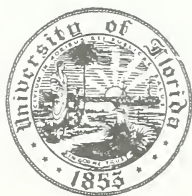


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the Chronicles

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THE COVER Romanticized sketch of an Indian and his dog. Throughout the height of the cultural development of the Indian in the American West the dog played an important role. Not only were dogs utilized as a means of transportation, but in time of hunger they offered a readily available source of food. (Courtesy of Fort Sill Museum Library)



DOG CULTURE OF THE INDIANS

*By Opal Hartsell Brown**

The Indians and their horses have inspired bales of literature and mountains of art, but little, in comparison, has been recorded about Indians and their dogs. Long before equestrian days, red men and their canines were inseparable companions. Survival depended to a great extent on dogs.

Horses were not domesticated, even in Asia, until about 2,000 B.C. The animals, as we know them today, did not reach the Western Hemisphere until the coming of the Spaniards who introduced them to North America in 1519. In the beginning of their acquaintance, the Indians were afraid of the big beasts and did not use them until after 1600.

On the other hand, dogs are said to have been the first animals domesticated by man. Being tamed wolves, perhaps mixed with jackals, they must have accompanied the first Asiatics across the Bering Strait to this continent. Certainly, the animals were used by the Indians in pre-historic times.

The remains of dogs, found in Jajuar Cave, Idaho, were estimated to be over 10,000 years old. At Tepji del Rio, Mexico, there was discovered in 1870 the head of a doglike image, estimated to be the same age. Carved from the pelvis of a now extinct llama, the "dog" seemed to have been used as an idol.

When Francisco Vasquez de Coronado explored the Southwestern United States in 1514, he found "dog drivers," the Tonkawas, with dog travois but, of course, no horses. The dogs were used, also, as pack animals. In 1724, Etienne Veniard de Bourgmont of New Orleans found 300 Kansas warriors and their families on the lower Missouri River moving camp via the dog travois and the backs of women.

It is said that the Kiowas came to the Southwest by way of the dog transport. And George Catlin reported that in 1834 the dog travois was still used among great horsemen of the Comanches.

A few years later, in 1838, Pierre Gautier la Verendrye wrote that the Assiniboin of Red River, Manitoba, "make the dogs even carry wood for fires, sometimes long distances to the prairie. Women and dogs carry baggage." As late as 1844, pack ponies and dog trains both were used to carry baggage for the Sioux and Cheyennes on the upper Arkansas River.

The dogs were harnessed singly or in groups such as the "gang hitch" to pull a travois, sled or toboggan. In the gang hitch, there would be one good

* The author is a resident of Lawton, Oklahoma, and has published several books and articles on Oklahoma history.



Both pack ponies and dog trains were utilized by the Indians to transport their belongings

strong leader with the rest in pairs, numbering in all—seven, nine and up into the twenties.

Pack animals, likewise, were single or in groups. They transported the tents and poles, the buffalo and other game of the hunt, the dried meat and household supplies. Sometimes warriors used them to carry extra supplies on raids or in battles.

When the United States Government issued wagons to the Indians about 1879, the dog travois, generally, went out of use. So did the more recent horse travois. But as late as 1903, dogs were still used as beasts of burden. Writing in *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America*, Daniel Harmon Williams told of seeing dogs, not horses, carrying from sixty to seventy pounds between their shoulders and traveling from twenty-five to thirty miles a day.

At one time, Indians considered many dogs as a sign of much wealth, just as many horses or many cattle came to be. Nearly every family owned eight, ten, thirty, forty and sometimes in excess of one-hundred dogs. Each tribe had its own breed, occasionally mixing with dogs of other tribes.

The Plains' dogs were ochreous tawny or whitish tawny. The Sioux' dogs were related to those of the Plains, but were larger and gray instead of tawny.



Dog and travois of the Plains Indians

Wolves descended to the Sioux' villages and sometimes bred with the dogs. Those of such a mixture howled instead of barked.

The dog travois was made by connecting two poles, about eight feet in length and covering them with a frame of woven buffalo tendons. Often the frame was basketshaped. A cushion or saddle was put on the dog's shoulders for protection against rubbing. Made of buffalo skin, the saddle was taken from the neck and shoulders where the hair is thickest. If the dog served as a carrier, its shoulders, likewise, were protected.

Dogs were used in many ways other than beasts of burden. They assisted warriors on raiding parties and kept watch at camp. They herded animals into rivers, so that hunters could better shoot them with bows and arrows and worked at turnspits to keep meat revolving around fires during the preparation of meals.

In cold weather, dogs served as foot warmers, often sleeping with their masters, even at church. A missionary once recalled how they curled up beneath the benches during services among the Comanches, sometimes snoring louder than their masters.

In some tribes, dogs were family owned. In others, both dogs and travois were owned by the women who were responsible for their care and training. If a woman owned only one dog and a travois, she had to help move the camp equipment on her back. She could never ride.

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It took only approximately four days to train a dog to pull a load. The woman tied a thong around the animal's neck which, at first, frightened it to whining and pulling back. The woman tugged and coaxed for three days. By the fourth day, the dog had learned to follow. A light load was placed upon him, but it was gradually increased to "mountain high." The animals were trained never to eat uncovered meat on a travois.

Special consideration was given the gravid bitch. She was never hooked to a travois nor struck for fear of injuring the pups. Considered too weak to keep, the first litter was slain. Of the second litter, only a few were kept. As it was believed that the mother could not produce enough milk to raise many strong dogs, some were sure to be weaklings.

When the pups were ten days old, the women of some tribes smoked them with burning sage until they slobbered, then dropped them to the ground. If they landed on their feet, they were kept. If they landed on their bodies, they were destroyed. They would never be strong enough to carry the tents and poles. It was believed, also, that smoking the pups gave them a good appetite and prevented worms.

The dogs were well cared for by primitive standards. When they accompanied the family on a hunt or move, they carried a buffalo pouch of water for themselves. If the route included a waterway, they often rode in the bull boats with their masters. Their food included meat, cooked corn and refuse.

Occasionally hungry dogs would gulp their food, get some of it lodged in their throats and "fall dead." When this occurred the women picked them up, hit their hips against the ground and pounded them on the spine with their fists—often the dogs would revive with a yelp. At other times, dogs became sick and "died." The women would strike them on the legs with a switch and they would "come back to life." Dogs who could do this were believed to have supernatural power.

One of the few functions the men performed in service to the animals was that of castration. When the males were a year old or less, two men muzzled them and bound their hind legs. One man held the forelegs while the other performed the surgery. If a man outside the family assisted with the operation, he sometimes "charged a big dinner."

Another function, a minor one, which men performed for the dogs was to name them. And they chose the names in memory of some personal feat, some act of the dog or some physical characteristic of the animals. Consider No-hand. He was named in memory of the master's slain enemy who had a withered hand.

One dog was called Feather-lance-carrier because the namer had struck an enemy who carried a feathered lance. Then there was High-catcher. He



Dogs in an Indian camp in the late nineteenth century

could jump high and catch drying meat on a rack. Lodge-digger, Took-a-scalp and No-foot got their names for obvious reasons. Packs-her-baby was honored for her own merit, while Forehead-raised was so called because his head was bulging instead of flat. Four-eyes had dark spots over his eyes, making him look as if he had double vision.

Just as the white men attached the word "horsepower" to their new transports, the automobile, the Indians attached the word "dog" to many of their horses. There were horses called Great-dog, Seven-dog, Medicine-dog and Mystery-dog. Even men had the word "dog" in their names. Among them was the Arapaho called Fool-dog.

And honoring the canines further, there were the famous Cheyenne warriors called Dog Soldiers. There was, also, a tribe in Northern Canada known as Dog-ribs, because they claimed to have descended from dogs. In Texas a group was known as the Karaukawa, meaning "dog lovers," because they owned many dogs who shared their lodges.

Indians loved their dogs to the point of fetishism. They talked to the animals as if they were human, frequently calling them sons and daughters. The old and the very young were kept in the lodges without working and



One important usage of dogs among the Plains Indians, was as sentinels guarding their villages

at death were often cremated as if human relatives. People wept and howled to see them go. Still, dogs were sometimes sold in order that owners might buy things they wanted more. Also they were sold for sacrifices.

In early times, dogs were said to have performed the spirit functions that horses later performed. When a warrior died, the animals were slain in mourning and to be of service to their masters in the next life.

Likewise, the white buffalo sacrifice of the Illinois tribe is thought to have superseded the white dog ritual that prevailed before the buffalo was known to them. Often as many as twenty dogs were sacrificed, and in two cases over one hundred were killed.

This same sacrifice was known to have been practiced by Indians in South America, as well as by those in North America. George Catlin wrote about witnessing such an act in Tierra del Fuego. At an Indian village, he met a large dog hobbling along the road and yelling piteously. He soon discovered it had an arrow up to the feathers in its side. Two Indians followed with their guns.

The dog wagged its tail at Catlin, as if it were begging for help, but the Indians shot it in the head and dragged it to their camp. An interpreter explained that it was customary to kill the dog and place it in the grave with its master.

Many Indian legends and superstitions once evolved around dogs. Certain ones transmitted their power of coming back to life to some people during a vision. The Hidatsas told about a man named Yellow Dog whose medicine mystery or supernatural power was a dog. The man's father was a red-chested wolf, and his mother a Hidatsa woman.

If a dog dug outside at the foot of the lodge roof, he was killed. It was believed to be a sign someone in the household would die. "Eaters," also, were killed. If they ate the meat from the drying rack, it was a sign the family would be "eaten up" by the enemy, unless the dog was destroyed.

Dogs were so imbued with extra power that it took a very stealthy Indian to approach a camp without arousing them. This fact forbade warriors from eating the entrails from near the backbone of a game animal prior to going on a raiding party. If they did, the enemies' dogs were sure to detect them and spoil the raid.

At night, when dogs alternated their barks with whines, Indians believed that ghosts were around, and the dogs were talking to them. And when dogs barked during the pubertal initiatory rites to manhood, it was a sign for the youth to leave the mountaintop or canebrake, where he had been for hours under the influence of peyote or other drugs, and practice his medicine. The dog's blood was to be an ingredient.

To insure gentleness in dogs, the women owners picked them up when they were puppies and spat in their faces saying, "I want to bring this dog up to be gentle." White pioneers believed that Comanches could hold watch-dogs at bay by casting a spell on them.

During an eclipse of the sun or moon, Indians went into a frenzy to bring back the light. They rushed into the open screaming, shrieking and beating drums, urging the dogs to lend their power.

Occasionally there were dogs with vicious natures. They killed animals, and sometimes children, against the will of their masters, filling people with fear. Generally, however, dogs were playful, jumping over their reclining masters and making pests of themselves. And when hunters came home from a kill, the dogs which stayed behind rejoiced with the women and children. They too, would be fed.

Children often rode the dogs and travois. Once along the Missouri River, a four year old boy rode the travois when his parents went after wood. The child kept jumping on and off the travois until the dogs became frustrated and starting fighting. They ran off with the child, frightening him to such an extent he never rode it again.

Edward E. Dale and Jesse L. Rader told in *Readings in Oklahoma History* that when Indians went on the march, both women and dogs pulled the supplies. Conflicts often arose among the dogs, developing into fights. Often

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the women would become involved and fight one another. In the meantime the men would ride leisurely along, enjoying every moment of the scene but doing nothing about it.

An Indian Territory resident, Mace Herndon, who grew up during the decline of the dog culture era, told of perhaps the biggest canine fight in history. He and his sister were at an Indian camp meeting with friends. Because the meetings were family affairs, they always took packs of dogs. One of the cooks accidentally stirred a big chunk of meat from one of the big pots. A couple of dogs quarrelled, and a fight ensued. They turned over the pots, drawing the entire canine population to the scene. Amused at the conflict, Herndon and his Indian boy friends whistled and encouraged other dogs to join the battle. The struggle became so vicious, that the animals fought in the fire. Many burned to death.

As punishment for encouraging the dogs, the boys had to carry away the dead in a wagon and bury them.

There have been many accounts of dogs being used for food. Some authorities say only five tribes ate them: the Apache, Arapaho, Dakota, Kiowa and Pawnee. However, there have been personally witnessed accounts of others.

The eating of dogs was generally confined to rituals or to war dances. However, necessity drove some Indians to eat them for survival. In winter, when buffalo and other wild game became scarce, they ate their dogs, preferably the young fat ones. They were delectable, whereas the big ones "tasted rank."

Dog meat was believed to induce bravery, a characteristic lauded by the Southern Indians who believed the outcome of war was up to courage and the gods. To fill themselves with the proper spirit, warriors volunteered for a special feast before going into battle: a platter of cooked corn for strength, the haunch of a deer for fleetness and baked dog for the instinct to follow the leader without question. After that came purification: fasting, prayer and magic rituals. These were intended to frustrate the enemy before the fighting began.

One eyewitness to a feast of dog meat recalled that in 1890 a Sac and Fox medicine dance was held three miles southwest of their Agency in Oklahoma Territory. The dogs were killed and prepared like hogs: scalded, scraped and disemboweled. Then they were cut into pieces for boiling or baked whole on a spit over the campfire. The feast was accompanied by drums and chants.

A second account was given by J. Y. Bryce, a Methodist preacher for the Arbeka Circuit, which included the Sac and Fox Reservation. While on a missionary journey, he saw a ghost dance, wherein a dog feast was the



Indians preparing a dinner of dog meat in Indian Territory in 1870

highlight. The men danced around a pole in the center of a circle, jumping, hopping and skipping while emitting guttural incantations.

When they became tired, they sat on little mounds of earth, and the women served them dog soup. This ritual was performed in opposition to the influx of white men who were taking their land. They called on the “great spirit” to banish the encroachers. Bryce knew the brew was dog soup for he recalled that he and his companions looked into the kettle, where the teeth in cooked heads grinned up at them.

One tribe said not to have eaten dogs was the Comanche. The meat was nauseating to them. Furthermore, they often spoke of the Arapahos as “Skirrydika,” a Shoshonean word meaning “Dog Eaters.” The tag was meant as a reproach—an expression of contempt. The Comanches were Shoshonean themselves.

“Civilized and refined” men of today need not look upon these practices with repugnance, thinking them savage and idolatrous. Indians of old had no choice; dogs were an important part of their culture.

"TALKIN' DUST BOWL BLUES" A STUDY OF OKLAHOMA'S CULTURAL IDENTITY DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION

By W. Richard Fossey*

Everybody knows about Okies. They are a shiftless people with many children, who wander about in wretched jalopies, speak bad English, and enjoy public hangouts. And Oklahomans are sure they know the characteristics of the Sooner, the energetic individual who travels ahead of the human procession.¹

—Angie Debo, *Oklahoma, Footloose and Fancy-Free*—

"Okies upstairs."²

—Sign in a California theater in the 1930s

Originally the word "Sooner" meant a person who had illegally crossed the border of Oklahoma's Unassigned Lands before they were officially opened for white settlement on April 22, 1889. The Sooners who arrived early had the best choice of land and only had to lie low until they could safely emerge and file a claim. They were naturally disliked by the immigrants who entered Oklahoma legally, and in the early days to call someone a Sooner was to attack his character.

By the 1920s the name lost its negative connotations, and Oklahoma referred to itself as the Sooner State, just as Texas was known as the Lone Star State and Illinois as the Land of Lincoln. "Sooners" swarmed into the old Indian nation and so symbolized Oklahoma's affirmation of a Western heritage.

Also, increasingly, "Sooner" came to be a synonym of Progressivism. The Sooner was an "energetic individual who travels ahead of the human procession." He was prosperous, ambitious, competent, a "can-do" individual. And Oklahoma was the Sooner State, the land of opportunity, enterprise and economic expansion, very much in the Progressive spirit that engulfed the old South in the 1920s.

Oklahoma as the Sooner State became the official cultural identity of the Oklahoma people. It is an identity of vigor and energy and undiluted Americanism. The Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein lyric, "We know we belong to the land, and the land we belong to is grand," and the

* The author received his Master of Arts degree from the University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

¹ Angie Debo, *Oklahoma, Footloose and Fancy-Free* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949), p. 114.

² Walter J. Stein, *California and the Dust Bowl Migration* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1973), p. 63.

mighty ending to that song "OKLAHOMAAAAH—O.K.!" expresses the sentiment exactly. In many ways it is a natural identity for a young state to assume, especially a state settled in such a strikingly "go-getter" way. The land-runs which partly settled Oklahoma were unique in America's history of Western settlement; in the minds of many Oklahomans these runs were a sign that the state was on the move. The commercial production of oil while Oklahoma was still a territory also contributed to the aura of expanding prosperity and progress.

There is, however, another cultural identity, generally suppressed, which is firmly rooted in Oklahoma history—the cultural identity of a dispossessed people. Oklahoma has a unique heritage as the preserve for vanquished Indian tribes in the 1830s and a refuge for outlaws after the Civil War. While the 1889 land-run was in a sense an epic and heroic event in American history, the people who enacted it were clearly the unfortunate and destitute of the time. Landless, some of them had camped on the Kansas border for several years awaiting one more opportunity to acquire a homestead. Forty years later, the Great Depression drove thousands of Oklahomans from their farms and homes. So many of them entered the stream of refugees that moved toward California that the entire procession of impoverished Midwesterners became identified with those dispossessed Oklahomans.

"Okies" they were called. Their experience, which received so much national publicity in the late 1930s, directly contradicted the "Sooner" identity that Oklahomans were trying to cultivate and considerably undermined their image of themselves as a progressive, vigorous people.

Oklahoma in the 1930s was a young state, with a regional identity not fully developed. The Depression experience, and particularly the Okie exodus, influenced the way that identity was formed and articulated. During the thirties, when Oklahoma was confronted with dispossession on a massive scale, much of Oklahoma's leadership, particularly in the urban centers, continued to affirm the "Sooner" identity. They articulated this identity by interpreting their heritage selectively and by emphasizing certain contemporary phenomena while ignoring others. Oil production, business progressivism and the Will Rogers image were drawn upon as expressions of Oklahoma's identity. In order to perpetuate this image, the other heritage was suppressed; and the tremendous suffering of much of the state's population in the thirties was never accurately assessed.

But regardless of the massive denial of the Depression's reality, those years had a profound impact on the identity of the Oklahoma people. Beneath the optimism and progressive image which the state affected was an awareness of failure and a suspicion that the plight of the "Okies" symbolized a basic flaw in Oklahoma culture and perhaps in individual



In 1939, the Golden Anniversary of the first land run in Oklahoma, it was reported that one-quarter of the state's soil was lost to production through erosion

Oklahomans. Even today the word "Okie" or the mention of *The Grapes of Wrath* sparks a defensiveness in many Oklahomans, calling back those years when the dreams of a young Western state were shattered by caravans of refugees and great clouds of dust.

I clearly perceived that our Song of Emmigration had been, in effect, the hymn of fugitives.³

—Hamlin Garland—

Chinz bugged in Illinoy, sic-loaned in Nebrasky, white-caped in Missouri, prohibited in Kansas, Oklahoma or bust.⁴

—painted on an 89er's wagon—

In 1939, John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* was published. The same year a Works Progress Administration official estimated that one-half of the state's population was on relief.⁵ In addition the *Daily Oklahoman* reported

³ Hamlin Garland, *Son of the Middle Border* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1922), p. 368.

⁴ Edith Barrow Russell et al., *Oklaḥoma, The Beautiful Land* (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: Times-Journal Publishing Company, 1943), p. 44.

⁵ *Harlow's Weekly* (Oklahoma City), September 12, 1939.

that one-quarter of Oklahoma's soil was lost to production through erosion.⁶ 1939 was also the Golden Anniversary of the first land run in Oklahoma; and celebrations, books and special newspaper editions marked the occasion. In spite of the fact that the state's economy was badly crippled, the tone of the celebrants was usually optimistic. *Oklahoma, The Beautiful Land* began:⁷

Dedicated to Oklahoma—In the years ahead—and to the brave Oklahomans who have buried Depression realizing Oklahoma is truly a land of opportunity in her illimitable "grains of gold"—her cotton patches, her mines, her fields of oil.

The *Daily Oklahoman*, editorializing in its Golden Anniversary edition, recalled the frontier days of initiative and independence and took a passing swipe at the New Deal. "If American character is not misjudged," the paper observed, "the old frontier spirit will show the way in the next fifty years as it did in the past fifty. This means we will not tamely submit to a paternalistic regime in which government does everything and the individual merely takes what government is willing to give."⁸

And though the early days of settlement were spoken of as a frontier time, propriety and order were emphasized rather than adventure, violence or lawlessness. A survivor of the first run who wrote a reminiscence of the experience assured his readers:⁹

There was no wild west in eighty-nine, no outlaws, no defiance of law such as prevailed in the mining towns of the far west or the cattle shipping towns of Kansas; no alleged Indian fighters with long flowing locks. With a barber shop every half block in the new towns and competitive bidding on the work, every man kept his hair cut, his whiskers trimmed and his moustache waxed.

He stated that troops were never called out to quell riots, although, "several times during the second day, the proceedings became so violent that the officer in command of Federal troops . . . sent a detachment . . . to maintain order."¹⁰

Another "Eighty Niner" maintained that much had been written about the first land run "to touch up the story glamorously." He deplored the representation of the first settlers as a "lot of drinking, gun-toting tough

⁶ *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), March 5, 1939.

⁷ Russell, *Oklahoma, The Beautiful Land*, p. i.

⁸ *Daily Oklahoman*, April 22, 1939.

⁹ Fred Wenner, *The Story of Oklahoma and the Eighty-Niners, Retold on the Golden Anniversary* (Guthrie, Oklahoma: Co-operative Publishing Company, 1939), p. 17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

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outfits." That was wrong, he said "and some of it really defames those sterling homemakers."¹¹

However, contemporary accounts of those days sometimes differed from the "Eighty Niner" reminiscences. One writer observed that to say one was going to Oklahoma in the 1890s was to invite suspicion. Most of Oklahoma's population, she wrote, was "composed of the people whose families, pushed westward from the Atlantic coast by advancing civilization, have lived on the border for generations."¹² She described the land run as a sordid, desperate affair.¹³

It was a crowd of determined, almost desperate men and women, many of whom having failed in the fight for prosperity had gathered here for a fresh trial. Every man's hand was against his fellow. His neighbor on the right, placed there by accident, might be the one who beat him in the race. The men who stood in line were composed of two classes: (1) those who had failed in every undertaking, and (2) others so young that this was their first bout with fortune.

All men started as enemies. The reward was to the selfish and the bully; and greed and strength were winners.

The "Eighty Niners," looking back over fifty years, either forgot or chose not to remember that Oklahoma in its territorial days was one of the most lawless regions in America. One historian wrote that "the average of population of the Indian Territory in the nineties embraced the lowest and most vicious types."¹⁴ The region was famous as a haven for outlaw gangs such as the Doolins, the Daltons, the Buck gang and the Jennings gang. Grafters, men who swindled Indians out of their land allotments, were so common that, according to the historian, "the name ceased to be a term of opprobrium."¹⁵ Reports of violence were frequently printed in the territorial and national newspapers, causing the Oklahoma Press Association, meeting in 1895, to lament that settlers "refuse to come among us to invest or make homes . . ."¹⁶

As one might expect, the transition from Oklahoma's turbulent territorial period to statehood was not an easy one. In fact, what emerges as the

¹¹ Russell, *Oklahoma, The Beautiful Land*, p. 81.

¹² Helen Candee, "Social Conditions in Our Newest Territory," *Forum* (June, 1898), p. 428.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), p. 355.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Bobby H. Johnson, "Booster Attitudes of Some Newspapers in Oklahoma Territory—"The Land of the Fair God'," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1965), p. 245.

central theme of Oklahoma history from 1889 to 1939 is the struggle to build a modern, twentieth century state from a heritage of violence, poverty, dispossession and cultural rootlessness.

From the very first this struggle was marked with experiments with radicalism. Oklahoma's constitution, drafted in 1907, embraced most of the Populist-Progressive platform of the day and was considered the most radical state constitution in the country.¹⁷ The Populist Party was strong in territorial Oklahoma until its national collapse in 1896. Many of its adherents eventually joined the Socialist party. Before 1917 Oklahoma had the largest Socialist party in the nation.¹⁸ Radicalism of a different variety emerged in the 1920s in the form of the Ku Klux Klan. At one time during this period the Klan controlled several members of the state legislature.¹⁹

Politics showed a strong disposition toward sensationalism. For example, Al Jennings, a convicted train robber and leader of a bandit gang in territorial days, ran for governor in 1914 on the strength of his notoriety and the publicity he had received from a series of articles about him in the *Saturday Evening Post*. All he asked, he said, was the chance given Mary Magdalen. Jennings placed third in a field of six in the Democratic primary. Almost every governor from 1907 to 1935 had to contend with at least the suggestion of impeachment, and two in a row were actually removed from office. Impeachment became such a tradition in Oklahoma politics that William "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, elected governor in 1930, addressed the possibility in his inaugural address.

For the most part, the Golden Anniversary commemorations did not acknowledge the tensions which characterized Oklahoma's social and political life from territorial days through statehood. On the contrary, they made astounding claims for Oklahoma's cultural superiority and economic development. The *Daily Oklahoman*, which devoted special sections of its anniversary edition to the oil industry, the insurance business, agriculture and education, made this assessment of Oklahoma's culture:²⁰

The reader may have expected an exposition of wild and wooly days, banditry, the Indian warhoop spirit—in short, a journalistic rodeo. Instead, he will learn, perhaps to his amazement, that Oklahoma is now seriously

¹⁷ Charles Beard, "The Constitution of Oklahoma," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XXIV (1909), pp. 95-104. Among its provisions were the initiative, the referendum, the prohibition of the suspension of habeas corpus, a strong corporation commission, the restriction of corporations from dealing in real estate outside the city limits and the prohibition of alcohol.

¹⁸ David Shannon, *The Socialist Party in America: A History* (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1955), pp. 34-35.

¹⁹ George Tindall, *Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), pp. 202, 235-236.

²⁰ *Daily Oklahoman*, April 22, 1939.

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ranked as one of the foremost states in literature, art, music, industry, religion, the professions, civic beautification—all the gracious things of life.

Burton Rascoe, in an article under the banner, "We Lead In Culture," proclaimed, "Oklahoma, which only a little while ago was an unsettled territory set aside for the Indians . . . is now in the vanguard, if not the actual leader of all things of the mind and spirit."²¹

Frank Buttram, an oil man and president of Oklahoma City's Chamber of Commerce, summed up the spirit of Oklahoma's Golden Anniversary of first settlement:

FIFTY YEARS! Years in which Oklahoma changed from a tenantless prairie into one of the brightest spots of the earth, dotted with cities, teeming with population, fields rich in fruit and grain and herds, and scattered . . . derricks marking the entry into one of nature's greatest storehouses of oil; an area of farms and factories, of schools and colleges, of all that makes a great civilization and a great state.

Buttram attributed the state's progress to the "courage and endurance and intelligence of a race of men and women of heroic type." Skyscrapers, palatial homes, fruitful fields and thriving marts "existed first in the dreams of that generation and came to be through their . . . suffering and persistence."²²

But the darker side of Oklahoma's heritage was never entirely repressed, even in the most vigorous affirmations of the Sooner identity. A. C. Scott, in an article appearing in the *Daily Oklahoman's* Golden Anniversary edition, felt compelled to consider the seamy side of Oklahoma's past. He quoted an out-of-state visitor's observation at some large function: "Well, I don't see any difference between this audience and a New York audience."

"All this feeds our vanity," Scott admitted, "but there is another side, the ugly side of poverty, ignorance and crime. This is the side that gets into the news and largely shapes our reputations abroad." Why, he asked, was there so much corruption in politics, so many unworthy and incompetent men "who . . . have piled scandal upon scandal and shamed us before the world." He could not answer that question satisfactorily, suggesting only that it was hard to find good men to run for public office. The article ended with the rueful observation that, "On the whole, I conclude, we are much better than our reputation."²³

Another writer, in an article entitled, "We Come of Age," referred to the

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²² *Oklaoma* (Oklahoma City), April 20, 1939.

²³ *Daily Oklahoman*, April 22, 1939.



During the 1930s many Oklahomans were dispossessed of their small quarter section farms and in turn fled the state

darker side of Oklahoma history; and, in the process, he hinted at the suffering the state was experiencing even then:²⁴

Today, at the end of fifty years, the commonwealth has purged itself of the cranks and crooks who made its early history lurid. Few here are radical unless they happen to be hungry. Give a real Sooner a ghost of a chance and his hat is in the ring.

The 1939, Golden Anniversary celebration was a great testimony to Oklahoma's economic and cultural progress. Reminiscences of the territorial days emphasized propriety and the gentle virtues of the pioneers; however, in 1939, Oklahoma, only thirty-two years old, was anxious to demonstrate it was in step with the modern age.

But the "Sooner" image glossed over underlying tensions in Oklahoma's political and cultural heritage. Much of Oklahoma's population was not in the Sooner mold, but was made up of the dispossessed or the descendants of the dispossessed who had migrated to Oklahoma to take advantage of the

²⁴ *Ibid.*

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nation's last free land. Many of the people in the rural areas were ill-equipped to assume the responsibilities of a modern electorate. The people who espoused the Sooner image, often people whose fortunes were tied to industrialism or oil, had little understanding of the great mass of Oklahomans who lived on quarter-section farms.

The "Sooner" image not only glossed over a heritage of dispossession; it also operated to ignore the dispossessed themselves, when, during the thirties, the "Okies" emerged and witnessed by their flight that Oklahoma was not a "Land of Opportunity."

Alfalfa Bill fought the Depression with the National Guard.²⁵

—Keith Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill Murray*—

Always have thought, always have figgered
If that dam stew'd been a little bit thinner
Some of these politicians, the honest ones
Could of seen through it.²⁶

—Woodie Guthrie, "Talkin' Dust Bowl"—

During the Depression decade California's population grew by twenty-one percent, largely due to the influx of indigent migrants from the Midwest. The outcry of that state and the national concern engendered by *The Grapes of Wrath* contributed to the decision by Congress to conduct a congressional investigation of the interstate migration of destitute citizens.

In September, 1940, the committee, headed by Representative John Tolan of California, met in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, to hear testimony. Governor Leon "Red" Phillips, fearing Oklahoma would be singled out for censorship, organized his own committee to investigate the reasons for Oklahoma's contribution to the destitute population on the west coast. The chief causes of Oklahomans' emigration, Phillips claimed, were the federal farm program, the drouth and discriminatory freight rates by the railroads.²⁷ At the federal hearings Phillips testified that Oklahoma's population had dropped by about 75,000, although he admitted the loss was probably greater due to the birth-death rate.²⁸

Mayor Robert Hefner of Oklahoma City also seemed fearful that the Congressional Committee would single out Oklahoma. In his welcoming address he cautioned its members:²⁹

²⁵ Keith Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill Murray* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), p. 245.

²⁶ Alan Lomax, Woodie Guthrie and Pete Seeger, *Hard Hitting Songs for Hard-Hit People* (New York: Oak Publications, 1967), p. 229.

²⁷ United States House of Representatives, *Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens*, 67th Congress, 3rd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941), pp. 2028-2030.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2030.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1759.

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

We are glad to have you make this investigation and hope there is something we can do about this floating population that is floating around over the country. There is one suggestion in that connection I wish to make, and that is this: that an account of this book [undoubtedly *The Grapes of Wrath*] that was written Oklahoma got the credit for all this floating population; they seem to call them "Okies" all over the country. We know they have them in all the states . . .

When it was clear the committee was not going to indict Oklahoma for its migrant contribution, the *Daily Oklahoman* expressed its apparent relief in a front page story, "Okies No Worse Than Yorkies, Prober Says."³⁰

In fact, however, Oklahoma's contribution to the migrant problem was unequalled. There was a very good reason why "Okie" instead of "Arkie," "Kansie," or "Texican" became the general name for all the indigents who drifted into California during the 1930s. According to all estimates more Oklahomans entered the state during that period than any other group. One estimate stated Oklahomans made up twenty-four percent of all the migrants who fled the Midwest for the Promised Land of California.³¹ One school district in Kern County, California, a county that attracted a sizeable colony of "Okies," enrolled more Oklahoma-born children than children born in California. Out of 2,312 children, 982 were born in Oklahoma, 723 were born in California, 224 were born in Texas, 124 in Arkansas and 46 in Missouri.³²

Governor Phillips' estimate of Oklahoma's population loss was absurdly low. Eighty thousand destitute Oklahomans, five thousand more than Phillips said the state lost in ten years, were recorded to have crossed California's state line in the fifty-four months between July 1, 1935 and December 31, 1939—twice as many as the state with the next highest total.³³ Carey McWilliams cited estimates that 300,000 Oklahomans entered California during the flood years of 1936 to 1938 alone.³⁴ Jacqueline Sherman, in her doctoral dissertation on Oklahomans in California during the Depression, evaluated several estimates and put the figure at 220,000 during the entire Depression decade.

Two Hundred Twenty Thousand Oklahomans! When one considers the number of Oklahomans who migrated elsewhere than California, surely at

³⁰ *Daily Oklahoman*, September 19, 1940.

³¹ Jacqueline Gordon Sherman, "Oklahomans in California during the Great Depression, 1931-1941," Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, California, 1970, p. 53.

³² United States House of Representatives, *Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens*, 67th Congress, 3rd Session, p. 2442.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 2783.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2284.



Migrant camp in Oklahoma City at the height of the Great Depression

least 20,000 more, it is clear that ten percent of the 2,400,000 people who lived in Oklahoma in 1930 were driven out of the state by the forces of the Great Depression.

Add to this figure an estimate by a Works Progress Administration official in 1939 that one-half of the state was on relief, and a picture emerges of a region as economically devastated as Georgia after William Tecumseh Sherman's march to the sea during the Civil War.³⁵

Why did Oklahoma, more than any other state in the nation, produce such a large number of Depression refugees, probably a quarter of a million? Floods, drouth and falling farm prices are part of the answer, of course; but these afflictions touched the whole Midwest. Even the Dustbowl, often linked with "Okies," was a phenomenon of five states.

A large part of the answer lies in Oklahoma's huge tenant population, sixty-two percent of those engaged in agriculture in 1930, the highest percentage in the Midwest. This huge tenant population had multiplied since the 1880s when the only whites allowed in Indian Territory were tenant farmers for the Indians.³⁶ These tenant farmers were not tied to the land; even in the two productive years before 1920, when the harvest was good, fifty-six percent of them moved from one farm to another.³⁷

³⁵ *Harlow's Weekly*, October 21, 1939.

³⁶ Gilbert Fite, *The Farmer's Frontier, 1865-1900* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), p. 203.

³⁷ John Southern, *Farm Tenancy in Oklahoma*, Stillwater, Oklahoma Agricultural Experimental Station Bulletin Number 239, p. 37.

The plight of these people had been desperate for years. Oscar Ameringer, a Socialist organizer who was familiar with them in 1907, considered them the most impoverished people in the country. “I found toothless old women suckling infants on their withered breasts,” he recalled:³⁸

I found a hospitable old hostess around thirty or less, her hands covered with rags and eczema, offering me a bisquit with those hands. . . . I saw youngsters emaciated by hookworms, malnutrition and pellegra, who had lost their second teeth before they were twenty years old. I saw tottering old male wrecks with the infants of their fourteen year old wives on their laps. . . . I saw humanity at its lowest degradation and decay.

That was in 1907! There is no doubt that the Depression suffering was directly related to long-standing tenancy, poverty and Oklahoma’s peculiar situation as a new state with an unusually large number of people with tenuous ties to the land.³⁹

Finally, however, the answer to why Oklahoma suffered such disproportionate uprootedness during the Depression lies in the response of the state’s political leadership. Disorganized and often influenced by interests which had no empathy for Oklahoma’s desperate agricultural population, state government must bear a large share of the blame for Oklahoma’s enormous number of refugees.⁴⁰

Oklahoma’s first Depression governor was William “Alfalfa Bill” Murray, an agrarian demagogue who had presided over the State Constitutional Convention in 1907. During his “cheese and crackers” gubernatorial campaign, he portrayed himself as an underdog and even hitch-hiked to some of his speaking engagements. “Alfalfa Bill” believed “Civilization begins and ends with the plow,” and entered office with solid tenant farmer support; but he was completely unable to grapple with the economic problems of agriculture in a severe economic depression.

Murray sincerely tried to address himself to the suffering of his constituency. He ordered the front lawn of the Governor’s Mansion plowed up and planted in vegetables to feed the hungry and divided the land between the Mansion and the State House into half-acre plots to be tilled by the indigent. Declaring that the price of bread must come down, the governor authorized the prison bakery at McAlester, Oklahoma to sell bread on the open market at one-half the price of retail grocers.⁴¹ He attempted to institute tax reforms

³⁸ Oscar Ameringer, *If You Don't Weaken, The Autobiography of Oscar Ameringer* (New York: Holt and Company, 1940), p. 232.

³⁹ Stein, *California and the Dust Bowl Migration*, p. 9.

⁴⁰ Sherman, *Oklahomans in California*, p. 23.

⁴¹ *New York Times* (New York, New York), August 16, 1931.

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and economy in government. Murray even donated his first month's salary to the construction of an edifice for worship to be located near the soup lines so that the unemployed would have a place to pray.⁴²

In spite of these efforts, Murray was not an effective Depression governor. Many of his measures were more noteworthy for their publicity value than for their effectiveness in alleviating suffering in the state. For example, in the same month that Oklahoma experienced two food riots, Murray provoked confrontation with Texas over a toll bridge dispute. He often used the National Guard to confront problems that needed legislative solutions. He called out the National Guard twenty-seven times and declared martial law thirty-four times during his four years in office. He spent less than \$1,500,000 of state money for relief.

During his last years in office Murray devoted himself to a grass-roots presidential campaign. Ironically, he made a speech to 30,000 ex-Oklahomans in California. As his terms drew to a close, he showed definite signs of paranoia and had the chairs in his office chained to the radiators to keep his visitors from getting too close. His biographer, in evaluating Murray's administration, concluded that Alfalfa Bill "did not realize that running a state was different from running a farm."⁴³

But the most serious criticism that can be made against Murray's administration is that he used federal relief funds for patronage. While in office Murray refused to expand work-relief programs, fearing "enlarged relief activities would cause him to lose control of all federal programs."⁴⁴ He insisted on making all relief appointments himself and signed all the relief checks. A Federal official who investigated Oklahoma's Federal Emergency Relief Administration program during the Murray administration commented that he uncovered "thieving and favoritism on all sides. I found every Tom, Dick and Harry in the state was getting relief whether he was unemployed or not."⁴⁵ Federal relief funds were cut off for a time due to his patronage activities and because the state legislature did not always provide matching funds.

Murray's successor, E. W. Marland, ran for governor on the platform, "Bring the New Deal to Oklahoma." A former oil man who had lost his fortune in the Depression, Marland proposed to tax the oil industry, increase property taxes for the benefit of the destitute and establish a pension plan for the aged.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill Murray*, p. 245.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

⁴⁵ James J. Patterson, *The New Deal and the States, Federalism in Transition* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 54.

Marland's attempts to address the current crisis in the state were handicapped by his own inexperience, a corrupt civil service and a hostile, patronage-hungry legislature.⁴⁶ He tried to finance relief partly through taxing the oil and gas industry, drawing opposition from that quarter. The legislature refused to provide the state's share of Federal Emergency Relief Administration funds, causing them to be cut off and only approved one-third of the money Marland had requested for the relief of unemployables—the blind, handicapped, indigent children and the aged.⁴⁷ In 1937, the Federal government halted \$2,000,000 in Social Security money until the state agreed to stop using welfare personnel jobs for patronage.⁴⁸ The State Pond Bill, which Marland had initiated to provide drouth relief and labor for the unemployed, was killed by the oil lobby.⁴⁹ In addition, the beleaguered governor suffered the opposition of all the state newspapers.⁵⁰

Like a half-dozen of his predecessors, Marland feared impeachment proceedings, but there was no danger. The Senate was in complete control of government and was content to let Marland operate as the state's chief clerk.⁵¹ Worn down by pressure from the legislature and the press, he turned his attention in the middle of his term to a race for the United States Senate.

The Speaker of the House who provided much of the leadership for slowing Oklahoma's "New Deal" during Marland's administration was Leon "Red" Phillips. An ambitious politician, Phillips pledged his support to Franklin D. Roosevelt's national programs while he attacked Marland's "little New Deal" measures as extravagant and poorly planned. He succeeded in blocking legislation for two of Marland's most important relief proposals: old age pensions and homestead exemptions.

In 1939, Phillips ran for governor as a Roosevelt Democrat who would bring economy to government and a balanced budget. After winning the Democratic primary he acknowledged support from big business and promised to protect the oil industry.⁵² He showed no concern about the flight of the "Okies" while he was in office, but he was anxious that Oklahoma should not receive bad publicity from the Tolan hearings. Angered

⁴⁶ Sherman, *Oklahomans in California*, p. 48.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁴⁹ Cecil Turner, "Oklahoma's New Deal: Program and Reaction," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1963, p. 70.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ John Joseph Mathews, *Life and Death of an Oilman, The Career of E. W. Marland* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), pp. 252-255.

⁵² Robert Arthur Bish, "Leon C. Phillips and the Anti-New Deal Agitation in Oklahoma, 1935-1944," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1966, p. 65.

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that Roosevelt had given tacit support to an opponent in the Democratic primaries, he abandoned all pretense of being a New Dealer and became one of the nation's most virulent anti-New Deal politicians.⁵³

Phillips' antagonism toward Roosevelt influenced his decisions about Oklahoma's participation in federal relief efforts, often to the detriment of the state's destitute population. He fought a costly and fruitless court battle to halt a federal flood control project on the Red River, even though most of the Oklahomans who would be affected by the project were in favor of it.⁵⁴ He pocket vetoed a bill which would have accepted a Roosevelt federal housing program with no state money involved because he said it would put government in competition with private enterprise. That action cost Oklahoma \$8,000,000 in federal money.⁵⁵ Federal relief funds were cut off for the last time during his first year in office due to corruption in the Public Welfare Commission.

Phillips' administration ended ten years of Depression government characterized by corruption, mismanagement and downright hostility toward its destitute citizens. State government could afford to ignore the needs of Oklahoma's large tenant class because by the 1930s it had almost ceased to exist as a political force. In poll-tax paying Oklahoma the natural mobility of these people and their declining economic status made it very difficult for them to meet the voting requirements.⁵⁶ The traditional radicalism which had characterized Oklahoma's agrarian population since territorial days largely disappeared, and political power shifted to the oil industry, the urban centers and the state's business leaders. The people from these groups were interested in increasing Oklahoma's industrial potential, not in solving the problems of a feudal agricultural system. Throughout the Depression they sought to enhance their own economic interests, almost oblivious to the crisis in the countryside.

By the closing years of the Depression, it was clear that Oklahoma's economy could support less than one-half its population. Tenant farmers, "Okies" and people on relief were separated by an unbridgeable chasm from Oklahoma's more prosperous citizens, state government and the state press. While the spiritual brethren of the characters in *The Grapes of Wrath* were singing "Going Down the Road Feeling Bad," many Oklahomans were composing hymns to progress.

The "Sooner" myth that Oklahoma was a land of prosperity, opportunity

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-60.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Sherman, *Oklahomans in California*, p. 47.



Governor E. W. Marland and his promise to "bring the New Deal to Oklahoma" resulted in the expansion of many federal relief projects such as this effort by the United States Department of the Interior Soil Erosion Service to increase the productivity of Oklahoma's farms

and individual initiative flourished in the face of all evidence to the contrary. In 1936 the "Okie" exodus was at its height. Hundreds of jobless people had poured into Oklahoma City from the countryside and were camped on the banks of the Canadian River in a shanty town called Community Camp. Yet, the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce magazine of that year boasted that "Oklahoma City, compared with the country as a whole, scarcely knew that there was a depression. Month after month . . . this city remained a white spot upon the map of the nation's business, to the astonishment of the country. Business men everywhere do not understand the evidence of momentum unspent."⁵⁷ An article in the same issue entitled, "Balanced Income Cushions State Against Bumps of Depression," began, "Oklahoma is unique in the United States for the balance of its economic structure."⁵⁸

⁵⁷ *Oklahoma* (November 26, 1936), p. 13.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

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Oil was often offered as evidence of the state's prosperity. "The money from petroleum has found its altruistic way into every avenue of life and activity in this great state; it has brought comfort and peace of mind, health and prosperity to countless thousands who themselves played no part in the pioneering that made this benevolence possible."⁵⁹ *Oklaḥoma, Land of Opportunity*, published in 1934, listed biography after biography of Oklahomans who began their "upward climb toward success" in the oil business.⁶⁰

The urban centers, Tulsa and Oklahoma City, were dependent on oil for prosperity; they largely ignored the problems of the rest of the state in perpetuating the "Sooner" identity. The Oklahoma Chamber of Commerce dedicated an issue of their publication to the oil industry in 1936 and to the eleventh anniversary of the discovery of the Oklahoma City oil field in 1939. Articles appeared with such titles as "City Reflected in Oil," and "City of Oil."⁶¹

Frank Buttram, oil millionaire, was elected president of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce in 1939. He was described as "an Oklahoman in his independence, his versatility, his restlessness, his simplicity and his instinct for development . . . in his success at money making."⁶²

The "Sooner" identity of the man with initiative, a "can-do" individual, found articulation in the *Daily Oklahoman's* Golden Anniversary edition. In an article entitled "We Come of Age," the writer asked what is the difference a stranger feels upon entering Oklahoma. He feels:⁶³

a stepping up of energy, a bustle around him, a feeling of optimism. . . . He feels power and achievement in the air . . . "Sooners," the author attested, "have breezy, informal, but kindly manners and a swift directness in coming to the point. They cut across lots as they walk across town; they want quick results and try to get them.

The "Sooner" initiative could find expression in curious ways. For example, in 1938, a year before the opening of the World's Fair in New York City and the Golden Anniversary Celebration in San Francisco, California, the Marland administration began preparing the Highway Patrol for an expected flood in tourist traffic. Literature was printed to be put in tourists' eager hands; plans were made to provide highway and weather conditions for surrounding states in order to hurry drivers along their way. The diplomatic corps of Latin American countries received letters from Governor

⁵⁹ Leona Morris, *Oklaḥoma, Land of Opportunity* (Guthrie, Oklahoma: Co-operative Publishing Company, 1934), p. 10.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶¹ *Oklaḥoma*, November 26, 1936 and November 23, 1939.

⁶² *Oklaḥoma*, November 23, 1939.

⁶³ *Daily Oklahoman*, April 22, 1939.

Marland urging them to advise their nationals to route their travels through Oklahoma. Latin American radio station were even sent information on the advantages of motoring through the Sooner State.⁶⁴

While Oklahoma braced itself for a tidal wave of transcontinental traffic, "Okies" were driving west on Highway Sixty-six in caravans. California police weren't giving out weather information, however. In fact, for a time Los Angeles, California, police were stationed on the Arizona border in order to halt the "flood of criminals."⁶⁵

Will Rogers, one of the few men from Oklahoma to be successful in California during the thirties, embodied the "Sooner" image for many Oklahomans. One writer pointed out "that the proof of our friendliness is that the Sooner we most admired is a homely fellow with a good-natured grin, who never met a man he didn't like."⁶⁶ William Brown, in his recent book, *Imagemaker: Will Rogers and the American Dream*, has described Rogers as the American Adam, the Self-Made Man and the American Prometheus for the American people. This was especially true for Oklahomans during the Depression.

Rogers was the state's most famous booster. "Oklahoma? A lack of vocabulary is all that stops me. I should have stayed at Oxford another year to do justice to that place."⁶⁷ And, "If Oklahoma does in the next twenty-two years what we have in the last, why New York will be our parking lot. . . ."⁶⁸

Woodie Guthrie, that other famous Oklahoma Depression figure, wrote Dust Bowl Ballads and penned lyrics expressing the feeling of hopelessness among those affected greatest by the Depression.⁶⁹ However, most Oklahomans preferred "I never met a man I didn't like," and Rogers' image of success to Guthrie's fellowship with the poor. Each man symbolized one side of Oklahoma's Depression identity: Will Rogers, the "Sooner" and self-made man; and Woodie Guthrie, who once wrote that the word "Okie" would be a sufficient epitaph for his tombstone.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ *Oklahoma*, February 24, 1938, p. 14.

⁶⁵ *Herald-Express* (Los Angeles, California), February 4, 1936, reprinted in the *Tolan Hearings*, p. 2963. The *Tolan Hearings* reprinted several California newspaper articles describing the hysteria of many Californians concerning the influx of "Okies." The *Herald-Express* reported that the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce suggested the use of prison camps where convicted vagrants could be put to hard labor as a means of reducing the indigent population, *Herald-Express*, December 11, 1935.

⁶⁶ *Daily Oklahoman*, April 22, 1939.

⁶⁷ William R. Brown, *Imagemaker: Will Rogers and The American Dream* (St. Louis: University of Missouri Press, 1970), p. 78.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

⁶⁹ Lomax et al, *Hard Hitting Songs*, p. 217.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 213.



While Oklahoma prepared for a flood of tourists on their way to the New York World's Fair and the Golden Anniversary Celebration in San Francisco in 1939, many Oklahomans were driving west on Highway Sixty-six to California

The state's boosters tried to ignore the "Okies," tenant farmers and people on relief; when their existence was acknowledged, they were often denigrated. The *Tulsa Tribune* editorialized: "It must be recognized that a large percentage of Oklahoma's tenant population is of a subnormal peasant type. . . . With that class there is little that can be done."⁷¹

The *Daily Oklahoman* ignored the fact that the state's difficulties concerning federal relief funds were due to governmental mismanagement and refused to consider the possibility that the state's large relief roles were mostly legitimate. Under the banner, "An Unenviable Leadership," the paper stated that the state led the nation in chiselers on the Works Progress Administration roles and pointed out that states with high rates of chiselers had high votes for the New Deal in 1936. It declared:⁷²

It is highly regrettable that Oklahoma should be the country's trouble spot both in the realm of the WPA and in the realm of Old Age pensions. And apparently this unenviable record is due to the fact that Oklahoma had a

⁷¹ *Tribune* (Tulsa), September 23, 1938.

⁷² *Daily Oklahoman*, April 25, 1939.

sadly large number of people who are willing to take the government's money regardless of how they get it.

The bad publicity the "Okies" got in California was met either with defensiveness or denial. The *Daily Oklahoman* responded to California's protests about the number of "Okies" on relief in that state by publishing the names of Californians on relief in Oklahoma. A group of Oklahoma City businessmen organized to counteract the bad publicity they believed the state was receiving after *The Grapes of Wrath* was published. One of the group's rules was, "Turn the other cheek, but have a raspberry in it."⁷³

There can be little doubt that much of what was said about the "Okies" and about the remnants of Oklahoma's tenant class which remained in the state during the Depression was true. They were ignorant—many of them functionally illiterate—racked with the diseases of poverty and ill-equipped to respond to twentieth-century life. They were the product of a "pre-Civil War culture," literally the children of the frontier.⁷⁴ The youngest adults among them were but one generation removed from the movers and drifters, boomers and sooners who made up the original population of Oklahoma Territory. Rootless, politically naive and dispossessed—many of them were at least partly responsible for what happened to them during the Depression. Certainly they shared almost nothing in common with the people who affirmed the "Sooner" image.

And yet—it was those people who affirmed the "Sooner" identity who should have provided leadership in the thirties. The state newspapers, state government, the oil interests, the urbanites—people from these groups should have been grappling with the problems of a state that was straddling two centuries in the midst of an economic depression. But the "Sooners" not only "travelled ahead of the human procession"—they had turned their backs on it.

I'm proud to be an Okie from Muskogee, a place where even squares can have a ball. We still wave Old Glory down at the Court House; white lightning's still the biggest thrill of all.

—Merle Haggard, "Okie From Muskogee"—

If John Steinbeck had never written *The Grapes of Wrath*, the quiet depopulation of the Oklahoma countryside might have gone on without ever penetrating the state's public consciousness. When the book did appear it triggered a reaction of defensiveness and denial all across the state. As Martin Shockley showed in his article, "The Reception of *The Grapes of*

⁷³ Martin Shockley, "The Reception of *The Grapes of Wrath* in Oklahoma," *American Literature*, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (March, 1944) p. 354.

⁷⁴ Sherman, *Oklahomans in California*, p. 324.

Wrath in Oklahoma," much of the criticism of the work ignored its ideological message and literary merit to focus on the book's factual authenticity and "prurience." The editor of the Oklahoma City *Times* wrote, "Any reader who has his roots planted in the red soil will boil with indignation over the bedraggled, bestial characters that will give the ignorant east convincing confirmation of their ideas about the people of the Southwest . . ." ⁷⁵ The State Agriculture Department sought the testimony of the county agent of Sequoyah County, where the book's characters originated, for an assessment of agricultural conditions in his region. Sponsored by the Department, the agent spoke over Oklahoma City's WKY radio about Steinbeck's book and assured listeners that it contained many inaccuracies concerning tenant farm problems. ⁷⁶

Steinbeck had portrayed Oklahoma for what it really was, not "The Land of The Fair God," as some of the Golden Anniversary celebrants had described it, but a region of desperate poverty which could not sustain all its inhabitants. For that he could never be forgiven. Two years after the book was published, the *Daily Oklahoman* printed a cartoon depicting a farmer sitting on a mountain of farm produce and a tiny Steinbeck cowering before him with a copy of *The Grapes of Wrath* in hand. The caption was, "Now eat every gol darn word of it." ⁷⁷ The paper continued to print letters denouncing both the book and its author throughout the 1960s.

The reality of Oklahoma's Depression experience, which the state's leadership had managed to suppress until it was almost over, had a subtle, almost unconscious influence on the shaping of Oklahoma's cultural identity. Beneath the confident "Sooner" image which many Oklahomans project is an underlying doubt which surfaces occasionally—at the mention of *The Grapes of Wrath* or the word "Okie" or even in recalling the Depression itself. The state's license plates which bear the message, "Oklahoma—O.K." almost seem to be reassuring affirmations that Oklahomans really are alright, that the failures and humiliations so many of them endured in the thirties is not evidence that they are inadequate or that their culture is inferior.

In 1969, Governor Dewey Bartlett, in an aggressive attempt to counteract the state's defensiveness which lingered on from Depression days, embarked on his "OKIE" campaign. Bartlett redefined the word "Okie" to be an acronym for "Oklahoma, Key to Intelligence and Enterprise." He had originally defined the word as "Oklahoma, Key to Industrial Expansion."

⁷⁵ Shockley, "The Reception of *The Grapes of Wrath* in Oklahoma," *American Literature*, Vol. XVI, p. 354.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

⁷⁷ *Daily Oklahoman*, September 25, 1941.

A special OKIE pin was designed and manufactured by the thousands.⁷⁸ One was given to Prince Charles of England, and ten were sent into space with Oklahoma astronaut, Tom Stafford, who put one into orbit around the sun. The Highway Patrol all wore the pins. A special cut of meat, called the OKIE steak, shaped like the state of Oklahoma, was registered with the United States Department of Agriculture.

Bartlett attacked negative images of the state wherever he found them. From a supporter he learned of a postcard which showed a pig wallowing in an Oklahoma-shaped mudhole with the inscription, "I'm sunbathing in Oklahoma." The Governor fired off a letter to the Texas-based publishing company expressing his dissatisfaction with the card for "depicting Oklahoma in such poor taste." When the publisher wrote back informing the Governor that the card had been discontinued Bartlett made him an official OKIE and sent him a pin and certificate.⁷⁹

Bartlett's effort to blend the "Okie" image into the "Sooner" identity met with much opposition across the state. His political opponents charged that the OKIE pin was a political badge and should not be worn by paid state officials. An essay contest was sponsored by the Chouteau Pioneer Committee on the topic, "Why I Am Not an Okie." The winner declared that the founders of Oklahoma would "turn over in their graves in shame and anguish" if they realized their descendants were branded with this "abhorable" term. The winner also solemnly stated that "Okie" had originally meant the progeny of a Texas Cowboy and a Kansas prostitute.⁸⁰

The OKIE campaign, which made the papers for about a year, is evidence that Oklahomans are still defensive about their Depression heritage. Oklahomans suffered enormously during those years, and it is understandable why many Oklahomans would feel that such a tragic experience which so forceably contradicted a young state's hopes for progress and prosperity should be forgotten or at least suppressed.

But the Okie experience is not solely a heritage of poverty, failure and human tragedy. It is also a heritage of pride, endurance and great courage. John Steinbeck, who travelled among the Okies and who brought their plight to the nation's consciousness, knew this. "When I sat in the camps of the people from the dust bowl," he wrote, "when hunger was everywhere, I heard the singing and I knew that this was a great race. . . ."⁸¹ Many Oklahomans, unable to accept either half of the "Okie-Sooner" dichotomy, stand right in the middle.

⁷⁸ *Oklahoma City Times* (Oklahoma City), May 5, 1969.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, April 10, 1970.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, March 4, 1970.

⁸¹ Lomax et al., *Hard Hitting Songs*, p. 8.

OKLAHOMA'S CONFEDERATE VETERANS HOME

By Tommy G. Lashley*

In spite of the fact that Confederate veterans who came to Indian Territory after the Civil War dispersed across the entire region, they became and remained a vital and united force in the development of Indian Territory, Oklahoma Territory and eventually the state of Oklahoma. A strong Confederate veteran organization, the Oklahoma Division of the United Confederate Veterans, deserves much of the credit for this phenomenon. This group, along with the Oklahoma Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, wielded considerable political power at the state level. Through the efforts of these groups, many benefits were granted to Confederate veterans living in Oklahoma that bested the efforts of most states in the deep south. The best example of these benefits was the Oklahoma Confederate Home.

Oklahoma women of Southern background had much to do with the unusually good provisions that the state made for its Confederate veterans. The United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1906 began a temporary establishment to house indigent veterans, their wives and their widows; the MacAlester home was merely to serve until a permanent plant could be built. The *Confederate Veteran* credits the conception of Oklahoma veteran facilities to Mrs. Serena Carter of Ardmore. Mrs. Carter and her husband, Judge Benjamin Carter, were native born Oklahomans, and the judge was a Confederate veteran. While Mrs. Carter worked diligently to rally public support for such a home, both she and her husband died before actual work began.¹

Definite action began on February 20, 1909, when eight Confederate veterans met in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, to form a private corporation, "The Confederate Veterans Home Association of Oklahoma." The group was granted a charter by the Oklahoma Secretary of State. Association members included John Treadgill, A. P. Watson, R. A. Sneed, J. R. Pulliam, J. M. Hall, D. M. Hailey and Buck Rogers. On March 20, 1909, the group met as directed by William Cross, the Oklahoma commander of the United Confederate Veterans, and became the first board of trustees of the Okla-

* This article was adopted from the author's Master of Arts thesis prepared under the direction of Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

¹ Eugene Ray, "The Oklahoma Soldiers Home," *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. XIX, No. 9 (September, 1911), pp. 418-419; Smith, "The History of the Oklahoma Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1908-1955," Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, pp. 1-2.



The Oklahoma Confederate Veterans Home located at Ardmore

homa Confederate Home. They appointed William Cross, chairman; A. P. Watson, secretary; and J. J. McAlester, treasurer. W. F. Gilmer of Ardmore was selected as the financial agent in charge of soliciting and receiving funds for the project.²

There was much rivalry among Oklahoma cities for the location of the home. The board met on June 30, 1909, and selected a committee to examine several proposed sites. R. A. Sneed, J. R. Pulliam, Mrs. W. T. Culbertson and Mrs. T. C. Harril were to visit and investigate the following cities; Vinita, Claremore, Muskogee, Oklahoma City, Sulphur and Ardmore. Each city was also allowed to send a spokesman to present its case to the board. N. F. Hancock reported that Muskogee would provide a ten acre site and \$3,000 cash if the home were located there. Vinita sent J. M. Orr to offer forty acres

² "The Confederate Home of Oklahoma," *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. XXXII, No. 6 (June, 1924), pp. 217, 244; George W. Lewis, Superintendent, *First Biennial Report of the Trustees of the Oklahoma Confederate Home* (1912), Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, p. 1.

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of land, an eight room house, a barn and \$1,000 cash. Claremore offered the trustees sixty acres of land with some improvements and radium waters, along with \$1,000 cash through their representative, Thomas D. Bard. J. R. Whayne spoke for Ardmore; the city was prepared to give forty acres of land in two different locations, \$7,500 cash and free water, gas and electricity for five years. C. B. Emanuel of Sulphur reported that his city would contribute twenty acres of land adjoining the Platt National Park, including an artesian well. Oklahoma City, promised W. C. Richardson, would give one hundred acres of land in one location or twenty acres at another site. I. M. Putman of the capital city would also contribute \$5,000 for improvements on the land. After careful investigation, the committee selected Ardmore as the most suitable site.³

On August 3, 1909, the board met and appointed D. M. Hailey, R. A. Sneed and J. R. Pulliam to choose among several building sites offered by Ardmore. They first favored a forty acre tract near Lorena Park called the Felix West, but upon investigation they were dissatisfied with the land's title and accepted a twenty-three and three-fifths acre plot from Mrs. Lutie Hailey Walcott of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The Walcott addition was one-quarter mile from the city limits. Although Ardmore gave the home free water for twenty years, the promise of cash, free gas and free electricity was never carried out.⁴

On June 24, 1910, Ardmore Masons laid the corner stone, and actual construction began. Before it had proceeded far, it was clear that the cost of completion, estimated at \$25,000 would be at least \$10,000 short. The board of trustees had already taken out personal notes amounting to about \$3,000 so that construction could continue. As collections for the home had amounted to only \$15,697, something had to be done to cover the additional expenses. Thus, a petition was sent to Governor Lee Cruce that \$10,000 out of the maintenance fund granted by the Oklahoma Legislature be set aside to meet additional construction costs. Permission was granted under the condition that the corporation convey the deed of the Ardmore plant to the state of Oklahoma. On March 6, 1911, the deed was registered, and the governor appointed the following board of trustees for the Oklahoma Confederate Home: D. M. Hailey, John Threadgill, George H. Bruce, J. W. Blanton and R. A. Sneed, all Confederate veterans. Also serving on the board of trustees were N. F. Handcock and Mrs. W. R. Clement of the sons and daughters associations of the United Confederate Veterans. Hailey

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.



Mrs. W. R. Clement, a member of the 1911 Board of Trustees for the Oklahoma Confederate Veterans Home

was elected president; Threadgill became vice-president; Bruce was chosen treasurer; and Sneed was selected as secretary.⁵

The Oklahoma Confederate Home was officially opened in July, 1911. The United Daughters of the Confederacy chapters around the state completely furnished all of the sleeping rooms in the home. A plaque with the sponsoring unit's name and location was placed on each door. There were eight stipulations governing admission to the home as listed in the *Fourth Biennial Report of the Trustees of the Oklahoma Confederate Home*:⁶

⁵ Ibid., pp. 6-7; State of Oklahoma, "House Bill No. 557," *Session Laws of 1910-1911* (Guthrie, Oklahoma: Leader Publishing Company, 1911), p. 376.

⁶ Samuel Box, Superintendent, *Fourth Biennial Report to the Trustees of the Oklahoma Confederate Home* (1918), Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, p. 15.

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1. Residence in the state of Oklahoma for two years prior to the date of application.
2. Honorable service in the army or navy of the Confederate States.
3. Physical inability to support self or family.
4. Wife or widow of any soldier or sailor of the Confederate States.
5. A full 'Muster and Description List,' certified to under oath by applicant, identified and endorsed by two comrades. No person of unsound mind shall be admitted.
6. Certificate of judge or county clerk, that he believes applicant to be worthy of admission and that if admitted, the County Clerk will furnish transportation to the Home.
7. In counties where there is a camp of United Confederate Veterans, approved by the Commander and Adjutant of such camp and an order for admission signed by the President or Vice-President.
8. Applicant must obligate himself to perform such duties as policing the grounds, caring for the lawns, beautifying the home, and such other duties as the Superintendent or his assistant may direct.

Approximately eighty-five veterans, wives and widows became the first residents. By act of the Oklahoma Legislature, the state agreed to maintain the home for twenty-five years or as long as there were eligible people in need of care. The response to the home was so great that it quickly became too small for the number who sought admission. One year after its opening, an additional \$16,500 was asked of the Oklahoma Legislature to build and equip an annex capable of housing twenty additional residents. Although the number of residents fluctuated from year to year, the decade following the home's construction saw many improvements made to keep up with the growing number of veterans.⁷

By 1922, the Oklahoma Confederate Home plant consisted of the main building, a hospital, an annex for twenty additional residents, three barns, a power house and several smaller wooden structures. The main building was of gray brick, 133 by 84 feet. Two large porches were supported by four Ionic pillars. The first floor featured twenty-seven sleeping rooms, an office, a salon, the kitchen and dining quarters. The second floor was divided into thirty rooms for residents and workers. A wooden addition containing five rooms was added to the west side of the building in 1922. The hospital, a thirty-eight by seventy-four foot two-story brick building, provided twenty-

⁷ George W. Lewis to J. B. A. Robertson, August 31, 1922, Oklahoma State Archives, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Clinton Orrin Bunn, ed., *Revised Laws of Oklahoma 1910* (2 vol., St. Paul, Minnesota: Pioneer Company, 1912), Vol. II, Chap. 68, Article X, p. 1919; State of Oklahoma, "House Bill No. 386," *Session Laws of 1913* (Guthrie, Oklahoma: Cooperative Publishing Company, 1913), pp. 236-237.

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The large porches of the Confederate Home were supported by four Ionic pillars

eight semiprivate rooms. It also housed kitchen facilities and a laboratory. In 1922, it was staffed around the clock by licensed nurses, with the home physician always on call. A thirty-two by seventy-nine foot brick annex was used for overflow applicants and also provided commissary space. The powerhouse was erected for \$3,000 and housed a boiler which provided an ample supply of hot water for the entire plant. One of the three barns was used for hay and grain storage, one used as a stable and the other housed a dairy herd. A large orchard, corn fields and vegetable gardens surrounded the plant. The total appraised value for the home in 1922 was \$161,000; this figure did not include the land, livestock, farm tools, touring car or farm truck. One hundred and four residents were housed in the Oklahoma Confederate House that year.⁸

The Oklahoma Confederate Home was often the scene of festivities. On Sundays the veterans were usually entertained by United Daughters of the Confederacy members who held teas and special parties. In addition many

⁸ Lewis to Robertson, August 31, 1922, Oklahoma State Archives.

<http://stores.ebay.com/AncestryFound>
of the residents of the home. The first major event in the history of the home came early in its existence. On June 20, 1912, Mrs. Susan Whittle, known as "Grandma," celebrated her one hundredth birthday. People from around the state came to the open house to offer their congratulations and best wishes. The Ardmore United Daughters of the Confederacy provided a cake complete with one hundred candles. Three years later, "Grandma" Whittle was still a resident of the home and quite a celebrity to many Oklahomans. On November 28, 1915, the *Daily Oklahoman* carried an exclusive interview with Mrs. Whittle and her "young" husband, Michael, who was nine years her junior. Reporter Paul Cottrell found Mrs. Whittle reclining on a feather bed that had been a present from her grandmother when Mrs. Whittle was only three year old. "This feather bed and me is gettin' mighty old," she assured Cottrell, "but my mind is pretty good to remember yet, even if my feet has gone back on me."⁹ Her husband of sixty-four years laughed and agreed that her tongue was as long and limber as ever. "Grandma" Whittle recounted several girlhood experiences, including witnessing the use of whipping posts and cattle brands for punishing criminals. About the Civil War years, she recalled the deserters who sneaked home to see their families. Regardless of the big rewards offered for deserter information, she never turned one in as she felt sorry for the war-weary men. "Grandma" Whittle lived to celebrate her 106th birthday in complete contentment among those who loved and appreciated her.¹⁰

The first wedding in the house took place in November, 1912, and began a tradition which continued for years. The home's superintendent, John Galt, wrote Hailey, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, concerning a Mr. Stoneburner of Muskogee County and Mrs. Bolling of Capitol Hill: "Both have been here about six weeks; have fallen desperately in love and want the consent of yourself to marry. . . . He is 68 years old and she is 67. The other old folks are looking forward with eagerness to the marriage and if you are favorable they will be 'one' as soon as I hear from you."¹¹ Hailey gave his permission and told Galt to kiss the bride for him. In 1923, the *Daily Oklahoman* reported that the home was full of prospective brides and grooms and called proposals a chief pastime among the veterans. The article named as the homes' most available bachelorette, a seventy-nine year old widow, Mrs. Sallie Williams, who was sought by almost every resident bachelor. J. T. Rosser, at eighty years of age, was cited as the home's busiest

⁹ *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), November 28, 1915.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, February 25, 1923.

¹¹ John Galt to D. M. Hailey, October 15, 1912, Oklahoma State Archives.

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Though there were several instances of complaints concerning the operation of the Veterans Home, generally it was the scene of festivities and parties

play-boy. The wedding picture of Mr. and Mrs. M. Lourimore, eighty-three and eighty-two years of age respectively, accompanied the article. The two were secretly planning a honeymoon, and Lourimore confided to the reporter, "Why, the more I see of her, the better I like her!"¹²

While most of the residents and workers had nothing but praise for the home, there were a few instances where problems arose. In 1920, Governor J. B. A. Robertson received a letter from W. J. Fleming, a resident, complaining of the food the residents were being served. Fleming accused Superintendent Jim Story of selling the produce they raised for his own profit and feeding the residents leftovers and canned goods. He was further upset that no cooking was allowed in the rooms or anywhere on the grounds. "There is weeks at a time that we don't see any meat," he complained, "have biscuits [sic] once a day so bitter with baking powders that they burns our mouths."¹³ How much truth the letter contained is speculation, but a clue is provided by a similar letter sent to Governor William "Alfalfa Bill" Murray in 1932. Murray sent an investigative team to the home, which looked into all charges thoroughly; however, the team reported that there was no truth in any of the charges, calling them "irresponsible and without founda-

¹² *Daily Oklahoman*, February 25, 1923.

¹³ W. J. Fleming to Robertson, October 2, 1920, Oklahoma State Archives.

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tion." The explanation they offered was the senility and grouchy disposition of a few residents. They also found one socialist resident who opposed the governor's administration and termed several residents "old and childish." The report concluded that the residents praised the management on one hand, yet complained about certain policies on the other. "Of course we must ignore their weaknesses. That is the only evidence we find of any probable source of complaint," the team concluded.¹⁴

The home's board of trustees report to the governor for 1913 and 1914 shows that disciplinary measures had to be taken in some instances: "Under all the circumstances we consider the present happy condition of the home remarkable, and in a great measure due to the support given by the board to those in charge of maintaining discipline among this large family. We have endeavored to deal justly with those under our charge in the management of the home, and if we have erred it has been of the head, not the heart." The report went on to say that there were a few instances where rebellious and insubordinate residents were asked to leave after every other alternative had been exhausted.¹⁵

In the spring of 1918, many complaints were made to the home's board of trustees about general discontent among the residents. The 1917-1918 report to the governor disclosed that the problems had been traced to one resident, W. T. Simpson. Upon the testimony of several other residents, he was judged to be unsuitable for such regimented living quarters and was asked to leave. The board's vote was unanimous. Although such cases can be found in the records of the home, they were exceptions and not the rule. There is much evidence that problems were minimal and that the atmosphere in general was genial and inviting. In 1927, Mrs. T. S. Jones, an Arkansas visitor to the home, was so impressed with the plant and its residents that she published an article in the *Confederate Veteran* praising it. She was surprised at the modern equipment and facilities, as well as the large number of residents in an area that was only tenuously a part of the Confederacy. She was, however, most impressed by the atmosphere: "They are as happy and contented as they could possibly be in their own homes. It is a home in every sense of the word. . . . The veterans and their wives are justly proud of their home. So many of them expressed themselves to me in these

¹⁴ Executive Committee of the Confederate Home Board, *Report of the Executive Committee of the Confederate Home Board* (1932), Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, p. 1.

¹⁵ J. C. Ijams, Superintendent, *Second Biennial Report of the Trustees of the Oklahoma Confederate Home* (1914), Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, p. 14.

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words: 'We have everything heart could wish for here and are just one big happy family.'"¹⁶

In later years, many people other than Confederate veterans benefited from the Oklahoma Confederate Home. In 1938, the National Youth Administration repaired and remodeled the two-story brick building that was unoccupied. In the process, about \$1,200 was paid to needy youths for their work on the project. On completion, a semi-resident National Youth Administration project for girls was established in the building. In 1939, Roger S. Umphers, Oklahoma National Youth Administration supervisor, reported that the program had its quota of fifty girls participating. The girls spent two weeks of each month at the home. Four hours of each day were used for special classes in cooking, sewing, health and leisure-time activities. Each girl was paid \$18.00 per month, \$8.00 of which was paid back into the general expense account of the project. A boys project was also begun that year at the home. They constructed a two-story brick building which was used for a shop upon completion. In addition to the construction project, the National Youth Administration boys were hired to do emergency and repair work at the Oklahoma Confederate Home. By February of 1939, the National Youth Administration had spent \$15,860 at the home and was making plans for more elaborate projects to train young people in farming, ranching, woodwork and mechanics.¹⁷

In 1942, early in World War II, the Board of Trustees of the Oklahoma Confederate Home offered its facilities to the War Department of the United States for training and housing men and women of the armed services. The few veterans, wives and widows still residing in the home were moved into the south hospital building, and the other structures were turned over to the Federal government.¹⁸

After all the Confederate veterans in Oklahoma had died, the 1949 Oklahoma Legislature opened the home to Oklahoma veterans of the Spanish-American War, World War I and World War II. The home continued to be controlled and maintained by the state of Oklahoma, but the name changed to Oklahoma Veterans Home. The deed specified that the state was to care for Confederate veterans' widows as long as they lived and needed assistance. In 1955, there were twelve widows remaining. A building was set aside for them, with medical care provided. A new superintendent's

¹⁶ Mrs. T. S. Jones, Sr., "The Confederate Home of Oklahoma," *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. XXXV, No. 10 (October, 1927), p. 369; Box, *Fourth Biennial Report of the Trustees of the Oklahoma Confederate Home*, p. 17.

¹⁷ Roger S. Umphers to Mrs. Leota E. Edison, February 21, 1939, Oklahoma State Archives.

¹⁸ *Resolution of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Confederate Home* (Ardmore, Oklahoma: 1942), pp. 1-2.

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CONFEDERATE VETERAN BENEFITS IN FIFTEEN SOUTHERN STATES

	Year Home Established	Inmates in Home, 1914	Appropriations for Home, 1914	Pensions First Paid	Pensions Paid 1914	Annual Pensions to Veterans and Widows	Expended for Pensions and Home Since 1865	Veterans on Pension Rolls	Widows on Pension Rolls
Virginia	1884	274	\$ 50,000	1888	\$ 540,000	\$ 30	\$ 6,645,000	9,207	5,013
North Carolina	1891	160	35,000	1885	450,000	32	6,000,000	9,274	6,242
South Carolina	1909	90	16,600	1887	258,528	36	3,625,000	4,130	4,732
Georgia	1901	132	30,000	1889	1,125,000	60	17,750,000	10,000	7,000
Florida	1891	23	5,850	1885	624,000	120	6,514,000	2,446	2,542
Alabama	1902	86	12,000	1889	925,000	64	10,718,000	8,000	6,500
Mississippi	1904	220	40,000	1888	450,000	40	5,504,000	9,635	Both sexes
Louisiana	1882	125	48,000	1898	550,000	96	3,567,000	3,234	2,256
Texas	1891	365	96,000	1899	850,000	90	6,300,000	18,000	Both sexes
Arkansas	1891	108	37,500	1892	625,000	50	5,500,000	4,985	4,985
Kentucky	1892	210	38,850	1913	281,000	120	985,000	1,800	900
Tennessee	1889	92	16,000	1891	800,000	100	7,500,000	5,094	3,189
Maryland	1888	87	15,500	None	None	None	360,500	None	None
Oklahoma	1911	95	17,500	1913	None	120	125,000	None	None
Missouri	1895	109	60,000	None	None	None	130,000	None	None
West Virginia	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
Total	---	2,376	\$518,000	----	\$7,473,528	----	\$81,821,000	86,005	43,359

Confederate veteran benefits in Oklahoma as compared to the other Southern states

home was erected, and other improvements were made. At that time there were about 150 residents.¹⁹

Although the Oklahoma Legislature regularly appropriated funds for the maintenance of the Oklahoma Confederate Home, a new dimension was added in 1915 when Representative San Hargis, a Confederate veteran, introduced a bill in the legislature providing for a pension of \$10.00 per month to all dependent Confederate veterans, their wives and their widows who were incapacitated by age or disease. However, residents of the Oklahoma Confederate Home were not to receive this \$10.00 pension. Confederate veterans in Oklahoma were very fortunate to have not only a home for themselves, their wives and their widows, but also a pension. The bill was approved by the governor on February 24, 1915, and was put into effect ninety days after the legislature adjourned. Most Southern states did not offer their veterans nearly as many benefits as Oklahoma. Although all had homes for their Confederate veterans, only four, Mississippi, Missouri, Texas and Oklahoma, provided home for wives and widows of veterans. As a result, many needy veterans from other states never took advantage of the homes provided, because it meant leaving their wives behind.²⁰

Oklahoma joined Florida and Missouri in providing the largest Confederate pensions. Although \$10.00 per month was not much, it was much better

¹⁹ Smith, "The History of the Oklahoma Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1908-1955," p. 24; State of Oklahoma, Senate bill No. 221, *Session Laws of 1949* (Guthrie, Oklahoma: Cooperative Publishing Company, 1949), pp. 620-622.

²⁰ State of Oklahoma, "House Bill No. 138," *Session Laws of 1915* (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: Warden Printing and Publishing Company, 1915), pp. 67-73.

than the \$2.50 that Virginia gave. By July 1, 1917, 3,492 applications for pensions were acknowledged, and the legislative appropriation was raised for \$48,000 to \$150,000. By 1920, the amount was \$375,000 annually, and pensions were designated as class "A" or class "B." Group "A" received \$15.00 per month and group "B" continued to receive \$10.00. All pensions were paid quarterly. Benefits were also extended to pay all Oklahoma Confederate Home residents \$5.00 monthly from the pension fund. By 1935, another pension raise had been given to Confederate veterans, but the number had dropped considerably. The Oklahoma Public Welfare Department reported three Confederate veterans in 1949 receiving pensions: James R. Arnn, Marlow, Oklahoma, age 101, \$27.00 per month; Joshua T. Jones, Tulsa, Oklahoma, age 100, \$27.00 per month; and John Shepard, Confederate Home, Ardmore, Oklahoma, age 101, \$5.00 per month. All of these veterans died in 1949; but Jones outlived the others. Fourteen Confederate widows were also enrolled; nine in the Confederate Home received \$5.00 per month and five in private homes received \$20.00 per month.²¹

Many Confederate leaders from throughout the South were amazed at the considerations Oklahoma gave its Confederate veterans. In spite of the fact that Indian Territory was not a significant part of the Confederacy, Confederate veterans, wives and widows were treated better in Oklahoma than in most states of the deep South. Much credit should be given to active veteran groups such as the United Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy, but most of it can be attributed to attitudes of the people of the state regarding their Southern heritage. The support and contributions of the masses made most of the benefits possible. Mark Cunningham, a United Confederate Veteran representative, returned from an Oklahoma tour with high praises. He was amazed at the abundance of individual contributions to the Oklahoma Confederate Home fund and the complete cooperation of the legislature. "This spontaneous liberality augurs well for establishing Oklahoma's place in line with the older Southern states," he said, "and it is gratifying to Confederate comrades everywhere."

²¹ D. M. Hailey, *Confederate Veteran Association of the State of Oklahoma* (McAlester, Oklahoma: Confederate Veterans Association of Oklahoma, 1916), p. 62; "Oklahoma to the Front," *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. XXIII, No. 4 (April, 1915), p. 151; William D. Matthews, "Oklahoma's Veterans of the Sixties," *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, No. 5 (May, 1921), p. 198; Perry M. DeLeon, "What the South is Doing for Her Veterans," *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 6 (June, 1915), p. 225; State of Oklahoma, "House Bill No. 403," *Session Laws of 1917* (Guthrie, Oklahoma: Cooperative Publishing Company, 1917), pp. 388-390; State of Oklahoma, "Senate Bill No. 407," *Session Laws of 1921* (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: Harlow Publishing Company, 1921), p. 81; State of Oklahoma, "House Bill No. 246," *Session Laws of 1935* (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: Harlow Publishing Company, 1935), pp. 248-249; William D. Matthews, "Pensions Allowed by Oklahoma," *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. XXV, No. 9 (September, 1917), p. 394; Virgil L. Stokes to Walter L. Hopkins, March 19, 1949, Oklahoma State Archives.

THE OSAGE REMOVAL TO OKLAHOMA

By James Thomas*

During the Civil War the Osage Indian reservation in southern Kansas was a buffer zone between Union forces in Kansas and Confederate forces in Indian Territory. Although a few Osage did fight for both sides during the conflict, a majority of the tribe remained neutral. Both Union and Confederate troops took advantage of the Osages' position by stealing their horses, taking their store of corn and plundering their villages. The Osage were at peace with the United States in accordance with a treaty signed in 1825; therefore, they had received little attention from Washington, D.C. In the years before the war the Osage repeatedly had requested that the Federal government purchase their land in Kansas. With this sale the tribe would have been able to buy land in Indian Territory and avoid contacts with white settlers. However, the Osage had to wait until after the Civil War when the Federal government, intent on punishing Indians that had allied with the Confederacy, forced the Cherokee Nation to sell land to the Osage.

Prior to the arrival west of the Mississippi River of large numbers of whites, the Osage had been a warlike nation, exerting control over a vast area. Afterward, with each new treaty, the United States acquired more of their land, and the Osage became more docile. In a treaty signed on December 30, 1825, the Osage had relinquished their large holdings for a smaller tract of land "in order more effectually to extend to said tribes, that protection of the government so much desired by them. . . ." The Osage reserve was a fifty-mile-wide, one-hundred-mile-long section of land in present-day Kansas. This rectangular section was bounded on the south by Indian Territory, on the west by the one-hundredth meridian and the east by a line drawn twenty-five miles from and parallel to Missouri's western boundary.¹

This concentration of the Osage population on a smaller reservation promised to prevent continued white and red conflict and to give the tribe annuities for the next twenty years. Each year the tribe was to receive \$7,000 in money or in merchandise of equal value. On signing this treaty, the Osage were to receive 600 head of cattle, 600 hogs, 1,000 domestic fowls, 10 yoke of oxen and 6 carts. The Indians were satisfied with the settlement, and the

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¹ W. S. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Treaties and Laws of the Osage Nation, as Passed to November 26, 1890* (Cedar Vale, Kansas: Press of the Cedar Vale Commercial, 1895), p. 9.

treaty remained in effect until it was replaced by a new agreement on March 2, 1839.²

This new treaty was more favorable to the Osage. The annuities were raised to \$20,000 per year, and new provisions were made to change the Osage from reliance on a semi-nomadic economy to a farm economy. The services of two blacksmiths were to be available to the Osage for a period of twenty years. Two thousand hogs, one thousand cows, sets of horse gear, axes and hoes were promised to the tribe in the hope that they would become efficient farmers. The acculturation process might have taken place, but the government did not provide the aid it had promised, and the white population soon spread from Missouri once again to come into conflict with the Osage.³

On the eve of the Civil War the Osage were struggling to subsist. Each spring members of the tribe would plant corn, beans and pumpkins and then would move their lodges to western Kansas to hunt buffalo. If the hunt was successful, they would return in the fall with large quantities of jerked buffalo meat, tallow and hides. The hides would be traded for coffee, sugar, salt and trinkets, and in October the unattended crops would be harvested. After the corn and beans were shelled and the pumpkins dried, they were packed in skin-sacks. Pole cribs, chinked with mud and roofed with bark and skins, provided ample storage for the crops. After the harvest was completed the tribe would journey to the plains for the fall and winter hunt, returning in the spring so the women and children could plant the new crop.⁴

The spring of 1858 was wet and cold. Planting was delayed, and when an unusually dry summer followed, the crops withered and failed to mature. The problem was compounded when the summer buffalo hunt was unsuccessful. Moreover, the Osage had lost more than 200 horses to white thieves during the preceding eighteen months. Without their hunting ponies, they not only were hard pressed for transportation to the plains, but also their bows and arrows were not effective weapons when hunting buffalo on foot. Finally, when the Osage did reach the plains, the Comanches attacked. The Osage retaliated, killing four Comanches, and for the remainder of the hunt the braves had to guard against a surprise attack, thereby decreasing the number available to participate in the hunt.⁵

In the fall the Osage looked forward to a bleak winter. Without annuities

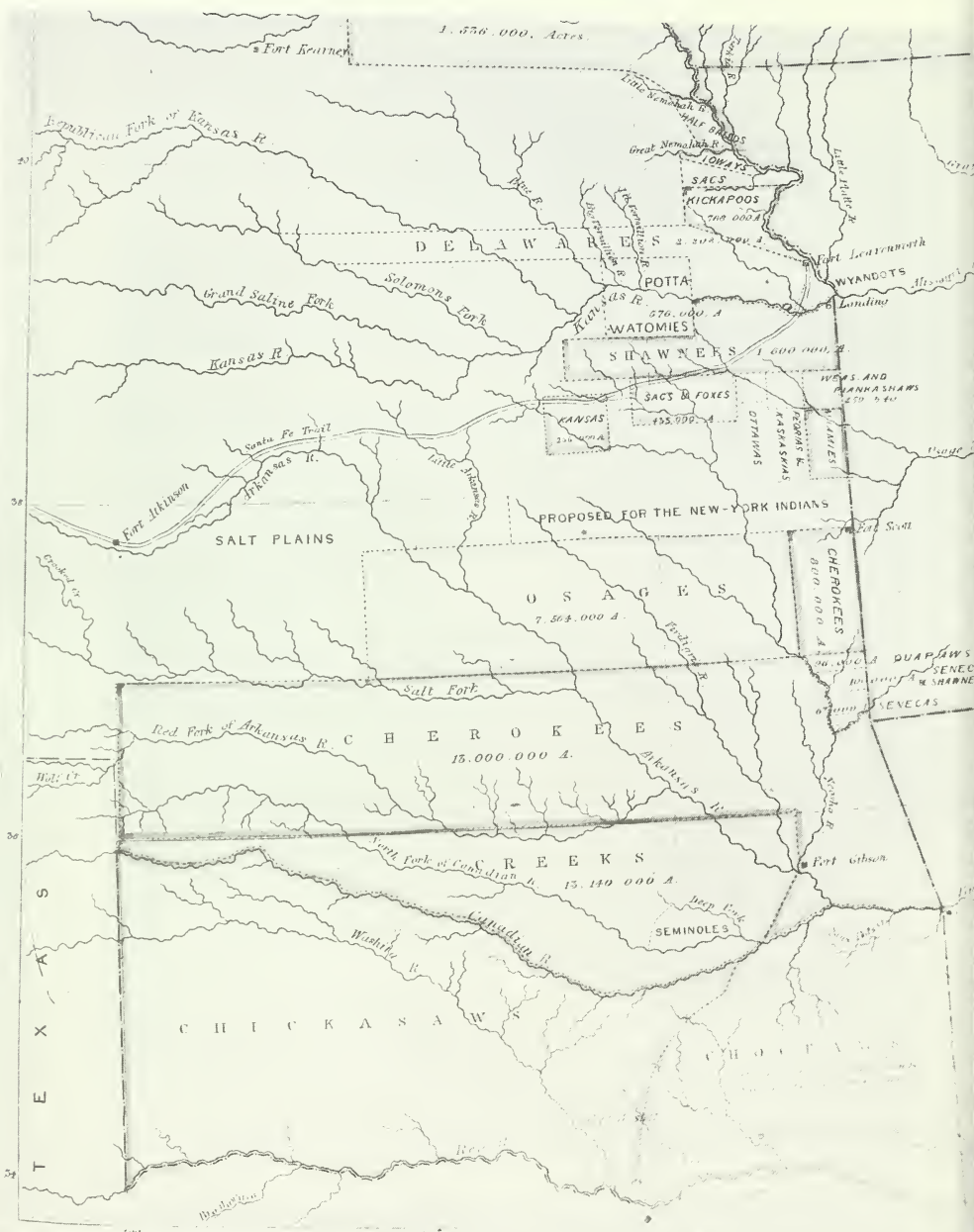
² *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

⁴ United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year of 1867* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1867), p. 325.

⁵ United States House of Representatives, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, *Executive Document 41* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1859), pp. 488-489.

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In the mid-1850s the Osage controlled approximately 7,564,000 acres in present-day Kansas

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from the government, buffalo meat or corn, the Osage had to sell the remainder of their ponies to buy food. Indian agent Andrew J. Dorn reported that the time was ripe for the United States government to purchase additional land from the Osage. The Indians could use the money to buy food, and the reduction in their land holdings again would provide a barrier between the Osage and white settlers; however, the government failed to act.⁶

The drought continued into the next year, and the Osage asked the government to purchase part of their reservation and give them military protection. They needed money to buy food, and troops were necessary to stop whites from cutting Osage timber, squatting on Osage land and stealing Osage ponies; nevertheless, their request was unanswered. However, the tribe did receive some help from the government during the winter, when Dorn delivered the balance of cows and calves that had been promised with the signing of the treaty of 1839. In his annual report, Dorn related that the Indians were anxious to receive the remaining stock and agricultural implements that were nineteen years past due.⁷

When the Civil War began, the Osage lost the scant protection they were receiving from the military, for Union forces were ordered to the eastern war zone. The majority of Indian agents in the Southern Superintendency remained loyal to the South and persuaded the Indians to sign treaties with the Confederacy. These agents told the Indians that the United States government had been overthrown, and that their only hope for security was allegiance to the Confederacy.⁸

The Osage received this advice, and at the beginning of the war, nearly 1,000 of them—men, women and children—journeyed south to join the Confederate forces. However, most of them returned before the war was over and did not engage in any hostile action against the federal army. More than 200 braves responded to the Union call, and for three months served in the Indian Brigade. For the most part the Osage neither cared for the organized warfare of whites, nor did they understand the conflict.⁹

Armed warfare was limited on the Osage reservation, but the tribe was affected by the movement of whites across their land. "Roving bands of guerillas, vagabonds, and thieves" moving through Osage lands seized

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ United States House of Representatives, 36th Congress, 2nd Session, *Executive Document 16* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1861), pp. 344–345.

⁸ United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner For the Year of 1862* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), pp. 25–26.

⁹ United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner for the Year of 1865* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), p. 293; John Joseph Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), pp. 656–657.

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horses and provisions at will. Moreover, teamsters and soldiers replenished their stock and supplies while using the reserve as a stopping place between Kansas and Indian Territory. Great herds of Cherokee and Creek cattle illegally were driven out of Indian Territory and across the Osage reservation to be sold to whites in Kansas. Frequently unscrupulous military officers would ask the Osage to join in stealing and driving these large herds. Indian agent P. P. Elder was hard pressed to stop the Osage from engaging in this illegal practice. In his annual report he stated his dilemma: "White men are allowed to steal, and why not Indians?"¹⁰

The Osage asked the agent for annuities, for military protection and for reduction of their land by government purchase. Again, as in previous years, Elder responded that he "could give them no information on that branch of business." His letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, suggesting that the Osage requests be granted, was not answered. The Osage waited until September, 1865, before taking action. At that time the tribe signed two treaties that promised to end their long wait.¹¹

A special commission was sent to Fort Smith, Arkansas, to make new treaties with the tribes of Indian Territory and Kansas. The commissioners told the Indians that new treaties were necessary because, "by their own acts, by making treaties with the enemies of the United States, [they] forfeited all right to annuities, lands and protection by the United States." In addition, the tribes of Indian Territory were to make a united effort to maintain peaceful relations with the Indians of the plains. Moreover, the commission proclaimed that sections of Indian Territory land were to be set aside "for the friendly tribes now in Kansas, and elsewhere, on such terms as may be agreed upon by the government, or such as may be fixed by the government." The opportunity for Osage relocation came with the treaty negotiated between the United States and the Cherokee Nation. Article XVI stipulated that the government could settle friendly Indians on the Cherokee Nation reserve. However, the total number of acres allotted for settlement was not to exceed 160 acres for each member of the tribe, and land east of the ninety-sixth meridian could not be settled. The price of the land was to be agreed upon by both parties, subject to approval by the President of the United States.¹²

The Osage could move south when treaties were signed with the United States and arrangements were made with the Cherokee for the purchase of

¹⁰ United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner For the Year of 1864* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), pp. 316-318.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Southern Superintendency for the Year of 1865* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1866), pp. 318-319.

the land; however, these agreements were slowly ratified by all parties. Meanwhile the Osage had become impatient as conditions on their reserve deteriorated. The newly appointed Indian agent, G. C. Snow, reported the destitute conditions of the Osage in his first annual report dated September 25, 1865. He declared that the tribe had just returned from an unsuccessful hunt and was hoping to receive annuities from the government. With neither federal aid nor buffalo meat, Snow believed that the Osage "must starve or steal." Moreover, as a result of their condition, they would "commit many depredations on their white neighbors and other Indian tribes, in killing cattle and stealing horses to trade for provisions."¹³

Again the agent suggested that the Osage be allowed to move to Indian Territory, for the "tide of white emigration" was making it difficult for the Indians to secure a peaceful existence. He argued that relocation would open 4,000,000 acres of agricultural land in Kansas to settlement and that the country to the south would be better suited for the Indians.¹⁴

Agent Snow's recommendations were incorporated in a treaty concluded at Canville Trading Post in the Osage Nation on September 29, 1865. The main purpose of the treaty was contained in article one:

The tribe of the Great and Little Osage Indians having now more lands than are necessary for their occupation, and all payments from the Government to them under former treaties having ceased, leaving them greatly impoverished, and being desirous of improving their condition by disposing of their surplus lands, do hereby grant and sell to the United States the [following] lands. . . .

The Osage ceded one tract of land on their eastern border, measuring thirty miles from east to west and fifty miles from north to south. The profit from this sale was to be placed in a civilization fund to be used by all Indians. Another strip of land measuring twenty miles in width and extending along the entire northern edge of the reservation was to be sold, and the proceeds allocated for building houses and purchasing agricultural implements and stock animals. The Federal government agreed to Osage settlement in Indian Territory if the tribal council would approve the sale of the remaining diminished reserve.¹⁵

The Osage signed the treaty and waited for approval from Washington. However, the United States Senate postponed ratification of the treaty until 1870—meanwhile the Osage suffered. In 1866, D. W. Cooley, Commissioner

¹³ United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner for the Year of 1865*, p. 293.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ W. S. Fitzpatrick, *Treaties and Laws of the Osage Nation*, pp. 20–26.

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of Indian Affairs, wrote of the depredations committed by the whites on the Osage:

An Indian has no rights that a white man is bound to respect; they are injured and annoyed in many ways. Their stock are stolen, their fences broken down, their timber destroyed, their young men plied with whiskey, and their women debauched, so that while the less civilized are kept in a worse than savage state, having the crimes of civilization forced upon them, those further advanced, and disposed to honest industry, are discouraged beyond endurance.

The commissioner believed that there was no alternative other than removal to Indian Territory.¹⁶

For the next four years the plight of the Osage became worse. The news of the Osage treaty, promising to open new lands to white settlement, caused a new wave of immigration to sweep across Kansas. On September 5, 1867, Agent Snow wrote that the white settlers were "like the tornado which meets nothing to check it." When Snow ordered fifty squatters to leave Osage lands, they agreed to go when he could provide "sufficient force to drive them off." The agent lamented the governor of Kansas was determined to "protect them at all hazards" and was appalled at the organization of four companies of state militia who threatened "the Indians with extermination."¹⁷

The state militia did not attack the Osage, but white settlers did form clubs for mutual protection to defend their illegal claims and to steal Indian ponies. Village stores were looted, and Indian houses were dismantled for building materials. Nothing the Indians owned was sacred; settlers even plundered Indian graves in the hope of finding the treasure that the Osages often buried with their dead.¹⁸

Finally the bill allowing the sale of the diminished reserve passed Congress on July 15, 1870. The Osage council found the treaty satisfactory and signed it on September 10. The tribe was eager to acquire new homes to the south, and the new Indian agent, Isaac T. Gibson, was optimistic. He reported that some of the Osage frequently expressed the desire "to possess the comforts of civilization, such as a house, wood-stoves, tables, chairs, etc." Continuing, Gibson declared that, "this desire will become general when they learn that such things are really within their reach."¹⁹

¹⁶ United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner for the Year of 1864*, p. 15.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner for the Year of 1871* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), pp. 483-492.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*



Once fierce warriors and hunters, the Osage were forced to either "starve or steal" when it became impossible for them to hunt buffalo

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In October the principal chiefs of the tribe selected a tract of land that formerly had been a favorite camping ground of the Osage; however, they learned that this was east of the ninety-sixth meridian and that the Cherokee Nation refused to sell the tract. The chiefs then accepted another section of land to the west. When the majority of the Osage returned in March from their winter hunt, they found that the land had not been surveyed. As a result they refused to make improvements or plant crops on it and returned to the plains.²⁰

Agent Gibson spent most of 1871 transporting the agency and Osage belongings to Indian Territory. In addition he found time to erect a sawmill; plan for the erection of schools and agency buildings; and purchase oxen, wagons and farming implements. In the spring of 1871, he planted fifty acres of corn, but before it matured livestock belonging to Cherokees destroyed the crop. Undaunted by his failure, Gibson, with help from a few braves, sawed 150,000 feet of lumber, enclosed 100 acres of prairie land and cut 1,000 tons of hay. The agent believed these improvements demonstrated the Osage ability and willingness to work.²¹

When official survey of the new reservation was made in 1872, many of the improvements were east of the ninety-sixth meridian, and again the Osage had to move west. Many tribal members therefore refused to plant new crops or make improvements until they obtained a deed. However, in the spring of 1872, the Beaver and part of the White Hair bands planted crops and made improvements instead of participating in the spring hunt. When the remainder of the tribe returned from an unsuccessful hunt, they had to rely on crops planted by these bands for subsistence.²²

The long trek to the plains, without adequate food supplies, had been futile. When the tribal members had reached their hunting grounds they had come into conflict with their most recent enemy—white buffalo hunters. These professional hunters slaughtered buffalo for hides, leaving the meat for scavengers. The Osage believed that by this wanton destruction of the bison the white hunters were “stealing and wasting the subsistence the Great Spirit [had] provided for them and other Indians.” Moreover, this added pressure not only reduced the great herds, but also drove the shaggy beasts west. As buffalo became scarce, the Osage raided droves of Texas cattle. Indian agent Gibson therefore concluded that conflict between Indians and whites would increase. The drovers would retaliate for the theft of their cattle, and the Indian would attack the white hunters. Not only did hunters destroy the Indians’ main source of food, but also they often interrupted

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

their monotonous task of killing buffalo with their long range rifles to participate in the "sport" of shooting at Indians. To stop this seemingly unavoidable conflict, Gibson requested that farm implements be purchased so the Osage could farm instead of hunt.²³

Against great odds the Osage managed to plant 2,000 acres of crops in 1872. However, the tribe found the 1,000,000 acres contained in their new reservation had few fertile valleys suitable for farming. This tract of land, lying between the ninety-sixth meridian on the east, the Arkansas River on the west, the Kansas state line to the north and the Creek lands to the south, abounded with sandstone bluffs and ridges. The large sandy valleys along the Arkansas River were fertile, but in the spring the land flooded, thereby destroying any chance of farming. The abundance of "knotty post-oak" and grass hid many rocky hills and was "very beautiful and deceptive in the summer."²⁴

A once powerful and heroic race that ruled from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Missouri River had given up its land and for sixty years had made good a pledge to remain at peace with the whites. After years of struggle and hardship, of promise and hope and of courage and restraint, the Osage at last had found a permanent home. The Federal government gave promises of annuities, farm implements and civilization. The economic stability the tribe so desperately needed finally came, not from the government but from the hard labor on marginal farm land. Years later, when oil was discovered under this land and brought prosperity to them, these proud and noble people achieved a slight measure of justice.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OKLAHOMA PIONEER

*Edited and Introduction by Robert S. LaForte**

Harry Finley was an Eighty-Niner. He was only fifteen when his parents took him to southern Kansas to make the run into the Unassigned Lands in present-day Oklahoma. But fifteen years of age belied his ability to observe, and during the next decade of Oklahoma land openings he continued to be impressed by the "boomer's" spirit of those who came to the territory. Sometime between the end of his formal education—he was a college graduate—and the early years of a notable public career, he wrote a brief recollection of Oklahoma's pioneer experience. Recently it has been discovered along with several other literary exercises Finley undertook and is presented hereafter in full.

Harry L. Finley was born in Foxburg, Pennsylvania, on January 26, 1874. Why the family left Pennsylvania is unknown but his father, Harris Finley, did settle land near Hennessey, in Oklahoma Territory, as a result of the 1889 run. He farmed in the Hennessey area until 1901, when he moved to Hobart, recently opened Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Reservation. Harry Finley attended the University of Oklahoma briefly in 1894, leaving that same year to enroll at Washburn College in Topeka, Kansas. He graduated from the Kansas school in 1900.

His college career had been interrupted by war and work. He served as a sergeant in Frederick Funston's famed Twenty-second Kansas Volunteer Infantry during the Spanish-American War. Later, in 1899, he became confidential clerk to Cyrus Leland, Jr., the leader of Kansas Republicans and the Missouri Valley Pension Agent. The agency supervised veteran affairs in Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, Indian and New Mexico territories.

In 1900, Finley married Leland's daughter, Mildred. He returned to Oklahoma in 1907 after six years as a bank examiner and as a building and loans clerk in the office of the Kansas bank commissioner. At first Finley indicated that he planned to operate a farm he owned near Hobart, but within a few weeks he was appointed clerk of the United States Circuit Court, Western District of Oklahoma under Judge John H. Cotteral at Guthrie and Oklahoma City. Finley resigned when court consolidation occurred in 1912.

Until 1917, Finley farmed and, for a time, worked for his father-in-law in Troy, Kansas. When America declared war on Germany he entered the

* The editor is an Associate Professor of History at North Texas State University at Denton, Texas, and the article is based on letters, newspaper clippings, memorabilia and a scrapbook in the possession of Cyrus Leland Finley.

Officers Reserve Corps at the Logan H. Roots Training Camp near Little Rock, Arkansas, and was commissioned captain in the Quartermaster's Corps. Assigned to the 162nd Depot Brigade, at Camp Pike, Arkansas, his service ended in 1919, after he had risen to the rank of major. Meanwhile, the Finleys had inherited a considerable estate upon the death of Cyrus Leland, Jr., who had been a well-to-do merchant, manufacturer and farmer as well as a political boss.

In 1921, the family moved to Norman, Oklahoma where their two children could attend the University of Oklahoma. Two years later, Finley was reappointed clerk of Judge Cottrell's court. He died of a heart ailment on February 17, 1927, at the age of fifty-three. Among other pursuits, Finley had been active in Republican politics, a leader of veteran groups and an avid sportsman. His recollections of pioneer days follows:



The first part of Oklahoma was thrown open to settlement on Monday noon, April 22nd, 1889. On Sunday night preceding the eventful day the glimmering fires from a thousand camps encircled the "promised land." Here, 60 miles from civilization, was encamped the advance guard of Oklahoma state-hood—yet an army in itself. At Buffalo Springs just north of the Oklahoma line ten thousand "boomers" were gathered and waited over Sunday for the opening day. Here they were held by the U.S. troops until Monday morning when they were permitted to move up to the border and to line up for the race.

Sunday was a restless one for many and this spirit found an outlet in various ways. The pilgrim fathers confined themselves to religious services before taking possession of their new homes, but your modern American crowd is more diversified. Religious services were held, it is true, and were participated in by an immense crowd; but base-ball also furnished attraction for hundreds and horse-racing, foot-racing, wrestling and shooting each had its crowd of followers and contributed to the days programme. And with these different events all going on at the same time in close proximity to each other the effect was at times ludicrous. Standing between the "church-goers" and the base-ball "rooters," one would hear the invocation of the preacher emphasized by the fervent amen! of the worshipers, but often broken into by the frantic slide!, slide! of the base-ball "fans." These conflicting and discordant sounds could be heard throughout the greater part of the day and a seeming rivalry existed as to which element would ultimately survive. But when the improvised choir struck up singing "I've reached the land of corn and wine," the church element had everything their own way. The stragglers, horse-racers, foot-racers, base-ball crowd, players and all, joined

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the congregation in a mighty chorus. The words of that song touched a chord that vibrated alike in the hearts of all.

The story of the race on the succeeding day has been often told but no pen can picture the excitement and the thrill that filled the breasts of the actual participants in that event.

The second rush for homes occurred in 1890 when the Sac and Fox lands were opened to settlement. The third in 1891 at the opening of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe country, and the fourth in 1893 when the settlement of the Cherokee Strip witnessed the last and the greatest race of all. The fifth and last opening was that of the Kiowa and Comanche lands in 1901 when the lands were distributed by drawing.

Incidents both humorous and tragic have accompanied all of the races for these lands. But the latter have been few—remarkably so considering the thousands engaged, the recklessness of such a race and the stakes for which all were playing.

At the opening of the "Cherokee Strip," from the line just north of Hennessey, Oklahoma, the Rock Island hauled a train of cattle cars filled to the doors with seething humanity. Even the roofs of these cars were crowded while many more were clinging to the ends and sides where ever they could secure a hold. The greater part of these "passengers" were bound for Enid and other town-sites but some depended on dropping off the moving train and staking claims even at the risk of their necks.

On a grade where the heavy train was obliged to slow up, two men unbeknown to each other decided that an adjoining claim would suit them and both jumped at the same time. On regaining their feet they saw each other and it then became a frantic scramble to get first over the five wire fence bounding the railroad right-of-way and separating both from their prospective claim. The first man to reach the fence, mounted it safely, but alas for him in his haste he swung off before he was clear, and plunging head downward, he hung dangling by the seat of his trowsers, securely fastened to the top wire.

He was hopelessly handicapped and his competitor, after taking in the situation, calmly proceeded to stake his claim and to dig a few holes for first improvements, after which he liberated his luckless rival.

In this same race and from the same starting point, shortly before the signal was given, a father and two grown sons from Nebraska were carressing a magnificent team of blooded horses and talking confidently of their chances in the race. Within 24 hours after the start father and sons were stretched cold and stark on the prairie, their hair and eyebrows coated with the dust of the trail and the ashes from their smoldering campfire. All three were victims of the murderous winchester in the hands of a contesting

homesteader. Nor was this all: A few days after, a farmer plowing in the older portion of Oklahoma, was attracted by a shout and glancing toward the trail saw, through a cloud of dust, a farm wagon coming with horses in full trot. The driver was riding on the tongue of the wagon and he recognized him as the undertakers son from the nearest town. He was only a boy and as he rattled past he held his nose and made impish grimaces and gestures back toward the bed of the wagon. Looking in the direction indicated the farmer grew pale and sick. For as the wagon bounced and jolted along, a rigid, open hand kept darting above the side-boards. It was a grewsome [sic] load of three. Such a short time before full of life and buoyant with hope, and now—this. Others had won but they had lost.

In all of these different races the great bane of the honest home seeker was the "sooner." This was the term applied to the unscrupulous person who entered the forbidden borders before the lawful time. He would secrete himself in the timbered [river] bottoms until the appointed hour and would then come forth and stake his claim. By the time his more honest competitor arrived after a twenty mile run from the distant border the "sooner" would have his improvements well under way. Stories are thick in Oklahoma of men making long runs on fleet-footed horses only to find others ahead of them working with heavy teams—and in some instances plowing with oxen. On such occasions small patches of corn and garden truck have been found which seemingly have sprouted and made a growth of 6 or 8 inches in less than an hours time.

However many of these "sooners" found thorns among their roses in the shape of perjury trials when they came to prove their homesteads. And that all of them were not successful in the first instance is illustrated by the following incident:

One of this energetic class of land-grabbers had hidden himself in the timber on Skeleton Creek for weeks prior to the opening day.¹ Being many miles within the border, and not wishing to spoil his chances by displaying too much eagerness, he remained faithfully hidden in his dug-out until the exact hour, 12 oclock. But others of his class evidently were not so scrupulous, and when he finally ventured forth on the hour he was dismayed to find the whole valley alive with men and horses. Packing up his traps he started back for the "states," reviling bitterly against Oklahoma, the country where, as he put it, there was no chance for an "honest sooner."

Many were the schemes devised for avoiding the strict provisions of the homestead act in taking claims. Instances are common in Kansas and other

¹ Skeleton Creek runs to the south, east of Enid and Hennessey, and then turns east, north of Guthrie, Oklahoma, on its way to the Arkansas River.

The opening of the Cherokee Strip in 1893 resulted in a rush for new homes by all means of transportation



states of men having deeded valuable farms to their wives in order to escape that part of the law that bars the owner of 160 acres. But claims having been proved up and then sold the wives have not always been willing to deed back the lands thus acquired, and the divorce courts have disclosed the fact, that in some instances at least, the wife on obtaining in this way the whip-hand has known how to use it to the discomfiture of the husband.

The homestead law fixes an age limit of 21 years for an applicant for lands, but permits a younger man to take a claim if he is the head of a family. This last provision has been the saving clause for many a young farmer who by taking a wife has been able to secure a choice farm. And doubtless in most of the border counties the probate judges fees would show

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OKLAHOMA PIONEER



a marked increase during the period immediately proceeding one of these openings.

A youth of 19 near Hennessey Oklahoma fitted himself in this way for the "Cherokee Strip" opening, but by premature boasting of his acuteness he paved the way for future mortification. When the time came he made a splendid race and was successful in securing one of the finest quarter-sections on Turkey Creek without a contestant in sight.² But when the dust of the race had time to settle his honey-moon became suddenly clouded. The surveyors chain disclosed the fact that he had settled on one of the many sections reserved for school purposes.

² Turkey Creek is west of Enid and runs south into the Cimarron River near Kingfisher, Oklahoma.

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But marriages have not always been hastened by the opening of new lands. Where the young man and the young woman were both of age they have been known to take adjoining claims and postpone their wedding day until both acquired title. In this way they could start in their married life with a farm of 320 acres instead of the usual 160 acres. In neighborhood gossip it has been even claimed that divorces had been secured for no other purpose than to enable both husband and wife to prove a claim and after making their final proof to the land, they would become re-united.

One phase of human nature was illustrated by several thousand boomers in the race of 1889. Their starting point was the intersection of the old Chisholm trail with the Oklahoma line 21 miles north of Kingfisher. From the line, a flat stretch of prairie land reached for 5 miles straight ahead to the heavy timbered land beyond. This long stretch of timber was plainly visible to the crowd waiting for the signal to start. When the signal was given the impatient army of home seekers raced madly over the flat prairie for the timbered land in the distance and the unknown country beyond. Some horsemen stopped on the flat and quite a number of heavy wagons; their drivers seeming to think that they had better take such land as they could get. But some of this land was left without a claimant for weeks after the opening day. These same farms, passed over on that day are now selling for \$3000 to \$6,000 and there is no better land in the Territory. The lands in the timber will not bring one third of that.

One of the men who passed this land by and ran until his horse was exhausted without securing a claim, summed the situation up for all of them when he said: Well, I might have had one of these farms by walking in and taking it, but you see, I came down here for a race and I reckon I had to have it—even if I had to run for it.

This same man was something of a wag in his way, and at one time in discussing the prosperity of Oklahoma, he delivered himself of the following: "Talking of the prosperity of this country," he said, "why, when I came to Oklahoma I didn't have a rag on my back"—and after giving this statement time to impress itself he continued—"And now look at me, I'm covered with rags."

A doctors wife whose husband was sick in bed, took his horse in this race and rode to the town-site of Enid, a distance of about 18 miles from the south line. She was a frail woman but her light weight was an advantage to her horse and she was among the first to reach the town-site. She rode straight to the main business part of town, that was to be, and quickly dismounting drove her stakes. Then womanlike she fainted. Some soldiers stationed at the land office nearby hastened to assist her and observing that she had staked her lot in a public street, they hastily moved her onto an

adjoining corner lot and securely staked it for her by the time the crowd raced in.

The favorite mount for a race of this kind, and on the average the most successful, was a medium sized horse or native cow-pony or eight or nine hundred pounds weight. Blooded race animals have been used with success on the level roads or trails, but for cross country riding through prairie dog towns and the rough land in draws or breaks they were more dangerous for the rider. The small Texas and Indian ponies, while sure-footed and tough as sole-leather, were handicapped by their size when it came to carrying a full grown man in a race of eighteen or twenty miles. Yet they were popular mounts and in some instances made remarkable records for themselves and their riders.

The settlement of the Kiowa and Commanche country in 1901 was the last great opening to swell the population of Oklahoma. There was no wild race for these lands such as had marked the previous history of the Territory. Instead the government had an immense drawing at El Reno, Oklahoma, to which more than one hundred and sixty thousand eager land seekers rushed to register their names and secure a chance in the grand lottery. So great was the rush that the railroads were congested and passengers were content to enter El Reno on the tops of passenger coaches, in box-cars, coal-cars and even in cattle cars—and they left that place in the same manner.

INDIAN STUDIES RESOURCES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TULSA

*By Guy Logsdon**

The foundation for research in American Indian history, education, language and law at The University of Tulsa is the Worcester-Robertson Family Papers, usually referred to as the Alice Robertson Collection. It is composed of letters, articles, photographs, newspapers, books and artifacts that span approximately 116 years of Indian Territory and Oklahoma history along with 3 generations of the Worcester-Robertson family. Most of the family years were spent as missionary-teachers among the Cherokee and Creek Indians.

The earliest letter is from Samuel Austin Worcester to his cousin Hannah, dated October 10, 1815, and the last letter is from Alice Robertson to Lew Wentz, dated January 14, 1932, which actually should be 1931. There are 2,713 calendared letters along with approximately 2,500 other items.

The collection was given to the University of Tulsa in the summer of 1930 by Alice Robertson (letter-2498), who among her numerous accomplishments had nourished and directed the Presbyterian School for Indian Girls in Muskogee, Oklahoma, through five difficult years. The girls' school became Henry Kendall College in 1894. It was moved to Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1907, and was renamed The University of Tulsa in 1920.

Miss Alice, the name by which she became affectionately and respectfully known, maintained a lasting interest in the University of Tulsa even though she had limited contact with it after 1900. However, she was of the opinion that it was her efforts as superintendent of the Presbyterian School for Indian Girls from 1885-1890 that gave life to the university, and she considered the university's existence to be her "greatest achievement" (letter-2076). While she assumed more credit for the establishment of Henry Kendall College than can be verified, it is certain that without her hard work and devotion the girls' school, which was established in 1882, would have died in 1885, for those three years were years of strife and poverty. She actually saved the school. It was her decision to place her collection with the University of Tulsa, and her relatives agreed that the other family papers in her possession should remain as a part of the collection.

Samuel Austin Worcester was the grandfather of Alice and was a prominent missionary and translator among the Cherokees. He became a missionary in 1825 and was stationed at Brainard Mission in Tennessee until

* The author is currently the Director of the McFarlin Library, University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

1827 when he moved to New Echota, Georgia. Worcester help establish the newspaper *Cherokee Phoenix* after having had type cast in Sequoyah's Cherokee alphabet; throughout his life, he had many translations and tracts printed on the Cherokee press.

In 1831 he was arrested and sentenced to four years imprisonment by officials of Georgia for violating state statutes that required an oath of allegiance to the state and a license to live among the Indians. Worcester was released from prison on January 14, 1833. He continued his work among the Cherokees west of the Mississippi from May, 1835 until his death on April 20, 1859.

In Indian Territory in 1835 Worcester established at Union Mission the first press in the territory. Soon afterward he moved the press to Park Hill where it served the Cherokee Nation for many decades. Worcester's many contributions to Indian culture have been chronicled numerous times with much documentation from the Worcester-Robertson papers.

The collection contains his journal for the dates August 30, 1824 to January 12, 1825; January 21, 1825 to April 18, 1825; and November 3, 1825 to December 29, 1830. A typescript is available for the last portion of the journal, having been copied by Colonel O. W. Hoop of the Tulsa University History Department sometime in the late 1930s. The journal is primarily a record of his and other missionaries' preaching activities. Also, there is a small chest that was made by Worcester while he was imprisoned in Georgia, and there are some Worcester letters.

On July 1, 1849 William Schenck Robertson arrived in the Creek Nation from New York to serve as the principal of Tullahassee Mission which was operated by the Presbyterian Church in the United States and which had been established west of the Three Forks of the Arkansas, Grand and Verdigris rivers. Being near Park Hill in the Cherokee Nation, and needing to visit mission schools, Robertson traveled to Park Hill to visit Worcester. There he met and courted Ann Eliza, a daughter of Samuel Worcester. They were married on April 16, 1850, and remained in various educational capacities among the Creeks for the remainder of their lives with the exception of five years during the Civil War. William Schenck died on June 26, 1881 at Tullahassee Mission, and Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson died on November 9, 1905 in Muskogee, having served the last seventeen years of her life as Creek translator and interpreter for the Presbyterian School for Indian Girls and Henry Kendall College.

Five children were born of them of whom four survived. The second child was Alice Mary, who was born on January 2, 1854. The children were equally as devoted to the Creek Indians and to their religious convictions as were their parents, but it was William and Ann Eliza who served as trans-



Alice M. Robertson whose papers form a large part of the Worcester-Robertson Family Papers at the University of Tulsa

lators, writers, and publishers of numerous Creek educational and religious texts, tracts, and testaments.

Alice left the family in 1871 to attend Elmira College in New York where she remained until 1873. For the next seven years she worked as a clerk in the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington and in 1880 became a secretary at Carlisle Indian School. Returning to Indian Territory in 1882, Alice taught school for the Creek Nation in Okmulgee until 1885 when she assumed responsibility for the girls' school.

Alice Robertson's activities included the position of Federal Supervisory of Schools for the Creek Nation from 1900 to 1905, postmistress of Muskogee from 1905 to 1913, operator of the Sawokla farm near Muskogee and the Sawokla Cafeteria in Muskogee from a few years after 1913 and after 1922, Congresswoman from 1921 to 1923 and ultimately retirement in Muskogee. She was an avid Republican and temperance worker as well as an early advocate of equality for women. Unfortunately, in her retirement years she was at times nearly destitute.

Miss Alice had intended to give most of her papers to the Oklahoma Historical Society, but her financial condition was such that when the Chancellor of The University of Tulsa, John Duncan Finlayson, in 1928 became interested in her collection enough to provide occasional attention, transportation, and kindness, she decided to give it to the university. This attention and the obvious durability and future of the school renewed her interest in the university. Another factor in swaying her interest was the construction and completion of McFarlin Library in the spring of 1930, a safe, fireproof building that would house the collection. Approximately a year before her death, which was on July 1, 1931, the collection was moved to the University of Tulsa.

It is difficult to completely separate the three generations in a description of the Worcester-Robertson Collection, for much is interwoven and related. However, the various types of material and items that were received at later dates from other family members made groupings possible. A group of seventy-nine family letters received in 1960 are listed as "MR" letters, and there is a group from Reverend Timothy Hill who was a contemporary of the family during the last half of the nineteenth century. It is listed as the "Hill Series." Other groups or lists are "Photographs," "Creek Language Papers," "Writings," "Books," "Pamphlet Material" and "Family Letters."

One important periodical set is the *Our Monthly* which was the Tullahassee Mission school publication. There are four volumes from 1872 to 1875, all printed on the Tullahassee Mission press. Issues one thru five of the first volume are the handwritten manuscripts as well as printed issues. It is probable that this is the only complete set. Also, there are two sets of galley

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proofs of Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson's Creek publications with copious notes in her handwriting.

The "Writings" are fourteen folders that contain writings by John Fleming, Hannah Worcester Hitchcock, Timothy Hill, A. E. W. Robertson and Alice Robertson. The articles are diverse in topics that range from biographies to histories of missions.

The "Family Letters" cover all aspects of family life in Indian Territory as well as the attitudes and problems of Miss Alice during her career. Also, there are typed copies of the original letters and of the "Writings." The copies were made under the direction of Althea Bass during the mid-1930s as a Works Progress Administration project.

There are letters in the Creek language, mostly written to Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson, and there are numerous Creek language materials, mostly written by Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson. They include notebooks, pupils, exercise books, translations of books of the Bible and of hymns, a draft of a Creek dictionary and much unidentified material.

The photographs are divided into numbered and, sometimes, identified photographs. While the exact number has not been determined, there are 276 numbered-identified photos and 20 separate groups of photos. The numbered photos are generally of the family, various mission, missionaries, and Indians. The groups of photos are subjects such as "Choctaw Indians," "Indian Women," "Indian Territory Scenes," "Negro Schools," "Snapshots" and "Carlisle Indian School." Also, it is necessary to note that there are numerous printed items that still are not cataloged or calendared.

The organization of the materials, was, in part, the efforts of the Works Progress Administration workers directed by Althea Bass; however, they copied and calendared only the "Letters" and "Writings." The rest of the organization and calendaring was the voluntary efforts of Hope Holway, Clare Kerr and Ann Wilke—three Tulsans who became devoted to making the collection usable. Hope Holway was equally devoted to similar projects in other libraries and was known for her research and writings about Oklahoma. She worked one day each week for three years in McFarlin Library in order to organize the collection, and she called upon the other two ladies for assistance. The project was completed during the years 1958 to 1961; the value of the efforts of the three volunteers cannot be over emphasized. The Alice Robertson Collection is a major Indian Territory-Oklahoma history resource, and they made it usable for the convenience of researchers.

Numerous scholars have utilized the collection, and while books, theses, dissertations and articles have been written from the resources, it still has limitless potential. Also, other collections that have been acquired in recent years by The University of Tulsa complement the Robertson Collection.

OUR MONTHLY

FEB. 1878.

TULLAHASSEE CREEK NATION

VOL. 2

NO. 1

Normal No. 1.

The following lessons are prepared to illustrate the method of teaching words, and their meaning in connection with the letters.

This mode is based on the experience of many years, at TULLAHASSEE and is believed to be far more successful, than the usual method of teaching first the letters; and next long senseless columns of syllables or words, then, weaving some pages of an unknown tongue, through which the learner plods wearily on. "Like a blind horse in a mill."

But let him be taught the meanings of words, and recognise them, not as the sign of (to him) an unmeaning sound, but of an idea, that "Rats eat corn" is "Cesse vceen lokes."—That "Boys chase rabbits, is "Cepane ke cufen asseceet omes" and his interest will be awakened, his mind will be aroused, and he will thenceforth read, not as a parrot, but as a man.

As soon as the child has learned a word, he should be taught to print it on his slate. A few days will enable him to do this very well, "Putting it on the slate will put it in his mind." Put the lesson, on the blackboard for your classes to read and copy.

We regret that our office affords no cuts to illustrate our lessons.

Capitals have been purposely omitted. They should not be taught, until the class have learned the small letters.

LESSONS.

ox ox ox ox
fox fox fox
boy boy boy
girl girl girl
dog dog dog
cat cat cat
good good
bad bad bad
good boy
good girl
good dog
bad boy
bad girl
good cat
bad cat
black dog
white cat
fat ox
black boy
bad fox
white girl
black ox
black fox
white fox
red fox
red ox
old ox
old cat
old dog
fat ox
a big ox
let him go
a fat pig can it run?
Ko taye haKa?
a red apple

RECITV.

wakv wakv
cula cula cula
cepane
hoktuce
efv efv efv
pose pose pose
here here here
holwvke
cepane here
hoktuce here
efv here
cepane holwvke
hoktuce holwvke
pose here
pose holwvke
efv lvste
pose hvtke
wakv nehe
cepane lvste
culv holwvke
hoktuce hvtke
tohvlav lvste
culv lvste
culv hvtke
culv cate
tohvlav cate
tohvlav acule
pose acule
efv acule
tohvlav nehe
tohvlav rakke
ayepekvs
sukhcue nehe let-
a red cow waKv cate
svtv rakko cate

Our Monthly published by the Tullahassee Mission—possibly the only complete set is found at the University of Tulsa

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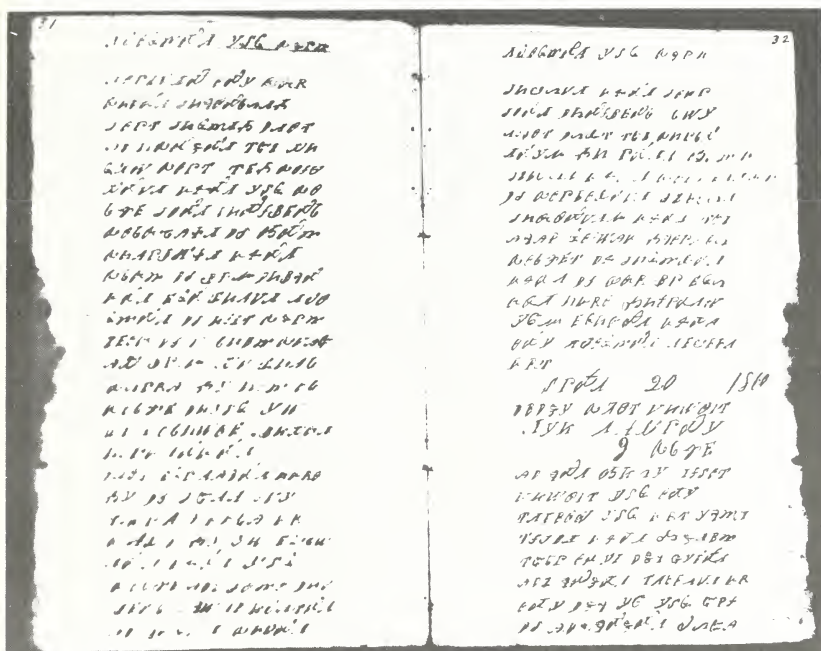
Other Indian items in printed form were obtained through the years following the acquisition of the Robertson-Worcester papers, but virtually no manuscripts were acquired. However, as a private institution that was founded by the Presbyterian Church, denominational ties were maintained, although the governance was a board of trustees, not the Church. As a result of the relationship, many Presbyterian imprints were added to the library collection. Such titles as the *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* provide information about mission, missionaries, funding, and numbers of students in Presbyterian Indian missions. The annual minutes in McFarlin Library start with 1790-1791 and continue to the present; only a few years are missing.

An important newspaper in the Indian collection has been pieced together from different gifts; it is *Our Brother In Red* which was published in Muskogee, Creek Nation, 1882-1895. While a complete run is not owned, a significant number of issues are available. Also, the *Baptist Missionary Magazine* is another denominational title of research value; again, some years are missing, but all issues from Volume I, 1817 to Volume XXVII, 1847 are available. Another title *The Missionary Herald* has issues missing, but the McFarlin Library set from Volume XV, 1819 to Volume XCV, 1899 contains a substantial number of annual issues.

In the late 1940s a University of Tulsa student, Robert Gilmore, was researching the life of Robert McGill Loughridge for his thesis. In searching for primary source material, he requested that the librarian obtain items on microfilm from the Presbyterian Historical Society. *The Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church* from 1838 through 1887, which were its years of existence, were obtained along with the "Amercian Indian Correspondence," which are letters from Presbyterian missionaries between 1841 to 1886. The letters were selected by Gilmore for filming and are on fifteen reels of film. Also, two reels of the "Correspondence in the Collection of Letters of Presbyterian Missionary, from Robert McGill Loughridge" provide much Creek Indian History.

In 1951 a microfilm copy of the "Kee-too-Wah Society Laws" in both Cherokee and English was filmed. The original was in the hands of a private collector, and its ultimate fate is not known. While the microfilm items are less desirable than the originals, they do provide research material that normally would require much traveling to use.

In 1974 the collection of a former Tulsan, Richard Tenney, was donated by his family. It is composed of various Indian histories and numerous small, almost esoteric, Oklahoma imprints. Limited manuscript material was collected; its strength is in scarce secondary imprints. In the fall of 1974 the collection of another Tulsan, Robert Shaw, was acquired; it is still being



A portion of the "Kee-too-Wah" Society Minutes found in the Indian Studies Resources at the University of Tulsa McFarlin Library

processed. It contains letters from prominent Indians and Oklahoma political leaders along with various imprints. Its weakness is that it is a collection where one or two items from many people were sought, instead of an in-depth collection of a single person. However, one significant letter from David Folsom to Reverend Cyrus Byington, who was at Mayhew, Choctaw Nation, is dated December 24, 1824, Washington; it is Folsom's account of the death of Pushma-tah-hah. The opening line states that ". . . Chief Pushma-tah-hah is no more. . . ;" on the next four pages he also expresses pessimism about the future of the Choctaws.

Indian history studies and research materials in McFarlin Library were given an unexpected expansion in late 1975 when the collection of John W. Shleppey was received. It is a collection of approximately 6,000 items that include books, photographs, United States Government documents, periodicals and manuscripts. The University of Tulsa officials had no knowledge about the collection; it came as a complete surprise. Also, it was the wish of

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Shleppey that if the University did not want the collection it was to go to Yale University.

John W. Shleppey was born in Prescott, Arizona on March 25, 1901, the son of a sign painter. Apparently the family moved with frequency. In 1918 they moved to Tulsa where his father established the G. R. Shleppey Sign Company. Shleppey graduated from Tulsa Central High School and attended the University of Tulsa for a limited time. In the early 1920s he assumed control of the family business, which he developed into the Shleppey Outdoor Advertising Company. As a keen competitor Shleppey directed his company into the leading outdoor advertising company in the area. The company was sold in 1957, and he and his wife moved to Seattle, Washington, taking the book collection with them. Shleppey operated out of his home, on a limited basis, as a rare book dealer until his death on September 11, 1975.

It is not known when he started collecting, but it is assumed, with some evidence, that his activities as a Boy Scout introduced Indian culture to him. His serious collecting started in the early 1920s, and his method of collection was to attend Indian churches and to worship with them. After church he often ate with Indian families and let them know that he would buy what they had to sell. Thus, he patiently amassed one of the finest collections in private hands; yet, very few bookmen and scholars knew that he was a collector. The major book dealers were aware of his interests which were primarily Cherokee imprints with the other Civilized Nations in a secondary role. In Seattle he collected some histories of Northeast Coast Indians.

While the collection is usable on a limited basis, the processing and cataloging is yet to be started. However, some highlights can be mentioned. The rare first edition of the Thomas McKenney and James Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* (Philadelphia, 1837), three volumes, is supported by a copy of all subsequent printings. Another extremely rare title is James Adair's *The History of the American Indian* (London, 1775). Numerous titles of similar scarcity are in the collection.

Many mission and missionary histories, travel accounts, histories of states in which the five nations resided, and captivity narratives are part of the estimated 3,000 volumes of books. Disbound documents from the United States Government Serials set that pertain to Indians total approximately 1,500; many of these items are extremely rare. Other documents such as Indian laws, treaties, Commissioner of Indian Affairs reports, hearings and other publications of the United States Government compose a major Indian law collection. Two examples are *Debate, In The House of Representatives of the United States on the Seminole War In January and February, 1819*



John W. Shleppey whose collection forms an important part of primary source material at the McFarlin Library

(Washington, 1819) 519 pages and *Correspondence on the Subject of the Emigration of Indians . . .*, 1st Session, 23rd Congress, 1833-1834 (Washington, 1835) five volumes.

Periodicals and annual reports vary from scarce to current titles; most titles are not complete sets. An unusual title is *The Osage Magazine* (Pawhuska) 1909-1910; it is a rare Oklahoma periodical. The reports of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions are nearly complete; issues of the Cherokee *Phoenix/Advocate* range from 1831 to the turn of the century with the greatest number of issues after the 1880s. Another Cherokee mission title with numerous issues is *Gospel Tidings*; combined with issues in other collections, there will be a nearly complete run. Also, there are considerable numbers of publications of the Indian Rights Association.

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The photographs are predominately of Cherokees; only a few portraits are identified while most of the scenes are identified. There are a few tin-types, and a few photographs of Indians around Taos, New Mexico, create another dimension. Also, Shleppey kept hundreds of photographs of the Tulsa area, most of which were used for outdoor advertising purposes. Shleppey and Shaw collected picture postcards, and there are over two thousand postcards of scenes in Indian Territory, of Oklahoma communities, of Indian portraits and activities, and of general Oklahoma interests such as various oil fields.

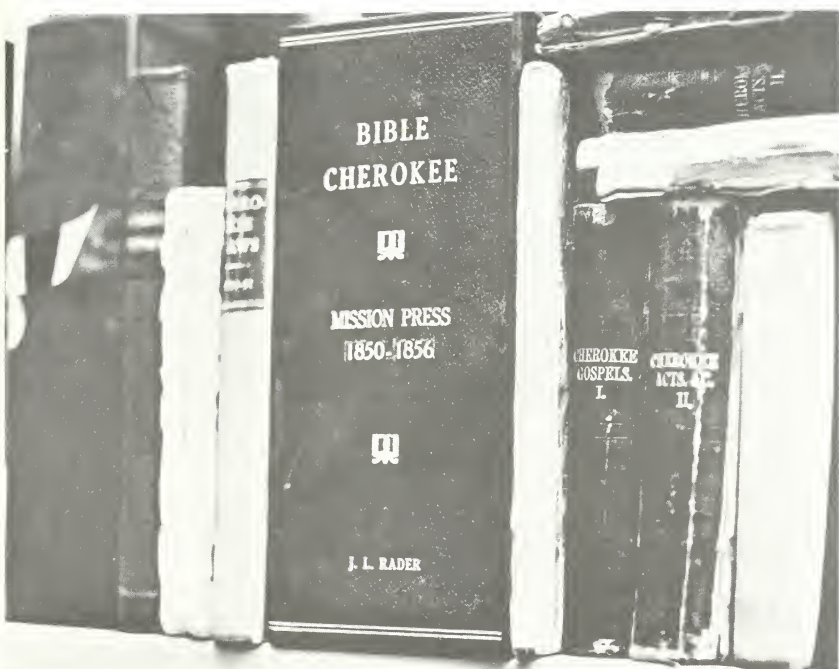
A few items of unusual research value are the muster rolls from Fort Gibson from the years 1843 to 1848, the handwritten old settlers' roll of the Cherokee Nation for 1898, and the 1854 treaty between the United States and the Otto-Missourias. The treaty is 26 inches by 28 inches on sheepskin and in longhand; another copy is in National Archives. There are four general orders broadsides issued in 1862 by Adjutant General Fayette Hewitt of the Confederate Army stationed at Fort McColloch, Indian Territory.

There is a handwritten brand book with numerous ranches listed. The exact date of compilation is not known, and it appears to be a list of the northeastern portion of Indian Territory, not one particular nation. Another brand book is the 1902 edition of the Choctaw Livestock Protective Association, Lehigh, Choctaw Nation.

Cherokee material represents the largest selection, and it is impossible, at this time, to list more than a sampling. Many of the printed items possibly will prove to be the only known copies. One such item is James W. Mahoney's *The Cherokee Physician, or Indian Guide to Health, as given by Richard Foreman, a Cherokee Doctor* (Chattanooga, 1846). The second edition, 1849, and third edition, 1857, have been recorded as extremely rare items, but no listing of the 1846 edition is known. Also, sheet music, that was issued in honor of John Ross at the time of his death in 1866, is one of only two known copies.

Shleppey collected anything of Cherokee interest. It did not have to be printed or written; he found type fonts of the Cherokee syllabary. He, also, encouraged a Cherokee lady from Tahlequah, Oklahoma, Mollie Terrapin, to work with him in compiling a Cherokee dictionary, which was never printed. The manuscript of the dictionary and numerous letters that are dated in 1946 require about one linear foot of space. While other Cherokee dictionaries are available, this material may prove to be of great value in future scholarship.

Other Cherokee manuscripts include Kee-too-Wah Society minutes, in Cherokee, for the years from 1859-1870, approximately 190 pages. The "Platform of the National Party of the Cherokee Nation," adopted November 23, 1874 is a four page manuscript which is among many manuscript



A portion of the Cherokee Imprints from the John W. Shleppey Collection located in the McFarlin Library, University of Tulsa

copies of petitions, appeals, resolutions, bills, acts and letters. There are church records, personal ledgers and diaries, many of which are in the Cherokee language. Official ledgers include the "Male Seminary Account Ledger, 1878," "Male Seminary Ledger, 1898-99," "Female Seminary Ledger, 1879-1880," and "Amounts Appropriated by the National Council [Cherokee] for Educational Purposes and How Disposed, 1875-1893."

Shleppey collected numerous editions and printings of the constitution and laws of the Cherokee Nation as well as many small religious tracts and Bible printings from the 1830s to the present. He found numerous broadsides, annual reports and messages, proclamations and treaties. In time, it may prove to be the largest cumulation of Cherokee imprints in one location.

Choctaw material is significant in quantity with similar items as found in the Cherokee section. The largest quantity of manuscript items are Amos Henry ledgers and letters. Henry was a Choctaw citizen and National Trustee; the ledgers are in English and Choctaw. One dates from 1885 to

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1916 with 200 pages and the other is dated 1876 with 128 pages. The letters are mostly those received by Henry.

The imprints include religious materials as well as laws, constitutions, treaties, educational texts, and religious imprints. There are Political items such as *The Progressive Party Platform, 1891* and *the Platform of the Tuskahoma Party Adopted June 16, 1903*. The total amount of Choctaw imprints is not as large as the Cherokee collection.

Valuable Chickasaw manuscripts are two ledgers of court records. One is titled "Court Records Tishomingo City, Chickasaw Nation, November 23, 1857—September 19, 1873," with 236 pages. The other is titled "Supreme Court. Chickasaw Nation, Tishomingo, 1886—1901" with 96 pages. Also, there are only a few similar imprints as mentioned in the other collections.

Only one manuscript item is from the Creek Nation; it is "Western Creek Nation. Grand Council Records, 1835—37, Council House (Okmulgee), Creek Nation" and is fourteen pages in length. However, many Creek imprints, similar to the other collections, are available.

Only a small amount of Seminole material is available; however, there are numerous imprints from the general Indian Territory boundaries. Examples are *Proceedings of the First Meeting of the Indian Territory Bar Association* (South McAlester, Indian Territory, February 22, 1900) and the *Course of Study and Guide for Teachers to be used in the Schools of the Indian Territory* (Muscogee, Indian Territory, September 1, 1899). There are many imprints that pertain to the Dawes Commission and to the Sequoyah question and activities.

Two volumes of letters are other manuscripts of great research value; however, they are copies from the old letter press copy method. It is assumed that many of the original letters are in the National Archives. One volume is "Records of U.S. Indian Agent, John C. Smith and others, Pawnee Agency, I.T., July 8, 1879—May 21, 1881" with 496 pages. The other is "Letters, Ponca Agency, Baxter Springs, September 13, 1877—Ponca Agency, I.T., August 31, 1879" with 465 pages. Also, it is important to mention that numerous maps are available from all of the collections.

When the Shleppeys moved to Seattle, he sold the Lilah Lindsey papers to Mrs. Fannie Misch of Tulsa. When and how Shleppey acquired the collection is not known, but on the day that he moved, Mrs. Misch acquired the collection. Many items such as Lindsey's library were not included in the transfer; the University of Tulsa recently obtained the entire Lilah Lindsey collection from Mrs. Misch. Therefore, by combining the items, the Lindsey collection is a good representation of an Indian Territory teacher's life. Also, Lilah Lindsey was an Indian girl who attended Tullahassee Mission, and she was a political and temperance leader. Unfor-

tunately, as with the other collections, a complete manuscript inventory is not available.

Another Indian collection of potential importance is a collection of contemporary items that were donated by W. E. "Dode" McIntosh, who was Principal Chief of the Creek Nation for approximately the decade of the 1960s. The items are reports, minutes, and related materials from the meetings that were attended in an official capacity by Chief McIntosh.

Numerous Indian research resources have been acquired on microfilm from a variety of sources; and most of these materials can be found in other libraries in Oklahoma. However, when they are combined with the collections in McFarlin Library, they help to make the University of Tulsa a major Indian research center. The present weakness is the lack of catalog of the imprints and an inventory of the manuscripts and archival items.

HENRY KAMP AND CULTURAL PLURALISM IN OKLAHOMA CITY

By Harris J. Elder*

On April 22, 1910, a twenty-five year-old immigrant from Germany stepped off the train in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma to be greeted by an "Eighty-Niners' Day" parade. Delighted by this unanticipated reception, he marched behind the band for nearly five miles—all the way to the old fairgrounds.¹ Sixty-five years later, friends and customers helped him celebrate his ninety-th birthday in the grocery store he opened three months after his arrival in Oklahoma City.

Kamp came to Oklahoma City near the end of a century-long wave of immigration to the United States. From 1820 to 1910, nearly 28,000,000 people came to America in search of opportunity. The German Empire contributed 5,351,746 of that total; only the United Kingdom supplied a greater number of uprooted Europeans.² Little wonder that more has been spoken and written about German immigrants in our population than about any other European ethnic group. Nearly one-third of these millions came to America during the decade from 1901 to 1910.³ In 1906, the year Henry Kamp emigrated from Germany, 1,285,349 foreign born came to the United States. By 1910, the total number living in the country accounted for roughly one-seventh of the population.⁴ Even with steadily mounting fear and suspicion directed against the "new immigration," more than three quarters of a million Germans entered the country in the decade prior to World War I and continued to provide significant numbers of those emigrating to the United States.⁵ But statistics alone cannot describe their acculturation.

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¹ Interview, Henry Kamp, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, January 31, 1971.

² United States Senate, *Report of the Immigration Commission*, 61st Congress, 3rd Session (42 Vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), Vol. I, pp. 56, 65.

³ George M. Stephenson, *A History of American Immigration, 1820-1924* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1964), p. 42. Total immigration from all countries for 1901 to 1910 was 8,795,386. United States Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, 61st Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. I, p. 57.

⁴ Total foreign born living in the United States in 1910 was 13,4500,000. United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1960), pp. 56-59.

⁵ The new immigration was three and one-half times the size of the old. Fewer came from Germany, Scandinavia, the Low Countries and the British Isles. United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910, Population*, (3 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), Vol. I, pp. 174-175. Totals for German immigration into the United States are: 1906: 86,813; 1907: 92,936; 1908: 73,038; 1909: 58,534; 1910: 71,380. United States Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, 61st Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. III, p. 45.

Three basic theories of assimilation dominate immigration thought. Americanization, the most prevalent in our history, insists upon the maintenance of English-oriented cultural patterns as the prevailing norm in American life. Later given the name "anglo-conformity," the attitude was pithily expressed in 1818 by Secretary of State John Quincy Adams: "The immigrants must cast off the European skin, never to resume it."⁶ More tolerant of foreign cultures is the melting pot theory, which holds that the evolving American society is a mixture of European peoples, fused together by American influence and interaction into a distinctively new type. As J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur wrote nearly 200 years ago, "here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world."⁷ Horace M. Kallen's theory of cultural pluralism, the most recent formulation, views American civilization as "a cooperation of cultural diversities . . . the perfection of the cooperative harmonies of 'European civilization' . . . a multiplicity in a unity, an orchestration of mankind."⁸

The assimilation of German immigrants poses a dilemma for students of the subject. While as a group German-Americans readily embraced the American spirit, they tended to retain their language, customs, ideals and attachment to the Fatherland.⁹ In charting the ebb and flow of American nativism, nationalism and resulting xenophobia, John Higham offers a valuable index against which to judge the immigrants' reception in their new home and implicitly invites more detailed studies of the individual immigrant experience.¹⁰ American social and religious historian Timothy L. Smith, who suspects that a "blight of ethnic parochialism" permeates immigration scholarship, believes "assimilation is a more useful perspective than alienation from which to approach the history of twentieth-century immigration." Those immigrants "who nurtured and preserved their nationality's contribution to a culturally plural America" deserve more attention.¹¹

This contribution can best be measured in human terms. Only through the

⁶ Stewart G. Cole and Mildred Wiese Cole, *Minorities and the American Promise* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), chapter 6; *Niles' Weekly Register* (Washington, D.C.), April 29, 1820.

⁷ J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (New York: Albert and Charles Boin, 1925; reprinted from the 1st ed., London, 1782), p. 55.

⁸ Horace M. Kallen, *Culture and Democracy in the United States* (New York: Boin and Liveright, 1924), pp. 116, 124.

⁹ Stephenson, *A History of American Immigration, 1810-1924*, pp. 207-208.

¹⁰ John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1955).

¹¹ Timothy L. Smith, "New Approaches to the History of Immigration in Twentieth-Century America," *American Historical Review*, Vol. LXXI, No. 4 (July, 1966), pp. 1265, 1274, 1267.



Henry H. Kamp's childhood home in Borgholzhausen, Westphalia, Germany

experience of the individual immigrant and his family can an understanding be developed on their response to the currents of opinion that swirled around them. Anti-immigrant sentiments were relatively low when Henry Kamp came to the United States. Yet, only a few years later, World War I generated new suspicion of German-Americans. Many immigrants and immigrant organizations aggressively resisted. The Kamp family, however, met the challenges of their new life with more constructive responses. Rather than react with what were often counterproductive assertions of ethnic pride, Kamp, as patriarch of the family, embraced values of hard work and common humanity.

Late nineteenth-century Germany proved an ideal setting in which to develop those qualities. Henry Herman Kamp was born on March 21, 1885, in Borgholzhausen, Westphalia, Germany, the eldest son of Heinrich Kasper Kamp and Elise Rieke Kamp. Kamp remembers his early childhood as a pleasant one. The Kamps lived in a "nice brick home only a few years old" in their sleepy community of about one thousand inhabitants. Heinrich Kamp was a moderately prosperous farmer who supplemented his income by cabinetmaking. After the death of his first wife in 1896, his children lived with relatives and friends until their father married Anna Witler eighteen

months later. Henry Kamp attended grammar school and worked part-time until age fourteen, when he began apprentice work in the local burgo-master's office. After training as a clerk for three years, he migrated to a nearby industrial town where he worked in a sailcloth mill for two years. Industry was not very appealing, and he enlisted in the German army for three years. The army regimental office eagerly used his clerical experience with the mayor in Borgholzhausen.¹²

While Henry was in the army, his father had visited the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis, Missouri. Two of Heinrich Kamp's brothers and one sister were already settled in St. Louis, where they owned and operated a small distilling business. Henry Kamp recalls vividly his father's observations about the strange land he visited: "He was all enthused about America. . . . How much . . . better it was for his children and for the family to go over there." A man who acted on his convictions, Heinrich emigrated to the United States forthwith. He sold the family property and departed Germany with his wife and five children in July, 1906, leaving behind his son, who was still in the army, and his oldest daughter.¹³

The Kamps relied more on their own judgement than on the advice of Heinrich's brother, who thought emigrants "were the biggest fools . . . ever."¹⁴ For the most part, however, the Kamp migration was a family enterprise, as it was for over forty percent of German emigrants from 1901 to 1910. Regionally, the Kamps were more of an exception. Emigration from Northwestern Germany constituted only one-eighth of German emigration from 1906 to 1910. Heinrich Kamp was among eleven percent of German immigrants admitted to the United States from 1899 to 1910 who had been in the country previously.¹⁵

The Kamp's decision parallels at least one suggested motive for emigration and fits more exactly into another. Certainly the family confronted no economic or social crisis as those described in the recent work of Köllman

¹² Membership Records, Zion United Church of Christ, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Leona P. Kamp, comp., "Family History of Henry Herman Kamp and Anna Marie (Nolte) Kamp," unpublished manuscript, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1971, p. 1; Leona P. Kamp, comp., "Family History of Henry Kasper Kamp and Elise (Rieke) Kamp and Anna (Witler) Kamp," unpublished manuscript, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1971, p. 1; Interview, Henry Kamp, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, April 22, 1974.

¹³ *Ibid.*; *Kirchliches Zeugnis* (Borgholzhausen, Westphalia, n.p., August 8, 1906), includes official church data on Kamp Family prior to emigration.

¹⁴ Interview, Henry Kamp, January 31, 1971.

¹⁵ Wolfgang Köllmann and Peter Marschalck, "German Emigration to the United States," in Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn, eds., *Perspectives in American History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History, 1973), *Dislocation and Emigration: The Social Background of American Immigration*, pp. 544, 535; United States Senate, 61st Congress, 3rd Session, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vol. I, p. 104.

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and Marschalck, but the Kamps knew about their destination and subjectively judged the alternatives.¹⁶ The Kamps were akin to those in another German town where "the values of individuals, not simply the imperatives of economic processes" contributed to the decision.¹⁷ The broad conclusion of the United States Senate Immigration Commission of 1911 accurately described the Kamp motives: "The emigrant of to-day comes to the United States not merely to make a living, but to make a better living than is possible at home."¹⁸

Henry Kamp followed his father's example and his own ambitions and emigrated in November, 1906. The journey was relatively uneventful. Steerage conditions were much improved by 1906, and the voyage from Hamburg, Germany, to New York occupied only twelve days.¹⁹ Heinrich Kamp had arranged for his son's arrival in New York City. A man met the younger Kamp at Ellis Island and directed him to a train for St. Louis where he could join relatives. For the uprooted from foreign lands such companionship proved comforting, and most took advantage of it. In 1908, ninety-four percent of all immigrants joined friends or relatives in America.²⁰

In St. Louis, Henry Kamp learned English in night school. His father worked in the distilling business with his brothers, but his other son had his own plans. He had quickly realized that his new life presented new challenges: "I had to go out and learn for my own self what I was going to do. I had to learn the grocery business in order to do that kind of work." A grocer cousin in St. Louis provided him with the opportunity he needed, but working for someone else was not satisfying. "I was only a clerk there, and I didn't have much to do." Henry Kamp noticed an advertisement in a German-American newspaper about opportunities in Portland, Oregon. An uncle suggested that he stop off in Oklahoma City where he might open a "blind Tiger" or saloon. Henry Kamp laughed at this idea, but did decide to see Oklahoma City.²¹

Oklahoma had experienced rapid settlement in the three years from statehood to 1910, as some 250,000 people flooded into the state. The population of Oklahoma City doubled. By 1910, foreign-born white inhabitants and

¹⁶ Köllmann and Marschalck, "German Emigration to the United States," *Perspectives in American History*, pp. 500-502.

¹⁷ David Crew, "Definitions of Modernity: Social Mobility in a German Town, 1880-1901," *Journal of Social History*, Vol. VII, No. 7 (January, 1973), p. 52.

¹⁸ United States Senate, 61st Congress, 3rd Session, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vol. IV, p. 53.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 295-303.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 363-364; Interview, Henry Kamp, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, January 15, 1975.

²¹ *Ibid.*, January 15, 1975, and January 31, 1971.



Henry H. and Anna Nolte Kamp with their children—left to right—Henry W., Walter and Alfred

their children constituted 5.4 percent of the total population of the state. Germans accounted for one-third of this group. Though most of the state's German-Americans were concentrated in North Central Oklahoma, but ten percent lived in Oklahoma City.²²

Encouraged by the enthusiasm of the "Eighty-Niners' Day" celebration, Kamp decided to stay in Oklahoma City for a few days. The bustle of the early-day city invited the new friendships he quickly made. He soon found a job in a grocery store where he met Henry Hanstein, who would later help him found the German Evangelical and Reform Church. But wages of \$10.00 per week with raises every week were not enough: "I looked around to see if I could buy a store somewhere. . . . I was not going to work for anybody else. . . . I was going to have my own." He soon found an available building, and with \$4,000 from his mother's estate, opened the

²² United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910, Population*, Vol. III, pp. 434, 435, 459, 461; Douglas Hale, "European Immigration in Oklahoma: A Survey," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1975), p. 184.

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Epworth View Grocery at what is now Twenty-fifth Street and Classen Boulevard, the present location of Kamp Brothers.²³

In 1913, one year after becoming a United States citizen, Kamp met Anna Nolte from Avery, Oklahoma, and they married on February 24, 1915, in Avery. Following a trip through Nebraska and St. Louis, the couple established a home above the Kamp store for several years until they built a house north of what is now the Oklahoma City University campus. In 1935, they moved to the house on Northwest Thirty-fifth Street. Before Anna's death on April 27, 1939, they had eight children. Bernice, their only daughter, married the Reverend Norton Wey. Raymond, the youngest son, works for the First National Bank of Oklahoma City. All the other surviving children, Walter, Henry W., Alfred and Frederick own and operate Kamp Brothers with their father, his brothers and their sons.

The Kamp store was originally a neighborhood grocery; more significantly, it was a family operation from the beginning. Henry Kamp encouraged his brother William and sister Minnie in St. Louis to join his Oklahoma City business. Minnie eventually married and returned to St. Louis, but for three years she helped in the store and kept house for her two brothers. However, their brother Fred joined them a few years later.

The grocery business in those days was different than now. A horse and wagon was essential because wholesale shopping had to be done in person, and the markets on California Avenue were quite a distance from the Kamp store. Henry remembers having trouble getting telephones to expedite business. Although the Kamp brothers competed with several other neighborhood groceries, their trade in meats, vegetables, glassware, tinware, china, hay and feed kept growing. Soon Henry Kamp borrowed \$7,200 from his father to expand the business.²⁴

Kamp's grocery is still in operation under the same management at the same location, an unlikely anachronism in our day of monotonous, impersonal, cellophane-wrapped chain supermarkets. The Kamps make such a phenomenon possible through a tradition of quality products and personalized service. As an article in *The Daily Oklahoman* reported on March 25, 1975, Kamp is "A stickler for detail and quality. A woman in Atlanta sends away for the store's well-known chili. A woman in Amarillo, Texas orders bread from the Store's bakery." Another article identified the secret of the Kamps' success: "The brothers still greet thousands of customers by name."

²³ Interviews, Henry Kamp, January 31, 1971, April 22, 1974 and January 15, 1975.

²⁴ Leona P. Kamp, comp., "Family History of Henry Herman Kamp and Anna Marie (Nolte) Kamp," p. 1; Interviews, Henry Kamp, January 31, 1971, April 22, 1974 and January 15, 1975.

Henry Kamp himself insists that "Knowing who you're doing business with is still worth something." The Kamps are not affected by short-term business trends. "We don't try to match chain-store prices on everything. They go up and down, trying to unload what they call "quick" items. We're always the same."²⁵ Continuity in the Kamp operation probably appeals to customers most. The brothers were eventually joined in their business by five sons, a grandson, and an array of other relatives and loyal employees.²⁶ Like his European ancestors, Henry Kamp felt "an overwhelming moral compulsion" to keep his family intact.²⁷ Not only blood relatives, but all those under his employ are treated with respect. Several of them have worked there for decades.

Unfortunately, such positive qualities of the individual immigrant were sometimes overlooked by the nativists, racists and nationalists who occasionally become prominent in American life. The First World War marked a period of resurgence of these attitudes. Nativist sentiments had been at a low point from the Civil War to the 1880s; the war had united immigrants and native Americans toward a common goal. After the war, the assimilationist creed called Americans to their duty as Anglo-Saxons to shelter freedom-loving peoples. German immigrants were cheerfully tolerated; their love of amusement and reputation "for thrifty, honest, industrious, and orderly living" blended easily into America's indifference to social and international problems.²⁸ A writer of the day expressed the popular attitude: "The German notion that it is a good thing to have a good time has found a lodgement in the American mind."²⁹ By the 1880s, however, fears of cheap immigrant labor brought about an increasing awareness of the potential and real threats posed by the immigrants. Labor upheavals in 1886 marked the beginnings of nativism as a force to be reckoned with in America. The nationalism of the 1890s intensified anti-immigrant sentiments, and attacks on immigration became a nationwide issue. By the late 1890s, the "new immigration" from southern and eastern Europe renewed fear of the immigrants, but for a time the general trend against the foreign born subsided.

²⁵ *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), July 10, 1960 and March 25, 1975; *Oklahoma City Times* (Oklahoma City), May 26, 1968.

²⁶ *Daily Oklahoman*, April 23, 1939, April 1, 1941 and March 1, 1953; *Oklahoma City Times*, July 23, 1970.

²⁷ Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973), p. 10.

²⁸ Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, pp. 12-34.

²⁹ E. V. Smalley, "The German Element in the United States," *Lippincott's Magazine*, Vol. XXXI (1883), p. 359.



The Epworth View Grocery and Market

From 1898 until war erupted in Europe, anti-foreign attitudes waned. Nativism suffered general collapse; most Americans no longer felt threatened by immigration. Progressive ideals replaced imperialism. Reform for the plight of the immigrant became more popular. Immigrants grew into a powerful force in politics. Even the Immigration Act of 1907 worked against restriction: it provided for more flexibility in admission and helped immigrants find jobs outside the big cities. The law also established the Immigration Commission, which tended to postpone rather than force action. Some immigrants marvelled at their assimilation into American culture. In *The Promised Land*, published in 1912, an immigrant girl from Czarist Russia named Mary Antin wrote autobiographically of the wondrous results of her Americanization: "I was born, I have lived, and I have been made over. . . . I am absolutely other than the person whose story I have to tell."³⁰

Not all Americans shared Antin's enthusiasm for the melting pot ideal. United States Senator Henry Cabot Lodge argued for the necessity to restrict immigration because America's national character was being mongrelized by hordes of foreigners. Nativism which focused on immigrants from southern and eastern Europe enjoyed another surge of popularity.

³⁰ Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, pp. 35-67, 68-70; 87; 104; 106-123; Mary Antin, *The Promised Land* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1912), p. xi.

Soon, the greater xenophobia of the war years would again tarnish the bludgeoned melting-pot ideal.³¹

Nationwide, Germans were still the largest single foreign-born element in the population. The Bureau of the Census estimated their total at well over 2,000,000 in 1917. In Oklahoma, out of a total population of 1,659,155, the 1910 census counted 41,785 of German descent.³² When the First World War came, frightened patriots accused the Oklahoma German-Americans of disloyalty, which was the worst offense to their nationalistic moralities.

Oklahoma newspapers, along with the Oklahoma State Council of Defense and its official publication, *Sooners in the War*, eagerly provided the bellows and poker for patriotic ire and fire. With German-language newspapers and German-American societies conveniently open to attack, the pen was a handy enough sword. Especially in the midwestern states, these German-language newspapers were more numerous than with other nationalities. They constituted forty percent of the foreign-language papers and periodicals in the United States in 1914.³³ When the Illinois *Staats-Zeitung* attacked President Woodrow Wilson's attitude toward Germany, *The Daily Oklahoman* denounced it vehemently. A few months later, that same paper anticipated the attitude it would take during the war: "The *Oklahoman* realizes that foreign-born citizens are among the most valuable we have. . . . But when the test comes, when the crucial moment has arrived, they must be Americans without the hyphen or else they are undesirable citizens."³⁴ Like its parent organization, the Council of National Defense, the Oklahoma Council of Defense urged that Oklahomans should be inspired to support the war effort with their all.³⁵ Possibly their most far-fetched attack was against the use of the German language. As one local official announced, "Nothing but the English language is going to be spoken in this county until the war is over."³⁶

Henry and Bill Kamp's role as founders, members and officers in the *Deutscher Verein Germania*—Germania German Club—of Oklahoma City could hardly have endeared them to Oklahoma superpatriots. Such immi-

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 159–193.

³² United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789–1945* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1949), p. 32; United States Bureau of the Census, *Abstract of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1910, Population*, p. 595.

³³ La Vern J. Ripley, "Xenophobia and the Russian-German Experience," An Address Presented to the Sixth International Convention of the Historical Society of Germans from Russia, June 19, 1975, p. 9.

³⁴ *Daily Oklahoman*, July 28, 1915 and October 14, 1915.

³⁵ O. A. Hilton, "The Oklahoma Council of Defense and the First World War," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 1 (March, 1942), p. 21.

³⁶ *Daily Oklahoman*, April 4, 1918, p. 6.

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grant associations were formed as mutual aid societies and social clubs to give the individual a feeling of belonging in an alien culture.³⁷ The club had been founded in 1911 by a professor of music named Gustaf Karau, whose chief interest was in the membership as a singing group. Soon the association grew in membership and in variety of activities. In early 1912, after an organizational meeting at Kamp's grocery, several acres were purchased near the intersection of California and Pennsylvania avenues. The clubhouse was dedicated on July 4, 1912, by Lee Cruce, Governor of Oklahoma, and by 1913, membership stood at 800. German-American conventions were held every year.

Anti-German feelings brought violence and vandalism to the club during World War I, and it had to be closed for several years. Soon after the building's re-opening in 1923, the Lake Overholser dam broke and flooded the area, but the members repaired the damages. Until World War II, the club enjoyed an even larger variety of activities than before. Then a renewal of anti-German feeling brought new attacks on the club. Fear and insecurity drove the membership apart, and damage to the clubhouse became too extensive for repair. The last five remaining members, which included Henry and Bill Kamp, sold the property for \$2,500 and divided the sum among themselves.³⁸

No major anti-German outbursts were directed against Henry, Bill or Fred Kamp personally, and Henry Kamp later described the actions against the club building without rancor. The Ku Klux Klan was not bothered by the Germans he knew, "and the Ku Klux Klan didn't bother the Germans either." Family and business responsibilities consumed too much time and energy. Of the popular sentiment for patriotic zeal he spoke disinterestedly, except that it persuaded many German-Americans in Oklahoma City and surrounding towns to leave the state: "after the Germans started World War I, you'd be surprised how the people just popped out of town like a drive-march. We would've had a lot of good Germans left if it hadn't been for World War I." The departing German-Americans thought that "Americans didn't like them."³⁹

One immediately senses in these statements an intuitive regret for the failure of Crèvecoeur's melting pot ideal. Henry Kamp, in his business dealings, his association with fellow Americans and German-Americans, and his role in the founding of the German Evangelical and Reform Church

³⁷ Handlin, *The Uprooted*, pp. 152-158.

³⁸ The Oklahoma German-American Society, "The Rise and Fall of Germania," *The Oklahoma German-American Society 1972-73 Year Book*, ed. Heinz Jacobi (Oklahoma City: General Publishing Co., n.d.).

³⁹ Interview, Henry Kamp, January 15, 1975.

in Oklahoma City, had demonstrated that the melting pot should include the native-born as well. This attitude of cultural pluralism parallels the ideas of Randolph S. Bourne, a renegade intellectual of the day. In "Trans-national America," Bourne wrote that:⁴⁰

perhaps the time has . . . come to assert a higher ideal than the 'melting pot.' . . . It is not what we are now that concerns us, but what this plastic next generation may become in the light of a new cosmopolitan ideal . . . there is no distinctively American culture. It is apparently our lot rather to be a federation of cultures. . . . Let us make something of this trans-national spirit instead of outlawing it. Already we are living this cosmopolitan America. What we need is everywhere a vivid consciousness of the new ideal. Deliberate headway must be made against the survivals of the melting-pot ideal for the promise of American life.

In Oklahoma City, the pot leaked. While the capital city increased its total population by nearly one-third between 1910 and 1920, the German born living in Oklahoma City dropped over twenty-five percent.⁴¹ Along with their Anglo-conformist neighbors throughout America, Oklahomans preferred smelting to melting. Had the spirit of cultural pluralism Bourne described been alive in Oklahoma City, perhaps a greater number of German-Americans would have remained in the state to enrich her culture.

During World War II, a more personal attack on Henry Kamp demonstrated that racial fear and hatred is no transitory phenomenon, but lies slumbering until the time is ripe. He was accused of sending \$1,000 to the Nazis and of displaying a lighted picture of Adolph Hitler in his house. At this accusation he now simply chuckles. But at the time he was irritated enough to think of advertising that proof of the accusations would bring a reward of \$1,000. Although friends talked him out of the plan, he concluded many years later that the whole business was "all foolishness." Further, newspaper accounts of the Kamp grocery's wartime efforts give the lie to these rumors.⁴²

German associations for social and economic purposes were not the only expressions of solidarity for the immigrants. Religion played an important role as well. The immigrant's process of adjustment was often a difficult one, and religion was important as a way of dealing with that process. The

⁴⁰ Randolph S. Bourne, "Trans-national America," *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. CXVIII, No. 1 (July, 1916), pp. 86-97.

⁴¹ United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910, Population*, Vol. III, p. 617; United States Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920, Population* (3 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922), Vol. III, p. 828.

⁴² Interview, Henry Kamp, January 15, 1975; *The Daily Oklahoman*, July 26, 1942 and February 28, 1944.



Pastor Adolph Walton lays the cornerstone of the German Evangelical and Reform Church in Oklahoma City at Tenth Street and Western Avenue

majority of immigrants were determined that their emigration would not destroy their religious identity; at least one tradition would still be theirs.⁴³

Like many other Lutherans from Germany, Henry Kamp was unhappy with the Americanization that had diluted his church. With other members of the Kamp family, he was instrumental in revitalizing the German Evangelical and Reform Church in Oklahoma City. At the turn of the century, efforts had been made to organize the church on a permanent basis, but owing to lack of leadership, funds and German membership potential in Oklahoma City, the church wavered. A close-knit but disorganized congregation assembled in rented space for several years. Then, in September

⁴³ Handlin, *The Uprooted*, p. 111; Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955): "Religious association now became the primary context of self-identification and social location for the third generation, as well as for the bulk of the second generation, of America's immigrants, and that meant, by and large, for the American people" (p. 44).

1913, the church was reorganized under the original constitution. The first trustees for the incorporation of the church in April, 1914, were H. H. Wagner, Henry Hanstein and Henry Kamp.⁴⁴ Kamp recalls many other long-time friends who helped also, but he and Adolph Walton personally collected money for the church.⁴⁵

What would become the German Evangelical Synod of North America had been founded in Missouri in 1840 by six members of the State Church of Prussia. By 1916, the Synod claimed a membership of 1,336 congregations in the United States, only sixty-two of which conducted services exclusively in the English language.⁴⁶ The Oklahoma City church became a member of the German Evangelical Synod of North America on July 19, 1914. In that same month, property was purchased for \$1,100 at the corner of Tenth Street and Western Avenue, and the first building of the German Evangelical and Reform Church of Oklahoma City was dedicated on June 4, 1916, at a building cost of \$4,380. A German architect from Chicago designed the building, as well as a new post office for Oklahoma City, and the *Deutscher Verein Germania* building. Adolph Walton, Sr., who also served congregations in surrounding towns, was the first pastor.⁴⁷

The German Evangelical and Reform Church continued to grow through the 1920s and 1930s, and it soon became apparent that there should be a broader base for membership. The merger with the United Church of Christ resulted in the Zion United Church in 1957, and was in conformity with the original intention of the charter members: "There is no church in Oklahoma City that is not fenced in by particular doctrines and church rules that exclude the others, but this church stands alone on the gospel of Christ, granting the liberty of personal opinion to all. . . ." While the Oklahoma City church has remained financially sound throughout its organized history, Henry Kamp recalls the need for church expansion so that more could participate.⁴⁸ Unlike many churches begun by the foreign born, the German Evangelical and Reform Church broadened its base and expanded,

⁴⁴ "History of the Evangelical Zion's Church at Oklahoma City," unpublished manuscript, Oklahoma City, n.d.

⁴⁵ Interview, Henry Kamp, January 15, 1975.

⁴⁶ United States Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies, 1916* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), pp. 306, 308.

⁴⁷ Interview, Henry Kamp, January 15, 1975: "Historical Sketch of Zion United Church of Christ," comp. A. W. Walton from original notes made by Lydia Hanstein, unpublished manuscript, Oklahoma City, 1963; "History of Evangelical Zion's Church" and "Historical Data: Zion Church, Oklahoma City," unpublished manuscript, n.d.

⁴⁸ "History of Evangelical Zion's Church at Oklahoma City"; Interview, Henry Kamp, January 15, 1975.

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but not from necessity. A larger membership simply meant a greater opportunity for ministry.

Here again the Kamp hope for a culturally pluralistic society comes into focus. The church did not seek to exclude native Americans from its membership, although certain immigrants and their descendants tended to gravitate there. Under the leadership of Henry Kamp and second- and third-generation immigrants, the congregation attempted to seek fresh members as a needed source for inner growth.

With millions of other immigrants, Henry Kamp contributed to the multitude of cultures that built the American civilization. If in New York City "the melting pot . . . did not happen,"⁴⁹ for Kamp the myth had potential—but only in a society that recognized strength in diversity.

⁴⁹ Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish in New York City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 1970), p. 290.

SEYMOUR

By George H. Shirk*

New information from additional and heretofore unknown material recently located in the National Archives in Washington, D.C. solves the long unanswered puzzle regarding the early day post office of Seymour.¹ The editor of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* poised the problem in a footnote to the article by E. H. Kelley "When Oklahoma City was Seymour and Verbeck," when Dr. Muriel H. Wright said that his story constitutes a "plausible explanation of the mystery concerning Seymour post office established in the Cherokee Outlet on November 15, 1866, yet given as the first post office at the site of Oklahoma City. . . ."²

The presence in Indian Territory of Seymour's first and only postmaster, William S. Decker, has been long known, yet the location of his short lived post office has always been somewhat clouded by the circumstance that the Post Office Department records show Seymour to have been established in the Cherokee Outlet and later located in Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation. The site of future Oklahoma City was certainly not in either of those two areas.

In an effort to correlate the two location references Dr. Wright offered the logical explanation that originally the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation lay within the exterior boundaries of the Cherokee Outlet pursuant to the Medicine Lodge Treaty of October 28, 1867.³

On the other hand, the news item in the *Norman Transcript* for Saturday, May 3, 1890, has always been intriguing, in that it contained a clear statement that there was at one time a post office in operation at the site of present Oklahoma City and that it was known as Seymour:⁴

A Bit of history: The first post office established in Oklahoma was on a spot where Oklahoma City now stands, and it was called Seymour, W. Decker as postmaster. This was in '87 a short time before the Santa Fe built in. Decker was a licensed trader on the railroad line, and Seymour was given on the list at the post office department as located in the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Reservation. The name of the first post office was changed to Oklahoma soon after the railroad was completed.

* The author is currently President of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

¹ George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952) p. 94.

² E. H. Kelley, "When Oklahoma City was Seymour and Verbeck," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (Winter 1949-1950) p. 347.

³ *Ibid.*, f.n. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, f.n. 16

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To reconcile this news story with the post office records it had often been said that Seymour was a "traveling post office;" that is, it was located at the end of track as the Santa Fe built south towards Purcell and operated to provide service for the track laying crew and railroad officials.

So the question has rested until now. However, documents found in the National Archives, and especially a map which I am certain had neither been unfolded nor seen the light of day since it was first mailed in to the post office topographic section by Decker, indeed resolve the question. These papers now establish finally and definitely confirm that Seymour post office was not only established at the site of future Oklahoma City but, for the brief period of its existence, had no other location.

Why it had a name other than "Oklahoma City" or a similar appellation when established in November, 1886, and why it was given the unrelated name of Seymour is subject to plausible explanation when the earlier activities of Captain David L. Payne and his Boomer movement are placed in proper perspective.

Payne had been visiting future Oklahoma for at least a decade prior to the official opening on April 22, 1889. He had in fact laid out several towns and communities in addition to selecting and attempting to file on his own homestead. His personal selection was a picturesque site on the south side of the North Fork of the Canadian River located approximately three miles northwest of present Jones.⁵ However, his "homestead" application had been declared invalid in May, 1881, by Judge Isaac Parker in litigation instituted in the United States District Court for the Western District of Arkansas.⁶

The Payne organization employed the services of a land surveyor, T. D. Craddock; and three town sites proposed by the Payne group for settlement were Oklahoma City, Ewing City and Nugent. Typical of his dazzling nature, Payne caused four sections to be surveyed and platted into the future "Oklahoma City."⁷ The center of his town-to-be was located approximately at present Southeast Twenty-ninth Street and Eastern Avenue and was near the site of his "town" of a year earlier which had been known as New Philadelphia. It continued as a viable soon-to-occur shadow town until the final location in 1887 of the Santa Fe Railroad tracks caused his "Oklahoma City" to be relocated several miles to the northwest.

⁵ Jackson, A. P., and Cole, E. C., *Oklahoma, Politically and Topographically Described, History and Guide to the Indian Territory*, Kansas City, 1885, p. 77.

⁶ Rister, Carl Coke, *Land Hunger; David L. Payne and the Oklahoma Boomers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), p. 95.

⁷ Jackson and Cole, *Oklahoma Politically, and Topographically Described, History and Guide to the Indian Territory*, p. 75.

A news story in a Chicago paper a month before the opening took note of the “move” in reporting under a Purcell, Indian Territory dateline of March 24:⁸

“Oklahoma City” is a name and little else. It is a station on the Santa Fe where trains sometimes stop. It is exactly north of Purcell. The original site was five miles east of the railway. When the road was built the name alone was brought over to the station. The flat plains around insure sunshine, enough fresh air and a good view in all directions. The North Canadian silently winds its course nearby and its banks are ornamented with cottonwood trees. In fact, the river nearly encircles the station, and the fall is sufficient to give water power by means of a race. This winding course is one of the peculiarities of the river. An agent here is attending to government supplies: also a quartermaster for the Arapahoes and Cheyenne Indians.

All of which means that at the time Decker determined to secure a post office, he had every reason to assume that “Oklahoma City” was located elsewhere.

In the late summer of 1886 Decker applied to the Post Office Department for authority to establish a post office, undoubtedly as a part of his announced plans in his letter of July 30 to the editor of the *Cheyenne Transporter* where he said that he would be “on the North Fork in September.”⁹ Pursuant to his request, the First Assistant Postmaster General forwarded to him under date of October 7 a form known as the Location Paper. It was addressed to Decker at Arkansas City, Kansas; and was returned by him, undated, so as to reach Washington and be received in the office of the First Assistant Postmaster General on November 6. This document, available for the first time, conclusively reflects that Decker intended his new post office to be at the site of present Oklahoma City.

In preparing the initial form the Department noted the location to be “Unknown Nation, Indian Ter.” In the completed reply over Decker’s signature he stated his new office would be supplied from Red Rock; that the proposed location was thirty miles west of Fort Reno, one-half mile north of the North Fork of the Canadian River, five miles south of the Deep Fork of the Canadian River and would be located one hundred feet from a station with “no name as of yet” on the “extension of the Southern Kansas AT&SF RR.” In a township plat map on the reverse of the form he placed a pencil dot in the northwest quarter of Section Thirty-one, but did not designate the township nor range, although the original plat of Oklahoma City is in fact in the southeast quarter of Section Thirty-three, Township

⁸ *Chicago Herald*, March 25, 1889. Provided through the courtesy of John Womack.

⁹ Kelley, “When Oklahoma City was Seymour and Verbeck,” *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, f.n. 7.

Twelve North, Range Three West. The post office was then established by order of the Postmaster General nine days later on November 15.

After the office was established in November the Location Paper was forwarded to the office of the topographer for the Post Office Department. That office, on December 28, mailed another form to the postmaster at

Seymour. It was returned under date of January 7, 1887 by Decker and gave the location to be in "C. and A. Nation, Indian Ter." He reported the office to be one-half mile north of the North Fork of the Canadian River, five miles south of Deep Fork River, thirty-five miles east of Darlington and forty miles west of Wellston. Most important of all, however, the return by Decker stated "this office is at a distance of 200 feet west from a proposed station of the Southern Kansas or AT&SF RR on the west side of the railroad."

The topographer's form on the reverse side contained a township plat and the postmaster was instructed to "locate on the diagram of the township the precise location of your office, together with adjoining post offices, towns or villages." Rather than fill in the reverse, Decker drew a rough sketch map on what appears to be wrapping paper and pinned it to the topographer's office form. From a physical appearance of the pin holes and the pin itself it was obvious to me that the map had never been unfolded or otherwise used; and when I removed the pin and opened the map in the National Archives in May, 1975, I am certain it was the first time it had ever been viewed by the human eye after it was folded and pinned by Decker to the report form.

Although a rough sketch, the map is an excellent one and confirms for once and for all that Seymour was located at the precise location of Oklahoma City's modern convention center, The Myriad, not only long before the end of track reached present Oklahoma City but at all times throughout its existence.

Dated by Decker on January 7, the form reached the topographer's office in Washington on January 17, 1887. So things continued until May, 1887 when the office was discontinued by the Postmaster General on May 13.

The reason for discontinuing the Seymour post office is not reflected from the files. E. H. Kelley assigns as the reason the Post Office Department believed "that Seymour was located in the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation." As Decker's license as a trader was revoked in February 1887, perhaps Decker decided the postmaster's job alone was not enough for him to stay, and so he surrendered the appointment.¹⁰

In the meantime the Santa Fe Railroad had opened a telegraph office at the same location on May 2 with the telegraph key name of Verbeck, which was in operation until regular train service was established July 12, 1887.¹¹ The Santa Fe Railroad named the station "Oklahoma."

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, f.n. 15.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, f.n. 17; Griggs, A. B., "Sketch of Construction and Early Operation of Santa Fe Line Across Oklahoma": An address given in Guthrie on the 50th Anniversary of the Opening. A copy is in the manuscript collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Shortly thereafter Samuel Houston Radebaugh contacted the Post Office Department to re-establish the Seymour Post Office. On November 9, 1887 the First Assistant Postmaster General forwarded to Radebaugh in care of the postmaster at Arkansas City, Kansas, a new Location Paper headed "To re-establish Seymour, Oklahoma Country, Inc. Ter." The nomenclature was technically correct, as the area of the Unassigned Lands, roughly the six central counties of present Oklahoma, had become known as the "Oklahoma country." The Location Paper instructed the Arkansas City postmaster to "please forward the form to Radebaugh at Oklahoma Station." The word "Station" in the instructions has been lined out; and if this was done contemporaneously it would indicate that the use of the word "Oklahoma" alone with reference to the Santa Fe station was the correct designation.

Radebaugh returned the Location Paper under date of November 14, 1887. He reported the office would be in the Southeast quarter of Section Thirty-three, Township Twelve North, Range Three West, Oklahoma Country, Indian Territory. The quarter section is the correct one for the location of the present Santa Fe station. He reported the nearest post office to be Purcell, Indian Territory located thirty-three miles to the south and Silver City, in the Chickasaw Nation, located twenty miles southwesterly. The site was reported as one mile north of the North Fork of the Canadian River and the nearest creek to be Lightning Creek, although he did not give the distance therefrom. Lightning Creek is yet very well known to Oklahoma City residents, flowing from the south into the North Canadian River near South Central Avenue.

Of even greater importance, he reported his proposed post office to be located 200 feet west of the nearest railroad station, referred to by him as "Oklahoma Station." This is the identical footage given in January by Decker, and would be within the confines of the present Myriad Convention Center. He reported the proposed office would serve "From 100 to 150 persons." Radebaugh did not complete the township plat form on the reverse of the Location Paper.

There was inserted in the blank "The proposed office to be called . . ." the name "Oklahoma Center, I. Ty." On the original form the word "Center" was deleted and the word "Station" written above in its place. A close study of the original form does not indicate whether the change from "Center" to "Station" was made locally by Radebaugh and his associates or whether the change was made arbitrarily in Washington. At that date, there was no other post office operating in either future Oklahoma Territory or in Indian Territory named Center. This circumstance would tend to discount the suggestion that the substitution was made to avoid a possible conflict with other local names.

The Location Paper was received at the office of the First Assistant under date of November 25; and slightly over a month later, on December 30, 1887 the Postmaster General by order established Oklahoma Station at the proposed location with Radebaugh as postmaster.

The rest is epilogue to this article. As is well known, the name Oklahoma Station was changed to Oklahoma by the Postmaster General on December 18, 1888. It remained the official name of the Oklahoma City post office until July 1, 1923 when the proper name of the capital city was finally recognized by the Post Office Department.

And so it is. A rough sketch map on locally procured wrapping paper, never once unfolded for any purpose since it was submitted to Washington by William A. Decker more than two years before there was in fact an Oklahoma City, conclusively confirms that an act intended to honor the 1868 Democratic nominee for president has made his name inexorably a part of the heritage of the capital city of the Sooner State.

ANNOUNCEMENT FROM 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 1976: J. Paul Bischoff of Yale University became assistant professor; Richard C. Rohrs of the University of Nebraska became visiting assistant professor; George F. Jewsbury and Michael M. Smith were promoted to associate professor; Neil J. Hackett, Jr., associate professor, became director of the School of Social Science at Oklahoma State University; Douglas D. Hale, professor, returned from a sabbatical leave of absence for study in England and Germany; H. James Henderson, professor, returned from a summer Daniels Fellowship at the American Antiquarian Society and from research in England funded by the American Philosophical Society; James M. Smallwood, assistant professor, became editor of *The Writings of Will Rogers* at Oklahoma State University. Glen R. Roberson, part-time instructor, became instructor in history at Seminole Junior College, Seminole, Oklahoma; Buford Satcher, part-time instructor, became associate professor of history at Mississippi Valley State University, Itta Bena, Mississippi; Nudie E. Williams, part-time instructor, became assistant professor and director of Black Studies at the University of Arkansas.

CHEAP AND BEAUTIFUL ORNAMENTS

A few years ago a box of autumn leaves, selected for the beauty and variety of their tints, was sent to the wife of the American ambassador at London. She wore them as ornaments, and they attracted much attention and admiration, our brilliant forest autumnal leaves being unknown in England. Since then packages of these beautiful leaves have been sent over every autumn to fashionable ladies in London.

The New Era, Fort Smith, Arkansas, December 12, 1863

OKLAHOMA BOOKS

The Chronicles of Oklahoma has recently added a new section called "Oklahoma Books" which will be utilized to keep the members of the Oklahoma Historical Society informed on books devoted to Oklahoma related topics that otherwise would not appear as book reviews. Individuals or organizations publishing such material are urged to send a copy to the Publication Department along with the cost of the book and how it may be purchased so that this information may be passed along to the members of the Society.

THE INSTITUTE OF OKLAHOMA STUDIES—THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT OF OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

The Institute of Oklahoma Studies is a two-week, interdisciplinary graduate study program for junior and senior high school teachers and junior college instructors seeking a deeper understanding of the Oklahoma experience. Designed solely with the classroom teacher in mind, the Institute will give special emphasis to the practical aspects of teaching Oklahoma history and related studies in the classroom. Sponsored by the History Department of Oklahoma State University, the Institute will examine in broad perspective the anthropology, archaeology, art, botany, economics, geography, geology, history, material culture, medicine, music, politics and sociology of Oklahoma from prehistory to the present. The course is for six graduate semester credit hours, and enrollment is limited to fifty.

The Institute of Oklahoma Studies emerges as the joint creation of teachers and scholars who believe it essential to study Oklahoma as a physical and cultural region, rather than as simply a political unit. The geography of Oklahoma, for example, will be seen in terms of its impact on migration, settlement and development. The multi-ethnic occupation of Oklahoma, likewise, will be studied in its totality, from the earliest intrusions to the present. And the culture of Oklahoma, made vastly richer and more complex by the confluence of various regional, racial and ethnic forces, will be examined through the art, economics, history, material culture, medicine, music, politics and sociology of the region.

The Institute's faculty is an outstanding one, composed of leading scholars of the state and region from the various disciplines represented. Each will integrate his special area into the total picture of the Oklahoma experience, providing those enrolled with a broader and deeper understanding of man in his Oklahoma environment. Scheduling is planned to yield maximum professional growth in an environment of intellectual activity. Classroom transfer techniques will be emphasized. The two-week Institute carries six semester hours of graduate credit in history. If you are interested in attending the Institute, please contact Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Institute of Oklahoma Studies, Department of History, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 74074. A complete Institute brochure, including application form, will then be sent to you.

THE INDIAN TERRITORY POSSE OF OKLAHOMA WESTERNERS INVITES NEW PERSONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CORRESPONDING MEMBERSHIPS

Individuals desiring to enter into a corresponding relationship with the Indian

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Territory Posse of Oklahoma Westerners are invited to become Personal Corresponding Members by sending annual dues of \$10.00 each to Lee Carter, 719 Asp Street, Norman, Oklahoma 73069. They will receive *The War Chief*, a quarterly printed publication, containing a wide variety of interesting illustrated articles on the history and culture of Oklahoma and the West.

Libraries and similar institutions desiring to enter into a corresponding relationship with the Indian Territory Posse of Oklahoma Westerners are invited to become Institutional Corresponding *Members* by also sending annual dues of \$15.00 each to Lee Carter at the above address. They will likewise receive *The War Chief*.

UNIONTOWN POST OFFICE NOT IN INDIAN TERRITORY

By George H. Shirk

In a recent issue of *The Chronicles*, I asked for help on locating the site of Uniontown Post Office established in 1851 and appearing in the records of the Postmaster General as being located in "Indian Territory, Missouri."

A complete answer has come from Nyle H. Miller, Executive Director of the Kansas State Historical Society, citing the fine publication of that organization *The Beginning of the West* edited by Louise Barry and published by the Kansas State Historical Society in 1972.

Uniontown was established in March, 1848, by Pottawatomie Agents R. W. Cummings and A. J. Vaughan as a trading post for the tribe and located at a site on the south side of the Kansas River and near the center of what was then the Pottawatomie country. Modern survey shows the site to be located in the Northeast Quarter of Section Twenty-three, Township Eleven South, Range Thirteen East in Shawnee County, Kansas.

In May, 1850, an immigrant on the Oregon Trail described Uniontown as consisting of about 50 log houses, with a population of about 300—nearly all Indians. The government has stationed at this post a physician, two blacksmiths, a wagon maker, two gunsmiths and a circular saw mill.

The exact name of the only postmaster was Robert Robitaille, not Robert Robitville, as shown on the Postmaster General's records.

When established, it was the westernmost post office in what is now the State of Kansas, and although its existence as a post office was short lived, it continued as an important point on the route from Independence to Salt Lake City.

SANTA FE STATIONS IN OKLAHOMA

This information was taken from a letter from A. B. Griggs, Valuation Engineer for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company to Mr. James W. Moffitt OHS (Secretary) November 2, 1939.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

This is an incomplete list of the stations established by the Santa Fe Railway across Oklahoma.

NAME OF STATION	DATE ESTABLISHED
KIRK	August 24, 1892
	Abolished January 3, 1894
NEWKIRK	December 21, 1893
KILDARE	First called Willow Springs January 6, 1887
	Changed to Kildare March 29, 1892
CROSS	August 24, 1892
PONCA CITY	November 4, 1894
WHITE EAGLE	First called Ponce November 29, 1886
	Changed to White Eagle November 4, 1894
MARLAND	First called Bliss August 24, 1892
	Changed to Marland May 1, 1922
RED ROCK	January 6, 1887
BLACK BEAR	May 22, 1892
PERRY	First called Cow Creek January 6, 1887
	Changed to Mendota March 28, 1887
	Changed to Wharton January 27, 1889
	Changed to Perry January 15, 1894
ORLANDO	September 1, 1889
MULHALL	First called Beaver Creek January 27, 1887
	Changed to Alfred March 28, 1887
	Changed to Mulhall ———, 1889
LAWRIE	April 14, 1889
GUTHRIE	First called Deer Creek March 16, 1887
	Changed to Guthrie March 28, 1887
SEWARD	April 14, 1889
WATERLOO	First called Brayton November 18, 1891
	Changed to Waterloo March 29, 1892
EDMOND	First called Summit March 16, 1887
	Changed to Edmond March 28, 1887
BRITTON	April 14, 1889
OKLAHOMA CITY	March 28, 1887
MOORE	First called Verbeck May 2, 1887
	Changed to Moore June 17, 1888
NORMAN	First called Dugout ———, 1887
	Changed to Norman May 2, 1887
NOBLE	September 1, 1889
PURCELL	April 5, 1887
PAULS VALLEY	The town was named for Smith Paul from North Carolina. ———, 1887

THIS RECKLESS BREED OF MEN: THE TRAPPERS AND FUR TRADERS OF THE SOUTHWEST. By Robert Glass Cleland. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976. Pp. xvi, 361. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Index. \$4.95.)

Not until this book was originally published in 1950 by Alfred A. Knopf did the historical community get a perspective of the fur trapping saga to the frontier tradition. As the vanguard of American expansion, the trappers spanned the continent, and because they seldom kept chronicles, their's was a story overlooked or misrepresented.

But there was enough scattered material to glean the lives and names of some of the more prominent trappers. Using primary sources, the author contributed a monumental tome to the field of history. For those interested in the fur trapping industry, this offers an excellent foundation from which to start. This is the book that inspired more extensive research from the professionals, and it will excite interest in the casual reader.

After a sketch on the mountain man: what he wore, his tools and his prey, the reader is treated to the life histories of such names as Jedediah Smith, Ewing Young, James Ohio Pattie and Joseph Walker. Incidental to these men are the stories of the Bent, Robidoux and Waldo families, plus men like Peg Leg Smith, Jim Bridger, Kit Carson and Old Bill Williams. One may wonder what did these men have to do with the Southwest? Obviously, most of them worked out of St. Louis or the Central Rocky Mountains. The author is not concerned where their base of operations was located but where the search for beaver took them. If that search entered the Southwest, somewhat expanded by the author's definition, they were fair game.

One glaring asset to the narrative is geographical descriptions. Such information is backed by the personal experience of a trout fisherman and is likewise here verified. Perhaps more maps with better detail are needed, but that is a universal criticism of all books such as this.

Needless to say, the University of New Mexico Press has done sundry a great service by republishing this "father" of current trapping histories. The printing and design are excellent with the footnotes logically placed at the bottom of the page. From the research to this paperback edition this is a job well done.

Thomas E. Chavez
University of New Mexico



SIOUX TRAIL. By John Upton Terrell. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1974. Pp. ix, 213. Bibliography. Index. \$7.95.)

John Upton Terrell is one of the more prolific writers of Western history. His productivity is matched by diverse interests and broad knowledge. Students of Western America have come to expect unique and useful books from Mr. Terrell, and *Sioux Trail* lives up to expectations in that regard. Unfortunately, the title is so cryptic and so obtuse as to obscure the true nature of the work. One group is likely to feel misled when they discover that this is not another history of the Teton Sioux and their wars with the whites, and another group, whose interests run to archaeology, anthropology, ethnology and Indian lore, may miss the book altogether for precisely the same reason. The truth is that both groups—indeed, anyone who is interested in the American Indian—should not miss this book because it summarizes and places in an easily accessible format a mass of useful information about the Sioux peoples.

In the first place, when Terrell speaks of the Sioux he is referring to the Siouan linguistic group, rather than the specific tribes of Dakota Sioux associated with Red Cloud, Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, the Little Big Horn and Wounded Knee. The Siouan peoples stretched the length and breadth of North America. They are all here, their history, culture and contributions catalogued in brief, concise form. Terrell has pulled together the basic sources and produced a handbook on the Siouan tribes. This is not a scholarly book in the sense that it is weighted down with academic style or annotated extensively. Some students of the Sioux may find it distressing that there are no footnotes, but Terrell's purpose is not to write the definitive history. His book is an excellent place to be introduced to the Sioux. Yet, one should be wary of dismissing the book as a primer on the Sioux. Terrell has done his homework, and the result is a short volume which provides easy access to the history and culture of an important American family.

The book examines the origins of the Sioux first, then identifies the various tribes according to geographic location, providing many details of life and culture in the process. The format enables quick retrieval of desired information. The bibliography is not exhaustive, but it is both adequate and informed. Maps would have greatly enhanced Terrell's study. There are no illustrations of any kind. Verdict: A useful book by a competent scholar.

Gary L. Roberts
Abraham Baldwin College



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THE FILMING OF THE WEST. By Jon Tuska. (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1972. Pp. xx, 618. Photographs. Appendix. Index. \$14.95.)

For those of us during the 1930s and 1940s who merely passed time during the days between Saturday to Saturday waiting anxiously for the new cowboy movie and the next episode of the serial, any book about those "good days" and those "good guys" is welcomed. However, such an attitude appears to be based on nostalgia, and nostalgia, all too often, is the first step toward senility. Historical studies that are inspired by nostalgia alone are usually limited in quality and contributions. Fortunately Jon Tuska is a film critic and cinema historian who is of the opinion that nostalgia has no place in film history. He is not completely successful in his attempt to remove nostalgia, for often his source of information is oral history.

One hundred Westerns from "The Great Train Robbery" (1903) to "The Cowboys" (1972) are discussed in terms of "how they were made, who made them, who appeared in them, the lives and times of the people involved in the respective films." Often Tuska writes bluntly about the individuals; however, as Ken Maynard said about him, "He tells the truth, but he's fair."

Tuska has viewed thousands of Westerns and has written about them for over a decade, and much of the content in this volume originally appeared in *Views and Reviews* magazine. His knowledge and ability cannot be questioned, but the absence of footnotes and sources limits the value of his work for future studies and historians. Faith in Tuska's honesty and knowledge is necessary, for the tools of verification are missing. The exceptions are in the realm of criticism, where opinion and evaluation need no verification.

His writing style, with a few exceptions, flows with a popular readability and consistency; it is an enjoyable narrative. Also, Tuska has provided numerous photographs within each chapter. In all, it is an outstanding history of the Western film, and, in fact, is the best available at this time. It is even recommended for those who want only to enjoy and relive the excitement of make believe heroes who always defeat the villains and for those who still prefer to believe that right will ultimately triumph over wrong, yet, while the book is both entertaining and educational, it does evoke a sense of nostalgic sadness.

Guy Logsdon
University of Tulsa



CHEROKEE SUNSET: A NATION BETRAYED. A NARRATIVE OF TRAVAIL AND TRIUMPH, PERSECUTION AND EXILE. By Samuel Carter III. (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1976. Pp. xi, 318. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Index. \$9.95.)

Although the story of the forcible removal of the Cherokees is well known, Samuel Carter has done a masterful job of retelling, in terms both graphic and moving, the tale of white greed and Indian naïveté. And while Carter's sympathy lies with the besieged Cherokees the dichotomy of good and evil falls into individual vignettes of cruelty, heroism, patience, kindness, etc. on both sides.

After 1800, the history of the Cherokees is the tragic relating of white encroachment on Indian lands as the natives maneuvered to retain their homes. The calamity is increased by the Cherokee's willing acceptance of Christianity and desire to emulate the white man's government, education, and economy in a vain attempt to be recognized worthy to exist as an independent nation. This effort resulted in Sequoyah's alphabet, publication of the *Phoenix* and a constitutional republic based on free elections.

If a villain exists, it is the state of Georgia. Certain that white and Indian could not cohabitate harmoniously and desirous of the rich Cherokee land, Georgia's unrelenting pressure produced a constant narrowing of the Nation's boundaries. In its struggle, Georgia won support from Andrew Jackson who turned against his allies of Horseshoe Bend. Jackson's presidential victory renewed the drive for removal and sealed the doom of the Cherokees.

Fate seemed to align itself against the Cherokees. Their nation, juxtaposed to the Southwestern states and lacking cohesion in a confederation of far-flung states felt the movement of eastern pioneer families. Gold found in the nation in 1829 attracted 10,000 prospectors. To this list must be added Georgia's raid on the capital at New Echota and its persecution and imprisonment of missionaries, including Samuel Worcester—a symbol of resistance. Even the Western Cherokee nation, established in 1818, pressured the government to have their brothers join them.

But the fatal blow struck when the nation's leaders, exercising an inordinate influence over affairs, divided over the question of exodus. John Ross, Principal Chief, fought to the end to persuade the government to leave the Indian in peace. But John Ridge, his father, and Elias Boudinot, recognizing the hopeless situation, negotiated for the best deal. In exchange for \$5,000,000, they and their followers agreed to migrate. This treaty of New Echota won only minority approval from the Cherokee nation; nevertheless, the Senate chose to ratify it by a single vote, and Jackson and Van Buren enforced its terms. Two years were given for removal preparations, and on May 23, 1838,

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a sweeping operation under the command of Winfield Scott pushed the remaining Indians into stockades from whence they were transported west. One quarter of the nation died before resettlement was completed. In the West, the new arrivals wrought instability, and not until 1846 could the nation be called unified.

Carter's book is beautifully written and well researched. It aims at the general reader more than the scholar. It recalls the observation of Robert G. Ingersoll who said in 1899, "No people can be ignorant enough to be justly robbed or savage enough to be rightly enslaved."

John E. Kleber
Morehead State University



KATY NORTHWEST: THE STORY OF A BRANCH LINE RAILROAD. By Donovan L. Hofsommer. (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Company, 1976. Pp. xiii, 305. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Index. \$26.95.)

Katy Northwest is the history of some relatively obscure railroad branch operations in western Oklahoma. Although the Missouri-Kansas-Texas (Katy) Railroad eventually controlled the lines of this study, two separate companies—the Wichita Falls & Northwestern and the Beaver, Meade & Englewood—built the trackage. The larger of the two firms, the WF&NW, connected Wichita Falls, Texas with Forgan, Oklahoma and operated a branchline from Altus, Oklahoma to Wellington, Texas. The smaller road, the BM&E, ran from Beaver, through Forgan and west to Keyes, in the far western section of the Oklahoma panhandle.

In the early 20th century, local boosters, particularly two Wichita Falls men, Joseph A. Kemp and Frank Kell, did much to create the extensive network of branch lines. The Kemp-Kell partnership, in fact, gave rise to the locally popular success formula: "Think like Kemp and work like Kell!" Rail backers, of course, desired better transportation facilities, and too, those with financial interests in the railroads sought private profit. While weather and market conditions often determined profits margins, for much of their existence these lines profitably hauled the area's primary commodity—wheat, although other products, for instance oil from Texas boomtown Burkburnett, proved important.

The Katy takeover of the WF&NW in 1923 and the BM&F in 1931 caused these lines to become little more than branch line appendages of a major system, albeit an often financially sick one. By the 1950s the MKT leadership, faced with constant financial woes, allowed the old WF&NW and BM&E—known officially as the Northwestern District—to decay. The

company even sought the abandonment of the Wellington branch. Although the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1958 approved the retirement of this line, local shippers refused to allow rail service to die. They subsequently formed their independent shortline, the Hollis & Eastern Railroad and operated that portion of the old branch from Hollis, Oklahoma, to Altus. The formation of the H&E was, "one of the first instances where an abandoned branch from a major trunk railroad . . . serving primarily agricultural interests . . . was successfully transformed into a viable independent short line railroad."

Conditions worsened on the Northwestern District in the 1960s. The entire railroad, for that matter, was a mess; John W. Barriger, who became Katy president in 1965, called it a "transportation slum." While the volume of agricultural traffic remained reasonably high, the western Oklahoma property had so badly deteriorated that in 1969 the MKT sought to abandon the 331-mile operation north of Altus. Three years later and after strong shipper objections, the Interstate Commerce Commission granted permission to retire the line. Meanwhile the State of Oklahoma, through the newly created Oklahoma Railroad Maintenance Authority, made a valiant but unsuccessful attempt to acquire this soon-to-be-abandoned railroad. Political and economic forces caused the effort to fail; however, the trackage at Woodward was saved by a local resident and reorganized as the Northwestern Oklahoma Railroad.

Don Hofsommer has done a splendid job; *Katy Northwest* is a model for how railroad history should be treated. The book is neither a dry and stuffy academic work nor an antiquarian "golly-gee-whiz" railbuff one. This reviewer is especially struck by how financially successful the BM&E became for a road constructed so late in the history of railroad building. This challenges Albo Martin's thesis in his *Enterprise Denied: Origins of the Decline of American Railroads, 1897-1917* in 1971 that federal regulation of the railroads was responsible for their decline. Clearly a profitable carrier could be built in an era of tough regulatory supervision.

Katy Northwest is well researched. Hofsommer, for example, skillfully uses interviews with various Katy personnel which provide a warm, human dimension. Unlike most railroad monographs, the unheralded railroad worker is remembered. The illustrations are marvelous, although the work needs additional maps.

Don Hofsommer took advantage of an ideal case study that provides valuable insights into twentieth century American railroad history. *Katy Northwest* deals with independent carriers, lines of a large system and the eventual breakup of that network, either to be abandoned or reorganized as shortline firms. Furthermore, the response by Oklahoma to prevent the massive abandonment also enhances the story. Finally, no one will deny the author's

over-all contention that "No important study ever has been made of branch line railroad operations on the Great Plains, and little has been done on branch line railroading anywhere." *Katy Northwest* helps fill that void.

H. Roger Grant
The University of Akron



SPANISH COLONIAL TUCSON. A DEMOGRAPHIC HISTORY.

By Henry F. Dobyns. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1976.)

The familiar requirements for an adequate demographic analysis entail a search for three fundamental elements of population description: (1) What is the size of the population group, what changes can be detected in its size over time and what are the causes of that change? (2) What is the composition of the population group, and how does this compare to some defined normal parameter? (3) What is the distribution of the population in space, what changes in this arrangement can be observed and what influences are producing this change? The historical demographer often finds that he is unable to confront satisfactorily one or more of these basic segments of demographic study, either because of the disappearance or fragmentation of primary statistical source material, or simply because long-dead enumerators had no particular interest in recording population data in a way that might facilitate formulating modern hypotheses. The present study of Tucson under Spanish rule suffers from aspiring to greater demographic meaning than the available data may permit. The reader begins the task of reading this volume buoyed by the sturdy assurances of its title, preface and scholarly reputation of the author, who is familiar to anthropology for his contributions on the size of aboriginal American populations, the culture history of especially native American groups in southern Arizona and his research on recent Peruvian population migration and reorganization. Sadly, the concluding pages of *Spanish Colonial Tucson* bring with them the realization that a definitive reconstruction of population morphology for this city's early period has not been accomplished and perhaps may not be possible.

Dobyns is fascinated by the everyday documents of past times that may or may not have been important then but are now virtually all the historian has to reconstruct the ebb and flow of fast human circumstance. This is vividly apparent in *Spanish Colonial Tucson* where Dobyns has provided with almost antiquarian zeal, numerous quotations—or at least citations—from the manuscript collections of the Bancroft Library and the volumes housed in the research library of the Arizona Historical Society. This is not

of itself a characteristic that diminishes the value of his present work, for under particular circumstances the detail provided by a minute recital of historical data can be useful. However, in the context of a self-styled "demographic history," one wonders at the insertion of literally hundreds of remarks on the bickering of local officialdom in Spanish Tucson, of the hardships of soldiers in their skirmishes with various Indian groups in the hinterland and so forth. Dobyns probably has become familiar with every written fact that remains from the Spanish records of Tucson's mission and *presidio*, and in a bibliographical sense this is a valuable thing for future scholarly endeavor. But in the light of demographic analysis, by far the greater part of Dobyns' material as presented is hardly more than clutter in the way of his task. It is not until page 133 that he completes the enormous exercise in irrelevance that constitutes the first 12 chapters of his book, and at weary last, actually begins to confront the changing elements of Tucson's demographic past.

In the two chapters actually containing population analysis, Dobyns gives every evidence of having done a good job of locating enumerated data on the native Americans and aliens in his subject village and period. He traces the composition of the population, noting among other things the consistent inability of Pima, Sobaipuri and Papago to maintain their numbers while living near European settlements. Family size and fecundity were less than adequate to insure survival; Dobyns infers that diseases were continually active and that perpetuation of the resident Indian populations required regular infusions of rural emigrants. Thus, whether realized or not at the time, the missionizing efforts of the Spaniards served effectively to deplete the neighboring lands of inhabitants while opening the way for Apache penetration and for European open range livestock ranching. This is one of the more valuable contributions of the volume, although one already presented elsewhere by Dobyns.

So far as is possible from the limited population data, Dobyns has addressed himself to portions of the first two elements of population description mentioned above. However, he does not relate this data to demographic work elsewhere in European America, thereby denying the reader a broader perspective from which to assess population conditions in early Tucson. He also has neglected the perspective of geographic analysis by not attempting to develop some idea of the possibility of spatial context having had some impact on demographic change. These are omissions familiar to those interested in culture history, but they are distressing nonetheless. Finally, Dobyns has been unkind to the reader in failing to provide graphics of his population data and their changes and by tucking the single population pyramid—from

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the enumeration of 1801—into the final pages of his appendix. The general trends over time easily could have been presented more clearly than simply as portions of the text or in disjunct location.

In conclusion, this reviewer is somewhat at a loss to explain the construction of this volume. The bulk of data presented here either has appeared elsewhere or is not truly central to the task proclaimed. As demography, the work leaves much to be desired, although the paucity of available usable data is undeniable. As a contribution toward expanding “the store of knowledge about the ethnic foundations of Arizona’s second largest metropolis,” it certainly does bring together an impressive quantity of primary data, but it does not do well in meeting the defined problem. It also quite definitely does not answer Dobyns’ self-defined wider goal of showing how events in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries influenced the modern context of Spanish-American and native American groups within urban places in the Southwest. In short, although the goal of Dobyns in writing this book was admirable and though there are a few gems of demographic insight scattered amid the archival dust, the volume is an over-long and under-validated exercise in historiography. It demonstrates for us all the old truth that history is more than the collection of time-facts and once again shows that historical demography is indeed a formidable task, easily turned from its goal by the frustratingly inadequate shreds of data from which we must work.

Michael F. Doran
Radford College



FRONTIER ADVENTURERS; AMERICAN EXPLORATION IN OKLAHOMA. Edited by Joseph A. Stout, Jr., *The Oklahoma Series*, Volume IV (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: The Oklahoma Historical Society, 1976. Pp. 158. Illustrations. Photographs. Maps. Footnotes. Index.)

As the United States concludes its 200th anniversary, one positive good from the bicentennial celebration has been a renewed interest in this nation’s history. Many Oklahomans, however, feel somewhat frustrated that this state is located so far from “the cradle of liberty” and does not have famous historic sites like Valley Forge, Independence Hall and Concord Bridge. Too often, this results in pilgrimages to visit far-flung historic shrines and in efforts to study the histories of other states because they seem “so interesting.” This is indeed unfortunate because not only does Oklahoma have a heritage that is both proud and fascinating, but a group of historians like Grant and Carolyn Foreman, Edward Dale, Muriel Wright and Angie

Debo have produced excellent studies to illuminate it for the reader. Now, with the Oklahoma Historical Society's decision to inaugurate *The Oklahoma Series*, another generation of historians are adding to the historiography of Oklahoma by producing well-written and interesting syntheses of vital topics. In this series, the following have already been issued and well-received: LeRoy Fischer, *Territorial Governors of Oklahoma*; George Shirk, Muriel Wright and Kenny Franks, *Mark of Heritage*; *Oklahoma's Historic Sites*; and A. M. Gibson, *America's Exiles*; *Indian Colonization in Oklahoma*. To these is now added Joseph A. Stout, Jr., *Frontier Adventurers*; *American Exploration in Oklahoma*.

The story of Oklahoma's *Frontier Adventurers* is an interesting one, and Stout, professor of history at Oklahoma State University, and his team of historians tell it well. In the years after the Louisiana Purchase, a variety of people, for a number of reasons, explored Oklahoma. James Wilkinson (1806-1807), Stephen Long (1820) and Randolph Marcy (1849-1852) were sent by the government to explore and map various rivers while Amiel Whipple (1853) was in charge of a government survey to explore a possible transcontinental railroad route. Henry Leavenworth and Henry Dodge (1834-35), Nathan Boone (1843) and a group containing Henry Ellsworth, Albert-Alexandre de Pourtales, Washington Irving and Charles Latrobe (1832) were involved in diplomatic and/or military ventures relating to native or removed Indian tribes. Thomas Nuttall (1819) and George Sibley (1811) sought to satisfy scientific curiosity. Sibley (1825-1826), Thomas James, Hugh Glenn, Jacob Fowler (1821-1823) and Josiah Gregg (1839-1840) were lured by the lucrative Santa Fe trade.

What these men saw and recorded in relation to flora and fauna, Indian tribes, topography, soils, climate and the potential of the area has resulted in a tremendous amount of literature. Many of their original accounts are now available as evidenced by: Donald Jackson, ed., *The Journal of Zebulon M. Pike*; Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels*; Milo Quaife, ed., Thomas James's *Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans*; Elliott Coues, ed., Jacob Fowler's *The Journal of Jacob Fowler*; Max Moorhead, ed., Josiah Gregg's *The Commerce of the Prairies*; and Grant Foreman, ed., Randolph B. Marcy's *Adventure on Red River*. Government sources are filled with additional primary accounts in the form of official records and reports as well as correspondence. Numerous articles in historical journals offer penetrating glances into the life and activities of these men.

Using all of these sources, Stout and his team now offer in a single volume a synthesis of the life and adventures of each of these men as they relate to Oklahoma. The authors are to be complimented for their efforts as each did an admirable job in researching and presenting their findings on

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the various explorers in an interesting narrative. Stout, as well, draws his share of praise for conceiving and carrying through the idea, for the life of an editor is rarely an easy one. With this work, moreover, the Oklahoma Historical Society, the staff of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* and its expanding group of guest editors involved in *The Oklahoma Series* are to be congratulated. With the continued expansion of this fine series, it is hoped that Oklahomans will turn additional attention to their state history, using *The Oklahoma Series* as a point of origin for additional reading and as a motivation to visit local historic sites like Guthrie, Seger mission, Union Agency, Fort Gibson and others. Oklahoma has a proud historic tradition and authors like Stout and the others do much to focus attention on it.

H. Glenn Jordan
University of Oklahoma



OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY: SINCE 1890. By Philip Reed Rulon. (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University Press, 1975. Pp. ix, 386. Illustrations. Index. \$14.95.)

Histories of colleges and universities can either be laudatory paragraphs strung together like cheap beads, or in-depth studies of socio-cultural, economic institutions. Phil Rulon has produced the latter. Founded in the era of Populism, it was the Populists of Payne County through political bargaining who secured Oklahoma A. and M. College for Stillwater. At that point, the author finds "no deep commitment to either land-grant or democratic educational ideas." The institution was viewed simply as a means whereby federal funds could be brought to an undeveloped region." Through the next seven decades, however, the institution developed from a small, sometime pretentious frontier college to a major regional university.

Rulon uses the presidential administrations as framework for his story. R. J. Barker, "President and Professor of Moral and Mental Science," (1891-94) was largely an absentee administrator who left the college's affairs largely in the hands of his small faculty while he attended to his farm at Crescent—many faculty members today would undoubtedly look upon Barker as being progressive and might even think seriously of purchasing farms for their presidents. The first president who attempted to break the provincial mold was Henry E. Alvord—1894-95—a former professional army officer who spoke Comanche and had served as special Indian agent under President Grant. A leader in the land-grant college movement, he resigned his commission to become a faculty member of the Massachusetts Agricultural College. He was also a pioneer in agricultural research, served

as president of the Maryland Agricultural College and was special assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture when he accepted the Oklahoma position.

With the exception of Alvord and Angelo C. Scott, who did much to broaden the institution from a narrow vocational base into a broader academic curriculum, most of the early leaders were not particularly noteworthy. Administrations were distinguished primarily by political wranglings with the early Board of Trustees and its successor, the State Board of Agriculture. Faculties were hired and fired about as often as the presidents, and usually for similar political reasons. Between 1891 and 1928, the College had twelve presidents. Their tenures ranged from the nine years of Angelo C. Scott to the unhappy fifty-eight days of George Wilson. One suspects that the rapid turnover of presidents, however, was not nearly so crippling as the loss of competent faculty such as J. Frank Dobie.

Henry G. Bennett (1928-1951), more than any other president, molded the institution into the present Oklahoma State University through retention of the faculty, expansion of the graduate program and his comprehensive plans for enlarging the physical plant. Appropriately, the author spreads the Bennett years over three chapters.

Rulon's work is exhaustively researched and a significant contribution to Oklahoma institutional history. This reviewer's only criticism is that occasionally the author relates more information to the reader than he would wish on matters which are not endemic to the story, such as the ages of president's children, but otherwise he has done a solid job.

Donald E. Green
Central State University



STORMS BREWED IN OTHER MEN'S WORLD'S: THE CONFRONTATION OF INDIANS, SPANISH, AND FRENCH IN THE SOUTHWEST, 1540-1795. By Elizabeth A. H. John. (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1975. Pp. xvi, 805. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Index. \$18.95.)

Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds explores in meticulous detail the relationships between the Southwestern Indians and the Europeans from the time of Coronado to the close of the Eighteenth Century. Concentrating on the area stretching from Natchitoches, Louisiana, to the Hopi settlements of northern Arizona, Elizabeth John recounts in a clear, crisp style the strivings of a broad array of fascinating groups—conquistadores, friars, courier de bois, Pueblos, Comanches, Caddoes and Apaches.

Avoiding the trap of writing solely from an Anglo point of view, John

finds both Indians and Spaniards worthy of considerable admiration. She documents convincingly the skill with which Indian statesmen pursued their main objective in relations with whites—maintaining access to European trade goods. Likewise, she points out that it was on the Spanish frontier “that one finds the earliest commitment to due process for Indians and the only consistent efforts to foster self-governance of Indian communities.”

The story of the Spanish and French in the Southwest has, of course, been the subject of exhaustive research since the pioneer efforts of Herbert E. Bolton. It is the chief virtue of John’s book that she summarizes so completely and well the many monographs of such men as Bolton, Charles Hackett, George Hammond and Alfred B. Thomas. In addition, she adds considerable new material from the Bexar Archives and the Spanish Archives of New Mexico.

The book is not without its faults. Frequently, John accepts highly suspect Spanish statements concerning the number of Indians engaged in raids. On page 330, for instance, she repeats without challenge a report that *three thousand* Comanches attacked Taos and were pursued for *five hundred* miles by the New Mexicans—obviously gross exaggerations. More significantly, John occasionally fails to recognize differences of opinion on controversial topics. Scholars have long debated, for example, the proper identity of the Paduca Indians of French documents. Carefully researched works by Frank Secoy and George Hyde suggest strongly that they were most likely Plains Apaches. Secoy and Hyde may be wrong, of course, but it seems unwise to simply ignore their work and assume, as John does, that the Paducas were Comanches.

John’s handling of her bibliography is also disappointing. In a “synthesis for the general reader,” a bibliography should be more than a mere listing of sources cited. Some annotation would be in order. Neither should the works of such prominent scholars as Henry Folmer or Carlos Casteneda be ignored.

Nevertheless, John’s work is a tremendous storehouse of details on Indian affairs. Although its bulk and high price may scare away many potential readers, historians will value it highly. Scholars at established research libraries will appreciate its thoroughness; those without ready access to the many monographs it summarizes will find it indispensable.

Chares L. Kenner
Arkansas State University



OKLAHOMA POLITICS IN STATE AND NATION, VOLUME I.

By Stephen Jones. (Enid, Oklahoma: The Haymaker Press, Inc., 1974. Pp. xviii, 225. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Appendix.)

Because Stephen Jones is a remarkable man it is not surprising that his latest book, "Oklahoma Politics In State and Nation," is a remarkable book. Mr. Jones, one of Oklahoma's ablest trial-lawyers, has combined exhaustive research with careful statistical analysis to produce a critical study of the political scene in Oklahoma. The present volume, the first of a multi-volume work, examines intra-state political activity from statehood in 1907 through the election of the Sooner State's first Republican Governor, Henry Bellmon, in 1962.

In a time in which many books on politics are merely the inscribed musings of their authors, Jones's book is honestly documented and obligingly organized. The first part of the book offers a concise narrative of major political events within the state up to 1958. This background information is followed by an analysis of the factors of political sum in our perplexing state. Separate chapters unravel the input of distribution of religious preferences in Oklahoma's population, the Rural-Urban split, the division of agricultural activity and the make-up of the two principal political parties in Oklahoma. This section of the book also examines our oligarchic state senate and its interaction with the lower house and the Governors' Mansion.

The second portion of the book focuses on the most significant political happening in Oklahoma since statehood, the permanent establishment of a two-party system through the election of the state's first Republican Governor. Stephen Jones first sets the stage for this extraordinary event with a detailed description of the race for the executive mansion in 1958. He then gives a step-by-step illustration of the methods by which the wheat farmer from Billings broke the democratic stranglehold on Oklahoma.

Far from producing a mere collection of maps, charts, graphs and figures, Stephen Jones has created a readable work which is richly spiced with character studies of Oklahoma's favorite and unfavorite sons. But the most interesting aspect of the book, and its purpose, is the explanation of the way that those sons have gotten where they are and the part the citizens of Oklahoma played in getting them there.

Mark Lea Cantrell
University of Oklahoma College of Law



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STUDIES IN SOUTHEASTERN INDIAN LANGUAGES. James M. Crawford, Editor. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1975. Pp. 453. Map. Bibliographies. \$13.00.)

At the time of the discovery of the New World, early explorers found a Babel of tongues—more than in all of Europe and Asia at that time. However, contrary to the belief shared by European scholars, there was no “American Indian” language common to the Indians of North America, but rather some 550 distinct and eloquent languages, each comprising numerous dialects relating rich unwritten traditions of poetry, oratory and drama.

Although the Indian tribes inhabiting the old southeast shared numerous cultural traits, their languages were legion. Keyed to the total culture, *Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages* is a scholarly compilation of papers pertaining to the linguistic families and isolate Indian languages indigenous to the Southeastern quadrant of the United States. It should be of special interest to many Oklahomans in that a majority of these tribes were eventually removed to this area. Most of the studies were originally presented in symposia at the annual meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society in 1970 and 1971, believed to be among the first of such conferences ever devoted exclusively to the languages of that region.

Organizer of the symposium held in 1971, Dr. James M. Crawford has skillfully compiled and edited the collection, including a comprehensive introductory overview of the languages of the area and an intriguing glottochronological study of “The Phonological Sequence *Ya* in Words Pertaining to the Mouth in Southeastern and Other Languages,” authored by himself.

Major linguistic divisions explored in the volume include the extensive Algonquian family, represented by a study of the “Shawnee Noun Inflection,” along with a description of its ancestor, the Proto-Algonquian, in a reconstituted and historical phonology of the Powhatan language; the Muskogean speaking tribes, exemplified in an example of “Choctaw Morphophonemics,” together with an intrafamilial examination of “The Position of Chickasaw in Western Muskogean;” and the Iroquoian stock, effectively illustrated by a commentary on the highly inflected Cherokee language. Supplementing these dissertations, the divergent Caddoan division is also probed in a semantic analysis of the verb of the Wichita, a language spoken in an area adjacent to the Southeast.

One of six language isolates native to the region, Yuchi morphonology is also investigated in the text, in addition to a highly interesting study of the

fascinating Mobilian trade language shared by the Southeastern tribes, contributed by the eminent scholar Mary R. Haas.

A tool analogous to archeological methods for dating the past, the science of linguistics has helped to reconstruct the long road traveled by ancestors of contemporary North American Indians throughout millennia past—leaving poetic traces of their star-crossed journey indelibly impressed upon the atlas and language of the United States.

Janet Campbell
Oklahoma Historical Society



BLACK TEXANS: A HISTORY OF NEGROES IN TEXAS, 1528–1971. By Alwyn Barr. (Austin: Jenkins Publishing Company, 1973. Pp. viii, 259. Photographs. Bibliographical essay. Index. \$8.50.)

A few years ago, Professor Alwyn Barr received wide acclaim for his *Reconstruction to Reform: Texas Politics, 1874–1906*, which won the Texas State Historical Association's Coral H. Tullis Memorial Prize for the most outstanding contribution to Texas history in 1971–1972. With *Black Texans*, Barr presents another volume which should win awards, a volume which surveys the history of blacks in the Lone Star State.

In this study, broken into six chapters, the author has organized his material chronologically. The first two units relate the experiences of free blacks and slaves from the era of exploration to the Civil War. With a fluid pen Barr moves from Estevan, the Moor of Azamor, to Thomas Stephens, a slave who served the army of the Republic of Texas, to H. C. Smith, who remembered that "Freedom in poverty . . . is sweeter than the best fed or the best clothed slavery in the world." The remaining chapters cover the recent era, beginning with new freedom and closing with an excellent unit on "People of Anger and Hope."

Long has such a study been needed. Extant are articles, books and unpublished dissertations dealing with specialized topics and limited time frames, but this study is the first synthesis. Moreover, many early works were presented from a now dated racial viewpoint. Barr's writing is free of bias as he traces the history of political, economic and social discrimination which blacks have suffered. Nor does the author excuse the violence—sometimes calculated, sometimes indiscriminate—thrust upon the Negro community by whites. The author does more, however, than record the ills which affected Negro society. He recounts the achievements of blacks, achievements all the more notable because they were made in a generally untenable racial environment.

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Undoubtedly the author will be criticized for not doing things that he did not intend to do in the first place. Some readers may want a more in-depth treatment, but Barr geared this synthesis for general readers and in his preface states that he intended only to summarize available information on black Texans. The text is not footnoted, but a valuable twenty-nine page bibliographical essay adds much to the study as does the more than adequate index. In what he set out to do, Barr has done well. A brilliant study by a leading authority, *Black Texans* will long remain an outstanding contribution to Texas, Black and Southern history.

James Smallwood
Oklahoma State University



THE SPANISH BORDER LANDS: A FIRST READER. Edited by Oakah L. Jones, Jr. Foreword by Donald C. Cutter. (Los Angeles: Lorrin L. Morrison, Publisher, 1974. Pp. xiv, 262. Preface. Introduction. Illustrations. Maps. Selected Reading List. Index. \$5.50 Paper.)

For more than three centuries the sons of Spain—many of them adopted—toiled to conquer the land known as *El Nuevo Mundo*. From Los Adaes on the Arroyo Hondo to San Gabriel on the Pacific and from San Antonio to Santa Fe they struggled to dominate the harsh and hostile lands which became known to them as the *Provincias Internas*—which are known to modern historians as the Spanish Borderlands. Long lost in the dazzling glow of the English colonies, this Spanish frontier was rescued from obscurity in the early twentieth century by Herbert E. Bolton. Since the publication of Bolton's *Spanish Borderlands* in the 1920s, second and third generation Boltonians have garnered, translated and interpreted many of the documents left by the army, priests and governmental officials. In turn they have compiled an impressive array of monographs and general works describing the Spanish frontier experience from 1519 to 1821. General works provide a historical framework for the period. However, scholarly articles are scattered among professional journals and are not readily accessible to the public nor, in many cases, to interested students. Oakah L. Jones, a noted borderlands historian, has collected, edited and arranged fifteen articles to fill this gap. The northern advancement of Spanish civilization from central Mexico was promoted by three institutions: mission, presidio and civil settlement. The missions were established to extend Christianity and civilization to the Indians and to provide protection for the settlers. The mission was a partial success; settlements were formed around the mission, and some of the more sedentary and peaceful Indians were missionized.

However, the nomadic and war-like tribes of the plains refused to submit to Spanish domination.

Officials in New Spain would have happily ignored the region north of Chihuahua. From the reports of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and Luís de Moscoso, it was easy to conclude that there was little of interest—gold and silver—to Spain in the interior of North America. However, Spain was soon forced to recognize the importance of the area by enterprising citizens, such as Juan de Oñate who settled New Mexico in the late sixteenth century and Father Eusebio Kino who began the missionization of Arizona in the mid-seventeenth century. More stimulating to Spanish officials was the encroachment of foreigners. The arrival of Rene Cavalier's small band of French settlers on the coast of Texas in the 1680s forced Spain to settle that region or allow it to fall into the hands of its international rival. Thus began the process of defensive expansion—and the Spanish Borderlands.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, Spanish officials, including Carlos III, realized that the mission had failed. Thus the cross was replaced by the sword; conquest took the place of conversion. A line of presidios was constructed across the southwest from La Bajía to San Gabriel. However, the soldier did little better than the priest. Finally, in 1787, a policy of purchasing peace by the liberal distribution of gifts was instituted, and a semblance of serenity came to the borderlands.

The articles in this collection treat a wide variety of topics, but they all share one characteristic: excellence. However, the three articles which deal with the military deserve special accolades. Three noted writers, Odie B. Faulk, Paige W. Christiansen and Max Moorhead, provide a vivid and incisive look at the presidio and the men who manned it.

Oakah L. Jones rightly sub-titled his work "A First Reader." It will open the historical doors for many into one of the most delightful and intriguing chapters in the history of the Americas.

James H. Thomas
Wichita State University



OKLAHOMA BOOKS

By Vicki Sullivan and Mac R. Harris

THE ADAMS ONE-FIFTY: A Checklist of the 150 Most Important Books on Western Outlaws and Lawmen. Compiled by Ramon F. Adams. (Austin: Jenkins Publishing Company, 1976. Pp. 91. \$17.50.)

BEGINNING CHEROKEE. By Ruth Bradley Holmes and Betty Sharp Smith. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976. Pp. 346. \$15.00.)

THE CHEROKEE NATION OF INDIANS. By Charles C. Royce. (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1975. Pp. xiv, 272. \$12.50.)

THE CONDITIONS OF AFFAIRS IN INDIAN TERRITORY AND CALIFORNIA. By Charles C. Painter. (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1976. Reprint of 1888 edition. \$9.99.)

THE EXPERIENCES OF A DEPUTY U.S. MARSHALL OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY. By W. F. Jones. (Muskogee, Oklahoma: Starr-Hill Associates, 1976. Reprint of 1937 edition. Pp. 40. \$5.50.)

DEATH SONG: THE LAST OF THE INDIAN WARS. By John Edward Weems. (Garden City, New Jersey: Doubleday, 1976. Pp. 311. \$10.95.)

THE DELTA KAPPA GAMMA SOCIETY IN OKLAHOMA: A HISTORY FROM ALPHA TO BETA ETA, 1932-1974. By Delta Kappa Gamma Society. (Published by author, 1975. Pp. 295. No price given.)

A DICTIONARY OF THE OSAGE LANGUAGE. By Francis LaFlesche. (Phoenix, Arizona: Indian Tribal Series, 1975. Reprint of 1931 edition. Pp. 406. \$22.50.)

FORKED TONGUES AND BROKEN TREATIES. Edited by Donald E. Worcester. (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1975. Pp. xxi, 470. \$9.95.)

GATE TO NO MAN'S LAND. By Gateway to the Panhandle Museum Association. (Published by author, 1976. Pp. 39. No price given.)

GEORGE CATLIN: LETTERS AND NOTES ON THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS. Edited by Michael M. Mooney. (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1975. Pp. 366. \$15.00.)

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE CHEROKEE. By James Mooney. (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1975. Pp. xiv, 266. \$12.50.)

- INDIAN LAND TENURE; Biographical Essays and a Guide to the Literature. (New York: Clearwater Publishing Company, Inc., 1975. Pp. viii, 290. \$6.95.)
- THE INDIAN LEGACY OF CHARLES BIRD KING. By Herman J. Viola. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institutional Press, 1976. Pp. 152. \$19.95.)
- THE KEE-TOO-WAHS ARE CALLING. By E. B. Wilson. (Published by the author, 1976. Pp. 213. No price given.)
- THE OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, 1824-1880: HISTORICAL SKETCHES. By Edward E. Hill. (New York: Clearwater Publishing Company, Inc., 1974. Pp. ix, 246. No price given.)
- PIONEERS OF KINGFISHER COUNTY, 1889-1976. By Kingfisher County Historical Society. (Published by author, 1976. Pp. 416. No price given.)
- SIX SCORE: THE 120; Best Books on the Range Cattle Industry. By W. S. Reese. (Austin: Jenkins Publishing Company, 1976. Pp. 85. \$17.50.)
- TRADITIONS OF THE CADDO. By George A. Dorsey. (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1976. Reprint of 1905 edition. \$16.50.)
- THE TRAIL OF TEARS: THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN REMOVALS, 1813-1855. By Gloria Jahoda. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976. Pp. 356. \$12.95.)
- WHITE ON RED: IMAGES OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN. Edited by Nancy B. Black and Bette S. Weidman. (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1976. \$12.95.)

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

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

October 28, 1976

The quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order at 10:00 a.m. by First Vice President W. D. Finney. The meeting place was the Board Room of the Historical Building.

The roll was called by Executive Director Jack Wettengel. Present were Mrs. George L. Bowman; Q. B. Boydston; O. B. Campbell; Harry L. Deupree, M.D.; Mrs. Mark R. Everett; W. D. Finney; Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer; Bob Foresman; E. Moses Frye; Nolen J. Fuqua; Denzil D. Garrison; Dr. James Morrison; H. Milt Phillips; Earl Boyd Pierce; Jordan B. Reaves; Miss Genevieve Seger; and H. Merle Woods. Those who had asked to be excused were Jack T. Conn; Joe E. Curtis; Dr. A. M. Gibson; John E. Kirkpatrick; W. E. McIntosh; Fisher Muldrow; Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt, and George H. Shirk. Miss Seger moved to excuse the absent members. Mrs. Bowman seconded and the motion carried.

Mr. Wettengel gave the Executive Director's report, stating that fifty persons had applied for annual membership in the Society. Those applying for life membership were John F. Kane, John L. Schmitz and Dr. Rennard J. Strickland. Mrs. Bowman moved to accept the applications and the motion was seconded by Mr. Foresman. Motion carried.

Mr. Wettengel conveyed a message from Dr. Gibson requesting that he be excused from meetings during the period September 1, 1976 to August 30, 1977. Dr. Gibson will be researching and writing out of state most of this time. Dr. Deupree moved to grant Dr. Gibson one year's leave of absence; second by Dr. Morrison and carried.

Mr. Wettengel reported on an extensive survey conducted by the Society office of life members' correct addresses. Approximately 700 questionnaires were mailed, with over one-half responding. Many changes of address were reported and it was revealed that more than fifty of the life members still on the rolls were deceased.

Mrs. Bowman then presented the treasurer's report.

As directed by Mr. Shirk at the July, 1976, meeting, Mr. Wettengel supplemented the treasurer's report with a summary handed to each Board member explaining the revolving fund statute created by State Senate Bill 115 (1973). Mr. Wettengel briefly described the revolving fund and the handling of the Society's publications. He stated that the Society is authorized by Senate Bill 115 to receive money from membership, sales of

publications, sales of merchandise to visitors, income from duplicating and microfilm services, contributions, gifts and endowments, unless otherwise provided by donors, and to receive other income derived from the operations of the Oklahoma Historical Society and from historic sites. The law also provides that the revolving fund shall be under the control and management of the Oklahoma Historical Society and the disbursements therefrom shall be approved by the Society. It is the Revolving Account 200 on which Mrs. Bowman reports to the Board members each quarter.

Mr. Pierce moved that the Board commend Mrs. Bowman for her report. The motion carried by a show of hands.

Mr. Phillips reported on the progress of the filming of state newspapers by the Microfilm Division. The Society has been purchasing back and current film of the four major state newspapers, but the Newspaper Library is also still using, old, bound copies of these publications. The Board has given the Newspaper Library authority to make these purchases. Mr. Phillips said that the Newspaper Library has made arrangements with a microfilm company to film back issues. Mr. Wettengel said that the Newspaper Products Corporation had picked up five years of *The Tulsa Daily World* but is finding the project more costly than had been anticipated. As an alternative, they are proposing to purchase microfilm rolls for the Society in exchange for the bound volumes.

During the July meeting Mr. Campbell suggested that a report be prepared for the Board members outlining briefly the location, description and state of development of each of the Historical Society's manned sites and museums. Mr. C. E. Metcalf, Historic Sites Director, presented such a report on each of the twenty sites and museums under his supervision. Mr. Metcalf pointed out that this expansion had taken place in just ten years.

After Mr. Metcalf's review, Mr. Pierce asked the Board members to consider certain aspects of the Society's sites program: maintenance, custodial services, priorities of sites, etc. He cited the barracks, powder house and bake house at Fort Gibson particularly as property owned by the Society which contrasted badly in appearance with Oklahoma Tourism and Recreation Division and privately owned buildings at the same site. Mr. Pierce asked about the proper procedure to follow to bring about a change in this condition. He said he believed that the buildings were important historically and should be maintained. Mr. Wettengel suggested that Board members could approach their local senators and representatives for assistance at a particular site, but advised that it is inappropriate for Board members to present such requests to legislative committees.

Mr. Phillips proposed that a committee of five members of the Board of Directors be appointed to conduct a study of the legislative process regarding

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

historic sites and that the study be presented at the January, 1977 meeting. Mr. Phillips moved that Mr. Finney be authorized to name members to the committee to study, at their own expense and time, the procedures the Board members should use in their discussion with members of the legislature regarding various historic sites. Mr. Boydston seconded the motion, which passed.

Mr. Campbell asked Mr. Wettengel if he would prepare a visitation report for the January meeting which would give the Board members an insight as to how sites are being utilized by the public. Mr. Campbell said he believed the time would come when local groups would have to handle the sites in their own areas without state funds. He said there would be more local interest if handled in this manner.

Mr. Finney thanked Mr. Metcalf for the sites report and Mrs. Bowman moved to commend Miss Patricia Lester for her assistance in preparing the report. Mrs. Bowman also complimented Mr. Campbell for his interest in making the request for the benefit of the other Board members. Mrs. Everett seconded the motion and it was carried.

The Publication Committee report was given by Dr. Fischer who referred to the three books in the *Oklahoma Series* recently released by the Publication Division. The latest was *Frontier Adventurers: American Exploration in Oklahoma*, edited by Dr. Joe Stout, Oklahoma State University. Dr. Fischer said the printers, University of Oklahoma Press, have expressed interest in republishing the series, particularly *Mark of Heritage*, for general distribution.

Dr. Fischer then gave the Museum Committee report. He advised that Mr. Joe Todd, curator, had left the museum to become head curator at the Forty-fifth Infantry Division (Oklahoma National Guard) Museum, 2145 Northeast 36th Street, Oklahoma City.

Mr. Boydston advised that the Honey Springs Commission had not met during the quarter, but asked Mr. Wettengel to report on the progress of the study to be made by the Oklahoma Tourism and Recreation Division for the development of the Honey Springs Battlefield Park. Actual plans were started October 4 by Ms. Mary McIntire, a member of the Tourism staff. Mr. Gage Skinner will be in charge of the project.

A volunteer recruitment program was held in October by the Education Division. Thirty-seven persons responded to the invitation to serve in various divisions of the Society, reported Mr. Foresman. He also announced that the division's Outreach program is being extended to Boy and Girl Scout groups.

Miss Seger asked the Board members to commend Mr. B. E. Joseph for his efforts in promoting the Society's junior history program. She spoke

of the difficulty in maintaining continuity in the program because of teacher transfers and because Oklahoma history is just a one-semester course in the Oklahoma public school system.

Mr. Foresman presented a plan from the Education Committee to continue the custom of the state to give certificates of merit to outstanding history students. After discussion, Dr. Fischer suggested that the Education Committee study an awards program and present their conclusions at the January meeting.

Mr. Foresman referred to the success of the *Tulsa Tribune* sponsored one-day tours. He said twenty-five busloads of tourists took part in a recent Fall Foliage Tour to the Kiamichi Mountains. Publisher Jenkin Lloyd Jones had expressed to Mr. Foresman his interest in promoting an historical tour during the redbud season in the spring of 1977.

Dr. Deupree moved that the tour proposal be followed through and adopted. The motion was seconded by Mr. Pierce and passed.

Mr. Pierce asked that Mr. Wettengel be authorized to write letters to Messrs. Shirk, Curtis and Muldrow expressing the Board members' regret that they were unable to attend the meeting because of illness. The Board approved the request.

Mrs. Bowman offered a suggestion that the Board members present a bronze, numbered Liberty Bell replica to Mr. Shirk as an expression of the Board's good wishes for his return to health.

Mrs. Everett reported that the Library Committee had met prior to the quarterly meeting. She presented a proposed agreement between the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Daughters of the American Revolution, which had been prepared by Mrs. Nesbitt, Mrs. Everett and the state representative of the Daughter of the American Revolution, Mrs. Susan P. Patterson. Legal assistance in the drafting of the agreement was provided by Mr. Shirk and Mr. Charles Nesbitt. Senator Garrison moved that Mr. Finney be authorized to sign the agreement in behalf of the Society. Miss Seger seconded the motion, which carried.

Mrs. Everett expressed the gratitude of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Library Committee to Mr. Nesbitt for his assistance.

Mr. Phillips advised the Board members that the President of the Oklahoma Press Association, Larry Hammer, had appointed an Advisory Council for the newspaper museum to be housed in the State Capital Printing Building in Guthrie. Council members are: H. Milt Phillips, Chairman; Bill Lehmann; Milo Watson; Don Ferrell; Jack Dyer; Larry Hammer; and Ben Blackstock. The property has been deeded to the Oklahoma Historical Society and Mr. Phillips predicted that the museum will become an outstanding newspaper and printing museum. Federal funds will be

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requested to match state appropriations to develop and maintain the museum in the years ahead. The Oklahoma Press Association will lend its support to the museum.

On Wednesday, November 13, the Oklahoma Heritage Association will dedicate a marker at the site of the Captain David L. Payne Boomer campground in the University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center. Dr. Deupree made the announcement.

At the July meeting President Shirk named a committee to investigate the Lillie M. Burkhart property in Ralston. Mr. Wettengel reported that committee members Dr. Deupree, Mr. Glen Robberson and he had visited the site occupied by Mr. Byron Burkhart. Dr. Deupree said many fine examples of Osage blankets, applique and beadwork are a part of the estate. Mr. Burkhart has been careful to keep the entire collection intact and Dr. Deupree said that the Society will take immediate steps to preserve these priceless items as soon as the estate is settled.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 12:15 p.m.

W. D. FINNEY

First Vice President

JACK WETTENGEL

Executive Director

GIFT LIST

The Oklahoma Historical Society wishes to acknowledge the following people who donated gifts during the third quarter of 1976:

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July 30, 1976 to October 28, 1976

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Brummer, Donna	Apache
Carpenter, Mrs. Richard	Wagoner
Catlin, Ed	Shepperton, Middlesex, U.K.
Cooper, Elizabeth C.	Oklahoma City
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Ward, Mrs. Vernon E.	Fairview
Weathers, Linda	Tulsa

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White, Rev. Jim	Poteau
Willbanks, Wilma	Guthrie
Wilson, Mrs. Victor (Evangeline)	El Reno
Witteman, Glen S.	Ponca City
Wright, Mrs. Margaret Curtis	Richmond, Texas

NEW LIFE MEMBERS*

July 30, 1976 to October 28, 1976

Kane, John F.	Bartlesville
Strickland, Dr. Rennard J.	Tulsa
Schmitz, John L.	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 \$1.50 unless otherwise stipulated by the Historical Society office. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

EDITORIAL POLICY—"The Chronicles of Oklahoma shall . . . pursue an editorial policy of publication of worthy and scholarly manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Oklahoma or regional history. It shall not interest itself in the publication of manuscripts of a political or controversial nature." (Constitution Oklahoma Historical Society) Manuscripts submitted for consideration for publication should be typed on bond paper and double spaced. Footnotes should conform to *A Manual of Style* (The University of Chicago Press, 1975), be double spaced and be placed at the end of the manuscript. Appropriate photographs should be supplied with submitted manuscripts and will be returned upon author's request. The Publication Department reserves the right to make any editorial changes it deems necessary for the sake of clarity and conformity to its adopted style. No responsibility is assumed for unsolicited manuscripts, and such material will be returned to the author only if accompanied by postpaid envelope. All inquiries should be addressed to: Publication Department, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73105. Telephone 405-521-2491 extension 34.



CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Article I, Section 2—The purposes for which the Oklahoma Historical Society is organized and conducted are to preserve and to perpetuate the history of Oklahoma and its people; to stimulate popular interest in historical study and research; and to promote and to disseminate historical knowledge. To further these ends and, as the trustee of the State of Oklahoma, it shall maintain a library and museum in which it shall collect, arrange, catalog, index and preserve books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, letters, diaries, journals, records, maps, charts, documents, photographs, engravings, etchings, pictures, portraits, busts, statuary and other objects of art and all other appropriate museum material with special regard to the history of Oklahoma. It shall perpetuate knowledge of the lives and deeds of the explorers and pioneers of this region; it shall collect and preserve the arts and crafts of the pioneering period, the legends, traditions, histories and cultural standards of the Indian tribes; it shall maintain a collection of the handiwork of the same, and an archaeological collection illustrating the life, customs and culture of the prehistoric peoples. It shall disseminate the knowledge thus gained by investigation and research through the medium of printed reports, bulletins, lectures, exhibits or other suitable means or methods. It shall discharge all other duties and responsibilities placed upon it by the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma.

the Chronicles

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF OKLAHOMA



THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society
Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

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THE COVER The restored interior of the Fairchild Winery. Originated by Edward B. Fairchild in the 1890s, the winery had a capacity of 4,000 to 6,000 gallons of wine yearly, and was surrounded by a large vineyard. Restored by George H. Shirk, the winery is included on the Federal government's National Register of Historic Places.



THE FAIRCHILD WINERY

*By LeRoy H. Fischer**

When Edward B. Fairchild rode northeast from Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Territory, on August 21, 1890, prospects for his future appeared promising. He was on his way to look over a 160 acre homestead relinquishment of prairie farming land located in Britton Township in the Southeast Quarter of Section Thirty-five, about six miles from his home and business in the heart of downtown Oklahoma City. Not only would this land be his to use for a nominal filing fee, but during the required five years of living on and developing it he would be engaging in his favorite work of fruit and wine production. Moreover, the homestead's black, red and sandy soil, together with the climate, seemed right for the growing of fruit, especially grapes. It appeared also that Oklahoma City would provide an ideal market for the fruit he would grow and the wine he would make. In a little while he turned up in Guthrie, the capital city of Oklahoma Territory, where he went to the United States Land Office to file a homestead claim for the quarter section tract he had recently viewed.¹

Fairchild's experiences told him he was doing the right thing. He grew up near Hammondsport, on Lake Keuka, in Steuben County, New York, an area noted for its fruit and grape growing, and also as a wine and champagne making center. His father, Stanley B. Fairchild, who came from an early New England family, was one of the first to introduce grape growing in Steuben County, and for forty years numbered among the leading horticulturalists of the state of New York. Though he successfully raised all kind of fruit, he gave special attention to grapes, and manufactured the product of his vineyard into wine. In 1862, he marketed 4,000 gallons of wine made from grapes raised in his vineyard. His son, Edward B., was born on December 31, 1842, and grew up in this environment and tradition. Thus Edward from childhood was familiar with the fruit-growing business. From the age of twelve, in 1854, to the death of his father about 1886, they were associated in the same occupation. Young Fairchild owned eighteen acres of fine vineyard, situated in the most productive fruit belt of New York state, and for several years dealt in buying and selling vineyards, for he was an acknowledged judge of their merits. Mean-

* The author is Oppenheim Regents Professor of History at Oklahoma State University.

¹ Fairchild Winery, Abstract of Title, Entry 2, George H. Shirk Collection, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Edward B. Fairchild, Homestead Application Number 7202, August 21, 1890, and Final Homestead Certificate Number 1838, September 20, 1895, United States Land Office, Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory, Record Group 49, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

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Edward B. Fairchild before coming to Oklahoma City



Mrs. Edward B. (Caroline) Fairchild before coming to Oklahoma City

while, he married Caroline L. Van Voorhees, also of the Hammondsport, New York, area. She came of a prominent family of Netherlands background, was a talented landscape artist, attended Elmira College, Elmira, New York, a girl's school, and was an early editor of the Hammondsport *Herald*. To the Fairchilds two children were born, Walter L. and Caroline E. Walter, much older than his sister, graduated from Lehigh University in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and traveled for a number of years for an electrical supply house of New York City.²

But the West beckoned to Fairchild, his wife and daughter, and in the late 1880s they settled in Kansas, where Fairchild engaged in a fruit and vegetable business. With the opening of the Unassigned Lands for settlement on April 22, 1889, in present-day central Oklahoma, Oklahoma Terri-

² *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma* (Chicago: Chapman Publishing Company, 1901), p. 575; Interview, Ultimus S. Conner, June 8, 1975, Shirk Collection; Interview, Ultimus S. Conner, May, 1974, Oklahoma Living Legends Library, Oklahoma Christian College, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Miriam Nelson to author, December 28, 1976, Shirk Collection.

tory had its beginnings. Fairchild came to Oklahoma City on April 22 from Kansas with a railway boxcar load of potatoes, which he sold to the local settlers. Instead of homesteading, he went into the restaurant business with M. S. Warner and operated the Grand Avenue Cafe, located between Santa Fe and Broadway.³

Several months later, in September, 1889, Fairchild was joined in Oklahoma City by his wife and seventeen-year-old daughter, Caroline. Mrs. Fairchild soon opened a bookstore at 104 Main Street and became a charter member of the First Presbyterian Church. In September, 1890, she began teaching in a grade school in Oklahoma City. Then tragedy struck. As she was about to call her students into the classroom following the noon recess on October 21, 1890, she dropped dead of heart disease at the age of forty-nine. She was characterized at the time as "a talented, cultivated lady, and none knew her but to love her. She was an exemplary Christian. . . . She was a general favorite in the city, known by the rich and poor alike. . . . She was of a sweet disposition, gentle, true and charitable." Fairchild never remarried.⁴

Meanwhile, Fairchild himself became a booster for the development of Oklahoma City, and vigorously backed the effort to obtain the right-of-way through the downtown business district for the Choctaw Railway Company, later the Rock Island Railway Company. Before a half century passed, Oklahoma City paid millions to convert this downtown right-of-way to the present Civic Center. The coming of the Choctaw Railway soon proved to be a detriment for the short-term growth prospects of Oklahoma City, for it drained off a substantial portion of its population. Many of the 10,000 or more people who inhabited it soon after the Run of 1889 moved to villages along the Choctaw Railway and to the surrounding countryside as new areas were opened to settlement. Ultimately the population of Oklahoma City touched bottom with only 4,000 persons remaining. Meantime, Fairchild's restaurant probably suffered from dwindling business. Coupled with this problem was his persisting desire to enter again into the fruit production and wine manufacturing business. His wife had long opposed wine production and, now that she was dead, he no longer felt her

³ "In a Reminiscent Vein," *Historia*, Vol. VIII, No. 4 (January 1, 1920), pp. 3, 4; R. W. McAdam and R. E. Levi, *The City Directory* (Oklahoma City: n. p., 1889), unpagcd; *Smith's First Directory of Oklahoma Territory* (Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory: James W. Smith, 1890), unpagcd.

⁴ Enumeration District Number 42, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Territory, First Territorial Census of Oklahoma, 1890, p. 456, Library Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; *Smith's First Directory of Oklahoma Territory*, unpagcd; Mrs. J. B. Harrel, *Oklahoma and Oklahomans* (n. p.: n. p., 1922), p. 22; *Evening Gazette* (Oklahoma City), October 21, 1890, p. 3 and October 22, 1890, p. 3.



Fairchild's orchard and vineyard during the 1890s

restraining influence. She once had written a poem characterizing grapes as lovely fruit degraded into wine. Moreover, Oklahoma City continued to offer an excellent market for the fruit and wine he desired to produce.⁵

So it was that in the spring of 1891 Fairchild began the development of his homestead. His first task was to plow six acres of land to set out a vineyard, which he soon increased to a total of twenty acres. Next he dug a well. Then he commenced the construction of a small two-room "box" house, twelve by twenty-eight feet, with an iron roof, located on a gentle slope of his homestead. The box type construction for houses was typical of early Oklahoma Territory and the American frontier of this period. For a box house, the exterior wall lumber was applied vertically and the cracks between the boards were covered with narrow strips of lumber to keep out cold drafts. By way of comparison, frame house construction, the next stage of house improvement on the frontier, had exterior weather boarding applied horizontally. Fairchild's house had a "cold blast" heating stove made of sheet iron with a door large enough to accommodate a blackjack stump or log. The stove was efficient, for in about five minutes after adding additional wood it would be red hot. The house was unbelievably drafty and cold in winter, however, and this condition would cause the curtain separating the two rooms of the house to wave when the wind blew from the north.⁶

⁵ Angelo C. Scott, *The Story of Oklahoma City* (Oklahoma City: Times-Journal Publishing Company, 1939), pp. 137-141; Miriam Nelson to author, December 28, 1976, Shirk Collection.

⁶ *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma*, p. 575; Testimony of Claimant, Fairchild Final Homestead Certificate Number 1838, September 20, 1895, United States Land Office, Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory, Record Group 49, National Archives; Interview, Conner, Shirk Collection; Interview, Conner, Oklahoma Living Legends Library.

Fairchild also commenced breaking more sod on his quarter-section of homestead land in the early spring of 1891 for the purpose of developing an orchard of apple, peach, pear and plum trees. By 1897, he had 1,500 apple and 2,500 peach trees. Ultimately, his orchard covered forty acres, and he spared no means in testing and developing the resources of his land for fruit tree growing. He shared these experiences with his fellow citizens through the Oklahoma Territorial Horticultural Society, which he helped to found and for a year served as vice-president.⁷

About 1892, additional improvements were made by Fairchild on his homestead. In order for customers to reach the site of his winery, it was necessary to have an improved road from present Wilshire Boulevard. To accomplish this, he sought and obtained appointment as a township road commissioner. About this time, he needed additional labor to tend his vineyard and make wine. To house this help, he constructed another box house, twelve by sixteen feet, covered by a shingle roof and located south-east of his home. Soon he built a stable, fourteen by twenty feet, to shelter his horses, and a chicken house, ten by twenty feet.⁸

Now that Fairchild's grapes, planted in 1891, were beginning to produce, his next effort, likely begun in 1892 and concluded in 1893, was the construction of a wine vault after the pattern used by his late father in Steuben County, New York. This proved to be a pretentious undertaking, due to its size and the skill required for its construction. The site, on a gentle slope near Fairchild's house on the east, was determined by the existence of a free-flowing spring located at the head of a gully which drained it and the immediate area. Such a site was required to build the sides of the wine vault underground, accommodate its north-south orientation, make it possible to contour its ceiling for an insulating cover of soil blending into the slope of the hill, and to cause the spring to run through it for cooling purposes. The entrance to the vault, located on the south, centered in the gully.⁹

The wine vault itself, still standing, is constructed of roughly-hewn native sandstone, then available at some points on the surface of the surrounding land and in at least one nearby quarry. The floor of the structure

⁷ *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma*, p. 575; Interview, Conner, Shirk Collection; "Irrigation in Oklahoma," *McMasters' Magazine*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (August, 1897), p. 106.

⁸ Interview, Conner, Shirk Collection; Interview, Conner, Oklahoma Living Legends Library; Testimony of Claimant, Fairchild Final Homestead Certificate Number 1838, September 20, 1895, United States Land Office, Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory, Record Group 49, National Archives.

⁹ *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma*, p. 575; Interview, Conner, Shirk Collection; Historical Site Survey, Oklahoma City Historical Preservation Commission, December 21, 1973, Shirk Collection.



The exterior of Fairchild's Wine Vault during the 1890s

was originally of sandstone placed by nature, and was bordered by a drainage trough chiseled into the stone. In the sandstone floor to the immediate left of the entrance and about three feet beyond it is the spring well, three feet by four feet in width, and two feet in depth. The coping around it rises to a height of about one foot above the floor. The spring well itself is connected to both the drainage trough and the drainage pipes. The walls and vaulted ceiling, built on the old wedged mass principle, are approximately two feet thick. Soil packed on the ceiling and against the side walls made this type of construction possible and helped to preserve the structure. The interior floor dimensions are fourteen feet wide and forty feet long. The side walls are vertical for a distance of five feet and six inches from the floor, and at that point merge into the vaulted ceiling, which at its maximum height is seven and one-half feet from the original floor.

In the north wall of the interior of the wine vault are two niches, each eighteen inches wide, twelve inches high, thirteen inches deep, apparently designed not only for ornamental and storage purposes, but also ventilation, as small air shafts connect them with the surface. Near the north wall is a large air circulation ceiling vent, protected on the exterior of the structure by a small canopy of stone. A large doorway opening, three and one-half feet by six feet and three inches in size, on the south end of the wine vault is the only access, and is covered by a heavy door mounted on wrought iron handmade hinges. The spring water on the interior is drained to the

gully about sixty feet south of the entrance by two pipes under the doorway threshold and buried in the soil. Over the entrance Fairchild constructed a porch the width of the vault and extending to the south about twenty feet. This was designed as a working area and also provided shelter for visitors who came to drink wine. The porch contained a large wine press as well as a table, chairs and benches.¹⁰

Inside the wine vault, large barrels of 55 and 125 gallon capacity rested on heavy wooden beams. The barrels lining the walls were usually stacked only two high, but were ordinarily three high down the center because of greater room overhead. This arrangement increased storage capacity and made it possible to siphon from barrel to barrel, into bottles, or other containers. The below-ground level location of the vault, plus the flowing spring water, kept the temperature of the aging wine, as is required, at an acceptably constant level throughout the year.¹¹

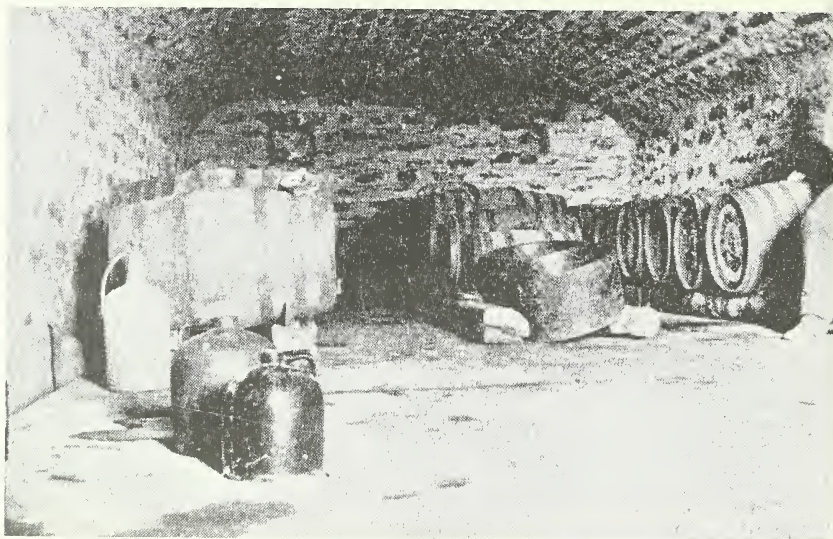
Meanwhile, Fairchild enlarged his fruit orchard to 55 acres, located north of his house and wine vault, and increased his vineyard to 20 acres. Each year he produced 60 tons or more of grapes from which he made from 4,000 to 6,000 gallons of wine. He made a specialty of Delaware and Catawba grapes, from which he produced white wine, selling at thirty-five cents a quart. The Concord grapes he grew were converted to red wine, selling at twenty-five cents a quart. Fairchild always had an elaborate exhibit of fruit and wine each year in Oklahoma City at the Oklahoma Street Fair and the Oklahoma Horticultural Fair. He even won a number of premiums for his displays. On one such occasion, an observer said: "Connoisseurs of vintage pronounce his wines as unsurpassed in native products and the great, juicy exhibit of grapes were as tempting as the first apple to the original Adam." Fairchild never used more than a total of 75 acres of his 160 acre homestead for orchard and vineyard purposes. The remainder was used for pasturage and fodder crops for his horses. After the required five year period, he met all requirements of the Homestead Act of 1862, and on December 4, 1895, the United States government issued him a patent to his 160 acre tract of land.¹²

The vineyard and wine production, rather than the orchard, held Fair-

¹⁰ Interview, Conner, Oklahoma Living Legends Library; Interview, Conner, Shirk Collection.

¹¹ *Ibid.*; Interview, Conner, Oklahoma Living Legends Library.

¹² *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma*, p. 575; Interview, Conner, Shirk Collection; Interview, Conner, Oklahoma Living Legends Library; "A Territorial Triumph: The Street Fair at Oklahoma City, October 10th to 15th, 1898," *McMasters' Magazine*, Vol. X, No. 1 (November, 1898), p. 13; Fairchild Winery, Abstract of Title, Entry 2, Shirk Collection; Record of Homestead Patent, December 4, 1895. Fairchild Homestead Papers, United States Land Office, Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory, Record Group 49, National Archives.



The interior of Fairchild's Wine Vault during the 1890s

child's interest over the years. Part of the vineyard, a 6 acre plot, located about 100 yards southeast of the wine vault on the crest and east side of a small hill, the highest point on the Fairchild homestead, was the last one planted. Other sections of the vineyard were located southeast of this plot, likely on the south side of present Wilshire Boulevard. On the crest of the small hill, not long before the government granted the patent for his homestead, Fairchild constructed a reservoir about 60 feet wide, 100 feet long and 10 feet deep, for the purpose of irrigating his vineyard. The reservoir held about 60,000 gallons of water. He dug a well 150 feet deep and installed above it a pump and a windmill with a 12 foot wheel. With each stroke of the pump, a gallon of water would enter the pond. The water in the pond was reserved for drought periods to irrigate the vineyard and orchard by means of an extensive gravity flow system of ditches. The irrigation system was one of the earliest and most successful in Oklahoma Territory. Fairchild stocked the pond with both rainbow trout and black bass. Thus fish and fishing were readily available for Fairchild and his employees.¹³

Fairchild and his laborers gave careful attention to the vineyard. Arbors about ten to twelve feet apart were erected, consisting of posts extending

¹³ Interview, Conner, Shirk Collection; "Irrigation in Oklahoma," *McMasters' Magazine*, Vol. VIII, p. 105.

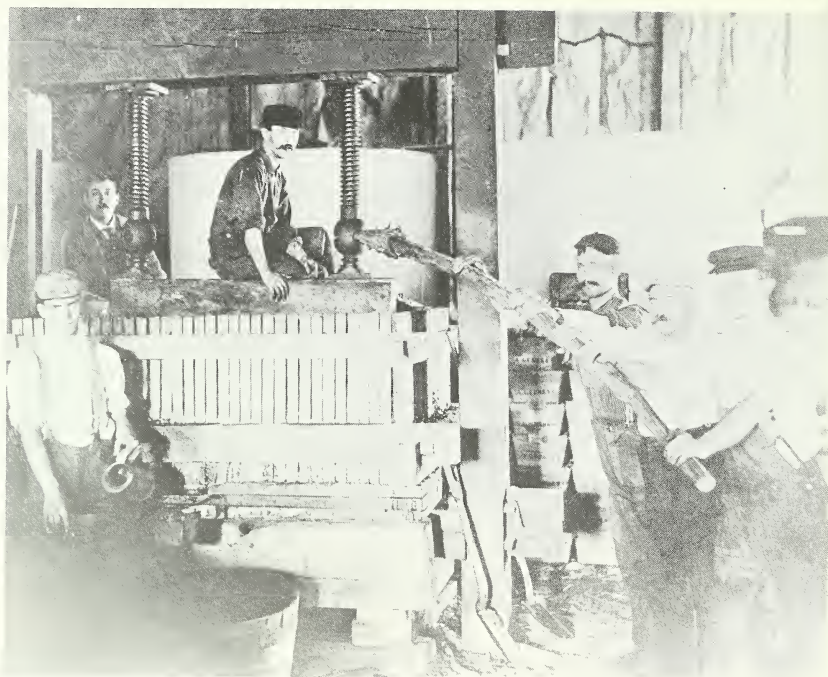


In the 1890s, Fairchild constructed a reservoir holding about 60,000 gallons of water for the purpose of irrigating his vineyard. A windmill pumped water from a deep well to fill the reservoir.

upright about six feet and strung with three equally spaced heavy smooth wires. This was done because grapevines, which grow from cuttings made from canes, require support as they climb by means of tendrils (curls), like most vines. The vines need assistance as they reach for each wire so that the tendrils can take hold. This process continues until the top wire is reached, where the growth bushes out to form an umbrella protecting the fruit from the sun and other weather. Vineyards need cultivation because grapes will not grow well in sod. Every winter, growers prune the vines to keep them compact and to regulate the fruit they will bear. A grapevine currently produces annually from fifteen to twenty-five pounds of fruit, varying because of soil, climate and care. Fairchild's grapes yielded about seventeen pounds per vine. He planted six hundred vines to the acre.¹⁴

At the Fairchild Winery, grapes were harvested by hand when they ripened. To protect each bunch, only the main stem was grasped. The pickers then placed the bunches in long, shallow picking boxes measuring four feet in length, a foot in width, and with sloping sides twelve inches wide on the bottom and fourteen inches wide on the top. A cleat on each

¹⁴ Interview, Conner, Shirk Collection; Interview, Conner, Oklahoma Living Legends Library; "Irrigation in Oklahoma," *McMasters' Magazine*, Vol. VIII, p. 106.



A screw-type wine press similar in design and in use about the same time as Fairchild's

end of the picking boxes served as a means of lifting and stacking the containers. They remained in place because of the cleats while being hauled to the press at the nearby wine vault. A horse-drawn sled with wooden runners that glided across the soil provided the transportation. A load of grapes consisted of approximately eight-hundred pounds, the amount needed to fill the press.¹⁵

Fairchild's press was homemade. It was the screw type, little changed from the time of its invention by the Greeks in the second or first century B. C. The press itself, made of heavy reinforced oak lumber, was three-and-one-half-feet square inside and deep enough to accommodate eight-hundred pounds of grapes. As the grapes were loaded into the press, they were run between hand operated rollers intended to remove the stems. Both the stems and seeds of grapes contain high concentrations of acid, always ruinous to wine. The floor of the press was grooved to cause the juice to

¹⁵ Interview, Conner, Oklahoma Living Legends Library; Interview, Conner, Shirk Collection.

run to the single outlet, which had a large container underneath to receive the juice. Then a slatted divider, made of strips of oak wood slightly less than half an inch apart, was inserted. Next two pieces of burlap cloth (first used as packing for furniture received by the stores of Oklahoma City), each the width of the interior of the wine press, and long enough to extend slightly above it, were laid crosswise over the slatted divider. At this point, the press was filled with grapes, and the burlap cloth folded over the fruit to form a kind of sack. Then a heavy lid, made of two-inch-thick oak lumber in three sections of equal size, was laid in place. If the lid had been made in one piece, it would have been extremely heavy and clumsy to handle. An eight-by-eight-inch oak beam was then placed crosswise on the lid. Two two-by-twelve-inch jack screws were next put in place between the beam across the lid and the stationary eight-by-eight-inch oak crossbeam at the very top of the press. An iron bar four feet in length was then used to screw down on the jacks, first on one side and then on the other, so as to bring equal pressure on the grapes.¹⁶

Meanwhile, juice ran freely from the opening at the bottom of the press. Even before the lid was laid in place, this began. This was known as free-run juice, located just inside the grapeskin, from which came the choicest wine. Fairchild carefully placed the free-run juice in separate barrels for this reason. Then pressure from the screw jacks brought a rush of juice, which soon abated, but renewed itself when additional pressure came. A hand pump in the juice receptacle below the press sent the juice through a rubber hose to a barrel in the wine vault, perhaps as far as fifty or sixty feet distant. After the flow of juice had quit completely, the press would be opened, the crushed grapes stirred with a grubbing hoe, and pressure would again be applied. Three or four additional gallons of juice would then flow from the eight hundred pounds of grapes originally inserted in the press.¹⁷

Fairchild's wine business prospered to the point that his wine was often not kept the needed year to complete the fermentation and aging process. Once the fermentation process had stopped and an additional period of time was allowed for settling, the wine was carefully siphoned from its original barrel into another free of all sediment. There the wine aged. Fairchild added thirty pounds of sugar to each fifty-five gallon barrel of red wine made from Concord grapes and twenty pounds of sugar to each fifty-five gallon barrel of white wine made from Delaware and Catawba grapes. Free-run juice from Catawba grapes, however, did not require the

¹⁶ William Younger, *Gods, Men, and Wine* (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company, 1966), p. 187; Interview, Conner, Shirk Collection; Interview, Conner, Oklahoma Living Legends Library.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*; Interview, Conner, Shirk Collection.

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addition of sugar because it was good enough, said Fairchild and his employees, to consume "just like you . . . drink good spring water." The sediment residue remained in the original barrel until it became vinegar or was previously discarded. Fairchild's problem was that he frequently sold his wine before it had properly aged in the second barrel.¹⁸

Bottling at the Fairchild Winery was anything but a systematic procedure. Conditions in Oklahoma Territory permitted this. Fairchild sometimes purchased new wine bottles but likely never had printed labels for the containers in which he sold his wine. Many of Fairchild's customers came to the winery with their own containers, for one of his purposes was to supply wine for family use. He frequently used old liquor bottles for his wine. These he collected from Oklahoma City saloons and from nearby residents such as a local dairy farmer. It seems that the farmer suffered from a lung ailment, and in despair took to drinking a quart of Planters Club daily. Every two week period Fairchild would collect fourteen of these bottles. Usually, the bottles containing wine from Fairchild were recirculated for refill.¹⁹

It was customary for many residents from Oklahoma City as well as the surrounding countryside to visit Fairchild's Winery to purchase a supply of wine or to drink it on the porch in front of the wine vault. Women from the brothel district of Oklahoma City, accompanied by their escorts, would often drive out to the winery in carriages to sit and drink at length on the porch. Fairchild usually told them to be as boisterous as they desired, but to act decently when other customers were present, or he would send them away. A well-known prostitute who often visited the winery was Big Anne Wynn. On one occasion, Big Anne and her escort consumed three quarts of wine and, without realizing the extent of their intoxication, started back to Oklahoma City in their buggy. Meantime, Big Anne became ill and, when the buggy hit a sharp bump only a short distance from the winery, she was thrown to the ground, badly scarred and scratched.²⁰

Twice a week, Fairchild would load his wagon with cases of Concord, Delaware and Catawba wine and make deliveries in Oklahoma City. Because he was the only quantity producer of wine in the Oklahoma City area, the many saloons of the municipality were his steady customers. In addition, most restaurants purchased his wine, as did numerous homes. Fairchild made deliveries much like milkmen of a later period. Because

¹⁸ Interview, Conner, Oklahoma Living Legends Library.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*; Interview, Conner, Shirk Collection.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; Interview, Conner, Oklahoma Living Legends Library; Roy P. Stewart and Pendleton Woods, *Born Grown: An Oklahoma City History* (Oklahoma City: Fidelity Bank, 1974), pp. 20, 21, 59, 196.

of his dependability and the quality of his product, business continued very good and a serious competitor never appeared.²¹

After a few years, Fairchild decided to take a case of his choice Catawba free-run wine and return to his old surroundings at Hammondsport in Steuben County, New York. He had not returned to the state of New York since he settled in Oklahoma City and vicinity. This would also be an opportunity to visit his son Walter and to see his friends of the early years. He soon located a wine taster where he grew up and asked him to sample his wine. The wine taster questioned: "What kind of grapes did you make this out of?" Fairchild replied: "Catawba." The wine taster responded: "I hate to say this, but we can't make this kind of wine in New York state." Fairchild questioned: "What do you think is the reason?" The wine taster answered: "Well, I'll tell you what I think the reason is—our season is too short. We have to catch our grapes when they're not dead ripe. Your grapes are dead ripe." With much satisfaction in his voice, Fairchild commented: "Yes sir, our grapes are dead ripe when they are pressed." The wine taster proffered: "Well, we've got more acid than you have, and that's why. I'll buy 3,000 gallons of that if you've got it. I'd like to make champagne out of it." Fairchild himself never made champagne because he sold even his choicest free-run Catawba wine long before the minimal three year period passed needed to convert it to champagne.²²

Somehow, Fairchild never enlarged his winery beyond the capacity needed to supply Oklahoma City and vicinity. His peak production was 6,000 gallons of wine annually. Although his product was uniformly considered of choice quality, he apparently lacked the entrepreneurial ambitions and other qualities needed to enlarge his operation for territorial or regional marketing. But in the Oklahoma City area he had the wine market largely his way. His was the only commercial winery in the vicinity. The Brewiller family nearby made a little wine from a few rows of grapes on their farm and sold it from their home at present Northeast Lake. A farmer on the west side of the city had two rows of grapes from which he sold wine throughout the year. He accomplished this by purchasing a barrel of wine from Fairchild when needed and selling it as his own. By this method, he circumvented buying a license to sell wine. The law was that if a person produced the grapes and made the wine, he could sell it without a license.²³

Fairchild had his personal problems. Although his earnings were considerable, he never seemed to have much money. When he delivered wine to

²¹ *Ibid.*; Interview, Conner, Shirk Collection.

²² *Ibid.*; Interview, Conner, Oklahoma Living Legends Library.

²³ *Ibid.*; Interview, Conner, Shirk Collection.



Edward B. Fairchild in retirement in Shreveport, Louisiana

the saloons in Oklahoma City, friends would ask him to buy them a drink and have one himself. Soon he was buying for everyone present. He drank rye whiskey only and never consumed any of the wine he produced. After repeating this procedure throughout a day of deliveries, he returned home virtually broke and thoroughly intoxicated. Of generous nature, he usually loaned the little that remained to friends who regularly failed to repay him. Eventually, the excessive consumption of liquor caused Fairchild to develop serious stomach and liver ailments. At that point Fairchild went to New York City, where a physician performed surgery on him. After five weeks in bed on his back, he returned to Oklahoma City with the advice that he was never again to consume liquor if he expected to live. He never drank thereafter.²⁴

²⁴ *Ibid.*; Interview, Conner, Oklahoma Living Legends Library.

Fairchild's life was anything but comfortable at the winery. Although he worked daily at the winery, he continued to reside as late as 1894 at the family home at 414 North Broadway in Oklahoma City with his daughter Caroline, familiarly known as Carrie, and a relative, Mrs. C. F. Fairchild. But soon he lived alone on his homestead in the meager box house of two rooms. Then in 1898 a helper named Ultimus S. Conner, a young man of sixteen years of age from a farm nearby, moved in with him and worked steadily for him. They had a bird dog named Tack. Fairchild's son Walter brought the dog from the state of New York when coming to live with his father for a six month period while obtaining a divorce. The dog lived indoors during the winters and was capable of opening and closing the stove door to regulate the heat. Charles Main of Edmond was another of Fairchild's helpers for many years, although he worked only part time. During the grape growing and harvesting season he lived in the box house built especially to house laborers. Both Conner and Main continued to work for Fairchild until he sold his winery and homestead in 1907.²⁵

Throughout the years that Fairchild operated his winery, he never lost interest in the development of Oklahoma City. He kept astride of its politics and continued a staunch Republican. He acquired several lots in Oklahoma City from his debtors and for about a year before statehood moved to Oklahoma City likely to engage in the real estate business. As always, he remained gruff and opinionated. His business clothing and derby hat on his tall and slender body seemed much more appropriate in the offices and on the streets of Oklahoma City than they had those many years he insisted on wearing them from day to day at the winery.²⁶

Fairchild sensed that with statehood Oklahoma would vote the prohibition of liquor and wine. In preparation for this, when he returned to Oklahoma City about a year before statehood, he leased his orchard, vineyard and the remainder of his homestead to F. J. Feeney and Katherine Feeney for a year from January 1, 1906, to January 1, 1907. The Feeneys agreed to furnish all labor, teams and seed for the proper care of his homestead. They also agreed to market all products, plow the orchard once and disc twice during the spring of the year, and keep the vineyard clear of weeds and grass during the period to August 15, 1906. As rental, Fairchild received two-thirds of all grapes produced and one-half of all fruit. During this lease

²⁵ *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma*, p. 575; Interview, Conner, Shirk Collection; Interview, Conner, Oklahoma Living Legends Library; *A Complete City Directory and Census of Oklahoma City* (n. p.: Barton and Lowry, 1894), p. 54.

²⁶ *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma*, p. 575; Interview, Conner, Oklahoma Living Legends Library; Interview, Conner, Shirk Collection; Miriam Nelson to author, December 28, 1976, *ibid.*

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period, Fairchild employed Conner and Main to operate his winery, and continued thereafter to do so until Oklahoma statehood on November 16, 1907.²⁷

When prohibition came with statehood, Fairchild sold his homestead only two weeks later to H. J. and H. L. Flowers on November 30, 1907, for \$10,000. Fairchild was nearly sixty-five years of age at the time. He soon moved to Shreveport, Louisiana, to live with his daughter Caroline and son-in-law D. C. Richardson, once a prominent Oklahoma City lumberman. Caroline had worked as Richardson's secretary, and they were married in 1901 after he was divorced from his first wife. While still living in Oklahoma City, Richardson had purchased several thousand acres of timberland, including mineral rights, near Shreveport. Soon oil was discovered on this land, and the Richardsons moved to Shreveport about 1903. Richardson drilled the first oil well in Caddo Parish, Louisiana, and became a pioneer oil operator in the northern Louisiana oil fields.²⁸

Fairchild enjoyed living in retirement with his daughter and son-in-law. The Richardsons lived in suburban Shreveport at 2791 Fairfield Avenue, in an ample and comfortable home about five miles from the downtown business district. Almost daily Fairchild walked this distance going to and returning from playing chess with his friends. Other recreation included tending a large garden and fruit trees, which he especially enjoyed. He took unusual pride in his asparagus bed and lemon trees. He intermittently traveled to Oklahoma City to visit friends and went to New York City on occasion to see his son Walter.²⁹

After just over eighteen years of living in retirement in Shreveport, Fairchild died on his eighty-third birthday on December 31, 1925, of the infirmities of old age. His son had come to visit him during the Christmas holidays while the Richardsons traveled to Oklahoma City to see relatives. Fairchild's body was sent to Oklahoma City for interment beside his wife's remains in Fairlawn Cemetery.³⁰

Over the years, Fairchild's homestead changed ownership seventeen times, until a five acre tract containing the Fairchild Wine Vault and home

²⁷ Fairchild Winery, Abstract of Title, Entries 17 and 18, *ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Entry 23; Interview, Conner, Oklahoma Living Legends Library; Interview, Conner, Shirk Collection; *A Complete City Directory and Census of Oklahoma City*, p. 54; Miriam Nelson to author, December 28, 1976, Shirk Collection.

²⁹ *Ibid.*; Warden-Hoffhine's *General Directory of Oklahoma City, 1910* (Oklahoma City: Hoffhine Directory Company, 1910), p. 407; *Shreveport City Directory, 1925-1926* (Dallas, Texas: R. L. Polk Company, 1925), pp. 323, 621.

³⁰ *Shreveport Journal* (Shreveport, Louisiana), December 31, 1925, p. 4; *Shreveport Times* (Shreveport, Louisiana), January 1, 1926, p. 17; *Oklahoma City Times*, January 1, 1926, p. 13, cc. 3-4; *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), p. 12. The remains of Mrs. Fairchild were buried



The exterior and grounds of the Fairchild Wine Vault before restoration

site was purchased by George H. Shirk, a former mayor of Oklahoma City and presently senior partner in a pioneer Oklahoma City law firm. Shirk is also president of the Oklahoma Historical Society, is a member of the board of trustees of the National Trust for Historic Preservation and is the Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Officer under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. Long interested in the historic sites of Oklahoma and their preservation, Shirk reasoned from historical records that the Fairchild Wine Vault or its ruins could well be extant, and then set out to locate it. If it still existed, it would likely be the oldest structure within the present boundaries of Oklahoma City. When Shirk rediscovered it, the structure was completely extant and remarkably well preserved, despite the fact that it had received virtually no maintenance attention for more than sixty-five years. Shirk was able in 1973 to purchase the acreage where the Fairchild Wine Vault is located, restore the structure as a private historic site and beautify the location. No other original buildings on the

originally in the School Section Cemetery north of Oklahoma City but were reinterred in Fairlawn Cemetery on March 1, 1894. Records, Sexton's Office, Fairlawn Cemetery, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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Fairchild homestead remain standing. The wine vault is now within the boundaries of Oklahoma City at 1600 Northeast Eighty-first Street.³¹

Although structurally intact and sound, the Fairchild Wine Vault was delapidated and suffering from years of disuse when Shirk acquired it. Heavy undergrowth and large trees grew from the top and sides of the structure. Inside, the sandstone floor was covered with about four feet of mud and water. The drainage system under the threshold was clogged and water flowed over it. The original door and frame were missing. Inside and outside, much mortar had sifted from between the stone joints. Several courses of large facade stones, many of which were buried, had fallen into the area in front of the entrance. Generally, the entrance area contained about three feet more of soil and stone than when the vault was last used for wine fermentation and storage in 1907.

Restoration of the Fairchild Wine Vault was meticulous and time consuming. Using photographs of the middle 1890s of the exterior and interior, all stones were replaced and the masonry joints tuckpointed and restored to their condition at the time of construction in 1892-1893. Before a new three-inch concrete floor was installed, one inch of chat was spread and covered with a plastic membrane to accommodate the free flow of spring water and keep it from penetrating the concrete surface. The original drainage trough around the perimeter of the floor was carefully retained and continues to serve its initial purpose. The spring well was thoroughly cleaned, its original dimensions carefully preserved and reconnected with the perimeter drainage trough. The two drainage pipes under the threshold were replaced and extended for about sixty feet underground to the gully, as they were originally. A heavy wooden door frame and door, mounted on wrought iron handmade hinges, carefully simulate the originals. Modern additions to the wine vault are electricity, running water, an antique chandelier and an entrance patio of sandstone set in a concrete base. All restoration and modern improvement work was accomplished by E. L. Jordan, an Oklahoma City construction contractor.

Present interior furnishings and equipment in the Fairchild Wine Vault include a cold water faucet, a refrigerator and an antique French cast-iron hand-operated town pump mounted above the spring well. New England handmade rough-hewn furniture consists of one long table and ten chairs. There are seven large wine casks installed horizontally and three standing upright. At intermittent points, three half-log black walnut

³¹ Fairchild Winery, Warranty Deed, March 15, 1973, Shirk Collection; George H. Shirk Biography, *Who's Who in America, 1976-1977* (2 vols., Chicago: Marquis Who's Who, 1976), Vol. II, p. 2864.



The entrance to the Fairchild Wine Vault before restoration

benches parallel the walls. Near the entrance is a round table made of a barrel as are the four chairs surrounding it.

The grounds of the Fairchild Wine Vault have at present a modern water well housed in a one-story circular structure, also used for storage purposes. Another addition is a restored freight train caboose constructed in 1878 for the Burlington Missouri Valley Railway. Assigned Number 10 by its original owner, the equipment was acquired in the same year by the Chicago Burlington and Quincy Railway and was reassigned Number 14107. The caboose is of special interest because of large oak beams used in the wheel assemblies instead of the conventional steel beams in use today. With the merger of the Chicago Burlington and Quincy Railway into the Burlington Northern Railway, the caboose remained a part of that system until its permanent retirement in 1972. It now rests on a small sec-



The interior, furnishings and equipment of the Fairchild Wine Vault following restoration

tion of track just west of the wine vault and serves as daytime shelter and overnight housing for guests. The grounds have been beautified by native vegetation enhanced by modern landscaping. An ornamental wrought iron gate, large enough to accommodate vehicles, welcomes visitors to the wine vault grounds.³²

The Fairchild Wine Vault and grounds presently serve several purposes. They are used as a case study and laboratory in the restoration and development of a private historic site by the Oklahoma Historical Society, the Oklahoma Heritage Association, the Oklahoma City Historical Preservation Commission, the Southwest/Plains Field Office of the National Trust for Historic Preservation and also by the owner. They are at times included

³² Fairchild Winery Freight Train Caboose Records, Shirk Collection.



The exterior and grounds of the Fairchild Wine Vault following restoration

on historical and cultural conducted tours of Oklahoma City. They likewise serve as a meeting place for heritage-minded civic, historical and social groups, such as the Fairchild Wine Society.

Wide recognition has come to the Fairchild Wine Vault because of its historical significance. It was designated as a historic structure by the Oklahoma City Historical Preservation Commission on April 4, 1974, and recognized by the commission in ceremonies on April 25, 1976. It was also named to the National Register of Historic Places on March 13, 1975, by the Secretary of the Interior. Bronze plaques on the exterior of the wine vault relate its historical significance and indicate its recognition by the Oklahoma City Historical Preservation Commission and the National Register of Historic Places.³³

³³ Charles C. Coley to George H. Shirk, February 5, 1976, *ibid.*; Fairchild Winery Ceremony Invitation, Oklahoma City Historical Preservation Commission, *ibid.*; "National Register of Historic Places," *Federal Register*, Vol. XLI, No. 28 (February 10, 1976), p. 6008.

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The Fairchild Winery is historically significant as the major commercial producer of wine in Oklahoma Territory between 1891 and 1907. Fairchild proved that by utilizing the most modern horticultural and viticultural techniques of his time grapes could be successfully grown for commercial wine production in Oklahoma Territory. In addition, Fairchild brought to Oklahoma Territory, as a result of his early experiences in the state of New York, much knowledge of enology, the science of dealing with wine and wine making. Because of his training, experience and preference for earning a livelihood, Fairchild successfully supplied and virtually monopolized the commercial wine market of the greater Oklahoma City area during the territorial years. Had his enterprise and desire been greater, he could have supplied most of Oklahoma Territory with wine. But as it was, he also supplied much of the Oklahoma City market for locally produced fruit in addition to wine.

As a structure, the Fairchild Wine Vault was unique and distinctive in Oklahoma Territory. Fairchild built it using the wedged mass principle, identical to the flying buttress technique successfully utilized over many centuries in European cathedral construction. He banked sufficient soil against the outer arch on the sides and the top of the vault to preserve the rigidity of the arched construction. Architecturally, the vault is of much significance, for it is likely the oldest structure in Oklahoma City with its original configuration and design. In addition, the vault was probably the first structure in Oklahoma Territory using the wedged mass principle of construction.

THE END OF THE SAVAGE: INDIAN POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, 1880-1900

By Frederick E. Hoxie*

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the United States government achieved its final victory over the Indians. Military operations aimed at natives ended, and seven states entered the Union. By 1900, native Americans were no longer savages living beyond America, but were a people passively inhabiting lands within the nation.

American historians and anthropologists have often studied the effects of the frontier's final settlement on Indian peoples, but they have largely avoided coming to grips with the motivations of white America during these years.¹ Scholars who have attempted to do so have—almost of necessity—produced works deficient in two ways.

Either, studies of white attitudes toward Indians have tended to view the subject in a historical vacuum. Devoted to unravelling the tangled legislative, legal and economic history of native-white relations, students have obscured the connection between their story and the larger national history. As a result, federal Indian policy and more general attitudes toward Indians appear self-contained and reflective of the thinking of a limited few.

Or, accounts of the period often simplified the motives of American whites. Economic interest—the desire for land—certainly was basic to the dispossession of natives, and yet other factors—racial attitudes, pressure from reform groups, bureaucratic activity and the actions of the Indians themselves—were also important. Studies of Indian-white relations usually

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¹ For studies of individual tribes see Donald Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyenne* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963); Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1940); and Robert M. Utley, *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963). These are only samples of a vast literature. For studies of whites and Indians see Loring B. Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1942); D. S. Otis, *The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands* (Revised and edited by F. P. Prucha, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973); Robert W. Mardock, *The Reformers and the American Indian* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971); Henry M. Fritz, *The Movement for Indian Assimilation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963); and Peter A. Rahill, *The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy, 1870-1884* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1953).

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have concentrated on only one or two of these factors to explain a highly complex process of cultural conflict, economic change and legal adjustment.²

Viewing this process from the perspective of the United States Senate might well begin to correct some of these shortcomings. Between 1880 and 1900, the Senate was probably the most influential branch of American government, and its members among the most accomplished politicians of their day.³ Railroad lobbyists, farmers, laborers, office-seekers, religious groups and reformers of every description competed with the Indians for attention in the Upper House. Studying the Senate's response to these conflicting pressures should indicate the relationship between Indian affairs and other domestic concerns. Moreover, following an individual member's positions over time might illuminate the motives behind new policies.

By 1880, the need for a new national Indian policy was inescapable. President Ulysses S. Grant's Peace Policy, which had seemed fair and practical in 1869, appeared unworkable. The "wars" of the late 1870s, involving tiny bands of natives and legions of blue coats, had seemed cruel to many Indian sympathizers. On the other hand, the fighting and disruption caused by the tribes seemed to others to justify even harsher action.

The Peace Policy suffered from two basic structural weaknesses. The program included no clear definition of the legal and political integrity of Indians and Indian tribes within the United States. The government had abandoned treaty-making in 1871, yet the Interior Department and Congress continued to make legally binding "agreements" with tribes which were ratified by both the House of Representatives and Senate. Furthermore, as part of the Peace Policy the Interior Department ceded certain areas of land to the tribes to be used as permanent reservations, while reserving the right to change their borders or eliminate them entirely. Tribes were not seen as separate political entities, nor were they ignored or forcibly dissolved. The second weakness of the Peace Policy was its program of civilizing the Indian. Grant had based the civilization program on the work of religious groups, but from the outset jurisdictional squabbles between Catholics and Protestants had undermined its success.⁴

² See Bernard Sheehan, "Indian-White Relations in Early America: A Review Essay," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (April, 1969), p. 267, for a discussion of the "causes" of white encroachment and native decline.

³ See David Rothman, *Politics and Power* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966). The chairmen of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs during this period were Richard Coke (D-Texas), 1879-1881; Henry Dawes (R-Massachusetts), 1881-1893; James K. Jones (D-Arkansas), 1893-1895; and Richard Pettigrew (R-South Dakota), 1895-1899.

⁴ Mardock, *The Reformers and the American Indian*, p. 82-83. See also Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*, p. 38-41, Fritz, *The Movement for Indian Assimilation*, Rahill, *The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy, 1870-1884*, and Robert H. Keller, "The



President Ulysses S. Grant, who implemented the so-called Peace Policy toward the American Indians

As the Forty-Sixth Congress assembled in December, 1879, the only point of agreement on the Indian question was that the Peace Policy had failed. The Republican-dominated Senate commission appointed to investigate the recent Ponca and Cheyenne incidents expressed great sympathy for the Indians. It reported that while nothing could justify the damage done by the natives as they escaped their reservations, "such atrocities . . . have been so frequently the result of Indian outbreaks that they are expected by the people and the government. They have grown to be a part of the historical results of our Indian policy."⁵ Across the aisle, Democrats attacked the In-

Protestant Churches and Grant's Peace Policy: A Study in Church State Relations," Doctor of Philosophy dissertation, University of Chicago Divinity School, Chicago, Illinois, 1967.

⁵ United States Senate, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, *Report 708* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880), p. xvii. Kirkwood (R-Iowa), Plumb (R-Kansas), Dawes (R-Massachusetts), Bailey (D-Tennessee), and Morgan (D-Alabama) were the members of the commission.

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terior Department's large Indian office as corrupt and "powerless to enforce its rules and regulations."⁶ In addition, members of both parties were frustrated by the failure of generous appropriations to produce significant results. Even Republican Senator Henry Dawes of Massachusetts, traditionally a supporter of the Peace Policy, exclaimed: "We appropriate from the treasury at least \$2,700,000 and in the meantime the great Indian question remains unsettled; we have made no advance toward it; we have not even touched it; but we have aggravated it."⁷

The failures of the Peace Policy presented lawmakers with two specific questions. As the reservation system had led to fighting between whites and Western Indians, would federally protected reservations be continued? Those reserves had implied a partial recognition of tribal sovereignty and a pledge to protect natives from white encroachment. The second question was whether Congress would sustain a program of Indian "civilization." Behind both of these queries was a more basic issue: would the Federal government continue to recognize Indians as an "exceptional" minority group—one that required unusual protection and special training—as it had under the Peace Policy?

Unlike other minorities, American natives had had a territorial base for their culture within the boundaries of the United States. Prior to 1865 this unique position had necessitated a policy of exceptionalism toward Indians. After the Civil War, many native controlled areas disappeared. Nevertheless, the Peace Policy, with its promise of secure reservations and helpful agents, had encouraged the retention of an exceptionalist perspective. By 1880, however, settlers had completely undermined the native land base, and the idealism of the Civil War era had disappeared. Only then did Congress face the issue of exceptionalism as an open question.

Senators were deeply divided over Indian exceptionalism: some were willing to continue the traditional recognition of the Indians' unique status while others sought to end it. The following list summarizes the Senate votes on Indian policy during the 1880s and indicates the extent of this disagreement.

The labels "exceptionalist," "moderate" and "anti-exceptionalist" are of course arbitrary, as are the divisions between the groups, but the range of voting patterns does suggest three general categories. "Exceptionalists" voted consistently to recognize Indian treaty rights and to support federal "civiliza-

⁶ See Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*, pp. 15-27 for a discussion of the largely Democratic opposition to Interior's handling of the Indian question.

⁷ *The Congressional Record*, 46 Congress 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879).

FIGURE 1

**PRINCIPAL SENATORS AND EXCEPTIONALIST
LEGISLATION, 1880-1887⁸**

The following ranking includes Senators who voted on at least five of the seventeen roll call votes pertaining to Indian exceptionalism during these years. A Senator's "score" is based on the number of votes cast for exceptionalism less the number in opposition to it.

	<i>Score</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Votes For</i>	<i>Votes Against</i>
Exceptionalists	+13	Samuel J. R. McMillan (R-Minnesota)	14	1
	+13	Justin S. Morrill (R-Vermont)	13	0
	+13	George F. Hoar (R-Massachusetts)	13	0
	+12	Henry W. Blair (R-New Hampshire)	13	1
	+11	William B. Allison (R-Iowa)	12	1
	+11	Angus Cameron (R-Wisconsin)	11	0
	+9	Henry P. Baldwin (R-Michigan)	9	0
	+9	Ambrose E. Burnside (R-Rhode Island)	9	0
	+9	Henry L. Dawes (R-Massachusetts)	10	1
	+7	George F. Edmunds (R-Vermont)	7	0
	+7	N. P. Hill (R-Colorado)	10	3
	+6	Henry B. Anthony (R-Rhode Island)	6	0
	+5	Frank Hereford (D-West Virginia)	5	0
	+5	Francis Kernan (D-New York)	5	0
	+5	Edward H. Rollins (R-New Hampshire)	5	0
	+4	Thomas F. Bayard (D-Delaware)	7	3
	+4	James B. Groome (D-Maryland)	5	1
	+3	Omar D. Conger (R-Michigan)	4	1
	+3	James F. Wilson (R-Iowa)	4	1
	+3	William Wyndom (R-Minnesota)	4	1
Moderates	+2	John J. Ingalls (R-Kansas)	8	6
	+1	Manning Butler (D-South Carolina)	3	2
	+1	John S. Williams (D-Kentucky)	3	2
	0	John P. Jones (R-Nevada)	3	3
	0	Lucius Q. C. Lamar (D-Mississippi)	3	3
	0	John D. Walker (D-Arkansas)	5	5
	1	Augustus H. Garland (D-Arkansas)	6	7
Anti- Exceptionalists	2	Isham G. Harris (D-Tennessee)	5	7
	—3	Joseph E. Brown (D-Georgia)	1	4
	—3	Henry M. Teller (R-Colorado)	5	8
	—4	Frances M. Cockrell (D-Missouri)	2	6
	—5	George G. Vest (D-Missouri)	4	9
	—5	Richard Coke (D-Texas)	6	11
	—5	Philetus Sawyer (R-Wisconsin)	0	5
	—7	John T. Morgan (D-Alabama)	3	10
	—11	James H. Slater (D-Oregon)	1	12
	—14	Preston B. Plumb (R-Kansas)	0	14

⁸ Two criteria were used in the selection of these roll call votes. First the vote should involve the issue of Indian exceptionalism. Thus, most procedural votes were eliminated. Second, virtually all identical votes—usually caused by the resubmission of conference committee reports—were eliminated. Using these criteria, seventeen of twenty-seven roll call votes relating to Indian affairs between 1879 and 1887 were selected.

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tion" efforts. "Anti-exceptionalists" opposed these positions. "Moderates" refused to support either side consistently.

The fundamental division in the Senate over the issue of exceptionalism prompts three further questions: Why did this division exist? What was the relative strength of each group? How did these disagreements influence future legislation?

Senate debates between 1880 and 1887 indicate four specific reasons as to why the division existed. Western senators such as Preston Plumb and Henry Teller were eager for more Indian land. Southerners like John Tyler Morgan and Joseph Brown were concerned with economic—specifically railroad—expansion. There was a pervasive feeling of frustration with the expense and apparent failure of Indian education. In addition there remained a group of Republicans—largely from the Northeast and led by Justin Morrill, Angus Cameron and Henry Dawes—who maintained their desire to see the idealistic promises of the Peace Policy fulfilled.

The Western position on exceptionalism was evident whenever the Senators considered a proposal affecting Indian land titles. For example, in the spring of 1880 a new treaty with the Ute Indians, negotiated in the aftermath of the previous fall's uprising, came before Congress. The treaty, which reduced the size of the Ute reservation, was not acceptable to Westerners because it required ratification by the Indians. Realizing that the Utes would never agree to the relinquishment of their lands, Colorado's Republican Senator Henry Teller moved to delete the tribal consent clause:⁹

Whenever you shall say "by the strong hand of government we will quit leaving to these Indians the question as to what we shall do and we shall exercise our judgement on it; we will determine what is wrong, and you must submit to our authority," as we do with all other people in this country, we shall have peace and not until then.

In keeping with this argument against special treatment for Indians, Teller also proposed that Ute lands no longer be tax-exempt.

Justin Morrill, a Republican from Vermont, spoke for the Senate majority that favored tribal consent in 1880 and endorsed the Ute agreement as originally drafted. Morrill rebuked his Western colleagues, claiming that Indians could not be treated like "all other people in this country." "If these Indians remain there," Morrill asserted, "they must have some sort of favor until they learn the duties and the rights and privileges of citizenship."¹⁰ While not necessarily advocating the permanent existence of

⁹ United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 46th Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880), p. 2228.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2309.

Indian tribes, Morrill renewed a basic tenet of the Peace Policy—that exceptionalism with “some sort of favor” was essential to Indian survival and that natives should be recognized, if only temporarily, as an exceptional minority.

While Westerners like Teller and Kansas’ Plumb most frequently opposed exceptionalists for their protection of Indian land, Southerners attacked existing policies when tribal control over access to reservations threatened to limit the growth of railroads. Railroad expansion for the South meant, among other things, an extension of Southern lines to the West and an increase in the number of roads linking the Midwest with the Gulf ports. Indian Territory was a barrier to many of these roads. In the treaty granting them lands in the West and in the 1866 Reconstruction treaties, the Five Civilized Tribes had been assured that their borders would not be breached unless prior consent was granted by the tribal councils and approved by Congress. But during the 1880s, several railroads applied directly to Congress for right of way. Four of these requests were approved and while all four railways were built, only one received prior consent from the Five Civilized Tribes.

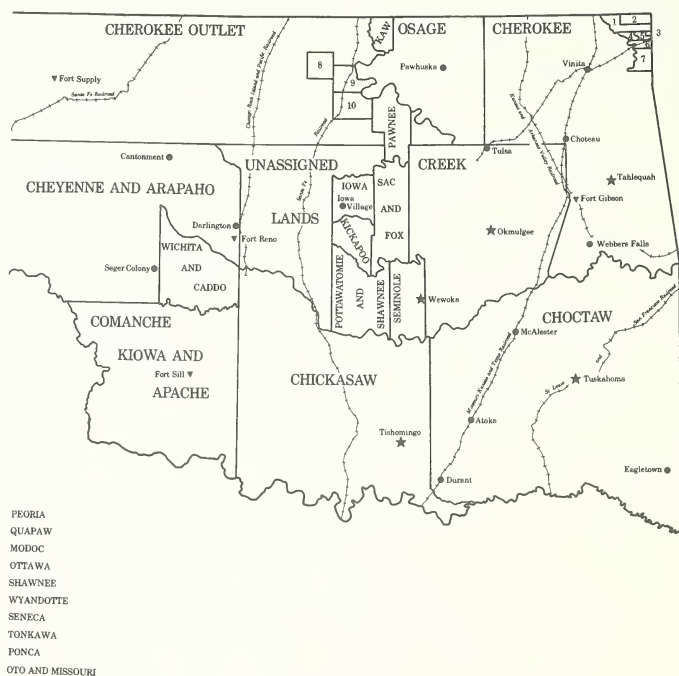
The Senate voted first in 1882 to allow the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad to build a line from Texas north through Indian Territory to Arkansas. When asked during debate on the bill whether the road should avoid disrupting tribal life, Georgia’s Senator, Joseph Brown, replied: “the interests of these great communities on both sides [of the preserve] being vitally interested, the territory only being inhabited by a few Indians . . . we can hardly suppose that the company would undertake to build on any other than the usual terms.”¹¹ Giving tribes the right to ratify agreements simply because of their cultural heritage was, in the words of another Southerner, “nonsense. It is all poppycock, and [the treaty guarantee] is not worth the parchment on which it is written. . . . In the name of God, if you would not ask a white man’s consent why will you ask a red man’s consent?”¹² Clearly these men, like their colleagues in the West, saw any attempt at federal intervention on behalf of the conquered Indians as an unconscionable threat to their own freedoms.

Another factor contributing to the disagreement over exceptionalism in the Senate was a widespread sense of frustration with the failure of the federal education and “civilization” programs. Initially there had been very

¹¹ United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 49th Congress 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886), p. 3248. See also Ira G. Clark, Jr., “The Railroads and the Tribal Lands: Indian Territory, 1838–1890,” Doctor of Philosophy dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, Berkeley, California, 1947.

¹² United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 47th Congress 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1882), p. 2852.

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Indian Territory, 1866-1889

little opposition to Indian schools. By 1886, Congress was appropriating more than \$1,000,000 annually to native education. Unfortunately, this was not enough. In 1882, the secretary of the interior—a Westerner, Henry Teller—estimated that between five and six million dollars would have to be spent.¹³ Appropriations never reached fifty percent of that amount.

Although larger appropriations might not have solved all of the Indians' problems, Congress' inability to support education programs at the level recommended insured their failure. In the years to come, senators faced with continued Indian illiteracy and lack of training would be unwilling to commit a larger share of the nation's wealth to education. Instead they

¹³ See United States House of Representatives, *House Executive Document 1, Part 5*, (4 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1882), Vol. I, p. xvii.

focused their disappointment on the Indians themselves and began to vote with John J. Ingalls of Kansas who said of Indian education:¹⁴

[It] is just as absurd and would be as futile in its results as it would be to go among a herd of Texas broadhorn steers and endeavour to turn them into Durhams and thoroughbreds by reading Alexander's herd book in their cattlepens at Dodge City or Wichita.

Republicans like William Boyd Allison of Iowa and New Hampshire's Henry Blair responded that the education of Indians was a government responsibility. As in other controversies, however, these exceptionalists were attacked by Democrats and Westerners for advocating "paternalism." The Democrats, with their large Catholic and Southern constituencies, and their traditional platform of states' rights, claimed that federal responsibility in education should be limited.

The disputes over Indian lands, railroad right of way and Indian education led to rejections of Indian exceptionalism. In each of these cases, initial opposition to previous policies involved a small group of senators whose numbers grew when their specific complaints were linked to the larger issues of federal power and individual freedom. The force of such issues during the 1880s should not be surprising. After all, as Democrats and Republicans battled each other to a near stand-off at the polls, one of the crucial issues that divided them was the question of federal power. Republicans favored aid to common schools, a protective tariff and a large federal budget. Democrats, on the other hand, led first by Tilden, and then by Cleveland, found that defending "limited government" and "individual liberty" successfully united their diverse party and attracted voters who were weary of Republican rule.¹⁵ The attack on exceptionalism could not fail to be linked to this larger struggle.

But the debates of the 1880s, while damaging to the special status accorded Indians, were by no means one-sided. Throughout these years, defenders of exceptionalism continued to advocate federal reservations for Indians, tribal involvement in the granting of rights of way and a program of Indian education and gradual citizenship. The senators who defended these positions—James McMillan of Michigan, Henry Blair of New Hampshire and George Edmunds of Vermont for example—were predominately Republican and nearly all Easterners. For the most part they were veterans of

¹⁴ United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 48th Congress 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884), p. 4074.

¹⁵ See Robert Kelley, *The Transatlantic Persuasion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969); Paul Kleppner, *Cross of Culture* (New York: Free Press, 1970), and Richard Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), for a discussion of this Democratic ideology.

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the antislavery campaigns of the 1850s and defenders of Reconstruction. Because few of their constituents were personally touched by the land, railroad or education issues, they could afford to cry out with Senator Dawes that "the United States should spend as many dollars to educate the Indian as they have in the vain, cruel, and bloody work of trying to exterminate him."¹⁶

A summary of the seventeen Senate roll call votes between 1879 and 1887, which involved exceptionalist Indian legislation, clearly shows that control over Indian policy was changing hands. In the early 1880s—during the Forty-Sixth and Forty-Seventh congresses—exceptionalists were in charge. Republican percentages supporting exceptionalist positions were very high, while the Democrats were divided. During the Forty-Eighth and Forty-Ninth congresses, however, the situation began to reverse itself: Republican support for federal intervention and control dwindled, especially among Westerners. Among Democrats, New England became the only region to cling consistently to exceptionalism.

By 1887, the need for a new, comprehensive federal Indian policy was obvious. Disagreement during the previous decade had undermined the Peace Policy and had created an atmosphere of uncertainty which seemed to promise that any new program would lack bipartisan support. Obviously any new policy in order to succeed would have to bridge existing divisions between Republicans and Democrats and between the sectional factions within the Republican party. Democrats and Westerners realized that a new policy would at least have to recognize the exceptionalists' concern for preserving Indian lands, providing for Indian education and maintaining some commitment to the goals of the Peace Policy. On the other hand, exceptionalists understood that a new policy would have to allow for Western expansion, railroad growth and Indian self-help in order to please the increasingly powerful anti-exceptionalists. In short, a solution for the Indian problem would have to retain the Peace Policy goals of exceptional treatment and gradual assimilation while limiting the scope of federal intervention designed to achieve these ends. The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 appeared to accomplish these difficult tasks.

Allotting land in severalty meant granting specific tracts of land to individual Indians. Through the 1880s, a growing number of Senators saw in this plan the answer to the divisions and uncertainty that had come to plague federal Indian legislation. Enemies of the old Peace Policy relished the idea of self-sufficient natives living quietly on their homesteads, amid white farmers and cattlemen. Defenders of Indian exceptionalism con-

¹⁶ United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 48th Congress 1st Session, p. 4075.

FIGURE 2

VOTES CAST FOR EXCEPTIONALIST LEGISLATION, 1879-1887¹⁷

	46th Congress 1879-1881		47th Congress 1881-1883		48th Congress 1883-1885		49th Congress 1885-1887		Mean 1879-1887
	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II	I
REPUBLICANS:									
New England	95%	74	88%	16	93%	30	77%	13	92%
East North Central	92%	36	89%	9	75%	24	33%	9	79%
West North Central	69%	52	56%	9	48%	23	54%	13	61%
Mountain	62%	24	80%	5	25%	4	0%	4	53%
Other Regions	82%	34	50%	12	67%	12	0%	3	69%
Party Total:	83%	217	73%	51	71%	93	48%	42	
DEMOCRATS:									
Mid-Atlantic	77%	22							77%
South Atlantic	72%	53	15%	13	56%	27	0%	7	55%
South Central	59%	86	10%	21	14%	42	0%	11	37%
East North Central	74%	34			36%	11	0%	5	58%
Other Regions	35%	23	38%	8	0%	9	0%	4	25%
Party Total:	64%	218	17%	42	28%	89	0%	27	

Column I contains the percentage of total votes in the Senate for exceptionalist legislation. Column II contains the total votes cast both for and against exceptionalist legislation in the Senate.

cluded that a carefully written and properly administered allotment act might well be their last opportunity to protect American natives from increasingly powerful and uncontrollable settlers.

Indicative of these contrasting hopes for allotment were the three severalty acts passed by the Senate between 1881 and 1887. The first of these, sponsored by Richard Coke of Texas, received Senate approval at the end of the Forty-Sixth Congress in February, 1881, and again during the Forty-Seventh Congress in early 1882. A second severalty bill, sponsored by Coke and Henry Dawes, was approved in early 1884, during the Forty-Eighth Congress. The third proposal, sponsored by Dawes, passed the Senate in April, 1886 and the House of Representatives ten months later.

All of these bills were popular with anti-exceptionalists. Assertions by the Sioux or Ute that they owned their reservations could now be refuted because under all three bills, each member of a tribe would be granted a homestead and all unallotted land would be sold to settlers. What is more, with the dissolution of the reservations, tribal control over railroad rights of way would cease. Finally, allotment promised an end to large federal expenditures for Indian education. In the future, Indians would learn farming by necessity—they would have to work to eat.

¹⁷ The regional divisions used in the table are the standard census divisions of the day. For a complete listing of the states in each region, see Rothman, *Politics and Power*, p. 272.

Exceptionalists were not so avid in their endorsement of allotment. To them it was crucial that the severalty laws be written so as to insure adequate protection for the Indians and safeguards for their future. Henry Dawes was one of the principal proponents of this view. "If we are to set an Indian up in severalty," he told the Senate in 1882, "we must throw some protection around him and aid him for a while in his efforts."¹⁸

The "protection" Dawes had in mind came in three forms. Indians would be granted an inalienable title to their homesteads. The land would be listed in the new owner's name, but a final deed would not be issued for twenty-five years. In the interim, the property could be neither sold nor taxed. Also the Coke and the original Dawes bills carried tribal consent clauses stipulating that allotment could take place only after two-thirds of the adult male members of a tribe requested it. This provision was included in all severalty bills passed before 1886, but it never cleared the House of Representatives where Southern and Western representatives claimed it would enable recalcitrant tribes to block expansion indefinitely. Because of this impasse, the tribal consent clause was replaced with another provision stipulating that allotment could take place only at the direction of the President. In addition, all of the bills protected the autonomy of the Five Civilized Tribes by excluding them from possible allotment.

In the same speech that called for "protection" for Indian allottees, Dawes asked for a redoubling of the government's "civilization" efforts. "We must countenance the effort," he said, "we must hold up his hand, we must instruct him how to maintain himself."¹⁹ While such sentiments were difficult to write into a new law, the Dawes Act did contain two statements designed to encourage Indian "advancement."

It provided that only Indians who took land in severalty would become citizens. "We do this," Senator Dawes explained, "in order to encourage any Indian who has started upon the life of a civilized man . . . to be one of the body politic in which he lives; giving the encouragement that if he so maintains himself, he shall be a citizen of the United States."²⁰ Dawes' statement implied that the government would continue to encourage and prepare Indians for citizenship and allotment.

Dawes' assumption that allotment would take place gradually and in the aftermath of federal education projects appeared to be reinforced by the Senate's decision not to allow Indians to lease their newly acquired lands. Preston Plumb of Kansas had suggested that leasing would encourage the

¹⁸ United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 47th Congress 1st Session, p. 3028.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3028.

²⁰ United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 49th Congress 1st Session, p. 1632. Emphasis not in original.

Indian "to take his own property and look after himself."²¹ The Senate did not agree, however, and defeated Plumb's amendment by a voice vote. "The Indian will be an Indian as long as he lives," Senator Dawes predicted, "unless he is taught to work."²²

The Dawes Act spelled out a scenario attractive to Indian exceptionalists. Slowly—at the President's direction—lands and citizenship would be offered to the tribes that had made progress in adopting Western ways. After acquiring their land, individual Indians would be forced to work it themselves while the inalienable title protected them from taxation and unscrupulous land speculators. In addition, the new homesteader would be given "the liberal encouragement and assistance of the government."²³ As finally enacted, the law appeared to guarantee that this pattern would occur.

In its final form the Dawes Severalty Act represented a remarkable variety of perspectives. Exceptionalists could view it as idealistic yet practical, while others saw the law as an opportunity for the Federal government finally to rid itself of its obligations to the Indians. After final passage, however, the act fell subject to administrative decisions. The implementation of its many ambiguous provisions would determine whether it would be used to protect Indians from invasion or to incorporate them rapidly into the polity, whether it would be used as an instrument for slowly introducing natives to Western ways or as a method of casting them out on their own.

Congressional approval of the Dawes Act occurred at a time when the disagreement that had marked Indian policy debates since 1868 was fading. Exceptionalism, on the decline during the 1880s, virtually disappeared after 1887. The implementation of the Dawes Act reflected this shift in Senate attitudes, as many of the exceptionalist amendments and guarantees contained in the original law were overlooked or changed.

The promise of gradual allotment, followed by protection and education proved empty. In the Senate, only a small group continued to insist on an exceptionalist interpretation of the Dawes Act.

The failure of the Senate to support exceptionalism is evident in a listing of principal members of the Senate and their votes on exceptionalists legislation.

Not only did "moderates" and "anti-exceptionalists" now far outnumber Senate "exceptionalists," but the composition of the groups was different from what it had been in the early 1880s. In 1887, sixteen of twenty-one

²¹ United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 46th Congress 3rd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1881), p. 942.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 48th Congress 1st Session, p. 4108.

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FIGURE 3

PRINCIPAL SENATORS AND EXCEPTIONALIST LEGISLATION, 1887-1898²⁴

The following ranking includes Senators who voted on at least five of the twenty roll call votes pertaining to Indian exceptionalism during these years. A Senator's "score" is based on the number of votes cast for exceptionalism less the number cast in opposition.

	<i>Score</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Votes For</i>	<i>Votes Against</i>
Exceptionalists	+6	Donelson Caffrey (D-Louisiana)	6	0
	+5	William B. Bate (D-Tennessee)	11	6
	+4	George Gray (D-Delaware)	7	3
	+3	Samuel Pasco (D-Florida)	7	4
	+3	William B. Allison (R-Iowa)	7	4
	+3	William F. Vilas (D-Wisconsin)	7	4
	+3	Watson C. Squire (R-Washington)	4	1
Moderates	+2	William E. Chandler (R-New Hampshire)	9	7
	+2	James Z. George (D-Mississippi)	9	7
	+2	Isham G. Harris (D-Tennessee)	4	2
	+2	George F. Hoar (R-Massachusetts)	4	2
	+2	John C. Spooner (R-Wisconsin)	4	2
	+1	Francis B. Stockbridge (R-Michigan)	3	2
	0	Henry C. Lodge (R-Massachusetts)	5	5
	0	Eugene Hale (R-Maine)	3	3
	0	Edward C. Walthall (D-Mississippi)	3	3
	-1	Orville H. Platt (R-Connecticut)	9	10
	-1	James K. Jones (D-Arkansas)	8	9
	-1	John H. Mitchell (R-Oregon)	5	6
	-1	Nelson W. Aldrich (R-Rhode Island)	3	4
	-1	Henry C. Hansbrough (R-North Dakota)	2	3
	-1	David B. Hill (D-New York)	2	3
	-1	John M. Palmer (D-Illinois)	2	3
	-2	William P. Frye (R-Maine)	6	8
	-2	Joseph C. S. Blackburn (D-Kentucky)	3	5
Anti- Exceptionalists	-3	Joseph R. Hawley (R-Connecticut)	7	10
	-3	Cushman K. Davis (R-Minnesota)	6	9
	-3	Fred T. Dubois (R-Idaho)	4	7
	-3	James H. Berry (D-Arkansas)	2	5
	-3	Roger Q. Mills (D-Texas)	2	5
	-3	William M. Stewart (R-Nevada)	5	8
	-4	John T. Morgan (D-Alabama)	4	8
	-4	William A. Pepper (Populist-Kansas)	4	8
	-4	William V. Allen (Populist-Nebraska)	1	5

²⁴ Roll call votes were selected which specifically involved the issue of Indian exceptionalism; procedural and duplicate votes were eliminated. Using these criteria, twenty of twenty-four roll call votes dealing with Indian affairs between 1887 and 1898 were used.

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—4	John P. Jones (R-Nevada)	1	5
—4	Redfield Proctor (R-Vermont)	1	5
—4	Matthew S. Quay (R-Pennsylvania)	1	5
—4	Daniel W. Voorhees (D-Indiana)	1	5
—5	Charles J. Faulkner (D-West Virginia)	5	10
—5	Wilkinson Call (D-Florida)	4	9
—5	Jacob H. Gallinger (R-New Hampshire)	4	9
—5	James McMillan (R-Michigan)	4	9
—5	John Sherman (R-Ohio)	3	8
—7	Henry M. Teller (R-Ohio)	5	12
—7	Richard F. Pettigrew (R-South Dakota)	4	11
—8	James L. Pugh (D-Alabama)	2	10
—10	Francis M. Cockrell (D-Missouri)	1	11
—11	George G. Vest (D-Missouri)	2	13

“exceptionalist” senators were Republicans, and most were from east of the Mississippi River. By 1898, Republicans accounted for only two of the seven “exceptionalists,” and six of the seven were either Southerners or from west of the Mississippi River. The majority of Republicans had become critics of exceptionalism. Most Democrats continued to be “moderates” or “anti-exceptionalists.” The Senate’s withdrawal from exceptionalism may be shown by a list of votes cast for exceptionalist legislation between 1887 and 1898.

Republicans, the principal advocates of exceptionalism in the 1880s and architects of the Peace Policy in the 1870s, reduced their mean support for exceptionalist legislation from 65 percent in the Fiftieth Congress to 34 percent in the Fifty-Fourth Congress and 12.5 percent in the Fifty-Fifth Congress. New Englanders and Midwesterners—East North Central and West North Central—led the Republicans in this shift. Democratic support for exceptionalism actually rose during the 1890s, especially in the Fifty-Third and Fifty-Fourth congresses when the party controlled the executive bureaucracy. Party support for exceptionalism, however, was never widespread.²⁵

A new Indian policy consensus, based on the absence rather than the presence of federal protection, had obviously emerged. Explaining this change in Congressional opinion is a difficult task. Deliberately vague in several crucial areas, the Dawes Act alone could not have created new attitudes. It is more likely that a series of events both in and out of Congress

²⁵ Senators Donelson Caffrey, George Gray, William Bate, Samuel Pasco and William Vilas were the principal Democratic supporters of exceptionalism. These men—all Gold Democrats—took their position to support the Cleveland administration and to oppose its critics. Silverites and Populists opposed Federal restraints on settlers; these Bourbon leaders favored them.

FIGURE 4

**VOTES CAST FOR EXCEPTIONALIST
LEGISLATION, 1887-1898²⁶**

	<i>50th Congress 1887-1889</i>		<i>51st Congress 1889-1891</i>		<i>52nd Congress 1891-1893</i>		<i>53rd Congress 1893-1895</i>		<i>54th Congress 1895-1897</i>		<i>55th Congress 1897-1899</i>		<i>Mean 1887-1898</i>
	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>I</i>
REPUBLICANS													
New England	77%	17	81%	42	33%	6	20%	44	47%	34	29%	7	51%
Mid-Atlantic	80%	5	50%	10					12%	8			43%
East North Central	44%	9	68%	25			8%	12	50%	20	25%	4	47%
West													
North Central	67%	9	74%	23	40%	5	18%	11	26%	23	0%	3	45%
Mountain	33%	6	58%	36	100%	11	14%	35	28%	57	0%	6	36%
Pacific			75%	12	x		30%	10	23%	13			43%
Other Regions	75%	4	33%	3	73%	11	33%	9	50%	2	0%	4	48%
Party Total:	65%	49	69%	151	70%	33	18%	131	34%	157	12.5%	24	
DEMOCRATS													
Mid-Atlantic							10%	10	50%	10			30%
South Atlantic	46%	13	47%	34	36%	11	40%	27	36%	28	80%	5	43%
South Central	5%	20	65%	51	17%	12	61%	41	31%	65	55%	11	43%
East North Central	0%	7	38%	13	x		55%	29	33%	33			39%
Other Regions	none		100%	7	17%	6	60%	5	25%	16	0%	4	40%
Party Total:	17.5%	40	58%	105	24%	29	50%	112	33%	42	50%	20	

Column I contains the percentage of total votes in the Senate for exceptionalist legislation. Column II contains the votes cast both for and against exceptionalist legislation in the Senate.

during the 1890s contributed to an atmosphere in which special treatment for Indians was virtually impossible. As a result Congress failed to discourage invasions of Indian land, and it crippled the Indian education program. What is more, the impact of this new atmosphere was amplified by changes within the Senate itself. By 1900, Congress had seriously undermined any protective interpretation of the Dawes Act.

The Dawes Act became law at a time when the nation's vast reservoir of public lands had nearly disappeared. The Crow, Blackfeet and Sioux treaties of 1888 opened up nearly 20,000,000 acres to homesteaders, thereby exhausting the last major supply of "vacant" land in the West. All that remained for future settlers were smaller reservations, and these were more densely populated than the ceded portions of the Blackfeet, Crow and Sioux preserves. Caught between a continuing demand for homesteads and this dwindling supply of public land, federal officials exercised the "Presidential discretion" clause of the Dawes Act to the advantage of the

²⁶ The votes used in this list are the same as for "Principal Senators and Exceptionalists Legislation, 1887-1898."

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white settlers. By the turn of the century, over 53,000 allotments had been made.²⁷

Not surprisingly, the rapid allotment of Indian reservations did not satisfy Western land hunger. Instead, prospective settlers, seeing that some land had been made available, agitated for more. In addition, prospective homesteaders also demanded the repeal of restrictions in force under the Dawes Act's inalienability provision.

Westerners argued that exceptionalists were only interested in interfering in purely local matters, and were using the federal bureaucracy to manipulate the citizens of a state. Exceptionalists were forced to assert that while Indians were now citizens, they were a special people who required the special safeguard of inalienability. In the 1892 Puyallup controversy, for example, the exceptionalists had to explain why the city of Tacoma, Washington, already built on what had once been tribal lands, could not expand further by acquiring some "inalienable" Puyallup allotments. "Why are certain red citizens of Tacoma exceptional?" Western senators asked. "Why should the Indian Bureau oversee the residents of this far-off town?" The exceptionalists had no clear answer to these challenges, and the Senate allowed Puyallup allotments to be sold to Tacoma speculators in 1894.

The political impact of these arguments against exceptionalism increased in the 1890s because power appeared to be passing to the Democrats. In November, 1892, the Democrats scored its greatest political victory since the Civil War by electing both the President and majorities in the House of Representatives and Senate. The country seemed to have tired of "paternal" Republicanism.

Thirty years earlier, the Republicans had been a coalition of disaffected Whigs and Democrats, joined by a commitment to free soil and free labor. After the Civil War the party had survived by adapting its ideology to an expanding economy. Republicans defended the rights of property against labor, "protection" against free trade and federal power over "limited government." But the legacy of emancipation—an image of the party as the active defender of public virtue—had also remained. Republicans favored temperance laws to improve public behavior and family life, the Blair Common Schools Bill to provide Federal aid to primary education and the Federal Elections Bill of 1890. In 1892 it was these types of programs for social reform that Democrats could most effectively attack as "paternal." The intricacies of the protective tariff might escape the average voter, but Federal "interference" in his local schools, his personal habits or local elections—these he could grasp.

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Temperance legislation created widespread resentment. Even Iowa, which party regulars predicted would go Democratic "when Hell goes Methodist," abandoned the Republicans in 1889 on the question of drink. The Blair Bill never cleared Congress. The Federal Elections Bill passed the House of Representatives in 1890, but died in the Senate when Republican leaders there decided its passage would prove a political liability. After the disaster of 1892, it was clear to many Republicans that they would have to change their commitment to reform. Social policy based on federal power—to protect education, morals or minorities—could no longer be maintained.

Between 1893 and 1897 disputes similar to the one involving the Puyallups occurred over the Southern Ute reservation in Colorado, the Uintah preserve in Utah and Indian Territory. The Senate decided that the Southern Utes were blocking Colorado's mining and cattle industries. Similarly, the Uintah reservation was opened for settlement when valuable asphalt deposits were discovered beneath its barren soil. In all three cases, Indian holdings were either reduced or eliminated when Western senators argued that as potential citizens, natives should be granted their freedom—not forced to live under federal control. "It is not fair," Colorado's Edward Wolcott cried, "for the Congress of the United States to continue these Indians in a ragged reservation."²⁸

Indian Territory, the home of the Five Civilized Tribes, had been the central example of Indian exceptionalism in nineteenth century America. Aside from railroad rights of way, Congress had barely interfered in the tribes' internal affairs for a half-century after their removal. Pressures increased during the 1880s, however, and after a series of concessions to western interests, Congress finally committed itself to the dismemberment of Indian Territory in 1893. A resolution introduced by Missouri's George Vest established a commission to allot the remaining tribal lands.

In approving the Vest Resolution, Senators cited the traditional argument for more homestead land and the danger of "paternalism." Significantly, Republicans now joined in the anti-paternalism argument. They seemed eager to replace the call for federal intervention with a new appeal to national unity. As Orville Platt told the Senate, "Our whole policy in dealing with the Indian has changed. It is now the purpose of the government to wipe out the line of political distinction between the Indian citizen and other citizens of the Republic."²⁹ Just as they retreated from a defense

²⁸ United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 53rd Congress 3rd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), p. 1452.

²⁹ United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 52nd Congress 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892), p. 102.

of the Puyallups and Utes, Republicans now chose to open Indian Territory rather than to protect it. They chose to make Indians part of the nation rather than to create "distinctions" between potential citizens.

Superficially, it would seem that Congress tried to improve Indian education during the 1890s. In 1899 appropriations in this area, \$2,600,000, were twice as large as they had been ten years before, and an 1889 act made school attendance compulsory for all Indians. But other changes crippled the program of Indian education and virtually guaranteed its failure. These changes occurred in the definition of the program's purpose and in the administration of some of its schools.

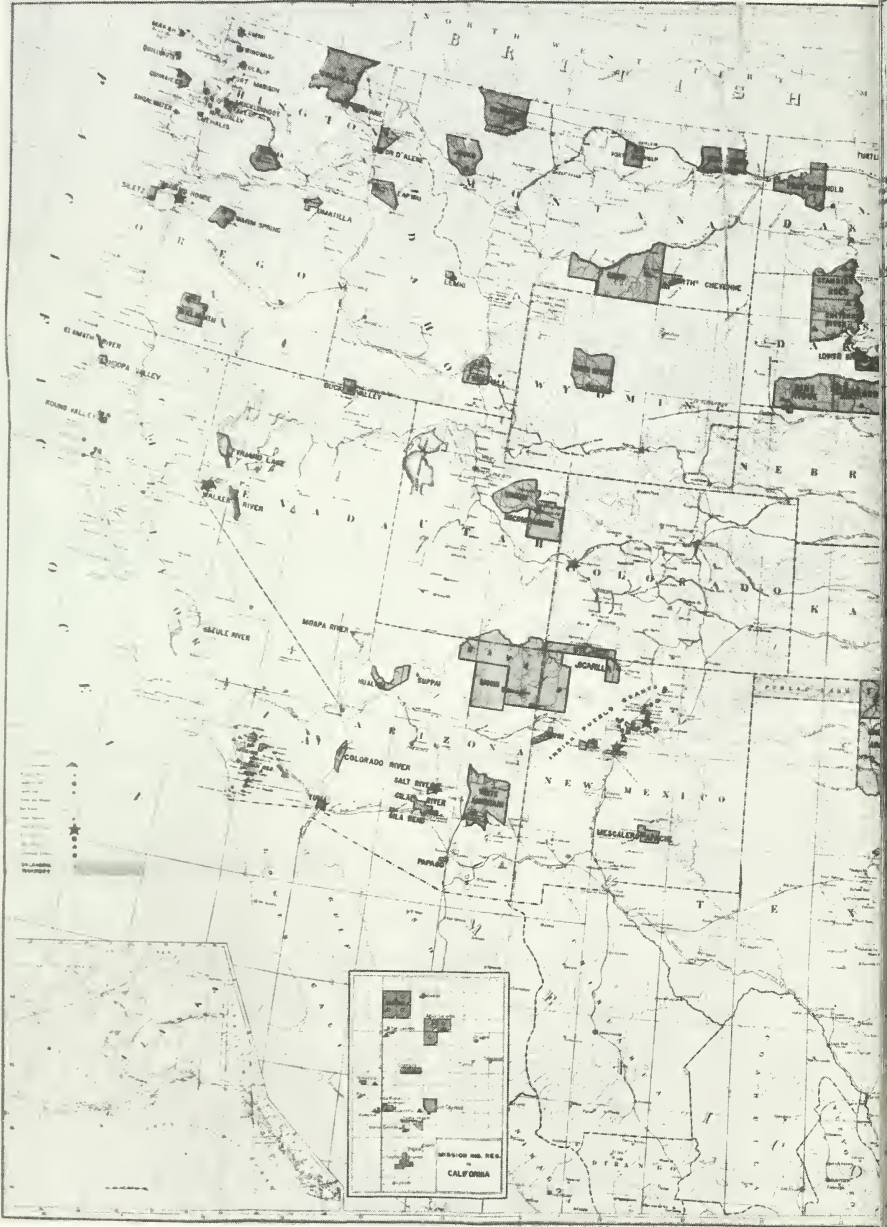
The speed of allotment under the Dawes Act encouraged Indian educators to replace the old objective of "raising up" Indians to "manhood" with a new, more limited one: the preparation of natives for the responsible management of their lands. It seemed obvious that if Indians were going to learn to farm they should be put on their land and forced to survive instead of being "educated and trained."

An important change in the administration of Indian schools also indicated that earlier ideas about native education were losing ground. In 1890 a substantial minority of federally funded Indian schools were "contract schools," staffed by religious groups under federal contract. In addition, several Eastern boarding schools—most notably Hampton and Lincoln Institutes—were paid on a per capita basis for the education of Indian children. During the 1890s, all the contract schools, while extremely successful in terms of educating young Indians, failed to keep the support of Congress. A proposal to end aid to these institutions was first made in the Senate in 1890 and approved in 1897.

Thus, the educational program exceptionalists had hoped would supplement the Dawes Act never materialized. Senators were unwilling to support adequate preparation of Indians for allotment or to aid the natives during their first attempts at farming. Instead a new set of educational objectives, consistent with the racial and social theories of the day, gained currency: the government would provide Indians with minimal training and then force them to learn the rest through "necessity."

Both the membership and organization of the Senate changed during the 1890s. Many senators who had supported exceptionalism retired before 1895. Among these men were Henry Dawes, Ambrose Burnside, Henry Anthony, Justin Morrill, Benjamin Harrison, James Wilson and Angus Cameron. A new generation of policymakers, concerned with new issues—business regulation, immigration and political reform—now controlled the state.

By the end of the century, the Senate was firmly organized along party





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lines.³⁰ The party caucus was understood to be binding on its members. This change affected the Republican party position on Indian affairs. Eastern Republicans had opposed their Western colleagues during the floor debates in the 1880s. Ten years later, however, with seven new—and Republican—states represented in the Senate, this practice became less frequent. The power of the Western vote in the caucus and the power of the caucus itself now discouraged Eastern Republicans from defending exceptionalism.

These changes within the Senate, while not in themselves sufficient to create a new policy, certainly contributed to the defeat of exceptionalism. The defeat of exceptionalism cannot be traced to a single cause, whether it be economic interest, racism, political pressure or shifts in population. Several factors contributed to the new Indian policy; none of them shaped it alone. Even in the Senate, the new policy of the 1890s was not a victory for a particular group—it satisfied nearly everyone. Thus, it is clear that there is more to the story of Indian affairs in the last years of the nineteenth century than the passage of a specific law or the victory of an evil faction over a righteous one. The nation abandoned exceptionalism and endorsed the practice of treating natives like other citizens because a new conception of the Indian had taken hold.

For nearly 300 years, Americans had believed that “in the savage and his destiny there was manifest all that [civilized men] had long grown away from yet still had to overcome.”³¹ The belief that savagery was the antithesis of civilization had fueled American expansion and development by assuring presidents, soldiers and historians that civilization could only succeed where Indian culture failed. Eventually, this belief in the mutual exclusivity of savagism and civilization also led to an exceptionalist Indian policy.

Removal, the treaty system, reservations and Indian education were undoubtedly intended to protect the civilized from the savage. By 1880, however, these policies and programs, rooted in the distinction between savages and civilized people so crucial to early settlers, had begun to operate in an opposite direction: as a way to shield the savage from the civilized. Early in the century natives had been shoved aside and isolated as the nation marched west. Now, when even the most remote reservation was in demand, tribal lands became enclaves for natives. Exceptionalism, while initially serving to justify and encourage white expansion, con-

³⁰ David Rothman, *Politics and Power*, Chapter 3.

³¹ Roy Harvey Pearce, *The Savages of America* (Revised edition, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965), p. ix.

tinued to be popular in the 1880s mainly as a way of protecting a defeated people. In either case, exceptionalism had been based on the belief that natives were savages—the opposite of civilized people. As exceptionalism was abandoned, that belief changed.

The new American attitude towards Indians was most clearly articulated in 1894 by the United States Census Bureau's report on the status of natives. This document—parts of which were read in the Senate—described the now-vanquished Indians in a way consistent with the growing body of anti-exceptionalist legislation:³²

The average Indian, while low in his instincts, has the basis for much intellectual development. He is at all points the beginning of a man. Considering him from the Anglo-Saxon standpoint, he is in his native condition most dangerous and unlovable. . . . [Therefore] In all future dealings with the reservation Indians, let them understand that they must become self-sustaining; . . . give them the means to become self-sustaining and they will succeed.

No longer a savage to be avoided or protected, the Indian was now “the beginning of a man.” As such he could be placed upon barren homesteads, educated in hopeless local schools, taxed by his state government and sued by his neighbors. “The beginning of a man,” did not qualify for special protection or education. “The beginning of a man” would be treated like any other citizen so that he could become as “self-sustaining” as any other American.

Each for its own reason, party and sectional factions within the Senate had overcome their fears of savagery. They would set the Indians free from federal protection and destroy the legal distinctions between reds and whites. By 1900 white Americans had stopped believing in the irreducible differences between themselves and their predecessors and no longer treated them as exceptional people. For after all, the nation could not be shared with savages.

³² United States Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), read in the Senate on July 19, 1894. See United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 53rd Congress 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), p. 7692, 7704.

TOWNSITE SPECULATION AND THE ORIGIN OF BOLEY, OKLAHOMA

By Kenneth Marvin Hamilton*

As in many areas of African-American history, the process involved in the founding of Boley, the largest town in the West founded exclusively for blacks, has not received serious scholarly attention. Historians indicate by their lack of investigation that they are satisfied with Booker T. Washington's explanation of this important all-black town's inception. Washington asserted that Boley came about as a result of two white men betting on the capability of blacks to govern themselves.¹ Scholars have concentrated so much of their research efforts on the role of race in Boley's history that Washington's rationale has stood unquestioned for more than sixty years.²

Race is an important issue in the history of Boley's origin, but it is not the only significant topic that scholars need to study. The unique African-American heritage of this town is only an integral part of its overall development. In order to determine the role of race in the process of Boley's inception, other factors must be identified and investigated. One such issue is townsite speculation, a practice encouraged and regulated by laws governing the area of Boley's location.³

Boley's inception took place in the Creek Nation of the Indian Territory, now the east central portion of Oklahoma, in March, 1903.⁴ The Creek's land at that time, as well as land belonging to the other Five Civil-

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¹ Washington asserts in 1907 that: "One spring day, four years ago, a number of gentlemen were discussing, at Wilitka, the race question. The point at issue was the capability of the Negro for self-government. One of the gentlemen, who happened to be connected with the Fort Smith Railroad, maintained that if the Negroes were given a fair chance they would prove themselves as capable of self-government as any other people of the same degree of culture and education. He asserted that they never had a fair chance. The other gentlemen naturally asserted the contrary. The result of the argument was Boley." Booker T. Washington, "Boley, A Negro Town In The West," *The Outlook* (January, 1908), p. 30.

² Joseph Taylor, the author of the earliest history of Boley, did not cite Booker T. Washington, but revealed a similar story. Joseph Taylor, "The Rise and Decline Of A Utopian Community, Boley, Oklahoma," *The Negro History Bulletin* (April, 1940). The most frequently cited article on Boley's development states that Washington's account of Boley's origin is only the most accepted one, but they never discuss the story's reliability. William E. Bittle and Gilbert L. Geis, "Racial Self-Fulfillment And The Rise Of An All-Negro Community," *The Making of Black America*, ed. August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, (New York: Atheneum, 1964), p. 111.

³ The term townsite speculation is used in this study as the buying of land with the intention of selling it later at a higher price, as a townsite or partial townsite.

⁴ Hallie S. Jones, "Boley," *A Collection of Interesting Facts, Biographical Sketches And Stories Relating To The History of Oklahoma*, Hazel Ruby, ed. (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Society Daughters of American Revolution, 1945).

lized Tribes was being allocated to tribal members. The United States government thought individual ownership of land would develop self-reliance among Indians. To test this theory, the government enacted the Dawes General Allotment Act which also allowed for the selling of any excess land to homesteaders.⁵ The original law, passed in 1887, did not include the Five Civilized Tribes—they were brought into the fold in 1893 after white land seekers placed pressure upon Congress.⁶

This group of Indians had a novel relationship with the United States Government. From their collective names, it is evident that European-Americans thought of the Five Civilized Tribes as being different from other Indians. The government's unique conception of the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaw and Seminoles manifested itself in the 1893 amendment to the Dawes Act that placed the several tribes under the allotment system. The original act, passed in 1887, gave each Indian family head 160 acres, each single person over eighteen 80 acres, each orphan under eighteen 80 acres and each dependent child 40 acres. The 1893 amendment that brought the Five Civilized Tribes under the allotment system gave each tribal member 160 acres regardless of age or marital status.⁷

As former black slaves of Indians and their descendants possessed various degrees of rights and responsibilities in their respective tribes as a result of post-Civil War agreements between the United States government and the Five Civilized Tribes, they also received 160 acres.⁸ One such recipient was Abigail Barnett, a six year old Choctaw freedwoman, who lived with her father in the Creek Nation.

James Barnett, Abigail's father, selected her land as well as the lands for his three other children. An illiterate widower with children that ranged from ages six to sixteen, Barnett had lived in the area of his daughter's allotment for about eight years. His main concern had ". . . been to select all of the allotments for the family as nearly together as possible."⁹ This

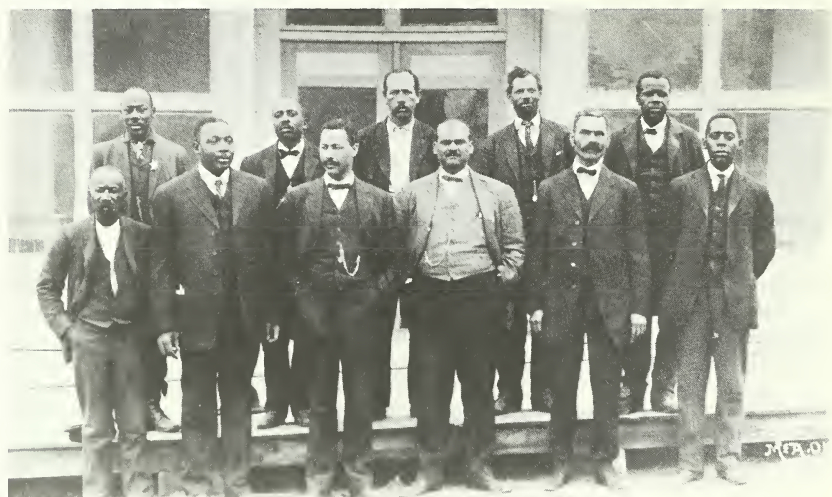
⁵ Paul W. Gates, *History Of Public Land Law Development* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948), p. 464.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ United States Congress, *Act of March 3, 1903* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), Sec. 1.

⁸ Many Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes owned black slaves and fought with the Confederacy to save their property. As an attempt to insure the new freedman with a livelihood, the federal government persuaded the Five Civilized Tribes, with the exception of the Chickasaws, to give their former slaves tribal citizenship and property rights. In many cases the tribes were not eager to have the blacks as equals. In the case of the Choctaws, adoption into the tribe did not take place until twenty years after the Civil War. Angie Debo, *A History Of The Indians Of The United States* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), pp. 182-183.

⁹ James Barnett, "Testimony before Department of Interior: Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, Muskogee, Indian Territory, April 4, 1905," Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.



Members of the Town Council of Boley

motive caused him to overlook the land's poor cultivation value. Abigail's allotment was not a choice piece of land, it had many creeks and ravines that overflowed and flooded the surrounding bottom lands. It was also hilly, rocky land with scrubby timber. Hilliard Taylor, one of Boley's earliest settlers, described it as:¹⁰

There is a ravine that contains a low flat bottom that extends to the creek that overflows—it is low on one side and on the other side is a high hill and cliff of rocks, and that is about the width of 300 or 400 yards, beginning at the northeast corner of that block of land and running southwest clear across it. My conclusion is that it will take up at least 20 or 25 acres of that land—and that it is absolutely fit for no purpose at all. I have seen the bottom part of it overflowed under 2 or 3 feet of water, and the other side is a high cliff of rocks, where grass and nothing else will grow.

Barnett became aware of the limited farming and leasing value of his daughter's land in 1903, about the time the Fort Smith and Western Railroad Company laid tracks through the allotment. Coincidentally, Barnett received the deed to Abigail's land the year Congress passed an act giving freedmen and Indians the right to sell their lands adjacent to railroad stations with the exception of a forty acre homestead, upon the approval of the Secretary of Interior.¹¹

¹⁰ Hilliard Taylor, "Testimony before Department of Interior: Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, Muskogee, Indian Territory, Feb. 21, 1907," *ibid.*

¹¹ United States Congress *Act of March 3, 1903*, Sec. 1.

Before the passage of this law, the phenomenon of townsite speculation did not take place in Indian Territory. However this act encouraged speculators to seek ownership of previously nonpurchasable Indian and freedman lands around railroad stations for townsite development. The law also sought to protect the allottees from unwise sales and unscrupulous buyers, by having each sale approved by the Secretary of Interior through the Commission for the Five Civilized Tribes. In many cases the safeguard worked.

Barnett realized the implication of the law and conceived a means to enhance the land's moneymaking potential. Under the law, the railroad was given 50 feet of right-of-way on either side of the tracks and an additional tract of 100 feet wide and 2,000 feet long every 10 miles for the purpose of building a station.¹² Abigail's land happened to be selected as a station site. This inspired Barnett to attempt to plan and sell forty or so acres around the station as a townsite, an act that would enable the land to be sold at an excellent monetary gain.

The land was valued at about 15¢ an acre if leased but about \$5.00 or \$6.00 an acre if sold as farmland.¹³ Barnett was aware that townsite land brought more money per acre than farmland. He reasoned that as the government allocated the land to provide economic security for the recipient, he thought it was a wise idea to sell his daughter's land as a townsite and place the money, at eight percent interest, in a bank. Barnett asserted:¹⁴

That land could not be used for nothing else—could not make anything out of it in the way of a farm, and the railroad runs through it. I decided that it would be a good idea to get it into a townsite, and make a good deal for the child and put it in the bank, and so I just spoke to Mr. Moore about it. He was working for the railroad, and he said yes. I spoke to see if I could get him to work it up for me, and he said he would look after it for me, if I wanted him to, and he took it himself, to see after it and to see whether there could be a town located there at all.

Lake Moore, a thirty-three year old white attorney and former commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes, had known earlier of the station at Boley and that the Fort Smith and Western Railroad Company wanted a town built around the station. When he was serving as a commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes with jurisdiction outside of the Creek Nation, he received a letter from J. J. Mahoney, General Manager of the Fort Smith

¹² United States Congress *Act of March 3, 1899* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), Sec. 1.

¹³ Hilliard Taylor, "Testimony before the Commission to the 'Five Civilized Tribes,'" April 4, 1905, Indian Archives.

¹⁴ James Barnett, testimony before the Commission to the "Five Civilized Tribes," April 4, 1905, *ibid.*

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and Western Railroad Company, informing the United States government that the railroad company had "established a station at Boley, Creek Nation, Indian Territory and request that the Northeast Quarter of Section 29, Township 12, North Range, East, a total of 160 acres be segregated and a town established at that point."¹⁵ Earlier the commission had been petitioned by Sam Grayson for the unrestricted alienation of part of his land for townsite purpose in the area of the Fort Smith and Western station at Boley. Grayson, a thirty-eight year old Creek freedman, had mistakenly thought that the Boley station had been located on his land. From the land coordinates given to the commission by Mahoney, Lake Moore informed the railroad that the land belonged to Abigail Barnett, a six year old Choctaw freedwoman, and that for a town to be placed at that point, the owner would have to make a formal request that met the regulations of unrestricted sale of Indian allotments for townsite purposes under the Act of March 3, 1903. The commissioner also informed Mahoney that "in this connection you are informed that there is now pending before the Commission the application of Sam Grayson . . . to alienate for townsite purpose," land at Boley.¹⁶ The railroad in turn declared to Moore that it had no depot or siding on Grayson's land, nor had it contemplated placing any. It may have also informed Grayson that its station had not been placed on his land, for he soon thereafter discontinued his attempts at gaining permission to sell his land.

Barnett's idea and the letters from the railroad could have prompted Moore to talk about the possibility of self-government for blacks with several white men in Wilitka, Oklahoma, as reported by Booker T. Washington.¹⁷ Nonetheless, he revealed the contents of his Barnett conversation to "Captain" Boley, that area's roadmaster and surveyor who the railroad company honored by giving his name to the station placed on the Barnett land.¹⁸

The two men understood the symbiotic relationship between a town and its hinterland—for a town to prosper it must have a substantial population in the hinterland which uses the town as a trading place, for towns are primarily commercial centers. Prospering towns will in turn bring more people to the town and hinterland causing a cumulative circular process to take place. Knowing that the area surrounding the Barnett land was

¹⁵ J. J. Mahoney to Department of Interior—Commission for the Five Civilized Tribes, March 9, 1904, *ibid.*

¹⁶ Lake Moore to J. J. Mahoney, April 1, 1904, *ibid.*

¹⁷ B. T. Washington even had some doubt about the story's credibility. Washington, "Boley, A Negro Town In The West," *The Outlook*, p. 30.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Velma D. Ashley, "A History of Boley, Oklahoma," Master of Arts Thesis, Kansas State College, Pittsburg, Kansas, 1940, p. 10; Jones, "Boley," *A Collection of Interesting Facts, Biographical Sketches and Stories Relating To the History of Oklahoma*, Ruby, ed., p. 212.



The Creek-Seminole College at Boley

populated with blacks, “Captain” Boley and Moore concluded that it would be easier to sell lots, in the proposed town, to blacks only. Also, promoting the town as a biracial settlement would severely limit its growth. The Boley station lay almost halfway between two other established townsites. On the other hand, there were no all-black towns within a fifty mile radius to compete with the proposed settlement.¹⁹

“Captain” Boley, Moore and Tom Haynes, a black friend of “Captain” Boley founded the Fort Smith and Western Townsite Company. The railroad’s incorporation papers and the federal statute granting the line right of ways through the Indian Territory did not allow for townsite building.²⁰ There are no known records that indicate the railroad was more than an inspiration in the building of towns along its tracks.

Moore, being a lawyer and a former commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes, knew the correct procedures to establishing a new townsite in the

¹⁹ Boley’s inception took place before most all-black towns in the Indian Territory. Langston, Oklahoma Territory, the nearest all-black town, was more than seventy miles away.

²⁰ State of Arkansas, *Articles of Association and Incorporation of the Fort Smith and Western Railroad Company* (Little Rock, Arkansas: Secretary of State, 1899; Act of March 3, 1899, Chapter 433).

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Creek Nation intimately. He approached Barnett with a scheme that would give his company control of Abigail's forty acres south of the Boley station. Moore proposed that the townsite company lease the land for \$100 a year for five years. Barnett later stated that "when five years was up, provided I could make a title to it, I was to sell it for townsite purposes."²¹ Barnett agreed to the proposal and received two years payment in advance.

Afterwards, Moore collaborated with Barnett in forming a plan to increase the chances that the government would give Barnett permission to sell his daughter's land as a townsite. Moore thought that a well respected guardian for Abigail would enhance the probability of the townsite company gaining ownership of the land. Barnett and Moore agreed that Josiah Looney, a fifty-seven year old Creek Indian who lived thirty-five miles from the Boley station, was the right man.²²

Looney made his living as a farmer, but he had also been a district judge in the Creek Nation, a Baptist minister and for six years the captain of his Light Horse Brigade.²³ These were major accomplishments for a man living in America without a working knowledge of English—he could read and write the Creek language, but not English.²⁴

Moore, who happened to be Looney's attorney, advised Barnett to ask the Indian to become Abigail's guardian. Barnett was born in Looney's neighborhood and had known Looney all of his life. Barnett stated that Moore "suggested that he thought Mr. Looney was about the best man we could get, and I thought so too. He had been appointed guardian over several children and I knew him better than anybody else."²⁵

On September 14, 1904, the United States Court for the Western District of the Indian Territory, at Okmulgee, decreed that Looney be named Abigail's guardian. As a safeguard for the minor's interest, the court ordered Looney to place in the trust of the court a bond of \$5,000. Lake Moore and his friend George Clark of Wilitka, who has also been called a townsite promoter for the Fort Smith and Western Townsite Company, guaranteed the bond.²⁶

²¹ James Barnett, "Testimony before the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes," April 4, 1905, Indian Archives.

²² Josiah Looney, "Testimony before Department of Interior: Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, Muskogee, Indian Territory," April 4, 1905, *ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*; Hilliard Taylor, "Testimony before Department of Interior: Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, Muskogee, Indian Territory," April 4, 1905, *ibid.*; Interview, Joe M. Grayson, December 17, 1937, Grant Foreman, ed., "Indian Pioneer History" (113 vols., unpublished manuscript), Vol. xxvi, pp. 366–384, Indian Archives.

²⁴ Josiah Looney, "Testimony before the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes," April 4, 1905, Indian Archives; James Barnett, "Testimony before the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes," April 4, 1905, *ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Judge Laws Sulzbacher, "Court Order, Indian Territory: Western District, United States

THE ORIGIN OF BOLEY, OKLAHOMA

In order for Looney to gain permission to sell Abigail's land he had to have a formal hearing with the commissioner in charge of that section. But before he could petition, he was required to obtain the approval of the court. On March 3, 1905, the court issued a statement which declared:²⁷

The best interest of the ward (Abigail) will be subserved by permitting the sale of this land in conformity with the rule and regulations of the Honorable Secretary of the Interior for townsite purposes, and that the moneys arising from such sale be by the Court order reinvested.

In issuing its judgment the court ordered that Looney be permitted to make application to the Secretary of the Interior through the Commission for removal of restrictions on the ward's land. He soon thereafter applied for a hearing to have the restrictions removed from eighty acres of Abigail's land.²⁸

Meanwhile, the townsite company had reasoned that because the town would be all-black, a black resident manager would be needed. Thomas M. Haynes, who had moved with his family of three in 1901 from River County, Texas, by way of Oklahoma City to two miles southeast of the Boley station, was selected.²⁹ In Haynes' early days as a resident of the Creek Nation, he had very little money. In order to maintain his family he sold wood for sixty cents a cord and rented rooms in his dugout to section hands of the Fort Smith and Western Railroad Company.³⁰ As a result "Captain" Boley "became impressed by the congenial personality of Haynes and the two became good friends."³¹ Haynes' personality and the fact that he had experience in townsite promoting convinced the captain that this black man from east Texas had the attributes to organize and successfully promote the proposed all-black town.³²

Court," September 14, 1904, Indian Archives; Interview, J. C. Trimble, December 30, 1937, Foreman, ed., "Indian-Pioneer History," Vol. cxii, p. 405.

²⁷ Judge Laws Sulzbacher, "Court Order Indian Territory; Western District, United States Court Probate Division," March 6, 1904, Indian Archives.

²⁸ There is no record of the date he applied to the Department of Interior through the Commission to the "Five Civilized Tribes," but his hearing took place April 4, 1905.

²⁹ *Oklahoma Progress* (Boley), December 22, 1910.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ J. D. Bell, "A Negro City," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, 1930, p. 10.

³² *Ibid.*; He had previously attempted to build a town called Oxford southwest of present Boley. The attempt failed because of complications in the Creek Nations Land Laws. It was reported that "The first suggestion for a Negro town came to . . . Haynes on account of the excellent soil and pure water in a country which needed development." *Oklahoma Progress*, December 22, 1910.



The E. L. LeGrand residence in Boley

Though the station's name was Boley, the townsite company reconsidered the proposed town's name. Haynes wanted to keep the name Boley in honor of the captain, and the captain wanted to name the town Haynes. A tossing of a coin settled the question. Haynes won and gained the right to name the town Boley.³³

After settling the name question, the townsite company probably sent agents and promotional material throughout the southwest advertising the townsite's grand opening. Though no record of this activity is available, it was common practice among townsite speculators. On September 22, 1904, eight days after Looney became Abigail's guardian and six months before the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes granted him a hearing, the Fort Smith and Townsite Company began selling lots through private sells.³⁴

Moore conducted the first day of sales, then afterwards the land continued to be sold in private sells by Haynes.³⁵ As a result when Looney's hearing

³³ Bell, "A Negro City," p. 11.

³⁴ Thomas Haynes, "Testimony before the Department of Interior: Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, Muskogee, Indian Territory," April 4, 1905, Indian Archives.

³⁵ James Barnett, "Testimony before Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes," April 4, 1905, *ibid.*

took place, on April 4, 1905, Boley had over four hundred residents.³⁶ Lot buyers received a bill of sale, which some paid for in full while others used an installment plan.³⁷ Moore received all monies from the sale of town lots. However, Barnett had no more to do with the promotion of the town after he made the agreement with the townsite company.³⁸

The secretary of interior, on advice from the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, did not approve Looney's petition for the right to sell Abigail's allotment.³⁹ The denial and Boley's continual growth caused other land owners, who had land adjacent to Barnett's, to seek approval for the selling of their land as townsites. One freedman, Isreal Johnson, gained permission to sell two different plots of land.⁴⁰ The Fort Smith and Western Townsite Company gave up on their attempt at buying Abigail's land, which later sold at a public auction for \$4,440, and began selling lots as a real estate agent and not as a townsite owner.⁴¹

The profit motive seems to be the dominant factor in the origin of Boley. The town's main inspiration came from the desire of a father to obtain economic security for his young daughter. The evidence also shows that Moore, "Captain" Boley and Haynes, the original townsite speculators, mostly thought of making money and not how well blacks could govern themselves. There seems to be little difference between the process involved in Boley's origin and the process involved in the founding of biracial new towns in the Indian Territory. The federal laws governing townsite development in the Creek Nation did not make allowance for race. While future studies may show that people of color located in Boley to escape the burden of racial persecution, there is some support for the idea that many blacks also came to make money.

³⁶ Hilliard Taylor, "Testimony before the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes," April 4, 1905, *ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*; Hilliard Taylor, "Testimony before the Department of Interior: Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, Muskogee, Indian Territory, February 21, 1907, *ibid.*

³⁸ Barnett used the \$500 the Townsite Company gave him for rent to buy stock. James Barnett, "Testimony before the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes," April 4, 1905, *ibid.*

³⁹ Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes to the Secretary of the Interior, April 24, 1905, *ibid.*

⁴⁰ Transcript Records, Book 16, Okfuskee County, Okemah, Oklahoma, p. 335; Transcript Records, Book 18, Okfuskee County, Okemah, Oklahoma, pp. 375-376.

⁴¹ James Barnett, "Testimony before the Department of Interior: Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, Muskogee, Indian Territory," May 31, 1907, Indian Archives; *Oklahoma Progress*, January 26, 1911.

OKLAHOMA'S HOUSE DELEGATION IN THE SIXTY-FIRST CONGRESS: PROGRESSIVE OR CONSERVATIVE?

*By George O. Carney**

The goals of the progressive movement in early twentieth century America included tariff, tax and banking reform; regulation of railroads and trusts; the employment of child labor; improvement of the conditions of the laborer and the farmer; and political innovations conceived in the interest of perfecting democracy and representative government. These ideals constituted a working definition of the progressive program and formed the basis of the Progressive party. The terms progressive and progressivism do not necessarily reflect the view that there was at any time during the period from 1901 to 1917 any large group of men who were in agreement on all of the goals included in the reform program. Rather these terms and the definition refer to a trend that historians have apparently observed in the politics of the United States during the period from 1901 to 1917 and to the issues that historians suggest became uppermost in the politics of that period.

By the time William Howard Taft was inaugurated as president in 1909, a distinct cleavage had appeared in both major political parties. The Republicans were clearly dividing into two groups: the conservative or "stand-pat" element, which were still in the majority, and the progressive or "insurgent" wing, which was beginning to merit attention. The Democrats were also divided with the William Jennings Bryan Democrats, the progressive wing of the party, in the majority and the conservative group in the minority. The role of Oklahoma's representatives to the United States House of Representatives during the early years of the progressive movement has received little attention. Therefore, the stand taken by the five member delegation on the reform issues which originated in the Sixty-first Congress—1909-1911—offers insight into the strength of progressive sentiment in the new state of Oklahoma.

Even though William Jennings Bryan carried Oklahoma over Taft in the presidential contest of 1908, the Republicans won three of the five congressional races. Dick T. Morgan, former mathematics professor and Woodward, Oklahoma, lawyer, replaced Elmer T. Fulton in the second district by a margin of 26,273 to 25,349; and Charles E. Creager, Muskogee, Oklahoma, postmaster and former newspaperman, ousted James S. Davenport in

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the third by a vote of 24,952 to 23,881. Bird S. McGuire defeated Henry S. Johnston of Perry, 23,312 to 20,501, to hold the first district for the Republicans. Charles Carter easily won the fourth district by a margin of over 6,000 votes, and the Republicans failed to field a candidate to oppose Scott Ferris in the fifth.¹

When the first session of the Sixty-first Congress convened on March 15, 1909, the Republicans still controlled the House. The first order of business was to elect the Speaker. The Oklahoma delegation voted along party lines, with McGuire, Morgan and Creager supporting Joseph Cannon of Illinois, who had held the post since 1903, and Ferris and Carter supporting Champ Clark of Missouri. With this issue settled, the Sixty-first Congress turned to what became its four major accomplishments: the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, a significant change in the rules of the House drastically curtailing the power of the Speaker; the Mann-Elkins Railroad Act; and the law authorizing the establishment of postal savings banks.

The Sixty-first Congress was called into special session by President Taft to deal with the tariff. Popularly blamed for the high cost of living and tied up in the public mind with "the trusts" and "the interests," the tariff was one of the chief issues on which progressives and "stand-patters" of both parties appeared to be dividing. In the House, the Payne bill made some reductions in the existing tariff schedule, and a number of raw materials were put on the free list.² In the Senate, however, Nelson Aldrich of Rhode Island was still powerful enough to defend the protectionist position, and duties which had been lowered by the House were raised again.³ The final outcome was the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, destined to play an important role in progressivism. All the congressmen from Oklahoma took advantage of their opportunities to be heard from the floor in behalf of their convictions regarding the tariff of 1909.

Dick T. Morgan, the new Republican member from the second district, was the first to be heard. On March 31, 1909, his "maiden speech" concerned the gypsum clause in the 1909 tariff.⁴ The Dingley Tariff of 1897 had placed a duty of 50¢ per ton on gypsum and \$2.25 per ton upon calcined or ground gypsum. The Payne bill proposed a duty of 40¢ on crude gypsum and \$1.75 upon ground gypsum. Morgan opposed this reduction because western Oklahoma was in the center of a gypsum deposit stretching

¹ Samuel A. Kirkpatrick, et al., *Oklahoma Voting Patterns: Congressional Elections* (Norman: Bureau of Government Research, 1979), pp. 31-33.

² F. W. Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914), pp. 372-373.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 375-377.

⁴ *The Oklahoma State Capital* (Guthrie), April 6, 1909.

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Oklahoma Congressional districts, 1907-1913

across four states. A substantial protective tariff should be retained for such an infant industry, he declared, for under the existing tariff protection, seven gypsum mills had been located in his district.

Continuing, Representative Morgan declared that the Republican party had always maintained that a protective tariff does not raise the price of commodities as the Democrats believed, but "that home competition, the development of manufacturing plants, improvement in machinery, the acquirement of great skill among our mechanics and artisans will . . . cause a great reduction in the price of the article so protected." He proved his point by stating that the price of gypsum had fallen by more than thirty-three percent after the duty had been placed on it. Morgan concluded his argument by saying that the Republican party had insisted that a protective tariff is not class legislation, but that it has a dual purpose, for it furnishes revenue and it "scatters its blessings to every section of the country and to the people in every occupation and calling."⁵ Thus the representative from district two had supported the protection of home industries.

On April 2, Scott Ferris, one of the two Democrats in the new delegation, made a vehement speech on the floor of the House against the tariff in general. He began his speech by saying:⁶

⁵ United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 61st Congress, 1st Session (5 parts, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), Part I, pp. 709-711.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 907.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the Payne bill . . . bears the following title: "To provide revenue, equalize duties and encourage the industries of the United States, and for other purposes." I submit a more appropriate title would be: "To raise revenue moderately, to encourage industries hugely, to issue bonds lavishly, to invade state rights perceptibly, to equalize duties terribly, and for other purposes too numerous to mention, of which the American people can never hope to know or understand."

He then asked Congress to remove the duty on iron and agricultural implements, as "any rate you fix is prohibitive." The iron and steel industries, said Ferris, have admitted that they no longer need protection, with even Andrew Carnegie so testifying before the House Ways and Means Committee. Ferris demanded that barbed wire be placed on the free list.

Then Ferris brought up the tariff subject that was nearest to the interests of the majority of his constituents, free lumber. With his state just emerging from the sod house era, Ferris pleaded, "Free the home builders of the nation from the clutches of the lumber trust." He also advocated eliminating the tariff on wood pulp and print paper because it was "but a premium on education, a premium on the press . . . and I might say even on intelligence." His idea of conservation of the forests was to place lumber on the free list, thus allowing foreign lumber to come in and thereby saving our own supply.⁷

Ferris then attacked the theory of protection for which the Payne bill stood. As he saw it, the manufacturers wanted the government to pay them for running businesses which without government aid would run at a loss. And it appeared to Ferris that the greatest of the trusts always were running at a loss whenever it came time for Congress to meet. Then employing a bit of irony, Ferris said:

If it be advisable to pay men to manufacture . . . why could we not with the same logic pay the merchant, the artisan, the farmer, or the laborer for his daily toils when they were insufficient to maintain him in luxury and splendor? We may all feel thankful . . . that there is one industry in the land today that needs no subsidies, that needs no tariff, that needs nothing but brains and brawn to maintain itself. It is the industry arising from our fertile soil, the business of agriculture.

Continuing, he proclaimed that the protective tariff does not fall upon all like spring showers but rather it comes "from the threadbare pockets of the needy who toil and slave."⁸

Ferris concluded his speech by contrasting the philosophies of the two political parties in regard to prosperity. He believed that the Republicans

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 908.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 909.

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would have prosperity if they had to borrow money, or "even if they have to take it." The Democratic theory of prosperity was "an abundance of commodities fairly distributed among those who produce them." "This is a tariff without profit to the government, tariff without advantage to the producer, tariff that ravishes the consumer," proclaimed Ferris. As a final statement to his lengthy speech, which was interrupted over thirty times by applause and laughter, he emphatically declared:⁹

You of the Republican faith believe it is right to tax the masses for protection, enrichment, and benefit of the few, to the end that they may distribute prosperity among us as to them of right appear . . . The Democratic theory often stated . . . that equal rights to all and special privilege to none should be and is the watchword of all free government.

It is interesting to note that although Ferris vigorously opposed protective provisions in the Payne bill, he was as deeply opposed to placing hides on the free list. A protective tariff on hides would benefit one of the larger industries of the state of that period. Nevertheless, he insisted that all products closely connected with hides should be placed on the free list, such as finished leather.

Taking the opposite view from that of Ferris, Charles E. Creager, the other new Republican Congressman from Oklahoma, spoke on April 3 on "The Indian and Protection." The theme of his argument was "for American protection to the original citizen—the Indian." He began by tracing the plight of the Creek and Cherokee nations to statehood. They hold land now that they call home, said Creager, not of their own choice, but because they were driven there at the point of the bayonet by a Democratic administration. That same party left them there to starve and freeze until they were finally "clothed and fed by the party of protection—the party which now offers protection to their industries and their crops." Creager went on to say that despite the suffering experienced by the Indian, they had worked together with whites from surrounding states to form the forty-sixth state of the union, and "Oklahoma today is an apt pupil in the school of protection."¹⁰

Creager then reviewed the protectionist policies on oil being utilized by both neighbors of the United States, Canada and Mexico. In view of these facts, Creager encouraged the United States to be true to her duty to the Indian citizen and "to guarantee to his production privileges and benefits and encouragement equal at least to that afforded by our nearest neighbors."¹¹

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 910.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Part 5, p. 13.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

According to Representative Creager, the Indians and whites of Oklahoma were also interested in the protection of other industries. Coal, lead and zinc producers were anxious, stated Creager, for continued profits "guaranteed to them by the Republican doctrine of protection." In conclusion, he pointed out that "the sword of the Cherokee has never been drawn against the white man or his Government," but rather the Indian has always aided in every time of peril. He now believed that the Indian should be "... permitted to enjoy the blessings of real American protection in their every industry."¹²

On April 6, Congressman McGuire from Pawnee delivered a speech against placing hides on the free list. He introduced his speech by stating this was the first time that he had ever spoken against any part of a committee bill. He then announced his stand on protection:¹³

I am a protectionist and in advocating protection upon hides I am absolutely and unqualifiedly doing it, I believe, in the interests of the principles of the great Republican party of this country.

The *Daily Oklahoman* on March 7, 1909, carried an article that showed there was not only disaffection among the ranks of the national Republicans, but also a split beginning to evolve in the Oklahoma Republicans. The row that developed was between Joe Norris, Chairman of the Republican State Committee, and Cash Cade, a member of the Republican National Committee, and the topic was patronage. Bird McGuire lined up behind Norris while Creager backed Cade. Morgan rode the fence, but later seemed to favor Cade. This split with McGuire had to be considered a major factor in Morgan's frequently voting with the Democrats from Oklahoma.¹⁴

Much of April 6, 1909, was spent discussing lumber and hides schedules. The backers of free lumber in the House were defeated by a margin of six votes after the striking out of the countervailing duty on lumber. The people of Oklahoma, many living in sod houses, were interested in the vote of the Oklahoma House members on the free lumber amendment. McGuire, Morgan and Creager voted against it; Ferris and Carter voted for it. David DeArmond of Missouri introduced a similar amendment, and again the Oklahoma vote was the same. An amendment reducing the tariff on lumber \$2.00 per thousand feet was introduced. Only McGuire voted against it.¹⁵

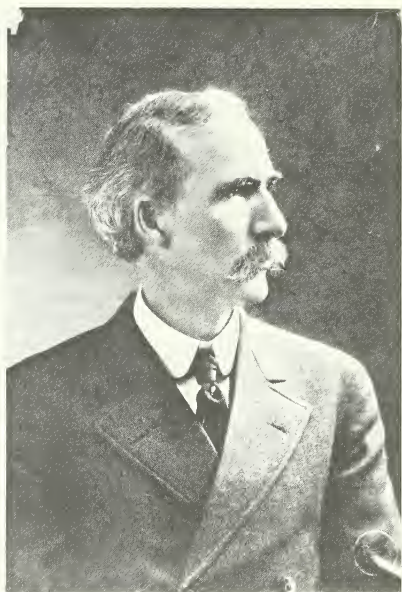
After a month of debate, the Payne bill—"House Resolution 1438"—was voted on April 9, 1909. The first three amendments were related to lumber.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Part 2, p. 1144.

¹⁴ *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), March 7, 1909.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, April 7, 1909.



Republican Oklahoma Congressmen, Bird S. McGuire and Dick T. Morgan, often split on the question of protectionism

The first would admit lumber free of duty, being defeated 244 to 133, with Carter, Ferris and Morgan favoring it, and Creager and McGuire opposing it. The second amendment revised downward the tariff on finished lumber. It too was defeated 200 to 180, with the Oklahoma vote identical to that on the previous amendment. A vote was then taken on an amendment to paragraph 708 which would have placed certain rough lumber on the free list. This was also defeated 200 to 181, with the Oklahoma Congressmen voting as they had on the first two amendments.¹⁶

The second amendment topic to be considered was the tariff raising the duty on barley from fifteen to twenty-four cents per bushel and on barley malt from twenty-five to forty cents per bushel. It passed by a count of 194 to 186, as McGuire, Creager and Morgan voted for it, and Carter and Ferris voted against it.¹⁷ An amendment was then presented which read, "Hides of cattle, raw or uncured, whether dried, salted, or pickled, ten per cent ad valorem." This was defeated by a vote of 274 to 103. The Oklahoma Re-

¹⁶ United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 61st Congress, 1st Session, Part 2, pp. 1294-1296.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 1296-1297.

publicans voted for the duty, while Ferris and Carter opposed it. Ferris voted against the duty although, as previously shown, he opposed the placing of hides on the free list in his speech of April 2. Another topic of interest to Oklahomans was oil, which was on the free list at that time, but a countervailing duty prevailed. An amendment had been proposed which provided that the countervailing proviso be deleted.¹⁸ The amendment was ordered by a vote of 322 to 47. Carter, Ferris and Morgan voted in favor of striking out the proviso, Creager voted for retaining it, and McGuire did not vote.¹⁹

After the disposal of these amendments, Champ Clark of Missouri made a motion to recommit the whole bill to the Committee of Ways and Means. This resolution also contained several amendments which would have lowered the proposed tariff rates and provided for a graduated income tax. The vote on recommittal was 162 for and 218 against. Carter and Ferris favored the Clark resolution; Creager, McGuire and Morgan opposed it.²⁰ The Payne bill was then considered as a whole. The result was "yeas" 217, "nays" 161, answered "present" 1, "not voting" 9. Creager, McGuire and Morgan favored the bill; Carter and Ferris opposed it.²¹

Immediately the *Daily Oklahoman* began a withering attack upon the congressman from its district, Dick T. Morgan. One article accused him of voting sod houses for the farmers, that is, he supported the then existing duties on lumber. It went on to say that "the prevailing high prices on lumber were largely artificial . . . the American forests are practically exhausted. We depend in large measure for our lumber supply upon the Canadian forests. In importing the same, we pay import duties averaging about fifty per cent of the total cost. . . ." In spite of this, the article concluded, Morgan voted for the tariff on lumber. "He evidently likes to see the farmers living in sod houses."²²

An editorial entitled "Oklahoma's Tariff Dromios" appeared the next day in the same newspaper. The three Oklahoma Republicans, according to the article, had voted to continue the high protective schedules on lumber while the two Democrats had voted "in the interests of the people of Oklahoma and for tariff reduction on lumber."²³ The editorial continued, "It

¹⁸ A countervailing duty is a special surtax designed to insure that American producers remain competitive with foreign producers.

¹⁹ United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 61st Congress, 1st Session, Part 2, pp. 1299-1300.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1300-1301.

²² *Daily Oklahoman*, April 10, 1909.

²³ "Dromios" were two characters in William Shakespeare's "The Comedy of Errors." They were twin brothers of close resemblance.

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will be remembered also . . . that the same three Republican Congressmen voted for the re-election of Mr. Cannon as speaker . . . and a continuance of the tyrannous house rules."²⁴

On April 13, Scott Ferris arrived at Lawton for a few days while the tariff bill was being considered in the Senate. The *Daily Oklahoman* interviewed Ferris, and the result was a story the following day on "Morgan Votes for Lumber Tariff." This article stated that Ferris "expresses great dissatisfaction with the tariff law, especially because of its neglect of western interests." The story further stated that Morgan voted, along with the other two Republicans, against the proposition putting lumber on the free list. And later, when Champ Clark put forth another amendment placing lumber on the free list, Morgan voted against it. Ferris stated:

I went to Morgan . . . and said to him, "The people in your district will get you for that." "Oh, I can't vote with you Democrats all the time," was the reply.

The article concluded by pointing out that in addition to lumber, Morgan had voted against reducing the duty on barbed wire, as did the other two Republicans from Oklahoma.²⁵

In yet another editorial on April 16, the *Daily Oklahoman* wrote on "Morgan and Free Lumber." The editor stated that on April 13, Morgan sent a telegram to the *Daily Oklahoman* which read, "In the committee of the whole and in the House I voted to put lumber on the free list. Your Washington dispatch untrue. Please publish telegram and make editorial correction. The people entitled to the truth." The paper's investigation of the affair proved that Morgan had voted against free lumber in the committee and then to save face had changed his vote when it was to be recorded. The editor summarized by denouncing Morgan as a dodger, and that if he and the other dodgers had voted for free lumber in the committee, the free lumber resolution would have carried.²⁶

On April 19, the *Guthrie Daily Leader* carried an editorial which said, "First thing you know Congressman Morgan will be denying that he represents that northwest district."²⁷ On the same day, Morgan delivered a speech in the House on the tariff. In this speech he attempted to explain how the policy of protection would be beneficial to the farmer.

Morgan believed there was no possible way the farmer could be benefited by removing tariff walls and placing agricultural products on the

²⁴ *Daily Oklahoman*, April 11, 1909.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, April 14, 1909.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, April 16, 1909.

²⁷ *Guthrie Daily Leader* (Guthrie), April 19, 1909.

free list. He reasoned that the reduction of the tariff would not increase the capacity of the American people to consume, and, therefore, the result would be less manufacturing at home. With a decrease in manufacturing, he continued, there would be an increase in unemployment. With a high rate of unemployment, Morgan observed that these people would have only one place to go, and that was to the farms. There they would become competitors of the farmer, whereas before they had been customers.

The old question of why people left the farms and went to the cities was easy for Morgan to answer. It was due to the policy of protection, he avowed, because no person would go to the cities unless employment was offered. According to Congressman Morgan, the motivating force behind this employment was the protective tariff to industries and labor. The second district delegate viewed the protective tariff as giving the farmer better customers, as well as more customers, because they have more purchasing power. He then submitted a table comparing wages in 1903 in the United States, Great Britain, Germany and France. It showed that wages were from 100 to 200 percent higher in the United States. Thus, Morgan said, the protective tariff had given a protected market to the farmers. He pointed out that within five hundred miles of the Canadian boundary are located the large cities of the United States; and that if the duty were taken off farm products, the two million farmers of Canada would find an enormous market for their commodities.

The results of the Dingley Tariff of 1897 were used by Morgan to provide additional proof for his argument for a protective tariff. He cited facts to show that in eight years, the national wealth had increased twenty percent, and that in ten years the increase in money circulation had been over one hundred percent. Deposits in savings banks, according to Morgan, had increased more than sixty percent during the period from 1896 to 1908. Then he concluded his lengthy defense of protection by saying, "Does this support the charge that the Republican party, by its protective tariff policy, legislates for the benefit of the few and not for all?"²⁸ Thus, Morgan failed to realize that America had exportable surpluses of farm products, thereby needing no protection.

On July 8, the tariff of 1909 passed the Senate with several amendments, most of which raised the duties upward. Following passage, Senator Aldrich made a motion "that the Senate insist upon its amendments to the bill and ask for a conference with the House of Representatives upon the bill and amendments." The motion was agreed to.²⁹ The next day, the House of

²⁸ United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 61st Congress, 1st Session, Part 5, pp. 56-58.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Part 4, p. 4316.

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Representatives voted on the question of a committee of conference to join the Senate committee, with the result being 178 for and 152 against. Creager and Morgan voted for the committee, Carter and Ferris voted against it, and McGuire did not vote. Proponents of the Payne-Aldrich bill voted for the committee so that a compromise might be reached, whereas opponents voted against it, hoping that legislation might be stalled. So the resolution was accepted and the speaker appointed the conferees.³⁰ The joint committee acted upon the bill and returned it to the House for its consideration.

In the proceedings of the House following the return of the tariff bill, Congressman Charles D. Carter, the Ardmore Democrat, spoke on July 31. Clark of Missouri, the Democratic floor leader of the debate against the tariff, yielded four minutes of his time to Carter. In his remarks, Carter passionately attacked the tariff bill as it then stood. He predicted that the Payne-Aldrich Tariff bill would "doubtless prove a doleful, death-like procession to many of the liberal Republican members from west of the Allegheny Mountains" who had promised their constituents a downward revision of the tariff. He added:³¹

The burden of explanation is on you, my friends of the majority, and not upon us, for we of the Middle West on this side of the Chamber have zealously kept the faith by voting for every reduction which your special cloture rules would permit.

Carter continued by stating that representatives had been sent to Congress for the specific purpose of revising the tariff downward, but "the height of inconsistency was reached" when a tariff commission was appointed from the Republican party "whose political success depends largely on campaign funds contributed by the tariff barons." He concluded his speech by saying that some day there would be an equitable adjustment of the tariff, but it would not come from the Republican party, "a subsidized auxiliary of predatory wealth, but by a just, sensible and united Democracy backed and fortified by public opinion at last aroused to the abuses committed in the name of Republicanism."³²

On the same date as Representative Carter's speech, the members of the House voted on the conference report. They first voted on recommitting the bill to the conference committee, which was rejected by a margin of 191 to 186. Ferris and Carter voted for recommitment, while the three Republicans voted negatively. Then the vote was taken on agreeing to the conference report, with the court being 195 in favor and 183 against. The Oklahomans

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 4384-4385.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Part 5, p. 4750.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 4751.

voted according to their party affiliations.³³ The bill then went back to the Senate, was voted on, August 5, and passed 47 to 31. The President signed the bill on the same day.³⁴

The next day the *Daily Oklahoman* severely criticized President Taft for signing the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill. The editorial declared:³⁵

If President Taft is sincere in his utterance relative to the measure just passed by Congress and which has received his signature, a genuine surprise awaits him when the returns from the Congressional elections are received next year, for it may confidently be expected that an indignant people will reverse the present Republican majority, in the lower house, of seventy-seven members and it is likely that the upper branch will also undergo material alteration.

The elections of 1910 would prove just how accurate the *Daily Oklahoman's* prediction was. The tariff of 1909 made little change in the existing tariff schedules. It left a high system of rates and showed an unfriendly attitude towards foreign trade. The worst feature of the special session was the fact that industrial magnates still unquestionably held an upper hand in Congress.³⁶ This fact gave more support for the progressive belief that the tariff was "the mother of the trusts." The protest from the progressive wings of both parties was vigorous and undoubtedly would play a significant role in the composition of the next Congress.

Three months after the second session of the Sixty-first Congress convened, Republicans in the House split again along progressive-"stand-pat" lines over the issue popularly called "Cannonism." In addition, the Speaker of the House had been given increasing power over the years. He appointed members to House committees, and through his membership on the Rules Committee and the power of appointing its members, he could decide what legislation should come before the House. Through the power of recognition he decided who would and would not be heard. Complaints had multiplied against the undemocratic nature of this system. In addition, it was widely believed that Speaker Cannon had wielded his power for the benefit of large business interests, so the question became not only one of democracy versus oligarchy, but also the familiar one of "the people" versus "the interests." "Cannonism" had become a symbolic term.³⁷

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 4754-4755.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4949.

³⁵ *Daily Oklahoman*, August 6, 1909.

³⁶ Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States*, pp. 407-408.

³⁷ Mark Sullivan, "The People's One Chance in Two Years," *Colliers*, Vol. XLII (March, 1909), p. 15.

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The very nature of the system made change extremely difficult. A bill to revise the rules would have to clear the Rules Committee before it could come to the floor of the House, an unlikely event at best. Once in each Congress when the House adopted rules, an opportunity existed, but at this point the Speaker's power of recognition was the hurdle. Undismayed by these apparently insurmountable obstacles, George Norris, an "insurgent" Republican from Nebraska, had composed a motion which he kept in his pocket in the hopes that an opportunity to put it before the House might occur. On March 17, 1910, the opportunity came. The day before, Speaker Cannon had held a motion dealing with the census to be privileged on the grounds that the Constitution required a census to be taken. Congressman Norris thereupon offered his motion to change the composition of the Rules Committee and its method of selection, arguing that his motion should also be privileged because the Constitution permitted the House to make its own rules. One of Cannon's lieutenants immediately raised a point of order against Norris' motion, which the Speaker sustained. An appeal from the decision of the chair promptly followed, and on a roll call vote Norris won 180 to 159. Ferris and Carter voted with Norris; the three Republicans adhered to the principles of "Cannonism."³⁸

Norris thereupon offered a substitute motion, "House Resolution 502," which represented an agreement with Champ Clark, speaking for the Democratic caucus. The new motion proposed to establish a Committee on Rules of ten members, six of the majority and four of the minority, to be elected by the House. The Speaker was not to be a member, and the Committee was to elect its own chairman. The Norris resolution passed by a final vote of 191 to 156. Again both Carter and Ferris gave a positive indication of their attitude toward progressivism by voting for the resolution. Creager, Morgan and McGuire failed to join the "insurgent" Republicans, as they stood firmly with the "Old Guard" and Speaker Cannon and cast their votes against the resolution.³⁹

The law establishing postal savings depositories has often been cited as one of the progressive achievements of the Taft Administration, and it was by and large one which progressives favored. Because a provision of this kind had been endorsed by both party platforms of 1908, it might have been expected to be a relatively uncontroversial measure. However, among the supporters of the postal savings idea there was a division between those who approved of the administration bill—"Senate Resolution 5876"—and those who opposed it because they feared that deposits could be drained off to the

³⁸ United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 61st Congress, 2nd Session (12 parts, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910) Part 4, p. 3435.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3436.



William Jennings Bryan, the leader of the “Bryan Democrats” and “Insurgent Republicans” in Congress

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large cities and Wall Street. Therefore, in the House, a substitute amendment was proposed by David Finley of South Carolina—"House Resolution 720"—which followed the theory of the postal savings bank plank of the Democratic Platform of 1908:⁴⁰

We favor a postal savings bank if the guaranteed bank can not be secured, and that it be constituted so as to keep the deposited money in the communities where it is established. But we condemn the policy of the Republican party in proposing postal savings banks under a plan of conduct by which it will aggregate the deposits of rural communities and redeposit the same, while under government charge, in the banks of Wall Street, thus depleting the circulating medium of the producing regions and unjustly favoring the speculative market.

For some reason which is not clear, as the Bryan Democrats and "insurgent" Republicans supported the idea of keeping deposits at home, they could not muster enough support to pass the substitute bill, even though George Norris lent his strong support. The vote was 114 for and 195 against, as Ferris supported the substitute; McGuire, Morgan and Creager opposed it; and Carter did not vote. The administration bill was then presented and passed 192 to 113, as McGuire, Morgan and Creager favored it; Ferris opposed it; and Carter did not vote.⁴¹

The last major accomplishment of the Sixty-first Congress was the Mann-Elkins Act, which had been recommended by President Taft. It was generally favored by progressives, especially the railroad regulation clause dealing with the long and short haul problem. But many progressives opposed the administration bill due to its lack of a provision for the physical evaluation of railroads and because of the broad powers given the Commerce Court. The progressives had managed to add to the administration bill a provision which placed telephone, telegraph and wireless companies under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Only Dick Morgan of the Oklahoma delegation spoke on either the administration or substitute bill. Five days before the bill passed the House, he arose to support the administration proposal and to discuss the issue of rate discrimination in the Southwest. He saw no reason why rates charged by steamship companies carrying freight from New York to the Gulf ports should not be placed under the regulation of the Interstate Commerce Commission. He concluded:⁴²

If this control is not necessary, if there are no evils to remedy, if there are no wrongs to right, if there are no discriminations to correct, if there are

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Part 7, pp. 7765-7767.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Part 7, pp. 7765-7767.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Part 6, p. 5853.

no unfair methods of practices to abolish . . . then we lost nothing by giving this additional power to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

On May 10 the bill passed the House by a vote 201 to 126. The Oklahoma delegation apparently held mixed emotions about the administration bill, as McGuire and Morgan voted for it, Carter voted against it, Ferris answered "present," and Creager did not vote.⁴³

As to further activity of the Oklahoma representatives during the Sixty-first Congress, both Scott Ferris and Dick Morgan deserve additional attention due to the remarks made on topics that were of interest to progressives. None of the other three is recorded as having introduced any significant legislation or delivered any major speeches. In the second session, Ferris introduced two measures supported by progressives, especially the Bryan Democratic wing. The first bill, "House Resolution 18173," was designed to prevent gambling in cotton and grain futures. It was referred to the Committee on Agriculture, but was never reported out. However, it is important to note that this proposal became law in the form of the Cotton Futures Act of 1916. The second bill, "House Resolution 18174," concerned the improvement of the public highway and post road system in the United States. Both Ferris and Morgan spoke on behalf of the good roads movement, whose interests were finally put into law in 1916 as the Federal Highway Act.

In his March 1, 1910 speech, Ferris pointed out that the Federal government had appropriated \$7,000,000 between 1806 and 1838 for the improvement of highways, but since then they had appropriated nothing. Highways, stated Ferris, are not the property of one man or class of men, but are the property and interest of everyone, whether he be black or white, educated or uneducated, weak or strong, savage or civilized. "They are the property of us all, and we should all aid in their upbuilding," concluded the Oklahoma Democrat.⁴⁴

In a later speech, Morgan likewise demanded aid in the improvement of the public highway system. A number of important matters had been considered by the Sixty-first Congress, asserted Morgan, but one of the great problems pressing for a solution had been neglected, that is, the development of the public highway network. He viewed the issue as:⁴⁵

One of the important measures that must receive our serious attention in the future is the enactment of laws that will enable the Federal Government to aid, so far as it can under the Constitution, in the building and construc-

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Part 6, p. 6033.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Part 3, pp. 2571-2575.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Part 12, pp. 356-357.

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tion of better public highways throughout the various States of the Union.

Not concerned with legislation of the Sixty-first Congress, but a matter of definite interest to progressives was the conflict that erupted in 1910 between Secretary of Interior Richard Ballinger and Gifford Pinchot, chief of the United States Forest Service. This conservation controversy of 1909-1910 might have blown over, like many political squabbles, but the clash made national headlines for months and created even more of a split between progressives and conservatives, between the anti-Roosevelt people and the ex-President's friends, and between conservationists and anticonservationists.

The clash centered around certain water-power sites in Wyoming and Montana that had been withdrawn from sale during the Theodore Roosevelt Administration by Secretary of the Interior James R. Garfield. The new secretary, Ballinger, doubted the legality of the action and reopened the lands to public entry. Pinchot publicly accused Ballinger of injuring the conservation movement in order to aid corporation interests. Siding with Pinchot was Louis Glavis, a special agent in the Interior Department, who was dismissed by order of President Taft. The feud was heightened when a Pinchot letter criticizing Ballinger was read before the Senate by Senator Jonathan Dolliver of Iowa, an "insurgent" Republican. Taft immediately ordered Pinchot's removal from office. A joint Congressional committee was established to inquire into the administration of the Interior Department. While the majority of the committee, which the progressives accused as being packed with "stand-patters," exonerated Ballinger, the dispute had already become a major issue separating the progressives and conservatives. It ultimately contributed to the break between Taft and Roosevelt. Public feeling toward Ballinger was so unfavorable that he eventually resigned in 1911 to relieve the Taft administration of further political embarrassment. The only Oklahoman serving in the Sixty-first Congress to speak out on this conservation controversy was Scott Ferris, later to become chairman of the Committee on Public Lands during the Wilson administration.

On January 7, 1910, the day after the Pinchot letter was read in the Senate by Dolliver, Ferris asked that the investigation of the Interior Department be conducted by the two Committees on Public Lands of the House and Senate. He believed that these two standing committees, which represented a large group of states, could give a more honest and less passionate evaluation than a special committee which would be appointed by the "stand-pat" leaders, which Ferris believed might be prejudiced. We must have a committee that is honestly and impartially constituted, demanded Ferris, be-

cause the American people are deeply interested in the matter and are entitled to know the truth.

In response to a question of whether the Forest Service should be simultaneously investigated, Ferris quickly replied that "no charges have been made against Pinchot, and the American people do not believe that he is in the wrong." He added that many complain of Pinchot's policies, but, according to Ferris, honest policies do not make dishonest men or occasion their investigation. In relation to Agent Glavis being insubordinate to Ballinger, Ferris charged that "when it comes to conserving the Nation's assets" some of the red tape and formalities should be disregarded. When the bandit comes in the nighttime to rob our home, declared Ferris, we are not so concerned about properties. Neither should properties enter in when the Nation's resources are involved. He concluded:⁴⁶

We need fearless men like Glavis, who dares to attack superiors or anyone else, in order to let in the light of day. We need men like Pinchot, who stands willing to fight, even if it costs him his head.

Later in an April 20 discussion over a bill that had Ballinger's support to reopen the lands in Wyoming that had been set aside in the Roosevelt Administration, Ferris again spoke on behalf of the conservationists. He urged "the friends of real preservation of the Nation's resources to help destroy" the resolution. As a final question in regard to the Ballinger-instigated bill, he asked, "Who ever heard of the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Ballinger, who vouches for this bill, being a conservationist?"⁴⁷

The stand taken by Scott Ferris on reform issues was making him the leading progressive spokesman from the Oklahoma delegation in the Sixty-first Congress. As further proof of his progressive leanings, Ferris delivered a brilliant resume of progressive legislation provided for in the Oklahoma state constitution. In a June 9, 1910 speech, he explained that the document had advanced legislation fashioned in the interests of the people and "agreed to force as far as possible the railroads, the Standard Oil Company and its various subsidiary companies to submit to reasonable regulation . . . and to bear their just portion of the taxes." A corporation commission had been established, said Ferris, to provide that the railways would not be guilty of merger and would submit to decent regulations. He pointed to the eight-hour day which was unpopular with the interests and corporations, but would ever be appreciated by the toilers of the land.

Ferris then praised the constitution makers for such progressive political reforms as the initiative, referendum and direct election of United States

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Part 1, pp. 399-400.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Part 5, p. 5095.



Republican President William Howard Taft visiting Oklahoma during his administration

Senators. These principles “render men powerful in fact as well as in theory,” said Ferris. These laws are unpopular with the “boodlers, tricksters, and ringsters,” stated Ferris, “but they are near and dear to the people, for whom we should at all times act.” A note of praise was given to the “insurgent” Republicans by Ferris for supporting the above reforms. “They dare to think, to act, and to do for and in behalf of their constituency, they must have the executioner’s ax applied to their heads, as ‘shooting is too good for them,’ in the language of Uncle Joe.” He concluded his remarks by eulogizing the Oklahoma constitutional convention members:⁴⁸

There were no reactionaries, no standpatters, no Cannonites, no Aldrichites, no high-tariff-rob-the-peopleites, but they were a body of patriotic men who were sworn to do their duty, and they did it well.

Thus it appears that the Lawton Democrat from Oklahoma’s fifth district espoused many of the principles favored by the progressive movement.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Part 8, pp. 7730–7732.

In conclusion, the Sixty-first Congress is important to this study because of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, the victory over "Cannonism," and the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy, all of which rent in twain the "stand-pat" from the progressive elements of the American political scene. It is also noteworthy as the Congress in which progressives of both parties developed a pattern of cooperation which enabled them, on some instances, to modify greatly the nature of legislation.

The stand taken by the Oklahoma representatives on the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, that monument to "stand-pat" Republicanism, provides the first significant signal as to how they would react to progressivism. As evidenced by their voting record and strong speeches for protection, both McGuire and Creager communicated their total support on behalf of the trusts and "stand-pat" principles. On the other hand, Morgan, the third Republican, was indecisive on the tariff. He voted for higher duties in the Committee of the Whole, but voted with the progressives in opposing higher duties on certain items. Morgan's record on the tariff indicates a trend that began to be visible in the Sixty-first Congress. That was the tendency of many delegates of hitherto unimpeachable conservatism to begin to reflect the growing progressive sentiment of their constituents. Both Democrats Carter and Ferris voted against higher duties on all commodities and delivered strong speeches against what they considered an atrocious tariff policy. Their opposition to this symbol of "stand-pat" conservatism implies the beginnings of progressivism in their legislative records.

The first great progressive success was the victory over "Cannonism." It is notable because for the first time both progressive Democrats and Republicans teamed to defeat one of the important leaders of the "stand-pat" philosophy. Both Carter and Ferris, continuing in the progressive tradition, aided in reforming the House rules to strip Speaker Cannon of his autocratic methods. On the other hand, the three Republicans voted against the Norris resolution, indicating that they did not join the "insurgent" progressive branch of the Republicans.

The postal savings bank issue and the Mann-Elkins Act are confusing because they were generally supported by progressives, but various propositions were offered in both measures that the progressives disliked. The postal savings bill supported by the Taft administration was opposed by rural progressives because they believed it would drain money off to the big cities. Morgan, McGuire and Creager voted for the administration proposal. Carter and Ferris held true to their progressive ideals, and voted for the substitute bill which would have kept money closer to home and away from Wall Street. Thus, once again, the three Republicans from Oklahoma

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failed to join many of the "insurgent" Republicans such as Norris who favored the substitute bill.

The railroad regulation part of the Mann-Elkins bill was also favored by the progressives, but they opposed the administration bill due to its lack of a provision for the physical evaluation of railroads and the broad powers given the Commerce Court. This may have accounted for the reluctance on the part of Carter and Ferris to support the otherwise progressive measure. The three Republicans voted along party lines as they supported the original administration bill. But it should be pointed out that Morgan again diverged from the pattern set by McGuire and Creager, as he made a strong speech in regard to strict enforcement of the long and short haul clause.

In reviewing the actions of the Oklahoma delegation in the Sixty-first Congress, it is evident that Ferris and Carter emerge as the most outspoken for progressive ideals, with Ferris being the most vocal in his stand against the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, "Cannonism" and Interior Secretary Ballinger's conservation policies. McGuire, Morgan and Creager maintained strong ties with the "stand-pat" Republicans, and usually did not join the "insurgent" element in their drive for reform. However, Morgan, as indicated earlier, may have begun to shift with the growing progressive sentiment, as he, on occasion, voted with the progressives. This may have also reflected the split between McGuire and Morgan over the distribution of party patronage in Oklahoma Republican circles.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE QUAPAW NATIONAL COUNCIL AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, 1876-1927

*By Ralph E. Curtis, Jr.**

The spring, 1927, term had ended at Saint Mary's Quapaw School near Miami, Oklahoma. Under the supervision of the teaching nuns, the students collected their things from the dormitories and prepared to go home. On the school veranda the students gathered, bundles in hand, to make good-byes and leave. As they rode and walked away, there were many glances back on the school, while the priest and nuns waved farewell from its walk. With the last of their charges gone, the nuns made a final trip through the dormitories and classrooms, making checks and completing small chores, but also lingering a moment longer in surroundings filled with memories. At last, the nuns also collected on the veranda with their bags and departed for new assignments, leaving the school vacant. The knowledge that Saint Mary's would not be reopened had clouded the end of the term, had dampened the anticipation of vacation and made good-byes long and tense. The school was closing permanently at the decision of the Quapaw National Council. The institution had been operated under various agreements between the council and the Roman Catholic Church since 1893, but the council had now refused to renew the annual contract with the church. This action, more than simply closing the school, marked the end of a historic relationship between the Quapaw and the Catholic Church.

The first record of Quapaw-Catholic contact began in the seventeenth century as French Jesuits coming up the Arkansas River from Louisiana encountered the Quapaw. It was from missions established by these Jesuits that the Quapaw first heard and accepted Christianity. Though the nationality of the missionaries changed with political control when the Louisiana Territory was transferred to the Spanish, returned to the French and finally purchased by the United States, the Quapaw remained loyal to their Catholic faith, waiting each time the return of their ministers.¹

After the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the vast diocese of New Orleans, established in 1793, was separated from the French See of Quebec. Save for the small diocese of Baltimore, Maryland, New Orleans was charged with the religious care of Catholics throughout the United States. In the following years, these dioceses struggled with the huge task of organizing

* The author was awarded the Master of Arts degree in history at Oklahoma State University in 1974. This article was written in the graduate research seminar conducted by Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Oppenheim Regents Professor of History at Oklahoma State University.

¹ "The Quapaws," *The Indian Advocate*, Vol. XVI, No. 6 (June, 1904), pp. 174-175.

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and ministering to this large area. Also during this period the Quapaw were removed from Arkansas to Indian Territory. First, they were located among the Caddo in the 1820s and later to the northeastern portion of Indian Territory in 1833. As a result, in 1843, the Quapaw were included in the newly created Diocese of Little Rock in Arkansas.² Due to a shortage of clergy in the new diocese, the Quapaw had to seek out the care of the priests at Osage Mission, Kansas. On an irregular schedule these priests made the trip south to instruct the young and old, to baptize and to celebrate Mass; at the same time, the Quapaw children travelled north to attend the Osage Mission School.³

More formal relations between the Quapaw National Council and the Catholic Church became possible with the establishment of the Prefecture Apostolic of Indian Territory in 1876, with the Right Reverend Isidore Robot appointed as prefect.⁴ These actions marked the first stage of a permanent Catholic structure in Indian Territory. Selected by Congregation of Propaganda in Rome, Italy, the new prefect was appointed to a region which had little or no ecclesiastical organization and no established hierarchy—such an area was known as a prefecture apostolic. When there had been an increase of the number of Catholics through conversion or immigration and a fuller development of an organized Catholic life, the region would be erected into a vicariate with an appointed bishop, the intermediate stage between the prefecture and a diocese.⁵ This was an advance over an occasional pastoral visitation inasmuch as it was the establishment of an official mission in Indian Territory. This initial phase was meant as a period of proselytism and the beginning of regular pastoral care.

The mission was centered at the newly founded Benedictine Abbey of Sacred Heart, near present-day Atoka.⁶ This placed a resident body of clergy in Indian Territory in addition to creating a formal mission structure that embraced the Quapaw. Not only was there an authorized Catholic official to correspond with the Quapaw National Council, but a priest was brought to the Quapaw Reserve on a regular basis for the first time. No longer were these Indians merely professing, but uninstructed Catholics; for in cooperation with the mission, instruction classes were opened with lay teachers such as Alice Dardenne to educate them in their faith. The

² "Diocese of New Orleans," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (15 vols., New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), Vol. X, pp. 383–389.

³ "The Quapaws," *The Indian Advocate*, Vol. XVI, No. 8 (August, 1904), p. 250.

⁴ "Acta Sanctae ex S. Congregatione de Propaganda Fide, MDCCCLXXXV," cited in Ursula Thomas, "The Catholic Church on the Oklahoma Frontier, 1824–1907," Doctor of Philosophy dissertation, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri, 1938, Appendix.

⁵ "Prefect Apostolic," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. XI, p. 727.

⁶ "The Quapaws," *The Indian Advocate*, Vol. XVI, No. 8 (August, 1904), p. 250.



The first building at Sacred Heart Mission

homes of chiefs were opened for services, and in fair weather, altars were set outdoors so that even greater numbers might attend, receive sacraments and hear the gospel.⁷ So enthusiastic was the response of the Quapaw that the Reverend Ignatius Jean, second prefect of Indian Territory, joyfully related in 1888:⁸

[The lay teacher] gathered about her at her home and in different parts of the tribe, not only the children, but also the adults, to teach them the principal mysteries of our holy religion. Last September, she was able to bring to Fathers Hilary and Germanus, twenty-one Indians perfectly prepared. What a rich crop! What a magnificent spectacle for God and his Angels! Twenty-one Indians received at the same time in the bosom of the Catholic Church!

Considering that the tribe contained only about 200 members, this was a substantial number.

The Quapaw National Council resolved in 1889, to grant land for the construction of a permanent church. This proposed institution was to

⁷ Ignatius Jean to D. Giordan Balsieper, October 14, 1888, cited in *The Indian Advocate*, Vol. I, No. 2 (April, 1889), p. 7.

⁸ *Ibid.*

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include a house for the priest and 160 acres of land that the council approved for title transfer to the Catholic Church. This grant of land was singular in the history of the Quapaw and represented an official acknowledgment of the Catholic Church as the only church of the Quapaw.⁹

This distinction bestowed upon the Catholic Church by the Quapaw National Council reflected a consensus among these Indians that had in fact ceased to exist by 1889. The primary reason for this division within the tribe on the religious question was the growing number of mixed-blood and adopted members.¹⁰ Historically, the reception of this large number of adopted Indians had been necessitated by the tragic and sharp decline of the population of the Quapaw. As with many Indian tribes, the initial contact with Europeans brought epidemic diseases on a devastating scale. Furthermore, the benign mismanagement by federal officials during the Quapaw's stay on the first reserve shared with the Caddo during the 1820s, caused fatalities from exposure and starvation amounting to one-third of the entire tribe.¹¹ To this must also be added the general misery of the Civil War displacement. Beyond even this, the years of harassment, crops lost to intruders and the resultant despair led to a pervasive apathy fed by the white man's alcohol. In 1887, their agent observed in his report: "The Quapaw are a lazy, indolent set. They have the finest reservation on the agency, but they make very little use of it: They seem to have no idea of progress."¹² The population at this time was reported at forty-nine, with perhaps two hundred living with other tribes, chiefly the Osage.¹³

Adoption was the obvious answer to the need for immediate increases in population. In exchange for their loss of old tribal ties, the new members were granted the right to select a portion of the unused land on the Quapaw Reserve. The process of adoption began with a resolution of the Quapaw National Council approving or disapproving the applicant upon the advice of the Quapaw agent. If the motion was approved, the resolution was then forwarded to the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs for final certification.¹⁴ Adoptions in this manner were reported jointly in 1887, for the Quapaw and Modoc as 64, representing a significant

⁹ "Minutes of the Quapaw National Council," October 17, 1889, Quapaw File, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

¹⁰ C. B. Wilson, comp. and ed., *Quapaw Agency Indians* (Miami, Oklahoma: C. B. Wilson, 1947), pp. 2-15.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² J. V. Summers, "Annual Report, 1887, Quapaw Agency," August 23, 1887, Quapaw File, Indian Archives.

¹³ D. B. Dyer, "Annual Report, 1882, Quapaw Agency," September 13, 1882, Quapaw File, Indian Archives.

¹⁴ Summers, "Annual Report, 1887, Quapaw Agency."

influx of new blood for these tribes, having only 194 in combined population.¹⁵

Beyond the internal problems, further origins of controversy were found in the selection of the site for the Catholic mission by the Quapaw National Council. They had settled on the use of the claim of Leander J. Fish, an adopted member of Cherokee blood and a non-Catholic. In the council meeting the agent recommended that they check on the completion of Fish's adoption and settle with him for his claim.¹⁶ However, upon discovery that his adoption had not yet received final approval, the council dispatched a resolution to Washington in April, 1890, asking the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to refuse approval, and declaring that:¹⁷

where as the said L.J. Fish and his Father Pascal Fish have never complied and are not now complying with the terms of their adoption, to wit, making and improving homes on our Reservation. But are now engaged in trying to break or thwart the wishes and desires of our Tribe, there fore be it Resolved—That we respectfully ask and demand of you that you do not approve of the said adoption.

Logically, if the adoption was rejected by federal officials, then Fish had no legal standing in the tribe and no claim to the land in question. Thus, the Quapaw National Council could deed the land without settlement or compensation.

With the denial of Fish's petition for Quapaw adoption in 1890, the land title was granted to the Catholic Church. The house and chapel for the priest were constructed that year; the chapel was known affectionately as the "little Church of Saint Mary's of the Quapaw." Father Richard Rouquier was the first priest to occupy the house and offer Mass in the chapel.¹⁸

The method used by the Quapaw National Council in dispossessing Fish incensed the non-Catholic members of the tribe, who by this time represented a large block although not a majority. Two probable points of resentment existed: the donation of common tribal land to a sectarian institution favored by some but not all of the tribal members, and as adopted members were the bulk of the non-Catholics, the ouster of one like themselves posed a threat to even those least interested in the religious question. The ensuing anger found focus in the person of the unfortunate priest, Father Rouquier. His harassment became so severe that, fearing

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ "Minutes of the Quapaw National Council."

¹⁷ "True Copy of Preamble and Resolution," Quapaw National Council to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 22, 1890, Quapaw File, Indian Archives.

¹⁸ "The Quapaws," *The Indian Advocate*, Vol. XVI, No. 8 (August, 1904), p. 250.



The Right Reverend Theophile Meerschaert, who was in charge of the Catholic missionary efforts among the Quapaws

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violence, he withdrew from the Quapaw Reserve.¹⁹ Agitation was so strong that the Quapaw National Council was unable to control the situation, and in defiance of the paralyzed council, Fish returned to the Quapaw Reserve to occupy the priest's house as his own. No resolution was possible for the remainder of 1891, and there were no further priests on the reserve for two years.²⁰

In 1891, the Quapaw Reserve was included in the establishment of the Vicariate Apostolic of Indian Territory. This second stage of development placed a resident bishop, the Right Reverend Theophile Meerschaert, in charge of the Catholic growth of Indian Territory.²¹ The Quapaw National Council took advantage of the occasion to send an appeal to the new bishop for the return of a priest: The members of the council pointed out that, "If a man does not cultivate his garden, it will grow up in weeds and briars. But, if he takes care of it, it will be full of blossoms and fruits. If you will send us a priest, the Quapaw reservation will become a beautiful garden of the Church."²² However, the confidence of the letter in speaking for the tribe as a whole belied the actual circumstances.

Father William Ketcham, upon his arrival on the Quapaw Reserve during the summer of 1892, found the church property still in private hands. Nevertheless, services were again held outdoors. Regardless of the enthusiastic receptions given the bishop—at times more than two hundred people attended his visits—tension still remained. These visits, according to the bishop, were also outdoors, with no mention about access to the little church, and according to his description Mass was held, "near the place of Charlie Quapaw, chief." Continuing, Meerschaert declared that the "altar was fixed under a big oak tree," while the "bishop with mitre and crozier sitting near the rustic altar was a grand site."²³

In March, 1893, Congressional approval, under the authority of the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, was granted to the Quapaw plan of allotment, and the common tribal ownership of their reserve was exchanged for individual titles.²⁴ There was no challenge raised to the claim of Fish, and he was granted title to the 160 acres, house and chapel, all of which were permanently lost to the Catholic Church.²⁵

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Alicia Mideke, "Bishop Meerschaert: First Bishop of Oklahoma," Master of Arts thesis, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1950, p. 8.

²² "The Quapaws," *The Indian Advocate*, Vol. XVI, No. 8 (August, 1904), p. 251.

²³ Private Diary of Bishop Meerschaert, Chancery Office, Catholic Archdiocese of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, pp. 42-43.

²⁴ Wilson, comp. and ed., *Quapaw Agency Indians*, p. 9.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

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However, hope for a Catholic Church had not been abandoned by the Quapaw National Council, and with a private donation of forty acres, the council again attempted to build a church. Unlike the meeting which passed the resolution of 1889, regarding a church, this assembly revealed the full split of tribal feeling on the question. Strong opposition was voiced by the adopted members, who, however, lacked the strength to substitute another denomination or completely frustrate the majority's desires.²⁶ Buffalo Calf, one of the Catholics on the Quapaw National Council, expressed the majority view when he stated that, "I do not care much for the white man's religion and I will not consent to give land to any church except the Catholic," continuing he declared that "I am willing to give land to that Church because it is our Church."²⁷ The Catholic majority was determined on the deeding of the land. The opposition had won the previous dispute, and Fish had retained his claim regardless of not being a tribal member. Thus, much of the emotion was gone from the issue, and as a result the deed was approved and Father Ketcham given title to the forty acres. In addition in the autumn of 1893, contracts were made for the construction of the church.²⁸

After the church was finished, a school and convent were constructed by Catholic charities rather than tribal funds. Opened in September, 1894, the institution employed two nuns as teachers and fifteen children were enrolled.²⁹ The new school, known as Saint Mary's of the Quapaw, operated on appropriations of the United States Congress under provision of the Quapaw Treaty of 1833, which stated: "The United States also agrees to appropriate one thousand dollars per year for education purposes to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States."³⁰ The practice was for the Federal government to grant contracts to religious bodies which would provide education at these schools with government payments to cover tuition and board. However, by the end of the third year of operation in 1897, this practice was discontinued because of constitutional objections. As a result the school was forced to close for a period of five years; however, the church remained open.

Eventually, with the support of private charities, the school reopened on a limited day basis in 1902, with one teacher and a housekeeper. The temporary loss of the school from 1897 to 1902 spurred the Quapaw National

²⁶ "The Quapaws," *The Indian Advocate*, Vol. XVI, No. 8 (August, 1904), p. 252.

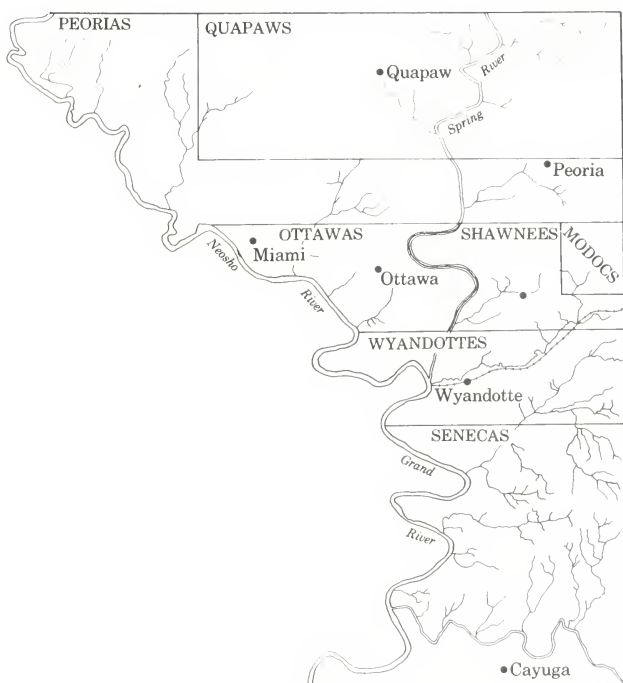
²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ V. Nieberding, "St. Mary's of the Quapaws, 1894-1927," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1 (Spring, 1953), p. 6.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁰ Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (5 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904-1941), Vol. III, p. 396.

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The Quapaw lands in Indian Territory

Council to support the fresh attempt at opening the school, and in 1904, it sent a resolution to the federal officials requesting the use of the Quapaw Education Fund for the support of Saint Mary's School. Inasmuch as it was now acknowledged that the funds were granted by treaty to each tribe, the United States Treasury could release the funds to be appropriated by the tribe to whatever school they desired without constitutional objection. The Quapaw National Council then contracted with the Catholic Church for the operation of Saint Mary's School for \$1,000 annually.³¹

The title to Saint Mary's land was not established until 1908, when a patent was issued by direction of President Theodore Roosevelt when he authorized the Secretary of the Interior to:³²

³¹ E. J. Avery, "The Social and Economic History of the Quapaw Indians since 1833," Master of Arts thesis, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1940, pp. 42-43.

³² Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. III, p. 336.

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issue a patent to the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions for the southeast quarter of the northeast quarter of section six, township twenty-eight north, range twenty-four east of the Indian Meridan, Indian Territory, the same having been set apart for church and school purposes by the Quapaw National Council, on August twenty-four, eighteen hundred and ninety-three, and said church having maintained a church and school thereon since that date.

Saint Mary's School renewed its contracts annually with the Quapaw National Council to mutual satisfaction, and in 1915, further private endowments allowed the addition of a stone dormitory. This operation continued another twelve years until the Quapaw National Council refused to renew the annual contract in 1927. A majority of non-Catholics had developed since the grant and had terminated the agreement, preferring the funds to be used in the Seneca Mission School.³³

Although the formal relationship of the Quapaw and the Catholic Church had come to a close, the end revealed much about the association. In the two and one-half centuries since the Quapaw had embraced the Catholic faith, it had become a vital and emotional element of the Quapaw heritage. The constant insistence of the native Quapaw was that they were not interested in merely having any church, but rather they wanted the church they saw as an inseparable part of being Quapaw. One Quapaw captured this sentiment when he declared that, "I am willing to give land to that Church because it is our Church."³⁴ This coincidence of faith and identity was basic to the native Quapaw, and the establishment of the Catholic Church on Quapaw land followed as logically and naturally as summer did spring.

Though the sudden reversals and contradictions in the attitudes of the Quapaw National Council after 1889 reflected a genuine division within the tribe, it was not a deliberately capricious policy. Heritage was too precious to the native Quapaw to jeopardize in this manner, and the members of the Catholic party naturally sought what they believed was an integral part of the Quapaw heritage. Yet, the non-Catholics justly thought that it was unfair to have this sectarian institution established and supported at their expense. This dilemma was like those that had once convulsed Europe in religious wars, and the erratic policy of the Quapaw National Council regarding the Catholic Church was the result of this dispute. Yet,

³³ Nieberding, "St. Mary's of the Quapaws, 1894-1927," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, p. 13; Avery, "The Social and Economic History of the Quapaw Indians since 1833," p. 39.

³⁴ "The Quapaws," *The Indian Advocate*, Vol. XVI, No. 8 (August, 1904), p. 252.

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painful as it was, it spoke well for the tribe that this was the extent of the conflict, for violence did not result from the dispute.

It was the adoption policy of the Quapaw that was the primary source of division within the tribe in addition to being the most significant factor in the dispute. In their efforts to insure tribal survival, the Quapaws had added many other Indians that did not share their long affection and loyalty to the Catholic Church. These new members could not have in sincerity approved the religious policy that the native Quapaw wished to follow. Further, by the large number of adoptions, they had created a significantly large minority within the tribe of between one-third and one-half of the total population. In his annual report for 1887, this painful byproduct had been seen by Agent J. V. Summers who protested the policy because he observed that the “parties so adopted are apt to cause troubles sooner or later.”³⁵ Aggravating the dispute by creating lines of opposition that were ethnic in context—native versus adopted—the question of adoption allowed other issues to cloud the controversy and engender a more bitter attitude in general. Though the dispute was finally settled, the National Council’s efforts to safeguard the survival of the tribe had in the end compromised an important aspect of tribal culture.

Nevertheless, the relationship between the Catholic Church and the Quapaws surpassed the formal institutions of each to embed an enduring religious faith in the tribe. Thus, this achievement remained a monument to the 250 years of service by Catholic missionaries and the loyalty of the Quapaws to their religious faith.

³⁵ Summers, “Annual Report 1887.”

☆ NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

NEW BOARD MEMBER ELECTED



C. Forest Himes

Born to pioneer parents in Edmond, Oklahoma, two years after statehood, C. Forest Himes attended public school in Edmond and received Bachelors of Science degrees at Central State College and Oklahoma State University.

After having served in World War II and the Korean War, Mr. Himes moved back to Oklahoma from Wright Patterson Air Force in Ohio. Assigned to Tinker Air Force Base, he served as Chief of Staff Quality Control Office there prior to retirement in 1961. Mr. Himes then taught in the Midwest City Public School System until 1969. He is very active in the International Club and serves as its vice-president.



A MERE COUNTRY EDITOR

A country newspaper speaks of a man who always paid for his paper a year in advance. As a reward he was never sick in his life, never had a corn on his toes, or toothache, his potatoes never rot, the frost never kills his pears, his baby never cries at night, nor his wife scolds, and he has succeeded in serving three terms on the school board without being criticized. The successful country editor must be a diplomat, statesman, lawyer and politician, teacher and priest, philosopher and a man of action, all rolled up into one. He must be a man of infinite tact and discretion, to avoid giving offence by ill-timed truth and yet to sift the good wheat from the chaff. He hears more secrets than a confessor concerning which he must be as dumb as an oyster and as charitable as Saint Peter. He must hold the balance

true between all the diverse and conflicting interests which strive for aggrandizement in every community and keep his own hands as spotless as the ermine of a judge. He must constantly return good for evil and do countless favors for others, even though his own woodbox may be empty and his advertising columns as the barren fig tree. He must consider everybody else first and himself last, and above all he must be an optimist and boom his community in season and out of season, in spite of the world, the flesh and the knocker. If any man can show a better title to earthly honors and a reward in the hereafter, than "a mere country editor," let him produce his credentials.

The Clinton Chronicle, April 20, 1906



LETTERS CONCERNING THE CHOCTAW ACADEMIES, 1849

*Edited by Thomas D. Isern**

The following two letters offer a glimpse into administrative affairs of the school system of the Choctaw Indians in 1849. The Choctaws then had three principle boys' academies. Spencer Academy was situated in the south-eastern or Apukshunnubbee (Puckshunnobbee) district, Fort Coffee Academy in the northern or Moshulatubbee (Mooshulatubbee) district and Armstrong Academy in the western or Pushmataha district. The districts had an exchange program whereby each academy received a certain number of scholars from the other two districts. In 1849 the trustees discussed curtailing this program. George W. Harkins and Forbis LeFlore were trustees for Apukshunnubbee district, Thompson McKenney for Moshulatubbee district and Robert M. Jones for Pushmataha district.¹
[envelope address] Col G W Harkin & F. Leflore

Doaksvill
Choct Nation
Choctaw Agency
June 4th 1849

Sir

I received a letter from Mr Ramsey Supt informing me the death of another scholar from this district.² It is distressing indeed that this district

* Thomas Isern is a graduate teaching assistant and a candidate for the Doctors of Philosophy degree in history at Oklahoma State University.

¹ These letters recently have been acquired for the collections of the Oklahoma State Historical Society. Capitalization and punctuation have been edited slightly for publication.

² Ramsey was replaced as superintendent of Spencer Academy later in 1849.

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should be so unfortunate as to loose so many scholars. Although send less number of scholars to that academy yet more died out of it than other two districts. Consequently cause a bad impression among the people and it is a matter of some difficult to git any person to send their children to that academy. I could probable fill the vacancy with some grown young man, but experience have clearly convinced me, it never do to send a young man to school. However vacancy must be fill of course find some sourse. It would be doing injustice to this district, should other districts fill the vacancy which may be occurred at Spencer.

Therefore under the present circumstance I have the honour to make a proposition to you gentlemen trustees to exchange our boys. Whatever Mooshulatubbee District intitled to send to Spencer put them in at Fort Coffee Academy & whatever Puckshunnobbee district intitled to send to Fort Coffee Academy put them in at Spencer Academy. However should Puckshunnubbee district has more scholars at Fort Coffee than Moosh. Dist. would be intitled to send to Fort Coffee after making exchange. Same arrangement I made with Genl Jones.³

More I think over the matter I am clearly convinced that there cant be any impropriety in the proposition which I have suggest to you. It is my opinion that more good would result from it than under the present arrangement.

There are several reason. First trustees have some difficulty in selecting a boy to go to that academy of a proper age. Second it under great incinvinient to many of our poor people of sending their children to academy in consequence of no horses. Third when any of the boys sick or dead some time before news reach the parents. Fourth when any vacancy occurs it take some time before trustees are notified, and a month alapse before he can select one to fill the vacancy or should term of session is nearly expired it put the parents of the children too incinvinient to make a trip twice in so short time. Fifth the impression prevail among the people here that children from this district to go south is more unhealthy than children who are born and raise there—all of which I consider sufficient reason to induce me to make a proposition which I have already written above.

There can't be any serious objection urge against the proposition. Perhaps one or two reason could be urge against it. 1st. It was of the impression of the trustees that the children are educated together, and firm associations among each other would prevent sectional feelings which may be brought about in this nation. Yet I don't apprehend anything of the kind at all. Our nation are small, and it may matter for our people to form intimacy and

³ Robert M. Jones, trustee for Pushmataha district.

sectional feelings could not by any means to rise so high as to injure the cause of prosperity and happiness of this nation. Should there be any reason to form such feelings would be brought among our people for the future, of course, I would be the last man to urge any thing of the kind. Second. Perhaps some of the same members of the denomination which Fort Coffee Academy is under would prefer sending their children to it than other school.⁴ As to that I admit it is natural that they should have some preference, yet these are public schools not design for any particular set of people but object is to do good to the whole nation, and if any of our young men are inclined to do well it does [not] matter where he is educated. Therefore it has been my opinion that by experience, when the trustees are become satisfied that any regulation in any of the public schools does not meet their views, and any plan or regulation could in their opinion produce most desired effect it is their duty to suggest and discuss and I earnestly hope you will concur with me, when you read my letter and reflect upon the subject. It is a matter I am deeply interested.

I shall see you all at the examination if my health will admitt, and we all can talk more about it—⁵ Perhaps several other matter discuss the attention of the trustees—

A party of Choctaws arrived a few days ago and when they got off boat twelve died out of it with cholera. I fear some of our people will git it yit.⁶ I have no other news to write for the present.

Capt G. W. Harkin

your friend

Capt Fs. Leflore

T. McKenney

[envelope address] Thompson McKenney Esqr
Choct Agency
Arks

Doaksville 15th Oct. 1849—

Dear Thompson:

I wish to inform you that two or three men have been to see me about the exchange of Spencer and Fort Coffee boys. It seems that McIntosh, Paul, Winthrop, Williams, Lyman Lawning, Thompson, the Lt. Heossis [?] son that died, and I gave a ticket to John Turnbull last year in place of some boy, but it seems that he did not go— Now if you have any means of ascertaining how these cases stand please let me hear from you by return mail, as some of the parents wish to take their children over to Fort Coffee

⁴ Fort Coffee Academy was administered by the Missionary Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

⁵ Each summer the trustees toured the various schools and examined the scholars.

⁶ Fort Coffee Academy had been closed six weeks earlier because of cholera carried by Choctaw emigrants arriving from the east.

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or place them in Spencer— Nothing new with us— I am told the law for S J & Co hurts poor Skelton mightily— Oh. Mr. Berthelet just tells me that he is creditably informed that Charley Stuart is setting hand to Miss State with prospects of success— I told you young man that delay one's dangerous—

Write me often
Your friend
R. M. Jones



TEDDY GREET'S CROWD

Roosevelt Speaks to Nowatans Who
Meet Early Train At The Station

Theodore Roosevelt, ex-president and probable Republican Candidate for the coming campaign, passed through Nowata on Saturday morning, only stopping long enough to say a few words of greeting from the back platform of his private car. A large crowd had gathered to catch a glimpse of Teddy, and it met him with cheers and music. Black's band was booming a welcome as the New Yorker appeared.

He said, "My friends, it's a great pleasure to be in Oklahoma again and to see its people once more. I want to thank Oklahoma for what it has done. Nebraska yesterday went the same way as Illinois, Pennsylvania and Maine. I cannot make you a speech this morning, as they have been leading me a lively pace in Kansas and Nebraska, and my throat won't be loosened up for an hour." After a few more expressions of pleasure at being in Oklahoma again, he started shaking hands with the crowd that crushed in about the platform.

L. A. Keyes and small daughter, of Nowata, were on the private car with Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. Keyes had gone to Coffeyville the previous night in order to get the train to make a longer stop than usual so that Teddy could address the gathering.

The Nowata Star Friday, April 26, 1912



NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

EARLY STONE CORRAL



Unusual 1900 rock corral in use at Hess, Oklahoma Territory (Photo courtesy of Dixie H. Shaw)

ERRATUM

R. Palmer Howard and Virginia E. Allen wish to acknowledge that the photograph of Dr. Jason Holloway and the physician's office at Darlington, Indian Territory, in the Fall, 1976 issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, were provided by the Carnegie Library, El Reno, Oklahoma. In addition, they wish to point out that the map appearing in the article "Stress and Death in the Settlement of Indian Territory," was the final route of Lieutenant Whiteley's removal party on which many Cherokees died of "Flux"—diarrhea—or dysentery.

☆ BOOK REVIEWS

THE WEST IN THE LIFE OF THE NATION. By Arrell Morgan Gibson. (Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1976. Pp. x, 640. Maps. Illustrations. Notes. References. Index. \$10.95.)

Intended as an academic text, this volume offers a comprehensive survey of traditional topics and more. Gibson introduces innovations of emphasis and conceptualization that make *The West in the Life of the Nation* not only an adequate, but also a current and unique survey of Western history.

The author assumes a bold point of view from the outset. The chronological coverage is from colonial beginnings to the present. The geographic scope includes all of the continental United States west of the Appalachian Mountains and then reaches north and west to embrace Alaska and Hawaii. For purposes of discussion, this expanse of territory is divided into the Old West, stretching from the Appalachians to the western border of Missouri, and the New West, including all of the domain west of Missouri. In terms of historiography, Gibson places his work in a firm but undogmatic position: although he denies that the frontier experience was the greatest single force in shaping American character, he maintains that "the West has been the prime determinant of national economic direction and development and the principal source of national wealth and strength." He also avoids ethnocentrism, first by presenting the struggle for control of the West as a rivalry among several powers and then by carefully delineating the roles of ethnic minorities.

The book is divided into four parts, each containing a number of chapters. Appended to each chapter is a brief bibliographic essay. Part One sets the stage for imperial struggle in the West by describing its diverse geography and rich resources. It then narrates Spanish and French explorations and rivalries and ends with the exit of the French and the entry of the British into the contest for the West in 1763.

Part Two chronicles the development of the eastern two-thirds of the Old West under British and American aegis, contrasting it with Spanish efforts in the Mississippi Valley. It explains how American nationalizing currents overcame Western particularism, British designs and native resistance in order to acquire, settle and organize the Old West. For each subdivision of the Old West—the Old Northwest, the Old Southwest and the Mississippi Valley—there is a chapter discussing Indian removal, American migration and statemaking. Gibson is careful to portray the Indians of the Old West not just as pawns in international intrigues but as patriots seeking self-determination for their peoples. Additional chapters

examine the social history of the area and the effects of the development of the Old West on the nation's political equilibrium.

The third and lengthiest part discusses the development of the New West. Military explorations, the fur trade, overland and maritime commerce and Indian colonization each receive treatment, after which additional chapters trace American expansion in Texas, Oregon and the Southwest. Subsequent attention to economic development stresses the importance of the mining frontier, while discussion of political affairs highlights the reluctance of Eastern leaders to abandon the notion of "national completeness" and grant co-equal status to the New West. A chapter on the Civil War in the West shows the militarization of the area which led to the Indian wars and pacification that followed, clearing the way for railroads, hunters, ranchers, miners, lumbermen and farmers who followed. A discussion of state-making in the New West shows how each territory was made the tool of national political ploys, a concept that meshes neatly with a theme developed in earlier chapters which maintain that the New West was a region exploited economically by the East. As in the case of the Old West, a chapter discusses the social and cultural history of the region. Hawaii and Alaska are treated in a separate chapter, but developments common to the rest of the New West are pointed out.

The fourth part, which discusses the West in the twentieth century, is the shortest, no doubt due to the continuing deficiency of comprehensive studies of that period of Western history on which to draw. However, its chapters on the Western economy, which Gibson categorizes as "maturing," and on Western politics, which he views as conservative, are able surveys.

Although this work is general and broad in scope, Gibson manages to give it a personal flavor. When illustrating general principles, he wisely uses examples from areas that he has treated in detail in previous works. Thus some of the most poignant passages deal with Indian removal. Historians of Oklahoma will be especially pleased to find that the history of their state, so often slighted in general works, receives due attention in each section. In general the balance of the work is excellent, although the importance of agriculture in the West may be slighted somewhat. Gibson's prose is deliberate and lucid. The book's format and illustrations are attractive. In short, this is an admirable survey of the American West.

LeRoy H. Fischer
Oklahoma State University



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THE EARP BROTHERS OF TOMBSTONE: THE STORY OF MRS. VIRGIL EARP. By Frank Waters. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, Bison Book, 1976. Paper reprint of the 1960 edition published by C. N. Potter, New York. Pp. 247. Maps. \$3.25.)

In this book Frank Waters attempts to evaluate the famous—or infamous—Earp brothers of Tombstone. Aided by one “Aunt Allie,” alleged widow of Virgil Earp, Waters undertakes to uncover the truth about these men.

Viewed from Aunt Allie’s perspective, the Earp brothers appeared worse than legend would have us believe. Young Allie, working as a waitress, first met Virgil Earp in Council Bluffs, Iowa, and decided to live with him. But her dreams and her playing cards forewarned her of trouble. Playing poker one evening, she drew five spades, which she later interpreted as the five Earps—James, Virgil, Morgan, Wyatt and Baxter Warren.

A clannish family, the Earps learned to follow the craftiest among them, Wyatt. While Wyatt worked his way west as a barkeeper, Virgil and Allie settled in eastern Kansas. Searching for better opportunities, they moved to Dodge City, Kansas, a booming cattle town on the Kansas Pacific and Santa Fe railroads. Wyatt and Morgan joined them, earning reputations as card sharps and vagrants. Wyatt found work as town marshal with Virgil as deputy. Blessed by Ford County, Kansas, sheriff Bat Masterson, Wyatt counted his profits from drinking, gambling and prostitution enterprises.

It did not last. Restless, dissatisfied and unhappy, Wyatt and his brothers struck out in 1879 for Tombstone, Arizona, site of a new gold and silver strike. “Not a cowboy town like Dodge and Wichita,” Waters writes, Tombstone was modern, comfortable and honest until the Earps arrived. There the Earps, allied with an alcoholic dentist, “Doc” Holliday, mixed in local politics, feuded with Tombstone citizens and presumably led a band of highwaymen. On October 26, 1881, the Earps and Holliday shot down Ike and Billy Clanton and Tom and Frank McLowery at Tombstone’s OK corral. Angry townspeople turned their wrath upon the Earps, and the brothers, although acquitted of murder, scattered across the United States to be glorified in legend, song and motion pictures.

The book presents an interesting view of the Earps, but it has several flaws. There is no index, no bibliography and scant documentation; footnotes are unhandy in the back pages. Examples of inadequate proofreading and editing appear, such as lines reversed and “gong” for “gang.” Moreover, chapters and paragraphs fail to follow any stylistic theme. The author’s identification of Territorial Governor Frederick A. Tritle’s role in the Tombstone episode is imprecise; his interpretation of the Bland-Allison Act of 1878 is questionable; and his use of long newspaper quotations is frus-

trating. In sum, the darker side of the Earp story deserves better telling than this.

Craig L. Kautz
Dodge City Community College



HISTORICAL ATLAS OF OKLAHOMA. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. By John W. Morris, Charles R. Goins and Edwin C. McReynolds. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976. Pp.vii,83. Maps. Bibliography. Index. \$10.95.)

"Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged" states the bold black print on the dust cover of the latest edition of the *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma* and thus a new edition of a seasoned reference work on Oklahoma has emerged. Thirteen new maps, six in color, have been added bringing the total number of maps to eighty three. Numerous plates first published in earlier editions have either been revised or updated. Each map has a companion page of text continuing the format of the original atlas.

The early editions of the atlas began with five maps giving general geographic coverage, and this has been expanded with maps added on geographic regions, a contour map and growing seasons and vegetation plates. The next part of the atlas continues much as the earlier versions with a chronological portrayal of the state's colorful history with emphasis on the Indian and his role in Oklahoma's past. The present Native American population of the state is also mapped on a new plate. Other new maps include one showing early title disputes, one indicating the state's junior colleges and three maps devoted to the leading economic sectors which cover agriculture and minerals. Plates showing the "Sub-State Planning Districts," "Population: Loss/Gain, 1940-1970" and the "Tulsa Metropolitan Area, 1974," complete the group of new additions.

The atlas first made its debut in 1965 and was well received as a major contribution to the history and historical geography of Oklahoma. The thirteen new maps and their companion pages of text enrich the now veteran work on Oklahoma. From the aesthetic and cartographic standpoint, several maps have been improved by the greater contrast in shading. Brickbats for this new edition are negligible. However, one minor criticism must be made. It is still difficult to discern the symbols for trails, boundaries, etc. This is a problem shared with similar publications. Perhaps color symbols would solve the problem.

The *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma* in its latest edition continues under

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the authorship of John W. Morris of the University of Oklahoma, a noted scholar on the geography and historical geography of Oklahoma. He is joined by Charles R. Goins, associate professor in the Department of Regional and City Planning of the University of Oklahoma. Goins prepared the new maps and revised others. The third author is the late Edwin C. McReynolds, a well known Oklahoma historian.

Sandra D. Nichol
Central State University



THE GOLDEN BOWL. By Frederick Manfred, with a foreword by John R. Milton. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976. Pp. xiii, 226. \$3.45 [paperback].)

This first of the nineteen novels of Frederick Manfred was published initially in 1944; the present Zia edition is the book's sixth printing. In writing *Golden Bowl*, the towering Frisian from Iowa drew upon his own impressions of dust-clad South Dakota from when he traveled across it in 1934.

The novel's setting lends it historical significance, for Manfred etches the twin hardships of drought and depression with painful reality. The work poses an appropriate complement to John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, to which it often has been compared: whereas Steinbeck chronicles a family displaced and homeless, Manfred depicts a family determined to hold on to the land.

The novel's young protagonist, Maury Grant, is a wandering bindlestiff from Oklahoma who takes residence with a Dakotan family named Thor, replacing a son earlier lost in a dust storm. Ma Thor is a pillar of perseverance, Pa Thor a well of optimism, and they are resolved to remain on their farm until rains come and turn the land again into a golden bowl. Maury, however, suffers from rootlessness. Despite his feeling that he belongs with the Thors, and despite his attraction for their daughter, Kirsten, he departs to seek an elusive job in the Black Hills. His travels only produce frustration. "Do you think bums kin ever be people again?" he despairs. Finally, appalled by the reflection of his own futility that he sees in the faces of other hoboos, he returns to the Thors.

This return consummates a theme of quest for identity that is emphasized with symbols of natural history and physical resurrection. The dinosaur bones of the Badlands are to Pa Thor an emblem of timelessness. While building an irrigation dam, Maury uncovers tiny fossils with his scraper—indicating that he is re-discovering his own roots. Later Maury is lowered

into a well to remove an obstruction to the drill bit. His descent into the earth and ascent into the light imply that he is emerging from his state of non-identity.

Although historians may be attracted to *Golden Bowl* because of its regional milieu, the book's universality of theme transcends its setting. Moreover, Manfred's formidable literary talents are exhibited in their nascent form.

Thomas D. Isern
Oklahoma State University



CHRONICLE OF A CONGRESSIONAL JOURNEY: THE DOOLITTLE COMMITTEE IN THE SOUTHWEST, 1865. Edited by Lonnie J. White. (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Company, 1975. Pp. viii, 85. Illustrations. Maps. Index.)

In March of 1865 a joint Congressional Committee was formed under the chairmanship of Senator James R. Doolittle of Wisconsin for the purpose of investigating the conditions and treatment of Indian tribes. This seven-member committee was divided into three groups which toured separately the Far West, the northern Great Plains and the Southwest. This chronicle contains the account of the journey and activities of the third group which conducted their investigation in the State of Kansas, Colorado and New Mexico; the book contains only limited references to either the travels of the rest of the committees or to the Report of the Committee. The members of this portion of the committee were Senator Doolittle, Representative Lewis S. Ross, Illinois and Senator Lafayette S. Foster of Connecticut who was President *pro tempore* of the Senate and next in line of succession to President Johnson.

The account was the work of a contributor to the *Leavenworth Daily Times* which was published therein in a series of nine articles after the committee completed its work. Although the newspaper accounts were published under the pseudonym of Burwell, the editor of this book has suggested that the actual author was Dr. Samuel B. Davis who accompanied the Congressional party along with a military escort and a number of young men who apparently made the trip just for adventure.

As the book does not contain official reports or recommendations of the committee, its primary value is not related to the official capacity of the committee. Other than a few quotes attributed to these men and a very brief excerpt in the introduction from the general report of the joint committee, this book is primarily an account of travels in the Southwest which

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included visits to Indian tribes and the site of the Sand Creek massacre. As such, however, it may prove valuable to historians of this period seeking primary accounts of such visits or of firsthand impressions of a number of interesting individuals and locations encountered during the journey. Also there are some interesting references to popular attitudes toward the Indians in the West, the reception of committee members' remarks that were construed as favoring the Indians and the treatment accorded Senator Foster, who was usually referred to as Vice President Foster by both the press and those who received the committee.

The appeal and usefulness of this book, then, is relatively limited. Additionally, the copy of the book received by this reviewer did not reflect the quality usually associated with the publisher as a number of pages were badly blurred. However, for the serious student of the West, there is much within the book that could prove valuable or interesting.

Alvin O. Turner

Western Oklahoma State College



SECOND FATHERLAND: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF A GERMAN IMMIGRANT. By Max Amadeus Paulus Krueger, edited with an introduction by Marilyn McAdams Sibley (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1976. Pp. xix, 161. Illustrations. Map. Index. \$10.00.)

Max Krueger came to Texas from northern Germany in 1868 at the age of sixteen. He had left his homeland to seek a warmer climate more agreeable to his poor health—a quest that took him to France, Spain and Cuba before he settled in south-central Texas. Fifty-eight years later he looked back on his experiences in the New World and recounted how he had sought and fulfilled the American dream.

Starting out in poverty in America Krueger worked as a cowboy, sign painter, photographer and at many other occupations until he became a successful rancher. At forty-eight he lost everything that had taken him so long to obtain due to the drought of the mid-1890s. Undaunted, he again arose from poverty and through ingenuity and hard work achieved success and wealth a second time as a manufacturer in Austin.

Originally printed in 1930 for family distribution, Krueger's autobiography is now republished for a wider audience. His memoirs warrant publication, not because they chronicle an immigrant's rags to riches story, but because they offer fascinating insights by an acute observer of Texas frontier life during the late nineteenth century. Max Krueger watched

Texas evolve from a frontier to an industrial society, and he wrote as one who had participated in that transformation.

Krueger is at his best when detailing the hardships suffered by Texas pioneers and the determination necessary for survival. He recounts his cowboy life—from cattle stampedes and choking dust to long exhausting hours, thirst and sleeping in watersoaked blankets during rainstorms. Confrontations with Comanche Indians are vividly recalled. Just as clearly he remembers frontier violence in towns like Helena where individuals settled quarrels by tying their left hands together and slashing at each other with pocket knives until one antagonist bled to death. Throughout the reminiscences are examples of how pioneers provided for their own needs, from medical treatment to construction of grinding mills.

Regrettably, there are disappointments in the text. Krueger sheds little light on the life style and special problems of his fellow German immigrants who populated much of the region where he lived. He also included too much material of limited value such as detailed descriptions of Texas flowers and insects and an entire chapter on the state's resources. Defects of organization and style are distracting, but editor Marilyn McAdams Sibley has helped the reader by rearranging material that had been out of context and by providing a fine introduction.

Overlooking the deficiencies, Max Krueger's memoirs contain sufficient firsthand accounts of frontier life in Texas to make them valuable for the general reader. The researcher too will profit from reading about the experiences of one immigrant in the New World.

V. Lyle Haskins

Northeastern Oklahoma State University



TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS OF OKLAHOMA. Vol. 1 of The Oklahoma Series. Edited by Leroy H. Fischer. (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1975. Pp. vii, 150. Illustrations. Map. Index. \$3.95 [paperback], \$6.95 [hardback].)

This special issue of *The Chronicles*, published here as volume one of The Oklahoma Series, is devoted to political biographies of the Territorial Governors and the two Territorial Secretaries who served briefly as interim Governors. Edited and with an introductory essay by Professor Leroy H. Fischer of Oklahoma State University, these articles were written by graduate students in his seminar.

It is ironic that so little political history of Oklahoma Territory has been published, although its land openings, outlaws and exploits of its United

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States deputy marshals have become an enduring part of the state's colorful past. Aside from Dora Stewart's political chronology, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, written more than forty years ago, the solid work done by Berlin B. Chapman in his histories of early Oklahoma City and Stillwater and a handful of articles and reminiscences, the Territory remains one of the most overlooked areas in Oklahoma history.

Readers will find interesting bits of information in these articles. From 1890 to 1901 the Governor's office was located over a Guthrie saloon. Then there is the scandal associated with Governor Jenkins' purchase of stock in the privately owned, but government subsidized, "sanitorium" for the insane at Norman. Ex-governor Seay was in San Francisco when the earthquake struck in 1906. And ex-governor Barnes was working as a telegrapher in Kansas when he died.

One of the more important themes in most of these articles is Republican Party factionalism. An important source of division appears to have been the simple quest for political office, although some national political issues, such as "free silver" in 1896, coalesced around factional leaders. Because the Governor's political fate was decided by the President in Washington, fights were fought locally on the fields of intrigue and conventions rather than at the ballot boxes. Factions formed around the Washington-appointed Governor on one side and the convention-chosen, popularly elected Congressional Delegate on the other. Thus splits developed between the followers of Dennis Flynn and Cassius Barnes and those of Thompson B. Ferguson and Bird McGuire.

Analyses of Territorial politics are badly needed, as these writings imply. For example, the old charge (hurled about mostly by the Democrats) that Republican Presidents stuffed Territorial offices with "carpetbaggers" should be carefully re-examined. The only "outsider" appointed Governor was the first, George Steele of Indiana. Because he arrived on the scene only sixteen months after the Run of '89 with the admitted intention of resigning the office as soon as President Harrison could find a suitable replacement, one is tempted to call Steele only a "semi-carpetbagger." The first Supreme Court of the Territory was indeed made up of outsiders. And two future governors originally arrived in Oklahoma as political appointees—Abraham Seay, associate justice of the first Supreme Court, and Cassius Barnes, receiver of the General Land Office at Guthrie. But both became accepted citizens of their communities before moving to the executive office. And all the governors except Steele were living in Oklahoma when appointed. The only latecomer was the last governor, Frank Frantz, who did not move to Oklahoma until 1900.

Another topic needing research is the structure of politics within the counties. What were the sources of Republican factionalism on the local level aside from the county office "bones?" And what were the stresses, if any, within local Democratic Party ranks?

This volume is a good starting place for some thorough studies on the Territory as well as for other special editions on Oklahoma topics.

Donald E. Green

Central State University



THE SOUTHWEST: SOUTH OR WEST? By Frank E. Vandiver.
(College Station: Texas A & M Press, 1975. Pp. 48. Illustrations. \$4.00.)

In November, 1974, at the Southern Historical Association annual meeting in Dallas, Texas, I heard Frank E. Vandiver, recognized southern historian, give an interesting and thought-provoking address on the Southwest as a region. As a former southerner and now a transplanted southwesterner, I listened with interest, but confessed to those around me the disappointment that so few were in attendance to share in Vandiver's ideas. Now through the renewed efforts of Vandiver and the developing Texas A & M Press, an expansion of that address is available as *The Southwest: South or West?*

As the title indicates, Vandiver, like those before him, turns his thoughts to regionalism in American history. The questions that he asks are sound and penetrating. Is the Southwest a separate and distinct region or just an extension of the South or West? Are the boundaries of the Southwest cultural, geographical or a combination of both? And what is this person, the southwesterner? His methodology is interdisciplinary as he uses history, literature, folklore, music, geography and religion as well as people and places in search for the illusive answers. What he finds is a "region rich in tradition, both inherited and indigenous, a people linked to the past but looking to the future." And "the Southwest emerges as a cultural amalgam that is greater than the sum of its parts."

Clearly the Southwest is a cultural smorgasbord, a melange of cultures. The Southwest of the ante-bellum period was "the Indian country spanning the Red River, in South Central Texas, and on to the Mexican border" and into this flowed the westward expansion of the Old South with all of the myths and realities of that society to clash and blend with the Spanish influence to the south and the indigenuous Indian cultures. Until the Civil War, the southern influence dominated, but with defeat, the Southwest and its people, instead of retreating into the aura of the "lost cause," looked to

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the future and saw it as another frontier to be conquered. Cattle and oil replaced cotton as the basis of the economy; native heroes like the cowboy and the wildcatter, not the plantation owner, became an ideal; and a forward vision and an occasional backward glance guided people's actions. So all of this plus the environment, "that land from the Red River, west to the Sierras and south to the Rio Grande, a land of varied plenty, unhampered by too much harsh history, a place still becoming something," created a unique people in a unique place.

But I have told you too much or, I hope, just enough to whet your appetite and arouse your curiosity. If you are a southwesterner and proud of it, read Vandiver's book and judge his descriptions and evaluations of you and your home.

H. Glenn Jordan
Western History Collections
University of Oklahoma



LEWIS AND CLARK: HISTORIC PLACES ASSOCIATED WITH THEIR TRANSCONTINENTAL EXPLORATION (1804-06). Prepared By Roy E. Appleman. THE NATIONAL SURVEY OF HISTORIC SITES AND BUILDINGS. Vol. XIII. Edited by Robert G. Ferris. (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1975. Pp. viii, 429. Illustrations. Maps. Suggested Reading. Index. \$8.35.)

In his formidable, and usually penetrating, *History of the United States during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison*, Henry Adams curiously slights one of President Thomas Jefferson's triumphs—sponsorship of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Adams confines the exploits of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to a mere two pages and dismisses them with the remark that their journey was "creditable . . . to American energy," but that it "added little to the stock of science and wealth" of the young nation. However, since the appearance of Adams's work in the 1880s, numerous historians have examined the facts of the expedition and have accorded it a prominent place in American history. The present work, a cooperative project by the United States Park Service, is only the latest tribute to these remarkable adventurers.

The purpose of this volume is twofold: to narrate the events of the expedition and to describe historic sites, monuments and memorials that remain along the route of Lewis and Clark. This enterprise influenced the youthful republic considerably. It stimulated the westward movement of

the Americans. It strengthened the claim of the United States to the disputed Oregon Country. It broadened the field of scientific investigation. The journey was a long one—twenty-eight months, over 7,000 miles, through much unknown and hostile lands—but free of spectacular incidents. Danger existed, but in the form of mountain snows, rattlesnakes and bears. The Indians were sometimes sullen, but seldom hostile. Casualties were few: one sergeant died from a ruptured appendix while a one-eyed, nearsighted hunter, mistaking Lewis for an elk, shot his unsuspecting commander in the hand. Unruly subordinates occasionally embarrassed their leader, and Lewis employed flogging and the gauntlet liberally. The affairs of the expedition—officially, the Corps of Discovery—were rather inglorious.

Part Two of this volume, a "Survey of Historic Sites and Building," will appeal to many readers. For several years, public and private agencies have expressed an interest in relics associated with these explorers. The Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, an agency sanctioned by the Federal Government in 1964, played an important part in the resurrection of public interest in this frontier episode. In 1969, a private organization, the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc., inherited the responsibilities of the Trail Commission. Much of the route of the explorers is now smothered by dams or is inundated by artificial lakes. A few remote spots, such as Lemhi Pass on the Idaho-Montana border, have been "providentially" spared. Perhaps the existence of such primitive sites will persuade the scholar, frontier buff or adventurous vacationer—possibly possessed by a burgeoning Bicentennial spirit—to follow the trail of those hardy men. Many illustrations and colorful maps will appeal to the prospective reader, not to mention the moderate price for such a large work.

Larry D. Ball
Arkansas State University



THE MAKING OF A HISTORY: WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB AND *THE GREAT PLAINS*. By Gregory M. Tobin. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976. Pp. xix, 184. Illustration. Map. Bibliography. Index. \$10.95.)

The appearance within the year of three books touching on the life and contributions of Walter Prescott Webb—a biography, a *festschrift* and the present volume on the making of Webb's masterpiece, *The Great Plains*, attests to the continuing, even the growing, interest in the man and his work.

The Making of a History was the doctoral thesis of Gregory M. Tobin at The University of Texas, the institution Webb served for more than forty years. An Australian, Tobin saw parallels in the problems faced by "frontiersmen" in the outback of his own land and those confronted by settlers on the Great Plains of the American West. This insight led to his decision to investigate the sources of Webb's historical concepts.

Professor Tobin's book is appropriately titled. It is neither a biography nor a study of Webb's writings. Rather it is a penetrating analysis of the circumstances surrounding the production of *The Great Plains* and of the experiences of its author, especially during his most impressionable years, which became the directive forces in the formulation of his basic ideas and in the shaping of his book. Tobin leaves no doubt that he considers environmental factors to be paramount in the development of Webb the man and Webb the historian. Introverted, intransigent and uniquely individualistic, as Tobin demonstrates so effectively, Dr. Webb never escaped the harsh realities of his early days in Stephens County, Texas. His formal education there and at The University of Texas was at best minimal, sporadic, haphazard and uninspiring. Among his teachers only the maverick professor Lindley M. Keasbey succeeded in quickening Webb's interest and even then mainly because Keasbey's ideas reinforced the lessons Webb had already imbibed from a more demanding master—the Great Plains itself. Tobin senses also another facet of Webb's complex makeup, the curious dichotomy in a scholar who remained throughout his lifetime a provincial, albeit a provincial capable of making profound and sweeping global generalizations.

The Making of a History rests soundly on personal papers preserved by Webb's family and friends, as well as on Tobin's own insights. The book is extremely well written. Like so many historians trained under the English system, Tobin has an enviable facility with the pen. More significantly, he succeeds admirably in accomplishing precisely what he set out to achieve in this important book.

Herbert H. Lang
Texas A&M University



RED MEN AND HAT WEARERS: VIEWPOINTS IN INDIAN HISTORY. By Daniel Tyler. (Boulder: Pruett Press, 1976. Pp. 171. Illustrations. Index.)

Red Men and Hat Wearers consists of a portion of the papers presented at a 1974 conference at Colorado State University on "Viewpoints in Indian

History." The first section includes six formal papers by non-Indian scholars, among them noted specialists in Indian history such as John Ewers, Donald Berthrong and W. David Baird. There is a degree of continuity in these chapters as Ewers depicts Indian views of whites prior to 1850, David Miller describes how explorers and fur traders viewed Indian people, Berthrong and Robert Munkres recount Indian reactions to settlers and soldiers, Joe Cash interprets Indian views of whites during the reservation period and Baird describes white views of Indians during the same period.

The second portion of the book consists of some four pages of synopsis of Indian commentary regarding Indian attitudes toward Indian history; an entertaining piece by R. David Edmunds on Indian humor, a topic which unfortunately does not fit well with the remainder of the proceedings; and a banquet address in the typical Deloria style by Vine Deloria, Jr. that criticised scholars for their interest in Indian wars and challenged them to deal with twentieth century Indian history.

While historians should demonstrate greater interest in more recent topics, it is worth noting that a number of scholars, including participant Berthrong, were already engaged in such work by 1974 and that while there indeed has been great interest in Indian-white conflict it has been only recently that we have had carefully researched descriptions and interpretations of such key events as the second Seminole war or the Battle of Wounded Knee. Moreover, scholars should also remember that much work still must be done in the area of pre-twentieth century Indian history.

Because of the nature of the conference, the papers are rather general and in most cases reflect previous work by the participants. This volume does not answer the stated question, "Are Indians and Whites polarized over the meaning and function of history," which was the stated theme of the conference. While this volume does fulfill the function of presenting the research of capable scholars and does include Deloria's challenge to scholars, one might suspect that the actual conference, with Indian people in the audience, stirred more discussion than will the publication of the proceedings.

Richard N. Ellis
The University of New Mexico



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HISTORY OF THE ATCHISON, TOPEKA AND SANTA FE RAILWAY. By Keith L. Bryant, Jr. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1974. Pp. xvi, 398. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliographical Essay. Index. \$12.95.)

In the *History of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway*, a volume in Macmillan's "Railroads of America" series, Keith L. Bryant, Jr. traces the historical development of one of the nation's great railroad companies. Founded in the 1860s by the resourceful promoter Cyrus K. Holliday, the "Atchison" quickly grew into a sizeable rail operation. Unlike the majority of American railroads, the firm followed conservative methods of financing for much of its history. Yet, at the turn of the century, the Santa Fe could boast of a Chicago-West Coast line and more than 6,500 miles of trackage. Further expansion took place in the twentieth century. By the early 1970s the railroad through its holding company, Santa Fe Industries, had broadened its financial base by developing various non-rail subsidiaries.

Bryant's work is well researched, highly informative and a joy to read. He writes with a sense of humor. The style is crisp. Bryant, moreover, demonstrates a real feeling for both the Santa Fe and railroading generally. Outstanding features of the book are those sections that describe the road's construction, its disposal of land-grant acreages and the saga of restaurateur Fred Harvey. Railfans especially will enjoy Bryant's coverage of the evolution of Santa Fe motive power. The book's numerous maps and illustrations are splendid.

This reviewer, however, has several complaints. The book lacks extensive documentation, and the index at times is hard to use and faulty. More importantly, the description of the relationship between the company and political reformers, namely Populists and Progressives, is unbalanced. Contrary to Bryant's statements, both groups did have justifiable complaints against the carrier, e.g. the issue of Santa Fe "tax-dodging." Finally, Bryant fails to develop and clarify a highly important incident in the railroad's history: the nationally famous scientific management experiment conducted by Harrington Emerson in the Topeka shops between 1904 and 1907. Emerson was a disciple of the "father" of scientific management, Frederick W. Taylor, and his ambitious assignment became widely known with the appearance of detailed accounts in *The Railroad Gazette*, *Engineering Magazine* and similar publications.

H. Roger Grant
The University of Akron



TENACIOUS MONKS: THE OKLAHOMA BENEDICTINES, 1875-1975. By Joseph F. Murphy, OSB. (Shawnee, Benedictine Color Press, 1974, Pp. x, 465. Illustrations. \$14.00.)

An understanding of the panorama of the history of Oklahoma and of its heritage is not possible without a knowledge and appreciation of the many contributions made by the church and its clergy. Various denominations have done much, but none has surpassed in the abiding tenacity, the devotion to duty and the care and welfare of those that sought to serve the Catholic Church and the members of its Orders. There is no one who does not admire Father Junipero Serra and the founding of the great missions of the southern California coast; yet, although of a later date, his counterpart may be found in Indian Territory.

What is now the southern half of Pottawatomie County was a most unlikely place in 1876 for the planting and nourishment of the faith. Yet, it was the locale of one of the great Catholic efforts in what is now Oklahoma and was the scene of a most fascinating and interesting saga of labor and devotion.

Our shelf of Oklahoma reference works is enriched by the centennial history of the labors in Oklahoma of the Order of St. Benedict. Giants of that Order, such as Abbot Isidore Robot, the first prefect apostolic delegate to Indian Territory, Father Ignatius Jean, Abbot Thomas Duerou and certainly not least Abbot Bernard Murphy, loom large in the heritage of Oklahoma. Thanks to Father Joseph F. Murphy, OSB, we now have available a volume of much merit telling the story. Names well known in Oklahoma history, Sacred Heart Mission, St. Benedict's Industrial School, St. Gregory's Abbey and the successor to Sacred Heart College, St. Gregory's, stand as monuments to the abiding devotion of those pioneers.

The volume is much more than a narrow history of a religious order, it truly is a history of a major effort in the development of Oklahoma. I am glad that we now have this book to add to our growing shelf of worthwhile volumes on Oklahoma.

George H. Shirk
Oklahoma City



THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

OKLAHOMA BOOKS

By Vicki Sullivan and Mac R. Harris

AN ANTHOLOGY OF OKLAHOMA POETRY. Bicentennial Edition, 1776-1976. By the Poetry Society of Oklahoma. (Oklahoma City: Metro Press, Inc. 1976. Pp. iv, 159. \$7.00.)

ALONG THE BANKS OF THE WASHITA; THE STORY OF A TOWN. By Whitham D. "Jim" Finney. (Privately published by author. 1976. Pp. vi, 120. No price given.)

CHEROKEE RECOLLECTIONS; THE STORY OF THE INDIAN WOMEN'S POCAHONTAS CLUB AND ITS MEMBERS IN THE CHEROKEE NATION AND OKLAHOMA BEGINNING IN 1899. Compiled by Maud Ward DuPriest, Jennie May Bard, Anna Foreman Graham. (Stillwater, Oklahoma: Thales Microuniversity Press. 1976. Pp. viii, 286. \$12.50.)

FROM UPS TO NOC: THE FIRST 75 YEARS OF NORTHERN OKLAHOMA COLLEGE. By Mac Hefton Bradley. (NOC Press, No date. Pp. 178. \$4.00.)

THE HISTORY OF BLANCHARD, OKLAHOMA; FROM THE BEGINNING TO PRESENT. By A. J. Terrell. (Privately published by author. No date. Pp. 54. No price given.)

HISTORY OF PONTOTOC COUNTY, OKLAHOMA. Compiled by Pontotoc County Historical and Genealogical Society. (Privately published by author. 1976. Pp. x, 514. \$20.00.)

HISTORY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF OKLAHOMA AMERICAN LEGION AUXILIARY 1920 TO 1976. By Mrs. Glenn E. (Reva) Laughlin. (Privately published by author. 1976. Pp. x, 190. No price given.)

MUSKOGEE; FROM STATEHOOD TO PEARL HARBOUR. By C. W. "Dub" West. (Muskogee, Oklahoma: Muskogee Publishing Company. 1976. Pp. 398. \$10.00.)

OIL IN OKLAHOMA. By Robert Gregory. (Muskogee, Oklahoma: Leake Industries, Inc. No date. Pp. iii, 90. \$10.00.)

ONE IN THE LORD; A HISTORY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE SOUTH CENTRAL JURISDICTION THE UNITED METHODIST CHURCH. By Walter N. Vernon, Alfredo Nanéz, John H. Graham. (Oklahoma City: Commission on Archives and History, The United Methodist Church. 1977. Pp. vi, 146. No price given.)

PELTS, PLUMES, AND HIDES: WHITE TRADERS AMONG THE SEMINOLE INDIANS, 1870-1930. By Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida. 1975. Pp. xi, 158. \$7.50.)

- PIONEER FOOTPRINTS ACROSS WOODS COUNTY, 1893-1976. By Cherokee Strip Volunteer League. (Privately published by author. 1976. Pp. 776. \$19.50.)
- PIONEERS OF KINGFISHER COUNTY 1889-1976. By Kingfisher Bicentennial Committee. (Privately published by author. 1976. Pp. 415. \$20.00.)
- RED YESTERDAYS (Volume XI in Mesquite Collector Series). By Glenn Shirley. (Quanah, Texas: Nortex Press. 1977. Pp. i, 298. \$8.95.
- SMOKE SIGNALS FROM INDIAN TERRITORY. By Frances Imon. (Privately published by author. No date. Pp. 84. \$6.75.)
- SONG FROM THE EARTH; AMERICAN INDIAN PAINTING. By Jamake Highwater. (Boston: New York Graphic Society. No date. Pp. vi, 212. \$19.95.)
- SPANNING THE RIVER. VOLUME I. By the Dewey County Historical Society. (Privately published by author. 1976. Pp. 568. \$17.00.)
- WHEN FARMERS VOTED RED: THE GOSPEL OF SOCIALISM IN THE OKLAHOMA COUNTRYSIDE, 1910-1924 (Contributions in American History, Number 53). By Garin Burbank. (Westport, Connecticut: The Greenwood Press. 1977. Pp. xvi, 225. \$13.95.)

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF
DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
JANUARY 27, 1977

The quarterly board meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held January 27, 1977 in the Board Room of the Historical Building. The meeting was called to order by First Vice President W. D. Finney presiding for President George H. Shirk who was ill.

Executive Director Jack Wettengel called the roll. Those answering were Mrs. George L. Bowman; Q. B. Boydston; O. B. Campbell; Jack T. Conn; Joe W. Curtis; Harry L. Deupree, M.D.; W. D. Finney; Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer; Bob Foresman; E. Moses Frye; Nolen J. Fuqua; Denzil D. Garrison; Dr. James D. Morrison; Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt; H. Milt Phillips; Earl Boyd Pierce; Jordan B. Reaves; Miss Genevieve Seger and H. Merle Woods. Those who had asked to be excused were Mrs. Mark R. Everett, Dr. A. M. Gibson and John E. Kirkpatrick. Mr. Reaves moved that Mr. Shirk be counted present; Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously. Miss Seger moved to excuse those who had indicated they would not be able to attend. Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion, which passed.

The results of the annual election by members of the Society of five members to the Board of Directors were announced by Mr. Wettengel, who made the report for incumbent Treasurer Bowman. Mr. W. E. McIntosh, one of the five members whose terms expired January 1977, had requested that his name not be placed in nomination. In addition to the incumbents, nominees were C. Forest Himes and Milton B. May.

Mr. Wettengel said ballots were mailed to all members of the Society. Returns were counted on Tuesday, January 25, with the following nominees receiving the largest numbers of votes: Mr. Curtis, Mrs. Bowman, Mr. Pierce, Dr. Deupree and Mr. Himes.

In order to comply with the open meeting law, President Shirk had requested that a justice of the State Supreme Court be invited to conduct the swearing-in ceremonies. Vice Chief Justice Robert E. Lavender graciously accepted the invitation and administered the Loyalty Oath to the Constitution of the United States of America and the Constitution and laws of the State of Oklahoma to the newly elected directors. Chief Justice Lavender also asked each director to subscribe to the Oath of Office.

Mr. Boydston moved that retiring Director McIntosh be appointed Board Member Emeritus for life in accordance with Article IV, Section 9, of

the Constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Those seconding the motion were Mr. Pierce, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Reaves, Mrs. Bowman and Miss Seger. The motion carried unanimously. Mr. Wettengel was instructed to notify Mr. McIntosh of the appointment.

Mr. Finney welcomed Mr. Himes to the Board and invited him to sit immediately as a member.

Vice President Conn, acting as former Chairman of the Oklahoma City Bicentennial Commission, presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society two framed Oklahoma City Bicentennial Medallions, one silver and one bronze. Mrs. Bowman thanked Mr. Conn and moved to accept the medallions. Miss Seger seconded and the motion passed.

Mr. Wettengel advised that sixty-four persons had applied for membership in the Society, including five life memberships. These five were Martin A. Hagerstrand, Miss Annie Frances Hampton, Devon Lanier Moore, John G. Sanger and Philip H. Viles, Jr. Miss Seger moved to accept the applications. Dr. Fischer seconded the motion, which passed.

The treasurer's report of the Cash Revolving Fund 200 and the Life Membership Endowment Trust Fund was given by Mrs. Bowman. She also reported on the Board members' gift in October of a silver replica Liberty Bell to Mr. Shirk in appreciation for his efforts in arranging for the state tour of the Society's Liberty Bell replica during the summer of 1976. The tour was sponsored by the Oklahoma Heritage Association.

The Indian Archives report, the first of the committee reports, was given by Mr. Wettengel for Senator Garrison. He said that Mrs. Martha Royce Blaine, Director of the Indian Archives Division, by invitation, had presented a paper on the "Origin of Pre-Caddoan Plains Cultures" at the Smithsonian Institution in November. He also reported that over 50,000 pages of the federally funded Indian archival microfilming project were processed during the quarter.

In his Microfilm Committee report, Mr. Phillips said that 111 rolls of microfilm had been produced during the quarter and 499 researchers had used the facilities of the division. He stressed the need for an additional staff member to assist in the project of microfilming state newspapers. Mr. Wettengel said that the Newspaper Division had purchased an Eastman microfilm reader.

Mr. Wettengel reported on the Historic Preservation Division, headed by Dr. Howard L. Meredith, which assists State Historic Preservation Officer George H. Shirk as liaison between the State of Oklahoma and the National Park Service. Dr. Meredith prepares the state's preservation plan which is presented each year to the National Park Service to secure matching funds for historic preservation.

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Announcement was made by Mr. Wettengel of a gift of \$20,000 by Edwin and Mary Malzahn of Perry to the Cherokee Strip Historical Museum. The Malzahns asked that the board of directors of the museum be given full authority to spend the gift and they hoped that the amount would be matched by state funds. Mr. Pierce moved that the Board of Directors award Mr. and Mrs. Malzahn the Certificate of Commendation for their distinguished service in the cause of preserving and understanding the history of Oklahoma. Dr. Fischer seconded the motion, which was passed unanimously.

A brief summary of the on-going development of sites operated by the Society was given by Mr. Wettengel.

Sites at which capital improvements were accomplished this quarter included:

Museum of the Western Prairie at Altus—machinery shed and other outdoor exhibits; Museum of the Cherokee Strip, Enid—reworking some older temporary exhibits and building new ones, with a diorama depicting early Indian occupation completed; Cherokee Strip Museum, Perry—an overhaul of the exhibits and artifacts has begun, including several new exhibits and partitions; Chickasaw Council House Museum, Tishomingo—new wing approximately forty percent completed which will house exhibits relating to Chickasaw tribal history; Peter Conser Home, Hodgens—completion of the interior of the meat smokehouse was accomplished.

The Historic Sites Division has long felt a need for some audio visual interpretation at each of the sites. This kind of program would ensure that each visitor to the site would learn the basic importance of that site and would also enable the tour guide or curator to structure his remarks around its significance.

As a pilot program Sequoyah Home was selected as a model and a contract executed with Dr. John Creswell and Oklahoma State University to develop a slide and cassette presentation, including equipment, at a cost to the Oklahoma Historical Society of slightly over \$1,000. If this proves beneficial and economical, it will be considered for other sites.

Mr. Boydstun called attention to vacancies on the Historic Sites and other committees and asked that attention be given to appointments.

Mr. Phillips gave a history of the World War I battle flags now in the possession of the Oklahoma Historical Society and moved that the Society accept the responsibility for the permanent display of the flags. Mr. Reeves seconded the motion, which carried.

A request was made by Mr. Pierce that an investigation be made of a new headstone for Joel H. Elliott, Major, United States Army, whose re-

mains now repose in the officers' circle in the center of the Fort Gibson National Cemetery. Mr. Pierce has been in contact with Senator Henry Bellmon regarding this matter. Senator Bellmon has furnished Mr. Pierce with Major Elliott's military record and has recommended that the words "Seventh Cavalry" be added to the headstone. Mr. Pierce offered to submit his file to Mr. Foresman and also asked that the matter be given to the Historic Sites Committee for further study.

Dr. Morrison reported on the Napoleon 12-pounder full-size replica Civil War cannon to be mounted at Fort Washita after a protective shelter is provided. Mr. Reaves said that the barrel for a similar cannon is being delivered for Fort Towson, the carriage to be delivered in the spring. He expressed the hope that another cannon would be mounted at the Honey Springs Battlefield Park.

The Publications Committee report was given by Mr. Wettengel, who said *The Chronicles of Oklahoma, Cumulative Index, Volumes 38-54* has been completed and is being prepared for publishing. He spoke of future issues of the *Oklahoma Series* which will feature *Rural Oklahoma*, *Oklahoma's Geography*, *Oklahoma Railroads*, *Women in Oklahoma* and *Oklahoma Governors, 1907-1928*.

Dr. Fischer accepted a scrapbook of the history of the Confederate Memorial Hall prepared and presented by Mr. Reaves. The book was dedicated to Confederate veterans and gave the history of the Civil War in Indian Territory. It also listed the names of those who have donated to the refurbishing of the Memorial Hall in the Historical Building. Mr. Reaves requested that the Executive Director be authorized to copyright the documentary text of "Forgotten Heroes." Dr. Fischer seconded the request. Mr. Reaves recommended that Mr. Hugh Hampton, educational director of the Confederate Memorial Hall be awarded a Certificate of Commendation for his work. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Nesbitt and carried.

Dr. Fischer said the Museum staff has been working on the renovation of the offices recently vacated by the veterans agencies who have moved to other offices in the Capitol Complex. He also announced that Evening Museum Attendant Mark Cantrell has graduated from The University of Oklahoma School of Law and has resigned.

The master plan for the development of the Honey Springs Battlefield Park is still being prepared by the Tourism and Recreation Department, reported Mr. Boydston. He also advised that the abstract for a portion of land in the park plan has been received but that a condemnation suit had not yet been filed.

Mr. Foresman announced that the Education Division of the Society

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had moved into new offices on the first floor of the Historical Building. The area will provide much needed work space for this division.

Mr. Foresman reminded the Board that a suggestion had been made at the October 28, 1976, meeting to consider an awards program for teachers and students involved in class combinations of Oklahoma History-Oklahoma Civics and Oklahoma History-American History in the state's 251 middle and junior high schools. Mr. Foresman said that the Education Committee had recommended that a Certificate of Commendation be given each semester to the outstanding student and a Certificate of Merit be presented to a teacher in each of the state's fourteen Oklahoma Education Association districts. The single most outstanding teacher would be awarded a \$100 United States Savings Bond. The cost of the awards program was estimated to be approximately \$200 per year. Mr. Phillips moved to authorize the awards program; Miss Seger seconded the motion, which carried.

Mr. Foresman outlined tentative plans for a *Tulsa Tribune* sponsored tour in the spring redbud season. Editor Jenkin Lloyd Jones has expressed his interest in the tour and arrangements have been made with the Heavener Lions Club to furnish lunch if the tour is planned in that area. Sequoyah's Home was also suggested as a destination for the one-day trip.

The Chronicles is widely used as a reference in the *Tulsa Tribune* and *Tulsa Daily World* offices, said Mr. Foresman, and the publishers are planning to microfilm their *Chronicles* library. Mr. Foresman suggested that the Society microfilm each volume for sale to schools and libraries.

Mrs. Nesbitt reported that security tapes have been put on all books in the Historical Society Library. The Library will be closed the second week in February for installation of the security equipment.

Mrs. Nesbitt said that the Oklahoma Genealogical Society have asked to give books to the Library on a loan basis. Because of the long-standing policy of the Society to refuse books on this basis, the Genealogical Society members have been bringing their books to the Library on Thursday evenings for the use of researchers and removing the books at closing time. The Library Committee believes this procedure is impractical.

Mrs. Nesbitt discussed disposing of material from the Library which is not relevant to the history of Oklahoma and the southwest. She recommended and moved that a collection of the *Library Journal* dating from 1958 be deaccessioned and given to the South Oklahoma City Community College. The committee was of the opinion that the *Journal* is of more use to a school or public library than to a historical library. Miss Seger sec-

onded the motion and it was passed. Other books and series of volumes will be presented for disposal from time to time, said Mrs. Nesbitt.

Mrs. Nesbitt then gave a report on the Overholser Mansion. She presented a check to the Society in the amount of \$32,000 from Heritage Preservation, Incorporated, which is to be matched by a National Park Service grant. The gift is given with the following limitations: that, (1) there is an available \$32,000 matching grant; (2) the entire \$64,000 is to be used for preservation and restoration of the Overholser Mansion only; and (3) President Charles C. Coley, Heritage Preservation, Incorporated, shall be given an overall plan on how the funds are to be used. Mrs. Nesbitt moved that the \$32,000 be accepted with the reservations noted. It was seconded and passed.

As requested at the October 28 meeting, Vice President Finney appointed a Legislative Policy Study Committee chaired by Dr. Deupree. Members were Mr. Boydston, Mr. Conn, Senator Garrison and Mr. Reaves. The committee met with Mr. Wettengel on January 18 and discussed the role of the Society within the state framework. Dr. Deupree summarized the findings of the committee by stating that the present system of having the Executive Director act as liaison with the legislature should be retained, and that the Executive Director should keep the committee informed as to the progress of the appropriations bill each year. If assistance from the Board is needed, the Executive Director would inform the President and the highest officer available would accompany him to meetings of the Appropriations and Budget Committee if requested. Dr. Deupree moved that the Board accept the report of the committee with the addition of an amendment proposed by Mr. Phillips stating that the Board members should accept responsibility for the contacting of legislators from their own communities. Mrs. Nesbitt seconded the motion as modified. Mr. Boydston moved that the Legislative Policy Study Committee be considered a temporary committee only. Mr. Finney suggested that the committee continue for another quarter and report in April as to the necessity for declaring it a standing committee of the Board. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion, which carried.

Mr. Boydston, speaking for the Historic Sites Committee, requested Mr. Wettengel to place a line item in the Society's budget transferring the Fort Gibson Military Park from Tourism and Recreation to the Oklahoma Historical Society, the transfer to include funds and personnel assigned to Fort Gibson. Mr. Wettengel said a letter proposing such a transfer would be sent to Mr. Abe Hesser, Executive Director of the Tourism and Recreation Department.

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Mr. Wettengel announced that the eighty-fifth annual meeting of the Society will be held April 27, followed by the quarterly Board meeting and the annual luncheon. The speaker for the luncheon will be Irvin M. Peithmann, formerly of Southern Illinois University, who has given several Oklahoma Indian tape recordings and pictures to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Also, Mr. Finney announced that since the death in November of Board member Fisher Muldrow, there is a vacancy on the Board which may be filled at the April 1977 meeting.

The Oklahoma City Community Foundation has forwarded a check in the amount of \$250 for the Muriel H. Wright Heritage Endowment Award. A \$300 award is presented each year to the writer who, in the opinion of the Publications Committee, contributes the most outstanding article published in the preceding year's volume of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. The award is presented each April at the annual meeting of the membership of the Society. Mr. Foresman had offered to contribute the balance of the amount.

Vice President Finney presented each Board member a copy of his book, *Along the Banks of the Washita—The Story of a Town*. The illustrated book depicts the history of the town of Fort Cobb.

Meeting adjourned at 1:30 p.m.

W. D. FINNEY, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT

JACK WETTENGEL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

GIFT LIST

The Oklahoma Historical Society wishes to acknowledge the following people who donated gifts during the fourth quarter in 1976.

LIBRARY AND PHOTOGRAPH SECTION:

Ms. Myrtle Lucille Brown	J. Guy Fuller
Dr. C. T. Shades	Mrs. R. E. Tidrow
Ms. Vira W. Cook	Indian Territory Genealogical and Historical Society
J. Evetts Haley and Palo Duro Press	Mary Demke
Riley County Genealogical Society	Jean Fowler Evans
Mr. and Mrs. Harvey Walker	Mrs. James R. Williams
Orion K. Hunt	Dr. Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr.
Mrs. Norma L. Henthorn	Ann Gregath
Mrs. Fred Younkin	Lucie Clifton Price
H. Merle Woods	Warner G. Baird, Jr.
Southwestern Oklahoma State University	Sister Mary Rachel Nadeau
Detroit Historical Society	John Embry
Don Pittman and Gage Public Schools	Stan Hoig
Arlington County Libraries	Carolyn Reeves Ericson
Western Oklahoma Historical Society	Carlisle H. Humelsine and Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
Brunetta Bernard Griffith	Mrs. Leonard O. Wiedenkiller
Mrs. Douglas Shaw	Cherokee Strip Museum and Historical Society
Joe W. Whitten	Earl Nichols
Dr. Joe M. Parker	T. F. Dukes
Larry S. Watson	Mrs. David Cecil Thornton
Albert S. Gilles, Sr.	Philip G. Jackson
Ann B. Jacobs	
Sam Dickey	
Philbrook Art Center	
Dal Newberry	

MUSEUMS AND HISTORIC SITES:

Mrs. Greenwood M. McCurtain	Ms. Carolyn Rathmel, Mr. J. Carlton Rathmel
Mrs. Virgil (Ila M.) Irwin	
Mrs. Theodore W. (Rose D.) Hodgden	Mrs. Clyde Hart
Mrs. F. M. Adams	Jesse A. Fraizer
John H. Harlan	John R. Hill
John H. Dowell	Ralph Spohrer
Mrs. Aaron Burns	Willis Storm
Miss Ellen Correll	Mrs. Raymond H. Fox, Jr.
Donald R. Morgan	Mrs. O. T. (Lucille) Phillips
Mrs. Pearl L. Hill	H. F. Donnelley
Mrs. Rivers M. Randle	Miss Daisy M. Kirk
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Mrs. John M. Largent
Mr. and Mrs. R. B. Masters
Arthur H. Davis
Orval Kelly
Ernest Kukuk
Mrs. W. E. (Bettie) Cole
Ms. Nora Garrett
Samuel D. Holt
L. L. Aurell
Gordon V. McGill

45th Division Museum
Joe Lee Todd
Clelland Billy
Dr. Edward S. Meadows
R. Lee Kisner
Mrs. Esther Isham Clark
Ms. Ruth G. Dropkin
Mrs. Elizabeth D. Davidson
Mrs. Lonnie (Billie) Weeks

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LaWana Kent Brown
Dr. Berlin B. Chapman
Anita Chisholm
Dallas Ervin
Marjorie Holland

Dr. Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr.
Harold Moore
Gertrude Wright Reid
Joe Lee Todd
Mrs. Roger Williams

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

October 29, 1976 to January 27, 1977

Alderson, Mrs. H. L.
 Arnett, Bill
 Austin, Dr. George N.
 Bell, Marjorie W.
 Bond, Jane Humphrey
 Brady, Bill
 Brown, Rosa
 Burdett, Mary Ann
 Chappell, Clifton G.
 Cheek, James E.
 Crosby, J. H.
 Cross, Verna B.
 Dunbar, William L.
 Emerson, Tressie
 Ervin, Dallas G.
 Everman, Michael W.
 Fields, S. C.
 Fipps, Mrs. M. G.
 Hall, Theodore B.
 Harrelson, The Rev. Larry E.
 Heath, Harry E., Jr.
 Henderson, Edgar L., Jr.
 Henry, Jim R.
 Howell, Donna M.
 Howell, Donald L.
 Johnson, Mrs. Frank W.
 Jones, Dr. Oliver
 Kamp, Leona P.
 Kingery, Ellen F.
 Lamour, Mrs. Daisy Ervin
 Lytal, Gary E.
 Martin, Martha D.
 Maxwell, Mrs. Bob
 Mingus, Mrs. E. C.
 Murphy, Robert Paul
 Nelson, Louis G.
 Nesmith, Mrs. Mack
 Nobles, Charles M.
 Otto, Mrs. Mary H.
 Pleasant, Mrs. Frances
 Potts, John R.
 Quetone, Allen C.
 Reeves, Joe L.
 Sheriff, Col. (Ret.) H. W.
 Spears, William Lloyd
 Spencer, Clyde A.

Chickasha
 Midwest City
 Okemos, Michigan
 McAlester
 Chickasha
 Healdton
 Denair, California
 Tulsa
 Guthrie
 Midwest City
 Oklahoma City
 Oklahoma City
 Tulsa
 Checotah
 Oklahoma City
 Stillwater
 Mesa, Arizona
 Moore
 Tahlequah
 Enid
 Stillwater
 Topeka, Kansas
 Washington, D.C.
 Okmulgee
 Okmulgee
 Tulsa
 La Jolla, California
 Oklahoma City
 Billings
 Castro Valley, California
 Tulsa
 Bartlesville
 Frederick
 Eldon, Missouri
 Tulsa
 Oklahoma City
 Idabel
 Tulsa
 Bartlesville
 Moore
 Oklahoma City
 Anadarko
 Oklahoma City
 Arlington, Virginia
 Okmulgee
 Oklahoma City

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Stogner, Mrs. C. H.	Lubbock, Texas
Sutherland, Clark	Ardmore
Swinney, Rosalie	Midwest City
Thomas, Bessie	Chickasha
Thompson, Joe L.	Oklahoma City
Tipton, Mrs. Frances E.	Oklahoma City
Tonks, Mrs. Roy	San Dimas, California
Trammell, Mary Edna	Albuquerque, New Mexico
Walters, Gene E.	Muskogee
Walton, Walter R.	Guthrie
Williams, Mrs. Mary Enod	Norman
Williamson, Mrs. Theresa	Carnegie
Zwink, Timothy A.	Stillwater

NEW LIFE MEMBERS*

October 29, 1976 to January 27, 1977

Hagerstrand, Colonel Martin A.	Tahlequah
Hampton, Miss Annie Frances	Chickasha
Moore, Devon Lanier	Tulsa
Sanger, John G.	Johannesburg, Republic of South Africa
Viles, Philip H., Jr.	Tulsa

* 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 \$1.50 unless otherwise stipulated by the Historical Society office. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

EDITORIAL POLICY—"The Chronicles of Oklahoma shall . . . pursue an editorial policy of publication of worthy and scholarly manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Oklahoma or regional history. It shall not interest itself in the publication of manuscripts of a political or controversial nature." (Constitution Oklahoma Historical Society) Manuscripts submitted for consideration for publication should be typed on bond paper and double spaced. Footnotes should conform to *A Manual of Style* (The University of Chicago Press, 1975), be double spaced and be placed at the end of the manuscript. Appropriate photographs should be supplied with submitted manuscripts and will be returned upon author's request. The Publication Department reserves the right to make any editorial changes it deems necessary for the sake of clarity and conformity to its adopted style. No responsibility is assumed for unsolicited manuscripts, and such material will be returned to the author only if accompanied by postpaid envelope. All inquiries should be addressed to: Publication Department, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73105. Telephone 405-521-2491 extension 34.

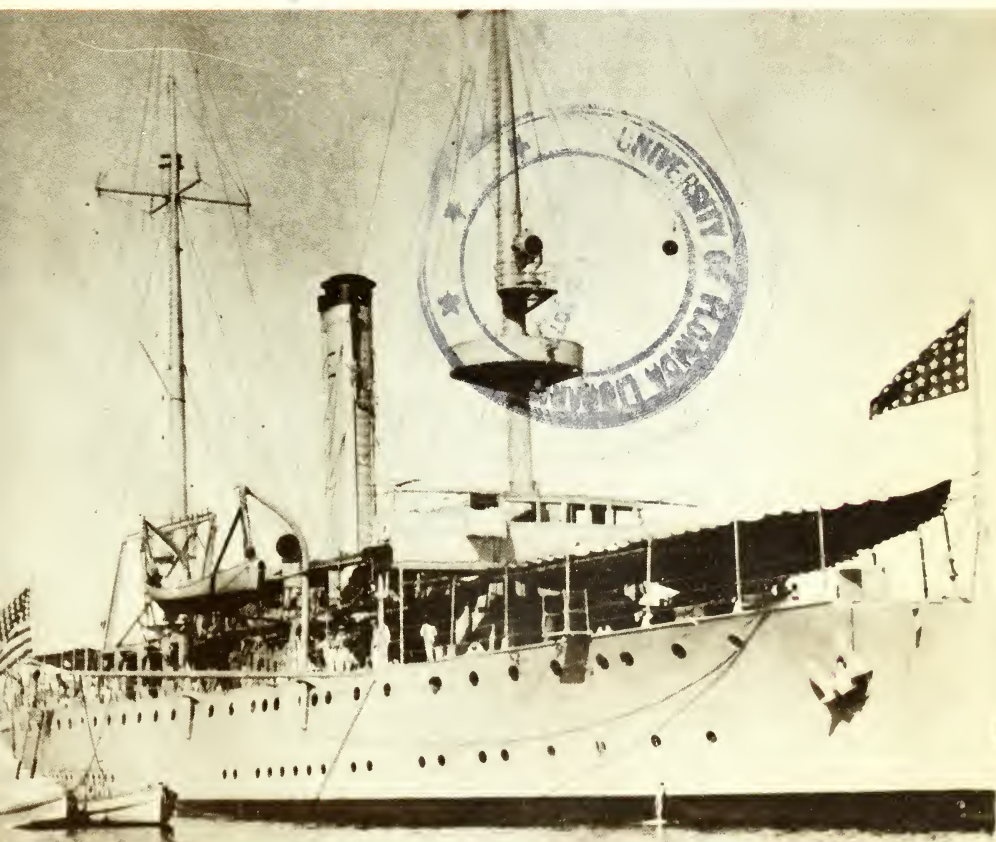


CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Article I, Section 2—The purposes for which the Oklahoma Historical Society is organized and conducted are to preserve and to perpetuate the history of Oklahoma and its people; to stimulate popular interest in historical study and research; and to promote and to disseminate historical knowledge. To further these ends and, as the trustee of the State of Oklahoma, it shall maintain a library and museum in which it shall collect, arrange, catalog, index and preserve books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, letters, diaries, journals, records, maps, charts, documents, photographs, engravings, etchings, pictures, portraits, busts, statuary and other objects of art and all other appropriate museum material with special regard to the history of Oklahoma. It shall perpetuate knowledge of the lives and deeds of the explorers and pioneers of this region; it shall collect and preserve the arts and crafts of the pioneering period, the legends, traditions, histories and cultural standards of the Indian tribes; it shall maintain a collection of the handiwork of the same, and an archaeological collection illustrating the life, customs and culture of the prehistoric peoples. It shall disseminate the knowledge thus gained by investigation and research through the medium of printed reports, bulletins, lectures, exhibits or other suitable means or methods. It shall discharge all other duties and responsibilities placed upon it by the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma.

the chronicles

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF OKLAHOMA



THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society
Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

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JACK T. CONN, 2nd Vice President
MRS. GEORGE L. BOWMAN, Treasurer

JACK WETTENGEL, Executive Director
Historical Building, Oklahoma City

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JORDAN REAVES, Oklahoma City
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THE COVER Launched in August, 1922, the U.S.S. *Tulsa* remained in the service of the United States Navy until October, 1945. During this time it took part in the occupation of Nicaragua in the 1920s; served as the flagship of the South China Patrol; fought in the Philippines at the outbreak of World War II; and operated as a PT boat tender.



THE U.S.S. TULSA, 1919-1945

*By the Department of Naval History**

The U.S.S. *Tulsa* was laid down on December 9, 1919, at Charleston Navy Yard, South Carolina; launched on August 25, 1922; sponsored by Miss Dorothy V. McBirney; and commissioned on December 3, 1923, Lieutenant Commander Robert M. Doyle, Jr., in temporary command. Doyle assumed his regular duties as executive officer on December 14, 1923 when Commander MacGillivray Milne took command.

Following its commissioning, *Tulsa* cleared Charleston on January 19, 1924, en route to join the Special Service Squadron in the Caribbean area. After calling at Key West, Florida, the ship proceeded to Baytown, Texas, where it took on fuel four days later.

Spending the next five years on station in Central American waters, the *Tulsa* "showed the flag" and called at such places as Tuxpan and Vera Cruz, Mexico; Guantanamo Bay, Cuba; and at Puerto Rican and Canal Zone ports. In between these cruises with the Special Service Squadron it returned to Boston, Massachusetts, for regular maintenance and overhauls at the Navy Yard.

When civil strife broke out in Nicaragua in the late 1920s, the *Tulsa's* marines and bluejacket details landed to protect lives and preserve property during the revolution then in progress. When not engaged in these duties, it conducted routine training exercises in Panama Canal Zone waters and visited ports in Honduras.

In late 1928, the *Tulsa* traversed the Panama Canal, enroute for the West Coast as it prepared for new duty in the Far East. It departed San Francisco, California, on January 24, 1929, and called at Honolulu on her way across the Pacific. Crossing the 180th meridian, it officially reported for duty with the Asiatic Fleet, proceeded to Guam and arrived finally at Manila.

Designated the flagship of the South China Patrol on April 1, 1929, the *Tulsa* operated out of Hong Kong, British Crown Colony, and Canton, China, for cruises up the Pearl River and along the south China coast. Present at Canton in May, 1929, she witnessed the bombing of Chinese naval vessels by "rebel" airplanes of the opposing faction in a Chinese civil war flaring at the time.

* This manuscript was provided to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* by John E. Kirkpatrick, and was prepared from material to appear in Volume VII of the *Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships*.



The U.S.S. *Tulsa* as it appeared in the 1920s

Relieved as the flagship of the South China Patrol in June, 1929, the ship steamed up the coast to Shanghai, beginning a two week deployment with the Yangtze Patrol in which she cruised as far upriver as Hankow. Assigned new duties as station ship at Tientsin, in north China, the *Tulsa* headed north in July, 1929, to serve as a mobile source of information for the Commander-in-Chief of the Asiatic Fleet.

It continued under the direct operational control of the Commander-in-Chief of the Asiatic Fleet into the 1930s, being later reassigned to the South China Patrol and observing conditions along the south China coast during the period following the outbreak of the undeclared Sino-Japanese war in July, 1937. As tensions increased in the Orient in 1940 and 1941, Admiral Thomas C. Hart, Commander-in-Chief of the Asiatic Fleet, reduced the fleet's presence in Chinese waters. Withdrawn to the Philippines in May, 1941, the *Tulsa* joined the Inshore Patrol, guarding the sea approaches to Manila Bay.

On December 10, 1941, two days after the outbreak of war in the Far East, a heavy Japanese air attack devastated Cavite, the base of the Asiatic Fleet,

near Manila. Standing in from the Corregidor minefields, the *Tulsa* anchored off of the burning base as the last Japanese planes departed. The ship called away all of its boats and sent fire and rescue parties ashore to bring off what wounded could be rescued from the holocaust. That evening all hands that were ashore were recalled, and within hours, the *Tulsa*, *Asheville*, *Lark* and *Whippoorwill* retired toward Balikpapan, in Borneo.

After a brief stay at that port, it called at Makassar before receiving orders to proceed to Surabaya, Java, in the Netherlands East Indies, where it spent the Christmas of 1941. Steaming independently, the *Tulsa* cruised to Tjilatjap, on the south coast of Java, where her landing force began to receive training in jungle warfare. The plan to use *Tulsa*'s bluejackets as infantry in a last-ditch defense of Java never progressed beyond the initial training stage, and the erstwhile ground troops returned to the ship as it was being outfitted to become a convoy escort vessel.

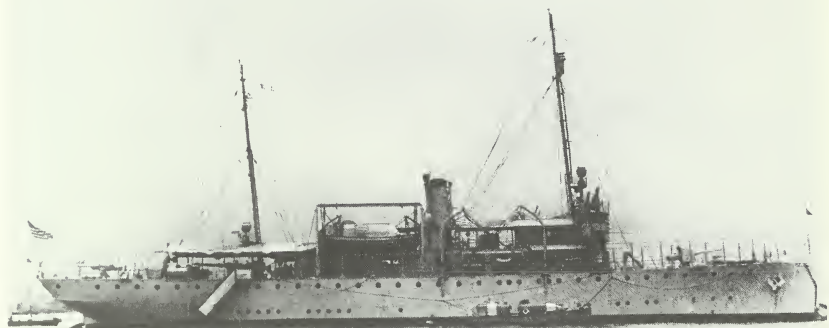
Equipped with a home-made depth charge rack produced by the ship's force, the *Tulsa* now boasted of an antisubmarine capacity and began escorting merchantmen along the south coast of Java to Tjilatjap, the last port out of reach to Japanese bombers at that time. While engaged on convoy duty in late February, 1942, the *Tulsa* received orders to proceed to a point 300 miles to the south of Java. En route, it learned that its mission included searching for survivors of U.S.S. *Langley*, sunk on February 26, 1942. When the ship arrived on the scene, however, it found only traces of wreckage, but no survivors. Unknown to the *Tulsa*, *Langley*'s survivors had already been rescued by the *Whipple* and *Edsall*.

After this apparently fruitless rescue attempt, the *Tulsa* came upon the scene of a sinking merchant ship and found that the *Whippoorwill* had begun rescue operations but needed medical facilities which the *Tulsa* had on board. The gunboat hove-to and assisted the minesweeper in the lifesaving then returned to Tjilatjap where it received orders to be ready for sea at a moment's notice.

With Java being rapidly encircled by the onrushing Japanese, orders to retire were not long in coming. On March 1, 1942, the *Tulsa*, *Asheville*, *Lark* and *Isabel* crept out of Tjilatjap bound for Australia, only to find that *Asheville* soon developed engine difficulties. While the other three ships steamed resolutely onward, *Asheville* fell behind only to be trapped and sunk by superior Japanese surface forces.

The *Tulsa* arrived in Australian waters shortly thereafter, having reached a haven with its two companions. They were the last surface ships of the Asiatic Fleet to survive the Japanese onslaught in the East Indies, and they escaped, by a hairbreadth, the fate which befell *Asheville*.

For the seven months following its arrival in Fremantle, Australia, the



The U.S.S. *Tulsa* moored in Chinese waters prior to World War II—American flags are stretched across the topside awings in an attempt to avoid an incident with Japanese forces

ship engaged in routine patrols off the coast before being refitted at Sydney in October, 1942, and receiving British antisubmarine equipment, "Y" guns, 20-millimeter anti-aircraft weapons and degaussing equipment. Thus outfitted, the ship served once again as a convoy escort, occasionally towing targets as well.

In the latter half of 1942, it operated independently as Task Unit 42.1.2 attached to Submarine Forces, Southwest Pacific. In this training capacity, it operated out of Brisbane, Australia, and served as a target for the submarines out of Fremantle, giving the submariners practice in approaches and battle surfacing.

With the beginning of the Buna-Gona offensives in New Guinea, the *Tulsa* escorted PT boats to take part in that campaign and operated between Milne Bay, New Guinea and Cairns, Australia. When the PT boat base at Kona Kope, on the southeastern shores of Milne Bay, was established in



The officers and men of the U.S.S. *Tulsa* at Hong Kong, China, in August, 1941

November, 1942, *Tulsa* brought in much-needed equipment to greatly aid in the operations being conducted from that base. But five days before Christmas of 1942, the *Tulsa* grounded on an uncharted pinnacle and damaged its antisubmarine gear, necessitating a return to yard facilities for repairs.

Soon returning to the war zone, it resumed patrols off Milne Bay, when on the night of January 20, 1943, six Japanese bombers attacked the ship. In the short, sharp action which followed, the *Tulsa* put up a spirited defense with her 3-inch and 20-millimeter antiaircraft battery, driving off the attackers with no damage to herself, while dodging twelve bombs. For the remainder of 1943, the ship continued operating in the New Guinea-Australian area, tending PT boats, escorting supply ships and serving as flagship of the Seventh Fleet.

After undergoing major overhaul in December, 1943, the *Tulsa* resumed operations in the Milne Bay-Cape Cretin area, reporting to Commander, Task Force Seventy-six, for orders. Upon receiving its assignment, it de-



The U.S.S. *Tulsa* as it appeared in 1945

parted the bay on January 8, 1944, with a fuel barge in tow, en route to cape Cretin. There it joined H.M.A.S. *Arunta*, U.S.S. *LST-453* and S.S. *Mulcra* to serve as headquarters ship for Captain Bern C. Anderson, Commander, Task Unit 76.5.3.

Under the administrative control of Commander, Escorts and Minecraft Squadrons, Seventh Fleet, the *Tulsa* served in the Finschafen-Buna area until participating in the Hollandia strike on April 26, 1944, and the Wakde landing on May 17. It then continued in its role of escort vessel and patrol craft in the New Guinea-Australia areas before proceeding to the Philippines for the liberation operations in November, 1944.

Returning to the scene of a hurried departure nearly four years earlier, *Tulsa* steamed to the Philippine archipelago, touching at Parang, Zamboanga, Aguson and Leyte, before proceeding to Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, arriving there on December 18, 1944. There it was renamed *Tacloban*, and thirteen days later, departed for San Francisco, California, where it arrived on January 10, 1945.

Aged and worn, the *Tulsa*'s materiel condition caused the recommendation to be made that it was no longer serviceable. The ship was decommissioned on March 6, 1945; struck from the Navy list on April 17; and turned over to the War Shipping Administration, Maritime Commission, on October 12, 1945, for disposal.

CHARACTER BUILDING AT KINGFISHER COLLEGE, 1890-1922

By John W. Cresswell*

A historical marker on the highway, one mile east of Kingfisher, Oklahoma reads:

Kingfisher College

Founded by Congregationalists, this college site one mile north, 1890-1922, achieved renown in education and character-building. It lives on at the University of Oklahoma as the Kingfisher College Chair of the Philosophy of Religion and Ethics.

By the spring of 1922, the college was heavily in debt. The students, alumni and friends of the institution hoped that the school would be able to open its doors once again in the fall. Some of those associated with the college could remember that January in 1905 when the Oklahoma Territorial Legislature in Guthrie adjourned and travelled to Kingfisher for a festive banquet in the college chapel to celebrate the raising of \$100,000 for the school's endowment fund.¹ But, by the post-war period, changes had occurred to jeopardize the continued operation of the institution. Rather than contribute to private denominational institutions in "the West," wealthy benefactors had put their money into Liberty Bonds, and by 1921 college receipts of \$22,958.47 were unevenly balanced against disbursements of \$54,152.86² Also, the enrollment had declined when the college men were drafted on June 2, 1917, for World War I, and it never fully recovered. During 1916-1917, the enrollments in the college classes and academy reached the highest in the history of the school—185—but by 1919-1920, it had slumped to only one-third of that number.³ The final blow, however, came when an investment—variously stated at \$50,000 or \$73,000—by the college in the common stock of the Bob White Flour Mill in Kingfisher was lost after the mill suffered a major financial setback from deflated prices following the war.⁴ Recognizing the magnitude of these problems, the Congregational Foundation of Education recommended in the spring of

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¹ William Claude Vogt, Class of 1908, ed., "An Attempt to Reconstruct A History of Kingfisher College," (as presented at the Kingfisher College Reunion, May 26-29, 1974 in Kingfisher, Oklahoma), p. 10.

² Wallace Brewer, "History of Advanced Church Education in Oklahoma," Doctor of Education Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1945, p. 189.

³ Vogt, "An Attempt To Reconstruct A History of Kingfisher College," pp. 19, 24.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.



Kingfisher College

1922 that work at the school be suspended for one year. In response, the Board of Trustees hastily voted to keep the college open in the fall if the citizens of Kingfisher could raise \$5,000, but this effort failed. And on August 5, 1922, the Board of Trustees closed the school.⁵

Although Kingfisher College enjoyed only a relatively brief life of one-third-century in Kingfisher, its significance goes well beyond what one writer called "the short and simple annals of the poor."⁶ From 1890 to 1922, the college contributed markedly to advanced education in the early Oklahoma territory and state. Of the one-hundred and seventeen graduates, seventy-five percent became religious or educational leaders in the state and the nation.⁷ Approximately forty percent pursued advanced educational degrees, and six students successfully passed the Rhodes Scholarship examination, with three of these six receiving the coveted appointment to Oxford University in England.⁸ The institution was also known throughout the region for excellent music and fine arts departments. The men's and

⁵ Brewer, "History of Advanced Church Education in Oklahoma," pp. 182-183.

⁶ John Alley, "Kingfisher College and Its Alumni," *The University of Oklahoma Bulletin* (June 30, 1928), p. 14.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

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women's Glee Clubs, dressed in their finest costumes, frequently sang for churches and schools in the nearby towns. By 1902, Kingfisher College men had won the intercollegiate tennis tournament four straight years.⁹ Other colleges took note of the Kingfisher College football teams. Twice, during the 1902 and 1903 seasons, the college played the University of Oklahoma to scoreless ties.¹⁰ But above all, the school provided high quality, church related higher education to the sons and daughters of the pioneer settlers in the Oklahoma territory. How Kingfisher College carried out this mission serves as a fascinating chapter in the history of Oklahoma higher education.

To fully explore the educational aim of Kingfisher College calls for an examination of why the college was founded. Two factors must be considered: the ideals of the Congregational church and the realities of the pioneer settlers of Kingfisher, Oklahoma. For those writers who relied on the theme of "reproduction" to explain the western spread of advanced church education in the nineteenth century, Kingfisher College was considered to be the southwestern representative of a "string" of high quality colleges which included such well-known Congregational institutions as Yale, Dartmouth, Oberlin, Knox and Grinnell.¹¹ This thesis of "reproduction" suggested that Congregational college swept westward across the Western Reserve to the Mississippi Valley and into the trans-Mississippi regions modelling the "mother of Congregational colleges," Yale.¹² Guy E. Snively reported that up until 1894—the date when Kingfisher College was actually chartered—forty-two Congregational-affiliated schools had been established in the United States.¹³ One can trace on maps how these Congregational colleges closely followed the spread of the Congregational churches, and the schools became the "nurseries of the ministers" and espoused the primary aim of providing an educated ministry for the congregations.¹⁴ Of the eight Congregational colleges founded in the Mississippi Valley, six were established primarily in response to the need for an educated ministry in the frontier region.¹⁵

⁹ Vogt, "An Attempt to Reconstruct A History of Kingfisher College," p. 7.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 9.

¹¹ Kingfisher College Board of Trustees, "Brief Facts About Kingfisher College and the Kingfisher College Chair of the Philosophy of Religion and Ethics at the University of Oklahoma" (Kingfisher: Kingfisher College Board of Trustees, 1964).

¹² Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War: With Particular Reference to the Religious Influences Bearing Upon the College Movement* (New York City: Bureau of Publications of Columbia University, 1932), p. 13.

¹³ Guy E. Snively, *The Church and the Four-Year College, An Appraisal of Their Relation* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), pp. 75-76.

¹⁴ Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War: With Particular Reference to the Religious Influences Bearing Upon the College Movement*, p. 123.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

CHARACTER BUILDING AT KINGFISHER COLLEGE

PRIMARY OCCUPATION OF KINGFISHER COLLEGE GRADUATES IN 1928

	Medicine	Farmer	Housewife	Education	Law or Government	Business	Clergy	Deceased	No Information
1900- 1905	0	0	1	6	1	1	0	1	7
1906- 1910	0	2	1	13	1	4	2	2	8
1911- 1915	0	0	2	14	0	2	1	3	13
1916- 1920	1	0	2	11	0	0	3	1	11
1922	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Totals	1	2	6	44	2	7	6	8	41
Total Graduates: 117									

As part of this Congregational heritage, Kingfisher College served as a "reproduction" of the high quality eastern Congregational school in the Southwest. One author reflected this thought in an optimistic note written in 1919: "Kingfisher College is soon to be the Oberlin of Oklahoma."¹⁶ However, unlike the mission of the Congregational schools, the college did not extensively embrace the aim of training ministers. In fact, few of the 117 graduates entered directly into the ministry, and instead a large number followed educational pursuits. Consequently, the institution had a certain nonsectarian orientation which was reflected in statements by students in 1902 even though they are careful to point out the religious overtones:¹⁷

Kingfisher College, like all denominational colleges, was planted with a distinctly religious aim, but it is not sectarian nor does it attempt to teach theology. The effort is to make the college like a Christian home, and in the brief period of its existence many students have been led to accept the "higher human life" not by emotional influences but as part of the "college life of culture."

The extension of Congregational education to the Southwest in the form of a distinctly religious "Christian home" provides only a partial explanation

¹⁶ Vogt, "An Attempt to Reconstruct A History of Kingfisher College," p. 28.

¹⁷ *The Kingfisher*, Vol. I, No. 1 (October, 1902), p. 11.

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for the founding of the school. Within the context of a new pioneer community, the institution provided an opportunity for children of the region to attend a church related college. Protestant schools nearest to Kingfisher were to the north at Wichita, Kansas—160 miles away—and to the south at Fort Worth, Texas—150 miles away. To the east and west were only normal schools for many miles.¹⁸ Thus, the college provided educational opportunities for worthy students who might not have been able to attend schools situated at a more distant location.

The factors leading to the founding of Kingfisher College interacted to contribute to the educational mission of the school. But above all, the theme of “character-building” typified the primary aim of the college. This theme appeared on the historical marker for the institution; it emerged in the writings of the students when they referred to the training for “higher human life;” and it boomed from the voice of President J. T. House of Kingfisher College in 1905:¹⁹

We hold that the ideal school has for its ultimate aim the development of character. We believe that such results is not merely incidental education, but that it is education. All the teaching, all the environment of the school must be filled with this great purpose.

Modern historians can best capture the essence of Kingfisher College by exploring how the school contributed to “character building.” Certainly, to instill “character” in the students called for leaders of a similar constitution. It also called for a curriculum that disciplined and trained the mind, and for outside activities that were designed to round out the student. Of equal importance, it called for strong financial backing to keep the college doors open.

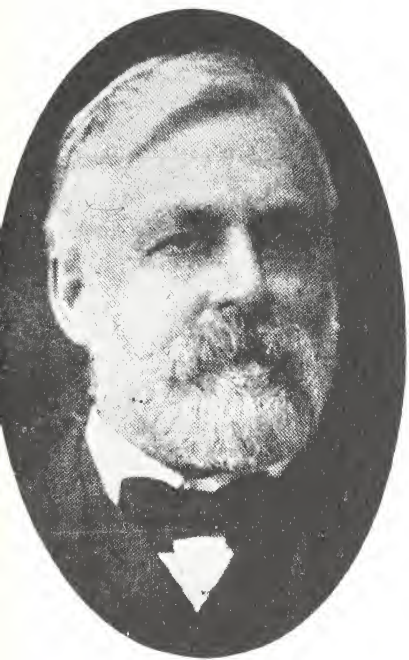
The Land Run of 1889 into the “Unassigned Lands” of present-day Oklahoma spawned new communities along the Santa Fe Railroad at Guthrie, Edmond, Oklahoma Station and Norman as well as other key locations such as Kingfisher, Stillwater and El Reno. Soon intense competition from various colleges developed among these communities. Several denominations eagerly established colleges, and by statehood twelve church related schools had been chartered in both Indian and Oklahoma Territory.

Prior to the opening of the “Unassigned Lands,” President Benjamin Harrison in Washington, D.C. had ordered that two land offices be established, one at Guthrie and the other at the Kingfisher stage station on the

¹⁸ United States Department of the Interior, “Reports of the Governor of Oklahoma Territory to the Secretary of The Interior,” 59th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), pp. 356–357.

¹⁹ *The Kingfisher*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (September 1905), p. 3.

CHARACTER BUILDING AT KINGFISHER COLLEGE



The Reverend Joseph H. Parker,
Home Missionary Superintendent for
the Congregational Home Missions in
Oklahoma Territory and founder of
Kingfisher College

extreme western boundary of the "Unassigned Lands."²⁰ This stage station drew its name from the ranch of King Fisher, which was adjacent to the wagon road that ran between Wichita and the Darlington Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency near present-day El Reno.²¹ With the added impetus of the land office, the townsite of Kingfisher grew into a thriving city of thousands within days after the run began.

Shortly after this opening, the Reverend Joseph H. Parker arrived in Kingfisher, travelling from Wichita, where he had served as the pastor of the Congregational church and had helped to found Fairmount College. Realizing that a child in Kingfisher had no opportunity for education beyond the eighth grade, Reverend Parker, then Home Missionary Superintendent for the Congregational Home Missions in Oklahoma Territory, raised contributions from wealthy benefactors in the East and organized a teaching staff to start Kingfisher Academy in the basement of the Congrega-

²⁰ Melvin Frank Fiegel, "The Founding and Early Development of Kingfisher, Oklahoma," Master of Arts Thesis, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1965, p. 6.

²¹ Stanley W. Hoig, "A History of the Development of Institutions of Higher Education in Oklahoma," Doctor of Education Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1971, p. 73.

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tional church in September, 1890. By 1893, the need became apparent for a college course of study. When the territorial convention of the Association of Congregational Churches of Oklahoma met in El Reno in April, 1894, and opened bids for a "college with academy," Reverend Parker persuaded the association to select Kingfisher as the college site. On September 26, 1894, the college was officially chartered, and Reverend Parker contributed his own note for \$2,500 for 120 acres of land east of town for a campus.²²

Other leaders provided strong, dedicated models for the students. President J. T. House, perhaps the most energetic of the four presidents of the college, held high standards for the school. While House served as president from 1895 to 1908, the college flourished—enrollments reached 164, courses of study were added to the curriculum and an endowment fund was established. House's ingenuity and foresight carried the day; in the summer of 1902, he established the "sub-academy" to teach grade school subjects to children with the hope that they would continue on to the academy and then to the college. House was extremely devoted to the school, and it was disclosed when he resigned in 1908 that he had earned only \$1,800 a year—a small salary for a professional man even in those days.²³

Other individuals stand out for their tireless devotion to the institution. Among the faculty, "Little Prof," Professor F. J. Titt, deserves special mention. Armed with only a baccalaureate degree and an intense desire to work with students, he spent more than twenty years teaching chemistry and physics. During that time, he directed many of the outstanding scientists and Rhodes Scholars who later credited their success to the instruction of "Little Prof."²⁴ To one early-day graduate, "Little Prof" typified the very institution itself.²⁵

Small stature, unpretentious, faithful, willing if necessary to sacrifice his life to a service to which he was devoted; and when the doors of the institution were closed he was left stranded on the hill beside the deserted buildings.

The comments about Professor Drake written by Mrs. F. L. Drake, a graduate of the class of 1914, also document the selfless devotion of the faculty. In the diary she kept during the years 1909 to 1912, she recalled how her husband, an inspiring member of the music faculty, taught sixty lessons a week, trained four church choirs—the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian and

²² Mrs. F. L. Drake, "Brief History of Kingfisher College," in *Echoes of Eighty-Nine* (Kingfisher, Oklahoma: Kingfisher Times and Free Press, 1939), p. 77.

²³ Vogt, "An Attempt to Reconstruct A History of Kingfisher College," p. 28.

²⁴ Interview, Georgia Kidd Fitch, May 29, 1976.

²⁵ Alley, "Kingfisher College and Its Alumni," *The University of Oklahoma Bulletin*, p. 14.

CHARACTER BUILDING AT KINGFISHER COLLEGE

DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGES ESTABLISHED IN INDIAN AND OKLAHOMA TERRITORY PRIOR TO STATEHOOD

Institution	Date Opened	Transition
BAPTIST COLLEGES		
Bacone College, Tahlequah	1880	Moved to Muskogee in 1895
Southwest Baptist College, Hastings	1903	Name changed to Hastings Baptist College in 1907. School moved to Mangum in 1912, closed in 1914.
Oklahoma Baptist College, Blackwell	1901	Abandoned in 1913.
CATHOLIC COLLEGES		
Sacred Heart, Asher	1882	Existed as academy after 1915
Catholic College of Oklahoma, Guthrie	1889	Became Benedictine Heights College in 1948.
Presbyterian Colleges		
Oklahoma Presbyterian College, Durant	1894	First founded as Calvin Institute then name changed to Oklahoma Presbyterian College for Girls in 1907. Absorbed by Southeastern State College in the 1950's.
Henry Kendall College, Muskogee	1893	Moved to Tulsa in 1907 and became the Tulsa University in 1920.
METHODIST COLLEGE		
Epworth University, Oklahoma City	1903	Moved to Guthrie in 1911 where it was called Methodist University of Oklahoma. Moved back to Oklahoma City in 1919 as Oklahoma City College. In 1924 became Oklahoma City University.
DISCIPLES OF CHRIST COLLEGE		
Oklahoma Christian University, Enid	1907	Renamed Phillips University in 1913.
CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE COLLEGE		
Beulah Heights College, Oklahoma City	1906	Closed in 1909.
Congregational College Kingfisher College, Kingfisher	1894	Closed in 1922.
CHURCH OF CHRIST COLLEGE		
Corde11 Christian College, Corde11	1907	Closed in 1918, became Western Oklahoma Christian College in 1921 and Oklahoma Christian College in 1925.

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Christian—and prepared the Glee Club for its annual concert tour and the choral society for either an opera or an oratorio.²⁶

While administrators and faculty modelled “character”—devotion, selflessness and dedication needed in a pioneer college—the curriculum both demanded and instilled these qualities of “character” in the students. The rigorous discipline of recitations and the courses in ancient languages lifted the Kingfisher College graduates above their uneducated pioneer counterparts. For example, the classical course of study sought to “secure mental discipline” for the students.²⁷ Students pursuing this course of study would take a group of Latin courses wherein they might translate Cicero’s *Orations*, read and translate Vergil’s *Aeneid* or become proficient in reading at sight Livy or Horace.²⁸ In 1905 an alternative course of study was available, although it was not one designed to grant the student a reprieve from rigor. The 1905 college bulletin listed the modern language course of study as well as the classical course. However, the courses in both tracks were essentially the same. In the freshman year, for instance, students in the classical course would study Greek, Latin, English and mathematics while students in the modern language course would substitute German and chemistry for Greek and Latin.²⁹ Over time, the demands of burgeoning enrollments called for new courses of study. In 1911 forty-eight students were enrolled in the liberal arts area, twenty-seven in the academy and fifty in the fine arts department of piano, instrumental music, vocal music and expression.³⁰ The students in liberal arts could choose from the classical course, the philosophical course, the mathematical course, the sociological course, the scientific course, the literary course or the pedagogical course. Students were required to complete thirty-two units of study for the Bachelor of Arts degree. Claude Vogt, a graduate of the class of 1908 and a Rhodes Scholar, wrote that “a unit of course, was a study with four or five recitations per week.”³¹ With this demanding schedule even students outside the classical course would not escape the discipline of the school.

Even though the college had an impressive array of educational options, especially when its size is considered, scarcity of equipment and supplies contributed to the harsh realities of academic life. Equipment always posed a problem, whether it was a piano for the fine arts department or a telescope for the astronomy class. With great pride the students could write in 1905

²⁶ Drake, “Brief History of Kingfisher College,” in *Echoes of Eighty-nine*, p. 80.

²⁷ *Kingfisher College Bulletin*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (April 1912), p. 23.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, No. 2 (May 1921), pp. 34–35.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 1 (April–June, 1905), p. 7.

³⁰ Vogt, “An Attempt to Reconstruct A History of Kingfisher College,” p. 19.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

that the new microscope had been put to good use in botany studying "bacteria, diatoms, moulds, and plant cells and tissues."³²

From the earliest days, the academy, as a part of the college, supplied eager young freshmen. This academy, providing the equivalent of high school preparation today, helped to boost the enrollments of the institution. During 1911-1912, when the student population reached the all-time high of 185—to be later repeated during 1917-1918—fifteen percent of the students were enrolled in the academy.³³ Even these younger students were expected to master Caesar, Cicero, grammar and rhetoric if they were to qualify for entrance into the revered college courses.

In old photographs of the town of Kingfisher, one can see on the horizon the outline of the college buildings on a distant hill. The campus, located about one mile northeast of town, could be reached by a winding road that crossed Uncle John's Creek. Until the days of the Model-T Ford, most of the students lived in dormitories "on the hill," in Julia Gilbert Hall, Osgood Hall and later the J. Seay Industrial Home for Boys. Girls who lived in Kingfisher boarded the college hack pulled by "Mutt and Jeff" and rode out to the campus. The boys, not permitted on the hack, either walked or rode bicycles or horses.

Living one mile out of town provided a self-contained existence for the students. While the regimen of academics left little time for fun, the characteristics of a mature campus soon developed, and odd jobs and extracurricular activities became a part of school life. These activities also helped to round out the students.

The "self-help" jobs provided a necessary outlet from the books and assisted in defraying the expenses of an education. President House pointed out his rationale for these jobs: "Let it be clearly understood that the purpose of this department is not primarily to teach industry but to furnish work as a necessary condition to attendance upon school."³⁴ What types of jobs did the student hold? In 1903, for example, the students helped to produce brooms in a small building called the "pesthouse" where students with the smallpox would be quarantined.³⁵ The 1905 *Kingfisher College Bulletin* listed other possibilities for the enterprising student: the artificial stone factory in the basement of Julia Gilbert Hall, the printing office in Parker Hall, janitor work, driving the college hack or even work in the city of Kingfisher.³⁶

³² *Kingfisher College Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 6.

³³ Vogt, "An Attempt to Reconstruct A History of Kingfisher College," p. 19.

³⁴ *The Kingfisher*, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 3.

³⁵ Vogt, "An Attempt to Reconstruct A History of Kingfisher College," p. 5.

³⁶ *Kingfisher College Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 5-6.

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Besides miscellaneous jobs, sports provided a release for the students. Makeshift clay tennis and basketball courts were constructed "on the hill." Below the main building, Parker Hall, the football team drilled in an open pasture. Since football was not yet standardized in the early 1900s, it was not unusual to see faculty running with the ball for a touchdown or coaches playing with the team. In addition, there were also "occasional" students who would appear on campus only during the football season. One team stands out; the 1905 team ended its season with a total of 71 points while its opponents had zero.³⁷ The 1918 team was not as fortunate. Their players remember losing to the University of Oklahoma by a score of 117 to zero.³⁸ While the rough and unregulated football was restricted to the men, the women participated in exercise classes and one team sport. Under the direction of a new women's physical education instructor in 1902, the women exercised in unison with Indian clubs and dumbbells. For several years, the women fielded active basketball teams, and, unlike today, the two shortest girls jumped at the center position directed by a fortunate male student who served as the "coach."

The college provided more than rigorous study and strenuous sports; group activities like glee clubs, fraternities, literary societies, and college pranks filled in the days. Twelve distinguished men dressed in long-tail evening coats posed for the photograph of the Men's Glee Club of 1901. Their travels throughout the region helped both to bring new students to the college and to encourage music among the men in the school. In 1906, an editorial in *The Kingfisher* remarked:³⁹

We can remember when only a very few years ago, there was not a single student organization in the school with the exception of the Oratorical and Athletic Associations . . . but times have changed . . . four literary societies, three of which are Greek letter societies, a Y.M.C.A. and a Y.W.C.A. have been organized this year.

To serious academics and extracurricular activities, one could add the ubiquitous pranks and wholesome fun of college life. Kate Armstrong, a graduate of the class of 1906, recalls 1901 as a year of hayrides and market parties, where students would ride into town, spend a nickle and return to the "hill" for a picnic. Former students also remember the prank carried out at the expense of a Mrs. Bartlett.⁴⁰ An Easterner, she never quite felt at home in "the West." As matron of Osgood Hall, she was fully convinced that a

³⁷ Vogt, "An Attempt to Reconstruct A History of Kingfisher College," p. 10.

³⁸ Interview, Sturgis Darling, May 29, 1976.

³⁹ *The Kingfisher*, Vol. IV, No. 7 (March, 1906), p. 8.

⁴⁰ Vogt, "An Attempt to Reconstruct A History of Kingfisher College," p. 10.

CHARACTER BUILDING AT KINGFISHER COLLEGE



The 1889 football team of Kingfisher College

“real” Indian attack was in progress when the boys from Gilbert Hall went on the warpath and surrounded the women’s residence.

The examples set by the leaders, the rigor of the curriculum and even the release provided by the student activities helped to instill a devoted, disciplined and competitive spirit in the students. But this devotion or “character” can also be exemplified in the final moments of the institution as friends sought to raise funds and, when the funds were not available, to continue the spirit of the college toward a new beginning.

By the year of 1921, the schools had suffered from poor fiscal management, and the institution was in debt. After President House left in 1908, the college failed to attract a strong energetic president who could solicit donations from the East. Other presidents who followed tried to maintain a balanced ledger, but the matching contributions, such as those received from Andrew Carnegie during the successful endowment campaigns of President House, did not materialize. In addition, the inappreciable revenue generated by student tuition—often a negotiated item between the student and the president—provided little help after enrollments decreased during World War I. Further, in 1922 a young person who wanted to obtain a

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Institution	Year of Opening	Number of Professors			Number of Students			Degrees Awarded (Baccalaureate)	
		17-18	21-22	% of Change	17-18	21-22	% of Change	17-18	21-22
Kingfisher College, Kingfisher	1896	13	7	-30	134	58**	-40	5	3
Central State Normal, Edmond	1891	58	55	- 3	2,480	2,671	+ 4	184	187
Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater	1891	89	106	+ 9	1,262	1,682	+14	70	116
University of Oklahoma, Norman	1892	190	320	+27	1,583	3,453	+37	161	484
Colored Agricultural and Normal, Langston	1898	25	41	+38	676	801	+ 8	47	29
Southwestern Normal, Weatherford	1903	46	37	-11	1,418	1,167	-10	41	114
Phillips University, Enid	1913	36	39	+ 4	807	935	+ 7	62	50
Oklahoma City College, Oklahoma City (Methodist University of Oklahoma, 1911-1919, Guthrie)	1919	15	29	+32	215	286	+14	0	5

CHARACTERISTICS OF COLLEGES WITHIN A
FIFTY-MILE RADIUS OF KINGFISHER
IN 1917-18 and 1921-22

college education could choose from among many institutions. In 1905, President House could report that "the actual territory influenced by this institution is very large—Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri have a multiplicity of colleges, not so in Oklahoma."⁴¹ But in 1922, eight institutions of higher learning offered a college education within a fifty-mile radius of Kingfisher. These institutions had, for the most part, expanded between 1917-1918 and 1921-1922 in terms of professors, students, degrees awarded, library volumes and total receipts, whereas Kingfisher College had declined. The college's competitive position was made even worse because it, like other private schools, charged a tuition while the state institutions did not place this burden on the students, except for incidental fees.⁴²

⁴¹ *The Kingfisher*, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 3.

⁴² The Oklahoma A & M College Catalogue of 1921-1922 provides examples of incidental fees that might be charged to the student, such as \$2.50 per quarter for typing classes, \$9.00 per quarter for individual music lessons, \$3.00 per quarter for use of pianos 5 hours per week, \$3.00 for student activity ticket, \$2.50 to cover breakage in labs.

CHARACTER BUILDING AT KINGFISHER COLLEGE

Found in Library		Tuition Fees			Total Receipts		
21-22	% of Change	17-18	21-22	% of Change	17-18	21-22	% of Change
6,407	0	40	30	-14	19,006	22,958.47	+ 9
16,212	+15	0	0	---	90,000	124,021	+16
32,382	+ 6	0	0	---	558,244	1,208,036	+37
45,228	+20	0	0	---	971,944	1,520,508	+22
250	- 9	0	0	---	69,631	142,302	+34
7,864	- 1	0	0	---	70,827	68,301	- 2
8,920	+30	60	80	+14	166,026	177,940	+ 3
---	---	60	--	---	20,407	-----	---

The challenge to meet expenses rallied the citizens of Kingfisher behind the school. In 1920-1921, for example, the citizens of Kingfisher contributed \$4,760 for the current expenses of the institution.⁴³ Also, when the Congregational Foundation of Education announced that \$5,000 was needed for the school to reopen in the fall of 1922, the citizens of Kingfisher launched a door-to-door campaign to raise the money. Furthermore, the *Kingfisher Free Press* steadily backed the school during its difficult days even to the extent of supporting a \$200 donation from Adolphus Busch of the Busch brewing firm of St. Louis, Missouri, against the wishes of the local Women's Christian Temperance Union.⁴⁴

When the unfortunate investment in the flour mill was lost, the Trustees had no alternative, and the college closed in August, 1922. Five years later the Trustees sold the land and buildings "on the hill" to the Pentecostal Holiness Church for a mere \$10,000.⁴⁵ The Pentecostals then opened King's College

⁴³ Vogt, "An Attempt to Reconstruct A History of Kingfisher College," p. 28.

⁴⁴ Brewer, "History of Advanced Church Education in Oklahoma," pp. 182-183.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 190; Vogt, "An Attempt to Reconstruct A History of Kingfisher College," p. 29.

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“on the hill” that stayed in operation until Parker Hall was gutted by fire in 1932. By 1937, Seay Hall, Osgood Hall and Gilbert Hall were razed and the materials salvaged. Today “college hill” consists of an open field, two houses once occupied by the college president and a faculty member, and a nearby housing development.

In a physical sense, the college no longer exists in Kingfisher, but its impact is still felt. Five years after the institution closed, the Trustees transferred the official academic records of the school and the holdings of the library to the University of Oklahoma.⁴⁶ Members of the Board of Trustees who had personal ties to the University of Oklahoma helped to facilitate this move, and the transfer enabled Kingfisher College graduates to become alumni of the University of Oklahoma and to claim degrees from that institution.

The next milestone was 1951. When the records and holdings of the institution were transferred, the Trustees adopted a provision stipulating that funds from the liquidated assets were to be kept as a permanent endowment and that the income generated was to be used in accordance with “Christian education.”⁴⁷ By 1951, the funds had grown to over \$30,000, and the Trustees of the college and the Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma jointly established the Kingfisher College Chair of the Philosophy of Religion and Ethics in the Department of Philosophy at the University of Oklahoma. This chair was also expanded into an operative section of the department which included funds for graduate students—Kingfisher College Fellows—and library acquisitions. In 1964, the goal of \$100,000 for an endowment had been attained and the funds were permanently transferred to the University of Oklahoma. Ninety percent of the annual income from the fund was earmarked for the Kingfisher College Chair, and ten percent was to be added each year to the body of the fund.⁴⁸ With this final transfer, the seven member Kingfisher College Board of Trustees closed its records and was replaced by a smaller board consisting of the President of the University of Oklahoma, the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, the Executive Director of the University of Oklahoma Foundation, a Kingfisher College graduate or a direct descendant and the Kingfisher College professor as secretary and ex-officio member of the board.

The new beginning at the University of Oklahoma carried on the tradition of “character-building” first established at Kingfisher College. The department of Philosophy at the University of Oklahoma established the Kingfisher College core curriculum, and the student enrollments have

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

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grown from 20 undergraduates in 1951 to nearly 3,000 students today.⁴⁹ Interestingly enough, the aim of this curriculum closely parallels what Kingfisher College sought to carry out:⁵⁰

The presupposition is that the person and his achievement are of prime importance, and that instruction in matters that relate to personal growth and fulfillment is a central concern of education.

Of equal interest are the occupations pursued by the Kingfisher College Fellows after graduation. Twenty-two Kingfisher College Fellows have graduated since 1953, and, while the number still grows, they have assumed occupations strikingly similar to those of the 117 Kingfisher College graduates. Both groups primarily entered educational positions and a few became clergy and businessmen.⁵¹

While the Kingfisher College student activities no longer exist, new leaders that exemplify the qualities of the original graduates are still born, and the curriculum still challenges students to a "higher human life." Kingfisher College, a school that "achieved renown in education and character-building," lives on today.

⁴⁹ See Vogt for a discussion of the number of students in the Department of Philosophy in 1951. Also, for an estimate of the number of students in attendance today, the reader is directed to the taped speech of Dr. J. Clayton Feaver, Philosophy of Religion and Ethics, University of Oklahoma, a speech delivered to the Kingfisher College Heritage Association Reunion at Kingfisher, Oklahoma on May 29, 1976, available from this author.

⁵⁰ Kingfisher College Board of Trustees, "Brief Facts About Kingfisher College and the Kingfisher College Chair of the Philosophy of Religion and Ethics at the University of Oklahoma."

⁵¹ The data relating to the Kingfisher College Fellows was reported by Dr. Clayton Feaver, Kingfisher College professor of the Philosophy of Religion and Ethics. The information indicated the following analysis of occupations pursued by the twenty-two Kingfisher College Fellows who were masters and doctoral recipients: fourteen entered higher education positions, three pursued business-related fields, three entered church related work, one entered law and for one, no information is available.

THE WYANDOT EXPLORING EXPEDITION OF 1839

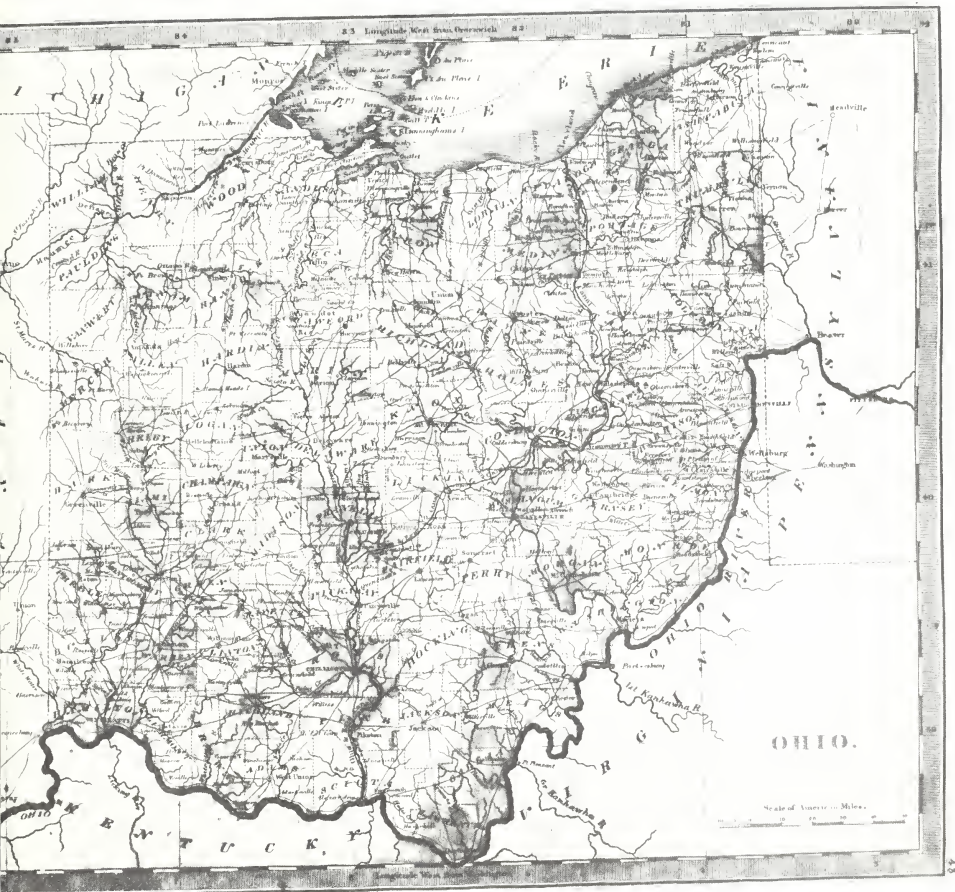
By Robert E. Smith*

The spring of 1857 saw the Wyandot Indians divided and discouraged. Incursions by white squatters into the Wyandot Reserve in eastern Kansas, a civil war between proslavery and free state partisans in Kansas and difficulties experienced by members of the tribe in receiving their allotments and annuity funds prompted Chief Matthew Mudeater to suggest that a portion of the tribe move to Indian Territory. Though a few tribal members decided to return to their old homes in Ohio or Canada, a majority of the Wyandots who wished to leave Kansas Territory followed Mudeater's suggestion. During the summer of 1857, Mudeater led a band of about 200 disorganized and demoralized Wyandots, out of a population of 550, south across southeastern Kansas. He must have wondered how well his bedraggled caravan would be accepted by the Indians of the Neosho Agency in the northeastern portion of Indian Territory, which by 1857 was roughly the boundary of the present state of Oklahoma. Reflecting on the distress of his tribe, Mudeater could only hope that his decision to lead this band of the once proud Wyandots to Indian Territory was a wise choice. The exhausted Indians reached the Neosho Agency before the end of August, and at the invitation of their old friends, the Senecas, they settled on Seneca land.¹

The Mudeater expedition of 1857 was not the first time the Wyandots had visited Indian Territory. The westward expansion of white American settlers put unyielding pressure on the Wyandots in Ohio and Michigan. The Grand Reserve near Upper Sandusky, Ohio, was the home of a majority of the tribe after the conclusion of the War of 1812. Situated on prime agricultural land in northwestern Ohio, the Grand Reserve was coveted by white settlers. Although a majority of the Wyandots were unwilling to leave

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¹ George I. Clark, Silas Armstrong, John D. Brown, Matthew Mudeater and Irvin P. Long to John Haverty, September 21, 1857, and Clark, Armstrong, Brown, Mudeater and Long to James W. Denver, October 10, 1857, and Anselm Arnold to Haverty, September 30, 1857, Letters Received, Shawnee Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Peter D. Clarke to Sarah C. Watie, January 7, 1859, in Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History As Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), pp. 94-95; Velma Nieberding, "The Wyandot Tribe Today," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 4 (Winter, 1956-1957), p. 490; Andrew J. Dorn to Elias Rector, August 31, 1857, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1857," United States Senate, 35th Congress, 1st Session, *Executive Document Number 11* (16 vols., Washington: William A. Harris, 1858), Vol. II, Part I, p. 493.



Ohio during the 1830s—the Wyandot Reservation was near the western end of Lake Erie in Crawford County

their homes in Ohio and Michigan, government officials pressured them into negotiating for a home in the West. Before they would agree to removal, the Wyandots insisted that they be given the opportunity to examine proposed sites for a new reserve in the West and that only after their approval would negotiations for removal continue.²

William Walker, a quarter-blood Wyandot, led the first exploring expedition to the West. He and five other Wyandots left Upper Sandusky in early October, 1831, and began their journey to a proposed site for a reserve in

² Randall L. Buchman, "The History of the Wyandot Indians in Ohio," Master of Arts Thesis, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1958, pp. 79–80.

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what is modern northwest Missouri. The Walker party arrived at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in late November. Five members of the delegation spent six days in the Little Platte River Valley where they evaluated the tract designated as the proposed Wyandot Reserve. Unimpressed with northwest Missouri, the Wyandot delegation returned to Ohio and gave a report to the Wyandot Council precluding acceptance of the proposed reserve.³

A second Wyandot exploring expedition was dispatched to the West in the spring of 1834. Arriving at the Shawnee Indian Agency in present eastern Kansas in early July, the band of four immediately began examining the surrounding area. When the exploring delegation returned to Ohio, however, their adverse report on the suitability of eastern Kansas for a reserve persuaded the members of the Wyandot Council to refuse to consider removal to the West.⁴

In spite of their failure to induce the Wyandots to move to the West, officials of the government had managed to chip away some Wyandot holdings in Ohio. Special Indian Agent James B. Gardiner had persuaded the Wyandots of the Big Spring Reserve, in Crawford, Hancock and Seneca counties in northwest Ohio to sell their land to the government. On January 19, 1832, the Big Spring Wyandots agreed to sell their 16,000-acre reserve for \$1.25 per acre, plus a fair compensation for their improvements. The Big Spring Wyandots moved to the Grand Reserve, but the United States soon even purchased a portion of this tract. On April 23, 1836, the Wyandots ceded to the government a strip of land five miles wide on the eastern boundary of the Grand Reserve and two other tracts outside the Grand Reserve. The United States agreed to sell the ceded land for the Indians, with the proceeds of the land sale to be used for internal improvements on the Grand Reserve. After the deduction of expenses incurred by the government in selling the three tracts, the balance of funds realized from the sale was to be divided among members of the tribe.⁵

Money obtained from the sale of land enabled the Wyandot leaders to improve the condition of the tribe and postpone for a few years their inevitable departure to the West. However, the Grand Reserve, a fertile tract of 109,144 acres, was tempting bait to white settlers. Whites were settling on

³ J. Orin Oliphant, ed., "The Report of the Wyandot Exploring Delegation, 1831," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XV, No. 2 (August, 1947), pp. 248-262.

⁴ Dwight L. Smith, ed., "An Unsuccessful Negotiation for Removal of the Wyandot Indians from Ohio, 1834," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, Vol. LVIII, No. 3 (July, 1949), pp. 305-331.

⁵ Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, United State Senate, 58th Congress, 2nd Session, *Executive Document Number 319* (5 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), Vol. II, pp. 339-341, 460-461; Carl G. Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Wyandots from Ohio," *The Ohio Historical Quarterly*, Vol. LXVI, No. 2 (April, 1957), pp. 122-123.

land adjacent to the Grand Reserve and exerted strong pressure on the government to obtain this land and put it on the auction block. The proximity of the Grand Reserve to white settlers brought additional difficulties to the Wyandots. In spite of strenuous efforts by Methodist preachers to stop the sale of whiskey and curb its consumption by the Wyandots, alcoholism was a serious problem within the tribe.⁶

The so-called "Pagan Party" represented those Wyandots who were willing to sell the Grand Reserve and tribal holdings in Michigan to the Federal government and move to the trans-Mississippi West. The principal opposition to these views came from the more numerous "Christian Party." Officials of the government concentrated their efforts on convincing members of the "Christian Party" that removal was in the best interests of the tribe. In July, 1838, United States Congressman William H. Hunter and N. H. Swayne were appointed commissioners and instructed to renew the heretofore unsuccessful governmental efforts to secure a treaty of removal with the Wyandots. Hunter, an Ohio Democrat, became the principal spokesman for the government in the ensuing months, but his initial efforts toward a reconciliation between the two Indian factions were unsuccessful.⁷

Three members of the "Pagan Party"—Warpole, Washington and Porcupine—complicated matters when during the latter part of August, 1838, they left Ohio for Washington, D.C. The purpose of their mission was to conclude a separate treaty of removal between the "Pagan Party" members and the United States. Their efforts were to no avail, but, when they returned to Upper Sandusky in September, they reported the results of their discussion with government officials to the Wyandot Council. At the conclusion of the report, a discussion took place between Warpole and his party and the Wyandot chief. Warpole became agitated during the heated debate, drew a knife and defied the nation. The Council ordered that Warpole and his colleagues be arrested and imprisoned in the Wyandot jail.⁸

Warpole, Washington and Porcupine were soon released, but their incarceration had not dampened their spirits. In October Warpole and ten members of his faction proposed a separate treaty of removal, and in Novem-

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 124; Beecher B. Pennington, *History of the Seventh Street Methodist Church South* (Kansas City, Missouri: The Buckley Publishing Company, 1915), p. 16; Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946), p. 94.

⁷ Cary A. Harris to William H. Hunter and N. H. Swayne, July 24, 1838, Letters Sent, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Hunter to Harris, September 10, 1838, Letters Received, Ohio Agency, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

⁸ Francis A. Hicks et al. to Harris, September 1, 1838, Hunter to Harris, September 21, 1838, Joseph McCutchen to Hunter, September 26, 1838, and Purdy McElvain to Harris, September 27, 1838, *ibid.*; Harris to McCutchen, September 13, 1838, Letters Sent, Office of Indian Affairs.

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ber, they asked permission to go to Washington to negotiate with the government. By this time Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs Daniel Kurtz indicated to Commissioner Swayne that possibly the Wyandots would be interested in a reserve in present-day Oklahoma. Kurtz designated a tract between the Verdigris and Neosho rivers and proposed that each Indian be given 320 acres of land.⁹

Efforts to conclude a treaty with the Wyandots continued sporadically during the winter of 1838–1839. Hunter was not reelected to his congressional seat in 1838, but in April, 1839, he was reappointed as special Indian commissioner, charged with the responsibility of concluding a treaty with the Wyandots. Swayne was not reappointed commissioner, so the success or failure of the venture fell completely on Hunter.¹⁰

Hunter left his home in Sandusky, Ohio, and went to the Grand Reserve. On May 6, 1839, the persistent former Congressman met with the Wyandot people in general council, where he presented the proposals of the government before returning home. Two weeks later he returned to Upper Sandusky where he met with the Wyandot Council for five days. Members of both Indian parties suggested that they be allowed to send an exploring party, composed of three members of each faction, to the proposed reserve site in Indian Territory. Hunter was amiable to their wishes, and the Wyandot chiefs made an agreement whereby \$1,100 from \$20,000 in government funds set apart according to the fifth article of the Wyandot Treaty of April 23, 1836, would be used to defray expenses of the explorers.¹¹

Commissioner of Indian Affairs T. Hartley Crawford acceded to the wishes of the Wyandots when on June 8 he authorized the trip. He explained that the funds necessary to defray the expenses of the travelers would either be taken from the \$20,000 set apart under the fifth article of the Wyandot Treaty of 1836 or deducted from money received from Wyandot land sales. Crawford further indicated to the former congressman, that it was desirable that Hunter accompany the six Wyandots on the journey west.¹²

At the last minute, however, only five Indians were chosen to make the trip. Henry Jacques, along with Matthew R. Walker, John Sarahass Senior, Tall Charles and Summundoowot made up the Wyandot expedition.

⁹ Daniel Kurtz to Swayne, October 11, 1838, *ibid.*; Warpole et al. to Martin Van Buren, October 23, 1838, and Warpole et al. to Hunter, November 3, 1838, Letters Received, Ohio Agency.

¹⁰ Joel R. Poinsett to Hunter, April 3, 1839, Letters Sent, Office of Indian Affairs; Hunter to Poinsett, April 19, 1839, Letters Received, Ohio Agency.

¹¹ Hunter to T. Hartley Crawford, May 7, 25 and 28 and June, 1839, *ibid.*

¹² Crawford to Hunter, June 8, 1839, Letters Sent, Office of Indian Affairs.

Anticipating that the government would approve of their venture, the Jacques party left Upper Sandusky on June 10, 1839, proceeding overland by horse and wagon to Cincinnati, Ohio. There the five Indians took passage on a steamboat bound for New Orleans, Louisiana, and sailed down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers until the plodding vessel reached the junction of the Mississippi and Arkansas rivers. There the Wyandots landed and waited for a steamboat which would take them up the Arkansas River into Indian Territory.¹³

Hunter did not leave with the Wyandots because he did not receive authorization in time. He indicated in mid-June that he would proceed from Upper Sandusky at once in an effort to overtake the Indians. The dauntless commissioner decided he would make Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, his destination and indicated that all correspondence could reach him at that army post. He drew on the government for \$250 to cover expenses and was soon on his way to overtake the Indians.¹⁴

The Wyandot explorers waited on the bank of the Mississippi River for two days until the steamboat *John Jay* arrived from New Orleans. The Indians boarded the crowded steamer and sailed up the Arkansas River. Most of their fellow passengers were bound for an area near Hot Springs, Arkansas, so these travelers would soon disembark at Little Rock, Arkansas. A number of shipboard sojourners were from the Spanish colony of Cuba. Walker noted that his fellow passengers appeared to be a "fine jovial set of fellows keeping their spirits up by pouring spirits down."¹⁵

When the *John Jay* reached Little Rock, the Indians were delighted that most of the other passengers disembarked along with the travelers bound for Hot Springs. Now that there would be ample space on the vessel, the remainder of the journey would be more pleasant. In addition, the two-day delay, while the *John Jay* was loaded with supplies destined for Indian Territory, gave the Indians time to sightsee in the capital of the new state of Arkansas. The explorers visited the buildings which housed the state legislature. Summundoowot and his fellow Wyandots were appalled by a bloodstained seat where a legislator had been murdered by a fellow solon during the previous session of the Arkansas state legislature. Ironi-

¹³ Matthew R. Walker, "Journal Giving a Sympathetic Account of some History and Customs, and Containing a Narrative of a Trip Thru Arkansas, Indian Territory and Kansas, 1839," manuscript, Kansas Collection, Kansas Public Library, Kansas City, Kansas, hereafter cited as "Journal of Trip in 1839."

¹⁴ Hunter to Crawford (no date), Letters Received, Ohio Agency; Crawford to Hunter, June 25, 1839, Letters Sent, Office of Indian Affairs.

¹⁵ Walker, "Journal of Trip in 1839."

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cally, in just eighteen months Summundoowot, his brother-in-law and his brother-in-law's wife were murdered in Henry County, Ohio. The Wyandot Chief and his two hunting companions were encamped on their old hunting grounds that cold December evening in 1840. Three white men approached their campsite and the Indians invited the strangers to share the warmth of their campfire. Encamping with the Indians, the whites accepted their hospitality. However, as soon as the Indians were asleep, the white men fell upon them with axes and hacked them to pieces. The mutilated bodies of members of the Summundoowot hunting party were dragged away from the campfire and piled near a log. All property belonging to the Indians was stolen and the murderers escaped. Three days later a young Wyandot brave stumbled onto the grisly scene.¹⁶

The Wyandot explorers returned to the steamboat and soon they were under way. After three days of hard steaming against the rapid current of the Arkansas River, the *John Jay* reached Fort Smith, Arkansas. There the Wyandots learned that there was much animosity between opposing factions of the Cherokee tribe. One day's voyage west of Fort Smith the *John Jay* stopped long enough for John Brown, one of the Cherokee Chiefs representing the old settlers or "Ridge Party," to board and request passage to Fort Gibson. When the *John Jay* reached Fort Gibson, the Wyandots learned that both Cherokee factions were in an ugly mood. The intrepid explorers decided it was useless to negotiate with the Cherokees for the sale of Cherokee neutral lands for a possible Wyandot Reserve in Indian Territory. Nevertheless, the five Wyandots believed they should follow the instructions given them by the Wyandot Council and examine the Cherokee neutral lands. After having accomplished this task, the Wyandots decided that then they would press on to the Seneca Reserve in modern northeastern Oklahoma.¹⁷

Tall Charles and his four Wyandot companions were advised by military personnel at Fort Gibson to stay off the roads which the Army officials believed were too dangerous. As strangers, the Wyandots thought that they would be prey for militants in both factions of the Cherokee tribe. The exploring party soon left Fort Gibson and moved north to examine the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*; Joseph Parks to Matthew R. Walker, March 10, 1841, William Walker to John Johnston, February 21, 1842, Johnston to Crawford, February 22, 1842, Letters Received, Ohio Agency; Crawford to Johnston, March 1, 1842, Letters Sent, Office of Indian Affairs; The evidence indicates that this incident provided the theme of the best-selling novel by Jessamyn West, *The Massacre At Fall Creek: A Novel* (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975). In her novel the date of the massacre is different. Possibly this literary license was taken in order to develop the plot and the message of the first execution of white men for the murder of Indians.

¹⁷ Walker, "Journal of a Trip in 1839."



Matthew R. Walker, a member of the Wyandot Exploring Expedition of 1839

Cherokee neutral lands. Jacques and the other Wyandots were unimpressed with the land; also they found the Indian Territory in July to be “not quite as comfortable as we were accustomed to sitting in a cool room at home in a more northern latitude.” Sarahass and his comrades found that the land was “not such rich country as we wanted. Much less to exchange for our country at home.”¹⁸

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

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The Wyandots passed through land reserved for the New York Indians on their journey to the Seneca Reserve on the Cowskin River. They found that the New York Indian land was divided between prairie and timber. Matthew R. Walker and the others decided that with its clear running water the New York Indian land was more suitable for the purpose of the Wyandots than the Cherokee neutral lands. The footsore travelers finally reached the Seneca Reserve where their old friends received them with open arms.¹⁹

Old acquaintances were renewed in accordance with ancient customs. In a symbolic gesture, the Senecas threw white cloth in the path of the Wyandots to make their route easier to travel. Clean white cloths were given to the visitors to allow them to wipe the perspiration from their brows. In council the Wyandot emissaries presented the Seneca chiefs wampum to express the friendship between the two tribes. All those present were impressed by the ceremonies which resurrected the ancient glory of the two once-proud tribes for a few short hours. After the rites of friendship were concluded, the Wyandots attended a Seneca dance, and the entire company participated in a ballgame.²⁰

The five Wyandots proceeded from the Seneca Reserve to Westport, Missouri, where they arrived on July 25, 1839. From there Jacques and his companions examined portions of the Delaware and Shawnee reserves in modern Kansas. They were impressed by what they observed. When the explorers returned to Upper Sandusky, they indicated that they were interested in the Kansas sites for a possible Wyandot Reserve. Here they rejoined Hunter who had never overtaken them on their trip to Indian Territory.²¹

The Wyandot Council was so impressed with the report of the exploring party that another exploring expedition was dispatched to the West. Seven Indians under the leadership of Principal Chief Francis A. Hicks arrived at Westport, Missouri, on November 7, 1839. Determined not to be left out of any important negotiations, Commissioner Hunter accompanied by Joel Walker, a Wyandot, followed the Hicks party to Kansas. There on December 18, 1839, Hunter concluded a draft treaty with the Shawnee tribe for the purchase of a portion of their reserve by the Wyandots. The agreement was contingent on the approval of the Wyandots of Upper Sandusky and the United States Senate before it went into effect.²²

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Louise Barry, ed., *The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854* (Topeka, Kansas: The Kansas State Historical Society, 1972), p. 377; Crawford to Hunter, August 1, 1839, Letters Sent, Office of Indian Affairs.

²² Crawford to Hunter and Crawford to Issac McCoy, October 17, 1839, *ibid.*; Hunter to

WYANDOT EXPLORING EXPEDITION

Hunter and the eight Wyandots returned to Upper Sandusky on January 14, 1840. In the ensuing months Hunter and his successor in the United States House of Representatives, George Sweeny, worked hard for Senate approval of the draft treaty which was approved by the Wyandots. Nevertheless, on June 8, 1840, the United States Senate rejected the proposed Wyandot treaty.²³

His attempts to effect a Wyandot removal in shambles, Hunter retired from active negotiations with the Indians of Ohio. Two years later the former Congressman died under mysterious circumstances near Sandusky, Ohio. The failure of the proposed Wyandot-Shawnee treaty did not deter government officials from continuing to exert pressure on the Wyandots. When the next attempt began, the United States was represented by John Johnston. No longer willing to entrust the delicate negotiations to amateurs, the government appointed a retired Indian agent who had over twenty years' experience working with the Indians of the Old Northwest. Although all his predecessors had failed, on March 17, 1842, the dauntless Johnston concluded a treaty of removal with the Wyandots.²⁴

No specific reserve in the West was designated for the Wyandots in the Treaty of 1842. The tribe arrived at the site of present Kansas City, Kansas, in July, 1843, where five months later the Wyandots were able to purchase a reserve from the Delawares. It took five years before Congress would sanction the Wyandot-Delaware agreement of 1843. The nine years between the summer of 1848 and the summer of 1857 saw the Wyandots conclude two additional treaties with the government. During the same period they signed away most of their rights as a tribe.²⁵

Many Wyandots followed the trail blazed by Chief Mudeater and his band in August, 1857. Mudeater and his colleagues tried to legitimize their residence in the Indian Territory by signing an agreement with the Senecas in 1859, but this document was never sanctioned by the Federal government before the Civil War. The Wyandots of Indian Territory were forced to flee before advancing Confederate military units in June, 1862. When the

Crawford, November 11, and 28, 1839, and Articles of a Treaty with the Shawnees, December 18, 1839, Letters Received, Ohio Agency; Barry, *The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854*, p. 386.

²³ Hunter to Crawford, January 14, and March 5, 1840, Resolution of the Senate, June 8, 1840, Letters Received, Ohio Agency; Crawford to Hunter, January 20, and 25, 1840, Letters Sent, Office of Indian Affairs.

²⁴ Carl G. Klopfenstein, "The Removal of the Wyandots from Ohio," *The Ohio Historical Quarterly*, Vol. LXVI, No. 2 (April, 1957), pp. 119-136; Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 534-537.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 534-537, 587, 677-681, 1048.

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Confederate Army invaded the Seneca Reserve, the pro-Union Wyandots were forced to return to Kansas.²⁶

The Wyandots returned to Indian Territory following the conclusion of the Civil War. Small groups of Wyandots began to move south to the Seneca Reserve to reoccupy their pre-war homes. A treaty was concluded with the government on February 23, 1867, whereby the Wyandots received 20,000 acres of land on the Seneca Reserve in Indian Territory. The Senecas were to receive \$20,000 for the Wyandot tract. By the early 1870s most of the Wyandots were living in Indian Territory.²⁷

The new Wyandot Reserve was situated on Seneca land visited by the Wyandot explorers of the expedition of 1839. None of the members of the expedition of 1839 returned to live in Indian Territory. Although the murdered Summondoowot did not return to the trans-Mississippi West, his four companions accompanied the Wyandots to Kansas. There they died before the final removal of the Wyandots to Indian Territory. Henry Jacques served his tribe as Principal Chief, while John Sarahass Senior was active in the affairs of the Wyandot Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Tall Charles became the Captain of the Wyandotte Ferry which operated across the Kansas River at the present site of Kansas City, Kansas. Matthew R. Walker, a member of one of the most prominent families in the tribe, made many significant contributions to the welfare of his people.

Perhaps in the long run the Wyandots would have been more fortunate if they had selected a portion of the Seneca Reserve in Indian Territory as their permanent home in 1839. The Seneca Reserve was situated in an area which was not directly in the path of white expansion. No great city was built on the Seneca Reserve, but eventually the land of the Wyandot Reserve in Kansas became the downtown area of the second largest city in the state. Ironically, the reserve in Kansas was chosen by Wyandot leaders because they believed it offered greater opportunities for the advancement of the tribe. Unfortunately, its location at the junction of the Kansas and Missouri rivers was partially responsible for some of the most tragic events in the history of the tribe. There is every reason to believe the pro-Union Wyandots would have been driven north during the Civil War in any event, but at least they would have been spared the agony of an additional removal. Today the land in northeast Oklahoma visited by the Wyandot explorers in 1839 is the focus of the Wyandot people throughout the United States and Canada.

²⁶ Robert E. Smith, "The Final Removal of the Wyandot Indians," *The Westport Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (June, 1972), pp. 3-18.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

OKLAHOMA CITY: GROWTH AND RECONSTRUCTION, 1889-1939

By Howard L. Meredith and George H. Shirk*

On the morning of Monday, April 22, 1889, the future site of Oklahoma City was prairie traversed only by the tracks of the Santa Fe Railroad and the tree line of the North Fork of the Canadian River. A Santa Fe crew had placed the Oklahoma Station at its location at what is now the corner of Gaylord and Sheridan through compromises. Most of the crew wanted it nearer the river, but a number of cottonwoods had been cut down near the tracks, and that became the station site.¹ A depot, section house and water tower, the military encampment and a few out buildings made a small cluster around the tracks. By that evening, following the opening of the land to homestead settlement, 6,000 people populated the original townsite. In a few days, their tents began to give way to frame structures, and through the next fifty years Oklahoma City became a substantial metropolitan area in wave upon wave of building.²

Topographically the city's location is rolling prairie, underlaid by sandy shales and sandstones which weather easily and produce low rounded hills.³ Native grass covered much of the upland areas. The most common variety was commonly known as Blue Stem, a form of gramma grass. In the period since settlement the native grass was replaced by a variety of domestic grasses. At first, the residents attempted to use Blue Stem for the lawns, but with little success. Bermuda grass then replaced that variety and has remained as the most popular form of lawn covering.⁴ Two principal stream channels which flow from a westerly to easterly direction traverse the area. The broadest of these is the North Fork of the Canadian usually known as the "North Canadian" which formed a natural division between what became the central business district and the Capitol Hill section south of

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¹ *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), December 21, 1900.

² Muriel H. Wright, ed., "Captain Charles W. Whipple's Notebook: The Week of the Run into Oklahoma in 1889," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1970), p. 149.

³ L. G. Snider, *Geography of Oklahoma*, Bulletin No. 27 of the Oklahoma Geological Survey (September, 1917), p. 303.

⁴ Charles N. Gould, *Geography of Oklahoma* (Ardmore: Bunn Brothers, 1903), pp. 75-77; Interview, John H. Edwards, Oral History Program, Oklahoma Christian College, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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the river. This stream, with its wide flat valley, originally was encased in a broad band of trees, including the native cottonwood, elm, hackberry, chinaberry, walnut and willow, which offered refuge for a variety of animals. The hunting and fishing along this valley near the city continued to be good for about three years after the initial settlement. Deer and catfish hung in the butcher shops beside the beef during those first years, while a great deal of game was shipped to other sections.⁵

The flooding of the North Canadian had disastrous consequences for city development in the early years on the southside, especially the disastrous flood of 1923. The valley of the Deep Fork traverses the north of the city's development of this early period. It is sharper and much more rugged than the valley of the North Canadian. The broken and wooded lands along this valley impeded residential development, but brought the possibility of parks development in its reaches. Smaller valleys tributary to the two main valleys form natural drainage in a north-south direction. A low ridge crosses the area about half-way between the North Canadian and the Deep Fork. The portion of the city site south of the North Canadian is quite flat, broken only by tributary creeks.

The climate is temperate with a strong tendency for the south wind to dominate in practically every month of the year. The mean temperature for the year was 59.6 degrees with a range of mean monthly temperatures from 37.4 degrees in January to 80.4 degrees in July. The annual precipitation at Oklahoma City is extremely variable, ranging from 17 to 55 inches in various years. The average was approximately 31 inches.⁶

Early travelers left records of their views of the area prior to the opening. One of the most notable was Washington Irving's beautiful account in *A Tour on the Prairies* in 1832. After traveling through the autumn landscape, Irving was overjoyed to see the Grand Canadian and to camp where game was so plentiful. His description of the general countryside was that of a "... sad russet hue ..." broken only by the green of the stream beds.⁷ David A. Payne left the impression of spring with its glorious shades of green and the many colors of the wildflowers when he made the central

⁵ Interview, Charles E. Trosper, Library Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Interview, N. C. Crain, Grant Foreman, ed., "Indian-Pioneer History," 113 vols., Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, Vol. II, p. 34; Charles N. Gould, *Geography of Oklahoma*, p. 19.

⁶ Oklahoma City Planning Commission, *Report, 1930* (Oklahoma City: City Planning Commission, 1931), p. 14; United States Department of Agriculture, *Climate and Man, Yearbook of Agriculture* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941), p. 1067.

⁷ Washington Irving, *A Tour on the Prairies* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1835), pp. 191-193; George H. Shirk, "A Tour on the Prairies Along the Washington Irving Trail in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1967), pp. 313-331.



Constructed in Michigan, these buildings were loaded onto trains, shipped to Oklahoma City and reassembled

Boomer camp in 1884 on the high ground between the Canadian and the Deep Fork in what is now the Medical Center complex.⁸ The site held promise for development and had drawn people for hundreds of years.

Just before the closing of Congress in 1889, the Springer Amendment was added to the Indian Appropriations Bill providing for the opening of the Oklahoma District or "Unassigned Lands" to settlement. President Benjamin Harrison proclaimed the opening for high noon April 22, 1889.⁹ The original townsite and business center was located on the west side of the Santa Fe tracks and to the north of the river. No streets had been laid out or marked, which caused initial confusion as the streets were cleared of people who thought that they had staked out lots. Actually two surveys took place, one north of Grand Avenue or what is now Sheridan and one to the south. Each survey had its own surveying crew which met at Grand Avenue. As they

⁸ C. C. Rister, *Land Hunger: David L. Payne and the Oklahoma Boomers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), pp. 145-146.

⁹ Arrell M. Gibson, *Oklahoma, A History of Five Centuries* (Norman: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1965), p. 293.

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never consulted one another their differences caused the jogs in the city streets, at Sheridan and also at Reno, which were never corrected.¹⁰ In the decade of the 1890s, the greatest growth took place within the original town-site and to the northeast. An early extension of Oklahoma City was the Maywood Addition between Northeast Fourth Street and Northeast Eighth Street to the Circle at the intersection of Northeast Eighth Street and Stiles, just north of the Military Reservation, which was at first restricted from settlement. Captain D. F. Stiles, who commanded the military contingent that directed the opening, and James Geary were the principal investors in the addition which became the location for many beautiful residences. A most notable example of the style and architecture of that period still stands near the northeast corner of Northeast Fourth Street and Walnut. This was the first elite section of Oklahoma City which makes up a portion of what is known as the Harrison-Walnut section, marked by the home of Mayor C. G. Jones at Northeast Eighth and Geary. Almost without exception this area has deteriorated so that none of the fine structures that once existed hold even a shadow of their former station.¹¹

As the city began to take shape, one of the most pressing problems emerged as water supply. Wells had been the earliest source of water with the first public well in operation near the Santa Fe Station prior to the Opening. A relatively small impoundment for water was created as a result of the efforts of Henry Overholser. In 1895, Oklahoma County issued warrants to cover the cost of the retention structure, but could not pay because of the lack of tax revenue in the depression after the Panic of 1893. Overholser then turned to the territorial government to authorize issuance of bonds to take up the outstanding warrants as a county investment, because it could receive interest on them until conditions allowed them to be redeemed. This reservoir with the wells supplied necessary water for the city's needs until the second decade of the twentieth century when use again outstripped resources.¹²

Another major developmental requirement that took on substantial proportions was transportation needs. In 1895, a mass meeting initiated public resolve to bring a railroad line from St. Louis, Missouri.¹³ The Atchison,

¹⁰ Interview, T. M. Richardson, Jr., Foreman, ed., "Indian-Pioneer History," Vol. VIII, p. 381; Interview, Joseph H. Bouse, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 261; Berlin B. Chapman, "Oklahoma City, From Public Land to Private Property," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2 (Summer, 1959), pp. 232-233.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8; Interview, G. E. Massey, Foreman, ed., "Indian-Pioneer History," Vol. LXXVI, p. 68.

¹² Interview, John Edwards, Oral History Program, Oklahoma Christian College; Roy P. Stewart, *Born Grown, An Oklahoma City History* (Oklahoma City: Fidelity Bank National Association, 1974), p. 53; *Daily Oklahoman*, December 27, 1907.

¹³ *Ibid.*, October 13, 1895.

OKLAHOMA CITY: GROWTH AND RECONSTRUCTION

Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad preceded the town and then gave it its greatest means of communication with markets and populated areas to the north and the south. In the struggle to obtain rail connections to the east and the west, the citizens of Oklahoma City contributed their own capital to gain the initiative. The Choctaw, Oklahoma and Gulf Railroad was the first to be built in this manner. Its importance was that it brought coal from the southeast offering inexpensive fuel for industry. It also offered connection with two other important railroads, the Rock Island on the west and the Missouri, Kansas and Texas on the east. With the leadership of C. G. Jones and Henry Overholser, the citizens of Oklahoma City proposed construction of a railway extension from Sapulpa west to the City by a locally held company if the Frisco would lease and operate it. The St. Louis and Oklahoma City Railway Company built the road and sold it to the Frisco within a year's time.¹⁴

The railway building period from 1896 to 1902 was the deciding factor in the competition between the various urban communities in Oklahoma Territory. The initiative evidenced by Oklahoma City spread commerce and real estate as it became a regional hub for the rail pattern for the future state.¹⁵ The 1900 Census showed both Oklahoma City and Guthrie still to have a population below 10,000 which the Organic Act required before bond elections for public construction could be held. So the Oklahoma City Commercial Club supervised a population survey in 1902 that showed that Oklahoma City had surpassed the minimum number. The Census Bureau in Washington, D.C., accepted this and bond issues soon followed. The private and public construction precipitated a building boom that lasted from 1902 to 1904.¹⁶ Each year set new records in construction both as the residential sections continued to grow to the north near Tenth Street and red brick construction replaced the frame commercial structures in the central business district.¹⁷

In 1902, John Shartel and Anton H. Classen began the construction of the street railway system, which allowed further growth to the north. When they started to lay the tracks, the citizens became so enraged that they armed themselves and ordered the construction stopped. It was only after a lengthy explanation that construction was allowed to continue.¹⁸ The track followed

¹⁴ E. E. Brown, "Oklahoma City, The Metropolis of Oklahoma," *Carter's Monthly* (March, 1904), pp. 4-5.

¹⁵ *Daily Oklahoman*, November 22, 1902.

¹⁶ Interview, Charles A. Tracy, Foreman, "Indian-Pioneer History," Vol. XLVII, p. 285; Stewart, *Born Grown, An Oklahoma City History*, p. 160.

¹⁷ *Daily Oklahoman*, March 12, 1905.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, February 3, 1903 and May 5, 1922.



Downtown Oklahoma City ca. 1903—Main Street looking east from Harvey

a line to the northeast from Grand to Broadway and Harrison to the Circle and north to Thirteenth Street. It continued west along Thirteenth to Hudson and south back to Grand.¹⁹ The residential sections responded by shifting into the areas that were served by the lines, although most men walked to work each day. This period began the noticeable shift in single family dwelling residential areas away from the original townsite and Maywood Addition. Patterns are discerned in the movement of the historic civic leaders. For example, Anton H. Classen relocated from West Sixth Street to West Thirteenth Street; Henry Overholser moved from the Grand Hotel to West Fifteenth at Hudson; Martin L. Turner moved from the four hundred block of North Harvey to the eleven hundred block of North Robinson. An unusually heavy concentration of civic leaders began to form in the Harndale and Winans districts which are now included in the Heritage Hills Historic Preservation District.²⁰ The Maywood Addition

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, August 4, 1900.

²⁰ *Oklahoma City Directory, 1901* (Oklahoma City: Times-Journal, 1901); *Oklahoma City Directory, 1906* (Oklahoma City: Warden-Ebight Printing Company, 1906); *Oklahoma City Directory, 1911* (Oklahoma City: Worley-Friss Oklahoma Directory Company, 1911).

OKLAHOMA CITY: GROWTH AND RECONSTRUCTION

began to lose its integrity as a single family area, with families moving both to the Harndale and Winans districts as in the case of the George G. Sohlburg and William J. Pettes families, as well as to the northeast known as East Classen Highland as in the case of the Roy E. Stafford and John H. Shirk families.²¹ Some of the most notable structures in the City are associated with these sections—the Maywood and Harndale, later the Putnam Heights Addition. One of the most dominant houses in the northwest was the Colcord Mansion on West Thirteenth Street, built of red brick in the Neo-classical style of the Ante-bellum South. Its plan was that of Charles Colcord's Homeplace in Kentucky, designed by the architect William A. Wells.²² After its completion in 1901, it dominated the area throughout the period.

During the territorial period, the most numerous urban minority was the Negro rather than the Indian people. Their presence was more noticeably felt in Guthrie than in Oklahoma City, it being the headquarters of the Afro-American Colonization Company.²³ Langston also drew large numbers of early black settlers.²⁴ In Oklahoma City, the largest concentration of the Negro population was in "South town," beginning at old Washington Street south to Choctaw. The most pronounced movement of the blacks was to the north, with an increased concentration in the area of west First Street. By the early twentieth century, the black population began to move to the low ground in the three hundred block of Northeast Second.²⁵ The first black teacher in Oklahoma City lived on First Street between Santa Fe and the railroad tracks, while the first black hospital was in the four hundred block of First Street, and the first black school was in the three hundred block on West California Street.²⁶

The railroads continued to build in conjunction with the city's growth. The Frisco extended its line from Oklahoma City on to the Southwest into Texas at Quanah. Two years later the Missouri, Kansas and Texas railway

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Charles F. Colcord, *The Autobiography of Charles Francis Colcord, 1859-1934* (Tulsa: Privately Printed, 1970), p. 195; Interview, Mrs. L. D. Callahan, Oklahoma Writers' Project, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; *Daily Oklahoman*, January 8, 1965.

²³ *New York Times* (New York, New York), April 9, 1891; Arthur L. Tolson, "The Negro in Oklahoma Territory, 1889-1907: A Study in Racial Discrimination," Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1966, p. 20.

²⁴ *New York Times*, September 20, 1891.

²⁵ *Black Dispatch* (Oklahoma City), April 24, 1954.

²⁶ *Ibid.*; Kaye M. Teall, *Black History in Oklahoma, A Resource Book* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma City Public Schools, 1971), p. 186; Interview, Thomas Edwards, Oklahoma Writers' Project.

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built a line to a connection with its main line at Parsons, Kansas and another to the southeast at Atoka, Indian Territory. This period witnessed a tremendous building phase as the red brick construction crowded out the remaining frame buildings in the central business district.²⁷

The transportation construction in turn stimulated the growth of new jobbing industry and wholesale commercial operations. The Santa Fe line gave Oklahoma City a direct connection with the sea ports in Galveston and Texas City, Texas, both with regular steamship connections. In this, Oklahoma City held an advantage over all other cities in the Great Plains region. In Oklahoma, the city, through its four truck rail lines, had access to approximately eighty percent of all the railway stations without a transfer from one line to another by 1909.²⁸ These opportunities were not lost on the city's leadership. In May of 1909, representatives of the Chicago, Illinois, based packing firm of Nelson, Morris and Company met with a large number of businessmen from Oklahoma City. A proposal was made that the company would construct a packing house if it were given a cash bonus of \$300,000 and property concessions. The immediate response was, "We'll do it." Anton Classen and Charles Colcord registered as giving \$10,000 each and they were followed by numerous others. A tract of land was optioned and an industrial district company was formed to sell lots to raise the remainder of the bonus. A second packing company followed suit and the beginnings of Packingtown became a reality.²⁹

This began a third boom period that lasted from 1909 to 1912. The limits of the city reached out to Twenty-third Street to the north and Blackwelder on the west. Grand Boulevard was established in 1909 to circumscribe the entire limits of the city. But the most important difference could be seen in the automobiles that began to be seen on Broadway. The new mode of transportation made such an impact that Broadway was called "Automobile Street."³⁰

The changes brought about in the boom of 1910 altered the structural face of the Central Business District. Grand Avenue, which was originally named Clarke Street and later changed to Sheridan, was an example of the

²⁷ R. E. Stafford, "Building a City in the Prairie Grass," *Sturm's Statehood Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 6 (February, 1906), pp. 6-7.

²⁸ J. H. Johnson, "Oklahoma City's Transportation Facilities," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, Vol. III, No. 3 (May, 1909), pp. 33-34; Anton H. Classen, "The Future Possibilities of Oklahoma," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, Vol. III, No. 3 (May, 1909), pp. 70-71.

²⁹ Interview, W. F. Kerr and Ina Gainer, Oklahoma Writers' Project; O. P. Sturm, "Great Fortunes Made in Oklahoma City Real Estate," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, Vol. III, No. 3 (May, 1909), p. 16; *Daily Oklahoman*, January 1, 1911.

³⁰ Interview, Dan Hogan, Sr., Oklahoma Writers' Project.



Reeves and Company of Oklahoma City, ca. 1903

construction changes in the first twenty years. Immediately after the opening in 1889, Henry Overholser, who did not make the “Run,” but arrived immediately afterward bought twenty-three lots on Grand for from \$50.00 to \$150.00 each. The first building erected on Grand Avenue was the old Overholser Opera House in 1890. This was in turn replaced by a new and modern Opera House, also on Grand Avenue, but in the next block west. At the same time, he built the Government Land Office where the Baum Building was constructed in 1909.³¹

The most impressive downtown building erected during this boom period was the Colcord Building and it is the only one that remains of these first years of Oklahoma City’s early growth period. Colcord was anxious to have a superior building and as he related:³²

When the big fire occurred in San Francisco I went out there immediately afterward to see how their buildings had stood the fire and earthquake.

³¹ *Daily Oklahoman*, January 1, 1910 and February 19, 1911.

³² Charles Francis Colcord, *The Autobiography of Charles Francis Colcord, 1859-1934*, pp. 206-207; *Daily Oklahoman*, January 1, 1910.

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F. B. Ziggler, a business associate, was with me and we found that there were only eleven buildings that had escaped the holocaust. These buildings, which stood out like lone trees on a prairie, were all built of reinforced concrete. The steel buildings had all gone down, melted and crumbled in the tremendous heat. Up until that time I had been planning a steel building, but when I viewed these ruins I changed my mind and decided to build of reinforced concrete. We had a room on the top floor of one of these cement buildings in San Francisco, where the windows had been replaced. Right across the street there had been a twenty-two story steel building, also a nineteen-story steel building, both of which were now reduced to a jumbled heap in the basement. As we looked out of another window we saw where they were starting two or three big new buildings and, puzzling to us, were putting up steel skeletons for them. I said to Ziggler, "I can't understand it. Let's go over and see if we can get the answer." So we went over to one of these buildings, found the architect and asked him, "Why are you putting up steel buildings again when you have just had this demonstration here, apparently when every steel building that has been subjected to the intense heat has gone down?" The architect laughed and said, "It is perfectly simple. Concrete is something new and the cement people haven't any money yet. They have only a few cement mills in the whole country and none out here. The steel people are the biggest people in the world and they are financing these buildings. That is the real reason and the only reason why they are putting up steel buildings." But I learned that there was also another reason. As yet no insurance had been paid because it was not settled whether it was the earthquake or fire that caused the loss.

Commercial building construction began to the north as well as west, with the construction of the Oklahoma Building at 500 North Broadway in 1909, the Skirvin Hotel in 1910 and the Southwestern Bell Offices then known as the Pioneer Building on Broadway.³³ Residential construction continued to move forcefully to the northwest with the opening of Putnam Heights to the west of Classen Boulevard north of Thirty-fourth Street.³⁴ The building that brought the greatest civic pride was the Central High School which was built in 1910. Its Collegiate-Gothic style and lime stone construction have remained as a fulfillment to the promises of the era.³⁵

In the wake of the boom of 1910, Governor Charles N. Haskell's move to find a permanent location of the Capitol prior to 1913, which was stated in the Oklahoma Enabling Act, found a responsive chord in Oklahoma to

³³*Ibid.*, January 3, 1909, January 1, 1910 and January 1, 1911.

³⁴*Ibid.*, February 19, 1911 and January 1, 1913.

³⁵ Interview, Arthur F. Griggs, Oklahoma Writers' Project; *Daily Oklahoman*, January 3, 1909; Lucyl Shirk, *Oklaoma City, Capitol of Soonerland* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma City Board of Education, 1957), p. 89.

locate the seat of state government in Oklahoma City. In June of 1910, the Lee Huckins Hotel became the new Capitol.³⁶ A site location committee was headed by Henry Overholser and included Sidney L. Brock, E. P. Johnson, C. F. Colcord, Charles N. Haskell and W. L. Alexander. It finally decided on the high area to the northeast that was donated by J. J. Culbertson and W. F. Harn.³⁷ The State Board of Public Affairs contracted for the final move of state offices from Guthrie, including the state library in June of 1911.³⁸

The City had over-built for the time being during the Boom and in doing so drew attention to the critical issue of water resources for future growth. By October of 1914, the daily domestic requirement for water made it so that time use was restricted to two hours each day. In the summers of 1915 and 1916, the reserve water supplies fell to only two days at various times.³⁹ With new leadership in the Mayor's office with the election of Ed Overholser, son of Henry Overholser, the city passed a \$1,500,000 bond issue to construct an impoundment dam for the creation of a regular supply of water in a 1,700 acre reservoir on the North Canadian. The lake that would bear Overholser's name was completed at the end of World War I in 1918. The site selected was most fortunate because it appeared to be an old lake bed from a pre-historic period.⁴⁰ This effort made urban growth in Oklahoma City a reality again and precipitated the growth of the twenties. Oklahoma City began to look to new sources of water in the drought of the 1930s. This search resulted in the construction of the Canton Dam on the North Canadian north of Watonga. Oklahoma City has continued to reach out to new sources of water supply allowing for steady growth of the municipal area.⁴¹

A city is built by the confidence exhibited in its future by its own citizens. Without this confidence no city can progress. Oklahoma City was fortunate after World War I for it never felt any sense of depression and began a general building program. By 1921, nearly 400 manufacturing plants had established themselves in the metropolitan area, with a like number of jobbing houses. There were an estimated 1,100 retail establishments.⁴² Charles Hall who wrote of the city's situation in the early 1920s was extremely proud of the fact that the city had no slums or tenement districts.

³⁶ Gibson, *Oklahoma, A History of Five Centuries*, pp. 345-346.

³⁷ *Daily Oklahoman*, May 21, 1910; Roy P. Stewart, *Born Grown, An Oklahoma City History*, pp. 326-327.

³⁸ *Daily Oklahoman*, June 20, 1911.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, April 7, 1915 and July 13, 1915.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, April 22, 1931, September 24, 1963, and September 25, 1976; Stewart, *Born Grown, An Oklahoma City History*, pp. 152-153.

⁴¹ *Daily Oklahoman*, November 17, 1937, May 4, 1938, and May 20, 1938.

⁴² *Ibid.*, September 18, 1921.



The Overholser Opera House

G. A. Nichols constantly took the lead in residential development in the Epworth and Gatewood additions in the early twenties, followed by the development of Nichols Hills in 1933 and Lincoln Terrace in 1926. Other additions took on new character—Crestwood in 1926, Crown Heights in 1923, Edgemere in 1926 and Linwood in 1927.⁴³ The City had approximately 2,100 acres for park purposes in the 1920s. Wheeler Park near downtown was still the pride of the City's parks, with its extensive zoo for the study of natural history and zoology. Lincoln Park to the northeast was still a natural zone with long winding drives, wild topography, lakes and wooded sections.⁴⁴

Two of the most impressive buildings built in the 1920s were the Harbour-Longmire building and the Scott-Halliburton building on Main Street,

⁴³ Interview, Jay J. Dwyer, Oklahoma Writers' Project; Stewart, *Born Grown, An Oklahoma City History*, p. 207.

⁴⁴ *Daily Oklahoman*, September 18, 1921.

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Construction in downtown Oklahoma City during the Boom of 1910

again extending the central business district to the west. The United States Post Office and Federal Building, since enlarged several times, on Third Street between Robinson and Harvey marked a new extension to the north. This building is of Corinthian type architecture with a French classical touch.⁴⁵ The construction boom expanded tremendously in the spring of 1925; it increased significantly through 1926, 1927, 1928. In 1929, it was in full bloom and still going well in 1930, when it had fallen off in the Eastern United States. The oil field development sustained activity in 1930.⁴⁶

The oil boom over-lapped and followed the construction boom, with the Number One Oklahoma City, the discovery well, brought in by the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company and the Foster Petroleum Corporation

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, March 28, 1925 and May 7, 1930.

⁴⁶ Interview, Jay J. Dwyer, Oklahoma Writers' Project.

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on December 4, 1928. A major field had been discovered and Oklahoma City became the center of the speculative activity that follows an oil discovery. As the field expanded northward into Oklahoma City proper, controversy arose from the drilling operations and the residential lot owners and the guardians of public lands. Attempts were made to prevent more than one well from being drilled in any city block. Oil proration laws provided no real restriction as to the amount of land needed for a well, and so the forest of derricks continued to travel north until by October of 1935, the Mary Green Number One came in northeast of the Governor's Mansion. The home owners in Lincoln Terrace fought the extension of the wells into the mansion area and finally won a temporary compromise which took the drilling to the north. The Lincoln Terrace Number One was brought in on the Oklahoma Historical Society property and through directional drilling tapped the oil beneath the residential area.⁴⁷ The city managed a difficult situation to provide for economic growth and an environment that allowed suitable space for living.

Throughout the Depression of the 1930s, Oklahoma City continued to grow at the rate of about five to ten thousand people every year. The city had expanded until it contained twenty-five square miles. The automobile had allowed for growth and wide areas of residential living surrounding the still dominant central city. Main Street still dominated the retail commerce of the City, but the shopping center concept had come into being with Plaza Courts at Tenth Street and Walker, to be followed by the Spanish Village south of Northwest Thirtieth and Dewey. It provided for the new problem of parking of automobiles with recessed construction structure.⁴⁸ Through the decade of the 1930s high rise structural concrete construction had replaced most of the red brick commercial structures in one more transformation of the central business district. The two dominant structures of the core city became the First National Bank and the Ramsey Tower, which epitomized the transformation of Oklahoma City in its fifty-year celebration theme of "From Teepees to Towers."⁴⁹

The growth patterns of Oklahoma City were involved very much with the land surface, vegetation, soils, climate, not as these factors exist today but as people understood them during the historic period from 1889 to 1939. In turn, the very processes of settlement have greatly altered some of the

⁴⁷ *Daily Oklahoman*, December 5, 1928 and October 27, 1935; Shirk, *Oklahoma City, Capitol of Soonerland*, pp. 229-230; Stewart, *Born Grown, An Oklahoma City History*, pp. 221-223.

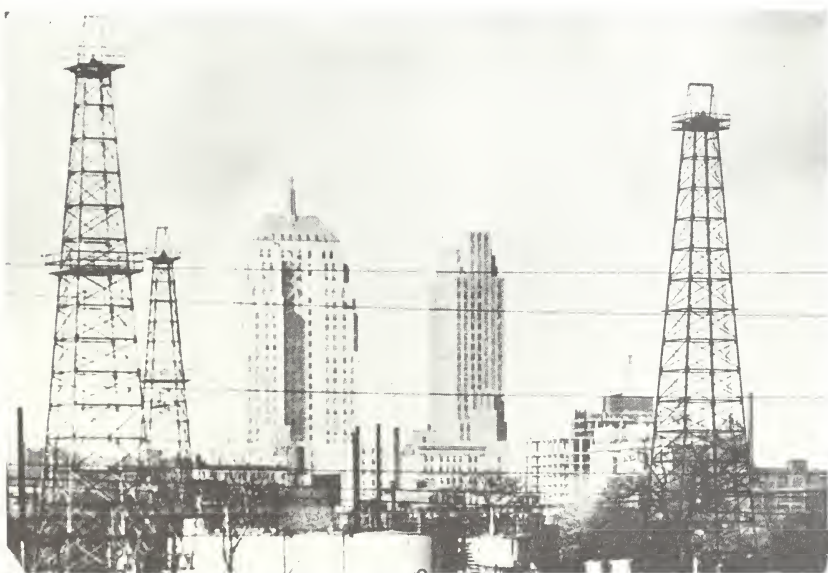
⁴⁸ *Daily Oklahoman*, April 18, 1937 and January 9, 1938.

⁴⁹ Stewart, *Born Grown, An Oklahoma City History*, p. 237.

OKLAHOMA CITY: GROWTH AND RECONSTRUCTION



The Overholser Mansion—one of Oklahoma City's best examples of French chateau revival architecture



Oklahoma City's skyline during the oil boom in 1933

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natural circumstances. Many factors apart from the natural advantages coupled with the general feeling held by the pioneers and their leaders that the central location of Oklahoma City made it a logical site for concerted urban growth. Much has been made of the struggle between Guthrie and Oklahoma City for the Capital of the territory and the state, yet it was the commercial and industrial enterprise of the people of the City that made it outstrip Guthrie, in spite of the political machinations of the dominant partisan politics.⁵⁰ The location of the seat of state government in Oklahoma followed almost a decade after the issue of which town would be dominant was settled. Oklahoma City grew because of the work of its citizens and their ability to develop the strengths of the area with the positive forethought and commitment necessary for success. Frontier development of Oklahoma City has established a lasting tone of innovative change with the positive leadership of its individual citizens.

⁵⁰ Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma, 1803-1906* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1917), p. 162; Stafford, "Building a City in the Prairie Grass," *Sturm's Statehood Magazine*, Vol. I, pp. 6-7.

GEORGE MILBURN: OZARK FOLKLORE IN OKLAHOMA FICTION

By Alexis Downs*

George Milburn's first collection of short stories was *Oklahoma Town*, published in 1931. Critics of *Oklahoma Town* have generally focused their attention on the collection as anti-rural literature or as literature which recreates folklore. The *New York Times Book Review*, aware of the anti-rural elements in *Oklahoma Town*, stated that Milburn's tales illustrated the prejudices of the Midwest and the South.¹ Harvey Ferguson, in the *New York Herald Tribune Books*, called Milburn's fictional Oklahoma town a relic of "pioneer America with all of its brutality and bigotry."² And H. L. Mencken, who viewed the South as a "Sahara of the Bozart," thought the Oklahoma stories were "really something;" and published nineteen of the thirty-six *Oklahoma Town* tales in the *American Mercury*.³

But the stories of *Oklahoma Town* proved of interest to an entirely different school of criticism. This school, interested in the use of folklore in literature and composed of collectors of oral lore, looked at tales like "Muncy Morgan," in which a would-be wrestler breaks his own leg and at "Banker Brigham," in which the truculent banker is "injured" by a blast from a shotgun loaded with pokeberries. Folklore collectors saw in these stories the reworking of two familiar folk motifs: a fool's deception which leads to self injury and a fool's inducement to believe he is dead. One Oklahoma folklore collector, Stanley Vestal, in *Saturday Review of Literature*, said of Milburn: "He is no Babbitt turned satirist, like Sinclair Lewis. . . . George Milburn grew up in a small town, and he knows its folklore so well that the book [*Oklahoma Town*] itself is folklore."⁴ Vance Randolph, a collector of Ozark lore, recognized Milburn's use of the oral tradition and praised the tales as "the finest short stories . . . that have ever been written about the Ozark

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¹ "'Oklahoma Town' and Other Recent Works of Fiction," *New York Times Book Review* (New York, New York), February 9, 1931, p. 9.

² Harvey Ferguson, "Small Town Sketches," *New York Herald Tribune Books* (New York, New York, March 1, 1931, p. 6.

³ Charles Angoff, *H. L. Mencken: A Portrait from Memory* (New York: Thomas Yoseoff, 1956), pp. 110-111.

⁴ Stanley Vestal, "Life in a Small Town," *Saturday Review of Literature* (New York, New York), March 7, 1931, p. 643.

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region.”⁵ An Oklahoma University professor and American folklore collector, Benjamin A. Botkin published three of Milburn’s stories in *Folk-Say: A Regional Miscellany*. Botkin was interested in them “as culture literature which, brooding over folk materials and motifs, rehandles and recreates them.”⁶

Although Milburn’s use of folklore in fiction has received the passing recognition of these folklorists, no attempt has been made to study the folk elements in *Oklaoma Town*. The appearance of Ozark lore in Milburn’s fiction is natural, however, because Milburn was an Ozarker, born in Coweta, Oklahoma, and immersed in oral lore. Coweta, which became the small unnamed Ozark community of *Oklaoma Town*, is located on the edge of the Ozarks in northeastern Oklahoma. In “Some Kind of Color: Notes on Being a Son,” Milburn wrote about his childhood in Coweta. He recalled Sunday afternoons when “my father would take my brother and me for long walks into the country. . . . He would sing ballads, such as . . . ‘It’s a Shame to Take the Money Said the Bird on Nellie’s Hat’ and he would tell us stories.”⁷ Downey Milburn also read stories to his son George. After Downey read *Robinson Crusoe* to his son, George tried to write his own story; however, as he later said, “That was before I’d learned the alphabet.”⁸ The younger Milburn’s fascination with storytelling was mixed with an interest in the circus and in the railroad. At age fourteen, he rode the caboose of a cattle train to Kansas City, Missouri. Cowpunchers on the train vowed to teach him the “facts of life” at a Kansas City bawdy house; however, Milburn eluded the lesson and returned to Coweta.

Milburn’s first train ride unnerved him, but his love for the railroad did not die and in 1927, at age twenty-one, Milburn “took to the road” as a railroad hobo. The product of his wanderings was *Hobo’s Hornbook*, his first collection of folklore. That compilation of hobo and tramp ballads was recorded, Milburn said, because hobo songs are “anachronisms bound for extinction.”⁹ The *Hobo’s Hornbook* included a vocabulary from the hobo dialect. The interest in dialects, “linguistic lore” in a definition by the philologist

⁵ Vance Randolph, *Ozark Folklore: A Bibliography* (Bloomington: Indiana University Research Center for the Language Sciences, 1972), pp. 383–384.

⁶ Benjamin A. Botkin, “The Folk in Literature: An Introduction to New Regionalism,” *Folk-Say I: A Regional Miscellany*, Benjamin A. Botkin, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1929), p. 10.

⁷ George Milburn, “Some Kind of Color: Notes on Being a Son,” *Folk-Say IV: The Land is Ours*, Benjamin A. Botkin, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), p. 32.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁹ George Milburn, ed. *The Hobo’s Hornbook: A Repertory of Gutter Jongleur* (New York: Ives Washburn, 1930), p. xviii.

and folklorist Louise Pound, and Milburn's earlier interest in the circus led to "Circus Words," an article published in the *American Mercury*.¹⁰ Milburn also published "Convict's Jargon" in *American Speech* and "Taxi Talk" in *Folk-Say*. Information for the former was garnered from Daniel Conway, an inmate at Auburn Prison in New York State, and information for the latter was gathered in Chicago's Huron Street taxicab garage.¹¹

In 1929, after Milburn's return to Oklahoma, he became a contributor to *Folk-Say*, an Oklahoma University publication initiated by Ben Botkin. *Folk-Say* signalled a relatively new concern for American folklore; that concern was generated by folklore collectors like Botkin, Vance Randolph, Stanley Vestal and J. Frank Dobie. All contributed to *Folk-Say*, and Botkin remained Milburn's "dear and loyal friend."¹² While Milburn was attending the University of Oklahoma, he was also writing the *Oklahoma Town* tales.

Those tales appeared in part in *Folk-Say*, *Vanity Fair* and the *American Mercury*. They were also translated into German and published as *Die Stadt Oklahoma*; included in the German edition were seven tales which had been censored in America.¹³ Students of literature can study Milburn as a part of the literary tradition which imitates and borrows from folklore. Milburn, as writer, and Botkin, as editor, attempted to pave the way for such study by including in *Folk-Say* sophisticated cultural literature which relied upon folk literature. Archer Taylor, an American folklorist from the University of California at Berkeley, maintains that Shakespeare, Samuel Butler and other literary greats incorporated many folk elements in their work, but he adds that the study of folklore in literature has been neglected. He has said that "little has been done in the history and description of traditional patterns and designs."¹⁴ Taylor also claims that "folklore is, in many cultures, indistinguishable from literature," and that the neglect of folk studies has limited the critic's understanding of literature.¹⁵ More specifically, Americans interested in American literary tradition and in American English, as opposed to the "genteel tradition" described by George Santayana, can look to folklore as an expression of the "American Will." A

¹⁰ Louise Pound, "Folklore and Dialect," *Selected Writings Of Louise Pound* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1949), p. 206.

¹¹ George Milburn, "Circus Words," *American Mercury* (November, 1931), pp. 351-354; George Milburn, "Convict's Jargon," *American Speech* (August, 1931), pp. 436-442; George Milburn, "Taxi Talk," *Folk-Say I*, Benjamin A. Botkin, ed., pp. 108-112.

¹² Mary S. Milburn to Alexis Downs, February 21, 1976, author's personal collection.

¹³ George Milburn, *Die Stadt Oklahoma* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1932).

¹⁴ Archer Taylor, "Folklore and the Student of Literature," *The Study of Folklore*, Alan Dundes, ed. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 35.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

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national literary tradition would depend upon folklore, if, as Gene Bluestein suggests in *The Voice of the Folk: Folklore and American Literary Theory*, folklore of "the lower layers of society" is "the major source of materials which sophisticated society uses to fashion its literary expression."¹⁶ Folklore is, Bluestein emphasizes, the foundation for national culture.

When folklore is seen as a major source for literary expression, it becomes important to understand how George Milburn used folklore in *Oklahoma Town*, and it becomes important to understand Milburn's attitude toward the "lower layers of society." Milburn recreated Ozark storytelling scenes by imitating, consciously or unconsciously, the storyteller's free and discontinuous train of thought and by relying for humor upon the ignorance of the stories' characters. But the tales of *Oklahoma Town* are not only consistent with Ozark lore, they are also part of an oral anecdote tradition which transcends Ozark boundaries. In Milburn's particularization of the oral anecdote tradition to a northeastern Oklahoma scene, he created what critics have seen as the anti-rural elements of *Oklahoma Town*.

Milburn's manipulation of specific Ozark tales is apparent in several of the *Oklahoma Town* tales, which have close parallels in Ozark lore. Milburn's "A Young Man's Chance" is the story of Julian Reynolds who is invited to a possum hunt at Old Man Barker's.¹⁷ That night, after the hunt, Barker, Julian and Barker's granddaughter shared the cabin's one bed. During the night, while the moon is shining, coyotes attack Barker's chicken coop. Barker runs out to the coop. In his absence, Julian does not seduce the granddaughter, but rather, he jumps up to eat the beans left over from dinner. Julian is one of many folk characters who find strange bedfellows, but yet remain chaste.¹⁸

The Ozarks contributed several tales about a couple's chaste sleeping together. "A Young Man's Chance" is a close copy of this folk hillbilly anecdote recorded by Vance Randolph in *Funny Stories from Arkansas*:¹⁹

A traveller spent the night in a backwoods cabin. They had green beans for supper, but the stranger did not get as many as he wanted. He watched regretfully as the half-emptied platter was put back in the cupboard. There was only one bed . . . [which they shared], the host occupying the middle

¹⁶ Gene Bluestein, *The Voice of the Folk: Folklore and American Literary Theory* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972), p. iii.

¹⁷ George Milburn, *Oklahoma Town* (Freeport, New Jersey: Book for Libraries Press, 1959), pp. 158-162.

¹⁸ Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Studies, 1935), p. 292.

¹⁹ Vance Randolph, *Funny Stories from Arkansas* (Girard, Kansas: E. Haldeman-Julius, 1943), pp. 23-24.



George Milburn, author of *Oklahoma Town*

... Late in the night, all three were awakened by a commotion among the poultry. The hillman sprang out of bed, snatched his shotgun, and rushed out, shouting something about chicken thieves. The wife whispered, "Stranger, now's your chance!" So the traveller got up, went out into the kitchen, and ate the rest of the beans!

Milburn's familiarity with Ozark lore is obvious in two other tales from *Oklahoma Town*. In "Imogene Caraway," a revivalist preacher warns his flock about the evils of pretending to be the Lord's sheep when they actually behave more like the Lord's goats. In response to his words, Mrs. Sweasy, a preacher's wife, points to Imogene Caraway's Bar-None brand flour

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sack skirt and says, "O Lord God my witness, looky there! . . . It's the mark of the goat!"²⁰ In an Ozark tale recorded by the folklore collector James Masterson, another preacher faces a literal interpretation of his words. Masterson's preacher says to an Ozark family: "I'm looking for the lost sheep of Israel." To that, one of the daughters replies: "I'll bet that is that old ram that was here yesterday."²¹ Stories and jokes about preachers are common in folklore; Americans, in particular, like to laugh about misunderstandings between illiterates and preachers, deaf persons and preachers, sinners and preachers.²²

The difficulties of parsons become the subject of humorous tales, but if this seems blasphemous, it is no more sacrilegious than the black humor of stories about strange, inexplicable deaths.²³ "Banker Brigham," an *Oklahoma Town* tale, concerns the strange death of a truculent banker "injured" by a blast from a shotgun loaded with pokeberries. Brigham dies from a cerebral hemorrhage brought about by his refusal to admit he was injured. In *The Talking Turtle*, Vance Randolph recorded "The Silent Rifle," an Ozark folktale about another inexplicable death attributed to a mysterious gunshot. The Ozark town in Randolph's tale has been frightened by sniper fire from a silent Yankee rifle, which is actually a slingshot loaded with Yankee bullets. When Tom Hopper, suffering from real wounds received during the Civil War, dies in the street, the citizens assume he was shot by the silent rifle.²⁴

These tales, "A Young Man's Chance," "Imogene Caraway" and "Banker Brigham," and their models in oral tradition indicate that Milburn was familiar with Ozark lore and often incorporated folktales, with variations, in *Oklahoma Town*. This use of folktales disguised as regional fiction has been overlooked by most critics and in that overlooking, critics have missed the richness and humor of the tales, just as a reader unaware of Jewish traditions and customs would miss the significance of Bernard Malamud's stories, such as "The Magic Barrel." By themselves, without a reader's knowledge of a group's tradition, "A Young Man's Chance" and "The Magic Barrel" are interesting and enjoyable reading. But with the added perception gained by a knowledge of tradition, in Milburn's stories,

²⁰ Milburn, *Oklahoma Town*, p. 26.

²¹ James Masterson, *Tall Tales of Arkansas* (Boston: Chapman and Grimes, 1942), p. 337.

²² Ernest W. Baughman, *Type and Motif-Index of the Folktales of England and North America* (The Hague, Netherlands: Moulton and Company, 1966), p. 400-402.

²³ Vance Randolph, *The Devil's Pretty Daughter and Other Ozark Folk Tales* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), pp. 24, 111.

²⁴ Vance Randolph, *The Talking Turtle and Other Ozark Folk Tales* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), pp. 52-55.

the knowledge of a folk tradition which relies upon black humor, the stories can be read with greater appreciation.

In *Oklahoma Town*, Milburn manipulates specific tales from oral lore and reinforces the impression of an oral tradition by using natural, traditional storytelling scenes. In the Ozarks, raconteurs and gossipmongers congregate around the barrel of free crackers in the country store or around stoves and porches of other local establishments. Milburn consistently uses a first person narrator who tells the story as he observed it being told, at such gatherings of story tellers, or as he observed the actual events, events which most often are set at the local store or barber shop. This narrator is a member of "our town" but he does not appear in the story itself.²⁵

"A Young Man's Chance" is told by Abe Herzog in his store, Herzog's Bargain Depot. The story begins with this explanation from the narrator: "Abe Herzog used to tell this story on Julian Reynolds, one of his grocery clerks. It may not be true, but Abe told it on him for a long time." Included in the narrator's retelling of Abe's story are Abe's gestures; for example, the narrator reports, parenthetically, that Barker's granddaughter is a pretty girl, whose beauty is pictured by Abe's "slicing a buxom female form out of the air with his hands." In "A Young Man's Chance," Milburn carefully preserved the original storytelling scene by creating a vivid picture of a group of hillmen listening to Abe Herzog tell the story.²⁶

The dominant scene of "Captain Choate" is the De Luxe Barber Shop, although Captain Choate also visits Abe Herzog at the Bargain Depot. The narrator begins by saying: "It didn't take much to get Captain A. J. Choate started . . . for a long time he hadn't done anything except sit around the De Luxe Barber Shop and wheeze and tell tall tales." Choate, an incorrigible liar, is deceived into saying that he knew Leon Trotsky. After Choate remembers many intimate details about Trotsky, he discovers that Trotsky never lived in Oklahoma. But the Captain does not reform; he "went around telling every one, 'Well, it might not of been the same Trozitski, but I knowed a Trozitski here all right!'"²⁷

Throughout *Oklahoma Town*, men can be seen gathered together, gossiping and telling tales. August Kunkel's Wear-U-Well shoe repair shop is the scene of pleasant chats and of vociferous arguments about religion. In "Soda Water Green," Green is sitting in the lobby of the Kentucky Colonel Hotel, talking to Old Man Cobb, when Bud Merrick rushes in to tell him that the pop factory is on fire. Floyd Evans, in "The Nude Wait-

²⁵ Milburn, *Oklahoma Town*, p. 3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 158, 160.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 130.

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ress," sees his wife's photo being handed around by the patrons of the De Luxe Barber Shop. David, the aspiring journalist, watches the sky, in "Hail and Farewell," instead of listening to the dirty story being told in Fraunhofer's Purity Bakery. The effect of Milburn's detailing of storytelling scenes is, for the reader, a perception of place and time, when men gathered to tell old stories and new stories, which were often combined and embellished for more interest. Milburn, like the Ozark raconteurs, also weaves old stories with new events, refining and embellishing folklore and fact, in order to create fiction.

In *The Bodacious Ozarks*, Charles Morrow Wilson wrote that he once spent an afternoon with a group of storytellers at Kennicott's Arkansas Store in northwestern Arkansas. Wilson's Arkansas gathering would appear to be similar to Herzog's audience at the Bargain Depot. The tales told that afternoon at Kennicott's, said Wilson, were marked by an intriguing absence of continuity of discussion or correlation of episodes."²⁸ Subsequently, he also "reflected that the backhills merriment was and, from all appearances, is destined to remain dependent on ignorance and the hopes and quandries [sic] which arise from ignorance."²⁹ Milburn's *Oklahoma Town* is also marked by these two characteristics: absence of continuity and dependence upon the ignorance of the main characters.

Initially a reader would expect from *Oklahoma Town* what he finds in Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio*.³⁰ *Winesburg, Ohio* and *Oklahoma Town*, though Milburn's town remains unnamed, include stories about the people and events of a single small community. In both collections, the same characters walk in and out of stories, although individual stories focus on specific characters. The hotel in *Winesburg* is the New Willard House; in *Oklahoma Town*, it is the Kentucky Colonel Hotel. Hearn's Grocery and Cowley and Sons in *Winesburg* are equivalent to Herzog's Bargain Depot and Farnum's Old Ironclad merchandise store in *Oklahoma Town*. George Willard, in *Winesburg*, wants to be a journalist and gets a job on a big city newspaper. *Oklahoma Town*'s David wants to be a journalist and gets a job on the *Globe Telegram* in Tulsa, Oklahoma. However, a reader of *Winesburg* is prepared for George's emigration because he has watched him come of age in his interactions with the other characters in the collection of short stories. The reader of *Oklahoma Town* has not been introduced to David in previous stories; he has not watched David outgrow the small town. What lends

²⁸ Charles Morrow Wilson, *The Bodacious Ozarks* (New York: Hastings House, 1959), p. 38.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

³⁰ Sherwood Anderson, *Winesburg, Ohio* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1919).

continuity to *Winesburg, Ohio* is George Willard's maturation and the author's initial theme of the grotesques. Milburn offers no study of David's character; all characters walk on and off stage at the author's convenience and remain static, undeveloped types, not as complex as Anderson's grotesques. The *Oklahoma Town* tales could be re-arranged; their order of presentation could be altered without damage to the themes of the collection. *Winesburg* could not be so easily rearranged. The lack of continuity or correlation of episodes in *Oklahoma Town* could be the result of a lack of sophistication and control in Milburn, a sophistication and control possessed by Anderson; however, these defects in *Oklahoma Town* may more logically be inherent in the storytelling scenes which Milburn was imitating. Milburn, consciously or unconsciously, followed folk tradition in the *Oklahoma Town* tales, and, therefore, his stories evidence the "lack of continuity" perceived by Wilson at Kennicott's Arkansas Store.

Wilson remarked upon the discontinuity of the tales he heard at Kennicott's and upon the dependence of blackhills merriment on "the hopes and quandries [sic] which rise from ignorance." The humor of *Oklahoma Town* depends upon the ignorance of the characters involved; that humor is usually at the expense of the characters. Mrs. Sweasy, who saw the brand of the goat in Imogene's flour sack skirt, cannot think metaphorically and is ignorant of the preacher's message. Her inability to think metaphorically and her willingness to point out those who are not, in her opinion, the Lord's sheep identify Mrs. Sweasy, not Imogene, as one of those goats marked by God. Captain Choate, in the story "Captain Choate," can be deceived into thinking he knew Trotsky because he can read only the headline of a newspaper article which Buford Scammon shows him; Buford says the paper reports that Trotsky lived in Oklahoma. Later, after the townsmen have amused themselves with Choate's boasts, Choate learns that Scammon's report of Trotsky's Oklahoma residence was a hoax. In all three stories, "Imogene Caraway," "The Nude Waitress" and "Captain Choate," the humor arises from ignorance, ignorance of a sermon's message, of a blemish's significance, of the contents of a newspaper article.

The humor and irony inherent in the ignorance of pretentious individuals is played upon in Milburn's stories. This dependence upon ignorance for humorous and ironic effects is embedded in the backhills tradition, as Wilson noted. Fools, like Mrs. Sweasy and Captain Choate, and would-be clever men, like Orville Burke, with their ignorance, inexperience and sometimes insensitivity, are stock Ozark characters. But these men and women, who are often pitted against and contrasted to clever persons, are not only Ozark favorites, they also have a traditional folk life which transcends Ozark boundaries.



Stanley Vestal, or Walter S. Campbell, who contributed to George Milburn's *Folk-Say*

These characters are part of a “schwank” tradition, with its jokes and anecdotes about numskulls, about the trials and tribulations of married life, about liars. “Schwank,” according to the Hungarian-American folklorist Linda Dégh, are short and simple folktales which aim to provoke laughter and to satirize human folly. As Dégh said, they “try to reform people of bad habits by magnifying those habits or to express disapproval by scoffing at persons of bad conduct.”³¹ Milburn magnifies the habit of lying in “Captain Choate” and provokes laughter in doing so, but he also points to the tendency for lies to become unmanageable. For Captain Choate’s lies reach the *Tulsa Globe Telegram*, which glorifies but does not research Choate’s claims, and the lies become the substance of a full page article in the newspaper’s magazine section. The *Globe*’s lazy, careless journalists eventually are forced to print a retraction. In “Choate,” Milburn comments on the implications of lying and on unprofessional journalism. Mrs. Sweasy, in “Imogene Caraway,” is a funny character, but her literal interpretation of a sermon indicates that her faith is not founded on the ability to understand any religious concepts. In addition, the narrator implies that Mrs. Sweasy attends the revival in order to hear Imogene’s public confession of sins. Milburn expresses disapproval of her action, because it points to unexamined, unintellectual religious beliefs and to religious hypocrisy.

³¹ Linda Dégh, “Folk Narrative,” *Folklore and Folklife*, Richard Dorson, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 70.

Dégé defined the humorous and didactic intent of "schwank;" the types and narrative motifs of schwank also have been categorized by Antti Aarne in *Types of the Folktale* and by Stith Thompson in the *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*.³² Ernest Baughman enlarged both volumes in the *Type and Motif-Index of Folktales of England and North America*.³³ A folktale type is a complete, independent tale, which may have one or more motifs. A motif is a single narrative element so unusual and striking that it has the power to persist in oral tradition. "Schwank," by definition not complex, have a single motif. The types and motifs of many *Oklahoma Town* tales follow those of traditional "schwank." For example, one popular type of anecdote is the tale of a "numskull" like Muncy Morgan, in the story "Muncy Morgan," who is a would-be wrestler.³⁴ Muncy breaks his own leg during the match. The basis of this tale is Motif K1000, deception which leads to self injury.³⁵ Another type of tale is the tale of a liar, like Captain Choate.³⁶ "Choate" handles Motif X909.1, the incorrigible liar.³⁷ "Myrtle Birchett," the story of a "loose woman" who is teased by Speedy Scoggins and answers him with the suggestion that his wife is also "loose," and "The Nude Waitress" are types of schwank about married couples.³⁸ "Myrtle" uses Motif H582, the enigmatic statement or riddle³⁹ While "Waitress" uses Motif K1550, the husband outwits the infidel and her paramour.⁴⁰

The identification of Milburn's *Oklahoma Town* tales with the "schwank" tradition has significance for students of literature and for students of folklore. These students are interested in what the folklorist Richard Dorson calls "the flowing streams of folk tradition," or the diffusion of folktale types and motifs throughout the world.⁴¹ Milburn's use of traditional schwank types and motifs is evidence of the universality of the "schwank" tradition. Also, an American folklorist is interested in Milburn's use of folk anecdotes rather than long complex tales because that use supports the theory that Americans, and other English speaking people prefer short tales.⁴²

³² Antti Aarne, *The Types of the Folktale, a classification and bibliography*, Stith Thompson, trans. (Helsinki, Finland: Folklore Fellows Communications, 1928); Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*.

³³ Baughman, *Type and Motif-Index of the Folktales of England and North America*.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁵ Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, p. 375.

³⁶ Baughman, *Type and Motif-Index of the Folktales of England and North America*, p. 51.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

³⁹ Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, p. 330.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

⁴¹ Richard Dorson, *American Folklore and the Historian* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p. 199.

⁴² Baughman, *Type and Motif-Index of the Folktales of England and North America*, p. xvi.

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Initially it seems that folklore could not, should not, be used in literature which is anti-rural, in literature which ridicules the people at the heart of that tradition. Nevertheless, Milburn's *Oklahoma Town* has been labelled as "an echo of the noise of the fight against the small town."⁴³ One reason for Milburn's association with that fight is the popularity of anti-rural literature in the 1920s and early 1930s. The leading figure in the attack upon American small towns was H. L. Mencken, who published so many of the *Oklahoma Town* tales in the *American Mercury*. Perhaps if the tales had been published in another magazine at another time, they would not have been so readily construed as anti-rural literature. In addition, Milburn has manipulated folktale anecdotes or schwank which, by definition, attack human frailty and intend to characterize persons and places through representative episodes.⁴⁴ For readers unfamiliar with the schwank tradition, stories about small town ignorance and hypocrisy appear to be merely satirical sketches of small town life, nothing more. Anti-rural elements are, of course, visible in *Oklahoma Town*, but importantly folk elements are present also, elements which I have attempted to explain.

A reader wonders, certainly, if Milburn consciously used folklore and if he consciously particularized schwank in order to criticize Coweta. Milburn died in 1966, and his intentions will remain unknown: However, he could have used folklore without being aware that he did so. Guy Owen, the author of *The Ballad of the Flim Flam Man* and other regional fiction, said he, Owen, was like Jean Baptiste Poquelin Molière's bourgeois gentleman who spoke prose without realizing it; that is, Owen claimed he used folk materials unconsciously. Folklore is embedded in Owen's mythical Cape Fear county because, for Owen, folklore was "an inextricable part of my childhood and youth."⁴⁵ Owen also said that he was aware of "the change."⁴⁶ For him, the world of his childhood began to disappear when the automobiles and tractors arrived, when the rural post office was closed in the thirties. He wanted to preserve that pre-industrial world.

Milburn may have, without realizing it, recorded an oral tradition that he believed would disappear along with mules and wagons. The Ozarks were undergoing the same changes as the Tar-Heel country of North Carolina in the 1920s, as Wilson noted in his recollections of the Ozarks.⁴⁷ The *Hobo's*

⁴³ Ima Homaker Herron, *The Small Town in American Literature* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1939), p. 427.

⁴⁴ Dégh, "Folk Narrative," *Folklore and Folklife*, Dorson, ed., p. 70.

⁴⁵ Guy Owen, "Using Folklore in Fiction," *Folklore Studies in Honor of Arthur Palmer Hudson*, Daniel W. Patterson, ed. (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Folklore Society, 1965), p. 150.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁴⁷ Wilson, *The Bodacious Ozarks*, pp. 166-179.

Hornbook, said Milburn, was published because hoboos were "anachronisms bound for extinction"; therefore, Milburn may have recorded Ozark lore because he thought that it, too, was bound for extinction.

Certain problems, though, arise in an interpretation which attributes *Oklahoma Town* to a desire to record a dying oral tradition. That interpretation would not explain why the record took the form of literature which satirized provincial America. Milburn's use of "schwank," rather than other folktales, particularized to fashion stories which seem critical of Oklahoma, may indicate his ambiguous feelings toward Oklahoma, which he left permanently in 1932. Glenway Wescott said of his hero in *The Grandmothers*: "He did not like their [pioneers'] sufferings, their illiterate mysticism, their air of failure; but he understood them, or fancied that he did. It did not matter whether he liked them or not—he was their son."⁴⁸ Wescott was one of the many writers, described by Frederick Hoffman in *The Twenties*, who moved to other places but whose imaginations remained in the Midwest, "there being no other place in their experiences or their minds."⁴⁹

Sherwood Anderson was another displaced Midwesterner. In an introduction to *Return to Winesburg*, a collection of Anderson's writings for a country newspaper, Ray Lewis White declared that "the pattern of Sherwood Anderson's own life demonstrates his recognition of both the agony and the beauty of small town life."⁵⁰ Some of that agony concerned the change undergone by Anderson's hometown, Clyde, Ohio, a change from a rural to a partly urbanized way of life. The beauty lay in the hope of recapturing the small town of his boyhood. The conflict Milburn may have believed also concerned that change from a rural community to an urbanized town; folklore may have been associated with his boyhood, with a time before the "thoughted change-over" described by Wilson.⁵¹ Anderson made periodic returns to small town life, in 1925 to the village of Troutdale in southeast Virginia. Later, he bought a farm near Troutdale and then bought two small newspapers in Marion, Virginia. Milburn also tried to return to the small town. He did not move back to Coweta, but in 1935 he bought a farm near Pineville, Missouri, another Ozark community.

Milburn wrote a short story about his stay in Pineville. That story, "The Road to Calamity," published in 1936, concerns Ernest Forepaugh, a writer

⁴⁸ Glenway Wescott, *The Grandmothers* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1927), p. 18.

⁴⁹ Frederick J. Hoffman, *The Twenties: American Writing in the Postwar Decade* (New York: Viking Press, 1949), p. 30.

⁵⁰ Sherwood Anderson, *Return to Winesburg: Selections from Four Years of Writing for a Country Newspaper*, Ray Lewis White, ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), p. 4.

⁵¹ Wilson, *The Bodacious Ozarks*, p. 166.

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who has begun to drink more as he sells fewer and fewer stories.⁵² As Vance Randolph, who also lived in Pineville, stated "this is the tale of Milburn's life near Pineville, Missouri. It is authentic stuff, and I recognize nearly all of the characters. In this story, Milburn sets forth his real opinion of Pineville and the Ozark region."⁵³ The story begins as Mr. and Mrs. Forepaugh travel through Missouri to visit a friend in the fictionalized Pineville. While driving through the Ozarks, Forepaugh says, "Gold in them hills, podner, pyore gold," and he sarcastically comments on "The book of the Month Club selection while back, all in Ozark dialect." The Forepaughs eat breakfast at a local hotel and find that though, "the eggs were too fresh to taste right, they both ate with more relish than they ever had for their wonted roll and coffee." Mr. and Mrs. Forepaugh wait until they leave the hotel to snicker about the lady choristers in "cheesecloth robes" and the men in "gilt-braided lodge uniforms." Ernest Forepaugh, George Milburn himself, considers hillfolks ignorant, but he objects to literature which capitalizes on scorning those folks and on imitating their speech. In addition, Forepaugh cannot reconcile his feeling of superiority toward the Ozark country people with his knowledge that, in a sense, those people are more honest than he. Although the Forepaughs decide to settle in the Ozark town, they remain outsiders. Once they were New Yorkers; they cannot now be hillfolks.⁵⁴

If in "The Road to Calamity," Milburn reveals "his real opinion about Pineville and the Ozark region," it is decidedly ambiguous. That story and Milburn's combination of folklore and anti-rural fiction mark him as a son of the Ozarks, a place both loved and hated. However, if Milburn were only the Glenway Wescott of Oklahoma, *Oklahoma Town* would not be particularly significant. Milburn's use of folklore accomplished something much more positive. *Oklahoma Town* does record Ozark folktales, dialect and customs as found in the early twentieth century. The folklore in *Oklahoma Town* also gives to the tales a sense of place and of people living in time. Much twentieth century fiction seems rootless; characters spring from authors' minds, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter. As Owen said, "People who have accumulated a body of folksayings, superstitions, songs, and the like have lived *in time*."⁵⁵ Flannery O'Connor, William Carlos

⁵² George Milburn's "The Road to Calamity," *Southern Review*, Vol. II, No. 1 (1936), pp. 63-84.

⁵³ Randolph, *Ozark Folklore: A Bibliography*, p. 385.

⁵⁴ Milburn, "The Road to Calamity," *Southern Review*, Vol. II, pp. 64-66; for a lexicon of the Ozark dialect found in *Oklahoma Town*, see Julia Rackleff, "Folk Speech in the Short Stories and Novels of George Milburn," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1949. Milburn's stories, according to Rackleff, transcribe accurately the Ozark dialect.

⁵⁵ Owen, "Using Folklore in Fiction," *Folklore Studies in Honor of Arthur Palmer Hudson*, p. 154.

Williams, and the critic Frederick Hoffman have all emphasized that the writer must have a sense of place.⁵⁶ O'Connor, for instance, was "startled" after reading stories submitted to the Southern Writer's Conference, because the stories contained "no distinctive sense of Southern life."⁵⁷ For O'Connor, a writer's aim was communication, "and communication suggests talking inside a community. . . . The best American fiction has always been regional."⁵⁸ Milburn's use of folklore, specifically Ozark folklore, and the accompanying use of dialect give his tales a sense of place and at least fulfill one of O'Connor's requirements that fiction deal with the manners of a people. In "The Saga of George Milburn," Botkin wrote that he feared in Milburn's "cutting himself off from Oklahoma he [Milburn] might cut himself off from his sources."⁵⁹ That observation may have been accurate; it may explain why George Milburn never became a great talent.

The *Oklahoma Town* tales do use specific Ozark tales, and they are part of the international schrank tradition. The identification of folk elements in *Oklahoma Town* serves as a balm on stories which have a stinging anti-rural impact. But more importantly, that identification elucidates the author's creative process and offers some insight into a source for a national literary tradition. Botkin declared that Milburn's "use of folk and popular materials constitutes his real importance as a short story writer."⁶⁰ George Milburn's use of folklore constitutes not only his importance, though; it also contributes to the sheer pleasure found in reading *Oklahoma Town*.

⁵⁶ See: William Carlos Williams, *In the American Grain* (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1925) and Hoffman, *The Twenties: American Writing in the Postwar Decade*, pp. 120-162.

⁵⁷ Flannery O'Connor, "Writing Short Stories," *Mystery and Manners*, Sally Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzgerald, eds. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1962), p. 103.

⁵⁸ Flannery O'Connor, "The Regional Writer," *ibid.*, pp. 53, 58.

⁵⁹ Benjamin A. Botkin, "The Saga of George Milburn," unpublished manuscript, April, 1938.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

WILEY H. POST'S AROUND THE WORLD SOLO FLIGHT

By Kareta G. Casey*

On July 15, 1933, at 5:10 A.M. a crowd of 500 curious onlookers gathered at the Floyd Bennett airfield in New York City, New York. The famed Oklahoma aviator, Wiley H. Post, and his well-known airplane, the *Winnie Mae*, had made plans to leave the airfield for a solo flight around the world, which would consist of 15,474 miles. Post's main goal was to beat the previous record that had been established in 1931 when he and Harold Gatty, an Australian pilot, flew around the world in eight days, fifteen hours and fifty-one minutes.¹

Post was the fourth son of William and Mae Post. He was born on a farm near Grand Saline, Texas, on November 22, 1898. In the early 1900s Wiley and his parents moved to rural Oklahoma and claimed Maysville, Oklahoma, as their hometown.² During his childhood, he took little interest in school, for he was more concerned about playing than learning. One of his former classmates, Mrs. G. R. Ingram of Rush Springs, Oklahoma, remembers him as a talkative and mischievous lad.³

A significant experience in the life of Post that influenced him in choosing aviation as his career came in 1913 at the Lawton County Fair. While attending the fair with his brother James, he saw Art Smith, an early exhibit pilot, perform a pyrotechnic display in a Curtiss Pusher airplane. Smith spun, looped and turned in a thrilling performance as he made steep vertical dives and tight spirals. At night he attached Roman candles to his aircraft and did additional stunts.⁴ Smith's performance left a great impression upon young Post, for while driving home in the horse and buggy he began dreaming about flying and establishing a future "Wiley Post Institute for Aeronautical Research."⁵

During the next few years, Post had various jobs in Oklahoma, but he still continued to dream about a future career in aviation. In 1918, he worked

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¹ Wiley Post and Harold Gatty, *Around the World in Eight Days* (Garden City, New York: Garden City Publishing Company, 1931), p. 235.

² *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, California), December 17, 1950.

³ Stanley Mohler and Bobby Johnston, *Wiley Post, His Winnie Mae and the World's First Pressure Suit* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971), p. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Post and Gatty, *Around the World in Eight Days*, p. 245.



Wiley Post just prior to his 1933 around the world solo flight

for a blacksmith shop in Walters, Oklahoma. While delivering oil well bits to the Kennedy and Young Drilling Company, he became acquainted with the foreman of the rig, Walter Clayman, who offered him his first job as a "roughneck" in the oil fields.⁶ His wages ranged between six and seven dollars a day. Thus money was no object to Post, for in the summer of 1919 he paid twenty-five dollars in cash to a barnstorm pilot, Captain Earl H. Zimmerman, for a ride in an open cockpit biplane. Zimmerman was instructed to perform every acrobatic maneuver that he knew. Post was disappointed in the flight, because he had not felt the exhilaration for which he had hoped. He then realized that aircraft pilots did not have supernatural powers.⁷

In 1922, the discovery of oil around Seminole and Holdenville, Oklahoma, improved the economic situation, which had steadily declined up to that

⁶ Interview, Walter Clayman, February 10, 1976.

⁷ Mohler and Johnston, *Wiley Post, His Winnie Mae and the World's First Pressure Suit*, p. 3.

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time. With the opening of these oil fields, there was a need for entertainment. Using World War I biplanes, barnstormers began appearing on weekends to entertain the oil field workers with parachute jumps, aerobatic maneuvers and "penny per pound" hops.⁸ In the spring of 1924, Post was working near the Holdenville fields when he learned of the appearance of Burrell Tibbs and his flying circus, the Texas Topnotch Fliers, at Wewoka, Oklahoma. He went to Wewoka to meet its members and found out that the regular parachute jumper, Pete Lewis, was unable to jump because of an injury. Wiley volunteered to take Lewis's place. Tibbs was reluctant at first, but Post finally persuaded him that he was able to make the jump.

The parachute used for the exhibit was the Hardin type, packed in a bag and tied to the struts of the right wing of an old Canuck plane.⁹ When the plane attained an altitude of 2,000 feet, Post was given the signal to jump. At the conclusion of the jump, Tibbs commented that Post had jumped as though he had done it all of his life.¹⁰ Post said that jump made him feel that he was part of the aviation industry, and that he had successfully passed the first full test of the Wiley Post Institute for Aeronautical Research.¹¹

Post received \$50.00 for his second jump. It was not long before he decided that he needed \$100 a jump, which Tibbs would not pay. Post then became his own manager and began arranging jumps for \$200 each. At the beginning of his aviation career, he used assumed names. The first time that he appeared under his own name was at his home town of Maysville, where he performed at the reduced rate of \$75.00. During the next two years, he made over ninety-nine jumps and grew positive that aviation was the career for him.¹²

By 1926, Post had four hours of dual flying instruction under Sam Bartel, an early pilot. He believed that he was now ready to make his first solo flight. Bartel had him place as security \$200 for the use of his plane, a Curtiss JN-Jenny. Post stated later that he was not really ready to solo, and that he almost lost control of the plane a couple of times.¹³

After this flight, Post was determined that he would eventually own his own plane; thus, he returned to work in the oil fields near Seminole. On October 1, 1926, an accident occurred which made a drastic change in his life. While Post was working on an oil field rig, an iron chip lodged in his left

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁹ Post and Gatty, *Around the World in Eight Days*, p. 255.

¹⁰ Mohler and Johnston, *Wiley Post, His Winnie Mae and the World's First Pressure Suit*, p. 3.

¹¹ Post and Gatty, *Around the World in Eight Days*, p. 255.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 257.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 260.



Wiley Post on Lincoln Boulevard in Oklahoma City, about the time of his world solo flight in 1933



Wiley Post and the *Winnie Mae*—in which he made the around the world solo flight

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eye, causing the eye to become infected. When the infection appeared to be affecting the right eye, the left eye had to be removed.

The loss of the eye was a severe blow to Post, but he was still determined that he would have a career in aviation. He had little education beyond the eighth grade and no formal flight training, but he had three important factors working for him: (1) his goal was aviation, a rapidly developing industry; (2) he was a genius in the field of aeronautics; and (3) he was determined to accomplish his goal.¹⁴

On October 30, 1926, Wiley received from the workmen's compensation fund a lump sum of \$1,698.25 for the loss of his eye. By the spring of 1927, he had trained his right eye to accurately determine distance. He then decided that he would take \$200 of the compensation money and buy a damaged Canuck plane. It cost him \$340 to have it repaired making a total of \$540 for the plane.¹⁵ Ironically, he had traded his left eye to gain possession of his most coveted object, an airplane. He was then ready to take the first step which would insure the fulfillment of his goal.

While barnstorming in Texas in 1927, Post renewed an old acquaintance with his childhood sweetheart, Mae Laine. One day they were out flying in Post's Canuck when they were forced to make an emergency landing at Graham, Oklahoma. On the spur of the moment the couple decided to get married. A justice of the peace in Graham did the honor.¹⁶

In 1928, Post became acquainted with F. C. Hall, an Oklahoma oilman. It was under his sponsorship that it became possible for Post to achieve a career in aviation. In 1930, Post had his first taste of fame when he won in a nonstop flight from the Pacific Coast to the Curtiss-Reynolds airport north of Chicago, Illinois. He had beaten Art Goebel, the former holder of the transcontinental record, and had won \$7,500 of prize money. After Post had recovered from the shock, he said as a jest, "I think I'll fly around the world."¹⁷

Less than a year later Post had accomplished that feat. In 1931, he and Harold Gatty set a new world record when they flew around the world in eight days, fifteen hours and fifty-one minutes. Before the flight, Post had been known to airport managers throughout Oklahoma as a daredevil flier who had little regard for ground rules and regulations. He was now recognized as a pilot who had considerable talent. The big test came in 1933 when Post decided that he would prove to the world once and for all that

¹⁴ Mohler and Johnston, *Wiley Post, His Winnie Mae and the World's First Pressure Suit*, p. 4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Post and Gatty, *Around the World in Eight Days*, p. 268.

¹⁷ *Tulsa Tribune* (Tulsa), August 16, 1935.

he was an extremely capable pilot even though he had only one eye. Thus, he began to plan for a solo flight around the world.

In February, 1933, a Lockheed Vega, Serial Number NR105W, also known as the *Winnie Mae*, was purchased from Winnie Mae Fain, whom the plane was named after, by the Fain and Post Drilling Company of Oklahoma City, for the use of Post. At the same time, the company made a request that the Lockheed be issued a restricted license. The reasoning behind the request was that a special license was needed to make a solo flight around the world.¹⁸ At this time, neither Post nor Leslie Fain, the president of the company, would make any confirmation on such a flight.

A month later, in March, 1933, Post installed in the *Winnie Mae* a Sperry gyroscopic automatic pilot. When the United States Department of Commerce permitted the automatic pilot to be installed with the restriction that no passengers would be carried for hire, it was realized that Post was preparing for an unusual trip.

Post made the necessary arrangements with an Oklahoma City businessman, Harry Frederickson, to have him help in raising the funds needed to finance the expedition. Post stated that he would prefer that donations come from only those truly interested in aviation.¹⁹ By June 14, 1933, the fund was completed when a Yukon miller, John Kroutil, donated \$2,600 to make up the remainder needed. The total sum that had been raised to finance the trip was \$5,002.50, collected from forty-four companies and businessmen of Oklahoma.²⁰

Shortly after noon of June 15, Post and his business associate, Harry Frederickson, left the Curtiss-Wright airport in Oklahoma City for Dayton, Ohio. There he would have his automatic pilot checked and tested before venturing into New York City, where final plans for the flight would be made.²¹

It was Post's original plan to leave New York City sometime between June 25 and July 1. But because of bad weather conditions and upon the advice of meteorologists, he had to postpone the flight several times. On the evening of July 14, he notified the airport officials that even though the weather was unsatisfactory, he intended to leave about four o'clock the following morning on his solo flight.²²

Preparations for the trip were finalized, the *Winnie Mae* was placed on the runway in takeoff position, and 659 gallons of gasoline were loaded.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

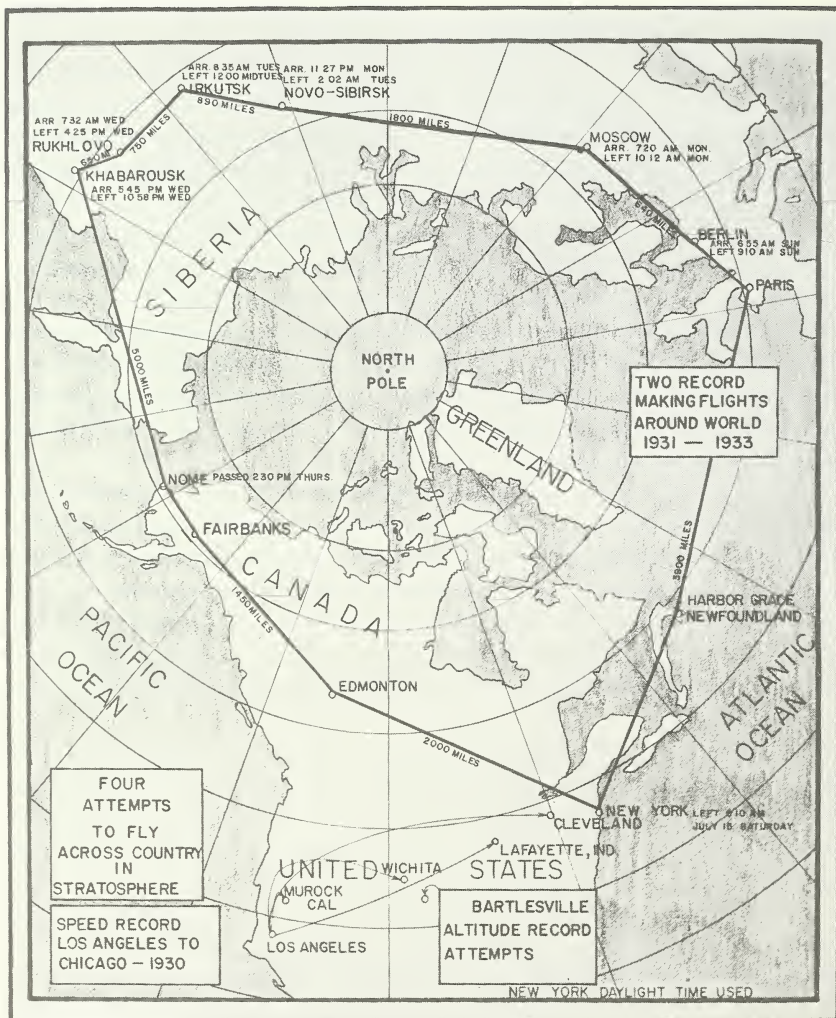
¹⁹ Mohler and Johnston, *Wiley Post, His Winnie Mae and the World's First Pressure Suit*, p. 39.

²⁰ Interview, Harry Frederickson, February 12, 1976.

²¹ *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), June 15, 1933.

²² *New York Times* (New York, New York), July 15, 1933.

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The major flight achievements of Wiley H. Post

Post also took an overnight bag and some emergency equipment, which consisted of one quart thermos bottle of water and one of tomato juice, three packages of chewing gum, hatchet, knife, fishing tackle, raincoat, pocket transit, mosquito netting, sleeping bag and a pocket searchlight.²³ "I'm not taking a lot of food," Post commented, "Just a little sausage as an emergency ration and plenty of fishing tackle."²⁴ If forced down, he was not afraid of starvation, for there were trout-filled streams located all the way across Siberia, over which he would fly.²⁵

On the morning of July 15, in a new gray suit, Post watched the final preparations from inside the *Winnie Mae* as the mechanics poured in five gallons of heated oil to make the warming-up process easier. He appeared to be in good spirits as old friends came in to say goodbye and newspaper reporters asked questions. Count Felix von Luckner, a World War I German naval hero, had sent him an old red medal as a good luck piece. Usually taciturn, Post was ready to answer all questions, even foolish ones. Asked what he expected to do about conversation in Russian, he laughingly said his knowledge of the language was "zero, zero," a pilot's way of saying that there is neither visibility or ceiling.²⁶

The *Winnie Mae* was better equipped with mechanical safeguards and navigation aids than any previous airplane intended for an ocean flight.²⁷ In an interview with the *New York Times*, Post stated that he would rely on three major devices that had been installed in the plane. He intended to let his robot, the Sperry gyroscopic automatic pilot, do the majority of the flying with the exception of the landings and takeoffs. He said: "All I'll have to do in the flying around the world except at refueling points is to turn a little knob, to correct the compass courses, perhaps every fifteen minutes. The rest of the time, I can just sit there, study my maps and see the country and the ocean."²⁸ He believed that with the aid of the automatic pilot, he would be able to navigate better.

Post also had installed in the *Winnie Mae* a Smith controllable pitch propeller, designed to shorten his runs for takeoffs. The last device which he was depending on was a radio homing machine installed at Wright Field in Dayton, Ohio, by the United States Army Air Corps. This device enabled an aircraft pilot to orient himself from broadcasts on ordinary wave lengths. He had made arrangements with various radio stations throughout the world to broadcast weather information to the *Winnie Mae*. The stations

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, July 16, 1933.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

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were located at Manchester, England; Hot Springs and Nome, Alaska; and finally at Edmonton and Winnipeg, Canada.²⁹

Before he took off, Post said that *Winnie Mae's* goal was to travel 15,474 miles in six days or less. He divided the flight into five fueling stops: Berlin, Germany; Novosibirsk and Khabarovsk, Russia; Fairbanks, Alaska; and Edmonton, Canada.³⁰

The engine of the *Winnie Mae* throbbed as the exhaust grew louder and louder. Post signaled to the mechanics to pull the wedges from the wheels, and the craft began to move. Despite the plane's heavy load, it was airborne after a run of only 1,900 feet in twenty-nine seconds. The official time of the takeoff was recorded as 5:10A.M.³¹

Post's wife, Mae, followed him for the first few miles in a white Lockheed, similar in appearance to *Winnie Mae*. In a little while Mrs. Post returned and reported that he was going at a speed of 155 miles per hour at an altitude of 1,000 feet.³²

Post managed to establish a new record of twenty-five hours and forty-five minutes in crossing the Atlantic Ocean, even though he had hoped to reach Germany in less than twenty-two hours. When he landed at Berlin, his first words were, "Let's get her gassed up."³³ He remarked that thanks to *Winnie Mae* and her special equipment, the robot pilot, the Wasp engine and the directional radio control, the flight had been easy thus far, but that it had not been the same as having Gatty along. "If Winnie behaves as well on the rest of the flight," Post conjectured, "I will wager right now that I will see the sidewalks of New York again next Friday."³⁴ At the airport hotel he refused all offers of food and drink. "I don't want to eat. I don't want to shave. . . I want to clear out of here. . . ," he commented. "I flew here on tomato juice and chewing gum, and that's enough for me."³⁵ He had made plans to remain in Berlin twenty minutes, but upon returning to the plane, he discovered that it was far from being ready. Thus he took charge of the refueling himself. Because of inadequate facilities, it took two hours to pump 500 gallons of gasoline into the *Winnie Mae*. After leaving Berlin, Post received reports of bad weather over East Prussia, and then he decided to detour from the flight plan a little. In doing so, he became lost

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, July 17, 1933.

³⁴ *Daily Oklahoman*, July 17, 1933, p. 1; *New York Times*, July 17, 1933.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, July 17, 1933.



Wiley Post receiving the traditional ticker tape parade in New York City after his solo flight around the world

and was forced by the storms to land at Koenigsberg, East Prussia, where he was delayed for twelve hours.³⁶

Post was able to get six hours of rest before he took off the following morning. When he left the airfield in East Prussia enroute to Novosibirsk, he was behind schedule several hours. The plane had been in flight about six hours from Koenigsberg, when he noticed that there was something wrong with the automatic pilot. Because he was depending on it for night flying, he made an unexpected stop at Moscow, Russia, where the device was repaired. Russian mechanics found that a rubber joint had worked loose, causing the plane to leak oil. They supplied a new joint with four metal clamps and replaced the gasoline and motor oil that had leaked away. Before takeoff, an airport official brought Post the latest weather reports and said that the radio stations had been instructed to broadcast weather information every ten minutes in English.³⁷

After leaving Moscow, the first five hours of flying were excellent, but then Post encountered heavy fog and low clouds over the foothills of the

³⁶ *Ibid.*, July 18, 1933.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, July 19, 1933.

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Ural Mountains and for the next seven hours flew blind among the mountains. He had estimated that it would take eleven hours to reach Novosibirsk; but instead it took thirteen hours and fifteen minutes. As soon as his plane landed, an American woman flier, Fay Gillis, took charge of refueling the *Winnie Mae*, while Post rested in the airport hanger. In less than two hours, he was on his way to Irkutsk, Russia, where he would spend the night and leave from there the next morning for Khabarovsk.³⁸

Post made excellent time from Novosibirsk to Irkutsk. The weather had improved, and he was confident that he would be able to have the *Winnie Mae* overhauled and leave according to plan. After resting for a while, he prepared to leave, only to learn that a storm had developed over the Baikal Mountains, which made flying impossible. On July 19, the weather conditions had improved enough so that the flight could continue. It had been Post's intention to make no stops between Irkutsk and Khabarovsk, but he decided that it was advisable to change plans and make an unexpected stop at Blagoveshchensk, Russia, which was a thousand miles from Irkutsk. When he arrived, he had a lead of little more than three hours over the time he and Gatty had made on the flight in 1931.³⁹

The Oklahoma flier had been in the air twenty-two hours and forty-two minutes when he was forced to land at Flat, Alaska. He had been lost in storm clouds for over seven hours, when a landing field in the Yukon Valley was sighted. After circling the field several times, Post put his plane down. In the touchdown, the *Winnie Mae's* landing gear and propeller were damaged, but within a short time communications with Fairbanks were established and arrangements were made for repair parts to be flown in.⁴⁰ As soon as these details were worked out, Post went to the United States Army Signal Corps station nearby, where he was soon in a deep sleep. Joe Crosson, an Alaskan bush pilot, brought the new propeller and other parts for the plane, and shortly afterwards it was in the air on the way to Fairbanks, where it would be refueled to continue the flight to Edmonton, Canada.

Post arrived at Edmonton nine hours and twenty-two minutes after departing from Fairbanks. He was determined to make the final lap to New York in one flight. He said that he was not hungry and that he did not wish to sleep. "I just want to get going," he insisted.⁴¹ He stayed in Edmonton only long enough to have the *Winnie Mae* refueled. When he

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, July 20, 1933.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, July 21, 1933.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, July 22, 1933.

left the city, he was twenty hours and twenty-one minutes ahead of the record that had been set in 1931 on his dual trip with Gatty.

On July 22, the *Winnie Mae* landed at the Floyd Bennett airfield at 9:59 A.M. (Oklahoma time) ending the fastest solo flight around the world to that time. Post had made the last 2,000 miles in a little over thirteen hours. Twenty-five thousand people had gathered at the airfield and were taken by surprise, for he had not been expected for two more hours. As soon as the crowd realized that it was Post, about three thousand of them broke through the police lines and ran toward the monoplane. His first request after landing was "Get me a patch for this dim light."⁴²

Post had come a long way since the time he had seen his first airplane at the county fair in Lawton, Oklahoma. By sheer determination and hard work, he had finally accomplished his dream. He had done what no man before him had accomplished. He had made a solo flight around the world in seven days, eighteen hours and fifty minutes.⁴³ This bettered by more than twenty-one hours the previous flight that he and Gatty had made in 1931. Post said to his friends: "Given a break in the weather, I could take the *Winnie Mae*, with the same equipment and break my new record by making the trip in four days and a half."⁴⁴

Post was one of the early pioneer aviators whose conquest of the air aided in the expansion and development of aeronautics. He played a major part in making aviation safe for public transportation. His life ended in a tragic accident two years later, but he had laid the groundwork for the beginning of worldwide travel. In the years ahead, transportation by air went far beyond his wildest dreams. Today hundreds of would-be passengers stand in long lines to buy tickets to fly across the oceans to distant lands. They often visit the same cities where Post had landed his *Winnie Mae* in an effort to prove to the world that it could be done safely and quickly.

⁴² *Ibid.*, July 23, 1933.

⁴³ *Daily Oklahoman*, July 23, 1933.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

★ NECROLOGIES

TRIBUTE TO FISHER MULDROW

By Denzil Garrison

Osborn Fisher Muldrow was elected to the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1959. From 1963 to 1975 he served as second vice president and also served for many years on the Fort Washita Commission and the Historic Sites Committee of the Society.

Mr. Muldrow was an enrolled Choctaw Indian; a veteran of World War I; a fifty year member and former district chief of Beta Theta Pi; an elder in the First Presbyterian Church of Norman, Oklahoma; past president of the OU Dads Association and University of Oklahoma Alumni Association; and a Thirty-third degree Mason.

In the 1920s he worked without pay as the public address announcer at the University of Oklahoma football games and became known as the "voice" of the Sooners on sports broadcasts in the early days of radio.

He was a former vice president of the Associated Motor Carriers and in recent years served as administrative assistant to United States Representative Tom Steed in the Norman office.

Mr. Muldrow helped organize the Cleveland County Historical Society and was its first president.

Mr. Muldrow and his wife, Margaret, have two daughters, Mrs. Ann Niemeyer and Mrs. Mary Boyle, and four grandchildren.





TRIBUTE TO GEORGE H. SHIRK

By Dolphus Whitten, Jr.

We gather today to pay tribute to a great and good friend, George Shirk, who was born in Oklahoma City May 1, 1913, and died March 23, 1977.

How can one classify a George Shirk? Lawyer, soldier, civic leader, historian, Mason, Lutheran, scout executive, scholar, humanitarian, philanthropist, organizer, diplomat, peacemaker, world traveler, author, industrial promoter, mayor, ambassador of good will, public speaker, university trustee, collector, devotee of the arts, innovator—yes, and much more.

He was truly a Renaissance man in the breadth of his interests, talents, and achievements.

He followed in his father's footsteps into the profession of law, was admitted to the Oklahoma bar and the bar of the United States Supreme Court and served as a Special Justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma.

During World War II he served on the General Staff of the European Theater Commander, General Eisenhower. He was awarded the Legion of Merit, Bronze Star Medal, Croix de Guerre and was named Chevalier of the French Legion of Honor. He was a charter member of his local Lutheran congregation. He was a Thirty-second degree Mason, a Shriner and a member of the Royal Order of Jesters.

It would be both inappropriate and impossible to list in this service his various civic and humanitarian interests, contributions, offices, and awards. Almost every institution, society, board, commission and organization in Oklahoma City and the state benefited from his leadership—hospitals, schools, Salvation Army, Scouts, the arts, United Fund, Community Council, Junior Achievement, Cowboy Hall of Fame, the Fireman's Museum—there is no end to the list.

As mayor of Oklahoma City he brought creativity, innovation and reform into the city government. He also gave style and class to that position as he did to everything he undertook.

George was best known as a student, collector, writer and preserver of history. In the words of Paul Strasbaugh, he had a total love affair with the state of Oklahoma. No one rivaled him in his pride in the heritage of our state. Governor David Boren, on the occasion of the dedication of the George H. Shirk Oklahoma History Center at Oklahoma City University last November, wrote:

We in Oklahoma thank you, George Shirk, for remaining true to your conviction that a state, to be truly great, must remember and build on the

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past. Your tireless devotion to the preservation of our history has resulted in a rich heritage which will bring the past to life for future generations of Oklahomans. We applaud the foresight and ceaseless efforts such an accumulation of knowledge and memorabilia has required. You are truly a man who has been given a vision, and you see before you the reality of your dream.

In the Oklahoma Historical Society he served on the committee to select locations for historical markers and prepared the text for about half the state's markers. He served as treasurer and later as president of the society. He was a regular contributor to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, co-authored *Rambler in Oklahoma* with Miss Muriel Wright and authored *Oklahoma Place Names*.

What adjectives best characterize George Shirk?

Intelligent: He had a brilliant mind, not wholly appreciated because he was so down-to-earth and unassuming.

Practical: He knew what was possible and how to get it done.

Visionary: He treasured the past, and rejoiced in the present, but had ambitious dreams for the future and a great faith in it.

Optimistic: He had amazing vitality, energy, enthusiasm—perhaps the word is “bounce.”

William Wordsworth wrote:

My heart leaps up when I behold a rainbow in the sky.
So was it when my life began.
So is it now I am a man.
So be it when I shall grow old,
Or let me die.

George had that spirit about him. He had an extraordinary curiosity and sense of expectancy. He approached everything with excitement. Whether planting geraniums, unearthing a winery, saving gargoyles from buildings doomed to destruction, riding the Trans-Siberian railroad from one end to another, visiting the sites of the seven wonders of the ancient world, finding a new water supply for Oklahoma City or securing an office of the National Trust for Historical Preservation in Oklahoma City, he tackled it with wonder and anticipation.

He was courageous, persistent and determined in pressing for those things he believed in.

He was at ease in any situation, with any class of people. He could speak their language, whether he was with the Lord Mayor of London or the garbage collectors of Oklahoma City.

He was humane and compassionate. He gave much of his time and means to helping people in need. He knew the real meaning of Christian charity.

He was Oklahoma City's goodwill ambassador, being a gracious host to dignitaries visiting our city and a gracious representative of Oklahoma City in foreign lands.

Whether driving his antique car from London to Brighton, placing an Oklahoma City city limits sign in Northern Norway or issuing a proclamation annexing the moon after our astronauts landed there, he was *our* Lord Mayor in a cowboy hat, our Renaissance man with a western drawl.

Professor Manley Hudson of the Harvard Law School used to tell his students in international law on the final class day:

If you want to feel you have been a success in life, build a brick, a good solid brick of some worthwhile human endeavor, and put it into the wall of civilization and as the winds of change come and violent forces attack that wall, they may tear it down and destroy it. But if you have built a good solid brick, that brick will last so that other generations can pick it up and put it into other walls that will rebuild civilization faster and much more securely for the future.

Few men have ever built more solid bricks of human endeavor than George Shirk did—and we and the generations to come will use them to create an even greater tomorrow.

Longfellow, in his *Hymn to Night*, said:

Lives of great men all remind us
we can make *our* lives sublime,
and, departing, leave behind us
footprints in the sands of time.

George Shirk has left big footprints. God grant that we may have the wisdom and the courage to follow them.

So, today we celebrate the life of this great and good man. Those of us who were with George during the last few months realize that death is the great deliverer. It releases those we love from the bondage of earthly time and place, and puts them in our memories and in our hearts, where they can never again be separated from us.

So let it be with George.

★ NOTES AND DOCUMENTS
NEW MEMBERS ELECTED TO BOARD



Briton D. Tabor



Odie B. Faulk

A native of Checotah, Oklahoma, Britton D. Tabor comes to the Board with schooling in government and economics, having done graduate work at Harvard, Northwestern University and the University of New Mexico. On the news reporting and editorial staffs of *The Muskogee Daily Phoenix and Times-Democrat*, *The Kingsport* (Tennessee) *Times and News* and *The Knoxville* (Tennessee) *News-Sentinel*, he specialized in political, governmental and court news. Secretary to United States Congressman Ed Edmondson from 1955-1960, he has been self-employed in property management since 1961 and also has been writing journalistic, historical material. He has traveled extensively to Europe, Asia and Africa.

Dr. Odie B. Faulk comes to the Board with a background in the field of education and publishing. Having been reared and educated in Texas, he first taught in the Lubbock Public Schools in the early 1960s. This was followed by his being a teaching fellow in history at Texas Technological College; instructor in history, Texas A & M University; lecturer in history, research historian and Assistant Editor, *Arizona and the West*, at the University of Arizona. In 1972 he became Professor and Head, Department of History, Oklahoma State University at Stillwater. Dr. Faulk is the author of innumerable articles and books, two books having been nominated for the Pulitzer Prize: *Land of Many Frontiers: A History of the American Southwest* and *North America Divided: The Mexican War, 1846-1848*. He is presently editor of the Oklahoma Trackmaker Series published by the Oklahoma Heritage Association.

DR. CHARLES A. EASTMAN'S REPORT ON THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE OSAGE INDIANS IN OKLAHOMA, 1924¹

By Raymond Wilson

On September 5, 1924, United States Indian Inspector Charles A. Eastman, a Santee Sioux, received orders from Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles H. Burke to conduct a survey of the present holdings and properties of the restricted Osage tribe in Oklahoma. As an author and lecturer on Indian culture, Eastman was perhaps the foremost educated Indian in the United States. His entire life had been devoted to helping Native Americans. For example, he had been a government physician at Pine Ridge Agency and Crow Creek Agency, South Dakota; headed a project to rename the Sioux nation from 1903-1909; and served as president of the Society of American Indians, a Pan-Indian organization.

At the age of sixty-five, Eastman became an Indian Inspector on August 28, 1923. As an inspector, Eastman traveled extensively, conducting inspections and investigations at reservations throughout the western states. His report on the restricted Osage is significant because it demonstrates how these people, who had become extremely wealthy because of oil discoveries on their land, took full advantage of their economic status.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

UNITED STATES INDIAN FIELD SERVICE

Osage Indian Agency
Pawhuska, Oklahoma,
December 26, 1924.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have completed a survey of the present holdings and the properties of the restricted Osage Tribe in accordance with your instructions of September 5, 1924.

Owing to the constant traveling and absence of many of the Osage families makes it very difficult to obtain the data of their property holdings which is necessary in this survey. However, I have succeeded in visiting all of their country homes as well as their homes in the three 160-acre reservations, also those who have residences in town within Osage County. I found 130 families who have homes on the homesteads, or on one of their allotments. In many instances, the head of the family has built a house on the homestead

¹ Charles A. Eastman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 26, 1924, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, Central Files, 1907-1939, 62704-24-150 Osage, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

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of his wife, or on one of his children's land and has considerable improvements in the way of buildings, and a great part of the homesteads are under cultivation.

It is, however, nearly in every case, the Indian does not farm, save in a few instances. He has, almost in every instance, hired farmers to do the work. Quite a number of them have run the homestead on the shares with the white man who is farming it. In many cases, the homestead is rented out to white families for cash.

All their surplus lands,—in most cases,—are leased for oil prospecting, pastoral and farming purposes, for cash.

Not more than a dozen or so have improved two or three of the homesteads, belonging to the family, sufficiently so that they could be leased to good farmers and have the land in good cultivation.

Of the 130 families included in this survey, about 80 per cent have built good bungalow homes on the homesteads. In most cases such bungalows are luxuriously furnished. However, the Indian does not live in that house continuously [sic]. Indeed in many cases they live in it only a short time in the summer. Perhaps nearly 50 per cent of them live in the country home in the summer. The rest of the time they are away traveling all over the country or they make their home in one of the 160 acre-reservations near town, or they live in town.

Nearly 50 per cent of the Indians who live on their homesteads have tenant houses for their servants so that they have a separate home of their own. Invariably, they have a summer house which is really a dining-house, besides two or three additional buildings are on the place. There are the so-called peyote churches which are common among the restricted Osage people.

Another great item is the buying of very costly automobiles. The survey does not show the number of automobiles [sic] used by one family. The upkeep of these automobiles is very great. Nearly all of them have a white chauffeur whom they pay a salary by the month.

Of the 372 restricted adults, 188 have guardians and only 130 of them have any permanent homes in Osage County. The remainder have made their homes with their father, mother, grandmother or grandfather. There are 283 minor allottees. Fifty-two of them have guardians and there are 165 unallotted minors receiving payments through inheritance. One-hundred-fifty of this class have guardians.

There are 92 allottees who have received their Certificate of Competency now having legal guardians.

No restricted Osage has a business occupation. In fact I did not find any of them making any effort to increase their income by daily earning. A small number of them are interested in stock and they do have registered stock, but it appears that they are interested in show, rather than in making a business of it.

The great detriment of the restricted Osage, especially the young men and young women, is that they have no ambition or desire to get a good education or to undertake any business for life work. On the other hand, they like to travel all over the country in high-powered cars. It is the older people who are making an effort at least to build good bungalows on their homesteads and furnish them very comfortably. In this again they are not good managers.

Of the 130 families included in this survey, there are 15 adults who have intermarried with the whites. Twenty-one are widows or single and 104 are married with their blood. The total number of restricted Indians included in this survey there are 234 adults, leaving 138 restricted Indians who are either absent from the reservation, or are minors. Among the latter class there are some who married, but have no homes, nor have any occupation. They live with their parents and relatives.

If their oil should fail the Osage people would be in a hard predicament, more so than any other Indian Tribe because they have lived expensively and have become accustomed to it.

With reference to their Peyote Churches, I wish to say that they are a very orderly affair. The majority of the older people are very sincere in their belief. I did not find any unbecoming conduct in the churches.

The Osage people have grown to be suspicious and snobbish because of their wealth. It is a matter of self defense. There are quite a number of them very anxious to get away from this State and go where they can live in peace.

In a general way, the physical condition of the Osage people is far above the average health of the Indians in this country and I find that their moral condition is better than any people would be in similar situation.

Very respectfully,
Charles A. Eastman,
Inspector.



AUTOGRAPHING PARTY SET FOR FIRST OF OHA HORIZONS SERIES

An autographing party for "The University of Tulsa: A History 1882-1972," by Dr. Guy Logsdon, the first book in the "Horizons" series of the Oklahoma Heritage Association was held from 1:30 to 4 P.M. Saturday, May 7, in the Heritage Center Library in Oklahoma City.

Logsdon was present to autograph books.

An earlier autographing party was held in the Louis Myer Book Store in Tulsa on April 30.

Dr. Logsdon is director of libraries for the University of Tulsa and is an active member and past sheriff of the Oklahoma Westerners.

He is also an expert in Oklahoma folk music, and last year received the

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Stanley Draper Distinguished Service Award in recognition of his efforts in preserving the history of Oklahoma music.

All members of the Oklahoma Heritage Association, as well as other persons interested in the book, were invited to attend the reception and autographing party.

The book sells for \$8.00 each, including tax. (For mailing purposes, please add .50 per copy.)

The "University of Tulsa: A History" is the first of a series of "Horizons" volumes which will be published by the Association. The second volume, with work already underway, deals with the history of banking in Oklahoma.



☆ BOOK REVIEWS

VICTORIO AND THE MIMBRES APACHES. By Dan L. Thrapp. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974. Pp. ix, 393. Maps. Bibliography. Index. \$9.95.)

In 1879 the Apache wars of the American southwest still raged, for the government insisted that the Indians live on designated and policed reservations usually far from original tribal hunting grounds. Victorio, a leader of the Ojo Caliente branch of the southern Chiricahuas, finally suffered enough from the corruption among whites and the duplicity which government officials demonstrated toward the Indians. Leading his small band off the reservation, the wily chieftain swiftly brought death and destruction to the southwest from Texas to Arizona. With the hard-fighting United States Army pursuing them across the international border and chasing them through canyons and mountains in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona, Victorio successfully eluded capture for almost two years. Ironically, this proud and skillful warrior ran from the American black man, for it was the black Ninth and Tenth Cavalry that usually drew the assignment of ferreting out the elusive Apaches from hiding places among the rocks and peaks. Consequently, the Mexican authorities sufficiently mustered their Armies to participate in campaigns against the Apaches. In 1880 Mexican troops surrounded an exhausted Victorio and his small band at Tres Castillas several miles south of the border in the state of Chihuahua. Victorio died in the fight that followed—a few Apaches lived to become prisoners of the Mexicans.

There has been little written about the Mexican participation in the Indian wars in the American Southwest, and more should be done. Thrapp's research is thorough, his approach direct and his portrayal of the Victorio episode is excellent. He has consulted available Mexican and United States documents, has displayed a complete grasp of his material and has presented another useful contribution to the study of western history.

Joseph A. Stout, Jr.
Oklahoma State University



ANDY ADAMS' CAMPFIRE TALES. Edited by Wilson M. Hudson. Illustrated by Malcolm Thurgood. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, Bison Books, 1976. Pp. xxxi, 296. Illustrations. \$3.95.)

In *Life and Literature of the Southwest*, J. Frank Dobie once observed about the works of Andy Adams, "I read them with pleasure long after I was grown." This observation will remain current so long as people read the

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works of this Hoosier-turned-Westerner. In 1882, when a spat with his father persuaded Andy to leave home, the young man had no particular destination. He worked in a sawmill in the rivertown of Newport, Arkansas, until he saw a horse herd bound for the Lone Star State. He bought and sold horses on the trails from Texas to Kansas, and then he searched for gold around Cripple Creek, Colorado. He settled permanently in Colorado Springs where he began to write about his experiences on the range. He died in 1935. This collection of *Campfire Tales* was originally published in 1956 by University of Texas Press as *Why the Chisholm Trail Forks and Other Tales of the Cattle Country*. They were drawn from four of Adams' previous works: *The Log of a Cowboy*; *A Texas Matchmaker*; *The Outlet*; and *Cattle Brands*.

The *Campfire Tales* relates topics of concern to the herders on the open range: humorous incidents; the drama of personal confrontations; loves lost; family loyalty; brutality; and prejudice. Readers will never forget the "big brindle muley ox," the wily beast that stole away in a covered wagon while his master searched high and low. The poignant tale about the tubercular drifter, "the little glassblower," whose death caused tough cowboys to cry, still touches. Who can restrain a feeling of admiration for the young cowman who refused to marry a girl when her brother acted cowardly in an encounter with the suitor. "I believe in the breed," said the cowboy. The gruesome story of the lynching of a renegade Kansas lawman—based upon the hanging of Henry Brown—retains power. These tales, and many more, offer the reader a moving portrait of the emotions of the cowboy.

While the *Campfire Tales* captures vividly the feelings of the inhabitants of the Great Plains, this very quality of Adams' stories jostles the reader. They reflect the crude racial and sexual prejudices of the late 1800s. The reviewer cannot but be appalled at the story of the Texas herders who, while visiting the Cherokee Strip—where citizens treated blacks "almost like white folks," maliciously helped elect a young black "Pickaninny" as beauty queen. Mexicans, says one of the storytellers, "can always be depended upon to assay high in treachery." "It take a woman," relates one character, "to get a good supper and pour the coffee." These comments should not discourage the prospective reader, but caution one against the subtle prejudices in the *Tales*. Wilson M. Hudson provides a lengthy introduction reprinted from the 1956 edition. The University of Nebraska Press is to be congratulated for another valuable addition to its paperback collection.

Larry D. Ball
Arkansas State University



200 TRAILS TO GOLD, A GUIDE TO PROMISING OLD MINES AND HIDDEN LODES THROUGHOUT THE WEST. By Samuel B. Jackson. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1976. Pp. x, 348. Illustrations. Index. \$8.95.)

"You shall gain your bread by the sweat of your brow," according to the Bible, but men throughout history have tried short cuts to their daily bread. The Bible undoubtedly meant agriculture when it spoke of working the land. In the trans-Mississippi West of the last several centuries, "working the land" meant the search for gold, that wondrous way to instant wealth, and, therefore, to happiness. A fascinating ideal—but the reality is hard work indeed, with luck playing a role in determining success or failure.

In *200 Trails To Gold*, Samuel B. Jackson, mine owner and prospector, underlines this theme of luck. The sub-title of this book is correct. In the first chapter Jackson discusses lost mines and hidden lodes in California, and then in successive chapters he covers other trans-Mississippi states. His educated guess about location is always in relation to contemporary highways and towns. With each mine he gives an historical background and any existing legend about the area. He also includes some practical and legal problems in searching for hidden treasure.

Given the nature of this book, criticisms are few. The book lacks footnotes and bibliography. Although he is an expert, Jackson is the sole authority he uses for many of the facts and theories in *200 Trails To Gold*. While some bibliographical items are lodged in the text, one has to prospect for them. On occasion the chatty style detracts from the reader's enjoyment.

If one recognizes these limitations, *200 Trails To Gold* is still a good book for those attracted to the mining frontier where Indians and luck roamed among those mountains and deserts where instant wealth often lay.

Between the two, farming is a surer way to survival than mining. Jackson agrees; yet, with luck and a good map, maybe a great strike might happen. Jackson would say, "why not?" and would light out for the Golden West.

Donald K. Pickens

North Texas State University



ARMING THE UNION: SMALL ARMS IN THE CIVIL WAR. By Carl L. Davis. (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1973. Pp. xiii, 207. Photographs. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$12.50.)

A plethora of books, articles and monographs have been penned celebrating the achievements of the Federal army in defending the Union during the Civil War. Searching below the surface of flashing sabres, death-dealing

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cannons and breath-taking cavalry charges, Carl L. Davis has detailed the less glorious but equally important role of the Ordnance Bureau in arming the soldiers. Davis initiates his study by challenging the traditional view that the Ordnance Bureau and the War Department failed to provide the Northern army with sufficient numbers of modern weapons because of hidebound conservatism and unwitting incompetence. Instead, the author asserts that in light of the difficulties which were inherent in arming a force such as the Union army without prior planning, the achievements of the Ordnance Bureau were admirable, if not brilliant.

When the Civil War began, the United States Army was, as usual, unprepared for a large-scale mobilization. Although the standing army was well-trained and equipped with modern weapons, it was numerically small. The huge army which was raised to fight the Confederacy had an unsatiable hunger for weapons which the Ordnance Bureau was called on to satisfy. With the full cooperation of the Congress, the President and the Army, the Bureau would have been hard pressed to meet the ever-rising demand for arms. Unfortunately, this cooperation was not forthcoming. Throughout the war the Congress refused to appropriate sufficient funds, the President repeatedly interfered with the Bureau's management and the Army continually made unreasonable demands for weapons.

To meet the demands of the Army for weapons, the Bureau utilized every available source. When the small domestic supply was depleted the Bureau turned to foreign manufacturers for an adequate number of arms until the factories at home could expand. Davis correctly asserts that previous criticisms of this practice are questionable. He points out that foreign guns were better than no guns, and that the generally accepted idea that all foreign guns were far inferior to American weapons is unfounded. To be sure, some inferior weapons were sold to American buyers in Europe, but, Davis notes, the British Enfield rifled-musket was of comparable quality to its counterpart which was produced by the Springfield Armory. Also, the Saxony rifle and the Austrian rifled-musket were quality arms. Unfortunately, all foreign guns were given a bad reputation because of the few poor quality arms which were imported early in the war. Also, European arms were generally less attractive in physical appearance than American arms. This further contributed to the misconception that all foreign guns were inferior when soldiers equated beauty with quality. This misconception had serious practical ramifications because soldiers would often tendentiously lose or break quality European arms, hoping to receive American-made weapons as replacements. This placed an unnecessary strain on the Ordnance Bureau. This example is indicative of both why the Bureau has received undeserved criticism and the complex problems it faced in meeting the

demands of the army.

Beyond the expected problems of supplying a large fighting force, the Ordnance Bureau's difficulties were compounded by the technological revolution which took place in the nineteenth-century. The Bureau was faced with the task of measuring the attributes of rifled versus unrifled weapons, of repeaters versus non-repeaters, of breech-loaders versus muzzle-loaders and of metallic versus paper cartridges. The refusal of the Bureau to accept readily new ideas has been harshly castigated and blamed for extending the length of the war by recent writers. Davis questions the validity of such criticism by noting that by delaying its approval of breech-loading and repeating weapons, the Ordnance Bureau was following the example of many military and weapons experts. To single out the Ordnance Bureau for criticism is argumentative.

The bulk of this work is concerned with shoulder-arms, but the author has included a great deal more. Handguns and edged weapons used by the Union army are discussed, and many subjects of interest such as the Burton bullet, the Hall carbine and the Maynard priming system are defined. The roles of many important individuals such as Brigadier General George D. Ramsay, Captain Alexander B. Dyer and Lieutenant Colonel James Wolfe Ripley are illustrated.

Carl L. Davis has made a valuable contribution to the historical understanding of both the Civil War and the technological evolution of weaponry. The book is bound handsomely, and the photographs are well-chosen and excellently reproduced. Davis has taken an interesting subject, applied scholarly skills and produced a superior book.

Carl Newton Tyson
Oklahoma State University



WHY GONE THOSE TIMES? By James Willard Schultz (Apikuni).
Edited by Eugene Lee Silliman. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974. Pp. xiii, 271. Illustrations. \$7.95.)

Eugene Silliman and the University of Oklahoma Press have performed an excellent service for contemporary Americans. Together they have rescued from neglect and obscurity a group of James Willard Schultz's less familiar works. They have presented the public with a delightful and thought provoking book.

The book, Volume 127 of the Civilization of the American Indian Series, admirably meets editor Silliman's purpose of "helping the reader to empathize with the Blackfeet and understand how the Indians saw life."

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Schultz's stories afford the contemporary reader a glimpse into the day-to-day life, emotions, beliefs and concerns of a Native American people. The result will be surprising to many Americans who have allowed themselves to come to view Indians in terms of the popular myths of western literature. Schultz's readers cannot escape the message which is implicit in his work. The "savage" Indian of the myth is demonstrated to be nothing more than a myth. And belying the myth, Schultz's Indians emerge as human beings. By relating Indian legends, explaining customs and describing events, Schultz portrays the life-style of the Blackfeet. He compels the reader to conclude that these Indians, like other peoples, were sometimes noble, sometimes corrupt, but always human as they attempted to cope successfully with the problems they encountered. In addition, the reader of Schultz cannot avoid an improved understanding of the harmony which existed between Native Americans and their world.

The book has value to more than the lay reader. It will prove useful to the professional. Each of Schultz's stories contains a series of valuable insights into the life and history of the Blackfeet. Thus, this book, along with much in the other works of Schultz, serves as a form of oral history. It is indeed unfortunate that not every tribe encountered so thoughtful and sympathetic a chronicler of their traditions.

Although the book is in every way delightful, there is one somewhat disappointing feature. The illustrations, selected from the works of Charles M. Russell, occasionally seem only to have been included because they appealed to the editor. And the quality of reproduction of the illustrations in no way does justice to the work of Russell. In spite of this minor fault, Silliman is an excellent editor. His introduction is most useful and the same is true of his notes. The book is well worth its modest price.

As one reaches the final page of the book, he discovers the origin of the title, "Why gone, those times?" It is a question which should give all Americans pause to reflect.

Billy Joe Davis

Northeastern Oklahoma State University



THE WESTERN ODYSSEY OF JOHN SIMPSON SMITH: FRONTIERSMAN, TRAPPER, TRADER, AND INTERPRETER. By Stan Hoig. (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1974. Pp. 254. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. \$14.75.)

In his third book on Western history, Stan Hoig presents a vivid account of a leading frontiersman of the Central Plains. Well-known to his contem-

poraries, John Simpson Smith never received the glorification bestowed upon other frontiersmen such as Kit Carson and James Bridger. Yet, he was "more involved in the developments of the Central Plains between 1830 and 1871 than any one man" and "was the recognized authority and spokesman on affairs affecting the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians."

The book's objective is to give Smith a deserved and recognized place in Western history. Hoig contends that Smith represented one of "the very few Americans who ever fully understood the American Indian," and by relating his life, the author hopes to lend realistic insight into the polarization of views concerning the Indian that he believes still continues in the literature of the West—a polarization that is characterized by blind benevolence on one hand and blind hatred on the other.

The book covers Smith's activities from 1830 to his death in 1871. During these years, he was long associated with Bent's Fort, the Santa Fe Trail and the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes. He worked variously as a trapper, trader, scout and interpreter, and he was credited as one of the founders of Denver, Colorado. He made three trips to the East as escort for visiting Indian Chiefs and served as interpreter on these occasions for Presidents Millard Fillmore, Abraham Lincoln, and Ulysses S. Grant. He was also interpreter at four major treaty negotiations with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes and was present in the Cheyenne camp when John M. Chivington made his infamous attack at Sand Creek.

As the narrative of these events unfolds, Smith emerges as a friend of the Indians who understood and adopted their ways and who stood on the side of peace and accommodation. Yet, he is also revealed as one who would trade the Indians their own annuity goods and who would sell his services to the military in campaigns against them. The picture painted is of a figure not completely trusted by many either in the military or among the white settlers, who thought of him as a "squawman," too friendly with the Indians. Neither was he trusted by many of the Indians, especially the younger ones, who were suspicious of his close associations with the military and government agents. Smith does emerge, however, as a significant figure who left his mark on the events of his time.

Hoig's book is an objective, well-documented, highly readable and scholarly account written by one eminently qualified in the area. It accomplishes its objective well with only a few lapses in clarity. It is well-suited for a wide audience and deserves a place in any Western history collection.

William Edward Rolison
Southwestern Oklahoma State University



EDUCATION AND THE AMERICAN INDIAN: THE ROAD TO SELF-DETERMINATION, 1928-1973. By Margaret Szasz. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974: Pp. xviii, 251. Notes, Bibliography. Index. \$10.00.)

For over a century the Federal government has assumed primary responsibility for educating the youth of the Indian tribes of the United States. Until recent times the intent of the federally-sponsored Indian education program has been to eradicate tribal culture and quicken the assimilation of aboriginal peoples into the mainstream of American society.

This work examines the educational goals of the federally-sponsored Indian education program. And it evaluates the functioning of federal boarding schools, reservation day schools and federally-supported educational programs for Indian students in the public schools. The author concludes that, generally, federal management of the educative process for Indian youth has failed. This is evidenced by poor attendance, high dropout rates, lack of motivation and general defeatism on the part of Indian students. Down to 1928, Indian education managed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs was "an archaic system of paternalism." For the Indian student, the school was an instrument of tyranny, often of torture, in its calculated attempts to strip him of his Indian identity and culture. His bureau-appointed teachers inflicted severe punishment for his determined attempt to use his native language and to observe his tribal religion.

The author gives much credit to the Meriam Commission for instigating reform in Indian education. Soon after the Meriam report was published in 1928, Congress responded by directing a reluctant bureaucracy in the Bureau of Indian Affairs to alter its suppressive educational policy. While the magnitude of Indian reform began in 1933 with the advent of John Collier as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, substantive changes in Indian school curriculum and management were underway three years earlier.

Collier was responsible for formulating the Indian New Deal. It included, besides the revolutionary Indian Reorganization Act, continuing reform in Indian education. Collier stressed strengthening community among Indians by lifting the opprobrium from aboriginal culture. He directed that Indian culture be honored and that agents and educators encourage its restoration. In the Indian schools Collier stressed cross-cultural and bilingual education.

Collier's energetic and sustained leadership in Indian educational reform produced some abatement of the federal government's long-standing program to eradicate aboriginal culture. However, several forces worked to limit if not to abort Collier's reforms, and much of the "archaic . . . paternalism" remained. One was the continuum of an ossified conservatism which

pervaded the administrative hierarchy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Collier regarded as the chief threat to fulfillment of his reform policy "the lingering power of the Old Guard educators, who were emphatically opposed to the general thrust" of his program.

Another major threat to fulfillment of Collier's goals for Indian educational reform was the calculated mis-direction of federal funds allocated to the states for the benefit of Indian students in the public schools. Before the turn of the century the Bureau of Indian Affairs had allocated funds to certain states to pay instructional costs of Indian students attending public schools. The Johnson-O'Malley Act, 1934, formalized and expanded this process. The author reveals that state education officials were "far more interested in the additional funds than in Indian pupils," mishandling of federal funds for educating Indian youth was "notorious" and the education provided Indian students in public schools was "inferior."

During the 1950s, Indian policy changed. There occurred a concomitant change in Indian education. In the Congress there was a reaction which led to an attempt to restore the policy of assimilation and eradication of Indian culture. This flowered in the termination and relocation programs.

Escalating ethnic consciousness during the 1960s caused Indian leaders to charge that for a century education in federal and public schools for tribal youth had failed to recognize and respect Indian cultures. Federal officials and state educators had disregarded the right of Indian parents and tribal leaders to have a voice in educational policy formation and administration. Indian leaders sought to revise educational policy to respond to aboriginal needs, "shaped and directed by their own people."

Education and the American Indian is a revealing, informative and provocative study. If it has a single fault it is omission of notice, evaluation and analysis of those private schools which attempt to provide educational opportunity for tribal youth.

Arrell Morgan Gibson
University of Oklahoma



THE GERMANIC PEOPLE IN AMERICA by Victor Wolfgang von Hagen. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976. Pp. xii, 404. Index. Illustrations. \$12.50.)

This work, a translation by the author of his *Der Ruf der Neuen Welt: Deutsche bauen Amerika*, is a fact-filled survey of the role of the German people in North and South America from Columbus to the present. German printers first published the news of the discovery of the new world which

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aroused much interest in America. Martin Waldseemüller, a German-Swiss cartographer, mistakenly attributed the discovery of the new world to Amerigo Vespucci, and in so doing gave it the name it bears today. Germans accompanied Cortez in the conquest of Mexico, and for a short time two German firms, the Fuggers and the Welsers, ruled over much of South America. The Germans came in large numbers to what would become the United States at the very beginning of colonization settling in Pennsylvania. During the nineteenth century, many Germans fled political persecution, coming to America and founding many towns in the Midwest and Texas which still maintain evidence of their Teutonic origins. The German immigration to America did not halt in the twentieth century but grew to new heights with the advent of the Third Reich. Germans have made many contributions to American culture including the conestoga wagon, the Kentucky rifle, the iron stove, the barn, the Christmas tree and the kindergarten.

It is evident that the author has done a great deal of research for this book for he includes a lengthy bibliography. Although a well written and profusely illustrated book, there are several problems. The author places the greatest emphasis on German influence in Latin America, which is understandable because most of his other publications have dealt exclusively with this area. The author completely neglects to mention the large German settlements in Oklahoma, and their important contribution to American culture. Also, Hagen tends to glorify the Germans and to discount any possibility that some of them may have been less than perfect. The most glaring example of this is his assertion that few German-Americans sympathized with Hitler, which unfortunately is not true, because a large number of them joined a Nazi-like organization called the Bund. Despite these problems, *The Germanic People in America* is an important work and indispensable for anyone who wants to learn more about the German contribution to the culture of the New World.

Warren B. Morris, Jr.
Austin, Texas



FORT DAVIS AND THE TEXAS FRONTIER, PAINTINGS BY CAPTAIN ARTHUR T. LEE, EIGHTH UNITED STATES INFANTRY. Text by W. Stephen Thomas. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1976. Pp. x, 109. \$20.00.)

The Texas frontier of the 1850s was a sparsely inhabited region when Captain Arthur T. Lee, Eighth United States Infantry arrived. Lee would spend twelve years in Texas, guarding emigrants from hostile Indians, build-

ing forts and, when he could, painting his impressions of the raw frontier land and its people. Lee was a remarkable man: he was a poet, author, musician and artist. His ability to portray the harsh, beautiful lands of the Southwest in vivid watercolors is shown here for the first time.

Texas Agricultural and Mechanical University Press and the Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, Fort Worth, Texas, have reproduced twenty-eight of Lee's watercolors in same-size facsimile. Sixteen of these watercolors depict the Fort Davis region in west Texas where Lee spent four of his twelve years in the Southwest. Also included are reproductions of watercolors which have been reduced in size and printed in black and white. This group of paintings contains scenes of the upper Mississippi River region, as well as two sketches of Mexico during the Mexican War and other western scenes. The only oil painting still known to exist is reproduced in this section. It is a portrait of Chief Yellow Wolf, a Comanche Indian, who was a friend of Lee.

The book is divided into three sections; the first gives an account of Lee's life in the Southwest, written by W. Stephen Thomas, director-emeritus of the Rochester, New York, Museum and Science Center. The second section contains the twenty-eight watercolors of the Southwest and the third section includes the remaining twenty-nine black and white reproductions. On the whole, the book is an excellent study depicting the Texas frontier in the 1850s. It gives the reader a panoramic view of the vegetation, terrain and the inhabitants of this region. The only fault this reviewer could find in the book was the black and white reproduction of the oil of Chief Yellow Wolf. This reproduction should have been in color, thus enhancing the striking portrait of Yellow Wolf.

Texas A & M University Press and Amon Carter Museum should be congratulated on the collection and reproduction of Arthur Lee's work. The pictures used in this book were a gift to the Rochester Historical Society, the Rush Rhees Library of the University of Rochester and the Rochester Museum of Science by the sole surviving relative of Arthur Lee, Miss Mary J. Ashley. Mr. Thomas should be commended for his efforts in collecting the sketches of Lee and presenting a new and unique approach to the history of the Texas frontier in the 1850s.

Mac R. Harris

Oklahoma Historical Society



THE MYSTERIES OF SEQUOYAH. By C. W. "Dub" West. (Muskogee, Oklahoma: Muskogee Publishing Company, 1975. Pp. 84. Illustrations. Drawings. Photographs. Bibliography. Index. \$6.95.)

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Sequoyah, or George Guess, was a Cherokee Indian who invented a syllabary for the Cherokee language. This syllabary permitted his people to communicate by using the written word. It was a significant step in the advancement of the tribe. Sequoyah's credit for the invention of the Cherokee alphabet is the most widely accepted fact about him, but even that fact is clouded by questions of when, why and how. Little else is known about this enigmatic figure in Indian history. Considerable disagreement exists between the various sources concerning virtually all aspects of Sequoyah's career. This confusion extends from the date and place of his birth to the time, place and circumstances of his death. The intervening years of his life present a similarly intriguing puzzle. His travels, relatives and occupations, as well as his stature in the Cherokee nation, are the subject of debate among authorities. The disparity begins with contemporary accounts of his accomplishments and continues through later secondary accounts.

The title of this book by C. W. West is revealing. It presents the mysteries concerning the life of Sequoyah, delving into numerous aspects of his life which are either unknown or uncertain. West intended to present the mysteries in one volume and does it well. In his attempt to allow the reader to form his own conclusions, the author rarely imposes his judgment or analysis upon the text. The book is divided into various topics of controversy and confusion about the famous Cherokee, and the disparate views are given for each topic. Numerous illustrations enhance the interest and curiosity of the reader.

Students of the history of Oklahoma or the Cherokee Indians will find this book provocative. The life of a man who figured prominently in the history of the Cherokee people remains obscure when approached on any aspect. The major mystery is the reason for his invention of the Cherokee alphabet. Because of confusion about Sequoyah's early life, little evidence is revealed which would offer justification of the stroke of brilliance which resulted in the perfection of the syllabary. The mysteries presented by West leave the reader wanting to seek answers to the questions about Sequoyah. These mysteries reveal the need for further research into the life of this famous Cherokee.

Michael Everman
Lawton, Oklahoma



THE TWENTY-FIRST MISSOURI: FROM HOME GUARD TO UNION REGIMENT. By Leslie Anders. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1975. Pp. x, 298. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliographical Essay. Index. \$17.50.)

Dr. Anders terms this book a work in microhistory. Dealing with the Civil

War period, it is indicative of one of the principal directions in which a scholar must go if he is to turn out anything original on that conflict.

The book is an exceedingly detailed account of the adventures of the Twenty-First Missouri Volunteer Infantry Regiment. This unit was formed in Northeast Missouri during those agonizing opening weeks of the Civil War when Missourians were torn between their loyalty toward the union and a sympathy for the southern cause. The Twenty-First soon found itself immersed in the bloody conflicts of the Mississippi Valley and was to participate in its first large-scale battle at Shiloh in April 1862. There the unit suffered its most grievous losses with Colonel David Moore, its able commanding officer, losing a leg. But this was to be followed by action in important battles at Corinth, Tupelo, Nashville and Mobile. In addition, the unit was involved in numerous minor skirmishes in Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri. Finally, the regiment was on garrison duty in southern Alabama for a full year after the war ended before being disbanded in April, 1866.

The reader is almost overwhelmed at times with detail on the lives and problems of ordinary soldiers and minor officers, but the book is saved from tediousness by a brisk writing style. The question that comes to mind is: of what value is all this minutia? It does have some merit. One gets especially an insight into the mentality of border-state soldiers such as these Missourians. Many came from divided families like their colonel, the redoubtable David Moore, who, though a strong unionist, had two sons join the Confederate forces, and his wife was sympathetic to the southern cause. Most members of the Twenty-First were firm supporters of Lincoln and were abolitionists though their feelings toward the Negro were ambivalent. Yet many of the soldiers had strong states-rights views and resented being sent out of Missouri to fight. Always prone to insubordination and plagued with desertions, the Twenty-First experienced a bad uprising at Chewalla, Mississippi, in which six men were court-martialed and sent to prison. On the other hand, the unit generally showed courage and discipline under the stress of battle.

In summary, the book is a worthwhile addition to the growing literature of the Civil War. At first its lack of footnotes seems disconcerting, but this is compensated for by reference to sources in the text, and there is a superb bibliographical essay at the end of the book. *The Twenty-First Missouri* should appeal especially to those with a strong interest in the Civil War of the West or Missouri history.

G. K. Renner

Missouri Southern State College



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OKLAHOMA BOOKS

By Vicki Sullivan and Mac R. Harris

A BETTER KIND OF HATCHET: Law, Trade and Diplomacy in the Cherokee Nation During the Early Years of European Contact. By John Phillip Reid. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976. Pp. vi, 249. \$14.50.)

BIBLE BELT CATHOLICISM: A HISTORY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN OKLAHOMA, 1905-1945. By Thomas Elton Brown, Ph.D. (New York: United States Historical Society, 1977. Pp. vii, 230. \$8.75.)

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CONTEMPORARY NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS: Selected and Partially Annotated with Study Guide. By William Hodge. (New York: Interland Publishing Inc., 1976. Pp. vii, 310. \$24.75.)

CHEROKEE SUNSET, A NATION BETRAYED: A NARRATIVE OF TRAVAIL AND TRIUMPH, PERSECUTION AND EXILE. By Samuel Carter III. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1976. Pp. 318. \$9.95.)

CLAUDE HANNA RETRACES MEMORY'S ROAD. Compiled and edited by Jean E. Bohannon. (Grove, Oklahoma: Memory Road, Inc., 1976. Pp. xvi, 196. \$6.95.)

CRAZY SNAKE AND THE SMOKED MEAT REBELLION. By Mel Hallin Bolster. (Boston: Brandon Press, 1976. Pp. ii, 222. \$8.95.)

A DIAMOND JUBILEE HISTORY OF TILLMAN COUNTY 1901-1976. Volume I. By Tillman County Historical Society. (Privately published by author, 1976. Pp. 768. \$25.00.)

EDWARD SHERIFF CURTIS: VISIONS OF A VANISHING RACE. Text by Florence Curtis Graybill and Victor Boesen. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1976. Pp. 302. \$35.00.)

FODOR'S INDIAN AMERICA. By Jamake Highwater. (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1975. Pp. 418. No price given.)

FODOR'S OLD WEST. Edited by Eugene Fodor and Robert C. Fisher. (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1976. Pp. viii, 504. \$12.95.)

GREAT PLAINS COMMAND: WILLIAM B. HAZEN IN THE FRONTIER WEST. By Marvin E. Kroecker, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976. Pp. xv, 216. \$9.95.)

HISTORY OF ALFALFA COMMUNITY (ALFALFA, 1901-1976). By Alfalfa Alumni Association. (Privately published by author, 1976. Pp. 206. Price not given.)

HONEY SPRINGS, INDIAN TERRITORY: SEARCH FOR A CON-

- FEDERATE POWDER HOUSE, AN ETHNOHISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT. By Charles D. Cheek. (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1976. Pp. vii, 151. No price given.)
- MURRAY COUNTY, OKLAHOMA: IN THE HEART OF EDEN. By Opal Hartsell Brown. (Wichita Falls, Texas: Nortex Publication Inc., 1977. Pp. i, 413. No price given.)
- 1977 OLD TIMERS NEWS SECOND ANNUAL YEARBOOK. (Keyes, Oklahoma: Old Timers Publishing Company, 1977. Pp. 100. \$5.00.)
- RED OVER BLACK: BLACK SLAVERY AMONG THE CHEROKEE INDIANS. By R. Halliburton, Jr. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1977. Pp. ix, 218. \$15.95.)
- THE UNIVERSITY OF TULSA: A HISTORY, 1882-1972. By Guy William Logsdon. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977. Pp. xviii, 358. \$7.75.)
- UNITED STATES-COMANCHE RELATIONS. THE RESERVATION YEARS. By William T. Hagan. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976. Pp. xvi, 336. \$19.50.)

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
April 28, 1977

The eighty-fifth annual meeting of the members of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order by First Vice President W. D. Finney at 9:30 A.M. in the auditorium of the Historical Building.

Following the invocation given by the Reverend Frank W. Sprague, Vice President Finney welcomed the large crowd. He introduced the Board members and members of the staff, and welcomed the Junior Heritage Club from Guthrie.

Mr. Finney noted that much progress had been made by the Society during the past year, but that the Society was also shocked and saddened by the loss of two key members of the Board—President George H. Shirk and former Second Vice President Fisher Muldrow.

To pay tribute to Mr. Shirk, Mr. Finney asked Dr. Dolphus Whitten, President of Oklahoma City University, to come to the podium. Dr. Whitten's address is a part of these minutes.

Mr. Finney then asked Mr. Jordan B. Reaves to preside at the presentation of a large color photograph of Mr. Shirk, a gift from Mr. Reaves, and which had been in Mr. Shirk's possession to be donated to the Society at his death. Miss Lucyl Shirk, Mr. Shirk's sister, unveiled the portrait. Mr. Reaves read a letter he had written to Mr. Shirk in 1968 and a letter to Mr. Reaves from Mr. Muldrow explaining Mr. Shirk's wishes regarding the portrait.

The tribute to Mr. Muldrow was given by Senator Denzil D. Garrison, Board member and legislative assistant to Governor David L. Boren. Senator Garrison spoke of his long acquaintance with the Muldrow family and gave personal highlights of Mr. Muldrow's life. Afterward he introduced Mrs. Fisher Muldrow; his brother, Hal Muldrow; and grandson, Jeff Niemeyer; all of Norman.

Dr. Fischer, a member of the Publications Committee, was asked to make the presentation of the third annual Muriel H. Wright Endowment Award for Mr. H. Milt Phillips, committee chairman, who was ill. The committee had chosen the article, "The United States Congress and the Release of the Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill," by John Anthony Turcheneske, Jr., Santa Fe, New Mexico, as the outstanding article appearing in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* during 1976. The article was printed in the Spring issue, Volume LIV, Number 2, and Dr. Fischer stated that the article was a superb legal study of this subject. He said the plaque award and

the \$300 stipend would be mailed to Mr. Turcheneske, who was unable to attend the meeting.

Mr. Hugh Hampton was called by Mr. Reaves to receive the Board's Certificate of Commendation for his development of the slide/sound program entitled, "Forgotten Heroes," which depicts the role of Oklahoma in the Civil War. Mr. Hampton, an electrical and sound engineer, had been acting as assistant curator of Mr. Reaves, curator of the Confederate Memorial Hall.

Special recognition was also given to Mrs. Ann Harry and Miss Mary Jeanne Hansen, Robert E. Lee Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy for their efforts in procuring a replica for a charter flag of the Stonewall Jackson Chapter Number Forty for the Memorial Hall. Mrs. Harry announced that for the first time the budget of the Robert E. Lee Chapter would incorporate a donation to the Muriel H. Wright Endowment Fund.

Mr. Pendleton Woods, director of the Society's Oral History Program, Living Legends, presented the program's Award of Recognition to Mr. Irvin M. Peithmann, who had given about 150 or 200 tapes recorded in Florida and Oklahoma regarding the Seminole Indians. Mr. Peithmann was to be the speaker for Society's sixth annual luncheon following the quarterly Board meeting.

An annual award from the American Association of State and Local History was presented by Mr. R. W. Jones, Director of Museums, to the University of Oklahoma Press. Mr. Jones, local chairman of the association's awards committee, explained that the association does much to promote and assist local historical societies and give recognition to individuals and institutions for outstanding work. Thus the OU Press received the award for 1976 for long and distinguished service for the publication of state and local history for Oklahoma and other southwestern states. Mr. Ed Shaw, Director, accepted the award.

As moved at the April 29, 1976 Annual Meeting, an amendment to the constitution was laid on the table to be considered at the April 28, 1977 Annual Meeting. The amendment, proposed by Senator Garrison, provides that on balloting for members to the Board of Directors the members of the Society will not be required to sign their names across the inner envelope (as stated in Article IV, Section 3, line 17), but that "... the member shall sign his name to the outer envelope." Senator Garrison explained that the wording in the constitution destroys the secret ballot intent and that the proposed amendment would correct this point. The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Board Member Joe Curtis moved that the action of the officers and Board

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of Directors in the corporate year just closed and as reported in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* be approved. Motion seconded and passed.

There being no further business before the Society, the meeting adjourned.

Vice President Finney invited those present to attend the quarterly Board meeting following the annual meeting.

W. D. FINNEY

First Vice President

JACK WETTENGEL

Executive Director

TRIBUTE TO FISHER MULDROW by Denzil Garrison and **TRIBUTE TO GEORGE H. SHIRK** by Dolphus Whitten, Jr., appear as Necrologies in this issue.

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

April 28, 1977

First Vice President W. D. Finney called to order the quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society following the adjournment of the eighty-fifth annual meeting of the members of the Society.

The roll was called by Executive Director Jack Wettengel. Present were Mrs. George L. Bowman; Q. B. Boydstun; O. B. Campbell; Joe E. Curtis; Harry L. Deupree, M.D.; Mrs. Mark R. Everett; W. D. Finney; Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer; Bob Foresman; E. Moses Frye; Nolen J. Fuqua; Denzil D. Garrison; C. Forest Himes; Dr. James Morrison; Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt; Earl Boyd Pierce; Jordan B. Reaves; Miss Genevieve Seger; and H. Merle Woods. Those who had asked to be excused were Jack T. Conn; Dr. A. M. Gibson; and John E. Kirkpatrick. H. Milt Phillips was ill. Miss Seger moved to excuse the absent members; Mr. Foresman seconded and the motion carried.

Mr. Finney introduced visiting Society members Rella Looney, former Society archivist; Tom Nelson, teacher; Lois Copley, genealogist; Jewell Costner, curator of the Peter Conser Home; James Fricke, Southeastern Regional Supervisor; Eugene Bray; and Nola Rigdon.

Mr. Wettengel advised that seventy-five applications for annual membership had been received and an application for one life membership, Leon S. Hirsch. Miss Seger moved that the applications be accepted and Mr. Campbell seconded. Motion passed.

Before giving her Treasurer's report, Mrs. Bowman read a note of appreciation for the Board's expressions of sympathy from Miss Lucyl

Shirk, sister of George H. Shirk, President of the Society, who died March 23, 1977. Mrs. Bowman then submitted the report of the Society's Cash Revolving Fund 200.

Senator Garrison, Chairman of the Indian Archives Committee, announced that recent space vacated in the Lower Level of the Historical Building by veterans agencies would be renovated for use by the Archives Division. He presented a floor plan of the renovation.

Mr. Wettengel gave the Microfilm Committee report for Chairman Phillips. He stated that because of personnel losses, production was behind schedule but that orders for microfilmed material were increasing.

Historic Sites Committee Chairman Dr. Morrison informed the Board that the addition to the Chickasaw Council House was nearly completed.

Reporting for the Publications Committee, Dr. Fischer said that more articles are being submitted to *The Chronicles* editor, thus permitting a greater choice in the quality of those selected. Dr. Fischer called attention to the shortage of manuscripts dealing with western Oklahoma, however.

Rural Oklahoma, fifth volume of "The Oklahoma Series," has been released and eighteen additional volumes are in various stages of development. Dr. Fischer also announced that "The Oklahoma Series" will be nominated for an award by the American Association of State and Local History for its accomplishments in the preservation of state and local history. *Mark of Heritage*, Volume II of the Series, has been published by Burns & MacEachern, Limited, Toronto, Canada, said Dr. Fischer.

At the annual meeting in May, 1940, the Board of Directors passed a resolution that thirty (30) feet on the north end of the west gallery be assigned to the Oklahoma Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution for occupancy in harmony with the rules of the Oklahoma Historical Society and subject to vacation under any subsequent resolution adopted by the Historical Society. Dr. Fischer advised the Board that the Museum Committee had worked out an arrangement with the State Museum Board, Oklahoma Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, whereby the existing exhibit will be moved. Dr. Fischer explained the plans for this change and moved that the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society set aside the resolution passed on May 10, 1940, and that the museum staff be given permission to move the Daughters of the American Revolution Parlor and integrate some of the artifacts into the regular museum exhibits. General Frye seconded the motion, which passed. Most of the items are the property of the Historical Society, however some pieces will be returned to local chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The ownership of a few items cannot be traced, but Mr. Reaves recalled that the legislature had passed a law which provides that in the absence of

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

an approval voted by the Board, all items left in the Historical Building belong to the Society.

Mr. Boydstun, chairman of the Honey Springs Battlefield Park Commission, said that the commission had met with representatives of the Oklahoma Tourism and Recreation Division on April 6 at which time a report was made of the progress of the plans for the development of the park. The commission was informed that the plans will be completed in approximately two months. Mr. Boydstun announced that former Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, Carl Albert, had been appointed to the commission.

The Education Committee, according to Chairman Foresman, has initiated an awards program and the first recipients will be recognized at the annual luncheon. The History Teacher of the Year award and a \$100 United States Savings Bond were to be presented to Paul Sikes of Sapulpa and twenty-five outstanding Oklahoma history students from around the state were to be mailed certificates.

Mr. Foresman explained a history program in effect in Texas schools, noted by Bruce E. Joseph, Director of the Society's Education Division, at a recent education seminar in Austin, Texas. In the program, individual students are encouraged to conduct their own research and present papers at yearly meetings. Mr. Joseph said that 750 students had participated and he expressed a desire to inaugurate such a program in Oklahoma schools which might create more interest statewide than has the Heritage Club concept. The Education Division will pursue this idea, said Mr. Foresman.

The Education Division is continuing to sponsor the Town Concert Series on Sunday afternoons or weekday evenings each month, as well as weekly brown-bag film series on Wednesdays. The number of students visiting the museum continues to increase, Mr. Foresman said.

Mrs. Nesbitt, Chairman of the Library Committee, reported that the newly installed library security system is in operation and said that plans are being formulated to rearrange the library for better service to researchers. The Library Committee met several times during the quarter, according to Mrs. Nesbitt. She also announced that an agreement has been reached with the Oklahoma Genealogical Society and moved that the Board of Directors accept with great thanks the gift of books from the Oklahoma Genealogical Society. Senator Garrison seconded the motion, which passed. Mrs. Nesbitt introduced Mrs. Lois Copley, First Vice President of the Genealogical Society, as well as those members of the Board who are members of the Oklahoma Genealogical Society—Mrs. Everett, Senator Garrison, Colonel Himes, and Mr. Woods.

The Executive Director was asked by Chairman Nesbitt to send a formal

letter of acceptance of the books to the Oklahoma City chapter of the Genealogical Society. Mr. Finney also suggested that the letter express the Board's appreciation for the cooperation and help of the group.

Mrs. Nesbitt presented a report on the Overholser project. She stated that a request has been made for additional funds for exterior maintenance of the mansion. She announced that a representative from the National Park Service in Washington had visited the Overholser Mansion and was critical of the plans for the renovation of the stonework. Mrs. Nesbitt asked for the Board's authority to pursue the request for funds from the National Trust for Historic Preservation for care of the stone. She has been informed by this organization that they are interested in doing research into the use of Arkansas sandstone in homes constructed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the southwest section of the country. She believes the grant request will be received favorably because of the benefit to other restorations.

At the request of Mr. Boydstun, a motion was placed before the Board to renominate Mr. Britton D. Tabor, Checotah, to the Board of Directors to fill the vacancy created by the death of Fisher Muldrow. Mr. Pierce seconded the motion.

Mr. Reaves moved that both vacancies on the Board be filled at this April meeting and nominated Dr. Odie B. Faulk, Stillwater, to fill the vacancy left by Mr. Shirk. Dr. Fischer seconded the motion.

Mr. Finney moved that the Board accept both nominations and suspend the rules of the constitution, which state that the President shall announce a vacancy on the Board at the first meeting of the Board thereafter. Mr. Curtis seconded the motion and all approved. Senator Garrison moved that nominations cease and that those nominated be seated as Directors by acclamation. Mr. Boydstun and Mr. Reaves seconded and the motion carried by acclamation. Mr. Wettengel was instructed to notify the new Board members.

Mr. Finney declared that a formal swearing-in ceremony would be held at the July meeting. He asked Mr. Boydstun to call Mr. Tabor into the meeting, where Mr. Tabor was introduced to the other Board members and seated as a Director.

Senator Garrison moved that under the provision of Section 8, Article V, Vice President Finney be elected president pro tempore to serve until the next election of officers in January 1978. Mr. Pierce and Dr. Fischer seconded and the motion was approved.

Mr. Reaves asked that recognition be given to Dr. Deupree, who had been appointed State Historic Preservation Officer by Governor David L. Boren. Mr. Finney stated that the Board was proud and happy to learn of the appointment of Dr. Deupree to the position. Dr. Deupree advised that the

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

National Park Service had been notified of the appointment and that all matters concerning federal historic site projects in Oklahoma could be directed to his attention.

Dr. Deupree reviewed the matter of the approval of a nine-hole golf course to be developed on a portion of Pawnee Bill's Blue Hawk Peak Ranch, which site is on the National Register of Historic Places, and which is under the authority of the Tourism and Recreation Division. At the request of Dr. Deupree, Dr. Fischer moved that Dr. Deupree be granted power to negotiate with the Tourism Division and recommended the following resolution: The Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society strongly supports the transfer of the remainder of the Blue Hawk Peak Ranch, excluding the land developed as a golf course, to the jurisdiction of the Oklahoma Historical Society for restoration, maintenance and operation, such transfer to include the appropriated funds for such purposes. Mr. Boydston seconded the motion which passed, with one dissenting vote.

Mr. Foresman announced the receipt of a check for \$10,361 from Sooner Federal Savings and Loan, which represented \$1.50 from each buckle sold by the firm during its promotion of the Great Sooner Buckle Collection. The check was presented to Mr. Wettengel at ceremonies in Tulsa on April 20. Sooner Federal asked to be notified of the Board's decision on how the donation is to be used. Mrs. Nesbitt and General Frye moved that Sooner Federal Savings and Loan be presented with the Certificate of Commendation and that they be informed when a project for use of the money has been approved. Mr. Pierce seconded the motion, which passed.

A request was made by Mr. Wettengel for the Board's permission to bring the constitution up to date. It was last revised in 1972. Dr. Fischer placed the request in the form of a motion, seconded by Mrs. Nesbitt, and it carried.

Mr. Woods moved that the Board express its thanks and appreciation to Miss Lucyl Shirk for bringing the color portrait of Mr. Shirk to the Oklahoma Historical Society for presentation at the annual meeting. Mr. Reaves seconded the motion which passed.

President Pro Tempore Finney requested the Executive Committee to meet in the office of the Executive Director following the luncheon.

There being no further business, the meeting recessed to the sixth Annual Luncheon at the Ramada Inn with Mr. Irvin M. Peithmann as guest speaker.

W. D. FINNEY

President Pro Tempore

JACK WETTENGEL

Executive Director

GIFT LIST

The Oklahoma Historical Society wishes to acknowledge the following people who donated gifts during the fourth quarter of 1976:

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January 28, 1977 to April 28, 1977

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Brindley, Esther E.	Oklahoma City
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Dyer, Joy K.	Blackwell
Eckhart, Franklin F.	Edmond
Endersby, Mrs. Jeanette	Edmond
Finegan, Hazel L.	Oklahoma City
Folk-Williams, John A.	Santa Fe, New Mexico
Ghormley, Mrs. Lillie H.	Tahlequah
Gray, Sally M.	Ardmore
Harris, Mrs. L. C.	Oklahoma City
Hawkins, Phillip L.	Ridgefield, Connecticut
Henson, Warren W., Jr.	Oklahoma City
Hettwer, Paul F.	Tulsa
Huddleston, Cary	Konawa
Hurst, Irvin	Oklahoma City
Kamp, Henry	Oklahoma City
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Jackson, Mrs. Louise	Ponca City
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Leonard, Robert H.	Rolla, Missouri
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Miller, Vene	Carthage, Missouri
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Riddle, Walter
Roberts, David P.
Roberts, Mrs. J. M.
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Rogers, Nell
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 Borger, Texas
 Muskogee
 Buffalo, Missouri
 Bethany
 Stonewall
 Perry
 Norman

January 28, 1977 to April 28, 1977

Tahlequah

* 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 \$1.50 unless otherwise stipulated by the Historical Society office. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

EDITORIAL POLICY—"The Chronicles of Oklahoma shall . . . pursue an editorial policy of publication of worthy and scholarly manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Oklahoma or regional history. It shall not interest itself in the publication of manuscripts of a political or controversial nature." (Constitution Oklahoma Historical Society) Manuscripts submitted for consideration for publication should be typed on bond paper and double spaced. Footnotes should conform to *A Manual of Style* (The University of Chicago Press, 1975), be double spaced and be placed at the end of the manuscript. Appropriate photographs should be supplied with submitted manuscripts and will be returned upon author's request. The Publication Department reserves the right to make any editorial changes it deems necessary for the sake of clarity and conformity to its adopted style. No responsibility is assumed for unsolicited manuscripts, and such material will be returned to the author only if accompanied by postpaid envelope. All inquiries should be addressed to: Publication Department, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73105. Telephone 405-521-2491 extension 34.



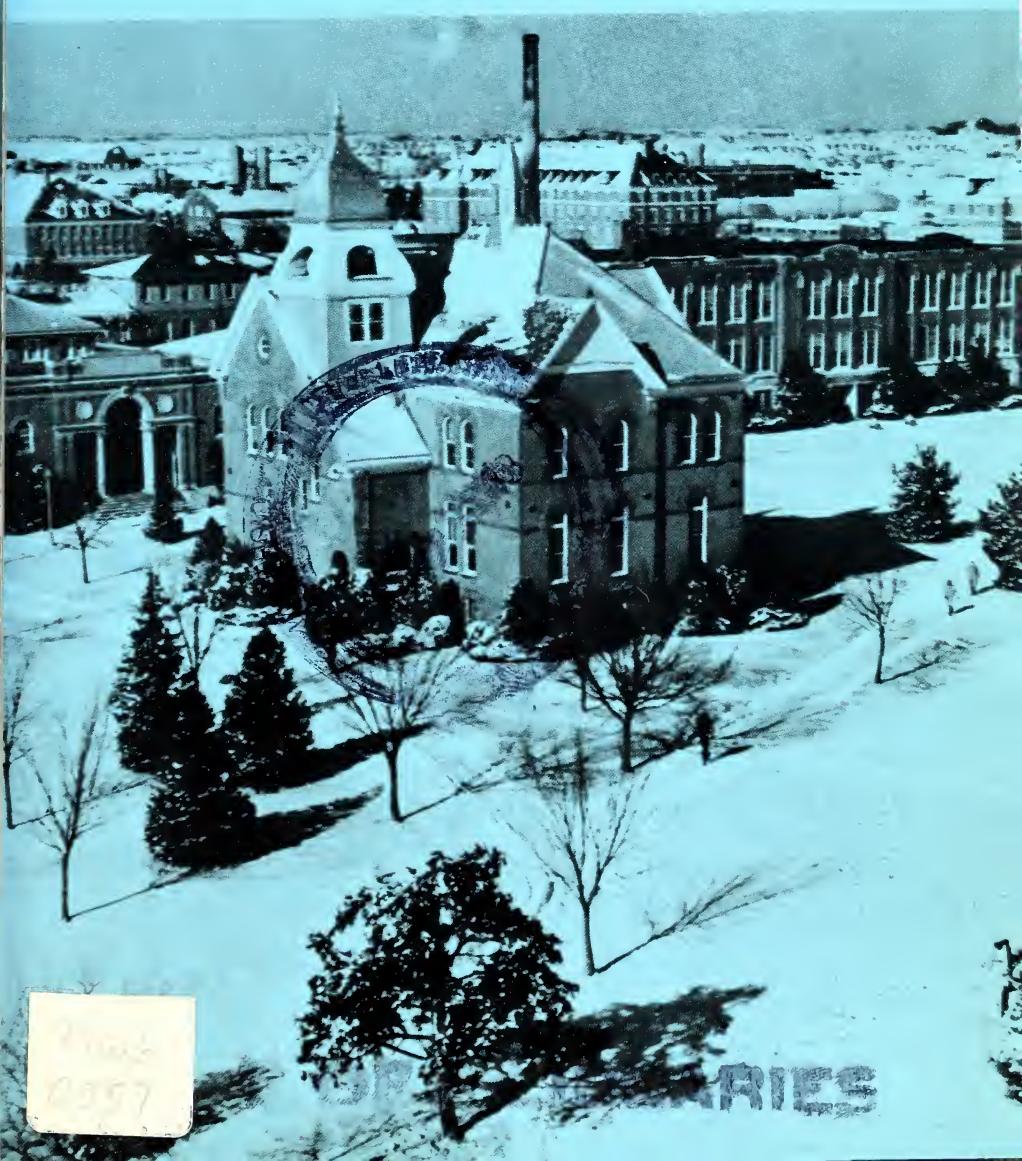
CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Article I, Section 2—The purposes for which the Oklahoma Historical Society is organized and conducted are to preserve and to perpetuate the history of Oklahoma and its people; to stimulate popular interest in historical study and research; and to promote and to disseminate historical knowledge. To further these ends and, as the trustee of the State of Oklahoma, it shall maintain a library and museum in which it shall collect, arrange, catalog, index and preserve books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, letters, diaries, journals, records, maps, charts, documents, photographs, engravings, etchings, pictures, portraits, busts, statuary and other objects of art and all other appropriate museum material with special regard to the history of Oklahoma. It shall perpetuate knowledge of the lives and deeds of the explorers and pioneers of this region; it shall collect and preserve the arts and crafts of the pioneering period, the legends, traditions, histories and cultural standards of the Indian tribes; it shall maintain a collection of the handiwork of the same, and an archaeological collection illustrating the life, customs and culture of the prehistoric peoples. It shall disseminate the knowledge thus gained by investigation and research through the medium of printed reports, bulletins, lectures, exhibits or other suitable means or methods. It shall discharge all other duties and responsibilities placed upon it by the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma.

the chronicles

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF OKLAHOMA



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OF OKLAHOMA

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THE COVER Old Central, the original structure of the Oklahoma Territorial Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater, is clearly shown in this winter scene of the campus. Completed in 1894, the structure has been totally restored, and is now a museum depicting the early history of Oklahoma State University.



THE BEGINNING OF OIL AND GAS CONSERVATION IN OKLAHOMA, 1907-1931

By *Blue Clark**

The theory and practice of oil and gas conservation were established in Oklahoma by 1931. Most leading oil-producing states either adopted regulatory practices similar to those put into effect by this state or benefitted from its experience, thereby reducing waste within their borders. Oklahoma was the first state to implement modern conservation practices for irreplaceable petroleum resources, which account today for ninety-four percent of its total mineral value. Leadership in the conservation field did not emerge full grown for Oklahoma upon statehood in 1907, although the state led the nation in the production of crude oil because of Indian Territory production and the Osage Reserve fields. Oklahoma with its closest rival, California, produced eighty to ninety percent of the nation's crude oil through 1927 and, for the 1907-1931, Oklahoma's cumulative production exceeded that of any other state.¹

Despite the lack of widespread concern regarding petroleum waste and the wild scramble for riches by wildcatters and speculators, the petroleum industry evolved regulatory mechanisms peculiar to itself as a unique American industry. This system blends the cooperation of industry and government to achieve a stabilization undreamed of in oil's earliest years in the Southwest. It is only appropriate that a state as individual as Oklahoma in its history should have been the setting for the evolution of the system of control peculiar to the oil industry.

A few short years after statehood, Oklahoma achieved preeminence among producing states in the attempt to regulate oil and gas production and to reduce known waste. However, at the time delegates to the consti-

* The author is currently a member of the faculty of Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa.

¹ Information on the national scene for this article was taken from Gerald Nash, *United States Oil Policy, 1890-1964: Business and Government in Twentieth Century America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1968).

The figures come from Table, "U.S. Crude Production by States" in American Petroleum Institute, *Petroleum Facts and Figures* (Washington: American Petroleum Institute, 1971), pp. 68-71. Oklahoma produced 43,500,000 barrels of oil in 1907; California, 39,000,000; Texas, 12,300,000.

Oklahoma was obviously not the first state to enact conservation measures for petroleum, for the first well was in 1859 in Pennsylvania, and laws progressed westward with the petroleum frontier. New York in 1879, Pennsylvania in 1881, Indiana in 1893, and Kansas in 1889 passed laws providing for the plugging of abandoned wells and for the curbing of vented gases, to name but a few. However, Oklahoma led other states in modern or post-1890 conservation efforts leading up to the Interstate Oil Compact.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

tutional convention were in session in Guthrie in 1906-1907, no discussions took place concerning petroleum in spite of the fact flush production with accompanying visible wastage was underway every day. The state's constitution makes only oblique reference to the oil industry. It provides for the office of Chief Inspector of Mines, Oil and Gas; creates a regulatory and licensing body, the Corporation Commission; and reserves controlling powers over pipeline companies to the commission.² It is silent with regard to the conservation of natural resources.

By the time Oklahoma achieved statehood, almost fifty years had passed since crude oil was produced in commercial quantities. As the petroleum frontier moved across America from Pennsylvania to the Gulf Coast and into the Mid-Continent area, the potential source of supply was exhausted as quickly as possible by drillers, lessees and landowners under the "rule of capture." Court decisions sanctioned and encouraged this rapid exploitation of petroleum resources.³

Some of the producing states during the period had concerned themselves with external damage caused by the uncontrolled production of crude oil overflowing into fields and streams and certain apparent waste of natural gas. The legislation, though, did not extend beyond prescribing the manner of casing and plugging wells, and restricting the venting of gas from gas wells, but not from oil wells. It prohibited the burning of gas for illumination in brilliant flambeau lights.⁴ The Territorial Legislature of Oklahoma enacted similar provisions in an act passed in 1905.⁵

The Federal government, through the Department of the Interior, be-

² S. K. Corden and W. B. Richards, comps., *The Oklahoma Red Book*, "Constitution of the State of Oklahoma." (2 vols., Tulsa: Democratic Printing Company, 1912), Vol. I, pp. 56-60, 66-78.

³ *Barnard v. Monongahela Natural Gas Company*, 216 Penn. St. 362 (1906) and *Westmoreland and Cambria Natural Gas Co. v. DeWitt*, 130 Penn. St. 362 (1889) said "if an adjoining landowner taps the oil and gas, it is no longer yours but his." These decisions are discussed in Northcutt Ely, *Oil Conservation Through Interstate Agreement* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), p. 4.

Earl Oliver, "Oil and Gas Law Responsible for Overproduction and Waste," *Report of the 53rd Annual Meeting of the American Bar Association* (Baltimore: American Bar Association, 1930), p. 719, reported that the 765 wells drilled in the Oklahoma City field at a cost of \$125,000,000 developed a potential production twenty times that which could be disposed of so the wells were permitted to flow only approximately five percent of the time. Another writer a year later, pointed out that despite 801 wells completed by July, 1931, with a rated potential of over 8,000,000 barrels a day, the Oklahoma City field was allowed to produce only 4 hours every 12 days. W. A. Spinney, "Oversupply Slows Work in Oklahoma," *Oil and Gas Journal*, Vol. XXX (July 30, 1931), p. 90.

⁴ Stephen McDonald, *Petroleum Conservation in the United States: An Economic Analysis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971), p. 34.

⁵ This was a copy of the Kansas Act on the subject and was incorporated as one of the laws for the state during the first legislature in Oklahoma.

came aware of problems relating to crude oil production as it affected the right of its Indian wards. The conservation policy evolved by Oklahoma owes much of its beginnings to reports made by technicians of the Interior Department who were active in the field. During inspections of Indian leases, beginning in 1896, Department of Interior personnel made note of the excesses involved in petroleum recovery. Crude production amounted to 56,905 barrels in 1903, jumping to 652,479 barrels in the following year and to 3,421,478 barrels in 1905. The Prairie Oil and Gas Company, after delays, extended its Kansas pipeline network into Oklahoma in 1904, reaching Chelsea and Red Fork in 1905 and Glenn Pool in 1906. Before the arrival of pipelines, wagons and railroad cars transported production. Much above-ground production storage was lost through evaporation, fires or floods. Lacking any means for transportation to users, the above-ground storage facilities allowed great evaporative losses. The estimated evaporation loss from the Mid-Continent area amounted to one and one-half times the total gasoline output of the natural gasoline industry in America in 1919.⁶ Because there were no pipelines, gas was allowed to waste into the air. Glenn Pool alone allowed some 50,000,000,000 cubic feet of natural gas to escape into the air. One investigator for the Interior Department stated that the greatest waste of natural gas in the nation occurred in the Osage Nation Reserve in the Mid-Continent field where one well alone was estimated to have blown 420,000,000 cubic feet of gas in one four month period into the air in order to retrieve the accompanying oil. He reported that in the Cleveland field escaped gas "rich in heavy vapors" had sunk to the ground and clung like fog in gullied parts of the field.⁷

Unchecked waste rapidly depleted producing fields. In 1907 the enormous Hogshooter gas field in Nowata County came in, but the initial pressure of 550 pounds per square inch fell in 2 years to 80 pounds as a result of the frenzied drilling with resultant under ground flooding.⁸ A local newspaper in 1908 announced that a 12-inch pipeline had been completed to the field and that there was available 100,000,000 cubic feet of gas per day to attract industry, at a price of 2¢ per 1,000 cubic feet. Four years later the citizens of Nowata found they had insufficient gas for domestic use.⁹

⁶ J. H. Wiggins, *Evaporation Loss of Petroleum in the Mid-Continent Field* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922), p. 86, estimated evaporation from Mid-Continent area amounted to one and one-half times. The Bureau of Mines was created July 1, 1910, and was placed in the Interior Department. 36 U.S. Stat. 369.

⁷ Raymond S. Blatchley, *Waste of Oil and Gas in the Mid-Continent Fields* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), p. 37.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

⁹ J. Stanley Clark, *The Oil Century from the Drake Well to the Conservation Era* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 160.



Glenn Pool—south and west of Tulsa, Oklahoma—allowed an estimated 50,000,000,000 cubic feet of natural gas to escape because of a lack of pipelines

Immediately after statehood, Oklahoma made little progress in controlling physical and economic waste of oil and gas. The limited personnel within the state from the office of the Chief Mine Inspector, in response to any public pressure, could do little more than suggest plugging abandoned wells. The first attempt at state regulation was not to prohibit waste but to keep natural gas from being exported from the state to prevent the catastrophic plummeting in the price. With no provision to shut down gas wells to avoid physical waste of this resource, the act was struck down by the federal court because it failed to regulate gas production from the ground, and it concentrated wrongly on prohibiting interstate commerce of the gas. The court concluded that “It does not protect the right of all surface owners against the abuse of any.”¹⁰ The state legislature in 1907, following Texas

¹⁰ *West v. Kansas Natural Gas Co.* (1911), 221 U.S. 229, 55 L. ed. 716. A suggestion to state legislative bodies to regulate the production of gas from the ground had also been incorporated in the Supreme Court opinion in the case of *Ohio Oil Company v. Indiana* (1900), 177 U.S. 190, 20 Sup. Ct. Reporter 584.

practice, passed a measure levying a gross production tax on natural resources. This, too, was not a conservation measure, but its revenue-raising feature for the operation of state government was one of the reasons cited by Governor William "Alfalfa Bill" Murray when he proclaimed martial law for the Oklahoma City field in 1931.¹¹

In the wake of the Hepburn Act of 1906 saying pipelines should be common carriers, the Oklahoma legislature responded to pleas of independent operators on March 27, 1909, with the common purchaser act.¹² The act carried no penalty provisions and was usually ignored by pipeline companies. Some years later courts upheld the common carrier provisions of the statute.¹³ After 1914 ratable takings were court-sanctioned and carriers were subjected to forced compliance.¹⁴

Independent oil producers were among the first to advocate regulation of the industry. In 1914 two hundred and fifty representatives met in Oklahoma City and formed the Independent Producers League.¹⁵ The group passed resolutions calculated to bring relief from "intolerable conditions" blamed on the large, integrated companies. One representative called upon President Woodrow Wilson and Congress for legislation against the monopolistic practices said to be controlling the price and transportation of Oklahoma oil field products. Another recommended that interstate pipelines be made common carriers in fact, and subject to the regulation of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which was done two months later. League officers became active proponents for fair treatment and the use of conservation practices in the oil industry.

Conditions were ripe for the serious consideration of conservation legislation. George A. Henshaw, elected to the Corporation Commission in 1910, later recalled that every time the attorney general and the commission prepared bills for the legislature, a Pullman carload of oil men from Tulsa would visit the capitol and use their influence to kill the measure. According to him, the Tulsa Commercial Club appointed a committee of five to raise funds and a committee of fifteen to represent oil operators of that area, in

¹¹ State of Oklahoma, "Gross Revenue-Taxation," *Session Laws of the State of Oklahoma, 1907-08* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 640-645.

¹² State of Oklahoma, "Oil and Gas," *Session Laws of Oklahoma, 1909* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Engraving and Printing Company, 1909), pp. 425-430.

¹³ *Pierce Corp. v. Phoenix Refining Co.*, 79 Okla. 36, 2159 U.S. 125, 66 L. ed. 855 (1922).

¹⁴ *The Pipeline Cases* (1914), 234 U.S. 559.

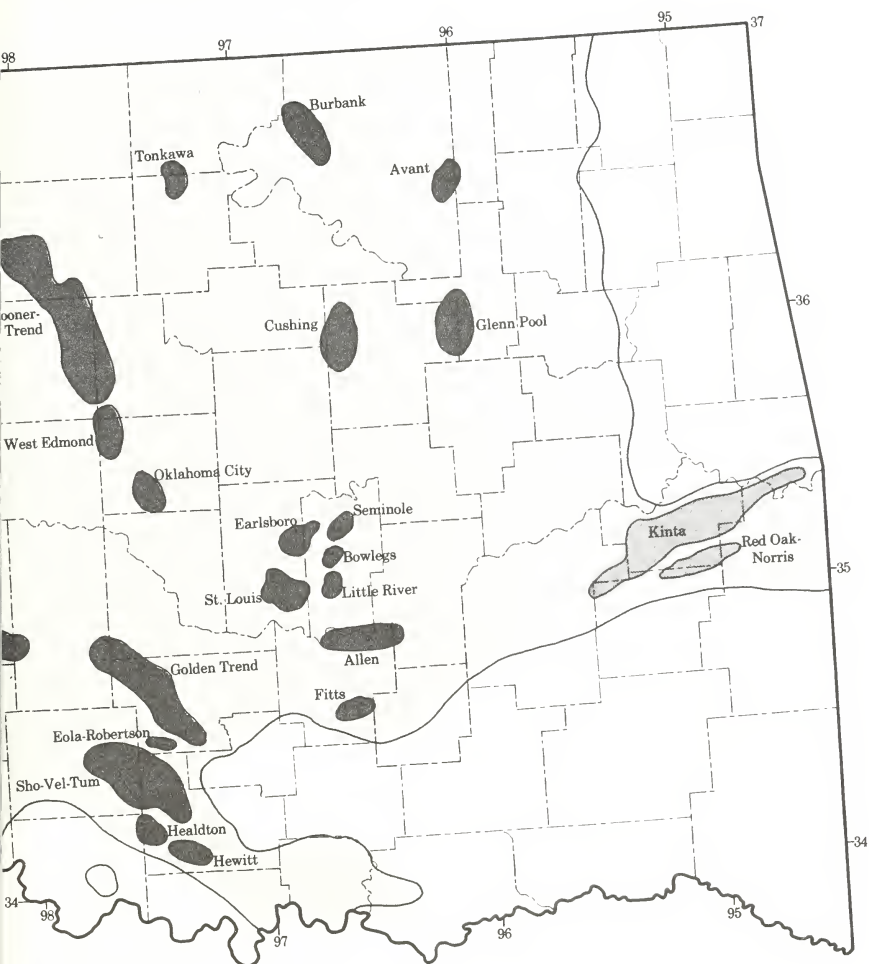
¹⁵ *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), April 24, 1914. League officers included C. F. Colcord of Oklahoma City, President; M. C. French, Okmulgee, Vice-President; E. E. Brown, Oklahoma City, Secretary; Wirt Franklin, Ardmore, and Robert Galbreath, to complete the board of directors. Oil men dislike the interference and government edicts, but self-preservation made them accept "modified state socialism" a correspondent reported in the *Oil and Gas Journal* (Tulsa), July 2, 1914.

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Oil and Gas producing areas of Oklahoma (Source: Morris, Goins and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 2nd ed., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976, map 70)

OKLAHOMA OIL AND GAS CONSERVATION



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relays, at Oklahoma City during the session of the legislature.¹⁶ But, at the fourth session of the legislature, in 1913, the independents showed up in force and pressed for regulation.

There were other factors which created a more favorable climate for reducing physical waste and economic waste in the production of oil and gas. Technical reports from the Bureau of Mines were given wide circulation and revealed alarming practices in the Mid-Continent field. Representatives of the bureau were able to show that methods of field operations brought excessive gas wastage and that efficient wellhead control of escaping gas was possible.¹⁷ Bureau technicians were college-trained men, geologists and engineers with practical experience in the oil fields, and the industry was attracting men of similar training and experience. In a decision in 1900 the Supreme Court could properly pronounce: "No machinery or process of any kind has been devised or known to the world whereby the oil can be produced or saved unless at the same time such natural gas as may be in such well is suffered to escape."¹⁸ Fifteen years later this would have been an absurd statement to make. By then the industry had at hand the knowledge, tools and equipment to eliminate much of the easily apparent above-ground physical and economic waste and was making strides to control underground waste.

The state legislature in 1913 enacted two measures relative to natural gas at the time two great oil field discoveries, Healdton and Cushing, were being developed.¹⁹ The first act made gas pipeline companies common carriers and common purchasers, and each producing well was limited to twenty-five percent of its daily natural flow. The other act recognized the correlative rights of surface owners to the common reservoir and provided for ratable production therefrom.²⁰ The Corporation Commission was designated the state regulatory agency for administering these acts.

Much of the crude oil production in the Healdton and Cushing fields was from Chickasaw, Choctaw and Creek Indian allotments, and reported waste became of concern to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Excessive rainfall in early May, 1914, in the Healdton field caused an estimated 150,000 barrels of

¹⁶ *Daily Oklahoman*, February 8, 1933.

¹⁷ Because of studies prepared and work done by technicians in Oklahoma oil fields, the Bureau of Mines located its Petroleum Experiment Station at Bartlesville, Oklahoma in 1918.

¹⁸ *Ohio Oil Co. v. Indiana*, 177 U.S. 190, 20 Sup. Ct. Reporter 580.

¹⁹ State of Oklahoma, "Natural Gas," *Session Laws of Oklahoma for 1913* (Guthrie: Co-operative Publishing Company, 1913), pp. 165-166; State of Oklahoma, "Natural Gas," *ibid.*, pp. 439-441.

²⁰ This was the first legislation of any state of this nature. W. P. Z. German, "Legal History of Conservation of Oil and Gas in Oklahoma," *Legal History of Conservation of Oil and Gas* (Chicago: American Bar Association, 1938), pp. 110-213.

oil to wash out of storage dams and float down Bayou Creek while 50,000 barrels soaked into the earth. An additional 50,000 barrels, it was estimated, had evaporated before the heavy rainstorms struck. As an added burden, the total production for Healdton and Cushing in 1914 exceeded the 1913 marketed output by well over fifty percent.²¹

A committee of independent oil producers accompanied Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, through the Healdton field on May 29, 1914. The committee witnessed immense quantities of oil burning in Bayou Creek, with heavy columns of smoke marking the creek for miles. Commissioner Sells was supplied with data which showed that 40,000 barrels of oil were being produced daily while the only market outlet for the field, the Magnolia Pipeline Company, could carry only 8,000 barrels. Healdton oil operators claimed that the loss from seepage and evaporation amounted to twenty-five percent or more of the storage. After visiting this field, one member of the official party said: "There is more oil flowing daily down the Bayou in this field and Tiger Creek in the Cushing field than is produced in many of the well-known fields. The thousands of barrels of oil in Bayou Creek, a total loss, showed more than any other thing the great need for market facilities."²²

One solution to this waste was to cut down on production, but the industry and government officials were not, as yet, ready to take that step. After public hearings on May 7, 1914, the Corporation Commission issued orders whereby producers and pipeline companies operating in the Healdton and Cushing fields agreed to pay the salary of inspectors who would make reports to producers on the amounts of oil run each month from all sources.²³ No limitation was placed on production. Probably because of the recommendation of Commissioner Sells as a result of his on-site inspections in Oklahoma, Congress, on August 1, 1914, provided six additional oil and gas inspectors to supervise drilling operations on allotted lands leased by members of the Five Civilized Tribes.²⁴ Meanwhile, independent producers in the fields were concerned with overproduction. Only about twenty percent of the Cushing field output could be accepted by the carriers. A mounting surplus of the highest grade crude oil ever discovered was being stored above-ground in wooden or steel tanks or dammed in creeks or earthen pits

²¹ John Northrup, "Petroleum, Oklahoma," *Mineral Resources of the United States 1914, Nonmetals* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), pp. 1007.

²² *Daily Ardmoreite* (Ardmore), May 30, 1914.

²³ Oklahoma Corporation Commission, "Order 813" and "Order 814" *Seventh Annual Report* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Corporation Commission, 1914).

²⁴ 38 U.S. Stat. 602. Another act of Congress, 38 U.S. Stat. 647, appropriated \$25,000 to the Bureau of Mines for inquiries on the prevention of waste in the production of oil and natural gas. The Bureau made its investigations and reports on Oklahoma fields.

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at the rate of 3,000,000 barrels a month. Pipeline companies requested the Corporation Commission to relieve them from taking oil from any new wells drilled within the next four months. The commission issued the requested order on July 1, 1914. In effect, this was America's first proration order. The language of the order included this analogy: "If a forest of timber . . . [was] being ruthlessly and carelessly destroyed by fire or sawed down and permitted to float down rivers, the public would find some way of stopping such destruction."²⁵

There was no statutory provision to limit the number of wells nor production in an oilfield, but the commission had the backing of producers in the field for the action taken. Neither was there any law that granted the commission authority to limit oil production to market demand but orders were issued to curtail production at Cushing to oil that could be sold for 65¢ a barrel, and, at Healdton, to 50¢ a barrel.²⁶ These, obviously, were delaying actions undertaken by the Corporation Commission in response to the pleas made by independent producers, awaiting more formal action through legislative authority.

The fifth Oklahoma legislature passed two comprehensive measures relating to oil and gas conservation, the first designed by any state to prevent waste of these natural resources.²⁷ The most important factor leading to the enactment of these conservation measures was the attitude of the oil operators. This legislation was the result of their campaign and influence for regulation.

Both measures authorized the Corporation Commission to issue rules for the enforcement of the act.²⁸ The oil act defined waste, in addition to its ordinary meaning of physical waste, to include economic waste, underground waste, surface waste and waste incident to the production of crude oil in excess of transportation or marketing facilities or reasonable market demand. The act included provisions of the 1913 legislation: a common purchaser clause and ratable taking from a common source of supply. Both

²⁵ Oklahoma Corporation Commission, "Order 829," *Eighth Annual Report* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Corporation Commission, 1915); Nash, *United States Oil Policy, 1890-1964: Business and Government in Twentieth Century America*, p. 16.

²⁶ Oklahoma Corporation Commission, "Order 844," "Order 846" and "Order 878," *Eighth Annual Report*.

²⁷ "House Bill 395" for the conservation of natural gas was approved March 30, 1915, and "House Bill 168" relating to oil conservation, on February 15, 1915.

²⁸ Until 1917 the supervision over the proper plugging of abandoned wells remained a function of the Chief Mine Inspector. Then an oil and gas department was authorized by the state legislature, with a chief oil and gas conservation agent, under the Corporation Commission. State of Oklahoma, *Session Laws of Oklahoma for 1917* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1917), pp. 167-168.

acts omitted any control of the enormous amount of gas released to bring oil to the surface.

During June the Corporation Commission held meetings at Ardmore, Okmulgee, Bartlesville and Tulsa to explain the acts and to hear representatives from the industry as well as Bureau of Mines experts offer suggestions for remedial action. There was agreement that wasteful practices in production could be corrected through cooperation and regulation. At only one meeting, that at Tulsa—a center of integrated companies—did a strong minority appear at the public hearing to oppose controls: “The entire matter . . . is an effort on the part of the Commission to keep in the limelight as much as possible. The people as a whole are rather disgusted with the effort made by the Commission to interfere with the oil business, and in the general opinion is playing a brand of small town politics without accomplishing anything.”²⁹

Guidelines in the oil statute were followed by the Corporation Commission when it issued Order 920 on June 5, 1915. This was based upon a complaint filed by the Ardmore Oil Producers Association on excessive overproduction in the Healdton field where potential production was 70,000 barrels per day. Market demand did not exceed 15,000 barrels. The commission took note of a statement that if, each day 80,000 barrels of crude oil were stored for the duration of a year, each day of the year the loss would average 8,000 barrels. The commission incorporated this thought in its opinion: “Would it not be a spectacle for the public to assemble each morning and witness the destruction of eight thousand barrels of a commodity that is absolutely necessary for the prosperity and business of the country—a commodity which once being destroyed can never be replaced by any artificial means known to science?”³⁰

The order required that each well be gauged relative to its potential production and each owner be restricted from producing more oil than his

²⁹ *Tulsa Daily World* (Tulsa), June 30, 1915. It was an unfair criticism. Two of the three Commissioners were highly respected lawyers and both, George Henshaw and Walter Humphrey, had been members of the Constitutional Convention. The order they prepared on the waste of natural gas as a result of the meetings is preceded in the annual report by a nineteen page opinion which presents reasons and justifications more clearly presented than many supreme court opinions.

³⁰ Oklahoma Corporation Commission, “Order 920,” *Eighth and Ninth Annual Reports* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Corporation Commission, 1915).

Natural gas was covered by Order 937, September 1, 1915, *ibid.*, pp. 287–323. A comprehensive review of the oil and gas industry from Indian Territorial days is included in the reasons given for the order, and includes numerous quotations from technical papers issued by Bureau of Mines technicians and from industry representatives. One operator expressed the opinion that the amount of gas wasted in drilling operations in the state exceeded the value of all the oil produced. *Ibid.*, p. 294.



Seminole Oil Field which revealed its vast potential in the 1920s

share of the market demand from the field. The market demand, really any well's share, was based upon thirty-day forecasts issued by the commission upon Bureau of Mines' estimates of the nation's needs. Earthen storage was prohibited.

Order 1299 issued by the Commission July 16, 1917, became "the bible" for the oil and gas industry. Its forty-one rules consolidated the applicable rules and regulations against waste or negligence, and it remained in operation, with only minor additions, until new legislation was passed in 1933.³¹ By it the Corporation Commission granted all drilling permits and the driller or well operator was required to submit to that body records of progress and completion.

During the next decade a defect became apparent in the legislation passed in 1915 as well as the rules administered by the Corporation Commission. This pertained to the amount of gas released in producing crude oil. Technological advances, unknown in 1915, proved the importance of reservoir energy in the recovery of oil. For example, the Corporation Commission in

³¹ Clark, *The Oil Century from the Drake Well to the Conservation Era*, p. 168.

February of 1933 set an oil-gas ratio for the West Holdenville field when some wells showed a ratio of 126,000 cubic feet of gas to each barrel of crude oil produced. When the order was rescinded due to the protests of operators in the field, Claude Barrow stated in his column, *The Slush Pit*: "If operators take their allowable of 5,000 barrels a day, there will be produced also 182,440,000 cubic feet of gas per day—enough to supply the entire state of Oklahoma. The 5,000 barrels of oil net producers \$2,600 per day; the gas at 6 cents per thousand feet, would net \$10,946 per day. The loss due to lowered pressure can only be figured when they have to repressure their wells."³²

The pattern for state regulation of oil and gas conservation was set by 1918. This involved logs of new fields, drilling notices filed with the Corporation Commission, discovery wells and operators meetings with the commission to reach agreement on daily production, as well as hearings on complaints. However, the gigantic fields of East Texas and Oklahoma City produced problems anew in the 1926 through 1931 era. These events will be touched upon in Oklahoma to demonstrate the rhetoric and the tenor of the problems and their solutions.

Just as the Greater Seminole area was revealing its vast potential in the mid-twenties, so were new fields of major potential being developed in West Texas, the Texas Panhandle and California. Operators in the Seminole area immediately imposed voluntary proration and set up a committee to voluntary compliance in 1926. Following a public hearing and at the request of the producers, the Corporation Commission issued a proration order for the several pools which comprised the Greater Seminole area.³³ This was later revised into America's first statewide proration order which permitted a daily allowable of 450,000 barrels from the Seminole area and 250,000 barrels from other producing areas.³⁴

Within two years the two greatest fields of the century were under development—East Texas and Oklahoma City. Inasmuch as the Oklahoma City field, like the Greater Seminole area, could have furnished the entire state's daily allowable of crude oil, readjustments in proration were neces-

³² *The Daily Oklahoman*, March 7, 1933. "Order 6163" was issued February 6, 1933, and it set a ratio of one barrel of oil to 5,000 cubic feet of gas. Oklahoma Corporation Commission, "Order 6163," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Corporation Commission, 1933).

³³ Oklahoma Corporation Commission, "Order 3944," *Twentieth Annual Report* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Corporation Commission, 1927).

³⁴ Oklahoma Corporation Commission, "Order 4430," *Twenty-first Annual Report* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Corporation Commission, 1928); Nash, *United States Oil Policy, 1890-1964: Business and Government in Twentieth Century America*, p. 122.

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sary. The commission, for the first time in an order, recognized the underground waste of natural gas in the production of crude oil.³⁵

Because of the depression, consumer demands for petroleum products fell. Refineries sustained a loss from 1926 to 1927 of \$1,600,000 daily from the drop in gasoline sales alone. Potential production increased in proportion to the decline in sales. From May, 1929 to July, 1930 the daily demand from Oklahoma declined from 725,000 barrels to 500,000 barrels. The price of crude fell from \$1.20 a barrel in 1930 to 38¢ a barrel in July, 1931. By May 21, 1927, due to overproduction, shares of the thirty largest petroleum companies declined \$600,000,000, and all oil shares dropped \$1,000,000,000. Thus, even before the Great Depression, the petroleum industry was pinched by its own greed.³⁶

The crisis within the depressed oil industry engendered meetings throughout the Mid-Continent area to urge production restrictions and even shutdowns.³⁷ Governors from the Mid-Continent area or their representatives, foreshadowing later interstate compact meetings, gathered at Texarkana, Arkansas, to consider remedial action. As a means to raise the demand for domestic production, independent producers at the meeting won advocates to urge a national policy for reduction of imports and quotas granted foreign concessions on importation. These men also favored the regulation of production from flush fields through voluntary action.

Voluntary action was pursued in the Mid-Continent area where oil prices plummeted in one year from \$1.50 a barrel to 10¢ in West and East Texas and to twenty-five cents in Oklahoma and Kansas by mid-1931. Local operators and royalty owners in Oklahoma City passed a July 10, 1931, resolution favoring a shutdown until crude prices could rise to \$1.00 a barrel. On July 11 producers in three counties in West Texas and two of the largest producers in the Oklahoma City field, the Phillips Company and the Indian Territory Illuminating Company, agreed to shut down all producing properties except offset wells adjoining other wells under production. Three hundred independent producers in Kansas met on the same day in Topeka and resolved to shut down 22,000 wells producing 200,000 barrels of oil daily. One hundred and seventy-three wells with a combined daily potential of

³⁵ German, "Legal History of Conservation in Oklahoma," 159. Order 4882 of the Commission, December 23, 1929, was the first to recognize the importance of reservoir energy in the recovery of oil.

³⁶ James Veasey, "Legislative Control of the Business of Producing Oil and Gas," *Report of the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the American Bar Association* (1927), 579; "Why the Oil Industry Was Broke Before the Great Depression," *Oil and Gas Journal*, undated, W. D. Grisso Collection, Library, University of Oklahoma, Manuscripts Division, Norman, Oklahoma.

³⁷ *New York Times* (New York, New York), December 21, 1930; July 11-12, 23, 1931, for representative meetings.



Such over production in the oil fields eventually forced Oklahoma Governor William H. Murray to order the National Guard to close them down

2,121,026 barrels were closed by July 15 in the Oklahoma City field, two days after the Texas legislature began an extraordinary session to prepare a strong oil and gas conservation statute.³⁸

Producers met with Governor William Murray to urge a statewide shutdown, but they were told it would be useless to order a shutdown in Oklahoma if unlimited production continued in Texas. Voluntary proration in the Oklahoma City field decreased production from over 300,000 barrels July 2 to 139,000 barrels by July 22. Many wells operated at only four percent of potential.³⁹ While Governor Murray commanded the National Guard near the Red River to enforce the opening of free bridges into Texas, several hundred members of the Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association met at the Mayo Hotel in Tulsa to urge a shutdown. At his July 23 press conference, Murray stated a shutdown order was a possibility, and on July 28 he delivered an ultimatum to the major purchasers of Oklahoma crude oil: raise the price of crude purchases to \$1.00 a barrel or be shutdown. The purchasers, such as Stanolind, Champlin and Sinclair, ignored this warning.⁴⁰

To test the state conservation laws and proration policies, the Champlin Oil and Refining Company filed a federal court suit in April, 1931. That

³⁸ *Daily Oklahoman*, July 11-12, 1931.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, July 14, 1931; statistics, *ibid.*, July 25.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, July 24, 29, 1931.

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company contended a ready market was available for its production, through its pipeline to its refinery and that no waste would result from its operations. In the Southwest, as in the nation, judicial trend opposed broad governmental regulatory powers. The National Recovery Act of President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal was struck down in the United States Supreme Court, while in Texas the courts invalidated Railroad Commission proration powers and Governor Sterling's subsequent martial law in the Texas fields.

While the Champlin case against the proration policies was adjourned, Texas federal district court struck down the proration order powers of the Railroad Commission, saying they were based on price fixing.⁴¹ Following the lead set by Texas, the federal district court in Oklahoma City in the Champlin case reconvened on August 3 to deny the Corporation Commission power to limit production. This left the Oklahoma City fields unregulated. Murray promptly declared martial law in the Oklahoma City fields the next day.⁴²

When he shut down the Oklahoma City fields on August 4, Murray was careful to proclaim that the order was issued as a conservation measure and not for the purpose of price fixing. He cited as constitutional authority his right to call out the National Guard to preserve school land resources and revenues. He charged that during the previous March, officials of Sinclair Oil Company had met at Tulsa "to consider the possibility of bribing forty members of the legislature to impeach the Governor, who had balked the company's attempt to repeal the oil laws."⁴³ The order established a military zone 50 by 50 feet around 3,106 wells in 27 fields.

On August 17, Governor Sterling followed Murray's advice and shut down the East Texas field which had been producing 1,000,000 barrels of oil daily. Sterling's martial law came five days after the Texas legislature had approved measures that brought Texas oil and gas statutes into line with those of Oklahoma. Governors of adjacent states worked closely with their regulatory agencies during these trying days. Finally prices rose, and the crisis subsided. Murray lifted the shutdown order October 10, but units of

⁴¹ 51 Fed. (2) 400 (July 28, 1931).

⁴² Text of proclamation, *Daily Oklahoman*, August 5, 1931. In *C. C. Julian Oil and Royalties Co. v. Capshaw, et al.*, Corporation Commissioners, October 14, 1930, the police powers of the Commission to prevent waste and the 1921 Conservation Act were upheld. 292 Pac. 841.

On October 17, 1931, federal court ruled against the Champlin Company. 51 Fed. (2) 823. Also the proration laws were upheld on appeal. 52 Sup. Ct. 559, 286 U.S. 210.

⁴³ *Daily Oklahoman*, August 5, 1931. Murray threatened to introduce a resolution before the School Land Commission to force Sinclair to pay royalties on the basis of 40¢ per barrel. *New York Times*, August 5, 1931.

the National Guard were continued on duty in the Oklahoma City field to enforce compliance with orders issued by the Corporation Commission.

One other company besides the Champlin Company challenged Corporation Commission powers and proration. The H. F. Wilcox Company did not enter into voluntary proration in the Oklahoma City field in July, 1931, and successfully ignored commission orders relative to the field. The court case growing out of the dispute which followed declared all commission orders void in 1934 and restricted the commission to limiting production, but not the sale nor transportation of crude and its products. The ruling also held that the commission could not prorate an entire market demand from separate sources using specific rather than general rules. This, the only serious setback in the administration of Oklahoma's conservation laws, goes beyond the chronology of this presentation of the genesis of oil and gas conservation in the Sooner State.⁴⁴

In summary, the Tenth Amendment to the United States Constitution reserves all powers to the states not already delegated or prohibited to them, and this placed intrastate regulation of petroleum in the hands of states. Because the national government was interested in its Indian wards, their lands and mineral rights, Oklahoma was able to profit from cooperation given by federal technicians and geologists with their experiments and testimony. What might have been considered waste in the mid-thirties was not considered waste in 1915. A learning curve which was experienced in Oklahoma extended to other areas so that where oil and gas were produced, state after state profited from the conservation practices first made effective in Oklahoma. States such as Kansas and Texas directly copied from Oklahoma statutes. They and other states gave regulatory bodies supervisory authority similar to that exercised by the Oklahoma Corporation Commission.

It was necessary for the petroleum frontier to gain maturity before time and thought were given to conservation. After this period of maturation, Oklahomans took pause, looked about them and acted to lead America in conservation practices. In Oklahoma a favorable climate of public opinion was strengthened by the cooperation and efforts of a majority of producers. Oklahoma led other states of the nation in the adoption of changing concepts on conservation in all instances except one, the unitization of a complete field. This was first practiced in 1931 by the Department of the Interior in the operation of the federal holding at Kettleman Hills, California.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ H. F. Wilcox Oil and Gas Company v. Walker, *et al.*, 168 Okla. 355 (May, 1933). After the Supreme Court of Oklahoma denied Governor Murray power to call out the militia the second time, in 1932, the legislature thereupon passed the necessary laws and strengthened the Corporation Commission. Okla. Stat., 1933, 281, 312.

⁴⁵ Northcutt Ely, *The Federal Government and the Conservation of Oil and Gas* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948), p. 3.

FRENCH EXPLORERS IN OKLAHOMA

By Delbert F. Schafer*

French entry into the Mississippi River basin in the late seventeenth century immediately affected the territory which is now the state of Oklahoma. For several years, the French extended the borders of the colony of Louisiana by moving up the rivers which emptied into the Mississippi River. Also until the transfer of the colony to Spain, the French built up areas for European colonization, sought favorable alliances with the Indian tribes and expanded their sphere of trade.

French interest in the Oklahoma area revolved around trade and alliances. Explorers and traders engaged in direct barter with the Indians and established trading posts along the rivers. The establishment of trade with the Spanish also provided a powerful incentive. In fact, many of the expeditions in Oklahoma had as their objective the opening of a trail to Santa Fe, New Mexico; and to render the passage safe they negotiated treaties, thereby, establishing claim to the territory. Attempts to open the way from New Orleans, Louisiana, to Santa Fe kept the water routes of the Red, the Canadian and the Arkansas rivers especially busy.

Documentation of the early French penetration of the Mississippi River basin is meager. Hence, it is safe to assume that expeditions by adventure-some *coureurs de bois* went unrecorded. The earliest report about the area came to the French from an ex-governor of New Mexico, Don Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa. Unfortunately, Peñalosa's information is suspect—it is unlikely that he journeyed into the Kansas-Oklahoma region in 1662 as he asserted.¹ In any case, Peñalosa's proposal to attack New Mexico was not followed. Instead, Chevalier Robert de La Salle, in 1685, planted the ill-fated colony at Matagorda Bay in Texas.

Reportedly, a number of Frenchmen soon entered the area west of the Mississippi River. In 1695 the Spanish reported, "the news which the Apaches bring is that a large number of French are coming towards the plains of Cibola."² This report was surely an exaggeration. Yet, in 1700 Pierre de Iberville led a foray up the Red River, and in 1703 de Iberville claimed that twenty Canadians had set out to investigate mining activity

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¹ Charles W. Hackett, "New Light on Don Diego de Peñalosa," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. VI, No. 4 (December, 1919), pp. 313-335.

² Frederick W. Hodge, "French Intrusion Toward New Mexico in 1695," *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January, 1929), p. 73.

and to establish trade with New Mexico.³ In addition, Emile Laurain claimed to have moved up the Missouri River and eventually to New Mexico in 1705.⁴ Derbanne claimed to have approached New Mexico in the next year.⁵ These early accounts are suspect or clearly did not describe entry into Oklahoma. If additional *coureurs de bois* traveled in Oklahoma during this era, no record has come to light of their adventures.

Organized penetration began with the transfer of the Louisiana monopoly from Antoine Crozat to John Law's Company of the West in 1717.⁶ The war between France and Spain in 1719-1721 encouraged the company to push energetically into the area, however, ironically, the conflict doomed the trading ventures.⁷ The Spanish fled the area!

Jean-Baptiste Bénard, Sieur de la Harpe's expedition into Oklahoma in 1719 provided the first French account of the area. An adventuresome person, La Harpe had already spent time in South America and lost his fortune. Therefore, he sought to recoup his losses by applying for a land grant from the Company of the West. The Company agreed, and he left France in June, 1718, to establish his claim which the Council of Louisiana placed on the Red River above Natchitoches, Louisiana. The Council further authorized exploration and the opening of contraband trade with the Spanish. In December, La Harpe left New Orleans leading four officers and twenty-seven employees. He reached Natchitoches in late February 1719, and by early April was at a site near present Texarkana, Texas, where he established a fort.⁸

³ Pierre Margry (ed.), *Découvertes et établissements de Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (6 vols.; Paris: Maisonneuve, 1879-1888), Vol. VI, p. 178. Hereinafter cited as *Découvertes*. Also see Ross Phares, *Cavalier in the Wilderness* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952), pp. 15-22 and Emile Lauviere, *Histoire de la Louisiane Française, 1673-1939* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1940), p. 300.

⁴ Margry, *Découvertes*, Vol. VI, p. 181.

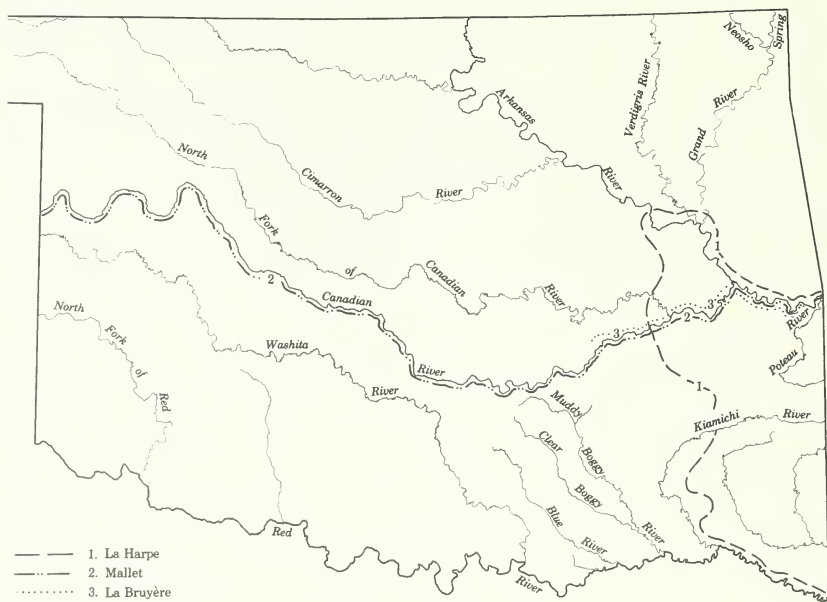
⁵ John F. Bannon. *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513-1821* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), pp. 124-127. I have been unable to identify the given names of Laurain and Derbanne.

⁶ The establishment of Natchitoches in 1714 by St. Denis served as an important way-station for Red River explorers as well as those going into Texas, for example, see Odie B. Faulk, *Land of Many Frontiers; a History of the American Southwest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).

⁷ Charmion C. Shelby ed., "Projected French Attacks Upon the Northeastern Frontier of New Spain, 1719-1721," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (November, 1933), 457-472. Alfred Barnaby Thomas, *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), pp. 245-260 prints a translation of Spanish documents from 1724-1727 discussing French encroachment.

⁸ This fort may have been occupied by the French until the 1780s according to an April 10, 1805 report sent by John Sibley, the Indian Agent at Natchitoches, to Henry Dearborn, the Secretary of War, found in the *American State Papers, Indian Affairs* (2 vols.; Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832-1861), Vol. I, p. 729. Also consult the footnote in Anna Lewis, "La Harpe's First Expedition in Oklahoma, 1718-19," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. 4 (December, 1924), pp. 331-332.

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Routes of prominent French explorers in Oklahoma—Jean-Baptiste Berard
 Sieur de La Harpe, Pierre and Paul Mallet and Fabry de la Bruyere

Then, La Harpe dispatched exploring and trading probes. Du Rivage, the geographer of the expedition, ascended the Red River for some 180 miles searching for tribes with which to trade. A message had also been sent to the Spanish in Texas. The governor of the province of Texas, Don Martín de Alarcón (D'Allarconne) replied "the post that you occupy belongs to my Government . . . I shall find myself forced to compel you to abandon the lands that the French have no right to settle upon."⁹ Naturally, La Harpe rejected the Spanish claim, and soon afterwards, news of the declaration of war between the two nations reached the party. Thus, he decided to abandon attempts to establish trade in favor of exploration.

This trip to the north and west led La Harpe into Oklahoma. Exactly where there is a matter of contention. Marie Anna Wendels charted their course as reaching a site near the mouth of the South Canadian River. Ralph A. Smith, a translator of the La Harpe account, places the excursion as moving more westward reaching a site slightly southeast of Purcell. A recent

⁹ Ralph A. Smith, "Account of the Journey of Bénard de la Harpe: Discovery Made by Him of Several Nations Situated in the West," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. LXII, No. 4 (Winter, 1958-1959), pp. 372-373.

investigation by Mildred Mott Wedel argues that the route proposed by Joseph B. Thoburn of the Oklahoma Historical Society is the most likely. Generally this route is more directly north than the other two.

La Harpe's route, as charted by Thoburn, cut across the extreme southwestern corner of Arkansas, west into Oklahoma to Idabel, then northward along the Little River and overland to Gaines Creek. Gaines Creek was followed to the South Canadian River, across it and the North Canadian branch and eventually to the Arkansas River. The farthest point on this route ends near present-day Haskell.¹⁰ Considerably impressed, La Harpe reported:¹¹

there is no point in all the colony of Louisiana *more useful for making an establishment than upon this river branch*, not only because of the goodness of the climate, the fertility of the lands and the richness of the minerals, but even in reference to trade, which could be introduced with the Spaniards of New Mexico.

He decided, however, against the establishment of an outpost. The problem was that the Indians left in October to hunt on the plains and did not return until March to plant the spring crops. On September 13, 1719, he began his return, arriving at his fort on October 13. He soon left for New Orleans, never to return to his Red River land grant, allowing it to be transferred to Louis Juchereau de St. Denis, the commander at Natchitoches.

At almost the same time, Claude-Charles du Tisé approached Oklahoma from the north. Du Tisé arrived in Canada from France in 1711 but soon traveled to Louisiana; he had been active throughout the Mississippi River basin.¹² In 1719 he journeyed from the French post Kaskaskia on the Mississippi River in Illinois, to the west to make alliances with the Indian tribes. The eventual objective called for establishment of trade with the Spanish. Astoundingly, in this one year Du Tisé made two trips to the

¹⁰ For the best and most recent discussion of this see Mildred Mott Wedel, "J. B. Bénard, Sieur De La Harpe: Visitor to the Wichitas in 1719," *Great Plains Journal*, Vol. X, No. 1, (Spring, 1971), n. 35, pp. 64-65 and Mildred Mott Wedel, "Claude-Charles Dutisne: a Review of his 1719 Journeys," *Great Plains Journal*, Vol. XII, No. 2 (Fall, 1972 and Spring, 1973), n. 3, p. 18.

¹¹ Smith, "Account of the Journey of Bénard de la Harpe: Discovery Made by Him of Several Nations Situated in the West," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. LXII, p. 533.

¹² Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791* (73 vols.; New York: Pageant Books, 1959), Vol. LXV, p. 195 reports on the October 2, 1711 appearance of Du Tisé in Quebec. For good accounts of Du Tisé's exploits consult Wedel, "Claude-Charles Dutisne: a Review of His 1719 Journeys," *Great Plains Journal*, Vol. XII and Anna Lewis, "Du Tisé's Expedition into Oklahoma, 1719," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III, No. 4 (December, 1925), pp. 319-323.

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west. On the first, he traveled up the Missouri River before being stopped by the Missouris, who barred his visit to their enemies to the west. Returning to Kaskaskia he once again set out on a daring overland route across the present state of Missouri, ending in the northeast Oklahoma-southeast Kansas area. Accounts differ over the westward leg of the overland trip.

The best possible sites in Oklahoma for the western terminus of the trip are near Chelsea and near Vinita. Recently, Wedel argued for the Neodesha, Kansas, area, but confessed that the two Oklahoma sites have not been ruled out.¹³ Du Tisné concluded an alliance with the Panis and planted the French flag before on September 27, 1719, beginning his second return trip to Kaskaskia.

In 1719 the two explorers, La Harpe and Du Tisné opened Oklahoma to the French, possibly coming within fifty miles of each other! A party of six Frenchmen in 1721, headed by Richard Pichart, probed into the Canadian River area of Oklahoma. Though the Pichart party ran into opposition from the Osages, it did succeed in visiting the Mentos. Apparently this party descended the Arkansas River on its return trip.¹⁴ It is probable that other unnamed *coureurs de bois* traipsed through the land.

Étienne Veniard de Bourgmont (Bourgmond), a well-seasoned, knowledgeable and notorious veteran of both the Canada and the Mississippi regions, sailed from France in 1722 to establish a firm hold over the trans-Mississippi West. The plans called for him to erect a fort on the Missouri River, conclude peace with the tribes between New Mexico and Louisiana, establish trade and create a barrier against the Spanish.¹⁵ Arriving in Louisiana in late 1722, he left New Orleans in February 1723, moving up the Mississippi River. In November he erected Fort Orleans near the midpoint of the present state of Missouri.

In 1724 he set out across Kansas to visit the Comanches. However, on the first try he became ill and had to turn back to Fort Orleans. Without fully regaining his strength he soon set out again. On this second try, one account asserts that Bourgmont became lost and wandered far to the south. This wandering carried the party to the Cimarron River in northern Oklahoma

¹³ Wedel, "Claude-Charles Du Tisné: A Review of His 1719 Journeys," *Great Plains Journal*, Vol. XII, p. 154.

¹⁴ Abraham Phineas Nasatir, ed., *Before Lewis and Clark, 1785-1804* (2 vols.; St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Document Foundation, 1952), Vol. I, p. 20. Margry, *Decouvertes*, Vol. VI, p. 363 reprints La Harpe's account of this.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 388-391. Bourgmont had considerable fame from his 1714 trip up the Missouri River; it is translated in Marcel Giraud, "Etienne Veniard De Bourgmont's Exact Description of Louisiana," *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, Vol. XV (1958), pp. 3-19.

before it turned back northward.¹⁶ Bourgmont made peace with the Comanches, but he did not find the way to New Mexico. After Bourgmont, French expansion slowed.

Finally, in 1739, two brothers, Pierre and Paul Mallet, led a trading caravan from Illinois to Santa Fe. The probable route to New Mexico was far up the Missouri River, overland back to the Platte River, then in a general southwest direction to the Arkansas River near Garden City, Kansas. Following the Arkansas River west to the mouth of the Purgatoire River where they turned southward. They moved through Taos, New Mexico, arriving at Santa Fe on July 22, 1739.¹⁷ The trip was financially a failure, for the trade goods had been lost; nonetheless, the northern route to Santa Fe had been found.

The southern route across Oklahoma was opened by the Mallets' return trip. On May 1, 1740, the explorers left Santa Fe moving to the east to find the Canadian-Arkansas River system. The party split apart about two weeks out of Santa Fe, and three of the members returned to Illinois while four others continued the descent of the Canadian River. On May 19 those following the Canadian abandoned their horses for elm bark canoes. The switch allowed them to move rapidly downriver, and below the forks of the Canadian-Arkansas they found an inhabited French hunting camp. Though they continued the trip after a short stay, for some reason they did not reach New Orleans until March 1741.

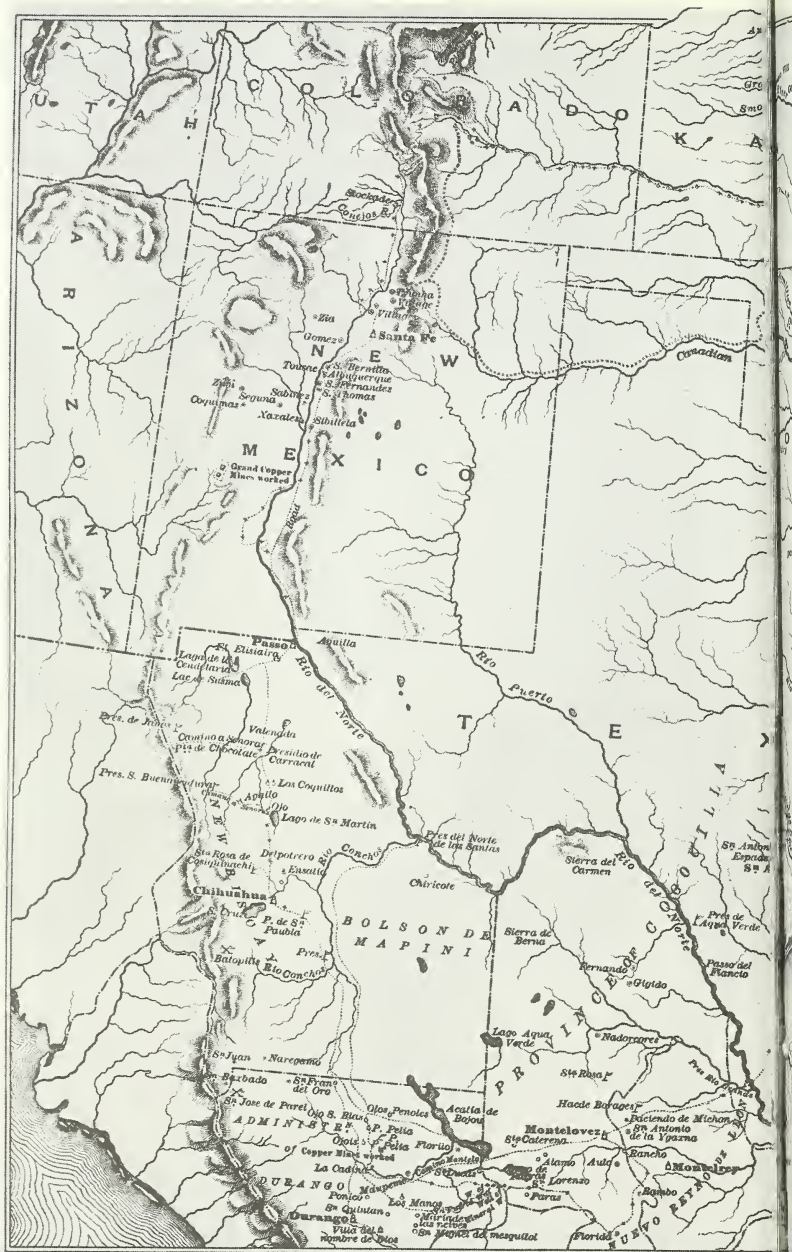
M. M. Bienville, the Governor of Louisiana, decided to take immediate advantage of the opening of the southern route to Santa Fe. He sent a trading expedition to the West commanded by Fabry de la Bruyère with the four members of the Mallet party serving as guides. Bienville's instructions to Fabry on June 1, 1741, called for an ascent of the Arkansas River, conclusion of alliances with the Indians, spreading of the news that France and Spain were at peace and to make general observations.¹⁸ This venture spent almost a year in Oklahoma; unfortunately, its accomplishments were sparse.

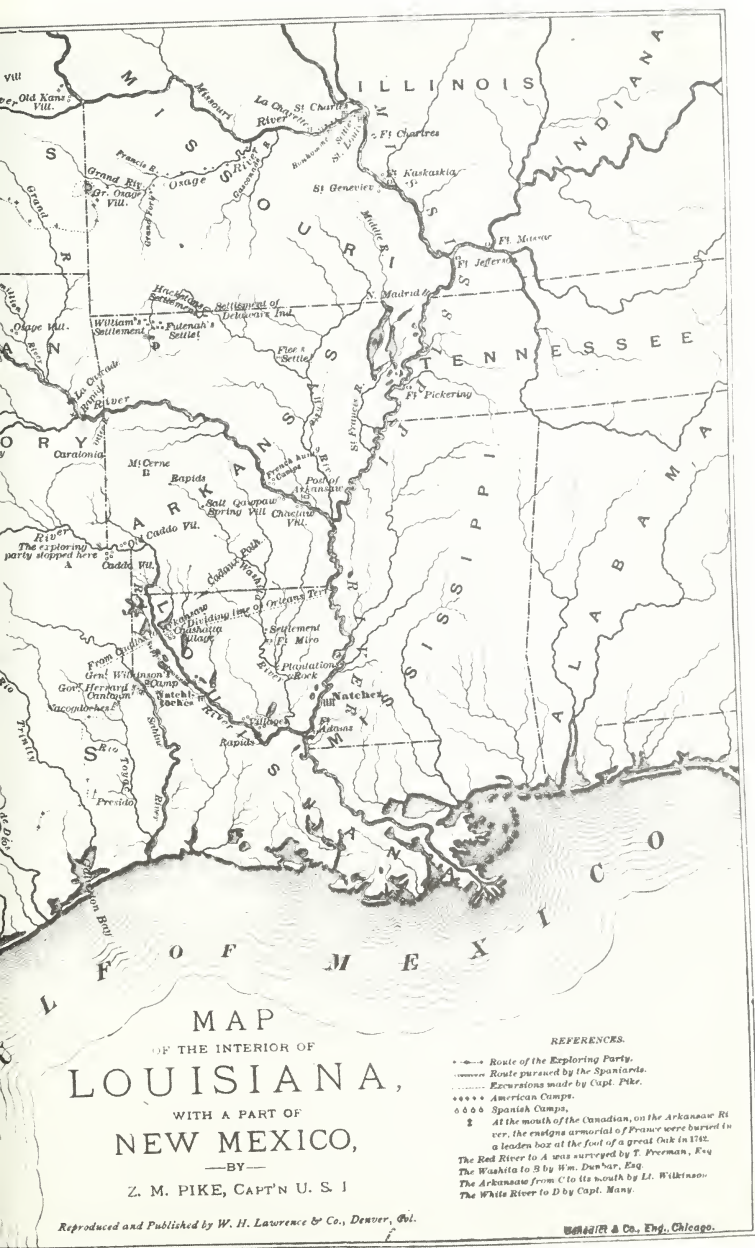
Fabry set out from New Orleans with his party in September, 1741, and quickly moved to the mouth of the Arkansas. However, as they moved up-

¹⁶ Margry, *Découvertes*, Vol. VI, pp. 398-449. John Anthony Caruso, *The Mississippi Valley Frontier—the Age of French Exploration and Settlement* (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1966), p. 267. Henry Folmer, *Franco-Spanish Rivalry in North America, 1542-1763* (Glendale, California: A. H. Clark Company, 1953), pp. 285-289 places the meeting site in central Kansas near present-day Ellsworth.

¹⁷ Henry Folmer, "The Mallet Expedition of 1739 through Nebraska, Kansas, and Colorado to Santa Fe," *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. XVI, No. 3 (September, 1939), pp. 161-173.

¹⁸ Margry, *Découvertes*, Vol. VI, pp. 466-470.





taken from Zebulon M. Pike's map of his 1806 journey through Oklahoma, this map clearly shows where Pike located the remains of Fabry de la Bruyere's fort and trading post

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river to the Canadian River, low water made further river travel impractical. A switch to horses proved impossible for none were available, and Fabry gave some Osages a message to take to the East requesting the French to send some to them. The Mallets failed on two occasions to reach the Mentos to acquire horses, and finally, Fabry decided to personally lead a group to the East to gain the needed stock. However, the Mallets and others protested; they wanted to continue overland to the West.

Fabry refused all other plans. He left most of the party in camp while he obtained the horses. Those in camp had orders to remain until August 1 before starting their own return. However, a portion of the party, led by the Mallets, set out for Santa Fe instead. Fabry, failing to find the horses, returned to his diminished camp, and deciding to abandon further efforts, he sent some back down the Arkansas River and some overland to descend the Red River.¹⁹ Although this expedition failed, Oklahoma became better known to the French.

Even though Spanish records are suspect, perhaps three French expeditions reached New Mexico in the 1740s. A document in the New Mexican Archives shows that Jacques (Santiago) Velo (Belleau, Bellot) reached Pecos near Santa Fe in 1744. Velo's exact route is uncertain, but he claimed to have been a deserter from the French in Illinois and to have traveled westward across the plains.²⁰ It is possible that he crossed some part of Oklahoma. Another report places thirty-three Frenchmen in the area in 1747.²¹

The best documented expedition in the 1740s is that of Luis Febre, Pedro Satren and Joseph Miguel Riballo. They succeeded in reaching Taos, New Mexico, in the spring of 1749. During interrogation they reported their route to be from Illinois, across the plains to Taos. It is possible that some members of the original party, who split from these three, might have wandered around the Oklahoma territory; although, no proof exists. Upon receipt of the first interrogation report, the officials in Mexico City ordered a second. At this second interrogation Satren was credited with providing information about the southern route along the Red River. Yet, at the first questioning, all three claimed to have come by the northern route! It is highly unlikely that Satren possessed information about both routes.²²

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 472-492. Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark, 1785-1804*, Vol. I, pp. 30-31. The fate of this Mallet attempt is unknown.

²⁰ Noel Loomis and Abraham Phineas Nasatir, *Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), p. 55.

²¹ Ramón Eduardo Ruiz, "For God and Country: a Brief History of Spanish Defensive Efforts Along the Northeastern Frontier of New Mexico to 1820," Master of Arts Thesis, Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, California, 1948, pp. 39-42.

²² Charles W. Hackett, ed., *Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas* (4 vols.; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1931), Vol. III, pp. 299-333.

In three successive years, 1750, 1751 and 1752, French caravans reached New Mexico. As a result the alarmed Spanish government ordered the detention of French encroachers. Still Don Tomás Vélez Cachupín, the governor of New Mexico, on March 8, 1750, reported the entry of a party composed of six Frenchmen and one Spaniard, Manuel Felipe de Sandoval. The information attributed to Satren in the second questioning most likely came from Sandoval. This party had traveled the southern route across Oklahoma.²³

In 1751, Pierre Mallet again traveled through Oklahoma. Mallet started this journey in New Orleans and led a party up the Red River, then swung to the Colorado River and eventually to the Pecos River. The other three French members, Juan Bautista Boyce (Boyer), Pedro Ojofrion (Gionfrio) and Bautista Roc (Roque), claimed not to know the complete objectives of the mission.²⁴ They reported that they had been raided by the Comanches who had taken not only their goods, but also the secret letter carried by Mallet. Cachupín reported to Mexico City that Mallet told him that the stolen letter contained a proposal for the establishment of a regular trade route. All four were sent to Mexico City, interrogated again and eventually sent to Spain. It was obvious that the officials in Mexico City were becoming more and more worried about French encroachments.²⁵

Jean Chapuis (Chaupis) and Luis Feuilli (Fossi, Foissi) completed the last known French expedition across the plains to New Mexico. Their journey took them from Illinois, up the Missouri River to Fort Cavagnial by December 1751. They traveled across Kansas and reached Pecos on August 6, 1752, but it is impossible to ascertain whether they touched Oklahoma. However they suffered the same fate as the party of the previous year. They were arrested, sent to Mexico City and eventually shipped to Spain.²⁶

French activity in the trans-Mississippi West was coming to an end. The French in North America had to turn their attention to Canada and the area east of the Mississippi River. However, during the French and Indian

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 325-33. Herbert E. Bolton and T. M. Marshall, *The Colonization of North America* (New York: Macmillan, 1929), p. 286; Loomis and Nasatir, *Pedro Vial and the Road to Santa Fe*, p. 55; H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton, *The Pacific Ocean in History* (New York: Macmillan, 1917), pp. 396-398.

²⁴ These names may be different in the French language; for example, Pierre Mallet is identified as Pedro Malec by the Spanish.

²⁵ Hackett, *Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana of North America*, Vol. III, 333-362.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 363-370; Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark, 1785-1804*, Vol. I, p. 42; Loomis and Nasatir, *Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe*, p. 57; Charles E. Hoffhaus, "Fort de Cavagnial: Imperial France in Kansas, 1744-1764," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXX, No. 4 (Winter, 1964), pp. 437-440.

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War some called for increased effort in the area. The Governor of Louisiana, the Chevalier de Kerlérec, in 1758 made a full report on conditions in the Mississippi basin and advocated the expansion of trade with Indians in the trans-Mississippi West.²⁷ Also in 1758, a French traveler, Antoine Simon Le Page du Pratz, urged the expansion of trade with the Indians.²⁸ Neither of these plans were put into action, and these two accounts stand as a summation of French activity in the trans-Mississippi West. Their vagueness indicate that the French had not fully succeeded in opening the area.

The French, as a result of the ill-fated French and Indian War, lost the Louisiana territory which included Oklahoma. In 1762, France gave it to their ally, Spain, as payment for their assistance and for compensation in losing Florida to Great Britain. However, the Spanish did not continue the overland routes through Kansas and Oklahoma connecting Santa Fe with New Orleans and Illinois, and they squandered the friendly contacts with the Indian tribes in the Oklahoma area. Therefore, much of the knowledge gained by the French explorers was forgotten. As a result in the early nineteenth century, Americans had to rediscover much that had been unused and lost by the Spanish.²⁹ Oklahoma, though well traversed by the French, had to be re-explored by the Americans.

Oklahoma's contact with European heritage dates not from the early nineteenth century Louisiana purchase by the United States of America, but from the French explorations of the early eighteenth century. Without the French and Indian War, French influence would have continued and been appreciably greater in Oklahoma. It is interesting that the French never saw it as part of any Great American Desert. La Harpe in 1719 reported "the soil of this country is black, light, and very fertile."³⁰ Apparently the French would have taken advantage of the area as rapidly as feasible as they viewed the future state of Oklahoma as a desirable land of promise and opportunity.

²⁷ Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark, 1785-1804*, Vol. I, pp. 51-55; Loomis and Nasatir, *Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe*, pp. 58-61.

²⁸ Antoine Simon Le Page Du Pratz, *The History of Louisiana*, translated from French (New Orleans: J.S.W. Harmanson, 1947), pp. 147-187.

²⁹ As an example of neglect see Sibley's letter to Dearborn, *American State Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 725-731.

³⁰ Benjamin F. French, ed., *Historical Collections of Louisiana* (7 vols.; New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1846-1875), Vol. III, p. 74.

OLD CENTRAL: A PICTORIAL ESSAY

By Kenny L. Brown and LeRoy H. Fischer*

On June 15, 1894, excitement ran high in Stillwater, Oklahoma Territory. The citizens of the small town proudly anticipated the third annual commencement-like ceremonies of the Oklahoma Territorial Agricultural and Mechanical College. The embryonic school still had no graduates, but the faculty and students were to hold the yearly program in the freshly-completed permanent College Building. At last the dream of the people was realized. They now had a large substantial brick structure which assured them that the college would remain in Stillwater. Later, the town newspaper, the *Eagle-Gazette*, vividly described the scene: "Whose heart was so dead to pride as to refuse to respond with thrills of pleasure at the sight of our beautiful new and imposing college building, brilliantly lighted from basement to dome . . . reflecting bright gleams of radiance through the dusky evening, making a background of the cloudy horizon."¹

This emotional expression concerning the building was understandable. For well over three years the citizens of Stillwater had fought to establish the Oklahoma Territorial Agricultural and Mechanical College in their town. From the beginning, the College Building symbolized the success of their efforts. Subsequent buildings dwarfed the original structure, later known as Old Central. Yet, its symbolic importance did not diminish. To generations of students, Old Central represented the pioneer spirit which led to the founding and early development of the college. As the building aged and deteriorated and as it became a safety and fire hazard, many people suggested razing it. Others responded with the desire to save Old Central as a monument to pioneer education. The ensuing and long-fought struggle for the preservation of Old Central resulted in its also becoming a symbol of its own survival.

The attempt to establish the Oklahoma Territorial Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater began shortly after the settlement of the town in 1889. In that year, Boomers established the municipality when the government opened the Oklahoma region to non-Indians. Typical of the westward movement, the small towns created at this time vied for the various institutions which the government would inevitably establish. These included the county seats, the territorial capitol, the prison and the various

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¹ *Eagle-Gazette* (Stillwater), June 21, 1894.

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colleges, all usually provided in the early development. The residents of Stillwater simultaneously sought the county seat of Payne County and the territorial agricultural college for their new home. They decided upon the college at several town meetings just prior to the opening of the territorial legislature.²

The governing assembly of Oklahoma Territory convened in Guthrie on August 26, 1890. Almost immediately Stillwater gained an advantage when George W. Gardenshire, a Populist representing Payne County, obtained the presidency of the Council, or upper house. At once, he began campaigning to designate the college for Stillwater, making a deal with Democrats who wanted to move the capitol from Guthrie to Oklahoma City. This coalition had little effect due to the fierce competition in the legislature for these institutions. Gardenshire and the Payne County representatives in the lower house, as a result, were forced to introduce no less than six bills trying to secure the agricultural college. Ultimately, after much opposition from legislators and governors alike, "House Bill 82" passed the legislature. It allowed the establishment of the Oklahoma Territorial Agricultural and Mechanical College in Payne County. Signed by the governor on December 24, 1890, this bill was only one advancement in the contest to acquire the school for Stillwater.³

The townspeople soon discovered that the provisions of the bill called for several sacrifices on their part. They would have to issue \$10,000 in bonds at five percent interest to pay for the first permanent college building, they would have to donate at least eighty acres of land for the school and they would have to compete with at least seven other towns in Payne County which were also eligible for the college. Probably the most troublesome problem was the issuance of the building bonds. On February 3, 1891, the county government held an election calling for county support of the bonds with the understanding that the college would be located at Stillwater. This proposal lost 776 to 375. In response, the people of Stillwater went into action to pass the bonds with support only from the town. First, it was necessary to incorporate the town before the bonds could be issued. When this process was completed in April, 1891, the town fathers set May 4 as the election day for a new bond proposal. This new question passed 132 to 0. Only the sale of the bonds remained before this legal requirement would be complete.⁴

² Philip Reed Rulon, *Oklahoma State University: Since 1890* (Stillwater, Oklahoma: Oklahoma State University Press, 1975), pp. 2-4.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7; Freeman Miller, *The Founding of Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College* (Stillwater, Oklahoma: Hinkel and Sons, 1928), pp. 2-5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-9; Rulon, *Oklahoma State University*, pp. 8-9.

Meanwhile, the residents also turned their attention to finding suitable land to locate the college. Eventually, Alfred Newton Jarrell, Charles A. Vreeland, Oscar Morse and Frank Duck offered portions of their land totaling two hundred acres. They received little restitution for this land which they had only recently acquired. As great as was their sacrifice, it did not insure the establishment of the college. The proposed institution also attracted the attention of citizens of other towns in Payne County, particularly those of Perkins. By law, a commission, appointed by the governor to decide the location of the college, visited Payne County in June, 1891. After much persuasion from residents of Perkins and Stillwater, the commission ultimately chose Stillwater as the site.⁵

The only remaining factor in obtaining the college was the sale of the building bonds which had been approved by the citizenry of Stillwater. Although classes began at a local church in December, 1891, the bonds would not be sold for some time. Early in 1892, a new development shocked the residents. An investigation revealed that the bonds were illegal because the town's property valuation was not sufficient to support the bonds, the law requiring \$140,000 more than the original \$110,000 assessment. The resourceful and determined leaders of Stillwater responded by reevaluating the property. Surprisingly, a miraculous growth had occurred, and Stillwater's value had become adequate to support the \$10,000 in bonds. Only July 26 a new election made the issuance of the bonds legal.⁶

Several months followed before the supporters of the college could sell the bonds, because the economy of the region and the nation was faltering. After one unsuccessful attempt to sell the bonds to a Missouri investment firm, Joseph W. McNeal of Guthrie bought the bonds for only \$7,825. This payment was \$2,175 below par value, but it was a necessary inducement during this period of hard times. To make up this discrepancy, Stillwater's government sold warrants which brought the total to \$10,000. At last the townspeople had made the final sacrifice to obtain the college. The territorial legislature soon added \$15,000 to the fund, and on June 20, 1893, the board of regents let the contract for the building to H. Ryan of Fort Smith, Arkansas, for \$14,948.⁷

Almost an entire year passed before contractor Ryan completed the new building which would ultimately be known as Old Central. Unfortunately, a controversy over the allocation of funds partially caused this delay. Be-

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11; Miller, *The Founding of Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College*, pp. 6-7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19; Rulon, *Oklahoma State University*, pp. 11-12.

⁷ *Ibid.*; pp. 12-14; Miller, *The Founding of Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College*, pp. 20-22.

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cause Stillwater had no railroad, transportation was also a problem. The nearest railroad stations were at Perry and Orlando where Ryan and his associates received the building materials and hauled them to Stillwater in wagons. A local brickmaker provided the bricks, while the sandstone came from a quarry near Perry. Several students helped to construct the structure. As a general rule, the college required that all male students work for the school at least two hours a day at ten cents an hour. In all, the contractor hired nearly fifty men to complete the college building.⁸

When completed, almost \$10,000 had been spent on the equipment and furnishing of the building, bringing the total cost to about \$25,000. It was indeed a noteworthy accomplishment for the tiny frontier town of Stillwater. The finished product pleased the overflow crowd attending the dedication on June 15, 1894. The Stillwater *Eagle-Gazette* stated: "The beauty of the outside appearance was almost forgotten when the magnificent assembly room was entered." One observer referred to the building as an "imposing and commodious edifice."⁹

The highly-acclaimed facility consisted of a basement and two floors. The foundation of native red sandstone surrounding the basement formed a wall eight feet high, two feet thick and one foot below the basement floor. Red brick walls extended above this foundation, with the windows and doors faced and capped with native red sandstone. Two towers ornamented the roof, one a bell tower, the other a cupola used for ventilation. The gables were covered with cedar shingles and the roof with preformed metal shingles. The whole structure was approximately sixty-seven feet square. The main entrance, on the level of the first floor, was on the south, and a door on the northwest also opened to a long stairway.¹⁰

The structure contained sixteen rooms. In the basement was the chemistry laboratory, chemistry classroom, a gas machine, various storerooms and the furnace room housing the building's central, hot-water heating system. The first floor contained two classrooms, a reception room, the library room and the president's office. The second floor housed two classrooms, two apparatus rooms, a storeroom and the assembly hall. The assembly hall was forty by fifty feet in size. Interior stairways served the basement, the second floor, the attic and the belfry. A narrow hallway ran north and south through the basement, a wide hallway north and south through the first floor, but the rooms on the second floor fronted on the assembly hall.¹¹

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23; *Gazette* (Stillwater), August 25, 1893, July 24, 1914.

⁹ *Eagle-Gazette*, June 21, 1894.

¹⁰ *Gazette*, August 25, 1893.

¹¹ LeRoy H. Fischer, "Historic Old Central to Serve Again: Preserved for Posterity," *Oklahoma State Alumnus*, Vol. XII, No. 8 (November, 1971), p. 6.

In the autumn of 1894, classwork began in the building. Even from the beginning, the facility was overcrowded, for the building housed the entire college, including the administrative and faculty offices; the college library; the preparatory school; and the departments of natural science, physics, chemistry, horticulture, agriculture, mathematics, bookkeeping, language and literature, history and political science, logic, psychology and sociology and military science and tactics. Faculty members were generally pleased with the furnishings of desks, chairs, cabinets, cases and fixtures, which were "plain but well finished, suited to the building and their respective uses and durable of their kind. No public institution in the Territory is now more thoroughly or better furnished."¹²

The first college catalogue published after the completion of the building emphasized that each department was provided with abundant equipment and apparatus, such as models of flowers and seeds, microscopes, charts, herbariums, models of insects, rock specimens, thermometers, photographic equipment, test tubes, prisms, a hydraulic press, an assaying outfit and other necessities. Thus, it is not surprising that the students, faculty and townspeople were pleased with their new college building. Yet, it is equally understandable that the administration and faculty soon made demands for new structures to alleviate the crowded conditions. The new building enjoyed the praises of the community for only a brief period, for numerous people quickly denounced its inadequacies.¹³

In the annual report in 1894, President Henry E. Alvord led the early criticism of the building. The assembly hall, library and some of the lecture rooms seemed adequate, but the president complained: "Several of the rooms are small and the structure is not at all adapted to laboratory work of any sort. . . . The laboratories and other industrial departments, should have other quarters."¹⁴ Other than scarcity of ample space, the most persistent lament concerned the odors of hydrogen sulphide and other gases which seeped through from basement laboratories to the library and other rooms above. As the years passed and as enrollment increased, the situation worsened, and new buildings were imperative.

Within one decade following the opening of the original college building, the territorial legislature funded several new structures, including the long-

¹² "Report of the Faculty for the year 1893-94," *Report of Agricultural and Mechanical College, Exhibit "E" of the Governor's Message to the Third Legislative Assembly of Oklahoma* (n.p., January 8, 1895), pp. 6-7.

¹³ *Fourth Annual Catalogue of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College: Session of 1894-95* (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Territory: Oklahoma Print, 1895), pp. 43-114.

¹⁴ *Report of the President of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College to the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture for the Year ending June 30, 1894* (Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory: Representative Print, 1895), p. 7.

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awaited chemistry building in 1898 and the library in 1901. When the first few were added, the original structure was no longer referred to as simply the College Building; instead, it was officially called the Assembly Building. As an auditorium and other facilities were added, forming a quadrangle, the name then changed to Central Building, due to its location. By 1923, the official identification became Old Central. In the same manner that the names changed, the uses of Old Central changed. Department after department moved into the new buildings, and the original edifice took on a secondary housing importance.¹⁵

The emphasis on new buildings in the early history of the college must have led to some neglect of the condition of Old Central. In 1913, the student newspaper, *Orange and Black*, told its readers that the wooden frame which supported the large bell in Old Central's tower was broken. Although use of the bell had been discontinued in 1907, it was still in good condition; therefore, repair was in order so the bell could be used again to call students to meetings. In 1915, the *Orange and Black* printed a student's letter on Old Central which explained that there had been some talk of razing the building. The writer argued that if safety could be assured, then the building could be used for a museum. The student explained: "A historical museum stored in a historical building would be a grand thing for the College and Oklahoma."¹⁶ This was one of the first suggestions to preserve Old Central as a historical museum. Evidently, it had little effect, for the structure continued to be used for classrooms and offices.

Although Old Central received patchwork repairs, its general condition continued to decline with the years. In 1925, several persons began advocating the demolition of the building, including an alumni spokesman and the editor of the *Daily O'Collegian* student newspaper. An even more critical development came on February 7, 1927, when a piece of loose plaster fell from the ceiling and struck a graduate student, Raymond Bivert. In deadpan fashion, the newspaper reported: "The heavy cement mixture hit Bivert directly on top of the head."¹⁷ As a result of the accident, President Bradford Knapp closed Old Central to all uses, and it would remain so for about three years.

Meanwhile, Henry G. Bennett became president of the college and began a building program which included \$40,000 for the renovation of Old Central. Bennett's plan called for the ultimate use of Old Central as a museum.

¹⁵ *Oklahoma Agriculture and Mechanical College: Thirty-third General Catalog, 1923-1924* (Stillwater, Oklahoma: 1924), p. 27.

¹⁶ *Orange and Black* (Stillwater, Oklahoma), November 26, 1913 and October 4, 1915.

¹⁷ *Daily O'Collegian* (Stillwater, Oklahoma), October 29, 1925 and February 8, 1927.

Many repairs were made, but the idea of a museum never materialized. In 1955, administrators again suggested the razing of Old Central as well as other old campus buildings. Concerned alumni immediately averted this threat with dozens of letters supporting the continued existence of the original building, and some recommended that it be used as a museum. At this time the idea of preserving Old Central became well established. During the 1960s the building was again upgraded, and in the latter part of that decade the final and successful move was made to establish the structure as a historic site and museum.¹⁸

The 1971 session of the Oklahoma Legislature appropriated \$25,000 to the Oklahoma Historical Society for the restoration of Old Central. That same year the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Board of Regents for Oklahoma State University signed a fifty year lease-contract providing for the preservation, restoration and operation of Old Central as a museum by the Oklahoma Historical Society. Finally, on July 27, the Secretary of the Interior placed Old Central on the National Register of Historic Places under authority of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. State funds for the preservation and restoration of Old Central are being matched with federal monies. State appropriations will later be used for the development, maintenance and operation of Old Central as a museum.¹⁹

The assurance of Old Central's future is of great benefit in saving the heritage of Stillwater, Oklahoma State University and Oklahoma. The building was the answer to the hopes of the townspeople and first students for a permanent structure. It is the only landmark on the campus known to all former students and graduates. It is also a symbol of the attempts of many alumni and students who desired to preserve it as a historic site. Old Central is more than brick and mortar, for it reflects in many ways the very spirit and soul of Oklahoma State University.

¹⁸ Berlin B. Chapman, "Old Central of Oklahoma State University," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1964), pp. 281-289.

¹⁹ Fischer, "Historic Old Central to Serve Again: Preserved for Posterity," *Oklahoma State Alumnus*, Vol. XII, p. 4; *Federal Register*, Vol. XLI, No. 28 (February 10, 1976), p. 6008; Kent Ruth, *Window on the Past* (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: Oklahoma Publishing Company, 1974), pp. 66-67.



OLD CENTRAL: A PICTORIAL ESSAY



Above Left—Old Central under construction in 1893–1894

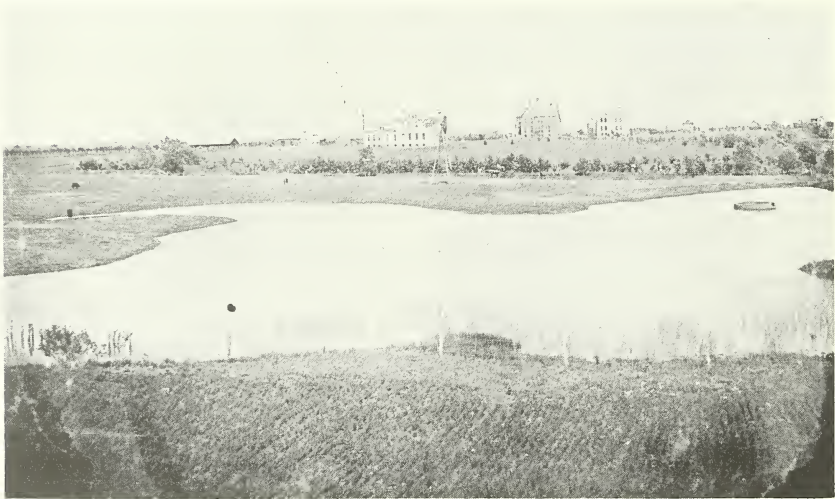
Below Left—Southeast view of Old Central at time of completion in 1894

Above—Northwest view of Old Central at time of completion in 1894

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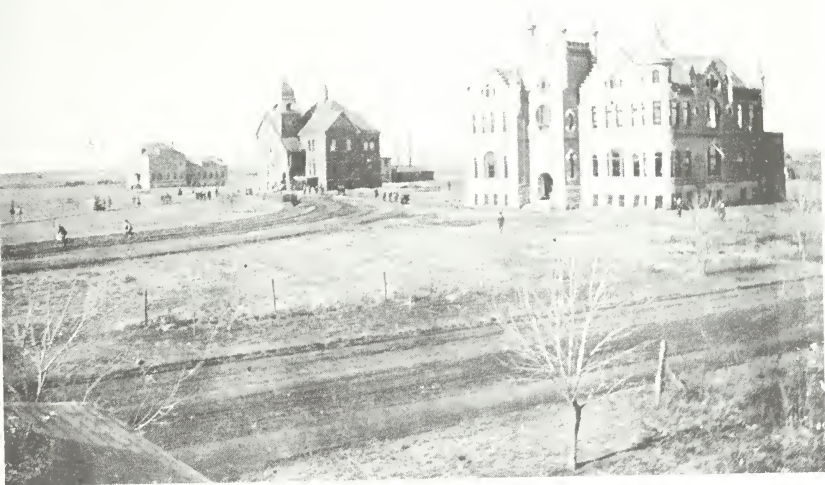


The Oklahoma State University campus about 1894. Left to right, Old Central, Barn, Laboratory and Agricultural Experiment Station Director's Residence



The campus of Oklahoma State University about 1900. In the foreground is Theta Pond, the source of the first water supply for the campus. Buildings, left to right, Agricultural Barns, Chemistry, Old Central and Library (Williams Hall)

OLD CENTRAL: A PICTORIAL ESSAY



The campus of Oklahoma State University about 1900. Left to right, Chemistry, Old Central and Library (Williams Hall)



The campus of Oklahoma State University about 1903. Left to right, Barn, Chemistry, Engineering, Old Central and Library (Williams Hall)

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The English language office and classroom in Old Central in 1894



The first library of Oklahoma State University was located in half a room in Old Central when the building was completed in 1894



The fireplace and mantle in the president's office in Old Central in 1894



Above—John T. Clark, a student, in the chemistry laboratory of Old Central in 1897

Above Right—Students in a domestic science sewing class in Old Central about 1903

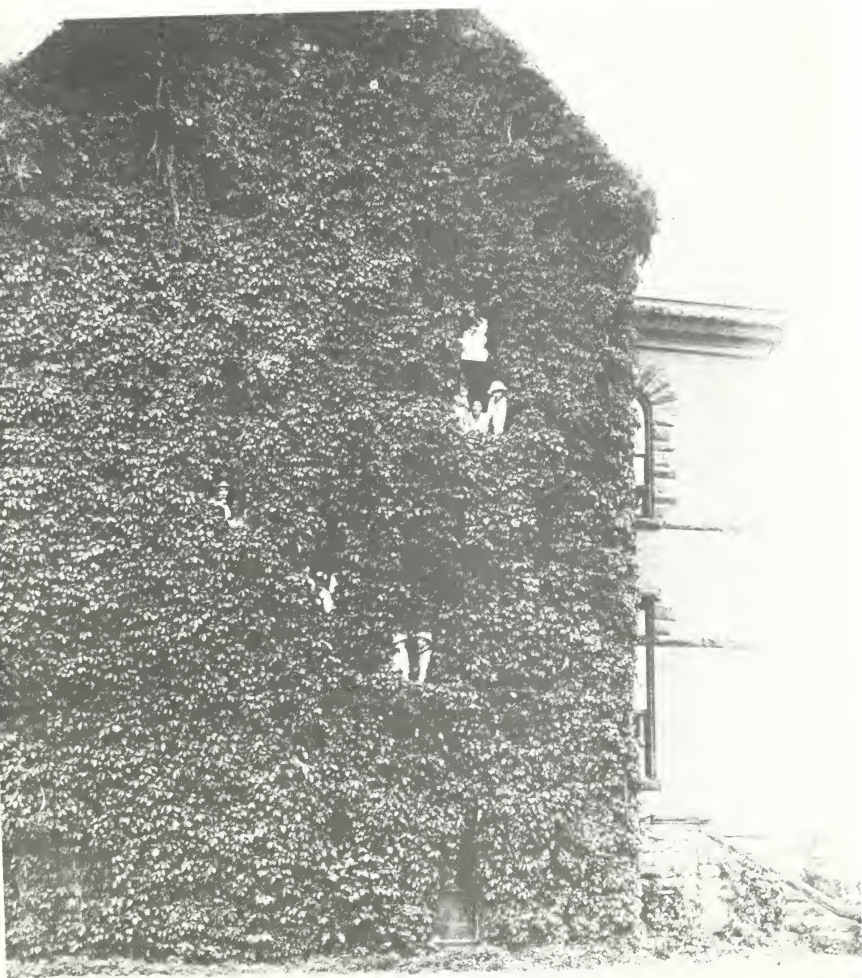
Right—The *Redskin* collegiate yearbook office in Old Central about 1925

OLD CENTRAL: A PICTORIAL ESSAY





Students at Old Central about 1897 and 1910



The ivy-covered north wall of Old Central about 1917—Although decorative, the ivy damaged the wall and resulted in extensive repairs during restoration



The tower and cupola of Old Central have long captured the imagination. In the background is the tower of the Student Union



OLD CENTRAL: A PICTORIAL ESSAY

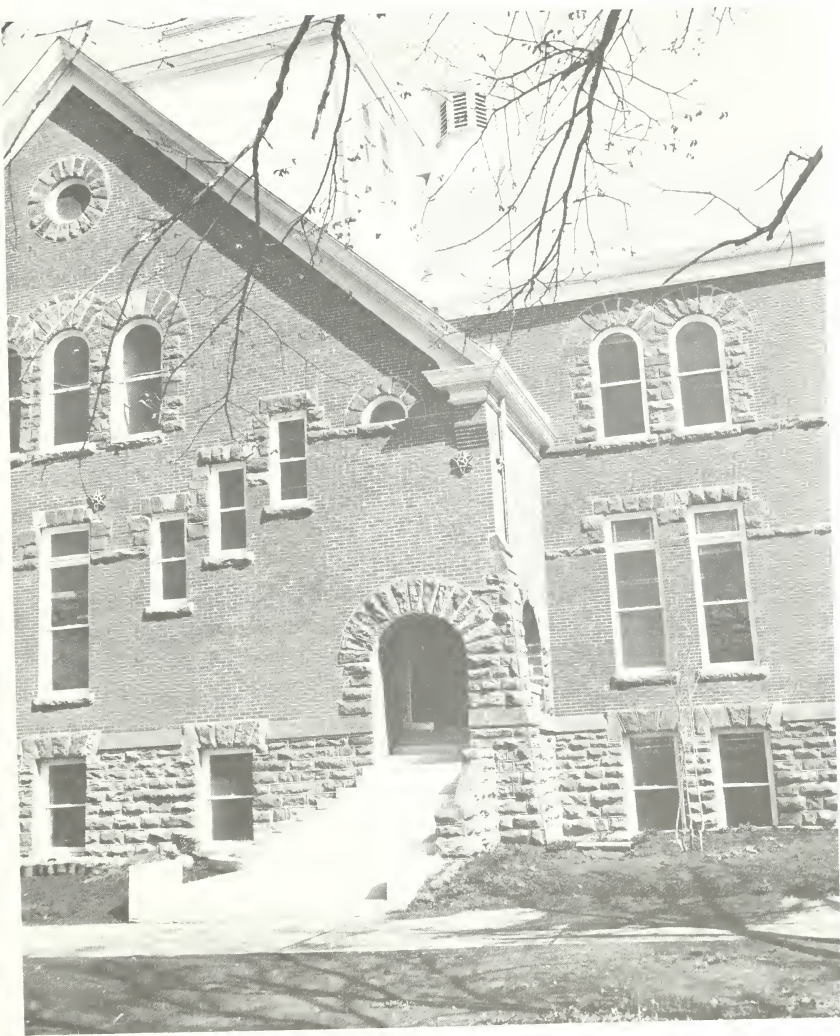


For years, deteriorating masonry emphasized the need for the restoration of Old Central. A section of the south wall



The exterior of Old Central underwent extensive restoration in 1973

OLD CENTRAL: A PICTORIAL ESSAY



After restoration, the exterior of Old Central recaptures its original grandeur

THE EFFECT OF THE KU KLUX KLAN ON THE OKLAHOMA GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION OF 1926

By David C. Boles*

On April 1, 1908, the acting governor of Oklahoma, Henry S. Johnston, wrote his brother-in-law and declared that this "is the second time I have so officiated and I fill the position with Very Great Honor and Satisfaction 'To Myself.'"¹ Approximately eighteen years later, Johnston again wanted to fill the position of governor, but this time as the duly elected official. A staunch Democrat, Johnston hoped he could win his party's nomination in the upcoming primary, and as stated, win the position not for the glory or thrill but for the purpose of ridding the state of corruption.² On January 21, 1926, he confirmed the speculation of many people by announcing his candidacy; however, even though his entrance into the race pleased those who knew him, the *Shawnee News* observed archly that with Johnston's hat in the ring, the chances of Governor Martin Trapp's nomination were much brighter.³

Living in Noble County, whose voters were predominantly Republican, Johnston had been born in Indiana on December 30, 1870, but raised in Harper, Kansas. After attending Baker University at Baldwin, Kansas, he moved to Oklahoma in 1893 and almost immediately became involved in politics. A member of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention and of the first state legislature, Johnston had been a candidate for many offices on the Democratic ticket but also had suffered several political defeats.⁴

At the time of his announcement, a period of peace had descended upon the state after the stormy reign of Governor Jack Walton, who had brought the Ku Klux Klan question to the forefront previous to his impeachment in 1924. Now, Governor Trapp, who had replaced Walton, had been successful in creating an effective administration and had brought harmony to the various factions in the state.⁵

During January, many people expressed fear that the Klan might again become the prominent question in the election, while others speculated that

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¹ Henry S. Johnston to William Gaston, April 1, 1908, Henry S. Johnston papers, Library, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

² Henry S. Johnston to Amy Gaston, December 12, 1925, *ibid.*

³ *Shawnee Morning News* (Shawnee), January 22, 1926.

⁴ Oklahoma State Election Board, *Directory and Manual of the State of Oklahoma*, 1971 (Oklahoma City: State Election Board, 1971), p. 27.

⁵ *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), January 7, 1926.

the organization would have little power to influence political conditions.⁶ Nonetheless, to the shock of many Tulsa, Oklahoma, citizens, the Klan gained control of the precinct caucuses later in the month, and this *fait accompli* gave credence to the boast by Klan members that it was still very much alive.⁷ However, even though the Tulsa Klan was active, the state-wide membership dwindled to 18,000 members in 1926.⁸

In his announcement speech in 1926, which declared his firm support of prohibition and his unwillingness to attack the present administration, Johnston did not refer to the Ku Klux Klan. Yet, at the same time he was accused of being a member of the organization, and many newspapers forecast that Johnston would receive its support. The same reporters, however, admitted that they were unable to present positive proof of his membership.⁹

"Naturalized" into the Klan at Perry, Oklahoma, during the early 1920s, Johnston regularly received its publications and correspondence and from 1923 to 1925, served as secretary of the Perry Klan organization.¹⁰ Firmly convinced that the Klan served a worthwhile purpose, Johnston made clear, in one of his letters, his conviction that the secret organization was a good group when he declared: "We [Ku Klux Klan] do not do our work 'tooting horns' but in a quiet legal manner. . . . Our county has been made a better place to live by our untiring effort."¹¹ Undoubtedly Johnston believed that the Klan, like other lodges and clubs, attempted to reform subversive elements in the United States.

By mid-March, 1926, a few political observers were beginning to wonder what had happened to Johnston's gubernatorial boom, as a result of his limited political speeches.¹² His campaign managers said that it was too early to become overly active, but the editor of *Harlow's Weekly* stated, "Though there isn't much being said in the papers about it, Henry S. Johnston is sawing more wood than his opponents give him credit for. He is not speaking from street corners, but he is quietly making all the ladies' sewing circles and missionary societies and lining up votes that doesn't [sic] gather in hotel lobbies."¹³

⁶ Arrell M. Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 1965), pp. 364-366.

⁷ *Harlow's Weekly* (Oklahoma City), January 16, 1926.

⁸ Charles C. Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest* (Louisville: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), p. 228.

⁹ *Harlow's Weekly*, January 23, 1926.

¹⁰ Secretary (Henry S. Johnston) to Mr. Roy L. Anson, March 22, 1923 and Cliff Saffell to Johnston, April 6, 1925, Henry S. Johnston Papers.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Tulsa Tribune* (Tulsa) March 24, 1926.

¹³ *Harlow's Weekly*, May 15, 1926.

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At this time, Governor Trapp was considered the front runner of the Democratic gubernatorial candidates. By never acknowledging that he was actually governor, Trapp had hoped that he would be eligible for election in 1926, even though the Oklahoma constitution did not allow a governor to seek reelection. However, his hopes were dashed when the Supreme Court of Oklahoma decided in June, 1926, against his argument in the case of *Fitzpatrick v. McAlister*. This court decision removed one of the largest obstacles in Johnston's path to becoming the seventh governor of Oklahoma.¹⁴

However, there were other candidates though who thought they could win the Democratic nomination for governor. O. A. Cargill, mayor of Oklahoma City and an avowed anti-Klansman who had built a powerful political organization in the metropolitan area, hoped to duplicate Walton's accomplishment and become governor.¹⁵ In addition, former governor J. B. A. Robertson was seeking a political comeback, and another perennial office-seeker, William M. Franklin, was hopeful of a split vote. In addition, William M. Darnell, who had attempted to be Walton's running mate in 1922, further crowded the election list. The field was narrowed somewhat, however, when John A. Whitehurst, president of the State Board of Agriculture, and W. D. McBee, former speaker of the Oklahoma House of Representatives withdrew from the race because of inadequate support.¹⁶

On the Republican side, four men were campaigning for their party's nomination. Omar K. Benedict and W. J. Otjen, both life-long Republicans, were the leading candidates, and each had considerable support throughout the state. In addition, Jim Harris, who had engineered Warren G. Harding's presidential victory in Oklahoma in 1920, hoped that party members would repay him for his good work. Also Judge James Hepburn entered the race with the hope that a split among the leading candidates would bring him the nomination.¹⁷

In campaigning for the primary election, the Klan question was frequently raised by Omar K. Benedict, who accused Otjen of membership in the organization. Otjen replied that though he had been associated with the Klan, he had resigned when he entered the Oklahoma House of Representatives in 1923.¹⁸ The Democrats, after receiving an initial anti-Klan blast from Cargill, remained silent on the topic.

¹⁴ State of Oklahoma, *Oklahoma Reports*, "Fitzpatrick vs. McAlister" (multi vol., Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1927), Vol. 121, pp. 83-99.

¹⁵ Ex-Governor Jack Walton had been mayor of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, before becoming governor.

¹⁶ James R. Scales, "Political History of Oklahoma, 1907-1948," Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1949, p. 274.

¹⁷ *Harlow's Weekly*, July 10, 1926.

¹⁸ *Tulsa Daily World* (Tulsa), July 29, 1926.

In the August primary election, Johnston received thirty-six percent of the votes and many political observers believed that such a figure would invite a split in the Democratic party over the Klan issue.¹⁹ However, Johnston's support did not solely come from the Klan. A lay leader in the Presbyterian Church, he frequently used quotations from the *Bible* to supplement his political speeches and his religious activities; plus the manner in which he conducted his campaign attracted many voters. Additionally, a substantial part of the electorate was committed to the national policy of prohibition, and Johnston received most of this vote as he was an ardent dry.²⁰ Thus, in the final count, he defeated Darnell 87,840 to 73,922. Cargill, who had been considered one of the leading candidates, collected only 45,993 votes and finished a distant third.²¹

The *Oklahoma Leader* in an attempt to rationalize Johnston's victory declared that, "The Ku Klux Klan is not to blame, for even if every Johnston vote was a Klan vote—he did not receive a majority of the votes cast. The Klan is not today a strong organization, but the point is that the Klan voters had an ORGANIZATION."²² Many post-election observers regretted the fact that certain political organizations as the Farmer-Labor party, the anti-Klan movement and certain churches had not selected a favorite candidate as this allowed Johnston to attract members of these factions into his camp.

Benedict became the Republican candidate by defeating Otjen in an extremely close race, 22,680 to 18,334; however, like Johnston, he had only thirty-two percent of the Republican votes and was a minority candidate.²³ The rejection of Harris caused a split in the Republican party as Harris refused to support Benedict in the general election. In addition, many Republicans who were close friends and supporters of Otjen were alienated by Benedict because he had attempted to impugn Otjen's reputation by repeatedly bringing up his Klan connection. Benedict realized that if he wanted to win the election, the Otjen group must be placated.

After winning the Democratic nomination for governor, Johnston received customary letters of congratulation. One was from the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan in Oklahoma, C. E. Hoffman, who expressed "Congratulations on securing nomination for governor of the great State of

¹⁹ Oliver Benson, *Oklahoma Voters: 1907-1962* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), p. 81.

²⁰ *Oklahoma City Times* (Oklahoma City), August 10, 1926.

²¹ Benson, *Oklahoma Voters: 1907-1962*, p. 81.

²² *Oklahoma Leader* (Oklahoma City), August 12, 1926.

²³ Benson, *Oklahoma Voters: 1907-1962*, p. 82.



Governor Jack C. Walton whose stormy raid brought the Ku Klux Klan controversy to the fore-front of state politics



Governor Henry S. Johnston drew praise of the grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan in spite of his non-recognition of Klan policy

Oklahoma. As you must know, we were for you in the primary election, and will continue to do all possible to secure your election in November."²⁴

Like Benedict and the Republicans, Johnston soon found groups within the Democratic party who were unwilling to support him. Trapp refused to endorse the ticket which included two judges, E. F. Lester and J. W. Clark, who had declared him ineligible for self-succession. Judge John Doyle of the Criminal Court of Appeals was a Roman Catholic and a bitter foe of Johnston's because of Johnston's prejudice against the Catholics. This resulted from Johnston's habit of underlining various passages in anti-Catholic pamphlets such as: "Because of the great, almost unlimited power vested in the President to elect a Catholic President would be a blow from which the Republic would never recover."²⁵ Groups led by Walton and Cargill worked for the election of Benedict, and an anti-Klan movement led by A. B. Wells and M. M. Alexander was also welcomed to the Republican cause.²⁶

²⁴ C. E. Hoffman to Johnston, August 7, 1926 and W. N. Dilburk to Johnston, August 11, 1926, Henry S. Johnston Papers.

²⁵ *Some Law Prohibiting a Catholic Candidacy* (Macon, Georgia: The American Rangers, Inc., 1924), p. 6.

²⁶ Scales, "Political History of Oklahoma, 1907-1948," pp. 278-79.

The characteristics of previous incumbents of the Oklahoma governorship had considerable bearing upon the electoral chances of the two contestants in 1926. All of the first six governors had been born outside the state, they were all married at least once and all were members of one of three religious denominations. Benedict and Johnston met all of the qualifications as both were Presbyterians, married and born outside the state. The one remaining fact worth examination was party affiliation, and in this category Johnston was a clear choice as all previous governors had been Democrats.²⁷

Another area determining electoral success was the platform of each aspirant. Benedict ran on a program of tax reduction, business encouragement and tolerance. While Quaker-born, a Mason and a Shriner, he attempted to develop an attack on Johnston's Klan association similar to the one used by Benedict against Otjen—it was soon to produce adverse results for the Republican hopeful.²⁸

During the last week in August, the Democratic party produced a copy of a letter bearing Benedict's signature which purported that he had belonged to the Klan in 1921.²⁹ This startling development left many voters in a bewildered state, inasmuch as the supposedly anti-Klan candidate might still have connections with the organization.

The Democrats attempted to impress upon the voters their assertion that Benedict was still a Klansman, in the hope that the choice would appear to be between fellow Klansmen. But the Democrats also tried to push the Klan issue aside by denouncing it in their party platform. The statement of party goals declared: "We are unalterably opposed to any attempted domination or control of the administration of any branch of the county, state, or national government by the Ku Klux Klan or any other secret order, class, society, or combination."³⁰

The Republicans did not want the Klan issue to die a quick and quiet death, because they believed that the only way for Benedict to overcome the Klan vote was to solidify the anti-Klan movement behind his cause. Thus, Benedict continued to repeat his charge that Johnston was supported by the secret organization, meanwhile declaring that he had rejected the Klan after attending one meeting in 1921.³¹ Johnston, on the other hand, maintained his nonrecognition of the Klan policy, and many people began to

²⁷ Rex F. Harlow, *Makers of Government in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1930), pp. 77-477.

²⁸ *Harlow's Weekly*, August 14, 1926.

²⁹ *Oklahoma City Times*, August 25, 1926.

³⁰ "Democratic Platform," Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

³¹ *Harlow's Weekly*, September 4, 1926.

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wonder if he was indeed a member. Throughout the entire campaign, he never mentioned that he had any connection with the "Invisible Empire," and this tactic enabled him to gain some anti-Klan support while retaining his Klan votes.³²

Johnston repeatedly declared that the Klan was not an issue, and refused to define his position on the Klan question. He considered it irrelevant to the campaign, and, as the election neared, many newspaper editors published statements casting doubt to Johnston's association with the organization. It seemed that only Klansmen knew whether he was a fellow member as the election approached.³³

Various Oklahoma editors denounced the Republican party for its use of the Klan issue and the editor of the *Oklahoma City Times* stated "Popularity is the goal sought by the republicans, in their firm platform stand against the Klan . . . Careful investigation has revealed that the Klan has dwindled in the past several years." The article went on to say that "Perhaps the republicans will not succeed . . . Theirs is a cheap bid for votes, a play on prejudices as surely as the Klan was at its worst."³⁴ Similar attacks continued to be published frequently during the latter part of the election campaign.

The Republicans had placed an anti-Klan plank in their platform for two basic reasons: They hoped to show that the democrats were allied with the Klan, and they wanted to emphasize their dislike for the secret organization. The Republican anti-Klan plank stated that "The nominees of the democratic party of the State of Oklahoma on the state and the national tickets are reputed to be members of the Ku Klux Klan. . . . We, as republicans, declare that we are unalterably opposed to the domination of politics or government by the Ku Klux Klan."³⁵ Ironically, the plank was to gain the support of all except the delegates at the state convention.

In the latter part of September, the *Tulsa Daily World*, which supported Benedict, published an open copy of a letter to the Klansmen in the state which condemned the Republican platform and endorsed the Democratic ticket.³⁶ Democrats in all parts of the state denounced this attempt by the opposition to rejuvenate the Klan issue, and many newspapers that supported the Johnston cause issued notices that the letter and its contents were false.³⁷

³² *Tulsa Daily World*, September 9, 1926.

³³ *Harlow's Weekly*, November 6, 1926.

³⁴ *Oklahoma City Times*, September 1, 1926.

³⁵ *Harlow's Weekly*, September 4, 1926.

³⁶ *Tulsa Daily World*, September 29, 1926.

³⁷ *Harlow's Weekly*, October 2, 1926.

On October 21, the Republicans again tried to achieve widespread publicity by issuing a statement that the Democrats would "steal" the election unless responsible citizens took action. This cry had been heard by the voters every four years since Oklahoma had become a state and the allegation centered on a problem to be faced later by many areas of the United States—the registration of black voters. Republican officials in Okfuskee County in 1926, declared that the usual 1,500 Democratic plurality would disappear if blacks were allowed to register.³⁸ Republicans, with victory in the balance, tried to obtain the right to vote for the blacks by taking the issue to the Oklahoma Supreme Court which ordered the officials of Okfuskee County to register all qualified blacks as soon as possible. However, the county registrar resigned and by the time a replacement was found to fill the vacated position, it was too late and the black vote was lost to the Republican Party.³⁹

Benedict's campaign, which seemed to have every chance for success in September, received another setback when the cotton market declined in October. Farmers and businessmen blamed the disaster on the Republican administration of President Calvin Coolidge. Benedict who had shown support for Coolidge's policies and programs had to shoulder part of the blame directed to the administration.⁴⁰ Johnston took advantage of the economic plight by preaching a conservative governmental approach, which emphasized his knowledge of the United States Constitution, his patriotism and his record of unchallenged party regularity. As a result, editorial comment, even in opposition newspapers, commended him for his clean campaign, and many voters believed that Johnston would institute a sound, conservative government if he were elected.⁴¹ Those who were economically affected speculated that this would remedy some of their problems.

Two weeks before the general election, Benedict charged his opponent, Johnston, who had been employed by the Masonic lodge to handle various legal problems, with the mishandling of their funds. However, the plan miscarried and the *Oklahoma City Times* predicted editorially that Benedict's vitriolic attack on the Masonic integrity of his opponent, who filled the highest honors within the organization, cost him 20,000 Masonic and Eastern votes.⁴² Johnston denied the charge, and without positive proof, Benedict's mud-slinging tactics proved detrimental to the Republican cause.

³⁸ *Tulsa Tribune*, October 21, 1926.

³⁹ *Bartlesville Examiner* (Bartlesville), October 23, 1926.

⁴⁰ Scales, "Political History of Oklahoma, 1907-1948," p. 279.

⁴¹ *Tulsa Tribune*, November 3, 1926.

⁴² *Oklahoma City Times*, November 3, 1926.

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Finally the day of decision arrived. Benedict's campaigners claimed that they would win by 20,000 to 100,000 votes; nonetheless, November 2, 1926 proved to be Johnston's day.⁴³ He won a majority of the votes in sixty of the seventy counties in the state—a record up to that time.⁴⁴ His easy victory came as a surprise to many political observers because they had predicted that Benedict would draw more Republicans to the polls.

As compared to his predecessors, Johnston's gubernatorial victory at the polls was very impressive. The election records of the six elected governors show that Johnston's percent was the highest that had been recorded for the times.⁴⁵

Name	Margin of Victory	Percent
Charles Haskell	27,364	53.4
Lee Cruce	20,554	48.5
Robert L. Williams	4,692	39.6
J. B. A. Robertson	21,173	53.5
John C. Walton	49,738	54.4
Henry S. Johnston	41,452	54.8

The *Oklahoma City Times* stated that Benedict's "affiliations with the Ku Klux Klan lost him many votes in the closing days of the election."⁴⁶ It had been estimated that the Klan vote was between 20,000 to 40,000, and the voters lost by Benedict's anti-Klan position represented the margin of victory for Johnston. If Benedict would have ignored the Klan issue, he possibly would have split its votes, but instead he decided to make it one of the key issues. For this reason, the Klan as an organization and issue played a large role in giving Johnston the opportunity to sit in the governor's chair again.

It must be stated that one factor alone does not win or lose in a gubernatorial election, and such was the case of Benedict. The backlash of the Klan issue, the strife within the Republican party, the Masonic issue and the cotton market all contributed to the defeat of Benedict. However, in this instance perhaps it was enough to tip the scale to the Democrats.

⁴³ *Tulsa Tribune*, November 1, 1926.

⁴⁴ Benson, *Oklahoma Voters: 1907-1962*, pp. 77-87.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Oklahoma City Times*, November 3, 1926.

THE SEMINOLE NATION AFTER LEAVING FLORIDA, 1855–1860

By L. Edward Carter*

On a warm, sultry morning in June of 1857, several Seminole Indians led their horses along the banks of the nearly dry South Canadian River in the western part of Indian Territory. The Seminoles were searching the rolling, prairie grasslands for choice sites to settle, preferably near the stream's bottomlands where water was available and where they could erect houses, raise crops and cattle, and raise their children. They had just departed camp where they had left their supplies and several pack horses. Suddenly over a prairie knoll to their rear appeared a band of horsemen, riding full gallop toward their camp. A chilling fear swept the Seminoles as they quickly recognized the horsemen—they were Comanche warriors, and they were swinging bows and arrows and rifles. Feathers were stuck in their long hair, and their faces and bronzed chests were daubed with bright vermilion. Clad only in close-fitting leggings, the Comanches struck a fierce contrast to the Seminoles, who were drably outfitted in white men's clothing.

By the time the Seminoles reached their camp, the Comanches had gathered the pack horses and were streaking southwest toward their own camp near the Wichita River. Although the Seminoles gave chase, they were no match for the dreaded "Lords of the South Plains," who were among the best horsemen the world has produced.¹ Humiliated by the brazen theft, the Seminoles lost interest in searching for new sites and returned to their old homes in the Creek Nation near the Little River in eastern Indian Territory.

Depredations and brushes with the Comanches and other "wild Plains tribes" were cited frequently by Seminole and other agents of the Five Civilized Tribes in their reports to the Secretary of the Interior.² Many of

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¹ Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), pp. 40–49; Rupert Norval Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1933), pp. 28–30; Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933), pp. 240–298.

² The Seminole encounter with the Plains Indians while searching for home sites is cited in several references, including United States Senate, 35th Congress, 1st Session, *Executive Document Number 92* (Washington: William A. Harris, 1858), p. 515; United States Senate, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, *Executive Document Number 39* (Washington: William A. Harris, 1859), p. 484; United States Senate, 36th Congress, 2nd Session, *Executive Document Number 51* (Washington: George A. Bowman, printer, 1861), p. 351; Samuel M. Rutherford to Elias Rector, July 2, 1860, Seminole Agency, Letters Received, 1824–1881, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives and Records Center, Washington, D.C.

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the Seminoles were eager to leave the Creek Nation for their new and separate lands in the West granted under the Treaty of August 7, 1856, but were held back by fear of the Plains tribes. By 1857, the Comanches and their allies, the Kiowas, largely had been restricted to the southwest corner of Indian Territory. Because white hunters by the mid-1850s had killed most of the buffalo in the Southwest plains, these fierce warriors had nothing left for food. Desperate, the Plains Indians found it necessary either to steal food or to face starvation. As a result the Seminoles, moving into their new lands just north of the Comanches and Kiowas, repeatedly lost their ponies and livestock to marauding Indians.³

Trouble with the Plains tribes was only one of the several problems faced by the Seminoles on the eve of the Civil War. Of all the Five Civilized Tribes, the Seminoles had suffered the most hardships after their removal from Florida to Indian Territory. Measured by the white man's culture and standards, they were considered the most backward of the Five Civilized Tribes, and they were the smallest in number, varying from approximately 2,000 to 2,250 from 1855 to 1860.⁴ The United States government treated the Seminoles as if they were Creeks, and this problem stalked the proud and haughty Seminoles all the way from Florida to Indian Territory. Through white men's eyes, this treatment of the Seminoles as part of the Creek tribe was understandable. The Seminoles spoke the Creek language. And from their early history, the Seminoles had been closely associated with the Creek tribe. Of Muskogean or Creek stock, the Seminoles broke away from the Creeks after 1700 and moved to Florida where they conquered and intermarried with the smaller, weaker native tribes and with escaped black slaves. After approximately 1750, these Indians began to be known as Seminoles, meaning runaways or "broken-off people," the exact translation of their Muskogean name.⁵

The transfer of the tribe from Florida to Indian Territory was the most bitter and costly of all the Indian removals. In the record of United States dealings with Indians there was perhaps no blacker chapter than the cruel Seminole war which lasted from 1836 to 1841. It cost \$20,000,000, the lives of 1,466 soldiers, and untold Seminole deaths.⁶ The captured Indians were

³ Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, pp. 172-177.

⁴ Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), p. 276; United States Senate, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, *Executive Document Number 51*, p. 505.

⁵ Muriel H. Wright, "Seal of the Seminole Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1956), p. 263.

⁶ Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1971), p. 168.



Typical Seminole family at the time of the tribes removal to present-day Oklahoma

held in prison camps, carried by boats to New Orleans, Louisiana, and shipped by Mississippi River steamboats to Fort Gibson, in the Cherokee Nation.

It was not until about 1842 that the removal of the Seminoles was complete, except for approximately 500 Indians who remained hidden in the remote vastness of the Florida Everglades. By the Treaty of Fort Gibson in 1833, the Seminoles were to be assigned a territory located between the North and South Canadian rivers in the Creek Nation; however, the Seminoles were to merge their government with that of the Creeks and essentially become a part of that tribe. On arrival in the West, the Seminoles found the best of their assigned lands already occupied by the Creeks. Yet, over one-half of the tribe reluctantly settled in the Creek country. Bitterly opposed to losing their tribal identity among the powerful Creeks, the rest of the Seminoles remained in the Cherokee Nation in the Grand River Valley around Fort Gibson.⁷ "They look upon us as runaways," declared one

⁷ Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 226.

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Seminole of the Creeks, "and would treat us just as they would so many dogs." It was a new world in which the Seminoles found themselves, and they were appalled by it. They lingered among the friendly Cherokees, farmed a little on the land which their hosts permitted them to use and received rations from the government.⁸

After three years the Cherokees became impatient and insisted that the government remove the remaining Seminoles from their country. Finally, in 1845 a new treaty was made with these Seminoles. Agreeing to leave the Cherokee country, they settled as a group in an area of the Creek Nation located near the Little River.⁹ Under this treaty, the Seminoles were supposed to have a certain degree of autonomy, but they still were required to acknowledge the supremacy of the Creek Council. Consequently, Seminole dissatisfaction continued, as the Creeks were so numerous that they could easily elect all tribal officers and effectively dominate the national council which made the laws.

By 1855, over a dozen years since their removal from Florida, the Seminoles were lagging far behind the other four Civilized Tribes in adjusting to their new life in the western lands. This resulted from the Federal government's mindless policy of forcing the Seminoles to be under the thumb of the Creeks. The Seminoles were required to obey "foreign" laws and were compelled to live within the boundaries of lands owned by traditional enemies. It was almost as if the Seminoles were in a prison camp, placed there against their own will and kept under guard by the Creeks, who outnumbered them ten to one.

This ill-conceived policy was a miserable failure, as approximately one-half of the removed Seminoles lingered in destitute idleness for several years with the Cherokees, while other hundreds remained fugitives in the Florida swamps. Even after all the Western Seminoles were settled in the Little River area, they remained despondent, hopeless and desperate under subjection of the powerful Creek Nation.¹⁰

Another principal reason the Seminoles were tardy in adjusting to their new environment was the bitter controversy with the Creeks over the Seminole slaves and free blacks. The Seminole slaves were not slaves in the usual sense of the word. The blacks, who were mostly runaway slaves or descendants of runaways, had been regarded by the Seminoles in Florida as

⁸ Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), p. 370.

⁹ Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 242-243.

¹⁰ Edwin C. McReynolds, *The Seminoles* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 273.

"vassals and allies" rather than as slaves. Blacks of the Seminole tribe had a great deal of influence with their owners, many of them serving as interpreters and helping in business transactions with whites. They lived in separate villages, owned property, carried arms and went into battle under their own captains. However, they were bound to furnish a small annual tribute of grain or other produce to their masters.¹¹

In Florida, the Seminoles had been promised they could keep their slaves, livestock and other movable goods when they removed to Indian Territory. The Seminole blacks also had been assured they could enjoy the same freedom in the new lands that they had been accustomed to in Florida, with light tribute in the form of produce and grains to their masters and with separate villages to live in. Moreover, the issue was complicated when Creeks and others seized many of the Seminole blacks and sold them into slavery.¹² Regarding Creek seizures of Seminole blacks, an attorney general's ruling in 1848 said 286 Negroes had to be returned to their Seminole masters.¹³

When the Seminoles and their slaves moved to the Creek Nation near Little River, the blacks established villages separate from the Indians, as had been their custom. Yet, it was against Creek law for Negroes to establish their own towns separate from their masters. As a result, kidnappings, court struggles over custody and bitter quarrels over these blacks lasted for years. A group of discontented Seminole blacks left Indian Territory and helped establish a separatist colony across the Rio Grande in Mexico.¹⁴

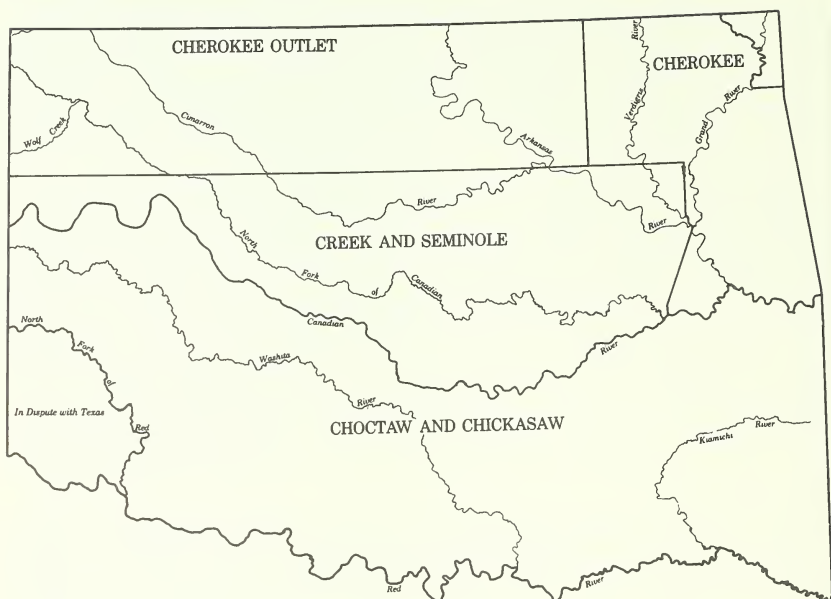
Another major reason the Seminoles lagged behind the other Civilized Tribes in adjusting to Indian Territory was the stark difference in the way of life found in the new western lands compared to life in Florida. They needed little clothing and housing in Florida, and the warm climate fostered idleness. Fruits, game and fish were easily found, and the Seminoles had little reason to spend hard labor trying to raise crops. Usually whatever grains they needed were grown by their slaves. As a result, the Seminoles enjoyed an outdoor life of hunting, fishing and leisure. It was a psychological and physiological shock when the Seminoles removed to a new life and a far different climate in the West. The weather in Indian Territory was colder, and they were forced to clothe themselves, to build sturdy houses and to farm the soil. With all these radical changes in their way of life, the Seminoles found it more difficult than had the other tribes to adjust

¹¹ Kenneth W. Porter, "Wild Cat's Death and Burial," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXI, No. 1 (Spring, 1943), p. 42.

¹² McReynolds, *The Seminoles*, p. 244.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 261-263.



In 1845, the Seminoles moved to the area along Little River in the Creek Nation

to their new environment.¹⁵ Many removed Indians of the other tribes became drifting derelicts in this sea of cultural change, but the Seminoles especially turned shiftless. Many became hopeless drunks, and others acquired criminal habits.

The Seminoles continued in their old ways long after their settlement in the Creeks' Little River country. Rather than farm, they hunted, whether or not they needed the meat for the table. Their livestock in Florida had required little attention, and they continued to pay little heed to it in Indian Territory. If the stock got along all right, that was all to the good; if not, it was bad luck. Also, the Seminoles were on good terms with all other Civilized Tribes, except the Creeks.

As for education, schools were considered a thing for white men.¹⁶ The only school for the Seminoles was the Oak Ridge Mission opened by the Presbyterian Mission Board and operated by the Reverend and Mrs. John

¹⁵ Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 267.

¹⁶ Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1915), p. 40.

Lilley from 1849 to 1859, approximately three miles southeast of the present Holdenville in Hughes County.¹⁷

During this critical period, the Seminoles had the misfortune to have an unscrupulous man as their Indian subagent. Marcellus Duval and his two brothers were involved in the Seminole slave trade, and Duval used his office to promote his own interests. However, he was fired from his job as subagent in 1852 because of a long absence during which he was chasing blacks who had fled across the Rio Grande into Mexico.¹⁸

Separation from the Creeks became a primary issue in the Seminole settlements, and their leaders preached the evils of Creek domination. Failure to adjust to the conditions of their new homes and the uncertainty that surrounded them also were observed by missionaries, military commanders, Indian traders and others.¹⁹ Finally, in 1854, the Seminoles abandoned their long-time habit of keeping their problems to themselves and out of the public spotlight. Principal Chief John Jumper and six sub-chiefs sent a letter, written by their agent, to President Franklin Pierce, protesting being kept under Creek domination. The Seminoles noted a custom existed among other Indian tribes of talking with their "Great Father" and of asking him questions concerning their welfare. In common with the other Indians, the Seminoles declared they were sending him their words. The letter said the Seminoles had been promised when they were removed from Florida that they would have their own lands, government, laws and Indian agent. Yet, the Seminoles complained that the Creeks had extended their laws over them and had interfered with their property, particularly their slaves. The Seminoles asked to visit with the President in Washington, D.C., and to make a new treaty separating them from the Creeks. The Seminoles noted they were greatly dissatisfied with the Treaty of 1845, which they indicated they had not understood and which they said had done them no good. They also pleaded for a blacksmith: "We are not able to do anything in cultivating our lands and in supporting our families, without a blacksmith."²⁰

Soon the Seminoles could look forward somewhat to better days. For one thing, the United States Congress in 1849 had transferred control of the Indians from the War Department to the Department of the Interior with the idea that civilians could better understand the Indian problem than

¹⁷ Wright, "Seal of the Seminole Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 270.

¹⁸ McReynolds, *The Seminoles*, p. 269; David W. Eakins to Luke Lea, December 15, 1852, Seminole Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives and Records Center.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ John Jumper to President Franklin Pierce, October 18, 1854, *ibid.*

could the military officers.²¹ Officials of the government slowly began to understand and appreciate the feelings of these friendless and helpless Seminoles and their unyielding resistance to the Creeks. Exemplifying the more enlightened attitude of the Indian administration under the newly created Department of the Interior, George W. Manypenny, commissioner of Indian affairs in 1855, described the position of the Seminoles as similar to the Chickasaws, whom he regarded unjustly subject to domination by the Choctaws. He suggested that "in justice to the Seminoles, they should have a separate country and jurisdiction, with the right of self-government." Showing further empathy with the Seminoles' position, he added: "They would gradually lose their present sense of degradation and their disposition to lawlessness, and soon become a better people." Continuing, Manypenny declared that if they were "so situated, it is believed that their brethren in Florida would be induced peaceably to emigrate and join them, as it is understood that one of their principal objections to doing so now is the inferior and subordinate position to the Creeks in which they would be placed."²²

Regarding their "disposition to lawlessness," some of the Seminoles did all they could to violate the strict Creek laws which governed them. Creek law banned bringing liquor into their nation, and a few Seminoles delighted in flaunting this law. Liquor was purchased at Fort Smith, Arkansas, hauled in flat boats and canoes up the Canadian and Arkansas rivers and sold in the Creek Nation. This practice was denounced by W. H. Garrett, the Creek agent, who asserted that the Seminoles "are almost exclusively the ones who bring liquor in the country, a portion of which they dispose of to the Creeks."²³ Garrett added that, in his opinion, it appeared impossible to unite the two tribes, and he urged that the Seminoles should be made independent of the Creeks. J. W. Washbourne, the Seminole agent, believed that the Seminoles broke the Creek law on bringing in whiskey "not so much from a law-breaking spirit as from the thought that it is Creek and not Seminole law."²⁴

Washbourne actively began to promote the Seminole plea for separation from the Creeks, and in the spring of 1855, he complained that the government had not kept its promise to give the Seminoles who moved west land

²¹ Odie B. Faulk, *Land of Many Frontiers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 204.

²² United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1855* (Washington: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1856), pp. 329-330.

²³ United States Senate, 34th Congress, 1st and 2nd Sessions, *Executive Document Number 56* (Washington: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1856), pp. 456-457.

²⁴ United States Senate, 34th Congress, 1st and 2nd Sessions, *Executive Document Number 87*, p. 492.

"as their own." He pointed out that Wild Cat, one of the Seminole sub-chiefs, had become disgusted with the vassalage and condition of his tribe under the Creeks, and had left with many of his tribe for the Rio Grande area. The agent declared that the hope of obtaining separate lands was the only thing that prevented the rest of the Seminoles from joining Wild Cat or scattering among the other tribes. Washbourne also noted that many slurs had been cast on the Seminoles because of their lawlessness, idleness and failure to make improvements. He asked: "And what has been their inducements? Their nationality swept away, their country under the control of another tribe, their annuity miserably small, no provisions for schools, nor any other species of improvement, no incentives of any character whatsoever—how could they improve?"²⁵

In defense of the Seminoles, Washbourne emphasized that not a single murder had been committed within the tribe for seven years. In addition to urging separate lands and laws for the Seminoles, he asked that they receive larger annuities, that separate schools be set up, that they be paid for the services of over 300 black slaves detained for three years by the military at Fort Gibson and that they be paid an indemnity for the Creek seizures of slaves in the spring of 1853.²⁶

In the summer of 1855, Washbourne and the Seminole leaders met in council and formulated a statement of grievances, demands and desires which were presented to the Creek Council. The Seminole report noted they were a separate and independent nation and that the Federal government in uniting them with the Creeks did so in an unjust and arbitrary fashion. The Seminoles stated that they took no part in the Creek tribal government and that the Creek laws were oppressive. The Seminoles emphasized there was no prospect for a friendly, workable union with the Creeks, and they earnestly prayed for separation from that tribe. They asked to send a delegation to Washington during the next session of Congress in order to present their case to the government—Washbourne supported all of the Seminoles' claims and requests to be separated from the Creek tribe.²⁷

By this time an enlightened Department of the Interior was busy trying to untie the knots of union which had plagued several tribes for years. The mistake of trying to merge the Chickasaws and Choctaws was ended by a

²⁵ J. W. Washbourne to George W. Manypenny, April 10, 1855, Seminole Agency, Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives and Record Center.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ United States Senate, 34th Congress, 1st and 2nd Sessions, *Executive Document Number 87*, pp. 491-492.

treaty signed on June 22, 1855, by Manypenny.²⁸ Next on the docket was the troublesome union of Creeks and Seminoles, similar in many ways to the Chickasaw-Choctaw issue. Creek and Seminole tribal delegates met in Washington with Manypenny and agreed to a treaty of separation on August 7, 1856.

The first article of the treaty carved a separate tract of land out of the Creek Nation, an area adjacent and to the west of the Little River area. It was estimated to include some 2,170,000 acres in a narrow strip between the Canadian River and the North Fork of the Canadian River, starting in the east in about the center of what is now Pottawatomie County, and stretching northwest to the present western boundary of Oklahoma, or the one hundredth parallel. The Creek boundaries were defined in the second article of the treaty, and in the third article, the United States guaranteed that none of the ceded lands could be sold without permission of both tribes. In addition, the Creeks received \$1,000,000 for ceding the land.²⁹

The treaty was the most lucrative bargain in the Seminoles' history. The United States also pledged to pay the Seminoles' expenses for moving to the new lands. Other payments included \$90,000 for the Western Seminoles, \$3,000 in annuities to finance schools for ten years, \$2,200 for blacksmiths and \$2,000 for agricultural assistance. One of the biggest financial bonanzas was the pledged payment of \$250,000 at five percent interest to be paid as a per capita annuity. This had a tremendous impact as the Seminoles were almost penniless. They did not have any tribal monies or annuities as the other Civilized Tribes received, and they had received no funds for their removal to the West. Furthermore, another \$250,000 was to be invested in a similar manner when the Seminoles still in Florida came west, and the two sums were to become a tribal investment fund to be paid in annuities.³⁰

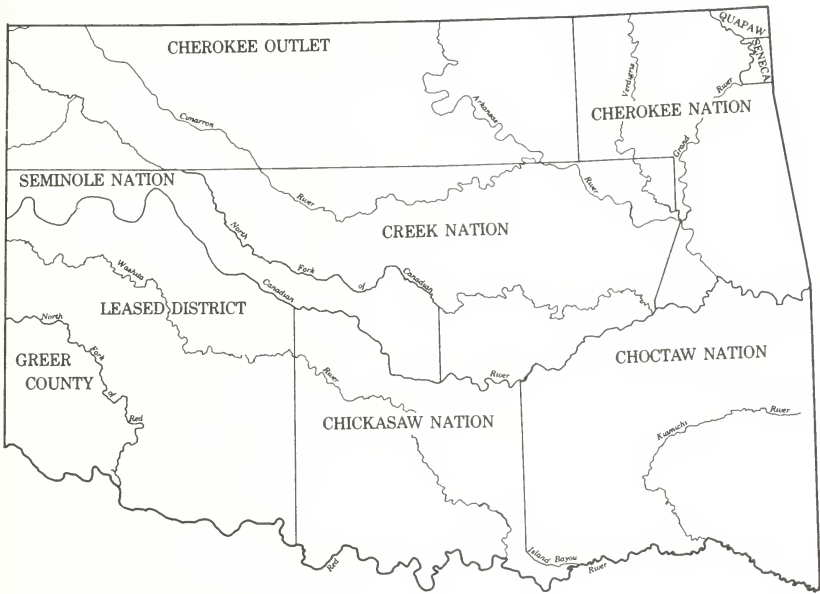
There was one major condition to the treaty. The Seminoles agreed to send a large delegation of their tribe to Florida to persuade the Seminoles remaining there to emigrate to the West. As the last large removal in 1842, an estimated 500 Seminoles remained in the Florida Everglades, and pressure from white land seekers was heavy on the Federal government to clear out these "undesirables." Thus, a more altruistic policy toward the Indians was not the only reason the government had for drafting the new treaty. As Commissioner Manypenny explained it, one of the leading objects was "to overcome the chief obstacle to the removal of the Indians . . . yet remain-

²⁸ Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (5 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904-1941), Vol. II, pp. 706-714.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 756-763.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

THE SEMINOLE NATION, 1855-1860



After their separation from the Creek Nation, the Seminoles were given a tract of land between the Canadian River and the North Fork of the Canadian

ing in Florida.”³¹ It was assumed the Florida Indians would move west, now that the Seminoles had their own lands free of Creek domination. The Florida Seminoles were to be offered additional enticements to move west, including transportation costs, twelve months subsistence costs, rifles, ammunition, blankets, tobacco, clothes and \$20,000 for improvements after removal.³²

No doubt the Treaty of 1856 handed the small tribe of Seminoles a bonanza, both in money and in land. From one point of view, the agreement could be regarded with some misgivings because of the obligation of the Western Seminoles to persuade their Florida brothers to leave their camps in the swamps and move to Indian Territory. Yet, the Seminoles had become bargain hunters and had turned the embarrassed government’s inability to remove the Florida Indians into a potential gold mine. The Western Seminoles were fully aware that the Federal government had failed at forcibly removing the Indians from the Everglades. Fortunes had

³¹ United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1856* (Washington: Cornelius Wendell, 1857), pp. 564-565.

³² Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 760-761.

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been offered the Indians to leave the swamps, and untold costs had mounted in a vain effort to ferret them out. Hence, the Seminoles bargained and received a treaty that could have made every member of the tribe a rich person. This was accomplished in addition to all the other major provisions of the treaty.

Also included in the treaty was the agreement that the United States would build for the Seminoles an agency building and council house in the new lands. Signing the document for the Seminoles were John Jumper—the principal chief—James Factor, Tustenucochee and Pascofar. Many-penny signed for the United States and Chilly McIntosh, Echo Harjo, Tuckabatchee Micco, Benjamin Marshall, George W. Stidham and Daniel N. McIntosh for the Creeks.³³

Eagerly the Seminoles traveled west and explored the lands between the two Canadian rivers for possible home sites. However, there were many obstacles preventing a mass exodus from Creek lands to the new lands in the West. The Southern Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Fort Smith, Elias Rector, noted in 1857 that it was uncertain whether the Seminoles now in the Creek Nation would remove any time soon to their new country. Rector said the Seminoles were delaying moving until the government constructed an agency in the new lands as a focal point around which they could settle.³⁴ The Seminoles planned to cluster around the agency principally for one reason—protection against the marauding Plains tribes, especially the Comanches and Kiowas. Repeatedly the Seminoles visited their new country to locate new homes and farms, but on almost every visit they were menaced by bands of Plains Indians. It was one thing to meet these Indians during casual trading and hunting expeditions, but the thought of having livestock carried off and homes molested was a more disturbing prospect. As a result, the majority of the Seminoles delayed building homes until sites were selected for the government buildings provided by the treaty.

Delays in building the agency and council house continued through 1858, and agent Samuel M. Rutherford observed that the Seminoles would remove and settle in their new country as soon as these two buildings were erected.³⁵ It was a slow and agonizing process, and by 1859 only about one-third of the tribe had moved to their new lands. Eventually, the Seminole agency building, thirty-two by forty-four feet in size with a log kitchen sixteen-feet square, was completed in 1859. And, in 1860 the Seminoles

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 763.

³⁴ United States Senate, 35th Congress, 1st Session, *Executive Document Number 82*, p. 491.

³⁵ United States Senate, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, *Executive Document Number 51*, p. 506.

finally could boast of a council house located eight miles northwest of the agency. It was thirty-six feet long by twenty feet wide, with a fireplace in each of the two large rooms and was well furnished with tables and seats. The Seminoles were reported delighted with their council house, and their agent noted that they enclosed it with a strong fence.³⁶ The agency and council house were located in the vicinity of present Wanette in Pottowatomie County. Doubtless the agency and council house buildings were erected close to the eastern border of their new lands because of the ever-present fear of the roving Plains tribes. In 1860 Rutherford also stated that he was encouraging all of the Seminoles to build their own houses in the new lands.

But the Comanches, Kiowas and other Plains tribes continued to plunder the livestock and homes of the immigrant Seminoles. Rutherford reported the Seminoles “have suffered greatly from depredations committed by some of the ‘prairie tribes’ in stealing and carrying off their ponies.”³⁷ A huge bill of \$3,255 was presented by the Seminoles to the United States government for thirty-two horses reportedly stolen by Comanches during the summer of 1860. Rutherford declared that he had received frequent complaints from the Seminoles in the last few years about Plains Indians, mostly Comanches, carrying off Seminole ponies “but none to the extent of the one now complained.”³⁸ The Seminoles told him they collected eight or ten of their young men, who pursued the thieves on horseback until they joined their confederates, “who from the signs were too numerous for them to pursue with safety to themselves, or with prospect of regaining their property.”³⁹ The problem of thievery by the Plains tribes was never solved by the Seminoles.

In 1857, the Seminoles lost their agent, J. W. Washbourne, who had been forced out of the Indian Service on charges of mishandling the \$90,000 which the United States agreed to pay under the Treaty of 1856 to settle all claims and to cover losses in moving the Indians to their new lands. Superintendent Rector accused Washbourne of receiving approximately \$13,000 for permitting the principal Seminole chiefs to appropriate portions of the \$90,000 for their own use and benefit.⁴⁰

Another major roadblock to settlement of the new lands was the bargain

³⁶ United States Senate, 36th Congress, 2nd Session, *Executive Document Number 51*, p. 351.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Samuel M. Rutherford to Elias Rector, July 2, 1860, Seminole Agency, Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives and Records Center.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Rector to J. Thompson, October 1, 1859, Seminole Agency, Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives and Records Center.



The Old Seminole Council House

the Seminoles had struck with the Federal government to help bring the Florida Indians west. Payment of a majority of the funds promised in the treaty was withheld until the government had its way and the Indians were removed from the swamps.⁴¹ Consequently, the Seminoles were anxious to help remove their people from Florida so they could be about their business of leaving the Creek Nation and settling in the new lands.

The Seminole's new agent, Samuel M. Rutherford, notified the tribe to select a delegation to go to Florida and to assist in arranging the removal. Earlier the preceding winter, military officers at Fort Gibson had attempted to take charge of a delegation of Seminoles and Creeks and go to Florida. After arrival at Fort Gibson, the Indians refused to go another step when they found they were not to be paid. Furthermore, the Indians said removal plans would fail if the army were involved.⁴²

Finally, in January of 1858, a removal party including Rector, Rutherford, Creek agent W. H. Garrett, forty Seminoles and six Creeks, left Fort Smith for Florida. On March 15, 1858, Rector established his base of operations south of Fort Myers on Florida's west coast. The removal was complicated by another war being waged against the Florida Seminoles. It had been

⁴¹ Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 272.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 273.

started in December of 1855 when Seminoles had raided a surveyors' camp and had killed two men and had wounded four. The Indian resistance was broken in November, 1857, when a force of 300 men moved through the heart of the Indian country, wiping out the last camps in the swamps.⁴³ As a result, Chief Billy Bowlegs was ready to end the "Bowlegs' War" and to discuss terms of removal.

Rector's group talked with the Indians they could contact and urged them to emigrate to the western lands. On March 15 about thirty-five miles southwest of Fort Myers, Rector arranged a council with members of the Florida bands. The Florida Indians were told the Western Seminoles had gained lands separate from the Creeks. Bowlegs and his sub-chiefs then agreed to emigrate with their families, especially after learning they would receive large sums of money and other inducements. Bowlegs received \$5,000 for himself and \$2,500 for cattle he said had been stolen. Also, each warrior was paid \$1,000 and each woman and child \$100.⁴⁴

It appeared the Seminole war was being brought to an end through the efforts of the removal party. Although Rector was enthusiastic with the success, he was dismayed by the sordid interest of many Floridians who wanted to see the war continued. Rector noted that many Florida residents had built up lucrative businesses selling expensive supplies to "volunteers" and boat companies who hunted the Seminoles in the swamps.⁴⁵ To some it was a sport to track down and kill the Indians; to others it meant rewards for capturing live Seminoles. In 1857, for example, boat companies spurred by offers of \$500 for males, \$250 to \$500 for women and \$100 for children, penetrated far into the swamps and captured some forty Indians.⁴⁶

On May 4, 1858, the steamer *Grey Cloud* sailed from Fort Myers carrying the removal party and 125 Indians. The boat made a stop at Egmont Key near the entrance of Tampa Bay to pick up the forty Seminoles being held there by the Florida Volunteers. The party of 165 Indians, consisting of 39 warriors and 126 women and children, was carried to New Orleans, and then to Fort Smith, reaching there on May 26. It rained steadily during the trip to the Little River country, and it took thirteen days for the wagons to travel the muddy roads and swollen streams. Four of the emigrants died along the way, and more perished after their arrival in the Seminole lands, probably of typhoid fever.⁴⁷

⁴³ Tebeau, *A History of Florida*, pp. 169-170.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Rector to Charles E. Mix, February 10, 1858, Seminole Agency, Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives and Records Center.

⁴⁶ Tebeau, *A History of Florida*, p. 170.

⁴⁷ United States Senate, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, *Executive Document Number 51*, p. 504-505.

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The job of removing Seminoles from Florida was not completed. In December, 1858, Rector again visited Florida, attempting to persuade the remaining Seminoles to move west. Rector had brought Bowlegs at a cost of 200 to lead a party of eight Seminoles, who were to search the Florida Everglades for the elusive Indians. Rector's party contacted a Seminole group known as the "Boat Indians," the chief object of their search, and the elusive Black Warrior and his followers. Seventy-five Seminoles were persuaded to leave, and the group departed from Florida on February 15, 1859.⁴⁸ The migration was the last act in the long Seminole drama of war, persecution and removal. An estimated 100 to 300 Seminoles remained in Florida, but they vanished into the Everglades and the Big Cypress country. Floridians gradually stopped demanding that they move, although the Federal government continued trying to persuade them to join their brothers in Indian Territory. Descendants of these Seminoles were "re-discovered" by Florida in the twentieth century, and they became assets for cultural and tourist purposes.⁴⁹

The Florida Indians were not the only Seminoles who joined their brothers in Indian Territory in the few years prior to the Civil War. A number of Seminoles drifted back to Indian Territory after spending a decade in Mexico. Discontented by Creek oppression, approximately 200 Seminoles and blacks had left Indian Territory in 1849-1850 under the command of Chief Wild Cat and Negro Chief John Horse, usually called Gopher John. They crossed Texas and settled near the border in Coahuila, Mexico, where they served as military colonists, fighting marauding Apache and Comanche Indians and Texas filibusters in return for their grants of land. Several hundred Seminole blacks later joined them in Mexico. Wild Cat died of smallpox in 1857, and shortly afterward news reached Mexico that the Seminole Nation was separated from Creek control. This resulted in nearly all of the remaining Seminoles, approximately eighty-one, returning to Indian Territory in the years 1858 to 1861. However, 500 blacks remained in Mexico, mostly in Nacimientto and Laguna de Parras. Many of the blacks still living there are to a greater or lesser degree of Seminole-Negro blood.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Rector to Thompson, January 22, 1859, Seminole Agency, Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives and Records Center.

⁴⁹ Tebeau, *A History of Florida*, p. 170.

⁵⁰ None of the accounts of the Seminole migration to Mexico gives the exact number of Indians who moved to Coahuila. The best account of the exodus and adventures on the Mexican border is by Kenneth W. Porter, "The Seminole in Mexico, 1850-1861," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1 (February, 1951), pp. 1-36. Porter also has other versions in the "Seminole in Mexico, 1850-1861," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIX, No. 2 (Summer, 1951), pp. 153-168, and in "Wild Cat's Death and Burial," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXI, pp. 41-43.

As already noted, the Seminoles made the slowest progress of all the Five Civilized Tribes in adapting to an agricultural way of life in Indian Territory. Few Seminoles made vigorous efforts to farm their lands, either in the Creek Nation or in the western country. Yet, the fertility of the Seminoles' land usually repaid the smallest effort with abundant crops. Farming, such as it was practiced, took the form of pioneer agriculture found elsewhere on the North American continent. It was a type of farming which involved haphazard methods and butchery of the land by poor rotation of crops and little use of fertilizers. This same story was repeated countless times as the frontier moved westward, and it was again true in Indian Territory. Scant attention was given to growing crops, and plowing often was superficial.

Plowing usually was postponed until the last minute, and then there was time only to scratch the ground to plant corn. With such shallow seeding, plants quickly withered in a drought but produced a good crop in favorable seasons. And, when one section of land was worn out, the Indians simply moved to another. Corn was the primary crop, and it was used in making many Indian dishes such as *sofkee*, the staple food of the Seminoles. Other crops included wheat, oats, rye, cotton, peas, potatoes, turnips and pumpkins. A few orchards had apple, peach, pear and plum trees. The Seminoles had horses, cattle, a few oxen, hogs and domestic fowl. The Federal government helped show the Indians how to build homes, plow fields and take care of stock. Few Indians had mechanical skills, so the government usually paid carpenters, wheelwrights and mechanics to assist them. Blacksmiths were hired to repair and make plows, implements, axes and hoes and to shoe horses.⁵¹

All through the 1850s misfortune hounded the Five Civilized Tribes, as the climate underwent a cycle of severe drought, coupled with several hard frosts. From 1855 through 1860, the Seminole agents often noted shortages of food. J. W. Washbourne in 1855 commented on the effects of the drought: "though food was scarce, yet I do not know of a case of much more than ordinary suffering. The present season will hardly yield abundance of corn, having been injured by the dry weather of July."⁵² Agent Rutherford noted in 1860 that there would be widespread distress and want throughout the whole tribe as a result of the general and excessive drought that year. He declared that in some portions of the country the yield would not equal the seed planted.⁵³

⁵¹ Norman Arthur Graebner, "Pioneer Indian Agriculture in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1945), pp. 232-248.

⁵² United States Senate, 34th Congress, 1st and 2nd Sessions, *Executive Document Number 87*, p. 490.

⁵³ United States Senate, 36th Congress, 2nd Session, *Executive Document Number 51*, p. 351.

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Education of the Seminole children mostly had been ignored by the tribe until the late 1850s. The only school provided for the Seminole children was the Oak Ridge Mission boarding school in the Creek Nation. One of the teachers at the school was John Douglas Bemo, a Seminole who became a powerful influence for educational advancement among his tribe.⁵⁴ It was reported in 1855 that the Seminoles were "very much prejudiced against the whites, and had no desire to have their children taught; but now they are anxious to obtain a place in school, and evidently begin to appreciate learning."⁵⁵

Although the Seminoles were showing more of an interest in education by the middle of the century, not many of them were sending their children to the boarding school. In 1857 only twenty-six students were enrolled—twelve boys and fourteen girls—including nineteen Seminoles, two Creeks, three Cherokees and two white children. The church school was conducted on the manual labor system in which the boys were taught to work on the farm and the girls were instructed in sewing, washing, cooking, etc.⁵⁶

By 1860, the Seminoles and their agent were emphasizing the need for establishing schools in their new country as promised in the Treaty of 1856. Rutherford said the Seminoles, after moving to their newly assigned lands, were out of touch with the only school that any of their children had attended, the Oak Ridge Mission. He urged more attention be given to education of the tribe's children, and that funds should be provided to hire teachers and to erect buildings. "The greatest clog upon the advancement of civilization," he emphasized, "among these people, is the want of schools. . . . By improving their educational facilities . . . a few years will find the Seminoles an intelligent race, worthy to be considered a part of our common country . . . for the Seminoles are by no means deficient in native force of character and keenness of wit."⁵⁷

Of the Five Civilized Tribes, only the Seminoles lacked a written constitution and formal tribal government on the eve of the Civil War. The Seminoles followed a pattern of government similar to that of the other tribes, but they did not put their basic laws into written form. A headman controlled each of some twenty Seminole towns, and the council, composed of town executives, had the power to pass laws with approval of the principal

⁵⁴ Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 239–241.

⁵⁵ United States Senate, 34th Congress, 1st and 2nd Sessions, *Executive Document Number 88*, p. 493.

⁵⁶ United States Senate, 35th Congress, 1st Session, *Executive Document Number 93*, pp. 517–518.

⁵⁷ United States Senate, 36th Congress, 2nd Session, *Executive Document Number 51*, p. 351.



Leaving a warm, lush environment with a leisurely way of life behind them in Florida, the Seminoles suffered a great cultural shock in attempting to adjust to a new life style in Indian Territory

chief. Rutherford emphasized that a tribal government was needed, but that the Seminoles had no national fund to pay for the expense of running it. As a result, he asserted there was a great laxity in the enforcement of any kind of law within the Seminole Nation. The agent suggested that the Seminoles organize a "light horse" group of mounted policemen to keep order within their boundaries. Funds to pay these mounted policemen could be drawn from the tribe's annual annuity; however, no concentrated effort was made at that time to establish the light horse police force.⁵⁸

Rutherford noted in 1860 that the Seminoles had been trying to organize their government but had not succeeded. "A good many prefer adopting their former habits and customs," he said, "while others desire to place themselves under laws similar to those by which the Creeks and other tribes are governed. It is doubtful, however, which party will succeed. They have no funds set apart for the support of their government, and this circumstance will make much in favor of those who favor adopting their former habits and customs."⁵⁹ The agent suggested that a portion of the Seminoles' annuity be set aside for the support of their government.

⁵⁸ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Organization of the Seminole Light-Horse," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1956), pp. 340-344.

⁵⁹ United States Senate, 36th Congress, 2nd Session, *Executive Document Number 51*, pp. 351-352.

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In addition to these troubles, a continued drought in late 1860 left the Seminoles destitute and without food in their new lands. So desperate were the Indians that they sent a petition to President James Buchanan asking for relief. They explained that on removing to the new country early in the spring, they were late in getting in their crops. They told the President a drought that followed in the summer had left them completely without foodstuffs and that they must have immediate relief. The Seminoles emphasized that if the government could not furnish them food and supplies, they would like to request \$10,000 in annuities due them in 1861 be paid immediately so they could purchase what they needed. Rutherford supported their plea, asserting that the Seminole Indians desperately needed food so "they may avoid the inevitable calamity to which otherwise they are doomed."⁶⁰

On the eve of the Civil War, the Seminoles still were far behind on the other Civilized Tribes in adjusting to their new environment. About one-half the tribe was still living in the Creeks' Little River country, and the Creeks were putting pressure on them to move and settle in their own area.⁶¹ The Florida immigrants recently brought to Indian Territory were dissatisfied, restless and inclined not to move to the new western lands. The Seminoles who had migrated to the new country were slowly improving the land, building homes and tilling the farms. Yet, none of the \$2,000 promised in the Treaty of 1856 for agricultural purposes had been advanced to the Indians.

On several other issues, the Seminoles were suffering setbacks or making little headway. They still were being harassed and their livestock and ponies were stolen by marauding Comanches and Kiowas. That situation was so bad that surveyors marking the boundaries of the new lands had to give up their work because of hostilities by the Plains Indians. In education, the Seminoles still were pleading in vain for schools promised them years before. And all of these adversities had caused the tribe to dwindle in numbers. A census in 1858 showed the tribe had 2,060 members, of which 887 were females—thirty years of persecution had reduced the tribe nearly 40 percent.⁶²

In spite of all the potential for living in and enjoying a bountiful land, the Seminoles as a group were little more advanced than they were when they first removed to Indian Territory. By 1860, the other four Civilized Tribes had discarded most of their tribal cultures and had taken up the

⁶⁰ Seminole Council to A. B. Greenwood, November 15, 1860, Seminole Agency, Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives and Records Center.

⁶¹ United States Senate, 36th Congress, 2nd Session, *Executive Document Number 51*, p. 350.

⁶² United States Senate, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, *Executive Document Number 51*, p. 505.

white man's way of life and agriculture. The other tribes had established schools, approved written constitutions, created national governments and had become "civilized" through adoption of most facets of American society. However, this was not true for the Seminoles, who had suffered far more of a cultural shock than the other removed tribes. Moved from a warm, lush environment and a leisurely way of life, they were thrust into Indian Territory where there was a severe change of seasons and no way in which to exist except by hard and constant work as dirt farmers. Thus, they had one foot in the white man's agricultural way of life and the other foot in the world of their old tribal customs. The change was too much, and many of them simply could not adjust. The blame for their distress, suffering and bewilderment did not rest with themselves, but on the inhuman and inconsiderate government policy that had removed them into their new environment and had taken but little account of their welfare and wishes.

To their credit, the Seminoles won a favorable bargain in the Treaty of 1856 with the powerful, land-hungry Americans, who had treated them so harshly and cruelly in three wars of removal. Once the Seminoles were moved into their own nation, they should have reaped a bountiful harvest from the treaty's provisions and from their new lands—but that was not to be. The Civil War soon divided the Seminoles into opposite camps, again turned them into fugitives and certainly caused them more terrible losses than white citizens suffered in any part of the United States or the Confederate States.

By Louise B. James*

Alice Mary Robertson is the most important woman that Oklahoma has produced. The story of her life includes a list of many achievements culminating with her election to the United States House of Representatives in 1920. She was only the second woman elected to this body; she remains the only woman Oklahoma has elected in the more than fifty years since. In spite of all her achievements, her public comments about the role of women in American life indicate her belief that a woman's chief role was that of wife and mother. Her victory in the first election following the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment was a victory for those opposed to women's suffrage, as Miss Robertson did not wish the right of voting for herself or for other women. Her life story was a paradox for those interested in women's rights. She was opposed to much of what the feminists were seeking, yet, she achieved more in her own life than most men have achieved either in that time period or in the present one.¹

Born into one of Oklahoma's distinguished missionary families, she was the granddaughter of Samuel Austin Worcester who devoted most of his life to work with the Cherokees. She was the daughter of two missionaries to the Creek Indians, William Schenk Robertson and Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson.² Her mother set an example of what a woman might achieve as she raised a growing family, taught classes of Indian students and translated books of the *Bible* into Creek. Her father, William, commented on his wife's ability, "Tis not every mother that can teach with two children as assistants, yet Ann Eliza scarcely loses an hour."³ Miss Robertson desired to achieve a name for herself. At thirteen, she wrote to her older sister, Ann Augusta, "I have studied algebra today and take my first drawing lesson. I am going to be somebody yet."⁴

For much of her life "being somebody" was connected with her family's position and came mainly in the field of Indian education, an endeavor

* The author prepared this manuscript for the Third Annual Oklahoma Heritage Institute on Oklahoma History.

¹ Undated interview with Mayme Ober Peak, clipping, March, 1923, Alice Robertson Papers, Grant Foreman Collection, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

² *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, undated clipping, Alice Robertson Collection, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

³ William Schenk Robertson to his parents, April 24, 1854, Robertson Letters, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

⁴ Alice Robertson to Ann Augusta Robertson, December 3, 1867, *ibid*.

which she thought was proper for a woman. At the age of nineteen she was employed by the Indian Department in Washington, D.C., as a clerk. While she was working there, she taught herself shorthand. Ben Pitman, the originator of the style of shorthand she learned, was impressed with her efforts and sent her an autographed copy of his shorthand manual.⁵ Shorthand brought her much recognition later as she was the only person in Indian Territory with such a skill and was frequently called upon to use this ability in developments in Indian Territory, including the commission which worked for the cession of the Cherokee Outlet and the conference ending the Green Peach War.

While she was working outside Indian Territory, her parents' mission at Tullahassee burned leaving the students without a chance to continue their educations. She convinced officials of the newly created school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to accept twenty-five of the students from Tullahassee, and even arranged free fare for these students from railroad officials.⁶

Her career outside Indian Territory was cut short by the death of her father, and she returned to help at home in 1881. During this time, she started the boarding school which eventually became Henry Kendall College, which in turn became Tulsa University.⁷

Her knowledge in the field of Indian education led to Miss Robertson being invited to speak at an educational meeting at Lake Mononk, New York, in 1891. In her audience was a man destined to change her life, for he would bring her into fields of endeavor far from education and mission work. As she spoke she became aware of one extremely interested member of the audience, and by the end of the speech her remarks were directed to him. Theodore Roosevelt came to her after the speech, introducing himself with the remark that their views on Indian education were much the same.⁸

The friendship grew, and during the Spanish-American War she helped recruit Troops L and M of Roosevelt's Rough Riders. When Roosevelt became President, she found herself with a job far outside the education connected ones she had held in the past. He appointed his staunch Republican woman friend as the postmaster for Muskogee in 1905. Miss Robertson did not stop to consider the fact that she would be the only postmistress of a first class post office. She saw work to be done, and she tried to do her best.⁹

⁵ *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, undated clipping, Alice Robertson Collection.

⁶ Grant Foreman, "The Hon. Alice M. Robertson," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 1 (March, 1932), p. 14.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ "A Woman Who Got into Congress Through the Want-Ad Columns," *Literary Digest*, Vol. LXVII, No. 10 (December 4, 1920), p. 56.

⁹ Tom P. Morgan, "Miss Alice of Muskogee," *Ladies Home Journal*, Vol. VI, No. 3 (March, 1921), p. 21.



Alice M. Robertson, while she was serving in the United States House of Representatives

A postmistress created quite a stir at the convention of postmasters in the fall of 1906. She was placed on every committee. She was not intimidated by being the only woman. Miss Robertson presented several papers containing her suggestions and addressed the convention supporting her views. She requested that she be allowed to become just "one of the boys," with the only exception being that they not smoke cigarettes in her presence. She did not mind cigars being smoked, and as she attended all session, cigarette smoking was at a minimum.¹⁰

Evidently she considered herself just "one of the boys." She did not join them in smoking cigars, but she did feel free to joke with fellow members of the convention. As introductions were being made each person stood and told where his post office was. The postmaster from Oklahoma City, Elmer Brown, did just this. Because at that time the official designation of Oklahoma City was simply Oklahoma, she stood and called attention to his mis-

¹⁰ *Post Dispatch*, clipping, October 8, 1906, Alice Robertson Collection.

take. She explained that Brown was frequently "calling her down" and she had gotten her chance to get even.¹¹

At the same time that she was enjoying the limelight in the convention, she was making comments on women's rights. "The exchange of a woman's privileges for a man's right is too much like bartering the birthright for a mess of pottage." This statement was certain to anger suffragists who were trying to achieve political equality at this time! She made it clear that she was not a suffragist, but a "hard-working postmaster." Roosevelt re-appointed her to this position which she held until 1913.¹²

Her next venture into national recognition was during World War I, and it was again in a field safely and traditionally feminine. She began meeting the troop trains that came through Muskogee and gave out cigarettes, candies, post cards, gum and coffee to the soldiers. She owned a cafeteria in Muskogee and fed free soldiers and their families as they passed through Muskogee. The railroad company placed a coach on the siding for her to use as a canteen.¹³

Following World War I, the avowed opponent of women's suffrage found herself as a candidate for the United States House of Representatives. As she explained, "The men have thrust the vote on us and now I am going to see whether they mean it."¹⁴ The campaign she conducted must have been one of the most unusual in political history. It truly had a woman's touch. She usually ran advertisements in the Muskogee paper for her cafeteria. These advertisements listed the menus in enticing ways, "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!"¹⁵ After she filed for office, comments like, "our campaign seems to be going very well, even if we are not neglecting our customers," appeared with the usual list of foods.¹⁶ She also observed, "I'm not anyone but home folks, and I want to go to Congress. First because a lot of men moved that I go and then because a lot of women seconded them. Some say I won't get there, but I'm well pleased with the outlook."¹⁷

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, clipping, February 25, no year, *ibid.*

¹³ Ruth Moore Stanley, "Alice M. Robertson, Oklahoma's First Congresswoman," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1967), p. 261.

¹⁴ "A Woman Who Got into Congress Through the Want-Ad Columns," *Literary Digest*, Vol. LXVII, p. 56.

¹⁵ Tom Morgan, "Miss Alice of Muskogee," *Ladies Home Journal*, Vol. VI, p. 21.

¹⁶ *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, undated clipping, Alice Robertson Papers.

¹⁷ "A Woman Who Got into Congress Through the Want-Ad Columns," *Literary Digest*, Vol. LXVII, p. 56.

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She chose a very good year to be a Republican running for Congress in Oklahoma. Five of eight representatives that year were Republican, and the anti-feminist past sixty years of age found herself one of those members. Oklahoma also sent a Republican United States Senator to Washington that year.¹⁸

Congressmen curious about their new female colleague found that in appearance she was "built on similar architectural lines as the late Champ Clark." Her clothing was never the latest fashion but was described as "something black," and more suited for Muskogee than Washington, D.C.¹⁹

She had no intention of upsetting the male dominated Congress. She was to pride herself on never speaking when she could avoid a speech. She had always gotten along better with men than with women and had "always done a man's work, carried a man's burdens, and paid a man's bills."²⁰ She was ready to work with Congress and be "just one of the boys" again.

Miss Robertson did believe that a woman might have one special role in Congress. She believed that a woman should help make the government more honest and truthful, as indicated by her campaign slogan of, "I can not be bought; I can not be sold; I can not be intimidated."²¹

While she did not plan to make waves when she arrived in Washington, she could not help but be noticed. She was frequently called upon as a guest speaker; this was a request which she believed used energies and time which should have been devoted to her duties in Congress. She took committee assignments seriously and tried to attend all meetings. She had a sharp wit and her comments were often worth quoting, especially as the congresswoman was also an anti-feminist.

Of special interest for the press was the meeting of Miss Robertson and the only woman member of the English Parliament, Lady Astor. She liked the foreign visitor when they met, even though Lady Astor's visit was sponsored by a feminist group. Miss Robertson complimented her by saying "I have been impressed with an appreciation of the fact that the sanest women active in political work are wives and mothers accustomed to think for the future of their children . . ." ²² Perhaps she included herself in such a group, for while she remained single, she adopted, raised and educated

¹⁸ Stephen Jones, *Oklahoma Politics in State and Nation, 1907-1962*, (Enid: Haymaker Press, Inc., 1974), p. 30.

¹⁹ Interview, Peak, Alice Robertson Papers.

²⁰ *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, undated clipping, Alice Robertson Collection.

²¹ Interview, Alice Robertson Papers.

²² *Sunday Telegram*, clipping, 1922, *ibid*.



Alice M. Robertson with Lady Astor—the only woman member of the British Parliament at the time

one young girl. There were always children around that she helped. The daughter of a close friend even lived with her for a time while she was in Congress. She noted the children around her, "Some women collect china or jewels or lace. I have a fad for collecting boys and girls. . . ."²³

She was soon faced with the dilemma which confronts elected officials. Should she listen to her constituents and vote the way they instructed her; or should she listen to her own conscience and vote as she believed? She chose to be her own voice and quickly found herself in trouble with her voters. One of the unpopular votes was on a veterans' bonus bill, which she voted against. This was an unusual vote for a woman who had given so much of her time and resources to help these very soldiers during the war. But part of her campaign promises had been, "I am a Christian; I am an American; I am a Republican," and the Republican part of her believed

²³ Tom Morgan, "Miss Alice of Muskogee," *Ladies Home Journal*, Vol. VI, p. 21.

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that paying a bonus to able-bodied men was a bad precedent. Her vote received much attention, and she had the courage to return home and defend her actions in person before a veteran's group. This was an unpleasant and difficult meeting. She asked for a show of hands of those men who had voted for her; among the angry veterans, one man raised his hand. He must have had as much courage as Miss Robertson did. She thanked him for this vote and realized that much of her political support was now lost.²⁴

The second unpopular vote was on the Sheppard-Tower Bill, also called the Maternity Bill, which included a provision for the government furnishing instruction to mothers on the care of young children. It was the legislation which the women's rights groups had chosen to champion as the symbol of their new power in political affairs, and her negative vote probably did not lose any political support. She even urged women to write to their legislators and express their opposition to the bill. Prior to her vote and speech in Congress, she attacked the bill in public saying it would allow "the establishment of practically uncontrolled, yet Federally authorized centers of propaganda." She commented on the pressure being brought on her by women's groups, "They are trying to scare me into support of the bill, but I can't be scared."²⁵

Her defeat at the election of 1922 was no surprise. She realized that politically she was in trouble early that year when she wrote her sister, "My political fences are in terrible shape everywhere. I made a speech which was so mishandled in the telegraphic re-prints in the newspapers that I am simply seething in boiling oil just now."²⁶ Oklahoma could not be expected to continue in the unusual pattern of voting Republican for too many elections, so Oklahoma's only woman in Congress returned home after one term.

She was not bitter about her defeat remarking, "Happiness is contentment, and I always manage to content myself and find something that needs to be done." She realized that the high point of her career had come rather late in life, as she remarked, "I've been a Cinderella at sixty-nine, but now the pumpkin is round the corner, waiting to wisk me back."²⁷

She did get in one jab at enemies back home, especially other women. She had been told by some women in Oklahoma, "You see, we didn't want you to go to Washington in the first place, and now we are going to keep you." She responded, "How do you know I'll come back?"²⁸

²⁴ *Tulsa World*, clipping, March 7, no year, Alice Robertson Papers.

²⁵ By the Eavesdropper, undated clipping, Alice Robertson Papers.

²⁶ Alice Robertson to Augusta Robertson Moore, February 17, 1922, *ibid.*

²⁷ Interview, Peak, *ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

But everyone realized that "Miss Alice" of Muskogee would of course come home. For all that she had seen and done while in Washington, she was looking forward to hearing those Oklahoma mocking birds. Evidently she did hope that the Republican President would reward a faithful party member with an appointment connected with Indian affairs, but she returned home just a private citizen.

What did Miss Robertson's career in Congress accomplish? She had an unusual response to such a question, telling a reporter, "If you asked a housekeeper that what do you think she would say? I've been keeping house for the nation just like a woman would in her own home—busy, busy, every day, in every way, with out any outstanding thing to show for it."²⁹ Most freshman Congressmen can point to very few outstanding achievements, Miss Robertson included.

She had clashed with the feminists mainly because she believed they were asking for rights she did not want for herself. Typical of her comments on the right to vote was, "I did not want suffrage. I didn't ask for it, but they gave it to us, and as God gives me strength, I'll carry the responsibility."³⁰ She also believed that feminists were asking for privileges simply because they were women. She said, "I have never asked any discount on account of my petticoats." She also believed that very few women had the training to succeed in public life, even though she had managed to do so. She thought other women had "gone into politics the wrong way, beginning at the top instead of bottom. . . . When a woman shows she is fitted for office, she will receive the call to office just as a man does."³¹

This was the way it had been in her life. At important times in her career others had come to her and asked her to do more. Her best work always brought recognition, but she had an advantage other women did not have. She could not forget that her name was already famous in Oklahoma; she was the granddaughter of Samuel Worcester and the daughter of Ann Eliza Robertson. She always seemed to work this information into interviews. In a very long and candid interview as she left Washington, she managed to show the two *Bibles* in her office which had been translated into Indian languages by her ancestors. Miss Robertson did not need a famous name in order to succeed because she was very capable in her own right, but with the prominent name she had much more going for her than other Oklahoma women. So when the call to public office came, the caller knew her name so much better.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ By the Eavesdropper, undated clipping, Alice Robertson Papers.

³¹ Interview, Peak, *ibid.*

☆ NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

AWARD OF MERIT FOR "THE OKLAHOMA SERIES"

The Oklahoma Series of the Publication Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society has been voted an Award of Merit according to William T. Alderson, Director of the American Association for State and Local History. The National Awards Committee of the organization based their decision on the fact that series provides "scholarly/popular material as supplemental readings for institutions of higher learning as well as the general public," The award signifies "much deserved recognition of a major contribution in the field of state and local history."



A CHEROKEE VIEWS LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURATION

By Gary E. Moulton*

During a recent research trip to Washington, D.C., the author visited Martha Gause Stapler, whose father, as a young boy, lived with Chief John Ross of the Cherokees during the Civil War. Miss Stapler has generously donated to the Oklahoma Historical Society three original letters written by Chief Ross.

One letter in particular sheds light on both the personal and political life of Ross. Writing to his second wife, Mary Stapler Ross of Wilmington, Delaware, he notes the declining state of her health. Within four months of this letter she will be dead, while Ross will survive her by little more than a year.

Caught up in a desperate political situation, Ross was attempting to convince Congress and the President that the Cherokee Confederate Treaty of 1861 was signed under duress and that the mass of the tribe was loyal to the Union. Reconstruction difficulties were foreshadowed in this letter. Ross noted the Indian consolidation bill which would end the special relationship of the Five Civilized Tribes with the federal government by forming them into one administrative unit.

The passages describing Lincoln's inauguration display Ross's writing talents to the fullest. Perhaps the morning darkness was portentous, for within a month the President would be assassinated.

* Gary E. Moulton, Editor, Papers of Chief John Ross, Southwestern Oklahoma State University, Weatherford, Oklahoma.

Washington, D.C.

Willard's Hotel March 5th 1865

Well My Dear Mary

I hope you are still improving and gaining strength—in writing to you, I do not expect you to take up your pen to write in reply—But only, to listen to my scriblings, patiently and calmly. Now permit me to say, I see that my apprehensions were not altogether premature at the time I wrote you—for my fears were too soon thereafter realized by receiving your kind and affectionate letter, which, no doubt, was written under wearisome exertion, before my precautionary advice had reached you! I was fearful that, in your debilitated state of health you might overtax your strength, if you should make the effort to resume the burdensome task of letter writing. To digest the thoughts of the mind and jotting them down into words on paper is an undertaking too laborious to be borne by an invalid. Hence my reasons for making the suggestion to you, to employ the pen of those dear ones around you, until you shall have regained your health and strength. I sent you a telegram yesterday because I had not responded to your letter and had no time to write letters. During Friday we were at the Capitol watching the proceedings of Congress, respecting our Cherokee interests. We returned to dine at about 5 P.M. and went back at 7 P.M. and remained there until about 1 O'clk; we then came away and left Congress still in Session!

Yesterday the 4 of March, ever to be remembered as the Inauguration day of President Lincoln for his 2nd term of office! The morn was dark with lowering clouds of Storm and rain—seemingly, Portentous of sorrows and weeping in the land! But, at 12 noon the hand of mercy waved away the Storm—and there was light in the firmament. The clouds vanished and the rain ceased to fall—behold the effulgent rays of the noonday sun shone out upon the great multitude that assembled around the magnificent Capitol of the Nation. At this auspicious hour, President Lincoln appeared amid the official dignitaries, on the steps of the East Portico and there delivered his address and took the oath of office. Then, was heard the sound of *martial music* and the *roar of artillery* which filled the air and reverberated thro the city and its surroundings—thus, the ceremonies of the day were conducted in good order, and every thing seemed to pass off pleasantly & joyously.

This being Sabbath day, Bishop [Matthew] Simpson Preached a Sermon in the Hall of the House of Representatives to an overflowing Congregation. Among the distinguished Public functionary present was President Lincoln—and there I had the pleasure of shaking the hand of the Revd. Doc. [William M.D.] Ryan! The Sermon was appropriate to the occasion and so forcibly and eloquently delivered as to produce an electric and spon-

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taneous applause from the Congregation, whose Handkerchiefs were bathed in tears.

The Bill for consolidating the Indian Tribes and establishing a Civil Govt. over them in the Indian Territory which has passed the Senate failed in the House on Friday night!

The Genl. Indian appropriations, for carrying into effect Indian Treaties passed both Houses, with certain Amendments, the nature of which, I am not as yet informed. We expect soon to see the Act in Print which will inform us of its provisions, under which the Annuities are to be paid! Tomorrow, the Senate will be convened, to act upon Presidential nominations and such other business as the President may present before that Body. It is expected that some changes will be made of officers in the Department. It is to be hoped that such Changes will be for the better, especially in the Indian Department that the Indian interests may hereafter be more justly dealt with.

Some days will necessarily be required for filling the offices under the new appointments! I learn from Sister Sarah [Stapler], that our dear Son John has come home, in consequence of Sickness. I sincerely hope that, with proper care, under the Treatment of your attending Physician that both of you may soon be restored to good health again.

Without further light on the situation of our business I can add nothing more at present except to send my love most affectionately to each member of our family. We are well as usual. Your very affectionate Husband,

Jno Ross

P.S. I have met with Colo. Cummings & his two daughters at the dining Table. Mr. [Evan] Jones requested me to send his respects to yourself & family.



APACHE LIGHTNING: THE LAST GREAT BATTLES OF THE OJO CALIENTES. By Joseph Stout, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974. Pp. ix, 210. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$8.95.)

Belying the somewhat sensational title this is a solidly researched account of the Victorio campaign of 1877-1880. The Apache chief's military exploits against a variety of white adversaries makes compelling reading. His eventual and inevitable death provided a dramatic ending for Professor Stout's meticulous reconstruction of the social, political and military milieu that produced the famous war leader.

The story begins, logically enough, with the original inhabitant of the American Southwest and Northern Mexico, the Indian. By way of background the first chapter briefly traces the history of the Apache from the time that the tribe appeared in that region between A.D. 900 and 1200, waging war with the Indian groups that already inhabited the area. From the beginning of contact with the first white encroachers, the Spanish in 1540, the Apaches represented a formidable obstacle to European and later Anglo-American settlement. In spite of all efforts by the Spanish and Mexican government, the tribe clung to its traditional mountain strongholds and continued a life style which depended upon raiding the frontiers of both the United States and Mexico.

Stout views the bloody past of the Southwest as a clash of three cultures—Indian, Mexican and Anglo-American—with the beginning of the end for the Apache coming in 1846 which witnessed the finish of the Mexican War. If the Apache gained a temporary advantage from the imposition of an arbitrary and artificial boundary line which precluded any real cooperation between Mexican and American against them, they lost the centuries-long warfare with the whites as their homeland was invaded for the first time by relatively large numbers of permanent settlers. Only the lack of coordination which marked the next thirty years of the United States Army's attempts to end the wars saved the Apache from a more rapid destruction. Hampered by the convenient international boundary which allowed the Indian raiders to retreat into northern Mexico and elude pursuit, the Army was additionally slowed by the division of authority resulting from the 1865 creation of Arizona and New Mexico into separate military departments. Further complicating any efforts toward a coordinated campaign was the interference of the Bureau of Indian Affairs agents who were charged with the responsibility for establishing reservations and peaceful relations with the Apache.

The battles of the Ojo Calientes under Victorio during the last three years of the 1870s decade occurred during the period when the majority of

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Apaches had already been shunted onto the hated reservations. The band that Victorio led belonged to the eastern branch of the Chiricahua Apaches of southeastern Arizona. The author makes clear a point which has been missed by many interested in Southwestern Indians by noting the American and Mexican habit of identifying the various groups of Apaches by the particular region they occupied. He further explains that Victorio's groups were known by a variety of place names depending upon the area in which they lived at any given time. By whatever name, Victorio's warriors compiled an amazingly successful string of victories over the troops employed against them month after month. On October 15, 1880, they were finally cornered in Mexico and lost their famous leader in a final battle.

There was little gained by Victorio's death. Stout notes the irony of the army's success in corralling the Apaches on reservations and then leaving, with their withdrawal contributing to an economic depression for the remaining white civilians. Throughout the book each action is similarly analyzed in terms of its ultimate ramification. Each protagonist, whether Indian, Mexican or Anglo-American, receives a dispassionate handling as the author skillfully interweaves the numerous strands of persons and events leading to Victorio's demise. *Apache Lightning's* bibliography reveals an impressive list of government documents, newspapers and primary source materials from both sides of the Rio Grande. When this evidence of scholarship is added to the especially fine collection of historical photographs and the author's quick reading narrative style, this volume is easily recommended.

Terry Wilson
University of California at Berkeley



THE AMERICAN WEST: AN INTERPRETIVE HISTORY. By Robert V. Hine. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973. Pp. x, 371. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Cloth, \$12.50; Paper, \$7.95.)

As the title implies, Robert Hine does not offer a chronological narrative of the West in the typical pattern of expanding frontiers from east coast to west. Rather, he delights us with novel ways of viewing familiar terrain. Many of these ideas are not new or particularly revisionist but are set together so that each topic compels us to rethink some of our traditional assumptions. Interpretation suggests selection, and Hine chose several standard western themes to challenge our presuppositions about the region. The fur trade,

mining, the cowboys' cult of masculinity, racial minorities, western heroes and western violence are some of his more intriguing topics.

Historians have commonly accepted the Mountain Man as a free and unrestrained individual. Hine calls attention, however, to the psychological maladjustments of the trappers which pushed them toward endless pursuits without the freedom to return to family and friends they could never forget. Hine attributed the plunder of the West primarily to the myth of its super abundance, beginning perhaps with the trappers who thought the beaver would last forever. By juxtaposing three American environmentalists—John Muir for preservation, John Wesley Powell for conservation and Gifford Pinchot for federal management and private usage—Hine illustrates the continuing struggle over the future of western resources.

Another western myth supposes that men were accepted for themselves regardless of their past misdeeds. This myth dismisses the reality that a man's genetic past had to be Anglo in order for him to find a future in the West. Indians, Blacks, Mexicans and Orientals were welcomed only in the early periods and were soon restricted. Another western minority group, women, have frequently been viewed as more independent and progressive than their eastern counterparts. The early arrival of women's suffrage in the West buttresses such a notion. Actually, Hine purported, the voting privilege came to western women because they posed no threat to their husbands' established values.

Hine saw the Mexican War and the Civil War as two conflicts with one destiny. The destiny was a unified nation as a continental power poised to exploit the underdeveloped West to the fullest. It took these wars to assure the fulfillment of that destiny. But it has been the contest of man against the elements in the West that has continued to captivate Americans. The concentration has been on the spirited individuals of the West—the prospector, the cowboy and the trapper—rather than the larger economic units—the mining industry, the cattle ranch and the fur company. For Hine this narrow vision grew out of the western sense of individualism which at best meant self-reliance but sometimes turned to an ugly egotism intensifying racial hatreds.

Hine's work is probing and provocative. Doubtless it will elicit the response such interpretive books inspire: some will think he has tampered too much while others will believe he has corrected too little. This reviewer will be happy to see future works by the author, interpretive or otherwise.

Gary E. Moulton

Southwestern Oklahoma State University



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EDWARD BOREIN, COWBOY ARTIST. By Harold G. Davidson.
(Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1974. Pp. 189. Illustrations.
Index. \$22.50.)

Among the foremost early American painters of Western Art, some of the best lived in the West and realistically captured the spirit of the times. Their work was characterized by authenticity and technical excellence. Such would be the works of Edward Borein, the subject of this very fine book containing numerous paintings and etchings along with the life story of this cowboy artist.

Born in San Leandro, across the bay from San Francisco, California, in 1872, Borein took up the life of a cowboy at the age of seventeen and worked the coast from Oregon to the Baja Peninsula. His interest in painting and sketching, evidenced in early childhood, fascinated the other cowboys and Mexicans who had never seen a vaquero artist. At the suggestion of two college boys who saw his sketches on the walls of a bunkhouse, Borein wrapped up an assortment of his work and sent it to Charles F. Lummis who subsequently published them in 1894, in his Los Angeles magazine, *The Land of Sunshine*. For his efforts, Borein received \$15.00, a large sum in comparison to the \$25.00 per month he received on the ranch and was launched on his career. For over two years, he worked on the 45,000-acre Jesus Maria Ranch in Santa Barbara County, California, and later moved south to the 13,000-acre Rancho Malibu where he first met Leo Carrillo who later became well known in movies and on television's "Cisco Kid." Borein's first trip to Mexico in 1897 made a lasting impression on him, and his visit extended until 1899.

In 1907, through the influence of a friend, Borein went to New York City. There he began to receive commissions for illustrations. It was there also, in 1908, that he met Charles and Nancy Russell.

The artist's first exhibit in New York in 1908 was a mixture of oils, Indian inks and pencil sketches, and it was from this first show that the noted actor of the times, Fred Stone, bought a large painting of a bucking horse. Leo Carrillo, by this time a successful actor on Broadway, saw the painting by his old friend in Stone's dressing room and rushed to the artist's studio. While in New York, Borein met many famous people. Among his friends were Teddy Roosevelt; Will Rogers; Annie Oakley and her husband, Frank Butler; Seth Hathaway, the Indian fighter; Bill McGinty, cowpuncher and Rough Rider; and artists, Maynard Dixon, Jimmy Swinnerton, Will James, Olaf Seltzer and a young newcomer, Carl Oscar Borg. Although funds were low at times, Borein remained in New York City until 1919. It was the center of the publishing industry, and there he found demand for his work.

Because Borein had loved the exuberant life of the cowboy and the beauty of the West, it is not surprising that he finally returned and settled in Santa Barbara where he married and maintained a studio for many years. In retrospect, Borein's life seems filled with glamour due to the times in which he lived and his famous friends, but he painted the West as he knew it and lived it. *Edward Borein, Cowboy Artist* reflects the vigor and dedication of that life.

Patricia Lester
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma



KANSAS: THE THIRTY-FOURTH STAR. A PICTORIAL ALBUM.

By Nyle H. Miller. (Topeka: The Kansas State Historical Society, 1976. Pp. 153. Illustrations. Photographs. Duotones. Maps. Index. \$6.00.)

This photographic treasury was intended by the author, now retired as the long-time secretary of the state historical society, to be a brief report of the history of the area now known as Kansas. There is a short chapter on present-day Kansas. The rest is prehistory and early-day history that has been documented through the 1950s.

Anthropological and geological aspects of the area are described in general terms, but there is some attention given to the influence of Spaniards, particularly their introduction of the horse to the Plains Indians. The plight of the Indian is, sadly, told in text, faded photographs and brilliant paintings. The demise of the buffalo is part of this story too. There were nineteen Indian reservations in present Kansas, but most were moved to Indian Territory by the 1870s. Today only remnants of the Pottawatomie, Iowa, Sac and Fox and Kickapoo Indian nations remain.

Early-day explorers included Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, Zebulon M. Pike, Stephen H. Long—whose map labeled the area as the Great American Desert—and John C. Frémont, who believed the prairie had great agricultural possibilities.

The territory was laced with trails, principally the Santa Fe and the Oregon-California, which became the ties that cemented the American East to the developing West. Cattle trails like the Chisholm and carriers such as the Overland Stage Line and the short-lived Pony Express crisscrossed the barren and wind-swept landscape. Dugouts, soddies and crude cabins of log and native limestone housed those who had the temerity to settle. Many left; some stayed. Most who stayed died of disease, overwork and despair, not to mention attack by half-starved Indians. A thin network of United

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States Army troopers failed to prevent attacks on explorers, travelers and settlers by Indians in search of food and revenge against the "yellow hairs" who had slain game and buffalo by the millions.

Miller's "Bleeding Kansas" chapter of history is documented with dramatic text, photographs and cleverly written captions that help provide an understanding of the terrible war between Free-Staters and Pro-slavers who bloodied the soil of eastern Kansas before statehood in January, 1861. That event was celebrated by an overjoyed editor of *The Topeka Tribune* who compiled eight separate headlines in a stack, beginning with "THE STATE OF KANSAS!" and ending with "LET US ALL REJOICE."

Use of such dramatic graphics in a beautiful, low-priced book is evidence of the thought that went into the production of *Kansas: The Thirty-Fourth Star*. There are dozens of generally clear photographs of Kansans in the Civil War, Kansans building towns and settlements, Kansans and their modes of culture and recreation, and an excellent photo-laden lode, nostalgically done of course, of trains at a time when everybody rode them to visit Aunt Minnie who lived but ten miles distant.

Although farming and ranching receive adequate space, agriculture does not dominate. People do. Miller and his staff of editorial assistants at the Kansas State Historical Society documented the history of the state with a superb study of its people—the famous and infamous, the proud and simple, the dirty and rugged and the few "bad guys" of the second half of the nineteenth century who were good press in the East but generally were despised at home in the American West.

The book itself is as much a major story of the American West as a history of Kansas. It was crafted with pride and rendered from realism.

Craig Chappell
Oklahoma State University



THE MARIPOSA INDIAN WAR, 1850-1851. DIARIES OF ROBERT ECCLESTON: THE CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH, YOSEMITE, AND THE HIGH SIERRA. Edited by C. Gregory Crampton. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1957. 1975 reprint. Pp. vii, 168. Appendix. Bibliography. Index. \$10.00.)

In spite of the existence of a great wealth of published materials relating to conflict between Indians and whites, comparatively little attention has been focused on the tribes of California. The republication of this book, which first appeared in 1957, helps partially answer this need by providing an eye-witness account of one such episode. Its author, Robert Eccleston, had

braved the dangers of a land passage across the continent to seek his fortunes in the beckoning gold fields of California. Within ten months after his arrival in the Mariposa District, the young adventurer found his quest for riches interrupted by a general Indian outbreak. Several tribes, led by the Mariposas, Miwoks and Yokuts, launched a series of uncoordinated attacks against the scattered miners in a futile attempt to stem the invasive tide. A force of less than 200 militiamen, simultaneously utilizing overtures of peace and threats of extermination, finally crushed the uprising six months after it had begun. While the Mariposa Battalion marched home to the accolades of an appreciative public, the defeated were shunted onto reservations in the San Joaquin Valley. Predictably, their demise as a tribal people was hastened by an accelerated pattern of white encroachment.

The Mariposa Indian War was in its time, as today, an event of regional rather than national significance. Yet, this fact should not lessen the importance of Eccleston's account. His description of the military operation is the only known first-hand narrative inscribed at the time of the campaign. Much geographical information is recorded, including mention of the discovery of Yosemite Valley and lesser spots of scenic and geological importance. The diary likewise confirms the prevailing nineteenth century Anglo-American sentiment that pushing Indians off their land was part of a natural and godly process to bring civilization to the wilderness. One looking for an Indian point-of-view will not find it in this book, though Eccleston's conscience was occasionally troubled by some of the scenes of brutality directed against his adversaries.

Perhaps the real strength of this book lies in the detailed and incisive editing by C. Gregory Crampton who is already well known for his *Standing Up Country* and *Land of Living Rock*. Dr. Crampton has arranged the diary into unified chapters and provides extensive notes at the end of each chapter to identify personalities and confusing place names. So extensive are the notes that they frequently run longer than the original narrative. Yet this is absolutely essential to the book's value since the editor has introduced an enormous amount of supplementary material to clarify the original diary entries. Where other writings confirm Eccleston's observations, Crampton so indicates; where other sources conflict with the diary, Crampton ably evaluates the contradictory viewpoints. A concluding eighteen page bibliography testifies to the extent of the editor's quest for comparative sources, and the list appears definitive.

Though this book concentrates upon the exploits of the Mariposa Battalion in its pursuit of Indians, a secondary story of equal value is found in the opening and closing sections. These are the diary entries which substantiate the total frustration facing most miners in the California gold rush.

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Day after day Eccleston recorded the severity of the work and the paucity of his party's discoveries. He contrasts this with the prevailing prices of manufactured goods and agricultural products, whose inflationary costs negated most chances for profit. A brief glimpse at social life in the fledgling mining camps also appears, and we learn that gambling filled most miners' free time.

As with the price of picks and shovels in frontier California, the cost of this reissue may deter some purchases. But those with an interest in California, mining and another example of white pressure on Indian land will find this book interesting and informative. A visually pleasing design and a detailed map further add to the readability and value of this work whose reappearance is a welcome delight.

Michael L. Tate

The University of Nebraska at Omaha



THE STORY OF THE WESTERN RAILROADS: FROM 1852 THROUGH THE REIGN OF THE GIANTS. By Robert Edgar Riegel. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964. Pp. 345. Bibliography. Index. \$14.95, Cloth; \$3.95, Paper.)

Robert Riegel chose to do his doctoral dissertation on the railroads of the American West. As an academic project it proved to be both a massive and boldly pioneering task. Small wonder that in 1926 Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc. added it to its publications list as *The Story of the Western Railroads: From 1852 Through the Reign of the Giants*. Subsequently it became—and it remains—something of a classic. Proof of its popularity has manifested itself in 1977; the book entered its fourth printing as a Bison Book (University of Nebraska Press).

Riegel's book chronicles the beginning of the railroads in this country—first construction efforts, transcontinental building projects, financial railroad aid, changing carrier times, rate wars and pools along with labor, equipment, regulation, settlement, and—as the author labels it—reign of the giants. In sum, it covers virtually all aspects of western railroading. There are no illustrations, but this liability is partially offset by Riegel's fine writing style.

There can be no doubt about the utility which this book has had for countless scholars and writers over the years. Yet, the work is clearly dated, and, regretfully, none of the later printings have been updated to reflect the impressive volume of important scholarship that has been available since

1926. Thus the re-release of Riegel's book serves notice to railroad historians that the time has come to produce a new and modern classic general history of western railroads.

Donovan L. Hofsommer
Wayland College



TRAILING THE LONGHORNS: A CENTURY LATER. By Sue Flanagan. (Austin, Texas: Madrona Press, 1974. Pp. xix, 209. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Index. \$18.50.)

The author, now director of the Sam Houston Memorial Museum in Huntsville, Texas, strives in her work for a complete overview of the cattle trailing movement, including retracing the routes the herds and cowmen followed. She provides a verbal and pictorial view of how the Longhorn trails look a century after their fullest use.

In doing the photography and the research, she traveled over 20,000 miles, interviewed over 200 people and examined printed and primary sources for her narrative. She participated in the 1966 Longhorn Centennial Trail Drive, taking her ever-present camera with her. The book offers a general history of cattle trailing northward with pleasing anecdotes enroute. The author gives insight into the fever tick and the impact Texas fever had on the cattle trailing movement. Wayne Gard, author of *The Chisholm Trail*, *Rawhide Texas* and *Reminiscences of Range Life*, has written an interesting introduction to the work, which enhances its value.

Photographs in the book are all black and white. They could have been Duotone for added effect. The high price of the volume calls for color pictures as well. Many of the details in the photographs are blurred, whether intentionally, for effect or by accident. They are not up to the quality of those in Erwin Smith's *Life on the Texas Range*. The author misnames the Cherokee Outlet the Strip and slights the West Shawnee and Shawnee trails from San Antonio through eastern Oklahoma. The maps do not treat the West Shawnee Trail to Junction City, Kansas, nor the Shawnee Trail into Missouri. The beautiful maps should have a place in the book nearer the text and not at the back of the book as an afterthought. Finally, one-point leading (between the lines of the text) is insufficient for a book of this type.

Nonetheless, the book is an able presentation of the modern remnants of the cattle trailing industry with an interesting history of its development and demise. It will make an enjoyable and useful addition to a cowman's

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library. As the sixth book produced by the new Madrona Press, it points toward many more quality books to come.

Blue Clark
Morningside College



THE ASSAULT ON INDIAN TRIBALISM: THE GENERAL ALLOTMENT ACT OF 1887. By Wilcomb E. Washburn. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1975, pp. 79. Foreword. Documents. Bibliographic Essay. \$3.00. The America's Alternatives Series.)

Washburn has put together a small book in size only. The author has taken on the major political problem faced by the Indian in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The passage of the Dawes Severalty Act did more to erode tribal ownership than any other piece of legislation proposed by Congress. The first section of the book deals with the debate over the passage of the bill and general background information. The second section of the book deals with selected passages of the Dawes Act and related documents.

Mr. Washburn writes of five alternatives in the first section that were left open to the white man. These alternatives were: destroy the status quo by destruction of the existing treaty relations, and by doing this hoping to dissimulate the Indian nations; maintain the status quo by stopping white aggression; change the status quo inducing the Indians into voluntary openings of their lands; change the status quo by involuntary means which would destroy the tribal unity and force them into allotment; and sale and leasing of Indian lands in conjunction with any of the above with benefits to farmers, miners and railroad companies.

Washburn is not the first to write about the Dawes Act, but he presents it based on attitudes that were present at the time the decision on the Dawes Act was made. A hundred years ago the white American paid little if any attention to the problems faced by the Indian. This essay expounds on this relationship. The bibliography at the end contains a list of books and source material that will be most helpful for any student of Indian history especially in the area of severalty.

The Assault on Indian Tribalism gives the reader an insight into what the white American thought pro and con of the Indian. Many times students of Oklahoma history think of the Dawes Act as pertaining to only Oklahoma and overlook its importance to the Indian tribes in the entire United States.

Mac R. Harris
Oklahoma Historical Society



FOUR MEN HANGING: THE END OF THE OLD WEST. By Welborn Hope. (Oklahoma City: Century Press, 1974. Pp. xi, 145. Photographs. \$5.95.)

Oklahoma in the first decade of the twentieth century was in the awkward and transitory stage of its development that most regions of the American West had experienced as many as forty years before. The problems of law enforcement, the struggle for power in the newly forming territory between the various interests and the endless struggle to mold a society out of the conglomeration of infant settlements added to a feeling of freshness and an appeal to those searching for a new start. Among the growing pains felt by the Oklahoma pioneers was an unresolved conflict between a small element of fugitives attempting to make the unsettled area a refuge and an industrious element attempting to make Oklahoma attractive to new settlers. It was inevitable that the conflict would come to a decisive and undoubtedly violent, climax.

It is about this confusing, foreboding time that Welborn Hope writes. In his book, *Four Men Hanging*, he gives a personal account of one unavoidable climax, the 1909 lynching of the accused killers of ex-lawman Gus Bobbitt. The lynching was actually the culmination of a power struggle between Bobbitt and two cattlemen from north of Ada, Joe Allen and Jesse West. These two subsequently hired a Texas gunman named Jim Miller to ambush Bobbitt. It was these three men, along with a lackey named Berry Burrell hired to do the footwork, who were driven from their Ada jail cells and hanged early in the morning of April 19, 1909. The events surrounding this incident, along with colorful and homespun accounts of some of the characters instrumental in Ada's formative years are the substance of Hope's book.

The book is a personal account, because Hope lived in Ada at this time and apparently witnessed the macabre scene of the lynching while the men were still hanging. And this personal touch is the most redeeming factor, because the book's lack of documentation and the obvious effect that sixty-five years has had on Hope's memory make the value of the book as a definitive source on the incident questionable. In fact, many of the assertions and claims made by Hope can be challenged even by those with little knowledge of Oklahoma history. One that stands out is the assertion that this lynching was a turning point in the history of the American West because it ended an era of unpunished lawlessness. An incident related by Hope concerning an old Mexican who was almost lynched a few weeks before the actual hanging because the townspeople thought he was using dog meat in the tamales he sold on streetcorners would seemingly refute Hope's state-

ment that the hangings were the organized, determined reaction of irate citizens bent on establishing justice and abolishing lawlessness.

Perhaps even more open to challenge are Hope's claims concerning the photograph of the four victims hanging. He first stipulates that the picture was taken around five in the morning. On April 19th of any year it would be pitch dark at this time, and the sun beams pouring through the roof and sides of the barn suggest anything but darkness. In fact, the angle of the rays would suggest at least late morning as the time the picture was taken. Second, he claims that he was the little boy seen peeking in the barn and that he was alone except for one older woman. Close inspection of the picture shows at least five other people, probably children, peering through cracks in the barn's wall to the right of the clearly visible child. Combined, these observations tend to make Hope's memory of the incident less than accurate.

But again, the value of Hope's book is not in its contributions to historical theory or in Hope's ability to remember events sixty-five years after they happen. Its value is instead that it is a homespun, personal account of Ada as it was, viewed from the eyes of a child who lived during the times related and written as a grandfather spinning tales of his youth to his favorite grandchild. It is this quality that makes *Four Men Hanging* a book worth reading.

Jeffry A. Hurt

Southwestern Oklahoma State University



COMANCHE DAYS. By Albert S. Gilles, Sr. (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1974. Pp. xviii, 126. \$6.95.)

The intrepid Comanche ruled the Southern Plains for more than a century, but these proud people reluctantly succumbed to American military coercion at Fort Sill in 1875. At the dawn of the twentieth century Gilles and his family moved to southwestern Indian Territory where his father established a trading post at the newly-founded Faxon. Soon the Comanche became their principal patrons. While working at his father's store, Gilles made his first contact with these Indians, and they made an indelible imprint on his mind. As a youth Gilles observed the customs and heard the folktales of the Comanche. In adulthood the author drew from these memories to write this book.

Gilles briefly recounted the rich history of the Comanche in the initial chapter of *Comanche Days*, after which he described the agony they suffered when governmental officials confiscated their children and sent them

to Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. Gilles remembered the educated children returning to their people only to find themselves in a void between two cultures, red and white. The author also commented on the polygamy of the Comanche, a practice he judged practical and successful for the tribe. He reminisced about his friend, Charley Ross and retold stories about the famous chieftain of the Comanche, Quannah Parker. Using anecdotes, the author amuses the reader with accounts of trading with the Indians, and he told of the problems the whiskey traders caused among the Comanche.

Throughout the book, Gilles portrayed the Comanche as human beings, trying to dispel the traditional image that these Indians were solely ruthless "savages." With considerable insight and sympathy Gilles analyzed the culture of his red friends. Although at times the reader is distracted by the desultory narrative, he nevertheless finds himself compensated by the lucid writing style. This short book adds to the literature of native Americans, while those readers interested in the history of the Comanche and the regional history of Oklahoma will find *Comanche Days* entertaining.

Timothy A. Zwink
Hays, Kansas



SIX YEARS WITH THE TEXAS RANGERS, 1875 to 1881. By James B. Gillett. (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1976. Pp. xxxvi, 259. Illustrations. Index. \$11.95 Cloth; \$3.95 Paper.)

On an early June morning in 1875, James B. Gillett, age nineteen, took the Texas Ranger's oath. For the next six years, adventure, danger and enough excitement to fill several lifetimes became his daily fare. *Six Years With the Texas Rangers, 1875 to 1881* is a fascinating account of those tumultuous years. Gillett's narrative sweeps the reader along as if carried by a river in flood. His storytelling abilities match his accomplishments as a Texas Ranger.

First published in 1921 and then reissued in 1925, this latest edition should be as well-received as the earlier versions. In 1922, *The San Antonio Express* correctly described Gillett's book as something Theodore Roosevelt would have enjoyed. The reviewer would go further. James B. Gillett was a man Theodore Roosevelt would have liked to have been.

Gillett's Texas Rangers devoted much of their time to tracking and fighting Indians. Gillett, from the beginning, was in the midst of it all. The reader thrills to the excitement of a Ranger scout—the search for the trail, the days and nights of arduous tracking and finally the tension-releasing battle between Indians and Rangers.

Conflict with the Indian did not comprise the totality of Ranger activities, however. Rangers frequently received requests to quiet feuds and to maintain law and order along the moving Texas frontier. Gillett participated in those assignments. The reader is led through the saga of Texas frontier lawlessness—the Mason County War, the Horrell-Higgins Feud, the exploits of Sam Bass, the Salt Lake War and the chronic troubles along the Rio Grande, which provided easy sanctuary for desperadoes on both sides of that international boundary.

This book should not be read, however, as a detailed study of Indian warfare or of frontier lawlessness or of the Texas Rangers. It is a book of a different genre. It is a work for the general public that creates in the reader's mind's eye kaleidoscopic impressions and feelings of what the Texas frontier resembled a century ago. The reader will gain a vivid picture of Texas attitudes regarding Indians, the beauty and harshness of the land, the abundance of the wildlife—antelope, fish, turkeys, bear, buffalo—the omnipresence of death and the numerous prejudices, particularly regarding Indians, Reconstruction and blacks.

The 1925 edition of Gillett's book was chosen as a supplementary reader by the Texas Board of Education and by the State of Indiana. Today, educators could benefit from its use. The book is particularly suitable for courses on Texas, Western and Southwestern history.

Because the book focuses on such a brief segment of Gillett's life, however, anyone interested in learning more about his remarkable career can begin by referring to the unpublished thesis, "James B. Gillett, Indomitable Texan," by Mildred Cox Shannon (Sul Ross State University, 1960).

An investigation of the man's life is worthwhile. It tells the story of a different, seemingly more simple time, when Texans easily distinguished between right and wrong. It was a time when civilization and its bureaucratic red tape were either absent or ignored. It is difficult to believe that Gillett's adventures occurred only one hundred years ago.

E. James Hindman
Sul Ross State University



LEADERS OF REFORM: PROGRESSIVE REPUBLICANS IN KANSAS, 1900-1916. By Robert Sherman La Forte. (Lawrence: Universities of Kansas Press, 1974. Pp. vii, 320. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$11.00.)

The so-called Progressive Era in American history has been the subject of much investigation and disputation by historians. What distinguished a

politician as a progressive and what prompted his actions are still questions without patented answers. While considerable research has been done on nationally known progressive leaders, the activities of lesser known leaders, particularly those on the state and local scenes, deserve more attention. In this direction, Robert Sherman La Forte has produced a well written and heavily documented study on progressive Republicans in Kansas.

The progressive impetus among Republican leaders in Kansas, according to La Forte, developed from the intricate matrix of intra-party factionalism. Some local Republican politicians, upset by their personal setbacks within the party as well as the general failure of the party to hold back the Populists during the 1890s, blamed these ill-fortunes on Cy Leland, a Republican National Committeeman whom they considered the dominate leader in the state organization. Dubbing themselves "Boss Busters," these dissidents initiated a movement to wrest control of the party from Leland and his cohorts.

By 1909 they clearly had triumphed. Gaining the support of newspaperman William Allen White and bringing in such notables as Senators Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin and William E. Borah of Idaho to campaign on behalf of their candidates, the insurgent element, now associating themselves with the national progressive movement, put Joseph L. Bristow in the United States Senate and Walter R. Stubbs in the governor's chair.

What had begun as dissatisfaction within the state Republican organization had become caught up in the national climate of reform. The new party leaders thus began to promote such measures as railroad regulation, new banking laws, prohibition and electoral reforms. And as they pushed for change on the state level, they also aligned with the broader national movement. As a result, they soon were involved in the conflict between Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft.

In 1910 Republican progressives again won in Kansas; this time Bristow along with Republican Senators La Follette and Albert B. Cummins of Iowa and Democratic Senator Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma, all at odds with President Taft, toured the state, denouncing Republican Speaker of the House Joseph G. Cannon, Republican Senator Nelson Aldrich of Rhode Island and the tariff. The seeds of discord, which eventually not only helped to splinter the national party but also to destroy the progressive element in the Republican Party in Kansas, were sown.

When Theodore Roosevelt accepted the presidential nomination of the newly formed Progressive Party in 1912, most of his major followers in Kansas likewise switched to that party. Many Republicans, however, refused to desert the GOP. In the three-cornered election races which took

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place that fall, the Democrats carried the state, and progressivism in the Republican Party in Kansas rapidly diminished. By 1916 it was gone.

While La Forte takes pains to present general observations on progressivism and to connect the experiences of Republican progressives in Kansas with the national phenomena of progressivism, his work is not an encompassing study of the progressive movement in Kansas. Rather, it is a finely woven tapestry portraying the varying accomplishments and disappointments of progressive Republican leaders amidst the vicissitudes of party factionalism. His focus is on the political maneuvers and motives of a wide number of party spokesmen; analyses of voting patterns or differing ideologies are incidental to his superb handling of the disruptions and displacements that occurred within the Republican leadership in Kansas during the Progressive Era. And in this vein, La Forte has constructed a captivating political history.

Thomas Burnell Colbert
Oklahoma State University



INDIAN GIVING: FEDERAL PROGRAMS FOR NATIVE AMERICANS. By Sar A. Levitan and William B. Johnston. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975. Pp. x, 83. \$7.50 Cloth; \$2.25 Paper.)

Indian Giving belongs to that genre of study that has grown more popular with the renewed attention given the Indian, Eskimo and Aleut in recent years. Within its sphere this work updates policy studies such as Alan L. Sorkin's *American Indians and Federal Aid* and *The Indian: America's Unfinished Business*. This short volume is of general interest with little in the way of regional examples of situations or programs.

The authors have undertaken an extremely ambitious task; not only have they attempted to outline economic underpinnings of the various federal programs available to both reservation based and urban based Indians, but they also tried to evaluate how these influence migration patterns. The authors have not succeeded equally well in all of these. Therefore, it is necessary to evaluate the study on these different levels.

The frame of reference for the work corresponds closely to the Federal government's statistical breakdowns in terms of: economy, education, health and social services. The statistical images that are drawn are hazy at best. Real emphasis is placed on the statistical averages, even though the authors noted: "The customs, social and economic conditions, and legal status of these tribes vary so widely that generalizations are hazardous." Out of this, the authors insist on reinforcing two broad generalizations. First, the urban Indian is much better off in social and economic terms than those who live

on the reservations. Second, the Indians in metropolitan areas are better off than the blacks in the cities.

Most of the conclusions are not new but reinforce those of the more recent studies. The book emphasizes that: "Treaty obligations cannot be swept away with new legislation, and neither can the federal role in providing education, health, welfare, and resource development and management services be abandoned." The authors come close to recognizing the Snyder Act in a way the BIA refuses to, noting that: "Immediate attention should be given to modifying the long-standing practice of placing geographic limits on the availability of services to Indians." At the root of meaningful reform, the final conclusion, despite the tired phrases, is most important: "Ultimately, Indians must decide the future course of their culture. Federal policy, a chain of mistakes and tragedies extending almost to the present, must at last leave the resolution of 'the Indian question' to Indians."

Howard L. Meredith

Oklahoma Historical Society



OKLAHOMA BOOKS

By Vicki Sullivan & Mac R. Harris

CAVALRY WIFE, THE DIARY OF EVELINE M. ALEXANDER, 1866-1867. Edited by Sandra L. Myers. (College Station: Texas A. & M. Press, 1977. Pp. 175. \$10.00.)

A DICTIONARY OF THE OLD WEST. By Peter Watts. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977. Pp. 402. \$12.95.)

THE HISTORY OF VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN OKLAHOMA. By Carl Tyson. (Stillwater, Oklahoma: State Department of Vocational and Technical Education, 1977. Pp. 63. No price given.)

INDEX TO THE 1890 OKLAHOMA TERRITORIAL CENSUS FOR THE COUNTIES OF KINGFISHER, PAYNE, AND BEAVER. By Vicki Sullivan and Mac R. Harris. (Oklahoma City: Territorial Press, 1977. Pp. iv, 154. \$15.00.)

INDIAN ANNIE: KIOWA CAPTIVE. By Alice Marriott. (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., \$3.75.)

THE INDIAN WAY: CHEROKEES. Edited by Dorothy Milligan. (Wichita Falls, Texas: Nortex Press, 1977. Pp. xi, 173. \$4.00.)

THE INDIAN WAY: CHICKASAWS. Edited by Dorothy Milligan. (Wichita Falls, Texas: Nortex Press, 1977. Pp. xiv, 169. \$4.00.)

THE INDIAN WAY: CHOCTAWS. Edited by Dorothy Milligan. (Wichita Falls, Texas: Nortex Press, no date given. Pp. 224. \$4.00.)

JOHN ROSS, CHEROKEE CHIEF. By Gary E. Moulton. (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1977. Pp. 272. \$12.00.)

JUST DAD, A PIONEER HISTORY OF THE SOUTHWEST. By Ernest M. Ligon. (Schenectady, New York: Character Press, 1976. Pp. iv, 299. No price given.)

OUTLAWS OF NO MAN'S LAND, THE EMPIRE OF GREER, AND OTHER STORIES. By Louis Maynard. (Privately published by author, 1977. \$2.95.)

PRAIRIE FIRE, A PIONEER HISTORY OF WESTERN OKLAHOMA. By the Western Oklahoma Historical Society. (Published by author, 1977. \$25.00.)

RED YESTERDAYS. By Gleen Shirley. (Wichita Falls, Texas: Nortex Press, 1977. Pp. xi, 298. \$8.95.)

SUNLIGHT AND STORM: THE GREAT AMERICAN PLAINS. By Alexander B. Adams. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1977. \$22.50.)

THE UNIQUE HISTORY OF WAUHILLAU OUTING CLUB. By Britton D. Tabor. (Published by author, 1977. Pp. x, 114. No price given.)

WAGON TRACKS; WASHITA COUNTY HERITAGE, 1892-1976. Volume I. By the Washita County History Committee, Inc. (Published by author, 1976. Pp. 448. \$27.00.)

WHAT GOD HATH BLESSED. By Jimmy Brady Wood. (Richardson, Texas: Rockwell International Printing Services Department, 1976. Pp. xiv, 205. \$12.00.)

☆ FOR THE RECORD

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

July 28, 1977

The Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society met July 28, 1977 for the quarterly meeting and was called to order by President Pro Tempore W. D. Finney.

Executive Director Jack Wettengel called the roll and those responding were Mrs. George L. Bowman; Q. B. Boydstun; O. B. Campbell; Harry L. Deupree, M.D.; Mrs. Mark R. Everett; Dr. Odie B. Faulk; W. D. Finney; Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer; Bob Foresman; E. Moses Frye; Nolen J. Fuqua; Denzil D. Garrison; Dr. A. M. Gibson; H. Milt Phillips; Earl Boyd Pierce; Jordan B. Reaves; Miss Genevieve Seger; Britton D. Tabor; and H. Merle Woods. Those who had asked to be excused were Jack T. Conn, Joe E. Curtis, C. Forest Himes, John E. Kirkpatrick, Dr. James Morrison and Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt. Senator Garrison moved that those who had asked, be excused. Dr. Fischer seconded and the motion passed.

Lieutenant Governor George Nigh had asked to appear at the Board meeting to present a plan for establishing a Hall of Governors in the Historical Building. Lieutenant Governor Nigh was not able to attend the meeting but sent Ms. Cindy Wagoner who outlined the plan to prepare a display of first quality eighteen inch by twenty-four inch color photographs of all governors of the state. Governor Nigh had discussed his project with Mr. Wettengel and Ms. Wagoner said that efforts had been made to contact former governors to obtain photographs. If the plan is accepted, said Ms. Wagoner, arrangements could be made that future governors would be photographed at the time of their elections and would be placed in the Hall of Governors at a time to coincide with the inaugurals.

President Finney introduced Chief Justice Ralph B. Hodges who then administered the Oath of Office to newly-elected directors Dr. Odie B. Faulk of Stillwater, and Britton D. Tabor of Checotah. Justice Hodges said the oath was significant from a legal aspect and was also symbolic of the confidence placed in the directors by the members of the Society and of the acceptance of the role of director by the new Board member.

Mr. Wettengel reported that seventy-four persons had requested annual membership in the Society during the quarter and M. D. Sheriff of Oklahoma City had requested life membership. Mr. Wettengel also presented the

quarterly gift lists. Miss Seger moved to accept the applicants and the gifts; Mr. Woods seconded and the motion passed.

Implementing instructions of the Board regarding staff retirement, Mr. Wettengel announced that three employees past the age of sixty-five would be retired this year. They are Jewell Costner, Curator of the Peter Conser House; Alice Mae Svelan, Curator, Cherokee Strip Museum; and E. B. Wilson, Curator, Sequoyah Home. He also said that LaJeanne McIntyre, who had served for twenty years as the Society's accountant, had taken early retirement and would move to Austin, Texas, in August.

Mr. Wettengel outlined the remodeling plans for the Board Room which is to be moved to the west section of the south wing. The accounting offices are to be changed to the space left vacant. The changes are being made to provide better use of both areas. Remodeling is expected to be completed before the October 1977 meeting of the Board.

Mrs. Bowman said the certificate of deposit in the amount of \$1,466.09 from the Morton Harrison estate left to the Executive Committee would be renewed for four years for 6.5 percent interest. The bequest is to be used for writing a history of the American Legion in Oklahoma.

A certificate of merit prepared especially by Mrs. Bowman and signed by all the Board members in attendance was presented to Mrs. McIntyre, who had been called into the meeting. Mrs. Bowman told of her long association with Mrs. McIntyre and said they both had served under three Society presidents: General William S. Key, George H. Shirk and W. D. Finney; and under three executive directors: Elmer L. Fraker, Dr. V. R. Easterling and Jack Wettengel. Mrs. Bowman said that many times Mrs. McIntyre had served as assistant director in the absence of the director and had watched the Society grow from a minor agency to one with an annual budget of over one million dollars and with several federally funded programs. Mrs. Bowman also said that it was Mrs. McIntyre who personally brought a wreath to the grave of Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn each Memorial Day to implement a request of the Board more than fifteen years ago.

President Finney read a list of new appointees to the Board's various committees asking the Board's approval of the appointments. Mr. Phillips asked to be relieved of chairmanship of the Tour Committee. Mr. Finney said that because the committee was not active, he would like Mr. Phillips to remain as chairman and should the committee become active then a new chairman would be considered.

Mr. Finney said that Dr. Morrison had also asked to be relieved of his duties as chairman of the Fort Washita Commission. President Finney said the purpose of the commission had been fulfilled and that it should be

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abolished. He asked the Board's permission to write letters to each member of the commission, commending them for their efforts in restoring the fort.

Mr. Tabor was suggested by Mr. Finney as an appointee to fill a vacancy on the Fort Gibson Committee.

Mr. Finney pointed out that there was a vacancy in the second vice presidency and said that the Board had the authority to fill the position during the interim, according to Article V, Section 8, of the Society's constitution. Mr. Pierce nominated Mr. Boydston and Dr. Fischer was nominated by Dr. Gibson. Dr. Fischer declined the nomination, but nominated Mr. Reaves. Dr. Gibson moved that the nominations cease; General Frye seconded and the motion passed. After a vote, tallied by Mrs. Bowman and Miss Seger, President Finney announced that Mr. Boydston was elected to serve as second vice president.

Mr. Phillips asked that Mr. Ward Merrick be honored for his contribution to the state, Fort Washita and the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Reaves referred to previous honors conferred on Mr. Merrick and Dr. Fischer suggested that the Executive Committee consider awarding Mr. Merrick a final commendation at the 1978 Annual Meeting.

Senator Garrison asked that Mrs. Martha Royce Blaine, Indian Archivist, be recognized for the purpose of giving a report for the Archives Division. Mrs. Blaine announced the Archives had been assigned additional space in the Historical Building and that the National Endowment for the Humanities may extend federal funding for two more years of a project for micro-filming millions of documents in the Archives Division. Documents totaling more than 108,000 have been processed since the program began in August 1976. Mrs. Blaine exhibited three original John Ross letters, one of which described the Abraham Lincoln inaugural, brought to the Society's collections by Dr. Gary Moulton who had received them from a member of the Ross family. Dr. Moulton planned to write an item for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* about the letters.

Mrs. Blaine then briefly reviewed the history of the Society's acquisition of the Indian archival material and told of a meeting in June 1977 with four members of the National Archives: Jane F. Smith, Odell Lamb, Kenneth W. Hobbs and Kent Carter. Mrs. Blaine said that the archivists had set forth certain requirements which must be met in order for the Society to keep the archival material in the Historical Building. She stated that some of the requirements were negotiable, some were not. In the proposed agreement between the Oklahoma Historical Society and the National Archives and Records Service it was stated that (1) Title to the records remains vested in the United States of America unless otherwise authorized by Congress and, if deemed necessary for their physical protection or for other reasons, they

may be withdrawn by the United States. Acknowledgement of federal ownership of and right of possession to the documents as a condition to their continued deposit is required." Mrs. Blaine pointed out the phrase "for other reasons" should be defined, otherwise the documents could be repossessed for any reason. Section a., paragraph (2) of the agreement states that "The temperature, humidity and ventilation of the building in which the records are housed shall be closely controlled to meet requirements for storage of archival material." Mrs. Blaine said that the word "building" might be changed to "Indian Archives area," for it would not be materially feasible to install temperature and humidity controls throughout the building. She pointed out that the building does have a fire alarm and security system.

Section d., paragraph (2) required that "All archives storage areas shall be sprinkler protected." The National Archives had a disastrous fire in their military records division in St. Louis, Missouri, and were requiring that all institutions holding federal records must install sprinkler systems.

Senator Garrison moved to include the requirements regarding the protection of the Indian archives in the Society's building remodeling program. After discussion, Senator Garrison amended the motion to state that the Board approve of the recommendations of the Executive Committee regarding measures to be taken to comply with the requirements of the National Archives and Records Service. Dr. Faulk stressed the need to exercise every effort to retain the records, stating that "The loss would be indescribable in the efforts to preserve the history of Oklahoma." Miss Seger seconded the amended motion, which passed unanimously.

Dr. Deupree, new chairman of the Historic Sites Committee, reported that architectural work was nearing completion on the Carnegie Library.

Excavation of the Parris Mound near Sallisaw was started recently, reported Dr. Deupree, and the project's director, Dr. Guy R. Muto, had stated that he was convinced that it was a part of the same culture as that of the Spiro Mound.

Publications Chairman Dr. Faulk spoke of the great interest in the Publication Division's *Oklahoma Series* and advised that the School of Agriculture at Oklahoma State University had adopted "Rural Oklahoma" as a text. He said the University of Oklahoma Press is ready to reprint the series.

The Museum Division has been working to bring modern museology practices to the collections, said Dr. Fischer, chairman of the committee, and areas left vacant by the recent remodeling of the building will be developed through 1977 and 1978. Dr. Fischer said that the museum staff under R. W. Jones has been central in the remodeling of the Historical Building.

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Tentative plans have been made with the Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic and the museum staff to renovate the Union Memorial Room. Displays should be completed during the coming year in the room. Mr. Reaves reported on the busts of Stand Watie and Douglas Cooper, created by the Art Department at Cameron University, which were placed in the Memorial Hall during the quarter. He said busts of Richard A. Sneed, early day Oklahoma Confederate leader and politician, and Albert Pike, one of the negotiators who brought Indians into the Confederacy, would be ready in the fall. Busts will also be made of Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis. Dr. Fischer pointed out that all of the renovation of the Confederate Memorial Hall has been done with contributed funds.

Mr. Boydston reported on the comprehensive survey of the Honey Springs Battlefield Park by the Tourism and Recreation Department. One of the recommendations for the first phase of the development was the construction of a road into the site. Plans are being formulated for the road by the McIntosh County highway department but since the park is state property, it was recommended that an effort be made to request the State Highway Department to construct the road. The second step in the development is the cleaning of the springs and locating important sites within the park. Chairman of the Road Committee was James Leake assisted by Ed Edmondson and Mr. Tabor. Dr. Fischer called the Board's attention to other parts of the plan: identifying and determining the perimeters of the site of the mass Confederate grave and then erecting a marker in memory of the fallen men. There is no record of the names of the soldiers buried in the grave.

A leaflet giving information about the Oklahoma Historical Society and prepared by the Education Division was handed to the Board members by Chairman Foresman. He said that Bruce Joseph, director, has established an educational area in the Education Division office which can accommodate twenty-five to thirty students for an introduction into historical research. Mr. Joseph will be meeting with history teachers throughout the state during August, September and October in an effort to stimulate an interest in the students of the history of Oklahoma and particularly their own areas. Mrs. Elaine Willoughby will be in charge of the division in his absence. Mr. Foresman announced that the Town Concert Series will be resumed in the fall.

Mr. Pierce presented the matter of a letter from Mrs. Manon T. B. Atkins to Martin A. Hagerstrand, Executive Director of the Cherokee National Historical Society, referring to a collection of pictures of Principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation. Mr. Pierce had seen the collection in Congressman William Wirt Hastings' home and later learned from his daughter that the pictures were acquired by her father. Mr. Pierce asked that he be advised

whether or not the pictures were loaned or given to the Society. Mr. Hagerstrand is anxious that these portraits be loaned to the museum in Tahlequah. Dr. Fischer moved that the picture transfer be given to the Museum Committee for consideration; General Frye seconded and the motion passed.

Mrs. Richard Carpenter, Mrs. Wayne Gilbert and Mrs. Phil Harris of Wagoner had written to the Oklahoma Historical Society describing their work in establishing an Oklahoma Historic Fashions Society, a separate group from the Wagoner County Historical Society, of which they are all former officers. Mr. Pierce said that the Fashion Society would be limited to the collection, preservation and showing of antique and historic fashions for both men and women covering the period from 1880 to 1940. Their fashion shows have met with great success and they have asked the Board, through Mr. Pierce, for the Board's recommendations and approval. Dr. Fischer proposed that the Board accord the most favorable action possible under existing policy.

A report on the Society's appropriation bill, Senate Bill Two, was given by Mr. Wettengel. He stated that the appropriation had passed the million dollar mark for operations and salaries for the first time. Also for the first time, matching funds were appropriated for the Society's preservation projects which are eligible for federal funds. In the bill, funds previously appropriated to the Tourism and Recreation Department for the Cherokee Strip Museum in Perry were transferred to the Historical Society for the operation and maintenance of the museum.

Senator Garrison was asked by Mr. Wettengel to explain the revised open meeting law and its effect on future Society Board and committee meetings. Informal meetings to decide any action or to take any vote on any matter are prohibited. Public notice of all meetings must be given, although the method of notice was not clear. President Finney stated that the Board would comply with the law, but further clarification is needed.

At the April 28, 1977 meeting, the Board was informed of the receipt of a \$10,000 gift from Sooner Federal Savings and Loan derived from the sale by Sooner Federal in 1976 of commemorative belt buckles. General Frye moved that the Executive Committee study suggestions offered by Board members for a suitable way to use the gift. The motion was seconded by Mr. Pierce and passed.

Mr. Wettengel reported on the matter of the settlement of the Lillie Burkhart estate. With the help of Ms. Amalija Hodgins, Assistant Attorney General, the will had been referred to the State Supreme Court and a conclusion was expected shortly. Lillie Burkhart had bequeathed her home and two and three-fourths Osage headrights to the Oklahoma Historical Society. It was her wish that the home be converted to a shrine for Chief Whitehair.

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Mr. Wettengel spoke highly of the assistance of Ms. Hodgins. Mr. Finney then appointed a committee headed by Dr. Fischer, with General Frye and Dr. Deupree, to study the use of the Burkhart funds. Mr. Pierce also suggested that the Executive Committee contact the Principal Chief of the Osage, Sylvester Tinker, for his counsel.

President Finney expressed his views on informing the general public and the Oklahoma legislature of the work of the Society. He said he believed from listening to the committee reports that the organization had great potential and could have far-reaching influence over the state. Mr. Finney asked for suggestions from the Board members on ways to develop the Society's public relations.

President Finney welcomed Dr. A. M. Gibson who had returned from a year's leave of absence from the Board for the purpose of writing and research.

Mr. Phillips moved that the Board approve the minutes of the July 19 meeting of the Executive Committee; Senator Garrison seconded the motion which passed.

Three members of the Historical Society staff were to receive Master of History degrees on July 29, announced Mr. Wettengel. Those receiving the degrees from Oklahoma State University were Mac R. Harris and Vicki Sullivan of the Library and C. E. Metcalf, Historic Sites Director. Mr. Wettengel thanked the Board for encouraging them to complete their studies.

Copies of the 1977 *Directory of Oklahoma*, published by the Oklahoma State Election Board were handed to each of the Board members.

Meeting adjourned at 12:50 p.m.

W. D. Finney
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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, structures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma gathering these materials.

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Article I, Section 2—The purposes for which the Oklahoma Historical Society is organized and conducted are to preserve and to perpetuate the history of Oklahoma and its people; to stimulate popular interest in historical study and research; and to promote and to disseminate historical knowledge. To further these ends and, as the trustee of the State of Oklahoma, it shall maintain a library and museum in which it shall collect, arrange, catalog, index and preserve books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, letters, diaries, journals, records, maps, charts, documents, photographs, engravings, etchings, pictures, portraits, busts, statuary and other objects of art and all other appropriate museum material with special regard to the history of Oklahoma. It shall perpetuate knowledge of the lives and deeds of the explorers and pioneers of this region; it shall collect and preserve the arts and crafts of the pioneering period, the legends, traditions, histories and cultural standards of the Indian tribes; it shall maintain a collection of the handiwork of the same, and an archaeological collection illustrating the life, customs and culture of the prehistoric peoples. It shall disseminate the knowledge thus gained by investigation and research through the medium of printed reports, bulletins, lectures, exhibits or other suitable means or methods. It shall discharge all other duties and responsibilities placed upon it by the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma.

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