The Humor of the Cowboy." *The Cattleman*, Volume XXII (January, 1936), pp. 11-12, 14, 16 and 17.

Reprinted in *Cow Country*; and in T. M. Pearce and A. P. Thomason (eds.), *Southwesterners Write* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1946), pp. 82-92.

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"Blue Blood on the Vast Western Plains." *The American Hereford Journal*, Volume XXVII (December 15, 1936), pp. 5-7, 70-71.

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This paper was delivered as the presidential address at the thirtieth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in St. Louis, Missouri, on April 29, 1937.

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"The Stranger."

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"The House Not Made With Hands."

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"Light and Shadows," p. 16.

"Good-Bye," p. 48.

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These poems were reprinted in *The Prairie Schooner and Other Poems*.

"The Vagabond," p. 29.

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"Pal O' Mine", p. 30.

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"The Prairie Schooner," p. 31.

"Butter-Side Down," p. 32.

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This poem was reprinted in *The Prairie Schooner and Other Poems*. It has been included in several anthologies such as Mabel Major and Rebecca W. Smith (eds.), *The Southwest in Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1929), pp. 6-7; and Mabel Major and T. M. Pearce (eds.), *Signature of the Sun: Southwest Verse, 1900-1950* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1950), p. 116.

"The Westerner."

The Cattleman, Volume XIII (August, 1926), p. 12.

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The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, Volume LVI (July, 1952), pp. 137-138.

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My Life on the Range. By John Clay. Reprint. New York: Antiquarian Press, Ltd., 1961.

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VI. RECORDINGS

"History of Oklahoma." Four records which relate the history of the Sooner State. Recorded at 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ speed the records play two hours. The topics are: The First Pioneers: The Indians of Oklahoma, The Second Pioneers: The Ranchmen of Oklahoma, The White Settlement of Oklahoma, and The Twin Territories. Produced by the University of Oklahoma, Extension Division, Correspondence Study Department.

"The Cow Country in Transition." A recording of Dr. Dale's talk on this subject is in the collections of the University of Oklahoma Library.

JOHN STOLFA, SR.

From Tistin, Moravia in 1866 to Ardmore, Oklahoma in 1966

*By Florence S. Braun**

It was only after his retirement as an entrepreneur of small business—a tenure of fifty-seven years in Southern Oklahoma—that John Joseph Stolfa, Sr., had time to take stock of himself.

He came to this country from Tistin, Moravia (Czechoslovakia) in 1889, at a time when conservatism and nationalism were feuding in Central Europe and filling the masses with confusion. He sought an escape from the economic pressures and a new way of life elsewhere.

John Stolfa, born December 12, 1866 in the little town of Tistin, Moravia, came from a long line of military career officers in the Moravian and Austrian armies. After completing school in 1880, he decided to learn a trade that would give him a change of pace, and finance a trip to America.

He served three years as an apprentice tailor in Prague, Moravia. The next three years he traveled as a journeyman into Prudnik, Poland, and Graz and Vienna, Austria. In 1887 at the age of twenty-one Stolfa was drafted into the Austrian army under Emperor Francis Joseph. Moravia at that time was under Austrian rule.

A general restlessness prevailed on the continent. Prussia was consolidating the new federation of German States and relegating Austria to second place. France was still hungry for further annexations, and Russia was having its own brand of trouble in the south. Another war could break out momentarily.

These underlying forces helped Stolfa shape his destiny. With a singleness of purpose he boarded the German S.S. *Elbe* at Hamburg in 1889 and sailed for New York. As the steamer pushed into port, nostalgia hit him. Here he was without family, friends or money, but he remembered he was a man now, and was determined to mount his hurdles wherever he met them. Nothing this side of heaven would make him turn back.

As Stolfa touched American soil, he thanked heaven for this hour's fulfillment. It meant so much. He immediately bought a railroad ticket to Flatonia, Texas to join a settlement of his countrymen there. Soon after that he intended to look up his great uncle, General Francis Sypena, a former officer in the Mexican army under Emperor Maximilian, and now somewhere in Mexico. By this time Stolfa had only a few coins left in his pocket, but he had a growing reserve of courage. With new de-

* Florence S. Braun of 5041 Dana Place, Washington, D. C., contributes this sketch of her father, John Stolfa, who celebrated his 100th birthday at Ardmore, Oklahoma, on December 12, 1966. Her story is based on his reminiscences and family records.—Ed.

termination and numerous handouts, he survived his personal crisis. "It was rough going," he said years later, "but at that time I was very happy to get a piece of dry bread with a little lard on it."

A few weeks later, he left for San Antonio, where he hoped to get a lead on his uncle's whereabouts. The city fascinated him. It was colorful and cheerful—Mexican vaqueros with their broadbrim sombreros and bright striped serapes, and the western cowboys with their ten-gallon hats and easy saunter. Stolfa became aware of a new kind of freedom in San Antonio.

TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

By 1889 the Southwest was still in the throes of the transitional period following the Civil War. The price of farm commodities was down, and many ex-soldiers drifted into town, hoping to find a more lucrative living with shorter hours. But they found nothing. Many of them turned to outlawry, roaming the plains from Texas to Kansas, robbing banks and trains, rustling cattle and committing wanton murder.

After repeated interviews, Stolfa finally found employment in a tailor shop. Then he went to night school to learn the English language. He had not been long in San Antonio when he was approached by three unemployed ex-sailors looking for a meal ticket. They soon persuaded him to take a trip with them to Australia:

"There wasn't much I could do but join them. They outnumbered, outsized and out-talked me. We hopped freights to El Paso. While there for a few days, I had an opportunity to outfox them and returned to San Antonio, and back to my old rooming house. There I found a letter from a great aunt, Countess Consuella Sypena in Moravia, informing me that my uncle Francis had died six months ago. For many years he had been an exporter in fruits and vegetables between Yucatan and New Orleans. The Mexican government found he left no estate and no family."

Ten months later Stolfa decided to strike out on his own. He went to Lampasas, Texas and opened his first tailor shop, equipped with a tailor sewing machine, two long pressing irons, a coal stove, cutting shears, tape measure and a shingle on his door.

In 1892 he married Johanna Lucas, a milliner and daughter of a Texas pioneer family. A severe drought struck the area early that year, and continued all through the following year. Creeks and wells dried up and cattle by the thousands died on the Texas plains. Without further hesitation, Stolfa loaded his family and equipment into a covered wagon and headed north towards Indian Territory. As he rolled over the dusty country he en-

countered some of the bleaching buffalo bones left from the great slaughter in 1883. To him that was a tragedy and a blight on the history of the Southwest.

DEPRESSION OF 1893

Stolfa came to Ardmore, Indian Territory, early in December 1893, and temporarily established his family in the leading hotel. He conveniently found space in a room on the ground floor for a tailorshop, and immediately set up his equipment. Then three weeks went by without a single customer appearing. He became discouraged. His funds were running low, and his perseverance was running thin. Then one day a Methodist minister walked in and ordered a frock coat. When he departed, Stolfa rushed out to borrow the money to buy the material for the coat. In two weeks the coat was finished and delivered. Business picked up after that.

Southern Indian Territory became the unwilling haven for numerous cattle rustlers. The Texas Rangers could only pursue them as far north as the Red River and the U.S. Marshal took it from there. Stolfa met a number of these notorious characters in his tailor shop when they came in to purchase fancy duds with hard cash. They dubbed him the only white man in the territory because he could mind his own business. He did, however, have great respect for their *hardware*. Among these customers were the Dalton boys, and remnants of Belle Starr's gang, besides the Younger brothers and Jesse James bands.

One day at the request of the sheriff, Stolfa made a black death mask for a member of the Dalton gang, who was hung the following day behind the jail in Ardmore. Hundreds of people from the countryside, in a holiday mood, came with their children and lunch baskets to witness the hanging.

CATTLE VENTURE

By 1896 the flow of currency was tight. Stolfa began to trade merchandise for cattle, and accidentally found himself in the cattle business. He leased some government land south of town and built two ranch houses on it—one for his family and one for his in-laws, and called the spread the "Lazy S Ranch."

Four years later he sold this herd of Texas cattle and bought a small herd of Durham and Jersey, and opened a dairy north of town. He created so much competition for Mr. West, another dairyman, that the latter had to buy him out in self defense. In the transaction, Stolfa received a piece of real estate west of town on which he built a small house and moved in. He had sold his tailor shop several years before, and now was between business ventures.

Shortly after this move in 1902, Stolfa's wife, Johanna, who had been suffering from a lingering illness, took a turn for the

worse and died, leaving four small children. Stolfa was now in debt for the second time since he came to Indian Territory. Defeatism gnawed at his very soul, and he had no one to turn to. Suddenly, an agent from the Marshall Field Company of Chicago, knowing Stolfa's background as a promising merchant, offered him a stock of men's wearing apparel on long term credit, providing he would go back into business. The proposition was tempting and timely and Stolfa accepted it.

COTTON BOOM

"From 1892 to about 1908," Stolfa recounts, "Ardmore, Indian Territory, was the largest inland cotton market in the world. Wagons filled with 500-pound bales of ginned cotton lined the streets of the city, and brokers came from everywhere to sample the staples and buy according to their needs. Between 20,000 and 50,000 bales of the commodity traded hands during a season. Business moved at a fast clip."

"Did you buy into cotton at this time?" he was asked.

"No. I didn't have that kind of cash, but I didn't miss the excitement."

In 1906 Stolfa married Josephine Wallrapp of St. Louis, Missouri, an accomplished musician and bookkeeper. In time she became his business assistant. After returning from Europe in 1910, Stolfa found cotton dragging the market, and saw an opportunity for investment. "I investigated the situation," he said, "and then built two 100-foot platforms on my back acre. Cotton in the fields was worth only 5c a pound. I offered the farmers 7c in cash and 10c in trade. The old barter system began to work, and I quickly acquired 300 bales and stored them on my open platforms where they remained several years."

"As World War I expanded, there was a demand for smokeless gun powder made from cotton. The price of the commodity immediately arose to 29c a pound, and Stolfa disposed of all he had in storage. The price continued to soar till it hit 40c and then plunged. Many investors holding cotton for higher prices plus storage fees, lost heavily.

Stolfa liked to experiment with types of business. He went into the grocery business from 1915 to 1918, at which time he built a large store on the property west of Ardmore. He foresaw further depressions looming in the distance, and decided to buy up the grain in the countryside, paying 35c a bushel for corn, and 45c a bushel for wheat. He also bought oats and sorghum, and turned to making chicken feed. The price of grain went up in 1920, but in 1921 another depression hit the country.

Four years later Stolfa went back into the grocery business on U.S. Highway 77 in the southwest part of the city where he remained through the 1929 depression. He sold out in 1934 when

the NRA (National Reconstruction Administration) moved in and limited his operations. That act became unconstitutional in 1935, but Stolf had already retired.

LATTER YEARS

John Stolf had an adventurous life, laced with positive thinking and sheer drive. He had his share of ups and downs in business ventures, but he also had the capacity to bounce back into his proper perspective. As a realist, he combined European thrift with American opportunity, lived within his means, pushed his talents to full strength, and enjoyed a fruitful life. What he lacked in capital, he made up for in courage.

In his early quest for independence, he carved a niche for himself as he traveled over that long trek from Tistin, Moravia in 1866 to Ardmore where he celebrated his 100th birthday in 1966. Through the shifting scenes and changing moods of the century, he had emerged as a middle American, being neither early nor late.

While living through eight depressions 1873 to 1937, he reared twelve children, learned six languages, and succeeded at four different types of business without the benefit of subsidy from a parent company. Finally on May 31, 1963, at the age of ninety-six, Stolf collected his own life insurance policy, having outlived the mortality tables.

John Stolf's only claim to fame is his longevity. He says, "God has been good to me and the years have been happy ones."

A TOUR ON THE PRAIRIES ALONG THE WASHINGTON IRVING TRAIL IN OKLAHOMA

By George H. Shirk

In today's Soonerland, the open road and a drive across Oklahoma's hills and prairies offer many thrills. A special kind of tour is one combining all of the pleasure of modern driving with the retrace of a trail blazed more than a century ago by one the most famous American men of letters, Washington Irving. No safari to today's farthest frontier wilderness could provide the excitement or the personal hardship experienced by Irving and his companions while on the world-famous *Tour on the Prairies*. Intended by them as a happy-go-lucky trek beyond civilization's borders, their month during the Fall of 1832 on Oklahoma's then uncharted and little known plains was almost more than bargained for.¹

What took them a month to encompass may now be traveled in a day, with plenty of time for pictures and sight-seeing. It is fun to travel the exact route of Irving and his comrades, to see the same spots and landmarks that engaged their attention, and to trace from the comfort of the automobile the path they made on horseback, and sometimes on foot.

In 1956, the Oklahoma Historical Society prepared a detailed route guide for those wishing to follow the Trail as closely as possible using today's highways. The publication received wide acceptance; but has long been out of print. Countless history buffs have used the instructions as a guide to a fun-outing, combining travel with history. Within the decade, however, highway development such as the Interstate system, as well as the Keystone Reservoir, has made the 1956 route hopelessly out of date and a revision has long been overdue. Here now are the same route instructions using 1967 highways.

Washington Irving had spent a number of years in Europe, and had earned his spurs as the foremost American literary figure of his time. On the return voyage from Europe, he made the acquaintance of two fellow travelers, Charles J. Latrobe, and his young protege, Count Albert de Pourtales of Switzerland. Rumor had it that Albert had been disengaged from a bad love

¹ Two complementary reprints with illustrations and maps showing the day by day camp sites of the 1832 Tour in the Indian Territory are: (1) Washington Irving, *A Tour on the Prairies*, annotated by Joseph B. Thoburn and George C. Wells (Harlow Publishing Company, Oklahoma City, 1955); and (2) Charles Joseph Latrobe, *The Rambler in Oklahoma*, annotated by Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk (Harlow Publishing Company, Oklahoma City, 1955). A 1956 reprint of Irving's *Tour on the Prairies* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman), evaluates this classic in Oklahoma history as a literary production with an introduction and annotations by John McDermott, the well-known Missouri author.

affair, and that his parents had arranged for Latrobe, a brilliant and popular Englishman, to accompany the young Count on a trip to America to forget it all. The three men became warm friends, and they agreed to stay together for further travels.

During the late Summer of 1832, the three were on a Great Lakes' steamer out of Buffalo, New York, when they made the chance acquaintance of Henry L. Ellsworth, just appointed by President Andrew Jackson as a special emissary to the Indians west of Arkansas, and charged with the task of helping certain of the tribes to determine the extent and area of their newly designated lands. Ellsworth, a Yale graduate and a lawyer from Connecticut, was the son of Oliver Ellsworth, former Chief Justice of the United States. The new task weighed heavily on his mind, and he was anxious to have companions on his distant and uncertain trip to the Far West. An invitation from him for the three travelers to go along and see the sights seemed to fit right into the plans of all, and before the steamer had docked, the arrangements were complete.

Soon the four were off together for Fort Gibson, then a remote army post in the region of the Three Forks, beyond Fort Smith. Three Forks was named from the fact that there the Verdigris and the Grand Rivers join the Arkansas. The region had long been known to traders and early settlers. In fact, Sam Houston, who later won everlasting fame in Texas, operated a trading post which he called "Wigwam Neosho" near the Three Forks, and the Government had located there the Agency for the western group of the Creek Indians.

The four men arrived at the Three Forks on October 8, 1832, in high spirits and anxious to be off for the wild and unknown West. They found that a detachment of Rangers, Uncle Sam's mounted infantry, had left a few days earlier for a scouting trip as far west as present Oklahoma City; and losing no time, word was sent ahead for the soldiers, under Captain Jesse Bean, to halt and await the newcomers. Since he was on official business, Ellsworth assumed command of the expedition. As the other officials had not yet arrived at Fort Gibson, Irving acted as temporary secretary of the government commission, and in that manner he, too, served in an official capacity. Latrobe and Pourtales were welcomed along for the trip, and on the morning of October 10th, the four together with a small detachment of soldiers departed to overtake the Rangers for their memorable journey.

Irving's little volume, *A Tour on the Prairies*, became a best seller of its day, and is yet fine reading, a classic in Oklahoma history. Latrobe, too, left a journal of the trip in his *A Rambler in North America*. Both have been reprinted and are easily available. Today's tourist would do well to review one or both of these accounts before starting out along the Irving Trail, and by

all means they should be kept in the glove compartment for ready reference. The entire circuit can be completed in one day, but actually it is more fun, with longer time for the sights, if two days are allotted.

The trip should start from Muskogee, for it was from nearby Fort Gibson that Irving departed. A stop in Muskogee the night before would insure plenty of time for an early start the next morning. With a few hours extra there is much to see in Muskogee, such as Bacone College and the Five Tribes Museum at the old Union Indian Agency. Then, too, on the way to Fort Gibson, a mile north of U.S. 62, just east of Bacone, is the site of old Fort Davis, with an ancient Indian mound at the center. This post was named for Jefferson Davis, and was one of the strongholds of the Confederate Army early in the War Between the States. It was destroyed by Union forces under Col. W. A. Phillips on December 27, 1862.

Here follows in these pages, a detailed route of the tour, giving each stop made by the Irving party as accurately as is known today, all planned for your comfort, with a minimum of unpaved roads, and with all necessary instructions for staying close to the path of Irving's famous loop through the western wilderness. Some nice day should be selected when it is certain that the roads would be dry and at their best.

Go east from Muskogee on U.S. 62 to Fort Gibson, staying on the highway through the main part of Fort Gibson until the highschool is reached on the left. There (the Oklahoma Historical Society marker tells of the Fort and its past) turn left at the marker, and follow the blacktop up the hill to the site of the army post. Almost at the foot of the water tower, and due east of the old barracks building, is a stone slab telling that it marks the site of Irving's tent. Legend records that while waiting to start his tour, Irving pitched his tent encampment at this spot. At this stone marker our tour will start. It took Irving 28 days to make the circuit, and today it may be accomplished in less than the same number of hours.

After a look at the army post, go down the hill to the old stockade. A stop there is important. It is a faithful reproduction of how this early military post looked during the days of Irving, Sam Houston, and other notable Americans. A marker at the front entrance gives more of the details on Irving and his three friends. By all means, a camera is needed for a shot or two of each of the Irving markers that are now to be found along the route of *A Tour on the Prairies*.

After a visit to the stockade, cross the Missouri-Pacific Railroad tracks, turn right, go down the gravel road to the river bridge and across. This is almost the identical spot where the old government ferry was located, and it is where Irving and Ellsworth crossed Grand River. After crossing the bridge, follow the

gravel road to the town of Okay. The route is easy to follow. Just keep the same road for a short distance along the track; then one and one-half miles west, one mile north, a half-mile west, and again one and one-half miles north to Okay.

On the way from Fort Gibson to Okay, the tourist will wish to stop at the possible site of Houston's Trading Post, Wigwam Neosho. Less than a mile after the crossing of the river at Fort Gibson, and at the first turn where the road curves gradually to the left, take the dim road on the right and drive perhaps 75 yards to a railroad trestle. On the north side of the trestle, and not more than 100 yards to the northwest, is a farmstead, usually known locally as the "Scott place." Many modern scholars believe Wigwam Neosho was located on the slight rise where the improvements are now located. Returning to the graveled road and proceeding towards Okay, one perhaps would wish to visit another site, believed by many local residents to be the correct one. It is known as the "Boling place," and may be reached by turning right, to the north, at the first crossing after returning to the road and continuing to the west. To make sure of the turn, a school building, now a private residence, is at the northeast corner of the intersection. Half a mile north of this intersection and at the end of the road on the left is the alternate location, believed by many to be the location of Wigwam Neosho.

Upon reaching Okay, two left turns bring the tour to the Verdigris River Bridge and the Three Forks marker. The historic details of this site are on the stone, placed there by the D.A.R. It was here that Latrobe and Pourtales joined the travelers from Fort Gibson. On the east side of the river was the Western Creek Agency, while just across the stream on the west bank was the Osage Sub-agency. From this spot after lunch on October 10th, they started west to overtake the Rangers.

Be sure the mileage part of the speedometer is in good working condition, as it will be a vital necessity in following the turns and the road here laid out for the trip. Do not plan to rely solely on the modern highway map, for Irving did not have one either. A careful eye on the speedometer mileage is all that is needed.

Cross the Verdigris River Bridge near the D.A.R. marker, and follow the blacktop on its curve to the left, towards the south, for 1.6 miles. Then, make a turn to the right and go due west across two railroad tracks. The turn is a little hard to see, so don't hurry past. Follow this good graveled road west slightly more than four miles, with the Katy Railroad tracks on the left. Coming upon U.S. Highway 69, across and a few yards to the north, State Highway 51-B takes off to the west. This is Irving's exact route, so we are on the trail for sure. An even mile west of U.S. 69 on State 51-B, in a grove of trees, is the site of Tullahassee Mission. This institution was founded by Alice Robert-

son's father, and is the place where Oklahoma's first Congresswoman spent many of her childhood years.

Highway 51-B curves right 1.7 miles west of U.S. 69; and just east of this curve the Irving pilgrimage turns left, or south. Go .7 mile south, and turn right at the section line road. A nice farm home is at the corner just beyond the turn. On their first day Irving's group traveled almost due west, so we must leave 51-B, for it is too far north for our trail. Go west on the farm road for exactly 8 miles. The last three miles are paved. Along the way there is one slight jog to the right and then back, but this will cause no trouble.

At the end of the fifth mile is the town of Clarksville. It was in this vicinity, perhaps a little farther west, that Irving spent his first night. Here his party came upon a frontier farm house, owned by a settler named Berryhill, in whose yard the travelers pitched their tents and settled down for a night's rest.

At the end of the 8 miles, and at the stop sign, turn north to the right, and go one mile, then west, to the left, 2 miles to the stop sign, there entering State 104, and proceed 2 miles north to the junction with State 51-B. At the intersection turn again to the west, to the left, and proceed 2 miles until the road reaches the Arkansas river. There, leave the blacktop road and follow the gravel road as it turns right to the north. It was along this same route that the travelers journeyed during the afternoon of October 11, 1832.

Across the river to the west may be seen the "beautiful champaign country of flowery plains and sloping uplands, diversified by groves and clumps of trees," admired and described by Irving. About two miles north of the right turn just made at the river's bank is the Irving camp site for the night of October 11th. The explorers camped on "a fine stream of water close by", and several likely creeks are near, any one of which could be the one mentioned.

Four miles after the turn north we rejoin State 51-B; and on the right are the tracks of the Katy Railroad. Stay on State 51-B as it leads into Coweta from the south. Without doubt, the travelers passed very near to the site of Coweta, and in this neighborhood they turned more to the west. The town was named for the old Creek Indian town of Coweta in Alabama. The site of Koweta Mission, established in 1843 by the Presbyterians, is just east of the town on State Highway 51, and is worth a stop for a visit.

Highway 51-B comes into Coweta from the south. Halfway through town and along Main Street, at the two water towers by Greene's Service Station, leave the highway and turn left to the west, on the blacktop. Go three blocks west then turn right, and go north a half-mile. Then, following the gravel road, turn with it as it swings to the left. Here, again, the modern road, now

State Highway 67, follows very closely to the Irving route. Except for a jog to the right around a hill, the road is due west for six miles, and by using Shahan Baptist Church and Wilson Chapel as guidemarkers, we may be sure that the route is correct. The view south across the Arkansas River is a fine one, and one greatly admired by the travelers. Without doubt, here our road is within a short distance of the path made by Irving's party.

At the end of the sixth mile, a blacktop road, marking the county line of Tulsa County, is encountered. Here, turn right and go north one mile, and then turn left to the west at Bowline Grocery onto an asphalt road, now 131st Street. Approximately two miles west on this road, we pass very near the Arkansas River. It was at this location that the travelers stopped on the river bank to water their horses. The county road now followed is at places certainly within yards of the Irving trail. This route passes along some of the state's finest fruit orchards. How such a sight would have amazed Irving and his friends!

After exactly six miles driving to the west from the last turn, a paved county road runs to the north. There, turn right. This is old U.S. 64, its location before the new bridge was built north of Bixby. Somewhere near this turn is the site of Irving's camp for the night of October 12th. The party had traveled farther than planned that day in their unsuccessful effort to overtake the Rangers. The order to make camp was welcome. All were so tired that the rain during the night did not disturb them.

Go two miles north on old U.S. 64, now bearing the name "Mingo Road," then jog one mile west on 111th Street to present U.S. 64, turning north onto it. This route takes us as closely as possible to the camp site and to the route followed by Irving the next morning.

After reaching U.S. Highway 64, Memorial Road, go north four miles to 71st Street and there turn left, to the west. In this mileage, Irving's path on his way to reach the Rangers has been crossed again. Upon turning left on 71st Street, go west five miles to where the pavement ends at the river's edge. Just after the fourth mile and immediately before the Riverside Drive-In Theater, Jill Creek is crossed. It was on this creek, probably within a mile of the car, that Irving overtook the Ranger detachment under the command of Captain Bean. There the united expedition made camp for the night of October 13th. It was here they found a large tree with a cache of wild honey in its hollow trunk. The small ridge mentioned by Irving could be any of those seen north and east of the drive-in theater.

Back again to the trail: West of the drive-in, turn north to the right, and proceed north for just less than two miles on Peoria Street. At its intersection with 56th Street, turn left and travel a few blocks to the west. There, take Riverside Drive north into Tulsa. All of this is very close to the Irving trail for the 14th,

which was the day the party passed over the site of the future "Oil Capital of the World," Tulsa. Keep on Riverside Drive to the north, pass under the third bridge, and then make a slight curve to the right, only a few degrees, up the hill and on to Denver Street. With this direct route through Tulsa, proceed north through the business district, using the railroad underpass, and go north to Edison Street. There, turn left and drive due west. A few blocks after the turn, a pause must be made to see a unique marker in the center of the pavement, showing the corner of three Indian Nations—the Osage, the Creek and the Cherokee. The street is wide at this point, and there is no trouble in securing a good look at this remarkable memento of Oklahoma's past.

From the Three Nations marker, proceed west for several blocks to Quanah St., turning left at Quanah for a short detour to see Tulsa's fine Washington Irving monument. After driving south on Quanah for several blocks, turn right at Easton Street. To the west at the top of the hill in the center of the parkway will be seen the state's most imposing memorial to Irving and his friends. Upon departure from the memorial, use any of the cross streets to jog back north to Edison Street. Upon again reaching Edison, turn left to the west and we are again on the trail.

After a mile or so west on Edison Street by keeping eyes sharp to the right, there are several glimpses of Bald Hill, lifting its bare knoll up through the trees and other obstructions. This was a famous early day landmark and was well known to all. Its mention by one of the travelers establishes that Irving passed nearby.

Follow Edison Street about three miles and follow its turn south when it becomes 65th West Avenue. About a mile to the south, cross the rails and turn right onto U.S. Highway 64. At this time and as far as the Keystone Reservoir, we are again very near the Irving Trail. Follow U.S. 64 all the way to the lake.

West of Sand Springs, the Arkansas makes a bend to the north, and it was doubtless at this point that Irving again reached the river. They had determined to cross the stream above its confluence with the Cimarron, which in Irving's day was called the Red Fork. The party had been unable to reach the Arkansas before dark on the 14th, so their camp for that night was probably a mile or so west of Sand Springs.

U.S. Highway 64 crosses the Keystone Reservoir on an earthen embankment. Just south of where the highway now crosses the old river channel is the site, now under water, of U.S. Crossing, an important and well known ford where many years later a ferry was operated across the river. This crossing was used by part of the Irving expedition; and so our own crossing of

the Arkansas on U.S. 64 is very near the site, now inundated, the Irving party crossed amid much excitement and uncertainty on October 15th.

Camp for the night of October 15, 1832, was made in Bear's Glen, the "wild, rocky dell" described in great detail by Irving and his friends. The camp site, as well as the large rock at the head of the glen mentioned by Irving as that which overhung the spring and where he amused himself "by watching the changing scene" in the canyon, is now under water. The glen is now a quiet cove of the lake and is the first one along the shore-line north of U.S. 64. For those wishing to visit the cove on foot, make a hairpin turn several hundred yards west of the shore-line on U.S. 64, and drive along the small road following the fence row on the north of the highway, parking as near as possible to the crest of the hill immediately west of the lake. From there it is a hike of less than 200 yards north through the black-jacks to the shoreline.

After the Rangers left the glen on the morning of October 16th, they followed a "too northerly course". The relocated new Highway 64 follows the approximate route north and west from the glen. Follow U.S. 64 to its junction with State Highway 48 and there turn left to the south onto the state highway. Somewhere near this junction, the Irving party corrected its course and turned to the southwest.

Proceed southwesterly on State Highway 48 for slightly over 3.5 miles, and there turn west, to the right, on a graveled road. The turn may be identified by a sign marking the Keystone Boy Scout Camp. Drive to the west along this graveled road, with its slight turns, just more than 5 miles. There, turn sharp left to the south. After a short drive due south, we come to an old iron bridge, with a sharp turn to the left just beyond. This bridge is over House Creek, and somewhere near it, probably a short distance to the east and now within the lake area, the explorers made their camp for the night of October 16th.

Irving described the spot as "a beautiful peninsula, made by the windings and doublings of a deep, clear and almost motionless brook, and covered by an open grove of lofty magnificent trees". After camp was made, a day of rest was decided upon. All next day was devoted to hunting, and the preparation of a bivouac for those believed in too poor health to travel farther. Captain Bean issued an order permitting the soldiers to hunt any game up the creek, but not down the river, and designated twenty of his men, the best marksmen, to replenish the larder.

Now to take up the route followed after the extra day at the rest camp. From the old iron bridge on House Creek, proceed 2.5 miles south and then turn right to the west. The turn to the west is at the first cross road south of the crossing on House Creek. From this turn drive west and south for 6.5 miles, ending

at a stop sign at the top of a sharp hill at State Highway 99. It was in the area just south of our House Creek crossing, with the "poor, hungry soil mingled with sandstone" as Irving recorded it, that his horse suddenly went lame, forcing him to walk for the remainder of the day's march. How Irving would marvel if he could see us today in horseless machines, moving swiftly along his route of weary, footsore travel!

For the last two miles before the stop sign at State Highway 99 is reached, following along on the left, is Lagoon Creek. It has some fine fishing holes, and along its banks, probably west of State Highway 99, the party camped for the night of October 18th.

Upon reaching State Highway 99, turn left to the south. Within a half-mile, Lagoon Creek is crossed. State Highway 51 is reached a half-mile south of Lagoon Creek. There, follow the curve to the right towards Yale. We are now several miles south of the 1832 route of march for October 19th. It had been a bad day for the travelers, with heavy rain, and every one was wet to the skin.

Follow State Highway 51 in to Yale, and by the time Yale is reached, we are again very close to the Irving Trail. Just before entering Yale the municipal park may be seen to the right, north of Highway 51. In the west-center of the park grounds is a plaque marking the camp site for the evening of the 19th.

After crossing the railroad tracks at Yale, continue due west on State Highway 51. From the top of the hill, just west of Yale, and straight ahead, is a fine view of the twin mounds, a remarkable landmark well known in Oklahoma history. Oddly enough, none of the travelers mentioned these twin mounds, so the route must have been on a course that by chance did not afford a good view. Two miles after leaving Yale there is a large stream called Salt Creek. The camp pitched during the afternoon of October 19th was near its east bank and probably a mile north of our own crossing. Again it had been a disagreeable day, with plenty of rain and low spirits; and in Irving's words, "they spent a gloomy and unruly night".

Continuing due west, and a mile and a half after crossing Salt Creek we reach a paved cross road, State Highway 18. There, turn left to the south. After crossing Salt Creek, the 1832 travelers marched southwest, so our own trail today must be in that direction. Go south one-half mile on State Highway 18, and then turn right to the west on the section line county road. After the turn, drive west seven miles to a point just beyond the scattered buildings of the town of Ingalls. Five miles on the way after leaving State Highway 18, another large stream has been crossed. This is Council Creek, and is the one that

the Irving party had to follow for a mile along its north bank before a crossing could be located.

Now a modest little town, the present appearance of Ingalls beguiles the fact that it was the scene of one of Oklahoma's worst outlaw encounters. On September 1, 1893, a posse of five United States marshals engaged the notorious Dalton gang in a desperate gun battle. Three marshals, Dick Speed, Tom Houston and Lafe Shadley were killed, and the Dalton gang of ten were badly shot up, though none was killed. That day marked the beginning of the end of Oklahoma's outlaw days. Any old-timer is glad to relate the circumstance of Ingall's most famous day in history, and a stop there is worth the time.

A half-mile west of Ingalls, and an even seven miles from State Highway 18, turn south on the section line road. The views are fine, with the "immense extent of grassy, undulating, or as it is termed, rolling country, with here and there a clump of trees" that so much excited the appreciation of Irving and his comrades.

Two miles after the turn to the south, the road goes up over a hill, and ahead on the right is a large pile of unusual and oddly shaped rocks. This is Irving's renowned Cliff Castle, or as the other members of the party named it, "Irving's Castle". It reminded Irving, and for that matter you will have the same impression today, of "the ruins of some Moorish Castle, crowning a height in the midst of a lonely Spanish landscape." The cedars on the north side of the Castle were planted in recent years, and while they are picturesque, they detract from the exact appearance seen at the time of the Irving visit. Too, the rocks have weathered and some have been hauled away for modern building, so the pile is not as prominent as it was more than a century ago. However, a stop for photographs is important, and a request to the landowner, whose home is to the south, will secure permission for a visit. Standing on the highest rock, today's visitor will have at least one view that surpasses even Irving's finest descriptive pen, for to the northwest, rising just above the horizon may be seen the towers of Oklahoma State University at Stillwater.

Our trail on the section line runs south for a total of four miles from the turn west of Ingalls. About one and one-half miles south of the Castle, turn right to the west upon a graveled blacktop road. About two miles east of this turn, the Cimarron River makes a wide sweeping bend to the north, swinging several miles away from a straight-line course. This is what brought Irving "once more in sight of the Red Fork, winding its turbid course between well wooded hills, and through a vast and magnificent landscape". After the turn west onto the blacktop, the pavement ends two miles farther on. Continue straight west and through Mehan. Within a short distance of our turn to the

west, south of Irving's Castle, is the location of the Irving camp for the night of October 20th. Camp for that evening was in "a beautiful grove watered by a fine spring and rivulet". Just to the south is Berry Ford, a well known crossing on Stillwater Creek, and may have been the crossing utilized by the expedition on the following morning.

Irving records that his companions had traveled only a short distance on the the morning of the 21st when they were delayed by a large stream, the creek now known as Stillwater Creek, where they were required to reconnoiter for a considerable distance before they found a fording place. Even then the crossing was difficult because of the steep, crumbling bank with thick undergrowth and brambles. The crossing caused plenty of excitement. A low hanging grape vine "as thick as a cable" pulled Irving from his horse and into the mud.

Back again to the road and west through Mehan. The route runs due west to U.S. 177. There, a detour to the right into Stillwater for a visit to the University would be worthwhile, especially if meal time is near. After this digression, return and rejoin the trace of the Irving route. Somewhere along U.S. 177, probably a mile or more north of its junction with State Highway 33, we will have crossed the line of the Irving march, and it is interesting to speculate about the exact spot where the two paths have crossed. Here is the "vast and glorious prairie" that so delighted Irving.

At Perkins Corner, turn west and follow State Highway 33 as far as Coyle. Three miles west of the turn-off from U.S. 177 is IXL Community Center. At the northeast corner of the grounds is a marker telling of Irving's camp for the evening of October 21st. (The date on the marker is in error.) Almost a mile west of the marker, State Highway 33 crosses a fine creek, and Irving's camp site is believed to have been less than a mile to the north.

This was the "Camp of the Wild Horse". Even today, the creek bears the name of Wild Horse Creek, honoring that long ago visit and the story told in the evening around the camp fire, about the famous gray horse that by legend had ranged the prairies of the neighborhood for six or seven years. The evening was climaxed for certain when Beatte, the guide, brought into camp, much to the excitement of all, a fine two year old colt just captured from among a herd of six wild horses.

The next morning the visitors altered their course more to the south, but today's travelers will prefer the highway in crossing the Cimarron, so stay on State Highway 33 and cross at Coyle. Just west of Wild Horse Creek, the highway is within a mile of the Cimarron, and at that point along the river, Irving and his friends crossed the Red Ford in single file. Their path

into the stream had been marked for them by Beatte, leading his captive of the night before by a bridle.

Today's trail, however, crosses the Cimarron six miles higher up the stream, so we will miss the "thick cane brake, which at first sight appeared an impervious mass of reeds and brambles" which gave so much trouble on the south bank of the Cimarron. After passing through Coyle, about a half-mile west of the town, leave the paved road and make a half left turn to the south onto a section line road. Driving due south, in a short distance, we pass a large highway marker, square in the center of the road, and marking the town of Langston. At one time this shaft marked the main route from Guthrie to Stillwater.

From this marker, drive due south for seven miles on a good section line road, the last two miles of which are paved. This road is the Indian Meridian, the line from south to north across Oklahoma that divides all land surveys, except in the Panhandle. On the right of the Indian Meridian are the "West" ranges for the land calls, and on the left are the "East" designations.

A seven mile drive to the south brings us to the town of Meridian, and nearby is the site of the "Alarm Camp", where the Irving travelers camped for the night of October 22nd. That was a wild evening. Excitement from a prairie fire had hardly passed, when a new alarm, this time "Pawnees! Pawnees!" placed camp in an uproar. Rumors flew back and forth thick as the brush of the surrounding blackjacks, and soon the campers believed they were surrounded by three hundred redskins. A state of siege was effected, but all for naught, as the cry of "Pawnees!" had turned out to be a false alarm.

In the center of Meridian and on the right is a school. On the fine stone monument in the southeast corner of the school grounds is a marker, commemorating the proximity of the Alarm Camp.

At the south side of Meridian, just seven miles from the marker at Langston, turn right to the west, and drive in that direction for five miles. A half-mile west of Meridian, a rather large stream is crossed, now known as Bear Creek (we will cross it two more times). It was on this stream that the Irving Party found a fine beaver dam "containing several families of that industrious animal, though not one showed his nose above water." Three miles west of Bear Creek, Irvin School is passed and if there were just one more letter in the name, it might be assumed that it is the namesake of the famous traveler who once passed so near.

At the end of the five mile drive to the west, turn left to the south, and drive south on the section line for a distance of eight miles. Then turn west again to the right and drive west 4.5 miles to the Waterloo interchange on Interstate 35. By now

we are in the heart of the "Cross Timbers". How thankful is today's visitor when he glances at the side of the road and knows that he need not thread a trail through the dense and difficult "cast iron blackjack" which gave the early day travelers so much concern.

Upon reaching Interstate 35, turn left to the south, and proceed to its junction with U.S. 66. There, turn to the east. Irving's march for October 23rd was fourteen miles in length, and camp for the evening was pitched just east of I-35 and about three miles north of U.S. 66. Camp that evening was a serious one, and after long consultation the members of the party decided to alter their course to the east, and not to go farther west as originally planned. Later events proved the decision to be a wise one, for even so they experienced great hardship on the return to Fort Gibson.

On October 24th, the party traveled almost due east, the trace now paralleling U.S. 66 to Arcadia. There, probably in the fine field just east of Arcadia, the adventurers camped for the night. Irving records that the day was spent "along a gentle valley" and this stream is now named Coffee Creek, flowing into the Deep Fork near Arcadia. At the junction of the two streams was a beautiful grove of elms on the side of an abandoned Osage encampment. On U.S. 66, east of Arcadia are two markers, commemorating the visit of October 24th. Irving refers to their camp for that day as the "Buffalo Camp".

For today's trail, drive east on U.S. 66 from the two markers one mile, and then turn south on the fine county road that runs on the east side of Lake Hiwassee. This is actually a mile too far east for the Irving path, but if we try to follow his route more closely, we will find it blocked by an obstacle unheard of to Irving: The Turner Turnpike. Four miles south of the turnoff of U.S. 66, turn right to the west on another county paved road, now Memorial Road. This is to be followed for two miles, and exactly at the end of the second mile, turn south on the section line road. Just a few hundred yards south, we suddenly come upon a fine, beautiful valley, lying up from the north bank of the North Canadian River. The first glimpse is as unexpected and as exciting as it was to the long-ago travelers. Here it was that they spent a great day in sport, "Ringing the Wild Horse".

Grazing on the green on the right was a fine herd of wild horses, and likewise on the left, was a small herd of buffalo. Plans were completed by Irving and his friends for the "great hunting maneuver" and several horses were captured.

Now by all means, a stop is essential at the point just as the automobile descends into the flat, and from this vantage may be pointed out the location of each of the high moments of the ex-

citing day. To the school child of a century ago, this was one of the most famous spots in America. The chapter "Ringing the Wild Horse" from Irving's volume was reprinted many times in school readers and exercise books. Ringing the wild horses was glorious sport, but how peaceful and civilized by comparison the same fields of alfalfa appear now.

Upon resuming the journey, proceed straight south and across the North Canadian, and turn to the left at the first cross road. After a mile drive east, turn south again to the right. A drive south of two miles brings the traveler under the Frisco Railroad tracks, and onto the county pavement from Jones, in Oklahoma County. After a turn to the right, follow this road through Spencer and to N. E. 23rd Street, east of Oklahoma City. Irving camped for the evening of the 25th "in a valley, beside a scanty pool, under a scatter grove of elms, the upper branches of which were fringed with tufts of mystic mistletoe". This site is somewhere just north of Spencer, and yet today plenty of mistletoe remains to mark the general vicinity.

After reaching N. E. 23rd Street, proceed west for one-half mile and then turn left, to the south, on the paved county road leading to Midwest City. A mile south of N.E. 23rd Street is Crutcho Creek. Here on its banks, the party spent three days in their "foul weather encampment" so well described by Irving. Soon after they had camped for the afternoon of the 26th, a "drizzling rain ushered in the autumnal storm that had been brewing". Three nights were to elapse before the travelers were able to resume their march, and then only after a complete soaking and a thoroughly disagreeable experience.

About ten o'clock on the morning of the 29th, they resumed their march. More than likely they passed directly over the area of the great runways and buildings of Uncle Sam's Tinker Air Force Base. What an experience that would have been, if they could have in some fashion visualized what some day would be found at the point where they emerged "from the dreary belt of the Cross Timber."

Upon reaching Tinker Field at S. E. 29th Street, turn right and drive three miles west along the fine double lane highway. At Sunnyslane Cemetery, turn left to the south, and drive down Sunnyslane Road to its intersection with old U.S. 77, at Hollywood. The second bridge or culvert south of Hollywood crosses Little River. It was on Little River farther up stream to the northwest that the Irving party camped for the night of October 29th.

Our route passes east of Moore, but a turnoff seven miles south of S. E. 29th, for a two mile detour to Moore would permit a visit to the Washington Irving marker located at the northwest corner of First and Broadway Streets in Moore. If this

detour is made, old U.S. 77 may be utilized south to the Hollywood corner to rejoin the route.

The next day was destined to be an exciting one. It was spent by the travelers ranging all up and down the "Grand Prairie", as far south perhaps as Noble, hunting buffalo, without regard to distance or location. When evening came, it was discovered that young Count Pourtales was lost, necessitating an extra night at the same camp with hours spent in a search for Latrobe's friend. Fortunately, the next day a party of Rangers found the lost and frightened young Swiss, who had climbed into a tree and there had completely abandoned himself to his fate.

From the junction of U.S. 77 at Hollywood Corner, drive south two miles to the north corner of the Norman I.O.O.F. Cemetery, and there turn left, to the east, on Rock Creek Road. This route makes sure a close following of the Irving path, but precludes a visit to Norman. As at Stillwater, a detour is in order so that a visit may be possible to the campus of the University of Oklahoma.

If the turn to the east is made at the Norman cemetery corner, proceed east four miles, then turn right to the south and drive four miles to the modern, relocated State Highway 9; whereas if Norman is visited leave that City eastbound on State Highway 9.

East of Norman, State Highway 9 crosses Little River just below the dam of Lake Thunderbird. Somewhere along the south bank of Little River several miles west of the dam, at a spot now possibly inundated, Irving camped for the night of October 31st. After a buffalo hunt, and the Pourtales near disaster, it was decided to return to Fort Gibson as quickly as possible. More miles were traveled each day, the distances were greater, and there was seen little along the way that aroused the jaded interest of the weary travelers. Little River was forded early on the morning of November 1st, at a site perhaps now under water, and the route for the day lay almost directly east. State Highway 9 follows the trail closely and lies not more than a mile due south of the hurried trace made by Irving and his friends.

After crossing Little River (the location is identified by a large sign reading Norman Dam), a short detour is required for a visit to an Irving marker now almost forgotten. About 2.5 miles east of the dam, turn south. The turn is marked by a sign reading "City of Norman Maintenance Ends". There, drive south for a mile, turn right, and on the right, high on a cut is a shaft recalling that Irving once passed nearby.

Camp for the evening of November 1, 1832, was somewhere quite near Tecumseh. It was there, lying awake under the stars,

that Irving recalled "to mind the exquisite text of Job. 'Canst thou bind the secret influences of the Pleiades, or loose the bonds of Orion?' " State Highway 9 enters the then fearsome Cross Timbers between present Norman and Tecumseh. There the travelers noted with displeasure the point where they left the "Grand Prairie" and again traveled among the brambles and brush of the blackjacks.

Continue east on State Highway 9 to Earlsboro and then turn north, to the left, on State Highway 9-A, driving five miles to its intersection with State Highway 3. There turn right to the east and continue east for about seven miles on State Highway 99-A to its junction with Highway 99. Within a mile after the turn into State Highway 3, there is a slight jog to the left. This marks the old boundary between Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory. Considering the Seminoles as a Nation, this line in fact was an international boundary.

At the junction with State Highway 99, turn left to the north and continue across the North Canadian River. This is the river that Irving inadvertently refers to in his notes of November 2nd as "North Fork of the Arkansas". His camp for that night was on the south side of the river, near the junction of State Highways 99 and 99-A; and the traveler today has crossed his trace at least twice between Earlsboro and the North Canadian. The Rangers had difficulty in finding a good camping place, and it was late before a suitable site was selected.

After the North Canadian is crossed, proceed north for a mile and a half, stopping at the Keokuk Falls historical marker, seen on the right of the highway. One of Oklahoma's true ghost towns, this once thriving place was located in the extreme southeast corner of Oklahoma Territory, with the Creek Nation less than a mile to the east, and the Seminole Nation across the river to the south. Little remains to show for the many saloons and taverns that once made the place famous. A few yards south of the marker, enter the section line road to the east and drive two miles. Those wishing to make the visit to Keokuk Falls should turn right to the south at the two mile point, and in less than a mile the foundation stones, relics and some fine old trees mark the townsite.

The Irving Trail, however, turns left to the north at the two mile point, so we must return there from the townsite to resume the journey. A mile north Giles Cemetery is reached and there turn right. A few hundred yards to the east, the road jogs to the left; and this marks the line between the "Twin Territories" Oklahoma and Indian Territories, this time with the Creek Nation on the east side of the boundary. From the boundary, drive east on the graveled road for one and one-half miles, to the stop sign; then one mile north; then one mile east to the stop sign; and again one mile north; then turn right to the east, just

before an old iron bridge is reached. The creek is now crossed on a fine new county bridge. From the last turn, just south of the old iron bridge, drive east two miles; then drive almost two miles north to its junction with U.S. Highway 62. The highway has been relocated at this point and it is a little difficult to jog over onto the new right-of-way.

Irving and his party crossed the North Canadian on the morning of November 3rd somewhere near Keokuk Falls, and continued to march to the northeast, very close to our zig-zag route north and east from our North Canadian crossing. The Rangers made camp soon after noon that day, so they could use the afternoon for hunting, in hope of replenishing their depleted provisions. Their camp for that day was somewhere near where we came upon and entered U.S. 62, between Boley and Paden.

Upon reaching U.S. 62, turn right and continue east on this highway to its junction with State Highway 48, just west of Castle. There take State Highway 48 to the north for 3.4 miles, and turn right to the east at the section line road adjoining a fine school building. On the morning of November 4th, the Irving party traveled north and east, and their path came within a very short distance of the point where we turned east away from State Highway 48. After a turn, proceed two miles east to the stop sign; then one mile north; and then five miles east, through Morse to State Highway 56.

After this last turn to the right, and after a drive of one mile east, we come upon one of the finest vistas of the entire trip. Ahead is seen the "fine champaign country" mentioned by Irving as "a noble prospect, over extensive prairies, finely diversified by groves and tracts of woodland, and bounded by long lines of distant hills". A mile east from this view is the crossing of Buckeye Creek, and the driver should be careful to take the jog to the right and to cross the bridge, so as to keep on the section line road headed east. Turn left onto State Highway 56 at the Morse Baptist Church corner. This route from Boley to Morse keeps us very close to the line of march for November 4th, described by Irving as "a forced march of twenty-five miles, that had proved a hard trial to the horses".

Continue on State Highway 56 to Okmulgee. Four miles north of Morse, the highway turns east at Haydenville; and about three miles east of this turn is the crossing on Nuyaka Creek. It was probably on this creek, not more than a mile south of the highway, that the Ranger party made camp for the night of November 4th. For several hours after the camp site was selected, the stragglers continued to come in, with each looking more exhausted than ever before. A heavy rain was

experienced during the night and the "morning dawned cloudy and dismal".

Eight miles on State Highway 56 after the turn at Haydenville, is the historical marker for old Nuyaka Mission. The Mission was founded in 1882 through the efforts of Alice Robertson, later to be remembered as Oklahoma's first woman representative in Congress, and her sister, Augusta. One of the mission buildings remains, and a detour one mile north and a half-mile west from the site of the marker is worth the extra time.

Five miles east of the Nuyaka Mission corner, State Highway 56 bends and curves to make room for Lake Okmulgee, and a mile east of the lake is the crossing on Deep Fork. On the west side of Deep Fork, perhaps very near to the highway, the Rangers camped about four in the afternoon of November 5th, and there spent the night. The heavy rains that the group had experienced while weathering the storm on Crutcho Creek were now having their effect on the Deep Fork, and they found the stream very high and hard to cross. Stragglers continued to come up until late that evening; and the night "was cold and unruly".

By remaining in this camp until noon of the next day, the Rangers had time to hunt, and the extra time permitted the others to devise a means of crossing the river. A number of trees were felled, with hope that they would fall across the stream and make a bridge, but with little success. At last the travelers waded across on half submerged logs, with a good soaking as the reward for their efforts. Some of the horses were too weak to attempt the swollen stream, so a party of twelve soldiers was ordered to remain at the camp for their care. It was afternoon before the march was resumed on November 6th.

Continue through Okmulgee on Sixth Street and do not turn right with the highway at the stop sign. Our route passes directly by the old Creek Capitol Building, and a stop for a tour of the Indian Museum is worthwhile. Proceed directly east on Sixth Street from the Capitol Building and at the eastern edge of town the street offsets slightly to the left at Mission Street and there passes Okmulgee Technical College. From the college drive east on the old highway for five miles. At the intersection with State Highway 52, turn left, to the north. After entering State Highway 52, drive exactly four miles north, and then turn right, to the east. After the turn, proceed east five miles through Pumpkin Center; then north for one mile; then again turn east to the right, and continue east five miles; then north to the left for two miles; and then right again to the east, for two miles, until U.S. Highway 62 is reached.

The path of the hungry wayfarers in their haste to reach security and civilization has thus been followed closely. The stream at Pumpkin Center is Cane Creek, and perhaps is the one described by Irving as "one of the tributary streams of the

Arkansas" where the party camped for the night of November 6th "amidst the ruins of a stately grove that had been riven by a hurricane". Here was the hunger camp, and with their supplies even salt, exhausted, the frugal meal that evening was dismal. Breakfast the next morning consisted of turkey bones and a cup of black coffee.

After entering U.S. 62, travel north two miles and follow the highway as it turns east at Jamesville toward Muskogee. In the vicinity of Taft, Irving found hospitality in the frontier home of a settler named Bradley, whose wife produced, to the great delight of all, plenty of boiled beef and turnips. Only a hungry person could ever describe as Irving did the effect produced by the sight of hot food. After the hearty meal, Irving decided to push on to the Osage Agency at the Falls of the Verdigris, while most of the Rangers determined to remain at the Bradley place for the night of November 7th.

For today's trail, about four miles east of Taft, on U.S. 62, the Muskogee Cemetery is passed, and just east of the main gate, take the first section line road to the left, turning north. Being faithful to Irving and his route, we should not take unfair advantage by staying on the paved roads and thereby leave his trace afield. After a drive north two miles, turn right, to the east, and three and a half miles later is U.S. 69. Somewhere on the left as we drive east is the spot on the Arkansas River where Irving crossed the stream with the help of friendly Creek Indians. About a mile upstream from the present bridge was located a well known Indian ford, and it may have been at this point that Irving made his way over to the north bank.

Driving east and before we come to the juncture with U.S. 69, on the left is the fine wonderfully landscaped Susman residence. A short distance in the rear, and on the grounds of the premises, is the site where the Western Creek Agency was located from 1853 to 1876.

After crossing the Arkansas River on State Highway 69, drive north to the intersection with State Highway 51-B, and we are back again to the outward route. Five miles to the east is the Falls of the Verdigris, now the town of Okay. It is a thrill to be back to the point where the *Tour on the Prairies* had started. The route back to Okay, and from there to Fort Gibson, has already been traversed.

A trip that required a month for Irving, Ellsworth, Captain Bean and his Rangers and the others may now be accomplished in a day. The landmarks, the streams, the vistas, and even Irving's Castle, are all there. They are readily identified, and with a careful eye on the mileage indicator of the speedometer, the trail may be followed without mishap or difficulty. We should not be concerned too much if we cannot locate the exact site for

each day's camp, for chances are that if Irving or any of the others were in the car, they would be unable to guide the driver to each halt and the location of every stop. Those details are not too vital, but the really important thing is that upon the return to Fort Gibson, we have made the same circuit and have seen the same countryside, with its rolling prairies, wooded hills, the cast iron blackjacks and the "champaign country," as that seen and enjoyed by Irving and his comrades in the days before highways, motor cars and barbed wire.

The fact that Oklahoma's section lines run in squares requires the driver to make right angle turns and to zig-zag rather than to go straight across the country; but, it is safe to say, not counting the exact sites such as Bear's Glen and Irving's Castle, that the trail laid out here for today's traveler will cross and recross Irving's path, wherever its exact line may be, at least fifty times. That surely is sufficient; and will be considered good enough to know that you, too, have had your own *Tour on the Prairies*.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

NEW BOOK ON HISTORIC SITES OF THE
CIVIL WAR IN OKLAHOMA

Civil War Sites in Oklahoma, by Muriel H. Wright and LeRoy H. Fischer is available by order made to the Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma—73105—at \$1.75 per copy.

The significance of eighty-six historic sites concerning the Civil War in the Indian Territory (1861 to 1865) is given in this survey, twenty-nine of which are battle locations, and fifty-seven, war related. The arrangement of sites is alphabetical by Oklahoma counties, giving the land-call description and the nearest highway to the site. Description of the military action as well as of the Confederate and the Union troops in each battle is given. The essential historical setting on the non-combat war related sites, both before and after the Civil War is also provided.

The book is published in paper back, containing original compilation of materials, illustrations of original drawings and photographs, besides a complete bibliography of source references.

MISS ANNA LEWIS, TEACHER

OF ALEXANDER POSEY AT BACONE UNIVERSITY, 1889-1890

Two letters written by Alexander Posey, the noted "Creek Poet," in Oklahoma history, to his teacher, Miss Anna Lewis of Bacone Indian University, have been sent to the Editor of *The Chronicles*, by her brother, Mr. W. E. Lewis of Walla Walla, Washington.

A biographical sketch of Alexander Posey, by Doris Challacombe appears in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 41, pp. 1017-18. His father, Lewis H. Posey was of Scotch-Irish descent, born in 1841 in the Creek Nation, Indian Territory. He served as United States deputy peace officer at Fort Smith, Arkansas before his marriage to Pohas Harjo whose English name was Nancy Phillips. She was fifteen years old, a full blood Creek of the Wind Clan, and member of the Baptist Church. Her son, Alexander was born in her seventeenth year, near Eufaula on August 3, 1873. He became a well known political and educational leader living in the period when allotment of lands to members of the Five Civilized Tribes was being concluded preparatory to Oklahoma statehood in 1907. He is best remembered in history, however, as the greatest native poet in Oklahoma, the lines of his



(Original Photo from W. E. Lewis)

BACONE INDIAN UNIVERSITY,
A CLASS IN 1889-90

Miss Anna Lewis with book in hand, seated in first row. Tall boy standing in back row, Alexander Posey, age seventeen.

poem "To the Indian Meadow Lark" opening his biographical sketch in *Chronicles* (December, 1933):

"O! golden-breasted bird of dawn,
Through all the bleak days singing on
Till winter, wooed a captive by thy strain,
Breaks into smiles, and spring is come again."

Mr. W. E. Lewis sent some notes about his sister, Anna, along with the two letters from Alexander Posey. The first of these is from the original now in the Library collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society; the second letter is a copy of the original in the hands of Mr. Lewis. His notes and the two letters follow:

INNATE FAITH AND PHILOSOPHY OF AN
INDIAN BOY

When a young lad, the writer remembers the day when his older sister with missionary aspirations left the family circle to go to Bacone Indian University, Bacone, Indian Territory, both to pursue missionary courses herself and to teach the Indian students. These letters from an Indian student to Sister Anna—his teacher—expresses his loneliness on his return home, and his longing for the Christian fellowship of the school:

Eufaula, I.T.
6-19-90

Miss Anna Lewis
Dear Teacher:

I have reached home and while I am enjoying the meek zephyrs of summer will write you a letter. I never in life come so near crying when my sister began to play "Home Sweet Home". I thought it was but yesterday when I was with my schoolmates enjoying the closing day whose low descending sun seemed to weep as it sank out of sight behind Pacifics lone waves. Then again I thought of our last walk that we all took together to where we boarded the train for "home sweet home" another occasion like that may never come. But there must at last come a time in life when we have to part with the ones we love best, either by death or separation here on earth where sorrow forever predominates. There was only two that I dreaded to part from, and that was *you* and *Dale*. I wish you peace, happiness when you return home where you will be greeted. I have no news to tell you only my mother is sick but slowly recovering. I don't reckon I'll ever meet you at B.I.U. again, but I am going until I graduate, and when I accomplish that I will be at the height of my ambition in that serene atmosphere where fractions no longer trouble and with this I will close.

Always remember your naughty Indian friend.

A. L. Posey

Eufaula, I.T.
6-28-90

Miss Anna Lewis
Kind Friend:

I am glad to have the opportunity to answer your kind letter that I received and read with pleasure. As I seat myself near the window to write you these few lines a gentle breeze is blowing from the south, and the shady boughs of the forest trees wave to and fro in the scorching rays of

mid-summer sun, and everything seems in harmony with nature. Everything is so dull here that I hardly know what to do with myself. I have wished many times that I was back to B.I.U. I have seen several of my school mates since I returned, Sam Freeland, Sanders and Ossie Radford. I wish school would begin again for it seems more like home there than here.

I guess good many of us have parted to never again meet as school mates to laugh and play. When shall we meet again?

In God's presence where sorrow and woe is all unknown, where happiness dwells forever and ever. It can not be that earth is our only abiding place. It can not be that our life is a mere bubble cast up by eternity to float a moment on the waves and sink into nothingness. Else why is it that the glorious aspirations which leap like angels from the temple of our hearts are forever wandering unsatisfied?

Why is it that the stars that hold their festival around the midnight throne are set above the grasp of our limited facilities, forever mocking us with their unapproachable glory?

And finally why is it that bright forms of human beauty presented to our view are taken from us, leaving the thousand streams of our affections to flow back in Alpine torrents upon our hearts?

There is a realm where the rainbow never fades; and where the beautiful beings which pass before us like shadows will stay in our presence forever.

Excuse bad writing and oblige
Your Indian friend,

A. L. Posey

And how may we comment on the eloquence and philosophy of this Indian young man? His wisdom must have been God-given, for we would almost ask, "Could Solomon equal it?" With characteristic Indian Lore, he knows his adjectives. It is the warm and gentle south wind, the scorching midsummer sun, and yet he sees harmony: "glorious aspirations . . . leap like angels", our hearts are temples, the glory of stars, bright forms of human beauty—surely all must unite with their perfected harmony in God's eternal symphony. A family tradition says that Alexander Posey, met his death while crossing a swollen stream on horseback.¹ Anna Lewis attended Ewing (Ill.) College and later the Baptist Missionary Training School of Chicago, at which time illness grasped her frail form, and in 1896 she passed to her heavenly home.² "Just a small stone," she said, and on it the inscription, "My heavenly home is bright and fair; Nor pain nor death can enter there."

In Alexander Posey's letters, we find an eloquence, a philosophy and a faith which may well constitute a living monument and testimony to God's grace and wisdom; to His triumphant victory over death and the grave.

—E.B.L.

¹ Alexander Posey drowned in flood waters of the Canadian River on May 27, 1908.

² Miss Anna Lewis was a native of Litchfield, Illinois.

MEMORIAL TO
PEACE OFFICERS IN OKLAHOMA HISTORY

Mr. Joe W. McBride, Chairman of the Publications Committee of *The Chronicles*, gives the following report on historical research under the auspices of the Oklahoma Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association:

QUESTION IN SPECIAL RESEARCH

Do you know how many peace officers have given their lives in Oklahoma while in the performance of their duties? Is it 50? or 75 or is it 500? Would you believe 281?

No one knows for sure yet. But one man has been doing research on the subject for more than two years. O. K. Bivins, Executive Secretary of the Oklahoma Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association and himself a retired police officer, has been searching records, writing letters and interviewing old-timers in an effort to compile a complete list.

To date he has come up with the names of 281 officers who gave their lives while carrying out their oath to enforce the law. Bivins doesn't believe that he has all the names yet but he has exhausted about every source available.

No official records have been kept on this subject. He has delved into the files of the Oklahoma Historical Society, gone through the files of old newspapers, searched through books, written letters to Ft. Smith, Washington, and Ft. Worth, run down rumors, searched out relatives and queried police departments and sheriff's offices in his efforts to ferret out more information.

The search indicates that the first officer killed in Indian Territory was Deputy U.S. Marshal M. Erwin, who was killed from ambush near Ft. Gibson in 1858. From that date to statehood, 82 officers were killed in Indian Territory. They included Deputy U.S. Marshals, sheriffs, deputy sheriffs, Indian Police and Territorial Police.

From Statehood to date, Bivins has uncovered the names of 199 officers who died violently in the performance of their duties. They belonged to about every enforcement agency, i.e., sheriffs, city policemen, state troopers, deputy sheriffs, postal inspectors, deputy U.S. Marshals, railroad policemen, guards, wardens, and others.

In spite of the length of his laborious search, Bivins thinks that there are many officers who died in the performance of their duties whose names he has not found. He bases his belief on the fact that no official records have been kept and also on the many tenuous rumors which he cannot confirm.

For instance, several sources of information indicate that 65 deputy U.S. Marshals working out of the jurisdiction of the famous Judge Parker were killed. To date, the names of only

58 have been uncovered. Correspondence with U.S. Government Agencies has failed to turn up further names but the search persists to find the names of the remaining seven.

The work of identifying the names of these officers is not based on idle curiosity. There is a definite and very good reason to find every last name. The Oklahoma Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association and the Oklahoma chapters of the Fraternal Order of Police have committed themselves to build a lasting memorial to these men who died while bringing law and order to that part of the west now known as Oklahoma.

The idea was born when the Oklahoma Legislature authorized a permanent headquarters for the Oklahoma Department of Public Safety. Several members of the police profession felt that the site of this permanent headquarters would be an appropriate place to erect such a monument. They also believed that this should be carried out by law enforcement officers themselves.

The idea was enthusiastically received by Commissioner of Public Safety Bob Lester and later by the directors of both organizations. The two enforcement organizations have set aside a huge amount of money to build this monument.

The memorial has been designed by nationally known architect Audley Allison and will embrace a central granite shaft set in a garden with smaller monuments placed around it, each of which will bear the names of the officers who are being memorialized. Final costs will be borne by both organizations. Its character and beauty will be such that it will be a mark of distinction, reverence and inspiration.

Many interesting accounts have been written about these old-time officers but they are based on the exploits of a small group whose efforts caught the imaginations of current writers. But the vast rank and file, whose efforts were every bit as effective, are unknown. A man whose duties carried him through the vast expanse of sparsely settled territory was seldom available to the eastern writers who immortalized the few with whom they came into actual contact.

Little is therefore known about these pioneer officers who, without much pay, their horse for transportation, their rifle and pistol for protection and the sky for a roof, went into a semi-wilderness and captured some of the toughest, hardened criminals who ever trod this earth, and brought them to justice.

These men had one thing in common besides their courage a desire to bring civilization to this land and to make it secure for those citizens who wished to live their lives and bring up their families in a new land. The memorial is to demonstrate that the officers of today honor and remember and recognize the bond that ties them to these pioneer lawmen of yesterday.

The Oklahoma Historical Society is publishing this article in the hope that relatives or anyone else having informaton about these nearly forgotten men, will help to immortalize their names by furnishing this information to the Oklahoma Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association. Anyone having such information should communicate with The Oklahoma Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association, 808 Northeast 36th Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.

BOOK REVIEWS

Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe. By Noel M. Loomis and Abraham P. Nasatir. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1967. Pp. 569. \$8.95)

For one hundred and forty years, the name Pedro Vial (as a Frenchman, his real name was Pierre) and the story of his almost unbelievable travels were buried deep in the musty archives of Mexico City, of Havana, of Seville, of Madrid, and of Santa Fe. Until the story of his amazing exploits were brought to light, Vial was one of those forgotten men who earned their small niche in the infinite hall of fame by reason of their significant contributions to the growth of the continent and spread of Western civilization.

For at least two hundred years, Santa Fe's only direct connection with the rest of the world had been through Chihuahua, some six hundred miles to the south. There had been no other road. Vial however, remedied that situation emphatically by opening up three new roads that were direct routes from Santa Fe to the outside world—one to San Antonio in Texas, one to Natchitoches in Louisiana, and one to St. Louis in what is now Missouri.

For twenty years Pedro Vial traveled the wilderness around Santa Fe, San Antonio, Natchitoches, and St. Louis, seemingly at will. It was something of a feat to journey safely among Apache, Ute, Kiowa, Comanche, Kansas, Osage, Oto, Missouri, Iowa, Sioux, Arapaho, Pawnee, and other tribes known to be indefatigable gatherers of scalps—and not lose one's own hair.

The work of gathering the material of which this excellent book is compounded was done over a period of thirty-six years by Arbaham Nasatir. The search was made for materials relating to French and Spanish activities in the area west of the Mississippi River, especially in Spanish Illinois, in the Southwest and in California. Over the years he must have examined several million folios of ancient documents in dank and dark Spanish and Mexican libraries.

Mr. Noel Loomis had the tremendous task of arranging the material that resulted in this book and the job has been exceedingly well done.

Without a doubt, this book is a major contribution to the history of the Spanish southwest. The documented account of the travels of Pedro Vial will rank him with such frontiersmen as Manuel Lisa, Jedediah Smith, the Sublettes, and their like.

—Arthur Shoemaker

Hominy, Oklahoma

America's Western Frontiers. By John A. Hawgood. (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1967. Pp. 440. \$10.00)

The American West! Nothing occupies the unique place in the panorama of Western civilization as does the story, or to be more accurate—the stories, of its exploration and development. Of course, there lay the future greatness of the infant American Nation. Jefferson recognized its importance and its potential; and for the century following his administration, the westward advance of the American system became the cornerstone of the domestic policy of the United States. But the West was more than that. There “beyond the sunset, in the province of the American future” was something for everyone. Regardless of the individual, whether his interest be high adventure, exploration, hunting, mining, merchandising, or just plain fighting, there satisfaction and fulfillment was to be found.

Here is a new approach to the story and the history of Western development. This approach is refreshing and worthwhile. The author has given full cognizance to the realization that many divergent and independent forces were at work at the same time to make the West part of the heritage of the American people. By a separate chapter for each, full recognition has been given to the gold seekers, the trappers, the traders, the military, the farm seekers and the homesteaders. All have their separate story and each has been skillfully told.

The style is anything but pedantic and even the footnotes are fun to read. Of special interest is the circumstance that the Oklahoma land openings have been used as the “case study” on telling the story of the homesteaders.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The Wagonmasters. By Henry Pickering Walker, (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1966. Pp. 397. Illus. \$5.95)

The Wagonmasters is a history of the wagon freighting enterprise in the High Plains from the earliest days of the Santa Fe and Overland Trails until the railroads took over and made the occupation all but obsolete. We learn from penetrating descriptions about life on the trails and from tables and evidence gathered from original sources how freighting on the plains grew into a large business of great importance to the development of the West.

Large shipments of goods were brought to the Missouri River Valley towns by steamers and distributed by the wagon trains on the trails extending through vast stretches of the plains between New Mexico as far as Montana and Oregon. River towns owed much of their growth from the business of handling the

cargoes brought in by the steamers to be forwarded by the wagons and from the trade supplying the passing crews in draft animals, supplies and rations.

The Santa Fe Trail became an essential route of commerce before the migrations to Oregon and Salt Lake Valley in the 1840's. It opened up the Overland and convergent trails to be used to supply the needs of the increasing population in remote places. Many military posts, Indian agencies, mining camps and settlements depended on the wagon freighters for their provisions and supplies necessary for their subsistence.

The transporting of freight to the Mountain West was found to be more dependable and faster on land by the freight wagon trains than on the Missouri River by steamers. The river had been known only to the canoes and keelboats of the Indians, explorers, fur traders and trappers before the steamers attempted to proceed as far as Fort Benton, the head of navigation 3,175 miles upstream from St. Louis. The depth of the channels of the upper winding Missouri permitting navigation by steamers depended on the variable amounts of water the river received from rain and melting snow from the mountains, and the arrival of freight at the upper river ports was not assured and dependable.

Excepting in the mountainous regions, wagons also proved to be more economical and practical than pack animals which had been long in use. The comparison of the advantages and disadvantages in the use between mules, oxen and horses, and the operation and organization of the wagon trains is thoroughly examined. The wagonmaster had to be inured to difficulties, dangers and hardships. He had full responsibility of the wagon train and was expected to maintain discipline among the mule-skinners, bullwhackers and other members of the crew, and be prepared to defend the train. A train of less than the standard number of 26 wagons was held by experienced freighters risky and vulnerable in Indian country. Ordinarily immigrants were less experienced, and their convoys more poorly organized and conducted and suffered more losses from the Indians than the freighters.

For realism and substance the writers of the popular T.V. Westerns will find this volume a helpful reference.

The driving of the Golden Spike at Promontory Summit, Utah, May 10, 1869, linking the Union Pacific and Central Pacific as the first transcontinental railroad, marked the beginning of the end of the High Plains wagon-freighting business.

The publishers assert, "*The Wagonmasters* is the first comprehensive account of this colorful bygone industry and fills an obvious gap in Western history." Author Henry Pickering Walker has creditably filled the gap with this book.

—Frank F. Finney, Sr.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Civil War Chronicle—News of the Civil War! A History of the Civil War in modern newspaper style. By Lt. Col. John W. Keeler, United States Air Force. (Fireside Books, Sale Distributors, 10 South Brentwood, St. Louis, Missouri 63105. Pp. 126 (11 $\frac{1}{8}$ by 14 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.), 404 illustrations. Cloth \$13.50, Paper \$10.50)

The author, John Wells Keeler, is a jet pilot, a career officer in the United States Air Force. He is now in Viet Nam on his third war. *Civil War Chronicle* is his first book.

The book originally appeared as a weekly column "One Hundred Years Ago This Week" in air force newspapers during the Civil War Centennial.

In the foreword the author states: "This book will neither add to nor detract from the knowledge of the Civil War as previously recorded in thousands of volumes in the last 100 years. It is a surface report, a modern newspaper's coverage of the hundreds of great and not-so-great events of those four years, as they might be written by the war correspondent of today. It will not answer the 'Whys' or explain the errors of judgment. It will not defend or prosecute those who made mistakes, nor heap praise on those whose brilliance was shown.

"It is written for the tourist who might stand beside his battlefield guide on Little Round Top and hear how the Twentieth Maine had stood there and battled 'Law's Alabamans' with clubbed muskets. It is written for the eighth grader who has to make an oral report in his American History class. It is written for the buff walking through the plowed field near Shiloh Church looking for minie balls."

Colonel Keeler has accomplished a monumental task in assembling over 400 photographs and maps of events and battles of the War, together with over 125,000 words of vivid documentary. One will marvel at the intensity of action and feeling this unique style of historical "Journalism" imparts. From the first shots at Charleston to the final handshake at Appomattox you are there with the "Civil War Chronicles Correspondents."

Van Dorn: The Life and Times of a Confederate General. By Robert G. Hartje. (Vanderbilt University Press, 1966. Pp. 359. \$8.95)

Professor Robert G. Hartje, chairman of the history department at Wittenberg University in Springfield, Ohio, narrates the story of the life and times of Major Earl Van Dorn in detail. This volume should be a valuable addition to any library on the Civil War.

In May 1863, death took two of the Confederacy's highest ranking officers, at the peak of their careers, Lieut. General T. J.

"Stonewall" Jackson and Major General Earl Van Dorn. Both were West Pointers, Mexican war heroes and Civil War generals. The South honors the one, and the other is seldom mentioned.

Earl Van Dorn entered the Confederate army in 1861 heralded as one of the most promising young officers. Few men of his age had more military experience and prestige. His record in the Mexican war and on the border indicated that he possessed courage and leadership possibilities.

Van Dorn was in his element as commander of small units especially of cavalry, but failed on both occasions, Pea Ridge and Corinth, when commanding a sizeable force of all arms. He was a good officer, but he could not adjust well enough to changing situations to be called a great leader.

This study of Van Dorn reveals the shortcoming and weaknesses of character in his make-up that were factors in determining the outcome of the war in the west. Despite his faults he is still one of the most prominent figures in the history of the war in the Trans-Mississippi region, 1861 to 1863.

Of special interest to Oklahoma readers is the account of Van Dorn's attack on a Comanche camp a few miles east of the present town of Rush Springs, Oklahoma in the fall of 1858. Van Dorn, then a Captain, commanding a troop of the Second Cavalry, U.S.A., was severely wounded by arrows one of which passed entirely through his body.

Also of interest to Oklahomans is the relation of the development of the feud between Van Dorn and General Albert Pike, Commander of the Indian brigade at Pea Ridge. Pike was never included in the planning of the campaign and hardly treated as a general officer by his commander. In fact Van Dorn in his report to Richmond stated "The death of McCulloch and McIntosh and the capture of Hebert left me without an officer to command the right wing which was thrown into confusion." He criticized Pike for allowing his Indians to commit atrocities upon the "wounded prisoners and dead that fell into their hands." These two rebukes sorely distressed Pike, and Pike never forgave him.

General Van Dorn was assassinated at Spring Hill, Tennessee, May 7, 1863, by Dr. Peters who declared he killed Van Dorn for "violating the sanctity of his home." Van Dorn's friends and family claimed that Peters murdered the General for personal gain.

—J. Guy Fuller

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

NECROLOGY

JUDGE J. G. CLIFT

1882-1967

"Throughout his life and until the day of his death, Judge J. G. Clift had an unusual empathy for his fellow man and a consuming desire to learn of man's historical background."

This paragraph from a speech by former State Senator Harold T. Garvin of Duncan, sums up much of what could be said about Clift, Duncan, Oklahoma, attorney, public servant; historian and community leader who died June 10, 1967, at the age of eighty-five in a Dallas, Texas hospital.

Garvin, a fellow Duncan attorney, spoke in Clift's memory at a ceremony on June 19, 1967, in Memorial Park of Duncan dedicating a Chisholm Trail historical marker. The monument and the contents of a vault buried at its base were dedicated to Judge Clift, member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society since 1954.

Judge Clift was born three miles north of Lewisville, Arkansas, January 24, 1882. He originally was named Perry Jay Clift. He liked neither name and, before he was old enough to print his name, he changed it to J. G. Most of his friends called him either "J. G." or "Judge," the latter being a title of respect which he acquired many years before his death.

Shortly after his birth, his family moved to Grayson County, Texas, where he obtained his secondary education at Ethel, Texas. He received a Bachelor of Philosophy degree from Grayson College, Whitewright, Texas, which he attended three years. He attended the University of Texas one year and then went to the University of Missouri for four years, receiving his degree in law there.

He began his law practice at Waurika, Oklahoma, in Jefferson County and served as County Attorney there from 1912 to 1916. He then was appointed U.S. Probate Attorney at Sapulpa and Tulsa. After three years in this position, he resigned and came to Duncan in 1921.

He married Effie Whitelock in Wichita Falls, Texas in 1910. They had one child, Fanella, now the wife of Marvin Brummett, Vice President and Secretary of Halliburton Company of Duncan and Dallas. The Brummetts have two children, Mrs. Jay (Marla) Sinclair and Jay Clift Brummett.

During his school years, when his liking for history began to bloom, he worked at various menial jobs—picking cotton (he classified himself as a 500-pounds-a-day picker), clerking in a grocery store, working in a grain elevator, cotton gin and implement store, and peddling "The Home Doctor" in the Okarche area, in Oklahoma.

He was a charter member of the Duncan Elks Lodge, formed in 1912, the year he came to Duncan. He promoted and organized the Duncan Golf and Country Club. With the help of Perry Maxwell of Ardmore, noted Oklahoma golfer, the course was laid out and he and Maxwell played the first round of golf on it in June, 1922. They laid the course out with the help of Boy Scout Troop 5 in Duncan. Golf, of course, was an avocation, which he followed the rest of his life, but a great deal of his service to his fellow man came through his practice of law.

He was City Attorney of the City of Duncan for eleven years, and attorney for the Duncan School District since 1934. He specialized in handling bond issues for the school district and the City of Duncan. He prized most highly the success of the 1958 Duncan High School bond issue and the 1935 Lake Duncan issue. He also donated his services on land title work on all detention reservoirs on the upper phases of the sprawling Wildhorse Creek upstream flood control district; largest of its kind in the nation. When he died, he was Secretary of the Stephens County Elec-



JUDGE J. G. CLIFT

tion Board, a post he held briefly in the 1920's and to which he returned in 1952, serving there until his death.

For many years, Clift was active in the Duncan Chamber of Commerce, serving as President in 1928 and as chairman of various committees over a period of years. He was a member of Rotary International for thirty-seven years. His service to the Duncan Elks Lodge included the highest local lodge post of Exalted Ruler.

But of all the "loves" of his life, history ranked the highest in his later years. Soon after moving to Oklahoma, he began acquiring all the facts and lore he could about the Southwest, Oklahoma and, in particular, the south central area of the state. He wrote numerous articles of historical significance and made a number of contributions to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*.

At the time of his death, he was writing a series of articles for *The Duncan Banner*, Duncan, Oklahoma commemorating the centennial of the Chisholm Trail. His research and enthusiasm triggered the formation of the Stephens County Historical Society and its current plans to establish an historical museum in the new Stephens County Courthouse now under construction. "He not only knew history, loved history and taught history," Garvin said at the Chisholm Trail monument dedication in Duncan, "but he imparted a sense of its importance to all with whom he had contact." He was an active member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society for many years.

A few days after his death, the Chisholm Trail Kiwanis Club of Duncan honored him posthumously as 1967 Senior Citizen of the Year in Duncan. Plans for the honor had been made prior to his death. The award was accepted on behalf of the Clift family by Judge Otis James of Waurika, a friend and fellow historian. J. G. Clift left many abstract monuments of his own in a life dedicated to service down many avenues. All this serious endeavor was spiced liberally with his own brand of keen wit. He was a great spinner of anecdotes and teller of humorous yarns. This wit and sense of humor showed through much of his historical writing, lifting it from a mere retelling of facts into the realm of stories about living, active people who were involved in the early years of the history of this state and region.

As Garvin put it, "He (Clift) was not shy about imparting his knowledge. With the slightest encouragement, he would teach an interesting and humorous history lesson to all sundry in his office, at the courthouse, on the street, or in the locker room at the country club."

—Rex A. Hudson

The Duncan Banner
Duncan, Oklahoma

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

July 27, 1967

President Shirk called the quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society to order at 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, July 27, 1967. The meeting was held in the Board of Directors Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Those members present were: Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George Bowman, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Q. B. Boydston, Joe Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, W. D. Finney, Boh Foresman, Morton R. Harrison, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Joe McBride, W. E. McIntosh, R. G. Miller, Dr. James Morrison, R. M. Mountcastle, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, Earl Boyd Pierce, Genevieve Segar and George Shirk. Members absent were: Lou Allard, Robert A. Hefner and John Kirkpatrick.

Miss Seger made a motion that all those members absent be excused. Mr. Mountcastle seconded the motion, which carried.

The Administrative Secretary reported there were twenty-four new annual members to join the Society during the last quarter. He reported that numerous gifts had been received including a donation from the J. Phillip Boyle, Sr. estate of about three hundred books for the library. Mr. Curtis made a motion that all new members and gifts to the Society be accepted and approved. Miss Seger seconded the motion. The motion passed when put.

Mr. Fraker made a report on the Oklahoma Historical Society appropriation measure which passed the Legislature complete with an additional \$25,000 for Honey Springs.

Mr. Fraker reported that the Society has added four new members to its staff: Mrs. Jean Shakely, to work as mailing clerk; Mrs. Willa Doty, to assist in the library; Mrs. Martha Blaine to work in the museum; and Mr. Jim Fletcher, who will also work in the museum.

It was reported that money for repairs and improvements at Fort Washita, Old Chief's House, and the Sod House had been approved. Mr. Fraker also reported that Mr. Ed Peck was doing artwork and the State Board of Affairs' engineers are drawing up estimates for panels depicting the development of the alphabets of the world for the exhibit at Sequoyah's Home. It was further reported that the engineering department was making estimates for bids for improvements of the Old Chief's House and plans were being made to secure the Big Cabin battleground.

The Board was informed by Mr. Fraker that the Senate passed a resolution commending the Oklahoma Historical Society staff and authorizing an interim study committee to review the needs of the Oklahoma Historical Society in order to keep the library and museum open longer hours and extra days.

The presentation of a book written by the late Dr. Charles Evans, *Adventures In Education*, was made by Dr. E. W. Evans to President Shirk. Those attending the special presentation ceremonies were Emmitt Hudgens, Principal of Charles Evans School in Ardmore and Mrs. Reha Collins from Central State College at Edmond. A copy of the book was also presented to each member of the Board.

President Shirk informed the Board of the death of Judge Clift, which then paused in silent tribute to him. Mr. Mountcastle made a motion that the Publications Committee arrange for an appropriate article to appear in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* as a tribute to Judge Clift. Mr. Harrison seconded the motion which was passed by the Board.

In his report for the Microfilm Committee, Mr. Phillips stated that all work was on schedule. He informed the Board that on July 21, the Microfilm Department received its first mass order for film. The Pioneer-Multi-County Library had signed a contract to purchase \$2,000 worth of microfilm from the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mrs. Bowman handed out mimeographed copies of the financial state-

ments to all Board members. In her Treasurer's Report, she reviewed the financial statements and the Endowment Trust Fund report. Mr. McBride made a motion that the Treasurer's report be accepted. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion and it was adopted by the Board.

In the report for the Historic Sites Committee, Mr. McIntosh said that the abstract of title on the Koweta Mission site would be out soon and that work was progressing on the purchase of ten acres of the Tullahassee Mission site.

Reporting for the Publications Committee, Mr. McBride stated that the contract for the printing of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* had been set up and that the Administrative Secretary and the printing company had compiled a list of rules as to the schedule for the printing.

Dr. Morrison reported that recent high winds had taken out two trees at Fort Washita. He said that Mr. Merrick was interested in helping to finance the printing of a booklet to be sold at Fort Washita.

After much discussion of the subject, it was decided by the Board that Mr. Fraker should write to G. E. Norvell in Tulsa for verification of the fact that the remains of Senator Owen were put in a vault at Lynchburg, Virginia.

The Board of Directors received with appreciation a resolution from the Oklahoma City Civil War Round Table commending the Oklahoma Historical Society for its efforts in establishing Honey Springs Battlefield site.

A certificate from Wewoka, Oklahoma, was received and presented to the Board by President Shirk. This certificate commended the Oklahoma Historical Society for its cooperation last year in the Wewoka Centennial Celebration. Mr. McBride moved that the Board accept the commendation. Mr. Morrison seconded this motion which was passed by the Board.

Mr. Fisher Muldrow presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society a book entitled "Makers of Oklahoma" and a manuscript about Jesse Chisholm. These gifts came from Mr. and Mrs. Charles Standley, Jr., and Mr. and Mrs. Fred Reynolds, all of Norman.

It was moved by Mr. Phillips and seconded by Mr. Harrison that the Board request Mr. Shirk to bring to date and re-edit the booklet "Along the Washington Irving Trail in Oklahoma." This motion was passed by the Board.

Mr. Harrison moved that the budget for the Oklahoma Historical Society be approved and set into operation. Dr. Fischer seconded the motion. It was approved by the Board.

Mr. Shirk reported to the Board that Mr. E. K. Gaylord, of the Oklahoma Publishing Company, contacted him about an original camera that he would like to donate to the Oklahoma Historical Society on behalf of the Oklahoma Publishing Company. Mr. Phillips moved that Mr. Gaylord's donation be accepted and Miss Seger seconded the motion. It was passed unanimously.

Mr. H. Merle Woods was elected to fill the vacancy on the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society created by the death of Dr. Harhour.

Mr. Pierce moved that the Board note with pleasure the two new members of the Oklahoma Hall of Fame from the Board of Directors, who are Mr. H. Milt Phillips and Mr. Henry B. Bass. Mr. Finney seconded the motion and it was unanimously adopted.

Just for fun, a poll was taken to determine the average age of the Board. It turned out that the average age of the Board was sixty-seven.

Mr. Mountcastle moved that the meeting be adjourned. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion, which passed. The meeting was adjourned at 12:15.

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS RECEIVED IN SECOND QUARTER, 1967

LIBRARY:

"Genealogy and History of Warner Whipple Wortman, 1833-1922", compiled and written by Harry H. Wortman.

Donor: Harry H. Wortman, Oklahoma City.

The Liberty Collection, 1963, The Liberty Collection Group, 1608 North Argyle Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

Treasure of the Spanish Main, 1967.

Public Television—A Program for Action. The Report of the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, 1967.

Properties of the National Trust: 1967 Opening Arrangements and Notes on Properties Acquired Since 1966, Great Britain. The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest and Natural Beauty Newsletter, Spring 1967.

Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, 8th Annual Report, January 31, 1967, Washington, D. C.

Annual Report of the Secretary of Commerce on the United States Travel Service, 9th Program Report, U.S. Department of Commerce.

Public Utilities—Water and Sewer Department, Annual Report 1965-1966. *Proceedings of the Mid-America Conference on Urban Design*, 1966.

Preliminary Consideration for an Oklahoma City Junior College City, of Oklahoma City Planning Department, January 1966.

Thrust—Oklahoma City's Creative Thrust in Education, Oklahoma Christian College.

Oklahoma City Fire Department, Annual Report, 1966.

Citizenship Day and Constitution Week Bulletin, September 17, 1966.

Racial Isolation in the Public Schools—A Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967.

The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society—A Report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.

The Elephant Hotel—Its Architecture and History; Somers Historical Society, Somers, New York, 1962.

The 1966 Oklahoma City Police Annual Report, Oklahoma City.

Outdoor Oklahoma, March 1967.

Oklahoma City Chapter of the National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution Year Book, 1966-1967.

Oklahoma City Municipal Government Directory, October 1, 1966.

Directory and Register Rolls-Royce Owners' Club 1966-1967.

Soil and Water Conservation for Oklahoma Youth, Circular 651 of Extension Service of Oklahoma A. & M. College.

"Oklahoma City Honors Stanley Carlyle Draper, April 22, 1967."

Preliminary Report of the Study and Action Committee on Services and Facilities in Low Income Neighborhoods, June 15, 1967.

The Plan for Excellence—A Progress Report—the University of Oklahoma, 1967.

City Problems of 1940; The U.S. Conference of Mayors.

Task Force Report: The Police—The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justices, 1967.

The Bellmon Years—The Henry Bellmon Appreciation Day Committee, 1966.

Report to the Nation: National Youth Conference on Natural Beauty and Conservation, 1966.

Suspension and Revocation of Drivers' Licenses—A Comparative Study of State Laws, 1961 of Automotive Safety Foundation.

Oklahoma City Safety Council—Board Members' Handbook, 1959.

Photograph Album of Mayor Shirk's Trip to Athens, May 5, 1967.

Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Louisiana Society of the Colonial Dames of the XVII Century Lineage Book.

Donor: Oklahoma State Library, State Capitol Building, Oklahoma City.

The Story of Oklahoma City, 1921 by W. F. Kerr and Ina Gainer.

Oklahoma History South of the Canadian by Roy M. Johnson and John P. Gilday, 1921.

Donor: Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library, 5201 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.

Natural Advanced Geography, 1898 by Redway and Hinman.

Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Jim Wilkinson, 2519 N.W. 66th Street, Oklahoma City.

Wall Map of Oklahoma (6'x5'), 1917.

Donor: B. W. Jolly, Carnegie, Oklahoma.

Battleship OKLAHOMA Collection.

Donor: Robert J. McMahon, Tahoe Valley, California.

Memoirs of Ramona, Indian Territory, 1880, by Joe 5 Lee, 1967.

Donor: Joe 5 Lee, 201 Navada, Idaho Falls, Idaho.

Society of Colonial Wars, 1892-1967, Seventy-fifth Anniversary Edition.

Donor: Samuel B. Sturgis, M. D. Chairman, Publication Committee of General Society of Colonial Wars, 349 Wister Road, Wynnewood, Pennsylvania

"The Old Towles Cemetery, Greentop, Schuyler County, Missouri" by Frankie and Gerald Followwill, April 1967.

"Some Alabama Marriages: Clarke County 1814-1834 and Chambers County 1834-1847", a reprint from *The Alabama Genealogical Register*.

Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Gerald Followwill, 125 S.E. 57th, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Xeroxed reproductions of legal papers of Ezekiel "Zeke" Proctor of the Cherokee Nation.

Small photograph of Rev. Charles Journeycake, Chief of the Delawares.

Donor: E. H. Brewington, 116 Country Club Terrace, Midwest City, Oklahoma.

Thirtieth Biennial Report of the State Department of Education of Oklahoma, 1964.

Thirty-First Biennial Report of the State Department of Education of Oklahoma, 1966.

Oklahoma Educational Directory, 1964-65, Bulletin No. 109-N.

Oklahoma Educational Directory, 1966-1967, Bulletin No. 109-P.

School Laws of Oklahoma, 1965.

Donor: State Department of Education of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City.

Iron Men—A Saga of the Deputy U.S. Marshals of Indian Territory by C. H. McKennon, an autographed first edition.

Donor: O. K. Bivins, Oklahoma City.

Wall Map of the United States.

Donor: Philip L. Moseley, Tipton, Kansas.

Lineage Book One.

History & Lineage Book III. National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company.

Genealogical Data of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts, 1638-1774 by Maude Roberts Cowan.

Donor: Oklahoma Court of Assistants, Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company.

A Guide to the Archives—Manuscripts of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Compiled by Douglas Bakken.

Donor: Marvin F. Kivett, Director, Nebraska State Historical Society, 1500 R Street, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Ethnographic Notes on the Southwestern Pomo by E. W. Gifford, Anthropological Records, Vol. 25.

Donor: University of California, Berkeley, California.

Woods Mound Group: A Prehistoric Mound Complex in McCurtain County, Oklahoma by Don C. Wyckoff—Bulletin of the Oklahoma Anthropological Society, Vol. 15, March 1967.

The E. Johnson Site and Prehistory in Southeast Oklahoma, by Don C. Wyckoff—Archaeological Site Report No. 6, Oklahoma River Basin Survey, University of Oklahoma Research Institute, Norman, Oklahoma.

Donor: Oklahoma Anthropological Society, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Oklahoma, Norman.

The West, July 1967 containing "The Day the Squaws Cured the Medicine Man" by F. Horace Hughes.

Donor: F. Horace Hughes, Modesto, California.

Extensive Oklahoma-Oklahoma City collection of Publications, periodicals, clippings and school year books.

Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Harry Stallings, Oklahoma City.

Cemetery Map of Fort Reno, Oklahoma, May 16, 1946. Office of Post Engineer, Fort Reno Quarter Master Depot; Data Compiled by Lt. F. W. Foster QM, 5th Cavalry A.A. Q.M., October 25, 1891; drawn by G. A. Crowley, April 28, 1939.

Donor: Mrs. Earl Arnold, El Reno, Oklahoma.

The Shawnee Chief, Shawnee, Oklahoma for Friday June 28, 1895, Vol. I, No. 20.

A Little Hero (Child's early reader).

Donor: Mr. M. L. Atkinson, Oklahoma City.

Headband and Feather, February 1967.

Donor: Mrs. John Gossman, Arapaho, Oklahoma.

House Journal, Eleventh Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, 1927.

Donor: Granville Scanland, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

History of the United States Rubber Company by Glenn D. Babcock. Indiana Business Report No. 39, Bureau of Business Research, Graduate School of Business, Indiana University.

Donor: Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Swamp Fox of the Sulphur or Life and Times of Cullen Montgomery Baker by T. U. Taylor. Xeroxed copy of one of known original three copies of manuscript.

Donor: Jessie Muriel Teel Cooter (Mrs. M. S. Cooter), great-great granddaughter of Cullen M. Baker, of Oklahoma City.

UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY BOOKS FROM OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY CONFEDERATE ROOM TRANSFERRED TO RESEARCH LIBRARY—June 9, 1967.

Children of the Confederacy—Vols. 1-8 and special *File-Index*. (9 books)

The South in the Building of the Nation—The Southern Historical Publication Society, Vols. 1-13, Richmond, Virginia; complete set of 13 books.

The South in the Building of the Nation—The Southern Historical Publication Society, Richmond, Virginia, Vols. 3-9 only of 13 vol. set. (7 books)

Confederate Veteran (bound magazine series) 1893-1932, S. A. Cunningham, Editor, Nashville, Tennessee, Vols. 1-40. (40 books)

Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion—Series I, Vols. 16, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26—not complete. (6 books)

Library of Southern Literature, Alderman and Harris, The Martin and Hoyt Co, Atlanta, Georgia; Vols. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17—not complete. (6 books)

Confederate Military History edited by Gen. Clement A. Evans of Georgia, 1899, Vols. 1-13. (13 books)

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Donor: Mrs. J. Philip Boyle, Sr., 405 Northwest 22, Oklahoma City.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION

Records from Indian Claims Commission:

Creek Nation v. U.S., Docket No. 21: Order allowing reimbursement of Attorney Expenses; Order allowing certain attorney expenses.

Emigrant New York Indians, et al. v. U.S., Docket No. 75: Order allowing Attorney Fees.

Snohomish Tribe v. U.S., Docket No. 125: Additional Findings of fact; Findings of Fact on Petition for allowance of Attorney Fees and reimbursable Expenses; Order allowing Attorney fees and reimbursable expenses; Final Judgment; Opinion.

Nez Perce Tribe v. U.S., Docket No. 175: Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order; Opinion.

Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of Flathead Reservation vs. U.S., Docket No. 61: Order Allowing attorneys' fees; Findings of Fact on Award of Attorneys' fees.

Kickapoo Tribe of Kansas and Oklahoma v. U.S. Docket No. 145: Order allowing Attorney fees and attorneys' reimbursable expenses.

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Donor: Indian Claims Commission.

Two (2) negatives: Indian Meridian Monument 10 mi. W. of Stillwater; Affidavit of April 16, 1894 of Sidney L. Osborn re Cherokee Outlet Opening.

Donor: Berlin B. Chapman.

Roll of Citizen Band of Potawatomi Indians of Oklahoma, May 10, 1967.

Donor: Anadarko Area Office, Anadarko, Okla.

Kingsbury (Cyrus) Genealogy, compiled by Arthur Murray Kingsbury.

Donor: Mrs. Hobart Chambers, Clearwater, Kansas.

Pea Ridge Graphic, May 4, 1967.

Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Earle Jines.

Program "Unveiling of a Portrait of Robert S. Kerr"

Donor: Elbert Costner.

The Oklahoma City Indian News, May 7 and May 21, 1967.

Donor: Will T. Nelson and Carol Rachlin.

Brochure: "Indians of the Great Lakes Area"

Cherokee Tribe of Okla. v. State of Okla., Civil No. 6219: Memorandum Brief of Plaintiff.

Letter of May 24, 1967, re: Jack C. Robertson's appointment as Acting Director of Indian Health Area Office, Oklahoma City.

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Brochure: "American Indian Industrial Development"

Acceptance of the Statue of Will Rogers, published 1939.

Highlights of Program Activities, Dept. of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Year 1966.

Six (6) Reports of meetings of Inter-tribal Council, Five Civilized Tribes, held at Bacone College, Jan. 8, 1964; at Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, April 8, 1964; at Lake Texoma Lodge, July 8, 1964; at Western Hills Lodge, Oct. 14, 1964; at Tahlequah, Okla., Jan. 13, 1965; at Arrowhead Lodge, Oct. 13, 1965.

Letter of Aug. 16, 1965 from Benj. E. McBrayer, M.D., Indian Health Area Director, to B. Frank Belvin, re: Indian health.

Memorial Services William Grady Stigler, published 1953.

Photocopies of documents re: proposed "Indian Resources Development Act 1967".

"Cherokee Payments due New Court Test" newspaper clipping, May 24, 1967.

"Prominent Cherokee Minister dead at 83", newspaper clipping, May 18, 1967.

The Papoose of Murrow Home, Spring 1967.

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Program "Dedication Ceremonies Cherokee Village 1700 A.D., at Park Hill, Okla., June 24, 1967.

Report of Cherokee Executive Committee meeting held Bartlesville, Okla., May 10, 1967.

Letter from Virgil Harrington, Area Director, Muskogee Area Office, re: employment Ralph F. Keene as Business Manager Cherokee Tribal enterprises.

"Recommended Cherokee Tribal Budget for fiscal year 1968"

News Bulletin re: Sidney M. Carney's appointment as Director Anadarko Area Office.

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Oklahoma Genealogical Society Quarterly, Sept. & Dec. 1966.

Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society

MUSEUM

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Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour

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Surveying Party

Irma Owens Collins Eleven pictures

Belle Isle Park—2 views

Mary Sill Owens

Benjamin Franklin Owens (tin type)

Arthur & Irma Owens and group

Mr. & Mrs. Ben. F. Owens & children

Henry W. Collins Sr.

Irma Owens Collins and her students—2 pictures

Benjamin Franklin Owens

Mrs. Benjamin Franklin Owens

B. F. Owens—3 pictures

Irma Owens & May Gitty

Irma Owens & Rose McQueen with group

Group on horseback
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 Group "The Country Choir"
 B. F. & Mary Sill Owens
 Owens Family Group
 Mr. & Mrs. Sill

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Photograph Album (Union Army Officers, etc.) owned by Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn

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Inauguration of Governor C. N. Haskell
 Constitutional Convention

Donor: Nell Rogers, Tulsa, Oklahoma

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U.S.S. Oklahoma—5 pictures

U.S.S. Enterprise

U.S.S. Milwaukee

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Fleet maneuvers, April 1940

Bob (R. J.) McMahon, Apprentice Seaman, U.S.S. Oklahoma

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Chief Bat Shunatona and wife

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Ruins of Mekusukey, Seminole Indian School

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Wagon and Horses, exhibit in Museum

Comanche Shield

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Green Corn Dance Monument

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3 State Marker

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Monument to Cowboys killed by Indians

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Post Office at Lenton, Indian Territory and group of people

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Arrival of First Train at Guthrie

4000 Wagons Crossing Salt Fork River on Railroad Bridge

Voting for First Mayor at Guthrie

Staking lots at Guthrie, April 22, 1889

East Guthrie, May 22, 1889

Camp of Men Waiting to Make Run

Donor: Mrs. S. G. Ryan, Okemah, Oklahoma

Chilocco Indian School—21 pictures

Arapaho School at Anadarko 1891

Herd of Cattle

Brochure, pictures of Chilocco Indian School

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Dugout

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EXHIBITS :

Grade Card, Emerson School, Oklahoma City, 1897

Diploma, Oklahoma City High School, June 1904

50th Anniversary Certificate of Y.W.C.A. Membership of Mrs. H. C. Collins

The Student Annual of Oklahoma City High School, May 1905

Fashion Sheet, "Standard Fashions" May 1896

Spectacles, square lens, adjustable ear pieces, metal case

Spectacles, nose glasses with chain and ear hook

Baby Shoes, button, brown trimmed with patent leather

Souvenir Badge, Street Fair, Oklahoma City, October 10-15, 1898

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Flag from the Battleship Oklahoma

Flag Streamers from the Battleship Oklahoma

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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 Publications Committee.

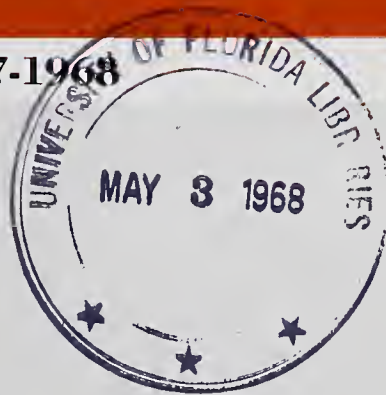
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The **CHRONICLES** *of* **OKLAHOMA**

Winter, 1967-1968



DISPLAY



THE OLD POSEY RANCH AT BALL MOUNTAIN,
CREEK NATION

Volume XLV

Number 4

Published Quarterly by the
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Organized by Oklahoma Press Association, May 27, 1893

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COVER: Scene of the L. H. Posey Ranch, Creek Nation, childhood home of Alex Posey in early 1880's at Bald (or Ball) Mountain, in McIntosh County (site Sec. 17, T 10 N, R 15 E). See reference "The Journal" of Alexander Posey, the Creek poet, in this issue of *The Chronicles*.

CAROLYN THOMAS FOREMAN

By J. Stanley Clark*

Martin W. Wiesendanger, in a bibliography of the Foremans published in 1948, wrote, "Carolyn Thomas Foreman's books and articles, together with Grant Foreman's works, present an inseparable whole; one can not be evaluated except in terms of the other. This unity has made possible the unmistakably great contribution to the sum total of knowledge." They worked as a team to collate evidence of Oklahoma's rich heritage and to record their findings.

Dr. Foreman proclaimed this teamwork, their mutual interest in dedicated research. His first book, *Pioneer Days in the Southwest*, published in 1926, is dedicated "To Carolyn." A book published twenty years later, *The Last Trek of the Indian*, bears the dedication "To Carolyn." He spells out her share in their partnership in the preface to *Indians and Pioneers*, published in 1930, when he wrote these gracious words:

"More than all, I am indebted to the patient, unremitting, and intelligent assistance of my wife, Carolyn Thomas Foreman, who has shared with me the search into all the archives and libraries explored whether fruitful or not, and who has labored long hours in making notes and extracts from the manuscripts used. And it was she who translated into English all the French accounts in books, newspapers, journals and manuscripts that have been drawn upon in writing this book."

Carolyn was born in Metropolis, Illinois, October 18, 1872, the daughter of John R. Thomas, an attorney, and Lottie Culver (Thomas). She was the eldest of three children, one of whom died in early childhood. Her formal education was completed in private schools in Washington, D. C. and at Monticello Seminary, Godfrey, Illinois, supplemented by a year in Europe with tutors. Carolyn's first published article, written under the

* Dr. J. Stanley Clark was the author of the article on Dr. Grant Foreman, published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 226-242 (1953). Dr. Clark gratefully acknowledges the generous assistance in the preparation of this article on Carolyn Thomas Foreman, extended by Mrs. Rella Looney of the Oklahoma Historical Society staff; Mrs. Nettie Wheeler and Mrs. Frances Rosser Brown, Muskogee; and Mrs. Hughberta Neergard, Crozat, Virginia, niece of Mrs. Foreman.

A most perceptive article on the Foremans, written by Mrs. J. O. Mitsch, Tulsa, Oklahoma was inserted in the *Congressional Record* issue of July 20, 1961, by the Honorable Carl Albert. The article also appears in the *Congressional Record* of March 1, 1967, with appropriate remarks by Congressman Albert. A moving tribute on Mrs. Foreman's accomplishments was written by Bob Martidale, *The Phoenix* News Editor, as page 1 feature, *The Muskogee Sunday Phoenix and Times-Democrat*, February 10, 1967.



(Oklahoma Historical Society)

CAROLYN THOMAS FOREMAN

pseudonym "Violet," appeared in a Boston church publication *Every Other Sunday* June 8, 1890. This was a short story, titled "Flora's Fairy Mill" and written in the style of the period for teen-age girls.

She cherished a closer than usual daughter-father relationship which continued to her father's untimely death in 1914. The relationship strengthened upon the death of her mother in 1880, was unmarred by her father's second marriage in 1884, and withstood the shock of his divorce some twenty-five years later. Judge Thomas was an exemplary public figure who interpreted to his children his feelings and aspirations for the public good. He represented his Illinois district in the National House of Representatives 1879 to 1889 and rendered distinguished service as a member, and later as chairman, of the House Committee on Naval Affairs. For a generation thereafter he was affectionately referred to by those who knew the Washington scene as the father of the modern navy.

Judge Thomas moved with his family to Muskogee immediately after his appointment on June 7, 1897 as Special Judge, Indian Territory. At that time Muskogee was an unincorporated town, without utilities and with fewer than 3,500 inhabitants. The family lived in a boarding house during the first year, but early in 1898 the newly constructed home of Judge Thomas located on a hill far beyond the town's limit was ready for occupancy. This house was recognized by a later generation as the home of the Foremans at 1419 West Okmulgee Avenue, and it was here that Carolyn died on February 18, 1967.

When her father transferred his interests to the tasks confronting him in Indian Territory, Carolyn likewise became involved with the people and the region. In the spring of 1898 Judge Thomas was designated by the Administration to assist in obtaining volunteers in Indian Territory for a regiment, the Rough Riders. Carolyn witnessed the departure of her brother, John Robert, to San Antonio for training with the group before embarkation for Cuba. She was chosen Sponsor by the recruits and their oath of induction was administered at Muskogee by her father before they entrained. (Fifty years later when a granite marker was placed at the spot in 1948, Mrs. Foreman unveiled the memorial tablet.)

Carolyn was enthralled by the excitement of the times as she experienced history in the making. Muskogee was a seed-bed for this interest: a city to be incorporated and developed, a state to be built, and Indians to be guided to a new and different citizen status as their tribal governments were terminated through the work of the Dawes Commission. At the same time she fell

in love with Nature's wonderland of Indian Territory and grew knowledgeable on its trees, shrubs, flowers and birds. All these interests led her to make a life-long study of the heritage of the region and its people. Practically all her contributions to the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, beginning with an article in the September, 1927 issue, were about men and women and events of Indian Territory, preponderately on those of the Cherokee and Creek Nations.

Into Judge Thomas' home came leaders of an epoch: tribal stalwarts, chiefs and governors, legislators, school superintendents, and agents of the federal government. Congressmen, too, who visited the Territory for first-hand knowledge from committee hearings, called at the home of Judge Thomas whom they respected for his knowledge and judgment. Other callers were members and representatives of the Dawes Commission. Here Carolyn met the serious-minded young Illinois lawyer, Grant Foreman, an employee of the Commission, who was already developing an interest in the heritage of the Indians. After Judge Thomas entered into private practice, he took this young man into his law firm as a junior partner in 1903. Foreman's visits to the home became more than occasional: Carolyn had become the center of his attention. They were married July 26, 1905 with the Reverend A. Grant Evans, President of Henry Kendall College, officiating, and they became an inseparable husband-wife team until Dr. Foreman's death April 21, 1953.

The young lawyer and his bride made an extended trip to Western Europe. Reflecting his interest in his adopted community, he gathered data on the economic importance of European waterways, and upon their return presented an analytical report on his findings to civic leaders. Thus he became Muskogee's strongest proponent of the period for Arkansas River navigation.

Mrs. Foreman, likewise, was active in community affairs. When the Muskogee General Hospital became operative in 1909, she served as a member of its Board of Women Managers for a number of years. Her interest in the hospital led to greater activity during World War I. After the country entered the war in April of 1917, the Foremans paid their expenses to Washington in order to learn about local Red Cross activities in support of the war effort. Upon her return, as Director of Women's Work of the Muskogee County Chapter of the American Red Cross, she organized units and instructed surgical dressing classes in Muskogee and nearby communities. Quotas were exceeded. Muskogee was a center through which troop trains passed to and from training camps. It became known as the place where Red Cross women greeted all trains with hot soup, coffee and dough-

nuts. Mrs. Foreman drove herself tirelessly; this was the busiest time of her life in community work.

When Grant Foreman retired from the active practice of law after World War I, the Foremans devoted their time to serious research and writing. They liked to travel; they visited Europe several times and made two trips around the world. Quite often extended absences from home were in the interest of research. Once she remarked that they had transcribed notes in one hundred thirteen libraries of this and other countries. How fortunate for us that these two pooled their talents and resources to examine government documents, missionary reports, diaries, unpublished manuscripts, and old newspapers, assembled data on Indian Territory, and prepared articles pertaining to the region and its people!

Wherever they travelled they observed the life and conditions of people away from the usual tourist haunts. They shared their observations with Muskogee-area residents through letters by Dr. Foreman published in the *Muskogee Phoenix*. On their last trip to India they talked at length with Mahatma Ghandi who knew of their research on the Indians of this country.

It is easy to make the assertion that Dr. and Mrs. Foreman were a team in mining source data on the region and fusing it into readable accounts for public use. This is common knowledge, easily corroborated by an examination of their published works, recognized for all Oklahomans by the faculty of the University of Oklahoma in 1943 when it proclaimed "deep appreciation of Grant Foreman and his wife and co-worker, Carolyn Thomas Foreman, for their research and writing in Oklahoma and Southwestern history over a period of more than 35 years."

It is more difficult to be so positive about her influence on him in promoting projects which redounded to the credit of the Historical Society. Their threads of interest on matters historical were so interwoven, so tightly knit, that it is impossible to separate one from the other.

In the article on Grant Foreman which appeared in the Autumn, 1953 issue of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, mention was made of his many contributions to the Society as a member of the Board of Directors. He would insist that she share this credit. Indeed, the Board of Directors of the Society, recognizing her many contributions, made her an honorary member at its annual meeting on April 23, 1959.

Mrs. Foreman's idea was followed in setting up the WPA project to index by subject matter all newspapers on file in the Society from the earliest issues of territorial days through 1936.

She had recently completed seven years of research for her first book, *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835-1907*, a history of printing in Oklahoma before statehood. She did time-consuming research in the Library of Congress and other out-of-state libraries, but a considerable portion of her work took place in the collection of the Historical Society. Her suggestion for the index project, presented to the Board of Directors by Dr. Foreman, was adopted. The more than one million three-by-five subject-matter index cards on file in the Newspaper Room of the Society have been responsible for time-saving research.

She also conceived the idea for the Indian-Pioneer History project, undertaken with WPA assistance in 1937. One Sunday afternoon in May of 1936 while picnicking in a pasture near the old military road from Ft. Smith to Ft. Gibson, Carolyn Foreman talked of the need to preserve reminiscences of pioneers, to uncover old diaries, letters and manuscripts, to locate family cemeteries as well as to mark distant trails and landmarks of yesteryear. Her suggestion reached fruition through the interest of Dr. M. L. Wardell of the University of Oklahoma, and Dr. E. E. Dale and other members of the Board of Directors of the Historical Society. When the project was completed, some ninety bound volumes, each with more than three hundred typewritten pages, were placed with the University of Oklahoma and the Historical Society. The late Kenneth Kaufman, long-time editor of the literary page of *The Sunday Oklahoman*, described the collection as an outstanding contribution of folkway, the social and economic history of pioneer Oklahoma.

Mrs. Foreman's greatest recognized literary achievement came with publication by the University of Oklahoma Press in 1943 of her second book, *Indians Abroad*. Research for the book was done in libraries of this country, and the archives and libraries in Mexico City, Madrid, Paris, Brussels, and London. She possessed a command of the French language, and became equally facile in the use of Spanish, partially as a result of the many summers she and Dr. Foreman spent in Mexico City. *Indians Abroad*, published during World War II, was selected by the Office of War Information as one of the volumes to be placed in overseas libraries accessible to our military forces. A second printing of eighty thousand copies was made for this purpose.

Books and articles by Mrs. Foreman were remarkably factual in content and explored a subject in depth. Sometimes prolix and uneven in presentation of the subject matter — even repetitious at times — she nevertheless presented an exhaustive study, making thereby a valuable contribution on the history of

men and events. A recent random sampling of master's theses pertaining to Oklahoma history on file at our state's two senior universities revealed few that did not list the Foremans in bibliographies. Several, obviously, were the elaboration of footnotes appearing in their published works.

As recognition came to the Foremans, their home attracted out-of-state scholars, nationally-known writers, as well as student candidates for degrees in the field of Southwestern history. They were unfailingly gracious in sharing their knowledge with those who shared their interests in researching facts on Oklahoma. After the death of her husband, Mrs. Foreman sustained herself with interest in research. She contributed more than twenty articles to the *Chronicles* during this period, was author of one book and co-author of another, and arranged for the republication of two of Dr. Foreman's books.

She received the annual award in 1959 from the American Association for State and Local History as the individual "contributing most significantly to the understanding and development of local history in the south central region of the United States." She held membership in the National Society of Magna Charta Dames, and recognition for her writings brought membership in the nationally-recognized Pen and Brush Club and the Eugene Field Club. She was inducted into the Oklahoma Hall of Fame November 16, 1938.

Mrs. Foreman was an honorary member of the Muskogee Women's Forum, an Oklahoma Federated Woman's Club; Delta Kappa Gamma, Epsilon Chapter; and the Pilot Club of Muskogee. In 1960 a local honor she considered distinctive was bestowed upon her and a long-time friend, Mrs. Frances Rosser Brown, active in the establishment of the Five Tribes Museum, Muskogee. They were made members of the Da-Co-Tah Indian Club, Muskogee, the only members of non-Indian lineage.

The Foremans loved books and periodicals. Bookshelves lined the walls, overflowing into the hallway, and in the study were cabinets filled with the notes transcribed from archival and library sources. To these, they could give their undivided attention. Thomas J. Pressley, member of the household during the last thirty-six years of Mrs. Foreman's life, efficiently relieved her of the daily tedium associated with home management.

Grant and Carolyn Foreman had no children of their own, but young children never entered the home without being captivated by the pull and cuddly toys Mrs. Foreman kept for their amusement. And, through the years, rarely a week passed that

young ladies of the community did not call upon her to chat about school and college plans. They felt impelled to share their fascinating world with her. She was a source of encouragement to young men and women of Indian descent, a heritage from an association formed in territorial days with the Indian Rights Association and nurtured by intimate contact with Indians and their problems.

It was only natural that the Foreman home reflected her interest in travel and the culture of other nations. Statuary and wood carvings, old brass, paintings and prints, weaving, batik, chinaware, and a fine bell collection contributed to making theirs a home of distinction. Mrs. Foreman appreciated art in many forms. Nettie Wheeler, her friend through the Muskogee years, recently commented on this: "Carolyn had seen and studied the great art of the world and her opinion was important. And when the first small paintings by American Indians appeared, she highly approved of this new form of expression. She understood Oriental art; she saw the relationship. When Acee Blue Eagle was still a young student at Bacone, she purchased one of his first paintings and proudly hung it in the study. Too, she helped Willard Stone, the famous wood carver. Willard, whom Dr. Foreman discovered, was a protege of hers. It was Carolyn who persuaded Tom Gilcrease of Tulsa to grant a scholarship to Willard when he first began his carving. This scholarship lasted two years and the magnificent Willard Stone collection of wood carvings in the Gilcrease Museum is a result. Her interest in Indian art continued, and even in her nineties she was one of the first to recognize the great talent of the young fullblood Indian, Jerome Tiger. She purchased the painting, "Seminole," one of his first, and presented it to the Grant Foreman Public School, Muskogee."

Anyone who attempts to measure the stature of this generous-spirited and public-minded woman can do no better than recall John Donne's undated words, "No man is an island entire of itself." Our mighty nation was still a vast wilderness more than three hundred years ago when that prescient Englishman wrote "Any man's death diminishes me because I am a part of mankind." Carolyn Thomas Foreman, chief contributor to the *Chronicles*, author of six books, co-author of another, all relating to the region and the people she loved, community worker, scholar, and always young in spirit, has added stature to all Oklahomans.

PATRICK J. HURLEY AND AMERICAN POLICY
TOWARD CHINA, 1944-1945

With Annotations and Introduction

By Russell D. Buhite*

INTRODUCTION

Born in southeastern Oklahoma to parents of Irish descent, Patrick J. Hurley had an interesting career. He grew up with Choctaw Indians and coal miners. What formal education he had, he received at Indian schools in Oklahoma and later at National University Law School in Washington, D. C., where he took a Bachelor of Laws degree in 1908. He became a lawyer in his home state, gained considerable wealth, and dabbled in politics. During World War I, he served first in the judge advocate general's department in Washington and then later on the staff of General Ernest Hines in France. In the late twenties, he became a prominent Republican in Oklahoma and during the Hoover administration became Secretary of War. Since he held the rank of colonel in the reserves, when the United States entered the war in 1941, Hurley became a brigadier general and served first as a liaison officer between General Douglas MacArthur in Australia and officials in Washington. He then became a kind of roving emissary for President Roosevelt, serving in various quarters, and in 1944 was called upon to go to China to mitigate the differences between Chiang Kai-shek and Chief of Staff of Chiang's army, General Joseph Stilwell and to help reverse the deteriorating political and military situation there. In 1944, Hurley was appointed United States Ambassador to China.

A self-made man and professed individualist blessed with considerable intellectual talent, Hurley early displayed a driving ambition to succeed. He hoped to live down his meager beginnings and to compensate for his feelings of inferiority about the part of the country from which he came. He did so to a remarkable extent; and his was indeed the fabled "rags to riches" story. He was physically attractive, exceedingly gregarious, a colossal egotist, and tremendously vain. Accompanying his vanity and ego was an all-consuming pride which would

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not allow him to admit failure or defeat. Thus, when he did not succeed in bringing unity in China, he found it impossible to accept his "failure" and he sought scapegoats.

Hurley served as Ambassador to China until the fall of 1945 when he resigned in a huff, charging that certain foreign service officers had been undermining American policy and had prevented his securing agreement between Chinese Nationalists and Communists. The officers on their part believed that the United States should have attempted closer cooperation with the Communists during the last year of the war, in part because they believed that force to be the chief opponent to Japan within China and, in part, because they believed that Chiang Kai-shek did not have widespread support. Hurley was willing to work with the Communists but refused to do anything that would imply that he was not working for unity within China through the Chiang government. In late 1945, fighting broke out between Communists and Nationalists, the Communists ultimately achieving power in 1949.

Immediately after resigning, Hurley continued hurling wild and irresponsible charges which suggested that a pro-communist conspiracy within the State Department had caused the failure in United States policy. He made several appearances before Congressional investigating committees in the post-war era and carried on a brisk correspondence reiterating his view. He also made the matter an issue in his campaigns for the United States Senate from New Mexico in 1946 and 1948. The following letter (exact copy) to his friend, former President Hoover is an accurate expression of his position.

—Russell D. Buhite

EX-PRESIDENT HOOVER'S INQUIRY

The Waldorf-Astoria Towers
New York 22, New York
December 27, 1949

My dear Pat:

In preparing some material for the use of our friends in the China matter, I have been going over the "White Book." I am wondering if you could help me out on the following points:

On page 66 or 67 of the above are two partial cables given from Roosevelt to Chiang. Do you have a copy of the full cables that I could see? Or do you recollect to what the suppressed parts referred?

The well-known names of Algernon Hiss, Owen Lattimore, John Stewart Service and John Carter Vincent appear in documentation. The names of John P. Davies and Raymond Ludden also appear, but I have no data about them. Was Ambassador Gauss a left-winger?¹

I am wondering if Stalin and Molotov were not lying to you when they said they had no interest in Mao Tse-tung's Communists? It now develops that Mao was a frequent visitor to Moscow and the recent speech of Georgi Malenkov indicates they take pride in having built up the whole performance. Have you any other information on this point?

Yours faithfully,
Herbert Hoover

Honorable Patrick J. Hurley
Shoreham Building
Washington, D. C.

PATRICK J. HURLEY'S REPLY

January 11, 1950

Honorable Herbert Hoover
The Waldorf-Astoria Towers
New York 22, New York

Dear Chief:

I just now read your letter of December 27th in which you ask me for certain information concerning the deletions from two cables dated July 7th and August 10th, 1944, from President Roosevelt to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, excerpts from which appear on pages 66 and 67 of the so-called White Paper. I do not have before me at the moment either of the documents to which you refer. They are encoded documents, not available to Americans but have been supplied generously to Communists and Imperialists. However, I have read both documents frequently and without quoting any encoded documents I can restate to you substantially the contents of the two messages.

¹ The above were charged by Hurley and others with being Communists or Communist sympathizers. With Davies, Service, Ludden, and Vincent, who were Foreign Service officers, Hurley carried on a running feud over U. S. policy toward China. When he resigned, Hurley blamed them in part for the failure of American policy in that country. Clarence Gauss was American Ambassador to China 1941-1944. An old China hand with years of experience in the Foreign Service, Gauss had achieved an impeccable record. He grew disenchanted with Chiang Kai-shek and believed his government to be corrupt but he was far from being a "left-winger."

You are fully conversant with the American policy in China up to Pearl Harbor, so I will begin there. The omissions from the quotation of the document on Page 66 of the White Paper do not materially change the import of that document. President Roosevelt was advocating the unification of *ALL* the military forces in China with General Stilwell in command *UNDER GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK*. The President recommended to the Generalissimo that he "recall General Stilwell from Burma and place him directly *UNDER YOU* in command of the Chinese and American forces."

That is it. The Roosevelt military policy for China was to organize all the anti-Japanese military forces in China *UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF CHIANG KAI-SHEK*. Note the date of the President's cables. They are dated before I was sent to China as the President's personal representative. This disposes of the charges made against me by the pro-Communist and Imperial propagandists in our State Department that it was I who insisted on giving Chiang Kai-shek the command of the Communist as well as the Nationalist armies of China. The decision was made before the President sent me to China.

Under date of November 26, 1941, Secretary of State Cordell Hull said to the Japanese Ambassador: "The Government of the United States and the Government of Japan will not support — militarily, politically, economically — any government or regime in China other than the National Government of the Republic of China with capital temporarily at Chungking." That was pre-Pearl Harbor. It was President Roosevelt rather than myself who decided to continue our support of the National Government. He directed me to prevent the collapse of the National Government of the Republic of China. It was President Roosevelt rather than myself who decided to support Chiang Kai-shek as the commander of all the military forces in China. I was heartily in favor of the Roosevelt policy and did everything in my power to make it effective.²

The full purport of the President's cable to the Generalissimo dated July 7, 1944 expressed the American policy to recognize only the National Government of the Republic of China, to prevent its collapse and to support Chiang Kai-shek as commander of all the military forces in China. No change was made in the basic American policy in China, so far as I know, until the final surrender of all America's principles and objectives as well as the surrender of the territorial integrity and the political

² Hurley was correct in his account of the origination of U. S. policy. His charge that State Department officials were pro-Communists and Imperialists is not substantiated.

independence of China made in the secret agreement at Yalta which is dated February 11, 1945. I was opposed to the Yalta secret agreement and insisted that it be made public. You no doubt have a copy of that agreement.³

The omissions from the President's message to Chiang Kai-shek dated August 10, 1944 appearing on Page 67 of the White Paper do not change the fundamental purport of that message. The omissions from that cable in the White Paper is due, I believe, to the reluctance of the State Department at this time to quote anything from President Roosevelt concerning General Hurley which might be considered commendatory. In that part of the cable which is deleted by the State Department, President Roosevelt told the Generalissimo that General Hurley had broad political and business experience. That he had served actively in the army in the first world war. That he had been Secretary of War and understood the army well. But the part of Roosevelt's message which is now particularly objectionable to the State Department and which is deleted states that: "General Hurley is a well known and respected figure in the public life of this country."

You can readily [*sic*] see that the State Department could not afford to quote such commendatory statements from President Roosevelt in the same document by which it intended to discredit and defame me.

To return to the Roosevelt policy, I repeat I was convinced that President Roosevelt's decision to prevent the collapse of the National Government of the Republic of China and to support the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek was correct. After the President had selected me to be his personal military representative in China he discussed in detail the facts upon which he based his policy in China. Very frankly he considered with me the charges of corruption against certain elements in the Chiang Kai-shek government. Roosevelt, like Stalin, believed that there was corruption in the Chinese government but both of them felt that Chiang Kai-shek personally was a "selfless patriot." My purpose on arriving in China was to make the Roosevelt policy effective.

Many public officials and commentators were predicting the immediate collapse of the Chinese government and the surrender of China to Japan. We succeeded in preventing the collapse of the National Government of the Republic and keeping

³ Evidence in the Hurley papers indicates that he was not as opposed to the Yalta agreement as he would like posterity to believe. Hurley to Truman, May 10, 1945, Hurley Mss., University of Oklahoma.

the Chinese army in the war and also succeeding in upholding the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek until the war was over.

At one time I discussed with Stilwell and later with Roosevelt the possibility in the event of the incapacity or death of Chiang Kai-shek, the support of Mao Tze-tung as the leader in China. Roosevelt was opposed to giving Mao Tze-tung the leadership of China. He did not believe that Mao Tze-tung would cooperate with the United Nations and that he would use our support to promote himself and his own ideology. General Stilwell favored the ousting of Chiang Kai-shek, with whom he was involved in many personal and official controversies. Stilwell at that time was in favor of supporting Li Tsung-jen to succeed Chiang Kai-shek. Roosevelt turned down all of the suggestions and accepted the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek as our best bet for military cooperation and victory over the Japanese.

You now have the basic policy in China up to the period immediately preceding the Yalta conference. For use in that conference, a series of memoranda was prepared for the use of President Roosevelt, copies of which were supplied to me subsequently by the President himself. One of the memoranda states: "There exist areas of potential discord between our policies and those of the United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R. toward China. There appear to be elements among the British who, out of imperial considerations, desire a weak and possibly disunited China in the post-war period."

This same memorandum warns the President that the Russians may utilize the Chinese Communists to establish an independent or autonomous area in north China or Manchuria. The memorandum concludes as follows: "We recommend that we assume the leadership in assisting China to develop a strong, stable and unified government in order that she may become the principal stabilizing factor in the Far East. We also recommend that we seek British and Russian cooperation to achieve this objective."

Still another of the memoranda furnished the President for use at Yalta states: "There are reports that elements among the British out of imperial considerations desire a weak and possibly disunited China in the post-war period." The same document continues: "It is our task to bring about British and Russian support of our objective of a united China which will cooperate with them as well as with us."

All of the documents which I quoted thus far do uphold the

Roosevelt original policy that he outlined for me before my departure for China. Let me now quote from another of the documents supplied the President for his information before Yalta. It is in part as follows:

Ambassador Hurley's attached telegram of December 24 contains information new to the Department in addition to considerable background material. The five points in which the Ambassador (Hurley) outlines his mission are basically sound. With regard to points one and two, it is desirable however to maintain sufficient flexibility in our attitude toward the political scene in China to avoid embarrassment in the unlikely event that Chiang with his Government is ousted and to take immediate steps to support the elements most likely to carry on resistance.

Of course, we were already taking the precaution suggested. Just for the purpose of keeping the record straight, let me quote here the five points in my report which is referred to as "basically sound" in the above memorandum.

(1) to prevent the collapse of the National Government; (2) to sustain Chiang Kai-shek as President of the Republic and Generalissimo of the Armies; (3) to harmonize relations between the Generalissimo and the American Commander; (4) to promote production of war supplies in China and prevent economic collapse and (5) to unify all the military forces of China for the purpose of defeating Japan.

The memorandum in regard to my December 24 report for the information of the President in his negotiations at Yalta is dated December 26, 1944. This is the first indication I had that the Communist and Imperial sympathizers in the State Department would support any government in China other than the National Government of the Republic of China. I was aware, of course, that we took precautions to support a leader other than Chiang Kai-shek if he should die, be disaffected to our cause or unable to perform. But this memorandum to the President is the first indication I had that we would support what Cordell Hull referred to in his message to Japan of November 26, 1941 as ". . . any government or regime in China other than the National Government of the Republic of China with capital temporarily at Chungking" or any government in China other than the one President Roosevelt had directed me to sustain.⁴

Continuing again to quote from the memoranda prepared for President Roosevelt's negotiations at Yalta:

The Ambassador's (Hurley) discussion of the opposition to Chinese unity among foreigners in China (British, French and Dutch diplomats)

⁴ For a good account of the conflict between the State Department officials and Hurley see Robert Smith, "Alone in China: Patrick J. Hurley's attempt to unify China, 1944-1945." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1966.

is interesting but it is felt that the conclusions reached are based in some degree on misunderstandings. European diplomats in China are generally more cynical — less optimistic — than Americans are with regard to the prospect of unity in China and their cynicism or pessimism is frequently misinterpreted as opposition to Chinese unity.

That memorandum, of course, is in conflict with another one which I have quoted above. President Roosevelt was fully aware that the Imperialists wanted a disunited, weak, post-war China. The purpose of the Imperialists as related to me directly by their respective ambassadors was to "keep China divided against itself." "Otherwise, a free China will destroy Imperialism in the Orient."

The Imperialists condemned the United States for preventing the collapse of the National Government of China. In fact I reported to President Roosevelt that:

The Imperialist ambassadors had expressed to me the opinions (1) that the Generalissimo has made a deal with Japan; (2) that without such a deal his government would collapse; (3) that the Communists should not unite with the National Government; (4) that the Communists should not permit their troops to be united with the Chinese army and (5) that the United States should deal with the Communist Party and not with the National Government.

That is a part of my report of December 24, referred to above. I recommended that we continue the Roosevelt-Hull traditional American policy.

We come now to a very important document. It is labeled "*TOP SECRET*" and transmitted in a letter dated February 27, 1945 by Major General John E. Hull, Assistant Chief of Staff, OPD, to Lieutenant General A. C. Wedemeyer, Commanding General, U. S. Forces in China Theater. While the letter is dated February 27, 1945 (which is after the secret agreement at Yalta — February 11, 1945) the letter referred to enclosed for General Wedemeyer's information a memorandum dated January 29, 1945, which appears to have been written in the War Department prior to the Yalta secret agreement and transmitted after the Yalta secret agreement. The document above referred to has some elements in it that indicate that it was intended to be in conflict with the secret agreement made at Yalta.

It is understood that the attitude of the President with regard to Hongkong is as follows: Hongkong should be returned by the British to the Chinese and the Chinese should immediately declare Hongkong a free port under Chinese sovereignty. With regard to possible military operations against Hongkong we have felt that it is undesirable from the political point of view that American forces should be employed for the reoccupation of the island or the adjacent Kowloon leased territory.

This document is important because it seems to disregard Yalta so far as the Imperialists are concerned, but it certainly

changes the American policy which had prevailed in China up to that time. Let me quote from the same document again.

The short-term objective of the United States Government is to assist in mobilizing all of China's human and material resources for prosecution of the war against Japan. We are using our influence to bring about a greater degree of political and military unity, and to achieve greater efficiency and volume in the production of war material. We are supplying China with materials for direct military use and for industrial purposes connected with the war effort. Our long-term objective in China is to assist in the development of a united, democratically progressive, and cooperative China, which will be capable of contributing to security and prosperity in the Far East.

Then after an outline of the military mission, it is stated:

We would like to see the rearmament, to such extent as may be practicable, of *ALL CHINESE FORCES WILLING TO FIGHT THE JAPANESE*, but the present unsatisfactory relations between the Chinese Government and the Chinese Communists makes it impolitic to undertake measures for the rearmament of the Chinese Communists even though it is generally conceded that they could effectively use quantities of small arms, ammunition and demolition materials. *HOWEVER, IF OPERATIONS ARE UNDERTAKEN ALONG THE CHINA COAST IT IS SUGGESTED THAT OUR MILITARY AUTHORITIES SHOULD BE PREPARED TO ARM ANY CHINESE FORCES WHICH THEY BELIEVE CAN BE EFFECTIVELY EMPLOYED AGAINST THE JAPANESE, AND THAT THEY SHOULD AT AN OPPORTUNE TIME SO ADVISE THE CHINESE MILITARY AUTHORITIES.*"

This memorandum further states: "*IT DOES NOT NECESSARILY FOLLOW THAT CHINA SHOULD BE UNIFIED UNDER CHIANG KAI-SHEK.*"

This document was not sent to me. I received it first through a Communist representative of Mao Tze-tung, leader of the Communist Party and the leader of the Communist armed forces, whose headquarters were at Yen-an.

This paper is clearly a departure from the policy outlined in all the documents heretofore quoted to you. It shows an intention to furnish lend-lease arms to the Communist Party without requiring it to submit to our ally, the National Government of the Republic of China. It states clearly a departure from the policy of supporting unification of the armed forces *UNDER* Chiang Kai-shek. How did this memorandum get to the Communists and why was it withheld from me? I do not know, but I do know that John Stewart Service, without my consent or knowledge, was, shortly after the Yalta secret agreement, sent by the State Department to Yen-an. When I found that Service, who was in favor of arming the Communists and who was opposed to the Roosevelt policy in China and who had been relieved as a diplomatic advisor by General Wedemeyer and who had been returned home by me as Ambassador, was sent back to Yen-an without my consent or knowledge. The document last

referred to had been communicated to Mao Tze-tung and others, by whom I do now know, and had not been supplied to me. I was inclined to be a little suspicious concerning what was taking place among the anti-American pro-Communist career men in the State Department. It was then that I requested that I be informed what agreement, if any, had been made at Yalta that was in conflict with the American policy in China.⁵ I was not given the information at that time.

Now you have the basic outlines of the Roosevelt policy in China. Although Mao Tze-tung, leader of the Chinese Communist Party, had signed with me a five point agreement under which the Communist Armed Party was to be unified with all other anti-Japanese military forces in China under the National Government, that agreement was never accepted by the National Government.

The Roosevelt policy in China was surrendered in secret agreement at Yalta. Roosevelt's policy was attacked and destroyed inside of the American State Department by those who were cooperating with the Communists and the Imperialists for the repeal of the principles of the Atlantic Charter. You will recall that the Atlantic Charter provided that the nations "seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other." Russia wanted to expand. In secret agreement at Yalta we agreed to let Communism expand. The Atlantic Charter provided that ". . . they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." Both the Imperialists and the Communists wanted this part of the Atlantic Charter destroyed. The Atlantic Charter, as you know, had been approved by 45 nations. The Atlantic Charter was reaffirmed by a resolution I prepared for President Roosevelt at the Conference at Teheran, which is dated December 1, 1943, and contains the following provision: "They count upon the participation of Iran, together with all other peace-loving nations, in the establishment of international peace, security, and prosperity after the war, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, to which all four governments have subscribed."

The Iran Declaration was the first instrument that was signed in person by Stalin for Russia, Churchill for Britain and Roosevelt for the United States. All of the objectives and principles of the Atlantic Charter were reaffirmed by the Iran Declaration. All of these principles and objectives were surrendered by our diplomats at Yalta. But I am not dealing here with the general surrender of the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the parts of the Yalta Agreement which relieved the

⁵ See Smith Ms., pp. 133-140 and 156-171.

Big 3 or the Big 4 or the Big 5 from application of any of the principles of the Atlantic Charter. I am not treating that part of the Yalta conference here for the reason that I wish to confine this letter to what the Yalta secret agreement did to China. I reiterate, the American policy in China, broadly speaking, was to maintain the territorial integrity and the political independence of China. That policy was changed in the secret agreement at Yalta. The agreement was kept secret from the American people, from me as Ambassador to China, from Chiang Kai-shek as President of the Republic of China and from all the Chinese people. It was well known to the pro-Communists and pro-Imperialists in our government and to the pro-Communists and pro-Imperialists all over the world. The Communists and the Imperialists were jubilant after Yalta. At the beginning I did not know why. I did not obtain any official information on the secret agreement at Yalta until my arrival in Washington in the early part of March, 1945. The State Department told me there was no secret agreement at Yalta. My demand for a copy of any secret agreement was peremptorily refused. At the White House, however, President Roosevelt permitted me to read the document which surrendered the American policy in China to the Communists and the Imperialists. That document is in full as follows:

The leaders of the three Great Powers — The Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain — have agreed that in two or three months after Germany has surrendered and the war in Europe has terminated the Soviet Union shall enter into the war against Japan on the side of the Allies on condition that:

1. The status quo in Outer-Mongolia (The Mongolian People's Republic) shall be preserved;

2. The former rights of Russia violated by the treacherous attack of Japan in 1904 shall be restored, viz:

- (a) The southern part of Sakhalin as well as all the islands adjacent to it shall be returned to the Soviet Union,

- (b) The commercial port of Dairen shall be internationalized, the preeminent interests of the Soviet Union in this port being safeguarded and the lease of Port Arthur as a naval base of the U.S.S.R. restored,

- (c) The Chinese-Eastern Railroad and the South Manchurian Railroad which provides an outlet to Dairen, shall be jointly operated by the establishment of a joint Soviet-Chinese company it being understood that the preeminent interests of the Soviet Union shall be safeguarded and that China shall retain full sovereignty in Manchuria;

3. The Kuril Islands shall be handed over to the Soviet Union.

It is understood, that the agreement concerning Outer Mongolia and the ports and railroads referred to above will require concurrence of the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The President will take measures in order to obtain this concurrence on advice from Marshal Stalin.

The heads of the three great powers have agreed that these claims

of the Soviet Union shall be unquestionably fulfilled after Japan has been defeated.

For its part the Soviet Union expresses its readiness to conclude with the National Government of China a pact of friendship and alliance between the U.S.S.R. and China in order to render assistance to China with its armed forces for the purpose of liberating China from the Japanese yoke.

February 11, 1945

This secret document, like the Iran Declaration, was signed in person by Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt. I was officially admonished not to comment publicly on the Yalta secret agreement and not to impart it to the Chinese Officials. President Roosevelt was already a sick man at Yalta. He was sick and disturbed when I talked to him in Washington about the Yalta agreement. He seemed unaware of the proportions of the debacle of American diplomacy at Yalta. I talked to him cautiously and kindly about the far reaching effect of the secret agreement. He seemed to become very much interested, and as you know, he dispatched me immediately to London to talk with Prime Minister Churchill about the policy in China and asked me to get the adherence of Britain again to the traditional American policy and to the policy of Hull and Roosevelt, which I have outlined.⁶

In this letter I will not attempt to outline my conversations with Prime Minister Churchill. From London I went to Moscow, also at the direction of President Roosevelt, to discuss the Chinese issues with Stalin. Before I reached Moscow the President had died but the State Department and President Truman directed me to carry on my mission.

Many lies have been told by the pro-Communist and Communist writers about that particular interview with Stalin. Edgar Snow in the *Saturday Evening Post* has said that I nonchalantly asked Stalin on April 15 "what he would settle for in China," and then continued to show my ignorance of the meaning of Stalin's comments. Mr. Snow is not ignorant. He is an astute pro-Communist propagandist. I remonstrated with the Editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, showing him "what Stalin would settle for in China" had been agreed on the previous February 11th in the secret agreement at Yalta. All of Snow's keyhole and under the table information about that conference with Stalin and myself is false and intended only to mislead the prize suckers of the world, the American people. I might say that most of the Americans at that time were "eating up" the *Saturday Evening Post* — Edgar Snow — Communist propaganda. I tried in vain to overcome the effect of the Yalta secret agreement and to

⁶ No evidence exists which would indicate that Roosevelt was enfeebled mentally at Yalta.

reinstate the American policy in China. I got permission from Churchill, Anthony Eden and Stalin to restate with their approval the American policy, but I was completely aware that after the death of Roosevelt my chances for reversing Yalta were zero.⁷

After my arrival in Chungking I met the press. I stated that both Britain and Russia had agreed to continue to support the American policy in China, to unify all anti-Japanese military forces under the National Government and under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek; that the three governments, America, Britain and Russia, would support the aspirations of the Chinese people to establish for themselves a unified, independent self government. All of the foregoing principles had been surrendered by the American diplomats in the secret agreement at Yalta. And these same diplomats have attempted to make me appear naive when I attempted to reinstate some of the principles and objectives for which we had told our soldiers we were fighting and for which they were about to win the war. I knew full well after Roosevelt's death that with the pro-Communists and pro-Imperialists in the State Department the cause of China was hopeless.

On my arrival at Chungking it was known that I had conferred with President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin. The press was anxious to know the results of the conferences. They immediately asked me about the agreements at Yalta. Under my instructions I was compelled to tell the press that I could make no comment about the Yalta Conference or any agreements made there. I then told the press that Britain and Russia had both agreed to continue to support the American policy in China, the purpose of which was to unify all the military forces of China under the National Government for the purpose of defeating Japan, and also to support the aspirations of the Chinese people to establish for themselves an independent and united self government. When this statement reached the press the opposition to the government in the British Parliament immediately asked the government representative on the floor of Parliament if the statement made by the American Ambassador in Chungking represented the present British policy toward China. The answer was that the statement made by the American Ambassador on British policy in China was substantially correct.

⁷ Hurley was not trying to reverse Yalta in his conversation with Churchill and later with Stalin. He was simply trying to get renewed commitment on the part of those powers to the American policy in China — that is unification and support of the Chiang government as the government of China.

Notwithstanding this, I was convinced that the Yalta secret agreement would prevail, that without the support of President Roosevelt I could not hope to reinstate the traditional American policy in China.

I sent a dispatch to the State Department outlining what Roosevelt had told me was the American policy toward Imperialism and asked to be advised if that policy had been reversed or modified. I then received from the State Department a message which fully indicated the change of the American policy toward Imperialism in China. I was convinced at that time that the honorable thing for me to do was to resign. I could not bring myself to a conclusion that would enable me to justify forcing us in the terms of the Yalta agreement on China. I was continually compelled by my instructions to say to the press that I had no comment to make concerning the Yalta conference. My position was indeed awkward. After full reflection, however, I decided that I could not during the war attack the war policies agreed upon by the Big Three; to do so might injure the conduct of the war, and I reluctantly brought myself to the decision to continue in office and uphold the Government of China until the close of the war. I might add that being of an enthusiastic disposition I still hoped that the "breaks" might enable me to re-establish at least a part of the American policy in China. But as it turned out from thence forward the "breaks" were all against both me and China because the State Department policy became aggressively pro-Communist, pro-Imperialist and anti-China.

I was in favor of the unification of all the armed forces of China under the National Government and under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. I worked tirelessly to that end. I did get an agreement signed by Mao Tze-tung, the Communist leader, which, as I have said, was rejected by the National Government. But after the close of the war when the policy of my government was to force a civil coalition between the Communists and the Nationalists upon the Republic of China, I dissented again. Mao Tze-tung decided that he would visit Chiang Kai-shek and try to work out with him the basis upon which they both would work for a united government in China. Although Mao Tze-tung and I were in disagreement he, I believe, trusted me completely and notwithstanding all the billingsgate to the contrary, I believe he was truthful with me. At any rate, he requested that I come to Yen-an to fly with him in the plane to Chungking. This of course was a mark of his respect for me as well as his confidence in my capacity to give him "safe passage." But you should remember that I had so little interest then in forcing the civilian coalition with the Communists on the Chinese govern-

ment that I left China for the United States while the conferences were in progress. I was not in favor of forcing a peace-time coalition with the Communists on the Nationalist Government unless and until the Communists submitted their military forces to the control of the National Government and accepted the status of a civilian political party operating as a political party and not as an armed belligerent.⁸

When I arrived in Washington I found the State Department still working for the Communist Armed Party in China against the National Government of the Republic of China with which we had all our treaty relations and which had been our ally in the war. I found that many of my reports to the State Department had been stolen and had been delivered to the Communists through a magazine called *AMERASIA*; that a man who had been one of my assistants in China had been arrested by the FBI in connection with this donation or sale of state papers to the Communists. The American public was never permitted to see the evidence upon which he was arrested by the FBI. The situation was then, in my opinion, hopeless. The State Department started feeding the *DAILY WORKER* and other pro-Communist papers with distorted excerpts from my reports that were intended to put me in a bad light. It was plain to me that someone in the State Department was also furnishing the information to certain keyhole columnists and to a Communist member of Congress, who were using all the State Department weapons against the American system of self government and in favor of collectivism and Communism. Throughout this time I was directed not to make public any facts pertaining to the secret agreement at Yalta or the reversal of the American policy in China, but the pro-Communists in the State Department and the Communist member of Congress and all the Communist and pro-Communist newspapers were being fed distorted accounts and falsehoods concerning what I had done in China.

At that time I decided that I must resign. I should tell you that President Truman told me that he would give me his wholehearted support and that he would remove from positions in the State Department those who were opposing and sabotaging my work in China. I would be less than truthful if I did not tell you that I was then convinced and I now believe that President Truman meant what he said to me. Notwithstanding this assurance from the President, matters occurred that same day that convinced me that the Secretary of State, Mr. Byrnes, was

⁸ See Smith Ms. for a good account of this phase of Hurley's diplomacy.

engaged in an attempt to whitewash all of those in the State Department who had been supplying information to the Communists and who were engaged in sabotaging individual liberty and self government in favor of collectivism and Communism. I was physically unwell. I was convinced that the Government through the State Department was working against China, against the American policy and against me, notwithstanding the position that had been taken by President Truman.

Since my resignation I have not explained to President Truman that I did not distrust him, but I want you to know that I did not and do not distrust him. I have thought at times that he has been misled. In the condition of my health I had no heart to take on a fight concerning a conflict that in my opinion existed between Byrnes and Truman in addition to the Chinese situation. That was my frame of mind the day I resigned.

I thought that my resignation and accompanying statement would bring the American people to a realization of what was taking place. Much to my regret I found that the public generally was not interested. Nearly all of the publicity was the tax-supported propaganda of my own government together with the propaganda of the Communists and the Imperialists, all of which made the efforts of an individual fighting for American principles hopeless.

Now I leave the discussion of the American policy in China to answer one of the questions contained in your letter. You ask if I believed Stalin and Molotov when they told me that the Chinese Communists were not in fact Communists. The answer is yes. I believed them because what they said supported the information that I had obtained in China while traveling in the Communist controlled areas. As you know, probably 75% of the Chinese people are a little above beasts of burden for the other 25%. The upper 25% are land owners, merchants, bankers, etc. Unquestionably the Communist leaders in China are Communists. But at least 75% of the population of China have no idea of what Communism really is. They are not Communists. The merchants, land owners, business men and bankers are not Communists. In the Communist areas I found all of the stores open. I found private business flourishing. The cattle, hog and sheep markets were open. People were selling at the highest prices they could obtain and buying at the lowest price available. Private enterprise, private competition was being freely exercised in the Communist areas. The people were not Communists. The people were hungry and desired reforms. The Communists offered them food and better conditions. The peo-

ple knew that during the revolution, and by the way revolution is continuous in China where the people are nearly always hungry, and during the war against Japan, the Nationalist Government had been unable to better the conditions of the people and make the reforms which they had promised. All of this made the people enthusiastic in support of the promise of food and reformation offered by the Communists. It is true that many people in the Communist area told me that they were in favor of Communism that would give the food and the reformation that the people so desired. But these people were not real Communists. They did not even understand what Communism is, and Molotov was correct when he said that they are "oleo-margarine Communists." Those who are saying that the Chinese are real Communists are overlooking the difference between the Chinese people and the Chinese Communist leaders. Now that China is in the hands of the Communists, the iron curtain will prevent the world from seeing the rude awakening that will come to the Chinese people who have followed the Chinese Communist Party when they learn that Communism is not what they believed they were supporting.

The American policy after my resignation as Ambassador was deliberately aimed to destroy the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek who is the only leader of great stature in China who is a Christian and is unalterably anti-Communist. The policy was further intended to bring about the collapse of the National Government of the Republic of China and to establish instead the present regime. The Yalta secret agreement was the State Department's blueprint for the Communist conquest of China.

I would not have you believe, my friend, that I am taking all of the attacks made upon me during the last five years too seriously. The White Paper, the Communist and the Imperialist propagandists have not been able to make me regret the *MISTAKES I DID NOT MAKE IN CHINA*.

Sincerely yours,

Patrick J. Hurley

THE JOURNAL OF ALEXANDER LAWRENCE POSEY

January 1 to September 4, 1897

With Introduction and Annotations

*By Edward Everett Dale**

INTRODUCTION

Alexander Lawrence Posey, a half-blood Creek Indian, has often been called the most distinguished literary figure ever produced by the Five Civilized Tribes. He was born about one mile north of Vivian, eight miles west of Eufaula, McIntosh County, on August 3, 1873. He met his death by drowning in the swollen waters of the North Canadian River near Eufaula on May 27, 1908.

His father, Lewis H. Posey, was born about 1841 in the Creek Nation, the son of Scotch-Irish parents who had wandered north from Texas and settled in the Creek country. It is possible that one of Lewis Posey's parents had Indian blood, for he asserted that he himself was one-sixteenth Creek. Lewis Posey's parents died when he was a very small boy, and he was reared by a full-blood Creek woman who lived near Fort Gibson.

Lewis Posey was said to be a fun-loving lad, always ready to play a practical joke; but he learned the Creek language so well that it is asserted that he was nearly perfect in the use of that language. He attended a country school; and when he reached manhood he served for a time as deputy U. S. Marshal at Fort Smith. He resigned when he married a full-blood Creek girl, only fifteen years old. She was the daughter of a member of the prominent Harjo family, but her English name was Nancy Phillips.

Her son, Alexander Lawrence Posey, was born when she was in her seventeenth year. Mrs. Posey was a devoted mother, as are most Indian women, who gave her entire time to the comfort of her family. She was a devout member of the Baptist church. She was very proud of her first-born son and saw that he was always neatly dressed and had plenty of good food.

Until he was about twelve years old, Alex spoke only Creek. Like his mother, he could understand English, but he would not trust himself to use it until his father demanded that he repeat

* A recent article on "Edward Everett Dale: A Biography and Bibliography" by Jimmie Hicks, appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1967).—Ed.



(Oklahoma Historical Society)

ALEXANDER LAWRENCE POSEY
"Alex Posey, the Creek Poet"

in English something he had said in Creek. From that time on, he spoke English and eventually became very efficient in it.

Young Posey was sent to the Indian University, a Baptist school at Bacone, near Muskogee. This school was founded in 1880 for the training of young Indian men and women for Christian work among the Indians. He went there when he was barely seventeen, a shy and reserved boy; but under the direction of President A. C. Bacone, he soon began to enjoy the life and work of the University. He remained there for five years. He acted as the librarian and learned to set type after school hours for the little paper, "*The Instructor*," which was published by the school. He had his first articles published in that paper. In January, 1895, he published some verse called "Death of a Window Plant," which was apparently the first of his works to attract anything more than school attention.

Upon leaving this school, Posey entered Creek politics; and in September, 1895, was elected a member of the House of Warriors, the lower branch of the Creek legislature. He was sent quite often to councils convened in the Indian Territory to discuss the relations of the Indians to the U.S. Government or in other fields related to the advancement of Indian people.

In 1896, Posey was appointed superintendent of the Creek Orphanage near Okmulgee, the Creek capital. The summer of that year, he was married to Miss Minnie Harris of Fayetteville, Arkansas. Of this marriage was born a son, Yahola, and two or three years later, a daughter, Wynema.

In the summer of 1915, it was my privilege to visit Mrs. Alexander Posey. She was living at Agency Hill House near Muskogee where she had established a little tea-room catering to small parties of guests from the city of Muskogee. Mrs. Posey was given the privilege of living at the former site of the agency of the Five Civilized Tribes free of rent. I received the invitation to visit her home to go through Posey's papers to see what I might find that would be publishable material. I stayed three days and went through a mass of correspondence, including many unpublished manuscripts. Yahola was attending a military school, but was home for vacation, and the daughter was also there because the Muskogee school she was attending had closed for the summer.

Among the papers I found three journals or diaries of the poet. The one given here was kept while he was superintendent of the orphanage. One of the other two was kept when he and one of his friends were working for the Dawes Commission, lo-

cating the so-called "lost" Indians who had failed to come in to receive allotments of land. The third, called his nature journal, dealt briefly with the birds, animals, and plants that he had observed while living in the Creek Nation.

It would be easy to write several pages dealing with the characteristics of Alex Posey: his love of nature, his keen sense of humor, and his affection for his mother, father, and wife. It seems better, however, to let the reader judge all of these things for himself, for they are clearly revealed in his journal.

Some have said that Posey had foreseen the manner of his own death. Accompanied by R. D. Howe, Alex started from Muskogee to Eufaula by train. When they reached the swollen waters of the North Canadian River, however, it was found that the track had washed away; and in attempting to cross the river by boat, it was overturned by the swift stream. Howe succeeded in reaching the shore, and Posey caught the small branch of a tree and clung to it for a long time while the onlookers on the bank were seeking to get a rope long enough to reach him. Before this could be done, however, he was swept away by the strong current of the river and drowned.

Those who have felt that Posey had a premonition of his death refer to this brief poem written some time before his death. It appears in his book of poems collected and arranged by his widow and published in 1910 with a memoir by William E. Connelley:

MY FANCY

*Why do trees along the river
Lean so far out o'er the tide?
Very wise men tell me why, but
I am never satisfied;
And so I keep my fancy still
That trees lean out to save
The drowning from the clutches of
The cold, remorseless wave.*

JOURNAL OF ALEXANDER POSEY

Jan. 1897

Fri. 1. It is midwinter — the first of January — but as I sit down to make this first entry into my diary, a heavy storm is approaching from the west, accompanied by vivid lightning and loud claps of thunder. This is an unusual winter. No snow has fallen sufficient to make tracks in. A heavy frost a few mornings ago is the nearest approach to winter



LEWIS H. POSEY
Father of Alex Posey



ALEX POSEY
At the age of 12



MRS. LEWIS H. POSEY
Mother of Alex Posey, Age 72



ALEX POSEY
At the age of 7

(All photos above in Oklahoma Historical Society collections)

that we have had. There is but one garden spot in the world and it is here in the Indian Territory.

It is a common saying of my father that one wild shoat will spoil a gang of tame ones. Ben Long, whom I expelled from school for the second time yesterday for bad behavior, coaxed some of the best boys off with him this morning. He was deaf to good counsel, and I am only too glad to know that he is gone and that there are other orphans in the country needing the shelter and the advantages he would not improve.

Brann's "Iconoclast" has wide-spread notoriety so I have been told. If it is true, I cannot see for what reason. I read the December number for two solid hours this afternoon without stumbling onto so much as the slightest suspicion of a new idea or a decent attempt at witticism.¹

Sat. 2

"Cold and dark and dreary;

It rains and the wind is never weary."

I am fond of this kind of weather. There is something in me that responds to the slow beating of the rain from the eaves and the long moan of the wintry wind.

Snip McGirt, one of the boys Ben Long coaxed away yesterday, has returned; wet to the skin, and apparently the most penitent boy in the world. This will do him more good than a year's schooling. I hope it will be the making of him. Experience never intends her lessons to be forgotten. Her precepts come like the white men into the Indian country — to stay.

I have finished the first volume of Plutarch's "Lives." Lycurgus, it appears to me, was more remarkable for short and sententious sayings than for the rigorous laws he gave the Spartans. It is to be lamented that he is not of this age! Plutarch has impressed me that in Greece and Rome one's greatness was determined by banishment.

3 Cold, bitter cold. The fury of the northwest has kept us in doors all day. Miss Lee and Kit returned in the afternoon from Checotah, by special conveyance, and have not thawed out yet.² They say John is on the road, but

¹ Brann was editor of the Texas periodical *The Iconoclast*, i.e. Image Breaker.

² Kit was Kathryn Harris, Alex Posey's wife's sister. She and Miss Lee were both teachers at the orphanage school, officially known as the Creek Indian Orphanage established by the Creek National Council in 1892. Its site was that of present Oklahoma A. & M. School at the N.E. corner of the City of Okmulgee on U.S. Highway 62.

his arrival is uncertain, and we are threatened with famine.³ There are not enough necessities of life in the larder for a scanty breakfast tomorrow, though we have limited ourselves to two meals a day since sending for supplies.

I have spent the best part of the day preparing a poem for publication and puzzling my head over as to what title I shall give it. The title it really ought to have is too long and, I fear, too commonplace; the poem being about a visit to Mr. Hall in Arbeka a year or two since and the story he told me about his courtship with a "witching squaw girl."⁴

I have undertaken a difficult task — that of learning to play the violin. But, despite my assiduous application, I am making no perceptible progress. "No excellence without labor," says the old adage; but I believe that I have found an exception to the rule. If I learn to play two tunes I shall be satisfied: viz, "Swanee Ribber" and "Evelena" with variations. Rev.—I don't know his name—preached to the students tonight, but I did not go in to hear him. I rather preferred to be entertained by Plutarch's accounts of the justice and the glorious conduct of Aristides, the Athenian.

4 I peeped into the mirror today by chance and mistook myself for a rebellious Populist! I am very much in need of a clean shave.

John returned with the supplies from Checotah in the early part of the morning, having stopped overnight at the Half Moon Ranch, with one Rev. Brinks. He says he got lost yesterday while trying to come a nearer way known

³ John was Alex Posey's cousin, and for a time worked at the orphanage school.

⁴ Mr. Hall was George Riley Hall, teacher of the neighborhood school in the Creek community of Arbeka Town, near the Old Dog Ford on the North Canadian River, about 2½ miles southeast of present Boley, in Okfuskee County. A native of Missouri and of southern parentage, George Riley Hall had come to Indian Territory in 1888, and engaged in cotton farming near Eufaula. In 1890, he began his teaching career, first in the Creek neighborhood schools and later in the Creek national academies. He had had about three terms of district schooling but became a self educated man of high degree of culture, a writer of poetry and lover of music. His poem, "Oklahoma, fair land of my dreaming," first published through the interest of his close friend, Alex Posey, was widely read. He learned and became thoroughly conversant in the Creek Indian language, a man who was held in high esteem among the Indians of Eastern Oklahoma. In 1902, Mr. Hall married Kit (Kathryn Harris), and soon established the *Henryetta Free Lance*, a Republican newspaper that was remarkable in the Indian Territory and early years of Oklahoma statehood.

as the prairie route, and but for vigorous walking would have frozen to death. The winds swept over those prairies without the opposition of hill or wood for forty miles.

I read Plutarch's Marcus Cato, the frugal Roman of memorable sayings; and "who, by good discipline and wise temperate ordinances reclaimed the Roman commonwealth when it was declining and sinking into vice." Gladstone, at over eighty, espousing the Armenian cause and stirring up sympathy by public speeches, reminds one much of Cato, who, in extreme old age, stirred up the roar which resulted in the overthrow of Carthage.

Maxey Sims, another runaway boy came back this evening and apologized to me before the school for his behavior. He was so manly and frank in saying that he had done wrong and repented of it that I took him back in school.

5 Mr. Hall straggled in afoot this evening — the mere shadow of himself — having been on the road all day without refreshments. He has been spending the holidays in the Senora country with his brother Jeff — hunting, making inroads into Dog Town and having a good time generally. High water is his excuse for being tardy.

One Ed Grissom, a galvanized, garrulous Indian farmer, called this afternoon, and, seeing that he could sell me no hogs, proceeded to talk. Among other things he advised me to set out catalpa for shade trees; and said that he had been preaching my ideas on the Indian problem these twenty years! I must confess this stunned me not a little.

Today I have followed Phyrrius in his brilliant campaigns [*sic*] in Macedonia, Lacedaemon, Italy, and Sicily [*sic*]. Like Napoleon and Alexander, he was a man of continental desires; one conquest could not satisfy him; and the ambition for a greater empire resulted finally in his ruin. He lacked the patience to secure himself in the conquests he made. He might not have become so famous but he would have been happier if he had devoted his great talent to the upbuilding of his little kingdom of Epirus. Here is a great big moral.

6 Mr. Hall has the most savage looking pistol I have seen in many a day, except the one with which Uncle Will shot off his foot. It appeared to me to be a combination of all models. If he were to go to Cuba with this pistol, the freedom of that island would be assured!

I spent the morning with John out at his room. Knowing him to be fond of jokes and much given to laughter, I tried to split his sides open.

Finished reading the life of Caisus Marius.

Thu. 7 Read the life of Cornelius Sylla, the implacable enemy of Caisus Marius, and as great a lover of tyranny as Marius, though an inferior warrior.

Here are some choice morsels I gathered from Puck and Truth. *Persons of many accomplishments often accomplish but little.*—Puck. *The man who is always willing to let well enough alone, mighty seldom secures quarters in that much-talked-of room at the top.*—Puck. *Leisure is spare time in which a man can do some other kind of work*—Puck.

When the unexpected happens it is usually greeted with exclamations of "I told you so!"—Puck.

Being beautiful, she was courted,

Being a woman, she wished to know all things.

*One day, in the tangle of an old garden,
she came upon a skull.*

At first she drew back from it, frightened.

*Then, placing it upon a rose-twined
pedestal, she questioned it.*

*"You who have lived, tell me of life,"
she said.*

*"And having loved, tell me of passion,
And being dead, speak to me of eternity."*

But the skull only grinned vacantly at her.

Perhaps it had forgotten life—and love.

Perhaps it knew nothing of eternity.

—Truth.

This is accompanied by a beautiful picture of a woman questioning a skull, and is entitled "The Questioner."

8 I walked down to the capital this afternoon for the first time in a month. When Council is in session, and the flying jenny is in running order, Okmulgee is a pretty wild place. You can walk out almost any morning then and find a man for breakfast. But at other times, Okmulgee is one of the quietest places in the world. So it was this evening, until one young negro called another a "chicken thief."

This application was resented and a vehement altercation ensued, and they stood facing each other with distended nostrils and whites of the eyes exposed like blown cotton bolls. But friends interposed and the town relapsed into tranquillity.

I received a letter from Yaha Tustanugga, who is now at Washington representing the Creeks. He tells me that he and his colleague, McIntosh, have had the most flattering reception by the officials of the departments, but is very skeptical about Congress appropriating the \$400,000.00, which they are instructed to ask for. He thinks, however, there are ways to cross a bridge of this kind, but does not feel sure what the results will be.⁵

While at town this afternoon, I picked up a poor little orphan boy; who has been tossed hither and thither, like a weed on a wide sea, without father or mother to cling to many years. I brought him back with me, and he is the happiest boy this side of paradise. He has a home now and some one to look to for food and raiment.

9 This has been a beautiful day — a piece of spring itself. Such a day as makes one sleep to look at. Miss Lee, Lowena — that's my wife's Indian name — and myself took dinner to the "wood boys" down in Cussetah bottom, and enjoyed a kind of picnic.⁶ Jack built the fire, I made the coffee, while Miss Lee and Lowena spread the dinner; which consisted of pies, cakes and sandwiches [*sic*]. The jay birds, overhead in the trees wished us well and bade us come again.

To be a successful croquet player is nothing to boast of; but Mr. Hall and I beat Miss Rosa and Lowena two games this evening — and "skunked" them one game!

The Indian Journal says Eufaula has an Aingel for postmaster. Eufaula must now be in direct communication with Heaven. In the editorial column I find the following, "If ignorance is bliss, some of the Creek politicians ought to be supremely happy." The Journal is unusually bright this week.⁷

Sun. 10 The story I have been reading today, of how Lucullus

⁵ Each of the Five Civilized Tribes sent a delegation to Washington, to look after the tribal interests before the Interior Department and in pending Indian legislation before Congress.

⁶ The "wood boys" were employees of the school.

⁷ *The Indian Journal* was published in Eufaula. Posey later became its editor.

overcame the Asatic [*sic*] kings, is highly interesting. Mithridates and Tigranes, with their innumerable hosts, could not withstand him. He sacked their richest cities with less resistance than a bear robs a bee-tree.

I sent a poem — “An Arbekan Episode” — to the Indian Journal.

Mon. 11 Read the life of Crassus in the forenoon and pruned an oration I wrote on Sequoyah when a student at Indian University. There is not much of it left; but what is left is infinitely more to the purpose.

After dinner I hitched up the team and Lowena and I drove to town. On the way, Maude stumbled and fell flat on the ground and broke — our conversation!

Our number was swelled this evening by the advent of a Uchee boy, who is one-eyed and a dwarf.⁸

Tues. 12 Besides reading the life of Pompey, I read the *Iconoclast* for January. Brann is cleanly witty and says some right good things — at least in one or two articles.

Senator Vest, so the papers state, has been re-elected to Congress. This is the man who helped to confer unconstitutional authority on the Dawes Commission and who so grossly misrepresented the facts pertaining to the condition of affairs in this country. This the man who is now making pathetic appeals for the Cubans, but who is destitute of sympathy for a people almost as badly persecuted. He is considered to be a great big brainy man. Is he? In what way has he shown it? He has not the first principle of greatness. Of what stuff is this Free Silver Populist made?

I spent the afternoon in the class rooms listening to recitations.

Wed. 13 I fell into a very bad habit — among others — while I was at the Indian University — that of sleeping late. Resolving to break myself of it, I flew out, to use a common Creek term, long before daylight this morning; and aroused John and the cook up, I fear, much against their will, as they groaned heavily when I called them and were a long time dressing — especially the cook, whose name is Tompkins. This groaning and slowness at dressing does

⁸ Uchee (or Yuchi) Indians were members of the Uchee Tribe, affiliated with the Creek Tribe.

not augur much for a young man; the probabilities of his making a mark in the world are powerfully uncertain.

The perusal of the life of Alexander — after whom my father was pleased to name me — is responsible for the following:

The Caesars and the Alexanders were but men gone mad; who ran about awhile, upsetting kingdoms in their fierce career, and then were slain like rabid dogs, or died in misery. Assassination awaited Caesar; wild deliriums cut short the glory of Alexander; death was dealt to Phyrrius by a woman's hand; deception cooled the fever Pompey had; Themistocles and Hannabal drank deep of poison in their desolation.

Thur. 14 I received a note from Issac Manuel, the royal blooded blacksmith at Okmulgee, who sharpens our tools and shoes our bronchos, praying for a lift into the matrimonial boat in which he is about to embark. I sent him an order by his henchman settling up my account with him in full with congratulations.

Dickey — just simply Dickey — he has no other name that I am aware of — is a dried up little fellow and just a common everyday [*sic*] Indian. He lives in the first hollow east of the Mission. You would not think it to look at him but he is shrewd and cunning withal as a fox. He manages to get along in the world as well as any fullblood you could find in a day's ride. And the reason of his success is simple. He is industrious and self-denying, drops every nickle he gets in the gourd and makes provisions for a rainy day. Frequently I have dealings with him in a small way, and have become familiar with some of his methods of keeping body and soul together and laying by now and then for he generally gets the best of me. For instance, he will come, as he did today, and draw me into a conversation, appear to take much interest in the welfare of my business, perhaps by telling me that he saw my cow or hog away over yonder out of its range, inform seriously that some miscreant made away with the last side of bacon he had in the smoke house, and then get me in the notion to lay my larder under contribution in advance for a little work.

Fri. 15 John, whose surname is Phillips and who is a cousin of mine, and I went to town after a barrel of salt.

I began reading Buel's "Heroes of the dark Continent," which must be Africa. The title is high sounding but not

less so than the language used by the author. The book is large, very red and profuse with illustrations. Much light is thrown on a dark subject.

Sat. 16 Continued my perusal of the "Heroes of the Dark Continent" with increasing interest. Capt. Spekes discovery of the Nile's source excited the jealous envy of even Richard Burton; who soiled his own brilliant explorations in his efforts to appropriate that honor to himself.

In my walk this afternoon, I wandered around where Joe and Tom were quarrying rock.⁹ I have offered them a suit of clothes apiece to complete the walk begun last summer. It will be three feet wide, flaged [*sic*] and in the shape of Mr. Hall's tunning fork, running from the two front doors to the gate, sixty yards distance. They are making admirable progress and doing the work nicely. If it is good honest work that you want apply to Joe and Tom.

Sun. 17 I did not know that this was Sunday until late this evening. But that is no matter. One day is as holy to me as another.

Kept in doors all day reading.

Mon. 18 I came in personal contact today with a man who bears a name known in all corners of the earth. It was purely a business matter that brought us together. What else could induce Thomas Carlyle to lift his hat to me at my door and thus expose that Tarpeian brow to one so unworthy to behold it? His visit was a stupendous suprise [*sic*]; but I recovered sufficiently to buy his axhandles which he valued at one dollar in due bills!

Took Lowena driving in the afternoon. We drove for miles thro' the "dull gray winter woods," to borrow a phrase from my wife, without hearing a single bird sing or a crow caw. The monotony was broken however by a little girl as we were returning. She was in the road ahead of us and seeing us coming turned and fled as if for dear life down the road, disappearing in a deep hollow.

Tues. 19 Finished reading the "Heroes of the Dark Continent." From a literary standpoint, the book is a failure, and not as complete as it might be as a history. The author seems to be in too great a hurry to be done with it; which gives one the impression that his main object was to put the book on the market and as quickly as possible enjoy the pro-

⁹ Joe and Tom were evidently employees of the school.

ceeds thereof. With the rich material thus so carelessly used, Irving would have built a structure of wondrous beauty.

Heigh ho!

*A snow storm! A snow storm!
See the great white flakes fall!*

Heigh ho!

*The posts have hoods along
The lane and snow-birds sing!*

Heigh ho!

*The snow is ankle-deep
And earth's a desert now!*

Heigh ho!

*Away the prairies sweep
With only skies for shores!*

Now, by George, where are my boys?

Wed. 20 While I was at the town this afternoon, I dropt [*sic*] in at Captain Belcher's, the postmaster. I found the Captain and Mr. Smith, the saddler, engaged in spinning yarns, and I joined them. Presently, Mr. Shields, the store keeper, straggled in; and, just as he was about to lay us all in the shade with the story of how he once climed out of an un-walled well into which he had been scared, a tall man with sandy mustache and a tent pole in his nose, poked his head in the office window.

"Is there anything like a letter for me, Captain?"

"No."

"Say, Captain, do you know that there man Airheart?"

"Yes."

"Well, if he calls for my mail, you tell him there aint any. He's not safe. I wouldn't trust (him) any further than I could throw a bull by the tail. Be sure, Captain, because if I have it to do, his name will be Airheart sure 'nough." He give his mustache a twist and disappeared in the direction of the cider stand.

Thur. 21 I read old number magazines and slept a good part of the day. To burn midnight oil is to wear one's self out and be fit for nothing on the morrow. It is as necessary to avoid taxing your mind and body too much as it is to avoid over-drawing your bank account.

Fri. 22 Read the life of Julius Caesar — Plutarch's third

volume. He was a poet, a historian, an orator, a statesman, a warrior, a philosopher, and — Caesar. His versatility seems incredible.

A day or two since I let Dickey have six bushels of corn and a sack of flour, for which he agreed to haul a thousand pounds of flour for me from Checotah. Thinking that he would charge me nothing extra, inasmuch as I had paid him in advance, I added two hundred pounds of beans. Far from it. When he returned from his trip, he came in saying, "Well, I am back, but I had a pretty time of it; stuck up several times on the way. I tell you what two hundred pounds makes a big difference." I took the hint and settled with him for the beans — in clean cash — he would accept nothing else — and he went away greatly pleased.

Sat. 23 Today I began writing a series of boy hood stories, entitled "Tom and Abe and I," just simply to amuse myself and at the same time preserve in black and white those youthful recollections which I may not always remember.

Mr. Hall shouldered his double-barrelled gun bright and early this morning and went in pursuit of game. Late in the day he returned, as expected, empty handed. To hear him tell it, he came within an ace of bagging a fine, buck, just the other side of that little sandy place in the road between here and the lake.

Sun. 24 Read the life of Cato the younger, who won greater victories by simply being right than any general Rome ever had.

Mon. 25 Continued my writing on "Tom and Abe and I," but with poor success. To write well you must be in the mood for it.

Read the life of Demosthenes aloud to my wife. In acquiring, by constant application, what nature was not kind enough to give him, Demosthenes has shown that any man with a well balanced head, if he has but the will, can become a genius in some field of action.

Mr. Hall, though he cannot slide his fingers down the strings and make them shriek like a north wester through a rail fence, can handle the violin with considerable skill. To hear him attempt new pieces of music and strike a celestial note now and then is like looking at the sky on a cloudy night and once in a while seeing a star.

Tues. 26 Read the life of Cicero. "Cicero," says Plutarch, "was the one, above all others, who made the Romans feel how great a charm eloquence lends to what is good, and how invincible justice is, if it be well spoken." If Cicero's pointed sayings, for which he was remarkable, made him offensive, it also made him very famous.

Dickey popt [*sic*] up at my door today all wrapt up and buttoned up as though about to set out in search of the North Pole. He was a half hour unbuttoning his coats and removing the shawls from his neck; and, like Irving's Ten Treeches, his "drumstick" appendages were encased in divers overalls. When he was thawed out, he said "an infinite deal of nothing."

The papers stated that Mark Twain, after making a lecture tour of the world in the hope of retrieving his fortune, is now penniless in London. Poor Mark! The world has laughed with him; will it weep with him? He is sixty years old, and his courageous but unsuccessful efforts for the recovery of lost fortune is a pathetic story.

Wed. 27 That was a most enjoyable hour I spent with Capt. Belcher this morning at his office. The old Captain is an interesting conversationalist and I found him in capital humor. He is a man of extensive reading and considerable wisdom. He interested me most, however, with his knowledge of Creek history and personal recollections of the men who have helped to make it. He said the Creeks have progressed wonderfully but are for all that much further from the golden age now than they were in the days of open-air councils. For then their laws were simple and their government purer; they were more honest, paid their debts better, did not sell their per capita money to as many parties as would buy it, and in their deliberations legislated for the common good. But with the defusion, he added with emphasis, of missionary spirit and ardent spirits came the evils that threaten a revolution of their affairs.

Thurs. 28 John and I went to town. Had an hour's chat with Shields and Myers. We gave prize fighting down the country and were frank in declaring what we thought about Americans — if they be that — who accumulate fortune by peddling books and rat-traps and cap the climax by allying their families with foreign nobility — when the greatest thing is be simply an American citizen! When this interchange of sentiments was over I went and called on Isparheche who was at his office dispatching executive business right and left.¹⁰

Fri. 29 Read the life of Mark Antony, whose character in calmities [*sic*] was better than at any other time — except at Actium, where he abandoned his army and followed Cleopatria in her flight.

Took Lowena and the girls (and Mingo, our black dog) to the pond where I skated to my heart's content, to the great amusement of the girls, this being the first time they ever saw anyone on skates. I am no expert skater but I can sometimes wind my legs up and stand on my head.

Sat. 30 Mr. Hall went with me to the pond to learn the lick it is done with but succeeded only in putting on the skates.

Read the life of Marcus Brutus. The only good that resulted from his assination [*sic*] of Caesar was perhaps his own death and that of Cassius.

Sun. 31 Read the life of Artexerxes, the Persian king.

Wrote a page or two (of) short sayings for the Journal, entitled "Shells from Limbo."

February.

Mon. 1 Read the lives of Caius and Tiberius Gracchus, with whom Plutarch concludes his famous "Lives." Plutarch is certainly a master of his wit. He is as much a philosopher as a biographer.

I must compliment my wife on the sofky she made today — this being her first effort.¹¹ She, by some hook or crook, contrived to give it just the proper flavor. No one but an Indian can make sofky; Lowena can make sofky; therefore Lowena is an Indian!

We saw the sun in eclipse with smoked glasses. Mr. Hall claimed that he saw the nose of the man in the moon.

Tues. 2 The weather has at last moderated. The larks and crows have rioted all day.

¹⁰ Isparheche was Principal Chief of the Creek Nation from 1895 to 1899. Born in Alabama in 1829, of fullblood Creek parentage, he made his home before the Civil War at Cussetah Town, located about 6 miles south-east of present Okmulgee which was designated the capital of the Creek Nation in 1867. After the Civil War, Isparheche was a leader of the "Loyal Creeks," mostly fullbloods that had served in the Union Army and were opposed to any changes in the Creek government, especially the allotment of lands in severalty in later years. Through the years of turbulent politics, Ishparheche held positions of trust in the Creek Nation, the full blood Creeks believing in his judgement and rugged honesty. He died and was buried at his home near Beggs, northwest of Okmulgee in 1902.

¹¹ Sofky was the favorite Creek Indian dish made of hominy corn.

Lowena has been down with the "la grippe" since 3 o'clock this morning. Mr. Hall is confined to his room also.

Last week's issue of "Truth," "Judge" and "Up-to-date" are side splitters. "Up-to-Date" thrusts at high life are sharp enough.

Went to town — that is to Okmulgee — after medicine for the sick.

"Heard" Hall's big geography class. I have acted the parts of doctor, teacher, nurse and errand boy.

Wed. 3 Taught in Mr. Hall's place. I think I missed my calling in not becoming a teacher.

My father, accompanied by Mr. Cowin, who is a renter on my place, came about 4 o'clock and took me by surprise. I entertained them as royally as my means would permit. My father was in an extremely fine humor and treated Mr. Hall and I to a feast of common sense; while, at intervals, if not all the time—Cowin "sawed" vehemently on the fiddle. He is a pretty tolerable good fiddler and a sort of harlequin with it. "The Arkansaw Traveler" is his masterpiece; which he plays in a kind of melodrama fashion—that is to say he saws a while and repeats a dialogue awhile. All this was opportune and highly enjoyable.

(This is Lowena's birthday.)

Thur. 4 Father, Cowin and I went to town — walked. Cowin took in the sights while my father and I called on Capt. Belcher. The Capt. and my father are old time friends — knew each other before the war — and their meeting give rise [*sic*] to story telling. The "Lawyer Gion" and the "Dr. Brown" stories I intend sometimes to commit to writing.

After dinner my father and Cowin returned to Bald Hill anticipating a rough time in Deep Fork bottom and Tulledega.¹²

Kittie left us this morning for her home in Fayetteville, Ark. after a long stay in the C.O.A. John took her to Checotah via Miss Wilson's who will perhaps take Kit's place.

¹² "Bald Hill" (shown as "Ball Mountain" on U.S. Survey maps), about eight miles northwest of Eufaula, was the site of the large ranch owned by Lewis Posey. Talledega was the name of the hills southeast of Henryetta, bordering the North Canadian River. George Riley Hall had a beautiful summer home in these hills after statehood.

Feb. 5 Waited on the sick.

Read "The Arizonian" and "The Last Taschastus" aloud to Mr. Hall.

6 Miss Wilson came today to assume her duties as assistant matron in Kittie's place.

The sick are improving very slowly. Mr. Hall has a grave-yard look, but is able to puff away at his pipe. Lowena takes a turn about feeling good and feeling bad.

7 Walked down to Mr. Lynch's — found him gone. Came back, ate doughnuts and began reading the "Illiad."

I am restless. I want to get away from this place. I feel that I am not free. I want to go to my farm, and, by the gods, I am going. I will throw me up a shack, buy a couple of Possum Flat razor back sows and a cow and let public life go down the country — and political friends with it.¹³

8 Mr. Morrow and his brother arrived today from Checotah on a business visit. Sat up late and talked on all manner of subjects.¹⁴

9 Mr. Morrow and I go to Wealoka. The day right chilly. Kindly entertained by Mrs. Hordridge. In the night getting home.

10 Joe and I go to Isparheche's.

11 Read all day—newspapers.

12 Take a trip to my farm in Possum Flat. Delightful weather. The jay birds — those ever gay dandies who enliven our winter — bow and wish me well in every grove. Summer lingers in the mistletoe and the Tulledegan evergreen. Reach home at four o'clock. Sister Mattie spreads me a wholesome dinner, consisting of pork, beans, corn-bread, eggs, pies and sofky. This latter dish tasted superb. Find Bill sick in bed and Frank complaining of a severe cold — miscalled "La Grippe." John hale and hearty; at home from school on a kind of vacation. Pa and Ma and the rest of the family well. Coney very inquisitive as usual.

¹³ Alex Posey's farm was near his father's ranch at "Bald Hill."

¹⁴ Mr. Morrow was the Reverend J. S. Morrow, the Baptist missionary who lived at Atoka in the Choctaw Nation at this time. He had begun missionary work among the Seminoles in the Indian Territory before the Civil War, and during the War served as Confederate Indian Agent to the tribe. He is known in Oklahoma history as the "Father of Masonry," having reactivated the Masonic lodges in the Indian Territory after the War, beginning with the organization of the Oklahoma Lodge at Boggy Depot in 1869.

He is an interregation point. Play checkers with Frank after supper and rub a few diamonds off his championship belt.¹⁵

13 Pa and I go to Eufaula. Drive the little black mules. As we pass Richard Grayson's — Uncle Dick's lineal descendant — Pa tells me of Richard's way of avoiding detection after a successful raid on a neighbor's gang of shoats. Rich says "Jes throw de suspishun on someone else by leaving de insides er de head of de shoat right close to 'is house — trow it in 'is yard if yo' can!" Meet many friends in town; among them Abe Kite, the hide dealer, who thinks little, does little and is the happiest mortal this side Gehenna. Take dinner with Thornton. Return home at sunset and make the children happy with candy, apples, and nuts. John having cast his hook in the pond during the day, we enjoyed catfish for supper. Pa goes to bed early. I set up and read, play with the puppy and chat with ma and Mat till late.

14 Bid the home folk good bye. The day is lowery and the roads muddy. Come by the old homestead on Limbo. The place is in the last stages of decay; but how familiar and how dear! The scenes call up a thousand pretty memories. I am a boy again, delighting in play and mischief, I am struck by the pretty face of the renter-girl and am not brave enough to meet her with my bouquet of peach blooms. She stands at the kitchen window and begs for it in vain. I am with Tom and Abe in the corn field, in the "old swimming hol'", in the squirrel hunt, in the fox chase, in the hay field. Alas! that a boy grows old and leaves all this behind.

15 Joe goes to father's after a load of sweet potatoes, grown in Possum Flat's generous soil. Read Current Literature. Chat Hall, who is now able to be up. He is tickled at the fine weather and sighs for Tulledega.

16 This month's output of magazines is rubbish — Kipling's, Hall Caine's and others', who write because it pays. It is not the material in the story or the poem the magazines want but the name attached thereto.

John Gast, the chief justice of the Creeks, is my guest. Gast is a clever fellow. He talks a heap, but, unlike some guests I have had, says a heap. His figuers [*sic*] and comparisons are unique. For instance, in speaking of our deplorable condition, financially and otherwise, he said the Creek Nation is like a consumptive and its continuance as

¹⁵ The persons mentioned here were Alex Posey's brothers and sisters.

a separate government only a matter of very short time. He brings interesting news from the country about Holdenville. He says the presence of two lions in the sparsely settled districts has struck terrors into the hearts of the people. This seems incredible but he says they have been seen and chased from the carcuses of cattle and hogs. They are either lions escaped from some circus or what is more likely mountain lions emigrated.

17 Went to town with Judge Gast. John left this morning for — he did not know himself — in search of a job. I was sorry to be compelled to turn him off. But he got too independent, and I cannot put up with independence in a servant even tho he be my relative.

18 Read "Ships that Pass in the Night." A pathetic, a charming and a simple little story. The conclusion of it, however, is disappointing. The story the author introduces of "The Traveler and the Temple of Knowledge" is a rare morsel — really the best thing in the book.

Lowena gave the flowers a sunbath.

19 Spent the day with Hall reading Irving's "Tour of the the Prairies."

Capt. Callahan arrived this evening from Checotah and is a guest of the C.O.A. He is the Chief's private secretary and is on way to the Capital.¹⁶

¹⁶ Capt. Callahan—Samuel Benton Callahan—was a leading citizen of the Creek Nation for fifty years. Born in Alabama in 1833, he was of Scot and Irish descent, and one-eighth Creek Indian through his mother, Amanda Doyle Callahan. He was a student in McKenzie College at Clarksville, Texas, and was editor of the Sulphur Springs *Gazette* (Texas) before he established cattle ranching over a wide region of the Creek Nation, with headquarters at Okmulgee in 1858. He served as 1st Lieutenant in the First Creek Mounted Volunteers of the Confederate Army in 1861, and was Captain in the First Creek Regiment in 1863, resigning this position the next year to take up his duties as delegate from the Creek and Seminole nations to the Confederate Congress at Richmond, Virginia. Before his death at Muskogee in 1911, he was famous as the last living member of the Confederate Congress. Though he established ranching and farming near Muskogee after the Civil War, his residence was at Okmulgee for some years where he served in positions of trust in the Creek Nation, including clerk of the House of Kings (Senate), Justice of the Supreme Court and Creek delegate to Washington on many occasions. Thoroughly conversant in the Creek language, he accompanied the Principal Chiefs, Samuel Checote, Roly McIntosh and Isparheche as executive secretary to Washington in their day. His daughter, S. Alice Callahan, a teacher in the Creek schools, wrote *Wynema, A Child of the Forest* (Chicago, 1891), credited as the first novel written in Oklahoma. (See Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "S. Alice Callahan: Author of *Wynema, A Child of the Forest*," in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII-1955.)

20 Drive to town with Capt. Callahan; return a little before noon and the Capt. goes home.

21 Read all day.

22 Read a comment in the Review of Reviews on the arbitration treaty between Great Britian [*sic*] and United States line by line with deep interest. It seems strange that this simple and best way of settling national disputes was not thought of and resorted to long ago. It would have cost nothing and would have saved innumerable [*sic*] blood shed and unfriendly acts between nations. Posterity will have cause to be proud of Cleveland and Olney for one of the greatest diplomatic triumphs — one of the few redeeming features of the administration.¹⁷

23 Went to town with Hall. Found Judge Marshall reading a letter from Byrd Horn's to a group of Indians relative to a country in South America, whither the Indian might go to escape the trespass of the unfaithful white man.

24 Go to Checotah. Met Bill Barns just the side of Cussetah Creek. I have known Bill ever since I was knee high to a duck. He worked for my father when Tom and Abe and I were boys together. We talked of those good old days and wondered how times had changed. Bill is worried, has a half dozen children and is turning gray. Arrive at Checotah about 3 o'clock. Transact business.

25 Go over to my father's. Eat a big dinner. I enjoy eating nowhere as much as at home. Frank and John are "pitching" a crop. Bill just recovering from sickness. Dorwin, the boy of cute sayings, is my bed fellow. Coney spins improbable yarns and rides the pasture. Mattie has a lot of fun at his expense, telling how he and the light horse Captain, Barney Green, persued [*sic*] and carried fire and sword into some horse thieves.¹⁸

26 Pa and I go to Eufaula, start before daylight. Withdraw suit against Brootheors. Stidham assumes cost and damages. Come home facing a blizzard.

27 Come home. The sun shines brightly [*sic*] but not warmly. The trip long and wearisome.

28 Read. Mr. Ewing is a visitor. He preaches to the children. Lowena and I are happy over the prospect of having a new cook. Joe left on the 26th—Just pulled up and left without ceremony. He was a bird of passage.

¹⁷ Richard Olney was President Cleveland's Secretary of State.

¹⁸ The Creek law enforcement body was known as the "light horse."

March.

Cowan brought my new workhand.

Hall and I go hunting. He takes a double-barreled gun and I a winchester — prepared for all kinds of game. We find some ducks on the pond but succeeded in bagging none. After a long tramp on Okmulgee Creek we find a squirrel. My gun snaps and it runs in a hole. I shake a limb and scare it out and Hall kills it. But when it was dressed and cook [*sic*] it was so tough that it could not be masticated.

After study hour Hall and I visit the workhand and listen to Cowans Arkansaw breakdowns on the violin.

2 Our new cook is anything but a culinary artist.

I have a dreadful headache. Lowena applies hot cloths and poultices and succeeds in miltigating [*sic*] the pain somewhat.

I write the first chapter of my new book. Hall has agreed to contribute another tomorrow. Its title has not been decided on.

Joe Young, a French Creole cook, puts in his timely appearance and ends our trials with the new cook.¹⁹

3 Read a sketch of Rudyard Kipling, the story teller and poet novelist. Took Lowena to Mrs. Lynch's and went on to town.

Wrote the second chapter of my new book.

4 Inauguration day. McKinley steps in and Grover steps down and out with a good round sum—nay, a millionaire. There is more than honor in serving one's country.

If the gloomy weather without extends to Washington, the gods must be unfavorable to the pomp and pagentry indulged in by the people of the Capital.

Now that McKinley is a full fledged ruler of these United States, one can confidentially look forward to that golden era of prosperity which he has pledged himself to give us.

5 Read Burns. I find some new pleasure, some new thought, some new beauty heretofore unseen everytime

¹⁹ Joe, referred to earlier, was evidently the orphanage cook.

I read the poems of the "Ayrshire Plowman." His warm heart, his broad and independent mind "glint" like the daisy in the "histie stubble field" in every song he coraled.

Mr. Hall furbished up his gun and pulled out to Senora country on a hunt this afternoon. I am under obligation to pay half the expense of the transportation of the game. I would that all my obligations were so safely made!

Heard Hall's big geography class and took Lowena buggy driving.

6 Tried to write, but couldn't; didn't have the inspiration, nor the gift of writing anyhow like our modern writers.

Bossed the yard cleaning. The boys under my management were not of a very working kind. Played croquet with the ladies. I whitewashed them but it is not good manners to boast of it. Rendered Burns' "To a Mountain Daisy" into as good English as I was able for Hall's benefit. He says he cannot enjoy and appreciate Burns fully on account of his "horrid" dialect. I have undertaken to throw Hall into better love with the poet but, in doing so, I fear I have spoiled the poem; for it is in his dialect that Burns is sweetest.

7 Read "Twa Dogs" and "Holy Fair."

Hall came back as he went—without game. He almost got game, though,—to hear him tell it. He made the water fly up right under a big white duck and can't understand why the duck flew away alive.

8 Read "Othello."

Went to town — walked and went in my shirt sleeves. Fine cloudy weather. Spring is appearing in the meadows.

Hall shot so much lead into a poor mud duck down on the pond that it sank!

9 Wrote a poem entitled "Lines to Hall" — the burden of it being that the subject could not sing in brick walls.

Read a biographical sketch of Burns by Alexander Smith.

10 Read a criticism on Albert Pike's "Every Year" — a poem of much beauty. The writer of the critique is too much like Dr. Hornbook. The way he slings his rhetorical terms about is simply dumbfounding. The most inexcusable thing in a writer is the ostentatious display of acquire-

ments. Some of the finest poems I have met with lately are in this weeks "Arkansas Gazette."

The girls and I paid early Spring a visit this afternoon —walked away down below Dicky's on the creek.

11 Read "Death and Dr. Hornbook." Hall and I take in the sights at Okmulgee. The sights consisted mostly of nigers and sneaking "sofkies" of mixed ancestry.

12 All of a sudden I take a notion to go to Eufaula. Take Jessie with me. A cool day. Find Deep Fork up — cuss and strike out for Whaley's ferry — a dozen miles out of the way — and meet with greater difficulties. The ferryman absent. Drive in and get extremely wet. More epithets. Get home by dark — cold and hungry. Frank makes me a loan of dry clothes — but has no shoes that I can wear and I borrow mother's overshoes.

13 Bright and early pa and I are off to town. Close the deal with Stidham. Take dinner with Thornton. Very cold coming home.

14 Come home. Weather moderated. Come by way of the Senora country and cross the river at the "Big Shallows." Take dinner here.

15 Read all day. I have a good supply of late magazines. Go to town on "Cricket."

16 Read magazines. The "Singing of the Pines" by Sharlot Hall in the Midland is a fine poem. The poems in the Current Literature by Archibald Lempman are sweet and delicate — nothing grand and sweeping in them. The serial stories I pay no attention to — be they Conan Doyles', Kipling's or others who write because it takes and pays. I have but little use for fiction we are offered by the magazines. I want facts — truth elegantly dressed — interpretations of nature — something to build on and to broaden my views — something to give me a deeper understanding in all that pertains to life.

17 Read the life of Washington Irving by Chas. Dudley Warner — just published. Highly satisfactory so far as I am concerned.

18 Read Emily Dickson's [*sic*] poems.

19 Began reading the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments." Wrote a description of our dinner to Kit. Hall went to town and returned in a gallop with news of the prize fight.

20 Hall and I walk to town for exercise. Gather a boquet [sic] a piece. Hall takes the girls a walking. Lowena and I read poems to Miss Wilson.

21 Was up before daylight and scared the cook into spoiling his breakfast. I got a white sheet and made uncouth noise out side the Kitchen, letting the wind flop the sheet against the window where Joe was preparing his dough. He hollered "Whose dat?" and made distance, dropping lard in all directions. He is not over the effects of this scare yet.

Read Brann aloud to Hall.

Go out and gather Lowena a boquet of wild flowers.

Hall and I take the girls walking. Hunt wild onions, gather flowers and set the prairies on fire. Anna, Sarah and Til find sport on a grapevine. The plum trees are in bloom, the grass is up.²⁰

22 Creek Council meets today to receive the report of the delegate regarding the four hundred thousand dollars, and the outlook at Washington. I have not been down to inform myself of the proceedings and shall not go at all, unless I am called there for some other purpose than to find out what is happening. My business is here, not there. I despise to see a man hang around where he has no business.

The Honorable Judge Benjiman W. Wadsworth is again riding a free horse to death at the C.O.A. He has not outraged our toothbrushes and hair brushes as on former occasions for the reason we had by certain mysterious intunations [sic] a foreknowledge of his coming. He never misses an occasion to be where he is the least needed, and has come for the express purpose of warning the Creek legislators to be careful and not monkey too much with the Dawes.

Miss Fanny Scott is a guest of the C.O.A. faculty.

23 Began reading Irving's Life of Columbus.

Hall has had an inspiration! He has written a poem on last evening's experience in the chapel with the ladies. Music never fails to have its effect on Hall. There are some lines in the poem that bear the stamp of originality — lines not born to be read and "cast as rubbish to the void."

²⁰ Anna, Sarah, and Til were employees of the orphanage.

24 Sent Dicky to Checotah after supplies. — Continued reading Irving. — I am visited by a little dried up fellow, lame in one leg, calling himself Matt, who tried without success to sell me certain root and herb concoctions possessing marvelous virtues. — Hall and I go walking back of the field. — Misses Wilson and Lee attend the entertainment at Okmulgee, which was not a success on account of a dance.

25 Followed the “mighty minded Genoese” in his voyages of discovery.

26 This is the end of 3rd quarter. Six more weeks and we shall have done. — Lowena and I have a brown duck for dinner, with stuffing and gravy. — Read and take a horse back ride around the farm. Mr. D. N. Clark, or “Uncle Nute,” as he is called by Miss Lee, arrived this evening from Arkansas on a visit to the Misses Lees. — Dickey gets back from Checotah.

27 Read. — Mr. Hall and “Uncle Nute” take the ladies a driving to the lake.—John Phillips pays us a visit—particularly Miss Wilson.

28 Read.—Miss Wilson takes a spin. S. B. Callahan takes dinner with us.—Rainy.

29 “Uncle Nute” goes home. I did not find an opportunity to talk with him during his visit but he looked like plenty of experience and accomplishment.

O what's the reason of my joy?

The advent of a “bran” new boy!

30 Finished Irving's Columbus.

I am not in a mood yet to tell how it feels to be a father. The baby has cried enough to make me walk the floor at night. I am sorry to have to say that it looks very much like its father. We have not as yet found a handle for him.²¹

31 Begin a chapter in my book of experiences entitled “Callie.”

During the storm last night the wind blew a tub thru the hall and dispossessed Hall of his wits.

Hall is planning to write a story, the scene of which is to be laid on Canadian River.

Send Joe to Checotah after Kit.

Hall and I visit town.

²¹ The parents finally decided to name their first born son Yahola.

April.

1 All Fools' Day. I have fooled and been fooled all day. Everybody has laughed today.

Begin reading Ik. Marvel's "Dream Life." In sweetness of fancy and purity of language Marvel cannot be surpassed [*sic*]. His prose is first class poetry.

Mr. Hall and Miss Lee go to town after supper. Hall goes to hear and see the phonograph and Miss Lee goes to stay all night with Miss Scott.

2 Read.—Joe returns from Checotah.—The cook entertains Hall and me by telling us of his soldier life in the west. He served under Custer in a campaign against the Cheyennes. He describes Custer as a red faced, long haired daring calvary [*sic*] leader—of many deeds and few words. It was funny to hear him tell of a campaign they once made against a certain tribe of red skins who had abandoned their reservation, and taken refuge in the mountain fortresses near the Mexican line; and how they dislodged and thoughtlessly chased them into Mexico and how they were chased back across the Rio Grande by Mexican troops. "Didn't you have enough men to give the Mexicans battle?" Hall asked. "Yes; we could have killed every mother's son of them," answered Joe; "but you see we were a way over in Mexico!"

3 Wrote a poem, which Hall criticized favorably. Read. Jeff Hall comes.²²

4 Chatted with the poet and his brother most of the morning.²³ I build air castles. Plan a home in a Bald Hill valley. Remark that if I cannot build the kind of house I want I will content myself with a shack.—Take the girls walking and gather flowers on Cussetah. Bring back a spray of red bud in bloom for Lowena.—The cook returns.

5 Hall and I go fishing. Though unsuccessful we had a fine dinner. Robison begins planting corn.

6 Read. Write a poem entitled "The Two Clouds."

7 Roberson, the work hand, and I start to Checotah. It is cold and rainy. Find Cussetah up and head it as we do the rest of the streams on our way. We go the prairie (road) and go thro' a hundred pastures and more gates—coming to one every five minutes. Roberson looks at (them) like a mad bull at a red cloth but says nothing. An acci-

²² Jeff Hall was George Riley Hall's brother.

²³ Posey, in many places, calls Hall "The Poet."

dent befalls us but fortunately near a house. Roberson drives into a ditch and broke the coupling pole of his wagon. He sums up the situation with "damnation!" and "h-l f-e" thrown in for good measure. We borrow a coupling pole and reach Checotah O. I. [sic]

8 Friday is an unlucky day it is said and I believe it. I start to Eufaula by way of Berry Hill's ferry and lose my team by drowning. Fanny gets scared and pushes Maud off the boat and follows her. I save myself but it is a narrow escape. We save the buggy and harness by dint of hard work. I send one of the ferrymen to Eufaula for a livery team. A storm comes up. I wait. After so long the liveryman comes. Get to town about dark. Eat a huge supper. Misfortune does not effect my appetite. Get a shave and go to the concert with Thornton.

9 Spend the day in Eufaula. Thornton and I take dinner with Whitmore. Pa returns from Checotah on the "Flyer" and Frank takes us home.

10 Frank, Bill, John and I play croquet. Lot of visitors. The carpenters from Checotah come and I show them where I contemplate building.²⁴

11 Pa and I take a drive around Bald Hill and select a place for a pasture. Take dinner with Jim Price.

12 Pa lets me have a buggy team. Coney and I go to town. From there I go to Checotah, accompanied by W. T. Banks, the lawyer.

13 Come home after nearly a weeks absence. Find the folks just on the point of sending the Poet in search of me.

14 Read and rest all day.

15 The Poet and Anna go to Checotah. The work hand, the cook and I go to town.

16 Read all day—play croquet.

17 Mr. Shields and a young doctor take dinner and chat with the ladies. Shields, they say, cracked jokes at his own expense. Jeff Hall is a visitor. The Poet and Anna return from Checotah.

19 Not well—in bed all day—read Burns. Get up before supper and play croquet. Send a poem to the "Inquirer."

20 Read Burns. Help Lowena water the flowers. Joked the cook.

²⁴ Frank, Bill, and John were Alex Posey's brothers.

21 The Greek and the unspeakable Turk are at war. The war in Cuba is about ended. Spain unable to maintain her army on the island owing to her exhausted means. Long live free Cuba! Paul Kruger and John Bull are far from being on intimate terms. A good shaking up would only be for the good of England. It will rot and fall to pieces without something of the kind.

Hall and I take a walk to the pond. Sit on the grass and watch the white caps break. I tell him how nice it is to watch the waves break on the shore of Lake Michigan.

22 Wrote a stanza. Read "Puck" and "Judge." Played croquet with Miss Rose. Lowena has a chill.²⁵

23 Laid around and read Burns most of the day. What an inactive life I am leading here! I want change of air, of place and habits of life.

24 Lowena has another chill and becomes so sick that I send for the doctor.

25 Such a cool, clear day. Lowena is much better—able to walk to the kitchen for her meals. The Poet and I take a long stroll in the hills back of the C. O. H. farm. Find a beautiful glen and a water fall—lay and rest on the mossy rocks; and would sleep here but for the fear of centipedes (on the Poet's part). We sit apart—one on one side of the glen and the other on the other side—and repeat the following extemporaneous verses alternately:

*If I were rich, wee mountain stream,
I would not sit by thee and dream,
But loiter on a silken cot
And sigh for pleasures that are not.
The wrens above me in the trees
And thou below me in the glen —
To see thee turn and twist, and then,
To hear the whispering of the breeze,
The mossy rock's the seat of ease.
To have a soul attuned to all
The bird-songs and the water-fall,
The beauties of the earth and air
That charm the senses anywhere,
And satisfy the spirit's need,
Ah, this is to be rich indeed!²⁶*

²⁵ Miss Rose must have been one of the teachers at the orphanage school.

²⁶ The two poets were extremely clever in finding rhymes.

26 Read—sleep. Take Lowena out driving. Visit the place where the Poet and I wrote the poem yesterday; cross Cussetah, go out on the prairie beyond and return by way of the Porter place. Fresh scenes and fresh air.

27 Write a rattle snake poem. Play croquet. While we are thus engaged a thunder storm approaches and we narrowly escape from being lightning struck. Miss Rose, Amanda and I had our heads shocked while Joe Grayson's ankle was jolted.

28 Just the sort of day I like! Great woolly clouds—signs of coming showers—cool winds—birds singing everywhere—and the fields are fresh and green. I stroll and let fancy have her way.

29 Hall and I aim our humor at a lone prairie schooner with "sails furled and headed Arkansasward."

Bro. Bill arrives on a short visit, accompanied by Kirkpatrick, a former inn keeper at Checotah. They tell, in the way of news, of a cloud burst recently on the North Fork, causing the river to rise 20 feet in less than a half hour and sweeping away the railroad bridge; also of the extinction of the town of Shawnee, in Oklahoma, night before last, by a cyclone.

30 Bill and his companion return. I dive into Burns' songs.

May 1st.

Read Burns and played croquet.

2 Took Lowena buggy driving. Went to Deep Fork. The river is out of its banks and has turned philosopher. The lake is brimfull and "o'er hung with wild woods thick'ning green—a beautiful scene! See a jack rabbit for the first time. When we return has sad news. He is without "Star." We go to town after some and come back well supplied.²⁷

3 Send off two poems to the papers—"Lines to Hall" and "Daisy." The last is a tribute to my little brother, Dorwin's, pet dog.

Give the students a lecture.

This is the last week of school and the fact gives me

²⁷ Posey is referring to "the Poet." "Star" clearly means that brand of chewing tobacco.

no little pleasure. I want to get out of brick walls—out of politics and be a common citizen. No more do I intend to be a government servant, and will not be a servant for any individual.²⁸

4 Finish reading Burns.

5 Dicky gets back from Checotah. Received a bill of books from Kinsley. Poems of Whitman, Shelley and Bret Harte; "Wet Days at Edgewood," "My Farm of Edgewood" by Donald G. Mitchel, "Ike Marvel," and the "Building of the City Beautiful" by Joaque[sic] Miller. My idle moments during the summer will be spent with these.

6 Yahola is sick all day. Go to town after medicine for him. Hall and I walk down and return with Blackstone in the buggy.

John Phillips comes to witness our entertainment tomorrow night which promises well.

7 Begin reading "My Farm of Edgewood," a book that promises to be entertaining. The first chapter has lifted my face to blue skies, with here and there a white cloud dreamily drifting; has taken me to the mountain top overlooking cosy New England hamlets, arms of the sea and glimpses of the lordly Hudson in the distance.

This is the last day of school. Our work is ended and our large family broken up. The entertainment was a roaring success. There was not room sufficient to accommodate visitors. Ellis Grayson and Rufus Marshall took down the house in the "Tooth Carpenter." The impersonation of the "Sheperdess" by Anna Howell was fine; and her recitation, "The Old Woman's Complaint" could not be excelled. Miss Wilson played the "Rose Act" to perfection. The "Bonnet Drill" by sixteen girls—what words shall I use to describe it? The instrumental music by Mr. Hall and Miss Rose Lee, altho' a little "dancy" sometimes, was highly enjoyable. It was all good!

8 The school is closed and the children in a bustle preparing to go home. Play croquet.

²⁸ Posey's desire to be free of service with the government was never fully realized. After his retirement from the orphanage, he was superintendent of the Eufaula school for a brief period and then became editor of the Eufaula "Journal." In this position, he began the publication of the "Fus Fixico Letters" purporting to be the conversation in Indian dialect of four elderly Creeks, politicians and political leaders. These letters were published in various newspapers throughout the U.S. and brought Posey national recognition.



FACULTY AT THE CREEK ORPHAN HOME, 1897

Standing on the porch, left to right: Mrs. Alexander Posey and two of the women teachers, probably Miss Wilson (center) and Miss Lee. Standing front row, left to right: Alexander Posey and George Riley Hall.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

9 Go to Muscogee with Brother Bill in response to my father's request.

10 Lay around—or rather stand around the court house waiting for Bill's case to be called. It is not called. Go to

11 Checotah, returning to Muscogee Tuesday morning with Hall. Lay around again all day. Hall takes in the sights—if a mixture of brick and shanty house, unpaved and crooked streets, filled with negroes and hungry business men, with never an "honest Injun" to be seen, can be called sights.—Bill's case is called and dismissed on lack of sufficient evidence.—We all, that is my father, Bill and Hall and I go to a show, which turns out a very cheap and mean affair—if not vulgar.

12 Hall and I come home. Pa and Bill take the train for Eufaula.

13 Sleep all day and dread going back to Muscogee as much as Lowena hates to have me go.

14 Read. After dinner, Ellis Grayson and I start to Checotah.

15 Take the train—I for Muscogee and Ellis for Wagoner, where he goes to spend vacation. I am a witness before the Grand Jury but my case is not called—dispite the fact the prosecuting attorney promises three hundred time(s) to call the case up. A white man never made a promise with an Indian that he kept.²⁹

16 Spend the Sabbath at Mr. Garland's three miles from town—a beautiful place—genuine hospitality and our brimming good cheer. Visit Byrd Horn's and talk about emigrating to South America or Mexico—any where away from Congress and the Dawes Commission.

17 My case before the Grand Jury is called and I testify. Receive a telegram from Lowena about three o'clock saying "Baby very sick. Come at once." The train six hours late. Get to Checotah about 3 o'clock and drive home.

18 Get home before nine. Never so glad or sleepy. Find baby better. Sleep.

19 Sleep and caress Yahola.

²⁹ George Washington is alledged to have once said that he never knew of a controversy between an Indian and a white man in which the white man was not proved to be wrong.

20 Get a nurse for baby.

21 Read "My Farm of Edgewood." Yahola better. Nurse kind and good to him.

We have a pack of young curs. The fattest and the "cutest" little fellows in the world.

22 Write a stanza. The gist of it being, don't censure the world until you have tried to make it better.—Continued reading Donald Mitchell.—Lowena and I go walking and gather a boquet of wild flowers apiece.

23 Read "My Farm of Edgewood" and slept like a Dutchman.

24 Did the same over.

25 Finished read[ing] "My Farm of Edgewood." Donald Mitchell, like Irving, never tires me. Can beautiful language, faultless and pure, delightful descriptions of Nature, so true that you hear the rustling of the poplar leaves, and philosophical excursions ever tire?

26 Read—Go to town and pay my debts.

27 Revise a chapter of my new book and read same to my wife and Miss Wilson. They think it readable.³⁰

28 Over haul another chapter of my new book.—Joe returns from Checotah.

29 Read new magazines. *Cosmopolitan* and *Current Literature* good numbers.

Prof. Hall, accompanied by Mr. Ray, are our guests. Our visitors are both musically inclined and we have a lot of music.

30 Hall and Companion go home and with them two of our girls—Liza and Cindy.—Read and revise another chapter.

31 Read and take care of baby Yahola—the brightest and sweetest young one in the world—while Lowena makes preparations for departure tomorrow for Arkansaw by way of Grandpa's and Grandma's at Bald Hill.—Hall is to hold the fort in our absence.

³⁰ Apparently the book mentioned has never been published.

June.

1 Lowena, Yahola and I depart for Arkansaw by the route indicated in the above entry. The drive thro' the Senora and Tulledega countries is highly pleasant. The recent rains have made the streams to look like naughty children after crying—Deep Fork and Wolf Creek in particular. An elm with curled and twisted limbs on the latter stream amuses me by reminding me of a stingy Jew's whiskers. Tie the buggy wheels descending Tulledega — Lowena and baby walk down. Ferry North Fork. Reach my father's place about five o'clock. It rains.

2 Yahola is sick but not serious. Yesterday's trip was too hard for the little fellow. My father and I scare the renters on the farm into fits with false faces. We run them out of the cotton patches and out of their homes and out of their wits. I played the part of the hag and my father that of the devil before day.³¹

3 Yahola is better. Pa. and I go over to Richman's to see Boone about a claim. Boone has acted the dog in the manger with me. I staked off a claim not long since and he has gone and staked it off for himself. The conference does not result in a settlement. Boone is contentious—a man in the wrong always is.

4 I take three wagons and a half dozen hands and run around Boone's stakes. In all [I] stake off about a mile square pasture. I pay Boone back in his own coin and in some of my own. Lowena and I start to Checotah at 12 o'clock.

5 Take the morning train for Fayetteville. Transfer at Wagoner. The Valley route proves rough. Get to Ft. Smith at twelve. Forty-one cabmen contend with each other for our baggage and patronage. I had rather be attacked by a band of outlaws than these men. We put up at a hotel until 4 o'clock when we take the "Cannon Ball" for our destination, arriving at seven. Mountain sceneries many and pretty.

6 Lowena is back at her old home and is satisfied but I am not. Read and stay in doors for the rain is pouring down. Walk out with Mr. Harris and take a look at the Greg farm.³²

³¹ Evidently Alex Posey and his father were both fond of practical jokes.

³² 'Her old home' was Fayetteville, Arkansas, as previously noted. Mr. Harris was Lowena's father.

7 Come home despite Lowena's pleading. Come by way of South McAlester.

8 At one o'clock I am at the C.O.H. Fresh breezes and contentment.

9 Hall goes home. Rest—read.

10 Clean up and make a hammock. Am very industrious.

11 Get lonesome. Receive a letter from Lowena. More lonesome.

Write a poem. After dinner hitch up Cayenne and Pepper and drive to Checotah.

12 Take the train for Fayetteville. Lay over 3 hours at South McAlester. Leave at twelve and arrived at destination at seven. Lowena is expecting me and is not surprised.

13 Visit the confederate cemetery with Mr. Harris to see the newly dedicated monument, "A tribute to Southern Women." Visit the mentioned cemetery and drive over town.

14 Lowena, Yahola and I come home. Have a pleasant trip.

15 Arrive at C. O. H. at half past four.

16 Rest—read. Bro. Bill comes on a short visit. Hall goes to Checotah and will return with Kit.

17 Laid in my barrel stave hammock and read Joaquin Miller's "Builders of the City Beautiful." Whatever Miller writes is charming and this book is no exception.

18 Wrote a stanza "To a Mocking Bird." Hall's criticism of the same is favorable. Read Aesop's Fables.

19 Hall and I go to Bald Hill. Take dinner with Mr. Ray. Hall shows me his crop and we predict good results. The drive from here on is rough but pleasant. We reach my father's about sundown—eat a big supper and talk.

20 This is the hottest day we have had. Old Sol shines without compunction. The conversation between my father and the Poet is worth hearing. My father whets his wits on "organizations and combinations, political, religious and otherwise."

After dinner, Hall and I went over to Sandy Land to attend "a singing," which we discovered to be a gathering of renter folks; where the young awkward boys and girls sparked most unceremoniously and the old farmers and their wives talked of corn and cotton and their neighbors between "Hark! From the Tomb" and "What a Friend We Have," etc, etc.³³

21 We return. Reaching North Fork we find the ferryman absent and wait here 3 or 4 hours. In the meantime the Poet strips and wades the river and goes to Burney for tobacco.

22 Rest. The Poet goes back to Ray's to look after his crop.

23 Lay in the hammock and read the "Star."

July.

10 Capt. Callahan, of Checotah, takes dinner with us.

11 Mr. Hall returns to look after his business at Senora. From there he expects to go to San Antonio, Texas, on a visit to his sister. He is to write us a letter sitting on the Alamo.

12 Miss Lee, who has been our guest during the Institute, leaves this morning for her home at Booneville, Ark. She will spend the next six weeks at Eureka.³⁴

24 Take the excursion fever and go to Galveston. Spend a day and a half there taking in the sights and turning somersaults in the Mexican wave. Stop at the Brock Hotel—an emense [*sic*] place and charges in proportion. Go out on a steamer with two sail boats hitched on the sides. Waves become boisterous and the sail boats jamming against the steamer, water splashing everywhere, on everybody, irrespective of rank and dignity, and cause some excitement. There are two sweethearts on board and [they] make sundry soft remarks. For instance, "Love, if we were away out yonder where we couldn't see a thing, we'd sure see lots of water, wouldn't we?"—The moss woods beyond the Brazos—how beautiful! The maidens this side and beyond—oh!

³³ Sandy Land must have been a local schoolhouse.

³⁴ Evidently Eureka Springs, Arkansas.

Aug. 28 Hall returns from Checotah with Miss Wright, our new teacher, who is from "Ole Virginny." We expected them yesterday, but, the Poet having some important business to attend to out east of Checotah, delayed their leaving Checotah yesterday.

29 S. B. Callahan pays us a short visit in the morning on his way home from Council.—John throws up his job and goes to Checotah.—The Poet and the ladies (Misses Wright and Harris), my wife and myself and the children go to the camp meeting, which is in progress west of town. The Poet and Ladies became entangled in the Deep Fork woods and are lost a half a day; while our crowd has vexation with a wagon tire, which, catching our heads turned, would leave the wheel and dash away as if for life.—We have a superb dinner—many dainties—among other things a Chocolate cake made in Virginia—thanks to Miss Wright! Come home as soon as dinner is over.—Dolly and Fay outstrip Cayenne and Pepper in a buggy race—to the great satisfaction of the Poet and the Ladies.

30 The Poet goes to Senora.

Miss Wright, Cindy Jacobs, Mrs. Posey, Master Yahola and myself go pearl hunting on Deep Fork. Miss Wright rides Cricket and the rest of us go in the buggy. The outing is highly enjoyed and not without success. We gather some live mussels and bring them home and lo and behold Miss Wright finds a pearl in one of them! Joe and I think to fool her with oyster pearls but the joke is turned.

We discover the spring of perennial youth and eight and nine cupsfull respectively. Yahola participated in the sports with equal pleasure.

Returned before 3 oclock and eat an extremely palatable dinner.

31 Joe and I go pearl hunting—away up Deep Fork in the wildest Joe has ever been in. We find pleasure but no precious stones.

Hall is back from Senora. In extremely good spirit.

Sept. 1 My mother, accompanied by Bill, Frank, Jim and Master Mendum arrived today on a visit. This is the first long trip my mother has taken in years.

2 My mother, Frank and Master Mendum leave early

for Newyoka where they go to visit her aunt, returning after dark.

Miss Rose Lee and Supt. Land of Euchee are here for the night.

Eat watermelons, throw seeds and rinds at each other!

A perfect melee! The Poet does not participate for reasons best known to himself.

3 Mother, Frank, Jim and Master Mendum return to Bald Hill. Bill remains and will act as "for me" for the C.O.A.

4 Read. Go horse back riding with Lowena. Johnson Tiger comes to assume his duties as principal.³⁵

³⁵ Johnson Tiger was a member of the distinguished Creek family, who had come to assume the position held by George Riley Hall as principal of the Creek Indian Orphanage school.

A HISTORY OF COUNCIL GROVE IN OKLAHOMA

*By Ray Asplin**

The history of Council Grove is as old, interesting and varied as any part of Oklahoma. The place was an ideal meeting place for the Indians in the early times, because there was a good spring of water near the river and a large grove of oak, cottonwood and elm trees which furnished a shade. It was called Council Grove because tribes of the Plains Indians including the Kiowas and Comanches, gathered here during the years for councils. There was also an Indian burial ground nearby, but there is no evidence of it now. Mr. J. Roy Abernathy tells of seeing many Indians gathered at the spring, periodically, even after 1900.¹

The area of Council Grove covered approximately three and a half square miles. It included the land south of Northwest Thirty-ninth Street in Bethany and Warr Acres, along U.S. Highway 66, extending south to the Rock Island Railroad tracks near West Reno Street in Oklahoma City and from the North Canadian River east, three miles to the vicinity of MacArthur Boulevard. The old spring is located between the Northwest Tenth Street Bridge and the Lake Overholser Dam, in the willows below the dam.²

In 1858, Jesse Chisholm opened a trading post at Council Grove, just east of the North Canadian River, on land that was later homesteaded by Mr. J. A. "Uncle Jimmy" Young in 1889. Chisholm was on friendly terms with all the Indians of the Southern Plains region, and could go among them to trade, even when they were at war with the white people.³

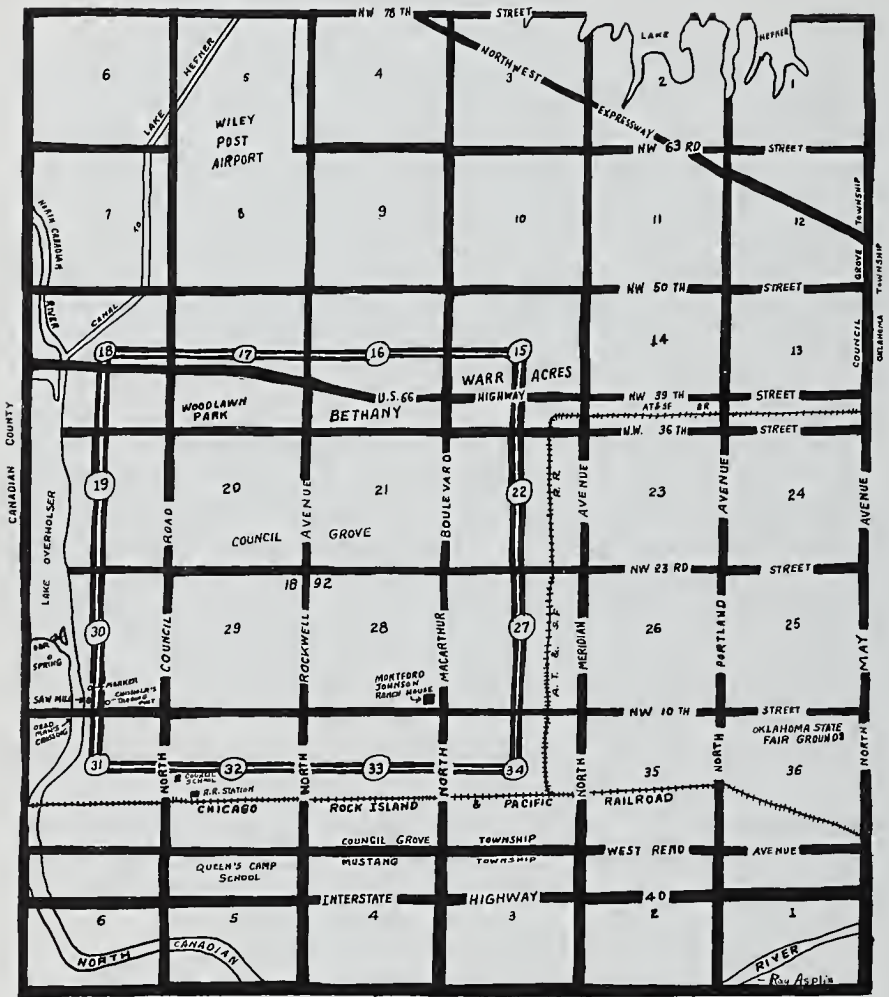
Jesse Chisholm was born in Tennessee in 1806. He became a famous scout, guide, interpreter and trader. His father, Ignatius

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¹ Unpublished manuscript, "Council Grove," p. 1, by a Committee of the Council Grove Chapter of the D.A.R. in the Newspaper Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

³ Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma*, Vol. I (Chicago and New York: American Historical Society, 1916), p. 165.



MAP OF COUNCIL GROVE

Military Timber Reservation in Twp. 2 N., R. 4 W.—Fort Reno, Indian Territory, established by Order of the President of the United States, April 20, 1889. The Township (36 sections) shown gives present day streets and highways within limits of Oklahoma City. Council Grove (shown within double lines =) covers four sections (20, 21, 28, 29) and parts of sections (15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34). Queen's Camp School was south in Section 5 of Mustang Township.

Chisholm was a white man of Scotch descent and his mother was a Cherokee Indian woman. He migrated west, before the Cherokees left Arkansas, and settled for a while on Spadra River in Western Arkansas.⁴

About 1825, he and his mother and his aunt Tiana Rogers arrived at Ft. Gibson in the Indian Territory. A few years after their arrival at Ft. Gibson, his aunt Tiana Rogers married Sam Houston who had known them in Tennessee. In a few years Sam Houston went to Texas to fight in the Texas Revolution and become the president of the Republic of Texas. Tiana refused to go to Texas so the couple was separated. For over forty years Jesse Chisholm was a factor in the affairs of the Southwest, not only in the old Indian Territory, but also in Texas, New Mexico, Kansas and Arkansas.⁵

Jesse Chisholm made his way west and stopped at Edward's Store, which was located five miles south of the present city of Holdenville, Oklahoma on the south bank of Little River. After three years at the Edward's Store, he married Miss Eliza Edwards, a member of the Creek Tribe. He entered into partnership with his father-in-law and started those memorable treks to the west and traded with the civilized Indians as well as with the roving Plains Indians. Jesse Chisholm was a traveling trader.⁶

Jesse Chisholm had established a store at Chisholm Spring, two miles east of the present town of Asher, Oklahoma, about the time of his marriage to Eliza Edwards. The large spring along the trail gave clear cool water and served as a camp ground for Indians on their way to Edward's Store. This was a midway point between Edward's Store on Little River, thirty-two miles to the east and the Chouteau Trading Post near Lexington to the west.⁷ He had learned that the Plains Indians were adverse to traveling trails through timbered country, and for this reason found this location more favorable than that at Edward's Store.

In 1850 he took possession of the trading post which had been established by Colonel A. P. Chouteau, shortly before his

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

⁵ T. U. Taylor, *Jesse Chisholm* (Bandera, Texas: Frontier Times, 1939), p. 24.

⁶ T. U. Taylor, "In The Land of the Chisholms," *Frontier Times*, Vol. 15, pp. 495-496.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 496.

death in 1838, and conducted much of his Indian trade from this base, near the present site of Lexington.⁸

In 1858 he continued on northwest and established a trading post at Council Grove on the North Canadian River. Here he gained great influence among the tribes of the Southwest, by whom he was recognized, not merely as a friend, but as a counselor, arbiter and brother as well. He was an adopted brother of the Wichita and Caddo tribes.⁹

A large part of Chisholm's trading operations were on the open range with wagons drawn by oxen, horses or mules. He equipped his trains, and went into the center of the Indian tribe, for he had learned, early that the wild Indians did not like to come east into the Cross Timber region, and hence he would go to them. He packed his trains with the merchandise that they liked, such as red calico, beads, paints, but he never took them whiskey. He was methodical in his business transactions, employing a man to keep records and accompany him on the trading expedition into the wilderness where he bartered with the Indians in their camps.¹⁰

Jesse Chisholm himself was preeminently a man of peace, his services as a mediator and peacemaker were always in demand at every peace council in Kansas, North Texas and the Indian Territory. It is said that he could speak fourteen different languages and was frequently called upon to act as an interpreter between the army officers and the Indians of the wild tribes. He was known early as a "square shooter, a square dealer and a man with a straight tongue." He not only served as an interpreter for the United States Army officials but was a great influence among the Indian warriors as a peacemaker and pathfinder.¹¹

He was always a good Samaritan. The Comanches found that they could capture white children in Texas and sell them to Jesse Chisholm in Oklahoma. The wild tribes including the Comanches of Texas, learned that the white children had a high commercial value and all that had to be done, was to get in touch with Edward's Store. Parents as far away as Bastrop County Texas went to Edward's Store to get news of their lost children.¹²

Jesse Chisholm, himself, bought nearly a dozen of these

⁸ Joseph B. Thoburn, "Jesse Chisholm — A Stalwart Figure In History," *Frontier Times*, Vol. 13, p. 330.

⁹ T. U. Taylor, *Jesse Chisholm*, pp. 52-53.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹² T. U. Taylor, *op. cit.* in *Frontier Times*, Vol. 15, p. 496.

children, who had been held in bondage among the Comanches and Kiowas. Some of these captives, most of whom were Mexicans were adopted and reared in his home as members of his own family and became useful citizens in this part of the country.¹³

In 1859, Colonel Benjamin L. E. Bonneville,¹⁴ Congressman John S. Phelps of Missouri,¹⁵ and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Collins, with a troop of 180 soldiers went to Council Grove to meet with the leaders of the Comanches. The purpose of this meeting was to try to persuade the Comanches to cease their hostilities against the white people and to create a more friendly relation between them. The Comanches were unfriendly and suspicious when they saw the troops, no doubt mindful of the attack upon their camp while on the way to Fort Arbuckle on a peaceful mission in 1858. They refused to trust the peaceful intention and professions of the white man. They broke their camp on the North Canadian in great confusion and fled northward upon the approach of the troops, and the meeting at Council Grove failed.¹⁶

¹³ Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, p. 364.

¹⁴ Benjamin Louis Eulalie Bonneville, born in France in 1793, was an intimate friend of General Lafayette. The Bonneville family won disfavor by denouncing Napoleon Bonaparte and were exiled to America. Benjamin graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1815. He served in the army on the frontier posts until 1819, later he was engaged in the construction of military roads. During this time he served at Ft. Smith and at Ft. Gibson in Indian Territory. For a time he served in New York as secretary to General Lafayette. He later returned to Ft. Gibson and from there headed an expedition into the Rocky Mountains. He was away for four years, during which he made notes of his expedition, which he sold to Washington Irving who published the book, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*. Bonneville served with distinction in the Mexican War, was later advanced to the rank of colonel and retired in 1861. He entered active service again during the Civil War and in 1865 he was breveted Brigadier General. In 1866, he retired from the army. He moved to Ft. Smith, Arkansas where he died on June 12, 1878. — W. J. Ghent, *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1934), Vol. II, p. 438.

¹⁵ John Smith Phelps, born at Simsbury, Connecticut in 1814, was son of Congressman Elisha Phelps of Connecticut. He graduated from Trinity College in 1832, studied law under his father, and was admitted to the bar in 1835. He married Mary Whitney of Portland, Maine in 1837, and moved to Springfield, Missouri. In 1840 he was elected to the Missouri Legislature. In 1844 he was elected to Congress and served for eighteen years. He organized the Phelps Regiment which he led during the Civil War in battles in Missouri and Arkansas. In 1862 he served as Military Governor of Arkansas appointed by President Lincoln. After the Civil War he was elected Governor of Missouri. He died on November 20, 1886. — H. Edward Nettles, *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1934). Vol. XIV, p. 530.

¹⁶ Joseph B. Thoburn and Isaac M. Holcomb, *A History of Oklahoma* (San Francisco: Doub and Company, 1908), pp. 70-71.

Chisholm abandoned his trading post at Council Grove in 1861, because of the Civil War. He was among the Loyal Creeks, Shawnees and other Indians in the exodus or migration to a place of safety on the Arkansas River in Kansas. They settled on Chisholm Creek, just east of the present city of Wichita, Kansas.¹⁷

The influence of Jesse Chisholm prevailed in central Oklahoma and many of the Indians remained neutral during the Civil War. Toward the last years of the war, the Comanches and other wild tribes in the Indian Territory came to the Wichita village on the Arkansas River to trade with him. He eventually was persuaded to return to the Canadian River region as a trader.¹⁸

In March 1865, Jesse Chisholm loaded some wagons with the usual hunter and trader supplies of coffee, tobacco, sugar, blankets, and small items of hardware, accompanied by James R. Mead, another trader, proceeded southward on the faint traces of the trail made by the retreating Federal garrisons of Indian Territory military bases in the spring of 1861. Chisholm made his way to the Canadian valley and reopened his trading post at Council Grove.¹⁹

The route selected on his return to Council Grove was a good one. A few years later it became part of the famous Chisholm Trail, used by Texas cattlemen seeking a northern outlet for their cattle at Abilene, Kansas. While Jesse Chisholm had little to do with the cattle industry, the trail was named for him. A few years later the Chicago Rock Island and Pacific Railroad followed this same route into Texas, and today U.S. Highway 81 in Oklahoma parallels this same route, with markers designating it as the Chisholm Trail.²⁰

Chisholm re-established his trade in beaver and otter pelts and in deer, elk and buffalo hides. Early in 1866, he had collected a great pile of pelts, beaver, otter, deer, elk, wolf and buffalo, which he hauled to Kansas City. He extended his business activities up the North Canadian River into the present Blaine County where he established a salt works.²¹

Disorder and uncertainty reigned in the Indian Territory, during the last year of the Civil War. Most of the leaders in the

¹⁷ Unpublished Manuscript, "Council Grove," p. 2.

¹⁸ Joseph B. Thoburn, *op. cit.*, *Frontier Times*, Vol. 13, p. 331.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

²⁰ T. U. Taylor, *Jesse Chisholm*, p. 194.

²¹ Unpublished Manuscript, "Council Grove," p. 2.

Five Indian nations now began to realize that they had been and were being used as a buffer to protect the Confederate States on their borders. With that realization came a desire to change this situation.²²

The Confederacy could no longer protect the Civilized Indians from the Plains Indians when the forts which had formerly been the barrier against the raids of the wild tribes would not be manned by the troops of the United States. The devastation of their country and chaos among their people caused them to seek redress by an organization of themselves into an Indian league.²³ While the Confederates showed little inclination to curry favor with the United States by repudiating their alliances, they did make strong efforts to unite with the Plains tribes and Union Indians as a means of approaching peace talks.²⁴

Early in 1865, Major Israel J. Vore, Confederate tribal agent for the Creek Nation under General S. Kirby Smith, Commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department of the Confederate Army sent word to the Plains Indians that some commissioners with authority from the Confederate States should meet with them at the great peace council of all the Indian tribes. It was proposed that this meeting be held at Council Grove on May 15, 1865, and this was strongly urged in General Smith's communication. He was firm in the belief that an alliance could be made with these tribes.²⁵ Governor Throckmorton of Texas and General Albert Pike were originally named delegates to represent the Confederacy. General Pike refused to serve and Colonel W. D. Reagan was appointed in his place.²⁶ The Plains tribes sent delegates, and upon arriving in the vicinity of Council Grove, word was brought in by scouts that a Federal military force was being organized in Kansas to prevent or disrupt the meeting at Council Grove. Thereupon the delegations that had already gathered, proceeded south and west to Cottonwood Grove, two miles west of the present town of Verden on the

²² Anna Lewis, "Camp Napoleon," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* Vol. IX, (1931), p. 359.

²³ Victor E. Harlow, *Oklahoma—Its Origin and Development* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1934), p. 196.

²⁴ Edwin C. McReynolds, *Oklahoma—A History of the Sooner State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 1954), p. 222.

²⁵ *The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: The Government Printing Office 1880-1901), Vol. XLVIII, Part II, p. 1266.

²⁶ Unpublished Manuscript, "Council Grove," p. 3.

Washita River and set up camp which they called Camp Napoleon. They called the meeting ten days later.²⁷

Most of the Western tribes, including the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Lipan, Osage and Caddo were represented and numbered 6,000 or more.²⁸ The principal chiefs of the Creek and Seminole Nations, joined in an address urging all Indian tribes or bands, including those who had adhered to the Federal government and opposed the Confederacy to drop all past differences and become parties of a peace compact.²⁹

The council was highly successful. It resolved on a permanent peace among the Indians and renewed their pledges to union. The purpose of the Civilized tribes is apparent in the compact which the tribes signed. This provided for perpetual friendship among all Indians, forbade the warpath among themselves forever and stated: "The motto or principle of the Confederate Indian Tribes shall be; 'An Indian shall not spill another Indian's blood.'"³⁰

In 1866 when Jesse Chisholm and his friend James R. Mead took the load of furs to Kansas City, they went to Leavenworth, Kansas. They happened to pass a photographic shop, and Mead induced Chisholm to enter and have his picture taken. Mead did not know the contribution he was making to history when he induced Chisholm to have his picture taken. This was the only photograph ever made of Jesse Chisholm.³¹

Although Jesse Chisholm was in poor health after 1865, he continued in pursuit of his trading business. He was a good business man and a successful trader, yet such was his generosity and charity that he never amassed as much wealth as a more selfish man might have done under similar circumstances.³²

In 1866, he saw the first herd go up the trail that he had followed from Wichita. This herd was driven by Captain Henry Spikes of what is now Bryan County, Oklahoma. Later many herds were driven over this route to Abilene, Kansas, and was known far and wide as the Chisholm Trail. Before Jesse Chisholm died, over a half-million Texas steers were driven over this trail.³³

In 1867 a great hunting expedition was organized by Mont-

²⁷ Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People*, (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1929), Vol. II, p. 849.

²⁸ Victor E. Harlow, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

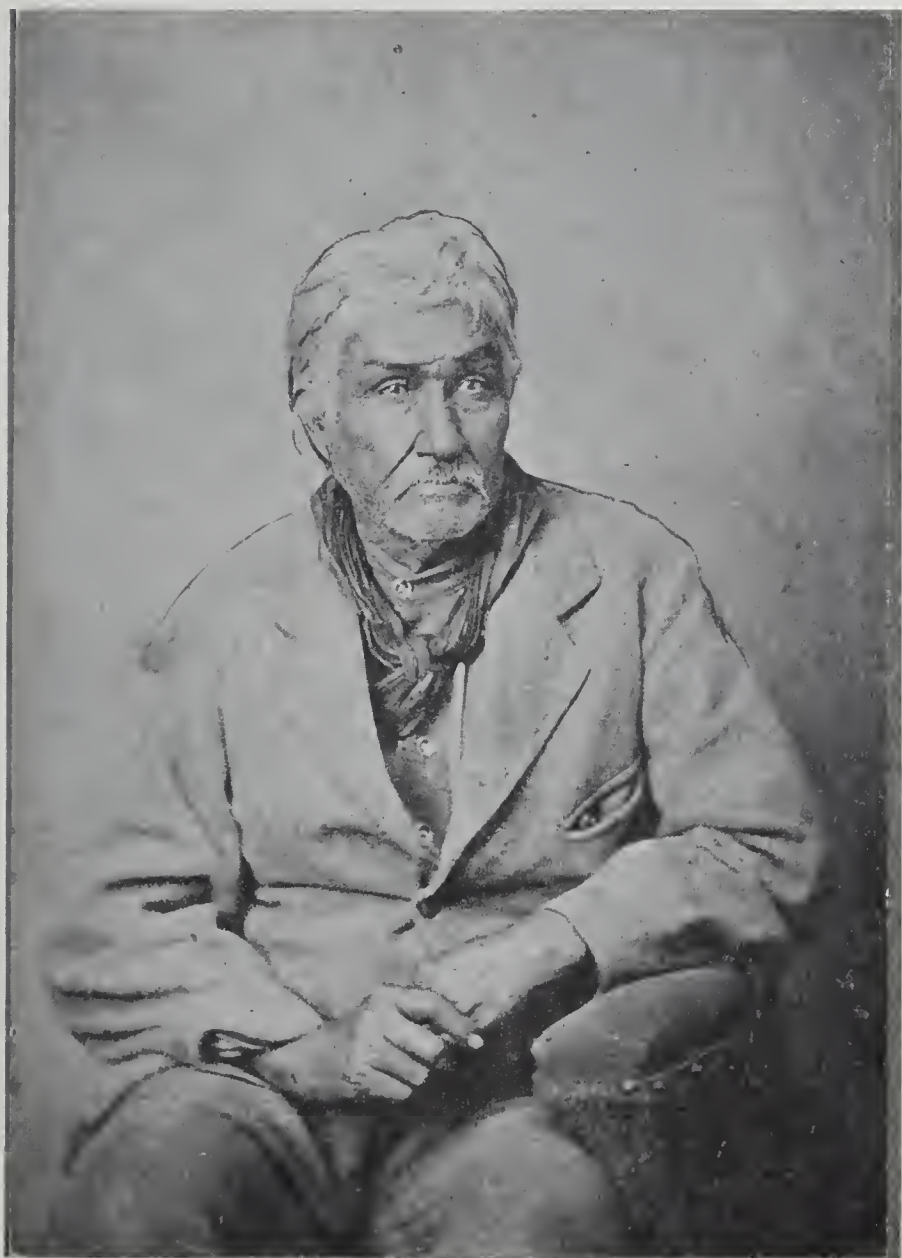
²⁹ Joseph B. Thoburn and Isaac M. Holcomb, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

³⁰ Victor E. Harlow, *op. cit.*, p. 197; Anna Lewis, *op. cit.*

³¹ T. U. Taylor in *Frontier Times*, Vol. 13, p. 561.

³² Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, p. 364.

³³ T. U. Taylor, in *Frontier Times*, Vol. 13, p. 334.



JESSE CHISHOLM, CHEROKEE

ford T. Johnson,³⁴ Sam Garvin, Bill Williams and Jesse Chisholm. They finally camped on Walnut Creek some ten miles northwest of the present town of Purcell, Oklahoma, in the vicinity of what is now Washington, Oklahoma. A herd of buffalo was discovered the next day and the hunt was very successful. The hides, tongues and humps were taken as the choice part of the buffalo. The whole party turned into a skinning party to preserve the hides which were of commercial value and part of the meat was preserved by the "jerkin" process. Montford T. Johnson and Jesse Chisholm were impressed with the wonderful possibilities of this country along Walnut Creek for cattle grazing purposes. Jesse agreed to intercede with the Indians and have them not to disturb Montford Johnson in his ranch proposition. In the spring of 1868, Mr. Johnson established his ranch on Walnut Creek with the permission of the Chickasaw Nation.³⁵

In 1868, Chisholm took a caravan to the salt district of present Blaine County, about thirty miles northwest of the present site of El Reno, Oklahoma on the bank of the North Canadian River. Here he had met with the Comanches, Kiowas, Wichitas, and other Indians, and were supplying them with goods.³⁶ It seems that a party had gathered at the spring and a bear was killed and the choice bits were rendered into a stew by boiling it in a brass kettle. The results were disastrous. During the night, Jesse Chisholm was seized with a serious illness. Whether it was ptomaine poison or some other ailment is not known. There was no physician within one hundred miles, and he died in a few hours. It would have taken at least four days to transport his body to the residence of his son, William Chisholm, who lived in the Chickasaw Nation, south of the present site of Asher, Oklahoma. They buried Jesse Chisholm near the Left Hand Spring, five miles east of the present Greenfield, Oklahoma.³⁷ With him at the time of his death were his friends, James R. Mead and P. A. Smith, one of Chisholm's foremen, and a negro boy, Joe Van.³⁸

³⁴ Montford T. Johnson was born at Old Boggy Depot, Choctaw Nation, in 1843, the son of Charles Johnson, a native of London, England who had gone to Mississippi and married a Chickasaw girl, Rebecca Courtney. The young couple came to the Indian Territory during the Chickasaw removal to the west. Montford attended the Chickasaw Academy at Tishomingo. During the Civil War, he served with the Chickasaw troops around Ft. Arbuckle. In 1862, he married Mary Elizabeth Campbell. He operated large ranches in the Chickasaw Nation and founded the first bank at Minco in 1890. — Hilary Cassal, "Missionary Tour of the Chickasaw Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 34, p. 412.

³⁵ T. U. Taylor, *Jesse Chisholm*, pp. 141-142.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

The grave remained unmarked for years but finally the school children of Oklahoma erected a small marker to bear the testimony to this patriot, pioneer, peacemaker and pathfinder.³⁹ Chisholm's death was a serious blow to the tribes of Southwestern Oklahoma, and he was mourned as if he had been a chieftain. The news of his death was flashed from tribe to tribe by swift runners. The greatest tribute ever paid to a man of Oklahoma, was paid to the memory of Jesse Chisholm when the Indians without respect to tribe, mourned him as a brother.⁴⁰

Jesse Chisholm had lived among savage men and beasts and savage conditions, but in all phases during his thirty years in the wilderness he emerged as an example of the truest type of manhood.⁴¹ His religious belief was that of his Cherokee ancestors. His "paganism" consisted in the belief in one Supreme Being whose innate goodness he trusted implicitly, and in manifesting peace and kindness and brotherly love and charity toward his fellow man. Jesse Chisholm's part in the history of Oklahoma and some portions of the neighboring states, is fully as important and no less romantically picturesque than that of Daniel Boone in Kentucky.⁴²

The Council Grove section was soon included in Montford Johnson's ranching operations. It had a large timber area about three and a half square miles with the ground covered with acorns, a paradise for hogs in the fall of the year. In this timbered area there were many bears and panthers that had to be trapped, killed or driven out, in order that the hogs and cattle could be raised in this area.⁴³

Jesse Chisholm had logs stored at Council Grove to build a large store at Council Grove, but William Chisholm, his son, sold the logs to Montford Johnson after his father's death.⁴⁴ These logs were moved to the east side of Council Grove and were used in constructing a ranch house about 1873, in the vicinity of North MacArthur Boulevard, Oklahoma City. The ranch was run for Johnson by Vicey Harmon, Long Gray and Frank Dyes, all Chickasaws. These people may have been the first permanent inhabitants of Oklahoma City.⁴⁵

³⁹ T. U. Taylor, in *Frontier Times*, Vol. 13, p. 561.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Joseph B. Thoburn, in *Frontier Times*, Vol. 13, pp. 331-332.

⁴³ Neil R. Johnson, *Chickasaw Rancher* (Stillwater, Oklahoma: Redlands Press 1961), pp. 126-127.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

⁴⁵ Howard F. Vanzandt, "The History of Camp Holmes and Chouteau's Trading Post," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII (September 1935), p. 329.

Montford T. Johnson had a large stock of cattle and hogs at the Council Grove Ranch which covered about 3,600 acres.⁴⁶ He maintained his headquarters at Silver City, which is now near the town of Tuttle.

During the early part of the 1880's, Montford Johnson discovered that his Council Grove Ranch on the North Canadian River was not in the Chickasaw Nation. In February, 1880, President Hayes issued a proclamation which warned homesteaders to keep out of the Oklahoma District. Johnson had to abandon his Council Grove Ranch by 1886⁴⁷ The United States Government set aside more than 1,000 acres of woodland in the Council Grove area, as a source of timber needed for Ft. Reno. This reservation extended from the present Northwest 39th Street in Bethany to the road a half mile south of the present Northwest Tenth Street, and from the present Council Road eastward for about three miles.⁴⁸

This is the same belt of timber that Montford Johnson had to drive, trap and kill bears and panthers, before he could establish his ranch. It consisted of post oak, western white oak, black jack and cottonwood, some of these trees measuring from three to five feet in diameter. Even today some of the large trees are still standing. Thousands of prairie chickens roosted in the branches of these trees, because they could find abundant food in the great timbered area. This timberland was also known as Johnson's Grove in the early days.⁴⁹

The reservation was set aside by the government to furnish fuel and fence posts to Ft. Reno. Later the interest was turned to lumbering operations here. A saw mill was set up at the Darlington Agency, but it was difficult to find desirable logs nearby to supply Fort Reno with the lumber needed in its construction. The nearest and most available timber that was suitable for logging and sawing was at Council Grove. The distance was too far to haul the logs to the saw mills, so the saw mill was moved to a site near the logs.⁵⁰

In 1884, Mr. Edwin F. Williams, who was an experienced engineer and mechanic was placed in charge of the removal and reinstallation of the engine, boiler and saw mill, and directed its operation thereafter. The mill was located just northeast of the

⁴⁶ Hilary Cassal, *op. cit.*, fn. 24, p. 412.

⁴⁷ Neil R. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-127.

⁴⁸ Unpublished Manuscript, "Council Grove," p. 4.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵⁰ H. E. Collins, "Edwin Williams, Engineer," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, p. 346.

present Northwest Tenth Street Bridge. J. A. Davis, an early settler told Joseph B. Thoburn of having seen the timbers which had formed the base of the saw mill, almost buried in the sand when he arrived there in 1889.⁵¹ Soldiers, before the opening in 1889, were detailed to cut the timber and to guard it against timber thieves. Rude barracks were built across the road from the old I. P. Melrose home. Sergeant Gray was in command of the soldiers.⁵²

The heavy lumber such as sleepers, sills, joists, studding and rafters were cut and used at Fort Reno. Most of the slabs and loose lumber was used at the fort for fuel. Mr. Claude Hensley, a pioneer newspaper man of Oklahoma tells of seeing several thousand cords of wood piled in front of the Post Trader's Store at Ft. Reno.⁵³

When this area was opened for settlement on April 22, 1889, a Negro, whose name was Porter was designated to plow furrows around the government reservation as a fire guard and to mark it off as government property; hence no land claim could be staked within the boundary. People of the surrounding neighborhood were allowed to take the fallen timber for fuel. Some unscrupulous men got around the rule by going out one day, cutting the timber and returning the next day for the fallen timber which they had cut the day before.⁵⁴ Government officers soon checked this depredation.

When the Choctaw Coal & Railway Company, now a part of the Rock Island Railroad, was built and trains started running from Shawnee to Ft. Reno, coal could be obtained for fuel. Less wood was needed and eventually the sawmill was abandoned. The lands in the reservation were thrown open for sale in December, 1899.⁵⁵

In 1885, a colony of settlers under the leadership of Captain William L. Couch appeared in the vicinity of the Council Grove Ranch. They shot and butchered Montford Johnson's hogs and even killed some of his calves. When Johnson investigated this colony, which was settling in the North Canadian Valley, Couch informed him that he supposed that the hogs and calves belonged to no one. He announced that he was going to colonize the Oklahoma country. The following year, the Council Grove Ranch was abandoned.⁵⁶ Captain Couch and his colony were removed

⁵¹ Unpublished Manuscript, "Council Grove," p. 4.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

⁵⁵ Hubert E. Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

⁵⁶ Neil R. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

by troops under the command of Lieutenant Colonel E. V. Sumner, of the Fifth United States Cavalry on November 10, 1885. This was the last organized effort of the boomers to effect a settlement in Oklahoma.⁵⁷

All of the Council Grove reserve area was opened for settlement except that part in the timber reserve, on April 22, 1889. Some of the early settlers were: William Lytle, Jack A. Lawson, R. C. Knight, John Oshea, I. F. Melrose, William Pigler (a "sooner", whose place was bought by Oliver Russell), John N. Abernathy, Mason S. Manwell, Edgar and Charles Knight, Dr. Jewell Trader, John Trader, Sim Kaufman, Scott Ticer, Newt and Boad Baker, A. E. Broady, Lee Stinchcomb and others.⁵⁸

J. A. Young was urged by his wife, Mary Rosalee to settle in Oklahoma. She had once pioneered as a small girl from Iowa to Sumner County, Kansas, with her parents. Mr. Young came to Council Grove during the run and bought a relinquishment to a farm from another man who had staked a claim there. Young's wife and children joined him, coming by train.⁵⁹ Signs of the old Jesse Chisholm trading post were still to be seen in 1889 on the farm of J. A. Young. There was the well, where Mr. Young built his barn, and broken pieces of china and traces around the log buildings could still be seen.⁶⁰ Other reports on "Council Grove" say that "Boomer" Miller, so called because he arrived before the opening in 1889, claimed the land and refused to yield to Mr. Young's claim. The case was taken to court and after several years of litigation the title was awarded to Young, and the Miller family left this part of the country.

Porter, the Negro who had plowed the fire break around the timber reservation, occupied the farm homesteaded by Mr. I. F. Melrose, but he occupied this land before the opening in 1889. Since Melrose had filed a claim according to law, Porter had to relinquish his rights.

"Uncle Johnny" Baker and Vincent Anderson owned the farms which are now included in Lake Overholser and the dam. Mr. Anderson's land was between Baker's and Northwest Thirty-ninth Street. His farm was first occupied by a Negro, "Uncle Davy" and his wife Mary, who had been slaves belonging to an uncle of the Hon. Hoke Smith of Georgia, Secretary of Interior under President Cleveland. In a contest over the title, "Uncle Davy" threatened to kill anyone who laid claim to the land, upon which he was living. He even made a trip to Washington,

⁵⁷ Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, pp. 594-595.

⁵⁸ Unpublished Manuscript, "Council Grove," p. 6.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

D.C., by train in behalf of his claim. Vincent Anderson was ultimately granted title to the land.

Mr. Lee Stinchcomb was the last of the 89'ers to be living on his original homestead.⁶¹

The first murder in Council Grove was committed May 1, 1889. A small boy found the body of a man floating in the water at the crossing, where the Northwest Tenth Street bridge is now located. Various tales were told about this incident. There is even a story that an old man in Kentucky confessed on his death bed that he was guilty. The murdered man was unknown, and the facts concerning the murder were never learned. He was buried on the bank of the North Canadian River. The County later paid \$10.00 to have the body moved when the Northwest Tenth Street Bridge was built, and the body was buried in a small graveyard which was located on the Colley farm. Since this plot has been plowed under, all traces of his burial place are gone. The old settlers still call the place, on Northwest Tenth Street, "Dead Man's Crossing."⁶²

The Choctaw Coal & Railway Company started construction eastward from El Reno to Oklahoma City where it was intended that the line would connect with the Santa Fe Railroad. Construction was halted on the line in 1891 when the company was forced into receivership. However, additional funds were found and construction was soon resumed at Yukon and the junction was made at Oklahoma City. The railroad established a station at Council Grove, and a small village sprang up around it with several small stores. It was located east of Council Road and north of Reno Street.

The first school was erected on the William Style place in 1890. The building was moved to Council Grove in 1893. The first teacher was Mr. John Holmes. He was followed by Mrs. F. I. Miller a very dignified lady from Vermont who considered western people very uncultured. However she was well liked, and remained a teacher for many years. She returned to Vermont and continued to correspond with her former pupils for a long period of years.⁶³

In the fall of 1890, the Reverend A. J. Worley, a Methodist minister and his wife opened a private school for girls at Council Grove with about forty students.⁶⁴ The school was located on a Mr. Worley's 160-acre claim, which was one-half mile south of the village of Council Grove at Reno and Council Streets, backing up to the North Canadian River.⁶⁵ The name of the

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

school was Queen's Camp. It had several buildings, and a beautiful campus with a number of elm and cottonwood trees. One of the buildings was a large frame structure, in which the upper story was used as a dormitory with the lower floor partitioned off for class rooms. The dining hall was in a separate building one hundred feet away, adjoining the kitchen and living quarters for the helpers.⁶⁶

Mr. Worley did not teach in the school, since he was on the circuit establishing other Methodist Churches. Mrs. A. J. Worley taught music, piano and singing. Her brother, Dr. James Brown of St. Louis, Missouri was the resident physician and teacher of mathematics and history. Mr. Worley's advertisement in a national church paper for an English and Latin teacher, was answered by a Mrs. Butterfield who came from Boston for the position.⁶⁷

According to Junia Worley, (later Mrs. E. L. Keyes of Wynnewood and the mother of Mrs. Harold Freeman), the school mascot was a pet deer named Reno that was followed around by thirteen pet cats padding along in single file.⁶⁸

The school drew its enrollment from a wide area including Guthrie, Kingfisher, Hennessey, and El Reno. The girls were of eighth grade and high school qualifications, according to Mrs. Pearl McCracken Trosper who was a student there.⁶⁹

The Queen's Camp School was moved to Norman, in 1894, where it was combined with the High Gate Female Academy, located on the present site of the Central State Hospital grounds. Both schools had been established by the Southern Methodist Church. When the Queen's Camp School was discontinued at Council Grove the buildings were torn down and the site itself was obliterated. Students who transferred from Queen's Camp School to High Gate Female Academy were: Maude Wingate and Dora Van Trees of Hennessey, Elmer Fabion of Cleveland County, Jean Williams of Norman, May Amos of Kingfisher, Viola Hughes of Moore; and Junia Worley, daughter of the Reverend A. J. Worley, of Council Grove.⁷⁰

Although High Gate Female Academy also was closed in a few years and nothing remains of the two schools, evidences of the work of the Reverend Worley are preserved in the records of St. Luke's Methodist Church, in Oklahoma City, where

⁶⁴ Newspaper clipping from the local press in the files of Mrs. Harold Freeman.

⁶⁵ Letter from Mrs. Harold Freeman, granddaughter of Rev. A. J. Worley.

⁶⁶ Newspaper clipping in files of Mrs. Harold Freeman.

⁶⁷ Letter from Mrs. Harold Freeman.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Newspaper clipping in files of Mrs. Harold Freeman.

he was the second pastor. His photograph hangs with succeeding pastors with an inscription honoring him. Today, the name and location of Queen's Camp School at Council Grove is unmarked except in the minds of a few of its students who remain. The name was significant of the idealism which prompted the founder of the school for the young girls in this new settlement.

The Council Grove postoffice was established on June 11, 1892 and the first postmaster was Milton O. Craig.⁷¹ Mr. John Abernathy operated a combination store and postoffice and later was the railway station agent. The store was also operated by Mr. Will McCarter for a year or so, after which Mr. Abernathy took charge again.⁷²

The name of the community was changed from Council Grove to Council, in 1894. The name was changed because mail and freight was often delivered to Council Grove, Kansas instead of Council Grove, Oklahoma Territory. The post office was discontinued on August 15, 1906 and the area was served by the Oklahoma City postoffice. The small town began to die with the removal of Queen's Camp School in 1894 and the change of the name in the same year. The railroad depot was removed in 1934. Today there is no evidence of there having been a town at this place. The Council School and Council Road are the only remaining names in what was once Council Grove.⁷³

Other small towns sprang up and are still in existence, but that was not true of Council Grove. Bethany came into existence in 1913 on the north edge of Council Grove and the post office was established there on March 11, 1913.⁷⁴

The dam for Lake Overholser was completed in 1916, near the site of the Chisholm trading post and the lake covers most of the river bottom in the Council Grove area. In 1930, a tornado visited the Council Grove area causing extensive damage, and lives were lost in and near Bethany. When the area was visited by T. U. Taylor and Joseph B. Thoburn in the summer of 1930 the grove of trees were still standing on the side of the road, but there were no signs of the ranch house or trading post. Modern farms and dwellings showed a high state of cultivation.⁷⁵

On April 22, 1941, a marker of red sandstone which bears a bronze plaque was dedicated, just east of the Northwest Tenth

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ George H. Shirk, *Oklahoma Name Places*, (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), p. 54.

⁷² Unpublished Manuscript, "Council Grove," p. 6.

⁷³ George H. Shirk, *op. cit.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁷⁵ T. U. Taylor, "Up The Cattle Trail In 1867," *Frontier Times*, Vol. 8, p. 194.



HISTORICAL MARKER ON SITE OF COUNCIL GROVE, OKLAHOMA CITY

Inscription on the bronze marker states:

1858—Jesse Chisholm opened a trading post.

1859—Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville and troops escorted Congressman J. S. Phelps to meet the Comanches.

1865—Council called between Comanche and Kiowa Tribes and Confederate leaders.

1884—Sawmills set up and barracks built for troops detailed to cut timber for Ft. Reno from 1000 acre government reserve.

1889—Opened for settlement.

Street Bridge. It commemorates many historical events that took place at Council Grove.⁷⁶ The marker was presented by the Daughters of the American Revolution, and was set up by the Oklahoma City Park Department. The dedication was made by Mrs. S. I. Flournoy and Mrs. John Lantz Hill, in charge of the program, attended by Dr. J. B. Thoburn, Miss Muriel H. Wright and many 89'ers.

Since World War II, many changes have come about in Council Grove. The cities of Bethany, Warr Acres, Oklahoma City and Woodlawn Park have annexed all of Council Grove. Streets have been laid out and homes have been built among the large trees that are still standing. The Western Electric Company manufacturing plant is located on Reno Street south of the small village of Council Grove, and across the street from the site of Queen's Camp School. Interstate Highway 40 runs between Reno Street and the North Canadian River through what was once the campus of Queen's Camp School. Council Grove is gone, yet its story will linger on as a very important historical site in the history of Oklahoma City.

⁷⁶ "Historical Notes," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIX (1941), p. 186.

THE KIOWA-COMANCHE RESERVATION IN THE 1890's

By Forrest D. Monahan, Jr.*

By the late Nineteenth Century the United States had become an industrial nation and its society was transformed into one dominated by corporate and collective forces. Gigantic companies and unions expressed the new forces in American life. Scattered around this industrial nation, tucked away in far off corners, were the remnants of much older cultures, which antedated by centuries the Jamestown and Plymouth Rock settlements. These were the homes of original Americans, the Indians, now confined to reservations. One of these reserves was in southwestern Oklahoma Territory, formerly Indian Territory. Bounded on the east by the Ninety-eighth Meridian, on the north by the Washita River, on the west by North Red River, and on the south by the Red River, it contained about three million acres.¹ Here dwelled three tribes: the Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache. During the 1890's, Anglo-American settlers were rapidly moving into vacant lands of Oklahoma and Texas, so that the reservation became an island in a sea of white settlement.² Located in a moderate climate, it had a rolling prairie surface, and parts of it were well watered.³ Its grasslands were rich and along the creeks there was much timber. Bisecting the reserve from east to west were the Wichita Mountains, granitic intrusions which rose in stark contrast above the prairies. It was only natural

* Dr. Forrest D. Monahan, Jr., states that most of the material for this paper comes from the records of the Kiowa Agency, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society. He expresses his indebtedness to Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, for her aid and guidance in these records. Parts of the paper were in the program at the Western History Association in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, October 1964. Dr. Monahan received his Ph.D. Degree from the University of Oklahoma. He is Editor of *Faculty Papers of Midwestern University*, annual publication of faculty research at this university, Wichita Falls, Texas.—Ed.

¹ The Original boundary was delineated in the Treaty of Medicine Lodge Creek. Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*. 3 vols. (Washington, U.S. Government, 1904-1913) II, 977-978. Referred to hereinafter as Kappler, *Laws and Treaties* with the appropriate volume and page number. Uncertainty as to whether the north fork or the south fork of Red River was the main stream allowed Texans to settle between the two rivers; this area was known as Greer County. The United States Supreme Court decided against Texas. The land was attached to Oklahoma rather than to the reservation. See Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma* (Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1939), 203-204. See also Edwin C. McReynolds, *Oklahoma, A History of the Sooner State* (Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1954), 301-302.

² Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma*, pp. 184-210; McReynolds, *Oklahoma, A History of the Sooner State*, pp. 287-307.

³ Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report for 1898*, pp. 236-237.

that the sparsely occupied reservation should receive the attention of whites who were becoming more numerous and crowded in the surrounding land. Whites of all sorts clamored continuously during this decade to occupy the reserve. The Indian Department was deeply concerned with how to reconcile white demands and Indian interests. One of the groups, the cattlemen, proved easy to deal with. By a three-way agreement between the Government, the Indians, and the cattlemen, the latter leased the reservation grasslands and paid the tribes for the privilege.⁴

Others were more difficult. The most obstreperous were settlers who believed that land not under cultivation should be free for the taking. They gathered on all sides of the reservation and slipped over the line, hoping to avoid official discovery. The most flagrant violations took place at the "strip" on the reservation's north side, where an indefinite boundary gave white settlers the chance to push their claims. The line ran from the Ninety-eighth Meridian along the Washita River to a point thirty miles above Fort Cobb; from that point the boundary went due west to North Red River.⁵ Because of the many turns in the Washita, it was not certain where the boundary ran due west. White settlers began moving into a river bend which the Indians and their agent believed to be reservation land. The place was some thirty-five miles west of the Anadarko Agency, near present Mountain View,⁶ and its rich bottom land soil was excellent for farming. In addition to occupying Indian claimed land, the settlement was a haven for trespassers who went on the reservation to steal cattle or to cut timber, or merely for stock grazing, thereby getting free grass.⁷

Collisions with Indians were frequent. White people's hogs wandered into Indian fields and gardens, consuming everything they found.⁸ Other whites, finding an Indian absent from his home, put his lumber in a wagon and hauled it away. The Indian followed the tracks straight into the settlement.⁹ There were cases of white assault on Indians. One man named Dosier wantonly beat a Kiowa boy so that his face was black and blue for three weeks. Authorities who investigated the beating said it was with-

⁴ Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report for 1892*, p. 387. There were of course differences and disputes in the pasturing of so many animals. But the lease agreements provided a framework for settling them to the advantage of cattlemen and Indians.

⁵ Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, II, pp. 977-978.

⁶ Frank B. Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 22, 1895, Kiowa Agency, Letterbook K-44, Oklahoma Historical Society. Hereinafter this series of records will be cited by Letterbook number only. For other series, the depository will be cited as KA, OHS. Baldwin was a Brevet Major in the Army, serving on detached duty.

⁷ *Ibid.*

out any just cause.¹⁰ There was also a prosperous gambling and liquor business.¹¹ Early day Mountain View was a rootin-tootin place.

The Agent's determination to be rid of the settlers was a threat to the Strip. Agent Frank D. Baldwin, on January 18, 1895, sent them notice that they were trespassing and gave them forty days to remove.¹² To which they replied that they would kill the United States Marshal, the Indian police, or anyone else who tried to move them.¹³ Before the forty days were up, the settlers had resorted to the Oklahoma territorial courts, where they obtained an injunction which restrained the Agent from further action.¹⁴ There were two questions in the case: (1) jurisdiction of the courts, and (2) the boundary line. The courts did not finally decide the case until later.¹⁵ During this time the Strip developed with no interference from the Agent. Its uncertain legal status and the prospect of quick gain attracted rough characters and immoral people.¹⁶ Their idea of property was that everything they could lay claim to was theirs. The Strip-pers allowed their cattle to wander over the reservation so that they could have pasturage rent-free.¹⁷ When the Agent had these cattle rounded up he was promptly served with a warrant, the owners alleging that the police had stolen the livestock from their own pastures and lots. Besides living on disputed property,

⁸ Copy of Deputy U.S. Marshal Frank Farwell to Baldwin, January 25, 1895; Letterhook K-44.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Proclamation of Baldwin, January 18, 1895; Letterhook K-44.

¹³ Agent Baldwin said that ". . . they have intimidated my police to such an extent that it is almost useless to send them away from the agency except in considerable force accompanied by one or more white men." Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 22, 1895; Letterhook K-44. One of the settlers told the Deputy U.S. Marshal that the "agent, myself and the Indians could go to hell . . ." Copy of Deputy U.S. Marshal Farwell to Baldwin, January 25, 1895; Letterhook K-44.

¹⁴ Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 24, 1895; Letterhook K-44.

¹⁵ *Oklahoma Report*, vol. V., Dale, case of Thomas A. Wilbourne vs. Frank Farwell, p. 266. Hereinafter referred to as *Oklahoma Report*, V.

¹⁶ A few settlers there believed the land was open to settlement. Baldwin thought there were "one or two cases" of such "honest, worthy people." Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 18, 1895; Letterhook K-44. See also Baldwin to Commissioner, March 10, 1897; Letterhook K-55.

¹⁷ Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 26, 1895; Letterhook K-46.

the settlers were illegally using the Indians' land and were defying the Agent's authority.¹⁸

One of the men tried to obtain his cattle which the Agent had penned at Anadarko. Appealing to the territorial courts, D. M. Ferris sued Baldwin and two Indian policemen, Little Bow and Kiowa George.¹⁹ The trial took place before a jury at El Reno; the jury found in favor of Ferris and fined Agent Baldwin one hundred and twenty-five dollars for damage to the cattle.²⁰ The significance of the case was not whether the cattle had been hurt; evidence agreed that they had grown fat from their stay on the reservation.²¹ Rather, the issue was whether whites could go on the reserve, use its resources, and benefit in perfect defiance of the Indian Department. The El Reno jury thought they could.

Encouraged by the Strippers' success, prospectors began to use the north boundary as a jumping off place for illegal entry into the Wichita Mountains. Just outside the reservation in Washita County, they established a town called Mountain City.²² The place was busy, or at least had high hopes, for it possessed a smelter. Many filibustering expeditions left from there, slipped into the mountains, and began their diggings. Some of the people established a townsite near Rainy Mountain.²³ A man promoting the scheme was William Kinman, who sent information everywhere about alleged mining riches.²⁴ The Agent warned the prospectors to remove. Unimpressed with his authority, they threatened to kill his policemen should they interfere with the mining. They changed their minds when the police did destroy their improvements, their threats being like hot air.²⁵ Kinman found that the disputed Strip was suitable for his operations. He set up an establishment there, sold town lots, and encouraged

¹⁸ Agent Baldwin said that, "they were a menace to the Indians, bad examples of citizenship, and lawless." Baldwin to Judge C. R. Brooks, August 28, 1895; Letterbook K-47.

¹⁹ Baldwin to Brooks, October 2, 1895; Letterbook K-47. Baldwin said, "the cattle were twenty-five miles into the reservation and nowhere near the strip." Baldwin to Brooks, October 14, 1895; Letterbook K-47.

²⁰ Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 14, 1896; Letterbook K-51.

²¹ Baldwin to Brooks, October 2, 1895; Letterbook K-47.

²² Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 2, 1897; Letterbook K-55.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.* Kinman's activities dated from at least 1894. Baldwin said of him, "He is one of the main instigators of the movement into the Wichita Mountains prospecting for minerals having a small smelter at Mountain City where he pretends to extract minerals from the ore secured on the reservation." The agent thought that Kinman was a mere promoter. *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

people to enter the reservation which he said was open to settlement.²⁶ Persistent, he continued his activities, cutting Indian timber even after being caught.

The Supreme Court of Oklahoma removed all legal questions about the Strip in January, 1897. Refusing to support the settlers' contentions, it held that the Interior Department and its Indian Agent had jurisdiction over the reserve; the decision's effect placed the Strip under the Indian Department's unquestioned authority.²⁷ Thus left to the Agent's mercy, the Strippers found him in no mood to forgive trespassers. Kinman, for his stubbornness, received special treatment. Police destroyed his housing and improvements, arrested him and his family, escorted them across the reservation, and expelled them near Henrietta, Texas, the farthest point from their ruined house.²⁸ The Strip people moved to another place, just across the boundary line. They no longer had their Mountain City, but they did have their Mountain View.²⁹

The new settlement, away from the Agent's menacing gestures, grew into a healthy frontier community. A railroad's arrival assured its future, the Rock Island line reaching there from Chickasha in the Spring of 1899.³⁰ A vigorous little town, its citizens constructed a road and a bridge by which they could reach the rails.³¹ Though no longer on the reservation, the settlement continued to exert an influence on the Indian land. No less than the old Strip, it was a meeting place for people who went on the reserve to rustle cattle, for timber cutters who illegal-

²⁶ Baldwin to Commissioner W. A. Jones, February 9, 1898; Letterhook K-58.

²⁷ *Oklahoma Report*, V, 266 ff. The settlers contended that theirs was a legal settlement on the interesting grounds that the Strip was a part of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe country opened in 1892, and moreover that the government in opening the Cheyenne and Arapahoe reservation had intended to also open the Kiowa-Comanche reservation. The court did not follow this twisted reasoning.

²⁸ Baldwin to Frank B. Farwell, January 10, 1898; Baldwin to Farwell, January 27, 1898; Letterhook K-60.

²⁹ Agent William T. Walker to Isabelle Crawford, March 25, 1899; Walker to M. A. Low, April 13, 1899; Letterhook K-66. Agent James F. Randlett to Jim Barclay, July 21, 1899; Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 9, 1899; Letterhook K-69. Randlett had been a lieutenant colonel in the army from which he retired in 1896.

³⁰ The Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific building west from Chickasha reached Anadarko in February, 1899. Walker to Seymour S. Price, February 17, 1899; Letterhook K-63.

³¹ The railroad did not go directly into the town, staying in the reservation and south of the Washita. Because of this the townsmen built a road and bridge, connecting them with the Rock Island. Randlett to Commissioner, August 9, 1899; Randlett to Mountain View Improvement Company, August 9, 1899; Letterhook K-69.

ly cut Indian timber, and for squatters who boldly marched into the reserve and began farming.³²

Other whites, who were legally on the reservation, took advantage of their situation to occupy land unlawfully. The Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867 allowed each Indian family to farm three hundred and twenty acres of land.³³ The Indian Department permitted the Indians to hire white laborers to help farm, the procedure being closely supervised by the Department. Upon presentation of the labor contract and after receiving character references, the Agent allowed the white to live on the reservation as long as he performed his duties.³⁴ The Indians and whites used many such work agreements, the Indian paying the white in cash or in a share of the crop.³⁵

In 1895 Henry H. Huston, a white, obtained permission to work for John D. Jackson, a Kiowa.³⁶ For four years the man Huston remained on Jackson's farm and prospered; he farmed some four hundred acres,³⁷ and pastured about seventy head of livestock.³⁸ Expanding his interests he opened a store and became postmaster at Verden.³⁹ His farming so large an acreage, his grazing cattle free on the reservation, and his store operations were without official permit, since his legal status was only that of helper to Jackson.⁴⁰ In September, 1899, Jackson died, at

³² Baldwin to Jim Barclay, July 21, 1899; Randlett to John P. Blackmon, September 7, 1899; Randlett to Farwell, September 26, 1899; Letterbook K-69. Randlett to W. E. Pedrick, December 1, 1899; Letterbook K-74.

³³ Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, II, pp. 978-979.

³⁴ For copies of such agreements see KA, Labor Contracts, OHS.

³⁵ The agents granted numerous labor permits each year. See for example: Baldwin to Commissioner, January 3, 1895; Baldwin to Commissioner, February 23, 1895; Baldwin to Commissioner, March 9, 1895; Letterbook K-44; Walker to Commissioner, March 27, 1899; Letterbook K-63; Randlett to Louis Courcier, July 7, 1899; Letterbook K-69; Randlett to Dr. Ferdinand Shoemaker, January 31, 1900; Letterbook K-83.

³⁶ Pass issued for Mr. Huston, October 15, 1895; Letterbook K-83, p. 224. Huston's name appears as Houston and Huston. The text of the paper will call him Huston. The citations will use Huston or Houston, whichever appears in the document concerned.

³⁷ Deposition of Henry Houston, January 31; Letterbook K-83, p. 231.

³⁸ Appeal of Henry H. Huston to Commissioner of Indian Affairs; Letterbook K-83, p. 227.

³⁹ Since he was not a licensed trader he operated the store under Jackson's name. Randlett to Commissioner, February 28, 1900; Letterbook K-83.

⁴⁰ Randlett said of his case, "... all that is shown of it prior to that time 1899 by the agency records is that on October 15, 1895, Agent Baldwin gave Huston permission to remain here as shown by attached copy of said authority labor permit."

which time Huston alleged that he had a contract with his Indian sponsor whereby he had loaned Jackson five hundred dollars and he in turn was allowed to farm until the end of 1900.⁴¹ The alleged contract was unwritten and there were no witnesses.⁴² Neither was there any evidence that Huston had paid his sponsor such a sum of money.

Huston, then, had come onto the reservation in a legal and officially approved manner. But his subsequent actions violated the agreement. He advanced rapidly from the status of laborer to a substantial farmer, prospering from the land. Moreover, his large herd of livestock was poaching on the reservation, since he did not pay for grazing rights.⁴³ He had a free farm and ranch from which he made substantial gains, and from which the Indians got little or nothing.

Agent James F. Randlett, Baldwins successor, complained about the man and believed that he had exceeded the terms of his permit. He ordered Huston to plant no more crops after the present season and to remove his livestock and property; as he was postmaster he could, however, remain on the reservation in that capacity.⁴⁴ Defying the Agent, he expanded his farm operations, pastured his livestock, and appealed to the territorial courts.⁴⁵ Because of the decision in the Strip case, the courts ruled against the farmer, upholding the Agents authority.⁴⁶ Having lost his case with both the Federal and Territorial authorities, he was clearly a squatter with no rights on the reserve. Not wanting to lose his farm, he joined a Chickasha

⁴¹ The contract was to run from September 1, 1899, to August 31, 1900. *Ibid.*

⁴² Houston said that Reverend John J. Methvin had witnessed the arrangement with Jackson's widow. Appeal of Henry H. Huston to Commissioner of Indian Affairs; Letterbook K-83, p. 227. Methvin said that he was present at a conversation between Huston and Mrs. Jackson, but that Huston had given no evidence of such a contract to either the reverend preacher or Mrs. Jackson. Randlett to Commissioner, February 28, 1900; Letterbook K-83. Even if it existed, the contract had no basis in law, since it did not have the agent's approval.

⁴³ He admitted to having seventy head of livestock; Agent Randlett thought he had many more. Randlett to Commissioner; February 28, 1900; Letterbook K-83.

⁴⁴ Randlett to Henry Houston, December 11, 1899; Letterbook K-74. Randlett to Houston, February 16, 1900; Letterbook K-83.

⁴⁵ Randlett to Houston, January 25, 1900; Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 2, 1900; Letterbook K-83.

⁴⁶ Randlett to Houston, February 16, 1900. Huston also appealed to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, but this official firmly supported the agent informing him, "should Mr. Huston refuse to remove his chattels and effects you will use the force at your command to enforce that purpose." Randlett to Huston, March 12, 1900; Letterbook K-83.

movement which agitated for opening the reservation and for ratifying the Jerome Agreement.⁴⁷

The Indians final defense against intruders was the United States Government. It was Federal law that set up the reserve, Federal courts that protected them against trespassers, and the Federal Indian Department that conducted their business with outsiders. But the Government under pressure from various White interests, including the Congressional delegations of Texas and Kansas, had decided to end the reserve system in Oklahoma and Indian territories. The United States Congress in 1887 provided that the reservations should be abolished and that the Indians therein should take up individual allotments; and further, that the surplus lands after allotment should be opened to White settlement.⁴⁸ Accordingly, the President appointed a commission to treat with the Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches for allotting their reservation. The members of this commission were David H. Jerome, chairman, Alfred M. Wilson, and Warren G. Sayre.⁴⁹ It arrived on the reservation in September, 1892, and for the next month, conducted its business in confusion, turmoil, and gross misbehavior. Its task was to change the Treaty of Medicine Lodge, which had guaranteed the Indians that the reservation would be divided only with the consent of three-fourths of the adult males.⁵⁰ From the council's beginning, the Indians did not want to sell, and early in the proceedings they voted to reject the Commission's offer.⁵¹ Thinking that the question was then settled, some Indians left and returned home.⁵²

But the matter had only begun. Undaunted by the Indians'

⁴⁷ At Chickasha, Huston painted the farming prospects in the best possible colors. The reservation was better fitted for agriculture than for stock raising; the soil was black and sandy; the top soil was so deep in some places, "... that I have been unable to find the subsoil;" the reservation grew bounteous crops even in dry years. He also said that while on the reservation he had worked less and made more money than at any previous time in his life, which may have been true since it was entirely at the Indians' expense. He also said that the Indians would receive more money if allotment took place. Deposition of Henry Houston; Letterbook K-83, pp. 231-236.

⁴⁸ Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, I, 33-36.

⁴⁹ It was sometimes called the Cherokee Commission. 52nd Congress, 2nd Session, *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 17, p. 13, Serial 3055.

⁵⁰ Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, p. 981.

⁵¹ "Proceedings of Council held with Comanche, Kiowa and Apache Indians in September and October, 1892," 55th Congress, 3rd Session, *Sen. Doc.* 77, p. 20. Cited hereinafter as "Jerome Council Proceedings." On the first day Quanah Parker and Tabanaca told the Commission it was pushing the Indians too hard for an immediate decision. Stumbling Bear told them they should wait until the Medicine Lodge Treaty expired in 1898. *Ibid.*, pp. 11 and 13.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

stubbornness, the committee continued to hold meetings with various groups, first at Fort Sill and then at Anadarko. It had already decided on the terms; neither the price, nor the size of farms, nor time of allotment was negotiable. Alternating between threats and promises, it informed the Indians that they had to sign the contract. In all its dealings the Commission showed itself callous toward simple honesty. The price for the excess lands was a case in point, and it was a matter over which the Indians showed a lively concern. The Commission's offer was \$2,000,000, of which \$500,000 should be paid within two years, the balance of \$1,500,000 to remain in the treasury and the tribes to receive the annual interest.⁵³

This annual interest would amount to about twenty-five dollars per person, which the Commission said was more than the Indians could realize by keeping their reservation. This was not true. The tribes had already leased some of their reservation for \$100,000, averaging about thirty-three dollars per individual,⁵⁴ and the prospects for increasing income from this source were very good indeed.⁵⁵ The Indians knew this, and the information was available to the Commission, yet it spent hours and hours making extravagant claims for allotment trying to convince the Indians that somehow this decreased income was better than what they then received.⁵⁶ The Indians simply would not believe that twenty-five dollars were more desirable than thirty-three.

Finding that these promised benefits did not appeal to them, the Commission then minimized the differences between the Medicine Lodge Treaty and the Jerome Contract; which scarcely agreed with the facts, for the contract proposed a social revolution, abolishing the tribal government, placing them on individual plots, and thereby introducing vast changes in their society.⁵⁷ For an agency of the Government to be effective, its

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 38. The annual interest was \$75,000 which averaged to about \$25 per individual.

⁵⁴ Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report for 1892*, p. 387.

⁵⁵ Time bore out this contention. By 1889 the Indians received \$225,000 from leases or about \$75 per person, which was three times the interest resulting from the Jerome proposal. Randlett to Merrill E. Gates, December 15, 1899; Letterbook K-74.

⁵⁶ See for example Jerome's explanation in "Jerome Council Proceedings," 24 and following pages. There is a misprint in Jerome's figures. See also Sayre's labored explanation on page 37 and following pages.

⁵⁷ For the results of allotment the tribes had only to refer to other tribes. I-see-o thought they should not follow the Cheyenne example; *ibid.*, pp. 22-23. Quanah Parker thought the Indians should not go down the new road so recklessly; *ibid.*, p. 11. Stumbling Bear, who signed the Medicine Lodge Treaty, likewise recognized the radical changes which Jerome proposed; *ibid.*, pp. 13-14. Ahpeatone said that the Kiowas were travelling the Medicine Lodge road and did not want to travel the new Jerome road; *ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

proposals must be believable. But what in these councils should the Indians think? Should they believe Jerome when he said that under allotment everything would be "better for them than what they now have?"⁵⁸ Or, when he said that after allotment "everything is going on just the same."⁵⁹ When he said the Indians, after signing, would continue to have their own reservation, or that they would have separate homes and allotments?⁶⁰ Commissioner Sayre told them that the proposed agreement ". . . does not interfere with a single provision of that (Medicine Lodge) treaty, except in regard to land."⁶¹ Then reversing himself he said that after allotment, ". . . there is no community of so many people anywhere on earth that will have so much money and as much land."⁶² Could the Indians believe it when informed that allotment life would not be different from reservation life?⁶³ Or was it possible that the contract terms were ". . . enough to make you all rich; better off than white people"?⁶⁴

Caught in their own web of inconsistency, the Commissioners turned to another scheme, which involved influential whites on the reservation. Among them were Captain Hugh L. Scott, commander of the Indian cavalry at Fort Sill, Reverend James J. Methvin, Methodist missionary at Anadarko, and George D. Day, Indian agent. The Commission tried to tie their interests to allotment by a simple method. A special provision of the contract stated that when allotment occurred, these men would receive one hundred and sixty acres each.⁶⁵ This was an attempt to gain their open support or to at least keep them silent hoping for promised gain. The Commission evidently had a high opinion of Scott and Methvin, for their names were added in secret, without their permission.⁶⁶ These two men, to

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9. These two proposals are in the same sentence. Jerome probably equated reservation with allotment, which was an imprecise way to confuse everyone. Jerome's carelessness was a reflection on either his ability or character, perhaps both. He also thought the Indians' objections were inconsequential. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ This is the gist of Sayre's remarks in *ibid.*, p. 51. "When you take your allotments you do not have to live upon them if you do not want to." *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁶⁵ 52nd Congress, 2nd Session, *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 17, p. 13; Serial 3055.

⁶⁶ Joshua Given had an important role in this. Informing Reverend Methvin he wrote, "I am very happy to tell you this news and I am sure you will be surprised greatly. I sincerely hope that you will pardon me for using your name in this connection, but on the other hand, you are given what you deserved." Copy of letter of Joshua given to Reverend J. J. Methvin, October 11, 1892; Letterbook K-74, p. 405.

their entire credit, could not be bribed; they rejected the offer and denounced the contract.⁶⁷ Agent Day's position was compromising in the extreme. Not having the scruples of the Captain nor of the Reverend Minister, he fervently supported the Commission.⁶⁸ As Agent he should have been the disinterested, firm defender of Indian rights; instead he violated his trust and became a party to their robbery.

Taking another step down the road of dishonor, the commission threatened the Indians with evil consequences if they did not sign. According to the Commissioners, the Federal Government had the Indians in its absolute control and could destroy their reservation if it wished,⁶⁹ entirely disregarding the guarantees in the Medicine Lodge Treaty.⁷⁰ The Indians, if they did not sign, would arbitrarily be assigned eighty acres, one-half of that stated in the contract, and they would receive no money at all for their surplus lands. Again and again the Commission threatened them with worse consequences than the con-

67 While the Commission was still on the reservation, Methvin wrote a petition for the Indians accusing the Commission of deceit and asking that the contract be voided. Randlett to Commissioner, January 5, 1900: Letterbook K-74; copy of petition to the Secretary of Interior, October 17, 1892; in Letterbook K-74, p. 403. Keeping one copy, Methvin gave the original to Agent Day with the request it be forwarded. The Secretary of Interior heard of such a petition but could never find the original. "Jerome Council Proceedings," 2 . . . The uncertified original is in Indian Council File, KA, OHS. It looks like Day kept the petition.

Captain Scott told the Council he was not interested in the land. "Jerome Council Proceedings," pp. 41-42. See also his letter in *ibid.*, pp. 4-5. The captain thought the treaty was a travesty and opposed it in an interview with President Cleveland. Hugh L. Scott, *Some Memories of a Soldier* (New York, Century, 1928), pp. 199-202.

68 "Jerome Council Proceedings," pp. 30-31, 57. To read Day's official letters to the Commissioner one would hardly know that there was any unusual occurrence on the reservation. See his communications in Letterbooks K-36, K-37, and K-38.

69 ". . . the Congress of the United States, the great council of the United States, passed a law saying that the President might when he chose to order Indians to take allotments . . ." "Jerome Council Proceedings," p. 10. The Jerome Commission entirely overlooked the fact that the Dawes Act, while stating broad policy, allowed the President much discretion in the more exact terms of timing and price. They emphasized its arbitrary nature. See also *ibid.*, pp. 21-22, 27, 49, and 52.

70 ". . . no persons except those herein authorized . . . shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon or reside in the territory described in this article, or in such territory as may be added to this reservation, for the use of said Indians." Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, II, p. 978. "No treaty for the cession of any portion or part of the reservation herein described, which may be held in common, shall be of any validity or force as against the said Indians, unless executed and signed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 981.

tract provided.⁷¹ The choice was between the contract and confiscation. To this Quanah Parker replied that this was a choice between two hands, both of them bad.⁷²

Entangled in its own toils of dishonesty, thoroughly discredited among the Indians and fair minded whites, losing its shredded dignity in shouting contests with respected chiefs,⁷³ the Commission compounded confusion with decisions abounding in bad judgment. Its treatment of Joshua Given was one bad decision after another. When the Indians objected so strongly to the \$2,000,000 price, the Commission agreed to add \$500,000 more, but in a questionable manner.⁷⁴ The contract still stated that \$2,000,000 was the price, and the Commission was to recommend the extra amount in a report to the president.⁷⁵ The difference between a contract and a report was not clear to many Indians who signed the paper. Upon learning that the contract still stated \$2,000,000, they felt that the Commission had badly used them. Looking for the misunderstanding's source, they concluded that the translator, Given, an educated Kiowa, had willfully misled them. The Indians accused him in the council; the Commission, rather than release him from an embarrassing situation, had him continue his by now awkward task. Calm reflection ought to have shown the commissioners that a translator having the Indians' confidence would have better served the Government's interests. Its stubbornness heightened the Indians' suspicions and sealed the fate of the unfortunate Given.⁷⁶

Its prolonged stay on the reservation, its private and public talks with Indians, its private sessions for signing, and its clear threats established a pattern of coercion which succeeded in obtaining signatures. The Commission left the reservation in October, its odious work done.

The Jerome Commission was right about one thing. The end of the reservation was certain. Not because the Medicine Lodge Treaty said it would endure for thirty years, for it did not. But because the tide of white migration was flowing over

⁷¹ "Jerome Council Proceedings," pp. 21-22, 27, 49, and 52.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

⁷³ See for example the tempestuous meeting on October 15, 1892 in *ibid.*, pp. 47-54.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48, 52. See also Copy of Petition to Secretary of Interior, October 17, 1892; Letterbook K-74, pp. 404-405.

⁷⁶ Big Tree cursed Given, telling the interpreter that if he had deceived the Indians, God would judge him. Joshua died a few weeks later, confirming the Kiowas' belief in his misbehavior. Report of a General Council . . . at Mt. Scott, October 9, 10, and 11, 1899; Indian Council File, KA, OHS.

its very boundaries. It had already engulfed less resistant areas of Indian Territory; the Potawatomi, Shawnee, Cheyenne, and Arapaho reservations had already disappeared, and others soon followed.⁷⁷ White people were on every side, clamoring for admission, either legally or illegally. Mountain View was only one of many border settlements which were centers of white pressure. Henry Huston was one of hundreds who persisted in using the Indian land for their own purposes. Texas Congressmen, responding to their constituents, called for opening the reservation.⁷⁸ Under such mounting pressure, Congress had decreed that Indian Territory be opened by the Dawes Act of 1887. The Jerome Commission then was operating under the national intent as lawfully expressed by Congress; but the Commission violated its trust and badly served the nation, for Congress did not tell it to act with dishonor. So notorious was the Commission's work that the national legislature hesitated eight years before ratifying the Jerome Contract, opening the reservation in 1901.

⁷⁷ Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma* (Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1939), pp. 184-185, 197 ff.

⁷⁸ Walker to Jones, December 15, 1898; Letterbook K-62. Walker to Clouse, February 20, 1899; Letterbook K-66. Randlett to Judge Clinton P. Irwin, September 7, 1899. Randlett to Delos K. Lonewolf, December 30, 1899; Letterbook K-74.

THE PLACE OF INDIAN TERRITORY IN THE COMMAND STRUCTURE OF THE CIVIL WAR

By George H. Shirk

Students and history buffs alike are familiar with the nomenclature of military organization when it pertains to familiar terms, such as company, battalion or regiment. These words, defining organized units of personnel of varying sizes, convey a familiar meaning. Yet, the Army's organization of higher headquarters, especially as they are usually designed to exercise territorial jurisdiction as well as the command of troop units, is often overlooked or treated with uncertainty.

It is essential for an army, especially in the zone of combat operations, to exercise territorial control as well as command of military units. Many problems of area-wide responsibility, such as military police, maintenance of law and order, and the like, although quasi-civilian in nature, are the responsibility of military commanders. Thus it is traditional for the higher echelons of command to exercise two responsibilities (wearing two hats so to speak), that is, territorial control of geographical area defined by boundaries prescribed by the War Department as well as the strategic, tactical and administrative control of the military personnel within such command.

Throughout the period of the War both the North and the South included the area of Indian Territory within the nomenclature of its area or regional organizational structure. It is the chronology of this type of organization, as it evolved throughout the period of the War, in which we are here interested.

At that time four categories of regional or territorial organization were in vogue, in descending order: division, department, district and sub-district. Creation, reorganization and dissolution of these commands were usually the responsibility of the next superior commander. They were dependent upon the local tactical situation as well as the personalities and the peculiarities of the individual commanders for the time being. Thus, if it were expedient for the War Department to see that two contiguous departments worked closer together, a military division would be created into which division the two departments were placed as subordinate headquarters. In like fashion, if a department commander believed the work load so required, he would subdivide his department into two or more districts with district commanders exercising territorial jurisdiction of the assigned or designated areas comprising each district.

At the outbreak of hostilities in May, 1861, there were three active military posts within what is now Oklahoma, Forts Washita, Arbuckle and Cobb. All were located within the military Department of the West with headquarters at St. Louis, with Maj. Gen. William S. Harney commanding. There was of course no parallel Confederate organization.

On 17 April 1861, the War Department ordered Col. William H. Emory, the senior officer present, to evacuate all Federal troops from the region west of Fort Smith.¹ This was accomplished in early May, and thereafter and for the duration of the War, Indian Territory was the locale for continual reorganization, change in command, and realignment of the structure of both Federal and Confederate forces.

UNION ARMY

1861

May 31. Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Lyon assumed command of the Department of the West. G. O. 5, Hq. Dept. of the West.²

July 3. Maj. Gen. John C. Fremont assigned by the War Department as commander of the Department of the West, and name of command changed to Western Department. W. D., A.G.O., G.O. 40³

October 24. Maj. Gen. David Hunter assigned to relieve Maj. Gen. Fremont as commander of the Western Department. W. D., A.G.O., G.O. 18.⁴ Hunter assumed active command November 2nd.⁵

November 9. The Department of Kansas, which included all of Indian Territory, created as a department separate from the former Western Department, with headquarters at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Maj. Gen. David Hunter assigned as Department Commander. W. D., A.G.O., G.O. 97.⁶

1862

March 11. The Department of Kansas consolidated with the Department of the Missouri to create the Department of the

¹ *War of the Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I (Hereafter cited as O. R.) Vol. I, p. 667. For a thrilling account of these hectic days see "Lieut. Averell's Ride" by Muriel H. Wright, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Spring, 1961), p. 2.

² O. R. Vol. III, p. 381.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 553.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 559.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 567.

Mississippi with headquarters at St. Louis. Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck assigned as Department Commander, by Executive Order of the President.⁷

March 19. The District of Kansas, including Indian Territory, created within the Department of the Mississippi, with headquarters at Fort Leavenworth. Brig. Gen. James W. Denver assigned as District Commander. G.O. 7, Hq. Dept. of the Mississippi.⁸ Denver assumed command April 2.⁹

April 6. Brig. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis directed to relieve Denver as commander of the District of Kansas. G.O. 77, Hq. Dept. of the Mississippi. Sturgis assumed command April 10.¹⁰

May 2. The Department of Kansas reestablished as a separate military department with area to include all of Indian Territory, with headquarters at Fort Leavenworth. W.D., A.G.O., G.O. 50.¹¹ Brig. Gen. James G. Blunt assumed command May 5.¹²

September 19. The Department of Kansas, including the area of Indian Territory, consolidated into the Department of the Missouri, with headquarters at St. Louis and Maj. Gen. Samuel R. Curtis commanding. W.D., A.G.O., G.O. 135.¹³ Curtis assumed active command September 24.¹⁴

November 2. "For convenience of police regulations" the Department of the Missouri divided into twelve military districts. The area of Indian Territory designated the 9th Military District. Hq. Dept. of the Missouri, G.O. 11.¹⁵

December 3. The 8th, 9th and 10th Military Districts of the Department of the Missouri (western Arkansas, Indian Territory and Kansas) combined into one command under Brig. Gen. James G. Blunt. Hq. Dept. of the Missouri, G.O. 24¹⁶

1863

January 13. The 8th and 9th Military Districts (Western Arkansas and Indian Territory) removed from the command of

⁷ O. R. Vol. VIII, p. 605.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 832.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 653.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 683.

¹¹ O. R. Vol. XIII, p. 368.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 370.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 653.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 666.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 777.

¹⁶ O. R. Vol. XXII, Part I, p. 809.

Blunt and made a separate command under Col. W. A. Phillips. Hq. Dept. of the Missouri, G.O. 6.¹⁷

March 10. Maj. Gen. Edwin V. Sumner assigned as Commanding General of the Department of the Missouri. W.D., A.G.O., G.O. 114.¹⁸ Sumner died March 21 and did not assume active command; and Curtis continued in temporary command.

March 30. Indian Territory separated from Western Arkansas and made a part of the District of Kansas. Hq. Dept. of the Missouri, G.O. 24.¹⁹

May 13. Maj. Gen. J. M. Schofield appointed by President Lincoln as commander of the Department of the Missouri.²⁰ Schofield assumed active command May 25.²¹

June 9. Indian Territory and part of Kansas created into the District of the Frontier, with headquarters at Fort Scott and Maj. Gen. James G. Blunt commanding. Hq. Dept. of the Missouri, G.O. 48.²²

October 19. Gen. Blunt relieved as commander of the District of the Frontier by Brig. Gen. John McNeil. Hq. Dept. of the Missouri, G.O. 118.²³ McNeil assumed active command November 2nd.²⁴

1864

January 1. The Department of Kansas, as a territorial command separate from the Department of the Missouri, is again established. Fort Smith and all of Indian Territory included within the Department. Maj. Gen. Samuel R. Curtis designated Department Commander. W.D., A.G.O., G.O. 1.²⁵ Curtis assumed active command on January 16.²⁶

January 6. The Department of Arkansas established to include all of the area of Arkansas except Fort Smith. Maj. Gen. Frederick Steele assigned as Department Commander. W.D.,

¹⁷ O. R. Vol. XXII, Part II, p. 40.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 315.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 666.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁵ O. R. Vol. XXXIV, Part II, p. 7.

²⁶ O. R. Vol. XXXIV, Part I, p. 1.

A.G.O., G.O. 14.²⁷ Steele assumed active command on January 30.²⁸

January 30. Maj. Gen. W. S. Rosecrans directed to relieve Maj. Gen. J. M. Schofield as commander of the Department of the Missouri. W. D., A.G.O., G.O. 28.²⁹

February 22. Brig. Gen. John M. Thayer relieves Brig. Gen. John McNeil as commander of the District of the Frontier (part of the Department of Arkansas).³⁰

April 17. All of Indian Territory and Fort Smith transferred to the jurisdiction of the Department of Arkansas.³¹

May 7. A higher headquarters, known as Military Division of West Mississippi established, to include the Departments of Arkansas (of which Indian Territory a part) and the Department of the Gulf. Headquarters were designated at Natchez, Mississippi, with Maj. Gen. E. R. S. Canby commanding. W.D., A.G.O., G.O. 192.³²

November 29. Maj. Gen. Joseph J. Reynolds assigned to command of the Department of Arkansas, relieving Maj. Gen. Frederick Steele. W.D., A.G.O., G.O. 290³³ Reynolds assumed active command December 22.³⁴

December 2. Maj. Gen. G. M. Dodge assigned as commander of the Department of the Missouri to relieve Maj. Gen. W. S. Rosecrans. W.D., A.G.O., G.O. 294.³⁵

1865

January 30. The Department of Kansas merged into the Department of the Missouri with headquarters at Fort Leavenworth, and Dodge to continue as Department Commander of the enlarged department. W.D., A.G.O., G.O. 11.³⁶

January 30. A higher headquarters known as the Military Division of the Missouri created, under which placed the Departments of the Missouri and the Northwest, with headquarters at St. Louis and Maj. Gen. John Pope commanding.³⁷

²⁷ O. R. Vol. XXXIV, part II, p. 34.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 394.

³¹ O. R. Vol. XXXIV, Part III, p. 192.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 490.

³³ O. R. Vol. XLI, Part IV, p. 711.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 913.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

³⁶ O. R. Vol. XLVIII, Part I, p. 686.

³⁷ *Lôq. cit.*

April 22. Military District of South Kansas enlarged to include all of Indian Territory with headquarters at Fort Gibson and Maj. Gen. J. G. Blunt commanding. At the same time the District was detached from the Department of the Missouri and made a part of the Department of Arkansas. Hq., Mil. Div. of the Missouri, G.O. 40.³⁸

May 17. Military Division of West Mississippi abolished and all of the area west of the Mississippi River and south of the Arkansas River organized into the Military Division of the Southwest with temporary headquarters at New Orleans and Maj. Gen. P. A. Sheridan commanding. W. D., A.G.O., G.O. 95³⁹ Sheridan assumed active command May 29.⁴⁰

CONFEDERATE ARMY

1861

May 13. District of Indian Territory created, with Brig. Gen. Ben McCulloch commanding.⁴¹

November 22. Department of Indian Territory created with Brig. Gen. Albert Pike commanding.⁴²

1862

January 10. Arkansas, Missouri and Indian Territory organize into the Trans-Mississippi District with headquarters at Little Rock. Maj. Gen. Earl Van Dorn commanding.⁴³ The same area constituted the Trans-Mississippi Department May 26, 1862.⁴⁴

May 26. Maj. Gen. T. C. Hindman assigned as commander of the Trans-Mississippi District.⁴⁵

July 16. Maj. Gen. Theophilus Holmes assigned to com-

³⁸ O. R. Vol. XLVIII, Part II, p. 158.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 475.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 648.

⁴¹ O. R. Vol. III, p. 575.

⁴² O. R. Vol. VIII, p. 690. This order by the Confederate War Department was to be the source of much mischief. Pike used it as the basis for his position that he reported direct to Richmond, and that his command was not a part of the Trans-Mississippi. Pike consistently referred to his command as a "department" while Hq., Trans-Mississippi looked upon it as a district.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 734.

⁴⁴ O. R. Vol. XIII, p. 829.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 829. This order of Maj. Gen. VanDorn is not in complete harmony with that of the same day (f. n. 44) of the Confederate War Department.

mand the Trans-Mississippi Department. Holmes assumed active command July 30, with headquarters at Vicksburg.⁴⁶

July 28. Brig. Gen. Albert Pike relieved of command of Indian Territory by orders of Maj. Gen. T. C. Hindman.⁴⁷ Pike refused to recognize the order and in November, 1862, he was escorted out of Indian Territory under arrest.⁴⁸

August 20. The District of Arkansas, including Indian Territory, created as a part of the Trans-Mississippi Department, with Maj. Gen. T. C. Hindman commanding.⁴⁹

1863

January 8. Brig. Gen. William Steele assumed command of Indian Territory with headquarters at Fort Smith.⁵⁰ Indian Territory is detached from the District of Arkansas, and placed directly under the Trans-Mississippi Department.

February 9. Gen. E. Kirby Smith relieved Lieut. Gen. Theophilus Holmes as commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department.⁵¹ Smith assumed active command March 7.⁵²

March 2. Brig. Gen. D. M. Frost relieved Maj. Gen. T. C. Hindman as commander of the District of Arkansas.⁵³

March 18. The District of Arkansas enlarged to include again Indian Territory, with headquarters at Little Rock and Lieut. Gen. Theophilus Holmes commanding.⁵⁴

April 24. Headquarters of the Trans-Mississippi Department moved to Shreveport, La.⁵⁵

July 24. Maj. Gen. Sterling Price relieved Holmes as Commanding General of the District of Arkansas.⁵⁶

September 25. Lieut. Gen. Holmes resumed command of the District of Arkansas, with headquarters established at Arkadelphia.⁵⁷

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 860. Theophilus Holmes had a long history of duty in the Indian Territory, and his name lives on in Fort Holmes, established in 1834 at the mouth of Little River and named for him.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 973.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 980, *et seq.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 877.

⁵⁰ O. R. Vol. XXII, Part II, p. 770.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 786, 787.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 798.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 794.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 803.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 830.

⁵⁶ O. R. Vol. XXII, Part I, p. 5.

⁵⁷ O. R. Vol. XXII, Part II, p. 1027.

October 14. Indian Territory removed from the District of Arkansas and organized as a separate district directly under the Trans-Mississippi Department with Brig. Gen. William Steele continuing in command.⁵⁸

December 11. Brig. Gen. Samuel B. Maxey relieved Brig. Gen. William Steele as District of Indian Territory commander.⁵⁹ On May 20, 1864 Maxey was promoted to Major General to rank from April 14, 1864.

1864

March 14. Maj. Gen. Sterling Price relieved Holmes as Commanding General of the District of Arkansas.⁶⁰

July 21. Indian Territory created by the War Department as a separate district directly under Gen. E. Kirby Smith, with Brig. Gen. Douglas H. Cooper commanding.⁶¹

August 4. Maj. Gen. J. B. Magruder relieved Price as Commanding General of the District of Arkansas.⁶²

1865

February 14. Brig. Gen. Stand Watie designated by Gen. E. Kirby Smith as commander of all Indian troops in Indian Territory. Brig. Gen. D. H. Cooper given the additional duty as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Indian Territory.⁶³

February 21. Gen. E. Kirby Smith relieved Maj. Gen. S. B. Maxey as commander of the District of Indian Territory and placed Cooper in active command.⁶⁴

March 31. Maj. Gen. J. B. Magruder relieved as commander of the District of Arkansas by Maj. Gen. J. F. Fagin.⁶⁵

April 19. The Districts of Arkansas and West Louisiana consolidated into one district under Maj. Gen. S. B. Buckner.⁶⁶

May 18. Gen. E. Kirby Smith moved the headquarters of the Trans-Mississippi Department to Houston, Texas.⁶⁷

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1045.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1094.

⁶⁰ O. R. Vol. XXXIV, Part II, p. 1041.

⁶¹ O. R. Vol. XLI, Part II, p. 1019. This order caused local uncertainty and was not recognized by C. G., Trans-Mississippi, until Feb. 21, 1865.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 1039.

⁶³ O. R. Vol. XLVIII, Part I, p. 1387.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1396.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1455.

⁶⁶ O. R. Vol. XLVIII, Part II, p. 1283.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1312.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

"CHIEF STUMBLING BEAR PASS"

HISTORICAL MARKER HONORING A GREAT KIOWA CHIEF
AND PEACEMAKER

The dedication ceremony held on April 23, 1967, for the historical marker at the old pass in the hills overlooking the valley north of the Wichita Mountains was an event in Southwest Oklahoma and Comanche County. The pass was known and used by the Kiowa over 150 years ago, and on through the seasons of a century, even after the final settlement of this great Indian tribe of the Plains following the founding of Fort Sill in 1869. History is filled with stories emphasizing the lives of Indian warriors. Many memorials have been erected and named for them yet little mention has been made about the Indian chiefs and leaders for peace. Now, however, the pass on the old Indian trail into the beautiful valley north of Mount Scott is named in honor of the Kiowa Chief and Peacemaker, Stumbling Bear, with the erection of the historical marker. This also commemorates the centennial of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867, which provided for the settlement of the Kiowa and other Plains tribes — Comanche, Apache, Cheyenne and Arapaho — in Western Oklahoma.

The Stumbling Bear marker is on State Highway 58 near the north boundary of Comanche County. It stands on the south side of what is known locally as "Prickly Pear Hill," about 1,000 feet from the top of the hill, in special turn-out provided by the State Highway Department on the east side of the highway. From here there is a fine view across the valley to Mount Scott and other peaks of the Wichita Mountains, south and southwest several miles away. In the region to the southwest, Chief Stumbling Bear was born about 1830. One can look down on the site of his home, about a mile or two away, and the sites of houses of other Kiowa leaders living along Canyon Creek in 1877. The historical marker was paid for by contribution from descendants and relatives of Chief Stumbling Bear, through a special committee representing the family. The chairman of this committee was the Reverend Robert V. Pinezaddleby, Superintendent of the Southwestern Indian District, Indian Mission (Conference) of Oklahoma, the Methodist Church. Other active members of the committee were Mrs. Alice A. Zenella (granddaughter of Chief Stumbling Bear) and Mr. Scott Tone-mah (great-grandson). Most active in study of Kiowa history and providing the memorial to Stumbling Bear has been Mr.



KIOWA CHIEF STUMBLING BEAR

The leader for peace and signer of the Medicine Lodge Treaty, 1867



CHIEF STUMBLING BEAR PASS, HISTORICAL MARKER

Dedicated April 23, 1967, on State Highway 58 overlooking the Wichita Mountains, Comanche County.

Gillett Griswold, Director of the U.S. Army Artillery and Missile Center Museum at Fort Sill, who gave his interest and efforts to promoting the Stumbling Bear historical marker. In his recommendations for this project, the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Great Plains Historical Museum in Lawton were in full accord. Mr. Griswold as a historian provided the following biographical sketch of Chief Stumbling Bear:

CHIEF STUMBLING BEAR

Chief Stumhling Bear, who was outstanding as a leader and representative of his people, the Kiowa Indian Tribe, is inseparably identified with the area of the road and pass [north of Mount Scott]. Indeed, thousands of settlers in the Southwest of his day owed their lives to his steadfast leadership in the cause of peace; yet nothing in this country commemorates his role in the history and development of western Oklahoma.

Chief Set-Imkla or Stumbling Bear was born about 1830, and was one of the Infants that was almost miraculously saved from the massacre of a Kiowa village by the Osages in 1833 at Cutthroat Gap. He was thus about 4 years old when the first Americans to reach this area, the soldiers of the Dragoon Expedition of 1834, met the Kiowas and Comanches at the Wichita Mountains. The principal chief of the Kiowas from that time to his death in 1866 was the celebrated Tohauson, and it was under his personal tutelage that Set-Imkia became one of the most fearless and distinguished warriors in the history of the tribe. After winning his laurels, young Set-Imkia married Tohauson's daughter. (The name Stumhling Bear, incidentally, is a mistranslation, his name more properly meaning Bear-that-runs-over-a-man, or Pushing-bear; in other words, a bear that overthrows or pushes over all obstacles in his way. But "Stumhling Bear" is what the whites called him and that is how his name has come down.)

At the Medicine Lodge Council of 1867 Chief Stumbling Bear took a leading part in negotiations with the Government for a permanent treaty and, with his cousin Chief Kicking Bird (his brother in the Indian way) was one of the ten Kiowa signers of the Medicine Lodge Peace Treaty concluded in October of that year. This treaty assigned to the Kiowas and their allied tribes reservations in Southwest Oklahoma, their ancient and present homeland; authorized the building of roads and military posts within the area (and thus Forts Sill and Reno came into being); and formed the basis for all future relationships between the South Plains Indians and the Government.

From the time of the signing of this treaty, and unlike most of the other chiefs, Chief Stumbling Bear never forsook "the white's road," no matter how adverse the conditions nor how unpopular his stand. His word was his bond, and such men as Generals Sherman, Sheridan, Hancock, Miles, and Mackenzie were proud to call him their friend. With rare foresight and understanding he recognized that the Indian's ancient way of life was irrevocably passing.

During the final Indian outbreaks in the Red River War of 1874-75 he and Chief Kicking Bird held three-fourths of the Kiowa Tribe in peaceful camps at Fort Sill, and at the request of the Army took custody of the hostile elements as they surrendered. At the end of the war, in the spring of 1875, Chief Kicking Bird died suddenly, an object of the wrath of the medicine men of the resistance groups. He was given a Christian burial in the Post Cemetery at Fort Sill, with the entire garrison turning out for the funeral, and a stone vault was erected over his grave.

With Kicking Bird gone and the old war chiefs discredited, Chief

Stumbling Bear was left alone to guide his people toward a new way of life. That summer he led them north from Fort Sill through the gateway of the Wichita Mountains and established their camps along Canyon Creek, in the precise area where the new section of State Highway 58 runs today. Two years later, in the fall of 1877, the Government built houses here for ten of the most prominent chiefs. These were the first Indian houses ever built upon the reservation except for two erected by the military, and the first of these was constructed for Chief Stumbling Bear. His house was near the gap for which the name Chief Stumbling Bear Pass is proposed. The foundations of the old house are still visible, and a number of the Chief's descendants continue to reside in the vicinity.

This area, then, became the first permanent settlement of the Kiowa Tribe. It was founded by Chief Stumbling Bear and was the locus from which various Indian bands scattered out to settle the lands that eventually developed into Hobart, Carnegie, Verden, Lone Wolf, Gotebo, Mountain View, and other present-day communities.

For the remainder of his life Chief Stumbling Bear devoted himself to encouraging his people in the paths of peace, education, and progress. He served as a delegate to Washington. Despite strong opposition from the medicine men and many of the older Indians he granted permission to the missionaries to establish themselves on the Kiowa Reservation. He became a faithful Christian. He sent his beloved daughter Virginia across the continent to Carlisle Indian School, Pennsylvania, as an example to the tribe, and she became the first Kiowa girl to attend that famous institution. When she returned she became active in mission work.

In 1890, when the Kiowas were preparing to celebrate their usual annual sun dance, a new Indian agent determined to prevent it on the erroneous assumption that the tribal ceremony might erupt into an outbreak. At his request, the Army was ordered to dispatch troops from Fort Sill to halt the sun dance. The Kiowas, assembled in their great tribal circle of tipis, with the center pole of the medicine lodge already erected, were not at all disposed to yield, and bloodshed was imminent. News that the troops were on the way was brought by Quanah Parker, Chief of the Comanches, to Stumbling Bear, who had remained at home on account of the death of his son. Chief Stumbling Bear at once sent messengers to the sun dance camp and through his great influence induced his people to halt preparations for the dance and for resistance and to disperse in peace. This was an accomplishment of the first magnitude, for many of the Kiowas still believed that the health and continued existence of the tribe depended upon holding the annual sun dance renewal ceremonies. However, after the events of 1890 they never again attempted to hold the sun dance ritual.

Also in the 1890's Chief Stumbling Bear was host and a principal historical informant for ethnologist James Mooney from the Smithsonian Institution, in the course of which Mr. Mooney gathered material for the Smithsonian's "Calendar History of the Kiowas."

But by the time the country was opened to settlement in 1901, Chief Stumbling Bear was blind, crippled, and except by his family, all but forgotten. He died unnoticed two years later, on March 14, 1903, having been the last surviving signer of the great Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867.

Chief Stumbling Bear had several children and through them his lineal descendants number over 200 today. Collaterally, not less than one-fourth of the entire present-day Kiowa Tribe bear kinship to him. Among living descendants are veterans of World Wars I and II and Korea, from all of the armed services; Kiowa men and women with college degrees; ministers, social workers, executives, farmers. In all the tribe one

cannot find a more industrious, progressive, forward-looking family group than the Chief Stumbling Bear descendants. They are a fine credit to the Indian race as well as to our American society in general. They are also people who take a quiet pride in their native past, and who treasure the customs and traditions bequeathed them by their forefathers.

General Hugh L. Scott, Army Chief of Staff, who knew Chief Stumbling Bear and associates well when stationed at Fort Sill in the 1880s and 1890s, wrote in later years: "Most of these old friends are now dead. The white people drive over the country in which they were born and in which they are buried without any knowledge of them. Their memories and their history are to me a sacred trust to be cherished and preserved for those who come after us — their children and ours."

Chief Set-Imkia, whose efforts saved countless lives and brought lasting peace to Indian and white alike, has been most unjustly ignored by the history books and publicity mills in favor of the flamboyant war chiefs of the South Plains, whose names and deeds struck terror to the hearts of the pioneers. The latter are immortalized by towns, creeks, and landmarks bearing their names, whereas the man who at great personal hazard gave his hand in eternal brotherhood to the whites and held most of his tribesmen on the friendship road, has never been commemorated.

A step in correcting the oversights of the past was taken by the authorities at Fort Sill last fall. On October 21, 1963, the 96th anniversary of the signing of the Medicine Lodge Peace Treaty, the remains of Chief Stumbling Bear were transferred from an unmarked gravesite to a place of honor in the Post Cemetery next to the tomb of his cousin and fellow peace chief, Kicking Bird.

The past neglect of this Indian statesman and his accomplishments would be rectified in full measure by the official naming of the Chief Stumbling Bear Memorial Highway and Chief Stumbling Bear Pass. Indeed, in view of the fact that Highway 58 leads from the Chief's old home area north nearly to Medicine Lodge, Kansas, where he was one of the principal signers of the great Peace Treaty of 1867, and that in this course it traverses the old Indian reservations set aside by the Treaty, it would seem very appropriate to consider designating the entire Highway, rather than merely the southern section, as the Chief Stumbling Bear Memorial Highway.

HISTORICAL NOTE ON THE GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA, 1907

Notes on the first delineation (or drawing) of the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma in 1907 are given by the Hon. E. K. Gaylord, President and Publisher of the Oklahoma Publishing Company, in the following letter to President George H. Shirk of the Historical Society.¹

¹ The designs of many seals were combined in making the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma, its history told in the article "The Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXV (1957), pp. 250-254.—Ed.

E. K. GAYLORD, President, Publisher
 EDWARD L. GAYLORD, Executive Vice-President, Treasurer

THE DAILY OKLAHOMAN
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December 14, 1967

Hon. George Shirk
 President
 OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
 Historical Bldg.,
 Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

Dear Mr. Shirk :

I believe I told you nearly all the facts about the state seal which was originally adopted, being designed by a cartoonist for the Daily Oklahoman whose name was J. A. Pedicord. His nickname naturally was Jap and when the constitutional convention was in session he got very excited about designing a state seal. He probably had seen something of the design which was proposed at the Indian Territory abortive statehood convention, and he used some of the same ideas.

He made two or three different drawings and showed them to me and the one we thought most appropriate was submitted by him and adopted, I believe, by the constitutional convention. It was later adopted by the first legislature.

I do not know what became of Jap Pedicord because he left us shortly after statehood and I have no knowledge of his later activities.

Cordially yours,
 E. K. Gaylord
 Publisher

EKG:C

LONE DOVE HILL: A PLACE IN HISTORY,
 FOUR AND A HALF MILES N. W. OF SASAKWA IN
 SEMINOLE COUNTY

The history of "Francis, Chickasaw Nation, 1894" by Reita Sturdivant in *The Chronicles* for Summer, 1967 (Vol. XLV, pp. 143-152), has been commended by many readers of the magazine, for its interesting account of this old town in Pontotoc County. Mrs. Sturdivant devotes about two paragraphs (pages 151-52) to the strife and worry caused by a group of trouble

makers around Francis, members of the "Working Class Union," who rebelled against induction into the army in World War I (1917) and were bitter in their belief that people "who had worked and accumulated a home and property, be made to divide with them." Finally, the group planned a march to Washington, starting on their way at the schoolhouse in Francis. Carrying guns and ammunition, they marched on horseback and in wagons through town, and crossed the Canadian River into Seminole County. Mrs. Studivant writes from memory here and leaves the marchers, stating that they "camped near Seminole."

Mr. H. Milt Phillips of the City of Seminole, Editor of *The Seminole Producer* and member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, has written us a letter giving more interesting notes on the WCU members who started out from Francis in 1917, the notes from Senator Al Nichols of Wewoka, in Seminole County. Mr. Phillips writes:

Our good friend Senator Allen G. Nichols takes issue with the Reita Sturdivant article, page 143, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Summer, 1967

Senator Nichols questions the last paragraph, page 151, in reference to the incidents which we in this area refer to as "The Green Corn Rebellion"—although Mrs. Sturdivant does not refer to it as such.

Senator Nichols recalls that Al Huckleberry was the County Commissioner in Seminole County and this group burned one of his bridges. The group gathered some Negroes who had been induced to join "Working Class Union" (WCU) by some organizers who had come into the area around Sallisaw. Senator Nichols also recalls that Uncle Bill Cross and Frank Galt, law enforcement officers went down in the area and routed out the WCU group on August 3, 1917.

The Wewoka Senator further recalls that Frank Stanton was sent down to the county by Governor Williams to represent the State and help the local law enforcement officers to get things quieted down.

As Al Nichols says — "I just want to keep the historical record straight" . . . and he thinks Mrs. Sturdivant didn't have "her history on straight" in these quotations about the WCU coming into Seminole County.

DR. BERLIN B. CHAPMAN
RESIGNS FROM THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

DR. BERLIN B. CHAPMAN

1820 Harrison Avenue
Orlando, Florida 32804

October 26, 1967

To Col. George H. Shirk, President

Mr. Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative-Secretary
and to the Board of Directors, Oklahoma Historical Society

I hereby submit my resignation as a member of the Board of Directors, to take effect on this date.

Submitted with this letter is a manuscript volume of more than 200 pages, for preservation in the Society. It is entitled, *Indian Meridian*. The volume deals with the establishment of the meridian by Ehud Nohle Darling in 1870, an account of his life, his establishment of the Initial Point, the

homestead system as it related to the meridian, and the dedication of a meridian marker, 7 x 14 feet on April 17, 1966. Attendance was 2,000.

After I left Oklahoma State University in 1966, I remained on the board to complete this project, to complete a manuscript volume on the *History of the Perry Land Office*, and to edit a volume, *Adventures in Education*, by the late Dr. Charles Evans, Administrative-Secretary of the Society, 1944-54. This work is complete, duplicate volumes are in the Library of Oklahoma State University, and I now give place to a successor.

On Nov. 1, 1951, I was elected "to fill the unexpired term of Mr. H. L. Muldrow, deceased." He was a man for whom I had great respect, and it has been a pleasure to have as a colleague his son, Fisher. I have always been proud of those who joined the board on Nov. 1: Henry B. Bass, Dr. T. T. Montgomery, and R. G. Miller.

Sixteen years made drastic change. Of those present on my arrival, only five remain to grace the conference table: Shirk, Dr. E. E. Dale, R. M. Mountcastle, Robert A. Hefner, and H. Milt Phillips. .

Membership on the board was an excellent laboratory for the teaching of Oklahoma history at Stillwater. A pageant of events passed before my observation. Association with the high caliber of men and women who comprise the board is an inspiration to anyone. I was proud of the leadership of the Society on State tours. Frequently I sought the counsel of Mr. Fraker, and the assistance of his efficient staff.

The present system of electing board members is highly efficient. This unit of devoted men and women know the problems of the Society in the preservation of history, and specialists are elected or retained in the respective fields. A matter of preserving newspapers is referred to Phillips; a Creek matter to W. E. McIntosh; a Ft. Washita matter to Dr. Morrison, etc. Dr. Harbour and Mrs. Korn were for years the authority on precedent.

Distant interests, included Florida State University, will not eliminate my humble effort to contribute what I can to the Society. In my possession are the archives of the Fairview Anti-Horse Thief Association; a half finished book on the Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches; and I have long desired to prepare a source book on the early history of Oklahoma A. and M. College.

Sensing the cares of this life and the deceitfulness of riches, realizing that no man can serve two masters, and knowing that for the board the harvest truly is plenteous, I give way to a more vigorous laborer. History is unfolding at an unprecedented rate, both as to the number of people involved and to the number of events. The Oklahoma Historical Society will keep pace. Like the Father of Waters, it is of humble origin, and it grows in the course of its operation .

—Berlin B. Chapman

REPORT FROM THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

The History Department of Oklahoma State University announces the following activities and staff changes effective with the autumn semester of 1967: Ellen D. Howell of the University of Virginia became instructor of history; George F. Jewsbury of the University of Washington became instructor of history; Theodore L. Agnew, professor, returned from Emory University, where he served as visiting professor of American social and intellectual history during the 1966-67 academic year; Joseph

Harsh, visiting associate professor during the 1966-67 academic year, returned to Rice University; Francis A. Dutra, assistant professor, became assistant professor at the University of California at Santa Barbara; Phillip R. Rulon, part-time instructor, became assistant professor at Northern Arizona University.

Homer L. Knight, department head and professor, was elected international president of Phi Alpha Theta, the history honor society; Alfred Levin, professor, was named to the Interuniversity Committee on Travel Grants; Theodore L. Agnew, professor, was appointed Editor of the Papers of Will Rogers at Oklahoma State University; Alexander N. Ospovat, associate professor, was named guest of honor of the Bergakademie Freiberg and the East German Geological Society; Charles M. Dollar, assistant professor, received a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Fellowship to study the United States Senate Progressive movement from 1921 to 1933.

WHEN *DIXIE* WAS SUNG IN OKLAHOMA CITY SIXTY YEARS AGO

The following story about the singing of *Dixie* on Statehood Day on November 16, 1907, at Oklahoma City, is told by Mr. Albert S. Gillis, Sr., who has contributed articles to *The Chronicles* in recent years. In a letter accompanying his story, Mr. Gilles says that the Alabama version of the song *Dixie* is based on an old newspaper clipping dated 1906, in his files on historical data. He adds that his reminiscence is out of his own memory, and that when he tells this story to a crowd, he still gets a laugh. The Civil War was forty-one years away but the old fellow who had a part in the Statehood Day program in 1907, considered the song *Dixie* an insult to the flag. Mr. Gilles' father served in the First Vermont Cavalry, and did his soldering up and down the Shenandoah Valley under Wells, Custer and Sheridan. So, also, the old cavalryman probably served in the same locale.

DIXIE

If a mouse may look at a Queen, surely the son of a Vermont Yankee cavalryman may write about *Dixie*. I am thinking of the day Oklahoma became a state, sixty years ago. Somehow it never occurred to Oklahoma City folks to have a celebration, until the morning of the signing.

I was a student at Epworth University, a forerunner of Oklahoma City University. Our campus extended from Classen and 17th west to McKinley, north on McKinley to NW 21st Street, east on 21st Street to Classen, then south to 17th, the point of beginning. A hurry-up call came from an impromptu committee, for the University to bring all musical groups to help entertain.

The then city auditorium, or whatever name it was called by, was on South Walker, cornering across from the Central Fire Station. The

Fife and Drum Corps of Grand Army of the Republic was already assembled, by the time we got there. We had part of our band, scouts out hunting members, and because most of the Girl's Glee Club lived in the dormitory, they arrived at near full strength.

Already on the rostrum were a number of Northern Veterans, some of whom could wear still, their Civil War uniforms. For some reason, the word had not reached the southern veterans.

One old Union cavalryman, probably not a pound heavier than when he rode with Phil Sheridan up and down the Shenandoah Valley in the 1860's, was in complete uniform from his forage cap, to saber, to cavalry hoots. Besides a flourishing mustache, he had a round beard growing from the front of his chin and lower lip, about four inches long—much in the style of General Kearney. It was much too large to be termed a goatee, and too far forward to be considered billy-goat whiskers. He sat there holding an American Flag on a staff, perhaps fourteen feet in height. He looked the very soul of military dignity and decorum.

Our Glee Club girls were in rare form when their turn came. They rendered several short selections, and as a finale, swung into a medley of Civil War Army songs. From Marching through Georgia, they burst into an uninhibited rendition of "*Dixie*." Two of the girls had magnificent alto voices, needed for the proper interpretation of the Dixie melody. By the time the girls reached the end of the first line "in Dixie," with the alto section doing its full duty, our old cavalry man, boots, cap, saber, and flag was on his way to the front of the platform.

He did not have time to go by the way of the stairs. Coming to the front of the rostrum, he leaped the all of four feet to the floor, heedless of swinging saber, and age brittle bones. Of course, the saber insisted on swinging between his legs, and tripping him. But somehow, he recovered his balance, grasped the scabbard with his free hand, and with flag held high, stalked majestically from the Auditorium. Without a lost note, due to the commotion, the girls continued to the end of Dixie, and the hated tune must have followed the old Union soldier to its very end.

Like all war songs, taken over by the common people, and made their own, there are many versions, much switching about of lines, and substituting of words. There are as many claims to authorship, as there are versions of the lyrics.

Some credit the authorship of Dixie to Ina Marie Porter, while she was in school at Greedsville, Alabama in 1861. Others give the honor to a Mrs. Ockendon. The Alabama Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, in May 1906, considered the following version most authentic, and adopted it to be sung at all meetings:

In Dixie Cotton loves to grow,
With leaf of green and boll of snow,
Look a-way: Look a-way:
Look a-way, Dixie Land.
Here waves the golden wheat and corn
In Dixie Land, where I was born,
Look a-way: Look a-way:
Look a-way, Dixie Land.

Chorus

Then I wish I was in Dixie.
Hooray: Hooray:
In Dixie Land I'll take my stand,
To live and die in Dixie,
Away: Away:
A-way down south in Dixie.

In Dixie reddest roses bloom
 The Jasmine yields its rare perfume,
 Look a-way: Look a-way:
 Look a-way, Dixie Land.
 And here the sea breeze haunts the South,
 With Orange blossoms in its mouth,
 Look a-way: Look a-way:
 Look a-way, Dixie Land.

Chorus

In Dixie Land we love to live,
 With generous hand we love to give,
 Look a-way: Look a-way:
 Look a-way, Dixie Land.
 With Cheerful light and open door,
 What matter if the wind does roar,
 Look a-way: Look a-way:
 Look a-way, Dixie Land.

Chorus

The Dixie skies are bonnie blue,
 And southern hearts are warm and true
 Look a-way: Look a-way:
 Look a-way, Dixie Land.
 Let there be love throughout the world,
 The pure white flag of Peace unfurled,
 Look a-way: Look a-way:
 Look a-way, Dixie Land.

Chorus

In other lands 'tis sweet to roam,
 But in Dixie Land is Home, Sweet Home,
 Look a-way: Look a-way:
 Look a-way, Dixie Land.
 And Southern maid with merry song,
 Loves dear old Dixie, right or wrong,
 Look a-way: Look a-way:
 Look a-way, Dixie Land.

Chorus.

RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY

The following list gives the titles of books accessioned and catalogued in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society, by Mrs. Alene Simpson, Librarian, from July 1, 1966 to July 1, 1967:

- | | |
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| <p>Adams, Clifton. <i>The Grabhorn Bounty</i>. Garden City, Doubleday, 1965. 185 pp.</p> <p>Alabama Society Daughters of American Revolution. <i>Index to Alabama Wills 1808-1870</i>. 1955. 180 pp.</p> <p>Alabama State Department of Archives and History. <i>The Alabama Historical Quarterly</i>. Vols. 20-22. Index 1930-1958.</p> <p>Alexander, Charles. <i>The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest</i>. Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1965. 288 pp.</p> | <p>Alexander, Virginia W. and Priest, Rose Harris. <i>Maury County, Tennessee Deed Abstracts A. B. C., Vol. 1</i>. 1962. 98 pp.</p> <p>Alexander, Virginia W. and Priest, Rose Harris. <i>Maury County, Tennessee Marriage Records 1807-1837</i>. 1962. 200 pp.</p> <p>Alfriend, Frank H. <i>The Life of Jefferson Davis</i>. Chicago, Caxton Publishers, 1868. 645 pp.</p> <p>Allhands, J. L. <i>Tools of the Earth Mover</i>. Huntsville, Sam Houston College Press, 1951. 362 pp.</p> |
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- Andrews, Matthew Page. *Women of the South in War Times*. Baltimore, Norman Remington Co., 1920 and 1927.
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- Atyeo, Warren T. *The Bdelliae (Acarina) of the Australian Realm*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska State Museum. 210 pp.
- Axelson, Mary Carmook McDougal. *Thirteenth Child: The Story of D. A. McDougal*. 1966. 134 pp.
- Babcock, Sidney and Bryce, John Y. *History of Methodism in Oklahoma*. 1938. 440 pp.
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- Barney, Ralph A., comp. *Laws Relating to Osage Tribe of Indians*. Pawhuska, 1929. 112 pp.
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- Barr, Thomas P. *The Pruitt Site*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Research Institute, 1966. 80 pp.
- Beach, Ursula Smith. *Along the Warioto or a History of Montgomery County, Tennessee*. Nashville, 1964. 390 pp.
- Beach, Vincent. *1825: Decisive Year of Charles X's Reign*. Boulder University of Colorado, 1967. 30 pp.
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- Belden, Bauman. *Indian Peace Medals Issued in the United States 1789-1889*. New Milford, Conn., N. Flaydaman & Co., 1966.
- Berry, Col. Thomas A. *Four Years with Morgan and Forrest*. Oklahoma City, Harlow-Ratliff, 1914. 476 pp.
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- Bowen, John J. *The Strategy of Robert E. Lee*. New York, Neale Pub. Co., 1914. 256 pp.
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BOOK REVIEWS

Iron Men. By C. H. McKennon. (Doubleday & Co., New York, 1967. Pp. 224. \$5.95.)

When Paden Tolbert was sworn in as a United States Deputy Marshal by Judge Isaac C. Parker, he became one of a select group of men who were the enforcement arm of the Federal Court for the Western District of Arkansas. This gigantic district included, not only the western portion of Arkansas, but the whole of Indian Territory. The law west of Fort Smith reached all the way to the Texas Panhandle.

Those who served this court, more often than not, volunteered for their work, performing far beyond the call of duty under insuperable difficulties and hardships. The vast wilderness of Indian Territory had become, following the Civil War, the hideout of some of the most vicious criminals in the annals of crime. The tale of some of the men who fought this criminal element is based on much new material presented here for the first time.

The exploits of such men as Paden Tolbert, Bud Ledbetter, Dave Rusk, Heck Thomas and others in bringing law to the Indian Nations make exciting reading. Some of those who lived outside the law were: Cherokee Bill Goldsby, Jim French, Bill Cook, Sid Wallace and the amazing Ned Christie. Christie was a Cherokee who had unwittingly murdered a lawman. For five bitter years, he thwarted every attempt at his capture. The story of the final assault against his log fort by a force of Deputy Marshals, complete with cannon, is the best part of the book.

Mr. McKennon, a Tulsa author, has carefully researched and detailed this account of law enforcement on the frontier. It is a lively bit of western Americana. He has wisely included an extensive bibliography of his many, many personal interviews.

—Arthur Shoemaker

Hominy, Oklahoma

John McCorkle: Three Years With Quantrill. A true story. By O. S. Barton. (Reprinted, New York, 1967. Illus. Pp. 157. \$10.00.)

First-hand narratives from individuals who were participants in great events are always interesting reading, although their substantive value may be nominal. Being highly subjective, such tales and yarns, especially when put to paper through the hand of another, years after the event and in the twilight of life, are

always suspect. Yet, this has nothing to do with the readability; and such is the case here. This narrative of one who served throughout most of the war with William Quantrill was first published in a small edition at Armstrong, Missouri, about 1914.

The book tells first-hand the way of life of these renegades, their method of operation and their mental attitude towards the deeds they were perpetuating. The narrator participated in the Lawrence, Kansas, affair, as well as the tragic massacre on October 6, 1863, of the band of military musicians and civilians accompanying Major Gen. James Blunt, at which time James O'Neal, an illustrator for Leslie's Weekly, was killed.

The cavalier attitude of the author towards such methods of warfare is inscrutable by today's standards, as everything seems to be made right and proper by the belief that nothing more than turn-about and exchange in kind is fair play.

The book suffers for want of editing and there is a complete absence of explanatory notes or any manner of reader aids. For lively reading, however, especially when one is not too concerned with precise details, the volume is worth attention; and it is fortunate that this heretofore extremely scarce southwestern item is again available.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The American Presidents. By David C. Whitney. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967. X + 372 pp. Illustrations, appendix, and index. \$5.95.)

David C. Whitney takes on a truly formidable task when he attempts in this book to cover the lives of the first thirty-five presidents completely, and Lyndon B. Johnson's administration through the off year election of 1966.

At the beginning of each presidential sketch there is a drawing of the subject by Richard Paul Kluga. Whitney then presents a short chronology of the important dates and events of the individuals' life which is followed by a very brief overall summary of the subjects' attitudes and how his contemporaries at large felt about him during his life time. This description leads off the narrative, in each case, which is divided into sections, covering the main periods of the individuals' life from birth to death.

Whitney presents a series of concise stories that are generally well written. In his attempt to paint as complete a picture as possible of each president, he includes many facts in a generalized

way. He is, through necessity, limited in presenting a great amount of detail pro and con on each subject. For example, in the election of John Quincy Adams he infers strongly that a "corrupt bargain" was made without including one word that there was never any actual proof uncovered to support the charge.

The *Appendix*, along with a list of the wives of the presidents, includes, among other things, information on the White House structure itself. Giving in brief detail how both the exterior and interior have changed under the influence of the various occupants through three major repairs and renovations. Mr. Whitney does not footnote his book, nor does he give any source material whatsoever. However, this book would be useful to students from the lower grades up through the high school level, if placed in the school library as a reference book for a capsule approach to the life of each president. At more advanced levels where detailed, authenticated information is desired, other sources should be consulted.

—Vernon S. Braswell

Del Mar College
Corpus Christi, Texas

NECROLOGY

FLORENCE MCNEELY DRAKE
1872-1967

Florence McNeely Drake was born in Coldwater, Mississippi, January 20, 1872, the daughter of Smiley Pharr McNeely and Sara Elizabeth Robinson. Her early schooling was in private schools and one year in a girl's seminary. She was married to John Whitfield Drake, January 1, 1889 in Buckner, Arkansas. She died in Shawnee, Oklahoma, January 10, 1967 and was buried in Tecumseh Mission Cemetery.

Mr. and Mrs. Drake moved to Texas in 1896 and two years later came to Oklahoma Territory where Mr. Drake had interest in cotton growing. He organized and operated the Tecumseh Oil and Cotton Company for more than twenty five years. Mr. and Mrs. Drake were the parents of eight children including twin sons. Two children, a son Oscar M. Drake, Claremore and a daughter, Mrs. Reuben W. Keller, Shawnee, survive her.

Mrs. Drake was the well known writer of published articles and other works. She wrote feature stories for the *Daily Oklahoman* and *Tulsa World* until late in life. Writing was always the principal interest of her life in addition to the cares of rearing a large family. She edited a department for a church magazine in 1910 and contributed articles to it regularly. She became interested in the history and lore of the Indians and devoted many years of her life to research and writing on various tribes settled in this part of central Oklahoma. The historical volume *Civilization* as told to her by Thomas Wildcat Alford was published by the Oklahoma University Press in 1936.

Mrs. Drake's early influence was felt in the cultural life of Tecumseh. She started the Delphian Study Groups there, and later organized the Sorosis Club. She was a lifetime member of the Presbyterian Church, a Charter member of the Wunagisa Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and was instrumental in the organization of the Pottawatomie County Historical Society. She was kind and generous to all and gave inspiration to many young men and women who were seeking encouragement in their lives and work.

Mrs. Drake once wrote: "It is difficult for the younger generation to visualize the early days of this country. It may be hard too, to understand the culture and refinement of people who lived in tents, dugouts, shacks and two room houses. But refinement is inborn and culture is the result of association. The pioneer spirit caused many people to give up the comforts they had been accustomed to and start life in a new country but it did not destroy dignity nor quench the love of gracious living. In those days politeness was the order of the time, consideration of others was the basis of good society."

These were the qualities of her character. She was never too busy to lend a hand or a word of encouragement wherever it was needed. She has left her loved ones a heritage they will always cherish.

—Florence Drake Keller.

Shawnee, Oklahoma.

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

October 26, 1967

The quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order by President Shirk at 10:00 a.m. on the morning of Thursday, October 26, 1967. The meeting was held in the Board of Directors Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building in Oklahoma.

Members present were: Mr. Lou Allard, Mrs. George Bowman, Mr. Q. B. Boydstun, Mr. Joe Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. W. D. Finney, Mr. Bob Foresman, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Mr. Robert A. Hefner, Mr. Joe W. McBride, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. Fisher Muldrow, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, Mr. George H. Shirk, and Mr. H. Merle Woods.

Mr. Mountcastle moved that those who submitted reason for their absence be excused. Miss Seger seconded the motion which was passed.

Introduced to the Board was Representative William Nigh of Muskogee.

Mr. Merle Woods of El Reno was presented by President Shirk as the newly elected member of the Board and was greeted with applause.

Administrative Secretary Fraker reported that twenty-seven new annual members had been added to the Society during the last quarter. He also listed the gifts. Miss Seger moved that the new members be elected and gifts be accepted. Dr. Fischer seconded the motion, which was adopted.

In his report on Historic Sites, Mr. Fraker stated that the Honey Springs project was making progress. He also stated the \$4,400 had been spent for repairs at Fort Gibson, \$1,704.38 at the Old Chief's House, \$3,668 at Sequoyah's Home, and \$1,676 at the Sod House site. He further reported that a monolith marker, similar to the one in Grandfield, was being planned for Mangum indicating old Greer County becoming a part of Oklahoma. Plans were also announced by Mr. Fraker for the erecting of a monolith marker to Stand Watie in Delaware County.

It was brought to the attention of the Board, by the Administrative Secretary, that the portrait of former Governor Haskell was in need of repair and that a bid of \$50 has been made by the Brewer Studio to make such repairs. Mr. Boydstun moved that the bid of \$50 be accepted by the Board and Brewer Studio be allowed to repair and refurbish the painting of Governor Haskell. Miss Seger seconded the motion. The motion was adopted by the Board.

In his report for the Publications Committee, Mr. McBride informed the Board that copy and materials for the fall issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* have been turned into the printers.

Mr. Phillips moved that the Publications Committee be authorized to publish President Shirk's revised edition of *ALONG THE WASHINGTON IRVING TRAIL IN OKLAHOMA* as soon as possible. Mr. Fisher Muldrow seconded the motion which was approved.

In his Microfilm Committee report, Mr. Phillips stated that work was progressing as usual in that department. He requested that Mr. H. Merle Woods be added as a member of the Microfilm Committee, which was done by the President.

Dr. Morrison reported that work was going on as usual at Fort Washita.

In the Treasurer's Report, Mrs. Bowman stated that the Oklahoma Historical Society Tour showed a profit of \$214.41 for this year.

Mrs. Bowman moved that certificates of appreciation be issued to Jeanne Cook and LaJeanne McIntyre for their years of service to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Dr. Morrison seconded the motion which was unanimously passed by the Board.

Mr. Shirk presented the Certificate of Appreciation to LaJeanne McIntyre during the Board of Directors meeting.

Mr. Phillips presented to the Board Mr. Charles Moore and Mr. Everett Eaton who were guests at the meeting.

Mr. Moore gave a brief description of the baseball games played between Waukomis and Hartshorne in 1914. He passed around the original scorebooks from the games and newspaper clippings containing articles about the games. The scorebooks were being donated to the Historical Society by Mrs. Floyd Keller. Mr. Fraker requested Mr. Moore to make a file of these newspaper clippings and scorebooks to be presented to the library. Mr. Allard moved that the Society accept the gifts of Mrs. Keller and Mr. Moore. Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion. The Board passed this motion.

The Board was requested by President Shirk that Mr. Dick Ford be awarded a Certificate of Commendation for his enthusiasm in sending out throughout the state at his expense the booklet "Oklahoma Heritage." Miss Seger so moved that this be done and Dr. Fischer seconded the motion. The motion was adopted.

A motion was made by Mr. Muldrow that President Shirk be requested to continue his work with the Attorney General in the court action of the Lillie Morrell Burkhart case. A second was made by Mr. Allard. The Board adopted the motion.

Mr. Mountcastle moved that the Society formally accept the bequest in the Last Will and Testament of Lillie Morrell Burkhart which is being contested by relatives. Mr. Boydston seconded the motion. When put before the Board, the motion passed.

Dr. Fischer presented to the Board of Directors, on behalf of Dr. B. B. Chapman, a book entitled *Indian Meridian Dedication*. Dr. Fischer also read a letter to the Board which contained Dr. Chapman's resignation. Dr. Fischer moved that the resignation of Dr. Chapman be accepted by the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The motion was seconded by all members of the Board and passed unanimously. Mr. Mountcastle then moved that a Resolution be written commending Dr. Chapman on his loyalty to the Board, that a Certificate of Commendation be given and a letter of thanks written to him for the volume of *Indian Meridian Dedication*. The motion was seconded by Dr. Fischer. It was also passed unanimously.

Personally commending Lou Allard and all the folks in Drumright on the establishment of their new museum, President Shirk told of having been present, along with Mr. Fraker, for the dedicatory program.

President Shirk presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society on behalf of Helen Sweet Schmidt of Los Angeles, the original patents for the townsites of Oklahoma City and Edmond. Mr. Allard moved that these patents be accepted by the Society and that the patent for Oklahoma City be on permanent loan to the City of Oklahoma City, on the condition that

an appropriate case to exhibit the patent be provided. The motion was seconded by Dr. Fischer and adopted when put.

After much discussion between Representative Nigh and members of the Board of Directors, it was moved by Mr. McBride that the original Napoleon cannon now on display in the Oklahoma Historical Society Building remain with the Society and the President of the Society be instructed to acquire, on behalf of the Fort Gibson group, a replica of the field piece and give it to them as soon as possible. Mr. Joe Curtis seconded the motion. This motion was passed by the Board. Representative Nigh withdrew any requests that might have been made for the original cannon. He stated that he was happy with the cooperation the Board had given him.

Mr. McBride moved that Dr. A. M. Gibson, of the University of Oklahoma, be named to fill the remaining term of Judge Clift on the Board of Directors. Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion. The motion was approved.

Upon the motion of Miss Seger, and the second of Dr. Morrison, the meeting was adjourned at 12:30 p.m.

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, We the members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society have received the official resignation of Dr. B. B. Chapman, from this Board; and

WHEREAS, Dr. Chapman has, for many years, been a most active and conscientious member of the Board of Directors; and

WHEREAS, He has made many contributions to the Society through well-researched articles for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*; and

WHEREAS, He has been active in locating various historic sites in the State of Oklahoma and in promoting their marking; and

WHEREAS, He has been a most congenial, yet, forceful member of this body;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That we, the members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, in regular session convened on this 26th day of October, 1967, do hereby express our sincere regret to Dr. Chapman on his having found it necessary to resign from this Board, and to extend to him our collective and individual good wishes for success in whatever activities he may pursue in the years ahead.

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS RECEIVED IN THIRD QUARTER, 1967

LIBRARY:

Makers of Oklahoma edited by John H. N. Tindall, 1905.

Donor: The Family of Charles S. Standley, Sr.; Col. (U. S. Army Ret.) Charles S. Standley, Jr. by Fisher Muldrow, Norman, Oklahoma.

Adventures in Education by Dr. Charles Evans, LL.D., April 1964.

Donor: Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Tallahassee, Florida.

The Delaware-Cherokee Indians Treaty, 1867 by Elmer Sark.

Donor: Elmer J. Sark, 705 South Delaware Avenue, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

Map: Haskell-Latimer and LeFlore Counties, Oklahoma.

Historical Booklet: *Wilburton Diamond Jubilee, June 6-12, 1965.*

Donor: Harry Revelle, Jr., Oklahoma City.

Souvenir Booklet: *Oswego Centennial 1867-1967 — A Proud Heritage and A Promising Future*; Oswego, Kansas.

Donor: W. A. O'Connell, Pennsylvania at 3rd Street, Oswego, Kansas.

Aulls-Bryan and Allied Families by Leslie A. Bryan.

Donor: Oklahoma State Library, State Capitol Building, Oklahoma City.

"The Dewey Hotel"—Historical pamphlet of The Washington County Historical Society, June 1967.

Donor: O. K. Bivins, Oklahoma City.

Henry Starr — Last of the Real Badmen by Glenn Shirley.

Donor: Glenn Shirley, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

The Letters of Peter Wilson — Soldier, Explorer and Indian Agent West of the Mississippi by Katherine Gideon Colt.

The American Indian, Vol. VII, No. 2, Spring 1955 containing "Termination and the Oklahoma Indians" by Angie Debo.

Knowledge of Today Was Indian's Know-How Yesterday by Mrs. Charlotte Rogers, 1965.

Robert Latham Owen by Grant Foreman — Special Memorial Booklet, 1947.

Alice — To the Memory of Mary Alice Hearrell Murray — Died August 28, 1938.

Teddy Roosevelt's Boss or The Life and Exploits of John Goodall by Usher L. Burdick, November 1931.

From The Heart of Wah-Kan-Ton-Ka by Edward Tilghman Paca, 1956.

American Indian Tradition, Vol. 7, No. 3.

The Story of Man and Buildings — W. A. Graham, Pryor, Oklahoma.

Governors' Interstate Indian Council—Dec. 7-8, 1950—Minutes of Third Meeting, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Governors' Interstate Indian Council—13th Annual Conference, Sept. 22-24, 1959, South Dakota.

National Congress of American Indians—14th Annual Convention October 28th-November 2, 1957, Claremore, Oklahoma—Resolutions, Official Program and "Pictorial Highlights."

Semi-Centennial Celebration of Oklahoma, 1907-1957—State Publication.

Oklahoma Today—35 back issues.

Indian Affairs—1966—A Progress Report from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Indian Record—8 issues.

Cherokee Nation Newsletter—10 issues.

Oklahomans For Indian Opportunity—Newsletter and Report, 1967.

Donor: Judge N. B. Johnson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Sooner Magazine, March 1966.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine—10 back issues.

Donor: Mrs. King Larimore, 1924 N.W. 20th Street, Oklahoma City.

"Jesse Chisholm"—A Prize Winning Essay, May, 1939 by Fred Reynolds, Jr., Norman, Oklahoma High School Student.

Donor: Fred Reynolds, Sr., Norman, Oklahoma by Fisher Muldrow.

"Fort Sill Lives With History"—pamphlet.

Olin Progress, January, 1966 containing "The First Hundred Years" article on Oliver Winchester and the Winchester repeating rifle.

Membership Rosters of Cosmopolitan Study Club of Oklahoma City, 1938-1943—5 booklets property of the late Mrs. John Shirk, Oklahoma City.

The Chisholm Trail and Centennial Celebration Collection—pamphlets, newspaper clippings, maps, correspondence and radio program transcript. *The Miracle of the Chisholm Trail* by Henry B. Jameson, Centennial Edition, 1967.

The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Medes and Persians, Grecians and Macedonians by Charles Rollin, Vol. III, 1844. *Names*—Journal of the American Name Society, Vol. 15, No. 1, March 1967.

Scott's United States Stamp Catalogue, 1966 Specialized Edition.

Handbook—The Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia 1967.

Directory and Register—Rolls-Royce Owners' Club for 1964, 1966-1967. *Your Federal Income Tax*, 1966 Edition.

Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

The Lattimore Story by John T. Flynn.

General Genealogical Files.

Donor: Mrs. Tessie Miller, Oklahoma City.

The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution 1763-1789 by Freeman H. Hart.

Donor: Mrs. Stanley F. Wildman, 1203 Tedford Way, Oklahoma City.

The Goodyear Guide to State Parks—Region Number 2—California, Washington, Oregon, Alaska and Hawaii by Howard N. & Lucille L. Sloane.

Donor: Howard H. Sloane, Goodyear Guide to State Parks, Post Office Box 5209, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19126.

Yearbook of Railroad Facts, 1967 Edition.

Donor: Association of American Railroads, Bureau of Railway Economics, Transportation Building, Washington, D. C. 20006.

A Report of the Trial of Stand Watie—Typescript, Xeroxed copy.

Donor: George M. Green, Oklahoma City by George H. Shirk.

Scrapbooks of State & National Historical Items (2 books total).

Donor: Salvation Army Store, 122 West Commerce, Oklahoma City.

The Creek Nation Journal Centennial Edition—100th Anniversary 1867 to 1967—Creek Constitution.

Donor: The Okmulgee Cultural Foundation, Post Office Box 704, Okmulgee, Oklahoma 74447.

"Highlights in Oklahoma History."

Donor: Mrs. E. M. Harris, 402 South Cleveland Avenue, Cushing, Oklahoma.

Rambling Through Washington by Theodore Dodge Gatchel.

Donor: Mrs. R. W. Gimpel, 3209 Northwest 35th Street, Oklahoma City.

Oklahoma Grand Chapter, Order of the Eastern Star "Chapel Bell" Session, 1966, 58th Annual Session.

Donor: Mrs. Ethel L. Johnston, Grand Sec., O. E. S.; P. O. Box 391, Perry, Oklahoma.

"The Wortman Family History" by Harry Wortman.

Donor: Harry Wortman, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Proceedings of the Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention of the Oklahoma Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Muskogee, Oklahoma, June 5-7, 1967.

Donor: Mrs. Roy R. Maines, President of Oklahoma Division U.D.C., Tulsa, Oklahoma.

"Georgia Marriages" and other Georgia genealogical information—Xeroxed copies.

Donor: Mrs. M. B. Biggerstaff, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Correspondence regarding attempt to preserve Ancient Taskigi and birthplace of Sequoyah by Hale Bicknell, Jr.

Donor: Hale Bicknell, Jr., Route #4, Box 1670, Edmond, Oklahoma.

"History-Genealogy of Virginia Counties" Xeroxed from *A Hornbook of Virginia History*.

Donor: Hale Bicknell, Jr., Edmond, Oklahoma.

The Oklahoma Chief—The Official Organ of Payne's Oklahoma Colony — Rock Falls, Oklahoma Territory, Vol. I, No. 37, Thursday, July 31, 1884. A reprint.

Donor: Thomas Butcher Estate by Mrs. Riley Williamson, 1604 North Broadway, Shawnee, Oklahoma.

Thesis: *The Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition* by Brad Agnew.

Donor: Brad Agnew, 1309 Garfield, Norman, Oklahoma.

The Long Years—A Paternal Genealogy by Jean M. Marie, 1967.

Donor: Clark Hibbard, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Story of the Cherokee Indians by Stella E. Carselowey Crouch of Rt. 3, Vinita, Oklahoma.

Donor: O. K. Bivins, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Collection of Oklahoma School Year Books—Harding, Classen, Oklahoma City University and Oklahoma A. & M. (Oklahoma State University), Stillwater (14 total).

Oklahoma School Directories and Student Weekly papers from Classen, Harding, Central and Oklahoma A. & M. (Oklahoma State University), Stillwater, Okla.

Oklahoma City Directory, 1940.

Oklahoma City Directory, 1942.

Donor: The Harry Stallings, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

"The Oklahoma Historical Society Research Library" by Mustafa Akbulut—A Research paper for 318 Special Libraries, University of Oklahoma, April 21, 1967.

Donor: Mustafa Akbulut, Norman, Oklahoma.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Declaration of War on Japan—RCA Deluxe Recording Disk 806-5 78 rpm.

Donor: J. E. Steward, 311 Wilson Drive, Midwest City, Oklahoma.

"Silver Lake and After" by Joe H. Barber.

Donor: Joe H. Barber, Bartlesville, Oklahoma, 1967.

PHOTOGRAPH DEPARTMENT:

Mr. and Mrs. Henry Bass, Enid, Oklahoma—color print.

Lincoln Park Outdoor Theater, February 20, 1935—panorama.

Ground Breaking Exercises for State Capitol Building, July 20, 1914—panorama.

Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Oklahoma Governor Lee Cruce (2 prints).

Donor: Fred S. Barde Collection of Research Library.

Sequoyah's Cabin (original)—photo and negative.

Sequoyah's Cabin (rebuilt)—photo and negative.

Sequoyah's Cabin (porch added)—photo and negative.

Sequoyah's Alphabet—photo and negative.

Sequoyah's Writing—photo and negative.

Sequoyah's Bronze Bust—photo and negative.

Donor: Copied by Society from originals of Cecil Atchison, Fort Smith, Arkansas.

Last Choctaw Tribal Council, 1905—negative.

Composite photograph of Delegates to the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention at Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory, 1906—negative.

View of section of auditorium of Brooks Opera House, Guthrie, Oklahoma, 1900—negative.

J. J. McAlester of McAlester for Lieut.-Governor—negative.

Lee Cruce For Governor—negative.

Democratic Nominees in Oklahoma, 1907—negative.

Judge Robert Ray—negative.

A. T. Boys—negative.

Ruins of old Fort Coffee—photo and negative.

Copied by Society.

Josh Lee—photo.

William Paul Bill Atkinson—photo.

Donor: Finney Collection.

Quanah Parker—Photo copied from old tin-type.

Donor: Judge N. B. Johnson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Coleman Cole—photo and negative.

Donor: Eugene Brewington, Midwest City, Oklahoma.

1926 Haskell Indian Football Team—photo.

Haskell Coaching Staff, 1926 (John Levi, Frank McDonald, John Thomas and Egbert Ward)—photo.

John Thomas, head coach at Haskell—photo.

Mrs. Jeannette "Nettie" B. McDonald, Indian artist—photo.

Virginia Ballard (Cherokee)—photo.

Betty Conner (Creek)—photo.

John Madden—photo.

Agnes L. Mackey—photo.

Supt. J. George Wright, Osage Indian Agent—photo.
Gladys and Georgia Skye (Peoria)—photo.
Mrs. Edna Wilson—photo.
Mrs. Fred S. Clinton (Jane Heard), Tulsa—photo.
Dorothy McBirney (Creek)—photo.
Mrs. Jim Thorpe (Iva Miller)—photo.
Isabel Rogers (Osage)—photo.
Helen Virginia Anderson (Osage)—photo.
Patty Jane Brock

Donor: Lee Harkins Collection.

Governor J. Howard Edmondson—photograph.
Pres. John Fitzgerald Kennedy—photograph.

Donor: Atkins family—transferred from Research Library.

Heavener Rune Stone—photograph and negative.

Donor: Copied by Society from color print in Research Library,
gift of Hale Bicknell, Jr., Edmond.

Color Slides:

Marker at Sod House, Cleo Springs.

Marker at Fort Cobb.

Marker to Green Corn Dance.

Monument to the Rev. Willis F. Folsom.

Monument to Chief Mosholatubbee (Musholatubbee).

Donor: Copied by Society.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION:

Copy of map of former limits of Cherokee Nation east of Mississippi River, by C. C. Royce.

Donor: Hale Bicknell.

Brochure: "Your Tour Guide to an Exciting Era in Oklahoma," by Mary Elizabeth Good.

Donor: Mary Elizabeth Good.

Printed Library of Congress cards listing manuscript collection of Thomas Gilcrease Institute.

Donor: Hope Holway.

Indian Voices, Feb. and March 1967.

Donor: Robert K. Thomas.

Creek Nation Journal, Centennial Edition 1867-1967.

Donor: Kathryn Chandler, Okmulgee, Okla.

Senate bill 1848 and H.R. Bill 536: "A Bill to provide U.S. shall hold certain Chilocco Indian School lands in trust for Cherokee Nation upon payment by Cherokee Nation of \$3.75 per acre to Federal Government.

Donor: Mike Monroney, U.S. Senator.

U.S. House of Representatives Legislative Calendar, 90th Congress.

Donor: John Jarman.

Reports meetings Inter-Tribal Council Five Civilized Tribes, Apr. 12 and July 12, 1967.

Donor: Muskogee Area Office.

The Oklahoma City Indian News, July 2, July 17 and Sept. 14, 1967.

Donor: Will T. Nelson.

Texas Public Library Statistics 1966.

Donor: Texas State Library, Austin, Tex.

Indian Arrow, Alumni Issue, July 15, 1967.

Donor: Goodland Presbyterian Childrens Home.

Copy letter from Savoie Lottinville, University of Oklahoma Press re: his approaching retirement.

Donor: B. B. Chapman.

Copies newsletter clippings: "Cherokee Descendants visit the Chieftains" in *News-Tribune*, Rome, Ga., Apr. 18, 1967; "Did Indians have Sense of Humor" and "Civil War Site Open to Public" in *Atlanta (Ga.) Journal*.

Donor: Mrs. Sidney Ruskin.

Records from Indian Claims Commission:

Creek Nation of Okla., and of Mississippi vs. U.S., Docket #21: Order allowing balance of reimbursable attorney expenses to C. Lenoir Thompson. Creek Nation v. U.S., Docket #167: Findings of Fact; Opinion of Commission; Interlocutory Order.

Hualapai Tribe of Arizona vs. U.S., Docket #90: Order denying motion for rehearing and modification; Opinion of Commission.

Mescalara Apache Tribe v. U.S., Dockets 22b and 22g: Order allowing attorneys' fee; Findings of Fact on Award of attorney's fee.

Oneida Tribe, etc., v. U.S., Docket #290: Order granting Motion to Dismiss.

Peoria Tribe, etc., v. U.S., Docket #314E: Order admitting petitioners Exhibit; Findings of Fact; Final Judgment; Opinion of Commission.

Seminole Nation v. U.S., Docket #247: Order denying motion for Summary Judgment; Per Curiam opinion.

Seneca Nation vs. U.S., Docket #342 B, C. D. and Tonawanda Band of Senecas v. U.S., Docket #368: Order setting aside Commission's Order Dismissing petitions, etc.; Order Sustaining Defendant's Motion to Dismiss for Lack of Prosecution, etc.

Sisseton & Wahpeton Bands of Lower Sioux Community v. U.S., Dockets #142 and #359-363: Interlocutory Order Approving Compromise Settlement, etc.; Findings of Fact on Compromise Settlement.

Spokane Indians v. U.S., Dockets #331 and 331A: Findings of Fact on Award of Attorney Fee.

Yakima Tribe v. U.S., Docket #47: Order.

Donor: Indian Claims Commission.

Article "Old Baptist Mission Church" by A. D. Lester, with picture of students 1901 and 1902.

Newspaper clippings:

"Oklahoma Historian Keeps Busy Separating Facts from Legends" in *Southwest-Times Record*, Ft. Smith, Sept. 17, 1967.

"Cherokee History in and around Tahlequah" by A. D. Lester, in *The Pictorial Press*, Tahlequah, Okla., Sept. 21, 1967.

"Early Transportation on Old Ballard-Watts Road" by A. D. Lester, in *The Pictorial Press*, Tahlequah, Okla., Apr. 4, 1966.

"Watts—1894" by A. D. Lester, in *The Pictorial Press*, Mar. 2, 1967.

"Woods, First White Family to Settle in Going Snake District," by A. D. Lester, in *The Pictorial Press*, April 6, 1967.

Newspaper clipping from *The Pictorial Press*, Jan. 19, 1967, "Picture of pupils and teacher Taylor School about 1908."

Glossy print of map of Tennessee and Georgia showing where Bushyhead and the Amohee Church were located.

Donor: A. D. Lester.

The Amerindian, No. 6, Vol. 15, July-August 1967.

Brochure: "I Remember" Class of 1904 Cherokee National Seminaries.

Brochure: "Cherokee Seminaries Students Association Homecoming May 7, 1958."

Brochure: "Seminoles of Florida" by Wyatt Blassingame.

Brochure: "The Choctaw Indians of Mississippi" by Irvin M. Peithman.
 Brochure: "Sons of the Cherokees" by Anne Tennyson Holton.
 Brochure: "The American Indians of Yesteryear" by H. E. (Choc) Wilkes.
 Brochure: "A Treaty Despoiled—The Story of the Fort Reno Military Lands."

Brochure: "The Five Civilized—A Brief History and a Century of Progress" by Grant Foreman.

Brochure: "Historic Points in and around Tahlequah" by T. L. Ballenger.

Brochure: "Allen Wright" by James B. Wright.

Brochure: "Harriet Newell Mitchell Wright" by James B. Wright.

Brochure: "The American Scene presents Frederic Remington" published by Thomas Gilcrease Institute.

"Aims and Objectives of the Cherokee Foundation."

"The Five Civilized Tribes . . . Their Contribution to our Civilization" by Marie L. Wadley.

"Plan of Operation for Expenditure of Tribal Funds of Cherokee Nation."

"Report for Cherokee Industrial Site as of Apr. 30, 1967."

"Cherokee Textile Proposal."

"Description Seal of Oklahoma" with picture of same.

Cherokee Nation v. State of Oklahoma, Civil 6219 "Arkansas Riverbed Case."

Memorandum Brief of Plaintiff; Pre-trial Order U.S. Dist. Court of Eastern Oklahoma of Sept. 25, 1967.

Zerox copy letter of Aug. 7, 1967 from Earl Boyd Pierce, Gen. Counsel, Cherokee Indians, to Senate Committee on Indian Affairs in re Senate Bill 1848 Chilocco Indian School Lands.

Report Cherokee Executive Committee held Tahlequah, Okla., June 21, 1967.

Cherokee Nation News Letters, Aug. 15, 24 and 31, Sept. 7, 14, 20 and 28, Oct. 5 and 12, 1967.

News Letter from H. B. Bass, Aug. 15 and Sept. 15, 1967.

Newspaper clipping: "Cherokee Nation Restores Heritage", undated.

Newspaper clipping; "The History of Spring Place" by W. S. Bogle, Aug. 1967.

Map showing Indian Land Areas in U.S., published by Dept. of Interior 1961.

Pamphlet: "Proceedings First Convention National Congress American Indians."

Pamphlet: "14th Annual Conference National Congress American Indians."

News Releases U.S. Department of Interior:

Aug. 17, 1967 "Secretary Udall Approves changes in Indian Vote Code to air Tribal Government"

Sept. 5, 1967 "Bill Submitted to End Federal Ties with Senecas."

Sept. 12, 1967 "Four Million Dollar Award payment to Creek Indians. Proposed by Interior Department."

Sept. 14, 1967 "William Benge Given Seneca Assignment."

Sept. 21, 1967 "Will Rogers Jr. named Asst. to Federal Indian Commissioner."

Sept. 23, 1967 "Indian Industrial Development meeting scheduled in Oklahoma."

Donor: N. B. Johnson.

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

July 27, 1967 to October 26, 1967

Berry, Lorennie	Monticello, Illinois
Clift, C. H.	Hastings
Conner, Wilbert W.	Sallisaw
Dunlap, Mrs. Stuart	Duncan
Ford, Clarence	Oklahoma City
Fox, Edward	Bristow
Freeny, Ellis	Oklahoma City
Frizzell, Mrs. John D.	Oklahoma City
Hart, Harold	Temple, Texas
Hinsey, Mrs. Ira	Arkansas, Kansas
James, Jerry Preston	Falls Church, Virginia
Looney, Eula A.	Oklahoma City
Lovell, Anetta B.	Tulsa
McCullough, Mrs. J. Milton	Oklahoma City
McRuer, Esther M.	Norman
Marlow, Luther H.	Lawton
Nail, W. S.	Houston, Texas
Reynolds, D. M.	New York, New York
Rhodes, Violette	Rocky
Sacher, Sandra	Oklahoma City
Schneider, George A.	Fort Knox, Kentucky
Shotwell, Katherine M.	Oklahoma City
Shunkey, Paul P.	Muskogee
Thornton, Sarah H.	Muskogee
Ventress, O. T.	Chickasha
Warren, Fletcher	Greenville, Texas
Wood, Noah P.	Bixby

NEW LIFE MEMBERS*

July 27, 1967 to October 26, 1967

None

* All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

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 Publications 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 \$5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is \$100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is \$6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), \$1.50. 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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