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Names of Members Oklahoma Historical Society Alphabetically Arranged
by Counties

Book Review

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THE REMOVAL OF THE CHOCTAWS TO THE INDIAN TERRITORY 1830-1833

BY MURIEL H. WRIGHT

The election of Andrew Jackson, as President of the United States, turned the tide in the question of ownership of Indian lands, in favor of the southern planters and settlers who had for many years coveted the fertile tracts claimed and occupied by the Choctaws in Eastern Mississippi. In his message to Congress, December 8, 1829, President Jackson reviewed the condition of the various Indian tribes east of the Mississippi, and pointed out the necessity of adopting a new policy regarding them. He recommended that Congress enact legislation setting apart "an ample district west of the Mississippi * * * to be granted to the Indian tribes as long as they should occupy it. * * * There they may be secured in the enjoyments of governments of their own choice, subject to no control from the United States than such as may be necessary to preserve peace on the frontier and between the several tribes."

In compliance with this request and the urgent demands of citizens in certain sections of the United States, Congress passed an act, approved May 28, 1830, providing for an exchange of lands with the Indians. Section 3 of the Act expressly stated "That in the making of any such ex-

¹The country set aside for all the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi River lay west of Missouri and Arkansas, extending as far west as supposed inhabitable country, or about 250 miles. Among the several plans submitted to the Government for the organization of an Indian state or territory, were those offered on October 15, 1832, by Rev. Isaac McCoy, a missionary of the Baptist Convention. He suggested that the territory be named "Aboriginia" or "Indian Territory." From about that time, the latter name was held in common usage for all the country lying west of Missouri and Arkansas from the Niobrara River (in Nebraska) to the Red River of the South, and extending as far west as the degree of longitude which divided the United States from Mexican territory. The Government settled many Indian tribes in this region. The Indian Territory was never organized as a regular territory of the United States. The name was finally applied to the eastern half of what is now the state of Oklahoma, from 1890 to 1907, which section included the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes.

change or exchanges, it shall be and may be lawful for the President to solemnly assure the tribe or nation with which the exchange is made that the United States will forever secure and guarantee to them and their heirs or successors the country so exchanged with them * * *." It only remained for duly authorized commissioners of the Government to negotiate treaties with the different tribes in order to obtain an exchange of lands and to secure the removal of the members of the tribe to the West.

In furtherance of this policy of the Government commissioners were appointed to visit the Choctaws in Mississippi. They succeeded in negotiating a treaty which was signed by the chiefs and captains at Dancing Rabbit Creek, on September 27, 1830. Under its terms, the Choctaws relinquished to the United States the last of their holdings east of the Mississippi River, amounting to 10,421,139 acres of land. In return, the country west of Arkansas Territory, lying between the Arkansas and Canadian rivers on the north and the Red River on the south, in what is now Oklahoma, was to be granted with a title in fee simple. This country had been previously ceded to the tribe in 1820, at the treaty of Doak's Stand, in consideration for 4,150,000 acres of Choctaw land in the delta region—the richest cotton lands in the South—relinquished to the United States at that time. The new proposal in the treaty at Dancing Rabbit Creek was the clause granting the Choctaw Nation a patent to their reservation in the West. The second important provision in the treaty had to do with the removal of the Choctaws to this country and subsistence for one year, after their arrival, at the expense of the United States.

In view of the circumstances surrounding them, the chiefs and captains were forced to sign the treaty as a matter of expediency in behalf of their people. The particular inducement that led them to attach their signatures was the 14th article of the treaty, allowing any Choctaw the right to remain in Mississippi and to select for himself and other members of his family a stipulated amount of tribal land, provided he made known his intentions to the United States agent of the Choctaws, within six months after the signing of the treaty, and lived on the land five years. The 19th

article also provided that any Choctaw who had cultivated land and lived on it during the year of 1830, would be allowed a certain number of acres, in proportion to the field he had cultivated, which he himself could either relinquish to the United States at fifty cents an acre or sell to any other individual, with the consent of the President.²

Other provisions of the treaty covered the setting aside of sums of money for education, the payments of annuities due under former agreements with the United States, the appraisement and the sale of all cattle and farm implements, under the supervision of the Government, for the benefit of the individual Choctaw owner at the time of his immigration to the West. In addition, each Choctaw warrior was to receive "a rifle, moulds, wipers, and ammunition"; also, 400 looms, 1000 axes, ploughs, hoes, wheels and cards, and 2100 blankets were to be distributed among the approximate 18,800 members of the tribe. The government decided that these articles would be distributed *after* the Choctaws arrived in their new country. Every inducement was offered to secure their removal, with assurances that all would be well with them west of the Mississippi River. But many months passed before the people generally knew of the terms of the treaty, other than its main provisions, as no copies were returned to the chiefs until May, 1831.

Consternation reigned among the Choctaws when word spread throughout their country that the treaty had been signed at Dancing Rabbit Creek, for the great majority were bitterly opposed to the sale of the tribal lands and the removal to the West. It was truthfully said that the nation "was literally in mourning." All efforts toward self-improvement ceased. The thought of some of the Choctaws was expressed by one who said, "I will not go to the West; I might as well die here as there." Yet another who had been under the influence of the Christian missionaries made the statement, "I can neither sing nor pray, and why should I pretend to do so when my heart is not in it?" A third said that he did not wish to leave the country where his

²For many years there was much confusion resulting from the 14th and 19th articles of the treaty, that brought about land frauds and suits in the courts of Mississippi. Very few Choctaws derived any benefits from the provisions of these two articles, at the time of the removal.

ancestors lay buried; that many relatives were dependent upon him, some of whom were old people, and since he had no means to move them to a new country, they might die from exposure to cold and hunger on the way. He added that, "The Secretary of War came and took my country. I am in distress. * * * When I see the women and children weeping in sorrow, I am distressed. This I tell you."

In January, 1830, the laws of the state of Mississippi had been extended over the Choctaw Nation, by an act of the State Legislature. This act annulled the old tribal laws and the former authority of the chiefs and the captains over their people.³ Since President Jackson recognized the act of the Legislature as a right of the State, many persons took the position that the Federal laws, in existence at that time, regulating the Indian trade, had been superseded by the state laws, and that all Choctaw land had become public land with the signing of the treaty at Dancing Rabbit Creek. Taking advantage of the situation, evil influences were unrestrained from preying upon the unprotected Choctaws, the liquor traffic flourished and the country was overrun with speculators.

In the midst of these disturbed conditions, factions arose among the Choctaws within a few weeks after the signing of the treaty. New chiefs were elected in each of the three districts of the Nation; namely, George W. Harkins in the place of Greenwood LeFlore of the Northwestern District; Joel H. Nail in place of Nitakechi of the Southern District; while David Folsom and Peter P. Pitchlynn were rivals for the position of Chief Musholatubbee of the Northeastern District, with Musholatubbee favoring his nephew, Pitchlynn. The new chiefs and their followers called themselves the "Republican Party," their opponents the "Despotic Party." In some instances, friends of the "Republican Party" contemplated sending protests to Congress against the treaty, but the administration at Washington refused to recognize the new chiefs or to consider any results of the factional disturbances, replying that Colonel LeFlore, Nitakechi, and Musholatubbee, as the leading chiefs who had signed the treaty, should re-

³The title of "captain" was given the head-man of the tribe, without any significance in a military sense. So also, the title of "colonel" usually was applied to a chief or ex-chief bearing an English name.

main in power until a tribal council could assemble in the country west of the Mississippi. The removal of the Choctaws from their old country to the Indian Territory was inevitable.⁴

On account of the general confusion in their country and in anticipation of their forced emigration, small parties of Choctaws made their departure for the new country as early as November, 1830. This was before the treaty was ratified by the United States Senate and before the Government took any steps in perfecting plans for the removal of the tribe. The first emigrants who were from the Northwestern District were encouraged to make their departure through the efforts of the Methodist missionaries, who had been working among the people in that section of the country, aided by Colonel LeFlore. At the time of their setting forth to the West, Rev. Alexander Talley, the leading Methodist missionary to the tribe, hurried ahead with some of the Choctaw captains on an exploring trip to their new country.⁵ Before he left, Colonel LeFlore authorized him to purchase corn for the parties that would soon arrive in the new country; he was also directed to purchase tools and iron, that a blacksmith shop might be set up for their use at some convenient location.⁶ Early in January, 1831, Reverend Talley contracted for one thousand bushels of corn, at one dollar a bushel, from some white settlers living in Arkansas Territory, not far from the line of the new Choctaw country. He then stat-

⁴Greenwood LeFlore, George W. Harkins, Joel H. Nail, David Folsom, and Peter P. Pitchlynn were all sons of white men and Choctaw mothers. The antagonism between Musholatubbee, a full-blood Choctaw, and David Folsom had existed since 1826, at which time Musholatubbee had been forced to resign his position as chief by the "Christian Party," a constitution being adopted for the Choctaw Nation, and David Folsom being elected the first chief of the Northeastern District under the new regime. Shortly before the treaty at Dancing Rabbit Creek, Musholatubbee was reinstated by his followers as chief of the District.

⁵The missionaries of the Methodist and Baptist denominations favored the removal of the Indians to the West, under the idea that the Indians would thus be saved from the contaminating influences always found upon the frontier. The Presbyterian missionaries, who had started their work and established missions among the tribes of the South before the Methodists and Baptists, were opposed to the removal, saying the progress and the interest of the Indians in their own improvement would thus be retarded.

⁶See Appendix A.

ioned himself at the mouth of the Kiamichi River to await the arrival of the emigrants.

In the meanwhile the first party had traveled overland to the Mississippi River where they were overtaken by Mr. Thomas Myers, a Methodist teacher, who with his family had accompanied a second party. After much difficulty, a boat was secured and all the emigrants were ferried across the river, Mr. Myers and some of his companions afterward pressing ahead to the Saline River in Arkansas where they were detained five weeks building a ferry for those that followed. The emigrant parties traveled slowly, since they had to hunt game for food and graze their ponies in the cane-brakes and the deep forests along the way.

After extreme suffering from hunger and exposure to severe winter weather much of the journey of four hundred miles from the Mississippi River, during which one of the party starved to death, ninety-two Choctaws arrived in an emaciated condition at the Kiamichi River some time in February. Here they occupied the abandoned log cabins of old Fort Towson,⁷ and lived on a scanty supply of the corn—in comparison to the number of persons to be fed—that had been previously engaged by Reverend Talley and brought on packhorses from the nearest settlements many miles away.⁸

Word having reached Washington the latter part of

⁷Fort Towson had been established at the mouth of the Kiamichi River in 1824. The post was abandoned in 1829 when the garrison was moved to Camp Jesup, Louisiana. A short time later the main buildings at old Fort Towson burned, only a few log cabins being left near the site. After the treaty with the Choctaws, the post was re-established in 1831, about six miles northeast of the mouth of the Kiamichi. The new post was called Camp Phoenix for a time, being given the name of Fort Towson some months later.

⁸After learning of the suffering of the first party of Choctaws, Reverend Talley made efforts to furnish provisions to those who would follow, from Ecure de Fabre (Camden, Ark.), to Fort Towson. Though he had been promised funds out of the annuity payment of 1831 of the Northwestern District, to settle the obligations he incurred for the first parties of Choctaws, he was finally obliged to apply to the Secretary of War for approval of his accounts. Reverend Talley remained as a missionary among the Choctaws in their new country until 1833, when he was forced to leave on account of ill health. He died in 1834, a victim of the cholera, while in charge of the La Fayette Mission near New Orleans.

December, 1830, that many Choctaws were on their way West, General George A. Gibson, Commissary General of Subsistence took steps to provide them with rations upon their arrival, in compliance with the terms of the recent treaty and in anticipation of its ratification by the Senate. He issued orders to Lieut. J. F. Stephenson, of the 7th Infantry, to proceed from Fort Gibson to the mouth of the Kiamichi to take charge of distributing supplies to the Choctaws who would settle in that vicinity. Arriving at old Fort Towson on March 7, after the first party of emigrants, Lieutenant Stephenson immediately began his plans for subsisting them and others who would continue to arrive in that region. Upon agreement with Reverend Talley, he assumed responsibility for all the corn that had been engaged, at the contract price, and, also, made additional contracts with citizens of Arkansas to furnish beef and pork. By October, 1831, 427 Choctaws had arrived from Mississippi, and were being subsisted at the Kiamichie station. Lieutenant Stephenson remained in charge of the subsistence stations in the Red River region until the last year of the removal of Choctaws, in 1833.

Government Organization for the Removal

Under the terms of the treaty at Dancing Rabbit Creek, the Choctaws were to be removed from Mississippi in steamboats and wagons at the expense of the United States. They were to be furnished a plentiful supply of beef, or pork, and corn en route, and for one year thereafter in the new country.⁹ They were to emigrate under the supervision of the Government, during a period of three years, beginning with 1831, the first emigration to equal about one-third of the people, or an estimate of between five thousand and eight thousand persons. The President approved of a commutation plan in the summer of 1831, by which ten dollars was allowed each Choctaw

⁹Rations to each individual, by order of General George Gibson in 1831, consisted of 1½ lbs. of beef or pork, 1 pint of corn, or equivalent of corn-meal or flour, with two quarts of salt to the hundred rations. The pint of corn was raised to one quart in the fall of 1831.

who went West at his own expense, this sum to be paid the individual upon his arrival in the new country.¹⁰

Perfecting plans for the removal of the Choctaws proved a greater task for the Government than had been contemplated by those who urged the policy. In the first place there was no information at Washington upon which definite orders could be based for carrying out the promises of the United States to furnish transportation and supplies for thousands of emigrants. On account of the slow means of travel and the lack of prompt communication, it required months to secure the necessary details concerning conditions in the country that lay between the old Choctaw Nation in Mississippi and the new Nation in the Indian Territory, a distance of 550 miles over which the Choctaws would have to pass.

In 1830, vast and dangerous swamps, averaging fifty miles in width, were on either side of the Mississippi River. Northern Louisiana and Arkansas Territory were a part of the western frontier, regions of heavy forests, unfordable streams, impenetrable swamps, and dense cane-brakes. The few white settlements were scattered along the larger streams which were the highways of travel for canoes and keel-boats. During high water, small steamboats ascended the Arkansas as far as Fort Smith, less often Fort Gibson, and up the Ouachita River as far as Ecure de Fabre (the present site of Camden, Arkansas). Overland travel was generally on horseback and pack animals along rough trails.

It was originally determined that the War Department should have charge of the important duty of starting the parties of emigrating Choctaws and conducting them to the western bank of the Mississippi River. From there, the office of the Commissary General of Subsistence should have charge, conduct the parties to their new coun-

¹⁰The commutation was raised to \$13 in 1832. Ferriage was also paid at the Mississippi River, and rations were given free to the emigrants if they happened to pass a government supply depot en route. It cost about \$25 per individual removing in Government parties.

try, and have supervision of the depots for their subsistence."¹

The organization for the removal east of the Mississippi was delayed awaiting the ratification of the treaty by the Senate, and the subsequent carrying out of the provision granting the "cultivation claims," under the 19th article. To fulfill these terms and to supply information concerning the members of the tribe, preparatory to the removal east of the River, Major Francis W. Armstrong, of Tennessee, was appointed on April 26, 1831, to take a census of the Choctaws. Major Armstrong began this work by the first week in July, completing it on September 7. He was then appointed Choctaw agent west of the Mississippi, the agency headquarters to be established near Fort Smith in the new Nation, at a place afterward known as Skullyville.

On August 12, 1831, the Secretary of War had appointed George S. Gaines, a licensed trader of the old Choctaw Nation, as superintendent of the removal, east of the Mississippi. With his appointment a request was forwarded that he make his reports to the office of the Commissary General of Subsistence instead of to the War Department. By this change, the office of the Commissary General was given supervision of the whole eastern organization in the removal, in addition to the western organization, practically at the last moment. It was originally planned that the first parties of Choctaws should emigrate by the first week in September, in order that they might build their new cabins and prepare land in the fall for cultivation the next season.

In the meantime, the western organization for the removal was begun early in the spring. Immediately after the ratification of the Choctaw treaty by the Senate, February 24, 1831, Capt. J. B. Clark, of the 3rd Infantry, U. S. Army, was appointed superintendent of the removal, west of the Mississippi. He was first ordered to Fort Smith to repair the abandoned barracks and other buildings of the old fort, preparatory to establishing the prin-

¹At Fort Towson, in the fall of 1831, beef contracts called for \$3.90 per hundred; corn averaged \$1.67½ per bushel, delivered; salt was \$2 a bushel. Corn was generally delivered by keel-boat up the Red River to the mouth of the Kiamichi.

incipal supply station for the Choctaws. His duties included making estimates and contracts for provisions, that might be purchased in Arkansas Territory, besides all disbursements in connection with the western organization.

All officers and agents in connection with the removal of the Indians were particularly advised to be very careful in the expenditure of Government funds. Not a cent was to be spent upon the removal except for bare necessities. Every dollar should be accounted for to the Department at Washington. Though, subsequent to their appointments, the principal officers were allowed to use their own judgment in the use of funds, as the occasion demanded at the scene of action, yet they hesitated to assume responsibility in changing any orders from Washington. This situation called for a great deal of correspondence with the Department, causing many delays and hampering the progress of preparation for the removal.¹²

Soon after the appointment of Captain Clark, the original plan of transporting the Choctaws in steamboats was held in abeyance by the War Department. Advice had been received from the West that it would be cheaper for the Government to remove the Choctaws in wagons the whole distance from Mississippi to the Indian Territory. It was now necessary for General Gibson to order extra wagons from the Assistant Commissary at Louisville, Kentucky, to be sent to the mouth of White River or to Arkansas Post.¹³ He also ordered the headquarters of the western organization to be changed from Fort Smith to Little Rock, this word being received by Captain Clark on May 17, 1831.

¹²Throughout the whole period of removal, settlers along the routes over which the emigrants traveled, in many instances formed combinations among themselves to exact high prices for corn and beef from the Government contracts. Officials in charge of the removal had to be exceedingly watchful to avoid exorbitant prices, in consequence. Letter of Geo. Gibson, Commissary General Subsistence, to Captain J. Brown, Principal Disbursing Agent Indian Removal, Little Rock, dated November 30, 1833.

¹³A total of forty wagons was ordered. Considerable time and trouble was spent in attempting to have twenty of the wagons made in the vicinity of Louisville, finally the Assistant Commissary had to order them from Pittsburgh. When these were delivered, they were so heavy as to be almost impracticable for use over the roads through Arkansas.

Throughout the summer, Captain Clark was deterred from making definite contracts for furnishing rations or from establishing supply stations for the Choctaws en route through Arkansas Territory, since he was unable to secure any information from east of the Mississippi, as to how many emigrants there would be and which routes they would be apt to travel. He received no word that Colonel Gaines had been appointed superintendent in the East until September 15. Sometime previous to this Captain Clark had asked to be relieved from his position as superintendent at Little Rock, because he could get no information of any final plans and was aware that insurmountable difficulties lay in store for those in charge of the removal west of the Mississippi.¹⁴ With his resignation, Captain Jacob Brown, of the 6th Infantry, U. S. Army, was appointed to succeed him.

On October 19, Captain Brown was undertaking his duties as superintendent of the western organization. At the same time, a hasty, almost incoherent message had just been received at Little Rock, to the effect that upward of five thousand Choctaws would begin crossing the Mississippi by November 1, at three points; namely, Memphis, at Blanton's Ferry opposite Point Chicot, Arkansas, and at Vicksburg. Assistant agents of the western organization were immediately hurried to these places for duty. Even yet the western superintendent was not definitely informed how the emigrating parties would be separated, though he supposed the emigrants would divide into an equal number at each crossing of the River.¹⁵

The Emigration of 1831-2

By September 21, Colonel Gaines and his assistants were making arrangements necessary for the first season's removal. The unprecedented rains throughout the summer and early fall of 1831, made overland travel through the Mississippi swamps impracticable, so that they had to abandon the idea of conveying the parties in wagons the whole distance, and to return to the first plan of sending

¹⁴See Appendix B.

¹⁵Acting as assistant agents under the western organization, Dr. J. T. Fulton was sent to Memphis; William McK. Ball, to Point Chicot; and Wharton Rector, to Vicksburg.

them in steamboats as far as possible up the Arkansas and the Ouachita rivers. It took weeks to gather the Choctaws for the emigration on account of conditions among them. On their part the chiefs had advised that the parties begin their journey to the West after the first white frost, on account of the wet season during which fever and sickness was prevalent throughout the country. In some instances the members of the tribe were called to meet in district councils where the conditions of the removal were explained by the chiefs or the captains; in other portions of the Nation, the people were informed by their leaders who traveled from house to house. Most of the Choctaws were slow in making a final decision, especially if they owned any property. Many had to gather their cattle from the open range. Those entitled to individual land claims tried to dispose of them.¹⁶

Upward of a thousand Choctaws decided to go West in self-emigrating parties, under the commutation plan of the Government, generally choosing a leader from their number to act as a guide along the route. Those who preferred emigrating under the supervision of the Government agents were gathered in wagons sent throughout the different districts and brought together at several rendezvous, among which were the old Choctaw Agency in Musholatubbee's District, about 160 miles from Vicksburg; Doak's Stand in Colonel LeFlore's District; and another in

¹⁶Under the 11th article of the treaty, all cattle belonging to the individual Choctaw was to be valued by a regularly appointed Government agent, the Indian owner to receive either the amount in money or other cattle, in lieu of those he relinquished, after he arrived in the West. The first plan adopted by the Government, for valuing the cattle belonging to the Choctaws, proved impractical, since it was impossible for the one agent to go to each house of hundreds of Choctaws living in different sections of the Nation, within the few weeks before the emigrating parties left for the West. Also, generally in the fall of the year, most of the cattle were in the cane-brakes of the swamps, making it impossible to round them up. In the midst of the preparations for the removal in 1831, the Government agent for valuing the cattle died, necessitating the appointment of a new agent to complete the business. For these reasons, many of the people who emigrated that fall suffered total losses on their stock, as they were compelled to depart before they could make any disposition of this property. Those Choctaws who succeeded in having their cattle valued and took other cattle in lieu thereof, did not receive payment until more than a year later which meant a loss in the increase of their herds for 1832.

Nitakechi's District, near Jackson, Mississippi. Not only the white settlers living in Mississippi, near the Choctaw line, but also a number of Choctaws themselves contracted with the agents, to hire their teams and wagons and to furnish corn for use in the emigration as far as the Mississippi River. Others among the Choctaws helped to enroll their people or acted as conductors of the Government parties.

By the first week in November, four thousand Choctaws—some in wagons, some on horseback, some on foot—were on their way to the Mississippi River. They were leaving their old homes forever, taking little with them in the way of personal belongings, since no provision was made for carrying extra baggage with the parties. Five hundred emigrants from the Northeastern District took the trail north to Memphis where they embarked by steamboat for Arkansas Post. The rest set out for Vicksburg. As the parties arrived here, they camped upon the hills outside the town.

Though Colonel Gaines had made efforts ahead of time to engage steamboats for the emigrants, by advertising, none were ready at Vicksburg to receive them. By the last of November, four steamboats were secured at very high prices; namely, the *Walter Scott*, the *Reindeer*, the *Talma*, and the *Cleopatra*, the three latter, especially being of light draught. A commutation party of about three hundred was ferried across to Lake Providence, Louisiana, from there to travel through Northern Louisiana and Southern Arkansas to the Indian Territory. The *Walter Scott* and the *Reindeer*, crowded to their utmost capacity, with two thousand emigrants, steamed up the River for Arkansas Post and Little Rock, respectively. The *Talma* and the *Cleopatra* with more than a thousand on board went down the Mississippi to the mouth of Red River, thence by way of that stream and the Ouachita for *Ecore de Fabre*.

Scarcely had the Choctaws started their voyage along the Mississippi, when a fierce winter storm began, and there followed the worst blizzard ever experienced in the South and West. The last emigrants, a commutation party of two hundred, set out down the Mississippi for the

Ouachita on December 10, exhausted and wretched after having walked for twenty-four hours barefoot through the snow and ice before reaching Vicksburg.

On account of conflicting orders, all the emigrants on board the Reindeer and the Walter Scott, besides the party that went by Memphis, disembarked at Arkansas Post, from November 30 to December 8.¹⁷ Here 2500 Choctaws huddled in open camps throughout the terrible storm. Captain Brown was unprepared to care for such a number, as no previous notice had been sent to the Superintendent's headquarters at Little Rock. On their part, the emigrants were helpless, since they included men and women—the aged and infirm—and little children. Few blankets and mocassins or shoes were seen among them; the women generally were barefoot and the young children naked. Sixty common army tents, which had been distributed to these parties at Vicksburg, were all that sheltered them from the heavy snow and sleet and the high winds that raged down from the North. For a time, rations were short. Want of food and exposure to zero weather were followed by sickness and death. Many of the parties were compelled to remain in camp for weeks, awaiting their horses which were being driven overland from Northern Louisiana.

In the miserable conditions surrounding them, the suffering of the Choctaws only exceeded the great strain upon the officers and agents in charge, for the success of the removal fell upon their shoulders at this point. Navigation of the Arkansas was impossible for days, since the River was low and blocked with ice. There were only forty wagons belonging to the Government ready for use in transporting the emigrants overland, a distance of 350 miles to the Kiamichi.¹⁸ The road between Arkansas Post

¹⁷By order of the Superintendent at Little Rock, Wharton Rector was to have accompanied the parties of Choctaws who intended to travel by way of Lake Providence. Instead, he was persuaded by Colonel Gaines, who suffered from an attack of influenza at Vicksburg, to accompany the parties on board the Walter Scott to Arkansas Post. Also, the party on board the Reindeer, in charge of Nathaniel Norwood, of the eastern organization, was landed at Arkansas Post, in order that the steamboat might be used for transporting the soldiers of the 7th Infantry to Little Rock.

¹⁸See Appendix C.

and Little Rock called for heavy repairs after the storm. The new road between Little Rock and Washington, in Southern Arkansas, which had been cleared and causewayed much of the distance during the previous summer, was also impassable because of the long spell of freezing weather. In the face of these difficulties, Captain Brown was also short of funds with which to purchase supplies and hire wagons and teams from the citizens of Arkansas, some of whom brought their team from settlements two hundred miles away.¹⁹

The terrible blizzard and its effects lasted for many weeks. On January 22, the steam boat, Reindeer, with a keel-boat in tow, passed Little Rock with the last party of emigrants bound for the country in the vicinity of Fort Smith. Up to that time more than two thousand Choctaws had passed Little Rock en route for the Kiamichi in wagons. Travel over the 250 miles that lay ahead of them was necessarily slow and tedious, twelve to fifteen miles being a good day's journey. Repairs on the old trail in that direction required much labor, obstructed as it was by fallen timber, washouts, and wrecked bridges. Heavy rains through February and continuous use by the wagon trains, made this road a quagmire, especially for the last parties. Swollen streams also detained the emigrants many days.

In the meantime, the Choctaws who had proceeded by way of the Ouachita River in charge of S. T. Cross, of the eastern organization, arrived at Ecore de Fabre only to find no agent of the western organization within less than 150 miles. This situation, also, was due to countermand of the western Superintendent's orders by Colonel Gaines. Upon hearing that the commutation party coming from Lake Province were perishing in the swamp west of that place, Mr. Cross left his parties and returned to rescue the sufferers. Of their condition, an eye witness wrote a few months later:

"I do not know who is the contractor for furnishing them rations. But be he or them, who they may, their object is to make money without the least feeling for the suffering of this unfortunate people. From Vicksburg to

¹⁹See Appendix D.

this place [Lake Providence] is sixty-eight miles. On this route they received a scanty supply, and only then a part of the parties once. Here they received worse than a scanty supply, to do them eighty miles through an uninhabited country, fifty miles of which is overflowed swamps, and in which distance are two large deep streams that must be crossed in a boat or on a raft, and one other nearly impassable for them, on the way. This, too, was to be done during the worst time of weather I have ever seen in any country—a heavy sleet having broken and bowed down all the small and much of the large timber. And this was to be performed under pressure of hunger by old women and young children, without any covering for their feet, legs, or body, except a cotton underdress generally. In passing before they reached the place for getting rations here, I gave a party leave to enter a small field in which pumpkins were. They would not enter without leave, though starving. * * *

“These people have with them a great number of horses, and some cattle, chiefly oxen. The time required to get the horses and cattle together in the morning when traveling through a country thickly covered with strong cane as this is, must be very considerable in good weather, and in bad weather days are often spent at the same camp.²⁰

After rescuing the Choctaws from the swamps, Mr. Cross marched them to Monroe, Louisiana. Rechartering the steamboat, *Talma*, he had them taken to *Ecore de Fabre*, where his first parties, who were their friends, anxiously awaited them. The total number of emigrants now concentrated at *Ecore de Fabre* was more than eleven hundred. Here, also, during the severe weather, wagons had to be hired for the overland journey of 165 miles to *Fort Towson*, over impossible roads. As a result of lack of preparation, prices for corn and team and wagon hire were exorbitant. There arose complaints and scandals of graft against those who contracted to supply provisions to the Choctaws by way of *Ecore de Fabre*, some of the ac-

²⁰Letter of Joseph Kerr to Hon. Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, dated from Lake Providence, La., June 14, 1832.

counts not being settled by the Government for more than two years.²¹

The last emigrating party of 1831 reached their destination in the region of Red River during the first week in March 1832. On April 30, Lieutenant Stephenson recorded, 3749 Choctaws being rationed at four stations; namely, Horse Prairie, Fort Towson, old Miller Court House, and Mountain Fork. In the vicinity of Fort Smith, 536 Choctaws rations were being issued under the direction of Lieut. G. J. Rains, assistant agent.²²

The Emigration of 1832-3

Profiting by the experiences during the first year's emigration of the Choctaws, a new set of regulations was issued by the War Department, in May, 1832. Henceforth the Commissary General of Subsistence should have entire supervision of the Indian emigrations. Special agents, appointed under this Department, should have charge of the general operations connected with the emi-

²¹R. C. Byrd and L. Belding, men of political influence in Arkansas, were the contractors for furnishing supplies by way of Lake Providence and Ecure de Fabre. Their contract called for 12½ cents per ration, whereas elsewhere the contracts called for 6 to 6¼ cents per ration. Since there was no agent of the western organization at Ecure de Fabre, the assistant agents of the eastern organization were compelled to accompany the Government parties of Choctaws from that place to Fort Towson. In securing transportation from the settlers, they were forced to pay at the rate of \$7 a day for wagons and teams. The settlers in turn paid Byrd & Belding at the rate of \$2 a bushel for corn for feed. When the accounts came in Captain Brown refused to pay them, saying the prices were exorbitant (the contract for rations had been made before his arrival at Little Rock), and that the contracts for wagon hire were made under agents of the eastern organization, for which he was in no way responsible. In the final settlement, the Department found that many irregularities in the way of proper receipts, etc., were due to unbusinesslike methods in the hurry and pressure of circumstances at the time of the emigration by way of Ecure de Fabre. The contractors claimed that the high prices were due to the severity of the winter and the scarcity of provisions at that time. Agent Cross was held in no way responsible, as he had left the parties at Ecure de Fabre under orders of Colonel Gaines, and proceeded to Point Chicot. He was a model of efficiency in his work, and remained in the employ of the Government during the removal period.

²²According to Major Armstrong's census returns, there were about 467 negro slaves in the Choctaw Nation in 1831. The Indian owner was allowed rations, ferriages, etc., for his slaves during the removal and subsistence after the arrival in the West; in the case of self-emigrating parties, the owner was allowed commutation payment for his slaves.

grating parties. All disbursements were to be made by officers of the Army assigned for that duty. No transportation overland was to be provided for the emigrants, except for those who were too young or infirm to walk. Those who provided their own horses were not allowed feed for them.²³

Under the new plans, Captain Jacob Brown was made principal disbursing agent of the removal. Major Francis W. Armstrong, in addition to his duties as Choctaw agent, was appointed special agent for the removal and subsistence of the Choctaws, west of the Mississippi. His brother, Captain William Armstrong of Tennessee, was appointed superintendent of the Choctaw removal east of the River; to him was left the selection of the routes to be followed by the emigrating parties in their journey to the West. By agreement between Major Armstrong and his brother, all assistant agents were to continue with the same parties from the old Nation to the Indian Territory, thus avoiding confusion by changing agents at the River. Memphis and Vicksburg were selected as the points of embarkation on the Mississippi, all the Choctaws to be landed at either Rock Row, on White River, or at Arkansas Post, thence to proceed in relays to the new Nation.

Plans for assembling the emigration parties were well under way early in September, 1832. Government officials were sanguine that from 8000 to 10,000 Choctaws would be ready to go West. However, as had been the case during the previous year, the number from Colonel LeFlore's District was disappointing; only 617 finally entered their names on the muster-rolls, 2000 having refused to leave at the last moment.²⁴ By the middle of October, more than 1900 emigrants left Garland's Old

²³The ration under the new regulations in 1832 consisted of 1¼ lbs. of fresh beef or fresh pork, or ¾ lb. of salt pork, and ¾ qt. of corn or corn-meal, or 1 lb. of wheat flour, to each person, and 4 quarts of salt to every one hundred persons.

²⁴This situation was said to be due to certain Choctaw leaders in Colonel LeFlore's district, who were determined "to have the benefit of their own speculations in removing." In remarking upon the capacity of some of the Choctaws in making a trade, the United States marshal of Mississippi wrote, "I could not discover that the Indians lacked less acuteness in their transactions than the most cunning Yankee."

Field, the rendezvous in Nitakechi's District, setting out for Vicksburg. At the same time, 2700 were mustered at the Council House in Musholatubbee's District, to take the route by way of Memphis.

All went well as the parties began their journey toward the Mississippi. Generally several hundred head of cattle were driven along to provide beef. This season many of the Choctaws walked. Wagons were provided for the old people and the young children, besides 1500 pounds of baggage to every fifty persons on the muster-rolls of the party. However, an unforeseen obstacle arose.

Early in the fall, the epidemic of cholera, at that time prevalent in the United States, swept down the Mississippi. There was great mortality among the passengers of all steamboats from the cities of the North, a number of dead being left at every landing. Inhabitants fled from the towns along the River toward the interior of the country, trying to escape the terrible epidemic.

Fear of the cholera had its demoralizing effects on the whole Indian removal. The Choctaws and their agents, also, grew much alarmed when reports continued to reach them that the disease was spreading throughout the country. At some places along the way, people refused to sell them supplies.

As the first of the emigrants neared Memphis, the cholera broke out in their ranks.²⁵ Sickness and death were now hourly among them.²⁶ Upon reaching Memphis during the first week in November, the women and children were panic stricken, many refusing to go on board a steamboat. It was necessary to ferry many of the emigrants across the Mississippi and let them proceed by land to Little Rock rather than convey them up the Arkansas

²⁵"The cholera is actually in our camp, and all through the country, at all the landings and towns even in the rear of this. Therefore you see we must go ahead, for in this matter we cannot stop to *look around*." Letter of F. W. Armstrong, Superintendent West Mississippi, to General George Gibson, C. G. S., dated Memphis, 31st October, 1832.

²⁶Most of the dead were quickly buried in unmarked graves along the road. Throughout the accounts rendered by officers during the first and second season's removal, along with the statements for corn, teams, wagons, rations, ferriages, wagon repairs, shoeing horses and oxen, medical attendance on Indians, building roads, etc., one finds such items as, "Making three coffins for Indians—\$14.00," "Repairing boat 7 dollars, 2 coffins for Indians 4 dollars—\$11.00," "1 box for coffin—75 cents."

to that place. Since steamboats were hard to procure and the woodyards at the river landings, in many cases, were abandoned, the Government snag boat, "Archimedes," was used as a ferry boat to advantage. In this way hundred of emigrants and their horses and baggage were carried over the river at one trip. Incessant rains in the late fall having made the Mississippi swamp almost impassable, many of these people died from exposure, the road along which they traveled being knee to waist deep in water for more than thirty miles. However, every effort was made to assist them, as Captain Armstrong sent provisions to last them through the swamp and a special messenger to act as a guide.

The parties that had proceeded toward Vicksburg, crossed the Pearl River, in Mississippi, on October 25. Immediately afterward, the report reached them that the cholera was raging in Vicksburg and the inhabitants of the town were fleeing from the vicinity toward the interior of the State, by the very road over which the Choc-taws were traveling. The agent in charge of the emigrating parties now determined to change his course toward the river, adopting a circuitous route, that caused delay and great expense since provisions were scarce in the country through which the parties were forced to travel. Again much sickness occurred from exposure to cold, rainy weather. Finally, in spite of all efforts to avoid Vicksburg, the emigrants were ordered to proceed to that place, embarking by steamboat for Rock Row, Arkansas, on November 12 and 13.

On December 2, 1832, the last parties, emigrating under charge of the Government's agents, had passed Little Rock. Three parties, in relays of 600 persons each, were on their way to the Kiamichi. A large party of 1300 was approaching Fort Smith. Major Armstrong reported that extra wagons had been hired to haul those emigrants who were sick, at the rate of five wagons to every 1000 persons, adding, "Fortunately they are a people that will walk to the last, or I do not know how we could get on."

By the middle of January, 1833, more than 300 Choc-taws had arrived in charge of the Government's agents, in the vicinity of Fort Towson, and over 2000 near Fort

Smith. Small, self-emigrating parties straggled in throughout of the winter making the second season's emigration from Mississippi amount to more than 6000 persons.

The Emigration of the Last Season, 1833

In the fall of 1833, more than 6000 Choctaws yet remained in the old Nation to follow their kinsmen over the "Trail of Tears," as they now called the road to the West. Of those that remained, it was estimated 4000 were in Colonel LeFlore's District; 1500 in Nitakechi's District, and about 700 in Musholatubbee's District. Most of these people positively refused to emigrate or have anything to do with the enrolling agents. Finally, 900 Choctaws were persuaded to emigrate by the middle of October, and set out overland for Memphis.

Again there was trouble in crossing the Mississippi River. The snag boat, Archimedes, broke her shaft and was out of commission at the last moment. The steamboat, T. Yeatman, engaged for the removal of the emigrants, burst one of her boilers and a number of hands on board were killed in sight of the River landing. This frightened many of the women and children. All that could be persuaded to go by water were landed at Rock Row on November 7. Since they had brought a great number of horses and oxen with them, the last parties in charge of the Government passed Little Rock by November 21.

Small, self-emigrating parties continued to arrive for some months during the early part of 1834, both at Fort Towson and Fort Smith, but owing to their tardiness, many failed to receive the benefits of commutation from the Government.²⁷ The number of Choctaws who had come to live in the Indian Territory now amounted to about 12,500. More than 5000 members of the tribe still remained in Mississippi in 1834. All of these people or their descendants—with the exception of 1200 who live in Mississippi to-day, 1928—came to the Indian Territory throughout the succeeding years, some of them as late as 1902.²⁸

²⁷The total number of Choctaws emigrating on their own expense from November, 1832, to November, 1833, was given as 3,215. Letter Captain Brown to General Gibson, November 17, 1833.

²⁸See Appendix E.

In estimating the cost of the removal of the Choctaws, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported on January 21, 1833, the total would be about \$475,000, or approximately \$25 a person. The cost of subsistence during the emigration period would be about \$608,000. Twenty-six years later, in a statement of accounts with the Choctaws, under a resolution of the United States Senate on March 9, 1859, the total cost of the removal and subsistence was given as \$813,927, by the Office of Indian Affairs. This sum together with every expense incurred under the treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek came to a total of \$5,097,367.50, which even included the salaries and expenses of the United States Commissioners appointed to settle the land frauds in Mississippi between 1837 and 1845.

The United States received \$8,095, 614.89 for the sale of Choctaw lands in Mississippi, relinquished at the time of the treaty of 1830. This sum was later involved in the well-known "Net Proceeds" claim of the Choctaws against the Government, since the Commissioners during the negotiations at Dancing Rabbit Creek emphatically denied "the idea that the United States sought any pecuniary profits from their [i. e. the Choctaw] lands, or desired anything beyond a mere jurisdiction over the country."²⁹ In adjudicating this claim the Government deducted the total costs incurred under the treaty from the total sum of the land sales, leaving \$2,981,247.39 due the Choctaws. Practically the whole of this amount was absorbed in furthering the claim, since it was not finally settled by the Government until nearly sixty years after the treaty of 1830.

Thus the Choctaws not only endured every suffering from hunger and cold to sickness and death in the removal to their new home in the Indian Territory, but also paid every dollar of the expenses incurred under the treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. And this in spite of the positive assurances made them by the Government that they would receive every advantage for welfare and progress if they would yield the tribal lands in Mississippi.

²⁹Letter to John H. Eaton to the Choctaw delegates at Washington, dated December 19, 1854.

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APPENDIX

A

Big Sand, November 3, 1830.

Dear Doctor: I arrived here two days ago. I find the Indians emigrating in large parties. Col. Leflore is moving on in good order, and says he will carry the treaty into effect by having all the Choctaws at their new homes in a year or two, whether the treaty is ratified or not, if the President will back him; and I have assured him there will be no failure on the part of the President. I have no doubt but that the President will have supplies ready on the Red River and Arkansas, as soon as the party, that will leave here in a few days, arrives in that country. There will be several hundred there by the first of January, and you may rest assured the President will meet all contracts you may make over there, in getting corn for the Choctaws, until he gets his contractors there. The opposition are coming over every day and agreeing to emigrate this fall. Be prompt at your post, and you will be rewarded for your trouble. The President has the five hundred thousand dollars at his disposal, and he never will let the Choctaws suffer that emigrate. Do not be timid in providing for the poor Choctaws, on your arrival on Red River, as General Jackson will not let you or Col. Leflore lose for your magnanimous conduct in saving those unfortunate people; and you will find me, as you always have, ready to back you and Col. Leflore. Let the people say what they please, the Choctaws must go or be lost. They cannot remain here any longer. All that are entitled to reservations by the treaty, are selling them daily to white people, under the inspection of Col. Leflore, and he gives the purchasers permission to come in and take possession. This enables the Indians to sell their corn and stock, and all their loose property. Ned Perry and Charles Hay sold their two half sections to-day for \$3,200, and if the men could not have got possession until the expiration of the three years, they would not have given them five hundred for it. I have no doubt there will be upwards of one hundred white families in this district, by the first day of February. It will save the Government thousands of dollars, as the Indians will dispose of most of their stock to whites.

May the Ruler of all things preserve your health on your journey, and bless you with many years; and that you may continue to do good for our friends, the Choctaws, you have my sincere wishes as a friend, wherever you be. Doctor, I do not expect to ever see you again in this

life, as I know of no business that will ever call me to your country—the land of the Choctaws.

Your friend,

D. W. HALEY.

P. S. I informed the Secretary of War that you are pushing ahead. Thomas Myers conducts a party of about a hundred that starts in a few days.

Col. Gaines is here on his way to the west. I hope the President will appoint him agent for the Choctaws.

Rev. Alexander Talley.

[NOTE: David W. Haley was a citizen of Mississippi and a personal friend of President Jackson, who had been instrumental in securing the removal of the Choctaws. This letter was submitted to the Secretary of War by Reverend Talley, in June, 1831, to prove the influence under which he acted in making contracts for corn and supplies. M. H. W.]

APPENDIX

B

Little Rock, August 5, 1831.

General: By my letter of this instant, I informed you that I would not make a contract to supply the Indians on the route, as per my advertisement enclosed to you in the letter, until I could get something more definite as to the time when the removal would commence. By Major Hook's (Acting Commissary General at Washington) letter of the 9th ultimo, I am informed that a large party will start in September next. I will therefore go on to make arrangements for their arrival on this side of the Mississippi in October next. My prospect so far is not flattering, and I will be agreeably disappointed if the removal, during the approaching fall, should pass off *only tolerably well*. With a hope that you may find, without difficulty, a person every way better qualified to superintend the matter of so much responsibility, than myself, I have only to say that you will add to the very many obligations I owe you already, by having me relieved as soon as practicable.

I am, sir, with great respect,

Your most obedient servant,

J. B. CLARK,

Captain U. S. Army.

To General Geo. Gibson,

Commissary General Subsistence, Washington City.

APPENDIX

C

Little Rock, A. T., December 15, 1831.

Sir: In my last, I incidentally mentioned the extreme cold weather for the season, since which it has continued, and with increased rigor; the mercury has been down to zero, and for ten days past has averaged about twelve freezing degrees. The six inches of snow that fell on the 5th and 8th makes excellent sleighing. The river is frequently impassable, being choked with ice, and this morning is one of those periods. So much, and so severe cold weather, has never before been experienced

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in this section of the country, and if it is with you, in proportion to your northern location, you must have a Siberian winter of it.

This unexpected cold weather must produce much human suffering. Our poor emigrants, many of them quite naked, and without much shelter, must suffer: it is impossible to be otherwise; and my great fears are, that many of them will get frosted. It is impossible to make any progress in movements to their destination: hence, how unfortunate the time for this operation! An overland journey just commenced, of about three hundred and fifty miles, to be accomplished at mid-winter, through a country little settled, and literally impassable to anything but wild beasts. How I shall succeed with such elements to contend against, is impossible now to tell, and can only say that I am prepared to avail myself of the first favorable change in the weather, with all the team force that can be obtained within one hundred miles of this place.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. BROWN, Captain, U. S. A.,

Superintendent of removal and subsistence of Indians.

To General George Gibson,
C. G. S., Washington City.

APPENDIX

D

Government funds were generally deposited in the banks at New Orleans. However, it was necessary to have a supply of ready cash at Little Rock to pay off local expenses. For this reason, the Department had to send out large sums, often amounting to several thousands of dollars, in gold and silver from Washington, in charge of some responsible party. The following is an excerpt of a letter from Captain Brown to General Gibson, dated January 11, 1832.

"Four of my agents are now in charge of emigrants, and all are begging for funds. They tell me it will be impossible to sustain themselves and parties much longer. Drafts are coming in from all quarters; the holders are disappointed, they are clamorous; some have come two hundred and fifty miles, and have to return without their money.

"The consequences resulting from much longer delay in the receipt of money will be terrible; and with many, I fear, greatly to be deplored, independent of the injury it will be to the cause of the emigration.

"I shall do everything that is within scope of human possibility. Three days ago, I parted with the last *five dollars* of my own money to start an express to the post. God grant the speedy arrival of funds!"

APPENDIX

E

"As the last remnant of the Choctaws who removed from the State under the Dancing Rabbit Treaty was crossing the Mississippi River, at Vickburg, the editor of the *Daily Sentinel* made note of this event in the following words:

"To one who, like the writer, has been familiar to their bronze inexpressive faces from infancy it brings associations of peculiar sadness to see them bidding a last farewell perhaps to the old hills which

gave birth and are doubtless equally dear to him and them alike. The first playmates of our infancy were the young Choctaw boys of the then woods of Warren County. Their language was once scarcely less familiar to us than our mother English. We know we think the character of the Choctaw well. We knew many of their present stalwart braves in those days of early life when Indian and white alike forgot disguise, but in the unchecked exuberance of youthful feeling, show real character that policy and habit may afterwards conceal; and we know that under the stolid, stoic look he assumes, there is burning in the Indian's nature a heart of fire and feeling—and an all-observing keenness of apprehension that marks and remembers everything that occurs and every insult he receives—Cunni-at-a-hah!—They are going away!—With a visible reluctance which nothing has overcome but the stern necessity they feel impelling them, they have looked their last on the graves of their sires—the scenes of their youth—and have taken up their slow toilsome march with their household goods among them to their new home in a strange land. They leave names to many of our rivers, towns and counties; and so long as our State remains the Choctaws who once owned most of her soil will be remembered.'"—Franklin L. Riley in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, page 392.

SOME ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE

BY MRS. ANNE E. FORD.

The notes of Bonneville with the maps, sketches and his journal, which he made during the explorations of the country including all west of the boundary line running through what is now Kansas, forged one more link in the record of events concerning the history of the west.

Washington Irving's book "*Adventures of Captain Bonneville*," portrays his life in those pioneer days and deals with his residence among the red men and graphically paints a picture of those times when the white settlers had to fight to preserve their lives while pursuing the trade of trappers and hunters.

Bonneville's ability to pilot his followers over unknown trails leading over virgin prairies, through trackless forests, and over mountain passes never before pressed by the foot of a white man, earned for him the sobriquet of "The Pathfinder."

It is the intention here to supply further adventures of this famous character, intrepid soldier of many wars whose colorful career reads like a page from *The Arabian Nights*. This is of particular interest to the people of the west and of this state and Arkansas, because of Bonneville's residence in this territory which in his time embraced a vast mileage. The days which Bonneville spent in Oklahoma were days filled to the brim with history making and the name of "The Magic Empire" which was given this part of the country is peculiarly fitting, because of the romance of this unknown land, infested by savage as well as friendly tribes of Indians.

Some of these events concerning this famous man have never been published before, being gleamed from private papers in the hands of Bonneville's descendents. They are now recorded that they may be preserved to posterity and deal with his career which had much to do with the foundation on which the Republic rests.

Prophetic indeed, seem the words carved on the mar-

ble shaft which marks his resting-place in old Belle Fontaine:

“Here lies one whose deeds have not
escaped the pages of fame.
Generations yet unborn shall know the
record of his name.”

Bonneville, whose name was Benjamin Louis Eulalie de Bonneville, but who adopted the less pretentious form of B. L. E. Bonneville, was born in Evrieux, France, and died at Fort Smith, Arkansas, in 1878, being eighty-two years of age, the oldest officer on the retired list of the United States Army.

War and fortune attended his steps; the scope of his travels was world-wide and he was blessed above most men with the companionship of great characters; among them, LaFayette, Zachary Taylor, Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Sam Houston, the hero of Texas and that great and shining example of his race—Sequoyah.

Bonneville's grandfather was a favorite of Louis XVI who made him Grand Chamberlain of the palace at Versailles and a member of The House of Deputies. He died on the church steps at Evrieux at the age of one hundred and two. One of the treasured possessions which has been preserved is the cane presented to him by Louis XVI, fashioned from the tusk of a wild elephant and bestowed on the king by an African potentate. This cane is in evidence in nearly every photograph of our Captain Bonneville and came to him through his father who was a noted publicist and author of France, controlling the press of Paris during Napoleon's time.

Thomas Paine was a flaming torch of brilliance, his inflammatory writings, his well-known friendship with Pere de Bonneville, resulting in trouble for them both. Napoleon became infuriated at some of the utterances in the press and ordered their arrest. Fourche, his minister of police, threw Pere de Bonneville into the Temple and his estates were confiscated but Paine with Mme de Bonneville and the young son Benjamin escaped to America and found refuge on Paine's plantation at New Rochelle, New York. There Mme de Bonneville pursued the education of her son and taught him and other children of the refugees;

she was a highly educated woman and for a time her school was the only one in that part of the land.

Pere de Bonneville had fought for the colonial forces during the Revolutionary war; one of the trophies of those days being a sword of great beauty which he won when he, with others, captured and burned the English frigate, "The Reindeer." This sword shows the engraved pictures of the Reindeer, and the victory ship, The Wasp, and the words, "Captured—The Reindeer," with the date.

After a time, Pere de Bonneville, broken in health and lucky to have escaped the guillotine in France, was released and allowed to join his family. Overjoyed at the reunion, he adopted this country as his own and resided for a time on the estate of his good friend Paine who at his death, willed his estate to de Bonneville.

It is not strange that the son decided on a military career. He graduated with honor from West Point and on the occasion of LaFayette's visit to this country, young Bonneville, the cadet, made a manly figure as one of the honorary escort detailed by the War Department to accompany the distinguished visitor, and friend of his father.

A strong affection developed and the cadet requested leave of absence from the army that he might visit France. Mme de Bonneville wrote the noted Frenchman asking him to use his influence for the coveted permission. The following letter was copied from the letter Mme de Bonneville received in answer. This letter, penned on board the famous old boat by the hand of LaFayette is as clear as the day it was written. It has never been published, I think, before in any magazine.

"On Board the Natches.

"On the Mississippi, April 24—1825.

"Madame: I received the letter, madam, you wrote me December 2nd, and I answered you at a great distance from Washington, where I can perform your commission. I have been well received, traveling up the Mississippi, bordering the Arkansas Territory, but Fort Smith, being very far from the mouth of the Arkansas River, I find it impossible to pay you a visit. I write to my friends, the good Brown, commander of the troops of the line, and Mr. Barbow (Barbor) secretary of war. I hope they will

present to the new president, your son's request for leave of absence, and I will ask them to do so. I, myself will be in Washington at the end of July, and if he would start for France at the end of this summer, after having received his leave of absence, I would be very glad to travel with him.

"I am very sorry to hear from you that M. de Bonneville is in a bad condition and I would be ever so happy if I could contribute to procure him as well as yourself, madam, the pleasure to see a son, who just leaving the admirable school of West Point, where he conducted himself always very well, can't help but give you all possible satisfaction. I offer my friendship to his father. Receive, the expression of my affection and esteem.

LaFayette."

The above is a translation from the French and the letter to the secretary of war must have been influential in the bestowal of the sought-for leave for the visit became a reality when Bonneville in company with LaFayette and Farragut, set sail on the "Brandywine." Madame LaFayette, a motherly, cultured woman, warmly welcomed the young lieutenant and for eighteen months he was their guest at the palatial Paris residence and at LaGrange, the country seat. During this visit, the table manners and the deportment of the youth were closely supervised by Mme LaFayette and in her famous salon he met the leading men and women of the day.

Quick promotion followed Bonneville's return from France and his first real advancement, a commission now stained and worn, evidently having accompanied Bonneville during his travels through the West, made him "Captain" Bonneville. The signature on this document is that of John Quincy Adams.

Grant Foreman mentions in his *"Pioneer Days In The Early Southwest,"* that Bonneville, at Fort Gibson, wrote the Adjutant-General offering to head an expedition to the western Indians to reach an understanding with the Kiowa and other prairie tribes. This, however was entrusted to Chouteau and Bonneville keenly felt the disappointment. His consuming desire to explore the unknown west, at last resulted in permission from the War Department for leave of absence providing the trip would be

made without expense to the government and that Bonneville would procure information as to the tribes of Indians, modes of warfare, and return with maps of the trails, rivers, mountain passes and the land over which he would travel.

This party was financed by friends of Bonneville whom he had met in the home of John Jacob Astor, then the foremost fur trader of the day. These friends were greatly interested in the possibilities of the country and the investment of capital. The Hudson Bay Fur Company, the American Fur Company and The Rocky Mountain Fur Company were kings of that wild elysium, the hunter's paradise. The rendezvous of the hunters and trappers lay on the frontier where now stand Fort Smith and Fort Gibson, and beyond the boundary of civilization; the guides were men famous for valor and the traders vied with each other in being first to get their men outfitted and into the wilderness.

The Indians naturally resented the intrusion of strange white hunters and many were the scalps that swung from the belts of the warring braves. Game was abundant but it took strong hearted men to bring in the pelts of the lynx, fox, buffalo, elk, deer, panther, bear, beaver and otter, because of the attendant dangers of a trapper's life.

Bonneville at last set out with his company of one hundred and ten, some of them Delaware Indians, chosen for courage and experience, on May 1, 1832, with a caravan of twenty wagons drawn by horses, mules and oxen and accompanied by outriders on horseback, from Fort Osage heading for the Rockies.

A picturesque train they made as they rode and Bonneville was full of enthusiasm at the prospect of new adventures.

One day while camped in the Indian country he was surprised with a visit from a savage chief who had brought his daughter suffering with some vague but severe malady, to the whiteman's camp to be cured by the "white medicine." Bonneville's knowledge of *materia medica* was slight but realizing the benefits of friendship with the tribe he essayed a cure. His remedies were a sweet bath, teas of native herbs and quinine. These were administered and

in addition the accompanying tribal medicine-men did their part; they danced, their faces, painted, slashed and bleeding; their legs decorated with tortoise shells filled with stones; gourds made into mammoth rattles, keeping time with the booming buffalo-hide drums.

Fortunately the girl lived through the pandemonium and her recovery established Bonneville's fame as a big medicine-man. Many tribes had their homes in the mountain fastness amid fertile valleys and on the boundless prairies. With all of them he was friendly when permitted. Among some of those with whom he had dealings at various times, were the Osage, Comanches, Flat-Heads, Iriquois, Pend-Oreilles (hanging-ears), Crows, Shoshones, Nez-Perce (Pierced-nose), Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chippewas, Eutaws, Eucheas, Blackfeet and Snakes.

The expedition would have been in sad want during the prolonged, severe winters had not Bonneville been foresighted enough to store food in secret caches from which he drew in emergency.

Never was such a life as Bonneville and his men led in the wilderness but he oversteaid his allotted time and back in the states he was given up for dead. Other officers succeeded to the promotions caused by his supposed death and when at last he returned to Washington expecting plaudits and welcome, imagine his surprise to find himself in disgrace and facing court-martial. He was not of the breed, however to sit and silently endure injustice and when his every endeavor met with rebuff, he appealed to the President. "Old Hickory" listened to him, demanded the maps and his notes as proof and when he found that the trip had been made in the interest of the government, his eyes flashed fire at the grave injustice about to be perpetrated. He knocked the ashes from the corn-cob pipe he was smoking and exclaimed "By The Eternal, sir—I'll see that you are re-instated to your command; for this valuable service to the War Department and to your country, you deserve high promotion!" Bonneville was re-instated to the army with rank of Captain in the Seventh infantry, and he returned to Fort Gibson.

There is no record of the wife and daughter of Bonneville in Fort Gibson. He had married the beautiful Ann

Lewis of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, while at Jefferson Barracks. His little son after a brief life of one month and nine days lay in the cemetery at St. Louis and perhaps this period saw the wife and daughter domiciled in that city. The daughter's name was Mary Irving (after Washington Irving) de Bonneville and both she and Mme de Bonneville continued the use of the prefix until they died.

Fort Gibson had been named by Arbuckle in honor of Colonel George Gibson and the story that Washington Irving visited Bonneville there, swimming his horse across the swollen Arkansas—the primitive ferry, consisting of a flat-boat, having been swept away in a recent storm—does not tally with the authentic version of Foreman. Neither does the date of John Howard Payne's visit to the frontier fort lend credence to the belief that Payne, lonely in the wilderness of this savage land, found here, perhaps, his inspiration for "Home Sweet Home," the heart-song of a nation.

It is a fact though, that Payne, Vinnie Ream, the sculptor, Catlin, the artist and Nathan Boone were resident at times at Fort Gibson,—then the out-post of civilization. Indeed, Boone surveyed the line between the Cherokee and the Creek nations.

Sam Houston, too, lived in Fort Gibson for a while; he had left his bride and the Governorship back in Tennessee and was adopted as a member of the tribe and married in tribal fashion, the daughter of a Cherokee chieftain. Talahina was her name and her grave is marked with a stone in "The Officer's Circle" in the National cemetery at Fort Gibson. Legend has it that she died of a broken heart when he left her and went to Texas.

There is another story which has been disproved in the memoirs of Jefferson Davis, written by his wife. Old settlers believe that Jefferson Davis eloped to Van Buren, Arkansas with the charming Betty, Zachary's daughter and that there they were married.

Perhaps she might have been called 'Bettie' but her name was Sarah Knox Taylor and they were married in 1835. Taylor came to Fort Gibson in 1841. The young people did not elope; Davis married her at the home of her aunt in Kentucky. Taylor, however did oppose the marriage.

After Davis had comported himself brilliantly at the battle of Monterey, Taylor forgave the couple and remarked—"Bettie's judgment was better than mine."

A gallant officer was Bonneville in the battles of the Mexican war. He received promotion as Brevet Lieutenant Colonel "For gallant service in the battles of Contreras and Cherubusco." This commission was signed by James K. Polk. Wounded by a Mexican bullet, Bonneville was borne to the rear by Robert E. Lee and Martin Scott, a celebrated sharp-shooter. By chance, the ball struck Bonneville's canteen and the wound was not serious.

Bonneville had seen service in Florida, in the West and in Mexico and on his return from the Mexican war he was stationed at many posts. He lived a lonely, though adventurous life; his wife and daughter had both died; the wife following Mary to the grave in a few days and now he was a tragic and sorrowful man. It was while he was situated at San Antonio that war between the states, flamed; brother took up arms against brother and the entire union was threatened with dissolution.

Eminent fellow-officers, among them, Lee, Twiggs, Beauregard and Hardee, sympathized with the south; Bonneville could not swallow secession, so he returned to cast his fortunes with the federals. He found little consideration; because of his long and faithful service he expected a high command. Instead, he found that civilians with political influence were promoted over his head while he was kept in the background. General Grant had fought by his side in Mexico and knowing his value, appointed him chief recruiting officer at Benton Barracks where he served to the end of the war.

In 1865 Andrew Johnson made Bonneville, Brevet Brigadier General and now the war over, his thoughts turned back to that Belle Point of the Arkansas and Poteau rivers, that beautiful spot, nestling in the foot-hills of the Ozarks, known to-day as Fort Smith. In days gone by the General had entered large tracts of fertile lands near Fort Smith and he envisioned a home for his declining years there in the midst of his old friends. His courtship and marriage to sweet Susie Neis soon followed and he erected a stately mansion, bringing his lumber from Little

Rock by wagon and steamboat, a distance of one hundred and sixty-two miles by rail at the present time. The mansion stood two hundred feet above the surrounding prairie and still at this late date in spite of the ravages of more than half a century, is occupied and shows signs of past splendor. In the immense drawing-room still glows somberly, the moulding of gold-leaf and the ancient French windows with the original glass and hardware, open on spacious galleries. The house had running water. It was *pumped by hand*. The well provides sweet pure water now as in the days when the pulley and chain with two buckets, preceded the modern pump of the present. The solid stairway of black walnut is worn in places by the tread of countless feet since the old General's day. He was "a fine figure of a man" so say the few remaining friends who danced at the wedding, which was an eventful occasion, the ceremony being performed in the Church of The Immaculate Conception by Father Smythe, to the day and hour, just fifty years since his first marriage.

Bonneville had been called "Bald-Head" by the Indians, because of his shining pate but pictures of the General show that at this time he sported a luxurious growth of brown hair. At any rate he made a gallant picture as he led his youthful bride to the altar. Preceding the party marched General Cabell ("Old Tige") and General Duval, the men in full regimentals and the bride attired in the gown of the period, a magnificent Spanish uncut white velvet, the tight fitting basque piped with satin and the skirt *en train*, with overskirt of heavy white fringe. The priceless veil of rose-point which hid her blushes is a beautiful thing and is treasured with care.

At Adelaide Hall where the guests danced until four o'clock in the morning, the cornet band greeted the couple with the strains of "Hail, the Conquering Hero Comes." The wedding feast prepared by Callioux, a celebrated French caterer, was enjoyed by a large concourse. The occasion will never be forgotten. Rare wines and champagnes flowed like water and every delicacy possible was provided.

Soon the mansion on the hill became noted for its hospitality; its furnishings were magnificent and are to-day

in perfect condition—a collection of Americana which would make an antiquary envious.

A massive board of solid mahogany, supported by carved lions, is the dining table; the buffets, sideboards and the original chairs are in use to-day.

Perhaps the most notable object in the collection, is the sword presented to Bonneville by LaFayette; the gold epaulettes, and belt—the sword engraved—"To The Entire Army." Next in value is the Washington Irving silver, marked with the Irving monogram. An immense solid silver coffee urn, teapot and tray. In the collection are many pieces too numerous to mention in detail but a silver butter-dish of design so rare and chaste must not be overlooked. It is a solid silver melon resting on a large chased leaf. The tendrils from the stem are of silver wire and the tiny leaves that adorn are the work of a master. The filagree baskets, salts, loving cup marked 1846, and a pair of unique posset-cups are curious and exquisite. The posset-cups are shaped like barrels and stand about eight inches high.

Collectors viewing the priceless old china, the valuable old books, the commissions signed by various Presidents of the United States—Polk, Jackson, Taylor, Pierce, Adams;—the land-grants, the deeds, letters and photographs that have escaped the ravages of years have pronounced them beyond price.

An interesting letter illustrating the business acumen of Bonneville even in the bestowal of a gift is the one where he presents a pair of carriage horses to his wife on her birthday. It is worded with much formality (he includes the harness and carriage) and is witnessed by R. G. Campbell, an adopted son. Also a list of property beginning—"I owe no man."

At the time of General Booneville's second marriage he was seventy-five and his bride was twenty-four. Mrs. Bonneville survived the General for many years and after his death, erected a home of brick and stone near the old mansion. There carefully preserved, are to be found many relics of the days when this part of the United States was a savage land. To-day, the populous Mid-West is the beauty spot of the nation.

The name of Bonneville will always be a loved and honored one in the nation he helped to create—a government established on a sure foundation.

MILITARY DISCIPLINE IN EARLY OKLAHOMA

At the present time when there are so many newspaper reports concerning punishments of prisoners convicted for defying the eighteenth amendment it is interesting to read how the laws for regulating the sale of liquor were broken and the punishments therefor were administered in the early days. Although settlers were permitted to sell liquor in United States garrisons, the trade was restricted and the punishments soldiers received for drunkenness would probably be called cruel and unusual in these days of scientific criminology.

In the Adjutant General's Office, Old Records Division, in Washington, are many old volumes of letters from various army posts in what is now Oklahoma, containing strange reports of penalties administered to soldiers for drunkenness, desertion, and unsoldierlike conduct.

Fort Gibson was no exception and a letter from the Adjutant General's Office at Memphis, January 13, 1834, to Colonel Henry Dodge, Commanding U. S. Dragoons, at Fort Gibson, A. T., states "I am instructed to inform you that it has been officially reported at the Hd. Qrs. of this Department that Privs. Hiram Way and George Wilsey of your Regiment, were arraigned on the charge of desertion, at a Genl. Court Martial held at Fort Niagara, N. Y., on the 25th. October, 1833, & have been sentenced to be indelibly marked with the letter "D" on the right thigh, to have their heads shaved & be drummed out of the service of the U. States with strong halters around their necks." Signed Guave.

No. 7 Letter Book contains the following significant letter: "Headquarters West Dept. Memphis, Ten. Dec. 4, 1832. Geo. A. McCall A. D. C. to Lt. Col. I. H. Vose, 3rd Infantry, Commg. Fort Towson. "With regard to the weight of the 'iron-yokes,' the Surgeon, in this matter, as in all punishments, should be consulted; and, if in his opinion the infliction of the punishment would injure the health of the prisoner, his statement in writing to that effect, is sufficient authority for the commanding officer of

the post to suspend the execution of the sentence for such a time as may be thought necessary and proper."

When Washington Irving arrived at Fort Gibson March 8, 1832 he reports seeing soldier culprits in the pillory and riding a wooden horse.

A letter from Fort Gibson, September 22d, 1835, reports that a command left there every day or week for the prairies to seek and destroy whiskey in the Cherokee Nation. There were disorderly houses in the vicinity of the cantonments that caused much trouble for the officers in enforcing orders and weary days of punishment for the enlisted men.

Fort Gibson Letter Book 34, page 121, reports the case of Private Hugh Boyle of E. Co. 6th. Infantry as follows: "Charged with Drunkenness while on Sick Report. Plea Guilty. The Court confirm the plea of the Prisoner and sentence him to 10 days confinement in the Cells on Bread & Water and to forfeit one month's pay."

Page 122 records that Private John McIntire of A. Co. 6th. Infantry was charged with "Unsoldierlike conduct—plea Not Guilty. The Court find the Prisoner Guilty as charged, and sentence him to stand in front of the Guard Room with an empty bottle in his hand from reveille to retreat, on a barrel, for 6 days and to forfeit \$2 of his pay."

Captain W. Scott Ketchum, 6th. Infantry, as president of a court martial on March 1, 1843, at Fort Gibson sentenced Private Stephen F. Wood, of Co. A. 6th. Infantry for "Drunkenness." He had pleaded *Guilty* and was sentenced "to be confined in charge of the Guard, for ten days, during that period to walk in front of the Guard-house, every alternate two hours, between reveille and retreat, with a pack of stone weighing fifty pounds upon his back; and a stoppage of Two dollars of his pay."

Private Thomas Fitzpatrick, H. Company, 6th. Infantry, was charged with "Violation of Post Order No. 38, dated Head Quarters, Fort Gibson" . . . Specification in this that Private Fitzpatrick "did, on the night of the 20th of February, 1843, visit one or more of those dens of vice in the vicinity of Fort Gibson, occupied by women named Betsy Cheeks, Mandy Wilkins, and others, which is strictly

forbidden in the above mentioned order." To all of which the prisoner pleaded Guilty. The Court confirmed the pleas of the prisoner and sentenced him "to be confined in charge of the guard for fifteen days, during that period to walk in front of the guard house every alternate two hours, between reveille and retreat, with a pack of stones weighing fifty pounds upon his back; and to a stoppage of four dollars of his pay."

Order No. 49, page 131, gives a more cheerful aspect of affairs at Fort Gibson on March 1, 1843. It sets forth that "The Troops on Inspection yesterday were in very respectable order; and their military appearance was alike creditable to themselves and the officers"—but—"The hair if a few was rather long—this can be corrected when the weather moderates."

The Commanding Officer felt "much mortification upon witnessing the great number of prisoners in confinement, declared with great truth, that he would do anything he could to induce them to perform their duty to the public in a proper manner." This they promised upon condition that the "gates may be opened until Tattoo." The law and the regulations are binding upon the Commanding Officer and it is not within his power to do what both forbid.

"It is therefore his *duty* to see that the *rules and regulations* for the government of the troops are *strictly enforced*." He further states that the 43rd Article of War requires every soldier to retire to his quarters at the beating of the retreat and that those who intend to obey this Article, will be indifferent whether the gates are closed at that hour, or at tattoo. This statement was signed by Colonel Davenport.

Private Peter Meek, H. Company, 6th. Infantry, was charged 1st. "Absence without leave." 2nd. "Drunkenness." Plea to first charge "Not Guilty;" to second charge "Guilty." The court found the prisoner guilty as charged and sentenced him to "fifteen days hard labor breaking stone in charge of the guard, and to a stoppage of Five dollars of his pay; and during his confinement to forfeit his ration of Sugar & Coffee, and make good any days lost by sickness."

Fines collected from soldiers are turned in to the Quarter Master who returns them to the general government.

Private John O'Keefe of A. Company, Sixth Infantry was charged with "Unsoldierlike conduct; Disobedience of Orders and Intoxication" to all of which he pleaded "Not Guilty" but he was found guilty and was condemned "to be confined in charge of the guard for Thirty days, during that period to walk in front of the guard house with a pack of stones weighing fifty pounds upon his back, from 8 o'clock A. M. to 1 o'clock P. M. and from 2 o'clock P. M. to retreat." There are numerous cases where the prisoner received the above described punishment.

In Letter Book 34, page 301 Private Donnelly, G. Company, 6th. Infantry, having been charged with unsoldierlike conduct was found guilty and sentenced to thirty days hard labor in charge of the guard, and to be immersed for ten successive mornings in the river, fifteen minutes before Breakfast roll call, to forfeit three dollars of his pay and to make good all time lost by sickness." This order was made in the presence of the officer of the day and one of the medical officers.

Private Thomas Darrah of E. Company, 6th. Infantry received a sentence of "ten days at hard labor, under guard, standing in the stocks each morning from Reveille to Breakfast call—and to forfeit two dollars of his pay."

It required a fertile mind to plan the punishment of Private Thomas Lonican, H. Company, First Dragoons. He plead guilty to unsoldierlike conduct and was sentenced "to stand on the head of a barrel, in front of the Dragoon Guard House, every alternate two hours from Reveille, until Retreat, for eight days, with a board hung round his neck, marked "Whiskey Seller," and with an empty bottle in each hand; to carry a pack on his back, weight 30 pounds, every alternate two hours, for eight days, from Reveille until Retreat, to work at hard labor in charge of the guard for fourteen days, and to have \$7 of his pay stopped."

One soldier at Fort Gibson was to "be confined ten days in the cells on bread and water," and Augustus Graham, Company M. First Dragoons, was punished by being drummed around the garrison, immediately in the rear of

a corporal, carrying a keg in his arms; to have a plank hanging at his back marked "whiskey runner" and to serve fifteen days at hard labor in charge of the guard, making good all time lost by sickness.

The Cherokee Advocate, Tahlequah, March 20, 1845, gives a detailed account of a fight at the house of Polly Spaniard on March 11, 1845, in which two Dragoons of Captain Nathan Boon's company were killed; of an attack on the notorious Polly and her women and the burning of her home the next night. This affair caused much excitement and the soldiers being taken to Little Rock for trial, were acquitted.

Soldiers were sometimes condemned to have their hands tied to a post above their heads for several hours, for instance from reveille to guard mount, but this sentence was disapproved by Colonel Wharton in 1840. They frequently were commanded to forfeit their ration of sugar and coffee; a corporal would be reduced to the ranks and sometimes an order was made "lenient on account of previous good character of the prisoner."

On June 5, 1844, an order was issued calling upon the troops at Fort Gibson to appear in white trousers on all parades and drills and white jackets were to be worn on all drills, unless otherwise ordered, and on the 21st. of the same month the order was made that "all fatigue will cease to-morrow at dinner call to prepare for the reception of General Arbuckle and Colonel Croghan, the Inspector General who will probably be here early next week." From this it may be inferred that the minds of the officers were not always occupied with devising punishments for their men, but were also concerned with having them make a good appearance before visitors.

Soldiers were required to do much fatiguer duty, hard manual labor, to build barracks, and roads, cut stone and wood; haul materials long distances and such work caused much complaint among men who had enlisted for fighting and adventure.

CAROLYN THOMAS FOREMAN.

Muskogee, Oklahoma.

THE OKLAHOMA MINERAL EXHIBIT AT THE ST. LOUIS WORLD'S FAIR

BY CHAS. N. GOULD.

At the time of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, usually spoken of as the St. Louis World's Fair, in 1904, Oklahoma had been a territory a little more than ten years. In 1902 the territorial legislature made an appropriation of \$40,000 for all purposes to take care of Oklahoma's part in the big show. Governor Cassius A. Barnes appointed as a commission to look after the matter the following men: Joseph A. Meibergen, a merchant of Enid; Otto A. Shuttee, a banker of El Reno, and Fred L. Wenner of Guthrie, who was at that time secretary to the governor. Later, on account of press of other duties, Mr. Wenner resigned and Mr. Edgar A. Marchant, an editor of Aline, was appointed. Mr. Meibergen was chairman of the commission, Mr. Marchant secretary, and Mr. Shuttee treasurer.

With the \$40,000 appropriated by the Legislature, this commission erected an Oklahoma building on the exposition grounds, collected and installed an agricultural, horticultural, and mineral exhibit, paid all the traveling and other expenses, and at the close of the fair, had a few hundred dollars to turn back to the treasurer of the territory.

At that time I had been teaching geology at the University of Oklahoma only about two years, but was already becoming enthused with the vast possibilities of the development of the mineral wealth of the twin territories, Oklahoma and Indian Territory.

One notable thing accomplished by the Commission was the fact that the plaster and cement used on the Oklahoma building on the exposition grounds all came from the gypsum mills then operating in the Territory of Oklahoma. The gypsum used to make the outside stucco or staff of the building came from an experimental mill in Caddo County. The material for the cement used in the interior of the building came from the mill in Blaine County. All this material was donated by the United States Gypsum Company, which was then operating in Oklahoma.

Mr. Wenner, who was secretary to the commission until after the exhibit was all practically collected and

the building completed, was instrumental in getting the material for the building and getting the gypsum company to donate it. This was the first time that Oklahoma gypsum was called to the attention of the outside world.

This was several years before statehood, but at that time many of us were beginning to believe that the two territories would eventually become a single state.

I conceived the idea that it would be a profitable thing to have an exhibit of the minerals of Oklahoma at the World's Fair. With this thought in mind I wrote Secretary Wenner at Guthrie regarding the matter, and received from him a very courteous reply. A few weeks later I was asked to attend a meeting of the commission at which time arrangements were made for me to have active charge of the mineral exhibit, and I was instructed to begin collecting the materials for such an exhibit.

It was then that my troubles began. I really knew very little about exhibits of any kind and had never attended a very large exposition, and did not know just how to go about the matter. Another difficulty was that the Territory of Oklahoma had not at that time any considerable amount of minerals which had been developed. Oil was unknown. The first oil produced in Oklahoma Territory was discovered at Cleveland, Oklahoma, during the summer of 1904, while the Fair was in session. Mr. O. A. Mitscher of Oklahoma City shipped a dozen quart bottles of the crude to Mr. C. A. McNabb at St. Louis who turned it over to the mineral exhibit.

There was no coal in Oklahoma Territory, no lead nor zinc. About all that we had at that time was an abundance of red dirt, some gypsum, salt, and building stone. I determined, however, to make the best showing possible of the things we had, and, during the winter of 1903-4, I employed a student at the University, Mr. Eck F. Schramm, of Newkirk, to collect samples of building stone. Mr. Schramm visited quarries in Kay, Osage, Pawnee, Noble, and Payne counties, and the material collected was shipped to the campus at Norman. I employed a stone mason, J. P. Stumff of Perry, to dress the stone into cubes about eight inches square, giving a different finish to each of the six faces. These blocks of building stone were sent to St.

Louis. When they had served their purpose, they were returned, and for a number of years were on exhibit in the mineral building at the State Fair at Oklahoma City, and are now back on the campus at the University.

The exposition was held at Forest Park, a suburb of St. Louis. Frederick J. V. Skiff was general director of exhibits, and the chief of mines and metallurgy was Dr. J. A. Holmes, afterward the first director of the U. S. Bureau of Mines. A large number of buildings were constructed, mainly of staff, or gypsum plaster mixed with excelsior. The Mines and Metallurgy building was 750 feet long, 525 feet wide, 60 feet high, and covered about 9 acres. It cost \$502,000. Oklahoma was assigned a space near the center of the building about midway between two doors. The exact location of Oklahoma's exhibit was in block 51, aisle F. On one side of us was Indian Territory, and on the other Kansas. Across the aisle were Arkansas and Montana. At that time most of the other states greatly exceeded Oklahoma in variety and abundance of developed mineral wealth, and they all had more money with which to dress up and make attractive their exhibit space. It looked as if we were doomed to be lost in the shuffle.

During the year 1903 and the spring of 1904, I made several trips to St. Louis to arrange for space and for tables and shelving. During these trips I saw a number of prominent men, David R. Rancis, ex-Governor of Missouri, and ex-Secretary of Interior in Cleveland's cabinet, was president of the Exposition. I remember seeing Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, who was then president of the United States, Cardinal Gibbons, and a number of other men of national reputation.

The two chief objects of interest in the Oklahoma exhibit were, first, a plaster model of the Territory painted in vivid colors, and second, two immense blocks of gypsum. The plaster model had been prepared at the University by a model maker, Dr. J. M. Finney. It occupied a prominent space in the center of the exhibit and attracted much attention. After the close of the exposition it was shipped back to the campus of the University at Norman and for many years has been in the Science Building.

Blocks of gypsum were used rather effectively to ad-

vertise the resources of the state. As I have said, there was at that time no large amount or great variety of minerals in Oklahoma. Gypsum was in fact our leading mineral. I arranged with the manager of a gypsum company in Blaine County to send us two large rough blocks of gypsum just as they were quarried from the ledges. These blocks were about three feet square at the base, and stood about eight feet high, tapering slightly toward the top. Instead of being set at the rear of the booth, near the wall, they were placed out in front upon two extra heavy tables, which, in turn, were based upon a re-enforced floor beneath. Thus, these imposing monoliths of white alabaster stood flush with the middle aisle of the building which led past the booth.

Another striking exhibit was a stone wall erected along the front of the booth composed of neatly dressed blocks of building stone which Schramm had collected from the various counties in the Territory.

As souvenirs, we distributed thousands of "petrified roses," a peculiar form collected near Norman. From this exhibit samples of these "roses" were taken to many museums in the East and in Europe where they may still be seen. Dr. H. W. Nichols of Field Museum at Chicago, took several of these specimens, studied and described them, and named them "sand barite crystals," and published a paper setting forth the results of his investigations. This was the first published account of the "roses."

I used to get a kick in standing off at one side and watching the people come in the building. A man would enter one of the doors and look down the long aisle. His eye would be caught by those pillars of white gypsum standing upright near the center of the building, and it almost seemed as if they would draw him like a magnet. The man would focus his eye on the gypsum and would march past much better exhibits than ours, those with brass rails and plate glass cases, until he tood before our rather crude but striking exhibit of gypsum. This was the time when we took the opportunity of preaching to him the gospel of Oklahoma, the new Territory.

Since 1904 I have had the pleasure many times of having people from all parts of the State tell me that the

first time they ever became interested in Oklahoma was at the mineral exhibit in St. Louis when they were standing by the big block of gypsum and listening to the boys tell of the wonders of the new Territory.

Mr. C. A. McNabb who had charge of the agricultural and horticultural exhibit, agrees with me. I quote from a letter recently received from him:

"That the displays prompted thousands of people to eventually make Oklahoma their home, there is no doubt in my mind. For some years after the fair, I was constantly being reminded by people I met in my travels over the State that I was the cause of their coming, referring of course to having met me at the Oklahoma booth during the show."

In conducting an exhibit of any kind it is not only essential to collect the material, but it is even more essential to have some one who knows what it is all about and can explain it to visitors. This was our difficulty. We had no money to pay a salary to any one to remain with the exhibit. So I hit upon the following plan. At that time there were a number of young fellows beginning to be interested in geology at the University of Oklahoma who were willing to spend two weeks in St. Louis for expenses only. So I arranged with the commission to pay the railroad fare and board of a number of these young men, each of whom was to stay at the exhibit for two weeks. The plan was that one man should be sent up from Oklahoma each week. Each man spent the first week learning about the mineral exhibit and seeing the rest of the exposition, and the second week in teaching the new man who came on the job. I am not quite sure that I can remember the names of all the men who were employed, but the following list is approximately complete:

A. M. Alden, E. L. Edwards, H. A. Everest, L. L. Hutchison, A. Martin Kingkade, Chas. T. Kirk, E. A. Klein, Pierce Larkin, Charles Long, William Low, Tom B. Matthews, John A. Merkle, Ira W. Montgomery, Chester A. Reeds, Eck F. Schramm, Ralph Sherwin, Harry B. Tosh, Guy Y. Williams, Roy Wolfinger.

Mr. Schramm and Mr. Kirk aided in installing the ex-

hibit and Mr. Matthews had charge of dismembering it and sending the material back to Norman.

Oklahoma put on only three exhibits at the Exposition, the agricultural and horticultural exhibits housed in two other buildings were in charge of Mr. C. A. McNabb. The Oklahoma State Building at the Fair which was the headquarters of Secretary Marchant and Oklahoma visitors, was afterwards removed to El Reno where it has since served as the Elks Club. I remember that when Governor Ferguson came to visit the Fair at the time of the opening, Mr. Schramm and I, who had been occupying the governor's room at the Oklahoma building, had to go outside the grounds and rustle another place to sleep.

In thinking back over the events, I am convinced that the mineral, agricultural, and horticultural exhibits at the St. Louis Exposition were worth many times over what they cost. They helped to put Oklahoma on the map. And while no one will ever know accurately how many people it brought to the State, I have no doubt that were we able to collect the facts it could be demonstrated that thousands of people were attracted to Oklahoma on this account.

I will go a step further and say that it is my deliberate judgment in the light of the experience of more than a quarter of a century, that money spent in this kind of advertising is always well spent and that Oklahoma will always make a mistake if she does not take advantage of future opportunities.

What a change there has been in the last 24 years from 1904 to 1928! At that time the value of the mineral resources of Oklahoma and Indian Territory approximated \$6,000,000 a year. It is now \$570,000,000. At that time Oklahoma and Indian Territory together ranked 33rd among the states of the Union in the value of mineral products. To-day Oklahoma ranks second. At that time the oil produced in Oklahoma and Indian Territory was only a few thousand barrels a year. Now it is over 200,000,000, valued at over \$400,000,000. At that time there was practically no natural gas produced. To-day the value of natural gas is over \$40,000,000 annually. Natural gas gasoline had not been invented at that time. To-day the value of this material in Oklahoma is over \$40,000,000. In 1904

Oklahoma produced no lead nor zinc. In 1927 the value of these products was over \$50,000,000. From nothing to our present eminence all within a quarter of a century. What will the future bring?

The following list includes the names and the materials furnished by the chief exhibitors in the mineral booth at the St. Louis Fair. The arrangement is alphabetically by counties as the same were in existence before statehood. Many of these counties have since been changed.

Blaine: York Alexander, gypsum; American Cement Company, gypsum and cement; J. W. Boyer, dolomite; L. Copeland, colomite; Geary Pressed Brick Company, brick and shale; Chas. Harper, gypsum; A. Henquenet, salt and clays; M. Kirkoff, dolomite; A. McBride, sandstone; P. J. Mendenhall, dolomite; J. Muely, dolomite; Ruby Stucco Company, gypsum and cement; J. R. Womack, dolomite.

Caddo: H. Caldwell, sandstone and sand; R. T. Hoff, dolomite; M. T. Trumbly, dolomite.

Cleveland: C. Kaupka, sand.

Comanche: C. H. Milliken, sands; W. E. Root, sand stone.

Custer: J. D. Ballard, gypsum and sandstone; O. B. Kee, sandstone; Ed Price, gypsum and sand.

Greer: L. J. Chaney, gypsum and salt; W. B. Keiser, salt and gypsum; W. H. Kettell, granites; J. S. Plunkett, gypsum; L. B. Sims, limestone; W. B. Sprague, granites; C. A. Stubbs, sand.

Kay: E. R. Amers, limestone; J. C. Armstrong, limestone; John Baker, limestone; Blackwell Cement Company, cement; Chilocco Industrial School, limestone; C. H. Klein, limestone; W. T. McCann, sandstone; Newkirk Gas and Mineral Company, oil; N. S. Young, limestone.

Kiowa: O. A. Boxley, limestone; J. McMary, limestone; J. Mobs, limestone; P. Waldron, iron ore; Wilkes Pressed Brick Company, brick and clay.

Lincoln: D. J. Rader, sandstone; P. F. Sennet, sandstone; J. Loveall, sandstone.

Noble: E. Hutchison, sandstone; J. P. Stumpp, conglomerate, sandstone and sand; C. P. Walker, sandstone and sand.

Oklahoma: American Brick and Tile Company, brick

and shale; Oklahoma Brick Company, brick and shale; Okla-Stone Manufacturing Compny, artificial building stone.

Pawnee: A. Catlett, limestone and sandstone; J. W. Lamberson, sandstone; Geo. McCann, sandstone; Alex Reids, son, standstone.

Payne: Ed Bush, sandstone; T. L. Butler, sandstone; T. B. Cross, sandstone; J. Harris, sandstone; J. Hixon, sandstone; Hopkins Bros., sandstone; E. H. Hough, sandstone; Sam Muns, sandstone; M. Murphy, sandstone; J. Williams, lime.

Pottawatomie: A. B. Clark, iron rock; E. Danal, brick and clay; A. Graham, sandstone; Dan McNally, sandstone; W. W. Stark, sandstone; R. A. Timmons, gravel; J. H. Whitson, sandstone.

Roger Mills: A. J. Gammon, sandstone; A. Griffing, sandstone; W. M. Wall, sandstone; L. Yeager, sandstone.

Washita: Noah Vance, sandstone; Ed Williams, sandstone.

Woods: G. M. Clapp, sandstone; A. E. Summer, gypsum.

Woodward: H. Anderson, sandstone; R. Burrenet, gypsum; J. M. Dean, gypsum; John Gober, sandstone; L. M. Hanna, clays; L. T. Hathaway, gypsum; J. Hiphson, sandstone.

In order to keep the record straight, mention should also be made of the mineral exhibit put on by citizens of Indian Territory. At that time there was no method of raising funds in the Indian Territory except by popular subscription. A number of public-spirited citizens interested in the future development of the country met and perfected the following organization:

Commissioners: Chairman, Hon. Thos. Ryan, First Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D. C; Executive Commissioner, F. C. Hubbard, Muskogee, I. T.

Honorary Commissioners: J. E. Campbell, Alluwee, Cherokee Nation; H. B. Spaulding, Muskogee, Creek Nation; H. B. Johnson, Chickasha, Chickasha Nation; A. J. Brown, Wewoka, Seminole Nation; J. J. McAlester, McAlester, Choctaw Nation; Wm. Busby, South McAlester, Choctaw Nation, and W. L. McWilliams, Miami, Quapaw Agency.

The names and addresses of men who assisted in collecting Indian Territory's exhibit are as follows:

Cherokee Nation: J. E. Campbell, Alluwee; F. M. Overlees, Bartlesville; J. A. Quinn, Pryor Creek; Joe M. LaHay, Claremore; C. O. Frye, Sallisaw; L. F. Parker, Vinita; A. B. Cunningham, Tahlequah; W. C. Strange, Chelsea.

Creek Nation: T. A. Parkinson, Wagoner; Sam Cobb, Wagoner; C. H. Tully, Eufaula; J. B. Morrow, Checotah; Hull H. Schaff, Holdenville; Joe Trent, Okmulgee; Fred Turner, Tulsa; A. R. Querry, Tulsa; H. B. Spaulding, Muskogee; F. C. Hubbard, Muskogee.

Choctaw Nation: J. J. McAlester, McAlester; Wm. Busby, South McAlester; G. T. Ralls, Atoka; R. L. Williams, Durant; H. C. Nash, Antlers; Ed McKenna, Poteau.

Chickasaw Nation: R. W. Dick, Ardmore; Sidney Suggs, Ardmore; Guy P. Cobb, Tishomingo; H. B. Johnson, Chickasha; Dorset Carter, Purcell; T. T. Johnson, Minco; T. P. Martin, Jr., Marlow; C. J. Grant, Pauls Valley; J. A. Taylor, Wynnewood.

Seminole Nation: A. J. Brown, Wewoka.

Quapaw Agency: W. L. McWilliams, Miami.

One of the most outstanding exhibits in the Indian Territory booth, which joined the Oklahoma booth, consisted of two or three large blocks of coal, each about five feet square. Mr. Wm. Busby, one of Indian Territory's Honorary Commissioners, had charge of the collection and installation of the coal exhibit. At that time he was the largest coal mine operator in the territory.

In connection with this exhibit was a very fine colored geologic model in plaster showing the outcrops of the various coal beds and associated formations of the Coal Fields of the Choctaw Nation. This model was prepared by Edwin E. Howell of Washington from maps and reports by Joseph A. Taff of the United States Geological Survey, who had spent several years mapping the coal fields. This model was afterward removed to McAlester and may still be seen on the walls of the office of the operators' association.

Indian Territory's exhibit was furnished by the following companies and individuals:

Cherokee Nation: R. M. Butler, filtering stone; Cudahy Oil Company, oil and oil sands; Guffey and Galey, oil and oil

sands; Marble City Marble Company, marble; F. M. Overlees, oil and oil sands; J. A. Quinn, lead and zinc; W. J. Strange, oil and oil sands.

Creek Nation: J. M. Givens, oil and oil sands; Wm. Owen Quarry Company, building stone; Phoenix Oil Company, oil and oil sands; Pioneer Oil Company, oil and oil sands; C. W. Turner, lead and zinc.

Choctaw Nation: Atoka Coal Mining Company, coal; Cameron Coal and Mercantile Company, coal; Central Coal and Coke Company, coal; Coalgate Coal Company, coal; James Degnan Company, coal; Devlin-Wear Coal Company, coal; Eastern Coal Company, coal; Great Western Coal and Coke Company, coal and coke; Hailey-Ola Coal Company, coal; Le Bosquet Coal and Mining Company, coal; McAlester Coal and Mineral Company, coal; McAlester Coal and Mining Company, coal; Milby & Dow Coal and Mining Company, coal; F. H. Nash, lead and zinc ore; Osage Coal and Mining Company, coal; Poteau Coal and Mercantile Company, coal; Turkey Creek Coal Company, coal.

Chickasaw Nation: The Gilsonite Company, crude asphaltum; Harris Granite Company, granite; H. B. Johnson Company, red sandstone; Sidney Suggs, crude asphaltum; Wapanucka Mining Company, iron ore.

Indian Territory (Choctaw Coal Operators Association): Coal and coke; Wyandotte and Sallisaw, lead and zinc ore; Tishomingo, granite; Marble City, marble; Red Fork and Muskogee, crude oil and sand oils. Hunton-Chickasaw, pyrites of iron and manganese; Ardmore and Sulphur, crude asphaltum; Antlers, carbonate, lead and galena and native lead ore.

EARLY POST OFFICES

OKLAHOMA NATION Continued from March Number

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment	
Oklahoma Station (Changed to Oklahoma Feb. 4, 1889)	Samuel H. Radebaugh	December 18, 1888	
Oklahoma (Late Oklahoma Station)	Samuel H. Radebaugh	December 30, 1887	
Guthrie	Dennis T. Flynn	April	4, 1889
Lisbon (Changed to Kingfisher July 18, 1889)	Jacob W. Mills	April	20, 1889
Saward (Logan County)	Edward S. Manning	May	15, 1889
Alfred (Name changed to Mulhall June 6, 1890)	Ancil B. Wood	May	18, 1889
Frisco	David M. Deupree	May	18, 1889
Edmond	Franklin L. Greene	May	23, 1889
Moore	Albert M. Petite	May	27, 1889
Norman	Daniel W. Marquart	May	27, 1889
Reno City	Norman W. Dixon	June	15, 1889
El Reno	Reuben H. Hickok	June	28, 1889
Taylor (Discontinued Nov. 1, 1889)	Lula H. Taylor	July	15, 1889
Kingfisher (Late Lisbon)	Jacob W. Mills	July	18, 1889
Noble	Albert Rennie	July	18, 1889
Orlando	George H. Dodson	July	18, 1889
Chetola	Frank Fischer	July	20, 1889
Hennesey (Changed to Hennessey Oct. 7, 1889)	Guy R. Gillett	July	20, 1889
Rock Island	David C. Bothel	July	20, 1889
Downs	Frank Rector	August	12, 1889
Cimarron City	Christian E. Bearhs	August	28, 1889
Stillwater	Robert A. Lowry	August	28, 1889
Union	James D. Harston	August	28, 1889
Hennessey	Guy R. Gillett	October	7, 1889
Harrison (Discontinued Feb. 5, 1890)	Miss Lula H. Taylor	November	8, 1889
Britton	David D. Dailey	November	26, 1889
Idelah	James H. Concannon	December	14, 1889
Lincoln	John J. Young	December	14, 1889
Windom	John B. Chapman	January	18, 1890
Ingalls	Robert F. McMurtry	January	22, 1890
Burlington	M. D. McNett	January	23, 1890
Clarkson	Grant T. Johnson	January	31, 1890
Perkins	Jesse E. Stanton	January	31, 1890
Crescent	John H. Warrenburg	February	21, 1890
Lexington	Henry W. Stuart	February	21, 1890
Columbia	Edward C. Tritt	February	21, 1890
Choctaw City	Sarah A. Muzzy	February	21, 1890
Miller	Samuel H. Miller	February	21, 1890
Springoals	John S. Darst	February	21, 1890
Clayton	Samuel Dial	February	21, 1890
Dover	John G. Chapin	March	1, 1890
Elm (Changed to Martin Oct. 27, 1890)	Felix G. Ott	March	1, 1890
Marshall	Sylvan T. Rice	March	1, 1890
Center	William D. H. Shockey	March	24, 1890
Eda	Lewis B. Cooper	March	24, 1890

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment	
Jackson (Changed to Tohee, Nov. 13, 1890)	Leopold Zipf	March	25, 1890
Mathewson	Joseph Gravenhorst	March	25, 1890
Wanamaker	Miss Clara M. Overton	March	25, 1890
Polona (Canadian County; Discontinued March 21, 1891, Mail to Frisco)	Rizon D. Hovions	March	28, 1890
Lacey	Darius C. Farnsworth	April	16, 1890
Wandel	Benjamin M. Wandel	May	5, 1890
Yates	Yates Smith	May	21, 1890
Mulhall	Ancil B. Woods	June	6, 1890
(Late Alfred)		June	14, 1890
Falls (Discontinued; mail to Norman Jan. 10, 1891)	George W. Gibbs, Jr.		
Liberty	Nichlas D. Barrett	June	14, 1890
Payne (Stillwater County)	Albert M. Havorstock	June	19, 1890
Bowman	John Bowman	June	25, 1890
Thurston	Wells S. Rice	June	25, 1890
Sheridan (Kingfisher County)	George Rainey	June	28, 1890
Standard	William D. James	June	30, 1890
Jonesborough (Cleveland County)	John W. Boswell	July	17, 1890
Rosedale	James W. Massey	July	18, 1890
Arcadia	Mrs. Sarah J. Newkirk	August	5, 1890
Lowrie (Logan County)	Allen G. Walters	August	22, 1890
Morris	James F. Black	August	25, 1890
Snyder (Canadian County)	Magaret A. Snyder	August	28, 1890
Fairview	Mrs. Jerisha H. Bowe	September	1, 1890
Twamley (Discontinued Nov. 13, 1890)	John Twamley	September	1, 1890
Myrtle (Kingfisher County)	Mrs. Annie Van Deren	September	24, 1890
Martin (Logan County)	Miss Birdie D. Martin	October	27, 1890
Tohee (Late Jackson, Logan County)	Leopold Zipf	November	13, 1890
Erie (Canadian County)	George M. Hiles	November	28, 1890
Case (Cleveland County)	Charles P. Case	December	1, 1890
Silver	Clayborn Jones	December	3, 1890
Berwick (Logan County)	Mary E. Canning	January	31, 1891
Milan	John R. Robison	February	7, 1891
Herron (Canadian County)	Francis C. Herron	March	2, 1891
Canadian (Canadian County)	Joseph M. Northrup	March	7, 1891
Hall (Cleveland County)	Mrs. Carrie Hall	March	7, 1891
Antelope (Logan County)	Thomas L. Campbell	March	13, 1891
Yukon (Canadian County)	James M. Faris	March	28, 1891
Ball (Oklahoma County)	William H. Ball	April	17, 1891

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment
Lakeview (Kingfisher County)	Robert L. Nelson	April 25, 1891

CHEROKEE OUTLET

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment
Pond (See Nation Unknown)	A. E. Reynolds	March 17, 1873
Camp Supply (Changed to Fort Supply—See Cherokee Nation)		
Keystone (Changed to Waynoka April 10, 1889)	William Childress	February 23, 1888
Griffin (Discontinued December 13, 1888)	L. B. Ross	June 9, 1888
Waynoka (Late Keystone)	William Childress	April 10, 1889
Fort Supply (Late Camp Supply, Cherokee Nation)	Samuel H. Perin	June 26, 1889
Pond Creek (Discontinued March 25, 1890)	George W. Haines	July 18, 1889
Woodward	James T. Hickey	February 3, 1893

NATION UNKNOWN**Indian Territory**

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment
Shawneetown	Thomas Deer	January 6, 1876
Fort Reno	John S. Evans	March 1, 1877
Sac and Fox Agency	Levisa W. Gause	July 13, 1877
Darlington (See Upper Arkansas Agency, Indian Territory)		
Kickapoo Station	Ephraim Elliott	April 10, 1878
Pond (Later in Cherokee Outlet) (Discontinued April 14, 1887; mail to Caldwell, Kansas)	William E. Malaley	March 13, 1879
Cantonment (Later in Cheyenne Arapahoe Nation; Feb. 11, 1884)	William Hershey	July 17, 1879
Wah-ti-au-cah (Discontinued July 6, 1880)	Peter Perian	February 6, 1880
Camp Morris (Discontinued August 3, 1880)	James M. Raglan	February 20, 1880
Camp McCullah (Discontinued August 3, 1880)	William A. Libbee	February 20, 1880
Adams	Daniel L. Taylor	April 8, 1880
We-a-la-ka (See also Creek Nation)	W. T. Davis	June 28, 1880
Kaw Agency	Thomas J. Gilbert	April 8, 1880

NATION UNKNOWN**Indian Territory**

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment
Fort Spunky (Discontinued Feb. 5, 1883; mail to Tulsa)	James Cruthfield	July 8, 1880
Becks Creek	John F. M. Christie	March 16, 1881
Redrock	Charlotte Woodin	November 8, 1881
Wellston (Later in Kickapoo Reservation)	Christian T. Wells	September 19, 1884

NATION UNKNOWN OR UNASSIGNED NATION

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment
Frazer (Late Greer County, Texas)	Jennie A. Holt	February 18, 1886
Mangum (Late Greer County, Texas)	Henry C. Sweet	April 15, 1886
Navajoe	Walter H. Acers	September 1, 1887
Quartz	Albert P. Farmer	February 25, 1888
Warren	William H. C. Cleveland	February 25, 1888
Erie (Discontinued April 2, 1889; Mail to Mangum)	Jonathan A. Butler	June 26, 1888
Mount Walsh	Louisa A. Haynes	December 5, 1888
Aaron	William W. Lee	January 22, 1889
Hess	Elvira P. Hess	May 18, 1889
Martha	Thomas F. Medlin	May 18, 1889
Jeffress (Discontinued Nov. 11, 1889)	Thomas J. Jeffress	June 26, 1889
Goar (Discontinued March 26, 1890)	B. W. Thompson	January 31, 1890
Chilton	Joseph C. Penwright	April 18, 1890
Willowvale	Everett G. Walcott	April 18, 1890
El Dorado	John T. Brown	September 1, 1890
Duke (Greer County)	William D. McFarlaner	September 11, 1890
Altus	Wiley Baucum	October 27, 1890

UNASSIGNED LAND

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment
Jester	David C. Jester	November 18, 1890
Eva	Mrs. Eva B. Moreland	April 4, 1891
Hamton	William G. Ham	April 25, 1891
Louis	Louis Gormann	April 25, 1891
Alsford	Herbert W. White	May 2, 1891
Lock	William W. Kittrell	May 25, 1891

NEUTRAL STRIP OR PUBLIC LAND

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment
Beaver	Peter T. Reep	April 15, 1883
Gate City	Jesse M. Gresham	April 13, 1886
Carrizo (Changed to Florence April 9, 1890)	George W. Hubbard	September 9, 1886
Benton	Benjamin D. Fowler	September 13, 1886
Bluegrass	Willis B. Stanley	September 13, 1886
Optima (Beaver County)	William H. Miller	September 13, 1886
Alpine	Alexander C. Bender	March 2, 1887
Lockwood	Chancy D. Fisk	March 10, 1887
Fulton (Discontinued April 2, 1891; Mail to Boyd)	Elmer Tompkins	April 20, 1887
Meridian (Discontinued Nov. 21, 1890; mail to Gate City) (Re-established Jan. 2, 1891)	John Walburn	June 1, 1887
Hardesty (Discontinued March 22, 1888) (Re-established April 6, 1888)	Peter Harding	August 3, 1887
Ivanhoe	Melvill L. Cox	August 26, 1887
Rothwell	James S. Hart	September 24, 1887

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment
Tiffany (Discontinued May 23, 1888)	James H. Crawford	December 9, 1887
Boyd Lake	Lenick W. Moore Winston W. Gilbert	December 24, 1887 December 24, 1887
(Changed to Clear Lake, Feb. 11, 1888)		
Elmwood	Noah C. McCown	January 26, 1888
Hereford (Discontinued Aug. 2, 1889; mail to Benton)	Arthur J. Proctor	January 26, 1888
Mineral City	Sebastian L. Baker	February 6, 1888
Clear Lake	Warren Ellison	February 11, 1888
Fairview (Discontinued March 5, 1890; mail to Garland)	David Carmichael	February 21, 1888
Garland	Augustus C. Roberts	February 21, 1888
Collins (Discontinued March 2, 1889; mail to Boston, Colo.)	Samuel Anderson	March 2, 1888
Springer (Discontinued Sept. 13, 1888)	William A. Wright	March 6, 1888
Buffalo	Andrew R. Henderson	March 15, 1888
Kokoma	John A. Wiseman	March 20, 1888
Riverside	David C. Hays	March 20, 1888
Lansing	Drury N. Morris	April 19, 1888
Paladora	John Burns	April 25, 1888
Grand Valley	Addison J. Silverwood	June 23, 1888
Mitchell (Discontinued Sept. 24, 1890; mail to Grand Valley)	James W. Mitchell	August 28, 1888
Logan	William Reynolds	December 10, 1888
Lavrock	George F. Ewbank	January 8, 1889
Murdock	Charles W. Bugbee	January 31, 1889
Dial (Discontinued Sept. 4, 1890; mail to Martha)	Lettie H. Dial	June 27, 1890
Peoria (Beaver County) (Discontinued April 29, 1890; mail to Beaver)	Justin Hickman	March 1, 1890
Florence (Beaver County) (Late Carrizo, changed to Kenton May 12, 1891)	George W. Hubbard	April 9, 1890
Gallienas (Beaver County)	Mary J. Robinson	May 14, 1890
Shade	Mary L. Fore	August 19, 1890
Meridian (Re-established)		January 2, 1891
Eubank (Beaver County)	Alexander C. Eubank	February 12, 1891
Caple (Beaver County)	William G. Caple	April 13, 1891
Garrett (Beaver County)	Martha E. Garrett	April 17, 1891
Kenton (Late Florence)	Adolph Fehlmann	May 12, 1891

CHEYENNE AND ARAPAHO NATION

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment
Fort Reno (Late Nation unknown)	John S. Evans	March 1, 1877
Darlington (See Nation Unknown)		
Cantonment (See Nation Unknown)		
Seymour (Discontinued May 13, 1887; mail to Redrock)	William S. Decker	November 15, 1886

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment	
Okarche	Mrs. Laura M. Speer	June	28, 1890
Kinman	Mrs. Florence J. Hardin	March	18, 1891
(Discontinued May 27, 1891; mail to Kingfisher)			

KANSAS RESERVATION

Kaw Agency (See Nation Unknown)

KICKAPOO RESERVATION

Wellston (See Nation Unknown)
(Late Nation Unknown)

KIOWA AND COMANCHE RESERVATION

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment	
Fort Sill (See Choctaw Nation—1869)	John A. Evans	September	28, 1869
Anadarko (See Wichita County, Arkansas)			
(Late Wichita County, Arkansas)			

OSAGE NATION

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment	
Pañhuska	Lizzie L. Hiatt	May	4, 1876
Gray Horse	Louis A. Wismeyer	May	5, 1890

OTOE AND MISSOURI AGENCY NATION

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment	
Redrock (See Nation Unknown)			
(Late Nation Unknown)			
Magnolia	Harry L. Atherton	March	28, 1890

OTTAWA COUNTY, ARKANSAS

(Late Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory)

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment	
McLean Station (See Cherokee Nation)			
	(Moses Pooler)	August	29, 1870

OTTAWA RESERVE

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment	
Pooler (See Cherokee Nation)	Moses Pooler	December	5, 1888
(Late in Cherokee Nation)			
(Discontinued January 6, 1895; mail to Grand River)			

PAWNEE RESERVATION

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment	
Pawnee Agency	Mrs. Amanda L. Mannington	January	23, 1878
(Late Nation Unknown)			

PEORIA NATION, INDIAN TERRITORY

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment	
Kema	Rebecca L. Laughlin	August	25, 1882
(Discontinued January 3, 1884)			

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment	
Fourmile (Late in Quapau Nation—Re-established)	John Sharkey	February	10, 1885
Max	John P. McNaughton	March	19, 1891
Miami	James L. Palmer	April	13, 1891
Peoria	James A. Dent	June	13, 1891

PONCA RESERVATION

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment	
Ponca (Late Nation Unknown)	Joseph H. Sherburne	December	4, 1879

POTTAWATOMIE NATION

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment	
Oberlin (Late Clardyville; name changed to Wagoza)	Mary A. Trousdale	March	7, 1877
Sacred Heart Mission (Name changed to Bernard Murphy Jan. 22, 1887)	Isadore Robot	January	10, 1879
Wagoza (Late Oberlin) (Discontinued June 9, 1884; mail to Sacred Heart Mission)	John Clinton	July	18, 1881
Shawneetown (See Nation Unknown)			
Osmit (Discontinued January 15, 1887; mail to Sacred Heart Mission) (Re-established Sept. 1, 1887)	Samuel B. Davis	September	23, 1884
Momet (Discontinued June 3, 1885; mail to Johnson)	George W. Greyson	November	18, 1884
Sacred Heart (Late Sacred Heart Mission)	John Lavacy	May	24, 1888
Burnett (Discontinued May 1, 1890; mail to Shawneetown) (Re-established June 23, 1890)	John T. Peyton	June	8, 1888
King	George A. Newsom	April	25, 1891

QUAPAW NATION, INDIAN TERRITORY

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment	
Fourmile (Discontinued Dec. 29, 1884; mail to Melrose, Kansas) (Re-established Feb. 10, 1885) (See Peoria Nation)	John Markey	August	23, 1882
Whiting (Discontinued May 6, 1885; mail to Baxter Springs, Kansas)	Ida W. Whiting	October	3, 1882
Moneka (Discontinued Nov. 12, 1892)	Melissa J. Abrams	April	9, 1892

SAC AND FOX RESERVATION

Sac and Fox Agency (See Nation Unknown)

SENECA NATION

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment	
Cayuga	Thomas Splitlog	June	23, 1890
Ouray	John A. Winey	June	23, 1890

SHAWNEE NATION

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment
McLean (Discontinued Sept. 20, 1869)	Ross Duncan	February 16, 1869

UPPER ARKANSAS AGENCY, INDIAN TERRITORY

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment
Darlington	Lucy D. Miles	April 2, 1873

WICHITA COUNTY, ARKANSAS

Post Office	First Postmaster	Date of Appointment
Anadarko (Later in Kiowa and Comanche Reservation)	Jonathan Richards	April 22, 1873

WICHITA NATION, INDIAN TERRITORY

Anadarko (See Wichita County, Arkansas)
(Now in Kiowa Reserve)

WYANDOTTE RESERVE

Grand River (See Cherokee Nation)
(Changed to Wyandotte Oct. 3, 1894)
(Concluded in September Number)

SOME REMINISCENCES OF THE CHEROKEE PEOPLE

RETURNING TO THEIR HOMES THE EXILES OF A NATION

By Wiley Britton, Author Civil War on the Border, Two
Volumes

In referring to the exile of the people of a Nation, there should be some account of the events, of the tremendous convulsion, which caused the exile perhaps of more than one-half of the people, with all the sufferings and hardships it entailed.

The Civil War between the States of the United States, was a civil convulsion that shook the foundations of social organization of not only the states, but also of the people of the Five Civilized Indian Nations, with whom the ties of neighborly feeling were nearly as strong as if all were one people.

Briefly, what was the Apple of Discord that divided the people of the two sections, north and south into two hostile camps that entailed upon the country so much misery and woe? It was a question that had been debated in the councils of the American Government almost from its foundation.

The question debated was slavery and its extension to the Territories being settled by emigrants from the states. Slavery existed in nearly all the Colonies before and after they had won their Independence from the Mother country in a long war, the war of the Revolution.

The immediate cause of the Civil War, as the writer has always conceived it, was involved in the Platforms of Principles and Policies of the two great political parties, Republican and Democratic, published by their National Conventions in 1860.

The Republican Platform of Principles and Policies declared its opposition to the extension of slavery into the Territories, but did not propose to interfere with it where it then existed. The Democratic Platform of Principles and Policies declared that the slave owners had the right to take

their slave property into the Territories and have it protected there the same as other property.

After the National Conventions of the two great political parties had nominated their candidates for President and Vice President, nearly all the Democratic leaders of the Southern States declared in their speeches in the campaign that if Mr. Lincoln who had been nominated by the Republicans, should be elected President, the Southern States would certainly secede or withdraw from the Union, and by the close of the campaign, when Mr. Lincoln's election was announced, had worked up a powerful sentiment in the South for secession. The writer was then living in Greenville, Hunt County, Texas, with relatives.

In these peaceable times it is almost impossible to conceive of the intense excitement that flared up immediately after the announcement of Mr. Lincoln's election, in all the towns of the South, and the talk of war.

One State after another called State Conventions and passed ordinances of secession in the Southern Slave States.

The States bordering on the Indian Territory, Arkansas and Texas, were early in the field, and sent prominent men as emissaries to the leaders and councils of the Five Civilized Indian Nations, to have them denounce their treaty relations with the United States and declare their adhesion to the South.

But the Indians were divided in their views of slavery and secession, and at first it was not easy for the emissaries from Arkansas and Texas to convince the councils and leaders of the Indian tribes, particularly the Cherokees and Creeks, that it would be to their interest to take any active part in the impending conflict in the States. The emissaries, however, were able to point out to the councils and leaders of the Indians, with emphasis, that the position of the Indian Territory, with Arkansas directly on the east and Texas on the south, made them natural allies of the South. Kansas had not yet been admitted as a State in the Union, and its southern tier of counties, if not indeed the southern part of the Territory was thinly settled, and the dreadful drought of 1860, had obliged nearly all those who lived on their claims to the latter part of the year, to move to other parts of the country for relief, so that the Cherokees and Creeks could not

reasonably look for advice and assistance from the North, or Unionists.

In this dilemma the representatives of the Cherokees pleaded with the emissaries to be allowed to occupy a neutral position in the approaching struggle. In the meantime Southern military organizations from Texas and Arkansas seized the United States Forts in the Indian Territory with such supplies of arms and equipment as they were able to secure, the retreating Regular U. S. troops taking most of the supplies with them.

The situation drifted along until mid-summer of 1861, when, after defeats of the Federal armies at Bull Run, Virginia, and Wilson Creek, Missouri, and after much blundering of Union Commanders in Missouri, the Cherokees at a great mass meeting at Park Hill, resolved and decided through their representatives to cast their fortunes with the South, and immediately organized two regiments to cooperate with the Confederate forces for the protection of their country.

All the councils of the Five Civilized Indian Tribes were now pledged to adherence to the Confederacy and had raised and were raising their quota of troops for operations against the common enemy. But there was a large faction, perhaps a majority of the Creeks, and a large minority of the Cherokees, who refused to abide by a majority of their national councils, and denounce their treaty relations with the U. S. Government and assumed a belligerent attitude.

Late in the fall of 1861, when military operations on both sides in Missouri, were inactive and General McCulloch had put his troops in winter quarters at Cross Hollows and Fort Smith, to visit Richmond for a conference with the Confederate leaders in regard to future policies in his district, a campaign was planned by his subordinate, Colonel James McIntosh, against Hopoeithleyohola, the leader of the recalcitrant Creeks and Cherokees, to reduce them to submission.

Two expeditions were fitted out from Fort Smith and Fort Gibson, of three or four thousand mounted troops, consisting of Arkansas, Texas and Indian regiments, under Colonel McIntosh, who moved forward and attacked the Indians and drove them from their position. But Hopoeithleyohola rallied his forces in a stronger position and Colonel McIntosh again attacked him and drove him from his position

and captured his camp and nearly all the live stock of the Indians and their household effects and provisions. There was nothing now left for the Indians but a disastrous retreat to Southern Kansas in mid-winter in which men, women and children suffered almost inconceivable hardships of cold, hunger, and thirst, pursued by a relentless foe for many miles over the bleak prairies, taking few prisoners, but cutting or shooting down the helpless victims when overtaken.

In January, 1862, the few settlers of Southern Kansas west of the Neosho River, suddenly found themselves burdened with the care of thousands of these starving, freezing and exhausted Indians, whose terrible plight appealed for immediate relief.

Bountiful crops had been raised in Kansas in 1861, and the local, state and military authorities put forth every effort to supply the Indians with food, clothing, shelter and medicines to make them as comfortable as possible until spring, when measures would be taken by the Government to restore them to their homes.

About this time the military authorities of the Department of Kansas, represented by Generals Hunter and Lane, were considering a proposition that had for its object, the sending of an expedition of several thousand men, cavalry, infantry and artillery into the Indian Territory for the protection of the Indians still loyal to the Government and of restoring the exiles to their homes, and the troops were concentrated at Fort Scott for that purpose.

The latter part of January, 1862, the troops for the proposed expedition commenced concentrating at Fort Scott, and by the middle of February there were probably available and ready to march, four or five thousand men well equipped; but about this time the commander of the troops received information that General S. R. Curtis was concentrating several divisions at Lebanon, Missouri, which he called *The Army of the Southwest*, with somewhat more than ten thousand men, with the view of attacking General Sterling Price, commanding the Southern forces then at Springfield, and if possible drive him out of the State and back upon the forces of Generals Van Dorn, McCulloch and Pike, who were concentrating at Cross Hollow and Fayetteville, for a desperate struggle.

In the movement of the Federal Commanders, the troops at Fort Scott were to be a co-operating column with Curtis, on the extreme right of Curtis, and prevent a full concentration of the Southern forces against him. But on account of a bickering between Generals Hunter and Lane, as to which should command this column, the troops at Fort Scott remained idle and Curtis was obliged to fight the battle of Pea Ridge without the assistance of the Kansas column, defeating the combined Southern forces of Van Dorn, Price, McCulloch and Pike. The battle of Pea Ridge changed the entire situation. There was now no immediate danger of an invasion of Missouri or Kansas, by a Southern army; the Southern Indians who had participated in the battle of Pea Ridge, were too much demoralized to show any aggressiveness in the spring, and most of the Union troops concentrated at Fort Scott were ordered to other points where they were needed.

The presence of several thousand Indian refugees or exiles in Southern Kansas being cared for by the Government, led to the discussion of returning them to their homes, and to the consideration of the military authorities of an expedition into the Indian country for the protection of the loyal Indians and all others who might wish to rally to the Union cause.

The Government was rapidly getting its forces in shape for aggressive operations, and in June, 1862, a Federal force of four or five thousand men, cavalry, infantry and artillery were concentrated at Baxter Springs, well equipped for the Indian Expedition. Before the column moved forward, however, strong cavalry detachments were sent out and scouted the country in Southwest Missouri, and in the Territory as far south as Maysville, but met with no decided opposition. It appeared from the information secured by the reconnaissance that there was no large Confederate force north of the Arkansas River. Colonel Waitie with a regiment of Cherokees, and Colonel Clarkson with a regiment of Missourians, preparing for an expedition into Southwest Kansas, were the only hostile forces occupying the country. The Refugee Indians who had been in Southern Kansas for several months, joined the Expedition at Baxter Springs and Hudson's Crossing of the Neosho River. A few miles below Hudson's Crossing of the Neosho, the Expedition divided, the main part of

it, the infantry and artillery, marching down on the Military Road west of Grand River to Cabin Creek, and most of the cavalry with a section of the Second Indiana Battery, and several howitzers, marched down on the east side of Grand River, with instructions to form a junction with the infantry and artillery at Cabin Creek.

Colonel William Weir, Tenth Kansas Infantry, senior Colonel in command of the Expedition, received information that Colonel Clarkson, commanding the hostile forces of Missourians in the Territory, was encamped at Locust Grove, near Grand Saline, and made a forced march all night and struck the camp at daybreak and captured Colonel Clarkson and most of his command with a train of about sixty wagons of ammunition just arrived from Fort Smith. The camp was surrounded before the Confederates had any warning of the approach of the Federal force. The prisoners were immediately sent north to Fort Scott and Leavenworth, and the troops of the Expedition remained at Cabin Creek several days, dividing the spoils, celebrating Independence Day, the Fourth of July, and then the main part of the army moved down on the west side of Grand River to Flat Rock, some twelve miles above Fort Gibson, where it remained a week or two.

While encamped at Flat Rock, the commander of the Expedition received information that large detachments of Missouri Southern forces were marching north through Western Arkansas enroute to the Missouri River to recruit and organize a large force for operations in Western Missouri.

The line of march north of these Southern forces was not more than thirty or forty miles from the line of communication of the Indian Expedition, and Colonel Salomon of the Ninth Wisconsin infantry, who has just been promoted Brigadier General, and by virtue of his rank, commander of the Expedition, fearing that his supply trains from the north, some of which were overdue, would be attacked, captured or destroyed, ordered a retrograde movement of the army to Baxter Springs, leaving the three partly organized Indian regiments in the Territory to complete their organization.

Captain H. S. Greeno of the Sixth Kansas Cavalry, was ordered with his company of the regiment, to make a reconnaissance to Tahlequah and Park Hill, to ascertain if prac-

licable whether the Chief, John Ross and his advisers, proposed to oppose with his organized forces the Federal occupation of the Indian country. On his arrival at Tahlequah and Park Hill, Captain Greeno found quite a number of the prominent men of the Cherokee Nation, and probably most of the officers and men of Colonel Drew's regiment of Mounted Rifles, but as their attitude was not hostile, friendly relations were soon established and the Captain saw the Chief, Ross, and made him prisoner and paroled him so that he could not obey the orders of Colonel Cooper, the senior colonel commanding the Confederate forces at Fort Davis, south of the Arkansas River.

On the return of the Expedition to Cabin Creek from Flat Rock, Captain Greeno made his report of his reconnaissance to Tahlequah and Park Hill, to the commanding officer, and Colonel W. F. Cloud of the Second Kansas Cavalry, who had just joined the Expedition, was ordered to take his regiment and march to Tahlequah and bring out the Chief, John Ross, his entourage and the archives of the Nation. The Chief and his entourage occupied a dozen or so carriages and on their arrival at Cabin Creek an escort was furnished and accompanied him to Fort Scott.

The army continued its retirement to Baxter Springs, leaving the three partly organized Indian regiments as the only Union force to occupy the country, and in a week or so they retired to Baxter Springs, closely followed by nearly all their families, with such belongings as they were able to bring with them.

On arrival of the army at Baxter Springs, Lieut. Colonel James G. Blunt of Kansas, was promoted Brigadier General and placed in command of the Department of Kansas and the Indian Territory, and ordered the troops of the Indian Expedition to march at once to Fort Scott, where he met them, and after some refitting he took command in person and started out on the Lone Jack Expedition, marching day and night, having received a dispatch from General Schofield, commanding the Department of Missouri, that the Southern forces under General John T. Hughes, Colonels Cockrell, Coffee, Tracy, Hunter and Hayes, were concentrating in large numbers in the neighborhood of Lexington.

After marching day and night nearly two days, Gen.

Blunt arrived in front of Lone Jack and at once commenced forming his line for attack of the enemy, but waited a short time for his infantry and dismounted artillery, which had been put into Government wagons, to arrive. While waiting in line and reconnoitering the enemy position, a terrific thunder storm came up from the northwest and black darkness shrouded everything with a torrential downpour of rain. In the midst of the storm and darkness of the early night, General Blunt's skirmishers discovered that the enemy were passing around his right but on account of the darkness of the night no satisfactory movement was practicable until daylight the next morning, when it was found that the enemy had passed completely around him and were in full retreat south.

As soon as the artillery caissons, limbers and guns and ambulances were extricated from the mud and ditches, General Blunt took up the pursuit of the enemy and continued it day and night with some rear-guard fighting, as far south as Carthage and Neosho, where the Missouri forces of Schofield and Totten relieved him and continued the pursuit into Arkansas.

In the meantime General T. C. Hindman had been appointed by the Confederate Government to the command of the Trans-Mississippi Department, including Arkansas and the Indian Territory, and he had the ambitious design of recovering Missouri, or South Missouri, for the Confederacy, and commenced at once to organize his forces for an active campaign, and ordered the Missouri forces to halt and face their pursuers. He also ordered the Southern Indian and Texas forces to cross to the north side of the Arkansas River and march to Southwest Missouri and co-operate with the Missouri forces in holding in check the Federal troops from Southwest Missouri and Kansas.

By concentration of the Confederate forces they pushed the Union troops back some distance north and occupied Neosho and Newtonia and seemed determined to make a stand at the latter place and defeated heavy reconnaissance under Colonel Lynde, Ninth Kansas Cavalry, with some loss, on September 30th, but on October 4th, General Schofield with three divisions attacked the Confederates at Newtonia, and

General Cooper in command, retired precipitately without coming to close quarters.

After this action the Federal divisions advanced into Arkansas, to Pea Ridge and Bentonville, and both sides commenced to organize for decisive action. But General Hindman was not yet ready to give battle with a prospect of success and retired his forces into the Boston Mountains, except that he ordered General Cooper with his Indian forces to take up a position at Maysville on the State line to threaten Kansas.

General Blunt asked permission of General Schofield to take his Kansas Division and attack Cooper at Maysville, or near there at old Fort Wayne. He made an all night march from Pea Ridge and Bentonville and struck Cooper at dawn October 20th, and after a short, sharp conflict captured all his artillery, four guns, and part of his train. This successful action of the Kansas forces so demoralized the Southern Indian troops that it was reported they did not stop running until they had crossed the Arkansas River, and were of little further use to General Hindman in his campaign that fall.

This defeat of General Cooper removed the menace to the large number of Indian refugee families, probably upwards of two thousand, at Baxter Springs, which had been gradually increasing since the withdrawal of the Indian Expedition in July.

A short time after the action of Old Fort Wayne, General Blunt moved his Division south leisurely along the western parts of Benton and Washington counties in the direction of Cane Hill, and through his spies and scouts, keeping accurately informed of the movements and intentions of General Hindman and his subordinates, Generals Marmaduke and Shelby.

The second and third divisions under Schofield had left him at Pea Ridge and returned to Wilson Creek and the vicinity of Springfield, and if Hindman should concentrate against General Blunt without the assistance of these other divisions he might find himself in a perilous situation from which he might not be able to escape disaster.

General Hindman had not been idle in reorganizing his forces at Fort Smith and Van Buren and ordered forward his cavalry under General Marmaduke, with some artillery, to

take up a position at Cane Hill to gather supplies for the army which would advance in a short time. After moving the First Division south to Lindsay's Prairie, about thirty miles north of Cane Hill, General Blunt sent out a heavy reconnaissance under Lieut.-Colonel Jewell, Sixth Kansas Cavalry, with instructions to advance through the mountains on the Van Buren road until he was able to secure information of the latest movements of Hindman.

Colonel Jewell advanced on the Cove Creek road to Lee's Creek and beyond, when he came in contact with General Marmaduke's advance, and after a short skirmish with it, captured several prisoners, from whom he received information that the force in his front was Hindman's cavalry advance, and that his infantry and artillery were at Fort Smith and Van Buren crossing to the north side of the Arkansas River, with their ammunition and supply trains, and would follow the cavalry in a day or two.

Colonel Jewell hastened his return march and reported the situation to General Blunt. The General was satisfied from the information disclosed by Colonel Jewell that Hindman had determined to attack him with his combined forces, and at once sent a courier with a dispatch to Elkhorn to be telegraphed to General Curtis, St. Louis, commanding the Department, to order the second and third divisions, then under the command of General F. J. Herron, encamped in the vicinity of Springfield, to move forward and reinforce him at the earliest practicable moment. General Curtis made the order and General Herron made a record march of 116 miles in less than three days and met General Hindman's advance under Generals Marmaduke and Shelby at the foot of the Boston Mountains near Prairie Grove Church, south of the Illinois River, and the battle was opened and fought there all day Sunday, December 7, 1862, resulting in the defeat of Hindman and the retirement of his army to the south side of the Arkansas River, with his headquarters at Fort Smith.

Preliminary to the battle of Prairie Grove, General Marmaduke had advanced with his cavalry and occupied Cane Hill and commenced gathering in supplies for the combined Confederate forces. General Blunt was immediately advised and parking his trains at Lindsay's Prairie, left General Salomon with the Ninth Wisconsin Infantry, a battery of

artillery and some other detachments, to guard the trains, and took the balance of his division, cavalry, infantry and artillery, and making a day and night march, struck Marmaduke the next morning, and the action of Cane Hill was on. This was largely a maneuvering fight, but the Confederates were pushed back during the day seven or eight miles, and at dark made a stand at a gorge in the mountains on Cove Creek. General Blunt attempted to charge the position and brought up Colonel Jewell who led the charge with part of his regiment and some other detachments, and on approaching the position the Confederates were prepared for him and opened upon him a heavy volley at close range and he fell mortally wounded with several of his command. The Confederates made a few captures and the balance of the Federal charging party fell back a short distance, and that ended the operations of the day.

Immediately after the action of Cane Hill, the battle of Prairie Grove was fought all day Sunday, December 7, 1862, between the Confederate forces under General T. C. Hindman, about 16,000 strong, and the Union forces under General James G. Blunt, of about 12,000 men. This was one of the major battles west of the Mississippi River. General Blunt reported his losses at 1,248 killed, wounded and missing, and General Hindman reported his losses at 1,317 killed, wounded and missing.

After the Van Buren Expedition of Generals Blunt and Herron, and the capture and burning of General Hindman's steamboats in the Arkansas River at Van Buren, he had no other transportation for bringing up food and clothing and other supplies for his army, and retired from Fort Smith in the direction of Little Rock, detaching General Marmaduke with most of his cavalry with instructions to cross to the north side of the Arkansas River at Clarksville and march to Springfield, Missouri, and capture the town and destroy the Federal supplies at that sub-base.

The attack was made, but General Marmaduke was driven off without the loss of any supplies from that important sub-base of the army.

There was now no organized Confederate force north of the Arkansas River in western Arkansas or the Indian country, and Generals Blunt and Herron retired the Army

of the Frontier from Van Buren to Rheas Mills and Prairie Grove, where General Schofield resumed command and retired twenty-five miles north to Elm Springs, where new dispositions were made, and where the Indian Brigade was organized and became a separate command under Colonel W. A. Phillips, with instructions to take up a position near Maysville on the Arkansas and Territory line to safeguard the interests of the loyal Indians in the Territory, and to be of assistance to Colonel M. La Rue Harrison at Fayetteville in organizing several regiments from the Unionists of western Arkansas.

A detachment of four companies of the Sixth Kansas Cavalry, and the writer as commissary and adjutant, under Captain J. W. Orahoad, senior captain, and the four-gun battery, captured from General Cooper in October, under Captain Henry Hopkins, Second Kansas Cavalry, were sent with the Indian Brigade as a kind of stabilizing force.

After the battle of Prairie Grove, arrangements were made for removing the large number of Indian refugees, exiles, old men, women and children from their camp at Baxter Springs to Neosho, Missouri, about twenty-five miles southeast, where it was believed better housing and sanitary conditions could be provided for them. There were four or five springs of pure water within the limits of the town; there was an abundance of hardwood timber for fuel, easily accessible; many of the Southern and Union families had moved, leaving their houses empty, the Southern families going South, and the Union families to Kansas and Springfield. There were probably a dozen or more churches in town that would afford hospital facilities for the sick and feeble, and there were quite a few doctors who could be useful in attending the sick and afflicted.

The cold blasts of winter were beginning to be keenly felt and the military authorities put forth commendable efforts to make the nation of exiles as comfortable as possible under the circumstances. Major John A. Foreman was detached with a battalion of the Third Indian regiment, Cherokees, and ordered to occupy Neosho for the protection of these refugees or exiles against the raids of guerilla bands in that section.

Some of the Indian families were brought over from

Baxter Springs in Government wagons, and the same wagons could be used for hauling in forage for their Indian ponies and for the mounts of the Indian soldiers, besides hauling in corn and wheat to the mills in the vicinity to be ground into meal and flour for the Indian families. These Indian families were at Neosho from December, 1862, to the early part of April, 1863, and their conduct was commendable in every respect. Their relations with the white families were friendly, and there was no charge of pilfering or of their unlawfully appropriating the property of their white neighbors or of causing annoyance by trespassing.

It was almost unbelievable that this large number of Indian families could occupy the town for nearly four months with practically no complaints or disturbances and who were without the conveniences which they had been used to all their lives. Nearly every Indian family brought out a pony, and half-grown children and under, who were large enough to ride a pony, were put on one to bring it along, with such personal effects as were most necessary to the family.

In the early part of February, when the Indian Brigade was encamped at Elk Mills on Elk River, scarcely more than twenty miles from Neosho, many of the Indian women did not consider it much of a task to mount their ponies and ride down and visit their husbands.

While the operations of the Indian Brigade extended as far south as Dutch Mills, and beyond, and covered practically the whole of the Cherokee Nation, very few families attempted to return to their homes in mid-winter.

There was one feature of the war in the Indian country that contrasted favorably with the effects of the war in Missouri, and that was that very few of the homes and fences and other property, was burned or destroyed by either side when occupying the country or marching through it, whereas in the western counties of Missouri, there was scarcely a vacant house left standing on the highways between the Missouri River and the south line of the state. The fences were practically all destroyed.

After about two weeks at Elk Mills the Indian command broke camp and turned east up the Elk River Valley as far as Pineville, foraging for supplies for both troops and animals.

At Pineville the command turned south to Bentonville, Arkansas, and was there two or three weeks. Here the smallpox broke out among the Indian soldiers, and a smallpox camp established and the patients isolated and sent there. And the Indian families at Neosho were beginning to get restless and longing for the day when they would start back to their long abandoned homes. They, too, had suffered from a plague of measles, which with its sequelae, had brought death and sorrow to many families.

Probably about one-half of the Cherokee people espoused the Confederate cause under the leadership of Colonel Stand Waitie, but at this time was south of the Arkansas River. The river, however, was fordable at different points a good deal of the time, and it would be easy for him to cross it and make frequent raids into the Cherokee Nation, which would enable his men to visit their homes. To thwart these raids by the Southern Indians as much as possible and permit the Cherokees who were attached to the Union to live in their homes undisturbed, Colonel Phillips determined to seize and occupy Fort Gibson, which would enable him to hold the Indian country north of the Arkansas River, and protect the Union Indian families.

The spring was now sufficiently advanced to allow the Indian families to plant such crops of corn and garden stuff as they usually raised, and he sent an order to Major Foreman at Neosho, to prepare an adequate train to bring down all the Indian families at that place and their effects and join him at Park Hill, which they did on the 9th of April, 1863, being enroute about ten days. When information was received that the train of exiles was approaching near at hand, a battalion of Cherokees was drawn up in line and awaited them. There were many demonstrations of joy between the Indian soldiers and their families, having seen little of each other the last year.

The train bearing the exiles was more than a mile long, made up of every conceivable kind of vehicle, but the restoring to their homes the families of the exiles of a nation was almost as keen a satisfaction to the white soldiers as to the Indians. Nearly all the Cherokee families dispersed to their homes, many having left the train at Maysville who lived in the northern part of the nation, but the Creek and

Seminole families followed the troops to Fort Gibson, and nearly all remained there that spring, as their country was south of the Arkansas River and still held by the Confederate forces.

After the defeat of the Confederate forces under General Cooper, twenty-five miles south of Fort Gibson, in July, 1863, at Elk Creek, they were pushed back south of the Creek country and the Creek families returned to their homes, but with less safety than the Cherokees whose country was firmly held by the Federal forces. The Arkansas River was a good line of defense for the Cherokee country, particularly when western Arkansas was held by the Union forces.

After Colonel Phillips captured, occupied and fortified Fort Gibson and was able to control the Arkansas River through the Indian country, the Southern Cherokee families who belonged to the Waitie faction, gradually drifted south with colonies settled along Red River, having lost practically everything by the fortunes of war. The Confederate authorities were not prepared to take as good care of these Southern Indian families as the Federal Government had taken of the loyal Cherokees and Creeks. They too were exiles and in a pitiable condition the last year of the war.

INTERESTING ANTE-BELLUM LAWS OF THE CHEROKEES, NOW OKLA- HOMA HISTORY

BY JAMES W. DUNCAN, TAHLEQUAH, OKLA.

Quoted from an old Cherokee Law Book entitled, "Laws of the Cherokee Nation, Passed during the Years 1839 to 1867."

The laws of the Cherokees after the big removal west in the late thirties and on through the civil war were brief and the penalty stern and drastic. Imagine such laws in force in Oklahoma to-day. There would certainly be squirming around, at least when the penalty was applied. The Cherokees had no jails nor need of them. Under such severe penalties few laws were needed and few violated.

Here are a few quoted under the head of "Felonies":

An Act for the Punishment of Thefts and Other Crimes.

Be it enacted by the National Council, That any person who shall be convicted of stealing a horse, mule, jack, or jenny, shall be punished by not less than "one hundred lashes" on the bare back, and be compelled to make payment to the amount of damages or injury sustained, if such stolen property be not restored, for the benefit of the party so injured. "And any person who shall be found the second time guilty of stealing a horse, mule, jack, or jenny, before any of the courts of the Cherokee Nation having jurisdiction of the offense, shall suffer death by hanging." For all other property which may be stolen, upon conviction of the party so offending, the punishment shall be in stripes on the bare back in proportion to the magnitude of the offense, at the discretion of the court, and judgment against the offender for damages to the party injured.

SEC. 2. Be it further enacted, "That if any person or persons shall maliciously set fire to and burn the dwelling house of another, such person or persons so offending, on conviction thereof by the courts having jurisdiction of the same, shall suffer death by hanging."

Tahlequah, September 19, 1839.

JOHN ROSS.

Approved.

AN ACT
TO PREVENT AMALGAMATION WITH COLORED
PERSONS.

Be it enacted by the National Council, that intermarriage shall not be lawful between a free male or female citizen with any person of color, and the same is hereby prohibited, under the penalty of such corporal punishment as the courts may deem it necessary and proper to inflict, and which shall not exceed fifty stripes for every such offense.

Tahlequah, September 19, 1839.

JOHN ROSS.

Approved.

AN ACT
FOR THE PUNISHMENT OF CRIMINAL OFFENSES.

SEC. 1. Be it enacted by the National Council, That upon trial and conviction of any person charged with the offense of having committed a rape on any female, he shall be punished with one hundred lashes on the bare back.

SEC. 2. Be it further enacted, That any female who shall be found guilty of having committed infanticide, or being accessory thereto, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished with not less than twenty-five nor exceeding fifty lashes.

SEC. 3. Be it further enacted, "That any citizen or citizens of the Cherokee Nation be and they are hereby authorized to arrest and deliver to the sheriffs any person or persons who may be charged with criminal offenses."

The state of Maine was the first in the United States to pass prohibition law, in the early 80's, followed by Kansas and Georgia in the latter 80's, but the Cherokees had a prohibition law antedating these by forty years.

AN ACT
PROHIBITING THE INTRODUCTION AND
VENDING OF SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS

Be it enacted by the National Council, That the introduction and vending of ardent spirits in this Nation shall be unlawful; and any and all persons are prohibited from selling or retailing spiritous liquors within the limits of this Nation, under the penalty of having the same wasted or destroyed by any lawful officer or person authorized by the

sheriff for that purpose, and the sheriffs or other lawful officers of this Nation, while in search of spirituous liquors, are authorized "to put on oath such persons as they may deem fit, and to exact from them any information that may be of service to them in searching for ardent spirits"; and also "to procure search warrants authorizing the entering and examining of any house, when there is good reason for believing that spirituous liquors are therein concealed."

Be it further enacted, "That all persons who may be convicted of introducing ardent spirits of any kind within the limits of this Nation, or of trading in the same, shall be fined in a sum of not less than ten dollars nor exceeding fifty dollars, at the discretion of the court having jurisdiction of the case; one-fourth of the fine so collected shall go to the sheriff, one-fourth to the solicitor of the district in which the same may be collected, and the remaining one-half to the National treasury; and no property, except improvements, shall be exempt from the payment thereof."

October 25, 1841.

JOHN ROSS,

Principal Chief.

Reading further in this rare old book, up into the late "50's" and early "60's," we find the penalties attached become much milder and the whippings cease to be executed. There was a reason for these severe and drastic penalties. The removal west under the treaty of 1835, from the old nation, Western North Carolina, North Georgia and East Tennessee, had created in the minds of many, a vicious and scornful temperament. Imagine the removal of sixteen thousand some fifteen hundred miles through a trackless wilderness in mule and ox wagons, in rain and storm. Old people and those on death beds, being jolted along in rough wagons and roads, some dying while being hauled and buried by the roadside and covered with puncheons split from a nearby tree cut for the purpose. Imagine mothers giving birth to babes while in wagons. Is it any wonder their minds were harsh? Frowns and hatred had supplanted smiles.

THE NAMING OF THE CANADIAN RIVER

In Oklahoma there are three Canadian rivers, known and designated respectively as the Canadian (and not uncommonly as the South Canadian), the North Canadian and the Deep Fork of the Canadian. There is also a county of that name and a town called Canadian. In addition to these, there are townships, schools, churches and sundry business enterprises which carry the word Canadian as a part of their respective official names. Directly or indirectly, all of these designations have been derived from the name of the Canadian River. But how did it happen to be so named? And who named it? And when? And where? And why? Although these questions have been often asked, yet it has been seldom that an answer to any of these has been even attempted. Aye, more, most of them can only be answered by inference.

One pronouncement upon this subject, which has been accepted as authentic in some quarters, was that of Dr. Elliott F. Coues, a many-sided man of versatile attainments, who was a physician and surgeon by profession and a naturalist by inclination and practice. Rather late in life, he evinced an active interest in the early history of the region west of the Mississippi, editing and annotating for publication the journals of Lewis and Clark and of Zebulon M. Pike and also the manuscript narrative of Jacob Fowler. In his edition of "The Explorations of Zebulon Montgomery Pike," he appends an editorial note concerning the derivation of the name of the Canadian River, which reads in part as follows:¹

"'Canadian,' as applied to the main fork of the Arkansas, has no more to do with the Dominion of Canada in history or politics than it has in geography, and many have wondered how this river came to be called Canadian. The word is from the Spanish Rio Cañada, or Rio Cañadiano, through such a form as Rio Cañadian, whence directly, 'Canadian' r., meaning 'Cañon' r., and referring to the way in which the stream is boxed up or shut in by precipitous walls near *its headwaters*."

¹"The Explorations of Zebulon Montgomery Pike," Vol. II, p. 558.

Unfortunately for Doctor Coues' deduction in this instance, he utterly failed to present any evidence to the effect that there was or ever had been any stream in New Mexico known locally as the "Rio Cañada" or as the "Rio Cañadiano." Moreover, he entirely disregarded the fact that, in its upper course, in New Mexico, the Canadian River never was and is not now locally called by that name, but, on the contrary, has always been known as the Rio Colorado, or Red River. What is even more significant is the further fact that the words Cañadian and Cañadiano do not occur even in the more comprehensive Spanish dictionaries or lexicons. The Spanish word cañada, literally translated into English, signifies "a small or narrow gorge, or a sheep path, in a steep place," or, in other words, a gully, an eroded channel or diminutive canyon, too insignificant in size or proportions to be deemed worthy of distinction by an individual name.

The Spanish-American people of New Mexico always gave the name of Rio Colorado (i. e., Red River) to the stream which is known in Oklahoma and Texas as the Canadian, and it is still so designated, either in its Spanish or English form, on modern atlas maps of New Mexico and is commonly so called by the people of that state. Any attempt to ascribe the origin or derivation of the name Canadian, as applied to this river, to a Spanish-Mexican source, therefore plainly lacks a foundation in the element of fact.

In examining the evidence bearing upon this subject, it is well to admit that an official map of the Republic of Mexico, published after the war between that country and the United States,² has the Canadian River indicated as Rio Cañadiano, while the North Canadian is called Rama Norte del Rio Cañadiano, literally, the North Fork, or branch, of the Canadian River, both being thus distinguished below the international boundary line (100th Meridian). It is noticeable, however, that above the boundary line, the last mentioned stream is identified as the Rio Rajo, which was the name commonly applied to that stream throughout its entire course by the Spanish-Mexican people of that period. Moreover, it is also noticeable that in neither instance is the sound of the Spanish ñ (n-y) indicated in the word Canadian, thus leading to the

²Mapa de la Republica Mexicana con su division antes de la invasion. Norte-Americana, in Fritchell's "Leading Facts of New Mexico History," Vol. II, p. 84.

natural inference that the names, as thus used, must have been derived from Anglo-American sources.

The first settlement established in Canada was that of Champlain, at Quebec, in 1608. Three-quarters of a century later, before the first English colonial settlements had extended as far west as the Alleghenies, Canadian-French pioneers had paddled their canoes up the St. Lawrence, skirted the shores of the Great Lakes, threaded the channels of the small tributary rivers of Illinois and Wisconsin, crossed by portage to those of the Mississippi and descended to "the Illinois country," where they planted two settlements—Cahokia and Kaskaskia—on the eastern banks of the great river. A generation later, the first French explorers—La Harpe and Du Tisne—had penetrated the primeval wilderness, across the bounds of the present state of Oklahoma. Within a few years thereafter—just about two centuries ago, in fact—the French traders began to make their way up the channels of the Arkansas and Red rivers with stocks of goods for the Indian trade, going wherever a canoe could be paddled or a batteau pushed with setting poles.

One local trading center of considerable importance was located on the Arkansas River, a few miles south of the Kansas boundary line, in what is now Kay County. Another was on both sides of Red River, in the southeastern part of Jefferson County, Oklahoma, and the adjacent section of Montague County, Texas. Besides these two principal streams, several of their numerous tributaries were likewise navigated in canoes or other light craft. These included the Poteau, the Canadian, the North Canadian, the Deep Fork, the Illinois, the Neosho or Grand, the Verdigris, Cimarron and Nescatunga (known also as the Grand Saline and now called the Salt Fork), all of the Arkansas River system, and the Little River, the Kiamisha, Boggy, Blue and Washita, all of the Red River system. Most of the men who were employed by the traders were voyagers (i. e., experienced canoe men) from Canada, the rest being from the Illinois settlements. Practically all of them were American-born and many of them were descended from pioneer French colonists who had settled in Canada nearly if not quite a century before.

These voyageurs were a gay, light-hearted set, inured alike to hardship and danger, yet ever as ready to battle with

flood or savage foe as they were to sing and dance when the danger was past. For the sake of protection as well as because they were decidedly gregarious in a social way, these voyageurs generally made their long river journeys in companies of at least ten or a dozen, if possible, with two or three men to each canoe, and especially was this the case on the upstream voyage, when they had cargoes of merchandise, for the Indian trade, to be transported against the current of the river. These Creole French traders, trappers and voyageurs left their indelible impress upon the geography of Oklahoma, as the names of many rivers, creeks and mountains of the state bear abundant witness to this day, even though some of these have been more or less corrupted since the disappearance of the French language as the prevailing tongue of trade in this region, more than a century ago.

If the Canadian derivation of the name of the Canadian River is to be challenged, what shall be said of the derivation of the name of the Illinois River, in Eastern Oklahoma? (It is perhaps not lacking in suggestiveness that, although Doctor Coues mentioned the Illinois River of Oklahoma and even described this stream, he did not attempt to account for the derivation or significance of its name)³ It was not so named by the Indians (Osage) who ranged over that section of the country at the time of its exploration and commercial exploitation by the French, as they called it the Ne-eng-wah-kon-dah, which is by interpretation, Medicine Stone River. How, then, did it come to be rechristened Illinois River? The answering inference is plain, namely, that it must have been either named in honor of their own loved homeland of "Illinois Country" by Creole French voyageurs from the settlements at Cahokia or Kaskaskia, or else it was so named in their honor by their fellow boatmen who were from Canada. Under no other possible explanation can the naming of this eastern Oklahoma stream, in the first half of the eighteenth century, be accounted for in a satisfactory way.

If this beautiful mountain stream, the Illinois River of Eastern Oklahoma, which is so unlike the sluggish Illinois River, which is tributary to the Mississippi, in the state of the same name, thus came to be called *Riviere des Illinois*—liter-

³Editorial note, "the Explorations of Zebulon Montgomery Pike." Vol. II, p. 558.

ally, "the River of the Illinoians"—why was it not likewise possible, or even probable, that the larger tributary, which discharges its floods into the Arkansas from the opposite direction, a few miles lower down, was not named in a similar manner, either by or out of compliment to a group of voyageurs from la belle Canada of the far north, being called des Canadians, meaning, literally, the River of the Canadians?

It would seem, therefore, that the original Canadian title to the river, which the Osages called Ne-sout-che-brara, should have been at least as good as was the Illinois title to the stream which the people of the same tribe called the Ne-eng-wah-kondah.

—JOSEPH B. THOBURN.

¹Long's "Expedition to the Rocky Mountains" (1823), Vol II, p. 255.

SPANISH EXPLORATION OF OKLAHOMA 1599-1792¹

BY A. B. THOMAS, PH. D. UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

INTRODUCTORY

We do not customarily associate Oklahoma with the Spanish Southwest, but the Spaniards in their thinking and actions closely linked the region with their possessions in this part of North America. For present Oklahoma, like Colorado² and Arkansas, formed, from the Spanish point of view, an important unit in their long frontier line which ran disjointedly from eastern Texas to New Mexico. Necessarily, therefore, of this area and its people, the Spaniards took particular note in their frontier calculations, whether in hopefully searching for new lands, placating the Indians, or planning to hold back aggressive French, English, and Americans.

In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries Spanish pioneers brought parts of present Oklahoma well within the orbit of their extensive explorations about New Mexico. In the later eighteenth century other equally energetic Spaniards traversed the region westward along the Arkansas River, northward out of Texas, and finally eastward again from Old Santa Fe. In this work the forerunner was Coronado. His expedition, besides being the first to cross the region, brought into view certain Indian tribes—the Querechoses of eastern New Mexico, the Teyas in the upper Brazos River of Texas, and Quiviras beyond the Arkansas River—that constantly thereafter attracted Spanish attention. Later Spaniards revealed further customs both of these tribes and ones found within present Oklahoma itself, threw light on the various relations existing between themselves, the tribes of neighboring areas, and the Europeans who subsequently came to settle in the lands surrounding.

¹For the routes of de Mezieres, Fragoso, Mares, and Vial in Texas appearing on the maps here, I am indebted to Professor Bolton's excellent map of Texas in the eighteenth century at the end of his volume *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*. The writer is likewise indebted to Dr. E. E. Dale for the use of rare books on the Southwest in the Frank Phillips Collection at the University of Oklahoma.

²Thomas, A. B., *Spanish Expeditions into Colorado*. *The Colorado Magazine* of the State Historical Society of Colorado. Vol. I, No. 7, pp. 1-12.

Such is the significance of the explorations considered here, which span the period from 1599 to 1792.

1. *Spanish Exploration of Oklahoma 1599-1719.*

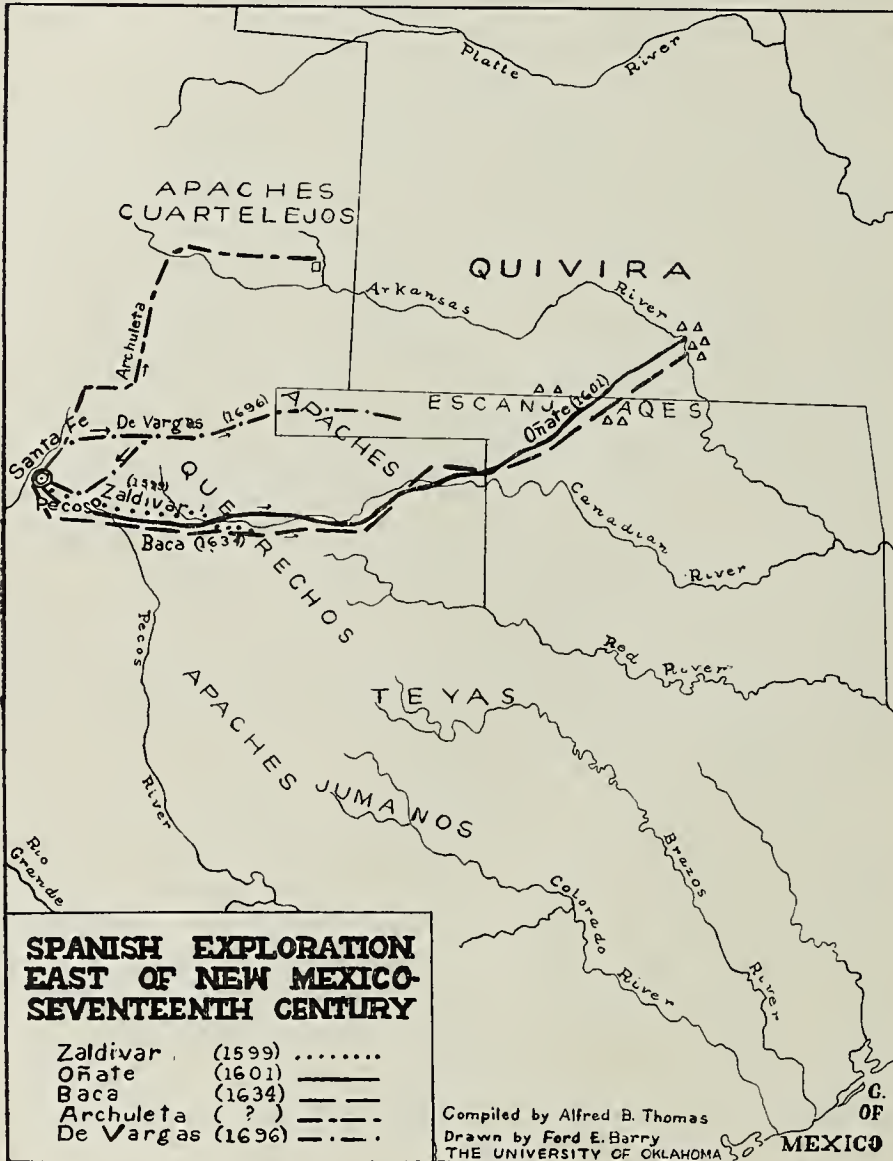
Humaña and Leyba 1592-1593.—After Coronado, the Spaniards advanced more slowly towards the regions he had penetrated. Effectively established in northern Mexico by 1580 these colonizers were in that year again contemplating the further extension of their civilization. Missionary zeal, cupidity, and fear of foreign aggression stimulated this new expansion. Of the series of explorations between 1580 and 1598, which opened this new movement, only Humaña and Leyba in 1592-1593, so far as is known, explored parts of present Oklahoma. Leaving Mexico without proper authority, these adventurers sojourned among the Pueblos for a year and then made off towards Quivira, accompanied by an Indian named Joseph. Like Coronado they encountered shortly beyond Pecos the Querechos; wandering further to the east and north they reached eventually, beyond two large rivers an extensive pueblo of grass lodges, surrounded by cultivated fields. Continuing still northward, they came to another larger river and then attempted to return. Only their guide, Joseph, however, reached New Mexico alive. In later years it was learned that they had visited Indians now within present Oklahoma and Kansas.³

Five years later, in the spring of 1598, Juan de Oñate, of a proud old family, led forth from northern Mexico a colony, composed of four hundred men, women, and children, eighty-three wagons and carts, and more than seven thousand head of cattle, that established Spain in New Mexico.⁴ From his base at San Juan, near later Santa Fe, Oñate hunted for the treasures of a second Mexico. Meanwhile in 1599 the more prosaic demands of his colonists sent forth his lieutenant, Vincente de Saldivar Mendoza, to the eastern plains for a supply of buffalo fat. Proceeding

³Bolton, H. E., (editor) *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest 1542-1706*, p. 201, No. 1, in *Original Narratives of Early American History*. For later references to Humana, see *Ibid.*, pp. 258, 261. Hereafter cited Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*.)

⁴Hammond, G. P. *Don Juan Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico* in the *New Mexican Historical Review*, passim Vol. I, Nos. 1-4 and Vol. II, Nos. 1 and 2.

by way of Pecos the party soon encountered a band of Indians whom they referred to as Apachi, and who fruitlessly begged the Spaniards' aid against their enemy the Jumano. Beyond, about one hundred and thirty miles from Pecos



the soldiers built a huge cottonwood enclosure near the Canadian River. They had poor success, however, in corraling wild buffalo though they finally secured about a ton of tallow.⁵ There, near the present Texas-New Mexico

⁵Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, Account of the Discovery of the Buffalo*, 1599, pp. 223-232.

line the Spaniards described informingly the Indians whom they found. Near the Canadian itself they met many herdsmen who had just crossed the stream, "coming from trading with the Picuries and Taos, populous pueblos of this New Mexico, where they sell meat, hides, tallow, suet, and salt in exchange for cotton blankets, pottery, maize, and some small green stones which they use." Nearby in a ranchería, Saldivar found "fifty tents made of tanned hides, very bright red and white in color and bell-shaped, with flaps and openings, and built as skillfully as those of Italy and so large that in the most ordinary ones four different mattresses and beds were easily accommodated. The tanning is so fine that although it should rain bucketfuls it will not pass through nor stiffen the hide, but rather upon drying it remains as soft and pliable as before. This being so wonderful he (Saldivar) wanted to experiment, and, cutting off a piece of hide from one of the tents, it was soaked and placed to dry in the sun, but it remained as before, and as pliable as if it had never been wet. The sargento mayor bartered for a tent and brought it to camp, and although it was so very large, as has been stated, it did not weigh over two arrobas." To carry the tent poles, supplies of meat and pinole or maize, the "Indians use a medium-sized shaggy dog, which is their substitute for mules. They drive great trains of them. Each, girt round its breast and haunches, and carrying a load of flour of at least one hundred pounds, travels as fast as his master. It is a sight worth seeing and very laughable to see them traveling, the ends of the poles dragging on the ground, nearly all of them snarling in their encounters, traveling one after another on their journey. In order to lead them the Indian women seize their heads between their knees and thus load them or adjust the load, which is seldom required, because they travel along, at a steady gait as if they had been trained by means of reins." In another place the sargento mayor adds to his description: "The Indians are numerous in all that land. They live in rancherías in the hide tents hereinbefore mentioned. They always follow the

Apaches near the Canadian River,

Finely tanned hides used in making spacious tents.

Indians used a shaggy dog as a substitute for mules

⁶Ibid., p. 226.

⁷Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, pp. 226-227. An arroba is twenty-five pounds.

⁸Ibid., p. 227.

Habitats of Indians in the Canadian country.

cattle, and in their pursuit they are as well sheltered in their tents as they could be in any house. They eat meat almost raw, and much tallow and suet, which serves them as bread, and with a chunk of meat in one hand and a piece of tallow in the other, they bite first on one and then on the other and grow up magnificently strong and courageous. Their weapons consist of flint and very large bows, after the manner of the Turks. They saw some arrows with long thick points, although few, for the flint is better than spears to kill cattle. They kill them at the first shot with the greatest skill, while ambushed in brush blinds made at the watering places, as all saw who went there * * *"⁹

Oñate 1601—Three years later Oñate himself set out for the East in the hope of locating there the rumored rich kingdom of Quivira. There is little doubt as to Oñate's general route. His map and account of his journey show that he followed the Canadian River one hundred and eleven leagues, then called the Rio de Magdalena, to approximately the Antelope Hills region in Western Oklahoma. From this point the party turned northeast and reached some Indian lodges just across the Arkansas River near present day Wichita.¹⁰ Along the first part of his route to the Antelope Hills region, Indians called "Apachi" were first encountered at the point where the Canadian turns to the east in Eastern New Mexico. "Here some Indians of the nation Apache came out with signs of peace * * * raising their hands to the sun, which is the ceremony they use as a sign of friendship, and brought to us some small black and yellow fruit of the size of small tomatoes, which is plentiful on all that river * * *." After this meeting Apaches were frequently encountered. "In some places we came across camps of people of the Apache nation, who are the ones who possess these plains, and who, having neither fixed place or site of their own, go from place to place with the cattle always following them. We were not disturbed by them at all, although we were in

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 230.

¹⁰Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, True Account of the Expedition of Onate toward the East, 1601.*, pp. 250-267. Onate's map, the earliest known of this region, appears facing p. 212.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 252.

their land, nor did any Indian become impertinent. We therefore passed on always close to the river, and although on one day we might be delayed in our journey by very heavy rains, such as are common in those plains, on the following day and thereafter we journeyed on, sometimes crossing the river at very good fords."¹² Near the present Antelope Hills region the party left the Canadian, following apparently Commission Creek. "Having travelled to reach this place one hundred and eleven leagues, it became necessary to leave the river, as there appeared ahead some sand dunes; and turning from the east to the north, we traveled up a small stream until we discovered the great plains covered with innumerable cattle. We found constantly better roads and better land * * *"¹³ After crossing several small streams¹⁴ they "discovered a large rancheria with more than five thousand souls; and although the people were warlike, as it later developed, and although at first they began to place themselves in readiness to fight by signs of peace they were given to understand that we were not warriors, and they became so friendly with us that some of them came that night to our camp and entertained us with wonderful reports of the people further on * * *"¹⁵ The next day the Spaniards moved forward to this rancheria but cautiously stopped within an arquebus shot of their settlement. "From there the governor and the religious went with more than thirty armed horsemen to reconnoitre the people and the rancheria, and they, all drawn up in regular order in front of their ranchos, began to raise the palms of their hands towards the sun, which is the sign of peace among them. Assuring them that peace was what we wanted, all the people, women, youths, and small children, came to where we were; and they consented to our visiting their houses which all consisted of branches an estado and a half long, placed in a circle, some of them being so wide that they were ninety feet in diame-

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 253.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 255. I am following Professor Bolton's identification of the route.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 256. Professor Bolton identifies the first two of these streams as Beaver Creek, North Fork and Cimarron River.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 257.

ter.¹⁶ Most of them were covered with tanned hides, which made them resemble tents. They were not people who sowed or reaped, but lived solely on the cattle. They were ruled and governed by chiefs, and like communities which are freed from subjection to any lord, they obeyed their chiefs but little. They had large quantities of hides which, wrapped about their bodies, served them as clothing, but the weather being hot, all of the men went about nearly naked, the women being clothed from the waist down. Men and women alike used bows and arrows, with which they were very dexterous.”¹⁷

These Indians, as indicated on Oñate's map and in other sources, were called Escanjaques. They guided the explorers to a river, undoubtedly the Arkansas, eight leagues distant from this place, with wonderful banks and, although level, so densely wooded that the trees formed thick and wide groves. * * * It flows due east, and its waters were fresh and pleasant to taste.”¹⁸ The Indians “in a few hours quickly built a rancheria as well established as the one left behind, which caused no little wonder to all.” Here the main body halted, for, as they claimed, the Indians beyond were their enemies. From other accounts, however, some of the Escanjaques, apparently went on with the Spaniards.¹⁹ Across the Arkansas, in Quivira near present Wichita,²⁰ the Spaniards found extensive settlements containing several thousand Indians. There they visited several rancherias and wrote in considerable detail concerning the life they saw and the Quivira grass habitations. Their descriptions of the latter bear a striking resemblance to those of the Wichita grass lodges. These Indians treated the Spaniards well, allowed them to move about their rancherias and obligingly informed them of their country.

¹⁶See Moorehead, W. K., *Recent Explorations in Northwest Texas in American Anthropologist* (New Series) Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 1-11. Therein Dr. Moorehead describes some circular groups of stone ruins scattered throughout this general region. There is the known Spanish documents, however, no mention of the circular stone sites he describes. There is another reference to wooden houses in the region of eastern New Mexico. See post note No. 35.

¹⁷Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, pp. 257-258.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 258, and notes setting forth the evidence identifying this stream with the Arkansas River.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 261, note 1; also see here post note No. 21.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 260, notes 2 and 4.

They told Oñate, as had the Escanjaques, of Humaña's residence among them, but disclaimed any part in their death.²¹

Some of these Quiviras shortly developed a hostile attitude and Oñate, petitioned by his soldiers, set out to return. Their route was disputed by the Escanjaques with whom they fought a bloody battle, and thereafter continued their journey to reach New Mexico on the 24th of November.²²

Oñate's expedition to the Quiviras was, of course, an event of importance to the Quiviras themselves and soon after the Spaniards' return they sent an embassy to secure the aid of the newcomers against the defeated Escanjaques. The incident is described in 1626 by the padre-historian, Zarate Salmeron, of New Mexico, who wrote, while the achievements of Oñate were still familiarly known to the New Mexicans, that there was sent, "from Quivira an Indian ambassador of high standing and gravity. He brought with him six hundred servants with bows and arrows who served him. * * * Arrived (he) gave his message inviting the Spaniards with his friendship and lands to help him fight against their enemies, the Ayjaos."²³ The Ayjaos seem to be but another name for the Escanjaques for a later account furnished by an equally distinguished and well-known New Mexico writer, Father Posadas, writing in 1686, states that the Aijados Indians had accompanied Oñate into the land of the Quivira and proposed to burn their houses. The commander forbade this act of hostility and as a result the Aijados attacked the Spaniards in a great battle.²⁴

Baca 1634—For the remainder of the seventeenth century information concerning the eastern plains, particularly for the area within present Oklahoma, is scanty. At present, the only known expedition that apparently crossed the region was that of Captain Alonzo Baca, 1634, who, accompanied by some Indian allies, marched three hundred leagues east of Santa Fe. Arrived on the banks of a large

²¹Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, p. 258, 260.

²²*Ibid.*, pp. 264-265.

²³Zarate-Salmeron, Geronimo de, *Relacion* translated in *The Land of Sunshine*, Vol. XII, p. 46. (Hereafter cited, Zarate, *Relacion*.)

²⁴Posadas, Fray Alonzo de, *Informe* in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Tercera Serie, *Relaciones de Nuevo Mexico*, pp. 211-225. Hereafter cited: Posadas, *Informe*.)

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 219.

river, his allies, like Oñate's Escanjaques, refused to cross and warned Baca that if he continued the Quivira tribes beyond would eventually kill him and his men. The Spaniards, too few to go on alone, returned to New Mexico.²⁵ Just what river referred to is not apparent from the account. Posadas, our source, however, also stated that Oñate traveled three hundred leagues to the east, a statement that may be significant since Oñate found, as did Baca, Quiviras beyond a river, which, in Oñate's case was the Arkansas.

Thus Spanish explorations to 1634 had added to the earlier information supplied by Coronado concerning the Oklahoma region. The area in Eastern New Mexico and the Panhandle of Texas, occupied by the Querechos of Coronado and the Vaqueros of Humaña, is found occupied by Indians, doubtless the same tribe called by 1634 the Apache. Beyond them have appeared the Escanjaques in present Oklahoma, in warlike relations with the Quiviras across the Arkansas River. Who the Escanjaques were is as yet undetermined, for there is no known mention of them again in Spanish records.

Spanish exploring activities from New Mexico after 1634 until 1696 towards the east, so far as is known, penetrated regions now within present Southwestern Texas or Eastern Colorado. From these explorations we can see roughly the relationships of the tribes there encountered and those that are more particularly within the region considered here. To the southeast of New Mexico the Spaniards had before 1629 reopened communication with the Jumaño along the upper branches of the Colorado River and southwest to the Pecos River. Records of other expeditions made there about the middle of the century reveal too that the Indians beyond were known as the Teyas, located about where Coronado found Teyas in the century before.²⁶ Posadas, writing in 1686, adds that north of these Teyas were the Quiviras, all of which fits in well with the facts ascertained up to this point in our study.²⁷ To the northeast some time between 1664 and 1680, Captain Juan de Archuleta made a journey from Santa Fe to the plains

²⁵Bolton, H. E., *The Jumano Indians in Texas, 1650-1771* in *The Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association, Vol. XV., No. 1.

²⁷Posadas, *Informe*, p. 217.

of present Eastern Colorado where he visited Indians afterwards known as the Apaches Cuartelejos. Here the Spaniards found various metal articles secured in trade with the Quiviras and Pawnees, the latter of whom even at that early date were trading with the French.²⁸ Directly to the east of New Mexico, during this period, the later seventeenth century, the Apache Indians are described by Posadas as habitually bringing to Pecos, to trade for horses, young boys and girls carried off in attacks made in the land of the Quiviras.²⁹

The Pueblo Revolt of 1680, as is well known, drove the Spaniards out of the province until 1692 when they began its successful re-conquest. The records re-opening in that year reveal a new name, Faraones, applied to some Apache Indians in Eastern New Mexico.³⁰ Doubtless they were part of those heretofore referred to simply as Apaches. Faraone activities, certainly as subsequently known, get those of the Apaches described above by Posadas. Later, as we shall see, these Faraones ranged over parts of present Oklahoma.

De Vargas 1696.—For the moment, however, we must note the activities of Governor de Vargas, whose re-conquest of New Mexico compelled him to engage in the fall of 1696 in an expedition to the east. In that year some Pueblos, obstinately refusing to accept the Spanish king and God, rebelled and fled from their homes eastward over the Taos Mountains. De Vargas, setting out at once from the Picuries Pueblo recaptured, after an exciting chase, the majority of the rebels but the rest escaped in company of some Apaches.³¹ The General's Journal of the event does not give sufficient information to state how far he penetrated on this march. He later stated he traveled eighty-four leagues; but whether this is the distance for one or both ways is not clear. His entire journey, going

²⁸*Carta de Escalante in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, tercera serie, Relaciones de Neuvo Mexico*, p. 125.

²⁹Posadas, *Informe*, p. 220.

³⁰Twitchell, R. E. *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*. Vol. I, p. 78, document No. 53.

³¹Twitchell, R. E. *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, Vol. II, p. 111, No. 60, (3), *Journal recording events of the Second Uprising of the Pueblos*. The part of the *Journal* used by the present writer is translated in part in Twitchell, R. E. *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, Vol. III, p. 389.

and coming, however, consumed only seventeen days, two of which were spent in camp because of a blinding snow-storm. Colonel Twitchell, nevertheless, has interpreted his remark and the diary to mean that the journey took de Vargas eastward beyond Clayton, New Mexico, into the western Panhandle of present Oklahoma.³²

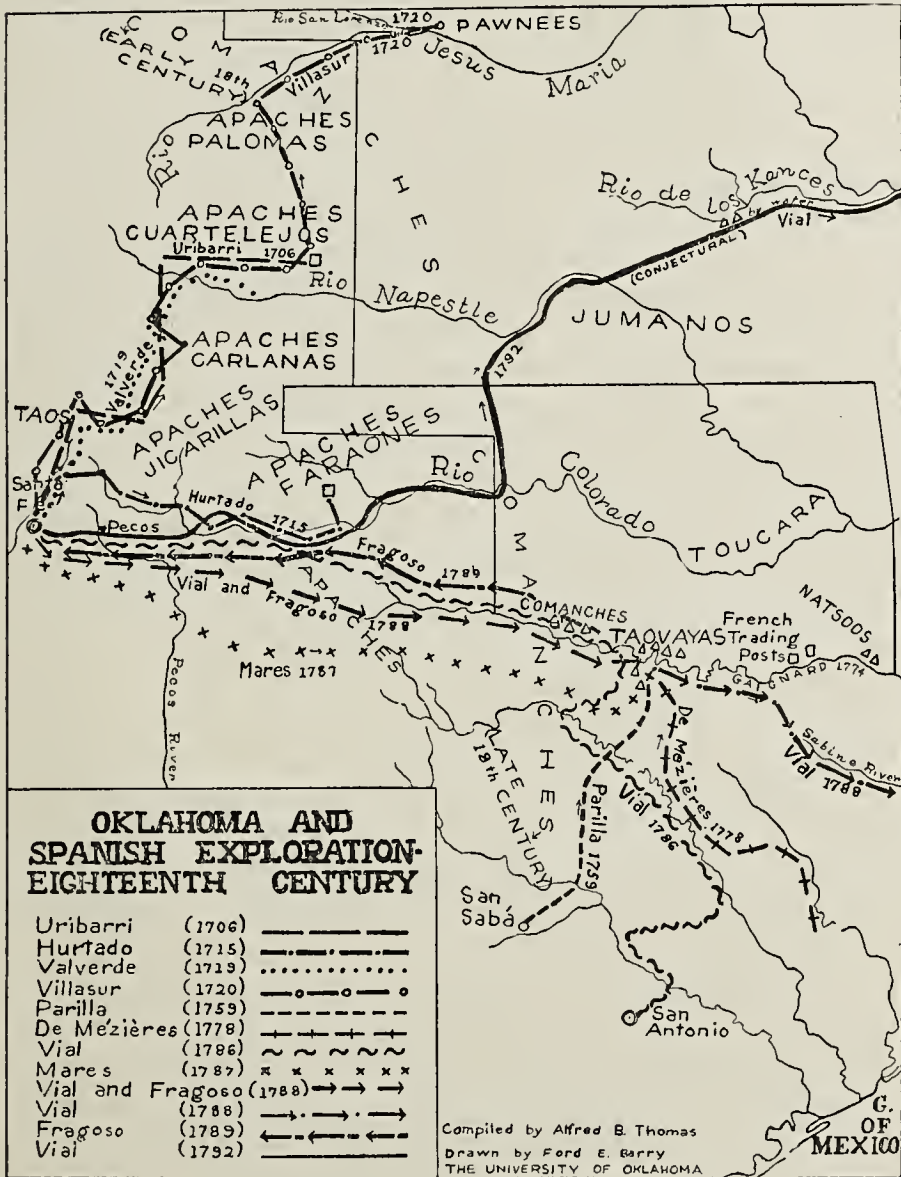
In the following year, 1697, the Reconquest of New Mexico was completed but the re-occupation of the lost province still presented serious problems to the Spaniards. Constantly on the qui vive against a new uprising, they were quick both to investigate suspicious rumors of revolt and to lend helpful hands to the Pueblo Indians. In this latter spirit the governor despatched in 1706 an expedition to the far off Cuartelejos to bring back the fugitives who escaped De Vargas in 1696, and others there enslaved, and who now sought the privilege of returning to their kinsmen. The expedition, commanded by Captain Juan de Uribarri, journeyed through the Jicarilla country of Northeastern New Mexico, the Carlana country south of the Arkansas and then eastward from near present day Pueblo, Colorado, to the Cuartelejos in Eastern Colorado of to-day. These savages received the expedition with genuine expressions of friendship, offered no objection to the loss of their slaves and servants but loaded the Pueblo ponies high with corn and sent off Spaniards and Indians rejoicing.³³

Uribarri's expedition contributes to Oklahoma history in two respects. For the first known time there appears, in Uribarri's notes, the Indian name of the Arkansas River, Rio Napestle. The commander first noted the Arkansas under this name when he crossed it in the foothill region near present Pueblo, Colorado. Thereafter, until the early nineteenth century the stream was always spoken of in New Mexico as the Rio Napestle, or Napeste. Finally, however, the usage of the French, Arkansas, applied to

³²Twitchell, R. E. *Old Santa Fe*. p. 147.

³³Diario y derrotero que hizo el Sargto mayor Juan de Uribari de la jornada que executo de orden del Sor Governor y Capit. General de este Rno Don Franzco Cuerdo y Valdes. Provincias Internas, Vol. 36, Archivo General (Mexico) Numero 4. (Mss. copy Bolton Collection, University of California). The fact that the tribes to the east of the Cuartelejos were being furnished with weapons seems to be the principal reason why the Apaches, eager for a Spanish alliance, were so obliging on this occasion.

the lower reaches of the stream was carried westward by the Americans and succeeded in displacing this original Indian name. But in altered form the term still remains



on the Arkansas, Napesta, the name of a little Colorado town, situated just below the mouth of the Huerfano River. In addition to this detail the Spaniard's diary also reveals that hostility then existed between the Jicarilla Indians of Northeastern New Mexico and the Faraones who ranged across Western Oklahoma of to-day. For while Uribarri

was passing eastward among the former, they warned him of the warlike, and thieving tribes beyond, among whom were the Limitas and Nementina, names identified as Faraona. By 1715, this antagonism apparently had disappeared for there is evidence that Jicarillas were then accustomed to visit the rancherias of the Faraones.

Besides making journeys of mercy into the western plains the Spaniards found it necessary also to make punitive expeditions against the Utes, Comanches, and Apache raiders on the borders of the province. The losses of human life and stock during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in New Mexico from Indian raids is appalling. Possibly all the facts worked out in the heroic defense of the province might prove that Spanish blood alone saved a large part of the distinctive Pueblo life of our great Southwest. Certain it is that the documents of the period reveal at once the helplessness of the Pueblos and the valor of the Spaniards in the face of constant and hammering attacks by Utes, Comanches and Apaches. Certain, too, is the fact that this long defensive activity is an element too often overlooked by later comers who found in New Mexico much to criticize in the low state of civilization there encountered.

Hurtado 1715—Outstanding among the Apaches who beat upon the defenses of New Mexico was the eastern Apache tribe already mentioned, the Faraone. Among the repeated expeditions made against these Indians after the Re-Conquest, the campaign of Captain Juan Paez Hurtado is of particular importance for our purposes here.³⁴ The care and efficiency of the aged Governor, Don Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollon, has provided us with a complete account of the preparations for this undertaking and of the expedition itself. In planning the campaign Mogollon's first care was to call into a council of war in the spring of 1715, some Picuries and Taos Indians whose tribes had long been accustomed to pursue Faraones to retrieve captured Pueblo women, children, and livestock. From Don Geronimo and Don Lorenzo of Taos, Mogollon learned that the Faraones

³⁴Autos y Junta de Guerra sobre la Campana de los Apaches Chipaynes y farones o limitas y ordenes que se dieron pra ella y diario y derrotero que el Gral. Jn Paez Hutado hizo Ano de 1715. (Ms. Bancroft Library, University of California).

were known under a variety of names, the Chipaynes, Limitas, Faraones, Trementinas, and in the language of the Taos, Sejines. The habitations of the Apaches according to the Taos Indians, were a ten days' march on the road to the plains. Concerning these, Don Geronimo said that the first was composed of thirty wooden barricaded houses on a river,³⁵ that the road up to this point had sufficient water for a large horseherd, that the rancheria itself was in good land, but that beyond was less and less water and a great deal of sun. The best time to make the campaign, Don Geronimo advised, was about the middle of August for at that time the Faraones were reaping the crops, but thereafter go out to hunt buffalo until time to return to sow, about the end of April or the beginning of May. At no other time, he concluded, would they be found for they were either hunting buffaloes for hides—or Pueblos for corn! The Council settled other details for the campaign, but Mogollon learned that an impending visit or inspection required him to fix the date of departure of the expedition for the following September.

Late in August, after the inspection was over, Mogollon designated as Commander Juan Paez Hurtado, who immediately collected his forces, consisting of fifty-five Spaniards, one hundred and forty-six Indian allies, accompanied by two hundred and seventy-six head of horses and mules, and set out on the 30th from the Picuries Pueblo. His route was east over the Taos Mountains from that Pueblo, south along the Mora River, and then east along the Canadian River. This stream, together with sudden showers and springs, furnished the command with sufficient water as the Taos had testified. The journey, however, was uneventful, though they investigated numerous Apache trails. After proceeding in this manner some sixty-three leagues, their guide led them away from the Canadian to a spot where he promised a Faraone rancheria. To their disappointment the Spaniards found nothing, and the guide confessed that he was lost and didn't know where the Faraones were. Hurtado, furious with the fellow, gave him fifty lashes, named the spot the Arroyo of the Whipping, and appointed a Picuries guide. The latter then took

³⁵See *ante* note number 16.

the command a short distance north of the Canadian to a place his own people sometimes went, where they came upon a deserted enemy rancheria. Here the Spaniards decided to abandon the search and return to New Mexico which they reached on the 30th of September. In his subsequent report to Mogollon, Hurtado stated that the Faraones, because they had learned of the expedition while trading and ransoming at Pecos, "had absented themselves from the Rio Colorado (Canadian), where they have their rancherias."

This expedition of Hurtado's fills out considerably our knowledge of the regions which it penetrated. From Hurtado's remark, undoubtedly based upon information given him by the Picuries, we definitely learn that the Faraones had their rancherias along the Canadian River, while his excursion itself further reveals that a Faraone rancheria then existed about one hundred and sixty miles east of the Picuries Pueblo just north of the Canadian. Finally, in the testimony of the Picuries and the Taos Indians valuable light is shed upon the habits of the Faraones. Possibly the latter are the same or among those, described by Posadas thirty years before, whom he said ransomed and traded for horses at Pecos and Picuries, women and children carried off from Quivira settlements.

Four years later in the fall of 1719 the governor of New Mexico, Don Antonio de Valverde, led another punitive expedition northeast, along Uribarri's old route, against the Utes and Comanches.³⁶ In present Eastern Colorado Valverde learned from the Cuartelejos that the Pawnees and French had recently attacked the Apache Palomas, apparently near the present South Platte River, then called the Rio Jesus Maria. This incident, together with details in other contemporary documents of the period, reveal that since Uribarri's expedition of 1706, important changes in Indian relations have occurred northeast of New Mexico, some of which have a close association with the history of the region of present Oklahoma. For one thing there has appeared the name Jumano applied to a tribe of Indians in

³⁶Diario y derrotero que cujio el Sr. General Dr. Antonio Balverde Cosio, Governor General de este Reyno y Governor provincias de la nueva Mexico en la campana que ejecuto las Naciones Yutas y Cummanchos, 1719. (Ms. Bancroft Library, University of California).

the region of present Wichita, along the Arkansas River.³⁷ Secondly, the French established on the lower Red River since 1714, have been moving along the Red, Canadian and Arkansas Rivers across present Oklahoma and have joined these Jumanos in attacks upon the Cuartelejos. The earliest evidence of this new arrangement in the northeast appears in 1714 when some Carlana Indians reported in New Mexico that such a combined attack was made on the Cuartelejos in the month of August of that year. In that raid the French and Jumanos killed thirty Cuartelejos and carried off twenty-eight as prisoners.³⁸ These and other rumors reported to Valverde in 1719 of the French in the northeast brought about in the next year, 1720, another Spanish expedition in that direction under the command of Pedro de Villasur who penetrated as far as the junction of the North and South Platte Rivers where unfortunately the command was almost entirely exterminated by Pawnees and French.³⁹ This was a serious setback for the Spaniards, and the French after this date were unmolested by the former in their advance. But, just at the moment a new arrangement, considered below, was forming among the tribes to prevent French penetration there for some twenty years. From New Mexico, so far as is known, no other expeditions were made to the east until about the middle of the century when Governor Bustamente y Tagle of New Mexico, made an extended journey down the Arkansas in pursuit of Comanches. His route and distance traveled, however, cannot be determined from the account.⁴⁰

II. French and Spanish Exploration of Oklahoma

1713-1763

Eighteenth century history of present Oklahoma can

³⁷For a discussion of the Jumanos in Southwestern Texas and those along the Arkansas River see Bolton, H. E. *The Jumano Indians in Texas, 1650-1771*, *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, Vol. XV, No. 1, and authorities cited there.

³⁸*Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, tercera serie, Relaciones de Nuevo Mexico*, Este Cuaderno se cree ser obra de un Religioso de la provincia del Santo Evangelio, p. 205.

³⁹A. B. Thomas, *The Massacre of the Villasur Expedition at the Forks of the Platte River in Nebraska History*, Nebraska State Historical Society, Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 68-81.

⁴⁰Bolton, H. E. *Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780*. Vol. I, p. 48.

also be studied through the approach of the French from Louisiana and that of the Spaniards who come north to the Red River from their settlements in Central Texas. However, the activities of the French, but briefly summarized here, will be considered only as they bear upon Spanish exploration of the region.

The French entered present Oklahoma from two directions; west and southwest from their Illinois settlements through the Osage country, and northwest from Louisiana via the Red and Arkansas and Canadian rivers. As early as 1703 expeditions from Illinois traded towards New Mexico; thereafter the movement from that direction developed rapidly and joined with the one coming from the southeast. This latter advance was led by St. Denis, the well-known Frenchman who dominated the lower Red River valley in the early part of the eighteenth century from his post at Natchitoches, in present Louisiana. From there French influence extended itself into present eastern and northern Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. In 1719 the Nasonite post was founded among the Cadadocho just beyond the southeast boundary of present Oklahoma. In 1719 La Harpe established another trading center among the Cadadoches tribes, visited the Touacaras then living near the mouth of the Canadian River and proposed a third post for that region.⁴¹ At the same time Du Rivage was sent up the Red River to extend French control in that direction. Paralleling this penetration at the moment was the expedition of Du Tisné who, coming southwest from the Osage, visited and made an alliance with the Pawnees on the Arkansas River where he left a flag flying to indicate French possession.⁴² Two years later, 1721, in exploring the Arkansas River, La Harpe's travels took him about half way to the mouth of the Canadian.⁴³

Most of these French explorations had for their object, besides Indian commerce, the opening of a trading

⁴¹Anna Lewis, *La Harpe's first Expedition in Oklahoma 1718-1719 in Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 331-349. La Harpe's journal is translated herein.

⁴²Anna Lewis, *Du Tisné's Expedition into Oklahoma 1719 in Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 318-322; also Anna Lewis, *French Interests and Activities in Oklahoma*, *Ibid*, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 253-256.

⁴³Bolton, H. E., and Marshall, T. M. *The Colonization of North America 1492-1783*, pp. 282-284.

Approach of French from Louisiana and that of Spaniards from Central Texas.
French entered Oklahoma from two directions:
(1) West and southwest from Illinois.
(2) Northwest from Louisiana via Red, Arkansas, and Canadian.

Expeditions from Illinois traded towards New Mexico in 1703 and joined with St. Denis from the southeast.
French trading posts:
(1) Nasonite, 1719.
(2) La Harpe's among Cadadoches, 1719.
(3) La Harpe proposed a third post near mouth of Canadian.

route via these streams to New Mexico. We have already seen the earliest indications of this advance in the Spanish reports of French, Pawnee, and Jumano attack on the Cuartelejos. But the French about this time, 1720, as noted above, found themselves blocked by two powerful tribes of Indians. The Apaches along the Red River were hostile to these westward moving Europeans who traded with their enemies, the Indians of Northern Texas and present Oklahoma, known to the Spaniards as the Norteños. North of the Red, along the Arkansas and South Platte rivers the Comanches on their part were averse to French traders supplying weapons to their enemies beyond, the Apaches. Finally, the Spaniards themselves took definite steps to encourage Apache enmity to prevent the French approach to New Mexico. Indeed, the Viceroy of New Spain wrote to the Governor of New Mexico in 1719 that he should take particular care to win the Apaches to the Spanish allegiance so that they might be used with those allied with the Spaniards in Texas, to prevent French entrance into Spanish dominions.⁴ As a result, this tribal rivalry and Spanish policy, successfully shut off the advance of French traders until about the middle of the century. Meanwhile, the French on their side, traders and officials alike, concentrated their efforts on persuading the Comanches and Apaches to let them pass beyond. Much of this little-known struggle took place on the soil of what is now Oklahoma.

Fabry 1741.—At last in 1739, the French broke through. The Mallett brothers in that year entered the province of New Mexico from the direction of the Platte River, remained there some nine months and then returned, some going northeast to Illinois, the rest down the Canadian to the Arkansas and thence to New Orleans. Interest was stimulated by this success and in 1741 Governor Bienville sent out Fabry de la Bruyere with some of the Mallet party who went along the Canadian but failed to reach the province. Fort Cavagnolle, however, was established among the Kansas, and the Arkansas route was made safe by a treaty between the Comanches and their eastern enemies, the Norteños. Soon after, in 1749 and

⁴Viceroy to Valverde Mexico 13 de Enero 1719, Historia, tomo 39, Archivo General de Mexico. (Mss. copy in Bolton Collection, University of California).

French in 1720
blocked by
two powerful
tribes.
(1) Apaches
along Red R.
because of
trade with
enemies.
(2) Comanches
along Ar-
kansas and
South Platte
averse to
French trad-
ing with
Apaches.
French did
not reach about
the middle
of the eight-
eenth cen-
tury.

Mallett brothers
entered
New Mexico
in 1739.

1751 several French parties passed along the Arkansas to New Mexico. Likewise, other Frenchmen found an avenue of approach by way of the Platte and the rivers of present Nebraska and Kansas.⁴⁵ These activities of the French had their effect upon the Spaniards in Texas and New Mexico. Investigation was made to determine the boundary—an almost chronic investigation in the history of Oklahoma—between Louisiana and Texas; and Governor Barrios of Texas was ordered to prevent the commerce of the French with the Indians of his province and those in Southern Oklahoma and Arkansas of to-day.⁴⁶

Parilla 1759.—For the Spanish settlers of Texas, as well as for the profit-seeking French of the Red, Canadian and Arkansas rivers, the Apache tribes of Western Texas were also a serious problem. After 1743 the many Spanish proposals for converting these Apaches grew into demands. Accordingly in 1757 the far removed outpost of San Sabá mission and Presidio, was established on the San Sabá River near present Menardville, Texas.⁴⁷ The fierce Comanches, however, attracted by the possibility of plunder, raided the settlement in March of the following year. A second attack occurring shortly afterwards hastened the campaign plans of Parilla, governor of Texas, to set out, in August, 1759, from San Sabá in search of the raiders. Parilla marched northeast one hundred and fifty leagues, passed through many deserted Comanche rancherias, and at last, at a Tonkawa village decisively defeated the Indians he met there. Not satisfied with this victory the governor pushed northward until he came to the villages of the Taovayas on the Red River in the neighborhood of present Ringgold, Texas. "Here he was surprised to find a large body of Indians intrenched behind a strong stockade with breastworks, flying a French flag, and skillfully using French weapons and tactics. For four hours the Spaniards sustained an attack by Indians from both within and without the fortress. Two swivel guns were trained on the stronghold, but near nightfall Parilla withdrew with a loss of fifty-two men, having inflicted an equal loss upon the Indians. Desertions having begun, it was decid-

⁴⁵Bolton and Marshall, *Colonization of North America*, pp. 282-286.

⁴⁶Bolton, H. E. *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, pp. 70-72.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 78-86.

ed in a council to retreat that night, leaving the two cannon and extra baggage behind." Spanish accounts of the settlement found there are interesting. The fortified Indian village was "a pueblo formed of high thatched oval-shaped houses, surrounded by a stockade and a ditch, the road leading to it being surrounded in the same way, since it is *culebrado*, with the opening at the very river * * * and all the stockade on that side surmounted by Indians armed with muskets." "Nearby was large and well fenced fields devoted to the raising of maize, beans, calabashes, and melons. Behind the Taovayas town was the camp of the Comanche allies."⁴⁸

Though this expedition ended unfortunately, yet for our purposes it definitely established the Taovayas in the region visited. In the following years these Taovayas were a pivotal point in Spanish exploration of Northern Texas and Southern Oklahoma of today.

III. *Spanish Exploration of Oklahoma 1763-1793*

The transference of Louisiana to Spain in 1763 had its effect upon the frontier Indian policy of New Spain particularly with regard to the region considered here. With the acquisition of Louisiana, Spain's frontier advanced from Texas to the Mississippi River, beyond which were the expanding English colonies. As a result of this advance, the Norteños, i. e., the Indian tribes of Northern Texas, the Red River Valley, and adjacent regions, heretofore beyond the frontier and, as we have seen, under French influence, were now brought into the empire. Their location accordingly presented a real problem for they were in a strategic position, on the one hand in the rear of the Spanish Illinois-Louisiana settlements and on the other north of those in Texas. Consequently over these Indians, their former enemies, the Spaniards now had to extend their control.

To meet these new conditions, Spanish officials characteristically made careful preparation by ordering a survey of the whole region so that all frontier relations could be viewed in their proper perspective. The undertaking was entrusted to the Marqués de Rubi in 1767. When his tour of the frontier was completed, he drew up

⁴⁸Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, pp. 89-90.

recommendations that were incorporated, practically as submitted in a royal order issued in 1772, known as the "New Regulation of Presidios." For our purposes here it is sufficient to note that the New Regulations provided for the abandonment of Western Texas since that region was now protected from the English colonists by Louisiana.⁴⁹ Meanwhile measures had been taken to win over the Norteños and thereby protect the Texas establishments from attack. Here the Spaniards readily perceived the elements of their problem. For one thing they recognized that the Norteños were subject to the growing influence of English traders who had for many years prior been crossing the Mississippi River to operate among the Indians of the western bank, even as far as present Oklahoma and Arkansas. Secondly, the Spaniards realized that since these Norteños had long been accustomed to the influence of French traders the sensible plan was to utilize the services of the French agents who had remained in the province after the transfer to accustom the Norteños to Spanish rule. This policy was accordingly adopted.

Two Frenchmen appointed as Indian agents, De Villiers and De Mezieres, were to render signal service to Spain in this capacity among the Norteños. Happily the work of Athanase De Mezieres in Northern Texas has been thoroughly studied and his achievements given their proper recognition through the researches of Professor Bolton.⁵⁰ To date, however, no similar investigation has been made of the work of de Villiers and other commandants who were stationed at the post on the Arkansas River whence they directed the extension of Spanish influence into present Arkansas, Oklahoma.⁵¹

De Mezieres was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of

⁴⁹Bolton, H. E. *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, pp. 102-120. The statement here is the best summary of Rubi's activities in Texas and of the general situation resulting from the transfer of Louisiana as it affected this region.

⁵⁰Bolton, H. E. *Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768-1780*. A. H. Clark & Co., Cleveland. 1914.

⁵¹Some documents concerning the activities of Spaniards at the Arkansas Post have been published by Miss Anna Lewis in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* entitled *Oklahoma as a part of the Spanish Dominion*, Vol. ---, No. 1, pp. 45-58.

the Natchitoches district soon after Don Alejandro O'Reilly took possession of Louisiana in 1769. His instructions were in accordance with the new policy outlined above. "Licensed traders were to be appointed for the friendly tribes, but that in order to coerce the hostile Indians all trade with them must be cut off, whether conducted by Spanish subjects or by foreigners. A special abuse to be suppressed was trade in stolen horses and Indian captives. This evil was particularly prevalent at the Taovaya villages on the Red River. When they were not at war, the Wichita tribes supplied the Comanches with French weapons and agricultural products. In exchange they secured horses and mules stolen from the Spanish settlements, Indian captives, among whom the Apaches predominated, and Spanish captives from the frontier settlements. For the horses, mules and Indian captives they found a ready market with the French traders from Louisiana where Apache slaves and stock bearing Spanish brands were common."³² As can be readily seen, these instructions not only reveal the care the Spaniards took to handle their new subjects, but throw valuable light on the activities of the late eighteenth century inhabitants of present Oklahoma and adjacent regions.

De Mezieres 1772.—De Mezieres set about immediately to carry out his new duties. In 1770 he secured the attendance of powerful chiefs of the Taovayas, Tawaknoi, Yscanis, and Kichai tribes at a council near present Texarkana. There they promised their friendship and signed treaties drawn up in 1771 at Natchitoches. Next, in 1772, De Mezieres made an extensive journey through the northern tribes to explore their country, learn the strength, and investigate rumors of English trading among them. From Natchitoches he went to the Trinity River, thence up the Brazos to the Wichita Indians in Northern Texas. From there he communicated with the Taovayas, on the Red River. From his reports of this extensive exploration we learn that the Taovayas were procuring English goods in exchange for stolen horses and that the northern tribes were being hard

³²Bolton, H. E. *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, pp. 121-122.

pressed by the Osage.⁵³ Indeed, his report of the hostility of the Osage towards the Spanish and their Indian allies is paralleled by similar reports from the Spanish commandant, Don Pedro Piernas, at St. Louis and from the commandant at the Arkansas post.⁵⁴

Gaignard 1773.—In the next year, 1773, De Mezieres was in Europe, but a trader named Gaignard was sent up the Red River from Natchitoches to make peace with the Comanches. He found the Taovayas in bad humor because their horse and slave trade had been cut off with Natchitoches, would not allow him to proceed to the Comanches; but the head chief of the Naytane, a Comanche band, and four thousand warriors met him at the village of the Taovayas and here signed a peace compact with him.⁵⁵

De Mezieres 1778.—In 1776 a further administrative change was put into effect on the northern frontier of New Spain. This was the establishment of the *Privincias Internas*, a department composed of the provinces from California to Texas inclusive, of which El Cavallero de Croix, a great but little known administrator of Western North America, was made the first Commander-General. His most important problem was to check Indian raids on the northern frontiers of New Spain, of whom the Apaches of Western Texas were the greatest offenders. De Croix immediately laid plans to use the Norteños, Apache enemies, with Spanish forces in a joint campaign into Western Texas. A council was held accordingly at Monclova, and a later one in January, 1778, at San Antonio whence De Mezieres was summoned from Louisiana. To prepare the Norteños for their role, De Mezieres set out in March to visit the northern tribes. On this occasion he reached the Taovayas villages on the Red River after passing through the northern tribes of Texas about the Brazos. From the Taovayas villages he sent a warning to the Comanches. His visit informed him, too, that

⁵³*Ibid.*, pp. 121-122.

⁵⁴De Mezieres report of Osage hostility towards Spaniards and their allies is paralleled by one dated April 24, 1773, from Don Pedro Piernas, the Spanish Commandant at St. Louis and others from the commandants at the mouth of the Arkansas. See Houck, L. *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 163-165.

⁵⁵Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, p. 123.

in 1777 English traders had pushed their way in the year before into these very villages, on the far side of present Oklahoma, a circumstance that impelled him to write De Croix urging a Spanish settlement among the Taovayas. On his return to Natchitoches he brought back Parilla's cannon left there after the battle of 1759, recounted above. Shortly afterward De Mezieres was transferred to Texas from Louisiana to control the Norteños from San Antonio instead of Eastern Texas. His death in 1779 and Spain's entry into our Revolutionary War, partly altered De Croix's plans in this quarter for the joint campaign against the Apaches.⁵⁶ De Meziere's contribution to our subject is considerable. His marches reveal the importance attached to the tribes of the area within and about present Oklahoma; his reports show that the English have definitely replaced the French as a menace to the frontier here, and finally, his activities center attention on the Taovayas now friendly to Spanish control. In the next decade the Taovayas assume further importance in Spanish frontier explorations.

Vial 1786-1787.—Another important problem raised by the adding of Louisiana to the Spanish possessions was that of establishing effective communication between the widely separated centers of St. Louis, San Antonio and Santa Fe.⁵⁷ In the solving of this problem, much of the resulting exploration between these points passed through present Oklahoma. Before this time, plans, one of which appeared as early as 1630,⁵⁸ had been proposed to establish routes between New Mexico and Texas. Apache and Comanche hostility, however, was the chief factor, as we

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 124-126.

⁵⁷This exploratory work across Louisiana and Texas is part of the vast explorations made by Spaniards on the northern frontiers of New Spain and in Louisiana, after 1763. In the west the work was done by Anza, Garces, and Escalante to establish routes between Sonora, New Mexico and California. Still other explorations were carried on up the Missouri River in an attempt to connect St. Louis with the Spanish possessions above the Columbia River on the Pacific coast.

⁵⁸Benavides, *Memorial* was drawn up in 1630 and called attention to the possible use of Espiritu Santo Bay as a base from which to occupy Texas and shorten the route between New Mexico and the Gulf region. The *Memorial* is translated in the *Land of Sunshine*, Vols. XIII and XIV; an edition of the *Memorial* has also been published by E. E. Ayer of Chicago. For other proposals to connect Texas and New Mexico after this date, see Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, p. 128.

have seen, in preventing the opening of this route. During the eighteenth century, as noted above, the French traders had learned how to conciliate the Comanche and Apache, and De Mezieres and others had in large part transferred this affection for French traders to the Spaniards, so that the foundations were laid for the efforts now to be successfully made. Pedro Vial, another Frenchman, whose experience among the Indians between Texas and New Mexico well fitted him for the undertaking, was in 1786 the first to be commissioned for this purpose. In that year, directed by the governor of Texas, Don Domingo Cabello, Vial set out to explore a direct route from San Antonio to Santa Fe.⁵⁹ Leaving on October 4th, he went north to the Colorado River, turned east to the Brazos, followed that stream sixty-two leagues and then branched off to the Taovayas, northeast on the Red River. Leaving the Taovayas on January 8, 1787, Vial moved along the Red River to a Comanche village where he remained until February 18th when he renewed his journey up the Red thence north to the Canadian, finally making his way to Santa Fe on May 26th, after having passed through several Comanche villages. Vial thus established the fact that communication was not impossible and that the Comanches and other tribes were friendly.

Mares 1787.—The route laid out by Vial was so far from direct that the governor of New Mexico now despatched another party to San Antonio under Corporal Joes Mares, accompanied by Cristobal Santos and Alejandro Martin, a Comanche interpreter. Leaving on January 21, 1787, they moved south of Vial's route as far as the village of the Taovayas on the Red River. From there they traveled on to San Antonio, reporting on October 8, 1787. On their return Mares struck off to the northwest and came upon the Red River near the one hundred and first meridian. Thence he went to Santa Fe along his former route, having consumed about four months on this journey.⁶⁰

Vial and Fragoso 1788-89.—Two months later Vial set out on his return to Texas. This time his objective was Natchitoches. Accompanied by Francisco Xavier

⁵⁹Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, p. 129.

⁶⁰Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, p. 129-130.

Fragoso and thirty soldiers, he left Santa Fe on June 24th, 1788, taking apparently a route between that of his first journey and that of Mares', to the Taovayas. There his escort left him and after four days returned to Santa Fe. Vial himself reached Natchitoches on August 20th, passing after leaving the Sabine the ranchos of six Frenchmen and one Englishman.⁶¹ In 1789 Vial again set out from San Antonio for Santa Fe. On this journey, however, he left the Brazos near the junction of the ninety-fifth meridian and the thirty-third parallel and went northwest directly to Santa Fe, consuming slightly less than two months.⁶² From the above account of these travels it will be observed that all except the last passed through the Taovayas, a fact which indicates the strategic importance of this part of the Spanish frontier then within present Oklahoma.

Vial 1792.—Vial's extensive experience and successes entitled him to further honors and he was accordingly selected by the viceroy in 1792 to open a route between New Mexico and St. Louis. The governor of New Mexico, Fernando de la Concha, drew up Vial's instructions.⁶³ Accompanied by two young men Vial was to leave New Mexico via Pecos, march east to the villages of the Magages,⁶⁴ thence east northeast to the Missouri River nearest to Los Ylinneses (Illinois). On this journey Vial was carefully to note all landmarks, rivers, the direction of their flow, tablelands, etc., and Indian tribes that he encountered. His faithfulness in this respect enables us here to trace the general route of his travels.

Vial set out on May 21, 1792, from Santa Fe. Shortly after leaving the Pecos River they lost a day in camp with a band of Comanches and a Spanish interpreter coming from San Antonio.⁶⁵ On the 26th they renewed their journey to the Rio Colorado (the Canadian River) which they reached on the 29th. Thereafter until the 22nd of June the party followed the Canadian along Oñate's old

⁶¹*Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁶³The following account of Vial's journey is taken from the documents of the expedition translated in Houck, L. *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 350-358.

⁶⁴The identity of these villages is unknown.

⁶⁵There is nothing known of the journey of this party.

route."⁶⁵ On that day they left the stream to turn northeast towards the Arkansas or the Rio Napestle: "22. We left about seven in the morning leaving the Colorado River, and taking the direction of the northeast in search of the Napeste River, which we call in French the Arkansas River. We found another river which flows into the Colorado and we named it the San Acacio. It was of great volume and its shores are very high. We made about six leagues."⁶⁷ Apparently they left the Canadian about the Antelope Hills region. This interpretation best accords with the following comments in his diary. Their northeast journey took them across several streams in this part of present Oklahoma and Southern Kansas to the Arkansas which they reached on the 27th.⁶⁸ Without doubt they came upon the latter where it turns to the northeast for, Vial, after spending the 28th in camp, took up the journey on the 29th and notes as follows: "29. We left in the morning at daybreak along the said river, which flowed east northeast. We found some buffalo which the Indians had killed and we believed that they were of the tribes of Guachaches, who were hunting through that region * * *"⁶⁹ They shortly found the Indians who took possession of the horses, cut off the clothes of Vial and his companions, and threatened to kill them. However, one of the savages, a former servant in St. Louis, recognizing Vial, interceded and fortunately saved the lives of the party. The explorers were then forced to remain with the hunters until August 16th when they were permitted to set out once more, though still naked, for the northeast. A ten days' journey of about fifty leagues brought them to a Cances village on the river of

⁶⁵Houck, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 358, note 9, states that Vial's journey should be compared with that of Coronado's. His route, however, as can be seen corresponds more closely to that of Onate's expedition to the east.

⁶⁷Houck, *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 356. Up to this point Vial had traveled ninety-seven leagues east from the Pecos River.

⁶⁸On this part of the journey Vial records that they traveled thirty-seven leagues northeast and north to the Arkansas, that is, between ninety and one hundred miles. While this is a low figure for the nearest points between the Canadian and the Arkansas Rivers, Vial's total distance from Santa Fe, namely one hundred and forty leagues, accords sufficiently closely to strongly suggest that this was his approximate route when all factors are considered.

⁶⁹Houck, *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 356-357.

the Kances which "flows into the river called Misoury." On the 11th of September they secured some clothes from a passing French trader and on the 16th, having secured a pirogue from three other traders going to St. Louis, followed the stream to the Missouri and thence to their destination. Arrived there on October 6th Vial presented his credentials and diary to Zenon Trudeau, the Spanish commandant, and told him that had they not encountered obstacles they could have made the journey in twenty-five days.⁷⁰ Vial's journey is particularly interesting in that it is the first to connect St. Louis and Santa Fe along the approximate route followed takes by the caravall trade to New Mexico. Thus the work of De Mezieres, Vial, Fragoso, and Mares rounds out almost two centuries of Spanish exploration in the region set out for study here.

IV. *Conclusion.*

This study of Spanish exploration in and about the region of present Oklahoma brings into view some important considerations. It is strikingly evident that Spanish sources contribute much to the Indian history of this area. The names, locations of tribes, unknown heretofore in some cases, can therein be determined; their customs and their relations with neighboring tribes indicated; and the part they played in the international struggle carried on by Europeans for this region, understood. In the second place, as appears here, long before the advent of Pike, Wilkinson, Dunbar, and other explorers of the early nineteenth century, much of the territory and the principal rivers of present Oklahoma and adjacent states was explored by Spaniards and Frenchmen. Thirdly, there is revealed in our knowledge of this frontier some gaps that await research. Particularly does the period of French control and influence over the tribes beyond those revealed by Spanish exploration, need investigation. Likewise the work of the Spanish traders after 1763 from St. Louis among the Osages and beyond, and from the Arkansas post westward into present Arkansas and Oklahoma presents a fascinating study. Finally, this survey of but a small corner of Spain's immense empire suggests the fundamental nature of her contribution to North American civilization.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 351.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO CONSTITUTION, OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Amend Sec. I, Art. VI to read as follows:

The annual meeting of the Society shall be held at the Capitol of the State on the Thursday immediately following the fourth Wednesday in January of each year.

Amend Sec. II: Art. V. to read as follows:

Meetings of the Board of Directors of the Society shall be held on the Thursday immediately following the fourth Wednesday of January of each year, and quarterly thereafter during the year.

Amend Sec. VII. Art. II. to read as follows:

The annual membership fee shall be \$1.00, and the life membership fee shall be \$25.00.

Amend Sec. IV. Art. III. to read as follows:

In event of a vacancy in the membership of the Board of Directors the same may, at any regular meeting of the Board, be filled until the next annual meeting of the Society, but such unexpired term shall be filled in the manner as provided by Sec. I, Art. III, as amended at annual meeting in 1927.

Amend Sec. 2 of the by-laws by adding Subdivision "d" to read as follows:

A committee consisting of three members, including the Secretary of the Society, the duties of which shall be to arrange suitable exercises in each county of the state in which as many as five active members of the Society shall reside, to observe days representing important historical events, in conjunction with other organizations in the state who will join therein.

NECROLOGY

PETER P. PITCHLYNN

Chief of the Choctaws, 1864-66.

Few men of the Choctaw tribe of Indians have attained the distinction of Peter P. Pitchlynn. He was born in Mississippi January 30th, 1806. His father, Col. John Pitchlynn, a white man, was born off the shore of the Isle of St. Thomas, near Porto Rico, on board ship. He was the son of a British Naval Officer, by the name of Isaac Pitchlynn. His mission among the Choctaws was to help make a treaty with them: It was on this trip he took his young son with him. The father died in Mississippi leaving the son John, among the Choctaws, an orphan. He married a Choctaw woman by the name of Sopha Folsom, the only daughter of Ebenezer Folsom. This was the beginning of the large and noted family among the Choctaws.

John Pitchlynn was given a commission as an interpreter for the Choctaws in 1786 by George Washington.

Merely as a romantic story, the leading incidents of the life of Peter P. Pitchlynn cannot be read without deep interest, it is a contribution to American history. The first duties he performed were those of a cow boy, but when old enough to bend a bow or hold a rifle to his shoulder, he became a hunter. In the councils of his nation he sometimes made his appearance as a looker on, and once, when a member of the tribe who had been partially educated in New England, was seen to write a letter to President Monroe, Pitchlynn resolved that he would himself become a scholar. The school nearest to his father's log cabin was at that time two hundred miles off, among the hills of Tennessee, and to that he was despatched after the usual manner of such important undertakings. Pitchlynn's Indian name was Hachotakni (meaning loggerhead turtle). Being the only Indian boy in this school, he was talked about and laughed at, and within the first week of his admission he found it necessary to give the "bully" of the school a severe thrashing. At the end of the first quarter he returned to his home in Mississippi where he found his people negotiating a treaty with the general government; on which occasion he made himself

for was opposition to the ratification. Lane at that time represented Umatilla County and was twenty-three years old. On Friday evening, December 8, 1865, the house amended the verbiage of the resolution and passed the same by a vote of thirty in its favor and four against—the negative votes being cast by Beall, Cox, Fay, and Lane. The senate refused to concur in this amendment or to appoint conferees, and on December 11, 1865, the house reconsidered the same, and passed the resolution as it came from the senate by the same vote. On December 11, 1865, the secretary of state, Samuel E. May, was instructed to telegraph Secretary Seward that the legislature had that day ratified the amendment. The legislature adjourned December 19, 1865.

At this distance it seems impossible to understand the degree of feeling that existed at the time when this great amendment to the federal constitution, recognizing and in a sense making legal that which the fortunes of war had settled, was under discussion. At this same special session a memorial to congress was adopted praying that Walla Walla County, Washington, might be incorporated in the State of Oregon, so that the boundaries of the state might conform to those embraced by the constitution as adopted, making Snake River to the mouth of the Owyhee River the northeastern boundary line, as specified in Article XVI.

James H. D. Henderson, the candidate of the union party, elected to congress in 1864 over James K. Kelly, democrat, took his seat March 4, 1865, serving on the committees on Pacific railroads, mines and mining, and Indian affairs, and as a member of the special committee appointed to consider appropriate resolutions and services in memory of the death of Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Henderson died at Eugene in October, 1885, at the advanced age of seventy-five years, respected by his fel-

was for many years a monument of their advancing civilization.

One of the most important and romantic incidents in Pitchlynn's career grew out of the policy, on the part of the general government, for removing the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks from their old hunting grounds to a new location west of the Mississippi River. At the request and expense of the United States, a delegation of Indians was appointed in 1828, to go upon an exploring and peace making expedition into the Osage country, and of this party, Pitchlynn was appointed leader. He succeeded in making a lasting peace with the Osages, who had been the enemies of the Choctaws from time immemorial.

The company consisted of thirteen Chickasaws, six Choctaws, and four Creeks; the first accompanied by Mr. Duncan; the second by Mr. Halley, and the third by Mr. Blake. Besides, the Chickasaw delegation had been allowed to take three white helpers. Lieutenant Washington Hood, of the United States Army, and Mr. John Bell, were topographers, and Dr. Todsom was their physician. These, with Captain Kennerly and his servant, and a colored servant of the Chickasaw Chief, Levi Colbert, made company of thirty-six.

The party was absent from home about six months. The first town at which they stopped was Memphis; their next halt was at St. Louis, where they were supplied with necessities by the Indian superintendent. When they arrived at Independence, Missouri, it was only a place of a dozen log cabins, and there the party received special attention from the son of the noted Daniel Boone. On leaving Independence the members of the delegation, all being mounted, were joined by an Indian agent. The first night out they camped on a broad prairie, their tents were pitched in the vicinity of a Shawnee village. This tribe had never come in conflict with the Choctaws (though the former took the side of Great Britain in the war of 1821), and according to custom, a council was convened and pledges of friendship were renewed by an exchange of wampum and the delivery of speeches.

After these ceremonies, a grand feast took place at a neighboring village on the following day; and then the expedition continued its march towards the Osage country. For

a time their course lay along the famous Santa Fe trail, then turning to the southwest. This course took them over a beautiful country of rolling prairies skirted with timber, until they came to an Osage village, on a bluff of the Osage River. The delegation stopped within a short distance of the villiage, but for several days the Osages showed signs of their original enmity, and refused to meet the strangers in council. Possibly this was due to the fact, which was well known, that several Osages had recently been killed by a wandering band of Choctaws. The probability of hostilities and an attempted surprise was quite apparent. The delegation, however, proposed a treaty of peace, and after a long delay the Osages agreed to meet them in general Council. Captain Pitchlynn stated to them, he and his party were the first Choctaws who had met the Osages with peaceful intentions. They had traveled over two thousand miles by the advice of the United States government, in order to propose to the Osages a treaty of perpetual peace.

To this an orator of the Osages made a defiant and unfriendly reply, and the delegation at a second council changed their tone.

Captain Pitchlynn, as before, was their only speaker. After casting a defiant look upon Bel Oiseau, the Osage orator, as well as upon the other Osages present, he proceeded in these words: "After what the Osage warrior said to us yesterday, we find it very hard to restrain our ancient animosity. You inform us that by your laws it is your duty to strike down all who are not Osage Indians. We have no such law. But we have a law which tells us that we must strike down an Osage when we meet him. I know not what war paths you may have followed west of the big river, but I very well know that the smoke of our council fires you have never seen, and we live on the other side of the Big River. Our soil has never been tracked by an Osage excepting when he was a prisoner. I will not, like you, speak boastingly of the war path we have been upon. I am in earnest, and can only say that our last war path, if you will have it so, has brought us to the Osage country, and to this villiage. Our warriors at home would very well like to obtain a few hundred of your black locks, for it is by such trophies that they obtain their names. I mention these things to prove that we have some

ancient laws as well as yourselves, and that we, too, were made to fight. Adhere to the laws of your fathers, refusing the offer of peace that we have made, and you must bear the consequences. We are a little band now before you, but we are not afraid to speak our minds. Our contemplated removal from our country to the sources of the Arkansas and Red rivers will bring us within two hundred miles of your nation; and when that removal takes place, we will not finish building our cabins before you shall hear the war whoop of the Choctaws and the crack of their rifles. Your warriors will then fall, and your wives and children shall be taken in captivity; and this work will go on until the Osage nation is entirely forgotten.

You may not believe me, but our numbers justify the assertion, and it is time that the Indian race should begin a new kind of life. You say you will not receive the white paper of our father, the President, and we now tell you that we will take back all that we said yesterday about a treaty of peace, a proposition of peace, if we are to have it, must now come from the Osages."

This speech had the intended effect. The next day negotiations were opened by the Osages; peace was declared, and a universal hand shaking took place. A grand feast next followed, consisting of jerked buffalo meat and all that went with it. The entire Osage village during the succeeding night, presented a joyous and boisterous aspect. Speeches furnished a large part of the entertainment, and to Captain Pitchlynn was awarded the honor of delivering the closing oration. He told the Osages that his people had adopted the customs of civilization, and were already reaping much benefit therefrom. They encouraged missionaries, the establishing of schools, and devoted attention to the pursuits of agriculture and the mechanical arts. He advised the Osages to do the same. Give up war as an amusement, and the chase as a sole dependence for food, and then they would become a happy and prosperous people. This was their only means of preservation from the grasping habits of the white man. If they would strive for civilization, the American government would treat them with greater kindness. Although they might throw away their eagle feathers, and live in

permanent cabins, there was no danger of losing their identity of name. At the end of these prolonged festivities, Bel Oiseau and a party of warriors selected for the purpose escorted the delegation to the borders of the Osage country, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. During the several nights which they spent together before parting Bel Oiseau was the chief talker. He did much to entertain the whole party. While seated around the camp fires, he would relate adventures and traditions he could remember. These he confused with facts of aboriginal history. He claimed that his people descended from a beaver, and that was the reason Osage hunters never killed that animal for fear of killing one of their own kindred. He boasted that if his tribe was not as large as many others, it had always contained the largest and handsomest men in the world. Their horses were finer than those owned by the Pawnees and Comanches; that they preferred the buffalo meat for food to the fancy things which they used in the settlements. Buffalo robes suited them better than red blankets. The bow and arrows were better than the rifles or guns, and he thought their Great Spirit was a better friend to them than the Great Spirit of the white man, who allowed his children to ruin themselves by drinking fire water.

In returning to their homes the Choctaws pursued a southern course, passing down the Canadian River. The Agent left them at a point near Fort Gibson, and they continued along the valley of the Red River. They had some skirmishes with the Comanche Indians, and two of the party got lost for a time while hunting buffalo and bear. Captain Pitchlynn picked up in one of the frontier cabins a bright little Indian boy, belonging to no particular tribe, as he said. He took him back to Mississippi with him and had him educated at the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky. In 1870 he was one of the most eloquent and faithful preachers to be found in the Choctaw Nation.

The early expedition led by Captain Pitchlynn was the first step taken by the government towards accomplishing the removal of the Indian tribes eastward of the Mississippi River to a new and permanent home in the far West.



PETER PERKINS PITCHLYNN

Captain Pitchlynn was always an ardent admirer of Henry Clay, and first made the acquaintance of the great statesman in 1840. The Choctaw was going up the Ohio River on a steamboat, and at Maysville during the night the Kentuckian came on board, bound for Washington. On leaving his stateroom at a very early hour Pitchlynn went into the cabin, where he saw two old farmers earnestly engaged in talking about farming. Returning to his stateroom he told his traveling companion what a treat he had enjoyed, and added: "If that old farmer with an ugly face had only been educated for the law, he would have made one of the greatest men in this country." "That old farmer" was Henry Clay, who expressed the greatest satisfaction at the compliment that had been paid him. The steamboat was afterwards delayed at the mouth of the Kanawha, and as was common on such occasions, the passengers held mock trials and improvised a debate on the relative happiness of single and married life. Mr. Clay consented to speak and took the bachelor's side of the question, while the duty of replying was assigned to the Indian. He was at first greatly bewildered, but remembering that he had heard Methodist preachers relate their experiences on religious matters, he thought he would relate his own experiences of married life. He did this with minuteness and considerable gusto, laying particular stress upon the goodness of his wife and the different shades of feeling and sentiment which he had experienced; and after he had finished, the ladies present vied with Clay in applauding the talented and warm hearted Indian.

When Charles Dickens first visited this country, he met upon a steamboat on the Ohio River, Peter P. Pitchlynn. After a long conversation he was greatly impressed with the Choctaw. In his "American Notes" we find a very interesting account of the interview, in which he states "Peter Pitchlynn was one of the most delightful men he met in America."

When the war between the states began in 1861 Pitchlynn was in Washington, attending to business for his people, but he immediately hurried home in the hope of escaping the evils of the impending strife. Before leaving, however, he had an interview with President

Lincoln and assured him of his desire to have the Choctaws pursue a neutral course, to which the President assented as the most proper one to adopt under the circumstances. But Pitchlynn's heart was for the Union. He made the further declaration, that if the general government would protect them, his people would certainly espouse its cause. He then returned to the Southwest, intending to lead the quiet life of a planter on his estate in the Choctaw Nation.

The Choctaws had already been aroused by the white men from Texas and Arkansas so their sympathies were enlisted with the Confederacy. He pleaded for the national government, and at the hazard of his life, denounced the conduct of the southern authorities. Many stories were circulated to increase the number of enemies; among them was one that he had married a sister of the President, and another that the President had offered him four hundred thousand dollars to become an abolitionist. He was sustained however, by the best men of his nation, who made him Colonel of a regiment of militia for home defense. Afterward he was elected Principal Chief of his people in 1864 to 1866. He had long been looked upon by all of the Choctaws as their philosopher and faithful friend, and also as one of the best men to represent their claims and interest in Washington. Before the war between the states he had under cultivation six hundred acres of land, and owned a hundred slaves. Annually good crops of cotton and corn were raised. As the market for that kind of material was too far off, Pitchlynn decided to devote his attention to the raising of cattle. His stock and that of his neighbors was of course a prize for the Confederates, who took everything, and left the country almost desolate. In this he acquiesced without a murmur, managing his affairs in the reduced condition as best he could. After the war was over he was again appointed by his tribal government as a delegate to Washington with some others to work for a claim of unpaid treaty money of several million dollars. An address that he delivered as a delegate before the President at the White House in 1855 was commented upon at the time as exceedingly touching and eloquent.

Certain speeches that he made before Congressional committees in 1868 and especially an address that he delivered in 1869 before a delegation of Quakers, called to Washington by President Grant for consultation on Indian affairs, placed him in the foremost rank of orators.

The general government undertook to educate the Choctaws, and the funds set aside for that purpose were used by designing men for their own benefit. Pitchlynn well knew that he would have to fight an unscrupulous opposition, but he resolved to make an effort to have the school fund transferred from the United States to the Choctaws. After many delays, he obtained an interview with John C. Spencer, then Secretary of War, and he was permitted to tell his story. The Secretary listened attentively, and was much pleased and told the chief he should have an interview with the President, John Tyler. The speech which he then delivered in the White House and before the Cabinet was pronounced wonderful by those who heard it. It completely converted the President, who gave immediate orders that Pitchlynn's suggestions should be carried out. The Secretary fully co-operated; and before the clerks of the Indian office quit their desks that night the necessary papers had been prepared, signed, sealed and duly delivered.

The first academy organized under the new arrangement was named for the Secretary of War; and from that year, until the death of John C. Spencer, that wise and warm hearted lover of the Indians had not a more devoted friend than Peter P. Pitchlynn.

After the tenure of the office of Principal Chief of the Choctaws Pitchlynn remained in Washington the rest of his life, devoted his attention chiefly to pressing the Choctaw claims for lands sold to the United States in 1830.

In addition to the treaty of 1830 of Dancing Rabbit Creek he signed the treaty made in Washington in 1855 and the one concluded in Washington in 1866.

Pitchlynn's first wife having died he married in Washington Mrs. Caroline Lombardy. Of that union two children are still living, Miss Sophy Pitchlynn and her brother Lee. The latter has been employed in the United States Treasury for many years.

Peter Pitchlynn was a member of the Lutheran Memorial Church at Washington and was a regular attendant at the services. He was a prominent member of the Masonic order. His death occurred January 17th, 1881. The funeral services were conducted by General Albert Pike. A monument was erected over his grave in the Congressional Cemetery by the Choctaw Nation. He was held in high esteem both by his tribe and his Washington acquaintances.

—CZARINA C. CONLAN

ALBERT G. COCHRAN.

ALBERT G. COCHRAN, born February 28, 1860, in Yalobusha County, Mississippi, son of Thomas J. Cochran, a native of that state, and Adaline Cochran, daughter of John Cochran, a native of Kentucky, though of same name, not of kin. After the death of his father, his mother removed to Arkansas where she married a man by the name of I. M. Cook, and later removed to Red Oak, Indian Territory, where she died in 1892, leaving surviving her, in addition to her son, Albert G., his two half brothers, William Cook and Arthur Cook. In childhood he became a cripple on account of an attack of typhoid fever, but notwithstanding such infirmity and though beset with poverty, he persisted in acquiring an education, becoming a teacher in the rural schools, and later perfected his business education by taking a course in a commercial college at Fort Smith, Arkansas. Later he settled at Hartshorne, Indian Territory, where he was engaged for a number of years as accountant and book-keeper, a great portion of the time being associated with the firm of Grady & Freeny. In September, 1906, he was elected as a delegate from District 98 to the Constitutional Convention for the proposed State of Oklahoma. On the erection of the state he was elected as Register of Deeds of Pittsburg County, and in 1910 re-elected. Not having been a candidate again to succeed himself, in January 1913, he retired to private life. He was an Odd Fellow, Knight of Pythias, and a member of the Christian Church. He died at Hartshorne on April 11, 1913, at which place he is buried. He was never married.

AMBERS LAFAYETTE BENNETT.

AMBERS LAFAYETTE BENNETT, son of Charles H. and Edith Hill Bennett, born in Calhoun County, Georgia, August 13, 1868. His father, who had been a soldier in the Confederate Army, having died in Georgia on June 6, 1873, his widow and their children in 1874, removed to Crawford County, Arkansas, where she again married in 1877. In 1879 her son, Ambers Lafayette, when he was only 11 years old, became a member of the household of J. W. T. Jones, who resided about three

miles northeast of Alma, Arkansas, and continued to make his home with him until he was nineteen years of age. On account of conditions existing in the South following the Civil War and the loss of his father when he was not quite five years of age, his educational opportunities were scant, his longest school term being three months at a rural school at Freedom School House, near Alma. Webster's blue backed speller, Ray's arithmetic and McGuffey's readers being his principal text books. By persistence, without the aid of any instructor, he became a good speller and reader, and acquired proficiency in arithmetic and accounting. In 1887, coming to the Cherokee Nation, he settled in what is now Sequoyah County, but after two years returned to Crawford County, Arkansas, and in 1890 was married to Miss Sarah A. Blevins. In 1899 he, with his family removed to Howe, in the Choctaw Nation, at which place he lived until his death on the 22nd day of August, 1927 at St. Edwards Hospital at Fort Smith, Arkansas. He was a soldier on the part of the United States during the Spanish American War. During the World War he had one son in the army and one in the navy. In 1901 he was City Marshal of Howe, and in 1902 he served a short time as Deputy United Marshal. He owned, and for several years operated a hotel at Howe, but during his entire residence at that place his principal business was that of farming. At the time of his death he was County Chairman of the Democratic Central Committee for LeFlore County, and a member of the State Central Committee, having been elected Chairman of the County Committee eight consecutive times, and had attended every State Convention held since Statehood. He was Vice-President of the LeFlore County Fair Association, having been a member of its Board for a number of years and been connected with the State A. & M. College and County Farm demonstration work in crop experiments for several years. He never sought political honor, but was active in all matters looking toward better government and for the promotion of agriculture. He left surviving his widow and ten children, to wit: Clyde T. Bennett, Gretchen M. Gentry, Pleas L. Bennett, Callie M. Young, Ambers L. Bennett Jr., Ruth Bennett, Velma Bennett, Robert L. O. Bennett and Lois Dean Bennett. He lived to see seven of his children complete the grades in the public schools, six to complete high school courses, and two to receive degrees from colleges, and two others being in college at the time of his death. Realizing his handicap on account of lack of educational advantages, he was the more zealous that his children should not be so handicapped. In 1890 he joined the Missionary Baptist Church at Pleasant Grove, about four miles northeast of Alma, Arkansas, and continued such church member to the date of his death, and loyally supported its institutions. An exemplar of honesty, truth and fidelity, he ever sought to impress such principles upon his children. Courageous and fearless he met every responsibility. When he knew that he had only a few hours to live, he faced the last great ordeal as he had faced every other condition in life. The only request he left was that his children who were not old enough to have completed their education should be thoroughly educated. A man of deep convictions and sterling principles.

JOEL B. MAYES.

JOEL B. MAYES, born October 2, 1833,, near Cartersville, Georgia, in the Cherokee country, second son of Samuel Mayes and Nancy Adair, the former a white man from the State of Tennessee, but whose ancestors emigrated from England and Wales. The mother, a daughter of Watt Adair, who held many important offices in the old nation east of the Mississippi. Joel came with his father's family to the Cherokee Country West in 1837, and attended the public schools at Muddy Springs camp ground until 1851 when he entered the Male Seminary near Tahlequah, and was a student there for four years. In 1855 he began teaching school and so continued until 1857. During that period he taught school at Muddy Springs camp grounds. He enlisted as a private in the first Cherokee Indian Regiment in the Confederate Army, but was later promoted to paymaster and quartermaster. In 1879 he was appointed Clerk of the District Court, holding that office until 1883, when he was elected Judge of the Northern Circuit of the Nation, holding that office through re-election for five years. Then he became Clerk of the Commissioners Court for two years, and then Clerk of the National Council. While holding this office he was elected Supreme Court Judge, and later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Cherokee Nation. In 1887 he was nominated and elected Principal Chief on the Downing ticket of the Cherokee Nation, and re-elected in 1891. In 1857 he was married to Martha J. Candy. She having died in 1863, he was married to Martha M. McNair. After her death he was married to Miss Mary Vann. He was a Master Mason, and a member of the Methodist Church. He died December 4th, 1891, at Tahlequah, Oklahoma.

EMORY DAVID BROWNLEE

EMORY DAVID BROWNLEE, pioneer attorney, county judge, state senator, and member of the first and second state Legislature, died Monday night, January 1st, 1928, at his home in Kingfisher.

Judge Brownlee came to Kingfisher at the opening in 1889, and served as register of the Land Office until it was closed. He served six years in the State Senate, and two terms as County Judge.

He is survived by his wife, mother and two daughters, a sister and two brothers. He was 55 years of age; a worthy citizen and a successful attorney.

GEORGE McQUAID.

GEORGE McQUAID, well known as a newspaper man in Oklahoma, died at his home in Dallas, Texas, on Monday, March 5th. McQuaid was a native of Alexandria, Virginia, and was educated at Georgetown University, where he completed courses in both arts and law. He first came to Oklahoma in 1899. Between 1900 and 1905, inclusive, he was

connected with several Oklahoma newspapers, including the Guthrie Capital and the Oklahoman. He also saw service on the Kansas City Journal, the Dallas News, the San Antonio Express and the Galveston Express, filling successively the responsible position of managing editor of no less than four of these papers. During the greater part of the World War period, he was in Oklahoma City in charge of the Dallas News Bureau, later returning to Dallas to take up staff work on that publication, of which he became managing editor, in 1921. He ultimately resigned that position to organize the Texas Public Service Information Bureau, maintained by the public utility corporations of that state, of which he was director of public relations until his death. His remains were sent to El Paso for burial, the services being under the control of the Masonic fraternity. A man of unusual ability and of versatile attainments, his genial disposition was such as to attract the friendship of most of the people with whom he came into contact. He always manifested a deep interest in the Oklahoma Historical Society and its work.

J. B. T.

ROBERT M. HARRIS.

Governor of the Chickasaw Nation.

Few men called into service for the Chickasaw people, as their chief executive have left a more noteworthy record of deeds well done. Robert M. Harris was born in the old Choctaw Nation near Doaksville, April 1st, 1851. His father was Joe D. Harris, a Chickasaw. His mother, Kathrine Nail, a Choctaw, was a member of the large and prominent family of that name.

While Robert M. Harris received only the advantages the Indian schools had to offer, he was always considered a student and deep thinker with plenty of practical judgment to back up any important decision.

When quite a young man he married Miss Lucy McCoy, a Chickasaw. To them was born eight daughters. His wife died when the youngest was a small child. Later Miss Jennie Wyatt, a Chickasaw, who was educated in Kentucky.

For many years their large and beautiful country home near Tishomingo was one of the interesting places of Johnston County. With his wife and daughters, hospitality was dispensed in true southern style.

Robert M. Harris was elected Governor of the Chickasaw Nation in August 1896, and served one term of two years. One of his first official acts was, to sign a bill authorizing the appointment of four persons of the Chickasaw Nation to meet and confer with the Dawes Commission, representing the United States Government. This was the most far reaching act that had come before his people for consideration since their ancestors had left Mississippi. It looked forward to the allotment of the lands held in common by the Choctaws and Chickasaws. Governor Harris was always greatly interested in the education of his people. He signed the bill allowing \$150.00 more per year for each of the twelve boys

who were away at school in the states at the expense of the Chickasaw Government.

During his administration the new school building for the Chickasaw orphan school in Pickins County was finished. A number of new neighborhood schools were repaired, and one that had burned at Double Springs in Panola County, was rebuilt. Bloomfield Seminary, nine miles from Colbert in Panola County, which was the oldest Chickasaw school for girls was rebuilt. The structure was modern and commodious, accommodating more than a hundred girls.

During the year 1896 a bill was signed granting a charter to Hargrove College of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Pickins County at Ardmore, giving the college authority to issue diplomas. The same act provided that twenty pupils could attend at the expense of the Chickasaw Nation.

On November 8th, 1897 a bill was signed authorizing the building of a new Capitol. This building which stands to the credit of R. M. Harris, was built of wonderful Tishomingo granite. It was completed under his supervision and will be a memorial to him. It is a structure which will be of service for generations to come. When the Chickasaw government was given up, and statehood came it was turned over to Johnston County as a county court house.

On March 1st, 1897 he signed the bill "providing for a Commission composed of eight members to negotiate with the Daws Commission under the Act of Congress approved March 3rd, 1893, touching the equal division of lands, coal, and mining interests, and to the settlement of the claims of the Chickasaw Nation growing out of treaty stipulations with the United States and the preservation of their patent inviolate."

Nine months later it became the duty of Governor Harris to issue his proclamation ordering an election to be held for his people to vote upon the Treaty made April 23rd, 1897 between the Daws Commission and the Chickasaw Commissioners.

On November 11th, 1927, at the age of 76 years Robert M. Harris, the last beloved Ex-Governor of the Chickasaws, passed away at Tishomingo. One of the fine characters of the real pioneer days of Indian Territory. His life is linked with his people and the history of Oklahoma in an immortal way.

Besides his widow he has left her childrne, Robert M. Harris, Junior, Mrs. Dixie Tedrick, Mrs. Hallie Short; and three daughters of his former wife, Mrs. Tommie Lefoer, Mrs. Lucy Ledgerwood, and Mrs. J. Hampton Willis.

—CZARINA C. CONLAN.

SAMUEL HOUSTON MAYES.

SAMUEL HOUSTON MAYES, son of Samuel and Nancy Adair Mayes, born near Muddy Springs, in old Flint District, in the Cherokee Nation, May 11, 1845, and died at Pryor, in Mayes County, Oklahoma, at noon, on December 12, 1927. Funeral services at the First Methodist Episcopal



GOVERNOR R. M. HARRIS OF THE CHICKASAW NATION

Church South, and buried under the auspices of the local Masonic lodge. A charter member Muskogee Knight Templars, and at his death an honorary member. His eleven brothers and one sister all lived to reach their majority (except Noel), towit: George Washington Mayes, John Thompson Mayes, James A. Mayes, Joel Bryan Mayes, Francis Asbury Mayes, Walter Adair Mayes, William Henry Harrison Mayes (Tip), Rachel Mayes (who married Cullough McNair), Noel Mayes, Wiley Beam Mayes and Richard Taylor Mayes.

His father, born in east Tennessee, married in the Cherokee Country in Georgia, and emigrated to the Cherokee Nation West in 1837, settling at Muddy Springs, about three miles from the present town of Stilwell, at which afterwards was a school operated by the Cherokee Government, and at that place a Methodist camp ground. The following persons taught at this school: William Penn Adair, William Fields, Joel B. Mayes, Sophia Vann, a man from Arkansas by the name of Bartlett, a Yankee from New England by the name of Edison, another Yankee from New England by the name of Gilbert, Mrs. Carrie Bushyhead Qaurrels and Warren Adair. He and his brothers were educated at this school and at the Cherokee Male Academy, near Tahlequah.

He was elected, and served as Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation from 1895 to 1899, and as sheriff of Coo-wee-scoo-wee district from 1881 to 1885, and as a member of the Cherokee Senate from 1885 until he was elected Principal Chief. At the age of 16 he enlisted in the Confederate Army in Company "K" of which Ben Carter was Captain, Dick Carter First Lieutenant, Johnson Fields, Second Lieutenant, Ketcher Tee-hee, Third Lieutenant, Second Cherokee Regiment of which Clem Vann was Colonel, Joe Thompson, Lieutenant Colonel, and James Bell, Major. After the close of the Civil War he attended school a short time in Rush County, Texas.

Samuel Houston Mayes was married to Martha E. Vann, daughter of Dave and Martha McNair Vann, and as a result of that marriage the following children were born, towit: W. L. Mayes of Spavinaw, Oklahoma; Dr. Joe Mayes, of St. Louis, Missouri; and Carrie, now the wife of Clarence Samuels, of Pryor, Oklahoma; and a fourth who died in infancy. His wife died in 1907, he was afterwards married to Miss Minnie Ball, who, together with the above named children survive him. He was a successful, active and exemplary citizen, engaged in ranching, cattle, farming and mercantile business.

His brother, Joel B. Mayes, was elected Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation for two terms, dying during his second term.

Wash Mayes was high sheriff at Tablequah for five years, having charge of the jail and penitentiary.

Samuel Mayes, Sr., in 1849, taking with him his sons, Wash and James, as the head of a party, went to California over what is known as the "Upper California Trail," north of the Arkansas, by way of Salina, intercepting the old Santa Fe trail somewhere in what was afterwards known as No-Man's-Land, there being between thirty and forty in this party. Samuel Mayes, Sr., owned fifteen or twenty slaves.

All of the brothers finished their education at the Cherokee Male Seminary except Wash; all of his brothers served in the Confederate Army except Francis Asbury, who was in California, Wiley and Noel, the latter having died in infancy.

Wash, Thompson, Joel and Frank were born in Tennessee and the other brothers and the sister were born in the Cherokee Nation. Dennis W. Bushyhead, who was afterwards elected Chief, was a member of the party going to California in 1849. On this trip cholera broke out and one of the party by the name of Will Goss died from it. Richard Fields was also a member of the party. Walter S. Agnew, who is now nearly 86 years old and resides in Muskogee, though then a little boy, remembers this party leaving from Mayes Prairie in old Flint District for California in the spring, or early summer, of 1849, his father and mother then living near the Samuel Mayes family. He remembers the party being camped at the head of McLees Creek, and that they went out by the way of Salina on the north side of the Arkansas River, and that the following persons were in this party, towit: Samuel Mayes, Sr., Wash Mayes, Thomas Mayes, Richard Fields, Dennis Bushyhead, Sam Lasley, Will Goss, William Holt and Charlie Holt, and several others whose names he can not remember. Within a year Samuel Mayes and most of the party returned from California to their homes in the Cherokee Nation.

In 1852 his father, Samuel Mayes, Sr., together with Francis Asbury and Thompson, his sons, and others, again went to California over what is known as the Marcy Trail, by the way of Taos, New Mexico, taking and driving with them 1000 head of cattle, and placed them on a ranch in the Sacramento Valley. His father had a mulatto slave by the name of Callis who desired to accompany him on this trip, but, on account of California being non-slave territory, he hesitated to take him with him. He finally, however, arranged with Callis to sell him his freedom for \$1,000.00, and Callis indentured or bound himself to him to work until the \$1,000.00 was paid. Under this arrangement Callis accompanied him to California and remained there with Francis A. Mayes on his ranch, under this indenture, until the thousand dollars was finally paid. After the close of the Civil War Callis returned to the Cherokee Nation to visit his former Master. Leaving the cattle in the possession of his son, Francis Asbury, Samuel Mayes, Sr., with his son Thompson returned within a year to the Cherokee Nation. His son Francis A. Mayes remained in California until 1863 when he sold the ranch and cattle and started back to the Cherokee Nation. Two men, Lige Terrell, who was a Cherokee, and another man by the name of Campo, were returning with Francis Asbury Mayes from California in 1863, there being five or six in the party. In the Rocky Mountains the party divided, or separated Terrell and Campo, after reaching the Cherokee Nation, reported that the wild Indians killed Francis A. Mayes and his companions. Francis Asbury Mayes was supposed to have the proceeds of the sale of his cattle and ranch in California in gold on his person in a belt, and there was a question in the minds of the brothers who resided in the Cherokee Nation as to whether or not the wild Indians killed him or he was killed by his companions for the purpose of robbery.

The home of Samuel Mayes, Sr., was a typical southern home characteristic of slave times, except that the father and mother also taught their children to work and labor. The boys, whilst sent to school also were caused to work in the field and to look after the cattle, sheep and hogs, each son having his particular assignment and regular job. His father also raised blooded horses. Back in east Tennessee he was acquainted with Sam Houston, and Sam Houston Mayes, the son, was named both for the father and also for Sam Houston. His father also owned a slave by the name of Dave, who was a blacksmith and mechanic. In making ready to go to California in 1852 he needed to borrow \$1500.00 and pledged Dave, the slave, to John M. Murrell, a brother-in-law of John Ross, as security for the re-payment of this money within a certain time, in the meantime the tender having the use of Dave's services as interest on the money. Frequently, during the master's absence in California, Dave would come by the Mayes' home and inquire when "Mars Sammy" was coming back to redeem him. Immediately after his return he repaid the \$1500.00 in gold, counting it out on a table, and Dave returned to the plantation of his master where he and his master made wagons, Dave doing the iron work and his master the wood work, and in the conduct and treatment on the part of the master a beautiful relationship between master and slave was exemplified.

Note—The data as to the Mayes family was secured by Judge R. L. Williams from Samuel H. Mayes about six months prior to his death and also by him from Walter S. Agnew about one month after the interview with Samuel H. Mayes.)

CALVIN LUTHER (LUTE) HERBERT.

CALVIN LUTHER (LUTE) HERBERT, son of Dr. C. L. Herbert, pioneer Texas physician, and Mrs. Herbert, was born in Hardin County, Tennessee, October 8th, 1858, and died at Ardmore, Indian Territory, on October 8th, 1905. He came to Texas with his parents following the Civil War and located at Denton, Texas. Notwithstanding the meager educational opportunities of the frontier, he acquired a good knowledge of English and Latin and was admitted to the bar at about the time he reached majority. He was elected mayor of Denton when twenty-one years of age. Later he moved to Montague, Texas, and was a member of the law firm of Stephens, Matlock & Herbert.

When a United States Court was established in the Indian Territory, April 1st, 1899, together with W. A. Ledbetter, now of Oklahoma City, Mr. Herbert located at Muskogee, the firm being Herbert & Ledbetter. He was not in Muskogee at the time the court was organized, and was not admitted to the Indian Territory bar until the second term of court, on September 4th, 1899. On May 2nd, 1890, Congress provided for terms of the United States Court in the Indian Territory at Ardmore, and the firm of Herbert & Ledbetter immediately removed to that place. Soon thereafter the firm dissolved. Later, but at different

times, Mr. Herbert was associated with W. I. Cruce, Yancy Lewis and Henry M. Furman, all distinguished members of the Indian Territory bar. The association with Judge Lewis continued until Judge Lewis' appointment by President Cleveland as Judge of the United States Court for the Central District of the Indian Territory. Judge Furman was later the first Chief Justice of the Oklahoma Criminal Court of Appeals.

From the beginning Mr. Herbert stood as one of the leaders of the Ardmore bar, and retained this position to the time of his death. On account of his legal ability and sterling character he had at all times the confidence of the judiciary, the bar and the general public. He was very kind to young lawyers, and there are many members of the Oklahoma bar to-day who remember him for his kindness and consideration of them when they were beginning the practice of the law. He was never too busy to advise or too poor to help them along.

THEODORE F. BREWER.

The subject of this sketch was born January 20, 1845, in Yorkville, Gibson County, Tenn. He was the son of Dr. James Moody Brewer, a physician, his mother was Rebekah Green (Richardson) Brewer.

Mr. Brewer joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, South in early life; having been one of the first babies baptized by the Southern branch of the church. He was licensed to preach at Humbolt, Tenn., October, 1866, at the Quarterly Conference over which Rev. W. H. Leigh presided.

He was admitted on trial in the Memphis Conference at Jacksonville, Tenn., November 19, 1866, Bishop Robert Paine presiding.

In 1878 Mr. Brewer was received by transfer in the Indian Mission Conference, where he remained until his death, which occurred April 6, 1928.

On coming to the Indian Country, he was immediately placed in charge of the Asbury Manual Labor School, located near Eufaula; here he remained for a period of two years; after which he founded the Harrell International Institute in Muskogee, a school for girls; he served in this capacity for twenty-five years. During this time the name of the Institution was changed to that of Spaulding Institute.

Later Mr. Brewer was president of the Willie Halsell college at Vinita. Under the administration of the distinguished man, the paper known as "Our Brother In Red" was established and continued for a number of years. Mr. Brewer was identified with all the educational interests of the Territory and State. He was always in demand as a safe administrator in church and state; and no man among the vast number connected with the Indian Mission Conference has done more for the uplift of humanity than he. He often held as many as three very important positions, in all of which and under the most trying conditions he proved himself a man.

At the age of 16 Mr. Brewer enlisted in the Confederate army, joining the twenty-first Tennessee cavalry, under General N. B. Forrester, for whom he was bodyguard. He saw much service during the war but

always escaped serious injury. To all interests committed to him, he was faithful and true, even to the breaking point, for in those early days men's souls were tested beyond our ability to comprehend. His life was a benediction, his end was perfect peace. He was really a Christian man whom every one loved and appreciated. The remains were laid to rest in the Muskogee cemetery to await the resurrection morn.

JAMES JOSEPH McGRAW.

By Tom A. Latta.

"In our June Chronicles of Oklahoma we would like to have a short sketch of Mr. J. J. McGraw. I am going to ask if you would kindly ask Mr. Latta to write this for us. * * * He knew Mr. McGraw so well I felt he could do the subject better than anyone."—Extract from a letter forwarded me which explains everything.

Mr. Latta, being a warm personal friend of Mr. McGraw was requested to write a short sketch of him for Chronicles of Oklahoma.

Yes, I did know "Jim" McGraw—as banker, politician, host, fellow-sportsman and companion and friend. I knew him when his brow was clouded with the unjust tragedy of political defeat because of his religious views. I knew him when as an intimate and unselfish friend he would become a lovable human being. I knew him again as he grappled with an ambition or purpose and appeared like granite.

I knew him when he left the scene of his early successes in response to ambition's acceptance of widened opportunity; and I knew him when the added responsibilities were slowly but surely taking the last vestige of his natural, sunny bouyance, out of him and sapping his nervous strength. I heard, with feeling sympathy and not a little apprehension him say to me that the life he was compelled to lead as the head of a great financial institution would kill any man sooner or later; that he would give anything if he was back in Ponca City among his old friends and amidst his old surroundings.

I knew him as a keen and very sincere friend of the working man whose horizon's economic success had not widened, and as the unknown friend of many individuals who were the beneficiaries of his charity. I knew him as a devoted husband standing in tender and anxious attitude towards a helpmate he feared was solely stricken. But I shall think of him most as a grown-up boy suddenly released from school, determined to make the most of his rare recess and equally determined not to think seriously during a single second thereof. For I spent an entire week with him in the field with gun and dog, and although I have associated with sportsmen all of my adult life, I never knew a more perfect gentleman in an environment that brings out the best and the worst there is in a man in the shortest possible moment.

The life of J. J. McGraw was typical of his state. I am tempted to say he personified Oklahoma. From obscurity, if not poverty, he rose in

a few years to wealth and eminence. And he accomplished all in Oklahoma without at any time evincing anything but the deepest love and admiration for his state.

With a friend I made the sad journey to his crepe-draped home where his body lay in state—where on various occasions I had been made to enjoy his boundless hospitality. It is the last tribute we can pay those who precede us on the Great Adventure—that last, lonesome, tragic visit! As I stood beside the casket and looked down upon the face of my friend, dead even before the sun had attained the horizon, I felt a surge of rebellion that men will not knock off work while yet there is time to enjoy life and friends; that they will go on and on uselessly and unnecessarily burning the vitality of their being until at last in sheer revolt the dynamo stops.

A splendid citizen, a lovable friend, a courageous character and a Christian gentleman fell a martyr to the Gargantuan Monster, Business. But the legacy he leaves posterity and his state will continue to endure without spot or blemish.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society met in regular quarterly session, at the Capitol, May 1, 1928, with the following members present: Judge Thomas H. Doyle, vice-president, (presiding), Judge R. L. Williams, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Mrs. John R. Williams, D. W. Peery, Mrs. Frank Korn, Jasper Sipes, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Gen. Charles F. Barrett, Dr. J. S. Buchanan, Judge W. A. Ledbetter, Mrs. F. A. Roblin, Col. R. A. Sneed, J. Y. Bryce, the secretary, and Joseph B. Thoburn, the curator.

Judge Williams presented to the Society photostatic copies of the minutes of the Choctaw Mission Conference from August 6, 1836 to 1884, and the Quarterly Conference of the Choctaw District to 1880, the old capitol at Tuskahoma, the court house at Eagletown, a map of the old Cherokee Nation and a writ of summons, which were accepted by the Board of Directors on the part of the Society.

The following were elected to membership:

LIFE: William O. Beall, Tulsa; Jesse Bunch, Cenhtrahoma; Harry Campbell, Tulsa; Mrs. Margaret A. Chaney, Ada; Mrs. Anton H. Classen, Oklahoma City; John K. Cleary, Ponca City; Fred S. Cook, Tulsa; J. F. Darby, Muskogee; Horace H. Hagan, Tulsa; Robert A. Hefner, Sr., Oklahoma City; Robert A. Hefner, Jr., Oklahoma City; William J. Hefner, Oklahoma City; William B. Hudson, Henryetta; E. B. Johnson, Norman; Mrs. Emma B. Kennedy, Okemah; William C. Liedtke, Tulsa; Hayes McCoy, Bartlesville; John Bartlett Meserve, Tulsa; Thomas F. Shea, Tulsa; Chas. R. Taylor, Tulsa; Raymond A. Tolbert, Oklahoma City; Mrs. J. C. Turpin, Oklahoma City.

ANNUAL: Hubert Ambrister, Oklahoma City; Mrs. M. C. Baker, Cherokee; W. H. Ballard, Wewoka; Mrs. John H. Bass, Enid; Clyde T. Bennett, Poteau; L. P. Bobo, Oklahoma City; Mrs. C. A. Border, Tulsa; Prof. B. A. Botkin, Norman; Mrs. H. L. Boyes, Perry; Thomas P. Braidwood, Beaver; Earl A. Brown, Ardmore; Mrs. Joe D.

Burris, Oklahoma City; J. M. Coe, Muskogee; John P. Connors, McAlester; Melvin Cornish, McAlester; Scott Cummins, Jr., Freedom; Homer DeGolyer, Oklahoma City; Wesley E. Disney, Tulsa; Mrs. Nora E. Duncan, Forgan; C. Dyer, Durant; Ancel Earp, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Ora N. Eddleman, Hugo; Grover Flanagan, Heaven-er; William G. Franklin, Tulsa; Cam Galt, Oklahoma City; Robert C. Garner, Okemah; Rev. Gregory Gerr-er, Shawnee; Robert Hicks, Vinita; I. K. Huber, Bartles-ville; Charles O. Johnson, Durant; Mrs. C. V. Jones, Chickasha; Sol K. Kauffman, Tulsa; Judge L. B. Kyle, Oklahoma City; W. F. Leard, Hugo; Walter F. McDona-ld, Ft. Towson; R. R. Mills, Ponca City; Herbert M. Moore, Muskogee; O. B. Mothersead, Oklahoma City; Robert M. Mountcastle, Muskogee; Porter Newman, Du-rant; C. N. Nunn, Porter; Charles O'Connor, Tulsa; Vic-tor C. Phillips, Durant; Mrs. Lena J. Remington, Okla-homa City; Dr. A. W. Roth, Tulsa; Mrs. W. M. Sande-fur, Durant; A. R. Swank, Stillwater; P. A. Tankersley, Oklahoma City; Mrs. F. C. Tracy, Beaver; Mrs. Clara C. Waters, Granite; Charles G. Watts, Wagoner; Wilbor Wilson, Ft. Towson; C. D. Watson, Tulsa.

ANNUAL CORRESPONDING: John S. Garner, La-mar, Ark.; Mrs. Ruth G. Huddleston, Conway, Ark.; Mrs. Cecile B. Wallace, Seneca, Mo.; and Isaac Sharp Walker, Seneca, Mo.

CORRESPONDING: Otto J. Wullschleger, Frank-
fort, Kans.

HONORARY: J. P. Renfrow, Alva, Okla.

On motion G. W. Turner was elected to succeed
C. H. Daily as caretaker.

Mrs. Frank Korn was added to the legislative committee.

On motion the historical department of the Univer-
sity of Oklahoma was requested to supervise and collab-
orate with Peter J. Hudson, Sr., in the preparation of the
history of the Choctaws which is to be published in a
year book.

THOMAS H. DOYLE,
Vice-President.

J. Y. Bryce,
Secretary.

MEMBERS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY LISTED BY COUNTIES.

ADAIR:

White, W. G. ----- Watts

ALFALFA:

Baker, Mrs. M. C. ----- Cherokee

Hockenberry, Mrs. George ----- Helena

ATOKA:

Byington, R. H. ----- Atoka

Kilgore, Mrs. Chas. L. ----- Atoka

Murrow, J. S. ----- Atoka

Ralls, Joseph G. ----- Atoka

Rogers, Will ----- Atoka

Telle, A. R. ----- Atoka

BEAVER:

Braidwood, Thos. P. ----- Beaver

Cafky, Mrs. O. H. ----- Forgan

Duncan, Mrs. N. E. ----- Forgan

Thomas, Maude O. ----- Beaver

Tracy, Mrs. F. C. ----- Beaver

BECKHAM:

Denby, Mrs. J. W. ----- Carter

Higgins, Mrs. Annie L. ----- Sayre

Jones, Mrs. D. A. ----- Sayre

Moore, James J. ----- Elk City

BLAINE:

Kenison, Elmer L. ----- Longdale

BRYAN:

Bennett, H. G. ----- Durant

Benson, Tom ----- Durant

Bilbo, Mrs. C. A. ----- Caddo

Boswell, S. C. ----- Durant

Duncan, O. C. ----- Durant

Dyer, C. ----- Durant

Hotchkin, E. ----- Durant

Houston, Thomas A. ----- Durant

Jarrell, Mrs. H. R. ----- Durant

Johnson, Chas. O. ----- Durant

Lee, Mamie ----- Durant

Leecraft, A. N. ----- (Director) Durant

McCoy, Mrs. A. B. ----- Durant

Mead, Mrs. Francis ----- Calera

Morrison, W. B. ----- Durant

Muerman, J. C. ----- Durant

Newman, Porter ----- Durant

Phillips, Victor C. ----- Durant

Ross, Mrs. Mattie ----- Colbert

Sandefur, Mrs. W. M. ----- Durant

Scroggs, Luther M. ----- Durant

Semple, William ----- Durant

Smith, Gunner ----- Bennington

Turnbull, Walter J. ----- Durant

Ward, William G. ----- Caddo

Wiley, George C. ----- Durant

CADDO:

At-tock-nie, Albert ----- Apache
 Brown, Mrs. B. D. ----- Apache
 Hannah, J. W. ----- Apache
 Lay, Mrs. Otis ----- Anadarko
 Martinez, Andres ----- Anadarko
 Methvin, J. J. ----- Anadarko
 Peery, D. W. ----- (Director) Carnegie

CANADIAN:

Aderholt, Mrs. T. M. ----- El Reno
 Coley, Mrs. C. H. ----- El Reno
 Gephart, Mrs. L. R. ----- El Reno
 Hermann, Karl ----- Mustang
 Korn, Frank N. ----- El Reno
 Korn, Mrs. Frank ----- (Director) El Reno
 Miller, Mrs. M. Alice ----- El Reno
 Phillips, Dudley B. ----- Yukon
 Sturdevant, Mrs. A. H. ----- El Reno

CARTER:

Bell, R. W. ----- Wilson
 Brown, Earl A. ----- Ardmore
 Carter, Charles D. ----- Ardmore
 Colbert, Walter ----- Ardmore
 Disney, R. L. ----- Ardmore
 Folsom, Mrs. I. W. ----- Ardmore
 Hardy, A. J. ----- Ardmore
 Johnson, Mrs. Emily ----- Milo
 Johnson, Roy M. ----- (Director) Ardmore
 Mashburn, Mrs. E. J. ----- Ardmore
 Parker, P. E. ----- Ardmore
 Potter, H. C. ----- Ardmore
 Rickey, L. D. ----- Ardmore
 Shepherd, Tryon M. ----- Ardmore
 Suggs, Sidney ----- Ardmore
 Thompson, Mrs. James C. ----- Ardmore
 Warren, William F. ----- Ardmore

CHEROKEE:

Baker, Fannie A. ----- Tahlequah
 Hastings, W. W. ----- Tahlequah
 Rogers, Charles L. ----- Tahlequah

CHOCTAW:

Brown, L. A. ----- Hugo
 Eddleman, Mrs. Ora N. ----- Hugo
 Leard, W. F. ----- Swink
 Hamby, E. W. ----- Ft. Towson
 McDonald, Walter F. ----- Ft. Towson
 Wilson, Wilbor ----- Ft. Towson

CIMARRON:

Baker, William E. ----- Boise City
 Baker, Mrs. Wm. E. ----- Boise City
 Margo, Charles J. ----- Boise City
 Strong, Wm. A. ----- Boise City

CLEVELAND:

Botkin, B. A. ----- Norman
 Buchanan, Dr. J. S. ----- (Director) Norman

Colbert, Ben H. -----	Norman
Cralle, Edgar L. -----	Norman
Dale, Edward Everett -----	Norman
Downing, Ralph V. -----	Norman
Forbes, Minnie -----	Norman
Gittinger, Roy -----	Norman
Gould, Chas. N. -----	Norman
Johnson, E. B. -----	Norman
Lewis, Mrs. Frank -----	Norman
Mitchell, Margaret J. -----	Norman
Muldrow, H. L. -----	Norman
Rhyne, J. J. -----	Norman
Rude, Joe -----	Norman
Scroggs, J. W. -----	Norman
Seger, James O. -----	Norman
Shippy, Mrs. Geo. M. -----	Norman
Wardell, Morris L. -----	Norman
Whistler, Don -----	Norman
Williams, Mrs. A. J. -----	Norman

COAL:

Brunson, D. D. -----	Coalgate
Bunch, Jesse -----	Centraloma
Dunn, William M. -----	Clarita
James, William -----	Olney
Levin, Mrs. S. -----	Coalgate
Wright, E. N. -----	Olney
Wright, Muriel H. -----	Olney

COMANCHE:

Babcock, Sidney H. -----	Lawton
Clift, Wm. H. -----	Lawton
Coffey, John L. -----	Lawton
Coltharp, Mrs. M. E. -----	Lawton
Ray, R. J. -----	Lawton
Ross, Leslie P. -----	Lawton
Stevens, Walter C. -----	Lawton

COTTON:

Lines, William R. -----	Walters
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CRAIG:

Buffington, Thomas -----	Vinita
Hall, Jane Patton -----	Vinita
Hicks, Herbert -----	Vinita
Hill, Mrs. David -----	Vinita
Landrum, Mack -----	Vinita
McSpadden, Mrs. Ermina F. -----	Vinita
Moreland, R. B. -----	Vinita
Wallen, S. E. -----	Vinita

CREEK:

Brown, S. W. -----	Sapulpa
Bruner, Joseph -----	Sapulpa
Jenkins, Wm. M. -----	Sapulpa
Jones, Mrs. A. M. -----	Oilton
McDougal, Mrs. D. A. -----	Sapulpa
Phillips, C. J. -----	Sapulpa
Sapulpa, Wm. A. -----	Sapulpa
Schmidt, Louis -----	Sapulpa

Shaffer, Mrs. O. R.	Sapulpa
Walker, Don W.	Sapulpa
CUSTER:	
Butler, Josiah	Clinton
Rogers, P. O.	Clinton
DELAWARE:	
Smith, Ben F.	Kenwood
DEWEY:	
ELLIS:	
GARFIELD:	
Bass, Mrs. John H.	Enid
Bickel, Dewey	Enid
Boyle, Elizabeth	Enid
Cullison, Mrs. J. B.	Enid
Davis, Frank P.	Enid
Ellis, A. H.	Hayward
Lindsey, J. A.	Enid
Rainey, George	Enid
GARVIN:	
Bayless, Mrs. M. F.	Stratford
Grant, Chas. W.	Pauls Valley
Hamm, Bruce	Lindsay
Phillips, Mrs. R. L.	Pauls Valley
GRADY:	
Comer, J. W.	Chickasha
Hybarger, David C.	Chickasha
Jones, Mrs. C. V.	Chickasha
Lewis, Anna	Chickasha
Littlepage, Mrs. Lucy E.	Minco
Miller, Mrs. Joe J.	Chickasha
Minter, Mrs. Agnes	Pocasset
Wooten, Mrs. B. K.	Chickasha
GRANT:	
Beck, T. E.	Jefferson
Flint, Sam	Lamont
GREER:	
Border, George F.	Mangum
Waters, Mrs. Clara C.	Granite
HARMON:	
HARPER:	
Farmer, Johnson E.	Laverne
HASKELL:	
HUGHES:	
Bilby, N. V.	Holdenville
Cordell, John	Holdenville
Jacobs, John A.	Holdenville
Lawrence, C. M.	Holdenville
Lawson, Lewis C.	Holdenville
Morgan, C. E.	Holdenville
Plettner, M. W.	Holdenville
Stanford, C. C.	Holdenville
Thomas, Mrs. Lloyd	Holdenville
Thompson, H. E.	Wetumka
Toney, W. B.	Holdenville
Warren, Frank L.	Holdenville

JACKSON:

Allgood, S. Y. ----- Eldorado

JEFFERSON:

Sessions, C. H. ----- Waurika

JOHNSTON:

Johnston, Douglas H. ----- Milburn

McCall, Charles A. ----- Tishomingo

McCool, R. M. ----- Tishomingo

Van Noy, Mrs. G. A. ----- Tishomingo

KAY:

Alverson, Mrs. Mary ----- Blackwell

Cleary, John K. ----- Ponca City

Clubb, Mrs. Laura ----- Kaw City

Evens, Mrs. Walter W. ----- Blackwell

Fisher, L. S. ----- Tonkawa

Lincoln, Sam B. ----- Chilocco

Lucas, Mrs. Frank ----- (Director) Ponca City

Mills, R. R. ----- Ponca City

Reihl, Mrs. John ----- Blackwell

Robertson, Harry C. ----- Blackwell

Soldani, S. J. ----- Ponca City

Whaley, W. S. ----- Blackwell

KINGFISHER:

Bowman, George L. ----- Kingfisher

Ehler, Mrs. Annette ----- Hennessey

Ferrel, Lewis A. ----- Hennessey

Hopkins, Mrs. H. E. ----- Kingfisher

Townsend, Benj. I. ----- Hennessey

Wickmiller, C. P. ----- Kingfisher

KIOWA:

Davis, Carol M. ----- Lone Wolf

Rule, Mrs. Carrie B. ----- Hobart

LATIMER:

Frazier, Mrs. J. R. ----- (Director) Wilburton

Harris, J. M. ----- Wilburton

Huskins, Mrs. J. W. ----- Wilburton

Hysmith, L. G. ----- Wilburton

Hysmith, Mrs. L. G. ----- Wilburton

Rockett, Mrs. Ida ----- Wilburton

Thomas, Mrs. Lucile B. ----- Wilburton

Tourtellotte, E. E. ----- Wilburton

LE FLORE:

Bell, Walter S. ----- Heavener

Blackwell, Mrs. Frank M. ----- Heavener

Bennett, Clyde T. ----- Poteau

Flanagan, Grover ----- Heavener

Folsom, Sweeney ----- Poteau

Freeman, J. E. ----- Poteau

Harris, Mrs. M. L. ----- Wister

Harrison, William ----- Poteau

Tibbitts, Frank H. ----- Spiro

Wright, Mrs. Rush L. ----- Talihina

LINCOLN:

Newton, Basil E. ----- Stroud

Thomson, S. Carrie ----- Meeker

LOGAN:

Bishop, Bertha ----- Guthrie

Derwin, H. W.	Guthrie
Dibbins, Mrs. Bert	Guthrie
Green, Fred W.	Guthrie
Hearn, Leota	Marshall
Orner, Frank C.	Goodnight
Pearson, Mrs. Lola	Marshall
LOVE:	
MAJOR:	
MARSHALL:	
MAYES:	
Anderson, Mrs. J. C.	Pryor
Brown, Mrs. C. W.	Pryor
Harrison, Thomas J.	Pryor
McCLAIN:	
Allen, Henry O.	Washington
McCURTAIN:	
Barnett, Somers E.	Valliant
Dyer, Mrs. James	Broken Bow
Gardner, E. J.	Valliant
McINTOSH:	
Brown, Mrs. Lewis	Eufaula
Grayson, G. W.	Eufaula
MURRAY:	
Bolling, Mrs. W. C.	Davis
Greer, Mrs. Tom M.	Davis
MUSKOGEE:	
Butler, M. L.	Muskogee
Clonts, T. P.	Muskogee
Coe, J. M.	Muskogee
Darby, J. F.	Muskogee
Dawson, Charles W.	Muskogee
Ellis, C. L.	Muskogee
Fite, Mrs. F. B.	Muskogee
Foreman, Grant	(Director) Muskogee
Foreman, Mrs. Grant	Muskogee
Gibson, James D.	Muskogee
Harrison, R. P.	Muskogee
Hester, Mrs. G. D.	Muskogee
Hill, George W.	Muskogee
Kerr, Eugene M.	Muskogee
King, Tom F.	Muskogee
Linebaugh, Mrs. D. H.	Muskogee
Lyon, Harry	Muskogee
McClendon, Mrs. Mary S.	Bacone
Moore, Herbert M.	Muskogee
Mountcastle, R. M.	Muskogee
Murchison, A. H.	Muskogee
Robertson, Alice M.	Muskogee
Templeton, John L.	Muskogee
Turner, C. W.	Muskogee
Turner, Mrs. C. W.	Muskogee
Williams, Judge R. L.	(Director) Muskogee
Young, Vester L.	Wainright
NOBLE:	
Boyes, Mrs. H. L.	Perry
Tucker, Mrs. A. W.	Perry
NOWATA:	
Graham, Gid	Nowata
Roberts, Mrs. W. E.	Nowata
OKFUSKEE:	
Camp, Mrs. Sterling	Castle
Douglass, Frank P.	Okemah

Garner, Robert C. -----	Okemah
Grafa, J. D. -----	Okemah
Kennedy, Mrs. Emma B. -----	Okemah
Wren, Thomas H. -----	Okemah
OKLAHOMA:	
Alexander, Chas. J. -----	Oklahoma City
Alexander, Mrs. Mary E. -----	Oklahoma City
Ambrister, Hubert -----	Oklahoma City
Ames, Charles B. -----	Oklahoma City
Anderson, Mrs. Gladys -----	Oklahoma City
Anderson, Mrs. Lulu D. -----	Oklahoma City
Arthur, W. J. -----	Oklahoma City
Barnes, George G. -----	Oklahoma City
Barrett, Gen. Charles F. -----	(Director) Oklahoma City
Bassett, Mrs. Mabel -----	Oklahoma City
Bird, H. V. -----	Oklahoma City
Blakeney, B. B. -----	Oklahoma City
Blakeney, R. Q. -----	Oklahoma City
Bobo, L. P. -----	Oklahoma City
Bolend, Dr. Floyd J. -----	Oklahoma City
Bonner, Mrs. Selena -----	Oklahoma City
Braine, Mrs. Clarence -----	Oklahoma City
Branson, Judge Fred P. -----	Oklahoma City
Bremicker, Katherine E. -----	Oklahoma City
Brewer, Judge Phil D. -----	(Director) Oklahoma City
Briles, Chas. W. -----	Oklahoma City
Bryce, J. Y. -----	Oklahoma City
Bryce, Mrs. J. Y. -----	Oklahoma City
Burford, Frank B. -----	Oklahoma City
Burnham, Walter C. -----	Oklahoma City
Burris, Mrs. Joe D. -----	Oklahoma City
Callahan, L. Dudley -----	Oklahoma City
Canfield, Bess -----	Oklahoma City
Capshaw, Fred -----	Oklahoma City
Carter, Frank -----	Oklahoma City
Chambers, Mrs. T. G., Sr. -----	Oklahoma City
Childers, C. C. -----	Oklahoma City
Clark, B. E. -----	Oklahoma City
Clark, Mrs. Eva -----	Oklahoma City
Clarke, Hon. J. W. -----	Oklahoma City
Classen, Mrs. Anton H. -----	Oklahoma City
Clegern, Mrs. H. W. -----	Oklahoma City
Cobb, Randell S. -----	Oklahoma City
Colcord, Charles F. -----	(Director) Oklahoma City
Colonial Dames -----	Oklahoma City
Conger, Mrs. George C. -----	Oklahoma City
Conlan, Michael -----	Oklahoma City
Conlan, Mrs. Czarina C. -----	Oklahoma City
Conner, J. Carl -----	Oklahoma City
Cordell, Harry B. -----	Oklahoma City
Cowgill, Mrs. W. J. -----	Edmond
Cox, Mrs. Malcolm -----	Oklahoma City
Dabney, Edwin -----	Oklahoma City
Dague, Mabel -----	Oklahoma City
Dahlgren, Mrs. Jennie D. -----	Oklahoma City
Dailey, C. H. -----	Oklahoma City
Dale, Mrs. J. R. -----	Oklahoma City
Danford, William P. -----	Oklahoma City
Davenport, Judge James S. -----	Oklahoma City
Davis, Mrs. Chas. E. -----	Oklahoma City
Davis, George Ade -----	Oklahoma City
Dawson, Floy S. -----	Oklahoma City

Day, C. R. -----	Oklahoma City
DeGolyer, Homer L. -----	Oklahoma City
DeLesdernier, Mrs. M. J. -----	Oklahoma City
Dennis, Mrs. Levinia P. -----	Oklahoma City
Dollarhide, C. B. -----	Oklahoma City
Doss, Mrs. C. O. -----	Oklahoma City
Doyle, Judge Thomas H. -----	(Director) Oklahoma City
Draper, Stanley C. -----	Oklahoma City
Durant, W. A. -----	(Director) Oklahoma City
Earp, Ance -----	Oklahoma City
Eastland, Isabel -----	Oklahoma City
Edwards, Mrs. Ellen C. -----	Oklahoma City
Edwards, Mrs. R. J. -----	Oklahoma City
Edwards, Judge Thomas A. -----	(Director) Oklahoma City
Embry, John -----	Oklahoma City
Ensign, Inez -----	Oklahoma City
Everest, Robert K. -----	Oklahoma City
Fessler, Walter J. -----	Oklahoma City
Flick, Mrs. George -----	Oklahoma City
Flynn, Dennis T. -----	Oklahoma City
Flynt, Elmo D. -----	Oklahoma City
Forsythe, George R. -----	Oklahoma City
Francis, Mrs. Helen S. -----	Oklahoma City
Fuller, Guy H. -----	Oklahoma City
Gafford, T. F. -----	Oklahoma City
Galt, Cam -----	Oklahoma City
Garretson, Gilbert I. -----	Oklahoma City
Garver, Mrs. Sue E. -----	Oklahoma City
Girvin, Mrs. Chas. G. -----	Oklahoma City
Godwin, Mrs. W. B. -----	Oklahoma City
Gordon, G. I. -----	Oklahoma City
Gordon, Jeannette -----	Oklahoma City
Green, E. G. -----	Oklahoma City
Green, George M. -----	Oklahoma City
Gritts, Levi B. -----	Oklahoma City
Grumbine, Grant B. -----	Oklahoma City
Hall, Loda -----	Oklahoma City
Hansen, Frederick J. -----	Oklahoma City
Harbour, Mrs. Emma Estill -----	(Director) Edmond
Harreld, J. W. -----	Oklahoma City
Harrell, Mrs. J. B. -----	Oklahoma City
Harrison, Ben F. -----	Oklahoma City
Harrison, Judge John B. -----	Oklahoma City
Hawk, J. W. -----	Oklahoma City
Hawkins, Mrs. Lucky -----	Oklahoma City
Hawley, Mrs. Blanche H. -----	Oklahoma City
Hay, Miller D. -----	Oklahoma City
Heaney, Mrs. A. S. -----	Oklahoma City
Hefner, Robert A. Jr. -----	Oklahoma City
Hefner, Judge Robert A., Sr. -----	Oklahoma City
Hefner, William J. -----	Oklahoma City
Henley, Clarence L. -----	Oklahoma City
Hickman, M. B. -----	Oklahoma City
Hicks, Jewell -----	Oklahoma City
Highly, Mont. F. -----	Oklahoma City
Hilseweck, Mrs. Alice E. -----	Oklahoma City
Hinshaw, Elihu B. -----	Oklahoma City
Hoffman, Roy -----	Oklahoma City
Holloway, J. W. -----	Oklahoma City
Hoover, Maurine -----	Oklahoma City
Hovis, Wm. Forney -----	Oklahoma City
Huckins, Mrs. Joseph, Jr. -----	Oklahoma City

Hudlow, Mrs A. J. -----	Oklahoma City
Hudson, Clark C. -----	Oklahoma City
Huffington, R. M. -----	Oklahoma City
Hunt, Judge A. C. -----	Oklahoma City
Hunt, William T. -----	Oklahoma City
Hunter, Fred W. -----	Oklahoma City
Hurt, Mrs. Florence E. -----	Oklahoma City
Hutchinson, Lillie E. -----	Oklahoma City
Hyde, Mrs. Marion -----	Oklahoma City
Janeway, P. A. -----	Oklahoma City
Jennings, Reed V. -----	Oklahoma City
Johnston, Mrs. D. H. -----	Oklahoma City
Johnston, Hon. Henry S. -----	(Director) Oklahoma City
Johnston, Mrs. L. L. -----	Oklahoma City
Jones, James A. -----	Oklahoma City
Jones, Mrs. J. E. -----	Oklahoma City
Keaton, J. R. -----	Oklahoma City
Keller, Charles D. -----	Oklahoma City
Kerfoot, J. S. -----	Oklahoma City
Key, Col. William S. -----	(Director) Oklahoma City
Kingkade, Andrew -----	Oklahoma City
Kirkpatrick, E. E. -----	Oklahoma City
Kyle, Judge L. B. -----	Oklahoma City
Landrum, Mrs. J. L. -----	Oklahoma City
Lane, M. J. -----	Oklahoma City
Ledbetter, Judge W. A. -----	(Director) Oklahoma City
Ledbetter, Mrs. W. A. -----	Oklahoma City
Lee, Harvey M. -----	Oklahoma City
Leeper, Graves -----	Oklahoma City
LeFlore, Louis -----	Oklahoma City
Lester, Judge E. F. -----	Oklahoma City
Lester, Mrs. E. F. -----	Oklahoma City
Lewis, L. Howell -----	Oklahoma City
Lininger, Herbert K. -----	Oklahoma City
Logan, O. J. -----	Oklahoma City
Long, LeRoy -----	Oklahoma City
Long, Mrs. LeRoy -----	Oklahoma City
Lucado, T. J. -----	Oklahoma City
Lybrand, Walter A. -----	Oklahoma City
Lydick, J. D. -----	Oklahoma City
Malone, Mrs. E. S. -----	Oklahoma City
Mann, Joseph D. -----	Oklahoma City
Manning, A. F. -----	Oklahoma City
Marriott, W. G. -----	Oklahoma City
Mason, Judge C. W. -----	Oklahoma City
Matson, Mrs. Smith C. -----	Oklahoma City
Mayes, George W. -----	Oklahoma City
McAlister, Wm. C. -----	Oklahoma City
McBee, Wm. D. -----	Oklahoma City
McCormick, John S. -----	Oklahoma City
McCoy, Lucille M. -----	Oklahoma City
McPherron, Charles E. -----	Oklahoma City
Means, Mrs. R. L. -----	Oklahoma City
Messenbaugh, Mrs. J. F. -----	Oklahoma City
Meyer, William -----	Oklahoma City
Miller, Emmet -----	Oklahoma City
Miller, Mrs. J. W. -----	Oklahoma City
Miller, Wm. L. -----	Oklahoma City
Mitchell, Mrs. J. G. -----	Edmond
Mitchell, Robert V. -----	Oklahoma City
Moore, Mrs. Jessie R. -----	(Director) Oklahoma City
Moorman, L. J. -----	Oklahoma City

Mothersead, O. B. -----	Oklahoma City
Mulholland, Martha A. -----	Oklahoma City
Murphy, W. A. Pat -----	Oklahoma City
Newman, James A. -----	Oklahoma City
Noble, William -----	Oklahoma City
Norman, James A. -----	Oklahoma City
Owen, Frederick B. -----	Oklahoma City
Owen, J. M. -----	Oklahoma City
Owen, Maude -----	Oklahoma City
Parr, Mrs. J. O. -----	Oklahoma City
Parr, J. O. -----	Oklahoma City
Parry, Rees F. -----	Oklahoma City
Peacock, Mrs. Mabel -----	Oklahoma City
Perry, Mrs. A. E. -----	Oklahoma City
Pettee, W. J. -----	Oklahoma City
Pettee, Mrs. W. J. -----	Oklahoma City
Phelps, Judge James I. -----	Oklahoma City
Price, Prentiss, Jr. -----	Oklahoma City
Radcliffe, E. W. -----	Oklahoma City
Rankin, Guy M. -----	Edmond
Ratliff, Clinton -----	Oklahoma City
Rauch, Byron C. -----	Oklahoma City
Read, Jesse G. -----	Oklahoma City
Ream, Robert L. -----	Oklahoma City
Reed, Tom B. -----	Oklahoma City
Remington, Mrs. Lena -----	Oklahoma City
Renfrow, Stella -----	Oklahoma City
Riggins, Mrs. Fay -----	Oklahoma City
Rigsby, Mrs. A. J. -----	Oklahoma City
Riley, Judge Fletcher -----	Oklahoma City
Ringland, Mrs. E. B. -----	Oklahoma City
Robb, Mrs. Helen D. -----	Oklahoma City
Roberts, Una Lee -----	Oklahoma City
Roblin, Mrs. W. A. -----	(Director) Oklahoma City
Rogers, John -----	Oklahoma City
Rounds, J. B. -----	Oklahoma City
Rucker, Alvin -----	Oklahoma City
Ryan, J. A. -----	Oklahoma City
Ryder, Raymond -----	Oklahoma City
Sacra, Mrs. Clemie G. -----	Oklahoma City
Sadler, H. L. -----	Oklahoma City
Saunders, George B., Jr. -----	Oklahoma City
Schonwald, Mrs. Morris -----	Oklahoma City
Seberger, Emma -----	Oklahoma City
Selken, Mary A. -----	Oklahoma City
Shafer, W. T. -----	Oklahoma City
Shaw, A. S. J. -----	Oklahoma City
Sipes, Jasper -----	(Director) Oklahoma City
Slaughter, J. P. -----	Oklahoma City
Smith, Mrs. Juanita -----	Oklahoma City
Sneed, Col. Richard A. -----	(Director) Oklahoma City
Snyder, Henry G. -----	Oklahoma City
Speers, Mrs. J. K. -----	Oklahoma City
Spurrier, O. K. -----	Oklahoma City
Stanwood, Frances A. -----	Oklahoma City
Stinson, Margaret E. -----	Oklahoma City
Tankersley, P. A. -----	Oklahoma City
Taylor, Judge Baxter -----	(Director) Oklahoma City
Taylor, John E. -----	Oklahoma City
Thing, L. G. -----	Oklahoma City
Thoburn, Joseph B. -----	Oklahoma City
Thoburn, Mrs. Joseph B. -----	Oklahoma City

Thompson, Mrs. Ela S.	-----	Oklahoma City
Thompson, Judge Wm. P.	----- (Director)	Oklahoma City
Tolbert, Raymond A.	-----	Oklahoma City
Turpin, Mrs. C. J.	-----	Oklahoma City
Van Leuven, Mrs. Kathryn	-----	Oklahoma City
Van Nort, Turner	-----	Oklahoma City
Vaughan, John S.	-----	Oklahoma City
Vaught, Ed. S.	-----	Oklahoma City
Waggoner, Mrs. R. L.	-----	Oklahoma City
Wallace, Mrs. Sarah E.	-----	Oklahoma City
Walker, Paul A.	-----	Oklahoma City
Ward, Mrs. W. T.	-----	Oklahoma City
Warden, S. R.	-----	Oklahoma City
Weems, Ray O.	-----	Oklahoma City
Wells, George C.	-----	Oklahoma City
Westervelt, E. E.	-----	Oklahoma City
Wheeler, Fenton	-----	Oklahoma City
Whinery, F. W.	-----	Oklahoma City
Williams, Allan D.	-----	Oklahoma City
Williams, Mrs. John R.	----- (Director)	Oklahoma City
Williams, William H.	-----	Oklahoma City
Woolman, Ruth	-----	Oklahoma City

OKMULGEE:

Badger, Mrs. B. J.	-----	Okmulgee
Beckett, A. L.	-----	Okmulgee
Bocher, Chas. J.	-----	Okmulgee
Hoff, Lowell R.	-----	Okmulgee
Hudson, William B.	-----	Okmulgee
Lambert, O. A.	-----	Okmulgee
Spring, Otto F.	-----	Okmulgee
Switzer, W. Y.	-----	Henryetta

OSAGE:

Abbott, John	-----	Hominy
Beaulieu, Mrs. G. H.	-----	Pawhuska
Gay, E. L.	-----	Pawhuska
Grinstead, E. E.	-----	Pawhuska
Hadley, A. W.	-----	Hominy
Leahy, Mrs. W. T.	-----	Pawhuska
Palmer, John F.	-----	Pawhuska
Phillips, John	-----	Pawhuska
White, H. P.	-----	Pawhuska

OTTAWA:

Carson, R. L.	-----	Picher
Thompson, Vern E.	-----	Miami

PAWNEE:

Boles, Mrs. W. H.	-----	Cleveland
Byers, J. C.	-----	Cleveland
Davis, Joe	-----	Pawnee
Hale, James H.	-----	Pawnee
Lillie, Gordon W.	-----	Pawnee

PAYNE:

Bishop, John	-----	Stillwater
Cady, Hazel	-----	Stillwater
Good, Mrs. John	-----	Cushing
Hancock, Mrs. F. B.	-----	Yale
Little, Mrs. Blanche E.	-----	Cushing
Moore, Guy R.	-----	Stillwater
Murphy, Wyche B.	-----	Stillwater
Reynolds, T. H.	-----	Stillwater
Swank, A. R.	-----	Stillwater

PITTSBURG:

Barnes, Mrs. Sudie	-----	McAlester
--------------------	-------	-----------

Christian, Mrs. Emma E. -----	Hartshorne
Connors, John P. -----	McAlester
Cornish, Melvin -----	McAlester
Courts, Mrs. Joe T. -----	Quinton
Gotcher, Mrs. W. E. -----	McAlester
Harris, Walter R. -----	McAlester
Lester, Mrs. Press -----	McAlester
Lester, P. S. -----	McAlester
McAlester, Mrs. J. B. -----	McAlester
McAlester, Mrs. W. B. -----	McAlester
McClendon, J. W. -----	McAlester
Metcalf, Mrs. George L. -----	McAlester
Moncrief, George W. -----	Canadian
Rivers, H. Paul -----	Hartshorne
Wright, Allen -----	McAlester
Willis, C. L. -----	McAlester
PONTOTOC:	
Averytt, A. N. -----	Ada
Braly, Mrs. Leonard A. -----	Ada
Chaney, Mrs. Margaret A. -----	Ada
Cox, C. Raymond -----	Ada
Eby, W. H. -----	Ada
Fleet, Mrs. Jim -----	Ada
Galbraith, Mrs. C. A. -----	Ada
Norris, P. A. -----	Ada
Trice, George -----	Ada
POTTAWATOMIE:	
Amos, Mrs. Agnes G. -----	Shawnee
Bicknell, Mrs. W. S. -----	Tecumseh
Clardy, Ben J. -----	Shawnee
Drake, Mrs. J. W. -----	Tecumseh
Frazier, Mrs. Sudie Meek -----	McLoud
Gerrer, Gregory -----	Shawnee
Hanon, Mrs. L. V. -----	Tecumseh
Harward, George N. -----	Shawnee
Klapp, John D. -----	Tecumseh
Rosebush, Mrs. Sue A. -----	Tecumseh
Stanard, E. C. -----	Shawnee
Townsend, Mrs. C. W. -----	Shawnee
PUSHMATAHA:	
Caldwell, Charles B. -----	Antlers
Easton, Mrs. Ray -----	Antlers
Frazier, R. W. -----	Finley
Hampton, Mrs. M. E. -----	Antlers
Hudson, Peter J., Sr. -----	Tuskahoma
Locke, Victor M., Jr. -----	Antlers
Redman, Clara -----	Antlers
Sharp, Leo -----	Antlers
ROGER MILLS:	
Young, Mrs. Della -----	Cheyenne
ROGERS:	
Bryan, Mrs. Rachel B. -----	Claremore
Eaton, Mrs. Rachel C. -----	Claremore
McSpadden, Mrs. Tom -----	Chelsea
SEMINOLE:	
Ballard, W. H. -----	Wewoka
Crain, Allen -----	Sasakwa
Davis, Mrs. Alice B. -----	Wewoka
Stephens, E. E. -----	Seminole
SEQUOYAH:	
Dodson, Joseph H. -----	Roland
Frye, Ed -----	Sallisaw

Hansen, Harvey C	Marble City
STEPHENS:	
Edwards, Mrs. L. A.	Marlow
Gibson, Felix	Duncan
Jackson, Elizabeth	Duncan
McKinney, Mrs. O. R.	Marlow
Stanton, R. J.	Marlow
TEXAS:	
Bollinger, J. J.	Tyrone
Hayes, R. B.	Guymon
TILLMAN:	
Garner, Charles W.	Grandfield
TULSA:	
Beall, Wm. O.	Tulsa
Benedict, Omer K.	Tulsa
Blackburn, Louis	Tulsa
Border, Mrs. C. A.	Tulsa
Bush, Charles E.)	Tulsa
Campbell, Harry A.	Tulsa
Clinton, Fred S.	Tulsa
Cole, Redmond S.	Tulsa
Cook, Fred S.	Tulsa
Denton, James C.	Tulsa
Disney, Wesley E.	Tulsa
Farris, Mrs. R. C.	Tulsa
Ferguson, Walter	Tulsa
Franklin, Wallace C.	Tulsa
Gardner, John A.	Tulsa
Gilmore, C. R.	Tulsa
Goforth, W. A.	Tulsa
Graham, Newton R.	Tulsa
Greene, Frank C.	Tulsa
Greer, Frank H.	Tulsa
Gubser, N. J.	Tulsa
Hagan, Horace H.	Tulsa
Hardy, Summers	Tulsa
Harrison, George	Tulsa
Hartshorne, Mrs. G. E.	Tulsa
Hays, Frank C.	Tulsa
Heigener, Henry W.	Tulsa
Hill, J. H.	Tulsa
Hurley, Patrick J.	Tulsa
Ironside, R. P.	Tulsa
Jones, E. D.	Tulsa
Kauffman, Sol H.	Tulsa
Koontz, F. B.	Tulsa
Lamb, C. H.	Tulsa
Larkin, Pierce	Tulsa
Lawson, Mrs. Eugene B.	Tulsa
Liedtke, William C.	Tulsa
Lindsey, Mrs. Lilah D.	Tulsa
Lundy, Elmer J.	Tulsa
Lyons, Thomas D.	Tulsa
Meagher, Thomas F.	Tulsa
Meserve, John B.	Tulsa
Morris, Mrs. Dan	Tulsa
O'Connor, Charles	Tulsa
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BOOK REVIEW

The address of Dr. Charles N. Gould, as the retiring president of the Oklahoma Academy of Science, delivered at the annual meeting, at Norman, November 25, 1927, entitled "Oklahoma, the Geologist's Laboratory," has been published in the form of a sixteen-page pamphlet, as Circular No. 16 of the Oklahoma Geological Survey. Like all of Dr. Gould's writings, the layman can not only read it understandingly but find it of instructive interest as well. It is well illustrated. While the remarkable variety of geological structures available for examination in Oklahoma is such that it has possibly been subject to as much intensive investigation and study as that of any other area of equal size in the world, Doctor Gould, who became its first publicity exponent, in 1900, still remains its most efficient and enthusiastic protagonist.—J. B. T.

"Campaigning with Custer and the Nineteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry in the Washita Campaign, 1868-69," by David L. Spotts; edited and arranged for publication by E. A. Brininstool. 8vo, 215 pp.; map and 14 illustrations. (Limited edition, each copy numbered and signed by the author). Los Angeles, the Wetzel Publishing Company, 1928. Price, \$10.00.

With General Custer's "Wild Life on the Plains," Governor Samuel J. Crawford's "Kansas in the 'Sixties" and the contributions of Colonel Horace L. Moore and James Albert Hadley, published in the "Collections" of the Kansas State Historical Society, already furnishing fairly voluminous material pertaining to the Washita Campaign, in Western Oklahoma in 1868-9, it was scarcely to be hoped or expected that much more important material would come to light. In this newly published book, however, the material assumed a different form from previous publications relating to this notable campaign, since it is a reproduction of diary or journal kept from day to day by a lad who was the company clerk of Troop L, of the 19th Kansas Cavalry. Naturally, it contains a wealth of detail that does not appear in any of the previously published writings concerning the incidents of the Washita Campaign. One noticeable error appears in the

map, which locates the site of the Battle of the Washita in Custer County, near the present county-seat town of Arapaho, instead of near the site of Cheyenne, county-seat of Roger Mills County, where that action really occurred. Taken as a whole, this book is a valuable contribution to the source material for the history of Western Oklahoma of the period to which it relates—J. B. T.

A FORTHCOMING OKLAHOMA BOOK

Mr. Hubert E. Collins, of Utica, New York, who has been a corresponding member of the Oklahoma Historical Society for a number of years past, is the author of a volume entitled "Warpath and Cattle Trails," which is to be published next fall, by the William Morrow Company, of New York City. This book will contain about 320 pages, and is to be illustrated with reproductions of drawings made by Paul Brown. The introduction is by Hamlin Garland, who always manifests a personal interest in matters pertaining to Oklahoma.

The author's parents made their home at old Darlington, where they were connected with the U. S. Indian Agency for the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes, during the late 'seventies and early 'eighties of the last century, just as he was emerging from boyhood into youth. During the latter part of that period (1881-4), much of his time was spent at Red Fork Ranch, which was located on the site of the present town of Dover, in Kingfisher County, and of which his brother, Ralph Collins, was one of the owners. This establishment was not only a range but a road store on the Chisholm Trail. His personal contact with the cowboys who were driving road herds to the shipping station at Caldwell, with Indians, stage drivers, freighters and soldiers, as he met or saw them passing up and down on the historic old trail and that at a period of life when such impressions and memories were formed to last a life time, should abundantly qualify him to write some very entertaining and instructive reminiscences.

Mr. Collins left the Indian Territory to go east and enter college, in 1884, and has never been back to the scene of these early associations. He has had a long and successful career in the engineering profession, to the technical literature of

which he has been a more or less frequent contributor. It is only within the past four or five years that the memories of the years long gone have stirred him to undertake a series of short stories to be entitled "Indian Tales." His most important undertaking in this line, however, is to be a history of Darlington and of the Indian Agency at that place, the latter to be profusely illustrated from a series of rare old photographs, which have been secured from the relatives of various people who, at one time or another, were connected with or employed at the Agency, at Darlington. He has spent a number of years in gathering not only these photographs but also much documentary material which will be utilized or embodied in the contents of the projected historical work.

The publication of the material which Mr. Collins has in preparation should result in throwing much additional light, not only upon the local history of the Darlington and other points along the Chisholm Trail, but also upon the life and activities of the period and region concerning which he writes. Moreover, it may be expected to cover a field concerning which not much has hitherto been available to students of local history, so its appearance will be awaited with unusual interest.

—JOSEPH B. THOBURN.

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