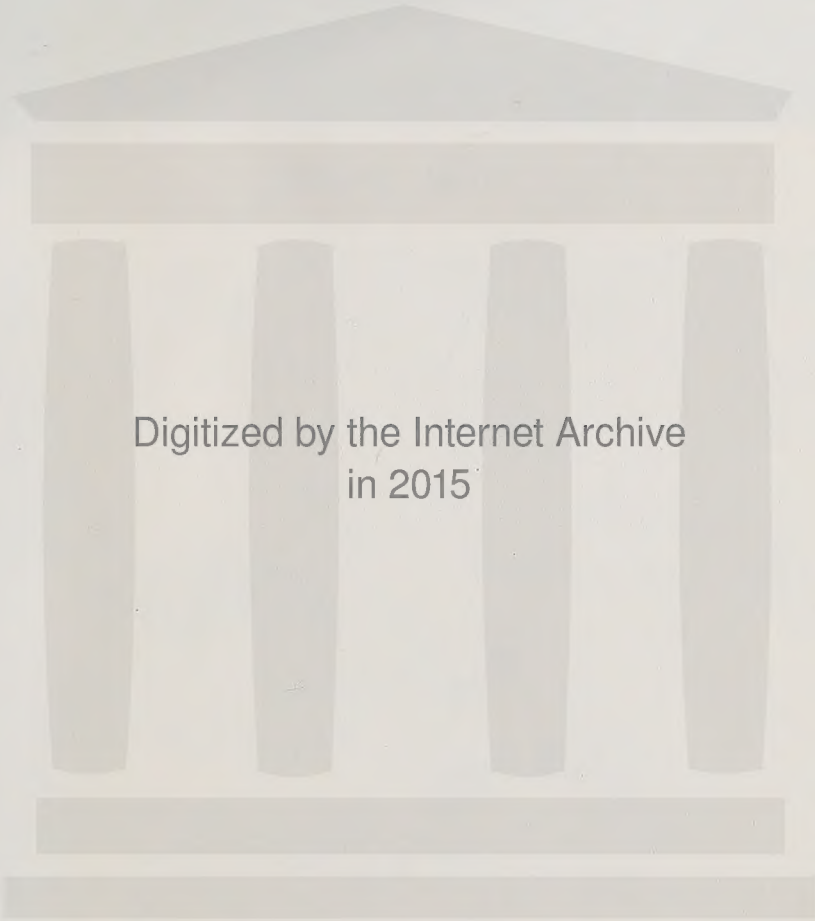


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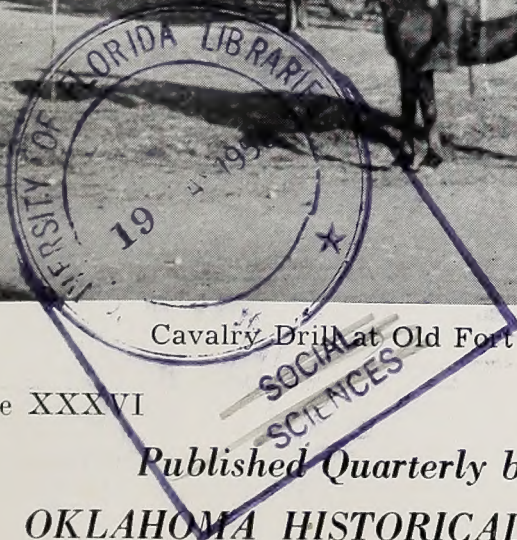
Cavalry Drill at Old Fort Sill

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Cover: Drill in full dress uniform, by Troops E, F, H, K of the Seventh Cavalry and D, L of the Fifth Cavalry on the old parade ground at Fort Sill, Indian Territory, 1890. Print from the original photograph in the U. S. Army Artillery and Missile Center Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

OLD FORT SILL: THE FIRST SEVEN YEARS

*By Gillett Griswold**

An act of prophecy can be seen in the establishment of Fort Sill. Here at the Medicine Bluffs, a site held most sacred from time immemorial by the southern prairie tribes, located in the heart of their territory and symbolizing to the fullest their age-old traditions and customs, the Army founded the post that was destined to bring to a close their wild free life on the Plains.

The stage was set for this by Major General "Little Phil" Sheridan's winter campaign of 1868-69, which had opened with Custer's attack on the Cheyennes at the Washita and continued with the movement of 2,000 troops from Camp Supply to Fort Cobb to the site of Fort Sill. Simultaneously a second column from Fort Bascom, New Mexico Territory, was operating to the east, and a third force from Fort Lyon, Colorado Territory, was scouring the country to the north. But these far-flung movements, carried out in the face of blinding snowstorms and torrential rains, failed to accomplish their immediate goal. The eastern column surprised and destroyed one Comanche village of about 60 lodges before turning back at the Washita. The northern column marched over 1,200 miles without encountering any Indians. And the cavalry encamped at Medicine Bluffs, consisting of the Seventh and Tenth U. S. Regiments and the Nineteenth Kansas Volunteers, were temporarily immobilized by their exposure-weakened horses and the failure of supply trains to get through from Fort Arbuckle. General Sheridan, reporting to General Sherman from "Headquarters Department of the Missouri, In the Field, Camp on Medicine Bluff Creek, Wichita Mountains," wrote: "The most of these Indians are very wild, and they must be kept in hand by a strong force for some time to come."¹ This observation was made on the same day in which he staked out the ground plan for the Post, January 8, 1869.

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¹ Letter, General Sheridan to General Sherman, respecting his operations in the Indian Country &c., January 8, 1869. In Sheridan Papers, Press Copy Book "Operations 4," p. 150.



(From original sketch, Fort Sill Museum)

Bird's-eye view of Fort Sill, Indian Territory, 1877. View looking west.

But though the winter campaign was severe on the troops, it was equally crippling to the hostiles. The war had frightened out most of the game, so that hunger stalked the Indian camps; and the Indian horses, while they held up better than the cavalry mounts on the scant forage available, were also dying by the score. By the end of January, the Kiowa and Comanche bands that had been assembling at Fort Cobb had reported in to Medicine Bluffs where Satanta and Lone Wolf, the head chiefs of the Kiowas, were held as hostages by the Seventh Cavalry. General Sheridan released the two leaders on February 15, and laid down terms for the Comanches through Horse Back, the friendly chief of the Noconee band. The following day, with General Custer present, Sheridan held a council in front of his headquarters tent with some fifty leading chiefs of the Kiowa nation. He warned them of dire consequences if they persisted in raiding the settlements in the surrounding states and territories, and received their assurances that they would keep the peace. A firm believer in the success of the Reservation system if administered by the War Department, Sheridan felt that it was the only thing that stood between the Plains Indians and extermination.²

After assigning to Brevet Major General Benjamin H. Grierson and his Tenth Cavalry Regiment the task of building the new post, General Sheridan departed on February 23 for the railhead at Fort Hays, Kansas, over 400 miles distant where he would entrain for Chicago. On March 2, General Custer moved out with the Seventh Cavalry and the Nineteenth Kansas Volunteers to seek the Arapahos and Cheyennes on the headwaters of the Red River, and force them in to their assigned reservations. He found them on the Sweetwater, seized further hostages in an act that the Indians regarded as a deep breach of faith, and marched on to Fort Hays. In April, their chiefs called in a body at Grierson's headquarters to bid farewell to him and General Hazen and to announce their movement to Camp Supply. There they were to be met by six companies of the Tenth Cavalry and escorted to the site of their new agency.

By this time Camp Wichita, Headquarters District of the Indian Territory, which officially became Fort Sill on August 1, 1869, was bustling with activity. A picket house to serve as temporary headquarters for Grierson and his officers, log warehouses, and other wooden structures were hastily erected. General Hazen established the agency for the Kiowas, Comanches, Apaches, Wichitas and affiliated tribes a mile below the post. The Evans Brothers, who had the contract for the post tradership, hauled in lumber from Texas and constructed their

² Letter, General Sheridan to General Nichols, February 17, 1869, *ibid.*, p. 202.

store and an ornate two-story gingerbread house northwest of the parade ground. Other traders who set up business in the vicinity at this time were William "Dutch Bill" Griffenstein; Colonel Bill Mathewson, noted as the original "Buffalo Bill" and regarded as the greatest buffalo hunter of all time; and William Madison, known among the Kiowas as *Senpo-zedalbe* or "Terrible-beard." The trade with the Indians was brisk. Neal Evans alone shipped 10,000 buffalo hides a year for a period of ten years from Fort Sill.³

Construction of the permanent stone buildings of the Post began in the spring of 1870, and was virtually completed in 1871, at practically no cost to the Government. Troopers of the Tenth Cavalry and Sixth Infantry quarried the rock from a site just east of the post and erected the warehouses and quarters under the direction of a few skilled civilian artisans and foremen recruited in Kansas. The only direct appropriation by Congress was the sum of ten thousand dollars for the hospital.

The principal defensive features of the Fort were the stone corral southeast of the buildings, a pentagonal redoubt on the southwest edge of the plateau, two small redoubts about 40 feet each in diameter located respectively by the southeast and northwest corners of the parade ground,⁴ and the blockhouse on Signal Mountain. While the corral was built primarily to protect the cavalry mounts and teamsters' mules from horse-stealing raids, it was also intended to serve as a fortified refuge for the garrison in the event of a determined attack by the tribes. Enclosing an area of 20,000 feet, it was constructed in the form of a square, with stone walls eight feet high and loopholes for rifle fire on all sides. Its location a quarter-mile distant from the other buildings of the post has been a matter of much conjecture. The explanation probably lies in the fact that it was built around a deep well, which could furnish water to the besieged, and was also directly adjacent to the flats where the stock was grazed during the day, from which they could be quickly driven in if the need arose. Only one gate, on the west side, existed in the original structure. Stone buttresses were added in the 1890's and the 1930's to shore up the walls. The corral remains a familiar site to present-day travellers on U. S. Highway 277.

³ Information furnished by Mr. Claude E. Hensley, Oklahoma City, former Fort Reno printer-publisher; *Reminiscences of Neal Evans*, manuscript in the Hensley collection; and James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," *17th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1895-96, p. 172.

⁴ Letter from Mrs. John K. Horner to Major General H. W. Butner, Commandant of the Field Artillery School, 30 November 1935, quoting an account by her brother, Mr. S. C. Carlton, who was at Fort Sill in 1872 and 1875.

The pentagonal redoubt overlooking the southwestern approaches to the Post was constructed about 1872. Composed of earth and rock, the breastwork was probably about 5 feet high and 3 feet in thickness at the top, sloping down on the outer side to a V-shaped ditch perhaps 10 feet wide and 7 or 8 feet deep. Sharpened stakes known as "fraises" may have been added. A small cannon was mounted in the center of the redoubt. Apparently the structure was torn down soon after the final capitulation of the South Plains tribes in 1875, and most of the rock hauled away for other uses. The outlines of the redoubt were still clearly visible in World War I aerial photographs.⁵

The blockhouse on Signal Mountain, six miles west of the Post, was completed early in 1871 as a protection for outposts stationed there to inform the garrison on Indian movements and the approach of troops from other localities. Messages were relayed to the post by means of flags, signal lamps, and heliographs via another station on Medicine Bluff. The blockhouse was also used as a weather observatory. During periods of disuse by the troops, the site was utilized by the Indians and occasionally by white civilians. One of the latter was killed and scalped there by the Kiowas in 1874. In 1875 the first telegraph line reached Fort Sill, from Fort Richardson, Texas, and about 1877 another line was established to connect the post with Fort Reno. Thereafter the blockhouse was used primarily for training purposes. Since the establishment of the School of Fire for Field Artillery at the post in 1911, the historic old structure has served as an aiming point for generations of Artillerymen.⁶

Another notable building of the Old Post, the Guardhouse, was completed in the summer of 1873. The Chapel was the last building to be completed. It was erected in 1875-76 during General Mackenzie's administration.

The original boundaries of the military reservation took the form of a quadrangle, nine miles in length by four in width. The Post proper was arranged in a square enclosing the parade ground. It occupied an area of approximately one square mile. The little garrison, never more than 800 men and frequently less than 300, was virtually lost in an ocean of prairie occupied by several thousand roving and frequently hostile Kiowas, Comanches, Arapahos, and Cheyennes. Its mother posts, Forts Cobb and Arbuckle, were abandoned shortly after Fort Sill was established. The nearest railroad when the Post was under construction was 300 miles distant, at Fort Harker, Kansas.

⁵ Information furnished by Colonel W. S. Nye, July 1956.

⁶ Colonel W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance* (Norman, 1937), pp. 122, 132, 205, 285.

Supplies were usually freighted in from Westport, Missouri (now Kansas City) by oxen or mule trains. Red River on the southern border of Indian Territory was 45 miles away, and the distance to Fort Richardson, the principal post along the line of Texas settlements, was 123 miles. The Wichita Agency⁷ was 35 miles north, the Cheyenne-Arapaho Agency 75 miles, Camp Supply 190 miles southwest, and Fort Smith, Arkansas, seat of the United States District Court, was 330 miles.⁸ Visitors to the Post were entranced with its location. "This is a magnificent military site," General Sherman exclaimed on his first tour of inspection.⁹ Lieutenant R. G. Carter, arriving from Fort Richardson in 1872, lyrically referred to "the beautiful Post of Fort Sill," and added: "A more beautiful locality could hardly be imagined, wild, romantic, and full of nature"¹⁰

A noteworthy feature of the area in the early days was the almost incredible abundance of game and predators. At certain seasons buffalo and antelope literally swarmed the surrounding prairies. Elk, black bear, whitetailed deer, otter, mountain lions, wildcats, wolves, coyotes, jack rabbits, raccons, quail, prairie chicken, highland plover and wildfowl abounded.¹¹ Neal Evans, the first Post Trader, recalled in later years:¹²

One can hardly imagine now the size of the enormous droves of wild turkey that roamed the country in the late fall. In the Deep Red, below Fort Sill, I am confident that I have seen as many as 10,000 in a single drove. The ground in the oak forest would be torn up as if plows had passed over it, where the turkeys scratched for acorns. In a single night a small detail of men had gone from the post to a turkey roost on Deep Red and killed an army wagon full"

But during the first seven years of Fort Sill's existence the Tenth Cavalry troopers at the Post had much more to occupy their time than hunting. As the history of the Regiment records: "Life at Sill was not a picnic. More than once the garrison stood to arms in apprehension of an attack. Scouting

⁷ Established as a separate agency from the Kiowa-Comanche office at Fort Sill in 1871. Lawrie Tatum, *Our Red Brothers* (Philadelphia, 1899), pp. 58, 204.

⁸ Evans, *Ibid.* Captain Robert G. Carter, *On the Border with Mackenzie* (Washington, 1935), p. 256; Brigadier General James Parker, *The Old Army* (Philadelphia, 1929), p. 70.

⁹ Nye, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

¹⁰ Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 258. There were drawbacks as well, however. By some, Fort Sill was considered to be the most "malarious" post in the Army, and quinine pills were a staple on the daily breakfast menu.

¹¹ De B. Randolph Keim, *Sheridan's Troopers on the Borders* (New York, 1885), p. 233, 245-248, 263; Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 28, 31, 55-65; Tatum, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87, 182, 254; Carter *ibid.*, p. 257; Evans, *ibid.*

¹² Evans, *ibid.* Oddly enough, the Indians did not kill turkeys for food. They had no objection to catching them for the soldiers, however.

parties were continually in the field, running down marauders, desperadoes, outlaws, hostiles on the warpath, and many times only a demonstration in force succeeded in keeping the Red Men within their bounds."¹³

Under the conditions existing from 1869 to 1874, effective control of the tribes in Indian Territory was impossible. They had been chastised but far from subdued by Sheridan's winter campaign. And Sheridan had scarcely made his departure when President Grant inaugurated the Peace Policy, which transferred responsibility for the Indians from the War Department to the Department of Interior, and staffed the agencies with members of religious denominations. General Grierson was instructed to give full support to their efforts to "make Quakers out of the Indians." To the south, the troops stationed at the isolated Texas border posts were forbidden to operate in Indian Territory.

The prairie tribes interpreted all this as an obvious admission of weakness on the part of "Washington." A proud and virile people, they had no intention of forfeiting their time-honored nomadic way of life without a struggle. "Civilization" with its grubbing man behind the plow offered few delights to the mounted warrior reared from childhood in the belief that the warpath and the scalping knife was the only true way to glory. In addition, their grievances were multitude. None understood the justice of these more fully than the Old Army men who fought them.

Through the summer of 1870 marauding bands from the Fort Sill country terrorized the Texas border. General Grierson had most of his troops patrolling Red River, but they failed to intercept a single Indian. Nor was the Post itself immune. The Post trader's store was raided, nearly one hundred horses and mules were run off from the Agency, and Quartermaster corrals and three cattle herders were killed and scalped in the immediate vicinity.

In the spring of 1871, General of the Army William Tecumseh Sherman, four-starred successor to Washington and Grant, temporarily lifted the sanctuary status of Indian Territory after receiving reports at Fort Richardson, Texas, of the Warren wagon-train massacre. He ordered Brevet Major General Ranald S. Mackenzie and his Fourth Cavalry to pursue the raiders north and to bring them in to Fort Sill. When Sherman arrived at Fort Sill a few days later he found the war-party already there, awaiting issuance of their annuities and boasting of their recent successes. At a conference with the

¹³ Major E. L. N. Glass, *The History of the Tenth Cavalry, 1866-1921* (1921), p. 19.

principal men of the Kiowas on the porch of General Grierson's quarters, surrounded by armed Cavalrymen, General Sherman very nearly lost his life when Stumbling Bear and Lone Wolf attempted to assassinate him. In after years the General frequently recalled this as his "most vivid Indian experience."¹⁴

Chief Satanta, Satank, and Big Tree were manacled hand and foot and imprisoned in the basement of the barracks at the southwest corner of the parade ground (the Post Guardhouse had not yet been completed). A detachment of the Fourth Cavalry was instructed to convey them to Texas for trial in connection with the corn-train attack. Enroute from the Post, Satank attacked his guards and was killed by Sergeant John B. Charlton, a former Artilleryman, near the present site of Gate One.¹⁵

Before departing from Fort Sill, General Sherman ordered Mackenzie to undertake a major offensive campaign against all hostile Indians venturing outside the reservation.¹⁶

All the Cavalry in Texas should operate towards Red River and Fort Sill; communications should be opened with this place via the Ferry at Red River Station—so that you act in concert. If parties of Indians attack soldiers or citizens, they should be followed into this Reservation till they realize that if they persist in crossing Red River they will be followed back I have written Genl. Pope to let Grierson have the rest of his Regt. here, so that he also can patrol Red River from Cache up to the Wichitas and keep up communication with you,

From August to November 1871, the Fourth and Tenth Cavalry were in the field. General Mackenzie, an exacting and explosive commander and an exponent of the virtue of force in dealing with the Indians, strenuously sought to come to grips with Kicking Bird and his Kiowas. But Grierson, an advocate of the Peace Policy, acting under orders from higher headquarters, succeeded in warning the tribe.¹⁷ They vanished into the Wichitas, and the Fourth Cavalry, in bitter frustration, turned its attention to the Comanches on the Staked Plains. But it fared no better there. Quanah's band of Quohadas in a night raid stampeded the command's best horses and mules, engaged the troopers at Cañon Blanco in a sharp fight, and finally disappeared in a freezing storm. Mackenzie lost his prized grey pacer to Chief Quanah personally and was wounded by a spiked arrow in the thigh.

¹⁴ Brigadier General Richard H. Pratt, "Some Indian Experiences," *Cavalry Journal*, Vol. XVI (1905-06), pp. 207-212.

¹⁵ Robert G. Carter, *The Old Sergeant's Story* (New York, 1926) pp. 78-81.

¹⁶ Carter, *On the Border*, p. 88.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-141.



(Photo in Fort Sill Museum)

Evans Trading Camp at Comanche Village, Medicine Bluff Creek, near Fort Sill, February, 1875. Standing 2nd from left J. S. Evans; and 4th, seated, Neal Evans.



(Photo in Fort Sill Museum)

Evans and Fisher Traders' Store, Fort Sill, 1870.



(Photo in Fort Sill Museum taken about 1900)

Cavalryman in field uniform, Fort Sill, Indian Territory.



(Photo in Fort Sill Museum taken about 1900)

Rear view of men and mounts shows portion of Troop C, Eighth Cavalry, famous as the last outfit to guard the Frontier at Fort Sill before the Opening of Oklahoma, 1889.

In March 1872, a detachment of the Fourth Cavalry visiting Fort Sill found it literally swarming with two or three thousand Indians that they had been fighting and pursuing through the past year. The mere glimpse of a Kiowa or Comanche in Texas was an immediate cause for a general alarm. But here in Indian Territory the war chiefs and their followers swaggeringly rubbed shoulders with the troopers, brow-beat the traders, threatened the agents, and periodically offered up white captives for ransom. In addition to the friendly chiefs Kicking Bird of the Kiowas, Horse Back and Milky Way of the Comanches, and Pacer of the Kiowa-Apaches, there were Lone Wolf, White Horse, Big Bow, Parra-o-coom, Iron Mountain, Sitting Buffalo Bull, and many other leading warriors present. The hundreds of tipi, thousands of horses, scores of women in bright-hued blankets, and uncountable numbers of playing children and barking dogs made a most colorful and noisy scene, at times verging on pandemonium. Fort Sill was truly an "Indian Post."

The raiding season of 1872 got under way a month later when Kiowas under Big Bow and White Horse attacked a Government wagon train at Howard Wells, Texas, killing seventeen teamsters, and drove off relief troops of the Ninth Cavalry sent out from Fort Concho. In June, White Horse and a party ravaged settlements near Fort Griffin, and Tenawerka led a group of Comanches in a raid on the stone corral at Fort Sill, making off with fifty-four horses and mules. Other Comanche war parties were industriously "working over" the northern and western counties of Texas. From June to September the Fourth Cavalry was in the field, making a gruelling march across the Staked Plains to New Mexico and back, but with no success in catching Indians.

Satanta, the principal chief of the Kiowas, had been sentenced to death with Big Tree by a cowboy jury at Jacksboro, Texas, but the sentence had later been commuted to life imprisonment at Huntsville. In September, 1872, orders went out from Washington for Company "E" of the Fourth Cavalry to convey the chiefs in double irons from Dallas to Fort Sill for a conference with the Peace Commissioners and the bands of Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahos. Enroute north, in a dramatic midnight council on the Fort Sill Trail, Scout Jack Stilwell intercepted the detachment with an urgent message from the post commander stating that if Satanta and Big Tree were brought to the Fort the entire garrison would very likely be overwhelmed by the large and threatening force of Indians present. The Kiowas were determined to secure the release of the two chiefs at all costs. Lieutenant Carter, in command of Troop "E", was convinced by Stilwell of the extreme danger of the situation. He therefore disobeyed his

positive instructions from General Augur and at the risk of a court-martial turned east with his prisoners, taking them to Atoka Station. From there he returned them to Huntsville. Subsequently, Lieutenant Carter was commended by General Augur for his unauthorized action, which probably saved both Fort Sill and his detachment from disaster.¹⁸

Meanwhile General Sherman had Mackenzie and the Fourth Cavalry out again after the Staked Plains Comanches. On September 29, 1872, on the North Fork of Red River, the command surprised and destroyed the largest of several Comanche villages belonging to Mow-way's and Bull Bear's bands. Mow-way was absent with the "peace people" at the time. In the two-hour fight approximately 50 Comanches were killed, about 130 women and children captured, 262 lodges and vast amounts of equipment burned, and 3,000 horses secured. Among those slain by the troopers was a former West Point cadet who had ridden with the Comanches for years as a renegade sub-leader.¹⁹ The night following the fight the Comanches repeated their old tactic of stampeding the horse herds, and not only recovered all of their own stock but the mounts of the Tonkawa scouts as well. The Fourth marched the women and children to Fort Concho, Texas, where they were placed in confinement in a quartermaster corral.

That winter Bull Bear and most of the Comanche bands camped quietly in the vicinity of Fort Sill. The following spring the prisoners at Fort Concho were escorted 450 miles across the trackless wastes to the Post and released to their tribe. Great was the rejoicing in the Comanche camps.

But the Kiowas were openly disturbed. President Grant had also promised the release of Satanta and Big Tree if their people desisted from raiding, and the Indians felt that they had fulfilled their part of the bargain. Texas, however, had no intention of freeing the chiefs. Thomas Battey, a Quaker schoolmaster, went out to the Kiowa camps from the Fort Sill Agency to explain the situation, and was held hostage for three weeks. He became a permanent invalid under the strain.

Finally, after considerable pressure, Governor Davis of the Lone Star State consented to the prisoners being brought to Fort Sill from Huntsville Penitentiary for a conference with himself and his staff, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from Washington, the Superintendent of the Plains Indians, and the other leaders of the tribes. The two chiefs reached

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 349-372.

¹⁹ General Hatch of the Fourth Cavalry, who later became Post Commander at Fort Sill, had known the man at West Point in the 1840's. He did not graduate. *Ibid.*, p. 388.

the Fort on September 4, and passed the next four weeks in the newly-finished guardhouse. The imposing council got under way at last on October 6, in front of Post Headquarters. The garrison was held in quarters, ready for any eventuality. The Kiowas found Governor Davis's terms for the release of Satanta and Big Tree unacceptable, and felt that "Washington" had deceived them. At the second meeting they stationed warriors with concealed arms around the buildings, fully prepared to kill the soldier guards, the Governor, the Commissioner, and the other whites, and to flee with their chiefs. But the threatened massacre was averted by the Governor's sudden decision to liberate the prisoners.

The events of the next few months built inevitably toward a climax. The young men could not resist the siren call of the war trail. And resentment smouldered among all the tribes at the ceaseless slaughter of the buffalo by white hide-hunters, the steady encroachment of border settlements. Repeated raids and skirmishes occurred in Texas. Soldiers were fired on, and civilians killed near Fort Sill. In June, the Battle of Adobe Walls, launched by the Comanches, signalled a general outbreak of the South Plains tribes. In July, the Cheyennes destroyed Patrick Hennessey's wagon train and sent word they were coming down to "wipe out" Fort Sill, while the Kiowas clashed with a detachment of the "Frontier Battalion" of Texas Rangers at Lost Valley. Fearing annihilation at the Cheyenne-Arapaho agency at Darlington, the Quaker agent sent Johnny Murphy on a night ride of 75 miles to Fort Sill for help. But the mission of the young rider, who had been selected by General Sheridan to drive the first stake at the site of the Post in 1869, was unsuccessful. The cavalry company dispatched to the rescue was halted at Anadarko for the protection of the Wichita agency.

On July 26, 1874, orders reached the Post turning control of the hostiles back to the Army. Preparations were initiated for a final winter campaign, with Fort Sill as the base of operations, and enrollment of friendly Indians began. About half the Kiowas under Kicking Bird and the same percentage of Comanches under Horseback and Cheevers moved their camps in close to the Fort to keep clear of the approaching war. Pacer, head chief of the Kiowa-Apaches, and his people were also there, having taken no part in the raids of the past few seasons.

In August, a preliminary engagement took place at Anadarko between five companies of the Tenth Cavalry and Twenty-Fifth Infantry and hostile bands of Kiowas and Comanches. The Indians finally broke off the fight, and withdrew toward the Staked Plains. From Fort Clark, Texas, Sergeant Charl-

ton, the Fourth Cavalryman who had killed Satank, rode 580 miles in six nights through country infested with hostiles to carry dispatches to Fort Sill.

In September, the Fort Sill column commanded by Brevet Major General John "Black Jack" Davidson, a veteran campaigner of the Mexican and Civil Wars, moved out. It consisted of six companies of "Buffalo Soldiers" of the Tenth Cavalry, three companies of the Eleventh Infantry, a section of mountain howitzers, white guides and Indian scouts under Lieutenant (later Brigadier General) R. H. Pratt, who subsequently founded the famed Carlisle Indian School. Simultaneously General Mackenzie and his hardriding Fourth Cavalry, with their "Prince of Quartermasters," Lieutenant Henry W. Lawton, drove north from Fort Concho, Texas; Brevet Major General Nelson A. Miles had already come south from Camp Supply; and Major William Price led the Eighth Cavalry east from Fort Union, New Mexico. A fifth column, under Lieutenant Colonel Buell, was to operate between the others. Later in the fall Major General C. C. Augur set up his Headquarters Department of Texas at Fort Sill.

For the next four months, the commands were constantly in the field. Students of South Plains history are familiar with the events: the siege of Captain Lyman's wagon train from September 9 to 14 by a large force of Kiowas and Comanches; the Tule Canyon fight of September 26 to 27; Mackenzie's Battle of Palo Duro Canyon on September 28 (the redoubtable Charlton, serving as Sergeant of Scouts, discovered the canyon and the vast encampment of Comanches, Cheyennes, and Kiowas hidden there); the destruction in October of hundreds of Kiowa lodges by Buell and Miles and the surrender to Davidson of a considerable group of Comanches; Lieutenant Frank Baldwin's dramatic November charge of an Indian village with his Fifth Infantry firing from wagons drawn into battle at full speed (the two little German sisters recovered here, and their two older sisters who were surrendered the next spring, were adopted by General Nelson A. Miles); the capture of Cheyennes by the Fort Sill column in December; and numerous other pursuits and skirmishes. General Sheridan, who had planned the entire operation, declared it to be "the most successful" of any campaign in this country.²⁰

Lieutenant Pratt was officer-in-charge of the hundreds of Indian prisoners at Fort Sill. The Guardhouse was used to lodge the most recalcitrant chiefs while the warriors were confined in the Icehouse, east of the Post Chapel, up to its

²⁰ Nye, *op. cit.*, p. 228. But very few Indians were killed or captured. The great majority voluntarily surrendered. Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

capacity of about 130. Thereafter, incoming bands were placed in the stone corral and in prison camps established about the Fort under the supervision of Chiefs Kicking Bird, Cheevers, Horseback, and Dangerous Eagle. Periodically, the less intractable inmates of the Guardhouse and Icehouse were released to the custody of the friendly chiefs to make way for more desperate arrivals.

In the Anko calendar of the Kiowas, the winter of 1874-75 is symbolized by a pictograph of the Guardhouse at Fort Sill, with the chiefs imprisoned.²¹

The hostile leaders in the Guardhouse were kept in the basement cells, in chains, the upstairs being used for miscreant soldiers and the sergeant of the guard. The first important prisoners of war to be checked in were Satanta, Big Tree, Womans Heart, and Bird Chief, on October 12. They had surrendered at the Cheyenne Agency on October 4, in the hope of more lenient treatment. For all but Bird Chief, this was a return to stone walls they had known before. Big Tree was transferred to the less restrictive environment of the Icehouse on October 18. But the great war chief Satanta was already scheduled for a final return to Texas, by specific authority of President Grant. A terse entry in the Old Post Guardbook, under date of November 5, 1874, reads: "Satanta turned over to Lieut. Kelliher to be taken to State Penitentiary by order of Comdg. Officer at 7 o'clock P. M."

On October 31, the Comanche Chiefs White Wolf, Tabananka, Little Crow, and Big Red Food joined the other notables in the Guardhouse. Deemquat and Sun Boy were added on November 29. On December 3, Mow-way's two boys reported in, with word that their father was still far out on the Staked Plains. In consideration of their youth, General Davidson ordered that they be put into Cheever's custody, though they were to be carried on the guard report. Toward the end of the month Little Crow and Big Red Food were released to Cheever's camp. Big Red Food died there on the first day of the New Year. Their places in the Guardhouse were taken by White Horse, Double Vision, Whow-haw, Poo-ki, Chief Killer (a Cheyenne), and others up to a capacity of 16. Apparently Sun Boy remained irreconcilably violent, for he was kept in a cell alone.²²

Through the winter and spring months the desolated bands marched in to surrender, their supplies destroyed, their villages in ashes, their way of life shattered and all but gone. The arrival in February of Big Bow, followed by Lone Wolf, Maman-

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 339 and Plate LXXX.

²² Post Guardbook, Fort Sill, I. T., October 1874—January 1875.

ti, To-hauson, Poor Buffalo, Red Otter and their people signalled the end of Kiowa resistance. In March, the Tenth Cavalry departed for Texas on a permanent change of station and General Mackenzie and the Fourth Cavalry, victors at Palo Duro, moved in to Fort Sill. The scouts continued to bring in many Comanches.

In April Kicking Bird, the Kiowa peace chief, was instructed to select the "worst" of his captive tribesmen and their fellow Comanches and Cheyennes for imprisonment in Florida. Seventy-four were chosen and with a battalion of troops as escort began the long journey to Fort Marion under the charge of Lieutenant Pratt. Before departing, the sinister Kiowa prophet Maman-ti, the "Sky-Walker", informed Kicking Bird that for this act he was doomed to die. And six days later, on May 4, at his camp on Cache Creek, Kicking Bird at the age of 40 passed away. Accompanied by his most prized possessions, a martyr to the white man's road, he was buried in the Post Cemetery.²³

In April also, General Mackenzie sent Dr. J. J. Sturms and the ex-Artilleryman, Sergeant John B. Charlton, out to the Staked Plains on the dangerous volunteer mission of contacting the last band of hostiles, the Quohada Comanches, and inducing them to surrender. Mackenzie offered the freedom of the reservation if they came in, or pursuit to extermination if they stayed out. For three days and nights, the little truce delegation was held hostage with its lives in forfeit while Wild Horse, Black Horse, Isa-tai, Quanah, and the other Quohada leaders debated peace or continued war. The councils ended with Quanah Parker, the young half-white chief, pledging that he would bring in the entire band. On June 2, 1875, at the head of 400 Quohadas with 1,400 horses, Chief Quanah rode in to Fort Sill and laid down his arms. An era had ended.²⁴

Some time later Quanah, who still had General Mackenzie's iron grey pacer that he had captured on the Freshwater Fork of the Brazos in October 1871, offered to return the animal. But the hard-bitten General declined. He told the Chief to keep the horse. And Quanah kept him.²⁵

²³ Nye, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-234.

²⁴ Carter, *Old Sergeant's Story*, p. 113 ff.

²⁵ Carter, *On the Border*, p. 167; Forrestine C. Hooker, *Star, the Story of an Indian Pony* (New York, 1922), pp. 97-98, 182.



Kiowa Fighting Men, 1870. Seated left to right: Poor Buffalo, Short Greasy Hair, Buffalo Chop. Standing left to right: Never Got Shot, Feather Head.



Big Tree, Kiowa



Sun Boy, Kiowa



Quanah Parker, Comanche



Satank, Kiowa



Satanta, Kiowa

KIOWA AND COMANCHE AT FORT SILL, 1870's.

TROUBLES OF INDIAN TRADERS BRINGS
SENATE INVESTIGATION

By Frank F. Finney

One evening, early in the year of 1885, the stage arrived at the Kaw Agency and left the mail sack as the Finney Store where the trader acted as postmaster. In it was a letter from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Kaw trader containing a brief peremptory order: "You will take yourself and effects off of the reservation within sixty days." Thomas McKean Finney had in 1882 under the Chester A. Arthur Administration secured a license to trade at the Kaw Agency (a subagency of the Osage Agency). Cleveland was now President, and the Democrats had taken over.

Finney had purchased the business and store building from Tom Gilbert, who was the first trader with the Kaw or Kansa Indians at their new agency in the Indian Territory. The Kaw Indians had arrived with their agent, Mahlon Stubbs, from Kansas in 1873, and had settled on a tract of 100,000 acres purchased from the Osage tribe bordering on the Arkansas River in the northwestern part of the Osage reservation.

The Kaw Indians were few in number and unlike their neighbors the Osages, were poor. The business as a trader among them was not very promising. Tom Finney had come from Lawrence, Kansas, to the Osage Agency when he was seventeen years of age, ten years before taking up his abode at Kaw Agency. At the Osage Agency, he worked for the Government in the commissary and for a time in the Florer and Dunlap store. He had no reason to believe that his stay at the Kaw Agency would be only temporary, and optimistically he had a dwelling built near his store. Here he and his wife, who before their marriage had taught in the Kaw Indian school, and his step-son became comfortably established.

He found favour and friendship with the Indians. A baby came to the family, and they were quite happy in the simple wholesome pioneer life, devoid of the complexities of the present more modern times when large incomes are so important. The Kaws added somewhat to their income from scant annuities by leasing out their pasture lands, and a few of them turned to farming and stock raising. Some of the Indians who had teams did freighting from Arkansas City, just over the line in Kansas, for the store, one of these being Washungah, who became the Principle Chief for the tribe and for whom the remains of the old Agency now takes its name. The business done by the

Finney Store was not large but was increasing at the time the order so devastating to the plans and hopes of the trader came from the Commissioner out of the blue sky.

The fate and fortunes of the Indian traders were entirely in the hands of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Legislation passed by Congress in 1876 gave him the sole power to appoint Indian traders and revoke their licenses, specify the kind, quality and prices of goods sold to the Indians, and make any rules and regulations he considered just and proper.¹

The honesty and integrity of the Kaw trader were not questioned by the Commissioner, and his letter contained no charges of violation of any of the Indian Department's regulations. Finney soon learned that there were other traders who had received similar orders to vacate, one of whom was his friend, J. H. Sherburne, trader at the Ponca Agency, an honorable Yankee from Maine.

An important feature of President Grant's policy to maintain peace with the Indians and promote their civilization, was the appointment of all Indian agents under the direction of the President, on the nomination of some religious denomination. Indian traders were designated by the agents, and were not considered within the domain of politics until the Cleveland Administration. Grant's policy brought into the Indian service some agents who were extremely strict in their demands on the traders, one of the most exacting being Quaker Isaac T. Gibson, agent for the Osages and Kaws, under whom Tom Finney served in the commissary. In his report of September 1, 1874, Agent Gibson wrote:

The traders and their clerks can exert more influence for good or evil over the Indians than any other persons who come in contact with them. . . . Those applying for traders license are required to show that they are honest, moral, temperate and are regular attendants of a religious service and Sabbath school at home. These qualifications have not heretofore been requisite. . . . Profanity, intemperance, card-playing and kindred vices are not tolerated among the traders and employees,

Although Grant's policy was not permanent, the Society of Friends and other religious bodies had a salutary moral influence in the Indians' service, and until traders licenses under the Cleveland Administration became political hand-outs, fitness and character of the applicants had become prime considerations for receiving a tradership. Major Laban J. Miles, agent for the Kaws and Osages, was removed from office along with the traders. While he was in Washington winding

¹ Charles Kappler, *Indian Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1903), Vol. I, Congressional Act, August 15, 1876, Chap. 289, Sec. 5, p. 27.

(5-171.)

LICENSE TO TRADE WITH INDIANS.

It is known That Thomas M. Finney,
of Lawrence, Kansas.

trading under the name and firm of T. M. Finney,
having filed his application before me for a license to trade with the Kaw
tribe of Indians

at the following-named place within the boundaries of the country occupied by the said Indians, viz:
Kaw Reservation, Kay Agency, T. T.

and having filed with me a bond in the penal sum of
TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS, with Charles A. Seering and
Cornelius Meud

as sureties, conditioned, as required by law, for the faithful observance of all the laws and regulations provided for
the government of trade and intercourse with Indian tribes, and having satisfied me, as required by law, that
he is a citizen of the United States, and of good moral character, he is hereby
authorized to carry on the business of trading with the said tribe at the above-named place for the term of
ONE YEAR from the 20th day of December, eighteen hundred and eighty three

and to keep in supply thereat the following named persons in the cases offered to
same, respectively, viz:

~~I am satisfied of my own knowledge, or from the testimonials which have been placed in my hands,
concerning a fair character and fitness to be in the Indian country.~~

This license is granted upon the further express condition that the said T. M. Finney
in accepting the same waives all right and privilege which
he might otherwise have to any claim against the Government of the United States for losses or damages, or both,
which may result from the depredations of Indians during the continuance of this license and pending the removal
of his effects from the Indian country on the expiration or revocation of the same.

Given under my hand, at the Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C.,
this 24th day of November, eighteen
hundred and eighty three.

H. Price
Commissioner.

(1883-388)

up his official affairs, he wrote Finney that Jacob M. Bartles of the Bartles Trading Post, who was also in the National capital, told him that a nephew of Commissioner J. D. C. Atkins, was planning to go into the Indian trading business, and thought that the Kaw Agency would be a good point.

On his return from Washington, Jake Bartles drove out of his way to inform the trader at Kaw of his conversation with young Atkins. He said that he discouraged the Commissioner's nephew, and told him that he doubted any trader without the experience of Tom Finney with the Indians could make a living at Kaw. Atkins then suggested that an arrangement might be made for him to join Finney in the business, Atkins putting up the license for about \$2,000 a year against Finney's experience, labor and investment. The Kaw trader told Bartles that he would rather move out than make such a deal.

In the meantime, a Mr. Engle from Humbolt, Nebraska, appeared at the Agency claiming that he had a license to trade at Kaw. He had the idea that the Government supplied the trader with a house to live in and a place to carry on the business. He was disgusted with the prospects, and as he started for home he showed Mr. Finney a telegram he was sending from Arkansas City to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in which he said, "I have been too good a long-time Democrat to accept anything like this."

Dr. Isom, a young man who was appointed from Oxford, Mississippi, as the physician at Kaw Agency, was the son of a doctor who had been the physician for the new Secretary of the Interior, the Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar, and their families had been long-time friends. Dr. Isom soon became a good friend of Finney, and suggested that he take a personal letter from himself to the Secretary at Washington. The Kaw trader accepted Isom's help to have his license renewed, and made the trip to Washington where he obtained a hearing with Secretary Lamar. He received courteous treatment from the Secretary, but the demands for favors among his political friends were too great to be denied and the spirit expressed in the slogan "To the victor belongs the spoils" prevailed. No one was more disappointed than Dr. Isom when Finney returned from Washington, and reported failure in his endeavor.

Tom Finney sold his store building and business to H. H. Brenner, a Democrat from Mississippi, and moved in June, 1886, back to the Osage Agency. His house, which was not included in the sale to Brenner, was disposed of to Frank Lessert, a member of the Osage tribe, Finney taking a span of oxen as part payment.

The turning out of a number of traders with severe losses for some and the entire undoing of others brought repercussions. Charges against the Indian Department of nepotism and gross partiality prompted the Senate to action. Under a resolution of June 3, 1886, a select committee of five members



Thomas McKean Finney

was appointed, and directed "to investigate the subject of the appointment of the Indian traders, the granting of license to them and the refusal to extend such license to persons engaged as such traders and the methods which had been practiced since the month of April, 1885."²

Three Senators, representing the full committee, in May, 1887, met the Indian traders assembled in Arkansas City for the hearings. The sub-committee consisted of Senator Platt of Connecticut, Chairman, Senator Cullum of Illinois and Senator Blackburn of Kentucky. Senator Blackburn, with little success, tried in a partisan manner to defend and excuse the Administration. The Arkansas City Newspaper, *Republican-Traveler* in reporting the investigation, said:³

As an advocate of the Government Mr. Blackburn will admit that his unsurpassed powers of cross-examination failed to break down a single allegation advanced by this company of traders; . . . Senator Blackburn affecting incredulity of the remarkable story told by Mr. Finney, must have been convinced that he was dealing with earnest purpose and strict veracity when Archie McCague, (Finneys clerk and nephew), Jake Bartles and Major L. J. Miles, confirmed every detail he had related.

In a minority report to the Senate, Senator Blackburn, after admitting the record showed that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs made some mistakes in selecting Indian traders to succeed those ousted and saying that he fully concurred with the majority of the committee in the fact that there was much to be done in the way of remedy in the working of the Indian Office, had the temerity to assert that "The Indian Office had never been more fairly and faithfully or efficiently conducted than under the present administration."⁴

The following excerpt from the report submitted to the Senate by Senator Platt, sums up and gives the conclusions reached by the majority of the Committee: "The investigation of the committee disclose the fact that Indian traders were licensed without reference to their ability, business experience or the possession of the capital to engage in business, apparently for no reason other than to reward political services. . . . The refusal to renew a license against whom there is no cause of complaint is an outrage."⁵

When Commissioner Atkins took office, March 26, 1885, there were 125 licensed Indian traders on the various reserva-

² *Congressional Record*, Vol. 17, Part 5, p. 4985 (May 27, 1886); Amendment, p. 5183 (June 3, 1886).

³ *Republican-Traveler*, Arkansas City, Kansas, issue for Monday May 16, 1887.

⁴ *Senate Reports*, 2nd Sess., 50th Congress, 1888-89, "Indian Traderships," Vol. 5, Minority Report (March 2, 1889).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 4, Majority Report (March 2, 1889).

tions in the United States, not including the Five Civilized Tribes, whose licenses had not expired. According to the Commissioner's testimony before the Senate Committee, about one-half of the traders were let out. Concerning these traders, Commissioner Atkins said, "I will be very frank, I have refused to relicense some gentlemen upon the urgent demand of Senators and Representatives and other persons in this country asking that certain traderships be given to some of their friends. If this is a crime, I have committed it."⁶

Little was accomplished by the investigation towards restoring licenses to the dispossessed traders or compensating them for their losses, but it did bring unsavory facts before the public and the resulting protests may have had some restraining and beneficial influence on the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Testimony of J. D. C. Atkins (June 29, 1886).

HEALTH CONDITIONS IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO 1890

By *Bernice Norman Crockett*

Health conditions among the Indian tribes of the Indian Territory, in the years immediately preceding the Civil War were good. Reports from the Indian agents for the Five Civilized Tribes were enthusiastic and showed how well the people had adjusted to their new country west. They were well settled, and for the most part (except for occasional feuding among the people of some of the tribes) seemed to be happy. The gradual change from old tribal ways was evidenced in a report on Cherokee life in 1853:¹

Many of the full-blood Cherokees yet have a great aversion to the medicine of the regular faculty, and prefer the roots and herbs of their own native doctors. The more enlightened portion are fast losing that prejudice, and always call in a regular physician when one can be had; and it affords me much pleasure to be able to state that they have among them several physicians, both whites and natives. The Cherokees have great reason to be thankful for the abundant yield with which the earth has repaid the labor of the husbandman. The common people are making slow but steady advances in the science of agriculture; the more enlightened and intelligent portion who have means live much in the same style of the southern gentlemen of easy circumstances. Many of the dwellings of that class are large, comfortable, and handsome buildings; their fields, too, are well enclosed with good rail fences, and their yards and gardens are handsomely paled in, and the grounds tastefully laid off and ornamented with rare and beautiful shrubbery. The moral influence which is being brought to bear upon the youth of the country through the indefatigable efforts of the principal chief, and other intelligent and leading men of the Nation, in the great cause of education, must tell powerfully upon the rising generation. The schools were never in such a prosperous condition

The Civil War brought the tribes of the Indian Territory into a turmoil. Most of the Indian agents were thoroughly Southern in their sympathies. Elias Rector, the Superintendent of the Southern Superintendency which included the Five Civilized Tribes with the Indian agents under his direction, resigned to join the Confederacy.² This group of men "together with delegations from Arkansas and Texas that alternately urged and threatened, persuaded the Indians to join the South."³

¹"Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1853, p. 382," in Appendix XVII, J. B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), Vol. II, p. 813.

²Edward E. Dale and Jesse Lee Rader, *Readings in Oklahoma History* (New York, 1930), p. 282.

³*Oklahoma, A Guide to the Sooner State* (Norman, 1941), p. 23.

Gittinger states that it was the position of the Five Civilized Tribes on the border, not their sympathy for the Southern Confederacy, which caused them to participate in the War between the North and South. Whatever the cause, the results were again to retard the Five Civilized Tribes for the second time in the 19th Century. The Indian Territory was abandoned by the United States, the Confederate forces moved in and took charge; treaties were made with the various tribes and, for the most part, the Indian people were allied with the Confederate States.⁴ The first suffering experienced because of the Civil War came for that portion of the Creek people and their allies among the Seminoles and Cherokees who failed to join their old southern friends and who were forced to flee to Kansas behind the Union lines.

The condition of these people—Creeks, Seminoles and Cherokees—who were defeated at the battle of Chustenahlah in December, 1861, and driven northward toward Kansas by Confederate troops, was truly pitiful, as shown by a report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1862:⁵

On arriving in Kansas I learned from General Hunter that the rebels, being largely re-inforced by troops from Texas has fought a third battle with the loyal Indians, resulting in the defeat and complete overthrow of the latter, who, with their old men, women, and children, had been compelled to flee for their lives from the country, and to the number of from 6,000 to 8,000 under the lead of O-poth-lo-yo-lo, a very aged and influential Creek, had taken refuge near the southern border of Kansas, and were being fed from stores provided for the army of General Hunter, who, upon learning their disastrous condition, instantly detailed officers to go to their assistance, and was doing everything in his power to alleviate their sufferings.

They had left their homes and had been put to rout in battle in the dead of winter, without supplies for a journey overland. Their clothes were inadequate, they were almost destitute of food, and there was no shelter. When they arrived in Kansas, naturally no preparation had been made for their coming. "Within two months after their arrival two hundred and forty of the Creeks alone died, over a hundred frosted limbs were amputated within a like period of time."⁶

Because the General could not furnish provisions for all the Indians nor could he furnish them with tents or clothing to fill their needs, Superintendent Coffin "exhausted (every

⁴ Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma, 1803-1906* (Berkeley, 1917), pp. 56-57; Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. II p. 829; Dale and Rader, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-283.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 311; Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

fund at his command) and a considerable debt was incurred besides.”⁷ Previously he stated:⁸

I do not propose to furnish them with anything in the way of clothing (he had already sent in five wagon-loads of blankets, clothing, shoes, boots and socks were distributed) but a pair of shoes, socks and blankets, or its equivalent in other coarse clothing—since less than this would look like cruelty—and tobacco, which to an Indian, is about as essential as food, more so than clothing, as you are aware.

The condition of the Cherokees in 1863 seems typical of the sufferings and hardships experienced by other tribes of the Indian Territory in the wake of War. With the capture of Fort Gibson by the Federal forces under the command of Colonel William A. Phillips, the Indians who had refugeed in the North followed the advancing army back to their homes. A report by their agent Justin Harlan to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs showed how the Cherokees had fared during 1863:⁹

As near as I have been able to ascertain from all the sources at my command, I judge there are not far from 21,000 of these about 8,000, in the year 1862 joined the rebels the men have since entered the rebel army and are now beyond the Arkansas river. Most of their women and children have also left the Cherokee territory, most likely never to be allowed to return to or from part of the Cherokee nation. The balance of the nation are loyal; almost all the men and large boys are in the Union army, doing good service. Many have been killed in battle, and died of wounds, sickness, and exposure.

The women and children have been still more exposed to sickness and death than the men, and great numbers have died. Robbed by the rebel army and driven from their homes, some took refuge in the mountains, and others fled out of the territory in inclement weather, and by exposure contracted diseases of which they died, and many others, no doubt, are yet alive who will die from the same cause.

According to Harlan’s report their condition was the “most pitiable imaginable.” Reduced from the most powerful, wealthy tribe in the United States of only a few years ago, their prospects for the future were very dark. Before the Confederate forces were defeated in the Indian Territory those Indians who were loyal to the Union paid a heavy price. The military authorities of the Federal Government became interested in the welfare of the Indians and by public proclamation “assured them they had protected and would protect them.” (Harlan’s comment on this is curious. He wrote, “The Indians believed it, if I did not.”)¹⁰ Because of these promises, some

⁷ *Ibid.* Letter from Superintendent Coffin to William P. Cole, Feb. 1862, in Appendix, pp. 837-838.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Report of Justin Harlan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1863, pp. 214-16.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

of the Cherokees and the tribes of the Quapaw country north-east went back to their homes in the Territory, only to be over-run by three different raids led by Colonel Stand Watie of the Confederate Army. His command "drove the women into Fort Gibson, took everything he could ride, or drive, or carry off, and destroyed their crops. . . ."¹¹

The prospects of these people, as seen by Harlan, were dark, even though he stated, "the wide world is before them. They can begin the world again, and all they make and save they will have, nothing more." They had nothing to live on so "their bread and groceries must come from abroad . . . or Fort Scott, a distance of 165 miles. The next point is on the Neosho, not less than two hundred miles," and there was no forage for the teams. It was Harlan's opinion that if the Indians stayed in their own homes they would inevitably starve. He suggested an early removal either to head of the Verdigris River at Le Roy, Kansas, or Fort Scott. "My preference is for the Verdigris, as the country there can supply them cheaply with corn and flour."¹²

Wiley Britton in *The Civil War on the Border*, shows further the suffering undergone by the refugee Indians returning to their homes. Smallpox struck them while they were encamped at Bentonville, in February and March of 1863. The white soldiers, for the most part, escaped the disease, having been previously vaccinated. The Indians, however, had not had that advantage and "many died before the surgeons could check the spread of the disease by vaccination." A smallpox hospital was set up to isolate cases and try to stop the disease, but it was sprung before it was checked because of the habit of "refugee families to mingle freely together."¹³

An epidemic of measles at Neosho during the winter of 1862 to 1863 had exacted a heavy toll among the children. The reunion of returning families was not one of rejoicing because of this catastrophe from epidemic disease.

According to Britton, there was not a great deal of damage done to the homes of the Indians who had fled. He stated however, that the military authorities of the Union forces were so appalled at the problem of providing for all these "loyal Indians" that they literally shoved them back to their old

¹¹ Report of Justin Harlan, 1863.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Wiley Britton, "The Civil War on the Border," (New York, 1904), Vol. II, pp. 25-28, 34-37.

homes that crops might be put in and the government relieved of their responsibility.¹⁴

A different picture of the amount of damage done by the Civil War to the Five Civilized Tribes was given by a leading Cherokee, Colonel William Penn Adair, recently aligned with the Confederate States:¹⁵

The War of the Rebellion cast still another cloud of darkness over our general prosperity and progress in civilization. Unfortunately for us, our common country was a battlefield for both the Union and the Confederate Armies; and our people by military necessity were forced to take the one or the other side in the conflict between the United States and the Confederate States. It was as you all know impossible to observe neutrality in this contest. During the four years of the war in the contending armies, directly and indirectly, plundered our country and what one army did not take the other did so that between their depredations and the general effect of the war, the Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles lost all their property of every description and had their houses destroyed or so wrecked as to render them of little value A remarkable circumstance connected with the loss of the Cherokees is that the war destroyed about one-half their people, for at the beginning of the war, they had a population of about 25,000, whereas at the close of the Rebellion, the census rolls showed their population to be only 13,000. As regards my own people, the Cherokees, I can say with truth that at least one-half of them had no animals or plows or farming implements of any kind with which to cultivate the soil. These had to cultivate their little patches with sharpened sticks and such animals and plows and hoes as their more fortunate neighbors could loan them, and I have known one solitary plow and horse to pass from house to house, over large settlements under loan for a whole season during the first two years succeeding the war.

Angie Debo tells much of interest in regard to the part the Choctaw people took in the War Between the States: "They (the Choctaws) were eager to adopt civilized customs that they considered superior to their own, but they had a strong clanishness that made them desire to live by themselves and work out their own destiny. They had a record of orderly development almost unprecedented in the history of any people."¹⁶

In their settlement of a wild frontier, the southern tribes accepted and adjusted to an alien religion and code of morals. They modified their agricultural and commercial practices. In other matters concerning them, they had never showed resentment for the Government; only wishing, in their established state, to "live and let live." When the war came the Choctaws immediately allied themselves to the Confederacy and continued

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Colonel William Penn Adair, "Indian Territory in 1878," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (September, 1926) p. 255-74, reprinted from the *Indian Journal* at Eufaula, October 9 and 16, 1878.

¹⁶ Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*, (Norman, 1934), p. 78.

that alliance until the end of the war. "Quickly and almost lightly they entered the conflict."¹⁷ The war brought not only defeat and great loss of life, but to the Choctaw people it brought both heartbreak and tragedy. One estimate was that one-third of their people were entirely destitute. "The food situation among the Choctaw in 1865 was complicated by the presence of large numbers of Cherokee and Creek refugees who had fled from their homes when the Federal forces occupied their country After the war ended, relief was distributed by the United States agents at Boggy Depot."¹⁸

The part some of the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes had taken during the Civil War (when the time for treaty making came, the government accused all of them of being entirely and completely partisan to the Confederate cause) gave the government leeway in furthering Indian tribal consolidation in what is now the state of Oklahoma. After the Federal Government had abandoned Indian Territory in the beginning of the War, the Indians had been forced, more or less, to recognize the authority of the Confederate States. "After the war, the United States made this recognition a pretext for disregarding old agreements."¹⁹ This useful philosophy enabled the Government to work on the plan for consolidation of all the tribes. "The history of the Indian Territory from 1866 to 1879 is the history of a struggle for the concentration of the Indians and the establishment of a territorial government."²⁰ The former was accomplished while the latter was not.

SETTLEMENT OF THE PLAINS INDIANS ON RESERVATIONS IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY

In the years following the Treaties of 1866 with representatives from each of the Five Civilized Tribes, these Indians "agreed to free their slaves, give them tribal rights, or lands; grant right-of-ways to railroads across their country; and to give up a large part of their western lands to furnish homes for other Indians of the plains."²¹

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 80 .

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

¹⁹ Gittinger, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

²¹ Dale and Rader, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

Thus began the removal of those tribes, sometimes called "blanket Indians," to the Indian Territory.²² Indians from Kansas, Nebraska, and other western states and territories were brought into what is now Oklahoma, until, "within twenty years, the work was complete, and Oklahoma had seven Indian agencies, two in the eastern and five in the western part of the present state. These agencies had jurisdiction over more than a hundred thousand Indians embracing some twenty-five or thirty tribes."²³

In 1867, a treaty with the Comanches and Kiowas was completed and signed at the Medicine Lodge Council in Kansas, which included among other provisions made by the government, the furnishing of "physicians, teachers, blacksmith, and such other employees as might be necessary."²⁴

A description of the warrior of the Plains by De B. Randolph Keim in 1870 showed some of the physical differences apparent among the many Indian tribes. He stated that the warrior of the Plains was less muscular in development than those of the race which occupied the mountain districts, even though his wild and independent life should have induced the most perfect specimen of "manly form." The fact that he was almost the reverse was a source of amazement to Keim who described him as being "tall but his limbs are small and badly shaped, showing more sinew than muscle. His chest however, is deep and square. His bearing is erect, with legs considerably bowed, the effect of constant use of the saddle. His hair is long and black and worn at full length, streaming over his shoulders."²⁵

The scalp-lock, according to Keim, or that hair growing on a diameter of two inches on the vortex of the skull, was always artistically plaited. The fact that the Plains Indian plucked his beard, moustache and eyebrows was disgusting to Keim who said the mutilation was nothing more than the gratification of vanity and that the practice produced a feminine appearance.

²² A chronological listing of when the various Indian Tribes were brought to Oklahoma showed: 1867, Shawnee, Potawatomi, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Kiowa; 1868, Apache; 1869, Cheyenne-Arapaho; 1872, Kaw or Kanza, Osage; 1867, Pawnee; 1882, Otoe, Missouri; 1883, Kickapoo, Iowa. Others included the Waco, Keechi, Quapaw, Peoria, Wyandot, Miami, Seneca, Ottawa, Modoc, Tawakoni.—Buchanan and Dale, *A History of Oklahoma*, (New York, 1935), pp. 145-165.

²³ Dale and Rader, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

²⁴ Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 859.

²⁵ De B. Randolph Keim, *Sheridan's Troopers on the Borders*, (Philadelphia, 1885).

He was interested in the great variety of features encountered among the Indians: "Some have features perfectly Caucasian, while others closely resemble the narrow faced Malay, or the oval-countenanced Mongolian, and with the different shades of color, from a dark reddish brown to a perfect olive."²⁶

Theories as to the origin of the race, as far as the Plains Indians were concerned, could cover a wide range, according to Keim:²⁷

Judging from their resemblance to any particular people of the old world, a sufficient variety of facial angles could be found to support any theory. The expansive flat face, high and receding forehead, sharp and small black eyes, thin lips, well arched mouth, high cheek-bones, nose more or less beaked, or Roman, and rather flat across the bridge, but thinning out towards the point, ears large, well-formed, and setting well upon the head, represents the type most commonly met.

Keim remarked, as did Catlin some forty years before him, on the resemblance of the Indians to European people. Keim said they had seen one band which, except for color, were perfect Italians, with a few resembling Germans, and quite a number, the "Jews of today." Catlin also remarked on the idea that the American Indian might possibly be of Jewish origin.

This same variation, in connection with the general types, was, according to Keim, apparent in all the "wild tribes." The Cheyennes and Arraphos he thought to be more purely Indian, with the Kiowas and Lipans next in line. He stated that the Comanches, due to intermixture with the Mexican, did not exhibit true Indian lineage. He commented on the fact that the women of the Plains tribes, though smaller in stature, showed a much more perfect development than did the male.

Keim was also interested in the primitive dress of the Plains Indians, which consisted of a breech-clout in the summer, worn with moccasins and leggins.²⁸

In winter this attire is reinforced by a buffalo robe, worn with the hair inside, and wrapped the whole length of the body, with a sufficient allowance to cover the head. The robe is held in place by a belt around the waist. On milder days the portion of the robe above the belt is allowed to fall back; which leaves the upper part of the body perfectly bare, while around the legs it makes a sort of skirt, with the hair both inside and outside. Sometimes a blanket is used instead of a robe.

The women dressed about the same as the men. The men wore their leggins high up above the knee, supported by a

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

²⁸ *Ibid.*



Quaker, U. S. Indian Agents, 1872. Standing left to right: Isaac Gibson, Osage; Doctor Roberts, Shawnee; Enoch Hoag, Supt. Central Superintendency; Jonathan Richards, Wichita-Caddo; John Hadley, Sac and Fox; Lawrie Tatum, Comanche-Kiowa. Seated left to right: Hiram W. Jones, Quapaw; John D. Miles, Kickapoo (later with Cheyenne-Arapaho); Brinton Darlington, Cheyenne-Arapaho (D. in 1872); Mahion Stubbs, Kaw; Joel Morris, Potawatomi.

strap fastened to the waist-belt, used with the breech-clout. The women fastened their leggins below the knee and turned a cuff down at the top. The Kiowa women wore an ornamented flap attached to the top and rear part of the leggins, which trailed at their heels. All leggins were made of buckskin. Moccasins were made of buckskin with raw-hide soles:²⁹

Instead of a breech-clout the women wear a skirt of buckskin, calico, or strouding, extending from the waist to the top of the leggins, and supported by a belt. (In some tribes the women did wear breech-clouts beneath their skirts; these, made of woven grass or soft weeds, were donned at puberty, were worn until they simply degenerated from age and were then replaced.) Mothers wore their buffalo robes full at the back, above the belt, to give a convenient place for carrying a papoose. The children dressed exactly like the adults . . . according to sex.

A census of Indians living in what is now Oklahoma, in 1866 showed the following figures: Cherokees: 14,000; Chickasaws: 4,500; Choctaws: 12,500; Creeks: 14,000; Quapaws: 350; Seminoles: 2,000; Senecas: 130; Seneca-Shawnee band: 210; Mixed tribes of the Wichita agency: 1,800.³⁰

In 1869 to 1872, Quakers were appointed as Indian agents for the Wichita-Caddo and affiliated tribes.³¹ G. W. Conover, who was employed in the government service in the Indian Commissary, told of his experiences in the Indian country, working with the Quakers. They erected two rock buildings, one of which was to house a doctor, his family and his supply of drugs. This doctor, who was named Tomlinson was the Quaker physician, and a minister also. He and his wife worked among the Indians ministering to bodies and souls simultaneously. Conover's description of Indian rations and the distribution of them was as follows:³²

When the Indians were placed on the leased district, the Government agreed to issue to them certain rations at intervals for so many years. These rations were as follows, namely: beef, bacon, flour, sugar, soda, coffee, soap and tobacco. These in ample supply were issued to them every two weeks, and the chiefs divided it out to the different families. They would pour out the sugar upon a

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

³⁰ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1866*, p. 351. (All Indian population numbers shown in the published records of the U. S. Indian Bureau are only an approximation of the actual figures at any time up to the late 1890's when the final rolls of the members of the different tribes were made for the purposes of allotment of tribal lands, in Oklahoma and Indian territories. Researchers find that most of the so-called Indian census records, if not all, are in error, except for the period of about 1895 to 1910 when a fairly accurate approximation could be made based on the final tribal rolls.—Ed.)

³¹ *Oklahoma Red Book* (Oklahoma City, 1912), p. 250.

³² G. W. Conover. *Sixty Years in Southwest Oklahoma*, (Anadarko. 1927), p. 62

sheet and dip it up with a measuring cup, and give it to the woman who sat or stood around in a circle. And so with other articles that could be handled in that way. The rations were issued to the chiefs at first to be divided by him to the families, but later on, the rations were issued to each family separately. Some of these rations the Indians had no use for, especially the bacon and the flour. They would throw away the bacon or sell it at a mere nominal price to anyone who wanted it, and often pour out the flour to get the sack, or sell the hundred pound sack of good flour for a dollar. They learned better later on.

There were also issued to them once a year what was called annuity goods. These goods consisted of blankets, muslins, calicos, hosiery, needles, thread, men's and boy's suits, beads, tin cups, butcher knives, iron kettles, other cooking utensils, axes, hoes, etc. This was in accordance with the "Medicine Lodge" treaty made in 1867 whereby the government was to feed and clothe the Indians for thirty years. This treaty ended in 1897, but to some extent kept up for several years after.

The Indians really appreciated the beef issued to them "on the hoof" because they liked to chase the beef cattle wildly across the prairie and kill them. When buffalo were plentiful, they cared very little about beef, and would leave a carcass where it fell, without even skinning it.³³

Transportation for the sick was also described by Conover. He said that the Indians had absolutely no use for a wagon, and wouldn't use one if it was given to them. They carried all their possessions packed on a travois, two poles which were extended from a sort of collar on their ponies. A bed was arranged on these poles "which made a fairly comfortable method of transportation."

Another doctor mentioned in this account of life in the Indian Territory some eighty years ago, was a Dr. Shirley. Dr. Shirley built a store on a bluff on the north side of the Washita north of the present townsite of Anadarko, which overlooked the valley. Dr. Shirley "swallowed some poison thinking it was medicine prepared for him." Mr. Conover stated undramatically that "it resulted in his death."³⁴

The coming of the railroads to Oklahoma during the 1870's sounded the death knell of the buffalo, which in turn marked another important change in the habits of the Plains Indians.³⁵

So long as the products of the buffalo hunt—hides, tanned robes, dried meat and tongues—had to be transported hundreds of miles, by wagon, to the Missouri River for shipment, the buffalo herds were free from danger of immediate extermination, even though each succeeding year saw their ranges slightly narrowed by reason of the extension of the settlements.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 63

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

³⁵ Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 479.

The first railroad, the Missouri, Kansas & Texas, was followed shortly by another, the Atlantic and Pacific (now the Frisco), was built (1872), effecting a junction with the M. K. & T. at Vinita.³⁶ Railroads brought the extinction of the buffalo upon which the Indians had so long depended for food, for clothing and for shelter.

The year 1871 found the Osages very much disgusted at the unsettled conditions of their affairs (because no definite boundary lines had been set), and they would not allow their women to plant the crops. There was trouble and more trouble with squatters. During the fall, the military had removed a number of white settlers who had moved into Indian Territory land which bordered on Kansas. As soon as the soldiers left the whites promptly moved back into Indian Territory.

“Early this spring,” wrote Isaac T. Gibson, Indian Agent, to Enoch Hoag, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, “I asked for the removal of nearly one hundred families from the Osage lands . . . the Osages feel that their new home is being wrested from them even before they have got possession.”³⁷ In spite of all this, Mr. Gibson was able to report that a good physician had been employed who had “succeeded well in restoring health, and had introduced favorably our system of medicine among the blanket Indians who had heretofore avoided the white man’s medicine.”³⁸

Among the Choctaws and Chickasaws at Boggy Depot in the Choctaw Nation in August of 1871, conditions were far more satisfactory where “health was concerned,” but the agent complained about the illegal sale of whiskey which was being introduced to the Territory in spite of constant watchfulness. “Whites on Red River, Texas, are selling whiskey freely to Indians, in violation of law, and go unpunished.”³⁹

At the Seminole Agency in We-Wo-Ka, Indian Territory, Henry Briener, in 1871, U. S. Special Indian Agent, was not so optimistic in regard to improvement on the part of his charges. He admitted that both the temporal and moral conditions of the Seminoles had improved, but he felt that “their mode and habits of life, contrary to the general opinion, were detrimental to their physical growth and perfection; and con-

³⁶ *Oklahoma Red Book*, p. 251.

³⁷ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1871, pp. 484-485.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ T. D. Griffith, U. S. Indian Agent for Choctaws and Chickasaws, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1871.

sequently, a gradual degeneracy, which, according to the universal law of nature, is imparted to the offspring."⁴⁰

Exposure, lack of sufficient and the proper kind of clothing "adapted to the different and extreme changes of the season"; living in dark, cold cabins, an insufficient diet, lack of cleanliness in body and in food preparation; "add to all these causes of physical degeneracy the greatest of all moral and physical evils—the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, which is very common, thereby engendering disease, and transmitting it down through many generations, we have the sum and substance of the seeds of ultimate extinction." He attributed to all these factors the Seminole's lack of resistance when acute disease struck.

Agent Briener condemned heartily and long-windedly the Indian medicine men whose potency—if any—seemed to lie in the "blowing and pow-wowing" rather than the pot of herbs employed. These cases usually ended fatally he noticed, and they were of lives which should have and could have been saved. In making a plea for better care of the Seminoles, he wrote of their complete ignorance of the laws of health, and of disease, and its treatment:⁴¹

If it be, therefore, desirable on the part of the government and benevolent institutions that these tribes should be perpetuated, civilized and christianized, and made useful citizens of this, or an independent government of their own, it would not only be an act of generosity and philanthropy, but of economy, for them to put forth every effort and use every means to accomplish these desirable objects. It is always more economical to perpetuate, civilize, and christianize, than it is to exterminate a race

Soon after Mr. Breiner was established at "We-Wo-Ka," he found that the salary allowed agents was insufficient for a man and his family to live on, especially if that agent was called upon for medical supplies. He made application to the department for medicines and for permission to practice, and both requests were granted. He felt that he had already affected much good among the people under his supervision, with this effort but he was also convinced that more importance should be attached to proving to the Indians the advantages of "the arts and sciences of civilization." He spent much of his time in the practice of medicine and "bestowed much labor to as poor and thriftless a class of people as I have ever seen." He completed his report with a statement of his intentions to "do this extra service so long as good can be accomplished and the Department will furnish the means."⁴²

⁴⁰ Henry Briener, U. S. Special Indian Agent, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1871, pp. 581-582.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 581-2.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 586.

In 1872 Mr. Breiner's report included a request for a hospital. He recommended an appropriation of \$1,500 for the erection and furnishing of a small hospital in the Seminole Nation: "But I would not recommend this appropriation without the qualification that a physician shall always be appointed to this agency as the Seminole agent, and that he be sufficiently remunerated to justify him for his labor, the privations to be endured, and the inconvenience and exposures incident to the country and climate."⁴³

It was Mr. Breiner's contention that in the treatment of both chronic and acute diseases the patient should be attended by an experienced physician, and "by a careful white, or other experienced, intelligent and obedient nurse." He pointed out that there was no other locality in the Indian Territory where a physician and a hospital were more needed than at We-Wo-Ka. There was no physician nearer than sixty miles. Fort Gibson and Fort Sill were both more than one hundred miles away.⁴⁴

John D. Miles, Indian Agent for the Cheyennes and Arapahos, was working hard in 1872 to get these people interested in planting, producing crops and raising stock. It was his belief that the Indians in his agency were finally being persuaded to become serious farmers.

The desire to embrace agricultural and stock-raising pursuits as a means of living is fast gaining ground among the more influential of the tribe. Powder Face, their chief told me a few days since that . . . "I see the buffalo are fast passing away, and there is no alternative for my people but to get on the white man's road," but thinks that the cattle-herd is better adapted to the present condition of his people than the "corn-road."

Speaking of health conditions, Agent John D. Miles reported there had been much sickness among both the Indians and employees at his agency. Like Mr. Breiner, he recommended the erection of a hospital building at Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency. "I believe much suffering can be alleviated by taking care of their sick before they have been subjected to a seige of their superstitious medicine practice."⁴⁵

The report from the Wichita Agency for 1872 showed the same existing problems: predatory white settlers, lack of interest in farming on the part of the Indians. "The Wichitas, Wacoos, Tawaconies, and Keechies, have continued their former plan of planting patches of corn, melons, and garden-vegetables, the work still being done mostly by women." A few of the men worked temporarily but sickness (unidentified) prevailed

⁴³ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1872, p. 242.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 250-251.

and following their custom, the Indians moved from their villages in order that the disease would be arrested.⁴⁶ A census on these tribes at the Wichita Agency showed a total of 1,535 Indians. Tribes living there included the Caddo, Keechi, Wichita, Delaware, Waco, Ioni, Tawacani, and Comanche.⁴⁷

Concerning the population of the Indian Tribes in 1872, Colonel William Penn Adair of the Cherokee Nation, wrote that there were more than 50,000 at that time. "The Cherokees with a population of 15,000 have two boarding-schools and sixty day-schools with an average attendance of 1,989 pupils, sustained at a cost of \$25,000 last year."⁴⁸

The Creeks, who were numbered at 15,000 in 1872, had three missions, one boarding school and thirty-one day schools. These schools had an attendance of 860 pupils Choctaws and Chickasaws in the same report for 1872, numbered 20,000, had three missions, two boarding-schools and forty-eight day schools.⁴⁹

"Soon after the Indians returned from the chase in April," wrote Agent John D. Miles from the Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency August 18, 1877, "measles broke out in epidemic form, and notwithstanding the faithful and unceasing care and medical attention of our worthy agency physician, L. A. E. Hodge, the 'badge of mourning' is worn by the heads of almost every lodge in the two tribes." Seventy-four of the 113 school children were down with measles at one time and the agent, doctor, and teachers converted the school building into a hospital. Thanks to the care they received every child was saved:⁵⁰

In this we gained a very important point with the camp Indians, demonstrating the advantage of our manner of treatment over theirs, and the superiority of warm houses over that of the damp lodge in sickness. One family of five children were all taken off except one, who was in school. The Arapahoes say they lost 136 children and the Cheyennes 83 during the epidemic.

Conditions among the Pawnee Indians was much the same as of all "village Indians I have known," wrote Charles H. Searing of that Agency in 1877:⁵¹

Nearly all wear the blanket, and a great deal of dancing and gambling is done. Probably about two-thirds of them live in cloth lodges, and the rest in large sod lodges, containing several families each. The habits of many of them are filthy, and without doubt, this, with the poor protection from the weather and the radical change in climate, has been the cause of many deaths.

⁴⁶ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1872, p. 251.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁴⁸ *op cit.*, p. 266.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1877, p. 85.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

One change for the better Mr. Searing noted, was that the Indians came after medicine at the beginning of their chills much better than they formerly had. The agency physician felt they were beginning to realize the importance of early treatment.⁵²

The Cheyennes and Arapahos suffered greatly from the intense heat during the summer of 1878 according to Agent John D. Miles. He estimated the number of sick people on the reservation at 2,000. Had the Agency an adequate supply of "anti-malarial" remedies at hand, he believed many deaths would have been averted. The Agency received ninety-five ounces of quinine in advance of the annual supply and this was consumed in less than two days. "The success of the agency physician has been gratifying, and the only cause of ill-success has been due to the lack of medicines."⁵³ Hundreds who applied for treatment were refused medicine and as a result resorted to their native medicine and the "perpetuation of their superstitious rites."⁵⁴

Dr. J. W. Smith, agency physician for the Kiowa and Comanche Agency reported the prevalence of malaria among those tribes in 1878. He attributed most of their malaria to their camp sites and planned to personally supervise their next selections. Syphilis was rather general and he was concerned about the future welfare of the Indians in regard to this problem. He requested a building that could be used as a hospital at the earliest possible date because of the type care the Indians received in their own camps. He was concerned over the "jugglery and manipulations of the medicine men" which, in his estimation, could not but be injurious.⁵⁵

At the Pawnee Agency in 1880, the Agent wrote: "Old men say that this year, for the first time in their lives, they had all the potatoes and vegetables they could eat." E. H. Bowman, the Pawnee agent, entertained the typical theory as to the cause of malaria: "The slimy deposits are left high on the banks (of the Arkansas and Cimarron) to evolve malaria in a tropic heat of 80 degrees to 120 Fahrenheit . . . to these sources we must look for our most permanent and general causes of malarious diseases." Mr. Bowman praised their physician, whose kind and intelligent management and treatment was decreasing the Indian's confidence in their own medicine men, and steadily increasing their confidence in the

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1878, p. 54.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

“superior resources and capabilities of the white man’s system of medicine.”⁵⁶

The Osages in 1881, with a population of nearly 2,000 were losing many members of their tribe from pneumonia or “quick consumption.” Lack of care during the cold and wet weather, the wearing of moccasins in wet weather, their habit of sleeping on damp ground, overheating from exercise and then exposure to cold, all were practices which led to an early grave in the opinion of their agency physician. The Indians applied at the agency for cough syrups, camphor, pills, etc., thinking they could prevent severe illness, but “they seldom call for a physician in severe cases. Disease seems to be severe upon them, and it is no uncommon thing for them to be taken when apparently healthy and die in two or three days.”⁵⁷

An epidemic of smallpox started during the summer of 1882 in the Indian Territory. The first report of the disease was that of the Osage agent who told of smallpox in Black Dog’s Camp and other camps on the Arkansas River. “Death followed quickly in a number of cases, and it was found to be rapidly spreading.” The Osages became panic-stricken and fled, some across the Arkansas River, others into the seclusion of the forest. An effort was made to protect them with vaccination but “succeeded poorly for want of good virus.” By September, twenty or twenty-five had died and many others were down with the disease.⁵⁸

Much publicity was given this epidemic by both the *Cherokee Advocate* and the *Cheyenne Transporter*. In January the Cherokee Citizenship Committee met at Tahlequah to pass a compulsory vaccination law.⁵⁹ A February issue of the *Advocate* carried a description of the scourge in the Indian Territory, and stated that special provisions were being made to have the people vaccinated. After telling of the ravages of smallpox in 1882 on Grand River and other places, the article pointed out that the only way to escape the disease was by vaccination. Vaccination was free and the people would be notified when the physician would be ready for each family to come to the agency for vaccination. Co-operation with the National Council was urged.⁶⁰ Much work was done in the Creek nation by Colonel W. P. Ross, Dr. J. A. Thompson, and Mr. Parris. Before the people began co-operating by allow-

⁵⁶ Report of E. H. Bowman, U. S. I. A. to Pawnee Agency, Aug. 30, 1880, *Annual Report of Com. of Indian Affairs*, 1880-82.

⁵⁷ Report of L. J. Miles, U. S. I. A. to Osage Agency, September 21, 1881, *Annual Report of Com. of Indian Affairs*, 1881-82.

⁵⁸ *Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1882, p. 72.

⁵⁹ *Cheyenne Transporter*, Jan. 11, 1883, col. pp. 4, 5.

⁶⁰ *Cherokee Advocate*, Feb. 16, 1883.



A Home in the Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory.

ing vaccination, and accepting treatment, 68 persons had been ill with smallpox and 48 had died. After the immunization and treatment program was under way, 131 had the disease and only 2 died. The article pointed out this was proof that "prompt, skilled treatment is needed."⁶¹

In February of 1883, smallpox was reported at Vinita and in the eastern portion of the Territory. "We're all surrounded," the *Cheyenne Transporter* stated gloomily, "with smallpox prevalent at Vinita, and other points in the eastern portion of the Territory, in Southern Kansas and Northern Texas."⁶²

An excellent example of the Indians' recognition of the superiority of the white man's methods in the maintenance of health (or even life) among the Cheyennes and Arapahos was evidenced in a report from the Mennonite Missionary, S. S. Haury from Cantonment, Indian Territory in August, 1883:⁶³

The health of our children has been exceedingly good during all the year. We had not one case of sickness which was at all serious. This circumstance did not escape the notice of the Indians. A father once brought his daughter, being sick with consumption and near the grave, begging me to take her in upon the plea that all children recovered if they were staying in our house.

Reports from the agents during the 1880's indicate a general trend, among the Indians, away from their old ways of treating disease, and an acceptance of the "white man's way." Some of the tribes still lived in squalor, and if unable to get an agency physician, allowed their medicine men to practice. Some of the agents would occasionally express confidence they had completely converted the tribes under their supervision to more hygienic living, and to a more scientific approach where the treatment of disease and care of the sick was concerned. Yet their next reports would include diatribes on the "filthy and superstitious" habits of the Indians. The consensus of opinion among the agents was that to properly care for the sick among the Indians, hospitals would have to be available.⁶⁴ The Agency physician could treat the patient but until he could be removed from the camp environment, his chances at recovery—if he was acutely ill—were not too good. "We cannot expect the Indian to have confidence in the white doctor and his medicine unless he had been reasonably successful in his practice, and how can we expect him to be successful when his patients are made to pass through the ordeal the Indian medicine man imposes upon them."⁶⁵

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 2., col. 2, p. 2.

⁶² *Cheyenne Transporter*, Feb. 10, 1883, col. 2, p. 1.

⁶³ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1883, p. 69.

⁶⁴ Report of P. B. Hunt, I. A. to Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita agency.—*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1884, p. 81.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

The supervision of the health of the Indians was carried on consistently and conscientiously (according to the agents' reports) from 1880. Before that time the employment of agency physicians had been a rather hit-or-miss proposition. In 1873 a medical and educational division was created in the Indian Bureau, but by 1874 only about one-half the agencies in the United States had been provided with physicians.⁶⁶ Lack of supplies and equipment, made medical practice and health supervision a difficult task. The medical and educational division was abolished in 1878 but the Federal Government "increased its efforts in both preventive and remedial work."⁶⁷

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs ruled in his report for 1878 that physicians employed as agency doctors in the future had to be "graduates of some medical college and have the necessary diplomas."⁶⁸ According to the reports of agents in the Indian Territory there were physicians employed in all of the agencies after 1880.

A census, taken in 1879 showed an increase in population, but this could be attributed to including whites, negroes, and mixed bloods, rather than the governmental health supervision program, from 1866. The Cherokees, in 1879, numbered 19,000. Of this number there were 6,000 of mixed blood, 3,500 negroes, and 700 whites. The 1866 census showed them to number 14,000. The Chickasaws numbered 5,800 in 1879 as compared with 4,500 in 1866. The Choctaws in 1879 numbered 16,000. Of this number 6,000 were mixed bloods, and 1,300 were whites. Seminoles in 1879 numbered 2,443, as contrasted with 2,000 enumerated in 1866. Creeks reported in 1879 totaled 14,260. In 1866, there were supposed to be 14,000 Creeks.⁶⁹ There were also 6,200 white people who had not been admitted to citizenship in any of the tribes enumerated in 1879. Twelve hundred of these were employees of the railroads, and 5,000 were intruders.⁷⁰ In 1883, the *Cheyenne Transporter* reported there were 36 tribes of Indians in the Territory.⁷¹

During 1888, agency reports showed an increasing number of Indians being treated by the agency physicians; showed also the hold still exerted on the Indians by the medicine men; the general improvement in living conditions as a result of better food, more sanitation in regard to camp life, the absence of epidemic diseases such as smallpox; the increasing rate of

⁶⁶ Edward Everett Dale, *Indians of the Southwest*, p. 201.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1902.

⁶⁹ Gittinger, *Formation of the State of Oklahoma*, 218.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁷¹ *Cheyenne Transporter*, September 28, 1883.

tuberculosis, and the addiction to the mescal bean among members of the Comanches and Apaches, among other topics related to health.⁷²

The population of Indian Territory in 1890 was given the same as in 1880, 1882. The Five Tribes accounted for 178,097 of this number, with the Quapaw Agency having 1,281 persons. White and colored people on the Fort Sill and Fort Reno military reservations were listed as 804.⁷³ A somewhat different classification is given in the Eleventh Census of the United States.⁷⁴ The total population of what is now Oklahoma for 1890 was 258,657. Of this figure, 172,554 were listed as white, and 21,609 were negroes.⁷⁵

From the figures quoted it is plain to be seen that the only figures which actually agree are those from identical reports. There never seemed to have been any agreement reached as to standard definitions of nationality in the Territory. One of the main reasons for the confusion where census reports were concerned was caused by the white people who wished to share in the Indian benefits. The only way they could hope to do this was by proving that they were descendants of old Indian families.

⁷² *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs*, 1888.

⁷³ *Extra Census Bulletin*, Department of Interior, The Five Civilized Tribes, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1894.

⁷⁴ Gittinger, *Formation of State of Oklahoma*, Appendix D, 219.

⁷⁵ *Negro Populations in the U. S.: 1790-1915*, Government Printing Office, 1918, pp. 43-4. (The number of Negroes in 1890 for Oklahoma and Indian territories included those who had taken homestead claims in the first land opening in 1889; large groups that had come from other states to work in the coal mines; and the Freedmen [ex-slaves and their families] who had lived in the Territory before the Civil War.—Ed.)

INDIAN MISSIONS OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH
IN OKLAHOMA

By Sam L. Botkin*

The Protestant Episcopal Church sent its first white missionary to take charge of the field of Indian missions in Indian Territory, in 1881. Lack of missionary organization, too much demand for expenditures elsewhere, and lack of missionaries have been blamed by Episcopal historians for the failure to enter the picture in the Territory where the Methodists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Baptists were active for many decades before statehood.¹

Four Episcopal bishops visited Indian Territory at the time other denominational groups were establishing and operating missions among the Five Civilized Tribes. Jackson Kemper of Missouri and Leonidas K. Polk of Tennessee were separately in the Territory in 1838, visiting Ft. Gibson and nearby points, Polk establishing a preaching station at Gibson. James H. Otey of Arkansas covered a similar territory in 1844 and 1845 with N. Sayre Harris, secretary of the Board of Missions of the Church. George W. Freeman traveled throughout Cherokee and Choctaw lands in 1847. In each instance, the conclusion was drawn that other denominations had preempted the obvious missionary opportunities and that new work was not possible under the circumstances.²

Secretary Harris made an offer to Roley McIntosh, Chief of the Creek Nation, suggesting that the Episcopal Church

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¹Julia C. Emery, *A Century of Endeavor* (New York, 1921), p. 68f.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 68, 82, 86f. (A report on Indian Affairs for 1837 lists the first public services of the Episcopal Church held in the Indian Territory, by the Mohawk Indian tribal members who had settled on the Seneca lands in what is now Ottawa County, Oklahoma. This band of Mohawks had migrated from New York and located with the Seneca of Sandusky. The majority of the band could read the gospels in Mohawk; they read the book of Common Prayer and sang hymns in carrying on religious exercises. Isaac White was their principal chief, and George Herron, second chief.—Ed.)

attempt to set up an all-Indian church in the Creek Nation, with Indian priests and possibly even an Indian bishop at some future time. The suggestion was received with apparent interest, but no action was forthcoming from the Creeks. Harris was fully discouraged in regard to possibilities for his church by the time he left the Territory in 1845.³

Bishop Freeman rejected what may have been an opportunity for the Church to become involved in the life of the Chickasaw Nation. In 1848, Chickasaw chiefs asked that the Episcopal Church be given direction of a proposed manual training school under the plan in effect at the time, by virtue of which the U. S. Government would provide \$6,000 annually for a school after it had been established by Church authorities and funds. Some attempts were made to raise money for the school; but Bishop Freeman cancelled the project when he became convinced that Governmental demands called for "exercising a type of Government control which was inconsistent with the type of control set up by Constitutional law for supervision of missionaries by the Board of Missions."⁴

Thus ended all attempts by Bishop Freeman to establish missions in the Territory. His successor after the Civil War was Henry Champlin Lay, whose jurisdiction included Arkansas, Indian Territory, Texas, and other parts of the Great Southwest.⁵ In 1870, Arkansas and Indian Territory were set aside as a separate jurisdiction and put under the charge of Henry Niles Pierce, who served as Bishop of Arkansas until his death in 1899.⁶ Bishop Pierce found it impossible to do more than make exploratory trips into Indian Territory in 1889, 1890, and 1891.⁷ One Indian missionary effort was begun during his episcopate, without his assistance on the ground.

That one missionary enterprise was brought into being by the Reverend John Bartlett Wicks, an Episcopal priest of Paris Hill, New York, who trained young Indians for missionary work and took two of them, David Pendleton Oakerhater (Medicine-Maker) and Paul Zotom, with him to Indian

³ Emery, *op. cit.*, p. 84

⁴ Report of the Rt. Rev. George Washington Freeman to the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1848, pages not numbered, in files of Protestant Episcopal Church at Southwest Seminary Library, Austin, Texas. (The Chickasaw Council had provided for the Chickasaw Manual Labor School for boys, building in 1848, and opened in 1851 under the supervision of the Methodist Church, South, near Tishomingo.—Ed.)

⁵ William W. Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York, 1935), p. 260.

⁶ Emery, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

⁷ Bishop Pierce's diary, containing a description of the trips, is in the historiographer's files of the Diocese of Arkansas, Little Rock.

Territory as missionaries to the people among whom they had formerly been warriors. Wick's proteges had been military prisoners at Pensacola, Florida, under Captain R. H. Pratt, the army officer whose interest in Indians led to his appointment as the first head of Carlisle Indian School. Oakerhater was a Cheyenne, Zotom a Kiowa; the former concentrated his efforts in the vicinity of Darlington Agency and the latter moved on to a site near Anadarko. Mr. Wicks worked at both places, erecting a chapel at the Kiowa Agency and a home and mission facilities at Fay, near Darlington. He suffered a breakdown in health in 1884 and left Oklahoma. Oakerhater continued working with a group of several dozen confirmed Cheyennes, but Zotom soon ceased ministerial efforts among the Kiowas.⁸ More about Oakerhater will be told later.

At Anadarko, from 1896 to 1903, Miss Ida Roff conducted a lace-making school under the auspices of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church. She also taught Sunday School classes and attempted to keep some activity alive in the chapel which John Wicks had erected. The Anadarko lace school was one of eight such institutions begun by Miss Sybil Carter of the national Woman's Auxiliary. Indian women were able to sell their lace-work readily, and received approximately ten cents an hour for their labor. More than fifty women at Anadarko, and occasionally a husband or two, became interested in the work. A Christmas worship service at the school in 1898 drew together Christain Kiowas, Comanches, Apaches, Delawares and Caddos. Miss Roff's work was discontinued after she married an Episcopal priest and left Anadarko in 1903.⁹

Not especially concerned with Indian work, but certainly an important institution in Indian Territory, was the Episcopal hospital erected through the efforts of Bishop Francis Key Brooke at South McAlester following a coal mine disaster. All Saints Hospital, as it was called, found its facilities taxed to the utmost during most of its life span, from 1896 to 1924. It was the object of much of the time and effort expended by Bishop Brooke, Oklahoma's first diocesan. Perhaps it is

⁸ *Primary Convocation Journal of the Missionary District of Oklahoma and Indian Territory* (Guthrie, 1895), p. 5.

⁹ *Ibid.*



The Right Reverend Henry Niles Pierce

significant that the hospital slipped out of Episcopal ownership three years after the Bishop died in 1918.¹⁰

Another very special project of Francis Key Brooke was the Cheyenne mission and mission school which had been located at Darlington, later was moved to Fay, and finally was centered at Whirlwind Day School, a one-time Government institution which was taken over by the Episcopal Church. By far the largest Episcopal Indian congregation in Oklahoma or Indian Territory from 1881 until the present has been the one among the Cheyennes.¹¹ Instrumental in the perpetuation of the work after the departure of the Reverend J. B. Wicks were Bishop Brooke, who arrived in Oklahoma in 1893; David Sanford, a priest who served in the area from 1896 to 1907; Miss Harriett Bedell, an energetic missionary teacher who remained from 1907 to 1917; and above all David Pendleton Oakerhater, who stayed on the job from 1881 until his death in 1931.¹²

From the time of its inception in 1897, Whirlwind School had been something of a problem to Government Indian officials. Despite constant efforts by the Government to persuade Indians to live on and farm their allotted lands, the Cheyennes and Arapahos who sent their children to day schools insisted upon camping in the vicinity of the schools, particularly the one called Whirlwind in honor of the memory of a chief who had been friendly to the U. S. Government at a critical time.¹³ In 1901, the day school was abandoned; this was a severe disappointment to David Sanford, Episcopal missionary in the vicinity who had worked hard among the students and encamped parents. With Bishop Brooke's help, Sanford obtained permission to continue a day school in the same buildings, under Church auspices, beginning in 1904. The operation of the school itself seems to have been successful; it was popular with the Indians, and produced better than average students. Apparently the idea of the Indian

¹⁰ Hospital reports were printed annually in the *Convocation Journal, Missionary District of Oklahoma and Indian Territory*, 1895 through 1908; in the *Convocation Journal, Missionary District of Eastern Oklahoma*, 1911 through 1918; in the *Convocation Journal, Missionary District of Oklahoma*, 1909 through 1924.

¹¹ *Journal, Oklahoma and Indian Territory*; *Journal, Oklahoma*; and *Journal, Eastern Oklahoma*, rosters of congregations appended from 1895 until present date.

¹² Oakerhater's presence and work are described in most of the Journals from 1895 to 1931.

¹³ Chief Whirlwind had helped avoid what appeared to be a major war in 1874. J. J. H. Reedy, "Whirlwind Indian Day School," *Indian School Journal*, Vol. IV (April, 1909). (The old Whirlwind Cemetery near the site of the Mission is about 13 miles west of Greenfield in Blaine County.—Ed.)

Agent at Darlington had been to permit the school to exist as a place for students whose ill health prevented their attending boarding schools. Complications developed, however, when several able-bodied students showed up each year, with their parents, hoping to attend Whirlwind Mission school and to have the parents join the nearby camp.¹⁴

David Sanford, encouraged by the Bishop, worked hard to convince the campers they should farm their allotted lands. He attained some success. Furthermore, he attempted to impose rigid conditions of sanitation and moral life among the residents of the community. Life at the camp at time left much to be desired. It certainly was a source of irritation for the Darlington Agency, which wanted the camp dissolved and hoped that able-bodied students would be placed in boarding schools.¹⁵

Sanford argued against boarding schools, claiming they were breeders of disease, and causes of great unhappiness among the Indian families. He acknowledged the weaknesses of the camping system, but was highly critical on the other hand of the way certain Indian officials were handling leasing and housing arrangements. He feuded with the superintendent of a nearby Government boarding school. He became extremely unpopular among some of the white farmers of the area, apparently because he tried to help his Indian friends obtain more profitable leasing arrangements. One charge against Sanford was that he taught Indians some of the unethical methods of land-leasing which had more commonly been associated with whites.¹⁶

Sanford was a veteran minister, in his late fifties. Bishop Brooke considered him a valuable Indian missionary, but privately admitted it would be most difficult to use him in another type of work. Therefore the Bishop was most reluctant to dismiss Sanford from his Whirlwind School post. Severely ill feelings developed in 1906 between Charles Shell, Cheyenne Agent, and the Bishop when Shell demanded that Sanford be fired and threatened to cut off all cooperation with the school unless the missionary be sent elsewhere. Bishop Brooke felt that undue pressure was being applied upon him, and resisted through a series of delaying tactics. The school was continued in 1906 with the understanding, Agent Shell

¹⁴ Reports of Whirlwind Indian Day School, Cheyenne and Arapaho files, Oklahoma Historical Society Collection, Oklahoma City.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Undated multigraphed petition, signed by some thirty-five white farmers of the Watonga area, apparently submitted to the Office of Indian Affairs in 1907, lists grievances against Sanford.

thought, that Sanford would be replaced as soon as possible. Bishop Brooke finally admitted he did not plan to remove the missionary, who had become more and more unpopular with Government officials. Superiors at Washington supported Agent Shell's point of view, requiring however that Shell permit the school to re-open with Sanford in charge in 1907, with the understanding that a replacement would be immediately forthcoming. Letters exchanged between Shell and Bishop Brooke indicate that two well-meaning men became extremely hostile toward each other. The tragic death of the Bishop's only son by drowning in 1907 softened the attitude of his adversary. After Sanford left, early in 1908, Whirlwind School was given strong Government support.¹⁷

James J. H. Reedy was Sanford's successor as priest at Whirlwind; he moved to another location a year later.¹⁸ The real successor to David Sanford at the School was Miss Hariett Bedell, who like the former was to become very popular with many persons, and equally unpopular with others. Like Sanford, she was filled with zeal for the Indian and like him, too, she was at times outspoken in her discussion of persons she did not consider to be friends of the Indian. Like her predecessor again, she was able to maintain a school with an enrollment of at least thirty, sometimes as high as fifty, students, "five to seventeen years old."¹⁹

Miss Bedell became one of the most prominent writers for national Episcopal magazines such as the *Spirit of Missions*, relating her outdoor experiences and telling of travels to camps such as those at Watonga, Deer Creek, Thomas, Old Crow, Etna, Roman Nose.²⁰ It was at these very camps that a new enemy to the mission school, the peyote-smoking religious rite, gained prominence and probably became the direct cause of the discontinuance of the school. Bishop Brooke admitted in 1916 that peyote had become prevalent among friends and former friends of the Church. He blamed the Government for not having passed or enforced strict prohibitory regulations, but nevertheless admitted that continuation of the school presented grave problems.²¹ In 1917, Miss Bedell transferred her area of work to Alaska, and Whirlwind School ceased to exist.²²

¹⁷ Letter from J. J. H. Reedy to C. E. Shell, March 31, 1908, in Cheyenne and Arapaho files.

¹⁸ *Journal, Oklahoma*, 1908, 5.

¹⁹ *Spirit of Missions*, LXXV (1910), p. 452.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, LXXVII (1910), p. 776 f.

²¹ *Journal, Oklahoma*, 1916, p. 7.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

The one representative of the Church who was on the scene among the Cheyennes during the half-century which marked the transition from a savage tribe to a relatively law-abiding group of citizens was David Oakerhater. Known commonly as David Pendleton (his Christian name), he had returned in 1881 to the same people he had led into war as late as 1875. That David was a leader among leaders is evidenced by the fact that he was delegated by the "young chiefs" in prison in Pensacola, Florida, in 1878 to speak in their behalf, asking that they receive educational opportunities. He became a Christian under the guidance of Captain R. H. Pratt; he studied for the ministry under the Reverend J. B. Wicks, and was ordained a deacon in 1881.²³ He was never to be advanced to the priesthood, therefore never had the privilege of celebrating Holy Communion among his flock and probably was severely handicapped as a result. He suffered personal loss in New York when his wife and son, who were permitted to travel from Indian Territory to live with him, both died in 1879. However, he remarried after returning to live among the Cheyennes. His destiny was to be a dweller among the campers, a servant of the Church whose efforts were for fifty years expended in the attempt to improve living conditions and moral habits of his friends. Reports from 1910 to 1917 pertaining to students at the school indicate that while most of the residents of the adjacent camp were sufferers from various diseases, glaucoma and tuberculosis in particular, David Pendleton's family was always healthy and its tent life exemplary.²⁴ David identified himself with his people, lived among them, and yet lived above them in a sense which provided uplifting leadership. David Sanford and Harriett Bedell stated that the Indian deacon quietly and patiently obeyed and cooperated with them.²⁵ All the time, of course, they were utterly dependent upon him for such duties as translation, gaining Indian cooperation, and providing of information which would permit mutual understanding. The success of the mission and mission school was due above all to the work of the resident Indian minister, David Pendleton.

When Anadarko became a lively town after the land opening of 1901, the work at that location became principally a white man's project rather than an Indian's.²⁶ Another Episco-

²³ John B. Wicks, "David Oakerhater," *Oklahoma and Indian Territory Churchman*, January, 1900, p. 4.

²⁴ Reports of inspectors of Whirlwind Indian Day School, in Cheyenne and Arapaho files, Oklahoma Historical Society Collection.

²⁵ *Journal, Oklahoma, 1917*, p. 15.

²⁶ *Journal, Oklahoma and Indian Territory, 1902* report of Anadarko mission appended.

pal mission among Indians but principally for whites, was established in 1885 by Charles Campbell, a deacon from West Virginia, at Prairie City twenty-five miles east of Vinita in Cherokee country. Campbell had a Sunday School with several dozen students, and residents of the village erected a building for his use. He departed in 1886, and the work stopped. Prairie City, too, disappeared a few years later.²⁷ Other occasional Episcopalian efforts have been at Chilocco and Concho Indian Schools, where in each instance regular Episcopal services were conducted by visiting priests from 1907 to sometime in the 1920's.²⁸ At Skullyville among the Choctaws, Oak Lodge Episcopal mission was started in 1891 by an Arkansas priest. The mission was united with the church at Spiro in 1912.

²⁷ Charles M. Campbell, "The Prairie City Mission," *Oklahoma and Indian Territory Churchman*, September, 1900, p. 4.

²⁸ Journals from 1907 to 1930, reports appended.

OKLAHOMA'S PHILATELIC YEAR

By George H. Shirk

The year 1957, the Semi-Centennial of Statehood for Oklahoma, was a big year in the Sooner State for stamp collectors.¹ Most of the philatelic activity was centered around the Semi-Centennial celebration, and it is to the credit of the Oklahoma Philatelic Society, the local postmasters and the many co-operating civic groups that both the Semi-Centennial and other aspects of Oklahoma history received such wide philatelic coverage.

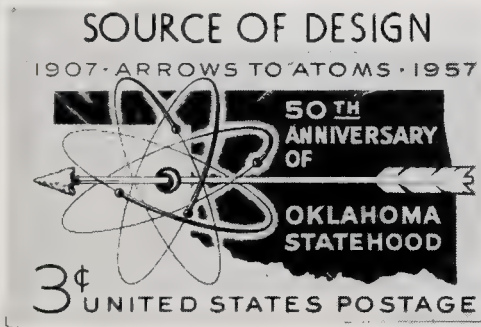
The major event was the Oklahoma Statehood stamp. This stamp carried the theme of the Semi-Centennial "Arrows to Atoms" to all parts of the world, and probably no other publicity medium received such wide distribution as this message appearing on the postage stamp. In addition to the commemorative stamp, many local postmasters used special slogan cancellations in their cancelling machines. The special exhibits at the Semi-Centennial Exposition also received much attention.

Oklahoma Statehood Stamp

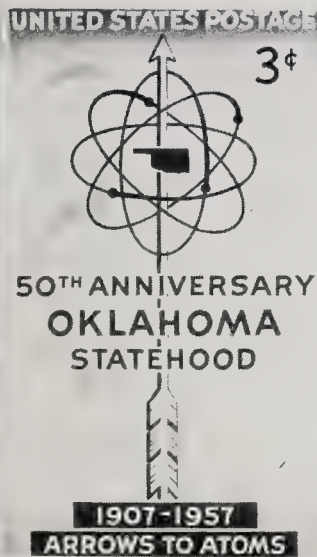
On November 2, 1956, Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield announced that included in the 1957 stamp program would be a special stamp to commemorate the Fiftieth anniversary of Oklahoma Statehood. Further details of the design were made known on March 18, 1957; and on that date announcement was made that the first day of issue would be in Oklahoma City on June 14th, the opening date of the Oklahoma Semi-Centennial Exposition. On April 16 the color, blue, was released.

Four designs, prepared by William K. Schrage, of the Bureau of Engraving, were submitted to the Post Office Department; and the accepted design was approved by the Postmaster General on February 9, 1957. The engraving of the central figure was done by Matthew D. Fenton, and George L. Huber engraved the lettering and numerals. The Postmaster General approved the die proof on April 5th. The center design of the stamp is a horizontal arrow superimposed upon a solid outline of the State. The arrow pierces a symbolic orbit of atoms, the usual symbol for atomic energy. Across the top of the stamp are the words "1907. Arrows to Atoms. 1957."

¹ Grateful acknowledgement is made to *The Bureau Specialist*, R. A. Bryant, Editor, for permission to use the illustrations of the Oklahoma Statehood stamp and designs, and to Hugh Monroe, M. D. who furnished much of the information regarding the various slogan cancels.



AND THREE DESIGNS NOT USED



Oklahoma's Semi-Centennial Stamp design, 1957, at center above; below, discarded designs; top, special cover and cancelled 1957 stamp, first day of issue.

In five lines upon the map of the State are the words "50th Anniversary of Oklahoma Statehood".

The first printing order was placed on April 8, 1957, for 112 million copies. Four plates were used in printing the issue, and the first press run was on May 17 at the Bureau of Engraving.

The official ceremonies honoring the stamp were held at Oklahoma City on June 14, 1957. The Postmaster General was represented by the Hon. Abe McG. Goff, General Counsel for the Post Office Department, who delivered the principal address. The Honorable H. B. Groh, President of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, acted as master of ceremonies. Mr. Goff presented souvenir albums, each containing a sheet of stamps autographed by Postmaster General Summerfield, to Governor Gary, Senator Kerr, Senator Monroney, Congressman John Jarman, Ross Rizley, United States District Judge, Allen Street, Mayor of Oklahoma City, Fred Shaw, Oklahoma City Postmaster, Lou Allard, Chairman of the Semi-Centennial Commission, D. A. McGee, James C. Burge, Stanley C. Draper, Don S. Kennedy, R. J. Spradling, all of the Exposition Committee, Mr. E. K. Gaylord, and Mr. H. B. Groh.

On the first day sale at Oklahoma City 328,772 covers received the first day cancellation and 1,048,081 stamps were sold. Of this number, 87,585 stamps were sold at the Boomtown Post Office at the Semi-Centennial Exposition Grounds.

Oklahoma City

The Post Office at Oklahoma City gave attention to the Semi-Centennial Exposition by placing in use on 1 January 1957 a special cancellation publicizing the event. The cancel was retired from use on 7 July 1957, and during that period of service the approximate number of impressions was 25,390,926. This special cancel is of course different than the special "First Day of Issue" cancellation applied on June 14 to all envelopes bearing the Oklahoma Semi-Centennial stamp.

As a feature of the Exposition a branch post office operated at Boomtown. The post office was a replica of an early day frontier office, and did a lively business, providing regular postal service for all Fair patrons. The Oklahoma Philatelic Society arranged a special exhibit of early day covers, Indian Territory mail and related exhibits. The Society applied, upon request of the sender, a non-official "Boomtown, U.S.A." cancel in red ink to letters mailed at the Boomtown Post Office.

Two other special postmarks available at the Exposition should be mentioned. The Post Office Department provided

as special exhibits a railway mail car and a highway mail bus. Both were complete in every detail, and the equipment was on loan from regular duties in transporting the mails by rail or by highway. Visitors were permitted to dispatch mail at either facility, and an attractive colored cancellation was applied to all mail deposited in either the mail bus or the railway mail car. At the mail bus, the cancellation contained the letters HPO for "Highway Post Office" and at the mail car the letters RPO for "Railway Post Office" were used. The initials PTS in the cancellation represent "Postal Transportation Service."

Tulsa

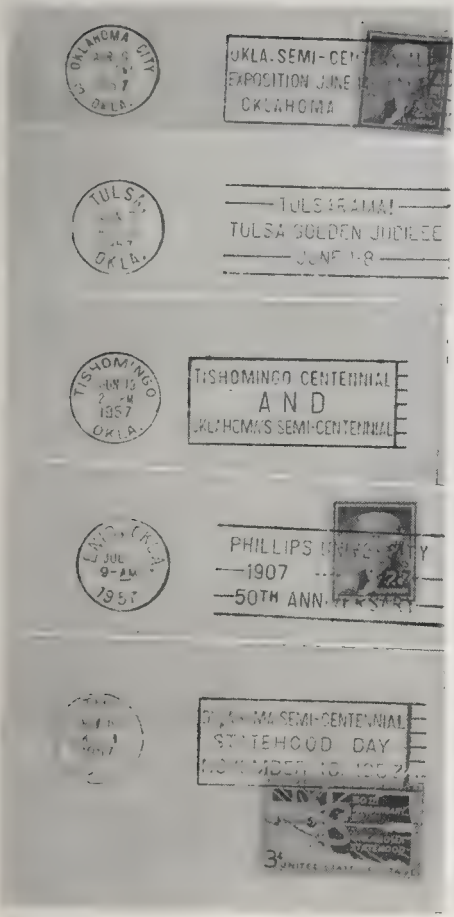
Tulsa paid tribute to the Golden Jubilee Celebration "Tul-sarama" held at the Tulsa Fairgrounds. A special cancellation was placed in use at the Tulsa main Post Office on April 23, 1957 and was in continuous service until June 8th. Chauncey O. Moore, acting Postmaster, reports a total of 4,074,500 impressions.

Butterfield Trail

By Act of March 3, 1857, the Congress authorized the Postmaster General to contract for mail service from an agreed point on the Mississippi River to San Francisco. The Act required the successful contractor to establish stations not closer than 10 miles apart, with service to be in actual operation within 12 months after the signing of the contract, and with not more than 25 days required for each trip. Bids were opened in June 1857. John Butterfield and his associates, including William G. Fargo, were the successful bidders. The contract was signed by the Postmaster General on 16 September 1857. The route established by Butterfield entered Oklahoma at Fort Smith and crossed the State in a southwesterly direction, leaving Oklahoma at Colbert's Ferry, a famous crossing on the Red River at a site a short distance below the old bridge (now abandoned) on U. S. Highway 69.

Four of the principal post offices now located along the old route, Spiro, Wilburton, Atoka and Durant, placed in service on June 1, 1957 a special slogan cancellation commemorating the Butterfield Trail. Approximately 500 pieces of mail for collectors were awaiting at each city for a first day cancellation of the new slogan. Spiro retired its cancel on November 30th, and the other three cities continued their respective cancellations in use until December 31st. The postmaster at each city has reported the following approximate number of impressions:

Spiro	160,000	Wilburton	255,500
Atoka	658,000	Durant	1,161,550



Special cancellations from post offices indicated, used in centennial and Semi-centennial celebrations in Oklahoma, 1957.

Stagecoach Mail

To Commemorate the Centennial of the signing of the Butterfield Overland Mail contract, Atoka and Durant staged a centennial celebration during the weekend of September 13th. Elaborate and exciting ceremonies were held, and the highlight of the entire event was a re-run by an actual stagecoach of the route from Atoka to Durant. Sponsored by the Oklahoma Overland Mail Centennial Committee, the stagecoach² of Mr. John D. Frizzell loaded the mail at Atoka at 11:00 a. m. on Sept. 13th. With an assist from a flatbed trailer, the stagecoach, complete with two teams of horses, called at Boggy Depot at 1:00 p. m., and arrived with the mail at Durant at 6:00 p. m. The mail pouch weighed 44 pounds, 3 ounces, and was marked authentically for "Durant, Fisher Station, Choctaw Nation." On the stagecoach 3,870 pieces of mail were actually transported by stage from Atoka to Durant.³ All covers carried are postmarked "Atoka Sept. 13, 1957, 10:30 a. m." and are back stamped "Durant Sept. 14, 1957, 9:00 a. m." Two types of special cachets were applied by the Committee and both are here illustrated. Mail received across the window at the Atoka Post Office for dispatch on the stagecoach received an additional one line cancel in red reading "Via Stagecoach".

Pauls Valley

Pauls Valley and Garvin County celebrated a centennial of their own; and their motto of "From Bluestem to Golden Trend" was the theme of a fine historical tribute to the locality. The Pauls Valley Centennial cancellation was placed in use on March 11, 1957 and was retired on June 15, 1957. There were approximately 386,800 impressions.

² The Concord Coach owned by Mr. Frizzell has had a long and thrilling life. It was built for Western mail and passenger service by J. S. Abbot & Sons, Concord, New Hampshire. With the advent of modern transportation it was relegated to the junk heap at Lancaster, Missouri. Major "Pawnee Bill" Lillie purchased the coach for his show where it entered upon a new kind of life. With the retirement of Pawnee Bill he had the coach hauled out into the south pasture at Pawnee, Oklahoma, where it soon rotted down into the tall grass. This coach had a charmed life however, for a second time it was salvaged from oblivion when Mr. Frizzell purchased its badly deteriorated carcass. After more than ten years of research, rebuilding and refinishing the coach has been restored to its once stately form. This twelve passenger coach cost \$1500 when new and weighed about 2,000 pounds. It required two entire steer hides to make the endless leather straps on which the coach body is suspended. A total of 250 feet of 2¼ inch leather straps were necessary to make 16 complete loops, or 32 spans for both sides. The Butterfield line used coaches made by James Gould Company of Albany, N. Y. and by the Eaton, Gilbert & Co. of Troy, N. Y. in addition to the Abbott product.

³ The Butterfield Centennial cancellations for the four present Oklahoma post offices on the Overland Mail Route were sponsored by the Oklahoma Committee Butterfield Overland Mail Centennial, Vernon H. Brown of Tulsa. Chairman.

Tishomingo

The post office at Tishomingo, Chickasaw Nation, was established June 29, 1857, Aaron Harlan, first Postmaster. The circumstance of a post office centennial the same year of the State's Fiftieth Birthday warranted a special cancellation; and, giving recognition to both events, the Tishomingo slogan links both nicely into one. The cancel was first in use on June 17, 1957 and was last used July 7, 1957. Only about 11,000 impressions were counted, and a neat cover bearing a clear impression should be scarce.

Enid

Enid used a special slogan cancel to commemorate the Fiftieth Anniversary of Phillips University. On October 11, 1906 a charter was granted to Oklahoma Christian University. Its location in Enid had been assured by a grant of land and other benefits from civic leaders. Classes opened September 17, 1907 with 256 students. In 1913 the name was changed to Phillips University in honor of T. W. Phillips of Newcastle, Pennsylvania, who from the beginning had been a steady benefactor. Thus by circumstance 1957 was also the Semi-Centennial of the first instruction at Phillips University. The special postmark was placed in use July 1, 1957 and was retired December 31st. Approximately 3,250,000 impressions were applied to mail during the use.

Guthrie

On Statehood Day, November 16th, Guthrie applied a special slogan cancel to commemorate the exact birthdate of Oklahoma. Being in use for only one day, the cancel will be uncommon. Lorraine Fogarty, Postmaster, reports only 10,370 impressions.

Pauls Valley Centennial

1857— From Indian to Golden Trend —1957

Pauls Valley, Indian Territory

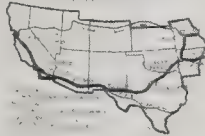
THREE
GREAT
DAYS

JUNE
13-14-15

—and
OKLAHOMA'S
SEMI-CENTENNIAL
1807-1957

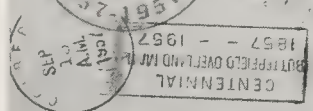
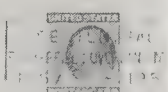
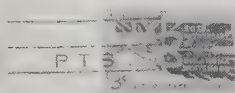
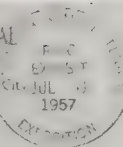


Pacific
OVERLAND MAIL
Centennial 1957-58



Over
Winterfield Route
Atoka To Durant
Oklahoma
Via Stage Coach

OKLAHOMA
SEMI-CENTENNIAL
EXPOSITION
1807-1957



Special covers and cancellations for centennial celebrations in Oklahoma, 1957.

HISTORY OF THE PATTERSON MERCANTILE COMPANY

By Miss Ella Robinson*

James A. Patterson, founder of the first mercantile company of Muskogee, was born in Lincoln County, Tennessee, 1819. He was the son of William and Anna Newbury Patterson. At the age of fifteen he moved with his parents to Cherokee County, Alabama. There his father died in 1848, leaving him the main support of his mother and the younger children. In 1854 he came west to the Creek Nation, Indian Territory, in the employ of Colonel William E. Garrett, who at that time was the agent for the Creek Indians.

James Patterson taught school for two years near the Agency, until he became an employee of Mr. George W. Stidham,¹ who owned and operated a mercantile business at that

* Miss Ella Robinson, a pioneer resident of Muskogee, wrote this history of the Patterson Mercantile Company in 1937, which is found in the "Indian and Pioneer History," Vol. 8, pp. 470-484, Grant Foreman Collection, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society. Miss Robinson was a long-time employee of the Patterson Company, and is a descendant of leading old-time families of the Cherokee Nation: Coodey, Ross, Fields. Her maternal grandfather was the noted William Shorey Coodey of the Cherokee Nation, who established his home at Frozen Rock a few miles east of present Muskogee in 1838; her mother was Ella Coodey who married Joseph Madison Robinson, a grandson of the Rev. John C. Robinson who was for many years superintendent of the Chickasaw Manual Labor School ("Robinson's Academy") located about three miles southeast of Tishomingo, Oklahoma. Mrs. Ella Coodey Robinson, for whom her daughter Ella was the namesake, had an interesting life told by Carolyn Thomas Foreman in "A Cherokee Pioneer," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* Vol. VII, No. 4 (December, 1929), pp. 364-74.

Annotations by the Editor have been added in footnotes to Miss Robinson's history of the Patterson Company presented here in *The Chronicles*. Acknowledgement is due Mrs. Rella Looney, a former resident of Muskogee and Archivist of the Indian Archives in the Historical Society, for calling attention to Miss Robinson's manuscript in the "Indian and Pioneer History."

¹ George Washington Stidham was a prominent citizen of the Creek Nation, who served his people in many official positions for more than fifty years: interpreter at the Creek Agency (around 1840) Creek delegate to Washington more than fifteen times; member of the House of Warriors, representing Hitchiti Town in the Creek National Council; and Chief Justice of the Nation for several terms, which position he held at the time of his death in March, 1891. He was born in the Creek country in Alabama, November 17, 1817, the son of a Scot-Irish father (called *Hopiye-Hutke*—"White Explorer"—by the Creeks) and a Creek Indian mother. His father died when he was a boy, so he did not learn to speak English until he was about twenty years old when he came west in the Creek Removal from Alabama. He served in the 2nd Creek Regiment, Confederate Army, during the War between the States, and was a friend of Gen. Albert Pike, C. S. A. George W. Stidham was a charter member of the first Masonic Lodge in the Creek Nation. Besides his mercantile interests, he took an active interest

place. In 1860 he went into partnership business with Mr. Stidham and they opened a store at Shieldsville, near the original site of the town of Okmulgee, Oklahoma. They continued in business there until the beginning of the Civil War, when they were compelled to move their stock back to the Creek Agency. Soon after the beginning of the Civil War he was appointed Sutler for the refugee Creeks at Fort Washita, in the Chickasaw Nation. A position he retained during the entire period of the war. At the close of the war he went into business with Major Aaron Harlan, dealing in merchandise and cattle at Tishomingo, Chickasaw Nation.²

In 1867, James Patterson returned to the Creek Agency and again was connected with Mr. George W. Stidham in the mercantile business. Their trade extended over a large part of the Cherokee, Creek and Seminole Nations. In 1872, the M. K. & T. Railroad was built into the Indian Territory, running a straight line from Parsons, Kansas, to Denison, Texas. Immediately thereafter, in 1873, Mr. Patterson opened the first dry goods store at the present site of Muskogee. Mr. Andrew W. Robb, who was living at that time at Fort Gibson, and had held the position of Quartermaster at the Fort, moved to Muskogee and was employed by Mr. Patterson. They formed a partnership in 1876 and this relation lasted until the death of Mr. Patterson in 1897. In 1889 a stock company was formed. The stockholders were, A. W. Robb, President and Herbert J. Evans, known as "Jack," Secretary. The store was divided into departments, being the first department store at that time in the Territory. Mr. Joseph S. Schmitt, an experienced dry goods man from Evansville, Indiana was put in charge of the dry goods department. William H. Keys was manager of the clothing and Mr. William Reeves the shoe department. Mr. Keys and Mr. Reed came from Fort Smith, Arkansas. Charles Seekings, an English immigrant boy who had entered the service of the company years before as an errand and general

in farming operations; he was said to have been the first to grow wheat in the Creek Nation, the first to grow cotton near Muskogee and introduced the first threshing machine here. His first wife died at an early age, leaving him two daughters. He and his second wife, (an attractive Miss Thornsberry of Virginia), were the parents of two sons and two daughters.

² Aaron Harlan, a prosperous merchant and slave holder, had settled early in the 1850's at Tishomingo where he was appointed first postmaster on June 29, 1857. His wife, Sarah Harlan, was of Choctaw descent (Brashear family), whose first husband had died back in Mississippi (a Moncrief). The well known Captain George Hester of Boggy Depot where he established a store about 1861 had been in the employ of Major Harlan before the War at Tishomingo. It was here he met and married Miss Elizabeth Fulton, a young teacher from Georgia, who taught for a time in Robinson's School southeast of Tishomingo. Captain and Mrs. Hester were the parents of Fanny who married a Mr. Perry, and Daisy who married Robert L. Owen, Oklahoma's first U. S. Senator.

handy man, and later trained in the grocery business was made manager of the grocery department. All heads of the departments were stockholders. Mr. Levi Ackley was credit man. The company also owned and operated a mill and gin in Muskogee and more than sixty people were employed and the payroll of \$30,000 per annum was maintained. They erected an improved round bale cotton gin and compress in 1897. In 1891 William N. Patterson,³ familiarly known as "Major," a nephew of Mr. J. A. Patterson, came to Muskogee from his former home in Alabama, having just finished school. Mr. Patterson took him into the firm at once and gave him an interest in the business.

The first store building was located on Main and Broadway, facing east, where the Turner Block now stands. When Muskogee had its most disastrous fire,⁴ the entire business part of town was destroyed with the exception of Captain Frederick B. Severs store just south of Okmulgee on Main Street.⁵ At

³ William Nathaniel Patterson was born in Alabama, in 1878; he died at Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1920. He attended a military school where he was a cadet major, hence his nickname "Major," never having served in the Army. He was survived by three children: Catherine (Mrs. Charles P. Stuart, Oklahoma City); Mary (Mrs. Barto Fite) and William N. Patterson, Jr., both of Seattle, Washington. Mr. James A. Patterson remained a bachelor and reared his nephew William ("Major") and his two sisters.

⁴ This big fire at Muskogee burned 36 buildings on February 23, 1899.

⁵ Frederick Ballard Severs, born in Washington County, Arkansas Territory, August 13, 1835, descendant of notable South Carolina families, (Rutledges, Pinckneys and Austins), was one of the leading financiers and builders in the Indian Territory and Oklahoma, rated as a millionaire at the time of his death on April 13, 1912, in Muskogee. He had come at the age of eighteen to clerk in a store at Fort Gibson, and later taught school for several years in the Creek Nation, at Concharty Town and at Ausbury Mission near North Fork Town. He joined the Confederate forces at the outbreak of the War between the States, mustered into service as first lieutenant in the First Creek Regiment, Captain Samuel Checote's Company of full blood Creeks. After the close of the War, he taught for a time in Texas but soon came back to the Creek Nation and set up a store at Shieldsville, which he moved to Okmulgee in 1868. Here he later erected a stone store-building stocked with fine merchandise, and set up a grist and saw mill and a cotton gin, properties that he owned during his lifetime and that helped to build his fortune. While at Shieldsville, Captain Severs, as he was known in later life, was appointed and served as private secretary to Principal Chief Samuel Checote, in which service he made suggestions in the adoption of the first written constitution by the Creek people. He had the unusual privilege of being adopted as a member of the Creek Nation, a privilege accorded no other white man afterward. This was before his marriage in 1870 to Miss Annie Anderson of the Creek Nation, a teacher in the Creek schools, and the attractive and talented daughter of Chief George Anderson of Concharty Town. Captain Severs moved his family to Muskogee in 1884 for the school advantages for his children, and was counted one of the leaders in the development of this City and the surrounding region. He was the owner of a fine, modern cattle ranch; built and owned a cotton gin at Muskogee; led in organizing the Muskogee Roller Milling Company there as well as the First National Bank; and was builder and owner of a number of large business buildings in addition to the \$500,000 Severs Hotel, his last big project in 1911.

that time Mr. Patterson and Mr. Clarence W. Turner who had formerly occupied the site of the old Patterson building exchanged lots and substantial brick buildings were erected on each lot facing west, and Main Street was moved west the distance of one block.⁶ It created quite a protest from the citizens as the larger part of the town was located on the east side of the Katy railroad. Cherokee Street being the principle residence street. The people did not want to walk that extra distance, but as the railroad company wanted to lay more track it was thought adviseable. The proprietors were quite proud of their new store and increased their stock to suit their more commodious quarters and employed additional help.

Among the early employees before the stock company was formed were: Mr. Wm. N. Martin, a prominent citizen of Muskogee for many years was in the dry goods department. Taylor Chisso, a member of the Creek tribe, who afterward became prominent in Creek school affairs, was a member of the force. Mr. J. Bolander, a native of Sweden, was the first bookkeeper. Mr. Joe Herring, now living in Muskogee, was employed in the grocery department. He resigned to join the Rough Riders in 1898.

Miss Nettie Graves was the first woman employed in a store in Muskogee. As it was an unheard of thing for a woman to work in a public place, it created quite a lot of interest and comment when she began working. As she was also a stenographer she did not stay long as she secured a position in a lawyer's office. Miss State Comby was the next young woman to be employed by the firm in 1894. She had moved with her mother and sister from Missouri. All white people employed in the Indian Territory were required to secure a permit from the Indian Governments. Mr. Charles Garrett, a Creek official, at once called upon her and informed her that she would be required to pay \$2.00 per year for a permit. As he looked very much in earnest she handed over the \$2.00. She was the first woman to pay for a permit in the town. Miss Comby was one of the most popular saleswomen ever employed in the town. Her bright smile and her willingness to be of service to her customers endeared her to the entire patronage.

⁶ Clarence William Turner was born June 18, 1857, a descendant of an English family that settled in New York state and thence moved to Ohio and Indiana. His father, John E. Turner, opened a mercantile store in Fort Smith in 1867, and two years later, another store at Okmulgee in the Creek Nation. He sold out this business and settled in Muskogee where he was pioneer merchant from 1877 to his death in 1898. His son, Clarence W. took over the business at Okmulgee, but moved to Muskogee in 1882, where he was successful as the owner of the Turner Hardware Company and real estate interests. Clarence W. Turner married Miss Tookah Butler of North Fork Town, Creek Nation, in 1883, and they were the parents of Tookah (Mrs. Charles Bagg of Muskogee), Clarence William, Jr., and Marion E.



James A. Patterson



Patterson Mercantile Company Store at Muskogee, Indian Territory.

Miss Rilla Towns and Miss Della Curts, a young woman from Kansas, were also employed in the Patterson Store. Mr. Charles Hart, a popular chap from Missouri, was assistant manager of the dry goods department.

In 1897, I went to work at Patterson's. I began just as an experiment on my part and perhaps a great one on theirs. They were to have their midsummer sale the last two weeks in July, and I asked Mr. Robb who was my mother's good friend, if I might work during the sale and he gave his consent. I think he thought lightly of my ability. It was my first experience of standing on my feet all day. In the mad rush for bargains the store was filled with customers all day, standing and almost fighting for bargains. Sometimes the goods were badly damaged in the fray. I remember one dozen fine napkins that were so badly damaged that they were charged to the woman who fought for them and would not take them. They were delivered to her the next day. When I got home in the evening of the first day, I announced to my mother that I was through with business it was too strenuous for me, but after a good meal, a hot bath and a night's rest, I was ready for the fray the next day. The next morning after the sale was over Mr. Robb asked me if I would like to continue working as he had noticed how well I got along with the Negro customers as they had an enormous Negro patronage. I had received a dollar per day during the sale and was to get \$10.00 a week on a permanent job. No one could afford to turn that down so I became a member of the regular force. We had semi-annual sales in July and January to reduce stock and make room for the next season's goods. They were real sales. High class merchandise at little above cost prices.

Long before the doors opened in the morning the sidewalks would be crowded with people and the grand rush began when the doors were open. The people would look forward with much interest to the sales realizing that they could secure fine merchandise at little cost.

As the store drew patronage from a radius of seventy-five miles it was necessary for people to spend the night in town. Those who could afford it stayed at a rooming house or a hotel, went to a show at night, shopped early the next morning and left for home. Others who could not afford such luxuries came prepared to camp in the wagon yard, located at the corner of Cherokee Street and East Broadway. It was enclosed with a high board fence and the gates were locked at night insuring safety. As the firm dealt heavily in cotton, farmers coming from a distance, always stayed in the wagon yard. They came in late in the afternoon, sold their cotton, went to the gin and got weighed in. They received their weight checks and unloaded very early in the morning and were paid at the store

and proceeded to spend the money. As that perhaps was their only shopping trip for the season, the buying was heavy. I always tried to be on hand as early as possible in order to get in a big day.

Many days I sold as much as \$250 worth of merchandise in an hour and often the cash sales in our department alone would run as high as \$1,000 or \$1,500 a day. We carried the highest grade merchandise obtainable from St. Louis, Chicago and New York markets. Heavy silks for dresses were in demand and ranged in price from \$2.00 to \$4.00 per yard. As the styles were not designed with any idea of economy it required from 8 to 10 yards of material for a dress. The findings and trimmings would cost several dollars more, bringing the entire cost of one dress to \$30.00 or \$40.00.

We also carried the finest grade of table linens. Mr. Schmitt took great pride in his assortment of fine damask. A dinner arrayed in the best linens from Patterson's, French china and cut glass from the Turner art department and sterling silver from a leading jewelry store, presented a setting at a dinner party fit for a king, and as dinner parties was one of the most popular social occasions, the demand for our linens never slackened.

In order to save time and for convenience, the firm conceived the idea of opening and maintaining a kitchen and dining room for the employees. It was located on the third floor with a good trustworthy Negro man, Charley Hunter, installed as cook, and he was a good one. We were served dinner every day and supper on nights when we worked extra and Saturday nights. The dinners consisted of meat well cooked, at least two vegetables, a plain salad and a dessert. Men who came on business with the office force and visitors were always invited to dinner if it was near meal time. They always seemed to enjoy it. During the summer when business was not so brisk, the firm provided us with meal tickets from a nearby restaurant, owned and operated by Mr. J. C. Fast. That saved time and a trip home through the heat. Miss Bertha Divina, now Mrs. J. C. Fast, was one of our popular sales-ladies at that time.

In the early days there were no banks in Muskogee, and the firm instituted a system of banking for the benefit, largely for the out-of-town customers. Wealthy cattlemen would leave their money which they carried in stout canvas bags to be placed in the safe until they came for it. Later a real banking system was organized with real checks, and was carried on exclusively for the benefit of their customers and with no profit for themselves. The store was a meeting place, not only for the towns-people but for the country people as well. "Just

stand around Patterson's store awhile, and the fellow you want to see will come along." You soon had to learn the art of waiting on several people at one time, and keeping them all in a good humor. As it was not an easy matter to secure help since there was no unemployment problem in the town, after you began working and was giving satisfaction, it was hard to get released. When I was taking my vacation in the summer I stayed away from the store, for just as sure as I went in, Mr. Schmitt would say, "Take off that funny looking hat and get behind the counter. Don't you see people waiting?" We were given two weeks vacation with pay after we had been there one year. On returning from my first vacation and was given a check that I had not worked for, I felt like a Wall Street broker in pre-depression days. If you were ill nothing was deducted from your salary. Neither were you paid for over time, but all in all the employees were not the losers. All employees got their drygoods at 10 per cent above cost and groceries at 10 per cent reduction. Everyone received a substantial remembrance at Christmas time. We were paid every Saturday morning. As my salary had been advanced to \$15 per week there was nothing in town I could not buy if I so desired. It was a comfortable feeling that I had.

The buildings at that time in Muskogee were not well lighted and we used electric light continuously through the day in winter. Weeks would go by and I would not see the sunshine as I came so early and went home late. The Patterson firm was the first one to institute a six o'clock closing hour. All business houses had been keeping open until 7:00 p. m. and later. The firm took the position that shorter hours would be beneficial to all concerned. When the labor unions became active in Muskogee, and an organizer came around and said we would be compelled to form a retail clerks' union or lose the labor patronage, we protested as we thought we were already getting everything coming to us as employees, and were quite well satisfied, but Major Patterson advised us to join the Union and avoid trouble that might possibly arise. The firm paid our initial fee, and we went into the Union to please the firm principally and for the benefit of those employed by other firms who were not getting as short hours as we and much shorter pay checks.

The office force believed in recreation as well as work and promoted the first base ball team ever sponsored by a business concern in Muskogee. They had the material with which to form a fine team and the firm furnished the equipment free of charge. The suits were gray with Patterson in big black letters across the front of the shirts. John Cobb, Dewitt Blackston, Charles Hart, Spencer Summerlin, Jim Hamar, Arthur Reid, Mark Minter, Charles Seekings and Henry Pear-

son composed the first team with Mr. Will Reeves' little boy, George, as the mascot. When our team played on Friday afternoon they closed the store and we all went to the game. We girls sat on the side line and rooted for our team.

Shows were another side attraction for the boys. The front row in the balcony of the old Turner theatre, was preempted by the same boys, headed by Major Patterson, himself. Every time a good show, and some that were not so good came to town, they were there in full force, with plenty of peanuts and chewing gum. We girls might have been inclined to have been envious of them had not our good friend Charley Moore, the town's only florist and undertaker, supplied us, not only with tickets to the show but provided us with a cab to take us safely home. So they had nothing on us. The newspaper wanted a picture of the entire force to accompany a write-up they were going to publish. We met at the studio on Sunday afternoon for the ordeal. It was rather amusing when we saw each other in our Sunday best as we were not accustomed to meeting except in our everyday clothes.

During the smallpox epidemic in Muskogee things were not so pleasant as there was no Board of Health at that time. The only way there was to handle unruly people who persisted in spreading the disease was to call in Mr. William Herring, the town Marshal. He was very tall and had a commanding appearance and always carried a gun in plain sight. When his big form loomed up in the door, the people immediately moved out. They would bring their children in, broken out with smallpox and put them up on the counters. We never touched the money taken from their hands. It was taken from their hands and placed on the counters. It was raked off on a paper and taken to the office and fumigated. Mr. Lubbes, the U. S. jailer, furnished a disinfectant that was kept continuously on the stove and smelled to high heaven. We girls were advised to eat onions as a precautionary measure and I think we consumed the greater part of the stock in the grocery department. Had it not been for the vile smelling stuff boiling on the stove the customers could not have endured us. However, there was not a case among all of the employees.

Some of our best and most interesting customers were the full blood Indians. There was a platform along the side of the grocery department, just the height of the bed of the delivery wagon, made so in order to load barrels and boxes without extra lifting. The Indians would sit along the east wall in the sunshine with their bright colored shawls wrapped about them until it was time to go home. They were nice to wait on as they knew what they wanted and did not argue about the price.

For two weeks before Christmas the store was kept open at nights until 9:00 o'clock and until midnight on the night of the 24th, Christmas Eve. Then the customers were put out, and the door was locked. We could sell anything in sight, regardless of price. The store looked like a wreck the morning after Christmas, and we were the worst wrecked of all. When I awoke for a late breakfast on Christmas morning, for all I cared it could have been the 4th of July. But it was a great life. If you possessed a strong constitution, a keen sense of humor, and had an understanding knowledge of human nature, you came out all right. A feeling of unity and friendliness characterized our association, due largely perhaps, from the fact that the management always made us feel that we were a part of the institution and not merely hired hands.

When Major Patterson was married, in April 1900, to Miss Katherine Rector, the charming young daughter of Captain J. B. Rector of Muskogee, she also became a part of our family, and later so were their two attractive little girls. As a saving of time and work for the office force, the company issued coupon books to their credit customers ranging from \$2.50 to \$25.00. They were entered as a charge account and the customer could trade them out as they so desired. The coupon ran from five cents to one dollar.

Our Negro customers were extended the same courteous service as the whites received. They always had a favorite clerk and would always ask for him or her. You not only had to know what to offer them, but you also had to know their minds as well. Each individual was a study in Negro character. You also had to know their expressions and names for things. When they asked for a quarter's worth of "boss ball," you gave them a twenty-five cent ball of cotton thread for hand sewing. "Ten yards hickery" meant ten yards of striped cotton shirting. Saturday was a gala day for the colored population. They came early, spent the day, did their shopping late in the afternoon after visiting with their friends and having a good time socially. It was a painful ordeal when the Negro man, especially the old ones, were commissioned by the feminine members of their family to purchase women's underwear. "Lady Unions" was the name they applied to several of the garments. One old gray-haired uncle asked me if we had "lady unions." I replied that we did and to come right up stairs. He said "I don't want 'em now, I just ax ya is ya." They always turned their backs while you wrapped them up. The amusements they furnished us offset the many annoyances that some of our enlightened white customers caused us.

It took the patience that Job is accredited with, to keep smiling and give your best service when in the middle of a

busy day our city friends came in to get two yards of val lace at $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents per yard. After having spent an hour or so looking over the entire stock they made a selection. Perchance during that time several of their church and society friends had stopped to talk over the latest news and sometimes scandal, forgetful of the fact that the clerks were alive and had ears. Had the conversations in front of the dry goods counter been repeated there would have been war in high circles. We also knew all of the family troubles and physical ailments of our customers before we even knew their names, sometimes. We designated them as the woman with the stingy or grouchy husband, and the one with the liver or stomach trouble. Our advice was asked on numerous subjects. For instance, "What color do you think would be most becoming to me?" to "How to feed the baby."

We were always glad to see our friends in the morning as they passed through the store to the grocery department. Our genial friend, Judge John R. Thomas, always stopped to chat with us and admonished us to work harder and earn our salary.⁷ Mr. Joseph Sondheimer never passed by without a pleasant word.⁸ He and Mr. Schmitt would converse in German, greatly

⁷ John Robert Thomas, born at Mount Vernon, Illinois, October 11, 1846, was the son of William Allyn and Caroline Neely Thomas. He was reared by his grandparents General and Mrs. John I. Neely in Indiana, after the death of his father who had served in the Mexican War. He was a student at Hunter Collegiate Institute at Princeton, Indiana, when he enlisted in the 120th Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and was wounded in the Battle of Stone River, South Carolina in December, 1863. He was recommended in 1866 for a commission in the Regular Army for his distinguished service during the Civil War, having risen from private to captain in the Indiana Volunteers. Instead of continuing a military career, he studied law and was admitted to the Bar in Illinois, in 1869, subsequently making his home at Metropolis in that state. Mr. and Mrs. Thomas (née Lottie Culver) became the parents of five children before her death in 1880. Their daughter, Carolyn Thomas, the charming Mrs. Grant Foreman and noted author and Oklahoma historian, has made her home in Muskogee since 1897 when her father, John R. Thomas was appointed United States judge in the Indian Territory and settled in this City. Judge Thomas had had a distinguished career in Illinois as an elected official—city attorney (two years), State's attorney (4 years) and U. S. congressman from Illinois (10 years). He was a Mason (21) years and served as Grand Master in Illinois, later receiving the 32nd degree in Oklahoma. A traveler in Europe for several years, a gentleman of culture and intellectual interests, Judge Thomas was an outstanding leader in the civic and political life of Muskogee, remaining here in private practice of law after the expiration of his term in the United States Court, until his tragic death at McAlester on January 19, 1914. While he was on an errand of mercy for a full blood Indian prisoner in the State Penitentiary, a sudden outbreak occurred, and he was shot by prisoners attempting an escape.

⁸ Mr. Joseph Sondheimer, buyer of hides and wool, had settled in the Muskogee region in 1867, and became one of the City's leading business men and public spirited citizens. His large estate after his death, remaining in trust for twenty-five years until recently, is now (1958) by bequest building the new Y. W. C. A. in Muskogee.

to our discomfort, for we thought they were talking about us. There were four delivery boys, two for each side of town, as that was in the days before autos; good strong wagons and horses were used. In continued wet weather the streets became rivers of mud and loaded wagons would bog down on Main Street.

The traveling salesmen from whom we bought our goods were welcome visitors. As Muskogee was the largest town in this section of the Territory and had the best hotel accommodations, the salesmen spent Sunday wherever possible. They came in on Friday night, took their orders early Saturday morning, and were free for the rest of the day. They would get behind the counters on busy days and sell goods as if they were employed there. They were a fine genial lot of men. Mr. William Miley, from Herzogs in St. Louis, handled ladies coats and suits. Phil B. Oliver, from Marshal Fields in Chicago, handled piece goods as did Searcy Williams from Carson, Pirie, Scott and Company, also of Chicago. Al Parnell and Emmit Skinner represented Ely Walker of St. Louis. They always treated the men folks with fine cigars, and we girls got a box of good candy.

In 1907 when the Territory became a state and the Negroes were allowed to mortgage and sell their land, money flowed like water. Our difficulty was getting goods shipped fast enough. They were especially fond of silk petticoats. They liked the kind that rustled and of the very bright colors. Many boxes of skirts and shirt waists were sold out before they were ever marked and put in stock. While the clerks were called upon for loads of advice and help in selling materials, our Negro customers were very appreciative and were really our friends. The Fourth of August was the biggest day of the year with them. That was when they celebrated their emancipation. Although the proclamation was signed in April, the 4th of August was the day set apart for the celebration. They could economize for weeks in order to buy clothes and food for that occasion. We sold bolts of white dress goods and miles of ribbon. Blue was their favorite color. No dusky belle thought she was properly attired unless she was arrayed in white with a profusion of ribbon bows on her dress and her hat bedecked with gaily colored flowers. The celebration consisted of a two-days picnic and barbecue, held at some popular picnic grounds a few miles from town. An invitation was always extended to their white friends, who were their honored guests, and received the most courteous attention. I can testify to that as I attended several. The whites were always served dinner before the Negroes began to eat. The Negroes also depended upon the men in the office to advise them on all

business matters, and felt that their interests would be well taken care of.

After the death of Mr. Patterson, Mr. A. W. Robb, who formed a partnership with Mr. Patterson in 1876, became the senior member of the firm. His fine personality endeared him to the entire force during all his years of service. He was compelled, through illness, to retire a few months before his death, which occurred in 1909.

Among the outstanding citizens of Oklahoma today is Mr. Connie Foley of Eufaula. As a young lad he was employed in 1876 by Mr. Patterson. He began service as a general helper around the store and later as a salesman. Messrs. Patterson and Robb recognizing the true worth of the young man became especially interested in him. His keen business acumen, sterling traits of character, and his close attention to business, bespoke a bright future for him. They did not lose sight of his fine qualities. He remained in their employ until 1881 when he formed a partnership with them and opened a general mercantile store at Eufaula, known as the Foley Mercantile Company which for many years was the leading firm in that section of the country. He also owned and operated a cotton gin there. Mr. Foley has continuously made his home in Eufaula since that time. He is a Mason of the highest rank and a citizen which Oklahoma is justly proud to honor.⁹

At the end of eight years I resigned from the employ of the firm to take a position with the Schmitt Dry Goods Company, a new store opened with Mr. Joe Schmitt, John Leiber and Charles Hart as proprietors. It was located on West Okmulgee just west of the Fite-Rowsey Building.

Major Patterson had never particularly cared for indoor life. The oil business which was rapidly developing in the country at that time appealed to him and the store was closed in 1913. Mr. Patterson established his headquarters in Tulsa, and entered the oil business. But he was forced to retire on account of ill health, and died April, 1920.

The Patterson Mercantile Company stood at the forefront through the years from 1873 to 1913, a place well deserved through the merits of those who managed its affairs. The building they occupied now stands at the Corner of Broadway and Main Streets with the date, 1887, on the front, bearing a silent tribute to the pioneers of Indian Territory days.

⁹ Cornelius Emmet Foley died at Eufaula on February 26, 1944 (See Robert L. Williams, "Cornelius Emmet Foley," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1 [Spring, 1946], p. 112.)

THE MAGIC CITY: GUTHRIE

Kansas City Times, July 22, 1889*

At high noon three months ago today Oklahoma was thrown open to the waiting multitudes. By nightfall it probably contained more people than are within its boundaries today, but this does not prove that the territory turned out a disappointment—that the promised land was not what it had been represented. Many who came here and secured claims have returned to their homes temporarily and many who own town lots would be glad to do so, but it is the era of the “jumper” and they feel that a watchful eye must be kept upon their possessions. No, Oklahoma has proved very far from a disappointment, so far as its towns go, at any rate. Everybody here swears by it, but especially by their particular town or locality.

A newcomer, if he be politic, will declare at each town he enters that it is the very best in the territory and should have the capital by all means. He needs no further credentials. There is all the bitter rivalry for supremacy between some of these places that ever characterized the struggles of eastern commercial centers. The people stand by their own first, last and all the time and even honest criticism is not tolerated. The boom spirit is a most vigorous, jealous and kicking one.

Guthrie and Oklahoma City are avowed rivals, and so with other towns here and there. Each is fighting for itself and against the others, and, possibly, all are thereby benefited. But one must get into the territory to appreciate the earnestness and often bitterness of the struggle.

The Oklahoma-bound still form the bulk of the Sante Fe's passengers from Arkansas City, some returning from trips to former homes, many on their first visit. There is no line to indicate the northern boundary of the territory, but ten to one some old boomer will be in the seat in front or behind who'll draw a long breath and announce that the Cherokee Strip is left and Oklahoma is entered. And certainly it must be. Away over to the left is a dugout which no Indian on earth could ever have constructed, and a minute later you are at the first town in the territory—a dozen tents and one small frame building—Orlando. It's too new to have been heard much of.

* When Guthrie was three months old the *Kansas City Times* described the “Magic City,” telling of graded streets, miles of sidewalks, and street sprinklers. Dr. B. B. Chapman found the article in the *Kansas Historical Society* while working under the auspices of the Research Foundation of Oklahoma State University, and it is here reprinted in full.—Ed.

And, by the way, comparatively few tents are seen in Oklahoma today. In the towns they are scattered here and there, but they are probably only one in twenty to the little one story frame houses which make a nest so hot these summer days that one would better be smothered with a bolster, for it's quicker. That it's warm in Oklahoma everybody must admit. Calling on Captain Kavanaugh, in command of the troops here, early last week his thermometer registered 102° quite late in the afternoon, and there have been some warmer days since—warmer by several degrees. But so far there has been scarcely a day without a slight breeze stirring and the nights are deliciously refreshing.

Back to the line of the Sante Fe: Seven miles from the north line of the territory is Alfred [now Marshall]—booming like everything else—with twenty or thirty frame buildings and as many tents, the drug stores prominent by their substantial look here as elsewhere. "They can't use a tent, you see, they'll get caught at it," observes a returning pilgrim who has evidently "been there." But he's inclined to libel the territorial towns. It is to be presumed that almost anywhere a man can get his whisky and quinine, and be trusted to mix them to suit himself. But prohibition under martial law here is a little different from Kansas prohibition. Even the drug stores have to be mighty careful in the bitters they sell, and such compounds as Hostetter's are not permitted.

In Guthrie last Saturday the sale of cider was stopped. There were doubtless some honest dealers, but some had abused the privilege and all had to suffer, so now none of the so-called cider is to be had nearer than the Kansas line. Outside of the undeniably soft drinks the only beverage to be had is hop-tea, and some of the straight-laced are calling for an analysis on this. Captain Kavanaugh has it, as is not generally known. It shows 1.82 per cent of alcohol, 96 per cent of water and the balance heaven knows what, but nothing to intoxicate. The beverage looks amazingly like beer and tastes like slop. It is drunk on its looks, and so long as it is not tampered with by the addition of spirits it will be permitted.

From Alfred it is a short run to the great and glorious Guthrie, in as fine a location as city ever had, the land rising from either side of the Cottonwood in long waves, tree-dotted everywhere, and of a delightful green that is a rest and pleasure to the eye at all times. It will admit the best of drainage, and from not being upon a level but upon rolling ground much is added to the attractiveness of its streets, which in time will be the pride of the city. Of a uniform width of 80 feet, the blocks 300 feet square, and some of the boulevards 100 feet in width, Guthrie has a system of streets that could scarcely be

improved upon, and which may be improved to make a boulevard of every one. It is amazing what ninety days have accomplished. All the main streets are graded, there are miles of sidewalks, cross walks are being put in and everything looks as neat as a pin. Sprinkling carts are run upon the main streets and keep down the dust, which nowhere is very bad, thanks to light breezes,

Guthrie has been a mighty expensive town. Enough money has been expended here in three months to run a good many towns three years. It is the same here as in many other places—men don't run public business as they do their own. And while the same might have been accomplished for much less, certainly the result of the improvements in Guthrie is to be none the less commended.

While Guthrie is referred to and considered by outsiders as one town, there are, in fact, three Guthries, with another already platted, but almost bare of residents. This comes from the limitation of a townsite to one-half a quarter section or 820 acres. There is Guthrie, East Guthrie and West Guthrie, with South Guthrie waiting to develop, all practically one town out under three mayors and three distinct sets of city officers.

East Guthrie was the first to adopt a charter, which was accomplished last week by a small majority, when a set of officers was elected, the list as long as your arm. It was the large number of officers and the ground of expense which excited opposition to the charter, and it is a question if the city has acted wisely. Many of the officers have jurisdiction coextensive with the United States courts, in civil offenses to the extent of \$300 and also in quasicriminal cases. The government, which ran affairs from April 24 to the election, had F. H. Soward at its head as mayor, and against it the cry of extravagance was raised, as it has been against all the Guthrie governments, while the recorder was openly charged with incompetency. Up to July 1, remembering that the town was unknown before April 22, the expenditures do look steep, footing up \$12,668, the receipts being \$9,263—and the city has no gambling houses to call on, either. Counting the assets, however, the city is only \$67 in debt. It has a city hall of its own—a commodious two story building—costing with lot, some \$2,000, and a fairly good jail. It is the first of the Guthries to come to the front with buildings of its own. The others rent. The court of arbitration cost the city \$1,500 and hospital building \$150.

Until a few days ago very few in Guthrie knew that there had been three smallpox cases here. They were removed to a hospital, have recovered and gone and now that there is no danger the fact is out.

These boards of arbitration, let it be said, have caused as much kicking and dissatisfaction among the people as any other three movements made. The members were paid \$10 a day each and there were five on each board. They pretended to adjust matters for weeks, and cost the people small fortunes. They did, it is claimed, adjust admirably for themselves and those who stood in with the rings. After the first boards came others. Cases were resubmitted, and in cases, how many it is impossible to determine, two parties hold certificates to the same lot. These certificates are issued by the mayor, and are supposed to give title to the lot, for no lot can be sold unless the supposed owner has a certificate. This duplication of certificates will no doubt work many innocent parties great injustice and loss. Another thing, in issuing certificates the city is supposed to guarantee the lot. But it offers little protection, and lot jumping is of almost daily occurrence.

Only yesterday the *Times* correspondent met a gentleman who has bought several lots on which certificates have been issued. On one he had discovered that a jumper's tent had been up for over two weeks. "I'll beat him out of his boots in the end," he remarked, "but it's the worry and bother and trouble of such things that almost make me sorry I came here, although I've made money." Everything has to be watched constantly and with an eagle eye. A man who has property in Guthrie has to stay right here and watch it all the time.

The same gentleman had just bargained for a lot 20x100 feet at First Street and Oklahoma Avenue, one of the most desirable lots in the city, for \$2,200, but he backed out of the bargain, discouraged at the outlook. This gives some idea of property values here, and a good many claim that they are down to bed rock. Plenty of good business lots can be had for \$2,000, but good locations can be had for much less. There are some desirable residence lots at \$300 and \$400.

The towns of Guthrie and East Guthrie were established practically at the same time and are east of the Santa Fe tracks and the sluggish, deep-red Cottonwood.

West Guthrie was born several weeks later and at the risk of stopping the sale of a few town lots, a matter which is kept decidedly quiet is here mentioned. The town is upon a quarter section duly located. At the time it came into existence this was known and there was a spread eagle announcement to those here that the military would not interfere. Since then the subject is not referred to. The *Times* correspondent inquired of the officer commanding the military what would be done if the claimant of the quarter section, half of which was summarily taken for the townsite, should complain. The ans-

wer was right to the point: "Move them off. Just as soon as the man who located the quarter section complains the people of West Guthrie will have to go. There has been no complaint and so of course I have not interfered." So some of these days, unless matters are arranged, there may be a memorable exodus from West Guthrie, which has built up rapidly as to homes, but is lacking in business houses.

Here is where Guthrie proper holds the palm. It has six banks and about as many business houses of all characters in proportion. Two morning and evening papers, some of which will not for long fill a long felt want, are struggling. Guthrie has been booming. Just now she is holding her own remarkably well. Some look for great improvements before fall. But many careful observers do not look for much substantial advance until the question of titles is settled and deeds are issued for the lots. This can not be until Congress meets and the townsite is proved up. And until then it seems that Guthrie must stand just about where she now is.

The decision of the land office on Saturday that claims could not be held if located by parties who were in the territory prior to noon of April 22, no matter if not located before that time, and that they can not be held if located by persons who arranged relays of horses and so got ahead of the common herd, will cause no end of trouble and dissatisfaction. Of course the decision will be appealed, but the chances are that the register was acting under information from the Interior Department, and that it will stand to the intense discomfiture of hundreds.

This applies, of course, only to quarter sections, but not a few are alarmed lest it shall become applicable in the end to townsites. Five hundred would probably be a low estimate of the claimants to town lots in Guthrie in possession before noon of the 22d. If the same decision should apply to town lots there will be endless confusion. It is claimed by some, however, that the Interior Department will only consider the townsite as a whole, and that the deeds for lots will then be issued by the mayor as trustee, and there will be no trouble. But it seems an open question. If town-lot claimants in the territory long before the time set are to be protected, then when the rest of the Indian Territory is opened, what is to prevent the occupancy of entire townsites so far in advance that everybody can even get a corner lot if he wants it? This is a question a good many expect the government to consider. And if the equity laid down by the decision is to be observed, then a good many citizens in Guthrie and elsewhere are in for it. In view of the possibility or probability a good many contests will probably be filed before Congress meets.

Guthrie is working hard for a provisional government for the territory. And the reason is that for a provisional government there must be a capital, and Guthrie wants it and wants it bad. But for this provisional government would probably never have been broached. But with the chance of it, with the probability with it established here Congress would make the same selection, her citizens are chipping in funds quite freely to bring provisional government about.

The convention last week cost some money, but it is a question if it did not defeat the very object aimed at. On a question of a provisional government the people of the territory might have been brought to ask for it. But when a convention, not representing many of the largest centers and most promising sections of the territory, sets itself up to divide the territory into ten bijou little counties and further to prepare a code of laws, thinking people are apt to hold that too many steps are being taken.

A convention at Frisco only a few days before declared unqualifiedly against provisional government, and that last week's convention will ever bring it about is a matter on which even some Guthrians are skeptical. And why should the territory not wait until Congress meets? The convention last week argued that Congress might be years in acting. This is hardly probably if the right influence is brought to bear. And really, there has been no demand for provisional government as yet. The cities have governments of their own, and the country has needed none.

At the convention endless pictures were drawn of what might be done—how a man having cattle might turn them in on somebody else's crops, how this and that wrong should be provided against. But really none of these wrongs have been attempted. The people are law abiding, well content with their possessions, satisfied to do right, and not fearing much wrong. The United States laws, too, cover a multitude of cases. Oklahoma is not overrun with blacklegs and disreputable characters. They are few and far between even in the towns. The people of Guthrie will compare well with those of any city in the land. The rough element of mining towns is wanting. There are gamblers and leeches here who in the town of Guthrie properly their vocation with open doors. But the bulk of the people are eminently respectable.

One sees almost as many ladies and children here as can be found in any town of its size. The visitor to Guthrie is coming into no top-boot, flannel-shirt, seven-shooter town. He's coming into a city where people dress as well and are quite as good morally as elsewhere. If Guthrie proper tolerates gamb-

ling houses there is this consolation—they pay in \$70 monthly each to the city treasury, and when even councilmen gamble openly—as was the case the other night—well, it may not be right, but there is no public kicking against the city government clique.

Guthrie proper is the only one of the three Guthries to have its gambling houses, dance houses, and houses of even worse character. The ground floor of the building on one of the best corners in Guthrie is a gambling den, doors and windows wide open. And it is noticeable that on the front of the first big fan constantly swinging back and forth over the tables, is the advertisement, in staring letters, of an undertaker. This may have something to do with the scarcity of affrays in Guthrie. The few little shooting scrapes have not proven serious.

Guthrie has its waterworks, hydrants being available on all the principal streets. The poles for a system of electric lighting are now being placed. The ties for a street railway are piled here and there on Oklahoma Avenue, but the gentleman who has an unlimited franchise will doubtless use his pleasure about putting them down.

And how many inhabitants has Guthrie? Enthusiastic Guthrians claim 10,000. The number is actually much less. There are doubtless between 6,000 and 7,000 people here. Such good judges as the captain in charge of the military place the number at something under 7,000, and this is doubtless near the correct figure.

There has been some fever, but the percentage of sickness is very small. Among the soldiers, where statistics are reliable, it is only 2.5 per cent. But unless the city authorities of Guthrie move very soon this can not last. Many of the alleys are filled up with decaying refuse of the worst kind, and unless the demands of health officers and citizens are soon heeded no one need be surprised at pestilence. Then again, south of Guthrie, to save a long curve or bridges, the Santa Fe changed the channel of the Cottonwood, leaving an old channel, some of it within the limits of Guthrie. Unless this is filled up look out for fevers. Even now its effect is being felt.

OKLAHOMA CITY BEFORE THE RUN OF 1889

By A. W. Durham*

At the close of the Civil War, my father left the old homestead in Michigan and settled on one of Uncle Sam's 160-acre tracts in Kansas, so that at the tender age of eighteen months I became an original "boomer." At this time the Santa Fe was completed only as far as Emporia, from which point we continued overland sixty miles farther.

Subsequently, we survived many hard times in Kansas, including the grasshopper year. When I was five my folks moved to Florence, where I was placed in school. Here I passed successively through the stages of bootblack, newsboy, cattle herder, bell boy at Fred Harvey's, Santa Fe news agent, and, when fifteen was appointed agent for the Santa Fe at Burns. In this capacity I served at several Kansas stations.

On February 20, 1888, I was asked to take charge of the station in Oklahoma. I distinctly remember alighting from the Santa Fe southbound train about two o'clock the following morning where now stands this beautiful city.

Accompanied by the traveling auditor of our company and the route agent for Wells Fargo & Company's express, I made my way to a shack just across from the station which then was the pretentious abode of one George Gibson wherein were fed and housed "mule skimmers," tenderfeet and other transients.

This building was a story and a half high, was constructed of rough lumber, and had two or three bedrooms upstairs. The cracks were not closely battened, and the cold winds came through in unstinted measure. In answer to our knock, George Gibson came down the steps holding in his hand a coal-oil lamp to which was attached a tin reflector.

The light dazzled us momentarily, but we soon discerned a number of Indians rolled up in their bright, colorful blankets upon the floor. We were obliged to step over one or two of

* "Reminiscent of Early Days in Oklahoma" by A. W. Durham is a document in the *Santa Fe Magazine*, August, 1924. It is extracts from an address Durham had delivered "recently" in Oklahoma City before the Oklahoma Historical Society. The document was located by Dr. B. B. Chapman, working under the auspices of the Research Foundation of Oklahoma State University. Mr. Durham was one of the citizens who signed the Petition for the Incorporation of Oklahoma City in 1889 (See Notes and Documents, this number of *The Chronicles*).—Ed.

them on our way to the stairway, much to their disgust—and ours! Indians were no novelty to me those days.

Upstairs, each of us was furnished a blanket, and, although the bed was spread with a thin cover, the weather was so cold we all slept with our clothing on and utilized our overcoats as well. Breakfast next morning was served on a long pine table at which we sat on benches, the bill of fare consisting of the usual sow belly, soggy biscuits, molasses and black coffee.

My predecessor had hobnobbed the night before quite freely with John Barleycorn which delayed matters a bit, but I finally was checked in as railroad agent, express agent, manager of the Western Union Telegraph Company and stage agent. One night operator comprised my entire force.

As it was necessary for me to be on hand every morning at 4:30 to let the stage out and look after passengers, baggage and express, I slept in the station. This work usually occupied about an hour, after which I would return to bed for a few more winks of sleep.

Even before the country was opened, considerable business was transacted through this office, Oklahoma¹ being the only reporting or agency station between Arkansas City and Purcell, a distance of 154 miles. There were, however, telegraph offices in Ponca City, Wharton (now Perry), Guthrie and Norman, but they were established primarily to take care of train service. Freight was handled to these stations only when prepaid, and as no regularly authorized agents were there it was put off at the owner's risk.

Soon afterward, I was joined here by my mother, two sisters and a brother, and we occupied the cottage which the company provided for the agent.

The stage ran regularly between Oklahoma and Fort Reno, the fare being \$3.00 one way or \$5.00 for the round trip. Forty pounds of baggage was carried free, more than that taking express rates. The old Concord type of stage was used, a boot in front and one behind, and was drawn by six horses. Many notables were carried over this line, most of them being in government service.

¹ The name of the post office "Oklahoma Station" was changed by the Post Office Department to "Oklahoma" December 18, 1888 (George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. I (Spring, 1952), p. 83). The name of this post office remained "Oklahoma," until 1924 when it was changed to "Oklahoma City."—Ed.

Oklahoma was used by the Government as a distributing station, from which a number of Indian agencies—including the Sac and Fox, Kickapoos, Mississippi Choctaws, Kiowas and Comanche, Cheyenne and Arapahoe—were supplied, and our capacity often was taxed in caring for the express business. Government soldiers quartered in Fort Reno also were supplied from this station.

Captain C. F. Somers, quartermaster's agent, was stationed here, his quarters consisting of quite a respectable frame building located near the slope toward Maywood, not far from the railway.

The Indian freight alone amounted to about a million pounds each month, and it was nothing unusual for freighters to haul supplies a distance of 125 miles.

Post Office Department.

Don M. Dickinson,

POSTMASTER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting:

Whereas, On the 31st day of December, 1887, Samuel H. Radebaugh was appointed Postmaster at Oklahoma Station, in the County of Oklahoma, State of Indian Territory, and whereas he did, on the 26th day of January, 1888, execute a Bond, and has taken the Oath of Office, as required by law:

Now know ye, That confiding in the integrity, ability, and punctuality of the said Samuel H. Radebaugh I do commission him a Postmaster, authorized to execute the duties of that Office at Oklahoma Station aforesaid, according to the Laws of the United States and the Regulations of the Post Office Department: To hold the said Office of Postmaster, with all the powers, privileges, and emoluments to the same belonging during the pleasure of the Postmaster General of the United States.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the Post Office Department to be affixed, at Washington City, this 31st day of December, 1887, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and twentieth.

Don M. Dickinson
Postmaster General

The Government had attempted to surpress the cattle men prior to my coming to the Indian Territory, but there still were numerous herds left. During my first year here we shipped out of Oklahoma station more than a thousand carloads of cattle. We shipped also a carload or two of buffalo horns and a number of carloads of bones, which had been gathered by enterprising Nestors.

About the only buildings in Oklahoma at this time were the depot, railway agent's cottage, section house, post office (S. H. Radebaugh was postmaster), quartermaster's agent's house, George Gibson's boarding house, and a stockade belonging to G. B. Brickford, a contract government freighter.

Game was plentiful in the vicinity. We frequently had venison and quail, and often prairie chicken and wild turkeys were brought in.

Bands of friendly blanket Indians often passed through and occasionally they would camp several days in the neighborhood. While we could not converse with them to any great extent, we had mutual understanding in many things. They gave us no trouble whatever, but we made sure that nothing of value was lying around loose which might be carried off.

Detachments of cavalry from Fort Reno frequently scoured the country to round up and deport the "sooners," a great many of whom were in the country. New faces came and went constantly. No one knew where they were from or their ultimate destination. We generally could tell when a detachment was expected by the scramble for tickets, and as many as a hundred tickets for a single train to Purcell often were sold, Purcell being the closest place of exit from the forbidden district. When the raid was over, they would begin filtering back.

Occasionally a tenderfoot would put up at one of our leading hotels, Radebaugh's or McGranahan's, and this was the signal for the "mule skimmers" who happened to be in town to stage a phony fight. They would engage the stranger in a trivial conversation which would lead into a controversy. Then all would take sides, the result being a make-believe riot, all pretending to shoot at each other, thus throwing a scare into the newcomer.

We had no banking facilities, and the medium of exchange was good old United States currency. The express company was used freely for money orders and for transporting money and valuables. Frequent transfers of money were necessary to supply the vast extent of country tributary to us, to pay off the soldiers at the fort, and to supply the Indian agencies

and post traders. When government money was handled it usually met by an escort of cavalry, but we handled many shipments without such protection.

I distinctly remember one occasion that the Government failed to provide an escort, and we were obliged to hold approximately forty thousand dollars almost a week. The little safe we had offered no real protection, so I concealed the money in old rubber boots and rubbish underneath the counter, close to my sleeping place. Not even the night operator knew we were taking so great a risk. Many bad men were known to be in the country at the time; trains were being held up and robbed at other places, but we were not molested in the least.

On another occasion, being forewarned, we prepared for trouble; our trains were guarded, and Captain Somers and I took measures to give the suspected gang a warm reception. The gang entered and tied their horses at the location now known as Grand Avenue and Broadway, but happily, after reconnoitering the place, rode away before the train arrived. Perhaps they had learned of our preparedness.

For the most part, however, the people were law abiding and friendly, although there is no denying the fact that the Indian Territory then was a rendezvous of a vast number of criminals of every description.

Shortly before the country was opened for settlement, many news writers were about gathering material for the press, and some of the stories they sent in were wonderfully exaggerated. The few wires we had were taxed to their capacity at times, and quite frequently the night operator and I were kept busy late into the night clearing this *trash*, as we called it.

While the town was not placed strictly under martial law, four companies of infantry were stationed on the military reservation under command of Lieutenant Colonel Snyder, and at the opening of Oklahoma Capt. D. F. Stiles acted as a sort of provost marshal. This was a wise provision of the government, as it served to restrain the lawless element and it undoubtedly prevented many riots and the shedding of blood.

Immediately following President Harrison's message of March 23, 1889, which provided for the opening of the country on April 22 of that year, everything assumed a different aspect. There was plenty of excitement, and hurried preparations were made to accommodate the expected rush. The Santa Fe constructed a new freight house and engaged additional forces; watchman service was augmented, bridges were



First Post Office at Oklahoma Station (Oklahoma City), established December 30, 1887. Photo taken in 1888.

guarded and trains were policed. George L. Sands then was General Superintendent and Avery Turner was Superintendent. Every one was on his toes for the grand rush!

On that memorable day, so far as the eye could see, people seemed to spring up as though by magic. On they came from every direction; some on horseback, some in vehicles; some had spades, some stakes, some hand bags, some pots and pans, others cooking utensils of varying degrees, and so forth. Words are inadequate to describe the scene. History was in the making.

The first train from the south came in about two o'clock in the afternoon. It was crowded—people clambered together upon the platforms, on the car roofs, everywhere. There must have been two thousand persons aboard that train. The rush was on in full. Train load of humanity, followed train load, and a city was made in a day.

Charles Chamberlain, with a corps of surveyors, was on the ground by noon. Such a scramble for lots can hardly be realized, and as a single entry was restricted by law to 320 acres, there were not enough lots to go around. This, coupled with the fact that several companies made surveys which later had to be reconciled with each other, accounts for the many jogs and offsets in some of Oklahoma City's streets. The disputes and litigation which followed is well known.

The water supply was a problem. We furnished gratis all the water we could from the railroad tank, but were obliged to place guards over it to prevent waste. Even then, the supply became quickly exhausted, and it was necessary to haul in trainloads of water.

The early days of Oklahoma City differed little from those of other frontier towns with respect to gambling and its attendant evils. The "sure thing" men and the "knights of the green cloth" were open for business early and late all along the railroad from Main Street to Reno Avenue, with a few places on Grand and California. The "soap man," chuck-a-luck, fan-tan, faro, roulette, three-card monte, stud-poker, and even keno, were much in evidence.

Gradually order was brought out of chaos. People must have supplies, household goods, furniture, stoves, building materials, vehicles, farm implements, live stock, groceries, clothing, and so forth, and everything had to be brought in by the railroad. The volume of business was limited only by the number of cars we could release from their loadings each day.

After awhile a reaction set in, and Oklahoma City saw several dull years. Contests and litigation, I believe, were partly responsible for this. It is surprising how under adverse circumstances people usually get together for the common good.

The opening of Oklahoma came so late in the season that the first year afforded little opportunity to prepare the ground and raise crops, and the second year saw a crop failure. This left some of the settlers in a deplorable condition, but through it all they displayed a fortitude, a courage and a tenacity of purpose that is worthy the best traditions of our time.

Appeals for aid were made. The Santa Fe and Rock Island furnished seed to the farmers at actual cost on notes which required payment the following year. I acted as custodian of these notes in the Oklahoma City district, and it is a pleasure to say that most of the notes were promptly paid.

Andrew J. Seay succeeded Governor Steele, the first territorial governor, and I was a member of the committee that went to El Reno to escort Governor Seay to our city, where a reception was given in his honor.

I lived in Oklahoma City several years after this, and saw the city grow in size and importance. I saw peace and happiness all around, and many of those who bore the hardships and weathered the storm were abundantly rewarded. All honor to the old settlers who blazed the way for the making of this great commonwealth. They are worthy descendants of those heroic souls who carried the banner of civilization across the continent to the Golden West.

AN EARLY DAY CRUSADER FOR LAW AND ORDER IN OKLAHOMA: THOMPSON BENTON FERGUSON

By Leslie A. McRill

"To strive, to seek, to find, and not yield."

Thompson Benton Ferguson came with his family to Watonga in Blaine County in 1892 from the neighboring state of Kansas. In the covered wagon, beside his family, were the meager tools of an early-day newspaper. Often his wife would say, "Yes, we started the Watonga Republican with a hair-pin and a nail." As one looks back over the Semi-centennial of Statehood held the past year, it seems fitting to call to mind some of the characters and their struggles and ideals which went into the shaping of Oklahoma. We often forget or view dimly the hard work, the deprivations, and accomplishments that the pioneers experienced. This article gives briefly the story of a crusading editor of early Oklahoma—not of a Territorial Governor, though he was next to the last of the Territorial Governors.¹ It is not the experiences of a politician, though a politician he may have been, but it is the tale of an Oklahoma editor and his consistent efforts to make this a clean state by laboring in his own home town and county for better moral conditions; for a better place to bring up his own and his neighbors' children, that they might fit into worthy places as citizens of a proud state.

Editor Ferguson plunged into the affairs of a new community to make himself felt on the side of law and order. He may have been too strongly partisan since his business might have been better financially had he been less so. Many merchants and city officials took the lesser course placing personal gain far above the demands for good government. But "T. B.," as his closer friends called him, seemed to have but one Puritanical ideal—a good town in which to rear his

¹Thompson Benton Ferguson, son of Abner and Hannah Ferguson, was born near Des Moines, Iowa, March 17, 1857. His family moved to Kansas where he attended the public schools and the State Normal School at Emporia. He served as a Methodist minister, and taught school for several years. He made the run on April 22, 1889, and staked a claim near Oklahoma City, which he later sold. Returning to Kansas, he settled at Sedan where he owned and edited a newspaper, and published a book, *The Jayhawkers*, on early Kansas history. He moved to Watonga, Oklahoma Territory, in 1892, where he remained the editor of *The Watonga Republican* until his death on February 11, 1921, recognized through the years as leading newspaper man in the Territory and the State. He was appointed Governor of Oklahoma Territory by President Theodore Roosevelt on November 30, 1901, and served in this office until January 5, 1906.—Ed.

family, and where the better class of citizens might exert their ideals in building their new state.†

He had not been in Watonga long until he clashed with the lawless saloon element. As early as 1893, we find him opposing local lawless conditions. Again, in 1897 the "saloon fever broke out again." A summary is given in one of T. B.'s later editorials, which will appear in chronological order later in this article. But almost at once the law-breaking element discovered they had a "foeman worthy of his steel"—to them, "a devil in his own home town!"

Editor Ferguson's technique was somewhat different from that of many newspaper editors in that he never allowed his readers to forget conditions. Many times a fine editorial will "hit the nail on the head" in a well worded article and then no more will be said perhaps for months. Not so, T. B.! No momentum was to be lost. Everlastingly at it! Enforce all laws! Respect every statute! Back every efficient officer! All pull together!

†And while his earliest efforts lacked backing on the part of the public, his later editorials were backed by every crusading minister and his people. † It was indeed a change from that earlier day when "respectable" deacons and elders were willing signers to petitions for saloons.

A few excerpts from the early 1890's will serve to give us background for later developments in the fight for law and order in Blaine County. The following is taken from *The Watonga Republican* of October 11, 1893:²

DISGRACEFUL

The affairs around a certain place in town on last Monday night were disgraceful. Blatant profanity and obscene language could be heard all night long. Now then right here it will not be out of place to remark that the law-abiding people of Watonga will not be imposed upon this winter as they were last. If saloons cannot be run within the law, stop them. The law is plain. Let it be enforced. The county attorney and the commissioners should investigate this matter and if any licensed liquor house is not running according to law its license should be revoked. The officers of the law should see that these disgraceful riotings are stopped.

And as if he would give attention to all law breakers he continued in another column with this reference to the Indians, Cheyennes and Arapahos, who were in this community:

Whiskey is being sold to the Indians at this place. There is no question as to who the guilty parties are. Now then the question

² Bound volumes of *The Watonga Republican* through the years are in the Newspaper Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, from which all quotations in this article were taken.

Is will they be brought to justice? Judge Burford said during court here last summer that above all things those who sell whiskey to the Indians are liable to severe punishment. Let the guilty parties at this place be reported to the U. S. grand jury.

Then in April, 1894 these remarks in the *Watonga Republican* called attention again to lawlessness:

The Kelly building on the corner is to be occupied by a saloon. Well, with a saloon on the two most prominent corners in town, the churches in the back ground, and the grocery stores "up street", it is a queer advertisement for our town, and strangers will be impressed with the situation when they come here. Now then, how many Christians will sign petitions for a saloon? How many men in this town who have boys will sign a petition for a saloon? "Hold on there, but we want more saloons to make things lively," said a citizen recently. Well, yes, they do make things lively. The Mongold saloon last winter made things lively—old man on the river robbed, Cooper's store robbed, another saloon broken into, attempt to burn a house. Who did it?

And the motto seemed to be to let the "chips fall" where they will. While upbraiding Peter, call Paul's attention to a thing or two: "There are some strange things in this world and one of the most strangely strange is to see a preacher stand opposed to temperance unions. Such a preacher should belong to the Hard shell-Forty-gallonites."

So perfectly oblivious of where the thrown stone might hit we find our Editor's next blast in these words: "The time has come in this county when the confederates of criminals will be held equally guilty with the principals. This thing of gangs screening crime will not work hereafter. Make a clean sweep."

But it was much later, in 1911 to be exact, when the pyramiding results of Editor Ferguson's campaigns for better conditions really came to positive results. In his January issue, he calls attention to some murder cases which were to come up at the next session of court, using these words: "Murder Cases. It is time for those who believe in law and order to take a firm stand for the enforcement of law and bring about a different condition of things."

An election had been held and new officers were to take over the important county offices of Sheriff and County Attorney. The County Judge, George W. Ferguson had already been in office. As to the new sheriff the paper had this to say:

Sam Sutherland, the new sheriff, has already served in that position. He has made a good officer in running down horse thieves. He stands pledged to enforce the prohibitory law and put down bootlegging. The citizens who believe in law and order should stand by him and render every assistance possible. The public welfare requires that the law be enforced. Everybody should assist in this work.

And concerning the new County Attorney this notice: "A. L. Emery, the new county attorney says that he will put forth every effort within his power to enforce the law. He declares his intention to enforce the prohibitory law. . . ."

Then, evidently feeling that some other word should be given, our Editor issues this reprimand in his issue of January 12, 1911:

A FARCE

There is no use to enforce law unless officers carry out the provisions of the law. Recently Frank Lytle plead guilty to a violation of the liquor law. He was fined \$60 and 30 days in jail. He has spent much time down on the streets when supposed to be serving a jail sentence Such work as this is a farce—imposition on the name of the law. What is the use for arrests to be made, penalties imposed by the courts and the convicted persons allowed to run at large. If the law is to be enforced, and it should be, the sentence of the court should be carried out.

This editorial entitled "Law Enforcement" appeared in the same issue, January 11, 1911: "The people of Blaine County will watch the law enforcement part of the present administration with much interest. There is always one obstacle in the way of enforcing the liquor law. That obstacle is not so much in the bootlegger as in the one who stands behind him"

A news item headed "Small Riot Starts" gave this account:

On last Monday night Sheriff Sutherland was called to quell a disturbance of some kind on the street, Martin Clifford claimed that some of the fellows who had been arrested on the charge of selling liquor had threatenend to kill him. It was thought that Carlton had informed on them The bootleggers have been defiant and very arrogant for some time past. They have had things about as they wanted them. It is time for the law abiding people to get awake, stand by the officers. Stand by the sheriff, the county attorney and the county judge and crush out this open defiance of law. Drive the bootlegger out.

Then in the week of March 16, 1911, the defiance of the law-breaking fraternity reached its climax in a near tragedy on the main street of Watonga. Here is what the *Republican* Headlines had to say about it: "In Fleeing From Sheriff They Run Over Woman. In a Buggy, Going at Run-away-Gait, Trying To Elude Sheriff and Deputy Who Pursue Them on Horseback. Steil and Hawkins Run Down Woman at Corner of Main and Noble. In Sight of Hundreds. Made No Effort To Dodge Woman. Indignant Crowd of People Join In Chase."

These screaming headlines were followed by further minor headlines: "Throw Rope Around Prisoner's Neck. One Pris-

oner Declared He Could Not Walk But Crowd with Rope Proved He Could—Stupendous Meeting of Citizens and A Law and Order League Is Formed. People Are Determined To Stamp Out Crime. The Greatest Sensation In The History Of Watonga.”

Another headline read : “Citizens Create Law and Order Demonstration.” And “Some Undesirable Citizens Warned That They Must Leave Town.” Irate citizens marched to places where the law was believed to have been violated and warned persons that violations must be stopped. “Many Places Visited. . . . Fisher Hotel, Brick Barn, Beckner Hotel, and Others. The sentiment of the public is aroused.” Then follows this account of it all:

On last Tuesday evening, the Law and Order League met at the court house and completed organization. After the routine work of the evening was over the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole to do some executive work. Bootlegging and other forms of lawlessness have been going on in defiance of the law and disregard of the welfare of society. About two hundred men representing the best citizenship of the town and surrounding country marched to places where it is alleged that the law had been violated and warned persons alleged to be violating the law that they must stop and stop at once. Others were warned to leave town at once as “undesirable citizens” The large crowd was orderly. No violence of any kind. It was a determined crusade of law and order against the violation of law. The people are determined. Bootleggers, gamblers and other nuisances must learn that the people are going to rid the town of these public pests.

Among the items elsewhere in this issue is this pertinent comment: “Vox populi vox dei, which being interpreted means don't monkey with the buzz-saw when the people run it.”

Under a headline of “Business Picking Up” appear the names of some twenty bootleggers arrested within the week, and in another column an article entitled “The Situation”, we find these words:

Watonga is passing through the crucible of test. It is up to her people to determine whether the town is to be an orderly, well-conducted town, or whether the bootleggers and law-breakers in general shall run things in defiance of law, defiance of society and defiance of public welfare. Criminals have congregated here and have been harbored and encouraged by citizens renting them their property and others going on their bonds until they have not only felt secure but have become defiant **TIME TO ACT!**

(Later) Since the above was put in type the people have **ACTED!**

Things were now moving and according to the following, some people also were “moving”:

UNDESIRABLES TAKE HINT AND SKIDOO

The town is being renovated. More to follow. People are tired of lawlessness. Since that official visit of the Law and Order League to several places in town where it was thought things were not as

it should be, several undesirable citizens have taken to the woods and quit town. Others would go who cannot because of the fact that they are stopping at the county jail. . . . There is no color-line in lawbreaking and the League went to white and black alike,”

Then in one short week the paper carried a headline claiming for the town a much better outlook. This is the news:

WATONGA A QUAKER CITY

Law and Order Reign Many Lawbreakers Gone, Decently and In Order.

Vox Populi Vox Dei. The people have spoken. The Law and Order League has borne good fruit. The town is more orderly now than it has been for fifteen years. Bootleggers have about gone out of business. Places of ill-repute have been closed. Now let the people STAND FIRM. Keep ON and ON and ON—

But evidently there were dissenters not openly tagged as law-breakers since under a heading “Irate Subscribers” we read: “. . . . We are going to stand for a clean town, regardless of whom it may offend or please.”

The general “shake-up” soon extended itself to the city administration which seemed to be in need of some cleansing also. Headlines announced that “Better Government A Winner. People Vote For A Change in City Administration. Election Day Quiet.”

But as always there was an aftermath as soon as the lawless elements had time to catch their breath, and suit was brought against some of the leading citizens who had taken part in the Law and Order movement. Headlines announce that “Suit is Brought Against Citizens. Bootlegger fund raised to pay attorney. A fight against law and order and in the interest of law breaking.”

Thereupon a law and order meeting was called and according to the report a very large and enthusiastic gathering was held. Out of town speakers were present and people from all parts of the county were present. The sentiment was “Enforce the laws—down with bootlegging.” A very fine paper was ready by Ira Temple, a quiet determined business man of Watonga, citing the need for a clean town and stressing the importance of good schools, churches, and clean business conditions. Then the following week as a supplement to the *Republican* a decision handed down by the Criminal Court of Appeals was printed in toto. The lawyers for the bootleggers accused had appealed to the court to disqualify Judge George W. Ferguson³ on the ground that he was in sympathy with law and order and thus unfit to preside over their trials. Before quoting it might be well to give this item: “Organized

³ Not related to T. B. Ferguson.

Against Law and Order League. The bootleggers, lieutenants and sympathizers of the bootleggers, met one night, last week and organized in opposition to the law and order league. The crowd wasn't large owing to the fact that most of those who would have gone in as charter members were in the county jail."

In regard to the decision of the Criminal Court of Appeals:

The Criminal Court of Appeals this week decided the mandamus cases from this county in favor of Judge Ferguson. A number of persons charged with boot-legging had attempted to swear the Judge off the bench. A lively line of affidavits were filed. The court sustained Judge Ferguson in all of the cases and he will preside at the trials. Several perjured affidavits were filed by defendants in these cases. The matter should not go unnoticed. Time to stop it.

The decision of the Criminal Court of Appeals, Justice Furman presiding, had this to say, in part:

One of the most useful organizations in the state is the Anti-Horse Thief Association. The people have just as much right to organize to assist the officers to enforce the law against the bootlegger as they have to organize to assist the officers to enforce the law against a horse thief. Of the two the horse thief is the least dangerous to the lives and character of the people and the peace and good order of society. Who would say that a juror or a judge may belong to or be in sympathy with the Anti-Horse Thief Association he would thereby be disqualified from taking part in the trial of a defendant charged with theft? . . . If being prejudiced against the commission of crime is a disqualification, then the members of this court are disqualified to decide any case pending before them

Further the court remarked:

. . . . And we are told here for the first time that a defendant has a vested and inalienable right to be tried by a jury who possesses no regard for the particular law alleged to have been violated, selected by commissioners on friendly terms with the particular offense charged. . . . No lawyer has a right to make a criminal out of himself in order to succeed in the trial of any case. . . The trial judge cannot do the State and the profession a greater service than by aiding this court in putting a stop to unprofessional conduct upon the part of attorneys. Lawyers should be held more strictly accountable for their conduct than any other class of people. . . . We want every judge in Oklahoma to know that he can rely on the support of this court so long as he acts fairly and within the duties and powers of his office

Needless to say, this decision put a quietus on lawless sympathizers and left the criminals to their own resources.

Now in regard to the long fight put up by Editor Ferguson through the years in behalf of better conditions this editorial will serve as a resume of his aims:

During the winter of 1893-4 a reign of terror held sway in Watonga. Stores were robbed, men were held up on the street at

night; others were drugged in the Mongold saloon and robbed. The *Watonga Republican* insisted that the saloons were the places where the crime was all hatched. We made a fight on them but almost stood alone. A few church women and a preacher or two were the only persons who stood with us. The 'business men' raised their hands in horror and declared that we must not fight the saloons . . . We took the position that the people who signed the saloon petitions for well known disreputable applicants were in a measure responsible for the conditions that prevailed, because they sanctioned the conditions by signing the petitions. At that time there were but three men in Watonga who did not sign petitions for saloon licenses. They were the Methodist preacher, D. A. Beals and the editor of this paper. Deacons, elders and other officials in churches signed them. . . Mongold, the leader of the criminals was arrested, jumped his bond and fled from the county. Others were driven out.

Later on in 1897 the saloon fever broke out again in Watonga. The town was crowded with them—a saloon on every corner. This was the most disgraceful period in the history of Watonga. . . *The Republican* commenced a fight that lasted until 1899. The matter reached a climax. Citizens of the county around Watonga (several business men among them) about 100 citizens in all, went before a district judge and asked protection from the lawlessness that had been going on. The judge made some very fervent suggestions to the officers and his orders were carried out.

But now in the present crusade, things have greatly changed. It is not now merely a small crowd of citizens fighting for law and order, but nearly everybody in town is enlisted in the cause

The Republican took advantage of the decision of the Criminal Court of Appeals to give this word of warning to lawyers and all concerned:

REFORM THE BAR

The Criminal Court of Appeals is certainly filling a long felt want in its declared purpose to rid the bar of Oklahoma of grafters and dirty lawyers. There is nothing more dangerous to the welfare of a community than a disreputable lawyer—one who will take advantage of his client, and advantage of the public generally. It is time to stop attorneys who forge public documents or assist clients in forgery, embezzlement, and all manner of crimes The stand taken by the Court of Appeals to bring about a better condition of things in the bar of the state will certainly be approved by the people generally.

All through the years of his life Editor Ferguson applauded every move for a better town and state and could be found in the ranks of those who build for a permanent environment of worth while things. The writer was not in Watonga during most of the events recorded in this article, since he was attending Epworth University in Oklahoma City. But for the year ending up to September 1910, and for the year after June 1911, he was in *The Watonga Republican* office as printer. Hence these events are still in his mind. As a sequel to these stirring events there is another item of interest concerning the civic "clean-up" in which the bootleggers were arrested and convicted. The item is headed:

KANGAROO COURT

The fellows at the county jail hold a regular and continuous kangaroo court. Whenever a new one gets in they arrest him for breaking into jail. He is always fined. That is one of the established rules of the court. At present Frank Lytle is judge, D. W. Ellington prosecuting attorney and Ralph Hawkins the officer who serves the "papers" . . . No one is allowed to swear or use bad language of any kind when there are lady prisoners in jail. Spitting tobacco on the floor is prohibited under a severe penalty imposed by the court.

An interesting sidelight to this whole matter is that the writer was delegated by his church to hold religious services at the jail on Sunday afternoons. Here he had as his appreciative audience all of the convicted bootleggers, who co-operated with him in every way to make the Sunday afternoon service a welcome and religiously profitable break in the monotony of the week.

At the writer's request the ladies of the Methodist Aid cooked and sent to the jail a real old fashioned Thanksgiving dinner—a dinner which was praised time and again by the recipients, perhaps another proof that love and kindness conquer the spirit where the letter of the law sometimes fails.

Thus the events of an old time effort to build into the new state principles of good citizenship and stable civic conditions. Whether Blaine County is a better place in which to live because of those activities the Book of Time will only reveal. The fight for the same principles still goes on in the state and only serves to remind us that each generation must win for itself the desired conditions of citizenship and good living, but the foundations were laid by these crusading citizens of fifty or more years ago.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Order for the Index for *The Chronicles*, 1957

The Index for Volume XXXV of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 1957, compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, is now ready for free distribution to those who receive the quarterly magazine. Orders for this Index should be sent to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma.

Letter Postmarked Cantonment Gibson, 1842

Another letter bearing the postmark of Cantonment Gibson, 1842 has been brought to light, making mention of this frontier post in the Cherokee country and of Fort Towson among the Choctaws. This is the old folded letter envelope bearing the postmark "Cantonment Gibson, A. T., Nov. 10" on the outside upper right corner, and the hand written word "Paid" on the upper left corner, with no stamp. The date line on the inside of the letter is given, "Fort Gibson, C. N. Nov. 4th, 1842." It was written by Second Lieutenant Rensselaer W. Foote, 6th Infantry, stationed at Fort Gibson, and addressed to his sister, "Miss Catherine Bruen Foote, Care of H. D. Gould, Esq. Delhi, Delaware County, State of New York." Lieutenant Foote, a native of New York City, was a cadet at West Point from September 1, 1834 to June 1, 1835; commissioned Second Lieutenant, 6th Infantry, November 1, 1838; Captain June 9, 1853; Bvt. Major June 27, 1862, for gallant and meritorious service at the Battle of Gaines Mill, Virginia, where he was killed in action on this date. The young man's letter to his sister follows, taken from a photostat of the original, forwarded to the Society by Mr. James Neill Northe, of Oklahoma City:

Fort Gibson, C. N.
Nov. 4th, 1842

My dear Sister :

A long time has passed since I last heard from you, and I have not written you for a long time either—but I have been going to write (as every one says) every day. Yet something or other has always taken place to prevent it. I do not know from what place I wrote to you last but I think it was Ft. Towson.—Since then I have been rather busy, as you will certainly admit, when I tell you I have marched 200 miles or so from there to this place—The weather was very hot, and it was dry and dusty, and you may rest assured we felt *a little* tired when we got here. We had all kinds of country to pass through from the vast prairies to the lofty mountains which look a little something like

the old Catskills. And I know you would have been astonished to see our loaded wagons go up and down such ugly looking roads as wind over these mountains,—but we are here at last, and safe and sound, and I do at this moment feel quite comfortable *in my own house*—that is, seated in a small room in the Garrison, inside of the *Pickets*—which are logs standing up close together and some 12 or 15 feet high—It is the first Post I have been picketed in—but its a cool place—it keeps soldiers in and Indians out. It is now raining outside, and every appearance of a long storm. The country wants it very much, as there has been but little or no rain for the past 4 or 6 months. At Fort Towson we were among the Choctaws you recollect, and now we are in the Cherokee Country—among the most civilized Indians—and many of them are wealthy and talented—and the ladies handsome, but there is very little Society around the Post,—that is to say within ten miles or so of it. I expect I am settled down at last, and will likely remain several years at this place—it is about time I think. However, if I live, I may get a leave of absence in the course of a year or two, when I will hope to see you again. I feel quite anxious to hear about James—to know what he is doing now—and what he is going to do. I wish he would settle down to something. I meant before this to have sent him a little more money, but my expenses have been quite heavy moving about up to this time, and now I suppose he don't need it so much as he has got some money of his own. The Paymaster was here a few days since, and paid us—but he brought nothing but silver. I hope, however, soon to pick up a piece of Gold to send you—I hope you will write me as soon as you can get time to do so, a good long letter, and tell me all the news—all about the old folks and old things of Delhi as they were when we were children, but it is easier for me I suppose to recollect how they *were* than for you, whose memory is confused by so many new faces and new things and besides, there are a good many of those I used to know dead and gone—Aunt Harriet, too, I sometimes think of—do you hear of her?—and how she and Anna Mac Gregor, and Mrs. Blair, and cousin Maggy—Mr. Forrest and many others—not forgetting good old *Trim*—and do tell me how Aunt Margaret is, and Ebenezer—and Frances, and in fact all our old friends—and dont forget to remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Gould.

Your affectionate Brother

(signed) Renss W. Foote.

Miss Catherine B. Foote,
Delhi
N York.

A CHEYENNE PEACE PIPE SMOKED AND BETRAYED BY CUSTER

The famous peace pipe smoked by Colonel George A. Custer in a ceremony (a promise broken by him) during a meeting in council with the Cheyenne band led by Chief Medicine Arrow in 1869, is now placed on exhibit at the Fort Sill Museum¹ where it is on loan by Mr. Claude E. Hensley of

¹The Artillery and Guided Missile Center Museum is found in four places at Fort Sill: Outdoor exhibits are in the old Corral, showing specimens pertaining to civilian life and early day transportation; artillery specimens, some dating back to 1671 from Spain, are in Hamilton Hall; artillery exhibits from 1900 to the first guided missiles developed by the Army are shown in McLain Hall and Fort Sill historical relics in Old Post Guardhouse.

Oklahoma City. This pipe had a part in the exciting and dramatic history relating to the early history of Fort Sill.

Medicine Arrow and his band refused to come to Fort Sill in surrender after Colonel Custer's destruction of Black Kettle's Cheyenne village in the valley of the Washita River, in the so-called Battle of the Washita. Medicine Arrow moved his village out to the Staked Plains of Texas, near Sweetwater Creek, where Colonel Custer and his troops of the Seventh Cavalry discovered the village in March, 1869, on his campaign against the Plains tribes out of Fort Sill. David L. Spotts, one of the troopers on this campaign describes the arrival at this Cheyenne village and some of the scenes there, in his *Diary*.² Custer, also, tells of the council meeting and describes the pipe in his book *My Life on the Plains*: "The chiefs sat in silence while the medicine man drew forth from a capacious buckskin tobacco pouch profusely decorated with beads and porcupine quills, a large red clay pipe, with a stem about the size of an ordinary walking stick."³

This peace pipe was kept by Medicine Arrow who had been accorded the priestly dignity of preserving the four sacred medicine-arrows, the tribal palladium of the Cheyenne since the "Beginning of the world" used in the religious rituals of the Southern Cheyenne many years after they were assigned to a reservation in Western Oklahoma in accordance with the U. S. Treaty of Medicine Lodge, Kansas, in 1867. The medicine-arrows were only brought out on special occasions, and were never seen by a white man nor a mixed-blood Cheyenne. But the pipe in the hands of Chief Medicine Arrow was brought out and smoked in important councils by the council members and their visitors, in a ceremony that had deep significance in tribal history.

Charles J. Brill in his chapters "Putting Custer on the Spot" and "Custer breaks Faith," in his book *Conquest of the Southern Plains*, tells of Custer's visit and council with Chief Medicine Arrow far out on the Staked Plains of Texas where the famous pipe was smoked for peace in a Custer's expedition in 1869. And now after nearly ninety years, the pipe has come to Fort Sill where it can be seen by visitors to the Museum. Mr. Brill wrote the following brief history of the peace pipe, in 1950, which has been contributed to the Editorial Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society by Mr. Claude C. Hensley:

² David A. Spotts and E. A. Brininstool, *Campaigning with Custer* (Los Angeles, 1928).

³ Gen. Geo. A. Custer, *My Life on the Plains* (New York, 1876).

Following Custer's massacre of Black Kettle's peaceful village of Cheyennes on the Washita River in what is now Roger Mills County, Oklahoma, in November of 1868, thousands of Indians who had concentrated their winter camps in this vicinity scattered all over the southern plains to escape a similar fate. One large band of Cheyennes under Medicine Arrow fled to that desolate region known as the "Staked Plains" just over the present Oklahoma-Texas line in Texas. They pitched their new village on Sweet Water Creek.

In March of 1869, Custer, then a lieutenant-colonel in command of the Seventh Cavalry, led an expedition from Fort Sill to round up all bands that had not surrendered. He finally stumbled on to Medicine Arrow's village. Couriers were sent in demanding surrender of the village. They brought back a request from the head chief to come to the lodge of Medicine Arrow for a conference.

When Custer put in an appearance he was accompanied by an armed escort. Medicine Arrow would admit only Custer to the lodge, insisting upon the others remaining outside.

As Custer entered the lodge he found Medicine Arrow and his headmen seated in a semi-circle with space reserved for Custer at Medicine Arrow's side. Here Custer was motioned to take his seat which he did, sitting cross-legged on the ground, Indian fashion.

As soon as Custer had been seated, Medicine Arrow reached into his pouch and brought forth a peace pipe. This he filled and handed to Custer, lighting it with a live coal from the fire blazing in the center of the lodge. After Custer had taken a puff, he attempted to hand the pipe back to Medicine Arrow. The chief pushed it away, motioning for Custer to smoke it all. Then the chief took the pipe from Custer and knocked the ashes from it over Custer's boots.

Silence was broken for the first time when Medicine Arrow told Custer that the White Man had smoked the peace pipe with the Indian many times, and always had violated the mutual pledge by creating new disturbances and attacking the Indians. Custer's attention was called to the fact that this council was being held in the presence of the all-powerful sacred arrows of the Cheyennes which would exert the power of their medicine against Custer and destroy him, like the ashes of the pipe, if he should break faith again.

Followed negotiations for safe conduct of the village to Fort Sill. At the close of the conference, Custer was urged to bivouac his troops a distance from the Indian camp so as not to alarm the women and children of the village, while Medicine Arrow and his headmen discussed the offer of safe conduct promised by Custer. To show their friendly attitude, Medicine Arrow informed Custer that he would send some of the most skilful horsemen among his young men to entertain the soldiers by displays of horsemanship while their soldiers discussed Custer's proposition.

Several aged Indians accompanied the young horsemen to Custer's bivouac and were made guests of Custer and his staff. During the exhibition Custer conceived the idea of seizing these guests and holding them as hostages to insure speedy surrender of the village. He passed the word quietly to his men to capture them the instant he gave the word. When the command was given the soldiers attempted to capture the aged Indians but all escaped except three. These Custer held, sending word to the village that unless it surrendered unconditionally by sundown of the next day he would hang his hostages.

This act of treachery on the part of Custer caused Medicine Arrow and a number of selected warriors to slip out of the village that night, carrying with them the sacred arrows. With them went the violated peace pipe which eventually fell into the hands of Little Chief. Before Little Chief's death he passed the pipe to Mike Balenti, the white husband of Cheyenne Belle. Later N. O. Barnhill obtained the pipe from Mike Balenti and after Mr. Barnhill's death, Mrs. Barnhill gave this pipe to Claude E. Hensley. At the time Mike Balenti gave the pipe to Mr. Barnhill, he also gave a letter reciting the history of the pipe, which is given here:

Calumet, Okla.
April 22, 1933

Mr. N. O. Barnhill
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Dear Friend:

This is a very highly prized medicine pipe used three generations. It was handed down from the Grandfather to his relation which were all chiefs. This pipe made a treaty at Fort Ellet, [Fort Elliot] Texas. Custer and all his officers took three puffs from this pipe so they would not fight anymore.

M. Balenti

Mike Balenti, a soldier stationed at old Fort Reno, was a tailor who married the well known "Cheyenne Belle." She was the daughter of Charlie Rath, a founder of Dodge City, and his full blood Cheyenne wife called "Roadmaker." Cheyenne Belle served as interpreter for General Philip Sheridan during the Stone Calf uprising of the Cheyenne in Western Oklahoma in 1885. Her son, William M. Balenti born at Darlington Agency in 1880, was a farmer and stockman in Canadian County for many years, who died at Bethany in 1948. He was survived by three brothers and four grandchildren besides his wife and four daughters: Mrs. Catherine Hall of Bethany; Miss May Belle Balenti and Mrs. Bob Norman, both of Long Beach, California; and Mrs. Merle Rhodes of Washington, D. C.

(M. H. W.)

PETITIONERS FOR THE INCORPORATION OF OKLAHOMA CITY, 1890

Territorial government was established by act of Congress on May 2, 1890. The taxable inhabitants of "the town of Oklahoma City" petitioned the board of county commissioners to be incorporated as a village. On July 15 the commissioners of "County Second" incorporated the "Village of Oklahoma City," embracing about 400 acres. The commissioners appointed a board of trustees consisting of D. W. Gibbs, T. J. Watson, Nelson Button, Sam Frist, and H. Overholser. On July 22 the trustees divided the city into four wards for the

election of officers for a "city of the second class." Two days later they designated August 9 for the election of city officers.

The petition above named is in the Library of the United States Supreme Court, Oklahoma City v. McMaster, Transcript of Record, No. 137, p. 38. The typed list of names from which this printed list was made, is in the Office of the Clerk of the United States Supreme Court. A photostat copy of the typed list is here presented to *The Chronicles*. The typist may have been unable to read correctly all the signatures, and two typographical errors are evident, namely, "Ca;ey," and "Py;es."

Some persons like W. D Gault and H. T. Betts signed the petition more than once. For convenient use, the list of names here is presented in alphabetical form, taken from the list made by the typist in 1890.

—B. B. Chapman

J. W. Abernathy
J. W. Adams
W. M. Adams
W. B. Adamson

H. C. Aikins
W. S. Aikins
W. B. Alexander
William Alexander

OKLAHOMA CITY, I. T., May 8 1890.

"Ex. A"

This Certifies That lot No. 21, of block No. one, according

to the Citizens Survey of Oklahoma City, Indian Territory, was awarded to

H. S. Butler by the Citizens Committee.

M. H. Woods
Secretary Citizens' Committee

By Art. Davis, Deputy.

Exhibit A

No. <u>69</u>	Oklahoma City, Indian Territory.
This is to Certify, That <u>H. C. Arnold</u> having furnished the evidence required by Ordinance number eight is entitled to the peaceable possession of Lot No. <u>22</u> , Block No. <u>4</u> , in Oklahoma City, Indian Territory, and that the said <u>H. C. Arnold</u> , his heirs or assigns, is entitled to a deed to said Lot from the Trustee or other person who may be designated by the Government of the United States to make such conveyance.	
<u>Thirteenth</u> day of <u>May</u> 1890.	<u>Geo. A. Blackburn</u> City Recorder.

B. F. Allen	Emil Bracht
A. C. Anderson	F. J. Bradford
Oscar Anderson	F. V. Brandom
C. L. Arnold	Anton Breitz
J. D. Arnold	Walter Briggs
W. C. Arnold	C. Bright
W. W. Asher	G. R. Brobeck [sic]
B. G. Avery	G. R. Brobeck [sic]
W. D. Avery	Jas. M. Brogan
Jno. Ayers	A. J. Brown
C. J. Babcock	A. T. Brown
J. A. Bailey	Frank Brown
W. B. Bain	I. M. Brown
C. E. Baker	J. D. Brown
W. H. Baker	J. L. Brown
F. Ballion	J. T. Brown
Chas. Balzer	Lewis Brown
E. Balzer	M. C. Brown
V. Balzer	M. I. Brown
J. B. Banks	M. P. Brown
Melvin Barber	R. Brown
M. Barker	R. D. Brownell
G. M. Barr	S. A. Brownell
J. M. Barry	John Bruckhart
S. E. Bartell	J. W. Brusha
J. E. Basset	W. R. Brusha
A. L. Battles	John W. Bryant
E. J. Beale	W. F. Busch
C. H. Beam	Albert Buesch
A. B. Beard	H. P. Bundy
Wm. Becker	J. E. Bundy
F. Belknak, V. S.	J. D. Buntley
J. E. Bell	J. Bunyan, Garrison [sic.]
C. E. Benian	W. H. Burdick
J. P. Benson	E. W. Burns
J. Y. Benton	P. G. Burns
Frank Berry	J. Burton
W. B. Berry	C. Bush
H. F. Betts	H. F. Butler
H. T. Betts	H. S. Butler
L. W. Beusf	J. D. Bryant
J. C. Bigelow	H. B. Ca;ey [sic.]
G. H. Biles	A. Calhoun
S. S. Biles	H. J. Cappenger
Chas. Birds	B. F. Card
H. H. Black	D. M. Card
W. P. Blackburn	J. O. Carlton
E. L. Blackwood	W. C. Carrington
Thos. Blaise	David Carson
F. M. Blankenship	Davidson Case
W. S. Bolar	J. O. Casler
Fred H. Bonner	R. Y. Chandler
John Bontley	Ed Chaney
Julius Bontley	J. I. Chase
Marla Bontley	G. W. Chin, Jr.
Frank Bowden	G. W. R. Chinn
Geison Bows	J. E. Chism
W. W. Boyd	C. R. Chitwood
H. C. Boykins	John Christianson
C. B. Boyle	W. Church
J. P. Boyle	Wm. Clegne

Jas. Clemmen	L. E. Esteu
H. W. Clergern	C. E. Ettinger
O. E. Cody	Robert Evans
Geo. Coen	Geo. W. Fahs
Joseph Coing	Geo. Farrah
W. H. Comby	J. T. Farrell
Fred Comstock	Y. V. Featherby
R. R. Connella	J. W. Fennen
E. C. Cooke	Ed Ferguson
Joseph Cook	G. B. Fey
R. J. Coons	E. F. Field
J. B. Coonse	W. S. Field
C. S. Cooper	C. Fisher
A. L. Cortz	R. S. Fisher
Guy Cot	B. C. Fitzgerald
Christian Cramer	I. M. Folson
Ben Craycroft	I. M. Forrest
H. F. Crod	H. E. Foster
H. T. Croll	J. W. Foster
Marion Cross	John Fowler
C. W. Cunningham	Jas. Frasier
J. H. Cunningham	E. T. Freeman
J. M. Cunningham	J. P. Freeman
T. W. Cunningham	John Frees
E. (?) Davis	A. L. Frick
Henry Davis	R. Fulkerson
J. S. Davis	J. H. Gaines
J. W. Davis, Jeweler	Chas. Gall
R. D. Davis	John Gallegher
S. E. Davis	Geo. G. Garrison
G. F. Dean	Ocie Garver
W. S. Defenbaugh	W. D. Gault
W. H. Deffenbaugh	Peter Gibbins
Ben DeGee	W. T. Gilley
H. DeLand	C. F. Gilpin
J. G. Denney	Chas. A. Gitz
F. S. Dewey	Perry C. Glines
H. E. Diele	Willie Goodson
Ben Dierke	S. Goodwin
Lewis Donweather	Geo. O. Gorman
James Dowan	J. W. Gorman
Dowden and McGlinchey	Thos. P. Gorman
E. W. Dowden	Thos. V. Gorman
A. Dunham	J. V. Gordy
A. W. Durham, Agent A.T.S.F.	O. C. Gowan
H. N. Dunlap	D. S. Graham
Frank Dupers	George F. Graham
I. D. Dyer	L. H. Graham
J. D. Dyer	Jas. M. Granahan
S. B. Dyer	W. A. Grason
J. S. Eads	George A. Gray
C. H. Eagin	Ed. Grayson
Chas. E. Eagin	J. R. Green
M. E. Eastus	R. C. Grubbs
John Ellason	Henry P. Grum
J. Ellard	D. P. Gunter
J. T. Ellard	J. O. Gurbbs
James R. Ellise	C. D. Hakes
D. C. Ellison	A. Haley
E. Eltemann	C. B. Haley
John Erichson	H. H. Haley

J. W. Haley	Chas. Irenfield
Frank Hall	W. C. C. Isaacs
J. C. Hall	W. R. Jackson
E. C. Hamill	W. R. Jacobs
A. Hamilton	G. W. Jenkins
F. S. Hamilton	Sam Jenkins
A. B. Hammer	O. F. Johnson
H. A. Hammer	S. D. Johnson
A. J. Hane	Swan Johnson
J. A. Haning	Thos. Johnson
Wm. Hankins	W. M. Johnson
M. W. Hanley	C. A. Jones
George Harn	C. G. Jones
F. Harrah	H. B. Jones
B. R. Harrington	Mat Jones
J. M. Hart	Phil Jones
C. D. Harvey	J. Kaufman
J. R. Harvey	E. J. Kellar
J. E. Harwel	B. H. Kelley
Chas. E. Harwood	Hugh Kelley
C. Hast	Robert Kelley
Chas. Hathway	George Kells
Albert Hauskins	N. O. Kelley
T. N. Haynes	Tom Kelly
A. E. Hazel	W. P. Kendall
F. A. Hazen	W. Keunkle
Heinallomt	Geo. Kezer
E. E. Henderson	Kicalayicks
Rick Henderson	Robert Kincaid
S. Hendrey	Geo. R. King
J. C. Hickey	G. R. King
J. P. Hickey	L. W. King
J. T. Hill	J. B. Kingham
O. J. Hill	Jno. Kington
H. H. Hillman	Lon Kinton
P. V. Hillman	E. E. Kiwkie
W. I. Hines	Gus Klein
J. B. Hitchcock	H. J. Knopp
J. M. Hobson	A. L. Kose
W. E. Honeygrove	Frank Kozak
John Hood	Frank Kozats
W. H. Horn	J. C. Laird
G. M. Houston	H. Lancaster
Frank Hrabe	L. L. Land
I. B. Hrabe	G. J. Laurence
J. B. Hrabe	D. D. Leach
John Hrabe	O. G. Lee
Mary Hrabe	C. Lenord
Frank Hrasbee	I. Lewenstein
John Hrashey	J. B. Lewis
John Hubatka	J. Vance Lewis
A. J. Hubuckas	Thos. Lewis
T. C. Hughes	J. S. Lindsley
Wm. Hulycha	Joseph Linton
Geo. G. Hunt	S. N. Logan
I. M. Huntsman	Edward Lowe
N. Z. Hurd	J. J. Lowe
T. R. Hurd	J. N. Lund
E. F. Hutchinson	Chas. E. Mach
Arthur Hyde	A. E. Macy
Frank Inglis	James C. Mann

Jesse Markland
Ed. Markwell, Jr.
W. Markwell
W. S. Marshall
J. F. Martin
D. H. Martindale
Ben Massey
F. M. Maxey
R. W. McAdams
N. D. McCarn
J. C. McCarney
E. L. McCawes
J. M. McClung
S. E. McConnell
T. McConnell
Wm. McCoy
Jas. McCrahanan
G. C. McCutchen
Wm. G. McGee
Chas. McGoughey
John McKee
A. McMaster
Wm. McMullin
John McNeish
Sam McPherson
B. F. Meeks
B. F. Meek
N. N. Meller
A. Meyer
C. W. Meyers
B. J. Miller
F. O. Miller
M. S. Miller
N. N. Miller
Wm. T. Miller
S. J. Milligan
B. C. Minor
Geo. Misner
G. A. Mitchell
H. B. Mitchell
W. W. Mitchell
O. A. Mitscher
F. H. Morgan
Phillip Monroe
W. A. Monroe
Wm. H. Monroe
R. A. Moore
Jacob Morris
L. Morris
A. Morrison
H. H. Mullins
M. G. Murall
John Muranzky
Sam Murphy
Sam Murphey
Dan T. Murray
J. M. Nanson
Fred Neal
J. M. Nebolt
E. W. Nepes
S. R. Newel
T. J. Newel
G. H. Newey
J. W. Nicely
H. Nicholls
A. H. Niles
H. H. Niles
A. H. Ninard
N. I. Niswanger
S. C. F. Norman
Frank Novak
D. W. Olin
W. R. Orne
J. O'Rouke
J. B. Otto
E. Overholser
H. Overholser
R. L. Overstreet
J. E. Y. Owens
S. B. Owlender
Chas. H. Pack
G. W. Parker
W. D. Parker
J. G. Patson
G. Washington Pence
Walter Penney
S. P. Perkins
C. H. Peters
A. Pettyjohn
D. H. Phillips
I. N. Phillips
Frank Pickrel
R. Poplin
A. L. Price
E. B. Pugh
H. M. Py;es [sic]
Lutte F. Pyles
J. J. Queenan
S. D. Queenan
Jim Rae
John Ragon
Robert J. Ray
Ray S. Reagon
W. H. Rean
Charles Redenbauch
Geo. H. Remington
C. F. Renlor
Jas. Reughon
Albert Rey
Jim Reynolds
J. N. Reynolds
J. W. Rheudy
C. L. Rhodes
P. Rhodes
F. C. Rice
C. G. Richach
Will Rickets
Maurice Rider
A. H. Rimes
Chas. R. Rivian
D. W. Roberts
T. B. Roberts

- Wm. Roe
 J. B. Rolater
 J. C. Romick
 B. B. Ros
 F. P. Ross
 Geo. Ross
 C. W. Routh
 Charlie Rowley
 Henry Rowley
 R. Ruffin
 J. A. Ruhl
 William Ruse
 John Ruzichey
 J. A. Ryan
 H. W. Sawyer
 Louis Scheider
 W. C. Schultz
 Rudolph Schwartz
 John Schwrippather
 John Scwoppacher
 F. C. Seiger
 J. R. Scoot [sic]
 F. E. Scott
 H. C. Scott
 Joseph Scott
 W. P. Searks
 J. T. Seaton
 George Selby
 Oliver Shaw
 Victor Sherman
 Charles Shoney
 Frank Shorne
 A. Short
 A. A. Smith
 C. F. Smith
 Henry A. Smith
 H. H. Smith
 Joe Smith
 John C. Smith
 T. D. Smith
 Wm. Smith
 J. J. Spencer
 J. C. Spene
 S. G. Sperry
 W. H. Stamber
 W. H. Stamper
 J. W. Stanfield
 T. J. Starr
 F. Starzinger
 S. A. Steward
 J. H. Stophs
 Henry Story
 H. R. Stovall
 P. S. Stribling
 D. E. Strong
 John Stsothatte
 S. E. Stule
 Joseph Sventa
 Richmond H. Swaile
 Rudolph Swartz
 J. F. Swejkoosky
- J. A. Swope
 J. G. Tannor
 N. B. Taylor
 C. M. Terrill
 W. A. Thompson
 W. C. Thompson
 S. R. Thornberger
 J. W. Tindall
 C. A. Tomlin
 D. H. Torbett
 Carter Townley
 J. D. Troop
 Harmon Turk
 Herman Turk
 N. L. Turner
 Henry Tylor
 T. M. Upshaw
 J. H. Vance
 William Vance
 C. S. Vanderburg
 Ira Vandozer
 F. K. Vandrews
 Charley Vest
 W. A. Wade
 C. E. Wage
 Max H. Wagner
 A. G. Wall
 Wallace and Limbocker
 Eugene Wallace
 Frank G. Wallace
 J. Wallace
 James H. Wallace
 John Wallace
 W. V. Wallace
 John Wand
 Andrew Wardment
 J. G. Ware
 Samuel Warner
 Sig Warner
 Kellar Warren
 S. E. Warst
 W. A. Watkins
 T. J. Watson
 H. C. Way
 O. Weidwenhalt
 Andrew Wells
 H. L. Wells
 John Wells
 R. W. Wells
 J. J. Wetzel
 J. C. Whaley
 J. B. Wheeler
 J. H. Wheeler
 G. W. White
 John I. White
 F. P. Whitesides
 A. A. Whitson
 A. W. Whitson
 Jas. Whittaker
 F. A. Wiese
 John Wilkerson

H. Will	Thos. E. Winningham
Isaac Williams	C. A. Winslow
J. C. Williams	W. J. Wolds
Jerry Williams	David Wolfe
M. J. Williams	A. B. Woodruff
R. H. Williams	W. J. Woods
T. C. Williams	Frank Woolf
W. P. Williams	E. T. Word
T. W. Williamson	G. T. Wright
William Wills	D. P. Writhe
J. H. Wilson	J. H. Wyatte
W. H. Winebrenner	J. T. Wyatte
J. D. Winkle	C. S. Yates
A?L. Winn [sic]	Geo. T. Young
N. Winnenpaugh	Joseph Young

NOTES ON THE McCracken Homestead and Others East of Tinker Field

Mr. E. M. Sellers, publisher of the Capitol Hill *Beacon*, who contributed the necrology on the late Walter Thomas McCracken appearing in this issue of *The Chronicles*, has given the following notes on the homestead of Mr. McCracken's father, Jesse McCracken, in present Boone Township, east of the Tinker Field area, Midwest City:

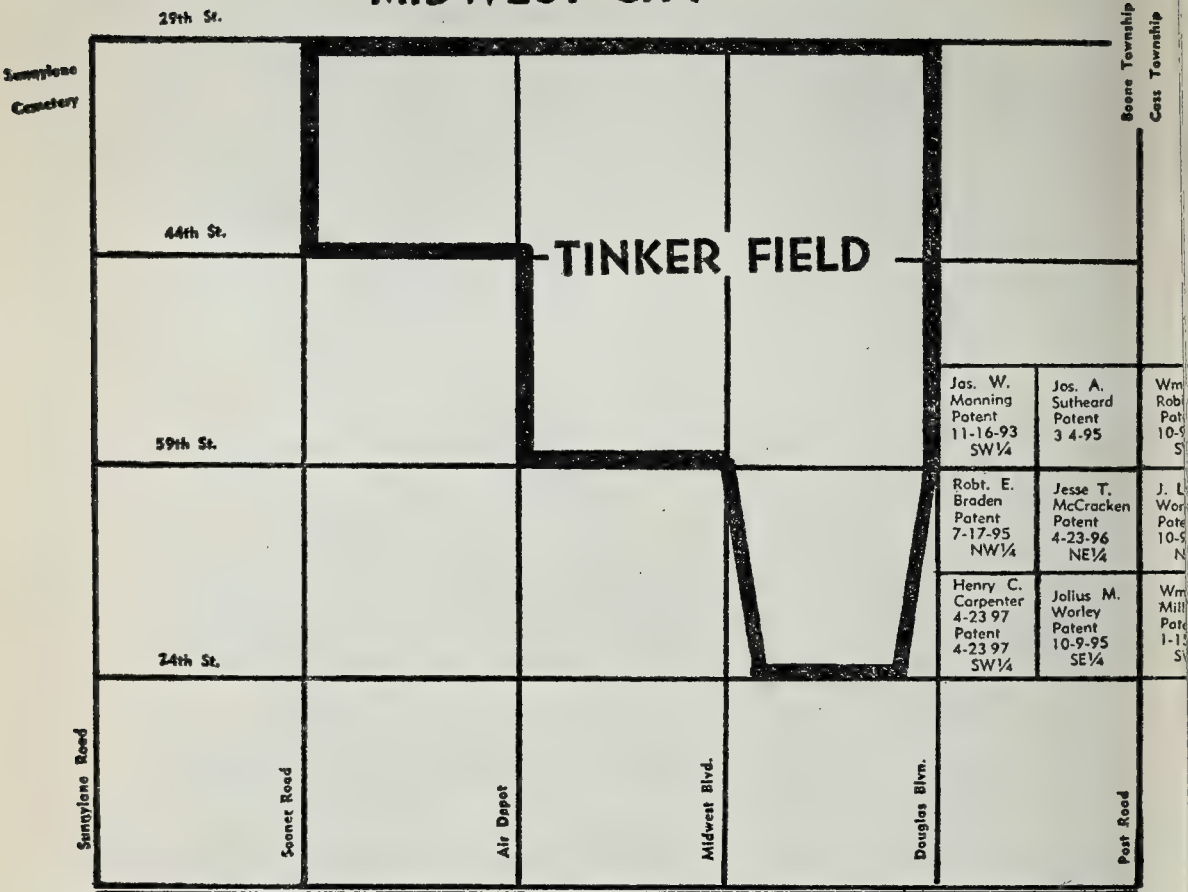
Here's what the County Clerk gave me pertaining to the records about the J. T. McCracken homestead. I prepared a map showing the juxtaposition of Tinker Field.

Talked with Almire Hogan, 528 S. W. 26, a daughter of the Carpenter shown on the plat. She's a mine of information. Recalls that McCracken and Braden 'traded places' at an early day altho records presently at the courthouse don't show it. Said that there were three 'living' 'springs' in the area, which showed why the settlers chose the land. Her father did not make the run, she said, but bought the right to the quarter-section for \$175. A Mr. Berge, who owned the land where Clear Springs school was located, bought out someone for a horse and saddle, and later proved up and got the patent in his name. Mrs. Hogan remembers four territorial schools in Boone Township as being Clear Springs, Round Top, Harmony and Log (or Boston).

QUARTER SECTIONS BORDERING AND CORNERING NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of
Section, Township 11 North, Range 2 West showing names of
persons to whom U. S. Government issued Homestead
Patents and Dates of same.¹

¹ These notes on the location of the homestead of J. T. (Jesse) McCracken and those of his neighbors in Boone and Cass townships, as well as the map shown here, were secured from Mr. Sellers by Mrs. Louise Cook of the Newspaper Department in the Society, who lives on Sunnyslane Road, Del City.—Ed.

MIDWEST CITY



Cleveland County

ISLAND PLAT

Plat showing homestead of Jesse McCracken, 1889, and his neighbors, east of present Tinker Field.

OKLAHOMA COUNTY, OKLAHOMA

Township No. 11 (Boone)

Range 2 W of Indian Meridian

Manning, Jas. W.

(Patent issued November 16, 1893) S W 1/4

Sutheard, Jos. A.

(Patent issued March 4, 1895) S E 1/4

Braden, Robert E.

(Patent issued July 17, 1895) N W 1/4

McCracken, Jesse

(Patent issued April 23, 1896) N E 1/4

Carpenter, Henry C.

(Patent issued April 23, 1897) S W 1/4

Worley, Julius M.

(Patent issued Oct. 9, 1895) S E 1/4

Township No. 11 N (Cass)

Range 1 W of Indian Meridian

Robison, Wm. S.

(Patent issued October 9, 1895) S W 1/4

Worley, J. Luke

(Patent issued October 9, 1895) N W 1/4

Miller, Wm. A.

(Patent issued January 15, 1896) S W 1/4

A NOTE FROM HITCHCOCK, BLAINE COUNTY

The Blaine County Historical Society is one of the active county societies in the state, Miss Genevieve Seger having served as President for a number of years. One of the projects promoted during the Semi-Centennial of Oklahoma Statehood in 1957 was the preservation of history of the early towns and personalities of the County, by members of the Society. These papers as they were submitted were read at the meetings in the way of a program for the day or evening. By request, Mrs. Iris Smith, a member of the County Society from Hitchcock, sent her contribution to the Editorial Department, and this note on the history of her home town is presented here in The Chronicles:

GREETINGS FROM *HITCHCOCK* TO *OKLAHOMA*
ON HER 50TH BIRTHDAY

I am Hitchcock one of your small towns. I was established in August, 1901, about the center of Blaine County on the Enid- Waurika branch of the Rock Island railroad. I was named "Hitchcock" at the suggestion of Dennis F. Flynn, Delegate from Oklahoma Territory to Congress, in honor of Ethan Allen Hitchcock, U. S. Secretary of the Interior, 1898 to 1907. By Christmas there were dwellings, stores, saloons, churches, a bank and three doctors, one of whom stayed with me until his death nearly forty years later. The first post office at Hitchcock was established on October 12, 1901, with John W. Payne as postmaster.

Since my beginning, hundreds of businesses and thousands of people have come and gone in a continuous procession, leaving me only a tiny handful of each. Fire has almost destroyed me several times. I am old now, 56 years, and decrepit, but I am still alive. I have my school, one of the first Consolidated schools in the state, and three churches. In the past four years my people have paved more than half my streets and built me a fine new grain elevator which rises high into the air and announces to the world that I am still here.

I am surrounded on all sides by the most beautiful sight of all—rolling fields of green wheat, which mean Life to me. But it is only three miles to the hill country and beautiful scenery of another kind. Cat Canyon and Salt Creek Canyon, sometimes called Pearl Canyon, are two of the better known.

Hoping for you, Oklahoma, a long and prosperous life,

I am yours,

Hitchcock

NECROLOGY

DR. FELIX W. BIRD

1872-1952

Dr. Felix W. Bird, a prominent citizen of Le Flore County, Oklahoma, was born at Sheridan, Arkansas, November 23, 1872. Left an orphan at the age of seven, he lived on a farm in Central Arkansas until 1889 when at the age of sixteen he came to Cameron, Eastern Indian Territory where he grew up with the country, playing an important part in its development and leading in the political and civic life of the Territory, State and community.

Dr. Bird often said that the only thing of value which he brought with him to his new home was an old blue-back speller which figured prominently in his early-day education and still a treasured possession at the time of his death.

He did varied work in the Cameron area until 1891, when he became associated with Dr. Gray, a famous pre-statehood physician in the area. Dr. Bird was graduated from Barnes Medical College, St. Louis, Missouri, and practiced medicine for a short time with the late Dr. S. B. Ragon, at McCurtain. In 1896, in partnership with the late George B. Noble, these two men bought and operated drug stores in several towns of the State: Cameron in 1896; Waldron in 1900; and Poteau, 1899-1910 and there again in 1932-1946.

Dr. Bird is credited with the formation of the first political organization, of any size, ever formed in what is now Le Flore County, Oklahoma, despite the fact that in Indian Territory white men (except those with Indian wives) did not have a vote. Cleveland and Hendricks were the nominees of the National Democratic Party at that time, and Dr. Bird formed a club of four hundred members who worked for their election.

He served in the Spanish-American War as Corporal, First Regiment Arkansas Volunteer Infantry, Company D, at Camp George H. Thomas, Atlanta, Georgia, and was discharged in 1898. During the two world wars, he was active in home-front activities. In World War I, he served on the draft board, was county chairman of the home-service section of the American Red Cross and was active in Liberty Bond drives. During World War II, he served as chairman of the important county rationing board and prior to that, as County Administrator of the Works Progress Administration.

About 1910, he entered the real estate and farm loan business, opening the Poteau Abstract Company. Later he bought the Guaranty Abstract Company and in 1928, bought the Emerson Burns Abstract business, and combined them into the Le Flore County Abstract Company. He and his brother-in-law, C. R. Gatewood, were operating this company, the Bird Insurance Agency, and the Poteau Realty Company, at the time of his death.

He served two terms as mayor of Poteau, 1919-1921, resigning shortly after election for a third term; was president of the local school board in 1934 and 1935; and helped to organize Poteau's first school which was located on the site of the present high school



Dr. Felix W. Bird

building. He served at different times as a representative in the State legislature, city clerk, water commissioner, councilman, and at the time of his death, was a member of the county excise board.

Dr. Bird was a Mason, and one of his proudest possessions was a fifty-year pin awarded him by the Poteau Masonic Lodge. He was also a Shriner, a charter member of Poteau's Rotary Club, and a member of the Methodist Church.

On December 3, 1903, Dr. Bird married the former Kate Gatewood at Vinita, Oklahoma, the Reverend M. L. Butler officiating. His wife survives him

He died on February 17, 1952, at the age of 79 years, in a Poteau hospital, following an operation. His death was unexpected and so a greater shock and sadness to his many friends in this community. Funeral services were conducted at the First Methodist Church in Poteau, by the Reverend W. S. Vanderpool, with interment in Oakland Cemetery. The business and professional firms of Poteau closed for the service, attesting the love and respect of the community in which Dr. Bird had lived for more than sixty-two years.

His character was strongly marked by the courage, honor and moral integrity which characterized the early settlers of the State. A nobler and worthier tribute to his memory cannot be paid than that it receives the sorrow of his surviving family and friends.

—Emma Gatewood Samuel

Pryor, Oklahoma

ROBERT HARRISON WOOD

1887-1956

Robert Harrison Wood, a pioneer oil man, died April 3, 1956 at Tulsa. Born in Wallaceburg, (now called Blevins) Arkansas March 20, 1887, he was the oldest brother of a pioneer Oklahoma family consisting of nine children. His father, Virgil Andrew Wood, M. D.,¹ participated in several of Oklahoma's land runs, and finally homesteaded at Enid. He was the first county physician of Garfield County, and was also one of Oklahoma's earlier territorial legislators, having been elected a member of the fifth Territorial Legislature. Robert H. Wood was named for his father's brother, Robert E. Wood, another Oklahoma pioneer, who was a member of the Seventh Territorial Legislature, as well as having been a first assistant Attorney General for the State of Oklahoma. Robert's family background was of the old South, for his parents were both born in Georgia, his father, the son of Confederate Soldier James R. Wood, born in South Carolina, and Mary Turner Wood, born in Georgia; his mother, Sarah Catherine Robins the daughter of Samuel H. Robins, born in Georgia, and Sarah Turner Robins, a South Carolinian. His great-grandparents Wood (her name was Anna) were both Virginians by birth.

As a small boy, Bob Wood made the trip to Oklahoma in a horse and wagon caravan with his family shortly after his doctor father made the run into Oklahoma Territory in 1889. The family lived at Norman, Enid, and subsequently Blackwell.

¹ Mrs. Robert H. Wood, "Virgil Andrew Wood, M. D.," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1956), pp. 302-14.

At the University of Oklahoma, Bob Wood was well known for his famous gridiron feat of running 110 yards for a touchdown. The following year football fields were standardized to the familiar 100 yards, making it difficult for this record to be duplicated. He was a charter member of Sigma Nu fraternity. Upon graduation in 1911, he was awarded a fellowship to Yale University. However, he entered the United States Geological Survey in Washington, D. C., where he met Lela Howard, whom he married March 14, 1917. She was the daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Walter E. Howard, of Washington, D. C., and was a member of Pi Beta Phi at George Washington University, as well as a graduate of the Washington College of Music.

In 1919 he moved to Tulsa, leaving the Geological Survey to become an independent consulting geologist. He was soon joined by his brother, the late Virgil O. Wood, and the two acted as consulting geologists before forming the larger partnership of Wood Brothers and the Broswood Oil Company. At this juncture, brothers Homa Wood, and later, Dudley A. Wood, were brought into the firm, and manage the business today. Robert H. Wood was president of Broswood Oil Company until his death.

Robert H. Wood left a widow, Lela Howard Wood, and two sons. The older son, H. Robert Wood, is a graduate of Stanford University, where he was president of Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity; the second son, Harold S. Wood, is a Cornell University graduate, where he was a member of Phi Delta Theta fraternity. Both are Tulsa business men. Other survivors include two grandchildren, Barbara and Paula Wood, the daughters of H. Robert Wood. The Robert H. Woods' youngest child, daughter Ailene, a graduate of Randolph-Macon College, Lynchburg, Virginia, where she was vice-president of Pi Beta Phi sorority, and later the wife of Jack Hudson McMinn, who died in San Francisco in 1953.

Other survivors are two brothers, Homa Wood of Colorado Springs, and Dudley A. Wood, of Tulsa; three sisters, Mrs. Fred Smith (Edna Earl Wood), of Norman, Mrs. Leonard Hawn (Okla Wood, the twin of Homa), of Long Beach, California, and Mrs. Garrett Bolyard (Verda Wood) of Oklahoma City. His slate brother and sisters, all pioneers of Oklahoma, and who all attended the University of Oklahoma, were Mrs. A. G. Wood (Beulah Wood), who incidently, was the first co-ed to matriculate at the University of Oklahoma; Mrs. Don A. Rose (Minnie Wood); and Virgil O. Wood.

In Tulsa, Robert H. Wood was well-known and loved as a civic and church leader. He was a deacon and later an elder of the First Presbyterian Church; President of the Tulsa Geological Society, and later an officer in the Regional Society; President of the Knife and Fork Club; and a member of the Tulsa School Board for many years. He was a member of the Board of Directors of the Tulsa Boys' Home; the Rotary Club; the American Association of Petroleum Geologists; the Independent Petroleum Association of America; and the Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association. He was one of the originators and the first treasurer of the Tulsa Petroleum Club; a member of the Union Board of the University of Oklahoma, and of the O. U. Alumni Association; a 32nd degree Mason; and a Life Member of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Bob Wood had a genial and amiable disposition which made him hosts of friends. As the oldest brother of his family, it might be said that he led the way to another of the Wood family's ties to the state of Oklahoma, namely the record of being the family with the greatest



Robert Harrison Wood

number of members having attended the University of Oklahoma, thirty-two having been matriculated. Through his large family and many friends, his spirit and influence will long be felt. Robert H. Wood was a leader and pioneer both in the oil industry and in the state of Oklahoma.

Mrs. H. Robert Wood.

Tulsa, Oklahoma

WALTER THOMAS McCracken

1884-1957

Walter Thomas McCracken, prominent pioneer, civic leader and Churchman of Oklahoma City, died at Polyclinic hospital, Oklahoma City, August 24, 1957, at the age of seventy-three years. Funeral services were conducted at the Capitol Hill Methodist church with the Reverend Grady Ross and J. Frank Graham, former pastors, officiating.

Walter McCracken was born March 23, 1884, on the Smith Paul farm near Pauls Valley, Oklahoma. The only son of J. T. McCracken and Malinda Wilson McCracken.² His parents with six little daughters made the trip by covered-wagon from Eureka Springs, Arkansas, and settled on the farm in February, 1884, one month before Walter's birth. His father made the run in 1889 and staked a claim southeast of Oklahoma City known as Clear Springs; he returned to his home on the Smith Paul farm for his family, leaving one of the little girls buried in the old Cemetery in Pauls Valley.

Mr. McCracken was born and reared by Christian parents. His father donated an acre of ground for a church but the permanent building was never built. The acre remained virgin soil and while waiting for the church building a brush arbor was erected where church services were held by the Methodist circuit riders. His father helped build the first school at Clear Springs, Oklahoma, (later called Mishak) where his son and two daughters attended school, Walter finishing the seventh grade.

Ambitious and wanting to go on with his education, he enrolled in the public schools in Oklahoma. Walter was a charter member of the Jeffersonian Debating Society at Irving High School, and had the distinction of being a member of the first graduating class of old "Irving High," having completed his studies under the direct leadership of Judge Edgar S. Vaught, then Superintendent of Oklahoma City schools and now (1958) retired United States District Judge of Western Oklahoma. Later, after continuing his education, Mr. McCracken was principal of public schools at Jones, Choctaw, Harrah and Moore.

On September 1, 1909, Mr. McCracken was united in marriage to Dollie May Brown, daughter of Reverend E. J. Brown, one of the Methodist circuit riders who had served Clear Spring, Sunny Lane and other little Methodist churches in the Methodist Conference of Oklahoma Territory. To this union was born four children: Mildred McCracken Crossley, Oklahoma City; Wilson Walter McCracken, Guthrie; and the twins, Lawrence McCracken, Oklahoma City and Laurene McCracken Needham, Tulsa. On November 30, 1914, Mrs. Mc-

² See Notes and Documents this number of *The Chronicles* for note on McCracken Homestead, p. 99.—Ed.

Cracken died at the birth of the twins. Mr. McCracken soon gave up his teaching in the public schools and entered into a new career.

On December 24, 1916, he was united in marriage to Miss Maude Hill, who was also a public school teacher. Three children blessed this union. Edmond Clarence, Thomas Creal and Donald Ray. Edmond and Thomas died in infancy. Donald lives in Oklahoma City.

Mr. McCracken was Superintendent of Sunny Lane Cemetery for more than a quarter of a century. In his capacity as superintendent and presiding over burials, he really lived the philosophy of Sam Foss: "Let me live by the side of the road and be a friend to man." His church, Capitol Hill Methodist, took priority. He ably served in every capacity in the Church open to a layman, twice elected delegate from the Oklahoma Methodist Conference to represent the State at the Methodist Jurisdictional Conference.

For many years, he was an active member of the Capitol Hill Chamber of Commerce, serving in 1933 as president. His advice and counsel were especially valuable to the group when it staged the big 89'er parade every year. He was in charge of the 89'er section of the parade, and rounded up the old timers and the old-time pieces such as surreys, chuck-wagons, buggies and the hearse. He was also the Master of Ceremony at the Chamber's annual dinner for 89'ers whose ranks diminished every year.

On April 23, 1958, at the 89'er Day observance by the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. McCracken was honored for the work he had done in this community. His pastor, Dr. Alva R. Hutchinson, was chosen to pay tribute to Walter McCracken, the mutual friend of all present. He received many words of praise and gifts at this meeting. He was also an honorary member of the Capitol Hill Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The McCrackens lived in the house at the Sunny Lane Cemetery, of which he was in charge until just a few months before his passing. During his last illness, the family moved back to their home in Capitol Hill. He was laid to rest in Sunny Lane Cemetery in the McCracken family plot. Walter Thomas McCracken has left his host of friends with memories of a good life well spent for us and the future generations to observe and follow. Besides his widow, children and grandchildren, he leaves three sisters, Mrs. Jessie Hogan, Mrs. Mary Jane Shirley and Mrs. Frank Trosper all of Oklahoma City.

—E. M. Sellers

Capitol Hill Beacon
Oklahoma City



Walter McCracken

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING,
THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, THE OKLAHOMA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING
JANUARY 23, 1958

On January 23rd, 1958, at 10:00 a. m., the regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held in the Board of Directors room of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

President Wm. S. Key called the meeting to order and the following members answered present to roll call: Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mrs. G. L. Bowman, Mr. Kelly Brown, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge J. G. Clift, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. Exall English, Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Judge N. B. Johnson, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Gen. Wm. S. Key, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, Col. George H. Shirk, and Judge Baxter Taylor.

Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that those requesting to be excused from this meeting be granted same. The motion was seconded by Miss Genevieve Seger, and the following members were excused: Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mrs. Willis C. Reed, and Judge Edgar S. Vaught.

Judge Baxter Taylor moved to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting. Mr. Henry Bass seconded the motion, and it was unanimously carried.

A reading of the minutes of the past two Executive Committee meetings, held on November 5, 1957 and January 7, 1958, was requested by Dr. Emma Estill Harbour. These were read by the Administrative Secretary.

Items acted on by the Executive Committee as set forth in the reading were: that all employees of the Oklahoma Historical Society be required to work approximately forty hours per week; that the Administrative Secretary be authorized to schedule the working hours of the staff, within the forty hour maximum, and the Museums and the Library remain open until 4:30 p. m. on all days except Saturdays and Sundays; accepted the recommendation of the Administrative Secretary that Mr. William J. Dale be placed on the staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society as Chief Curator; that the expenses of Mr. Dale for a week's study and observation at the Kansas and Nebraska Historical Societies be authorized; requiring that all out-of-state travel expenses by staff members have prior authorization by the Executive Committee; that all expenses for in-state travel by the staff have prior authorization of the Administrative Secretary; recommending compliance with the Attorney General's ruling that all Special Fund monies of the Oklahoma Historical Society be placed with the Treasurer of the State of Oklahoma; providing that \$3,500.00 be made available out of the Special Fund for hiring additional employees for the Microfilm Department from other department budgets; approving action of the Publication Board and the Editor of The Chronicles in requesting cancellation of the present printing contract for The Chronicles; that Mrs. Elsie D. Hand, who has been absent from duty

most of the time for the past ninety days, because of illness, be retired from the staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society with one month's pay; that the Administrative Secretary be authorized to purchase two new water coolers.

Dr. Harbour raised the question of proper procedure in the hiring of staff personnel by action of the Executive Committee.

After considerable discussion, Mr. Miller moved that the Board of Directors approve all actions taken by the Executive Committee at its meetings of November 5, 1957 and January 7, 1958. The motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and carried.

Dr. Wayne Johnson moved that the action retiring Mrs. Elsie D. Hand from the staff with one month's pay be reconsidered. The motion was lost for want of a second.

Stating that he felt that the recommendation of the Executive Committee had already been approved, Mr. Henry Bass called for another vote reaffirming the previous action. The motion was put and carried, with Dr. L. Wayne Johnson requesting that the minutes show that he opposed the part retiring Mrs. Elsie D. Hand.

The Administrative Secretary presented a list of new members and a list of gifts. Miss Genevieve Seger moved and Dr. Estill Harbour seconded that the new members and the gifts be accepted. The motion carried.

Two copies of the Garvin County History, commemorating the Centennial Celebration of Pauls Valley, was presented to the Society by Mr. Joe Curtis.

Mr. Kelly Brown presented to the Society the first telephone installed in Oklahoma, which was at Ft. Gibson. This gift was made by Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, of Muskogee, a member of the Board of Directors, who was unable to be present.

Appreciation for the gifts from Mr. Curtis and Mr. Mountcastle was expressed by Gen. Key, on behalf of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Judge Taylor spoke briefly in welcoming Mrs. G. L. Bowman to the Board of Directors, expressing appreciation for her having consented to fill out the unexpired term of her late husband, Judge G. L. Bowman. Gen. Key also welcomed Mrs. Bowman to membership on the Board, with the assurance that all members of the Board would enjoy working with her.

The report of the Microfilm Committee was presented in writing by Mr. Milt Phillips, since it was necessary for him to leave the meeting prior to making the report. The report was read by the Administrative Secretary, and is attached hereto and made a part of these minutes.

Both Gen. Key and Judge R. A. Hefner remarked on the outstanding success that was being made in the Microfilm Department, under the leadership of Chairman Phillips. The Board gave a vote of thanks to Mr. Phillips and the Microfilm Committee.

Col. George H. Shirk reported that one meeting had already been held on the Historic Sites Committee. He pointed out that most of the money appropriated by the Legislature for carrying on the activities of the Historic Sites work would probably be spent in making a state

wide survey of historic places and structures that should be preserved. He observed that the work of the Historic Sites Committee would be greatly facilitated in that Mr. Dale had joined the Historical Society staff, and would carry on the major part of the field work.

It was pointed out by Col. Shirk that 1958 is the Centennial year of the Butterfield Overland Mail Route. He moved that the Oklahoma Historical Society offer every assistance in the activities commemorating this famous mail route. The motion was seconded by Judge Baxter Taylor and carried.

The itinerary of the Annual Oklahoma Historical Society Tour was outlined by Mr. Miller, Tour Chairman. He stated that the dates for the 1958 Tour were May 1, 2, and 3. The Tour is to be made in the southwestern part of the State. He said that headquarters for the Tour would be in the Quartz Mountain State Park Lodge, where the tripsters would spend two nights. Mr. Thomas Harrison moved that the Board adopt Mr. Miller's report and authorize him to proceed with completion of plans for the Tour. Second was made by Miss Genevieve Seger and unanimously carried when put.

President Key called attention to the expiration of the term of office for five members of the Board of Directors: Mr. Exall English, Dr. James D. Morrison, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Mrs. Willis C. Reed, and Mr. Kelly Brown. It was moved by Dr. Harbour and seconded by Judge Taylor that these Directors be reelected for another term. The motion was carried unanimously.

At this time, Gen. Key reminded the Board that he had tendered his resignation as President of the Society, and expressed the wish that it be accepted at this meeting.

Judge Taylor stated that he expressed the sentiments of the entire Board in urging Gen. Key to reconsider his resignation. Gen. Key replied that he appreciated the kind attitude of the Board, but that his resignation was final:

"The decision to take this action has been difficult to make because of my deep interest in the Society and my affectionate regard for its Directors, Officers and Staff. However, I find it necessary to curtail somewhat my outside activities. Therefore, I am reluctantly retiring as President of the Society and from some of my other civic and public responsibilities.

"No greater honor than the Presidency of this Society has ever been conferred upon me. I will cherish my association with it and its fine officers and Directors with whom I have been privileged to serve as one of the proudest achievements of my career.

"For the time being, I hope to continue as a Director of the Society, a position I have held for more than thirty years, and will endeavor to attend Board meetings as often as possible. I pledge my continued devotion to the Society and my humble support of its program."

At that point, Gen. Key excused himself from the Chair, and Judge Redmond S. Cole, First Vice-President, took over as Chairman.

Mr. Miller moved that Gen. Key be requested to retain the Presidency of the Society until the April 24 meeting and that a Nominating Committee of five be appointed by the Chair to make recommendations to the Board for a successor to Gen. Key, in the event he

still declined to serve. The motion was seconded by Judge Taylor and unanimously carried.

Gen. Key, upon his return to the room and the Chair, expressed sincere thanks to the members of the Board for the confidence they had shown him in requesting him to remain as President. He stated that he would bow to their wishes and remain as President until April 24th, but that under no conditions could he serve longer than that date.

It was moved by Judge J. G. Clift that the election of all officers of the Society be deferred until the April 24th meeting. The motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and carried without objection.

The Board unanimously approved the placing of the portrait of Dr. G. A. Nichols in the portrait gallery of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

It was brought to the attention of the Board by Dr. Johnson that more than \$200,000.00 had been granted to the Comanche County Historical Society for the purpose of erecting a building for that organization. Mr. Exall English commented that this was a great boost for the preservation of history in his home county. Dr. Johnson moved that the President of the Oklahoma Historical Society write to the officials of the Comanche County Society congratulating them on the gift of money they were receiving for the erection of a historical museum building. This motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and carried.

Judge Redmond S. Cole announced the following Board members as the Nominating Committee to make suggestions for a successor to Gen. Key as President of the Society: Judge Robert A. Hefner, Chairman, Mr. R. G. Miller, Mr. Thomas Harrison, Dr. E. E. Dale, and Mrs. G. L. Bowman.

There being no further business to come before the meeting, it was moved by Judge Baxter Taylor and seconded by Judge N. B. Johnson that the meeting be adjourned. The motion was put and carried at 12:15 p. m.

Gen. Wm. S. Key, President

Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED:

LIBRARY:

U. S. Geological Survey. Bulletin, *Spirit leveling in Oklahoma, 1895-1812; Cherokee Laws, 1892.*

Donor: J. B. Moore, Tyler, Texas.

Official Army Register, 1953, Vol. 1. U. S. Army-Active and Retired Lists, Sooners In The War, 1919, U. S. Official Postal Guide, 1928, U. S. Military Academy. Register of graduates, 1802-1955, Industrial College of The Armed Forces, (Washington, D. C. Publications, 1956-1958.

Donor: Col. George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Several issues of *The Chronicles Of Oklahoma.*

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

MUSEUM:

Pictures

Two photo copies of water colors of Ft. Sill in 1877.

Donor: Gillette Griswold, Director of the Museum at Ft. Sill.

Lawton and Ft. Sill Electric Railway.

Donor: Charles D. Hess, 413 S. 7th St., Goshen 4, Ind.

Orion Eli Mohler.

Donor: Mrs. Troy Brown, Tampa 4, Florida.

Military Service Certificate of Lewis J. Darnell.

Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman.

Street Scene in Tulsa, Curry Home in Stigler, Indians at the 101 Ranch

Donor: Mrs. Clinton W. Nuzum, 118 S. Dunlap St., Viroquus, Wis.

Governor T. B. Ferguson (large framed photograph)

Donor: Mrs. Walter Ferguson and Benton Ferguson.

Cheyenne Mission Souvenir (booklet of Indian pictures)

Donor: Mrs. Rodolphe Petter, Lame Deer, Montana.

Rachel Wright; Rev. D. Jesse Green Ballard; George Louis Morris;
Jesse Green Roberts and wife.

Donor: Mrs. Margaret Morris, 519 W. Woodson, El Reno, Okla.

Exhibits

Machine to create artificial lightening.

Donor: Carl G. Lund, 2717 N. W. 17th St., Oklahoma City, Okla.

Trinket box, made from a teak wood desk from the Battleship
Oklahoma; Rattle bones; Newspaper clipping.

Donor: Bruce E. Harlow.

Wedding dress, Silk Mull dress, White satin slippers.

Donor: Mrs. Wm. Schofield, 6618 Hillcrest, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Document: Service record of Greenberry Morris.

Donor: Mrs. Margaret Morris, 519 W. Woodson, El Reno, Okla.

Old Post Office cancellation stamp: Tulon, Okla.

Donor: George Shirk, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Flag, Banner used by G. A. R. Post, Letter file of Grant Post #1, G. A. R. General Orders file, 13 G. A. R. Programs, 6 copies Headquarters *News*, 4 copies addresses of G. A. R. officials, Badges G. A. R. Convention, 10 G. A. R. reports, List of commanders of Dept. of Okla. 1890-1932, G. A. R. Rosters, Constitution and By Laws of the G. A. R., G. A. R. Convention Banner, 11 copies Grand Army Journals, 96 copies Bugle Call, official magazine of the G. A. R. Ladies.

Donor: Mrs. C. L. West, 2807 Classen Blvd., Oklahoma City, Okla.

UNION MEMORIAL ROOM:

Walnut floor lamp

Donor: The Daughters of Union Veterans

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS

Lackey, Prentice Caldwell	Altus, Oklahoma
Mitchell, Helen	Anadarko, Oklahoma
Goins, J. I.	Ardmore, Oklahoma
Mullen, Joseph Sylvester	" "
Reid, Dr. James Roger	" "
Calhoon, Dr. Ed. L.	Beaver, Oklahoma
Logsdon, Guy William	Burbank, Oklahoma
Baker, Roy	Duncan, Oklahoma
Browder, Charles McFall	" "
Brown, S. Conger	" "
Cund, Mrs. Ruby Mae	" "
Duncan, William T.	" "
Fuqua, Nolan J.	" "
Galloway, Herwin C.	" "
Garvin, Harold T.	" "
Graham, Charles C.	" "
Henderson, Guy O. Sr.	" "
Johnson, Marion W.	" "
Kiester, Mrs. Kenneth	" "
Merrill, William Claude	" "
Norris, George	" "
Mosley, J. V.	" "
Oaks, A. B.	" "
Patton, Roy Butler	" "
Perkins, William H.	" "
Ryan, Frank	" "
Tarwater, R. W.	" "
Woolsey, J. L.	" "
Wood, Dion C.	" "
Young, Robert L.	" "
Cromwell, J. Lee	Enid, Oklahoma
Garrett, Mrs. C. W.	Fort Gibson, Oklahoma
Kennedy, Mrs. Noby Grace	Geary, Oklahoma
Seitter, Grace Mae	" "
Rhoades, Dorothy, Mrs.	Lawton, Oklahoma
Young, Mrs. R. A.	Lone Grove, Oklahoma
York, Mrs. J. F.	Madill, Oklahoma
Byerley, George Merwyn	Oklahoma City, Okla.
Dallas, Mrs. B. F.	" "
Harlan, Ross	" "
MacDonald, G. C.	" "
Tway, Jack Cartlich	" "
Webber, Lelia Vesta, Mrs.	" "
Wuestenberg, Mrs. A. W.	" "
Rennie, M. A. Fred	Pauls Valley, Oklahoma
Hunt, Albert B.	Stigler, Oklahoma
Carlson, Mr. & Mrs. C. G.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Ahrens, Henry Shaw	Wagoner, Oklahoma
Bowles, Nell Rene	Stockton, California
Percefull, Sabin C.	Englewood, Colorado
Smith, Earl L.	Sebring, Florida
Stapp, Mrs. E. M. Jr.	Lawrencevill, Illinois
Wheeler, Mrs. Eva L.	Shreveport, Louisiana
Murray, Carl Y.	Joplin, Missouri
Lambden, Mrs. Faye	Charlotte, No. Carolina
Lowenstern, Morris, H.	Amarillo, Texas
Massey, Mrs. Joe	Mulshoe, Texas
McGahey, Mrs. Lula	Alexandria, Virginia
Case, Mrs. Lee F.	Alderwood Mannor, Wash.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

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Summer, 1958

Volume XXXVI

Number 2

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Cover: The photograph of the Historical Society Building shown on the cover design was taken looking southeast from the south entrance of the Oklahoma State Capitol, showing the oil well that operated on the Historical Society grounds for many years but is now removed.

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, General William S. Key has long been a commanding figure in the history of Oklahoma, having made great contributions to the civic and cultural life of the State; and

WHEREAS, he has for many years been affiliated with the Oklahoma Historical Society as a member of the Board of Directors, during which time he has given devoted and diligent service to the development and progress of the Society; and

WHEREAS, for the past ten years as President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, he has been the guiding spirit in promoting the activities and accomplishments of the Society to a place of eminence and respect among the learned associations of our nation; and

WHEREAS, General Key has answered any and all calls to assist the Society in the fulfillment of its obligations, as trustee of the State, in preserving the historical materials of our Commonwealth and in disseminating information concerning the history of Oklahoma; and

WHEREAS, this man has not only helped to see that the history of Oklahoma is preserved, but has, himself, been a maker of history in both war and peace; now

THEREFORE, be it resolved by the members of the Oklahoma Historical Society in annual meeting assembled on this 24th day of April, 1958, that we do hereby express our deep and profound appreciation to General William S. Key for the great service he has rendered to the people of Oklahoma through his activities as a tireless worker and as an inspirational leader in the Oklahoma Historical Society; and be it

FURTHER resolved that, while looking forward to continued association with him in the future work of the Society, we do herewith express our most sincere good wishes to him and pray for God's richest blessings to attend him through the years to come.

—Adopted by the Members of the Oklahoma Historical Society in its Annual Meeting, June 24, 1958

NEW OFFICERS OF THE
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

By Elmer L. Fraker

“What manner of man is he?” This question often is asked concerning a man who has distinguished himself in some particular field, or fields, yet has remained modest and unassuming. Such is the case of Colonel George H. Shirk, newly elected President of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Colonel Shirk is an outstanding member of the bar, and a member of the firm of Withington, Shirk, Nichols, and Work, Oklahoma City. He was born in Oklahoma City on May 1, 1913, and has always maintained his residence in the city of his birth.

The new President of the Oklahoma Historical Society received his early education in the public schools of Oklahoma City, graduating from Central High School in 1930. His college work was done at the University of Oklahoma where he received his A. B. degree in 1935 and his L. L. B. in 1936. While at the University, he was a member of Phi Delta Phi, honorary legal fraternity, and Scabbard and Blade, honorary collegiate military order. His social fraternity is Phi Delta Theta.

Immediately after graduation, he was admitted to the bar and practiced law until called to active duty in the military forces in November of 1940. His initial military assignment, while holding the rank of First Lieutenant, was Adjutant of the R. O. T. C. unit at the University of Oklahoma. In August of 1941, he was promoted to Captain.

May of 1941 found him on duty in London, England at the newly formed headquarters of the United States Army. Here he was assigned to G-1 Section of the General Staff. Later he was detailed for duty with the General Staff Corps, and served in that headquarters throughout World War II. In March of 1945, he was promoted to full Colonel by General Dwight D. Eisenhower. For his distinguished military service, Colonel Shirk received the Legion of Merit, the bronze star medal, and was decorated by General Charles DeGaulle when created Chevalier of Legion of Honor.

Since the war, Colonel Shirk has been actively engaged in the practice of law with the side line of studying and writing history. His interest in history has led him into active membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society where he has served as a member of the Board of Directors since January

26, 1950. He has particularly distinguished himself as Chairman of the Historic Sites Committee which has done an outstanding piece of work in getting this new program of the Society in working order, as established by the last Legislature. In 1957, he was elected to the treasurership of the Historical Society. He became President when elected to this position by the Board of Directors on April 24, 1958.

Colonel Shirk is actively interested in many organizations and projects. He is a member of the Lutheran Church, a 32nd degree Mason, and member of India Temple, Royal Order of Jesters, life member of the University of Oklahoma Alumni Association, Past President Oklahoma Philatelic Society, and Colonel in the U. S. Army Reserve. His civic activities include service as Vice President of the Oklahoma City Safety Council; former member, Oklahoma City Police Commission; Chairman, Mayor's Citizen Committee on Civic Improvements; member, Mayor's Committee for Police Welfare Study; and member Drafting Committee, Mayor's Charter Commission, which resulted in creation of the present Oklahoma City Charter.

For First Vice President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, the Board of Directors chose H. Milt Phillips, a prominent and widely known native Oklahoman who is a veteran of both World War I and World War II. He is publisher of the *Seminole Daily Producer*, and has long been active in civic, veterans, and newspaper work.

Mr. Phillips has just completed a year as President of the University of Oklahoma Alumni Association, and is a former President of the Oklahoma Press Association. At present, he is serving as a member of the Oklahoma Turnpike Authority.

A man of unusual energy and decision, Mr. Phillips, down through the years, has served on innumerable boards and commissions of both public and private nature. Among the members of the newspaper profession he is known for his forthrightness, and this characteristic is made manifest in the pointed editorials he writes for his daily newspaper in Seminole.

Mr. Phillips has been a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society since January 6, 1950. He was a leader in helping secure the microfilming department for the Oklahoma Historical Society and has been largely instrumental in the development of this agency to one of importance among the Society's activities. He continues to serve as Chairman of the Microfilm Committee.

For Second Vice President, the Board reelected Judge Baxter Taylor, in point of service, Dean of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The accomplish-

ments and activities of Judge Taylor, as a member of the Board with the longest term of service, are well known. No man in Oklahoma has been more devoted, nor rendered greater service, to the promotion and welfare of the Oklahoma Historical Society than has Judge Baxter Taylor. He became a member of the Board in January of 1920.

Mrs. Edna Bowman of Kingfisher, was chosen by the Board of Directors to take the place of Colonel Shirk as Treasurer for the Society. Mrs. Bowman is well known as a leader in women's clubs and other similar activities. At the present time she is State Recording Secretary of PEO.

Mrs. Bowman became a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1957. She has, however, been closely connected with the Society for a great many years through the fact that her husband, the late Judge George L. Bowman, was a long time and distinguished member of the Board.

She is a native Oklahoman, having been born on a farm southwest of Kingfisher. She graduated from Kingfisher High School in 1924, and received her B. A. degree from the University of Oklahoma in 1928. For a time she was a student at Oklahoma City University and has done graduate work at the University of Colorado and at Columbia University. Among organizations to which Mrs. Bowman belongs are the order of the Eastern Star, Methodist-Congregational Church, Kappa Delta Pi, University of Oklahoma Alumni Association, Oklahoma Memorial Association, and PEO. Her social sorority is Alpha Chi Omega.

SADDLE MOUNTAIN MISSION AND CHURCH

By Hugh D. Corwin*

Miss Isabel Crawford

Isabel Crawford is the daughter of John Crawford and his wife who were both born in Ireland. John was a pure Scot of a very straight-laced Presbyterian family while his wife was reared as an Episcopalian. Early in life, he was converted to the Baptist belief, and when only fifteen years old preached his first sermon in London. After their marriage, Mr. and Mrs. Crawford moved to Cheltenham, a small village near Toronto, Canada. There Isabel Crawford was born in 1865. She moved in early childhood with her parents and two sisters, Emily and Fanny, to Woodstock where her father had been appointed a professor at the Canadian Literary Institute.

At the age of eleven, having been converted and baptised, she began to teach a Sunday School class which she recruited herself. The first Sunday she had five young urchins, one of them a Negro, whom she had collected from the streets of the town. At this early age she demonstrated the teaching ability and leadership which marked her whole missionary career.

At sixteen she moved to Rapid City, Manitoba, where her father established Prairie College. There she first came in touch with the Indians. Later she moved to St. Thomas, North Dakota, where her father was pastor, and again came to know the Indians and their need for the gospel.

In 1893, she graduated from the Baptist Missionary Training School in Chicago, and immediately came to Oklahoma Territory to begin work among the "wild, blanket" Indians. She was located at Elk Creek, among the Kiowas for three years, and then moved to Saddle Mountain where there were more Kiowas and the need greater. For ten years she labored at Saddle Mountain, leaving in 1906 to take a needed rest. Later, she took up organizational and platform work for the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society. In 1930, she had the misfortune to break a limb, and had to retire after thirty-seven years of intensive activities for the Indians of the United States.

Miss Crawford is now almost blind, but still retains her interest in the Indians of Saddle Mountain. She lives with her two nieces, the Misses Eva and Miriam Cline at 26 Nelles Boulevard, Grimsby, Ontario, Canada.

—Editor

The story of the Saddle Mountain Mission is the story of Miss Isabel Crawford, the young, dedicated Baptist Missionary

* Mr. Hugh D. Corwin is a retired business man of Lawton, Oklahoma. Interest and research in the history of Kiowa-Comanche Reservation days led to his contribution here on Saddle Mountain Mission for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. His sources used in this article include letters from Miss Isabel Crawford and her personal Diary and a scrapbook of clippings kept by her during ten years as a missionary at Saddle Mountain. Mr. Corwin is a director of the Comanche County Historical Society.—Ed.

to the Kiowas, who after graduating from the Baptist Missionary Training School in Chicago, in 1893, immediately came to the mission field starting at Elk Creek, near where Hobart, Oklahoma is now located.¹

The old Kiowa Chief, Lone Wolf, died in 1879, but before he passed away he "gave his name" to his nephew, who was thereafter known as Lone Wolf (Gui-Pah-Go). He is sometimes referred to, as the Younger Lone Wolf, but in this article we shall refer to him simply as "Lone Wolf." He made a speech to a group of missionaries in 1892, in which he said:

When the Great Spirit created the world he divided it into two great seasons—the warm and the cold. The warm season brings life and light; the grass springs up, the birds sing, there is growth and development to fruit, and joy, and gladness. The cold season brings death and desolation; the grass dies, the trees are bare, the fruits are gone, the animals become weak and poor, the very water turns hard; there is no joy, no growth, no gladness. You Christian white people are like the summer. You have life and warmth and light. You have flowers and fruit, growth and knowledge. We poor, wild Indians are like the winter. We have no growth, no knowledge, no joy, no gladness. Will you not share your summer with us? Will you not help us with light and life, that we may have joy and knowledge and eternal life hereafter?

This gives us a picture from the Indian's viewpoint of the sad condition of their lives. Into this picture came first, W. D. Lancaster and his wife who were doing independent mission work as lay workers among the Kiowas. In 1891 "Father" and Mrs. J. S. Murrow [of Atoka, Indian Territory], general missionaries of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, visited the area, and took with them Miss Mary E. Piepgras who was to establish a school for the Kiowas. In August of 1892, Miss Marietta J. Reeside, a young Baptist missionary came to the field of work at Elk Creek. She was joined a few months later by the Reverend and Mrs. G. W. Hicks, also Baptist missionaries, who transferred from the Wichita Mission, near the Anadarko Agency, to have charge of the Kiowa work at Elk Creek and Rainy Mountain.²

In her book, *The Kiowa*, Miss Crawford gives the following account of her trip to Elk Creek, in 1893, the railroad then being no nearer than Chickasha:³

After dining at Chickasha we drove the twenty miles to Anadarko, in a hack, put up at the hotel, where we slept three in a bed that sagged in the middle. I lay wedged in with my head where my feet should have been, thinking of the lines in Grey's *Elegy*, "Each in his narrow cell forever laid, the rude forefathers of the hamlet slept,"

¹ Saddle Mountain Mission is in Sec. 28, T. 5N., R. 14W., Kiowa County.

² Elk Creek Mission is in Sec. 27, T. 6N., R. 18W., southeast of Hobart, Kiowa County.

³ Isabel Crawford, *The Kiowa* (Fleming H. Revel Co., New York, 1915).

and I then and there decided that I'd sooner sleep with my forefathers than to get in such a tight box again. It was the week for the Indians to get their rations, so the whole town was full of them, greatly to our delight. Sitting in the little parlor of the hotel looking out of the window I saw an Indian pass, whose face at once attracted my attention. I spoke to the landlady about it and she said many of the Indians had good faces. In about half an hour Miss Given came and told us Lone Wolf was there and we must come out and see him. Imagine my surprise on being introduced to the same Indian whose face had impressed me so favorably. He met us very cordially, saying, "I am glad you come, some of my people not want you, I do—me will help you all I can—my people not hurt you—me glad—good."

Sunday we accompanied Dr. Morehouse, Elder Murrow and party to two Indian meetings. The first was held in Chief Komalt's [Komalty] tent, where about twenty five Indian men and women seated themselves upon quilts, spread upon the ground, to hear the "old old story," which to them was so new. Dr. Morehouse gave a sweet simple sermon, sentence by sentence, through an interpreter, at the close of which Elder Murrow asked all who would like to be prayed for to put up their hands. Ten dark hands were raised, Lone Wolf's and Big Tree's among the first. Then Elder Murrow introduced Miss Everts and myself, telling them that we did not want their money and would not injure their property in any way; we simply wanted to tell them about Jesus and help them in every way we could. He asked them to take good care of us. After we had both spoken and a hymn had been sung, the Indians came forward and offered their hands to us in welcome. Dinner was then spread under a great oak tree in full view of the booths upon which were hung great strips of raw beef, while all around where we sat were heads of cattle, tails, horns, ribs, feet and bones innumerable. When Komalty heard that we wanted a place to live in he offered to let us have his house as he lived in his tepee.

Miss Everts remained only one year and then went back to school. Miss Crawford did not find all the Indians receptive to the new way she was teaching. It was the Indian custom to enter a tent or tepee without invitation or without knocking, in fact nothing to knock on. On one occasion she entered an Indian tepee and the man ordered her out, threatening her with a knife. Within a year after, she heard he was sick and she went to see him. He was shivering with cold, holding his hands out feebly to the campfire, and told her through the interpreter he was sick and cold. She promised him warm clothing, having then not the least idea where it would come from, and asked to pray for him, to which he agreed. After praying with him she assured him, that while Jesus might not heal his poor eyesight, He could and would save his poor lost soul. Before she left he gave utterance to several long sentences which the interpreter said were prayers.

Miss Crawford writes, that one of their greatest troubles was getting food out from the stores, none of which were close by. She says, "You just can't imagine how awkward it is to be without a store. To try and help the meat situation, I

fished one day from 11 o'clock till 3 and never got a bite, and how I did learn to sympathize with our poor starving Indians."

By 1894, the Indians began to believe she was their friend and would receive her as if she was a Kiowa. After a short vacation that year she returned to the work and Lone Wolf killed a calf in honor of her return, but when a wash basin of watery soup with chunks of calf floating in it was served she just couldn't eat it, but had to turn away. The Indians were rather surprised when she came back to the work, and Little Bow told her that they had been praying she would return. He also sent a woman off to get a calf, but fortunately for Miss Crawford one could not be found.

She tells of the first death among the Indians who had become her close friends, and of their funerals and mourning:

At Komalty's camp a great cloud was threatening, when little Joseph Murrow, Komalty's baby, "passed through the portals to the land of the hereafter."

It is a custom of the Indians when a death occurs, the near relatives leave the camp, and go away for a year or so. Komalt did not want to leave his nice house so he took his child to Rainy Mountain to die. Tuesday morning October 10th, Mrs. Lancaster came to my window and said, "Little Joseph is dead, and they have sent his body over for Mr. Lancaster to bury." In a little trunk in the bottom of a covered hack, that contained everything the baby had owned, the lifeless body lay, while the stricken parents mourned their loss sixteen miles removed. After an early dinner, Mr. and Mrs. Lancaster and myself got into the hack, and accompanied by three Indians on horseback, drove to their burying ground. Scattered all about were the bleached bones of ponies that had been shot at their master's graves while the grave was being dug I decorated a door panel for a tombstone, painting a pure white calla lilly on it.

Next day the cradle, high chair and all things in the house that belonged to the baby were carried down to the timber and chopped to pieces.

Two days after, hearing that Komalt and Alma had returned, I went over, and never shall I forget the scene that met my eyes. Poor Komalt with his beautiful hair all gone, and his shirt sleeves torn out, exposing arms all gashed from shoulder to wrist, with blood dried on them in streaks, lay writhing and screaming upon the grass. Alma sat crouching over on the veranda, crying and moaning as if her heart would break, while she held in her hands the pieces of a cup of the baby's, which she had found and smashed, not wishing to see anything that might remind her of him.

When she saw me she shrieked afresh, and after placing her two hands upon my hair, and bringing them down over my face several times, she gave me the pieces of the cup to throw away, weeping wildly all the time. Soon the Indians came over from the tepees, and their exhibitions of heartfelt sympathy more than surprised me.

Miss Crawford inherited a sense of humor from her Irish father otherwise she would not have been able to endure the

trials and hardships she encountered. She relates the following in her Diary:

Poor Mrs. Hicks and her two babies are to be pitied, and she is such a nice little wife and mother. She would like to go to all the meetings and help in everything, but she can't and worries about it more than she ought. The other day she was lamenting about being so tied with the children, and I told her about a man in Dakota who was talking to me about women staying away from meetings because they thought their families needed them and he said, 'Think of Enoch who walked with God three hundred years after he begat sons and daughters,' I replied, 'in all probability Mrs. Enoch was walking with the kids at the same time.' The poor woman laughed and laughed and laughed and it did her good." I found I was going to have to move and Mr. L. then sent a man down to help kill the pigs and pack up. An Indian had promised to assist in the pig killing, but unfortunately, I had given him a quilt to sew at home, and message after message proved fruitless, for he wasn't going to leave that quilt to kill anybody's pigs. Again I offered my services (which wasn't much), to make two pigs less in the world. You may wonder how I stood it, but if a thing must be done it must be done. The pigs are dead and salted and the sun shines as usual.

It seems most remarkable, that Kiowa men who but recently had been warriors, going on bloody raids would take a liking to such work as sewing and quilting. She early found she was required to be a nurse as well as to preach to the Indian people. She relates:

The last time I went to Little Bow's camp, Mrs. Big Bow came to me and said, "Amanda's pappoose heap sick, pretty soon die. You go." I flew into the tepee and found a very sick baby, the father bowed over it holding a muscal bean on it's chest. Little Bow said, "You pray," almost as soon as I got in. Of course, I prayed and then got warm water, steamed the baby fifteen minutes, rolled it in a blanket and took complete charge of it all day. When I left the fever was gone and it took the first food it had taken for two days. I wish you could have seen those people, as I gave the lesson of Jairus' daughter, how they did listen, and how they did thank me, and how I did try to hide behind Jesus. . . . It is their first and only child. The mother is about fifteen years old.

On another occasion Miss Crawford wrote:

I have been thinking a good deal lately about this whole Indian question and am astonished that the poor creatures are as good as they are. After all they are just what we have made them. An Indian once said to a minister who had been trying to make him see that he needed forgiveness, "why you tell me that the Son of the Great Spirit came to the white man and you killed him and now you come to me to repent, to ask to be forgiven; I had nothing to do with it. If the Son of the Great Spirit had come to us we would not have killed, we would have treated him well." I think the Indians feel we have treated Jesus just the same as we are treating them.

Miss Crawford had long desired to go to Saddle Mountain, which is some forty miles southeast of the mission on Elk Creek.

Following the baptism of a Kiowa, named Zotone, and his wife, Un-ga-day, during a camp meeting at the Immanuel Mission and the solemnization⁴ of their marriage with the Christian formula, they returned to their home at Saddle Mountain. Miss Crawford bravely accompanied them, they assuring her of needed care and protection. While there she wrote back:

All is well. Years of labor among these Indians would not have won for me their confidence, as I now possess it, coming to them alone and unprotected, as far as white associates are concerned. As the news of my arrival spreads they are arriving on horseback every day to see if it is really true. Their first sign is that of great surprise. Their next one, being interpreted is, "you no scared? Maybe-so we scalp you." I reply, "you are my friends; you will take care of me." Then they shake hands, and I see their hearts in their eyes as they say, "No, nobody shall hurt you, or frighten you. You are heap friend. You believe our hearts are good; you trust us. We all like you and will look at you so nobody will make your heart sorry. How long you sit down (stay)? We want you all the time."

Miss Crawford moved to Saddle Mountain area April 9, 1896. Zotom and his wife came to Elk Creek for her and her belongings, which were loaded into wagon and they drove across the hills, creeks and prairie to Saddle Mountain Creek, where they pitched a tent. April 12, Easter Sunday, she held her first meeting and gave her first "Jesus Talk," to the Indians there. It was a rainy, stormy day and they all crowded into a small two room house for this first service. The Indians were more surprised than anything, that a small, unprotected white woman, who was deaf, and carried a hearing horn, which she called, "my conversation piece," would come among them alone. They responded warmly, saying, "We like you for coming this way, you trust us."

In a letter, she wrote:

I am getting a grand insight into Indian nature and learning much myself, as well as bringing the blessed Gospel to them. I was advised to bring quilt patches with me to interest the women, but instead I brought a bag of pieces, and whenever there is time I teach the women to mend their clothing and their quilts. They do not like it; they prefer to get new things, and I would prefer to give them new things, but there are homely lessons which they need to learn and which we have to teach them, and one of them is to preserve what they have by timely mending. Ten quilts have been made as good as new, which, but for this mending would soon have been useless. Great holes are burned in almost all the quilts from sparks from the campfires. They need to be taught to be more careful, and learn, first how to protect their things from such accidents, and next, to repair them when out of order. Several of the women contemptuously refused to mend, but those who did manifested great happiness when they saw the results of their efforts. But those who mended and those who refused, however, listened to the Gospel.

⁴ Crawford, *op. cit.*

My heart aches for these people more than I can tell. There seems to be an organized effort to fleece them. Why do you suppose the agent sent for all these Indians to come in weeks before he was ready for them? Was it because he wanted the storekeepers to get every bit of their money before they saw it? You see, when summoned, to the Agency, they are obliged to leave their stock behind, and as long as they remain at the agency they must buy food or starve. The longer they remain the more money they spend, and I am afraid there will be very little money in the hands of these Indians after they have paid their store bills. Besides being hungry they are cold, and in a building just beyond my window their winter clothing has been packed for two months. The baby of Little Bow's daughter, has died from nothing but cold, and her husband has left her, thinking the great spirit is displeased with him.

This letter was written by Miss Crawford while she was in Anadarko where she had gone with her Kiowa Friends to await the issuance of rations and clothing. Is it any wonder the Indians sometimes took matters into their own hands and went off and stole stock and even killed those who resisted them? It was a sad situation, but true, that the most of the Indian agents were political appointees, some of whom took little interest in their Indian charges. Outstanding exceptions to this were, of course, the Quaker agents, but they had long since departed from Government service at the time Miss Crawford was writing.

Mrs. C. H. Clause, wife of the missionary pastor at Rainy Mountain wrote the following letter:

KIOWA CAMP MEETING

Saddle Mountain, O. T. July 1, 1897.

In the early springtime there came to the Rainy Mountain Church a request from the Saddle Mountain Indians that our mid-summer campmeeting should be held at that place. They assured us of "plenty of water and the heart's right hand of fellowship, in welcome."

We missionaries were ready to respond favorably at once, but some of our Indians asked for time to consider the invitation. After due deliberation there was universal acceptance of the invitation. One might as well attempt to hurry the planets in their journey around the sun, as to hurry an Indian to a decision.

Miss Crawford is the Saddle Mountain missionary, and desired to have charge of all the preliminary arrangements, simply desiring Mr. Clouse to raise all the money he could for "Chuck-a-way." The time agreed upon was July 2 to 4. We thought it best to go the day before. The weather was so extremely hot, we started as early in the morning as we could get away—about 8:30.

You ought to have seen our load. We were in the big wagon, for there were two tents, two bed-spring cots, sacks of sweet corn, potatoes, bread, cakes, cooking utensils, etc. etc., to be gotten over to Saddle Mountain to accommodate ourselves and some of our visitors from abroad. Our co-workers, Misses Ballew and Reeside, went in their own conveyances, so there was quite a procession starting out from Immanuel Mission. They soon left us with their lighter carriages, but we made the sixteen miles in about five hours, gathering some firewood and stopping at a cool spring on the way.

The springs that one occasionally finds in this country are certainly a great blessing to the thirsty traveller.

We knew the Indians were building a fine arbor in which to hold the meetings, but we were not prepared for the vision that burst upon our view as we crossed Saddle Mountain Creek. This creek is fed by springs from Saddle Mountain, about a mile from our camping ground. It has a gravelly bed and clear water. Its banks are lined with trees. The tepees and tents of the Indians were along the creek eastward. The large arbor was on elevated ground near the center; this was a model of beauty. The top was covered with branches of trees. A large flag floated from the center, while red, white and blue bunting was waved at the ends as a shade from the rays of the sun. Many mottoes made of gilt letters sewed on cloth, were suspended under the arbor. "Make the message clear and plain," was a very appropriate one; this was above the pulpit. Our country's banner was waving from many of the tepees of our red brothers. Six of our Juniors mounted on Indian ponies and carrying small flags, escorted us to the location of the tents of the missionaries. To the left of the arbor there is a branch of the creek, and in this horse-shoe shaped piece of land four tents and one tepee, are already pitched for the occupancy of the guests from abroad. These are decorated in real fourth of July style. There are stoves and tables for our accomodation too. I had so dreaded a camp fire this hot weather. A hammock was swaying from two small trees Miss Crawford and her brother welcomed us cordially and invited us to dinner, a gesture appreciated by weary and hungry pilgrims. Miss Crawford has done an immense amount of work, showing herself a general to plan and systematize. Now she is at liberty to enjoy the meetings, as two faithful girls are ready to do her bidding in the culinary department. After refreshments, we rest till it begins to grow cooler, then, with Brother Hamilton as "tent chief," the tents begin to rise till ten dot the landscape.

After supper we assembled under the arbor for meeting of prayer and praise; where songs and prayers in English and Kiowa ascended to Him in whose name we had met. The services of Friday, Saturday and Sunday were all excellent, but I will only mention the Saturday afternoon meeting in which the Christian Kiowas "opened their hearts," to their white friends.

At the close the two interpreters, Lucius Aitsan and Samuel Ahatone, made very impressive addresses to their own people. Our young brother Ahatone, dwelt on the beautiful home Jesus has gone to prepare for those who love him, and urged his people to come into the Jesus road.

This was especially touching as they all knew we had just laid his only child, sweet Matamsin, to rest near the Rainy Mountain Chapel, and he was picturing to them what she now beheld. At the close, twenty three came forward for prayers; of these, eighteen, after careful examination, were received for baptism. At the close of the Sunday afternoon service, about two hundred formed in line at the arbor. Brother Hicks and Clouse, Pastors of the Kiowa Churches, led the procession. All sang one of Deacon Go-te-bon's songs as they marched to the water, about a quarter of mile distant, where eighteen happy followers of Jesus were buried in the liquid grave, and raised to walk in newness of life.

A sermon to the young Christians and hand of Christian welcome were the closing features of the evening service, and thus ended a memorable camp-meeting among the Kiowas.

Only eternity will reveal the impressions made on many dark hearts who have heard so little of the story of redeeming love.

Mrs. C. H. Clouse, Rainy Mountain

Miss Crawford describes one of the early Christmas celebrations at Saddle Mountain, which was not held until January 26th because the large tent had not arrived at Christmas time:

The large gospel tent was decorated with flags and bunting, while the tree used was so big and full that its branches spread nearly 16 feet. About 100 men and women, besides children, crowded around it; the eyes of the children fairly bulging from their heads, while the faces of the parents betokened more subdued excitement. One little fellow was very demonstrative in his admiration. He was only half civilized (according to public opinion), as one half of him was dressed in citizens clothes and the other half in real Indian attire. A wolf's skin had been stretched on the back of his suit, the head extending up between his shoulders and the tail just missed the ground. From a front view he was a citizen, while the reverse aspect made him a wolf dancing on his hind legs. By a little turn he could be either a sheep in wolf's clothing or a wolf in sheep's clothing—like a real citizen.

The Kiowas of Saddle Mountain, under the guidance of Miss Crawford, early organized a missionary society. She wrote to the headquarters of her Mission Board for permission to let the men as well as women join this society. The men loved to quilt and sew and above all liked to get together and talk—talk—talk. In her hand written Diary is this interesting item:

Said the interpreter afterward, "Before you came, the Kiowas had no eyes, after a while two little ones began to grow, and they have been getting bigger and bigger and today they are very large, like a lamp."

On May 21st, they met again, this time to elect officers and choose a name for the organization. Popebah was elected president, and made this talk, "We are a little branch of a big tree and we must try hard to stay on, grow and bear fruit. I am head and I want you all to work together for Jesus and then we can do something." The name of the branch was then discussed and after a short consultation, "God's Light Upon the Mountain," was chosen. The man secretary (who couldn't read or write), said, "When Indians build houses they kill a beef and spend 10 or 15 dollars on groceries and pray to Jesus. He doesn't get anything and he don't like it. If any of you Christians want to have a prayer meeting in your new houses, tell us and we will all come and bring our own food and then you can give five cents or a dollar to the big tree society to send the good news to others. Jesus will like this better than when you eat it all up yourselves."

Monday, July 19th.

The regular missionary meeting took place and after a lesson on the great commission two little money barrels were placed in



Saddle Mountain Baptist Mission Church, 1903

front of the Indians and they were asked to come up and divide their money between sending the gospel to others and starting a building fund for a church building for themselves. One by one they came forward depositing their money till both barrels were overflowing.

\$17.31 was given for others and \$17.26 for themselves the balance on the right side.

This was not a women's missionary society, it had as many men as women members. There was for seven long years no Church organization, as such at Saddle Mountain, as Miss Crawford was a missionary but not an ordained minister. The converts to Christianity were taken to the Rainy Mountain Church, seventeen miles away to be received as members. This was highly inconvenient, to say the least, in those days of wagons or horseback transportation, yet these hardy, earnest Christian Indians endured this situation for seven years, while struggling and saving pennies to build their own church building. No outside group came in and built a building for them. They built it bit by bit, as they said, "For Jesus," and it follows naturally that they call it today the "Jesus House."

Miss Crawford thus describes a domestic catastrophe at Saddle Mountain in her Diary.⁵

It is said that of all fowls, hens are the most religious, because so many of them enter the ministry. Sometimes however, they miss their calling. The twenty sixth of May was the birthday of one of the missionaries at Saddle Mountain, and the other missionary planned a little surprise. As it was spring house cleaning time we had to hustle and eat scraps, but we managed to save one loaf of stale bread that the hen might be properly dressed for the great occasion—missionary being considered ministry for the time being. The day was glorious, all its work completed and the victim, thoroughly clothed within and browned without, lay in the oven, with one door open awaiting the hour. Longing eyes were cast in its direction, small courtesies were heaped upon it and attentive females with hungry eyes 'Spooned' round, up to the last. What wonder it got into a sputter, sometimes with all this admiration. We are going to have a good square meal soon. Good bye pork. House cleaning is over, company is coming, hurra! for a feast. Aimdayco, beloved Aimdayco and Montame the faithful and true arrive. The interpreter and family are invited in. The meal is served—but—there is no chicken. Pork. Aimdayco returned thanks. Into the shed, where meals have to be cooked in hot weather, there had entered a coal black dog accompanied by his mates. Sniffing about in quest of pork, he came upon the oven door slightly ajar, and like Achan of old "saw, covet and took." Once in a while one who is expected to enter the ministry goes to the dogs.

Getting Land for a Mission

We have had exciting times about the land for our mission. A year ago, August 18th, 1900, the Indian Department, being carefully informed regarding the situation, notified me that the mat-

⁵ Crawford, *op. cit.*

ter was settled and the 160 acres would be granted for the station. Then certain influences began the effort to thwart this plan. Four times I visited our leading town to talk with the Agent who was faithful to the interests of the mission and was making every effort to help. When all was settled, he said: "If you had not 'taken the bull by the horns,' we could have done nothing." The modesty of some men is refreshing.

So our allotment is permanently made, and we have 160 acres of land, in two pieces, 80 acres in one fairy spot, and 80 at another point half mile away, and it is registered in Washington.

In addition to these tracts the Government had set aside forty acres of land adjoining on the East, for Cemetery purposes. It seems the two eighty acre tracts, of which Miss Crawford so joyfully wrote in her scrap-book, *had not* been registered in Washington, as witness the following letter:

Womans American Baptist Home Mission Society
168 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.

September 23, 1952.

Miss Isabel Crawford
26 Nelles Blvd.
Crimsby, Ontario, Canada

Dear Miss Crawford:

What I understand about the land at Saddle Mountain is that our Society holds a patent for the 80 acres on which the residence and Church buildings are located; and that the Church has a grant of use rights of an additional 40 acres which adjoins our patent land and in which the cemetery is located. While the ABHMS built the parsonage, the land it is on is a part of the 80 acres for which the Woman's Society holds the patent. Both pieces are guaranteed to us and the church as long as the church work exists and the cemetery is maintained. These holdings are recorded in the County office at Hobart and we have a copy of these records as well as the actual patent issued by the Government.

We have been told that there is another 80 acre piece a little removed from the 80 on which the church is situated. But there is no record in the office of either national society that we ever had a patent or any other kind of grant for it. The county office at Hobart shows no record of sale or transfer of any kind, or of any such piece ever having been held by our Society—let alone disposed of. If there was such an additional piece, I doubt if we could now establish claim to it, since there are no records or papers to substantiate a claim.

About two years ago this question of land was discussed quite at length with the people of Saddle Mountain in a church meeting—records of various kinds were searched as thoroughly as we knew how and advice was sought from a number of people. No one was able to give any exact idea of where the land was supposed to be.

As a conclusion we decided that with no more information we had little chance of either locating the piece or establishing a claim to it. Since the 120 acres where the Church and cemetery are located are definitely recorded, the Saddle Mountain people with whom I talked agreed that we would have to accept the fact

that our holdings are limited to the present 120 acres. They felt, too, that this 120 is probably sufficient for the needs of the work even if an assembly should be developed there. Unless someone can give us some idea of the township lines which clearly identify the piece, and unless there is somewhere a legal document that identifies it as granted to the society, I do not see how we can hope to recover any lost land. Even if we did have such identification, it would seem unlikely that we would now have forfeited our rights since without knowing where it is we have not used it for mission purposes for many years.

At our Board meeting last week, the women listened to your voice on the tape recorder as you spoke at the Rainy Mountain meeting. They were thrilled to hear you and to have more of the wonderful story of your "Joyful Journey" of years ago. Thank you for letting us record you.

Sincerely,

DOROTHY BUCKLIN

Secretary of Missions.

Miss Crawford wrote in her Diary on December 3rd, 1899:

Reports have reached us that the reservation is to be opened soon and the Indians are running everywhere gathering up the bones of their dead and bringing them to the different missions. Kokom came in today with bones of his two sons. "How nice it will be," said the mother, "to have my boys over here and when my turn comes I will lie down beside them. My heart is glad." This was the beginning of the Saddle Mountain Indian Cemetery, which has grown to be one of the largest Indian Cemeteries in this area, and in which are buried Indian pioneers who roamed this country before they ever saw a white man.

For more than six years, Miss Crawford and the self sacrificing Indians of Saddle Mountain quilted and sold the quilts, saved their small contributions to build their "Jesus House," and in February the total amount in the building fund came to \$1,000.00 which amount they seemed to have set as a goal to start the Church building.⁶

A contract was let to two contractors, Messrs C. Cooper and H. Crawford who pushed the church building to rapid completion. It was used, however, from the time the four walls and roof were in place, and when loose boards had to be laid down for a floor.

On Easter Sunday, April 12, 1903, just exactly seven years from the day of the first service held at Saddle Mountain by Miss Crawford, the first service was held in the unfinished church building. Miss Crawford writes of this occasion:⁷

⁶ The \$1,000.00 came from these sources:

Indian contributions	\$ 355.98
Quilt Money	311.63
Unsolicited	250.00
Missionaries	65.69
Misc.	16.70

Total	\$1,000.00
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⁷ Crawford, *op. cit.*

The Great Spirit, the Creator, saw the mission in Hopiland, knew the living burning sacrifice it represented and breathed upon the poor little plans for our church. Instead of four walls He gave us six, instead of plain ceilings He gave us panels, instead of cheap windows He gave us stained glass and instead of an empty belfry He gave us a bell and a clock. It was truly the beauty of the Lord that filled the place.

August 1903, the contractors began work on the house the same day they finished the church. The funds for this must have been furnished by the Mission Board, as there is no record of any savings and contributions in the Diary, for this purpose.

At the dedication service an Indian woman summed up the feelings of the whole Kiowa settlement in these words: "When I seen our Jesus House going up with my two eyes my heart began to grow and as the church got bigger my heart got bigger and bigger and bigger. Today it is all busted to pieces."

Lucius Aitsan was the faithful interpreter for Miss Crawford during her years at Saddle Mountain.

There were sixty four charter members of the Saddle Mountain Baptist Church:⁸

Lucius Aitsan	Queototi
Mabel Aitsan	Agoptah
Amos Aitsan	Addletape Satezadlebe
Minnie Aitsan	Guonemah
Jessie Aitsan	Agomah
Akometo	Stella
Doymah Akometo	Ruth Odlepaugh
Tonacho	Bettie Odlepaugh
Odelpaugh, son of Satanta	Fannie Kokom
Ananthy Odelpaugh	Bessie Kokom
Spotted Horse	Wesley Kokom
Hattie Spotted Horse	George Ah-he-ah
Kokom	Herman Bahlah
Popebah Kokom	Julia Hunt
Tonemoh	Taryule
Tone-gah-gah	George Hunt
Keapetate Tone-gah-gah	Blanche Kokom
Papedone	Mrs. Tonemoh
Sapemah Papedone	Robert Onko
Dawtobi	Felix Thompson
Gee-ah-ga-hoodle Dawtobi	Dick Boton
Mon-cha-cha	Mrs. Queototi
Mrs. Mon-cha-cha	Mrs. Apole
Ate-umbah Domot	Mina Domot
Mahyan	Whitefeather
Longhorn	Chaino
Ba-ah-tate Longhorn	Mrs. Chaino
Gahbien	Eddie Longhorn
Heenkey	Ah-to-mah
Satezadlebe	Captain Hall
Hoke-do-dah	Mrs. Hall
Mrs. H. Bahlah	Isabel Crawford.

⁸ Crawford, *op. cit.*



Miss Isabel Crawford and Lucius Aitsan,
Saddle Mountain Baptist Mission

OLD OSAGE CUSTOMS DIE WITH THE
LAST PAH-HUE-SKAH

By Frank F. Finney

With the death of an old Indian over eighty years of age near the Gray Horse trading post in the Osage reservation, July 27, 1894, the bloodline of the *Pah-hue-skah*, ("White Hair") family faded out. The last White Hair, who could not speak a word of English and had lived in accordance with the Indian customs all his life, left in his death a remarkable example for his people to follow in adapting themselves to the white man's civilization.¹

From the time of the Louisiana Purchase until a short time before the Osage tribe was removed from Kansas to the Indian Territory in 1871, some Indian of the White Hair lineage held the rank and title of Head Chief of the Great Osages and much of this time held the honor for the whole tribe consisting of both the Great and Little Osages.² Also out of the *Pah-hue-skah* heritage came a great chief of the pale-faces, the late Honorable Charles Curtis, Vice-President of the United States.³ The Osage tribe was divided into bands, each with its chief, and over these bands was the head or principal chief. Upon the chief's death, the title and authority went to his son, and if no son survived him, to his brother or nearest relative.

Little White Hair, the last member of the family to hold the head chieftanship, opposed the plan of the United States Government for the sale of the Osage Kansas lands and the removal of the tribe to the Indian Territory. To supplant and nullify the authority and influence of Little White Hair, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs created a new office for the tribe and recognized Joseph Paw-ne-no-pah-she, commonly

¹T. M. Finney files and records. The name of the City of Pawhuska in Osage County was given in honor of the last Chief *Pah-hue-skah* of the Osage Nation, commemorating the history of old "*Pah-hue-skah*" (White Hair) family.

²Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald, *Beacon of the Plains*. 1893, p. 20; *Tixtier's Travels on the Osage Prairies*, John Francis McDermont, ed. (Norman, 1940), p. 128. There is some confusion regarding the White Hair family. From all records available, this paragraph is substantially correct and is probably entirely true.

³Statement in letter from the Hon. Charles Curtis to Mr. Frank Phillips, dated Oct. 4, 1930, on exhibit at the Woolaroc Museum: "Great great-great grandfather of White Plume of the Kaws married one of White Hair's daughters. Gonville married one of White Plume's daughters and my grandfather Pappan married Julie Gonville."

known as "Big Hill Joe," as Governor of the Osages. Chief Little White Hair died in 1869, and after much discord among them over the proposition, the Osages accepted the Government's choice, and acknowledged Paw-ne-no-pah-she as their governor and head chief.⁴ Thus, it came about that the surviving member of the White Hair line, who came to the Osage reservation with his tribe and died at Gray Horse, was deprived of his hereditary right to the head chieftaincy of his nation.

The first White Hair, according to a legend, won his name from an incident in an engagement in 1790 with the American troops led by General St. Clair. It is related that the chief wounded an officer, and in making the coup, the hair which he grasped turned out to be a white wig; thereafter, when the chief went into a fight he wore the wig tied to his scalp lock as a "good medicine" talisman.⁵

After the Louisiana Purchase was consummated in 1803, President Jefferson at once took steps to become better acquainted with the country and its inhabitants and to make treaties with them. Chief White Hair, the First, through the influence of Pierre Chouteau of St. Louis, French Indian trader and agent for the Osages, accepted an invitation of the President to visit him and, accompanied by Chouteau and about a dozen Osage chiefs and warriors, made the trip to Washington.

Besides the National Capital, they visited Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. They attracted much attention wherever they went and were entertained and feted. In return they performed their dances for the curious spectators. White Hair or "King" as he was called, was described in a New York newspaper as upward of six feet in stature, proportionably well made with a Roman nose and dignified port, the article stating that "perhaps no one brought up in savage life has ever been known to unite the same ease, politeness and nobleness of manners."⁶

Another paper carried an account of a fete in the Vauxhall Garden in New York attended by the Indians and a description of them:⁷

The King's deportment was majestic and easy; he was dressed in a laced blue coat, and corresponding under vestments, wore a cocked hat, and a handsome sword by his side But it was the singular and savage appearance of the other Indians naked and painted, that excited principle attention. They were eight or nine

⁴ David Parsons in *The Daily Journal-Capital*, Pawhuska, Oklahoma, April 24, 1938.

⁵ *Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies*, p. 128; John Joseph Mathews, *Wah-kon-tah*, (Norman, 1932), p. 348.

⁶ *American Citizen*, New York, August 16, 1804.

⁷ *New York Gazette and General Advertiser*, August 16, 1804.



(Courtesy of The New York Historical Society)

The first Chief Pah-hue-skah ("White Hair") of the Grand Osage, from the original painting "Payouska Chef des Grands Osages" by Memin.

in number. Excepting a piece of cloth fastened around the waist, in which tomahawks were stuck, they were all in a state of nudity The toute ensemble of these men were savage and ferocious.

At Washington, escorted by the President himself, the party was shown the Navy Yard to view the frigates anchored there. As they approached the Navy Yard a band and music and a salute from the guns greeted them. That evening the Indians performed a dance, all participating except the "King," in the presence of the President and a concourse of government officials and their ladies. Undoubtedly Jefferson desired to impress the influential chief and his followers with the power of the United States, and it was also believed that he wanted them as hostages until the safe return of Lewis and Clark, whom he had sent to explore the Missouri River to its source.

A ceremony was also held in which the President presented the Indians an instrument of writing on parchment embellished with a golden chain in token of friendship, and addressed them in a friendly speech in which he said in part:⁸

My children; I sincerely weep with you over the graves of your chiefs and friends, who fell by the hands of their enemies lately defending the Osage River These are my words, carry them to your nation, keep them in your memories, and our friendship in your hearts, and may the Great Spirit look upon us in a mantle of love.

Jefferson's words showed an understanding of the Osages and was a wise approach to cement a compact of friendship with them.

Evidently the Osages did keep Jefferson's words in their memories. With the exception of Chief Black Dog and some of his band who joined with the Confederates,⁹ the Osages remained loyal to the Government and during the Civil War their fidelity was inestimable in protecting the frontier from the incursion of rebel guerillas. To say that the Osages were loyal to the Government does not signify that there were not some instances when members of the white race, as well as members of enemy tribes of their own race, were victims of their mourning scalping parties. It was their belief that the spirit of some recently deceased member of their tribe could not rest until a life was sacrificed and a scalp taken. In obedience of this strange belief, it was the Osage custom, after a dance of three days, for a party of warriors to set forth to obtain a scalp.

Members of no other tribe manifested more grief for their dead. It was customary for the Osages to mourn at daybreak

⁸ Luke Vincent Lockwood, L. H. D., "The St. Memin Indian Portraits," reprint from *Antiquarian Society Quarterly Bulletin*, April, 1928.

with doleful cries and lamentations for months and even years for some departed relative. The method of disposing of their dead was peculiar to the Osages. The body painted and clothed in full regalia was placed in a sitting position in a cairn made of stones to form a dome-like appearance. Sometimes it was lined with buffalo or cow hides and was always located on top of a hill. Treasured belongings of the departed were put in the tomb, and cooking utensils and food was left around the grave as symbols for use of the Indians' spirit on its journey to the "Happy Hunting Grounds." A United States flag, inverted with the stars turned towards the ground, usually flew from a pole over the tomb, and often the favorite pony of the dead was killed and left at his last resting place. As the white men came in increasing numbers, these cairns of rocks, which appeared on many hills of the Osage Reservation in the Indian Territory, became surrounded by pastures and overrun with cattle. White prowlers, looking for relics and treasure, robbed and desecrated the graves. Even bones were removed as trophies and exhibited.

The war dances continued long after the Osages came to the Indian Territory, but the mourning scalping parties were almost entirely discontinued, and if any Indians went out after scalps they were likely to return with only locks of hair clipped off of some obliging person's head¹⁰ for which they sometimes paid money. There are, however, several bloody instances on record, and there may have been others not brought to light. One such incident occurred soon after the tribe arrived from Kansas, which caused serious trouble and brought a band of Wichita warriors to the Osage Agency, hot for revenge and demanding punishment for the guilty.

A party of Osages which included Bill Conner, a mixed blood who was their leader, met Es-ad-da-ua, head chief of the Wichita tribe who had become separated from his companions while hunting buffalo near the Salt Plains. Professing to believe that it was the will of the Great Spirit that the Wichita

⁹ List of officers belonging to the Osage Tribe serving in the First Regiment of the Cherokee Mounted Confederate Indian Brigade: Black Dog, Broke Arm, A Captans and others, in Confederate Memorial Room, Oklahoma Historical Society.

¹⁰ One afternoon, my cousin, Walter Florer and I (the writer) visited a "war" dance in progress at the Salt Creek camp near Gray Horse. While there, Yellow Horse came up to us holding a knife and a string in his hands. He tied the string around a lock of my hair and cut it off with his knife to use in the dance. I was not at all disturbed by this act for it was done in a friendly manner. The Osages were always good friends of our families and we had no reason to have any fear of them. The locks on the doors of our homes were never locked.



(Photo by Frank F. Finney)

An old Osage grave near White Horse, about 1898.



(Photo by Frank F. Finney)

Grave of the last "Pah-hue-skah" (White Hair) located northwest of White Horse, photo taken in 1902.

chief should provide the sacrifice, they killed him and returned with his scalp and also his head, to the Reservation where the customary dance was held. The delegation of thirty-eight Wichita Indians who appeared at the Osage Agency soon after the affair demanded the heads of the leaders who perpetrated the deed, and were particularly desirous of securing Conner who prudently hid out. After much bitter counseling with the Osage chiefs, the Wichitas accepted as reparation money, ponies, blankets and guns in value to the amount of fifteen hundred dollars.¹¹

The last party returning with a scalp to the Osage reservation of which there is an eye-witness account occurred in the spring of 1880. The scalp dance was held near the Wooster mound a few miles southwest of the Osage Agency, now the town of Pawhuska. The hair was supposed to have been lifted from the head of a Pawnee by a party which transgressed across the Arkansas River into the Pawnee country.¹²

Thereafter, only minor incidents were known to ensue from the old cruel custom such as one which occurred on Gray Horse Creek where three boys of the Millholler family were fishing. Several Indians whooping wildly came after the boys who unable to escape were caught, and their hair cut off by the Osages with knives that they carried in their belts. The father of the boys reported the affair to the agent, Major Miles, who after an investigation learned of the identity of the offenders and stopped their annuity payments for a time as punishment.¹³

At another time, while engaged in a dance some Indians seized a white man by the name of McGill. They cut his hair, smeared paint on his face and let him loose. McGill started a suit in the courts for ten thousand dollars in damages but settled for the sum of three hundred dollars which was awarded to him by the Osage Council out of tribal funds.¹⁴

These occurrences were only mild reminders of the savage custom followed in the prime days of the last old White Hair who had become reconciled to the white man's ways. Although he was never the principle chief of his tribe, he was head of the

¹¹ Issac T. Gibson, Osage Agent, report in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1873.

¹² Data from M. F. Stilwell (half-brother to Frank F. Finney) found in "Indian and Pioneer History," Vol. 71, p. 149, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society. (This account by M. F. Stilwell was published in a Denver newspaper prior to the compilation of "Indian and Pioneer History" under the W. P. A. program.)

¹³ Interview with Lorene Millholler, Oklahoma City, in "Indian and Pioneer History," Vol. 36, p. 368, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴ *Wah-sha-sha* News, Pawhuska, April 27, 1895.

Paw-hue-skah band and his people,¹⁵ like children before a father, laid their troubles and problems before him. He acted as a peacemaker and his councils were obeyed as coming from one in authority. About two weeks before he died, the old patriarch sent word to his old and trusted friend, John Florer, the trader at Gray Horse, to come to his lodge. Florer found the chief, feeble, sick and only a shadow of the fine specimen he remembered of former days. As the trader took his hand White Hair told him that he wanted to be buried like a white man on a hill he had selected about three miles northwest of Gray Horse.

All was arranged by the trader according to the chief's wishes and upon his death, his remains, resting in a coffin like the white people used, was lowered into a vault prepared for it. A little white house, from which flew the stars and stripes, marked the grave, at his death in 1894.

In recognition of the regard in which White Hair was held, the Agent, Major Freeman, his wife and daughter and some other residents of the Agency joined the handful of the white people of Gray Horse and a large number of Indians in the solemn funeral procession. The last request of the old Indian to his people was that no dance be held for him.¹⁶

Interned in the white man's manner did not save White Hair's grave from desecration and vandalism. Eight years after White Hair's burial, this writer rode by the grave on horseback and found the grave house turned over, the coffin uncovered and the skull of the last Pah-hue-skah on the ground. He returned with a kodak and took a snap shot of the scene.

¹⁵ Roll Book of Osage Bands, Osage Agency Office, Pawhuska.

¹⁶ T. M. Finney, files and records.



(From portrait, Oklahoma Historical Society)

The last Chief Pah-hue-skah of the Osage Nation.

WYANDOTTE MISSION: THE EARLY YEARS, 1871-1900

By A. M. Gibson

In earlier times, virtually every Indian nation and reservation situated within the present limits of Oklahoma had at least one school within its jurisdiction, established to instruct local Indian youth in the elements of Western Civilization. Various church groups, as a part of their home mission programs, collaborated with the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs in setting up these schools. Customarily, the religious organizations supplied a portion of the money for erecting and equipping school buildings, helped feed and clothe the Indian children, and furnished dedicated members as teacher-missionaries.

With few exceptions, a common sequence in the life of these schools has been for church support to falter due to waning missionary zeal, accompanied by the gradual retreat of religious groups from the field of Indian education. Necessarily, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has taken over the complete operation of Indian schools, and government sponsorship has resulted in the gradual reduction in the number of Indian schools in Oklahoma. One of the survivors of governmental retrenchment in Indian education is the Seneca Indian School at Wyandotte, Oklahoma.¹ Established in 1871 under the auspices of the Society of Friends, this institution continues to supply effective training for its Indian constituency.

Few religious groups can match the record of the Friends, commonly called Quakers, for effective response to social needs. Active in generating so many reform movements in our society, their work among the Indians has been especially noteworthy. Where many religious groups have been indifferent, or attempted, failed early and dropped out of the program of Indian missions, the Friends have persisted through success and failure, and certainly the "Wyandotte Mission" is an enduring monument commemorating their sacrifice and devotion.

¹ The approved and correct spelling of the name of the Amercian Indian tribe presented in this article is *Wyandot*, and the form is used here in referring to the people of this tribe. However, the old records of the Agency and the Indian Office, cited as sources in this article, give the spelling *Wyandotte* in referring to the mission, the school, the agency, the reservation, etc., an obsolete form with an entirely different meaning (Cf. Webster's *Dictionary*) today. Since the name "Wyandotte Mission," was well established and known for many years, the old records have been followed here when referring to the historic school. The name of the post office in Oklahoma has always been spelled "Wyandotte."—Ed.

During the latter half of the Nineteenth Century, the remnants of several Indian tribes were clustered together in Northeastern Oklahoma under the jurisdiction of the Quapaw Agency. National religious groups were permitted to establish churches and schools among these tribes. The Seneca, Shawnee, and Wyandot tribes received the Friends as their patrons. Beginning in 1870, the Friends, in liaison with Quapaw Agent George Mitchell, made plans to carry out their new responsibility.

It was apparent that the most permanent results in propagating the gospel and extending the benefits of western civilization could best be achieved by establishing a school for educating the youth of the three tribes. Authority for establishing a boarding school for the Senecas, Wyandots, and Shawnees came from a joint meeting of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Indian Service Committee of the Society of Friends.² Aaron Hornor was selected by the Friends as Superintendent.³ for the proposed school, and with the assistance of Agent Mitchell, drew up the plans for the physical layout. Land for the campus, consisting of 160 acres, was donated by the Wyandot tribal Council, and construction got under way in 1871. Besides supervising erection of the school's physical plant, Hornor and Mitchell called on the Seneca, Wyandot, and Shawnee parents for the purpose of enrolling those children of the four to eighteen year-old age group in the school's first class, which was scheduled to begin its studies in the Spring of 1872. From the start, the school was plagued with an inadequacy of funds, and Agent Mitchell's *Report* for 1871 was largely an appeal for added support from the government since "the tribes for which it is intended are poor and have no school fund."⁴

² The Quapaw Agency had a number of schools to serve its varied Indian constituency. The schools consisted of two types: day schools and boarding schools. Day schools supplied instruction only, the students returning to their homes at the end of the day, while boarding schools provided, besides instruction, food, shelter, and clothing, its enrollees required to reside on the school campus for a specified period. The Quapaw tribe had a day school for its youth.

³ The Seneca School Superintendents for the period 1871-1900 were: Aaron Hornor (1871-1872); Jerry Hubbard (1872-1873); Alva H. Pearson (1873-1874); Henry Thorndyke (1874-1876); David Hornor (1876-1878); Jacob Hornor (1878-1879); Charles W. Kirk (1879-1884); William Morris (1884-1886); Harwood Hall (1886-1891); Andrew Atchison (1891-1893); J. H. Meter (1893-1894); Andrew J. Taber (1894-1896); Mack Johnson (1896-1897); E. B. Atkinson (1897-1898); R. A. Cockran (1898-1899); and Edgar A. Allen (1899-1900).

The writer wishes to make special acknowledgement to Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, for assistance in pointing out many of the old Wyandotte records in the Indian Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society, used in the preparation of this article for *The Chronicles*.

⁴ The Friends Society had established a log church near the present site of the school in 1869, and this may be regarded as the parent project from



(Kirk Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society)

Visiting parents of children in the Wyandotte Mission, 1879



(Kirk Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society)

Children in the Wyandotte Mission, and teachers about 1879.

With much hard work on the part of Superintendent Hornor and his staff, classes got under way in the Spring of 1872. Hiram Jones, the new Quapaw Agent, could report in 1872 that:⁵

School was opened . . . and has from a very small beginning, increased to the capacity of the buildings, and necessitated the immediate erection of an addition to the boarding-house which is in the course of construction. But a small number of Shawnee or Seneca children have yet been induced to enter school, but I hope by careful management to get a number more to attend when the addition to the building is completed I believe too much importance cannot be attached to the work of educating the Indian children, both in literary attainments and in industrial pursuits. The work of civilization and the future of the Indian race depend in great measure on this. Therefore I hope that the liberal help given by the government will be continued, as without this help the work cannot be carried on.

In their enthusiasm to get the instructional program in operation, the school officials were probably somewhat premature, for much remained to be accomplished before the buildings and grounds were completed. Several of the buildings were occupied before they were "trimmed out" inside, and the campus was yet to be cleared of its heavy timber, graded, and planted to grass. As they were completed, the original buildings comprising the school's physical plant, consisted of a classroom building, two dormitories—one for boys, the other equipped with a sewing room for girl students, kitchen and dining hall, and small dwellings for faculty, plus a commissary "about the size of a smokehouse." Wood stoves and fireplaces supplied heat. Fuel was cut by the boys from the heavily forested hillsides and carried to wood boxes situated by each stove as use required.⁶

The physical setting in the midst of which the buildings for the new school were erected, to this day one to inspire, consisted of a series of wooded hills, "with a never-failing spring of limestone water gushing" forth into a clear stream, Lost Creek:⁷

. . . . meandering through the grounds, giving facilities for fishing and swimming abundant and good. A peninsula near the spring, containing about an acre, thickly covered with large forest trees, matted with wild grapevines, furnishes an excellent place for out-

which evolved the Seneca School in 1871.—Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1871, p. 500. (The Commissioner of Indian Affairs reports are hereafter cited as *Annual Report* with the year.)

⁵ *Annual Report*, 1872, p. 244.

⁶ "Indian Pioneer Papers," the University of Oklahoma Library, Vol. XXXI, p. 75.

⁷ *Annual Report*, 1893, p. 142.

door meetings, where the songs of children mingle in sweet harmony with those of the multitude of birds which inhabit the place.

Through the years the students and staff worked at modifying the pristine beauty of this wilderness campus so that by 1895, over 800 square rods of lawns and terrace had been established and the Superintendent's *Report* reveals that "by keeping two lawn mowers going most of the time we have kept our yards in beautiful condition."⁸

The Friend's "Godly Experiment in the Wilderness" seemed beset by perennial problems, one of the immediate and most pressing being that of selling the families of the tribes on the idea of enrolling their children in the new school. Some tribes took more readily to education than others, for the Quapaw Agent found that:⁹

The Shawnee, though not actively opposed to education, were on the first opening of their school averse to placing their children in it; but by the exercise of much care and persuasion I have at length induced nearly all the children of proper age to attend, and many of the parents are much interested in the progress their children are making. The Senecas from being, with few exceptions, at the time of making my last annual report, bitterly opposed to schools, are now, except a small portion of one band, decidedly favorable, and I believe, on the approach of winter, quite a large addition to the already respectable number of their children attending school will avail themselves of the present good opportunities for acquiring an education The Wyandotts . . . have kept the greater portion of their children in school most of the time during the past year, and they have made good progress.

Through the combined efforts of the school staff and the Quapaw Agent, the enrollment grew from less than fifty students in the first year of operation to over 135 by 1885.¹⁰

Because the Friends fed a steady stream of dedicated and competent administrators and teachers into the Seneca School in its formative years, it gained a status in organization, administration, and curriculum which built up a confidence on the part of the Indian constituency, produced law-abiding tribal citizens, transmitted western culture and the Gospel to the uninitiated, and gave the school an intellectual solvency that enabled it to survive where the other church-supported schools failed and had to close their doors, and made Wyandotte Mission the "Marvel of the Wilderness." Almost from the start, due to good administration and teaching, the school achieved "graded status." For the times this meant that upon enrollment, the pupil was instructed in "the use of the English language and the rudimentary branches. As fast as the

⁸ *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 152.

⁹ *Annual Report*, 1873, p. 213.

¹⁰ Report for June, 1885, Seneca School, Quapaw Agency, I. T., Quapaw Agency Manuscripts, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society. (The sources of the original tribal records are hereafter cited from Indian Archives.)

pupils are enough advanced they are transferred to the upper room, where systematic and through course of study is pursued.'¹¹

The course offerings at the school consisted of orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, natural philosophy, religion, history, Bible, general knowledge, geography, algebra, grammar, physiology, and botany. The most basic subject seemed to be those subjects that embrace English, and the reason is evident from a statement by Superintendent J. H. Meter:¹²

A large proportion of them speak Indian at home, which gives them a great advantage at the beginning of their course of study. The English, however, which they bring from home is not always the purest; so, as in other English-speaking schools, much unlearning must be done.

While experience recommended emphasis on the English language, governmental decrees prescribed it, as reflected by the following regulation applicable to all Indian Service Schools of the day:¹³

In government schools, no textbooks and no oral instruction in the vernacular will be allowed, but all textbooks and instruction must be in the English language. No departure from this rule will be allowed except when absolutely necessary to rudimentary instruction in English. But it is permitted to read from the Bible in the vernacular at the daily opening of school when English is not understood by the pupils.

The basic objective of the school at Wyandotte was to educate the head, heart, and hand. The school curriculum in a general way achieved some of this from formal subjects taught. The object was further realized through vocational training, extra-curricular activities, and by the pervasive religious influence of the school illustrated by worship experiences afforded the students, and by the influence of faculty who were in a sense missionaries. This multiple set of aims seemed to be foremost in the thinking of administrators as their reports and correspondence will show. Superintendent Henry Thorndyke's *Report* for February, 1875, is indicative of the sense of mission the staff held for themselves:¹⁴

While the literary education of the children is . . . pushed forward, the industrial and religious elements are not neglected. They are carefully trained in both respects and no occasion neglected to inculcate in their young minds the truths of the Gospel, and the

¹¹ *Annual Report*, 1875, p. 282.

¹² *Annual Report*, 1893, p. 142.

¹³ A. B. Upshaw, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, to John V. Summers, Indian Agent, Quapaw Agency, I. T., June 27, 1888, Indian Archives.

¹⁴ Report for February, 1875, Seneca School, Quapaw Agency, I. T., Indian Archives.

necessity of their learning to live sober, moral, and religious [*sic*] lives.

While the liberal arts courses were intended to endow the Indian children with the rudiments of Western Civilization into which they were expected to step and play a constructive role, the vocational portion of the curriculum sought to develop specific skills whereby the children might become self-supporting citizens of an economic society somewhat more complex than the hunting-fishing-gathering pursuits of their forebearers.

A member of the staff, the Industrial Teacher, had the major responsibility for supervising the boys and providing them with vocational training. This included harness and shoemaking, woodworking, carpentry, and metal work. The School Farmer assisted the Industrial Teacher in imparting to the boys the elements of farm operation and management, horticulture, and livestock care. Practical training included assignment to routine chores about the school consisting of chopping wood for fuel, milking cows, and feeding and caring for horses, mules, pigs, and poultry kept on the school farm. Also, both boys and girls helped put out the school garden, weed the vegetables, and harvest the crops. Caring for the campus flowers, shrubs, and lawn also was their responsibility.

Girls were assigned to the matron-seamstress who instructed them in hygiene and cleanliness, sewing, home nursing, and other skills which would make them more effective household managers. Practical duties included making beds, sweeping, and helping the school cook and laundress.

Extra-curricula activities such as the rather tight school schedule would permit supplied some very valuable training plus an opportunity for social relations. The school schedule required the pupils to rise at six o'clock, clean their respective quarters, followed by breakfast. Following the morning meal, the children gathered in the various classrooms where the school day was opened with religious exercises which included "singing, using our Sabbath School Books (*The Royal Diadem*), and the children have learned to sing a large number of hymns."¹⁵

Formal instruction started at nine and ran until four o'clock, with an hour off for lunch. At four, the boys reported to the Industrial Teacher or School Farmer for various training and duties, while the Matron assigned the girls. These duties held the children until suppertime. After the dishes were cleared away and the kitchen tidied up, a busy program consisting of study, recitation, and devotion was

¹⁵ Report for May, 1875, Seneca School, Quapaw Agency, I. T., Indian Archives.

planned to occupy their attention until bedtime at half past eight.¹⁶

Brief chapel services were held every evening of the week Monday through Friday, and "regular attendance was required of both pupils and employees."¹⁷ After chapel, the pupils could participate in vocal music classes, held twice each week. On other evenings they were "exercised on miscellaneous subjects in a social way, tending to develop thought, to induce research, and gain general information."¹⁸ David Hornor, Superintendent in 1877, introduced the "self-reporting system as a part of the evening's activities." This reportedly "awakened a feeling of emulation" by offering a prize "as an incentive to study," and "promoted profitable competition."¹⁹

A popular agency of extra-curricular learning in the latter part of the nineteenth century was the literary society, and the Wyandotte Mission kept pace with this national trend by organizing its own, the Hallequah Society. It met every Thursday night for the purpose of discussing and debating various cultural subjects, presented special programs throughout the school year, and provided some degree of adult education since many parents participated in the meetings. A description of the school's graduation exercises for 1881 shows the significant role played by this organization:²⁰

The term closed (on the 30th of June) with an Exhibition by the Hallequah Literary Society . . . which was participated in by pupils in every grade. The attendance of parents and friends of the school was quite large. At the close of the exercises, the Chiefs of the Wyandotte and Seneca Tribes expressed their appreciation of the advantages that were being afforded them by the government in education of their children at this institution . . . and their satisfaction with the progress of the pupils in their studies, and the care they had received the past year.

Adult interest also was keen concerning the school's Temperance Society, organized by the school officials in 1875,²¹ where training in the knowledge of the evils of John Barleycorn was provided for children and their parents. Superintendent Charles Kirk praised adult participation in the league in his *Report* for January, 1880, noting that "The Temperance Meeting is increasing in interest. Many are in good earnest in

¹⁶ Report for December, 1884, Seneca School, Quapaw Agency, I. T., Indian Archives.

¹⁷ *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 152.

¹⁸ Report for November, 1875, Seneca School, Quapaw Agency, I. T., Indian Archives.

¹⁹ Report for December, 1877, Seneca School, Quapaw Agency, I. T., Indian Archives.

²⁰ Report for June, 1881, Seneca School, Quapaw Agency, I. T., Indian Archives.

²¹ *Annual Report*, 1875, p. 282.

THE HALLAQUAH

Vol. 4. DECEMBER, 1879. NO. 1.

W. J. JOHNSON, EDITRESS
LULY WALKER, ASSOCIATE
ARIZONA JACKSON, ASSOCIATE

THE MISSION PRESS.

The little sheet which now speaks its first low to the public, craves its existence to the generosity of Susan Longsteth of Philadelphia. This is not the first time we have been placed under obligations to this "Friend of our Mission" for her great kindness and support. Her kind words of encouragement, no less than her kind acts, have produced in the hearts of all the pupils at this institution, a feeling of high regard and near attachment. It affords us the greatest pleasure to thus acknowledge publicly the high esteem with which the members of the Hallaquah Society hold in memory the donor of the Mission Press.

The Mothers frequently attend our Sabbath afternoon services.

OUR LITERARY SOCIETY.

The Hallaquah Society is now doing good work, but we must not forget there are three degrees of comparison, Positive, Comparative and Superlative—good better, best. We will never reach perfection, but we can always strive to be better than good. "We will never say cant but we'll try." The boys seem to think that by some unheard of precedent they are free from assuming their share of responsibility in the work of the society, and that the girls should do all of the writing and talking. We are willing to do our part but we think the boys should feel compelled to do equally as much if not in writing by speaking. Our society CAN BE, and we must and WILL make it the first in the Territory.

First issue of *The Hallaquah*, pages 1 and 2, published by the Hallaquah Society, Grand River, Indian Territory (now Wyandotte, Oklahoma).

THE HALLAQUAH, DECEMBER, 1879.

THE HALLAQUAH.

Pub'd by the Hallaquah Society,

WYANDOTTE MISSION,
Grand River, I. T.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION:
Fifty cents per year.

EDITORIAL.

We desire and intend that THE HALLAQUAH shall represent the spirit of our school, and always speak in behalf of its interests. Supported directly by the Hallaquah Society, it yet is intended to be a true exponent of the Seneca, Shawnee and Wyandotte Industrial Boarding School, and a news letter to the neighboring people as well as for the pupils.

We do not aspire after "literary honors," but we expect — "to shine in our corner,—you, in yours." Interesting extracts from letters relating to our, and other Mission work will be inserted at different times. News relating to the different Missions and neighborhood will be the

prime feature of this paper, and any "local" relating to the same will be gratefully received and acknowledged.

Everything in "getting out" a paper is new to us. We never before attempted to write an editorial for printed paper or to set up a line of type, and we never before expected to make so much "pi" in so short a time and do it so easily.

We pray you—"Don't view us with a critic's eye but pass our imperfections by."

To our kinds: Friends of Philadelphia, Rebecca T. Haines, Susan Longsteth, Uldah Bonwill and others whose names we do not know and whose faces we have never seen, we desire to acknowledge our gratitude for the constant remembrance in which we are held by them, and for their care in providing so bountifully of all that is necessary for our comfort. To them we are largely indebted for that which has been and is still making this institution a blessing to our bodies and souls. Our God has provided to reward them.

(Photo of rare imprint in Kirk Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society)

their efforts to break themselves of the habit of taking intoxicating drink."²²

Bible School, staffed by school faculty members, was provided on Sunday morning for the student body. Formal church services followed. Ministers from neighboring churches supplied preaching. Both Sunday School and Church were held in the classroom building.²³ In addition, a Friend's Church, situated near the school, held Sunday services where school children attended in groups chaperoned by a school staff member.²⁴ Visiting ministers also added to the religious life of the school by holding revivals on the campus from time to time. School children as well as adults from neighboring farms and communities attended these. The revival must have been an important event in the quiet life of the school community, and undoubtedly produced some excitement. The atmosphere of anticipation is reflected in a letter headed from the Methodist Bishop's office, Philadelphia, by I. M. Iliff at Baxter Springs, to Quapaw Agent Dyer announcing plans to hold an extended meeting:²⁵

We begin our Camp Meeting at Wyandott Mission Wednesday evening the 23rd to continue over the Sabbath. Our rules will exclude huckstering stands, Swingo, etc., as they would interfere with the order and solemnity of the meeting. Messers Hicks and Brown will keep a boarding tent. I think one or two Police to assist us on Saturday evening and Sunday will be all that will be necessary to maintain order.

As in our schools today, there were various highlights in the school program to break the routine. Beside commencement exercises which heralded the end of the school year, Christmas was always looked forward to with much anticipation. The school held a program, furnished a tree with decorations, carols were sung, and presents were distributed. Especially in the early years, the Friends from the East always sent out gifts. In 1880, their gift shipments included candy, nuts, and over 400 presents.²⁶

Even the routine school week had its lighter moments. Saturday mornings, the students were required to work about the school. Saturday afternoons they were free to play. A favorite pastime on Saturday was to gather at surrounding farms for a rabbit hunt. Forming long lines, the boys and girls moved slowly through the brush and meadow grass,

²² Report for January, 1880, Seneca School, Quapaw Agency, I. T., Indian Archives.

²³ *Annual Report*, 1898, pp. 153-4.

²⁴ *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 152.

²⁵ Rev. J. M. Iliff, Methodist Episcopal Church, Baxter Springs, Kansas, to D. B. Dyer, Indian Agent, Quapaw Agency, I. T., August 19, 1882, Indian Archives.

²⁶ Report for December, 1880, Seneca School, Quapaw Agency, I. T., Indian Archives.

beating the vegetation with sticks. "When it was snowy, they had pretty good luck, but whether it snowed or not, they enjoyed it."²⁷ Lost Creek, a clear, sparkling stream which coursed through the campus, attracted many youth in their recreation periods for fishing, swimming, and skating, depending on the season.²⁸

The school's annual schedule, running from September through most of June, permitted an extended summer holiday. In addition, a brief weekend vacation at home was permitted at the end of each six weeks.²⁹

During its first decade, the school closed for the Summer vacation. Several orphan children were enrolled through the years, however, and by 1880, the number was sufficiently large to necessitate remaining open during the summer vacation to supply a home for these unfortunates. Superintendent Charles Kirk had labored hard to obtain permission to care for the orphans during the summer months, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs order permitting him to afford them asylum was a high mark in his career as school administrator. "You are hereby directed to effect the necessary arrangements for the boarding and keeping of said orphans and funds for payment of the same will be sent you from this office upon receipt from you of an estimate covering the amount."³⁰ Thus the role of Wyandotte Mission was further diversified by serving the Seneca, Wyandot, and Shawnee tribes as an orphanage.

Maintaining regular attendance was a perennial problem for the school administrators. The attendance reports show a remarkable divergence between "students enrolled" and "students in attendance." As late as 1896, with an enrollment of 125, and an average attendance of 95, Andrew Taber complained of this problem to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and sought to explain why it persisted.³¹

It is rather difficult to make the average greater than 95, as the school is located about the center of the reservation in which our children live. Twelve miles is the longest distance any child would have to walk to get home. Therefore, they take advantage of many opportunities and run away. When the police or school employees go after them they can easily slip out from their homes and hide, making it impossible to get them back promptly. The agent has taken quite an interest in this line, and has given valuable assistance by the aid of his police in keeping the children in school.

²⁷ "Indian Pioneer Papers," the University of Oklahoma Library, Vol. XXI, p. 79.

²⁸ *Annual Report*, 1896, p. 150.

²⁹ "Indian Pioneer Papers," the University of Oklahoma Library, Vol. XXIII, p. 442.

³⁰ E. J. Brooks, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, to A. T. Kist, Indian Agent, Quapaw Agency, I. T., June 25, 1880.

³¹ *Annual Report*, 1896, p. 150.

The police referred to were Agency peace officers, recruited from the Indian tribes of the Quapaw jurisdiction. Besides meeting various law and order problems on the reservation, they served as truant officers for the school. Quapaw Agent Hiram Jones found that while the Seneca School officials were unable to cope with the problems of attendance adequately, his Indian Police had their limitations as truant officers, since the persistent offenders of the school attendance law could lead the officers a merry chase and generally succeed in eluding their pursuers in the thickly forested hills surrounding the campus. In desperation, Agent Jones wrote in 1876, to the Bureau of Indian Affairs for permission to use more drastic steps, including withholding of annuities:³²

As the success of Indian Civilization depends largely upon the education of the rising generation, I would call the attention of the department to the fact that true economy as well as humanity demands that ample facilities be afforded for this purpose; and I would recommend that means be adopted to make it compulsory on the parents to place their children in school and keep them there. This would in a great measure be effected by withholding the annuities of children of a suitable age to attend school who are kept out without a reasonable excuse.

The problem of attendance persisted, and a new twist appears in the *Report* for May, 1877, when it was charged that:³³

While most Indian children attend regularly, there are those who attend only long enough to be clothed and derive little benefit from the school. To remedy this evil . . . those in charge of the school should have authority to keep all who enter for a term not less than three months and if necessary have the assistance of officers to prevent outside interference.

Final authority to withhold annuities, for families dependent upon annuities for support a most drastic step, came in 1877 from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:³⁴

I find that great irregularity in attendance exists and that much trouble is given the managers of the schools in hunting truant children . . . thereby indicating a lack of interest on the part of the parents in the benefit to be derived by their children from regular attendance and the consequent education that is offered by the government In order to compel the attendance of pupils you are authorized to direct . . . the withholding of the annuity of each child of school age, who, without permission previously obtained from the agent, has not been placed in school during the preceding six months, or who, having been so placed, has been absent without permission.

³² *Annual Report*, 1876, p. 59.

³³ Report for May, 1877, Seneca School, Quapaw Agency, I. T., Indian Archives.

³⁴ J. L. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, to William Nicholson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, March 13, 1877, Indian Archives.

School attendance still continued a problem, indicated by the following directive sent by Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Agent D. B. Dyer, in 1881:³⁵

Regarding attendance of children at school over the opposition of parents, devise some plan by which . . . the attention of these children can be secured—some distinction should be made, in the distribution of implements, or goods, or whatever gratuities the Indians receive from the government between those families whose children attend school and those who refuse to send them.

The school superintendent had a number of problems aside from that of enforcing attendance. These included maintaining a faculty, finding competent replacements, and attracting them to the wilderness, raising school operating expenses, maintaining his plant, acquiring new equipment, and keeping his facilities at a level which would pass periodic inspections. Also, since his was a boarding school, feeding and clothing his charges, and maintaining a good level of health added to his responsibilities. The school records show a heavy turnover of staff, no small part of this attrition in personnel due to deaths incurred in the service of the school. Low salary and living in the wilderness isolation attracted only the dedicated, and often-times these were scarce. The school staff, consisting of a superintendent, teacher, assistant teacher, industrial teacher, matron, assistant matron, farmer, seamstress, laundress, and cook varied from year to year depending upon budget and availability of competent personnel.³⁶ Salary raises for teachers were authorized in 1884 to \$720 annually with small raises for other staff members, but it was not until 1898 that the Superintendent's salary was raised to \$1,000.³⁷

To compensate for the low salaries, it was the common practice for the Superintendent to hire his wife as teacher or matron. This nepotism inevitably invited criticism. Dr. Charles Kirk, a very popular administrator, contemplated resignation from the school staff when, although permitted to hire his wife as a staff member, had his request to hire a

³⁵ E. M. Marble, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, to D. B. Dyer, Indian Agent, Quapaw Agency, I. T., January 26, 1881, Indian Archives.

³⁶ Report for April, 1881, Seneca School, Quapaw Agency, I. T., Indian Archives. The salary schedule for 1881 shows staff positions and salary:

Superintendent	\$900 per year
Teacher	45 per month
Assistant Teacher	35 per month
Industrial Teacher	25 per month
Farmer	25 per month
Matron	500 per year
Assistant Matron	20 per month each
Seamstress	30 per month
Laundress	20 per month
Two cooks	20 per month

³⁷ Quarterly Report, Seneca School, Quapaw Agency, I. T., December 1, 1898, Indian Archives.



C. W. Kirk

The Reverend and Mrs. C. W. Kirk, of the Society of Friends
at the Wyandotte Mission, 1878.



Rachel H. Kirk

daughter as teacher turned down. When news of his decision to leave the school reached the Wyandot tribe, a protest meeting was held and a petition prepared for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.³⁸

The undersigned citizens of the Wyandotte Reservation, Indian Territory, do most respectfully petition the honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs to refuse to accept the resignation of Dr. C. W. Kirk as superintendent of the Wyandotte, Shawnee, and Seneca Mission School, situated in . . . Quapaw Agency, Indian Territory, and in order to retain him as superintendent we further ask that his wife be retained as matron and his daughter Ether (graduate of Earlham College) be placed on the roll of teacher at said Mission.

The influence of the Friends over the affairs of the school is shown in the correspondence emanating from the Kirk resignation, since like the Indians, the Friends too protested the possibility of his resignation by letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Its contents are divulged in a communication from the Commissioner to the Quapaw Agent.³⁹

Through Dr. Rhoades I am informed that Dr. Kirk is about to resign his position at the school owing to a refusal to allow him to employ his wife and daughter in the school. Dr. Rhoades deprecates the loss of such a man to the service, and in view of the good work already done by Dr. Kirk and the fact that his support is partially borne by the Society of Friends which entitles to consideration their wishes in the matter, I deem it best to make an exception in his favor, and to allow the employment of his wife and daughter provided they are competent to fill the proposed positions.

As events unfolded, since Dr. Kirk was permitted to retain his daughter as teacher and wife as matron, he remained at the head of the school.

Adequate operating expenses were always hard to obtain. In the early years, when religious interest was high, government appropriations of about \$9,500 annually were supplemented by money gifts, generally averaging \$1,000 per year from the Society of Friends.⁴⁰ Apparently this was seldom sufficient, since school officials were incessantly seeking supplemental funds and equipment from the government and the Friends. Requests ranged from beds, heating stoves, and shoes to horses, garden seeds, underwear and books, cows, and even a mule:⁴¹

³⁸ Petition of the Wyandotte Tribal Council, signed by I. P. Long, Wyandot Chief, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, via D. B. Dyer, Indian Agent, Quapaw Agency, I. T., October 1, 1883, Indian Archives.

³⁹ E. L. Stevens, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, to D. B. Dyer, Indian Agent, Quapaw Agency, I. T., September 27, 1883, Indian Archives.

⁴⁰ D. Hornor, Superintendent, Wyandotte Mission, to H. W. Jones, Indian Agent, Quapaw Agency, I. T., July 30, 1877, Indian Archives.

⁴¹ Charles W. Kirk, Superintendent, Seneca School, to D. B. Dyer, Indian Agent, Quapaw Agency, I. T., June 7, 1884, Indian Archives.

One of our mules was snake bitten a week ago and died last night. The mule team was our main dependence for plowing and tending the growing crops. I have supplied his place while sick by hiring another team a part of the time. I respectfully ask that another mule be purchased with which to complete our team. I think one can be procured at a cost of \$150.

Indian Office officials, delegations of Friends, and Tribal Council Committee visited the school periodically, and the reports of their findings supply interesting insights into its operation. Dr. James E. Rhoades, a leader in the Society of Friends, was a frequent visitor to the campus. His report following a visit in 1874 included a promise to supply pigs and cows, "both much needed for comfort and economy." Other projects which he admitted were "required for attaining our object of civilizing the Indian children" would include "before another winter some change in the stoves in the boys' sitting room. . . . lest the house should be burned down."⁴²

Inspection reports prepared by the Quapaw Agent describe internal conditions most graphically. For example, he found in 1885 that sleeping accommodations were limited to such an extent that from "thirty to forty girls sleep on one room while from forty to fifty boys sleep in another." The buildings were "badly decayed, and consequently are very unhealthy, and facilities are not adequate to give boys mechanical training they need."⁴³

A government inspector blistered the school administration in his findings for 1888:⁴⁴

An inspection report in regard to the . . . School, gives a most satisfactory account of its discipline and harmonious management; but makes one criticism which should not be overlooked. The school is reported as not being supplied with milk and dairy products. With the facilities for grazing possessed by the reserve, this should not be the case. As a matter of hygiene, the pupils should have an ample supply of milk, and as a matter of practical education, the girls should learn to care for milk and make butter, and the boys to care for stock. Please report to this office why there has been neglect in this respect, and what steps should be taken to remedy it.

The Wyandotte Tribal Council named a committee to visit the school at intervals, and generally they had nothing but praise to offer. A committee inspection made in 1874, however, resulted in the preparation of a petition to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs requesting that deplorable conditions

⁴² James E. Rhoades, Society of Friends, Philadelphia, Pa., to H. W. Jones, Indian Agent, Quapaw Agency, I. T., May 12, 1874, Indian Archives.

⁴³ *Annual Report*, 1885, pp. 97-98.

⁴⁴ J. D. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, to John V. Summers, Indian Agent, Quapaw Agency, I. T., April 8, 1888, Indian Archives.

found existing at the school be alleviated by removing certain staff members:⁴⁵

We as a council and in behalf of the nation, ask and demand the immediate removal of the parties, acting as farmer, matron, and teacher at the Wyandotte Mission The teacher either through negligence or want of discipline is not advancing his scholars in their studies, and that he suffers them to loiter in idleness in and about the school rooms and premises during school hours, and that the scholars are not making much if any progress, but upon the other hand are in some instances forgetting what they had learned from other teachers. And furthermore, that some of our neighbors among the Shawnees and Senecas for the above reasons refuse to send there [*sic*] children to school any longer
About the matron, the council had to say:⁴⁶

. . . . that part of the institution under the control of the matron is conducted in a manner without parrellell [*sic*] in the history of Missions among the Indians, there being no regard paid to teaching the children habits of cleanliness or decency. The beds and the clothing and bodies of the children are infested with vermin the greater part of the time and that the appearances in and about the premises are deplorable.

Providing clothing and food for over one hundred growing children was no small task. Several students have left their impression of the campus attire supplied by the school during these early years: "The boys had red duck pants put together with rivets, hickory shirts of blue and white, brogan shoes, common black hats, no socks and no underwear. The girls wore blue denim all made alike with coarse canton flannel underwear, heavy shoes, and the little girls had copper toes on their shoes."⁴⁷

The bill of fare was equally plain and furnishes interesting contrast to present day nutritional standards:⁴⁸

For breakfast we had boiled beef, gravy, light bread, and weak coffee. For dinner, cornbread, beans, gravy, and water. For supper, two tubs were filled with sliced light bread, in one tub two slices were put together with New Orleans molasses and there were rows of pegs about two feet apart, we boys took our place at these, one boy to a peg with the larger boys in front and these led up to where two women were in charge of the two tubs of bread and as a boy moved up to the peg in front of the tub one of the women would say "with or without" and if he said "with" he was given two slices of light bread put together with molasses and if it was "without" he was handed two slices of dry bread, these we took and went to where the pump was for water and this was our supper.

One student remembers that "during our first years, the eats were very short. As a Sunday 'extra' for dinner we had gingerbread."⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Petition of the Wyandotte Tribal Council to Enoch Hoag, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Lawrence, Kan., September 1, 1874, Indian Archives.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ "Indian Pioneer Papers," the University of Oklahoma Library, Vol. XXIII, p. 442.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. CIX, p. 372.

⁴⁹ "Indian Pioneer History," Vol. 109, p. 372, Indian Archives.

It was a source of constant complaint by the officials in Washington that the students consumed too much coffee and tea and that no milk was available.⁵⁰ The early reports show no cows, but only a pair of oxen for plowing and heavy work about the school. Through the years, mules, horses, and poultry plus some pigs were acquired and finally in 1889 a herd of cows was obtained. The stock ranged freely over the school reserve to be "hunted and brought in each evening to receive proper care."⁵¹

The quantity of government rations issued each year was contingent upon the amount of food which could be produced upon the school farm. Barring flood and drouth, the school was able to produce a goodly portion of its food needs. The acreage planted to crops varied from year to year. For example, in 1876, ninety acres were fenced with rails to keep out the stock and placed in cultivation, while in 1881, only forty-five acres were in use.⁵² Generally, the school staff and student body put out about five acres of potatoes and a similar acreage for other garden crops. The remaining acreage was rented on a one-third share basis to local farmers who planted the ground to corn, millet, and other grains.⁵³

For the school year 1884, when the Wyandotte Mission farm had seventy acres under cultivation, it received 700 bushels of corn, 300 bushels of oats, and eighty tons of hay as its share from renters. In addition, the school staff and student body were able to coax 100 bushels of potatoes, seven bushels of onions, five bushels of beans, and 200 pumpkins from the soil of Lost Creek Valley.⁵⁴

Besides teaching and a multitude of other duties, the school staff had the responsibility of nursing the children when they became ill. First aid equipment and a supply of home remedies were always on hand, since medical supplies

⁵⁰ A Rations Receipt, Seneca School, 1881, Indian Archives, gives typical ration list issued by the government for the school, showing the type and quantity of food consumed at Wyandotte Mission:

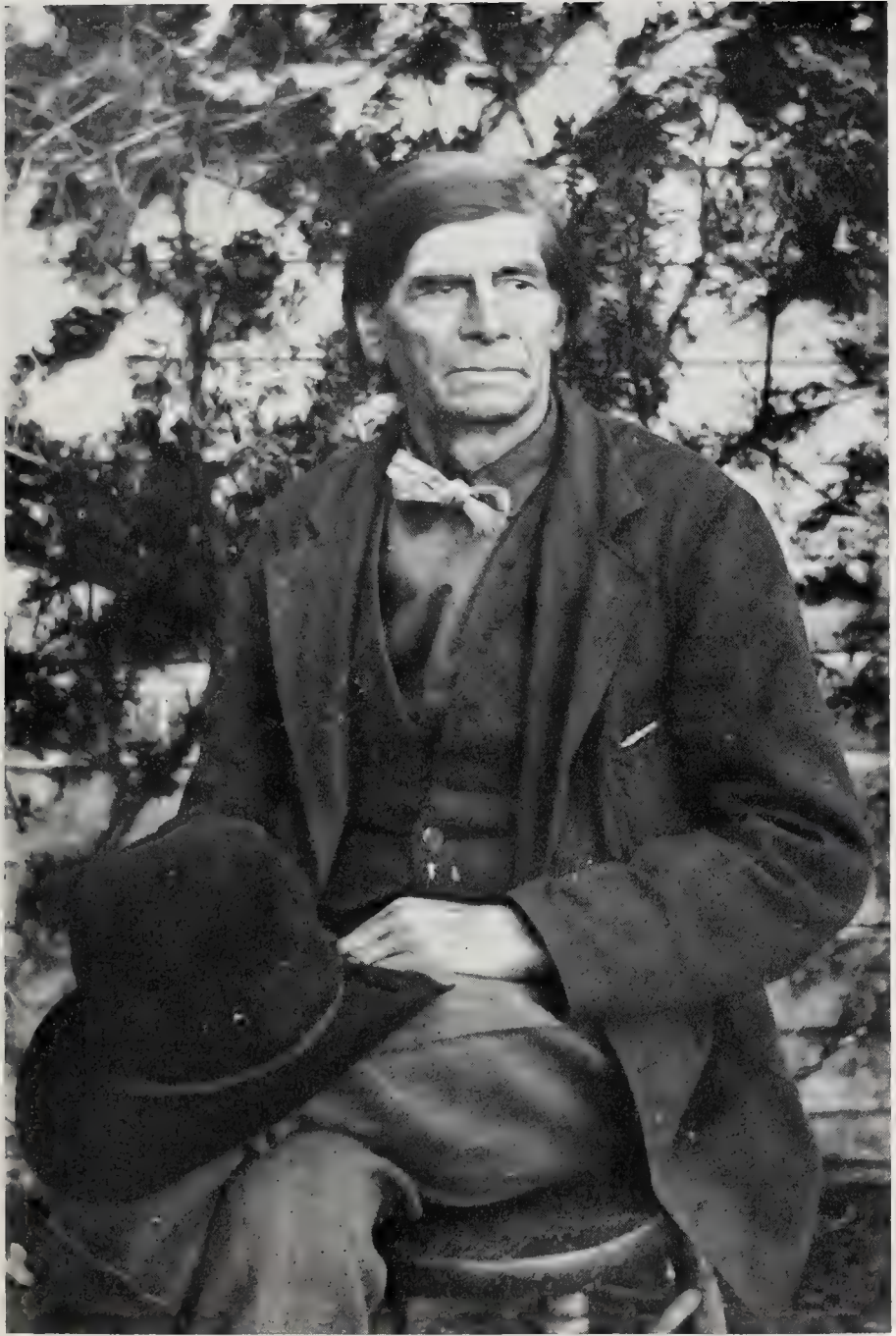
Baking Powder	97 pounds	Rice	377 pounds
Bacon	1672 "	Salt	661 "
Beef	16,822 "	Soap	661 "
Coffee	661 "	Sugar	1,386 "
Corn Meal	2,150 "	Tea	65 "
Dried Fruit	986 "	Beans	666 "
Flour	17,564 "	Syrup	131 gallons
Hominy	277 "		

⁵¹ *Annual Report*, 1897, p. 137.

⁵² Report for November, 1881, Seneca School, Quapaw Agency, I. T., Indian Archives.

⁵³ *Annual Report*, 1888, p. 110.

⁵⁴ Report for November, 1884, Seneca School, Quapaw Agency, I. T., Indian Archives.



(Kirk Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society)

Irvin P. Long, Chief of the Wyandot, who signed the Petition of the Wyandot Council, in 1883.

were delivered with food rations each quarter.⁵⁵ When home remedies failed, the school officials called in the Quapaw Agency physician. His duties included regular visits to the campus to check on ventilation and sanitation.⁵⁶ The infirmary reports show that colds, ague, inflammatory eyes, constipation, malarial fever, pneumonia, some scrofula, and the common childhood diseases, including mumps, scarlet fever, chicken pox, and measles were the most common ailments affecting the student body. Epidemic rate of various diseases was reached only in measles, which is remarkable when one considers the number of students, crowded conditions in the dormitories, and the limited nature of therapy for the times. The most serious outbreak of measles occurred in the Spring of 1882, and the *Report* for April of that year shows no classes conducted, no grades for students, no attendance reports; only a commendation for the school staff which rendered service beyond the call of duty to nurse the student body back to health, and an obituary:⁵⁷

So many are on the sick list that school is suspended and the full time of all the staff is spent on caring for the children. The Agent authorized closing the school for two weeks to permit cleaning and fumagating buildings, clothing, bedding, etc. Of 41 cases, 32 had good recovery, nine were followed by serious lung complications, and three have died.

Through sickness and health, fire and flood, time of want and never of plenty, the Seneca School persisted in its mission to light the lamp of civilization in the wilderness at Wyandotte. The first thirty years of its existence were the critical ones. By 1900, it had come to be regarded as an indispensable agency for meeting the basic intellectual and spiritual needs of the Seneca, Shawnee and Wyandot people. Thereafter, government support increased as did general public interest, and its existence was assured for at least another half century and longer.

Today, the Seneca School at Wyandotte is regarded as one of the leading schools in the Indian Service. Its contem-

⁵⁵ Medical Receipt, Seneca School, Quapaw Agency, I. T., March 31, 1875, Indian Archives, acknowledging delivery of the school's apothecary quota, reveals the items stocked by the infirmary, and from it, one may infer the most common ailments treated at the school:

Paregoric	One quart
Calomel	One-quarter pound
Castor Oil	One quart
Camphor	One pint
Quince	Two ounces
Oil of Peppermint	One ounce

⁵⁶ *Annual Report*, 1892, p. 247.

⁵⁷ Report for April, 1882, Seneca School, Quapaw Agency, I. T., Indian Archives.

porary status in the field of Indian education is due in no small part to the vision and sacrifice of its founders. What were the rewards of these wilderness educators? Certainly not salary or recognition. The return they received from their investment of time, energy, vision, and sometimes life, must be calculated in terms of the useful citizens produced by the school, the leaders for local Indian groups, and the rich intellectual and Christian heritage of the Society of Friends which still permeates the community. Many Seneca School graduates went on for further study, their intellectual appetites whetted by the basic instruction received at Wyandotte. In one year alone, "fourteen went to Indian Schools in the States" for advanced study. Eight selected Carlisle, while five enrolled at Haskell, and one at White's Institute.⁵⁸

Superintendent Andrew Atchison's summary of the role played by the Seneca School in the Wyandotte community supplies a fitting epilogue for the early years at the mission.⁵⁹

From such a continued line of Christian education we might expect to find many decided results. An examination of the field compels us to admit that education is a slow process, attended by considerable loss and waste; yet the gains are very apparent. The Indian population entirely dependent upon the Seneca, etc. Boarding School for primary education during the past nineteen years has numbered 600 and upward. More than 80 per cent of those between the ages of 5 and 35 years can read and write. Six persons have qualified themselves for teaching in primary studies. A larger number of young men are fairly qualified for the management of farm work, and everywhere, in the door yards and dwelling houses and dress of the people, may be seen the evidences of education among the women. Indeed, the education of a girl is worth much more to the cause of Indian civilization than that of a boy. About 15 per cent of the Indian families of these tribes are subscribers for newspapers, and a few families have begun to collect libraries. However, those who now oppose education and Christianity are as few as those who favored them nineteen years ago and the prospect is bright for the future.

⁵⁸ Report for June, 1885, Seneca School, Quapaw Agency, I. T., Indian Archives.

⁵⁹ *Annual Report*, 1891, p. 238.

AMERICAN INDIAN CORN DISHES

By Muriel H. Wright

Indian corn or maize, now simply called "corn" in this country, was the great food plant, native to the Western World, grown by the American Indian agricultural tribes in what is now the United States and Canada long before the discovery of America. Small ears of flint corn have been found by archaeologists in caves in the northwestern part of the Oklahoma Panhandle region, the dwelling places of the Basket Makers, a prehistoric Indian people whose main habitat was in present Southwestern Colorado. Some of these ears of corn are on exhibit in the Museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society, with other objects of the Basket Maker culture. Early French explorers in Oklahoma found the Caddoan tribes growing large fields of corn near the tribal villages on the Arkansas and Red rivers. The Spaniards who explored and made their settlements along the Atlantic Coast from Florida to Virginia within a few years after the discovery of America, depended largely on supplies of corn for food from the friendly Indians in that region, tribes or related tribes whose descendants live in Oklahoma. Likewise the Mayflower Pilgrims and early English colonists in New England were supplied corn for food by friendly Indians there. General Anthony Wayne wrote in 1794 about the Indian settlements along the beautiful river of "Miami of the Lake" and other Ohio rivers, the margins of which appeared like one continuous village for many miles, adding "nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America from Canada to Florida." Descendants of these tribes make their homes in present Ottawa County, Oklahoma—Wyandot, Miami, Ottawa and others.

The Five Civilized Tribes in the Southeastern States grew corn as the main food crop, from ancient times and after their removal to the Indian Territory in the 1830's. The Choctaws, pre-eminently the agriculturists of these Five Tribes, grew large quantities of this staple crop. They and their cousin tribe, the Chickasaws, call corn *tanchi* (pronounced tahn' chih).¹ The Cherokee name for corn is *tsalu* (pronounced nearly saw' luh). The Creek and the Seminole word for corn is *uche* (pronounced uh' chee), given in the Creek Dictionary as *uce*

¹The Choctaw and Chickasaw words and names of dishes are given in this article, as found in *Chahta Leksikon* by Allen Wright (St. Louis, 1880), and in *A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language* by Cyrus Byington, John S. Swanton and Henry S. Halbert, editors (*Bulletin* 46, Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Washington, 1915).

(the *v* used for short sound of *u*, and *c* pronounced as *ch* in church.)²

Hominy is the basic corn dish for all of the Five Tribes. People who have lived in Southeastern Oklahoma for many years are perhaps familiar with the Choctaw hominy dish called "Tom Fuller," a name that arose in attempt to pronounce the Choctaw word for hominy, *taⁿ fula* (tahn-fuh' lah), phonetically in English. The Cherokee word for hominy is *kanohena* (pronounced kah-nah-hay' nah), though it is usually found written *conihani*, and pronounced "kah-nih-hay' nih."³ The correct word for hominy among the Creeks and Seminoles is *osafki* (pronounced oh-saf' kih), found usually written and pronounced simply "sofky."

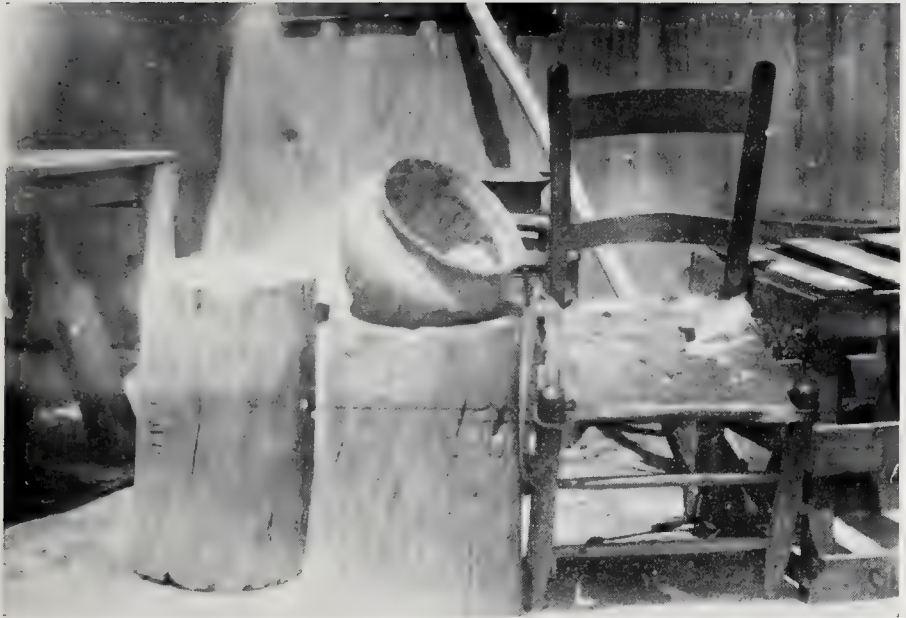
The first step in preparing dried corn for hominy was in pounding and breaking the grains by means of wooden mortar and pestle, the same general method being used by all the Five Civilized Tribes and other Woodland Tribes in the Indian Territory. The mortar and pestle, in fact, were necessary in preparing practically every corn dish.

The wooden mortar was made from a log block about two feet long, cut from the trunk of a tree with a diameter of 12 to 16 inches, post oak being preferable. The log block was set upright on one end forming the base; the other end was hollowed out to form a receptacle as much as eighteen inches deep. This was done by burning the top center of the log, and scraping out the charred wood until a cavity the desired depth was made. The fire was carefully started on top of the wood, and kept going by gentle fanning, or by blowing the breath through a piece of cane guided round and round to make a cavity even and symmetrical. The best mortar was hollowed down evenly and wide to about half the depth, then narrowed to the bottom of the receptacle, the wide opening with the narrow bottom serving to keep the grains from spilling over the top when the corn was pounded with the pestle.

The wooden pestle was cut from a five-foot section of small tree trunk, preferably hickory, about six inches in diameter. Some four-fifths of this length was shaved down to form a handle about two inches in diameter that could be easily grasped in the hands. Since boys and girls when they grew tall enough helped their mothers grind the corn, some-

² The Creek words and names of dishes are given in this article as found in *English and Muskogee Dictionary* by R. M. Loughridge and David M. Hodge (Philadelphia, 1914).

³ The Cherokee words and names for some dishes are given in this article as found in the Glossary of Cherokee Words found in "Myths of the Cherokee" by James Mooney, *19th Annual Report*, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. (Washington, 1900.)



(From original photo in Jennie M. Elrod Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society)

Indian home equipment for making hominy, showing wooden mortars and pestles and jar of native pottery.



(From original photo in Jennie M. Elrod Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society)

Indian women preparing corn for hominy.

times the wooden handle was shaved down for a short space about midway so small hands could grasp it for the work. The wood at the top of the handle was rounded and smoothed off somewhat but left at its original size to serve as a weight, this heavy end being held upright while the small end of the handle was used to pound and crush the grain.⁴

Besides the wooden mortar and pestle, the set of three baskets—the fanner, riddle and container—for sifting and cleaning the ground corn are still seen in some Indian homes in remote parts of Eastern Oklahoma. These three baskets are made from split cane, especially among the Choctaws.⁵ Sometimes the fanner is made of white oak wythes by the Cherokees and the Creeks but this is heavier to use than that of split cane. The Choctaw women were especially proficient in making the baskets of cane gathered along the southern streams in their part of the country where it was seen long after the canebrakes were killed out in other parts of the Indian Territory. It has recently been reported that cane is growing up again in some places along the Kiamichi River in the old Choctaw country where occasionally one can get a set of the cane baskets for preparing hominy.

The fanner is woven of split cane in the shape of shovel about thirty inches long, with one end open and flat; the other end, with the edges rolled up about four inches forms a pocket-like receptacle. The fanner is held in the hands and shaken to toss the broken pieces of grain so that the husks gather at the front, open end and the broken kernels roll back into the pocket-like receptacle. During the process, the husks are blown off, or fanned off in the wind, at the open end of the basket. The broken grain is next placed in the riddle, a coarsely woven basket used as a sieve, and the small pieces sifted into the large flat basket or container. This part of the broken grain is like grits, and is generally used for the plain boiled hominy. The large pieces of grain are set aside and used for making different dishes with boiled meats or vegetables. Either of the grindings after being cleaned of the husks can be put back into the mortar for making meal. The corn meal and fine corn flour take longer pounding with the pestle.

⁴ Descriptions of the wooden mortar and pestle in this article are from those given the author many years ago by her father, the late Dr. E. N. Wright of Olney, and by the late Hon. Peter J. Hudson of Tuskahoma, Oklahoma. Rev. Jesse Hume, the Chickasaw minister of the Methodist Indian Mission Church at Antlers, recently gave similar descriptions of these two utensils.

⁵ The Choctaw names for these three cane baskets in the set for making hominy are: the fanner, *ufkoh*; the riddle or sifter, *isht yuha* (or *isht okchilla*); the large basket container, *tupak*.

The amount of corn that can be ground at one time depends upon the size of the mortar, an eighteen inch depth taking about a gallon of grain. Among the different ways of preparing the corn for grinding, the one used by the best Indian cooks is to soak the amount of shelled dry corn—the white flint variety preferred—in a solution of ash-lye over night, the grain placed in a large vessel and well covered with cool water to which a cupful of ash-lye liquid has been added. The corn is drained in the morning, and pounded lightly in the mortar with the pestle in an up-and-down churning motion until the husks are all free from the grain. This is placed in a fanner, a portion at a time, and the husks cleaned off. The clean, soaked corn is pounded in the mortar for large hominy, grits or meal as desired, the broken grain taken out and sifted from time to time during the process to separate the larger pieces and the meal. Old timers maintain that bread made of corn meal pounded in a wooden mortar is much more nutritious and better tasting than that made of meal ground by later milling methods which destroy the life and natural sweetness of the corn meal by too high speed in the grinding.

Another and quicker way to prepare corn for hominy is with the use of wood ashes. A cupful of cold water is poured over the dry corn in the mortar, and a small amount of clean wood ashes is sprinkled well over the mass of grain. The husks will soon peel off the grain with light pounding, and can be cleaned out in the fanner. The corn should then be broken in the mortar, about four pieces to the grain when it is ready for boiling. The ashes give a slightly grayish look to the ground corn when this method is used but add to the flavor of the hominy.

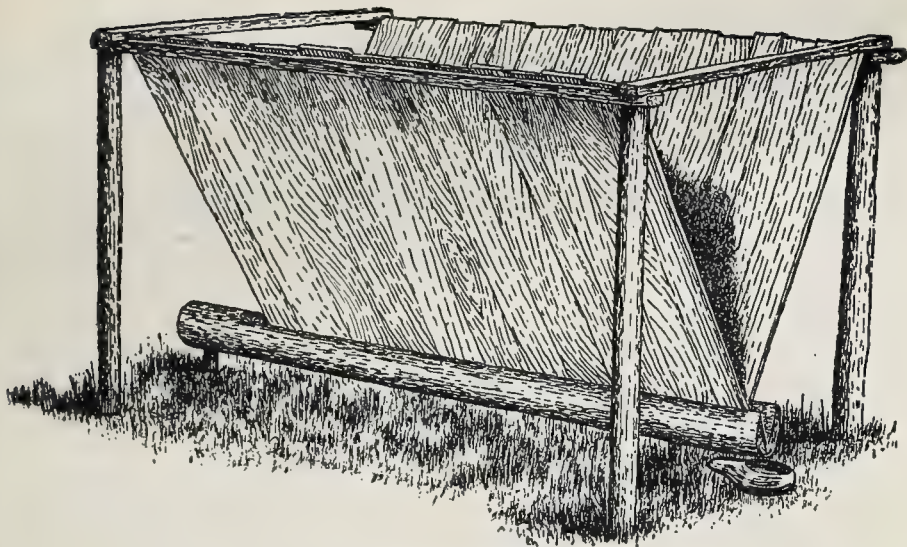
The making of wood-ash lye is something else the Indian cook knows how to do. A quantity of clean wood ashes is placed in an old fashioned ash hopper set up in the yard, and a comparatively small amount of cold water is poured over the ashes. The water seeps through the ash pile, dripping out as a yellow solution of lye which is caught in a gourd dipper or vessel to save for use. White flint corn that is soaked in water with a small amount of the lye solution overnight before it is ground in the mortar will come out as clear white grits or meal.

An ingredient needed for some Indian corn dishes takes the place of soda: Dry pea hulls (black eyed peas) are roasted to ashes in an iron kettle. Enough cold water is added to the ashes to form a soft mixture that can be rolled into small balls the size of a walnut. The balls are set out to dry, and then stored and can be kept indefinitely for use. A small amount



(Jenette M. Elrod Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society)

Utensils used in making Indian corn dishes: wooden mortars and pestles; set of three cane baskets—fanner above, riddle or sifter and container below—; and iron pot.



ASH HOPPER

Hand rived boards (oak preferred) about 6 x 24 inches are set up V fashion in a log trough to form a container from 4 to 6 feet long, in which wood ashes are placed, the boards left loose at the top to lean against a wooden frame erected over the trough. A gallon of water, or more according to the amount of ashes, seeps through the ashes as a lye solution that drips out of the lower, open end of the trough into a gourd or small vessel.

of this dried mixture gives a greenish tinge and special flavor to the food.⁶

Some dishes known and used by the Indians for more than one hundred and fifty years are given here:

CHOCTAW AND CHICKASAW DISHES⁷

Taⁿfula (Hominy): Pour boiling water over a quart of corn grits, or finely cracked corn, enough to cover it well, and add two tablespoonsful of ash-lye solution. Boil the corn in a heavy kettle three or four hours, or until the corn is tender and well done, stirring occasionally while cooking to keep it from sticking. Water should be added during the boiling as needed. The hominy is loose with some liquid and a light yellow color when done.

Taⁿfula Hawushko (Sour Hominy): Set freshly cooked hominy (*Taⁿfula*) in a moderate temperature, and let it stand until

⁶ Original manuscript by Melvina Reed, in the author's collection of notes on Indian history.

⁷ Based on a manuscript of notes for making Choctaw and Chickasaw dishes written by Melvina Reed (Choctaw) in 1922, during a Methodist Indian Mission Conference attended by many full blood Choctaw and Chickasaw women who were consulted in writing the notes. These notes were written at the special request of Dr. and Mrs. E. N. Wright of Olney, Oklahoma.

fermentation takes place. This dish should have an abundance of liquid as it is eaten much like soup. This liquid is also given to quench the thirst in cases of fever.

Pishofa (Hominy with meat): Boil a quart, or more if needed, of the coarsely cracked corn until tender, a good two hours. Add fresh pork (or some kind of fresh meat) equal to half the amount of boiled corn, and cook two hours or longer until the meat is thoroughly done. This is very rich food.

Paluska (Bread): Scald carefully one quart, or more if needed, of fine corn meal into a firm mass, and bake it in an oven forty-five minutes to one hour. A Dutch oven is preferable for baking the bread as it retains more moisture when cooked this way. This is plain corn bread for immediate use.

Paluska Hawushko (Sour Bread): Pour lukewarm water to cover well and soak a quart (more or less) of finely cracked corn, and let stand over night. The next morning, put the soaked grain into fine corn meal, and add enough boiling water to make a stiff batter. Let the batter stand until it has fermented slightly, something like yeast bread. Bake the fermented mixture in a Dutch oven, under moderate heat until done, at least one hour.

Paluska Holbi (Bread in shucks): Stir carefully enough boiling water into fine corn meal (quart, or more if needed) to make a stiff dough. Mold this into small loaves or rolls, and wrap each in clean corn shucks that have been soaked in water to make them pliable; tie the ends and the middle of each roll with strips of shucks to keep the rolls in shape. Bury these rolls in hot ashes, and cook for one hour. When baked, scrape off the ashes before serving.

Bunaha (Boiled Corn Bread with beans): This dish requires some whole dried beans that have been soaked in cold water added to the corn meal, and some of the ashes of dried peas enough to give a greenish color to the mixture when boiling water is added to make a stiff dough. Form the dough into small rolls, and wrap each in corn shucks and tie with strips of shucks. Place the covered rolls in a kettle of boiling water, and simmer at least one hour. Remove the shuck bread from the liquid, and serve. Instead of dried beans, pieces of raw sweet potato and hickory nut meats can be used in this recipe to make a rich dish of *Bunaha*.

Paluska Mihlofah (Grated Bread): Select green corn in the full-milk stage before it has dried or grown tough. Shuck the ears, and grate the corn from the cob on a coarse grater. Sift the resulting meal to separate any large pieces of corn, and mix the meal with hot water to make plain corn bread (*q. v.*).

This bread made of fresh meal is delicious. In tribal days before tin or iron utensils were introduced by foreign traders, the grater used in making fresh meal was the jaw bone with the teeth of a deer. A coarse tin grater was the utensil used generally in Indian Territory days. This recipe has been varied sometimes in recent years by using milk and two or three eggs in stirring up the corn meal with an added small amount of baking powder according to directions on the can.

Botah Kapussa (Cold Flour): Shell corn from the cob when the grain has reached the stage where it is firm but not dry. Place the shelled corn in a large pot of hot ashes, keeping the pot over coals of fire until the corn is parched a golden brown, in the meantime stirring the grain to keep it from scorching. Put the corn into the fanner, and clean off the ashes. Next pound the corn in the mortar until the husks are loosened. Again clean out the husks from the grain in the fanner. Beat the clean corn into flour in the mortar. This parched corn flour may be sweetened with enough sugar to taste. Add enough water to dampen a small serving, and eat as a cereal. A small amount of *botah kapussah* will go a long way as food. In tribal times, the Indian hunter took a small bag of this unsweetened food with him on long expeditions, often traveling many days with nothing else to eat except *botah kapussah*, a little at a time generally mixed with water. This cold flour was a boon on a long hunting expedition because a small amount was nourishing, and a bag of it was light and easy to carry.

Walakshih (Dumpling): Wild grapes are gathered in the fall, and they may be used fresh or put away to dry on the stems to be used when wanted. The grapes are boiled and strained through a sieve, or a cotton sack, only the juice being used. The juice may be sweetened with sugar to taste, or with honey which was the only sweetening used in early times. Make some corn meal into a stiff dough like that for plain corn bread. Drop small pieces of this dough into the boiling grape juice. Cook until the juice is thickened and the dough thoroughly done. *Walakshih* was always furnished by the bride's parents at Choctaw weddings while the bridegroom's relatives furnished the venison.

CHEROKEE DISHES⁸

Big Hominy: Cover one-half gallon of shelled white corn with a solution of water and ash-lye in a large kettle, and boil until the husks are loosened. Pour off the lye water, and wash

⁸ Based on manuscripts of notes for making Cherokee dishes, by Mrs. Emma Cunningham and Mrs. Pauline Mann (Cherokees) sent in 1918, to Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn by Dr. Emmet Starr, the Cherokee historian.

the corn thoroughly and clean out the husks, in clear water. Cover the corn with two gallons of water, and boil four hours until tender. Keep plenty of water on the corn, adding water when necessary during the boiling. The boiled hominy can be further prepared as a dish by seasoning it with butter or bacon drippings; or it can be fried in bacon drippings.

Conihani (Hominy): Cover a quart of shelled, white corn with cold water to which three tablespoonsful of ash-lye solution has been added, and soak for two or three hours. Pour off the solution, and pound the corn into small pieces in a mortar. Sift out the meal, and fan off the husks from the larger pieces of broken grain (these should be about 5 or six pieces to the grain). Place the large pieces of grain in a gallon of water, and boil for three hours, skimming off any pieces of husk that might rise to the top and adding water as needed. Then add the sifted meal, and cook another hour letting the mixture simmer until done. Add water if needed, and cook slowly.

Coweesiti (Cold Flour): Shell corn from the cob before the grain is dry and hard. Put the shelled corn into an iron pot of hot ashes, and parch the grain, keeping the pot on live coals and stirring the grain occasionally to keep it from scorching. When done a golden brown, clean off the ashes in a fanner, and pound the grain to flour with a mortar and pestle (or grind in a "hand mill"). Mix a small amount of this "cold flour" for a drink which may be sweetened to taste if preferred.

Kurniska (Dried Corn). Boil roasting-ears of corn until about done, and cut the corn from the cob. Lay the corn on a sheet in the sunlight until the grain is perfectly dry. This drying process will take several hours in hot sunshine, and the grain should be stirred occasionally. The dried corn can be stored in jars or bags. Soak a pint or more as needed in cold water over night, and boil until done before serving.

Tic-a-noo-lee (meaning "wrapped up"): Select roasting-ears in the full milk stage before the corn is dry and hard; shuck the ears, and grate the corn from the cob on a coarse grater. Mix the fresh, grated corn meal to a stiff dough, and add boiled beans. Form the mixture into rolls, wrap each roll in green corn blades or shucks and tie with strips of shucks. Cover the rolls with boiling water in a pot, and boil until done. The rolls taken out of the liquid and eaten hot with butter makes a dish worth while. This dish is called "Dog Heads" when cooked with beans; and "Broad Swords" when the meal is cooked plain without beans.

Pumpkin Bread: Scald a quart of meal to a stiff dough, and add about half cooked pumpkin (mashed). Form the mixture into pones, and bake until brown in a Dutch oven.

Corn Dumplings: Scald a quart of meal to a stiff dough, and add cooked beans. Drop pieces of the mixture into boiling water, and boil until done. This dish is called "bean dumpling." There is also a dish without beans, called "lye dumpling," made by scalding a quart of corn meal to a stiff dough to which a half teacup of weak ash-lye solution is added. Drop pieces of the corn dough mixture into the solution of water and ash-lye when it is brought to a boil, and boil until done. Sometimes this corn is boiled in soup or meat stock. The water or stock must be boiling when the corn dough is dropped into it or the dumplings will separate into a mush.

Conutchi (Hickory nuts in Conihani): Select a quart, or more if needed, of clean, dry hickory nuts. Crack the nuts, and pick out the large pieces of hulls, or separate the large pieces in a riddle. Pound the nut meats to a paste in a mortar, and form the paste into large balls which can be stored and kept for a time until used. Take a portion of a ball of dried paste, pour hot water over it to melt the paste to a liquid. Strain the liquid through a cloth to remove any shell. A few spoonful of this liquid added to a serving of conihani, sweetened to taste with honey or sugar if desired, makes a delicious and very rich dish.

CREEK AND SEMINOLE DISHES⁹

Sofky (correct form "osafki"—Hominy): Shell good, clean and dried flint corn from the cob, enough to have a peck or more of the shelled grain to prepare *sofky* for several meals. Cover the shelled corn with cool water, and soak over night. Pound the soaked corn, or a portion, lightly in a wooden mortar enough to break the grains in half. Place the pounded corn in a fanner, and clean out the hulls. Put the clean, broken grain into a large vessel, cover with water and boil until thoroughly done. Add water if necessary from time to time to keep the hominy in a loose fluid. When it is cooked thoroughly, add ash-lye solution in the proportion of a cupful to a gallon of the boiling hominy, stirring it regularly for it will scorch easily. Boil the hominy with the ash-lye solution for at least another half hour, then pour it into a stone jar to keep and serve. The Creek informant for this method of making *sofky* added an old saying: "As long as the Indian can eat and drink *osafki*, he will not go dead."

Tuk-like-tokse (Sour Bread): It takes three days to prepare this bread according to the old way. A peck or even more of

⁹ Based on a manuscript of penciled notes written by Charles Gibson (Creek), of Eufaula, in 1918, sent to Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn.

clean, shelled flint corn is prepared for making a quantity of this bread to have on hand for several meals. The shelled corn is placed in a large vessel, covered with luke warm water and soaked over night. The soaked corn, a portion at a time, is pounded lightly in the wooden mortar so as not to crush the grain yet loosen the hulls. Then the grain is put into a fanner and the hulls cleaned out. The clean corn is soaked another night as before. The next step in the preparation is to pound the soaked corn in a mortar to fine meal, in which there is always a small portion of fine grits. Sift out the meal, and boil the grits down in water to a gruel thoroughly done. Mix the meal with the gruel, and place the mixture in an earthen jar holding anywhere from two to ten gallons. The jar should be placed near a fire where it can be kept warm. The third morning the dough will be fermented a little, and ready to put into a Dutch oven to be baked very slowly an hour or longer until done. This bread by adding a little salt and soda to the dough before baking will be whiter than any flour bread when cooked done, having a delicious taste actually sweet without sugar.

Puya-fekcu-ahke (translation, "Imitation of a Ghost" or Shuck Bread): Shell two dozen ears of good flint corn. Cover the grain in a pot or kettle with water, and sift into this two cupsful of fresh wood ashes. Boil the corn in the solution two hours, and let it cool. Rinse off the ashes with clear water, and rub off the hulls from the grains with the hands. The corn will be very tender. Pound it in a mortar to fine meal, taking the pounded grain out of the mortar a few times in the process to sift out the fine meal, putting the coarse portion back into the mortar for more pounding until all has been made into meal. Pour boiling water over a quart, or more if needed, to make a stiff dough of this meal, adding a small portion of the ashes of dried pea hulls which will give the dough a greenish color and a special flavor. Form pieces of this stiff dough into rolls, three to four inches long, pressing about three thumb prints into opposite sides of each roll. Wrap the rolls of dough in clean corn shucks, tying the bundles at the end and the middle with strips of shuck, the finger marks in the rolls of dough serving to hold the shucks in place. Now, the small bundles should be placed in a kettle of *boiling* water and boiled for about a half hour until the corn meal dough is done. The bundles should be taken out of the water and can be served either hot or cold, a favorite bread among the Indian people.

Pumpkin Bread: Cut a very sweet, ripe pumpkin into pieces, peel and boil the pulp down to a butter mash. Stir corn meal into the hot pumpkin mash (using no extra water) to form a



(From original photo in Jennie M. Elrod Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society)

A Creek Indian mother who taught the old time recipe for making osafki.

stiff dough. Form the dough into small loaves, and bake in a Dutch oven until done, about an hour or longer. This is considered a "powerful good bread."

Mixed Corn and Wheat Flour Bread: Mix about a half pound of wheat flour with a proportionate amount of the corn meal dough taken from the earthen jar for "sour bread." Add salt to taste, a very little baking soda and a small amount of yeast, and let the mixture sit in a warm place about fifteen hours. Form the dough into a loaf, and bake until thoroughly done, an hour or longer.

Chuto-ahake (translation "Resembling a Rock"—Hard Bread): A gallon, or more if needed, of shelled flint corn should be soaked over night in a strong solution of ash-lye (water with added ash-lye drippings). Pour off any excess solution in the morning. Pound the corn in the mortar and break the grain into large pieces. Clean off the husks from the grain in a fanner. Pound the clean, broken grain to meal, taking the mass out of the mortar and sifting it from time to time until all the grain is pounded down to a fine meal. Mix a quart of this meal to a stiff dough with boiling water to which add about a cupful of strong ash-lye drippings. A larger amount of dough can be made by using the same proportions of meal and ash-lye drippings. Form pieces of the dough into the shape and size of ordinary doughnuts, with a hole in the center, and bake these in a Dutch oven until thoroughly done. place the freshly baked bread in the sunshine until perfectly dry. It will be hard as wood. The rings of hard bread were strung on heavy string, and hung on the wall or rafters to keep indefinitely. Creek Indian hunters used to carry strings of this bread tied to their saddles, on long hunting expeditions, without cover from rain or snow or any kind of weather. The backbone joints of fresh game—antelope, deer, buffalo—were stewed until tender; then a dozen or so of the hard, dry corn bread rings were put into the pot and after cooking for a little while they softened and mixed in the stew. It is told that this was the Creek Indian hunter's choice bread; it was his ration on the war path.

QUAPAW DISHES¹⁰

Bean Bread: A pound of brown beans cooked until well done but not mushy, with plenty of liquid is mixed with a gallon

¹⁰ Based on notes for making Quapaw dishes, given by Mrs. Pauline Whitebird (a Cherokee), wife of Robert Whitebird, full blood Quapaw, sent recently to the author by Mrs. Velma Nieberding, of Miami, Oklahoma. Mrs. Whitebird was taught the Old Quapaw recipes by her husband's mother. The Quapaw names for these dishes in the native language have been forgotten.

of fine corn meal made from white or blue corn (so-called "squaw corn") in a mortar with the grain pounded down fine and the husks fanned off in the process. The cooked beans and liquid should be hot to boiling when mixed with the fine corn meal to make a stiff dough. Have ready clean corn shucks trimmed and soaked in hot water to make them pliable. Form the stiff corn and bean dough into rolls, and wrap each with corn shucks tying the ends and the middle of the roll with strips of shucks to keep its form. Drop the rolls into a large pot of boiling water, and boil until the shuck bread floats to the top of the water (about thirty minutes). This bread left in the shuck keeps well in the refrigerator. It can be served either hot or cold. A variation is to cut the bread into thin slices, brown them lightly in bacon drippings and serve with crumbled, browned bacon.¹¹

Pecan Butter: Parch slowly in an oven until brown two gallons of shelled dry, blue corn. Pound the parched corn in a mortar until it is as fine as flour. This takes a lot of time since during the process of pounding, the grain is taken out of the mortar several times and sifted and pounded again in the mortar until it is a fine, silky flour. Have ready about four pounds of shelled pecan meats browned slowly in the oven, and pounded in the mortar to a paste. Combine the pecan paste and the fine corn flour, adding sugar to taste. This is a rich spread like peanut butter, and can be eaten as a dessert on crackers or bread.

Parched Hominy Soup. Use the portion of coarse pounded corn sifted out when the corn flour was made for pecan butter. A cupful of these corn leavings will make a large pot of soup. This soup is served thickened with a little parched corn flour and seasoned with salt as a nourishing dish for the sick. Parched corn flour is also used to thicken squirrel stew.

Ten Day Bread: This corn bread keeps well ten days. It is made like the regular "bean bread," using kidney beans and adding a small amount of the ashes of the dried bean hulls for soda when mixing the corn meal to a stiff dough. This is cooked in a Dutch oven until thoroughly done and hard. It softens quickly in water, milk or gravy in serving. The stiff dough of this recipe, with or without the beans, can be rolled on sticks and cooked over a fire of coals until done to serve as hot bread.

¹¹ Wyandot Indian dishes are described in "Mon-dah-min and the Redman's old uses of Corn as Food" by Hentoh (the late B. N. O. Walker, the noted Wyandot author), published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume XXXV, No. 2 (Summer, 1957), pp. 194-203.

A WALKING TOUR IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY, 1874

By *Claiborne Addison Young*

INTRODUCTION

This account of a walking tour in the Indian Territory was published in the Cherokee Advocate at Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation on July 25, 1874. The writer, Claiborne Addison Young, apparently had lived in New York City, probably connected with some newspaper there. Mr. Young's first hand description of places visited in the Cherokee Nation and the Quapaw Agency region, now Ottawa County, makes lively reading in history. Most of the persons with whom he visited and talked have been generally forgotten yet they were known as cattlemen, teachers, merchants or outstanding citizens in their day. The visit at the home of Mrs. Sarah Bell Watie, widow of the famous Cherokee, General Stand Watie of the Confederate States Army, gives a beautiful impression of this lady. Editorial notes have been added that may throw some light on Mr. Young's story here in The Chronicles, giving a picture of a part of the Indian Territory that only recently had seen the building of its first railroad.*

—Editor

THE INDIAN TERRITORY

“You’ll have a rough time.” “Whites are all cut-throats and scape-gallows. “Full-bloods won’t talk to you when they can speak English.” “Look out for your scalp.” “Yankees talk about poor Indian! He’s got all he deserves and more, too.” “That’s the finest country in the world, that Indian nation.” These and like replies were made to me, inquiring my way into “the Indian nation,” as they call it, after leaving Chetopa, Kansas.

Just after I cross the line I call at the first house for direction and information. A dark-eyed, quiet, pleasant-faced little woman opens the door and asks me in. I find the head of the house taking a comfortable afternoon nap, but he gets out of bed and begins to try to make it pleasant for me. “My wife there is a Cherokee quadroon; married her in Missouri; that gives me a right in the nation. Have you seen a copy of our national paper? There is one.” I find he is a native of Kentucky and rather intelligent. He asks me to stop with an honest invitation and stay all night with him. I catch myself envying him, as I go out, and say over to myself:

“I would court content like a lover lonely,
I would woo her and win her and wear her only,
And never go over this prairie wall
For gold or glory or aught at all.”

* *Cherokee Advocate* for Saturday, July 25, 1874 (Vol. V, No. 11, p. 219), John L. Adair, Editor, at Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation. Transcript of this article is in the Foreman Collection, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

As I strike across the prairie an exhilarating sense of freedom takes possession of me, and the animal in me feels like kicking up its heels for a run; but soft—you are still in sight of civilization. I strike a little white school-house, where some pupils slightly tinged with the Cherokee, are leisurely imbibing the rudiments of civilization. I cross Russell creek,¹ under the guidance of one little Indian, for the farm of Mr. Mills.² He has the name of being well to do in Chetopa and of being a very civilized man. I found out the reason—he is making money. I found him suspicious of strangers. He has got a good thing and he is [afraid] of being disturbed. He is an Englishman, and, to use his words, is a Shawnee by marriage. He has a farm well stocked; some of his [cattle] are blooded.

I push on across the prairie for Mr. Hereford's.³ I am welcomed and regaled by a supper of corn bread, pork, coffee and sorghum. It is not what a man treats a guest to, but

¹ Russell Creek is about a mile south of the Kansas line, in the northern part of Craig County, Oklahoma.

² This was Abe Mills whose name appears on the "Authenticated Rolls" of the Cherokee Nation, Delaware District, 1880, as an adopted white man aged 54; wife's name is given "Eliza Mills," as an adopted Shawnee aged 41. The Shawnee tribe (722 members) living in Kansas settled in the northern part of the Cherokee Nation, and were admitted to citizenship by special agreement signed June 6, 1869. These Shawnees and their descendants are listed under "Cherokees by blood" on the Final Rolls of the Cherokee Nation, in 1902, where "Eliza Mills" is enrolled (#9432) as one-half Indian by blood, aged 66. A note in "Indian Pioneer History," Vol. 112, pp. 34-35 (Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society) gives this description (about 1878): "At that time this country was covered with the tall blue-stem and thousands of cattle were brought in here to graze each year. It was dangerous to be caught afoot on the prairie; you could go from the hill to Vinita without hitting a house. Abe Mills whose wife was a Shawnee Indian borrowed \$200,000.00 from some source in England and went into the cattle business on a big scale. He operated from the hill north to the State line south of Chetopa, Kansas. . . ." The hill spoken of is shown on an early map as about 10 miles north of Vinita and about 15 miles south of the Kansas line; also about 2½ miles west of present Bluejacket (Craig County) which bears the name of Rev. Charles Bluejacket, a well known Shawnee and Methodist minister who came with his people from Kansas about 1871.

Another note by James Monroe McGhee of Miami, Oklahoma (1936) in "Indian and Pioneer History, Vol. 71, p. 162 (*loc. cit.*), states: "For the first four years after the Civil War, Father was Tax Collector for the Cherokees. At that time they collected 50 cents per head for the cattle that were pastured there, and one instance, I recall hearing him speak of Abe Mills of Chetopa, Kansas who was running a thousand head of cattle here and who told my father that he could not pay the tax of \$400, which he owed so he turned over to Father four hundred head of cattle which Father sold for \$400.00 which paid Abe Mill's tax."

³ The "Authenticated Rolls" of the Cherokee Nation, 1880, list the names of Elkanna Hereford as an adopted white man, aged 65, and of Wm. B. Hereford as an adopted white man, aged 28. A number of persons by this name, Hereford, are enrolled as "Cherokees by blood" on the Final Rolls of the Cherokee Nation, 1902.

how he treats him that constitutes hospitality. I ask my bill, the next morning. "Nothing, sir; no, sir; you are welcome to the best we have." That was very civil. I wonder if it wasn't civilization? He was a Missourian by birth, a Cherokee by marriage. The next man I stop with talks "sectionizing," as they call placing the territory under territorial government. "A white man has no show here—none at all; he's liable to be cheated, murdered." It is death to talk in favor of sectionizing. He describes very warmly the resources of the territory, agricultural and mineral, but finally explains all by saying: "I am going to work for [money,] from this on."

I see thousands of wild geese and ducks here on a pond near by; also a dozen swans fly up whose whiteness is immaculate by the side of the Central Park civilized swans. I travel over some prairie, to-day, that is flat, wet and spouty. I find already that all of the Indian territory is not Eden in fertility. I take dinner and have a talk with an honest man. He had been a western frontiersman, but has married a Shawnee and has settled down to quiet life. (The Shawnees and Delawares have purchased a right in the Cherokee nation.) It's real pleasure to talk to a man that will look you square in the eye, and one that you can know has, as Franklin would say, no "axe to grind." Through his talk I begin to have an exalted idea of Indian civilization. They have political parties, engineered very much in the same civilized way they are in the states. The first and largest is the "Pin party." This is the conservation party of the Cherokee nation; they are in favor of clinging to Indian ways and customs, and prefer a civilization of their own to that of the white man; wish the Cherokee language taught in their schools also. The basis of the party is a secret society that stand in about the same relation to the party that the Union league did to the republican party. It is called the Pin party from the fact that the members of the society once wore pins in the shape of a cross for mutual recognition.⁴ The other is the "Radical party," composed largely of mixed-bloods with a sprinkle of whites. A few of these are ultra, wishing citizenship immediately, the majority putting it off for some indefinite time.

I strike across a five-mile stretch of prairie, most of it bottom-land, and, I should judge, very fertile. In front, two black lines creep over the prairie and mark the trail; on my left, the white barked sycamores mark the course of the Neosho river; on my right, the prairie waves away into rock-crested ridges. I come to hewed log, double cabin—a signless

⁴This was the Keetoowah Society begun as a secret organization among the full blood Cherokees, in 1859, under the leadership of the noted Baptist missionaries, the Rev. Evan Jones and his son, John Jones. Members of

tavern-stand. It is where the Texas military road crosses the Neosho.⁵ Mine host is a Cherokee quadroom, with a certain kind of easy hospitality unadulterated by avarice. During the evening a young Mr. Coyner (white) and his Cherokee wife came in. Mine host makes it pleasant awhile with his violin, then we talk awhile. Altogether, it was the most civil evening I ever passed in a hotel; perhaps I have passed some more civilized. I ask him my bill, the next morning. "Well, 50 cents, if it's worth anything." I go from here to Prairie City, a station on the Atlantic and Pacific railway.⁶ It is a village of three or four houses. There is nothing of the rush here for railroad towns that there is in the states. I am told that when the railroad was first built a number moved to the station that have since moved away. I begin to think that our civilization is a drug that the Indian only takes when he is made to take it. I enjoy the hospitalities of a Mr. Hitchcock here; born in the nation but of New England parentage.⁷ Yankee traits do not fade in one generation, but they have

the Society were aligned with the Federal forces in the Indian Territory during the War between the States, serving generally as independent scouting parties. They were called "Pins" because each wore crossed pins on the lapel of his coat for identification. Members of the Keetoowah and branch organizations among the Cherokees have always been very conservative in holding to the old tribal customs and ways, continuing their organization to the present day.

⁵ The old Military Road from Fort Scott to Fort Gibson lay on the east side of the Neosho River, and crossed the stream at one place near the foot of South Main in present Miami, Oklahoma. There was another crossing of the Military Road downstream below the mouth of Little Elm Creek and about 2 miles southwest of the site of Ottawa, in Ottawa County. The crossing referred to here by Mr. Young was apparently the one on the present site of Miami.

⁶ Young had kept on the west side of the Neosho River, arriving at Prairie City, now a station called Ogeechee on the Frisco Railroad (formerly Atlantic and Pacific built 1872), in Ottawa County. A post office was established at Prairie City in February, 1872, with Issac W. Smith as postmaster. This post office was moved three miles east in December, 1876, and named "Grand River," the name being again changed in October, 1894, to "Wyandotte," with Julia Mudeater as post master.

⁷ Isaac B. Hitchcock was born at Dwight Mission, Pope County, Arkansas Territory, in 1825, the son of Jacob Hitchcock (native of Massachusetts) and his wife Nancy (née Brown) Hitchcock (native of Connecticut), both of whom served as assistant missionaries at Dwight. Isaac was taught by his parents; began teaching at Fort Smith in 1847 and soon entered Sequoyah National School where he studied for three years. He taught school in both the Cherokee and Creek nations and was located at Tallahassee Mission in 1854-1855. He married in 1857, Miss Eliza Ann Duncan, a graduate of the Cherokee Female Seminary and a daughter of Rev. John Duncan, a leading Cherokee member of the National Council. During the War between the States, Isaac Hitchcock taught in Kansas and Iowa; after the war, he returned to Fort Gibson, and continued teaching at various points in the Cherokee Nation and later at the Cherokee Male Seminary near Tahlequah. He was a scholar in the Cherokee language which he wrote and sang with ease. He was a writer and correspondent for different papers and journals for many years.

been greatly modified in him. He teaches part of the time, and takes things quietly and easy.

I hear of a dish here that they call "Co-nah-ha-ni," prepared from Indian corn, which if a white man eat of he longs no more for his home in conventional society. How like Homer's Lotos eaters! The idea as expanded by Tennyson almost exactly describes the whites that have drifted into the Indian nation:

"Let us alone,
 What pleasure can we have to war with coil?
 Is there any peace ever climbing up the climbing wave?
 Let us alone. All things have rest,
 Why should we only toil,
 We who are the first of things?"

"Out there they toil and suffer—suffer, labor, toil, Stowing yearly dues of wheat and corn and oil." (I quote from memory.)

Many of these men have drifted here much as Ulysses and his men drifted among the Lotophagi. I have not tasted of their "co-nah-ha-ni" yet. I strike from here for the Quapaw agency, the temporary camp of the Modocs. I call at the house of Mr. Audraine of French descent; he has a Cherokee wife and two daughters, rather fine looking.⁸ Their beauty is of that soft, dreamy, voluptuous type, much like the Louisiana creole. I cross the Neosho on the Atlantic and Pacific bridge; or, rather, it is Grand river, now, for standing midway on the bridge I can see where the waters of Neosho and Spring rivers and Lost creek mingling glide under my feet as Grand river.

On my way to the Modoc camp, I call at the Wyandot mission school, conducted by Mr. Pearson of the Friends Society. They have about fifty pupils in the school—Wyandots, Sineccas, [*sic*] and, I think, some Shawnees. They have a fine farm connected with the school.⁹ Agriculture, taught practically to the Indians in their present state, will do more for them than a smattering of the rudiments. A modification of the grange system might help this and increase the agricultural interest. I understand the Delawares are about

⁸ The "Mr. Audrain" here was James P. Audrain who had a store at Prairie City. He was the son of Peter Audrain (French descent from Michigan) who had served as Creek Agent in the Indian Territory, 1845. J. P. Audrain's wife was Mary Wilson Audrain who was of Cherokee-Scottish descent.

⁹ A history of the Wyandotte Mission by Dr. A. M. Gibson appears in this number of *The Chronicles*. Alva H. Pearson served as superintendent of the Mission in 1873-4.

organizing a grange farther down Grand river. I push on four miles farther and reach the Modoc camp.

About five miles from the junction of Neosho and Spring rivers, forming what is called Grand river, are the present quarters of the remnant of the Modoc tribe.¹⁰ Their chief is Scar-face Charley. To use his words: "I be chief, Bogus Charley. Shack-nastie Jim, and Steamboat Frank help me."¹¹ The first impression one gets of Scar-face¹² is "Here is a man that you cannot pass you hand through." His camp regulations would do honor to a United States army officer. If a stranger comes into the camp, "Ipki," the marshal, is at his heels till he leaves. They have a guard-house made of green oak logs, heavily daubed with clay. Buckskin Doctor, their "medicine man," drew a knife on some one; they put him in the guard-house and, the next day, set him to carrying a billet of wood. After he had carried it nearly all day, Ipki marching at his side, young Endsley Jones, the sub-agent, asked Bogus Charley, 2nd chief, if he had not carried it long enough. Bogus says, "Call him, me see he got good heart yet." Buckskin Doctor sees what they mean and shies off. "He no got good heart yet," says Bogus.

They had been making a great many bows and arrows—small ones, "play-bows," they call them. One day, one

¹⁰ The Modocs were located about 5 miles northeast of the present Seneca School (formerly Wyandotte Mission) near present Wyandotte, in Ottawa County. At the site of this old "Modoc Camp" is the old Modoc cemetery, and near here was the school building in which the children of the tribe were taught. This band of Modocs had been brought to the Indian Territory in 1873, as prisoners after the Modoc War. Under their leader and chief, Captain Jack, they had made resistance in their old country in the lava beds near Tule Lake, California. A fullscale military campaign by U. S. troops was launched against Captain Jack's band, and he himself taken into custody, court martialed and hanged at Fort Klamath, Oregon. The Government purchased a tract of two and one-half miles square from the Eastern Shawnee reservation for the settlement of members of this Modoc band, in present Ottawa County.

Members of the band were praised for their good behavior and willing co-operation with the military authorities on the long journey to the Indian Territory in 1873 though they had been looked upon as wild Indian warriors during the fighting in California. They never ceased to long for their old homes in the West yet they proved loyal, peaceful and industrious in their new location where they and their descendants remained until 1909 when an Act of Congress provided for their return to the Klamath Agency in Oregon.

¹¹ Frank Modoc (called "Steamboat Frank"), one of the warriors, became an active member of the church of the Friends Society, and was the first full blood American Indian ever recorded as a minister in this Society. Shok-nos-ta- Jim (mentioned by Mr. Young here as "Schack-nastie Jim") was regarded with affection by all at the Modoc Agency. A short sketch of his life and a tribute to his memory, printed in *The Hallequah* at Wyandotte Mission at the time of his death in 1881, is given in *Appendix A* at the end of this article. He was buried in the Modoc cemetery.

¹² "Scar Face," generally called "Scar Face Charlie," received the name because of a deep scar from a saber cut on his face.



(Kirk Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society)

MODOCS

Standing left to right: Shoknasta Jim, Steamboat Frank (or Frank Modoc), Winema Riddle (or "Toby" Riddle), Scarface Charlie. Seated: Frank Riddle, husband of Winema, and their son, Jeff C. Riddle.

of them playfully drew one on the sub-agent. Instantly an order went from Scar-face that all bows be put in one of the tents. Bogus says, "We know men killed quick that way." When the agent wishes some men for work all he has to do is to tell how many he wants and they are forthcoming. The sub-agent says they are active and stirring and rather seem to like work. One expression that they seem fond of is, "go quick." The men are tall, well framed, with very small hands and feet. I said to Bogus—you have to condense when you talk to them—"Little hands, little feet, little bone, thin skull, big brain." "Ugh!" says Bogus. Through Mr. Jones and family and donations from Philadelphia they are neatly dressed. The women wear little, round, brimless caps of their own braiding. They use shucks now that they cannot get the grass that they formerly made them of. They are said to be remarkable for their truthfulness. They have a contempt for "forked talk." Mrs. Jones said in the only case of a lie that she knew of, the man was put in the guard-house for it.

They seem to have uncommonly clear ideas of the "Great Spirit" and have their own peculiar mode of worship. As Scar-face was conducting us through the camp he says; "You hear sing." We go into the quarters and we see "Medicine man" bending over a half-naked Indian girl, whose face is marked with white streaks and red. A crowd of men and women—mostly women—chant, "Y-a-h, yah yah, y-a-h yah yah!" Scar-face first tries to explain by saying, "She sick; no, got bad heart, want good one." That night, they were to go through their annual spring ceremony. They chant, two nights, then dance the third night. They had made a tent about the size and shape of a large Fremont tent for this. Scar-face says, "White man no comy." So I did not get into their mysteries. Their preferences have as much right to regard as those of more civilized people. I asked Bogus Charley about it, the next morning. "We no care for that,—Buck-skin doctor have that—me no care." Much like a Boston radical would talk of a Methodist revival.

Bogus Charley's account of the cause of the trouble in California: "We be at Tula Lake and Lost river. Plenty game, warm country; government, he buy claim; we go Fort Klamath, Oregon, on mountain, cold country. He say he give grub. Give beef once—no game, hungry—stay two moons. Captain Jack say, go back Tula Lake—go there,—settler there—game gone. Settler says, 'go way.' Captain Jack say, 'No, both stay'—no grub—hungry—kill settler's cattle—soldier come, drive us back—fight long time."

Since they have been in the territory there has been, as yet, no appropriation for food or clothing. Suppose the

agent had said, "I will not incur the risk of feeding these people," or that his credit has been good with the men of whom he buys his supplies. Modocs have to eat; they kill cattle; and then another war. I found all hands at work at the agency cutting and making garments. A daughter of Mr. Jones, a visitor, had cut 17 pairs of pants, that day.

Since writing the above I see that the government has made an appropriation of \$10,000 to the Modocs, being \$66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per head. A St. Louis paper commenting on it says: "They get so much for their goodwill to the government."

After leaving the Modocs I passed through a section of country said to be rich in mineral wealth—silver, lead and copper. It has not been the policy of the government of the Cherokee nation to encourage the development of their mineral wealth. They claim that their removal from their old reservation was hastened by the discovery of gold in Georgia and North Carolina. Some permits, however, of late have been given for the working of some lead and copper claims.

I think there is more attention paid to farming than is generally supposed. I passed through a neighborhood, to-day where in a circuit of five miles there is said to be 2000 acres under cultivation. Fencing is generally good. Plows and agricultural implements are better than those used in some of the southern states; say South Carolina. I saw some specimens of cotton cloth manufactured from the raw material grown here,—home-grown, home-spun, home-wove.

I had a wagon ride of some ten miles over the prairie, to-day, and was entertained by the way with some Cherokee songs. The Cherokee is really a musical language. The Cherokee that would not wish it taught in the schools hasn't much national pride. I walk for five miles after I am dumped from the wagon, for the house of Mrs. Gen. Stand Watie. After I leave the prairie I follow a road walled by two steep flint ridges for a half-mile.

Suddenly I come to the house of Mrs. Watie.¹³ it is a log

¹³ The site of the Watie home mentioned here by Mr. Young is on what is known as "Monkey Island," a long neck of land or peninsula on the west side of Lake O' Cherokees (Grand Lake), about six miles west of Grove, in Ottawa County. Horse Creek was a stream that flowed into the Neosho or Grand River on its west bank, about two miles from the Watie's home. On high ground above the cove where the house stood is the Watie burial ground. Mrs. Watie died in 1883, and her gravestone, a marble column, has the name and date of the death of her husband, General Watie, whose remains were never brought from his burial place in Polson Cemetery which is located west of the Oklahoma line and about two or three miles northwest of Southwest City, Missouri. At the time of his death, all the streams were up, and he could not be taken to the family plot for burial.

cabin, hidden deep enough in this picturesque glen for the abode of a bandit. Mrs. Watie is not at home, but will be shortly, with Col. Bell, her brother, a man of considerable prominence in the nation—late independent candidate for chief.¹⁴ In a little while Mrs. Watie comes and I am genuinely welcomed. She is tall and with but a faint trace of her Cherokee blood remaining. The real lady is born, not made. Her manners did not strike me as manners, but as a part of her—"native and to the manner born." Her brother, tall and well-formed, with a profusion of brown hair, only showed the Indian in his erect bearing. A man of intelligence and cosmopolitan views. Her daughter, tall without stiffness, had manners that would pass, the world over.¹⁵ "Uncle Jim, what do you think it would cost to have a good pair of boots made?" "Twelve dollars." "Well I'd give that, and I'm going to have a pair." That came through the chinks in the wall after I had gone to bed. I am happy to say she wore neither switches nor hemp or stacked hair; it fell on her shoulders. Col. Bell is in favor of allotting the land which is now the common-wealth.¹⁶ His plan, I think, looks to citizenship in the future. The Indians have realized communism [communal holding of land] in property. The lands are the common-wealth; so are the public funds. Remarkable that what is considered utopian for the civilization of the 19th century has been realized by those we have chosen to designate as savages.

After breakfast I climb the hill that rises, terrace above terrace, in front of the house. I climb the hill and on top of the hill climb a tree from which I overlook Grand river leisurely gliding by two or three of Mrs. Watie's farms. They are rich bottom-lands that never fail to yield well. I go down, talk awhile and reluctantly conclude I must push on.

He had been visiting his farms near Honey Creek when he died. Mrs. Watie was Sarah Caroline Bell before her marriage to Stand Watie in 1841.

¹⁴ The "Col. Bell" mentioned by Mr. Young was James (called "Jack") Bell.

¹⁵ General and Mrs. Watie were the parents of two daughters, and it was probably the eldest, Ninnie (or Minnie) Josephine Watie (born, 1852) who is mentioned here. The youngest daughter was named Charlotte Jacqueline Watie, born in 1857. Both daughters died in 1875.—"Genealogy of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Families" in *Cherokee Cavaliers*, by E. E. Dale and Gaston Litton (Norman, 1939).

¹⁶ Gen. Stand Watie was closely associated in business enterprises with his nephew, Col. Elias C. Boudinot, after the War and before the General's death in 1871. Elias C. Boudinot was active in favor of opening the Indian Territory to white settlement, allotment of Indian lands in severalty and the organization of the Territory as a state as early as 1869. Col. Bell was thus aligned with Boudinot's views in Cherokee politics. These families had been identified with the Treaty Party in 1835 (New Echota Treaty), and sided with the Confederate States in the War between the States.

Horse creek is two miles distant and is not wadeable. When I am ready to start, a horse is there, saddled, and a little Indian to carry me across Horse creek. Miss Watie calls the little Indian aside and gives him some private instructions. I suspect their nature from something she just told me in regard to her father. "I never knew him to charge any one stopping with him," she said with pride. I in the saddle, the Indian boy up behind, start for Horse creek. Just before leaving the timber, we come to a dead owl hung up in a tree.

"Was a man shot hur?" says my little Indian. "Shoot twice; hear it plain. Boys shoot game they don't want, hang it up here." That explained the hanging owl; some profane person had hung it an offering to the ghost. I would haunt that man if I were a ghost. The man was shot for having \$100 in his pocket. I think of what they told me on the Kansas border, but my courage falters not when I remember that I am guiltless of carrying the hundred dollars. We reach Horse creek. Says my little Indian, "Down horse hur." I find it not high, but it would have been rather wicked to wade. After we are across and up on the hill I dismount and put my hand in my pocket for some nickles. "No charge you," says little Indian. Knew now Miss Watie had charged him not to charge me; but I drop them into his hand. He chuckles, whirls the horse and is off on a run.

My route, to-day, is through a prairie dotted at long intervals by small farms. Away to the right is a prairie walled in by timber. I don't try to follow any road; if I see a house I wish to go to, I go, keeping the general direction. Calling in one house, I find a Shawnee woman and two children. I ask, "How are you getting along?" "Purty well. How you get 'long?" She spoke it heart-felt; I don't think I ever had a salutation take hold of me as that did.

In the afternoon three deer run by me within rifleshoot. They jump high across the trail, then go leaping leisurely across the prairie to the timber. Just at dusk I reach the house of Parson Ketchum, a Delaware, and member of the grand council. He lives in a large brick house, and has a way of using the word "civilized" quite often. After supper he puts on his beaded buckskin hunting-shirt with a great deal of gusto. However, he is a man of considerable breadth of vision and belongs to a tribe that is almost extinct. He

¹⁷ Rev. James Ketchum (born 1819, in Indiana; died 1890, in Indian Territory) was the outstanding Delaware leader when the Delawares moved from Kansas to the Cherokee Nation where they purchased land and settled in 1867. He was known as a fine character, brilliant orator in the Delaware language and in English and as the pastor of his flock in the Methodist Church. He had considerable means when he came to the Indian Territory



Ninnie Josephine Watie

Daughters of General Stand Watie and Mrs. Sarah Bell Watie.
From old tintypes in the Sarah Bell Watie Photo Collection in
Oklahoma Historical Society.



Charlotte Jacqueline Watie

conducted his family worship in the Delaware language and is said to be quite eloquent in it.¹⁷

Next morning, I push on down Grand river for Simon's. The ferry keeper was a colored man. There is a colored settlement here. They complain that they do not get their share of the educational fund. I have not been in a negro settlement since the War that was not complaining. It is as chronic with them as melancholy is with some literary characters. It rains, but I trudge on, over hills, across the prairie. See two wolves; get a shot at a large gray fellow as he dashes past me. My revolver only makes him run faster. I stop at a Mr. Scraper's, a Cherokee of some prominence. He is not at home, but take dinner with his family. They are pleasant and hospitable. I spend the night with a Mrs. West, who is a mixture of Scotch and Cherokee. I found her quite a character. The old lady is queenly in presence, and conceals nothing, but literally thinks out loud.

The next morning, I tramp nine or ten miles through flint hills. The road with a little more travel would be a natural pike. Much of the timber-roads are that in this country. These flint hills never will be tillable. The timber is scrub-oak. Along in the afternoon I reach Lewis Ross place, lately sold for the Cherokee orphan asylum.¹⁸ The building is 60 feet deep with a 30 — The brick are yet good; the stone foundation is good. The wood work is rotten.—porch sunk down in the center, etc. The property sold for \$28,000. The chief was administrator on the estate and one of the heirs, it having belonged to his brother. I turned for a final look as I left it. "Credit Mobilier on a small scale—evidence of advanced civilization," I said to myself. A mile further on, I come to the Grand Saline—two large salt springs or wells that are constantly throwing up and out their intensely salty waters.¹⁹ The waters are salt, the salt is saltier. How

with his family and tribesmen, and purchased a substantial two-story brick residence that had been built by a Johnson Thompson before the War between the States, of bricks made on the ground nearby with work done by Negro slaves. The site of Rev. Ketchum's home was little less than a mile south from the original location of the post office "Ketchum" (established in 1899). The town was moved a mile north to present Ketchum, Craig County, when the K. O. & G. Railroad was built in 1912. The old site of the town and the old brick Ketchum home were both inundated when Grand Lake was built in the 1930's.

¹⁸ This was the brick residence of Lewis Ross at present Salina, in Mayes County, that had been sold to house the Cherokee Orphan Asylum. Lewis Ross was a brother of the late noted Chief John Ross, and an uncle of William Potter Ross who was Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, (1872-75) when Young visited the Territory.

¹⁹ This is the famous "Grand Saline" near which Colonel Auguste P. Chouteau had his residence visited by Washington Irving in 1832. The site of the salt works and spring are just south of the present town of Salina in Mayes County.

it compares with other salines I do not know. There were a few kettles simmering away. About four miles from [there] I struck Ocustgrove [*sic*—Locust Grove]²⁰ prairie, a pleasant little vale dotted here and there with their one story houses. Some are log, some frame.

The evening of the next day, I reach Judge Rattling-gourd,—so named from the rattling-gourd that they use to keep time with in the old Cherokee dances—fives miles from Tahlequah. I found the Judge a half-breed, quiet, plain, and honest,—too honest for the present political status here, and has retired from politics. The next morning, I suddenly come on from 50 to 100 houses, mostly one-storied, grouped around a square on which stands a large brick building. That brick building is the capitol, and the houses and the brick building located on a pleasant stream is Tahlequah, the capital of the Cherokee Nation. I find pleasant quarters in the cleanest little hotel I have ever seen, kept by Jesse Wolfe.

The examination of the national school teachers was in progress.²¹ It was carried on with a great flourish of trumpets. The common branches alone are generally taught, yet candidates were examined in the higher branches and in general literature. Some of the answers in this were amusing. "What American authors of note can you name?" "Quackenbos and Webster," was the longest catalogue many of them could furnish. When the appointments came to be made it was difficult to see what relation the examination sustained to them. Only those were appointed who were known to be party tools. The political machinery here seems to like what it is in the states to merit description. The carpet-bagger is here, the scalawag is here,—both industriously at work.

It is somewhat refreshing to turn from this barrenness to the female seminary,²² conducted by Miss Noyes, and the orphan asylum,²³ conducted by Mr. Walter Duncan. Miss Noyes is a graduate of Mount Holyoke; a Yankee but a cosmopolitan Yankee. She is but 22, but has courage and earnestness, and is working to organize and systemize her school. Park Hill seminary, as it is called, number 30 stu-

²⁰ Locust Grove is a historic place in Mayes County.

²¹ The Cherokee Nation had established its public school system in 1841, with provision for a Superintendent of Education and the establishment of eleven schools by an act of the National Council. In 1867, thirty-two schools were provided in the Nation, including two schools for Negroes. The Nation supplied free text books and equipment; schoolhouses were built at local expense, and each school was operated under a local board of three directors.

²² This was the Cherokee National Female Seminary established in 1852, near Park Hill.

²³ The "Cherokee Orphan Asylum" was opened in the old Cherokee Male Seminary Building near Tahlequah, in 1872, by an act of the National Council, this action in 1871 having provided for the purchase and improvement of the Lewis Ross place at the Grand Saline for the permanent location of the Asylum.

dents. The enthusiasm of Miss Noyes seems to pervade the school. I think there is less frivolity among them than among the school girls of the states. I did not see any thing of the handkerchief flirtation nuisance.

Mr. Duncan, a native, in organizing the Cherokee orphan asylum has had no model to work by; but he is endowed with a nature that fits him preeminently to be a father to the fatherless. His plans and methods are original, but they compare very favorably with similar benevolent institutions in New York. The discipline is fine. In moving the children to and from their meals, and the like, he uses the military commands and phrases. The superintendent, the teachers and the matron sit down at the same tables and fare the same as the children. One old Cherokee woman, seeing how the asylum was conducted, said: "We want die now; my children get better mother." It is the plan of Mr. Duncan to have a farm connected with the institution and to teach agriculture. At his suggestion the funds do not pass through his hands,—proof of the slow progress of civilization!

I went into a Cherokee ball, the other night. "Civilization," says Carlyle, "is a matter of clothes." I could not but see that these Indians had donned the clothes—the costume of civilization—but the Indians was there still. One fine looking Cherokee, with long black, straight hair, would now and then throw himself as if he would like to give the whoop. It might have been fogyism, but I could not help wishing that the clothes would fall off and leave the buckskin breech-clout and leggins, that the rattling-gourd and the chant "y-a-h ya-ho" would take the place of the catgut [on the violin].

APPENDIX A

Obituary that appeared in *The Hallaquah*, March, 1881, (Vol. 2, No. 7), published at the Wyandotte Mission:

SHOK-NOS-TA JIM

Died on the 14th. inst. at 10 o'clock P. M. in his own home, of consumption, Shok-nos-ta Jim, the youngest of the Modoc Chiefs. Although but about 23 years of age, and consequently but a boy at the time of the Modoc war, he has filled a place which will always bring him to the front in the history of his people. His reckless daring, a bravery which recognized no danger, and a skill in war which was a terror to his enemies, so nearly attached him to his band, that upon one occasion during their desperate struggle in defence of their homes, the principal braves of the tribe assumed a risk for his relief, in which failure would have resulted in annihilation of their number. When removed to this territory in 1873, with the entire band, as prisoners of war, and placed in care of missionaries, he was brought under the civilizing influences of Christianity; and in time accepted its truths. In all the new relations of life by which he thus became surrounded, he exercised the prominent traits of his character, which brought him in favor with the officers of

the Agency, and secured him appointments to such places of service as he was qualified to fill. During his long illness, which confined him to the house for several months, he allowed his relatives and friends to resort to many forms of "medicine" peculiar to the Indians' religion; but the last prominent act of his life seems to show that it was not so much from any benefit that he expected to derive from them, as the satisfaction it would afford his people. So firm is the Indians' belief in the resurrection of the body, that it is a custom among many, if not all the uncivilized tribes to bury with them all the articles in every day use. Shoknosta was the first Modoc to declare against the custom. A few days before his death, calling the other chiefs and the members of his family around him, he told them, "When I die I not need these things, you must not bury them with me, you must let my wife and children have them, they will need them." In this, leaving evidence of a fuller possession of the heart by the Christians' hope, than has been given before by any other Modoc.

MEMORIES OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY
MISSION FIELD

By Lilah Denton Lindsey*

I am inclined to be reminiscent today and refer to my old school days in Indian Territory, first as a student and later as a school teacher. This narrative is to be about just plain every-day activities and happenings of daily school life. My log cabin home was located on the banks of a beautiful clear running stream called Blue Creek made up of many fine springs. This creek supplied us with all the fish we needed for our table.

When I was near twelve years of age my mother desired and made an effort to place me in Tullahassee Manual Labor Boarding School about eight or ten miles west of Muskogee and one and one-half miles north of the Arkansas River. Imagine my sore disappointment when we were informed no children were admitted under twelve years. My mother being determined to succeed, appealed to Hon. David Hodge, an influential young man of education, who each year represented the Creek people in Washington, D. C., before the Court of Claims and Congressional committee, in connection with the interests of the Creek people. He persuaded the Superintendent to admit me with his own sister a few months older than I, as he desired to put his sister in a safe place during his and his wife's sojourn in Washington that winter. The consent was given and from that happy occasion in my life I became a student under the Robertson family.¹

* A biography of the late Lilah Denton Lindsey, written by Mrs. J. O. Misch, was published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* for summer, 1955 (Vol. XXXIII, No. 2). She was one-fourth Creek Indian descent (on the Tribal Roll in 1902, as Creek by blood), and the youngest of six children. Her father, John Denton (born, 1830) was Scot and Cherokee; her mother, Susan (née McKellop) Denton, was Scot and Creek. Mrs. Lindsey's "Memories" were written in 1938, and appear in "Indian Pioneer History," (typed mss.), Vol. 109, pp. 226-65, in the Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, from which Mrs. Rella Looney made a transcript that is here given in *The Chronicles*. Mrs. Lindsey tells here of her life at Tullahassee Mission and as a teacher in the schools in the Indian Territory. She entered Highland Institute, Hilsboro, Ohio, at the age of sixteen, graduating with honors three years later (1883). Footnotes have been added by the Editor to Mrs. Lindsey's story given here.

¹ A history of "Tullahassee Mission" by Virginia E. Lauderdale, was published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* for autumn, 1948 (Vol. XXVI, No. 3), in which appears a floor plan of the mission building, drawn by Rev. W. S. Robertson, Principal of Tullahassee at its opening in 1850. Mr. Robertson married Ann Eliza Worcester, daughter of the Rev. Samuel A. Worcester and his wife, Ann (née Orr) Worcester. Their four children were Ann Augusta,

I entered upon my school life a very happy child. My first teacher was Miss Augusta Robertson. I can remember distinctly kneeling down on the floor beside Miss Robertson, "Gusta" as she was called, as she laid the little McGuffey Primer on her lap open to the Alphabet, while she pointed with her pencil to the long, long rows and said "What is this? ABC-ABCD," and on through the letters of the alphabet, over and over again until I really had the back-ache. The next day was the same monotonous lesson until I had them memorized clear down to "XYZ." Years later when I became a teacher I remembered those long rows of letters and refrained from punishing my children in that way. I adopted my own system and taught the child "A cat" "A dog" "A cat runs," etc., and the parents often asked me how it was their child could read and not know *all* the alphabet. I said, "The letters they do not need, those they will learn as the lessons become harder and when the letters are in use."

The mission building at Tullahassee was a three story brick with living and bed-rooms for the Superintendent and family in the south wing, with the lovely high windows furnishing plenty of light. Across the spacious hall to the north was the large dining room where all the school family ate their three meals each day. The boys marched in under the supervision of a teacher through the north door to the dining room, and were seated at the long tables set aside for them near their entrance. The girls were admitted from the south wing, marching to their allotted places near the south entrance. A teacher sat at the end of each long table of both the boys and girls to supervise the children's table manners. Across the hall in the north wing was the living apartments of the Assistant Superintendent and his family. These two doors leading to the boy's hall and the girl's hall were forbidden ground to the two groups of the opposite sex and a sacred entrance to each. How often when a teacher opened a door to go over to the boys' side, would a girl peek over to see if she could see a boy. If the teacher was coming over on the girls' side, it was the boys' chance to peek. This forbidden friendship was indeed sacred and mysterious. Among the older students, however an occasional note like bird feathers fluttered over the forbidden ground to be eagerly appropriated by the one to whom it was addressed.

The second story contained the girls' school-room on the south and the boys' school-room on the north in the respective wings. Across the hall from either side above the dining-room was the large chapel or, as we called it, "the middle school-room" in between. There the Superintendent presided

Alice, Grace and Samuel Robertson. The three girls became teachers in the Indian mission schools of the Indian Territory.

during school hours and the advanced classes from both wings were sent to him at certain hours. Here too, our Sunday school and church services were held and all public gatherings.

The most attractive day in all the year was Christmas day when the large cedar tree stood in the center of the room, reaching almost to the ceiling. When the tree was being decorated by the teachers with stringed pop-corn prepared by the teachers and sock-shaped mosquito-bar bags, red or white or blue socks, made by the girls, filled with candy for each boy and girl, our childish curiosity was at a high pitch. Every time a teacher opened a door to get more packages to put on the tree, we would run near and peep, peep, peep. How grand that tree seemed to us, and how each one wondered, "What is on that tree for me?" I can yet today smell that stately old cedar tree spreading the cedar fragrance everywhere and holding those precious gifts. The tree was decorated and gifts placed on it in the forenoon and the afternoon until finished. Both doors were securely locked and the teachers took a few hours rest.

But we children were on a nervous *qui vive* all day. Many days and hours had been used drilling the Christmas songs, recitations, essays, and other parts of the program, preparing for this wonderful night. Finally the hour arrived after supper when the students were assembled in their respective school-rooms to march into the sacred place. As we marched to seats assigned, all eyes were eagerly riveted on that marvelous tree loaded with toys, dolls and what-not. Every girl of play-doll age singled out *the* doll she hoped to receive. A literary program about Santa Claus and Christmas was all too long for those eager children. How anxiously they did their best and made an extra effort to do their part well! Finally, as there is always an end to everything, the program finished, and the teachers began distributing gifts. Eager little hands reached out to get what was called for them, and eyes opened wide as every name was called. Boys received knives, balls, etc., that were suited to them; girls retired hugging a beautiful doll or something suited to her needs. We filed out to our Dormitory where the teacher put out the coal-oil lamp and in the darkness told us a short Bible story, or repeated a few verses of scripture, sang one verse of a hymn and bade us good-night.

The third-story floor contained the two large dormitories, the girls' in the south wing, and the boys' in the north wing. There were large hall closets with rows and rows of shelves for storing bedding when it was not in use. On our side of the Dormitory were rows and rows of shelves with a compartment for each girl in which to store her clothes. Each girl had a number, and her number was on her

box. Instead of calling the roll when getting a check on the girls the teacher had us number. My number was twenty-three. The Dormitory Matron made a survey ever so often to see who kept the neatest compartment.

In the southwest corner of the back lawn was the "wash house," with rows and rows of tubs and wash-boards where the girls did their laundry. Monday was wash-day, all forenoon. There were two groups of twenty girls each. The "kitchen girls" set the tables, washed the dishes and otherwise assisted the colored cook. The other twenty were called the "up-stairs girls." They did the laundry and ironing for *all* the girls for two weeks. This group also mended the boys' clothes. At the end of two weeks the two groups were reversed, and the kitchen girls became the "up-stairs" girls. A colored woman laundered the boys' clothes, and the "up-stairs girls" mended them. This same colored laundress washed and ironed the teachers' clothes.

Monday afternoon was play or holiday. All the girls were taken for a walk in the woods, either to gather flowers or nuts, haws, wild grapes, persimmons, and such other fall fruits in season, to have a good time. On these trips the girls ran, jumped and skipped like lambs, and a teacher could not keep up with the fleet-footed youngsters. So, the Superintendent set aside one gentle riding pony for the teacher to ride, then she could keep up with the rompers. A walk was made in a halfmoon affair on the south campus. On this the girls were expected to take their constitutional walks. The building was located in a beautiful grove of large oak trees, very tall and stately, furnishing lovely shade. On one of these trees a long rope swing was provided for the girls. The limb on which it was fastened was very high, giving great space for a long high sweep for the rider. Many times two girls stood on the board and rode so high we would cringe for fear they would fall. We had a world of pleasure out of that fine swing. No serious accidents ever occurred yet falls were frequent.

There was a director in charge of the farming who was assisted by the larger boys. On certain occasions hired help was used. The director took the boys to the woods where they felled the trees, sawed them up in blocks, and cut them up in stove lengths. They hauled them in with the farm wagon and team, piled them up on the rear lawn on the boy's side in great ricks ten or twelve feet high. It was a big job to supply the many stoves in this big building.

I venture to say the second in interest to the girls in all their pleasure and housekeeping was the large well arranged and regulated kitchen. In this kitchen were wooden sinks,

shelves with various compartments for washing and storing away dishes and cooking utensils. The range was a very large one, and I remember so well when I watched the old colored cook lift out what I thought then was an immense bread-pan in which was a big brown sweet-smelling pone of corn-bread. In this same big wholesome pan many a quail and prairie-chicken was roasted to a turn with lovely brown gravy that whetted the appetite. These birds were brought in most of the time by our teacher force who enjoyed the sport and recreation after school hours.

Another attraction were the two very large iron kettles about three feet or more in diameter sitting together, around which was built a brick oven with two open doors under each kettle to admit wood for a big fine fire. In these great kettles, large chunks of meat were placed, either to boil or fry. Great long wooden spoons and forks were used to turn and stir.

But the dish of all dishes that made the girls' mouths water and gave them an impatient fever, was when the delicious old Indian dish "sofky" was being cooked. Flint-corn was the best, although field corn could be used. It was pounded with a wooden mortar and pestle into grits. A woven reed fanner was used to fan out the husks. It was ready then for the cooking. These two kettles were often filled to the brim with this sofky with about three times as much water as grits and cooked for about five hours. A few spoons full of ash lye were poured in for seasoning. It was usually for our evening meal. We could smell this dish all over the house, and how it did whet our appetite! Sometimes a few up-stairs girls would sneak in at the back kitchen door and a kitchen-girl would grab a teacup, swipe it into this hot sofky and rush it to the waiting girl, and out she would go to be chased by a stream of girls, for "just one drink please."

The girls and teachers all thought a great deal of the mulatoo cook, but a time came when she decided to get married. The teachers planned a real wedding with wedding cake and presents and wedding veil, etc. The wedding took place in the chapel with students and teaching force as an audience. It was lots of fun and excitement. The bride had been all smiles for a week when she finally realized she was to have a real show wedding. She went away with the blessing of every one but we never had another such patient good-natured cook in the kitchen again.

A teacher supervised the mending of the boys' clothes, and also the girls'. The sewing hour was after school and before supper, in the girls' school-room at our desks. We

often rebelled at the heavy rough material in the boys' clothes, making the mending really very hard. There were no sewing machines; all sewing had to be done by hand.

The Superintendent, Rev. W. S. Robertson, read a portion of scripture and offered prayer as we finished the evening meal. Quite often each student was asked to give a verse of scripture. This always made us very nervous, because we had to think quickly from memory. Sometimes one a little better versed in the Bible than the one next to her would whisper a verse to her who was timid and backward. On other occasions when verses were flying fast and a girl could not think quickly, the only one they could think of was "Jesus wept," and very often that one verse was repeated by eight or ten students.

A group of boys assisted in plowing, planting and harvesting the corn on the farm, which they stored in barns on the place. Hogs were butchered and salted down in great boxes and barrels for winter use. The girls assisted in canning fruits from a fine orchard. This was a part of the busy life of Tullahassee Mission and everyone seemed happy.

Come with me and I will give you a picture long to be remembered by the girl students. It is the living room and workshop of dear old Mrs. Anna Eliza Worcester Robertson. She always signed her name that way. Sometimes for short she would sign A. E. W. Robertson. In the north-east corner of the room is the big high posted bed with a big fat feather-bed, all snow white. On south of the bed is the old-fashioned commode or wash-stand with china bowl and pitcher always kept full of water. On the south wall are shelves neatly built in, which Mrs. Robertson had filled with old papers, clippings, books, magazines, pamphlets, etc., in fact her working tools. In the south-west corner is a large wood stove for heat. Next, a door going into a small study-room for Reverend Robertson. Coming on around north we find the door that leads into the hall at the head of the bed.

Now I am to tell you of the most precious place in that room, a sacred place. Its site is almost in the center of the room but a little south. It is the little "trundle bed" on which Mrs. Robertson lay day after day, patiently translating the English Testament into the Creek language, writing with her left hand. She had always written with her right hand, but, in correcting a high tempered girl, an altercation ensued in which the girl broke two of Mrs. Robertson's ribs and wrenched her right wrist, and for weeks she lay on this bed propped up with a pillow and learned to write with her left hand. She had begun this work months before and was anxious to finish it so the Indian ministers could have it to

use in their services. I can see that dear Christian soul today as clearly as I did long years ago, as she met each one who came in with a smile or welcome, reclining on that low trundle bed, pen poised while she talked. When she was well, the faithful little trundle bed was rolled under the big broad family posted bed.

I had the honor and sweet privilege to lie for months in that dear old family bed. This is how it happened. On Sunday evenings we had no supper, only one piece of dried apple pie. We were being lined up against our school-room wall to receive our one slice of pie. Soon we were to march into the Middle School-Room for Sunday evening service. Very suddenly I had a sickness of the stomach, and the pie looked horrible to me. When I said "I am sick and cannot eat my pie," a half dozen girls rushed up to me and begged for my piece of pie. I gave it away and the group soon had it devoured. I asked the teacher to excuse me from service, went up to the Dormitory and to bed. I lay with a high fever all night. The next day the teachers found me there burning up. Mrs. Robertson came to the room, so did the Superintendent. They saw I needed very careful nursing and medical care at once. I knew nothing from the first Sunday evening when I became ill. I was taken down at once to the Robertson apartments and placed in that fat feather, posted bed. I knew nothing for many long weary weeks.

When I returned again to consciousness I was a very much worn and frail little girl. At my bed-side, kneeling, was the dear old faithful friend and Superintendent, Reverend W. S. Robertson, asking the dear Heavenly Father to restore me to health again, pleading so earnestly "I have done all that I know to do, and all that human hands can do, I am laying this child at your feet, that you may lay the healing hand upon her."

All that these dear teachers had to administer to the sick was a large supply of quinine, salts, castor oil and calomel, supported by sincere earnest prayers. This illness came on me sometime in November, in cold weather. When I became strong enough to walk, Alice, later Oklahoma's first (1920) Congresswoman, and Grace, her younger sister, supported me one on either side and I took my first out-door walk down to the front gate, about two hundred feet, and would you believe it, the green grass on the lawn was about six inches high, so it must have been sometime in April.

When she could be trusted to do so, Grace—about eighteen—begged her mother to let her wait on me. She brought my food, got me a drink, combed my hair and any other little duties she could think of. There was a very large

high back chair, always sitting near the bed. Grace would spread a lovely quilt all over it, pick me up and set me in the chair while she hurried up and spread-up the old leather bed with clean sheets and pillow cases. She would place me back in the middle of the bed, spread the sheets and quilts smoothly over me, patting them down, so no form of me could show but my head, then she would stand at the foot of the bed and tease me to make me laugh. She would say "I don't think there is any Lilah in this bed but her head, that is all I can see, ha, ha!" For days I had pleaded for lots of water, water, and more water, but I was given just enough to tantalize me. One day every one had gone into the dining-room to dinner. The little colored girl brought that big tall pitcher full of water and set it in the bowl. That cold sparkling water drew me out of bed, I slipped out to that wash-stand. I pulled the pitcher over to my face, I was so weak I came near pulling it too far, which would have nearly drowned me. I drank and drank my complete fill of that lovely cold water. Grace came just as I was about filled up. She ran to me, gathered me up to rush me back into that big fat feather-bed before Mother Robertson caught me out. No so, here she comes, "Why Grace what are you doing, my dear?" Then the story was out and all with one accord were sure I would have a relapse, but almost immediately I began to recuperate, and very rapidly gained strength and was on the way to recovery. The method of caring for the sick in those days was not to let the patient have very much water. But believe me! I got my share that day.

When I became well and strong again in a few months my mother's health failed—about the year 1877,— and I was compelled to leave school to care for her. She soon became bed-ridden with the slow moving disease of tuberculosis. We built a small house as a temporary abode, and moved to Muskogee to be near a doctor. There on June 14, 1878, she passed away, leaving me alone in this cold world without a near relative. I made my home temporarily with my cousin, Hon. David Hodge, the son of my Aunt Nancy, my mother's sister. In November, 1879, I was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Pleasant Porter on their big ranch in the Wealaka neighborhood. While there I received a letter from Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson of Tullahassee Mission reminding me of my oft repeated statement that I longed to get a finished education in some Eastern School and return to my own (Creek) people as a teacher. She said there was a vacancy for a deserving Indian girl in the Synodical Female College in Fulton, Missouri, and that place was offered to me. I had no superior relative or guardian to consult, and did not need any. I had my own decision to make. I rushed the answer to

Mrs. Robertson at once that I accepted gratefully the opportunity and would go at once, as requested, to the Mission and spend two weeks with my dear teachers, the Robertsons and Miss Lida J. Baldwin, before leaving for Fulton.

In the early days of March, 1879, my teachers took me to Muskogee and about 4:00 p.m. put me on the first passenger train I had ever seen. My school days in Fulton were very happy, because every one, students and teachers, were kind to me.

When school closed in June, 1880, Miss E. J. Baldwin wrote me to meet her in St. Louis to spend the summer in Muncie, Indiana, with her sister, Mrs. Dr. Garner. That fall in September she accompanied me to Hillsboro, Ohio, where she placed me in Highland Institute, a home school for girls, where they were prepared for teachers and missionaries. I graduated in June, 1883, and received my precious diploma that I had yearned for from early childhood. I bade my dear friend and teacher, Miss Baldwin, good-bye in Cincinnati, Ohio, and returned to Indian Territory to carry out the longing of my soul.

Through Miss Baldwin's influence, a Home missionary for several years at Tullahassee Mission, I received, before I graduated, my appointment to teach in the Wealaka Mission. This was a rather unusual thing. On December 17, 1880, from a defective flue, the Tullahassee Mission building burned down. School was carried on for a time in some of the larger out-buildings under very adverse circumstances. The teachers held on to the work, keeping the children together as best they could. The faithful Superintendent, Reverend W. S. Robertson, died the following spring in 1881. His oldest daughter, Mrs. J. H. Craig [née Ann Augusta Robertson] was appointed Superintendent pro tem for one year. The building was rebuilt on the cottage plan by the Creek National Government and presented to the colored people of the Creek Nation for a boarding school. Mr. Craig having died several years before, Mrs. Craig married Judge N. B. Moore, November 20, 1882. Mr. Moore was Judge of the Supreme Court of the Creek Nation.

From the sacred ashes of Tullahassee Mission arose the Wealaka Mission, built by the Creek National Government on the Arkansas River across the river from the present Broken Arrow neighborhood near the mouth of a large creek called "Snake Creek."² Dr. R. M. Loughridge having re-

²The site of Wealaka Mission, established by the Creek National Council in 1881 is about 2 miles northwest of present Leonard in Tulsa County. The home of Hon. Pleasant Porter, later Chief of the Creek Nation, was in this vicinity.

turned from Texas to Indian Territory, was appointed Superintendent by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions with headquarters in St. Louis. While teaching here under Dr. Loughridge, I said to him one day, "Doctor, I would love to have you tell me the story of your early Missionary work in Indian Territory. It will be valuable history some day and we should have it." He seemed pleased that I was so interested in his story. He said, "I will write it for you some day," and the following interesting story was given to me by this consecrated Christain Missionary who gave his life work to Missions and preaching the Gospel to the Creek peoples in Indian Territory:

I was born at Lawrensville, South Carolina, December 24th, 1809. My parents were Scotch-Irish descent, and members of the Presbyterian Church. When I was fourteen years of age, I and my brother worked on a farm, attending a school occasionally. When twenty years old I was engaged as assistant teacher for several months in Dr. Beebe's school in Green County, Alabama. I professed religion in my twenty-second year and united with the Presbyterian Church under Reverend John H. Gray D. D. I felt directly called to preach the Gospel, and immediately commenced the study of Latin and Greek under my pastor to prepare myself for the solemn calling. I later attended the Mesopotamia Academy at Eutaw, Alabama, for four years in preparing for College. I entered the Sophomore class in Miami University at Oxford, Ohio, and after three years was graduated in 1837, receiving the honorary degree of Bachelor of Arts. After a short vacation at home I entered the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey, where I remained one year only. On account of the death of my father, I returned home and continued my theological studies under my old pastor, Dr. J. H. Gray D. D. I was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Tuscaloosa Synod in Alabama at Eutaw, April 9th, 1841.

I preached six months, then I was appointed by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to visit the Creek Indians west of Arkansas, to enquire whether they would be willing to have preaching and a mission school among them. I set out on horse-back November 2nd, 1841, from Eutaw, Alabama. After a ride of about six hundred miles I met the chiefs of the Muskogee Nation, and laid the matter before them. Having to wait about three weeks for the Council to meet to consider my proposition, I improved the time in visiting several parts of the nation. Everywhere there was evidence of the most deplorable state of society. "Darkness covered the nation and gross darkness the people." There was not a missionary in the whole [Creek] territory, and the few people who kept up the semblance of public worship occasionally were miserably ignorant. When the Council met they gave me to understand that they wanted no preaching because it broke up their old customs, their busks, ball plays and dances, but they wanted me to come and establish a school. I informed them that I was a preacher and unless I was permitted to preach to the people I would not come among them. After a long consultation they finally proposed that I should establish a school and I might preach at the school-house but nowhere else. After considerable hesitancy I agreed to these terms.

My experience here led me to decide that I could not very successfully do missionary work among these people without a companion. I needed a helpmeet. I mounted my horse and returned

to Alabama. I solicited the companionship of a previous acquaintance of mine, Miss Olivia D. Hills, a school teacher and a Mt. Holyoke graduate. I very prayerfully explained to her the sacrifice it would entail to become my wife and go out to that far distant and benighted field. I gave her a few days to think it over and prayed earnestly about it. At the end of the allotted time I called for her answer. She said she had prayed over the matter very earnestly, asking God to give her wisdom for the decision, and, "I have decided to share your missionary work and life with you. I have consecrated my life to this most needy field and am happy in this decision." I returned by steamer and arrived with my young wife in the Nation at the Verdigris landing Feb. 5th, 1849.

After a few days observation I purchased a horse and saddle and started out to find the most appropriate place for the Mission school. At the suggestion of the Principal Chief it was located in the Coweta Town and called the "Koweta Mission," situated one and one half miles east of the Arkansas River and twenty-five miles northwest of Fort Gibson. Very soon a cabin was built for school and church purposes, and the people notified to attend church, and to send their children to school. On the place was a vacant Indian cabin about 12 x 24, a dirt floor, clapboard roof, a small unfenced field and a small orchard. I paid the owner ten dollars for his improvements, hired some men to put in a puncheon floor, and in this place we lived for one year and here our first child was born.

As soon as the log building for school and church was finished, my wife commenced teaching some fifteen or twenty children, and services were held every Sabbath with a small attendance. During the fall and winter and the following Spring I built a large log house, one story and one half high and at the suggestion and urgent request of some people living at a distance, we received eight or ten boys and girls to live with us and attend school. This was the beginning of our system, Manual Labor Boarding School, which has proved itself to be the most effective means of civilizing and Christianizing the Indian youth. It is indeed the best for all classes. Gradually the number of boarding scholars was increased until we had forty. The people became more interested in religious services and attended preaching more regularly. A number became converted and in about two years we had the pleasure of organizing a church.

As the Seminoles, a branch of the Creek Nation, were entirely without schools or preaching the Board of Foreign Missions directed me to visit them and learn whether they were willing to have schools among them. This was the opening wedge for that good Christian work done among them later by Rev. J. R. Ramsey and John Lilly. In 1847 Honorable Walter Lowrie, Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, visited us and gave a new impulse to the cause of Christian education by entering in an agreement with the chiefs for the enlargement of the school at Coweta, and the establishment of the Tullahassee Manual Labor School to accommodate eighty pupils, forty of each sex. These schools were sustained jointly by the Presbyterian Church and Creek school fund.

The Tullahassee Mission was a large three story brick building. The Board sent out teachers and I was appointed Superintendent, and Reverend H. Balentine was sent out to take charge of the Koweta Mission.³ W. S. Robertson A. M., of New York, a graduate of an

³ The early records give the name of this mission as "Koweta Mission," established with the consent of the Creek National Council in 1842. The site of this first mission school in the Creek Nation is about one mile east

Eastern College was appointed Principal-teacher. The first day of March, 1850, found us ready to commence the school. Out-buildings such as stables, corn-cribs, fences, etc. had been built; cattle, horses, wagons and teams had been purchased; furniture for the building and provision of all kinds, books, paper, etc., had been provided; and the school was opened with thirty pupils. Our full number of eighty was not received until fall because it was deemed best to begin with a few and get them under training before the whole number of raw recruits should arrive. Later, experience proved the wisdom of the course. A fine large bell was sent out by the Board and hung in the cupola to regular the various exercises of school and church. By the thoughtful generosity of Dr. Wells of Fort Gibson, the staunch friend of the Mission, a beautiful and appropriate vane representing an Indian standing with bow and arrow pointing the course of the wind as it flew past was presented and placed on the cupola.

The exercises were conducted on the manual plan and the usual time of six hours daily was spent in study. The pupils were employed about two hours daily in some useful exercises, the boys working on the farm, in the garden, or chopping firewood, and the girls in household duties, assisting in sewing, cooking, washing, and the care of the dining-room. The children were provided with three good meals a day and abundant time given for sleep and recreation. Religious exercises were regularly kept up, preaching on Sabbath and prayers morning and evening through the week. Daily, at the supper table, in connection with singing and prayer, every pupil was expected to recite a verse of scripture. Thus the school functioned with a noble band of self-sacrificing teachers and helpers, laboring faithfully and cheerfully, content with a mere support in salaries of \$400 per annum. The school continued to flourish, laying a good foundation for the education of the youth until July 10th, 1861, when it was suddenly broken up, and all the mission property amounting to \$12,270 was taken possession of by the chiefs of the Nation.

Such was the case with the Koweta Manual Labor School. The children were sent adrift to their several homes North and South. Thus after eleven years of successful operation this interesting school was disbanded. The Koweta School was never renewed, but at the close of the Civil War, in November, 1866, the former teacher, Reverend William S. Robertson, was sent out by the Board to revive the Tullahassee School to something like its former size and usefulness. Work was begun again in March, 1868, and continued for twelve years, until December 17th, 1880, when from a defective flue the building caught fire and was burned to the ground, and most of the contents were consumed.

After our work was broken up, in July 1861, I moved my family over into the Cherokee Nation and preached for one year in the churches that had been left by ministers who fled to their homes in the North, at the beginning of the War. It finally became very dangerous for me to remain any longer so in July 17th, 1862, I packed some of my belongings with my family in two small wagons and journeyed down to Texas where most of my relatives were living. I preached here for eighteen years in vacant churches.

of the present town of Coweta in Wagoner County, Oklahoma. The early history of the "Koweta Mission" is given by Carolyn Thomas Foreman in "Report of the Reverend R. M. Loughridge to the Board of Foreign Missions Regarding the Creek Mission," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No.3 (Autumn, 1948), pp. 278-84.

Having received an urgent call from the Board of Foreign Missions and several prominent Indians to return to the Creek Nation, my wife and I returned on January 5th, 1881. I commenced preaching for the Wealaka church in the Broken Arrow District. The Creek Council decided to build another school on a larger scale and locate it farther west, where the Indians were more thickly settled. The Trustees selected a beautiful site on the south side of the Arkansas River surrounded in the distance by several grand old mountains and about forty miles west of the town of Muskogee. A large and magnificent building 110 by 42 feet and three stories high was erected and soon occupied by one hundred children. Having been appointed Superintendent of the school I opened it November 1st, 1882, and continued in charge two years, when I resigned.

Since then I have devoted myself to preaching in various parts in the Creek Nation and in preparing books in the Creek language. I prepared hymn books, catechism, translated the Gospel of Matthews, a treatise on Baptism and a Dictionary in two parts, Creek and English and English and Creek. On June 26th, 1889, I was honored by my Alma Mater, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, which conferred upon me the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. In concluding this brief sketch of my life I will remark that during my long pilgrimage of nearly eighty-two years, many have been the afflictions I have been called to bear. Three of my six children passed over the Jordan of death. I am now living with my third wife who is seventy-three years of age. I realize that all these dear ones are safely housed in their Heavenly home.

—Dr. R. M. Loughridge

Red Fork, Indian Territory, Dec. 2, 1891.

While at the log-cabin Koweta Mission, Dr. Loughridge's faithful companion and devoted wife died and he was left with two small children. His youngest child was only twelve days old. No medical attention could be given to this suffering mother as the only doctor was twenty-five miles away and could not come. So resigning herself to the inevitable she passed on, leaving her dear ones in the hands of her Redeemer. Out in the forest under an oak tree she was laid away to await the resurrection. What a life of sacrifice and passing away out in the forests for the sake of the Mission cause. Dr. Loughridge invited Miss Nancy Thompson, an aged Missionary among the Cherokees, to come to his rescue and care for his motherless children until his sister Elizabeth of Mississippi came out and spent several months caring for his household and assisting in the Mission work. He continued his labor of soul-saving, as other helpers were sent out by the Board from time to time. In 1846 his youngest child passed away. He was working his way gradually into the hearts of the people and consent was given by the Creek Council that he might preach anywhere he chose.

In December, 1846, he found another companion, Miss Mary Avery of Massachusetts, who had been a teacher at Park Hill, Cherokee Nation. She was a consecrated Christian, an experienced teacher and proved a marvelous support to

the work and Dr. Loughridge. The work continued to grow and prove a blessing to the people, and Dr. Loughridge was in a manner happy as he saw the result of his labor. But his happiness was again short lived, for the hand of affliction was again laid upon him and after several months of illness, on January 26, 1850, Mary Avery, was taken away. For three years he labored on, bringing souls to Christ and educating the youth. Then on October 5th, 1853, having found another Christain teacher, Miss Harriett Johnson, Principal of the Cherokee Female Seminary, who had also been a teacher at Mount Holyoke Seminary, they were married, and again he had a most capable helper and devoted wife. It was my pleasure to know this fine Christain character at Wealaka Mission.

I went directly from Hillsboro, Highland County [Ohio] to Muskogee after my graduation. I drove across the country with Mrs. Augusta Moore (née Robertson), to the new Wealaka Mission to attend the closing exercises of this Mission in June 1883. My friends desired that I attend this closing and get some idea of its management. It was indeed a great pleasure and privilege to know this fine consecrated Christain man [Rev. R. M. Loughridge] to whom my mother had gone to school at the old log-cabin Koweta School, and I, her daughter Lilah was now a teacher under his supervision. I taught in the south wing of this fine building, the girls fifty in number. The rooms were all arranged just the same as were those of Tullahassee Mission, and all the students assisted in the work as at Tullahassee. I had the pleasure of accompanying Dr. Loughridge to Tulsa on several occasions to assist in holding preaching services on the store porch of Mr. H. C. Hall's store since there was no building suitable for the service.

Mr. Harry Hall was the pioneer merchant of this small town of about one hundred and fifty or two hundred people. He had some interest in the Frisco Railroad that was building into Tulsa, supplying the groceries and commissary for the railroad hands. His brother, J. M., was his clerk and book-keeper.

Here again we discovered a field for Missionary work. There was no established church in Tulsa, but after Dr. Loughridge had preached there for some time one was organized. The Foreign Board had had charge of all Presbyterian mission work in Indian Territory since February, 1849—begun by Dr. Loughridge—until 1883 when the Foreign Board with headquarters in St. Louis sold out its holdings to the Home Mission Board with Headquarters in New York.

This Board sent Reverend Wm. P. Hayworth of Vinita to Tulsa to begin preaching services and to open up a school.

In the latter part of 1884, Reverend Hayworth opened a day school with his wife as one of the teachers, assisted by Miss Ida Stevens of Vinita. Very shortly after school opened, Miss Stevens married the minister's son, and resigned. Mrs. C. J. Stonecipher of Oswego, Kansas was sent by the Board to fill her place. During the summer of 1886, I was a guest in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Clinton of Red Fork, Mr. Clinton being owner of a large cattle ranch. While there I received a letter from Reverend W. P. Hayworth soliciting my services as a teacher in the Tulsa school. He informed me that his reason for making that request was that the patrons of the Tulsa school had made an urgent request that he solicit my services. They told him I was one of the best school-teachers in the country.

After my school year at Wealaka, I had resigned because of ill health. Having been on a long hard strain as a student, I needed a rest. I was married September 17th, 1884, and my husband being a contractor and building, was away from home much of the time and we had not fully decided in just what town we would make our home. We did, however, live in Okmulgee, Indian Territory, the Capital of the Creek Nation, in 1884-85. I taught the day school in Okmulgee in the old Stone Council House, substituting for Miss Alice Robertson when she attended the Mohawk Conference in New York. The children had become so fond of me she asked me to continue the teaching as she cared very little about it. I refused to supplant her in that way.

I consulted by husband about taking the Tulsa proposition. He preferred I would not teach but finally through my persuasion, he gave his consent since we were not settled anywhere yet, and I answered Reverend Hayworth's letter, accepting the offer. Very shortly I received my commission from the Home Board of New York City, and in September, 1886, found myself established in Tulsa, teaching the little Indian children as they came from their homes on foot, on horse-back and in buggies. Mrs. Stonecipher was in charge and alone and needed help badly. We worked together very harmoniously, and the school grew in attendance to sixty students. About two months before school closed she received a message that her mother in Oswego was seriously ill. She very reluctantly departed leaving me alone. I continued alone throughout the remainder of the school year, using some of the older and more advanced students as assistants. Alone I prepared the students for their closing exercises in June with songs, dialogues, readings, etc., which meant extra hours. We opened school promptly at 9:00 o'clock and often could not close before 4:15 or 4:20 P. M. I often heard sixteen classes a day. And today when I see teachers and students

leaving school at 3:00 and 3:30 p. m., I wonder how the children learn anything in so few hours. My salary in Tulsa was \$60.00 a quarter, and I received by check every quarter instead of every month.

In September, 1887, I had two helpers. The Board sent Miss Jennie Stringfield and her sister, Bettie, from Missouri, because the school had grown so, three teachers were necessary. White children were also permitted to attend by permission of the Board at \$1.00 per month. We teachers were called upon to do everything that was needed to be done and the patrons thought we could supply the need. There was no regular preaching every Sabbath for our resident minister had to hold services in out-lying districts, Red Fork and other places. So we conducted the Sunday Schools, Wednesday evening prayer meetings, leading the singing, reading the Bible, offering the prayers and giving the talks etc. I have done all of these in one evening's service including playing the organ. It was not unusual for Indians to request us to conduct funerals at a cemetery since there was no minister available.

Having taught here three years, I resigned, and at the earnest request of the Broken Arrow Community I taught another day-school in the little White Church on the hill. My cousin, David Hodge, a resident there, was the prime mover in the establishment of this school. I went to Muskogee to have the National School Board give me an examination and issue my certificate. They issued the certificate all right but refused to examine me. When I insisted, they said, "No, we are not going to examine you, you might turn the table on us and examine us." So I returned to the little White Church and opened the school. I roomed and boarded with Mr. and Mrs. Hodge. Children came to see me from as far as five miles around the neighborhood. I had forty in attendance every day. I had told Mr. Hodge I would not teach unless I had forty children. He promised them and they came. I did not like day-school work, I felt it beneath my dignity; I preferred and was thoroughly fitted to do Boarding school work. At the end of the one year, I resigned and returned to Tulsa.

By this time Tulsa had grown to a size that required a town council. So this little town bought the school property, and it became a public school. Bankers and business men's wives came to me and persuaded me to open a private school because they did not want their small children mixing and mingling with *undesirable* children of all *classes!* My husband had just completed a store-room about forty feet long on the corner of our lawn which was about three hundred feet square, so it did not encroach on our private lawn at all. I

persuaded him to let me have this building which had not yet been occupied, and I opened the school, using straight backed cane bottomed chairs that I bought from a second-hand store. We had a delightful school with forty and forty-five in attendance. I closed this school in June, telling the children I would not open the school the next year.

In the fall I was asked by J. M. Hall, who was on the school board, to teach in the Public Schools, and I taught one year. During the summer of 1891, I received a letter from Luke McIntosh of Eufaula, asking me to assist him in the the new school near Coweta that was to be opened that fall. This school was built on the cottage plan because the Creek Government had lost so many of the school buildings from fire. I taught in the girls' school-room here two years, then resigned because my husband would not consent to my remaining any longer since he found me in bed with chills on one of his visits to the school. I was the right-hand worker for Mr. McIntosh since he had never had any experience in boarding school work. I assisted him in ordering the groceries and other needs for the school, and did much of the supervising of the girls in their work out-side of school hours. Our table was well supplied with wild meats of which the Indians are so fond. The buildings were located on an elevated rise in the prairie. The tall grass around was full of the big fat prairie-chickens, and every morning early we could hear them cooing and drumming within fifty yards of the premises. The only other teacher, Mr. Battles, often stepped out only that distance away, and brought in fifteen or twenty and we would have a real feast.

I made that my last teaching days, returned to Tulsa and renewed by church work in the First Presbyterian Church of which I was a charter member. I also entered into temperance work to which I have given about thirty-five years. I sang nineteen years in the First Presbyterian Church Choir. I organized the Humane Society in Tulsa, the Women's Christian Temperance Union; was President of the Indian Territory W. C. T. U. before statehood; organized the Women's Relief Corps; the Women's Maccabee Association; the Rebecca Lodge; and was for a time a member of the Chamber of Commerce of Tulsa, being made chairman of a women's committee to head a campaign for women members. I was appointed by Gov. Robt. L. Williams a member of the Tulsa County Council of Defense during the World War. All my war work is listed in a history of the organization compiled by the Council. I am a member of several worth-while clubs in Tulsa: the American Association of University Women, the League of Women Voters, the Tulsa Women's Club, and the Women's Exchange. I have taught Parliamentary Law and

I organized the First Parliamentary Study Club in Tulsa. I have written many constitutions and by-laws for both men's and women's organizations. I am still *now* doing my part in all these organization mentioned except the Lodge work.

I forgot to mention in the Wealaka Mission history that my husband [Col. L. W. Lindsey] and I were married there, and Reverend R. N. Diamond performed the ceremony. He and his wife were transferred by the Board from the Seminole field to the Wealaka Mission. Mr. J. P. Whitehead who succeeded Dr. Loughridge as Superintendent invited us to have the wedding at the school to give the children an idea of a well arranged wedding. Then, too, his wife and I were very dear friends. This wedding was put on with all the pomp the occasion required, being in the chapel in "Middle School Room," decorated for the purpose, with the one hundred children and all the school helpers in attendance. We marched in with one bridesmaid and a best man to the strains of the ever popular wedding march. After the ceremony the students were taken to their dormitories and only the Superintendent and wife, the teachers and my invited guests sat down to a sumptuous wedding banquet with the beautiful wedding cake in the center of a lovely decorated table. My husband and I were guests afterward of Hon. and Mrs. Pleasant Porter on their ranch. The next day we drove to Okmulgee, the capital of the Creek Nation for our temporary home.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

DEDICATION OF ROBERT LEE WILLIAMS BUST

The bust of Robert Lee Williams, the work in bronze by sculptor J. R. Taylor, Norman, Oklahoma, was presented to the Robert Lee Williams Public Library at Durant on Sunday, 1 June 1958.

By circumstance, individuals now holding three of the respective offices once occupied by Judge Williams were present and participated in the ceremony. The principal speaker was Honorable Eugene Rice, United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Oklahoma, a position once held by Judge Williams. The Honorable Earl Welch, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Oklahoma, likewise a position once held by Judge Williams, and George H. Shirk, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, a chair once occupied by Judge Williams, were also present as distinguished guests.

Mrs. Floy Perkinson Gates, member of the Library Board, presided at the ceremony. Invocation was by Rev. W. E. Bowers. Dr. E. E. Dale and Dr. James D. Morrison, authors of *Pioneer Judge* were introduced and their remarks telling of the experiences in writing the book were well received. Following the ceremonies, they both were in much demand for the autographing of copies. Following the principal address by Judge Rice, the bust was presented to the Library by the Honorable Harry W. Gibson, Jr., Trustee of the Williams Estate. The unveiling was by Mrs. Lester O'Riley, Librarian, and the gift was accepted by Dr. James D. Morrison.

An excellent likeness, the bust should bring to J. R. Taylor much satisfaction in having made this contribution to the cultural life of the state and the community.

ANNUAL HISTORICAL TOUR

For the 1958 Oklahoma Historical Society tour, the southwestern section of the State was selected as the region to be visited. All preliminary plans and arrangements were made by a committee headed by Mr. R. G. Miller. Other members of the committee were Col. George H. Shirk, Judge J. G. Clift, Mr. Henry Bass, and Dr. E. E. Dale.

From the time the three large buses, conveying the tourists, left the Historical Society Building on the morning

of May 1st, until they returned to the same place on the evening of May 3rd, there was a veritable college of Oklahoma history on wheels.

The first stop was made north of Rush Springs, at the marker indicating the location of the Battle of Wichita Village. The lecture at this point was made by Col. Shirk, newly elected president of the Society. The next stop was made where Captain Marcy's expedition crossed the point where U. S. Highway 81 is located. Judge J. G. Clift of Duncan, member of the Society's Board of Directors, pointed out the new marker that had been erected at this place and spoke briefly concerning the Marcy expedition.

Upon arrival at Ryan, the buses were met by Mr. William Dale, Chief Curator of the Historical Society, with the information that recent rains had made it inadvisable for the caravan to attempt reaching the site of old San Bernardo, early day French settlement, located in the Red River bottoms about twenty-five miles southeast of Ryan, near Petersburg in Southeastern Jefferson County.

Miss Muriel H. Wright, Editor of *The Chronicles* had previously made arrangements with Mr. Joe Benton of Nocona, Texas, for an exhibit to be shown on the Tour, from his fine collection of relics and artifacts that have been found on the San Bernardo site. Mr. Dale had gone to Nocona the day before the tour for Mr. Benton's San Bernardo materials, and had set up the interesting display in the Ryan High School Auditorium. This exhibit was viewed by the tourists and also by the high school students of Ryan with Mr. Dale answering questions concerning the items on display. Coffee and doughnuts were served to the travelers by the citizens of Ryan.

On the way to Grandfield, Tillman County, a brief roadside stop was made that the location of the old Warren trading post (1842) might be pointed out. Upon arrival at Grandfield, the group had luncheon with the Kiwanis Club of that city. A special program of local history was presented. The main theme was based on Big Pasture history. Grandfield is located in what was formerly known as the Big Pasture which was opened to settlement early in 1907. Miss Virginia Warhurst made a most interesting talk on the early history of that section. She is a former resident of Grandfield, now teaching school in Wichita Falls, Texas.

When the tourists arrived in Blair, they had the rare opportunity of seeing the Mary Winters' collection of relics and artifacts that had been found in nearby Devil's Canyon, Kiowa County. The display was set up in the Blair American



(Photo May, 1933. Oklahoma Historical Tour)

At the Old Corral, Fort Sill Museum, standing left to right: R. G. Miller, Harry Bass, Judge John G. Clift, Members, and Colonel George H. Shirk, President of the Board of Directors, Oklahoma Historical Society; Arthur R. Lawrence of Comanche County Historical Society (at right).

Legion Hall. Another intended historic site was passed up, when it was found the roads were too wet and slippery for the trip out to Navajo Mountain, in Greer County.

Late in the afternoon the caravan arrived at Quartz Mountain Lodge on Lake Altus, or Lake Lugert as it is frequently referred to by the old-timers of that section. Facilities of the Lodge were taxed to the limit to care for the touring group of Oklahoma history lovers. Nevertheless, arrangements for housing and eating were exceptionally good and all details were handled in a most expeditious manner. The group spent both the nights of May 1st and May 2nd at the Lodge.

The evening's dinner program for May 1st was in charge of citizens from Altus. The entertainment was featured by a humorous musical skit staged by Altus High School students. It was a takeoff based on operatic selections.

Friday morning found the tourists headed for Devil's Canyon, and a foot trip through that scenic and historic section of the Wichita Mountains. The group was taken to the north end of the Canyon by buses, where the majority disembarked and started through the more than two miles of rough going. Those who did not care to make the Canyon trip remained on the buses and traveled to the south end of the Canyon where they met the foot party when it emerged from the gorge. The guide through the Canyon was teen-age Glen Winters, grandson of Mary Winters who owns the collection exhibited in Blair, and who was an early-day resident in Devil's Canyon. Besides seeing the rugged scenery, those making the trip through the Canyon walked over the site of the large Wichita Indian Village that was visited by the famous U. S. Dragoon Expedition commanded by Col. Henry Dodge, in July of 1834. Upon completing the trip through the Canyon, the tourists boarded the buses that were awaiting them at the south end, and returned to Quartz Mountain Lodge for luncheon.

The afternoon trip included stops at Granite to view the State's largest quarries, a visit to Chief Lone Wolf's grave, a stop south of Hobart to view the largest pecan tree in Oklahoma, and a visit to the site of old Camp Radziminski, near Mountain Park in Kiowa County.

The Friday night dinner meeting program was in charge of committees from Mangum, Hobart, and Granite. Several vocal musical numbers were presented by the Hobart group, and high school students from Mangum gave a demonstration of shelter belt values in soil conservation. Piano numbers were also on the Mangum program. Mr. J. R. Willis, owner of the Granite Quarries, gave several officers of the Historical

Society granite desk markers. He also gave Mr. R. G. Miller, chairman of the tour committee, a granite plaque on which the likeness of Mr. Miller was engraved. Mr. O. H. Ford announced that every business man in Granite had joined the Oklahoma Historical Society. Officials of the Society said this was the first time anything like this had ever happened.

The last day of the Tour was one replete with visiting outstanding historic spots and viewing the great military establishment at Ft. Sill. Upon arrival at Ft. Sill, shortly after 9:00 a. m., the tourists were welcomed, in a brief talk by General DeShazo, Commandant of Ft. Sill. Under the guidance of Mr. Gillette Griswold, Curator of the Ft. Sill museum, the tourists viewed many historic spots at Ft. Sill, and saw the exhibits of the Raymond S. McClain Museum. Luncheon was served in the Ft. Sill dining room, after which the visitors were shown some of the most modern military weapons. Expertly drilled teams demonstrated the procedure in launching the Honest John and Corporal missiles.

In order to keep on schedule, no stops were made at Geronimo's grave north of Ft. Sill and at the old Mautame Mission east of Anadarko. When the tourists reached Verden, the site of Camp Napoleon, Dr. Anna Lewis, formerly head of the History Department at the Oklahoma College for Women, made a brief talk concerning the historic conference that was held at this site in 1865, and pointed out the monument that had been erected commemorating the event.

The last stop before heading for the Historical Society Building and trail's end for the Tour, was at Minco where the tourists visited at the site of the old El Meta Bond School. A group of Minco citizens was on hand to extend greetings and serve light refreshments.

The Tour was made unusually interesting with a number of eminent historians and writers in the group. Among these were Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Angie Debow, Dr. Anna K. Lewis, Dr. Frank Balyeat, Mr. Harold Keith, and Mary Agnes Thompson.

E. L. F.

SOME OKLAHOMA PANHANDLE HISTORY

The following memories of life in the old days in the Panhandle country have been received by the Editorial Department, from Mr. Solon Porter.

PANHANDLE DAYS

There have lived on these plains, cattle-ranchers whose interests were so vast they scarcely knew the border line of their domain;

while there have been lesser "lights" squatting along the various streams, and usually holding comparatively small herds of commission cattle. They seem to have attempted growing little, except cane-hay with which to carry their stock through bad storms. Their mode of travel was slow and the trail was long; yet perhaps no happier people ever lived; when all the while they were dreaming and planning a trip to a little shady nook at the end of the trail.

There would be new-found friends and pretty girls all waiting to flush a ragtime dance; and this was to be an occasion long looked forward to. Soon now he or she had chosen their "dream baby" and with the first squeal of the fiddle and the rhythmic yell of some little gourdhead, the works was on.

Naturally the girls were scarce and prized accordingly. Only a few girls could be rounded up within a radius of a hundred miles. The girls were so rare in those days that all bars were thrown down as to qualifications: From twelve to eighty years of age, they put on the old bonnet with the ribbon on it, grabbed the skillet and a chunk of bacon, loaded the covered wagon, and went to the dance

Reliable men who for more than eighty years have lived on the plains, say that they themselves have attended dances as much as ninety miles from their headquarters and thought little of the distance. Naturally, these cattle ranch powwows were not broken off at one or two o'clock in the morning. Rather, they gained momentum through the night, only to be augmented with a huge barbecue the next day. And "the goose continued to hang high" until the third or fourth day for the farewell dance. This was the climax! The day of days!

Emotions were unbridled. There had been new found friends. The gals and fellers had mingled half a week. A little lovin' here and there had hung fire, nor could heaven nor earth have headed it off—"and my dreams will be only of you Baby til we meet right here again in September" was the tense good-bye. Nor were the shimmering plains ever too wide, nor the pitiless desert sun ever too hot for those folks to roust out and go. But now, "jist" in case, did they have anything for snake bites at the big dances? Plenty of it, and drunks? and trouble? Seldom. But if so, the judge, jury, and janitor were right on the button, and the verdict was executed in a very positive manner.

Surely, those rough and ready plainsmen were there for a good time, also their manhood was appealed to, and they seemed proud to get to show that they were gentlemen worthy of trust and respect by complying with a formal request that they turn all their whiskey over to the landlady. Then according to their own sense of proper balance the spink-and-span auxiliary gals would dish out little nips of toddy and eggnog, and of course, goodwill mounted high.

And about the music? Well it seems plain that when the Creator made people, He, for some reason of His own just grew a fiddler here and there. One among many, that is. This was keen, too, as the cow-hand could straddle a cayuse and knock on the door of a fiddler and "git" back the same day. The fiddler would have a fiddle too; and listen, it was usually an old Strad, rare and woolly—and "no, it ain't fur sale"—and you could hang your wraps on that. Of course any fiddle is "jist" another fiddle, and "it's a rousen' little rounder without an equal." Then there was the hand organ. It was homely and sweet, and strangely enough, the Plains powwow

would have its so-called Dago who with his hand-organ and little monkey was sure to drop in on time. And according to all accounts the little monkey knew his onions, never failing to spit on his hands when he started passing his little dirty hat around. This always brought an uproar with a few pennies interspersed, with a nickle here and there.

So there was melody, romance, and real "ketchen" happiness at the old range dance. Today, except recreated in cherished memory, the old-time powwow is no more. Gone with the prairie winds are the folks who could put on a hot time with "nothin" to do it with but shade, water, and grass, and of course, a fiddle and a monkey. This gave something to look forward to—a place to go. Hunger for human association, and the thrill of meeting the object of those dreams meant a lot of livin'. Hence the rugged spirit of the old Southwest shall be recaptured and staged for a thousand years to come. That's why we sing, "Gimme a home where the buffaloes roam, I'm sick of man-made laws and fences." That's why we cast back and recall a people, their life and happiness and a story sifted from the ashes of time.

—Solon Porter

ESTABLISHMENT OF BOGGY DEPOT STATE PARK

The following review records the years of work that brought about the recent establishment of Boggy Depot State Park, in Atoka County, in which Mr. J. Brookes Wright of McAlester was the prime mover in the projects and the donor of the tract of land to the State of Oklahoma. This interesting record of contemporary history was received by the Editorial Department from Mr. Wright, and gives details that led up to the final establishment of the Park at the time of Centennial Celebration of the Butterfield Overland Mail at Old Boggy Depot last fall, reviewed in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXV, No. 4 (Winter, 1957-58), pp. 474-77, in which mention was made of Mr. Wright's gift of land for the park, and also of the work on the Centennial program "contributed by interested citizens locally and of Atoka, led by Mr. Russell Telle" and others. Mr. Wright who had full charge of this Centennial program was born at Old Boggy Depot eighty-one years ago, the last living son of the Reverend Allen and Mrs. Wright. He has given time and interested effort to the preservation of other historic spots in Southeastern Oklahoma, having written a number of reminiscences of this region where he has lived all his life, and is now retired after many years as Chief Clerk of the U. S. Indian Office at McAlester.

Boggy Depot State Park

This is a synopsis of the work involved in establishing the Memorial Park at Old Boggy Depot from the origin of the idea to the formal presentation of the land deed to the State of Oklahoma which took place at the time of the celebration of the centennial

of the founding of the Butterfield Mail and Stage Coach Line and the semi-centennial of Oklahoma Statehood held at Old Boggy Depot, Atoka County, Oklahoma, on September 13, 1957.

In the fall and winter of 1952-53 I conceived the idea of asking the State of Oklahoma to establish a memorial park at Old Boggy Depot in Atoka County with primary purpose of including the old cemetery where so many prominent Oklahoma pioneers lie buried as well as some Confederate soldiers.

My old acquaintance and friend, Senator Keith Cartwright, was at that time Chairman of the Senate Committee of the 24th legislature on parks. I asked his support of the project and he granted my request. He was instrumental in getting a bill passed and an appropriation made for the park.

I was instrumental in getting Mrs. Anna Wright Ludlow to agree to donate the land, which she owned, for the park.

At that time it seemed that only a few people besides Mr. C. C. Stephens, President of the Atoka State Bank, were interested in the project. Up to that time Atoka County was not shown as having any point of interest within its bounds. We were able to interest Senator Henry Cooper and Representative Floyd Mason of Atoka County in the project and they assisted Senator Cartwright of Bryan County in passing the Bill and getting an appropriation. The matter depended then on the action of the State Planning and Resources Board for execution. I contacted Mr. Ernest E. Allen, Director of Division of Parks, and Mr. Jack V. Boyd, Executive Director of the Planning and Resources Board. Mr. Boyd introduced me to the full board which was in session at that time and I presented the matter to them.

Governor Johnston Murray was not sympathetic with the project and threatened to veto the Bill unless the Atoka County delegation agreed to cut the appropriation from \$5,000.00 to \$2,500.00. Mr. Mason told me that rather than see the Bill killed they accepted the cut with the idea that they might come back later and get a larger appropriation. Then Governor Murray deferred the appropriation until July 1, 1954.

The Planning and Resources Board no doubt thought there was no hurry in getting the deed to the land and so put it off for about 6 months, even though I tried to impress upon them the uncertainty of Mrs. Ludlow's life due to her age.

When the Board got ready to receive the deed and before we got in readiness to have it executed Mrs. Ludlow became a hospital patient and was never able to execute the deed. She lingered along for 15 months and then passed away and her estate was handled through the Probate Court.

Due to the slowness of the Executor and his attorney—mostly the attorney—the estate was not settled for 2 years. In the meantime the State, or Planning and Resources Board, cancelled the appropriation and we were left with a park site but without funds.

One thing I did was to place Atoka on the historical map. Mr. Allen, Executive Director of Parks, promised me they would designate the park site on the map and this was done a year or two before anything further was done on the park. Prior to this, Atoka County was not credited with a historical spot.

All during the interim I kept busy working for the carrying out of the project. Mr. Russell Telle, my cousin, assisted me greatly by his ability as a stenographer. He was a lawyer and district court reporter. He rendered good service in typing for I had to do all my correspondence in longhand.

Senator Bob A. Trent and Representative Otto Strickland, representing Atoka County in the 26th Oklahoma Legislature, introduced and had passed a Bill carrying an appropriation of \$20,000.00 for the Memorial Park at Old Boggy Depot.

So when the Ludlow estate was settled I bought, with the consent of my sisters, Mrs. Mary W. Wallace and Mrs. Clara E. Richards, the land of our sister Mrs. Anna W. Ludlow, deceased, and was then in position to give the State the land for the park.

The deeding of the land to the State for the park finally culminated at the Centennial celebration of the Butterfield Mail and Stage Coach Line and the Semi-centennial celebration of Oklahoma Statehood held at Old Boggy Depot on September 13, 1957.

I had previously donated a small tract of land at Old Boggy, containing the site of the Oklahoma Lodge No. 4, A. F. and A. M., now of Atoka, where the first lodge was activated in Oklahoma after the Civil War.

Russell Telle became interested in the Butterfield Celebration and consequently became interested in the Old Boggy Depot and Atoka celebrations. He was especially helpful in arousing the interest of the Atoka people in the celebrations and I gave him public recognition for the good work he did and this compliment he acknowledged in a letter to me.

Mr. J. G. Sutherland, representing the Atoka Masonic Lodge was an active and interested aid in the Old Boggy celebration. Mr. Jene Mungle of Atoka, an active and enterprising young man, was an enthusiastic booster for the celebrations. He and his father barbecued the beef which was provided and served at Old Boggy. There were others who contributed time and money for the celebrations.

I began in the winter of 1957 to make Old Boggy presentable for the Semi-centennial and the Butterfield Centennial celebrations. Mr. Ernest Fahrny, a former President of the Old Boggy Depot Cemetery Association, and I began working on the cemetery and by the time spring came we had it in good condition. Then the rains came and it was early summer before we got to work anymore. In the meantime the bushes, the weeds and the grass grew prodigiously in the cemetery and on the Old Boggy townsite until they appeared a wilderness. Then the real job began.

During the year 1957, from winter until the 13th of September, I made a trip every 2 weeks to Atoka at my own expense to try and keep up the interest of the people in Atoka County in the celebration and to supervise the work.

The Atoka people were interested in their own 4th of July celebration and we waited until after that, hoping to get some help in preparing the grounds at Old Boggy. I had been promised some help from the Atoka people. Getting very little encouragement and as time for the celebrations was drawing near I became desperate and so went to see Warden McLeod of the Oklahoma State Penitentiary and solicited his help by allowing us to use the trusties at the

Stringtown prison to clear up the grounds. Mr. McLeod was sympathetic but said he was forbidden to permit prisoners to work on cemeteries. He said if I would get Governor Gary or the Chairman of the State Board of Affairs to authorize him that he would furnish the men. I then wrote Governor Gary what the Warden had said and I explained to him that the project was in connection with the semi-centennial celebration. Governor Gary has seemed to be interested in the Memorial Park project at Old Boggy. He must have authorized the Warden to furnish the men for the help was not long in coming and a few of the citizens of Atoka and the Boggy Depot community furnished transportation for the prisoners from Stringtown to Old Boggy.

Mr. J. G. Sutherland, representing the Masons, of Atoka and Mr. Jake Evans of New Boggy worked along with the trustees and supervised the work.

The prisoners, who were trustees, did a wonderful work and I have never seen the Old Boggy Cemetery and the old townsite in so fine condition as it was on the 13th of September, 1957.

Through the efforts of Russell Telle we were able to muster the interests of the civic-minded clubs and organizations of Atoka to congregate and organize into committees to promote the celebrations and carry on the work. They became enthused and were in the act of taking charge of the celebration at Old Boggy as well as the one at Atoka. Mr. C. C. Stephens, the Atoka banker, who knew of my work from the beginning, suggested that they permit me to take charge of the celebration at Old Boggy and supervise it with their help. That was done.

With the cooperation of the Atoka people, local people and others, I have never seen such a fine gathering at Old Boggy Depot as we had on that day, the 13th of September, 1957. There was a large assemblage and tables loaded with food. Several prominent people made speeches.

The object of this synopsis is to record the work done on the park project, the disappointments encountered, and the final successful culmination by the combined celebrations of the Butterfield Centennial and the Oklahoma Semi-Centennial at Old Boggy at which time the park site was deeded to the State.

—J. B. Wright

A HISTORICAL NOTE ON PRAIRIE CITY, INDIAN TERRITORY

The *Oklahoma and Indian Territory Churchman* for September, 1900, gave an account of St. John's Mission, Episcopal Church, at Prairie City, Indian Territory, written by the Reverend C. M. Campbell who was in charge of this Mission in 1885-87. Prairie City was first established as a post office on February 26, 1872, with Isaac W. Smith as postmaster, the location of the village at that time on the west side of the Neosho or Grand River being the present site of Ogeechee in Ottawa County. In 1876, the Prairie City post office was moved to a new location on the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad three miles east, on the east side of the Neosho, and renamed

Grand River. In 1894, Grand River post office became Wyandotte post office which continues to this day in Oklahoma.¹ The Reverend Campbell's account of St. John's Mission is as follows, the transcript of this article having been received from the Reverend Sam L. Botkin, Chaplain of Casady School, Oklahoma City:²

—Editor

ST. JOHN'S MISSION, PRAIRIE CITY, I. T.

By C. M. Campbell

The end of the month of August found me at Vinita, and on the 6th of September, 1885, a Sunday School was organized at Prairie City, Indian Territory a little settlement on the San Francisco and St. Louis R. R. in the Cherokee Nation, about 25 miles to the east.

A blacksmith's shop, two stores and perhaps a half dozen dwellings made up the village proper, one of the last of which kindly gave us shelter, for my wife and I were left on the prairie literally without a roof to cover our heads, as there was no depot at Prairie City, only a platform beside the track, which swept away across the prairie and disappeared in the distance. The school opened with eleven scholars which number soon increased to forty or fifty and for the most part was well attended. Though slow themselves to receive the "Glad Tidings," these people were always ready to have their children learn whatever we were willing to teach. This truly was the hope of the Mission.

Though still a lay reader and a Candidate for Orders in the Diocese of West Virginia, I conducted the first service of the Church in that section of the Territory on Sunday morning, Sept. 20, 1885, in the home of Mr. Percy Walker,³ with a congregation numbering upwards of fifty souls; and it was really surprising with what readiness these people used the Prayer Book for the first time, most of them never having seen or heard of it before.

I opened a day school on the 8th of September, in a little log cabin some distance away. It had been thought that the Nation would build a school house and appoint a teacher; but being slow to act, the people themselves took the matter in hand and by October

¹ George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948).

² A copy of *The Episcopal Church in Oklahoma* by Sam L. Botkin, recently published (1958) in Oklahoma City has been received by the Editorial Department. This book gives a detailed history of the Episcopal Church and its missions in Indian Territory and Oklahoma to the present.

³ Percy Ladd Walker was of Wyandot Indian descent, born at Wyandotte, Kansas, in 1849, the son of Matthew H. Walker who had moved with his tribesmen from Upper Sandusky, Ohio, where he was a member of the Masonic Lodge at an early date. Matthew Walker was a brother of William Walker, Chief of the Wyandot tribe, who was the first governor of Kansas Territory. Percy Walker, a nephew of Gov. Wm. Walker, came to Prairie City in January, 1869, where he established his home in 1875 after his marriage to Mary M. Audrain of Cherokee descent. He had graduated from Spaulding Commercial College at Kansas City in 1871. He served several terms as member of the Cherokee National Council, in which the full blood Cherokees called him "Atha-Taw-he" meaning "Walk About." The post office called *Narcissa*, in the Cherokee Nation, was named for his daughter, Narcissa Walker.—Notes by Percy L. Walker written in 1937, "Indian and Pioneer History," Vol. XI, pp. 139-57, in Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.—Ed.

they had put up a comfortable building and the school was then moved to nearer and better quarters. This room was always used for Sunday School and Church services, which were regularly maintained each Sunday.

On the 7th of October a Ladies Sewing Society was organized, which afterward did much faithful work, both in helping the destitute and unfortunate in the neighborhood and in fitting up the school-house for Church and Sunday School purposes. The efforts of this Society resulted in securing \$80 for an organ and \$12 for a stove, besides a lectern and a number of other minor furnishings and supplies. And a distant friend gave \$6 for lamps, which were speedily placed in position.

Our hearts were rejoiced by a visit from Bishop Pierce, recently gone to his rest, who came to us Feb. 12, 1886. He remained until the 17th, preaching every night, except the first, and twice on Sunday the 14th. In the morning he administered the Holy Communion, the first my wife and I were privileged to receive since leaving the East. On the 15th he baptized five, and on the 16th two children. We were much strengthened and comforted by his eloquent words, his sound advice and his godly counsels, and were very loath to see him depart. This was his first visit to Prairie City, and proved to be his last, during my connection with St. John's Mission.

In April with my wife I returned to West Virginia; and on the 17th of May was ordained Deacon in St. John's Church, Charleston, by Bishop Peterkin. After a visit to Mrs. Campbell's old home in Virginia, we started west again and reached Prairie City on June 10th, refreshed and encouraged by our visit home.

During the summer and fall of 1886 the services and Sunday School were largely attended; and on August 29th I baptized two little children and one adult. Two large lots were secured in Mr. Percy Walker's name for the Church and school purposes; and later I fenced them in, but we were unable to erect any buildings. I never learned what became of these lots, but presume they were held by Mr. Walker, as they had not been formally turned over to the Mission by the Nation.⁴ From November 17th to 22 I visited Muskogee, preaching once in the Methodist and three times in the Presbyterian church; and in the afternoon of the 20th conducted a funeral in the latter. An earnest, faithful man at Muskogee could have accomplished much good at this time, under the blessing of God. But it was too far removed from St. John's Mission to be reached from there with any degree of regularity, though it was always my desire to return and establish a mission, and I should have done so if the necessary expense could have been provided for. But having at first come to the Territory entirely at my own charges, and being possessed of very little means, it was necessary to confine our labors to the one field, though the General Board had by this time given what assistance they could, which afforded, however, but a partial support.

Indeed, it was for this reason the work was finally abandoned by me. For, much as I regreted it, when my own private funds

⁴No deeds to town lots nor land on Indian owned properties were made out until allotment of lands in severalty by the different Indian tribes in Oklahoma and Indian territories, just before Oklahoma became a State in 1907. The Wyandot Nation owned its reserved lands in common until the time of allotment. The lots allowed for church and school purposes in Mr. Walker's name were in the nature of a permit from the Nation to one of its Indian citizens.—Ed.

were exhausted, and the Board could not longer keep up its appropriation (it will be remembered that year all missionary stipends were reduced) it became necessary to return to the East, and accordingly on the 7th of February, 1887, after bidding a sad farewell to our hosts of friends in whose lives and welfare we had become deeply interested and praying God's blessing upon them, we started back for West Virginia, in which diocese I have since been engaged in missionary work.

On January 21, 1887, I married a full blood Delaware Indian [man] and a white girl; on the 30th baptized an adult; on the 31st an infant; and on the morning of Feb. 6th preached my last sermon at St. John's Mission, Prairie City and in the afternoon baptized an infant. Several were ready for Confirmation by this time, could the presence of a Bishop have been secured.

Thus ended a service of seventeen months in the Indian Territory, chiefly spent in sowing seed, which I trust and pray has yielded some fruit somewhere, in the years that have followed.

SILVER CITY ON THE CHISHOLM TRAIL

Notes on the history of Silver City, written some years ago by J. C. Malcom who came to this old trading post on the Chisholm Trail in 1889, are printed in this number of *The Chronicles*, as an added record on the history of Silver City and Minco that was of special interest to those who were with the Historical Society's Annual Tour this spring. Mr. Malcom who is one of the few early pioneers living in the Minco region also made a penciled map of Silver City as it was in 1889, which has been reproduced in India ink and given here with its history. His account of the frequent moves of his parents from place to place and his experiences as a boy is a good description of many families from neighboring states that came to the Indian Territory in the 1880's and rented land for farming from the Indian citizens in the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations.

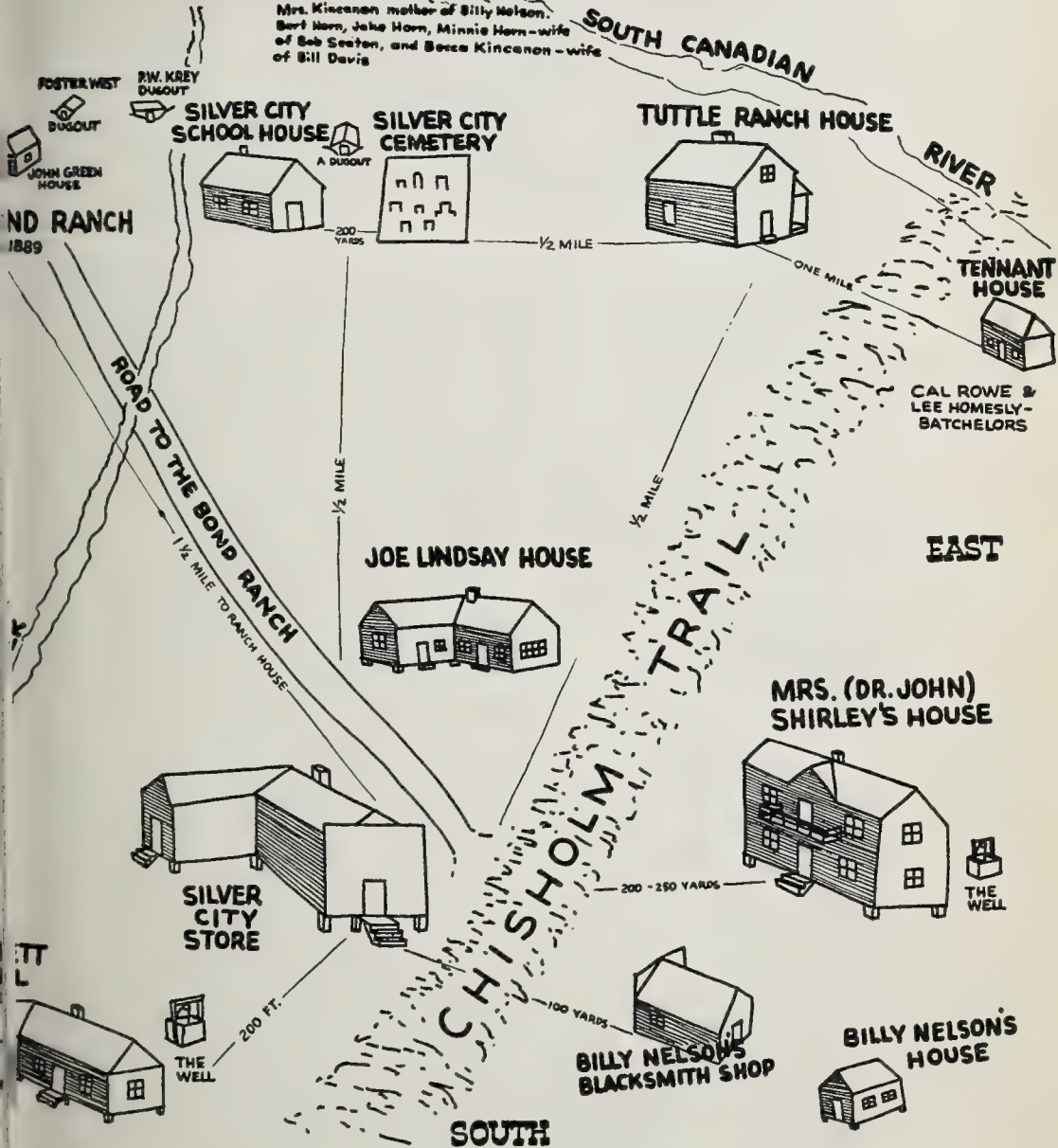
Notes on Silver City by J. C. Malcom

I am the son of James P. and Ellen M. Malcom and was born Feb. 22, 1876 in Preston Bend on the Red River near Pottsboro, Texas. At the age of two or three years I moved with my folks to the Col. M. Reeves place near the Georgetown school house, and at the age of seven years I moved with my father and mother and two brothers and one sister to the State of Arkansas, locating eleven miles east of Ozark on the Mulberry Mountain, going to school there in a log school house my father built. Our postoffice was named Mountain Top, and a man by the name of Lance Snow was postmaster.

At the age of fourteen years I moved with my father and mother and three brothers and three sisters in 1889 to the Indian Territory, crossing the Arkansas River at Webbers Falls. There in the Cherokee Nation we were joined by some old friends of ours named Polk. We hit the trail there going west. The next place was Hartshorne. From there we came to Wewoka and from there

SILVER CITY 1889

Mrs. Kincannon mother of Billy Nelson.
Berl Horn, Jake Horn, Minnie Horn - wife
of Bob Seaton, and Becca Kincannon - wife
of Bill Davis



Plat of Silver City by J. C. Malcolm

to Sacred Heart Mission; and from there to Purcell on the South Canadian River. The next morning we hit the trail going on west. The next place we came to was Leeper, a little store and postoffice by the side of the trail; and from there on west to dear old Silver City, Indian Territory. There we landed on the Jimmie Bond ranch. That was about the 20th of March, 1889. Silver City at that time was a great trading place for the Indians. The town of Silver City was located about two miles north of where Tuttle now stands. J. D. Lindsay was the merchant and his helper was Will Sawyer. Silver City consisted of a store, few houses and a hotel which was run by a party by the name of Cornett. This was 1889. Will Erwin's folks were the last ones to run the hotel. That was 1890.

Billie Nelson ran a blacksmith shop. He was a half brother to Bart and Jake Horn. Mrs. Dr. John Shirley lived just east of the store on the east side of the old Chisholm Trail. She was a widow having a family of five girls and two boys. Their names were Lawrence and Oscar; the girls names were Alice, Cora and Blanche and the other two were Frank Clayton's wife and Dick Fryriar's wife. The Smith and Tuttle ranch house was about a half mile north of the store.

In the spring of 1890 Silver City was moved to Minco which was the end of the Rock Island for about two years. I, J. C. Malcom, and my father hauled the goods and the building to Minco, having no road. We started across the prairie picking our way but by the time we got through hauling we had a very good road. We crossed Store Creek as it was called straight west of Silver City, running west to a lone cotton wood tree and Beaver Creek; and from there southwest going about one-fourth mile south of where Allen Hill lives now, and crossing Boggy Creek about fifty yards south of where the road is where Ray Thomas lives now. The creek did not have any banks there, and one could cross anywhere you came to it. After Silver City was moved the old schoolhouse was left standing alone out on the prairie.¹ The neighbors organized a Sunday School there. That was 1891. My mother died March 5, 1891 and was buried at the old Silver City cemetery; and my father died Feb. 14, 1899 and was also buried there where many pioneers and heroes were laid to rest.

The town of Minco was started in the year 1890. The Methodist Church was built at that date and another church was built one block west and across the street. It was called "Sunny South Christian church" where Mrs. Meta Chestnut Sager taught school until the fall of 1894, moving into the El Meta Bond College, which was a subscription school and a boarding school for the Indians. I went to school there in 1894. My father moved from the Jimmie Bond ranch to the Montford T. Johnson ranch² in July 1891, staying

¹ This schoolhouse built by the leading cattlemen of Silver City was where Miss Meta Chestnut opened the first school in September, 1889. She later married, and is well known in the history of Minco as Mrs. J. Alba Sager. The school opened at Minco in 1890 where it was established later as "El Meta Bond College" with Mrs. Sager as principal until 1920.

² J. P. Bond and Montford T. Johnson were well known cattlemen in the Silver City region. They were citizens of the Chickasaw Nation as their families were of Chickasaw Indian descent. Mrs. J. P. Bond was active in securing the establishment of the El Meta Bond College at Minco. Mr. and Mrs. Bond were the parents of the late Hon. Reford Bond of Chickasha, who served many years as member of the Oklahoma State Corporation Commission.

there until January 1, 1896, and then moving to the John Thomas ranch on the Chisholm Trail. We stayed there one year and then went to Wagoner, Indian Territory, staying there one year, and then coming back west to the town of Erin Springs on the Washita east of Chickasha, and after one year coming back to dear old Minco, Indian Territory which was a town of the pioneer days. This being the end of the Rock Island for about two years it was a great shipping place. In the summers of 1890 and 1891, cattle were loaded into the trains day and night. As fast as one train was loaded another would take its place. That day and time there were mangers in the top of the cars for hay. J. Q. Johnson had the contract to furnish the cars with hay. The cattle would bring off the grass from \$10 to \$15 per head, and hogs were 3 cents a pound in Kansas City. I know, because I shipped some with Mr. M. T. Johnson.

That was the day of the cowboys, but they were true companions if you did not betray them. They would go to church with their high boots on and their spurs. Mr. Woodworth came to Minco in 1891. He and Mrs. Woodworth were great singers. She would lead the singing and play the organ. Mr. Woodworth first started in Minco with a tin shop. The First National Bank was established in 1889 at Union City. C. B. Campbell, Linas Bigam and W. G. Williams ran a mercantile store on the corner where the bank now stands. In the early days when Mr. Hopkins came to Minco he ran a hotel in a tent where the vacant lot is west of Johnson's shoe shop. When meals were ready to serve he would come out in front and ring a cow bell.

On the night of February 10, 1899, it blowed in the worst norther I ever witnessed. They said it was 12 below zero the 11th and 12th, with a howling wind. On the night of the 12th I had to go home to the bed side of my sick father. He died on the 14th.

MULHALL WAS FIRST CALLED ALFRED

A mistake inadvertantly was made in the article, "The Magic City of Guthrie," appearing in the Spring number, 1958, of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, (Vol. XXXVI, No. 1), on page 66, second paragraph, first two lines. A point on the Santa Fe Railroad is given south of the north line of the Oklahoma country opened to settlement by the "Run" on April 22, 1889: "Seven miles from the north line of the territory is Alfred [now Marshall]" This should be corrected to read "Alfred [now Mulhall]" The name of the post office *Alfred*, established in present Logan County on May 18, 1889, was changed to *Mulhall* on June 6, 1890.

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL MARKERS ERECTED, 1957-58

There were twelve additional Historical Markers erected in 1957, on Oklahoma highways, the funds for the metal plaques having been provided by local communities through their citizens interested in preserving a knowledge of Oklahoma's historic sites. These markers are the official Okla-

homa, roadside type with the history in the inscriptions written, the metal plaques ordered made and their erection completed under the auspices and contributed by the Oklahoma Historical Society in co-operation with the State Highway Commission, under its statewide program of marking historic sites begun in 1949. Another historic site was commemorated and a marker erected this spring, 1958, making a total of thirteen sites marked since January, 1957, to July 1958. The inscriptions on these markers, their locations on Oklahoma highways and the local organizations that provided the funds for the plaques are as follows:

KINGFISHER STAGE STATION: This stage station on the Old Chisholm Trail, 1867-1899, was 4 blocks no., on south side of Kingfisher Creek. The trail had two branches in this area; one for cattle was 6 miles east.

Location of Marker: In Kingfisher Rotary Club Park, on State Highway 33, at west edge of City of Kingfisher, Kingfisher County. Funds were provided for this plaque, by the Kingfisher Rotary Club Drive, George Brownlee, Chairman, 1957.

KINGFISHER COLLEGE: Founded by Congregationlists, this college-site one mile north. 1890-1922, achieved renown in education and character-building. It lives on at the University of Oklahoma as the Kingfisher College Chair of the Philosophy of Religion and Ethics.

Location of Marker: In roadside park on east side of City of Kingfisher, Kingfisher County. Funds were provided for this plaque, by citizens of the City, under the auspices of *The Kingfisher Times and Free Press*, H. E. Hubbard, Publisher, 1957.

ROY V. CASHION: 1st Okla. Vol., U. S. Cav. After his regiment helped in the victory at Las Quasimas, Cuba, he was killed as he charged over San Juan Hill, July 1, 1898, in the Spanish-American War. This Oklahoma boy—Hennessey High School graduate—rode horseback to Guthrie, and enlisted on May 5, 1898, in "Rough Riders" under Col. Theodore Roosevelt.

Location of Marker: On U. S. Highway 81, east of present monument in Memorial Park at Hennessey, Kingfisher County. Funds were provided for this plaque, by the Hennessey Marker Fund Drive, Mrs. G. E. Ortman, Chairman, and County Supt. of Schools, Tom G. McGee, co-operating, 1957.

MASSACRE OF PAT HENNESSEY: Freighter Hennessey's charred body tied to his wagon wheel was found in a smouldering fire near 3 of his drivers, all killed on July 4, 1874, in last Indian wars when his train was on way along Chisholm Trail to Kiowa Agency. Grave is 2 blocks west.

Location of Marker: On U. S. Highway 81, 2 blocks east of Hennessey's grave in Memorial garden, at Hennessey, Kingfisher County. Funds were provided for this plaque, by the Hennessey Marker Fund Drive, 1957.

BAKER'S RANCH: Site one-half mile west. This ranch station, noted watering place on the old Chisholm Trail, was attacked in the last Indian wars, and found deserted a few days later, July 5, 1874, by Indian Agent J. D. Miles who asked for U. S. cavalry to guard the Trail in this section. The site was laid out in 1890 as Baker City, a ghost town now.

Location of Marker: On U. S. Highway 81, west side 4 miles south of Hennessey, Kingfisher County. Funds were provided for this plaque, by Hennessey Marker Fund Drive, 1957.

BUFFALO SPRINGS: On the Old Chisholm Trail, $\frac{1}{3}$ mi. west From this noted watering place came the name of "Bison," 1 mi. so. "Buffalo Springs" was the camp site of Pat Hennessey and his men just before they were massacred, 7 m. so., July 4, 1874. Next day, a war band of Indians was stood off by ranchmen at the Springs. Crowds here made the Oklahoma "Run," April 22, 1889.

Location of Marker: North of Bison, Garfield County, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles on U. S. Highway 81. Funds were provided for this plaque, by Hennessey Marker Fund Drive, 1957.

BULL FOOT STATION: On the Old Chisholm Trail. This station was noted for its water well; the name, from a huge indentation in the ground here, resembling imprint of a bull's foot. Buildings were still standing on site, 50 yards east of the old Trail, and 4.5 miles south of north line of the Oklahoma land which was opened to settlers, by the great run, April 22, 1889.

Location of Marker: On U. S. Highway 81, east side about 200 yards south of south edge of City of Hennessey, Kingfisher County. Funds for this plaque were provided by Hennessey Marker Fund Drive, 1957.

FIRST RURAL MAIL ROUTE: Oklahoma's 1st rural mail route was established at Hennessey on Aug. 15, 1900, with Albert W. Darrow as carrier, his salary at \$500 a year. J. A. Felt was the Hennessey postmaster. Route ran east 24 mi., serving population of 700, in 31 sq. mi.

Location of Marker: At junction of U. S. Highway 81 and State 51 at Hennessey, Kingfisher County. Funds for this plaque were provided by Hennessey Marker Fund Drive, 1951.

COLBERT'S FERRY: Chickasaw Nation. Ferry owned by B. F. Colbert, at old crossing on Red River 3 miles south, was noted on the Butterfield Overland Mail line organized, 1857; first U. S. mail route by stage between cities of St. Louis and San Francisco. Colbert post office was established here on Nov. 17, 1853, Walter D. Collins, postmaster.

Location of Marker: At parkway on main street of Colbert, Bryan County. Funds were provided for this plaque by citizens of Colbert.

LAST BOOMER TOWN: About $\frac{3}{4}$ mi. east. Here 300 armed "boomers" made their last stand for settlement of the Oklahoma country, led by Wm. L. Couch, and surrendered to U. S. Cavalry troops commanded by Col. E. Hatch, Jan. 26, 1885. On this site, the "boomers" had built log cabins and dugouts for their town of Stillwater founded by them on Dec. 12, 1884.

Location of Marker: On State Highway 40, about half way between crossing of Stillwater Creek and south edge of City of Stillwater, Payne County, and east of Highway. Funds were provided for this plaque by Payne County Historical Society, 1957.

CORDELL ACADEMY: Site three blocks east. Opened in 1906, under auspices of the Dutch Reformed Church, this pioneer church school taught the youth here in Christian living. Its motto was "Labor Omnia Vincit." Presidents to its close in 1911 were: Myron B. Keator, Dr. Jacob Poppen, Rev. C. H. Spaan. Teachers included Harold C. Amos, Laura B. Hilger and Valonia Corley.

Location of Marker: On U. S. Highway 183, inside City Park, Cordell, Washita County. Funds were provided for this plaque by Cordell Academy Alumni Association, Mrs. A. R. Aash, member of committee, 1957.

SHADES WELL: Site two miles south. From this famous well, cattlemen watered their herds of thousands of stock while waiting shipment of the Rock Island Railroad, after long trail drives to the end of the track near old Tyron. The well was located by J. U. Shade and H. B. Fore in 1888. It was managed by Zachariah Cain to 1901—end of cattle trail days.

Location of Marker: In Texas County, at southwest edge of village of Tyrone, at junction of U. S. Highway 54 and paved County highway. Funds were provided for this plaque under sponsorship of Garden Club of Hooker, Texas County, 1957.

OLD MILITARY TRAIL: To Adventures in the West. The famous Dragoon Expedition, 1834, Col. Henry Dodge in Command, passed near here on the way west to the Wichita Village on the North Fork of Red River. Near here in 1852, Capt. R. B. Marcy, 5th Inf., met his wagon train for his expedition west, in search of the source of Red River. East of here, 2 mi., was the Chisholm Trail.

Location of Marker: On U. S. Highway 81, between Duncan and Comanche, Stephens County, $\frac{3}{4}$ mile south of Sunray Refinery. Funds for this plaque were provided by the Duncan Rotary Club, Judge John G. Clift, member of committee, 1958.

BOOK REVIEW

The Seminoles. By Edwin C. McReynolds, (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1957. Pp. xv, 397. Ills. Maps. Bibliography. Index. \$5.75.)

This account of the Seminoles, by Edwin C. McReynolds, is the result of the author's special interest in American Indians and his feeling that no history had been written which did justice to this one of the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma. The mere mention of the name "Seminole" in history for more than a century has meant the great war with this tribe in Florida, of which General Thomas Sidney Jesup, United States Army commander in this war, in 1837, is quoted as saying, "We have, at no former period in our history, had to contend with so formidable an enemy. No Seminole proves false to his country, nor has a single instance occurred of a first rate warrior having surrendered." Though a majority of the tribe under the leadership of Chief Micanopy, Jumper and others consented to settlement in the Indian Territory before the close of the war in 1842, many remained in the swamps of Florida where their descendants live to this day. The Seminole is the only Indian tribe that never officially made peace and surrendered their last domain east of the Mississippi to the United States.

Dr. McReynolds reveals many new, interesting details on the history of the Seminole people in this book through his extended research in the original records of the Indian Archives in the Oklahoma Historical Society and in rare government documents as well as in the records found in Florida and elsewhere in this country. The Bibliography in this volume lists much material that has remained practically unknown until revealed by Dr. McReynolds in his writing here.

The Seminoles gives the story of the tribe and its customs on the Creek frontier, its early relations with the English, Spanish and United States governments, on through the period of the great war and the final removal to the Indian Territory. Such historical tribesmen as Osceola, Coacoochee (Wild Cat), Micanopy, John Jumper, Billy Bowlegs (Bolek), John Bemo, John Chupco and John Brown are found here as a vital part of the story. This smallest of the Five Civilized Tribes is reviewed briefly as a separate Indian nation in the final chapters until this remarkable people became citizens of the State of Oklahoma, their last tribal domain in this region constituting Seminole County which perpetuates their name.

On a subject long over due in the field of Indian history, *The Seminoles* is Volume forty-seven in the Civilization of the American Indian series published by the University of Oklahoma Press at Norman, the format and jacket beautifully distinguished with Seminole design.

Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma Historical Society
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

NECROLOGY

GEORGE CLAIR WELLS

1890-1954

George Clair Wells was born on a farm in Indiana County, Pennsylvania, May 10, 1890, the youngest of seven children of James K. and Hannah (Pringle) Wells. Orphaned at the age of twelve, he lived with older brothers and sisters while completing the work of the rural schools.

At sixteen he began teaching. While taking a teacher examination at his county seat, Plumville, he met another applicant, Miss Effie Agnes Matthews. Though only eighteen, she had taught three years in rural schools. They married in August, took the Niagara Falls trip, and returned to their rural schools for the fall session.

Reading of the need of teachers in the new state of Oklahoma, they resigned and took the train to Muskogee, a destination picked at random. November 1, 1908 found him teaching the San Bois school, in Haskell County. The next thirteen years he was student, teacher, principal, and superintendent in the schools of Haskell, Cherokee, and Creek Counties, most of the time at Stigler and Wainwright. By teaching a full school year, a summer session, and the one-month County Normal at Stigler, he was once able to teach 13 months in a 12-month period. In 1921-23, he was superintendent at Luther, in Oklahoma County.

During this time he completed high school work, earned the two-year teacher diploma at Northeastern Normal, Tahlequah, in 1917, and the B. S. in Education at the University of Oklahoma in the summer of 1923. A General Education Board grant enabled him to attend Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City, in 1926-27, receiving the M. A. in Education. In the summers of 1927 and 1928 he taught at the University of Oklahoma.

From 1923 to 1929, he was a member of the staff of High School Inspectors of the State Department of Education, chief the last two years. In 1929-31 he was Secretary of the State Board of Education. In these 23 years he had an unusually wide range of experience in the public schools, and had seen the problems of Indian education.

From 1931 he was in the Indian Education Service: eight years directing the program in Oklahoma; five years, at Pierre, S. D., with the Northern Plains Area; and eight years, at Phoenix, in the Southwestern area. In the summers he taught teachers of Indians at several colleges, including Chilocco (Oklahoma), Chewama (Oregon), Fort Wingate and Santa Fe (New Mexico), Haskell Institute, Stewart, (Nevada), and Brigham City (Utah). Thus he supervised and taught among most of the tribes of the West.

During his sixteen years at Oklahoma City, he did much writing and editing. Besides co-authoring *Student Publications*, he prepared workbooks and objective tests for use in the public schools. With Walter Campbell, Roy Hadsell, Grace Jencke, J. L. Rader, and J. B. Thoburn, he edited English classics for use in high schools.



GEORGE C. WELLS



From 1932 his writing was mostly concerning Indian education. The twelve issues of the *Oklahoma Indian Education Magazine*, which he edited and which was printed at Chilocco, contain much of the best material on the government boarding schools for Indians in Oklahoma. Later he wrote for *Indian Education*, a magazine published at Haskell Institute. In 1953 he completed *Orienting New Employees*, published by the Office of Indian Affairs.

In the summer of 1952 Mr. Wells was called to Washington, D. C., where he was Educational Specialist in the Office of Indian Affairs. Because of ill health he retired in August, 1953 and he and Mrs. Wells again journeyed to Eastern Oklahoma, this time by auto instead of by train, as in 1908. Near Poteau, overlooking beautiful Lake Wister, they built the residence, which was occupied on his 64th birthday.

On his retirement, he received from the Secretary of the Interior the Citation for Meritorious Service, containing the following tribute:

During his career, Mr. Wells made many noteworthy and lasting contributions to the Bureau's educational program. Outstanding among his achievements were his efforts in setting up the pattern which made it possible for all Bureau high schools to become accredited. His special orientation course, given at the in-service training schools, assisted hundreds of teachers and others to obtain better understanding of the Bureau's educational policies and objectives, enabling them to become more rapidly adjusted to their assignments. He also played an outstanding role in building good public relationships and developing the policies, standards, and regulations for education of Indian children in the public schools, which paved the way for their acceptance in the local schools and communities.

In the months that followed retirement his health steadily grew worse. The end came on Dec. 12, 1954 in Poteau, where he rests in the Oakland Cemetery. The funeral in the Methodist Church and the Masonic graveside ceremonies attest to the years of service through these two institutions. He was a 32nd degree Mason. He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Effie A Wells; four children, Kenneth Paul, Mrs. Dorothy Nell Gibson, Mrs. Ruth Evelyn Rowe, and David Lloyd; and seven grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

George Wells had erected his own monument in improved Indian education throughout the nation, enriched lives of many thousands of Indian children, improved relations of Indian children in the public schools, and in the affection and esteem of many, many friends.

—F. A. Balyeat

The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, APRIL 24, 1958

The 1958 annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held in the Auditorium of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building on April 24. General Wm. S. Key, President of the Society, called the group to order at 10:00 a.m. Secretary Emeritus Dr. Charles Evans invoked the blessing.

General Key introduced Dean Clarence Berg of the Oklahoma City University School of Fine Arts. He played two numbers, one from Chopin and another entitled "Fantasy Impromptu." As an encore he played his own arrangement of the "Arkansas Traveler."

The address of the day was delivered by Dr. V. R. Easterling, President of Northern Oklahoma Junior College and Chairman of the Oklahoma History Teachers Section of the Oklahoma Educational Association. In his talk, Dr. Easterling emphasized the importance of preserving materials of history, and that it was the duty of a state historical society to promote the collection and care of the materials of history of the state in which it was situated.

Mrs. Roy Hoffman, widow of the late General Roy Hoffman, was presented by General Key and she in turn presented a portrait of General Hoffman to the Society. In making the presentation Mrs. Hoffman said: "I have long cherished the wish to see the portrait of my husband in this historical society, and I am very happy that the portrait is being accepted by you, General Key, for you have been a very dear friend and have shared a great many of my husband's military experiences. My children and I are presenting this portrait with the feeling that it would mean much to Roy and that it is the one thing he would wish us to do."

In accepting the portrait, General Key expressed gratitude to Mrs. Hoffman and the members of her family for having presented the portrait of General Hoffman to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Gen. Key said: "It is a great honor for me, representing this Historical Society, to formally accept this fine painting of this outstanding citizen and soldier who contributed so much to the growth and development of our State."

"General Hoffman was an '89'er and almost from the beginning of his long and useful life in Oklahoma was an active leader in the economic, legal, civic and cultural life of his adopted State. He established the first daily newspaper in the Territory at Guthrie in 1889 and became President of the Territorial Press Association. Later he served as U. S. Attorney of the Territory and from 1908 to 1912 was District Judge of the 10th District. He was a successful attorney and served as President of the State Bar Association.

"He was a great leader in the business activities of our frontier, being actively identified with several banks of this State, particularly with the First National Bank and Trust Company of Oklahoma City.

"He was a very busy man in every phase of private and public life, yet found time to serve as a leader in the Military affairs of his State throughout his long career. He commanded the Military unit from Oklahoma in the Spanish-American war. Shortly after the close of that war, he organized a regiment of the Territorial National

Guard and commanded it on into Statehood and on the Mexican border in 1916-17. Following the Mexican border service the Regiment was recalled for duty in the First World War. General Hoffman was soon promoted to Brigadier General by the War Department and sent overseas as Commander of the 93rd Division which mobilized at Newport News, Virginia.

"It was my good fortune to serve under General Hoffman for more than a quarter of a century. We served together in the Old National Guard and later on the Mexican border. We sailed overseas on the same ship and marched down the gang plank together in Europe, where I served under his command during the early days of the war. When we came home from the first World War General Hoffman maintained his military status and was placed in command of the 95th Reserve Division. Later he was promoted to Major General and assigned to the command of the 45th Division, then composed of National Guard troops from Oklahoma, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico. I again served under his command in the 45th Division.

"General Hoffman served in every grade from Private to Major General, but he never lost touch with the private soldier. He won and maintained the respect and admiration of every man who served under him. As Commander of the American Legion following the war he interested himself in the welfare of the needy and disabled veteran.

"I was proud of the friendship of this distinguished citizen and I benefited greatly by my long association with him. The privilege and honor of accepting for the Historical Society this painting of General Hoffman is a fitting climax to my years of service to the Society. This painting will adorn the halls of this historic building where in the years to come the youth of this State may gaze upon it and gain inspiration and determination to emulate the distinguished service rendered by General Hoffman to his State and to his nation.

"Again, Mrs. Hoffman I thank you and your family for presenting this portrait of General Roy Hoffman to the Oklahoma Historical Society."

At this point, Mr. Elmer Fraker, Administrative Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, presented to General Key a plaque from the staff of the Society. Mr. Fraker in his presentation remarks read the words inscribed on the plaque which are: "Presented to General William S. Key by members of the Oklahoma Historical Society staff in token of their esteem for his many years of devoted and skilfull leadership as President of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society; and in further token of their appreciation for his personal and loyal friendship to each and all. April 24, 1958."

In accepting the plaque, General Key expressed his deep appreciation to all members of the staff as the people who carry on the actual work of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He said, "Your gift of this plaque and the inscription thereon touches me deeply. I am most appreciative of the friendship of all of you."

Colonel George Shirk, chairman of the Constitution Committee, was called on to make his report regarding the proposed new constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Colonel Shirk remarked that the present Constitution had been written in 1929 and had been amended a number of times, and that the Constitution Committee members were of the opinion that an entirely new constitution, based on the present one, should be adopted. He named the members of

his committee who were: Judge Baxter Taylor, Judge N. B. Johnson, Judge Edgar S. Vaught, and Judge Redmond S. Cole. Colonel Shirk further pointed out that all members of the Board of Directors had been afforded the opportunity of suggesting any changes or modifications that might be incorporated in the new constitution and that several such suggestions had been made and that a number of them were contained in the proposed constitution that was being submitted for a vote of the membership. He then moved that the proposed constitution, as submitted to all members of the Society, be adopted. Mr. Henry Bass seconded the motion.

Sixty-seven eligible members of the Society voted unanimously in favor of adopting the proposed constitution. It was then pointed out by Mr. Fraker, Administrative Secretary, that provisions had been made for voting by proxy. General Key requested that all members having proxies cast such votes. Judge Edgar S. Vaught reported he had 42 proxies and cast them for the adoption of the constitution; General Key cast 44 such proxy votes; Miss Muriel Wright, 63; Mr. H. Milt Phillips, 3; Mr. Elmer Fraker, 4; Dr. Harbour, 2; Miss Genevieve Seger, 2; Col. George Shirk, 3. This made a total of 163 proxy votes cast for the proposed constitution, which added to the 67 votes of the members present, made a total of 230 for the proposed constitution, with none being cast against. General Key declared the new constitution adopted by unanimous vote of all casting ballots.

Attention was called by General Key to the fact that the Oklahoma Historical Society had been put in charge, by the last Legislature, of locating and preserving the historical sites of the State. He said that this work was of prime importance to the State of Oklahoma and he felt certain the Historical Society would accomplish much in this field of activity.

The Administrative Secretary called attention that inasmuch as the meeting was being held under the provisions of the old constitution, that a motion should be made whereby the actions of the Board of Directors during the year be approved. Judge Hefner made such motion, which was seconded by Dr. Johnson and unanimously adopted.

Colonel Shirk moved that the membership assembled in this Annual Meeting take cognizance of the long and faithful service General William S. Key had given to the Oklahoma Historical Society as both member and president of the Board of Directors. Judge Taylor seconded the motion which included a provision that a resolution containing the expressed sentiments be drawn and made a part of these minutes.

Before the meeting adjourned, Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary Emeritus of the Society, spoke briefly and expressed best wishes for the Society and its service to the people of Oklahoma.

The meeting adjourned at 11:45.

General Wm. S. Key, President
Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING, THE
BOARD OF DIRECTORS, THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL
SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING APRIL 24, 1958

With General W. S. Key presiding, the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society met in regular quarterly meeting at 12:00 noon on April 24, 1958. Before business of the Society was considered, luncheon was served to the members in the Board of Directors room.

When the meeting was called to order, the following members answered roll call: Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mrs. Edna Bowman, Mr. Kelly Brown, Judge J. G. Clift, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Judge N. B. Johnson, General William S. Key, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Mr. R. G. Miller, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, Mr. George Shirk, Judge Baxter Taylor, and Judge Edgar S. Vaught.

Members absent and excused by action of the board were: Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Mr. Joe Curtis, Mr. Exall English, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Dr. James B. Morrison, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, and Mrs. Willis C. Reed.

It was reported by Mr. Brown that Mr. Mountcastle, who had been ill for several weeks was much improved and expected to be present at the next Board meeting.

A motion was made to dispense with the reading of the Minutes of the previous meeting. When put, the motion passed unanimously.

The Administrative Secretary announced the list of gifts that had been received by the Society during quarter and also the names of those who had applied for membership in the Society.

His report indicated that one new life membership application and twenty-six new annual member applications had been received. It was moved, seconded, and carried that the gifts and members be accepted.

A rare volume of Indian history was donated to the Society by Mr. J. William Mittendorf of Ruxton, Maryland, and presented by his friend General W. S. Key. A deer skin bearing the signatures of all of the officers of the First Oklahoma Infantry, who served on the Mexican border in 1916, was presented to the Society by Mr. Highlan Mitchell, also through General Key. Judge Hefner moved and Dr. Harbour seconded a motion to accept these two gifts and that appreciation be expressed to the donors.

Another special gift was presented to the Society through General Key, when he showed the Masonic apron that had been worn by former Board member, Hal Muldrow. The apron was the gift of his son Mr. Fisher Muldrow. Mr. Phillips moved to accept the gift of the apron from Fisher Muldrow, and stated that he felt it an honor to make such motion due to the fact that Mr. Hal Muldrow had been the one who signed Mr. Phillip's petition for Masonry. The motion was seconded by Mr. Miller and carried.

A request of Dr. John Morris, Professor of Geography at the University of Oklahoma, for the removal of certain maps from the library for the purpose of photographing them, was offered by Mr.

Fraker. Judge Vaught moved that the request of Dr. Morris be granted and Miss Seger seconded the motion, which was adopted.

Attention was called by Mr. Fraker to two exhibits on display in the Historical Society Building. One of these was the counterfeit money exhibit on display in two cases in the entrance lobby of the Historical Society Building. This had been prepared by Mr. Dale, Chief Curator of the Society in conjunction with the Oklahoma City Coin Club and the Secret Service. The other was the pamphlet collection which the Society recently purchased from the Lee Harkins Estate and was then on exhibit in the Editorial Room. The exhibit had been prepared by Miss Wright.

Mrs. Bowman presented to the Society a copy of "Kingfisher Panorama," a new book outline history of her home town that had been published in observance of the Oklahoma Semi-centennial year. A motion by Dr. Harbour and a second from Dr. Johnson that Mrs. Bowman's gift be accepted, was adopted.

The Treasurer's report was made by Col. George Shirk. He stated that \$6,190.00 had been received from all sources during the past three quarters. He pointed out that a number of purchases had been made including two electric water coolers, and the Lee Harkins pamphlet collection which alone cost \$1,610.00. He stated there is now a balance of \$1,047.00 in the Revolving Fund and that the Society also owns U. S. Government bonds amounting to \$24,500.00.

The Treasurer stated that the Special Fund had not as yet been transferred to the State Treasurer, and that to do so would necessitate selling the bonds and losing approximately \$800.00 in interest. He recommended that due to this fact the matter of transferring the funds to the State Treasury be held in abeyance until further information and directives are received from the Attorney General. Judge Vaught moved that the Treasurer's recommendations be concurred in by the Board. This motion was seconded by Judge Taylor and un-animously adopted.

The report from the microfilming department was made by Mr. Phillips, chairman of the microfilm committee. He stated that \$15,000.00 was the original amount appropriated for operating the microfilm department during the present fiscal year. He said that out of this amount it had been necessary to purchase all equipment for setting up the project. This had made the cost run rather high for the first year.

Mr. Phillips pointed out that the Board had previously provided \$1,500.00 additional from the Special Fund and that the Board had also approved transferred funds from other departments to the amount of \$2,500.00. To these amounts have been added \$6,100.00 from the Governor's contingency fund. This was \$1,100.00 more than the Governor had originally promised. He reported that in excess of half a million pages had already been microfilmed and that the department was processing more than 4,000 pages per day. Mr. Phillips said that the Society is receiving about 350,000 new pages of newspapers per year.

President Key then called upon Chairman Shirk to report on the work of the Historic Sites Committee. Colonel Shirk stated that two meetings of the Committee had been held and that the work of the Committee was getting well under way, through the listing of between 500 and 600 sites that might be marked, repaired, and some acquired. He said that Miss Wright had done the work in compiling and listing the sites by counties, to be checked and that Mrs. Rella Looney had

spent considerable time in making the stencils for mimeographing the outline. He said that Mr. Dale, Chief Curator, had made preliminary surveys of some sites.

A report was made by Mr. Miller on the forthcoming Historical Society Tour. Mr. Miller stated that more than 100 people had indicated their intention of making the tour. He said the tourists will spend both nights of the trip at the Quartz Mountain Lodge.

It was moved by Mr. Miller and seconded by Miss Seger that the Society place on sale the miniature flag collection, which includes the fourteen flags that have flown over Oklahoma, and that these be accepted on consignment with the price to the Society being \$1.40, and that the original purchase consist of 100 sets. This motion was seconded by Miss Seger and carried when presented.

Information was requested by Dr. Johnson as to the progress made on repairing and restoring the old stage coach. Mr. Fraker stated that Mr. John Frizzell was the only person he knew of who was capable of doing the work in a proper manner, and that Mr. Frizzell had been ill. Col. Shirk said that the \$300.00 authorized for expenditure on repairing the stage coach would probably prove inadequate and that it would be advisable to spend a larger sum for this purpose.

General Key reminded the board that it was time for the election of new officers and he was presiding as President for the last time. He called Judge R. A. Hefner, chairman of the nominating committee, for his report. Before beginning his report, Judge Hefner said that he wished to take the opportunity of expressing the love and affection of the entire Board of Directors for General Key and said that all were most appreciative for the untiring and devoted service General Key had given to the Society during the ten years he had served as president, and during the previous years in which he had been a member of the Board.

It was stated by Judge Hefner that the nominating committee had appointed Mr. Miller as secretary and that a survey had been made among the members of the board to ascertain whom each would prefer for President. Mr. Miller read the report of the committee which showed that the larger number of board members had indicated Col. Shirk as their preference, with Mr. Phillips receiving the next number of votes.

Mr. Phillips moved that the report of the nominating committee be adopted and that Mr. George Shirk be elected by acclamation to the office of President of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Miss Seger seconded the motion which was adopted unanimously.

Dr. Harbour moved that General Key be elected President Emeritus of the Society and Mrs. Korn seconded the motion. This motion was unanimously adopted.

Upon assuming the chair as newly elected President, Colonel Shirk said that he took cognizance of the fact that many fine people had occupied the chair as President of the Oklahoma Historical Society and he would use his very best efforts to fill the position to which he had been elected in such a manner as to carry on the tradition of his predecessors and to reflect credit to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Nominations for the office of Vice President were called for and Judge Clift placed the name of H. Milt Phillips in nomination. Mr. Bass moved that the nominations cease and that Mr. Phillips be

elected by acclamation. Dr. Harbour seconded the motion which received the unanimous vote of the board .

When nominations were called for the office of Second Vice President Judge Vaught nominated the incumbent, Judge Baxter Taylor. Mr. Brown made a motion that the nominations cease and that Judge Taylor be elected by acclamation. The motion was seconded by Dr. Dale and unanimously adopted when put.

When nominations were called for the office of Treasurer the names of Miss Genevieve Seger, Mr. Joe Curtis, and Mrs. George L. Bowman were presented. Dr. Harbour nominated Miss Seger; Mr. Bass, Mr. Joe Curtis; and Mr. Brown, Mrs. Bowman.

The chair appointed Mr. Bass and Mr. Phillips to serve as a committee to count the votes for Treasurer. When the votes were counted Mr. Phillips reported that no candidate had received the majority and that Miss Seger and Mrs. Bowman had been given the highest number of votes.

Colonel Shirk stated that it would be necessary to vote on the two having received the highest number of votes. When this vote was taken, the tally showed that Mrs. Bowman had been elected as Treasurer of the Society.

It was called to the attention of the board by Mr. Fraker that in view of the fact that the biography of Judge Williams by Dr. Dale and Dr. Morrison had been published in book form recently at considerable cost to both of the authors, he would like to recommend that permission be given for placing a circular advertising the book in some of the outgoing mail from the office. No objection to this suggestion was indicated.

Dr. Harbour moved that the Society buy the Lee Harkins picture collection. It had been stated by President Shirk that he thought this collection could be purchased for less than \$300.00. Miss Seger seconded the motion which was adopted.

Colonel Shirk announced that at its last meeting the executive committee had nominated Mrs. Dorothy Williams as Librarian for the Oklahoma Historical Society and that this nomination was now before the Board. Dr. Dale commented briefly on the fine qualities and qualifications of Mrs. Williams for the position of Librarian. Judge Johnson made a motion that Mrs. Dorothy Williams be employed as Librarian, which was seconded by Mr. Brown and unanimously adopted when put.

It being ascertained that no further business was to come before the Society, it was moved by Mr. Bass, seconded by Judge Vaught, and adopted by the board that the meeting adjourn.

W. S. Key, President

Elmer L. Fraker Administrative Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED:

LIBRARY:

"Map of Kaw Reservation, Allotments, 1903"

Donor: Frank F. Finney, Oklahoma City

The Oklahoma Physician and Davis Magazine of Medicine

Donor: Mrs. F. P. Davis, Oklahoma City

Taxation and Revenue: Current Tax Problems, Dr. Seymour E. Harris;

The Material Resources of the USSR and the Soviet Satelites, Dr. Demitri B. Shimkin; *Basic Research and the Scientific Method*, Dr. Alan T. Waterman; *Research and Development in Biochemistry*, Dr. Walter C. Hess.

Donor: Colonel George H. Shirk

Probate Records and Wills of Oklahoma County, John H. Porter and Edith Smith; "Historical Map of Ireland."

Donor: Mrs. M. B. Biggerstaff, Oklahoma City.

MUSEUM:

Telephone, wall type. first one installed at Ft. Gibson.

Donor: R. M. Mountcastle, Muskogee

Gun 38 cap and ball.

Donor: D. Ivan Fritts, Ontario, Oregon

Document, photostat biography of Hugh Mercer.

Donor: Oklahoma University

Bugle, used in the Spanish American War.

Donor: Mrs. Carolyn Foreman, Muskogee

Gun, 38 special S. & W. made in Spain.

Donor: Robert F. Rose, Norman

Medals, complete of Oklahoma Semi-Centennial Medals.

Donor: P. K. Anderson, Hobart

Opera Shawl, worn by Ellen Hurff Onley, an '89er.

Donor: Mrs. Lila J. Seal, Los Angles, California

Eight Newspapers, placed in Union Room.

Pictures

Two pictures of El Reno Land Opening.

Donor: John Brothers, Bayfield, Colorado

Horse Drawn Buses at El Reno in 1901.

Donor: John Brothers, Bayfield, Colorado

Picture of pen work.

Donor: D. A. Wisner, Oklahoma City

Large framed photograph of Governor T. B. Ferguson.

Donors: Mrs Walter Ferguson and son Benton

Pipe Line Ware House; Construction of Oklahoma Natural Gas Pipeline 1920 (two pictures); Two booklets of train pictures.

Donor: John B. Fink, Oklahoma City

Cowboys Eating Noon Meal; Cowboys at a Watering Hole; Cowboys and Cattle.

Donor: Claude Hensley, Oklahoma City

Four pictures of early day Guthrie; a home in Guthrie.

Donor: Fred Smith, Guthrie

First Bridge at Tulsa; Cattle Near Tulsa; Savings Banks—Battlefield near Tulsa; Main Street of Tulsa 1893; Tulsa's Oldest House; Tulsa's First School Room.

Donor: Mrs. C. E. Cook

House of Representatives—Third Territorial Legislature, 1895.

Donor: Witt Memorial Museum, San Antonio, Texas

Large Framed picture of Wm. F. Semple.

Donor: Mrs. Wm. F. Semple

Whitaker Orphans Home and Mr. and Mrs. Whitaker on placard;
Ka-Be-Nah-Gwey-Wence, a Chippewa on placard.

Donor: Riley Thompson, Cloquet, Minnesota

Color photograph of Choctaw Council House; Old Fort Washita (two pictures); Old Chickasaw Capitol at Tishomingo.

Donor: J. S. Richardson, Talihina

Ellen Hurff Olney; Lila J. Shultz Seal; Hardware Store in Guthrie; Shawnee; Indian Territory School Teachers; Louise Olney and sisters; John D. Shultz Home in Guthrie; Interior of Kerr Store at Ada; Group of early day teachers.

Donor: Mrs. Lila J. Seal, Los Angeles, California

Two beautiful, water color paintings by Lee Tso Toke, son of Monroe. purchased by the Society.

NEW LIFE MEMBER

Cass, Early R.

Tulsa, Oklahoma

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS

Price, Henry	Addington, Oklahoma
Heisler, Bert E.	Anadarko, "
Proffitt, John W.	Bartlesville, "
Meadows, Joe	Caddo, "
Romick, Phillip Albert	Claremore, "
Lewis, Zula	Cleveland, "
Melzel, Harry	Cushing, "
Leach, William O.	Duncan, "
Dale, William J.	Edmond, "
Payne, J. B.	Enid, "
Turner, Reuben Riley	Fame, "
Allen, Mrs. C. B.	Madill, "
Eaton, Floyd	Mountain View, "
Gunter, Vivian	Muldrow, "
Brown, Mrs. Victor J.	Muskogee, Oklahoma
Finley, Mrs. James H.	" "
Kramer, Beth	" "
Wells, Albert Charles	" "
Morris, F. C.	Norman, Oklahoma
Barfoot, L. H.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Bucher, Mrs. Edward	" " "
Callahan, Mrs. R. O.	" " "
Fisher, George A.	" " "
Henderson, Mrs. L. H.	" " "
McPherrin, Maud A.	" " "
Riley, Harris D., Jr., Dr.	" " "
Walker, Lillian	" " "
Smith, Mrs. P. U.	Sayre, Oklahoma
Osborn, Donald Gene	Shawnee, "
Sims, Gary D.	Tahlequah, "
Almen, William H.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Daly, Ed. G.	" "
Cordell, David O.	" "
Childress, Celeste A.	" "
McLemore, Mrs. Grace	" "
Leecraft, Donald Stowe	" "
Rushmore, Helen	" "

Driskill, Frank
Withall, Vera L.
Burchett, Floyd Gerald
Hall, Mrs. Myra Thresa
Brothers, John
Thompson, Riley
Teter, Mrs. Martha B.
Dippel, H. W.

Waurika, Oklahoma
Altadena, California
Long Beach, "
San Francisco, "
Bayfield, Colorado
Cloquet, Minnesota
Dallas, Texas
Needville, "



THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

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Autumn, 1958

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Number 3

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STORIES OF HISTORIC SITES AND A HISTORY OF ADA
NOTES ON SADDLE MOUNTAIN MISSION AND MISS ISABEL
CRAWFORD

FIRST SEMINAR SPONSORED BY AMERICAN INDIAN HALL
OF FAME

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NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

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Cover: This scene is a replica of an early, Catlin print showing Col. Henry Dodge and Dragoons meeting the Comanches, 1834, on the noted Dragoon Expedition to the Wichita Village on the North Fork of Red River. The meeting took place near the Carter-Jefferson County line, and was sketched by Artist George Catlin who accompanied the Expedition. Many of the camp sites and the Wichita Village site in Devil's Canyon are outstanding historic locations given in the Oklahoma Historic Sites Survey in this issue of *The Chronicles*.

ACTION ON CHILOCCO CREEK

By George H. Shirk*

More than twenty years had receded into history by 1888, since the United States Army had been engaged in major combat. The Indian Wars were at an end, and the War Department was anxious that the army not grow stale and that its officers not lose touch with combat doctrine. Accordingly, in December, 1888, the War Department issued instructions to the various departments and major commands, ordering field practice involving troop concentrations, which would approximate "field operations simulating the operations of actual war."¹

At that time the area of present Oklahoma was located within the territorial boundaries of the Department of the Missouri, with headquarters at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas. The commanding general of the Department was Brigadier General Wesley Merritt, a former officer of the noted Dragoons who had seen extensive service in the War between the States.² Responding vigorously to his instructions, General Merritt directed his staff to concentrate all available troops of the Department of the Missouri for thorough field manoeuvres during the fall of 1889.

In July, 1889, General Merritt's headquarters published instructions for the coming exercise, designed to occupy three weeks in the field and to commence on the morning of Monday, September 23, 1889. The plan published on that date gave detailed instructions for the daily training routine and field practice.³ Now an interesting passage in Oklahoma history, by circumstance a site in present Kay County was selected; and the gently rolling country north of Chilocco Creek between U. S. Highway 77 and the Arkansas River was designated to be the site of extensive activity and a concentration of

* Dedicated by the Author, Col. George H. Shirk, with esteem to his one-time commanding general, Brig. Gen. Clyde J. Watts, CG, XIX Corps Artillery, and a Life Member of the Oklahoma Historical Society.—Ed.

¹ General Orders No. 105, Headquarters of the Army, 4 December 1888.

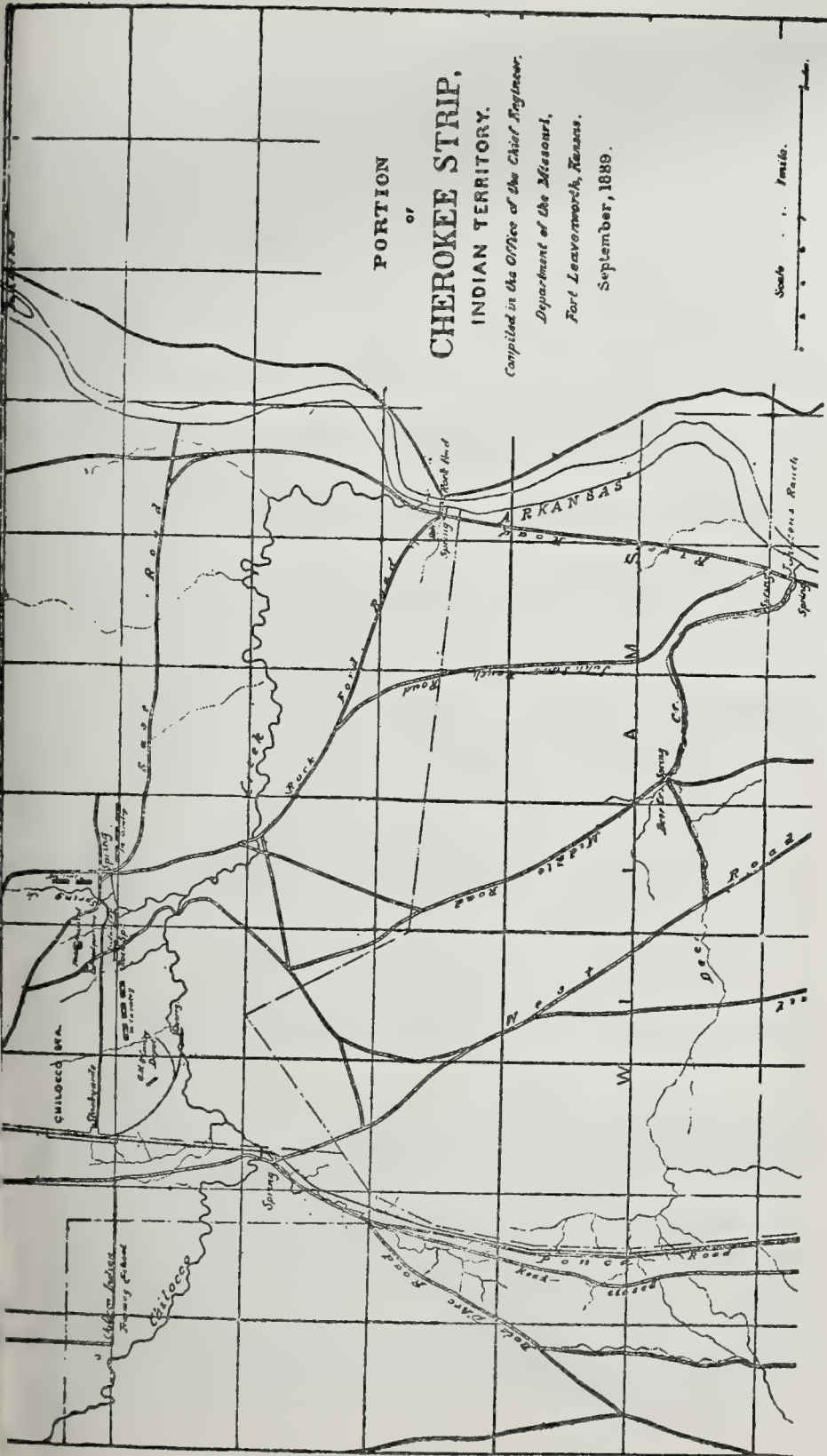
² Born New York, appointed Military Academy from Illinois 1 July 1855; 2nd Lieut. 2nd Dragoons, 1 July 1860; Brig. Gen. Volunteers 29 June 1863; Maj. Gen. Volunteers, 1 April 1865; Brig. Gen. Regular Army 16 April 1887; Major Gen. Regular Army, 25 April 1895; Retired 16 June 1900. Francis Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army 1789-1903*, (Washington, 1903). General Merritt was Superintendent of the Military Academy, West Point, New York, from September 1, 1882 to July 1, 1887.

³ General Orders No. 12, Department of the Missouri, 29 July, 1889.

PORTION
or
CHEROKEE STRIP,
INDIAN TERRITORY.

Compiled in the Office of the Chief Engineer,
Department of the Missouri,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas,
September, 1889.

Scale Miles.



(From Army and Navy Journal)
Map of environs of Chilocco Station, 1899, showing roads, creeks and other locations around the Camp Schofield site.

troops not seen since the War Between the States. Considering the staff work involved, the distances traveled by some of the troops, the number of personnel participating and the volume of paper work produced, General Merritt's action on Chilocco Creek indeed ranks among the important military engagements conducted up to that time in present Oklahoma.

By General Orders 14, August 13, 1889, General Merritt designated the site as Camp Schofield. It was named for General John M. Schofield, the former Secretary of War, and who at that time was the General in Chief of the Army.⁴ By circumstance, General Schofield's brother, Lieut. C. B. Schofield⁵ had been named on March 26, 1889, as Aide-de-camp to General Merritt,⁶ and so the possibility of a suggestion from the General's aide to his commander of an appropriate name for the camp is not entirely unlikely.

The site selected was an admirable one in present Kay County. The ground north of Chilocco Creek is high with suitable sanitary conditions. South of Chilocco Creek and within easy manoeuvring distance are Deer Creek and Wolf Creek, both adaptable to the purpose of lending realism to the operation. There was ample surface water for the horses and stock, and the approaches along the streams had been prepared for their watering. Surface water was not relied upon for troop use. "Pipe wells fitted with force pumps" were installed at convenient intervals along the line, and the excellent water found in springs in the vicinity was brought in iron pipe to points accessible to the troops.

Section 2 of the Orders establishing Camp Schofield directed the troop movements thereto from various Army posts throughout the Department of the Missouri:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI

Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, August 13, 1889

GENERAL ORDERS }
No. 14. }

* * * * *

⁴ Born New York, appointed Military Academy from Illinois 1 July 1849; 2nd Lieut. Artillery 1 July 1853; Brig. Gen. Volunteers 21 November 1861; Maj. Gen. Volunteers 12 May 1863; Brig. Gen. Regular Army 30 November 1864. Heitman, *op. cit.* General Schofield was Secretary of War from 28 May 1868 to 11 March 1869; was Superintendent of the Military Academy from 1876 to 1881; and was General in Chief of the Army from 14 August 1888 to 29 September 1895. He was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for gallantry at Wilson's Creek 10 August 1861.—Heitman, *op. cit.*

⁵ Born Illinois, appointed Military Academy from Illinois 1 July 1866; Graduated 15 June 1870; Aide-de-camp to General Schofield 1878-1885. Died in Cuba, 28 Feb. 1901.—Heitman, *op. cit.*

⁶ General Orders No. 31, Department of the Missouri, 26 March 1889.

11. The following troops armed and equipped as provided in General Orders No. 12, current series, from these Headquarters, will assemble at this camp by routes and means specified and in time to be ready for instruction September 23rd. When not otherwise provided the organization to remain at each post is left to the discretion of the commanding officer of the post; preferably it should be the smallest with fewest officers for duty.

1. FORT CRAWFORD, COLORADO.—One company of infantry to march to Villa Grove, Colorado, and thence proceed by rail to Chilocco, Indian Territory.

2. FORT ELLIOTT, TEXAS.—Two troops of cavalry to march to Fort Supply and thence with troops at Fort Supply to the camp. Each troop will leave at Fort Elliott not to exceed ten men, which with the infantry now there will constitute the guard for the post.

3. FORT GIBSON, INDIAN TERRITORY.—One company of infantry to march to the camp after being joined by the company from Little Rock Barracks, Arkansas.

4. FORT HAYS, KANSAS.—Field, staff, band and two companies of infantry to march to Newton, Kansas, thence proceed by rail to Chilocco.

5. FORT LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS.—Light Battery F, 2nd Artillery, to march to Camp Schofield.

6. LITTLE ROCK BARRACKS, ARKANSAS.—One company of infantry to proceed by rail to Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, and thence march to the camp. The transportation for the march to be furnished at Fort Gibson.

7. FORT LOGAN, COLORADO.—Three companies of infantry to march to Fort Lyon, Colorado. Leaving wagon transportation, the command will then proceed by rail to Chilocco, I. T.

8. FORT LYON, COLORADO.—One company of infantry to proceed by marching to Garden City, Kansas, thence by rail to Chilocco, I. T.

9. FORT RENO, INDIAN TERRITORY.—Two troops, band and headquarters including field officers of the Fifth Cavalry to march to Camp Schofield.

10. FORT RILEY, KANSAS.—Eight troops and headquarters of the Seventh Cavalry, including field officers and band, one battery of artillery and the field officer of artillery at that post, to march to Camp Schofield.

11. FORT SHEPIDAN, ILLINOIS.—One company of infantry accompanied by field officer to proceed by rail to Emporia, Kansas, thence by marching to the camp. Transportation from Emporia will be furnished from the depot at these Headquarters.

12. FORT SILL, INDIAN TERRITORY.—Two troops of cavalry to march to Fort Reno, I. T., under field officer of cavalry, and thence to the camp under commanding officer Fort Reno.

13. FORT SUPPLY, INDIAN TERRITORY.—Two troops of cavalry to march to Camp Schofield.

14. CAMP AT GUTHRIE, INDIAN TERRITORY.—One troop of cavalry and one company of infantry to march to the camp after being joined by the troops from Oklahoma Station.

15. OKLAHOMA STATION, INDIAN TERRITORY.—Two troops of cavalry and three companies of infantry to march to the camp, being joined on the march by the troops from Guthrie, I. T.

16. CAMP PRICE, INDIAN TERRITORY.—One troop of cavalry to march to Camp Schofield.

17. CAMP AT PURCELL, INDIAN TERRITORY.—Two troops of cavalry to march to Fort Reno, I. T., thence under commanding officer Fort Reno will march to Camp Schofield.

18. CAMP NEAR KINGFISHER, INDIAN TERRITORY.—One company of infantry to march to the camp. The necessary transportation will be furnished from Fort Reno.

19. As many of the Indian Scouts as can be spared, (not less than one-half from each post) will march with the commands from Forts Elliott, Reno and Supply to the camp of instruction.

20. When troops are to join other troops on the march the time of departure from each station must be arranged by correspondence between commanding officers, the senior being responsible for the timely arrival of the combined command at Camp Schofield.

Extensive troop movements were necessary to comply with this order; and of course, individual commanders had to allow marching time in order to arrive at Camp Schofield by September 23.

The infantry company ordered from Fort Gibson was Company C of the 18th Infantry. Company E of the 13th Infantry had arrived at Fort Gibson on September 13 from Little Rock Barracks and both companies departed from Fort Gibson for Camp Schofield on September 5. In addition to the headquarters of the 5th Cavalry, the regiment commanded by Col. J. F. Wade, Troops G and K of the 5th Cavalry departed from Fort Reno on September 16. The two troops of cavalry ordered from Fort Sill were troops E and F of the 7th Cavalry. Troop F departed from Fort Sill on September 10, but post returns from Fort Sill make it doubtful if Troop E actually joined in the manoeuvres.

The two troops of cavalry ordered from Fort Supply were Troops A and F of the 5th Cavalry. They departed from Fort Supply on September 12, and the regimental return shows that they "marched 181 miles" and arrived at Camp Schofield on September 20.

The troop of Cavalry at Guthrie was Troop D of the 5th Cavalry. It left Guthrie on August 19 for a 90 mile march to Camp Price; and arrived there on the 22 day of August where it was stationed until September 23.

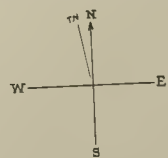
Camp Price was a temporary bivouac established at a site south of Arkansas City, Kansas, "to guard the Cherokee Strip", and was relatively near the site of the summer manoeuvres. The troop of cavalry stationed there was Troop B of the 5th Cavalry which has been on duty "scouting the Cherokee Strip". On

- 1st Day's March - Ft Reno to Kingfisher - dist 23 miles
- 2nd " " - Kingfisher to Buffalo Springs - " 24 "
- 3rd " " - Buffalo Springs to Red Rock Cr. - " 22 "
- 4th " " - Red Rock Cr. to Deer Cr. - " 24 "
- 5th " " - Deer Cr to Camp Schofield - " 35 "



Itinerary
of the
March from Fort Reno, IT
to
Camp Schofield, IT
of
Two Battalions of the
5th & 7th Cavalry:
Commanded by
Col J. F Wade
Sept. 16 to 20, 1889

Respectfully submitted,
Claiborne L. Foster,
Lieut, 5th Cavalry
A.E.O



(Reproduction made from the Original)
Map of the trail followed by troops from Fort Reno to Camp Schofield near Chillico, Indian Territory in 1880



September 23, both Troops B and D of the 5th had an easy march to Camp Schofield.

The two troops mentioned from Purcell were Troops H and K of the 7th Cavalry. Both had been on patrol duty in the Oklahoma District since April 18, 1889. The two cavalry troops from Oklahoma Station were Troops C and L of the 5th Cavalry.⁷ Troop C departed from Oklahoma City on September 17 for temporary duty at the Sac and Fox Agency and did not arrive at Camp Schofield until September 29. Troop L left Oklahoma City on September 19, and completed the trip to the summer encampment by the evening of the following day.

The company of infantry ordered from Kingfisher was Company A of the 13th Infantry, which was in temporary bivouac since June 13, 1889 "at Camp Wade near Lisbon, Indian Territory."⁸

General Merritt recognized that the long marches from the more distant army positions would in themselves have considerable training value. He directed "a strict conformity to conditions of actual warfare." Officers were required to march in their proper places with their troops and enlisted men were required to carry field equipment. Forced marches and other marching tests were proposed and the mounted troops were requested to make tests of the capacity of the mounts to travel unshod and partially shod. The results of these marching tests were reported to General Merritt. The artillery battery coming from Fort Riley traveled the entire distance with 52 horses unshod. The battery commander reported:⁹

The horses, 53 in number, were with one exception unshod. The roads were clay or loam hardened by travel, occasionally they were rocky and gritty and small stones abundant. The horses travelled over every kind of road we met without the slightest inclination to shrink or avoid rocks and grit, and upon our arrival at Camp Schofield, the hoofs were in as good condition as when we began the march. While at Camp Schofield, the battery performed all the duty required of it, was out constantly, made several rapid marches over the rocky hills in that section, and when we commenced our return march to this post,

⁷ Students interested in the early use of the name Oklahoma City will find interest in the orders and reports of the manoeuver. In General Orders 14, 13 August 1889, establishing the Camp, Oklahoma City is referred to as Oklahoma Station, Ind. T. In General Orders 22, 8 October 1889, breaking up the Camp, the reference is to Oklahoma City, I. T. In his final report of the operation, addressed to The Adjutant General of the Army, dated 9 November 1889, General Merritt uniformly uses the name as Oklahoma City, Ind. T.

⁸ The postoffice established at present Kingfisher 20 April 1889 was named Lisbon. Name changed to Kingfisher 18 July 1889.—George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Spring, 1952). Vol. XXX, No. 1.

⁹ Captain George B. Rodney, commanding Battery F, 4th FA.

a critical inspection showed every hoof to be sound and in good condition.

On the return trip we marched over the same route as was followed going down, or very nearly so, the total distance being 174 miles, number of marching days eight.

Beginning at Winfield, twenty-three miles from Camp Schofield, the roads were wet and heavy with mud during the entire return march. As a matter of course, from the nature of the soil, the roads were mostly very slippery, and I think the march was a fair test of the power of an unshod horse to perform heavy draught work under such conditions. The mud was frequently very deep and the draught difficult, but it was very seldom a horse had to be urged to his work. Not a single horse fell and I did not hear of one that fairly lost his footing. It is my belief that when an unshod horse steps into soft and deep ground, he can withdraw his foot with more ease than is possible when the horse is shod. In the latter case the shoe prevents expansion of the hoof, and the exertion required to be made to withdraw the hoof is very great, whereas with the unshod horse, expansion begins the instant the hoof comes in contact with the ground, contraction begins the instant the weight is taken off the hoof, and the latter, after contraction, being smaller than the opening made in the soil, is easily withdrawn and without fatigue to the animal.

The march from Winfield to Fort Riley was exhausting and wearing on the horses, and I believe many, if not all of them, would have shown more signs of distress if they had been shod. The hoofs of all the horses were carefully examined yesterday and are in as good condition as when we started from this post on the 9th of September, and in my judgment are able to do the same work over again with the same result.

The engineer on General Merritt's staff prepared large scale maps of the manoeuver area and the troop units were each assigned bivouac sites. The entire encampment extended approximately two miles along the north bank of the Chilocco Creek. The 7th Cavalry was assigned an area in the North Half of Section 19, Township 29 N., Range 3 E. and went into position with the troops bivouaced in an east-west line facing south. East of the 7th Cavalry and slightly to the north in the Southeast Quarter of Section 18 and the Southwest Quarter of 17 was the bivouac area for the infantry companies. The infantry consisted of Company D, 7th Infantry; Companies E and K,¹⁰ 10th Infantry; Companies E, F, H, and I, 13th Infantry; Companies A, B, C, E, G, H, and K, 18th Infantry. These companies were organized into a provisional infantry division. General Merritt acted as the Infantry Division Commander in addition to his responsibilities as the Senior Commander Present. Lieutenant Colonel Simon Snyder of the 10th Infantry was designated commander of one battalion and Major H. C. Cooke was commander for the manoeuver of the second Battalion.

¹⁰ Company K, 10th Infantry returned to Oklahoma City, Ind. T. 25 September 1889.

The 5th Cavalry was assigned for its bivouac area a location east of the infantry, with the troops of the Regiment occupying an east-west line facing Chilocco Creek in the Southeast Quarter of Section 17, approximately due east of the infantry encampment.

The two batteries of artillery were assigned the role of supporting the provisional infantry division and were camped on a north-south line in the area north of the 5th Cavalry and in the approximate center of Section 17.

The medical detachment including the field hospital was approximately one-half mile north of the infantry camp in the Southwest Quarter of the Northeast Quarter of Section 18. Camp Headquarters, including the headquarters for General Merritt's staff, was a short distance southeast of the hospital in the Northwest Quarter of the Southeast Quarter of Section 18.

On the south side of Chilocco Creek approximately a mile east of the main line of the Santa Fe Railroad there had been in operation a rock quarry, and to serve it the Santa Fe had built a spur southeasterly from its main line. A new siding from this spur was constructed, running northeasterly from a point just west of where the quarry rails crossed Chilocco Creek. On this siding was located the Quartermaster commissary, depot and corral. Extensive Quartermaster supplies were moved by rail. The supply depot and dump for the encampment was located north of Chilocco Creek in the Southeast Quarter of the Northeast Quarter of Section 24, Township 29 North, Range 2 East.

The strength and composition of the force thus assembled at Camp Schofield was a total present of 86 officers and 1,583 enlisted men :

Infantry, 26 officers 486 enlisted men ; Cavalry, 48 officers 935 enlisted men ; Artillery, 7 officers 111 enlisted men ; Indian Scouts, 30 scouts ; Medical Dept., 5 officers, 21 enlisted men.

The concept for the field exercises published by General Merritt contemplated that the Infantry would be organized for the manoeuver into a division, supported by the Artillery, with a cavalry brigade operating in conjunction therewith. Orders were published providing "on paper" for the manoeuver of two hypothetical infantry brigades, which for the purpose of the exercise were assumed to have arrived at Chilocco Station on the morning of September 26th. These two "paper brigades" of infantry were to act as divisional reserve.

All units were enjoined to submit detailed written reports of every operation and manoeuver. Every effort was made by

General Merritt to simulate combat realism. Written field orders were used extensively and all orders and directives that were intended as part of the manoeuver were marked "course of instruction" to distinguish them from actual administrative or military orders.

The field exercises and manoeuvres commenced on schedule at 8:00 o'clock, Monday morning, September 23. The troops were assembled by battalion and regiment, and were given practice under their individual commanders in "model formations for attack and defense." General Merritt had previously published a handbook or brochure containing all accepted principles of "modern" operations. Copies were in the hands of each officer, and the principles contained there in were utilized by the individual commanders. Each unit deployed under cover of the rolling terrain and simulated the attack on positions 1,500 to 1,800 yards in advance. Battalion commanders drilled the men in rushing and capture of forward crests and hostile positions. This type of drill continued through Tuesday, September 24. In his final report, General Merritt wrote on this phase of the instruction:

It was interesting to observe the intelligent appreciation, on the part of the enlisted men, of the principles governing the novel dispositions and formations they were called upon to assume. If further proof were needed, this could be cited as additional evidence of the self-reliant spirit and rapid comprehension of military situations, so characteristic of Americans, and so highly valuable in untrained volunteer forces.

The cavalry units made mounted attacks and rapid charges over the diversified and uneven ground with entire battalions in line. As General Merritt wrote that the fact that battalion cavalry charges of hostile positions were unattended by accident "was ample proof of careful training of the individual troopers."

During this phase of the drill the artillery was likewise busily employed. It was assigned target practice "at known and unknown distances" and when not engaged in service practice, the two batteries were busy in the "selection of field positions for attack and defense." The batteries erected as a target a frame 12 x 15 feet and stretched across it a canvas paulin. The target was stood against a tree at a range of 1,250 yards; and in service practice "it was struck repeatedly" and was finally knocked down.

The battery commanders kept accurate records of each round fired and detailed reports were submitted. The results obtained at ranges up to 2,750 yards would try even the modern artilleryman. The commander of one battery reported:¹¹

¹¹ Captain Carle A. Woodruff, commanding Battery F, 2nd FA.

To insure good results, I caused all of the cartridges to be used in the practice to be emptied upon a paulin, the powder thoroughly mixed, weighed (one pound to each), and returned to the cartridge bags; this was some labor, but was sufficiently compensated for by the results obtained on the range.

The projectiles used were Absterdam shell, time-fuse and percussion; the fuzes were fairly good, unexploded shells were picked up, and on examination the powder of the bursting charge was caked and adhering firmly to corroded iron surface.

At the close of the second day's training, General Merritt wrote: "It was noticed that officers and men alike evinced interest in the drills. This being the case, and in consequence of the importance of the instruction, a third day, not contemplated in the original order, was devoted to this practice." Accordingly, Wednesday, September 25, was occupied with drills similar to those of the previous two days. Regarding the success of the third day's field exercise, Colonel Snyder wrote:

At 9 o'clock A. M. the brigade was formed in line upon ground north of that occupied by the 1st Battalion. Two companies from each battalion deployed in groups of eight men, with intervals of two yards between skirmishers, and about twenty yards between groups, formed the firing line. A like number of companies, deployed in like manner, formed the second line or supports. The third line or reserves was made up of the remaining three companies of each battalion. The distance between the first and second lines was about 250 yards, and between the second and third lines about 300 yards. In this formation an attack was made upon a supposed enemy occupying the crest of a hill about 1,200 yards distant; groups were advanced by alternate rushes, firing by volley under direction of chiefs of group. As the firing line approached the enemy's position it was reinforced at intervals by groups from the supports, and when at about 500 yards from the enemy was joined by what was left of the supports, and the entire reserve, and a rapid fire opened for a short time, and then the entire command rushed forward to the assault. * * At 3 P. M. the brigade was reformed upon the same ground in the same manner, and the first exercises of the morning repeated, a very marked improvement over any preceding exercise being the result.

Thursday, September 26, was utilized for training in the proper use of outposts. For this phase of the instruction, General Merritt directed that Colonel Snyder make a rapid reconaissance of the ground in front of the infantry positions and select advanced points of resistance, and that as soon as the front line of observation be selected, each unit commander would "rapidly establish the outposts." In accordance with the training schedule for the day, both the cavalry and the infantry commanders at 8:30 in the morning directed patrols well to the front of the main lines. Col. Snyder placed the front of the infantry outpost line near the quarry, and extended it in an easterly direction along Chilocco Creek. He sent two companies of infantry two miles to the front to support the reconaissance under way by the cavalry. Just before noon Colonel Snyder

recalled all outposts, and in the afternoon the same exercise was duplicated. Troops that had not taken part in the morning exercises were utilized upon the same ground and with the same plan of operation.

In the meantime, the Cavalry commander dispatched Troops C and M of the 7th Cavalry for a reconnaissance south as far as Deer Creek. The two troops were divided into four parties, three patrols and with one in support. Each patrol was assigned a front of approximately one thousand yards in width, and these outposts completed observation to points almost two miles south of Deer Creek. The 5th Cavalry complied with the day's training by dispatching Troop B to make a reconnaissance of the area adjoining Deer Creek to the left of the area under observation by the 7th Cavalry. The left patrol of the 7th Cavalry made contact with the right patrol of the 5th Cavalry. General Merritt reported: "The result of the reconnaissance of country made this day by the two troops of cavalry, spread in patrols over a wide area, was highly satisfactory."



Sketch of Position Reserve of Outposts, Friday, Sept. 27, 1868.

(From Army and Navy Journal)

Sketch submitted by Major George K. Brady showing disposition of troops of the 1st Battalion, 18th Infantry on 27th September. The artillery at the upper right is Battery F, 4th FA. Chilocco Creek is shown in the upper left portion of the picture, flowing southeasterly, then at the upper center bending sharply to the east to flow into the Arkansas River.

After the day's training, camp headquarters issued dispatches to place into operation the training for the following day, Friday, September 27. It was General Merritt's order that the remaining course of instruction proceed "as a connected operation," and that all troops conduct their field operations as a single force with individual unit drills discontinued. Accordingly, late Thursday evening he issued detailed instructions advising the commanders that the "paper" brigades of infantry were arriving at Chilocco Station, and that at 9:00 a.m. on the morrow all troops would move out to the south following the general line of Chilocco Creek at least one mile and would establish a main line of resistance extending east to the Arkansas River. The Cavalry was ordered to double the size of its patrols and to take under observation all of the area east as far as the Arkansas River. The Artillery was ordered into positions south of Chilocco Creek to cover the main road crossings. Maps were furnished each commander, and promptly on Friday morning "the plan was taken up and the dispositions made exactly as contemplated." General Merritt observed "an earnest spirit and desire for instruction on the part of all officers and men."

General Merritt had secretly instructed the cavalry commander to quietly detach one troop of cavalry from his command and order it to make a detour and to appear without warning on the flank as a hostile force.¹² The "enemy" kept itself secreted by the rolling country to avoid observation and suddenly appeared as a hostile patrol on the left flank of the outpost line. The troops detailed to represent the enemy were distinguished by the wearing of brown fatigue coats. Messages were thereupon dispatched to all of the friendly troops informing them that "small parties of the enemy" had been reported north of Deer Creek and that if they were to appear "they will be kept at a distance and not be permitted to reconnoitre the outpost line."

The use for the first time of a live "enemy" had the effect intended by General Merritt, and he reported a great increase in the activity and interest of his entire command. The various cavalry troops that were on reconnaissance made contact with the enemy, and each fought with enthusiasm and realism. The commander of the "enemy" troop of cavalry gave this report to "enemy headquarters" on hostile operations:¹³

I made a reconnaissance of the enemy with Troop M, 7th Cavalry, and found him in strong position on Chilocco Creek, about four miles north of our camp, his line extending about four miles, his right resting near the railroad on our left and his left well down towards the Arkansas River.

¹² Troop M of the 7th Cavalry was designated as the enemy.

¹³ Lieut W. J. Nicholson.

I developed a large force of cavalry on his right and left, the infantry and artillery in the centre. His force of cavalry exceeded that of the infantry. I tried to pass through the cavalry patrols on his right, but found it impossible, so wheeled my company to the left and gained a point in front of his centre, from which I got a plain view of his camp, which is on the north side of Chilocco Creek. At this point I captured one of the enemy's trumpeters, who had just taken a despatch to Major Bacon, 7th Cavalry. Although this man had delivered his message, he gave me valuable information.

When within about 250 yards of the enemy's videttes I was fired on by a small party of dismounted men concealed in the grass, and understanding that my duty was to gain information, and not to fight unless forced to do so, I retreated and gained our lines in safety.

Saturday, 28th September, was utilized in a general critique and a review of the week's training. All commanders had been required to submit daily written reports of the exercises and the subordinate commanders gave detailed reports on the training of the individual units. On Saturday each report was returned with the Commanding General's comments and criticisms endorsed thereon, with the requirement that it be read to the assembled officers. Relating to the review and criticism sessions held on Saturday, General Merritt remarked in his final report: "It may be well to remark at this point that experience at Camp Schofield has apparently demonstrated the fact that nothing is more likely to advance the interests of instruction, than provision for public comment on the daily operations."

It had been planned that the second week's training be related to the disposition of troops for security and the gathering of information for troops on the march. On Sunday evening, September 29, instructions were issued to the senior commanders that at 7:30 a.m. the following morning the troops would receive practice in the foraging of supplies in hostile territory and with ample provision for the security of the foraging parties. For training it was directed that the "supplies" would consist of all "available dry fire wood" found along Deer Creek and Wolf Creek. The commanders were advised that the Quartermaster would send all wagons "at an early hour" Monday morning to accompany the troops designated as the foraging parties. Train guards of dismounted men were organized; and in order to insure the safety of the wagon train and the foraging troops, the infantry brigade and all remaining cavalry troops were instructed to advance to the line of Deer Creek to be utilized for the added protection of the foragers. The battalion commanders were enjoined to "be careful to cover their working parties by outposts and by a proper disposition of their commands for the protection of the trains and foragers" while the foraging operations were in progress.



Major General Wesley Merritt



Major General John M. Schofield

Monday dawned wet and stormy and the day's training was consequently postponed. By noon, however, the weather had cleared and accordingly instructions were given that the afternoon be devoted to unit drills and formations for attack and defense.

On Tuesday, October 1, the forage drills planned for Monday were executed. General Merritt impressed upon all commanders that the foraging operations were being conducted in hostile surroundings and that adequate protection be afforded for the security of the convoys, the wagon trains and the foraging parties. During the day General Merritt rode forward with the advance battalions and established his headquarters on Deer Creek. His staff established communication by the use of heliograph with the troops at Rock Ford. Flag communication was established with the troops on Wolf Creek and with the cavalry commands to the west. His communications net was twelve miles in area, which was quite a distance considering the methods of communication available to him.

With communication established, shortly after noon Tuesday, General Merritt sent an unexpected dispatch "by flag signals" to the advance battalions stating that the "enemy" had appeared at Rock Ford. From his advanced headquarters, he made certain that the afternoon's training was devoted to an orderly withdrawal of the foraging parties loaded with their loot, and that the retirement was covered by security detachments protecting them from the enemy. General Merritt was well pleased with the success of his manoeuver. He wrote: "This movement was handsomely executed. The battalions fell back each covered on its road by strong rear guards, and keeping up lateral communication, by small patrols, with the commands right and left."

The training continued much later in the day than planned and it was not until late Tuesday night that all troops had returned to bivouac. Because of the success of Tuesday's training, General Merritt decided not to reassume further practice in advance and security guard formations for the following day.

In view of his decision, Wednesday, October 2, was devoted to a general inspection of all troops and a review of the command. It was the first review since the assembled command had been shaken down by the excitement of operations and the rigors of combat. General Merritt wrote of his first review at Camp Schofield:

The troops, in heavy marching order, formed a line of brigades in line of battalion columns, and passed the reviewing officer, infantry in column of companies, artillery by platoons, and cavalry in column of troops. The appearance and marching of the troops were creditable

to the organizations. The cavalry and artillery repassed at a trot and gallop, preserving their intervals and alignments very well. It was observed that the mere assembly, mounted, of 21 troops of cavalry acting as a brigade, had an excellent effect on the troop organizations, producing a feeling of rivalry among them as to appearance and drill, beneficial to the mounted service.

It must indeed have been an inspiring sight. It is doubtful if ever before in Oklahoma had 21 troops of Cavalry and 13 companies of Infantry been assembled into one formation; and so to the temporary encampment on Chilocco Creek must go the distinction of being the site for the largest peacetime review in Oklahoma military history.

On Tuesday, 3rd October, the battle was resumed at full force. Late in the previous day camp headquarters published the following instructions:

The operations for to-morrow will be in advance and rear guard duties, outposts and hostile contact. All commands moving out will cover their fronts with advance guards proportioned to the strength of the column in rear.

In operations of hostile contact the senior colonel of this command will be umpire, and will be provided with a staff of assistant umpires detailed from the cavalry regiments. The umpires will be followed by orderlies carrying white flags, and will be allowed to ride in any direction through the lines. The waving of the white flag on any part of the line will mean that the firing must stop at that point until the decision of the umpire is known. The rulings of the umpires on the application of the rules of contact will be respected by all.

The rules of contact distributed to-day will, if possible, be placed in the hands of all officers and non-commissioned officers.

Troops detailed to represent the enemy will be known by white stable frocks or brown fatigue coats.

General Merritt contemplated a full scale "battle." The "rules of contact" mentioned in the instructions are interesting. All games, including war games, must be played by rules known to both sides. He found a total of six ground rules sufficient:

1. Neither of the opposing commanders will be given any intimation as to the instructions given his opponent.

Each commander will have only such information in regard to his opponent's position and movements, as may reasonably be supposed to have been ascertained by reconnaissance.

2. Firing by opposing parties will be discontinued at 60 yards; the umpires then decide what is to be done.

3. Cavalry charges must stop at 100 yards from the enemy. The simulated charges will be made at a gallop. Charging at full speed is strictly prohibited.

4. If an infantry, or dismounted cavalry force allows a cavalry opponent, even if somewhat inferior in strength, to approach in line

mounted within two hundred yards, before the dismounted force begins to fire, the advantage will be awarded to the mounted party.

5. If a heavy dismounted fire is opened upon the mounted party approaching in line, at a greater distance than two hundred yards, the advantage will be awarded to the dismounted party.

6. When a flank is turned the defenders must fall back, unless they execute a change of front before the attacking party have opened fire within 400 yards or charged within 200 yards.

To set the battle in motion, at a late hour during the evening before instructions were issued to the cavalry commander stating that the previous appearance of the enemy indicated a possible movement on Rock Ford and that a regiment of cavalry be dispatched at 8:30 a.m. on Thursday to hold the crossing. The cavalry commander was told that if his troops at the ford be attacked by a superior force, they would at once retire slowly to a position occupied by the infantry and "there make a stand." At the same time the infantry commander was given somewhat similar instructions. The Infantry Division was assigned a position at the fork of the Rock Ford road and Johnson's Ranch road with the mission of supporting the cavalry detailed to hold the ford. Copies of these field orders were reproduced in great numbers and distributed to all of the troops in order that the assumed situations and the plan for the battle might be thoroughly understood.

With the stage thus set, General Merritt gave confidential instructions to the Cavalry Brigade commander to disregard all of the dispatches insofar as they related to the cavalry on the right front; and instead to send the entire Cavalry Regiment from the right flank together with a battery of artillery direct to Rock Ford. The Regiment was instructed to use roads south of Chilocco Creek and beyond the observation of the rest of the command. Upon nearing the ford these troops were to be directed to put on brown fatigue coats or white stable frocks, and in this manner they would represent the enemy. The enemy force was then instructed to cross the river, together with the artillery, and to simulate an advancing enemy in march column. High banks along the west concealed the hostile troops from the observation of the "friendly" forces approaching the ford to carry out the mission assigned by the written orders. The element of surprise was effective, the "battle" was realistic, and met the anticipations of the commander. General Merritt had written:

It was anticipated that, in meeting of the advance guards and reconnaissance on the Rock Ford road, very instructive practice would be afforded in the management of the most advanced positions of hostile forces in the preliminary stages of an action. It has been observed in these exercises that, when the element of uncertainty exists as to the strength of the hostile force encountered, as in this case on the part of the blue commander, the conditions, up to a certain

point, are absolutely accurate. It would be difficult to overestimate the value of the practice thus afforded, in making rapid inferences of the strength and intentions of an enemy, from the first sight of the formations of his advanced parties, dust of columns on roads, etc.

The 7th Cavalry acted as the enemy. Its commander found a circuitous route to Rock Ford that would not expose what was happening. The 7th Cavalry arrived at the ford only a few moments before the arrival of the "friendly" 5th Cavalry. The 7th was able to substitute fatigue jackets for the regular uniforms and to go into position in time to give the 5th Cavalry a very warm reception. Within fifteen minutes the battle was well under way. From the reading of the reports of each commander, both the 5th Cavalry and the 7th Cavalry claimed a victory. The report of Colonel Wade, commanding the friendly 5th Cavalry, sufficiently reflects what happened:

In compliance with the enclosed instructions of Oct. 2, and verbal order through A. D. C. this A. M. to delay movement until 9 A. M., the regiment left camp at 9 o'clock this morning, moved on Rock Ford road to crossing of the Chilocco, which being the limit of our vidette line in this direction, an advance guard was sent to the front; within about four hundred yards of the crossing the advance met the enemy's outposts. They were driven rapidly back along the Rock Ford road, below the ridge from which the ford is visible. The regiment was deployed to the right and left and there was some dismounted skirmishing. Almost immediately upon reaching the crest of the ridge the enemy developed his force sufficiently to show that he had at least one regiment of cavalry and one battery of artillery on this side of the river.

My orders required that I should now fall back upon the infantry position, but being only four hundred yards from the junction of the Rock Ford and Johnson's Ranch roads and on the ground the infantry would occupy, and the infantry and artillery being still in the rear in a position where they could not deploy, I was obliged to hold the ground occupied. As the enemy seemed inclined to move to our left, I sent orders for the dismounted cavalry on that flank to amuse him and draw him as far that way as possible, and having located the troops opposite our right, I formed four troops, mounted, and held them in reserve on our right. At this time the artillery arrived, one platoon going to our left, and I understand being considered disabled by the enemy's artillery fire; the other was held below the crest of the hill near the mounted cavalry, which it was intended to accompany in a movement against the enemy's left flank. At this time the infantry was coming up and had commenced to move to the right and left to deploy and take the position held by the four troops of dismounted cavalry. A white flag was then waved and all movements suspended on our side, although the dismounted line of the enemy continued to work to the front in plain view of our line, which could not fire, and his artillery continued to fire notwithstanding the almost constant waving of white flags along the line. While in this position the umpire decided that my line could not be held, and by direction of the Division Commander the troops were withdrawn and returned to camp.

General Merritt disagreed with this action, for at the critique Colonel Wade was told;

The commanding officer of the blue force¹⁴ made a serious error, one which compromised his dismounted command, in not retiring before the superior numbers developed by his advance. The orders given contemplated this whenever a superior force was developed.

The exact time for this retirement should have been determined by the force of the enemy developed after the artillery fire was opened, though the fact alone of the enemy opening with artillery was not a sufficient reason for withdrawing the reconnoitring force. The display of the enemy's artillery was a reason, however, for bringing up as rapidly as possible, his own artillery to the aid of the force of the blue commander. If this had been done in time, the error of the feeble advance and a dispersion of his forces might have been redeemed.

In order to allow the officers to catch up on their paper work and permit time for the preparation of the necessary reports, charts, and maps covering the preceding day's engagement, it was decided that operations would be suspended and that the battle would not continue through Friday. Accordingly, Friday, October 4, was utilized by the officers in the preparation of their own required maps and surveys of the Rock Ford operation. This occupied the time only of the officers, and in order for the enlisted men to utilize the day in training, two boards of officers¹⁵ were convened on Friday morning with instructions to superintend the marching of the troops over carefully measured routes with the purpose of determining the most desirable rates of march for the infantry in heavy marching order, and for the cavalry with fully packed saddles.

For the infantry a carefully measured four mile course was laid out. In addition to arms and ammunition, the men each were provided equipment consisting of blanket, mess gear and clothing, totalling 32 pounds in weight. The four miles were covered by the column in 1 hour 17½ minutes, and the same course upon the return was traveled in 1 hour 11½ minutes. Marching was calculated at the average step of 33 inches with cadence of 115 steps per minute. The results of the infantry tests were given in the report of the officers in charge:

During the halt, after marching out four miles, the officers were assembled and the *sling arms* (as proposed by the Tactical Board) explained to them, and afterwards tried on the men. It was found to be a very convenient and exceedingly easy way to carry the pece on the march in light marching order, but in heavy marching order with the blanket bag, its use proved impracticable.

¹⁴ Yet today in army manoeuvres, the friendly force is always denominated the blue force, although the reason for the appellation has been lost. In General Merritt's day the enemy was always known as the brown force, taking the name from the brown fatigue jackets, and the friendly troops were known as the blue force, from the regulation GI blue service uniform.

¹⁵ The Infantry Board was composed of Lieut. Col. Simon Snyder, Major George K. Brady and Captain J. T. Haskell. The Cavalry Board was composed of Major John M. Bacon, Capt. E. M. Hayes, and Capt. E. S. Godfrey.

The board is of the opinion that in heavy marching order the proper rate for infantry, marching at quick time, would be $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour, this to include a halt of ten minutes after marching fifty minutes. That the proper rate, at double time, in heavy marching order, should not exceed a half mile at a time at the rate of a mile in twelve minutes. As, at an increased rate or longer distance, the men would require a rest which would more than counter-balance the time gained.

* * * * *

At the last half the men complained of the straps of the blanket bag cutting into their arms, and of the rivet at the top of the shoulder strap wearing the skin off their shoulder blades.

The blanket bag is very heating, as its whole length lies on the back; it is very uncomfortable and cannot be adjusted so as to be carried in a convenient and easy manner on long marches: the clothing of some of the men was wet through with perspiration, to the extent of dampening the blanket bag.

For the Cavalry a carefully measured circuit was laid out 5 miles 562 feet in length. Troop commanders were ordered to count and make a record of the number of steps taken by the horses at the walk over a designated distance of 1 mile 3,275 feet. Each troop commander submitted reports; and they gave an average length of step of 2.95 feet, and that the cavalry moved at the walk at the rate of 4.25 miles an hour. At the trot the gait was 8.39 miles per hour; and at the gallop it was determined to be 10.35 miles per hour. The officers in charge of the cavalry tests concluded:

The Board is of the opinion that in *route marches*, the *walk* should not exceed 4.25 miles an hour over *good* roads, preferably only 4 miles an hour.

The *trot* should not exceed 7 miles an hour over suitable roads; the *gallop* should not exceed 10 miles an hour.

The trot and gallop should only be used on generally level ground or gently rising slope, except for short distances and emergencies.

The march for the first stage (two or three miles) should be made at a *slow* walk of *less* than 4 miles an hour.

A day's march should be made in both the walk and trot regulated by the commanding officer and interspersed with frequent halts and leading.

Saturday, October 5, was utilized in a critique similar to the one held on the previous Saturday. The senior commanders gave detailed written criticism of the various charts, reports and maps submitted by each officer. Each officer's report and map were returned to him with the individual comments of the Commanding General. Officers then were assembled in unit meetings and the comments and criticism of the senior commanders were read and reviewed.

On Monday, October 7, the battle resumed with full vigor. Not being entirely satisfied with the success of the umpires, on

the previous evening camp Headquarters issued additional instructions for strict obedience to the umpire's rulings:

In the operations of hostile contact ordered for to-morrow, the assistant umpires will be distinguished by white flags.. When the white flag is waved, all within sight will cease firing and remain in their positions until directed to renew the action. The assistant umpires will carefully observe that this rule is enforced, and will require all troops to resume the positions from which they started, in case any movement is made after the signal to cease firing is given.

Troops detailed to represent the enemy will be distinguished by white stable frocks or brown fatigue coats.

The Commanding General will in person act as chief umpire. Immediately on the conclusion of the operations, and before the troops move from their positions, all officers will report to the Division Commander in the field. The troops will remain in the situations in which the conclusion of the exercises finds them, until the officers are dismissed by the Commanding General.

Late Sunday evening, preparatory to the morrow's battle, camp headquarters distributed printed field dispatches advising that a force of the enemy was gathering east of the Arkansas River and would no doubt cross the river and attack the camp. The Cavalry was instructed to feel out the enemy's positions near Wolf Creek, and the Infantry was directed to occupy the high ground between Deer Creek and Chilocco Creek in order to support the reconnaissance of the cavalry.

As before, secret instructions were given to the troops intended to serve as the enemy. In this instance, the Infantry Brigade was chosen as the enemy and its commander was confidentially instructed to appear to be moving in obedience to the printed field dispatches, and when once out of sight then to make a detour to the Arkansas River. There the Infantry would assume brown coats and would appear to move west to simulate an attack from the Arkansas River to the Chilocco positions. The Commander's plans were summarized in his report:

It was the intention that the exercises of this day should afford practice in the conduct of a small force checking a superior enemy, thereby gaining time for the remainder of the troops to get under arms and advance to meet an unexpected attack. It will be observed that the time for the movement on Wolf Creek to begin, was not indicated in the despatches, consequently, although the battery for service with cavalry had moved to the right of the line at 9 A. M., and reported to the Commanding Officer, 7th Cavalry, the horses of that regiment were unsaddled; the men were all in camp however, in anticipation of the march to Wolf Creek. Ostensibly this delay in moving south was accounted for by the fact that the 5th Cavalry on the left, had sent out one battalion on the east road to observe the Arkansas River above Rock Ford, and it was apparent that the result of such reconnaissance to the left rear, should be known before the troops moved out of the lines to observe the enemy's position on Wolf Creek.

The remainder of the 5th Cavalry was still in camp at 10 A. M., the horses unsaddled. At 10 o'clock the Department Commander and the Cavalry Brigade Commander rode over to the left of the line. In a few moments after their arrival on high ground in rear of the 5th Cavalry camp, firing could be distinctly heard well out on the east road direction of the river.

Boots and saddles were sounded at once, and orders were sent to the battery on the right to come over at a gallop.

The battalions as fast as they could saddle up, were despatched at a gallop in the direction of the firing to the left and rear. The celerity with which the cavalry turned out was commendable. In the 7th Cavalry, battalion line was formed in 6½ minutes after the sounding of boots and saddles. The 5th Cavalry formed battalion lines with almost equal promptitude.

By mid-morning the advance elements of the friendly troops reported that their positions had been overrun and the enemy was advancing on Chilocco. General Merritt immediately rode forward about 2½ miles and could then see the hostile infantry deploying on high ground between the Arkansas River and Camp Schofield. In his report, General Merritt was enthusiastic:

It was an admirable field for the exercises and presented a very realistic appearance. The folds of the open hill country fell away gently to the eastward, in the direction of the river valley, affording no obstacle to the advance of infantry, while concealing their dispositions. Preceded by the Cavalry Brigade Commander, the cavalry battalions at full gallop began to arrive to the aid of the advanced troops. Forming line as they came up, some dismounting and pushing up the hill at double time, to prolong the fighting line, and others moving to the flanks, under cover of the rolling ground, to gain positions from which mounted attacks could be delivered, they made a vivid picture or a real affair highly instructive to all engaged. Rodney's battery in changing position, moved in line up hill at a gallop, in beautiful order. The earnest interest displayed by officers of all grades, and the enlisted men, engaged in this affair, confirm in the most emphatic manner, the great benefit to be derived from practical exercises, provided it be clearly understood that their value in the practice they afford in taking up positions and divining the intentions of an enemy, etc. If the lines are allowed to approach each other closely and fire at will, the exercises degenerate into "sham battles," and the interest ceases at once.

Tuesday, October 8, was utilized in concluding the Battle of Chilocco Creek and in conducting reviews and critiques of the exercise. The Commanding General prepared a written analysis of the manoeuver and made detailed comments on the actions of each force. He was particularly pleased with the artillery and stated "the action of the artillery in both forces was superb. The batteries were moved rapidly, the positions selected were excellent both for cover and command, and nothing but commendation for the management of this arm remains." The officers were assembled on Tuesday afternoon and were read the written comments of the camp commander. General

Merritt found the manoeuvres much more successful than those of the preceding Thursday. He wrote to his officers:

In all arms of the Service in the affair of the 7th, a marked improvement is noted, and while criticisms have been made, it is to be said in conclusion that in all the operations, there has been more to commend than to condemn, and the Commanding General congratulates the brigade and battalion commanders in having such intelligence and zeal among officers and enlisted men of their commands,

Original plans for the encampment contemplated that all of the third week would be utilized in the conduct of the sham battle. Threatening weather brought the realization that some of the troops in returning to their permanent stations so late in the year might encounter weather for which they were not prepared. This circumstance together with the excellent performance of all troops caused General Merritt to conclude the field operations. He reported that his decision:

Was also due, in a measure, to the satisfactory results of the experiment in field training already obtained, and in the belief that the departure of the troops to their stations, while still full of enthusiasm and interest in the subject, would be followed by study and preparation during the winter, on the part of the officers, for the exercises of another year.

Wednesday, October 9, saw another review similar to the one conducted on the preceding Wednesday. The "serviceable and hardy appearance of the troops" caused favorable comment, and without doubt the two weeks in the field had done much to offset the routine of garrison life. The Commanding General reported on Wednesday's review:

A marked feature of the review was the presence of detachments from Cos. A, B and C, Indian Scouts, formed as one troop of cavalry, and marching in the column of the 5th Cavalry regiment. The riding and alignment of the scouts were admirable, and their neat soldierly appearance excited favorable comment.

On Thursday, October 10, the troops were paid and each unit completed preparations for the return march. On October 8, the Headquarters of the Department of the Missouri "In the Field" issued orders directing the breaking up of Camp Schofield and ordering troop movements of the various units to their garrison stations. Troops departed from Camp Schofield on Friday, October 11, and soon the campsite, so recently the scene of feverish activity and a full scale battle, resumed its contour as a peaceful prairie. Camp Schofield quickly passed into the limbo of the musty military history of Oklahoma.

The signal officer, the camp surgeon, the quartermaster, and the other staff officers submitted detailed reports on the problems of field communications, ammunition supply, evacuation of the wounded and other questions of logistics. General

Merritt was particularly concerned with his difficulties in communication. He wrote:

The experience with the signal service in the field was not satisfactory.

While the implements the parties had to work with were far from complete, the Chief Signal Officer, Lieut. J. F. Bell, 7th Cav., was attentive to his work, and did all that intelligence, energy and industry could do, to accomplish in an efficient manner our means of communication, but with only partial success.

The heliograph will probably be satisfactory in communication between distant permanent stations, but in the field when troops are moving, or during engagements amid noise and excitement, it is found to be difficult to make the adjustments, and to establish communication between even not distant stations. At stations very distant from each other, this difficulty is increased, and also much delay to a marching column must result in seeking high points from which to communicate. This latter trouble in a lesser degree is experienced with the flags. In practice with these latter, senior officers were much reminded of war experiences, in that a mounted messenger often carried and delivered an important message quicker and more surely than it could be transmitted by signals.

The telegraph as being more manageable, and giving no information to the enemy, will, it is not doubted, supercede every other means of communication on the field.

Driving easterly today from Chilocco, one has difficulty in visualizing the excitement that occupied the area in the fall of 1889. Having served its purpose, Camp Schofield soon disappeared, and its existence is preserved only in the reports gathering dust in the dead files of the Department of the Army.

The intentions of the Commanding General of the Department of the Missouri were not to be. He wrote to the War Department in his final report:¹⁶

I would not close this report omitting to refer especially to the location of the camp, and the facilities for manoeuvres offered by the country in its vicinity. Springs of the best water abound in this location. Abundant and pronounced undulations in the ground give the best of drainage for camps and the general configuration of the terrain adapts the country in a peculiar way to manoeuvres for instruction in war and battle tactics. In addition to these there is magnificent grass for the stock, a turf which prevents dust, however, much the ground is used, and facilities for transporting supplies which cannot be surpassed anywhere in this Department.

I propose later to ask that a part of this territory, either that I have named or some other nearby, be set apart for the use of the Government for a camp of instruction. This will be a necessity in the near future.

¹⁶ In military circles the summer manoeuvres of the Department of the Missouri received wide attention and were studied for a number of years for the tactical lessons involved. The final report of General Merritt, to The Adjutant General was dated 9 November 1889. The entire report was reprinted as a supplement to the *Army and Navy Journal* for January and February, 1890.

Had he looked backward into history rather than forward into the future, he would have found, perhaps to his surprise, that another military commander had long ago previously concurred in his conclusions on the suitability of the ground for military purposes. By curious circumstance, almost the exact site had been selected by the French some 150 years earlier as the location for a stockade and major encampment on the upper waters of the Arkansas, for within five miles southeast of Camp Schofield there lay the depressions in the ground and the distinct trace of one of the white man's first settlements in Oklahoma—Ferdinandena. Thus, even though his superiors felt no necessity in setting apart the ground for a camp of instruction as he had recommended, General Merritt could take gratification from the fact that in far distant history an unknown French commander had selected almost the identical ground as that being the best suited for a military encampment.

PIONEER DAYS IN THE CHEROKEE STRIP

By Clara Williamson Warren Bullard*

The region known as the Cherokee Strip lies across Northern Oklahoma to the 100th Meridian. It is about sixty miles wide from north to south. It was assigned in 1828 to the Cherokee Indians by the U. S. Government, as a hunting outlet to the Plains west from their country in Eastern Indian Territory. Hence the name Cherokee Outlet, popularly called the "Strip."

It was later leased by the Cherokee Nation to cattlemen for grazing of vast herds of cattle. In the early 1890's, outlaws had hideouts in the "Strip," from which they made raids into Kansas, Arkansas, and Missouri, and escaped back into the territory before state officers could catch them. State officers had no jurisdiction out of their state and it was up to Federal officers to catch lawbreakers in the Territory. The Government secured this strip from the Indians by treaty or purchase, and in 1893 declared it open for homesteading.

September 16th, 1893 at noon was the time set for settlers to enter. No claim could be made in the Strip before that time. Soldiers were sent in to see that no person was there. Of course there were people that managed to get in ahead of time in spite of soldiers and government rules. These were known as "sooners" and if proven so were barred from homesteading. Soldiers were stationed around the borders, and the prairie was burned off the day before the Opening.

Each applicant was required to register before he could file on a homestead. Booths, as they were called, were stationed at points along the border on the North and South where registrations were taken before the day of the opening. To be eligible, a man or woman must be twenty-one years of age, one who had not taken a homestead of 160 acres in public lands elsewhere. He could file on enough to make 160 acres provided that he could find a piece of land the right size and not claimed by someone else. Women must be single or widows. No married woman was eligible.

My father and oldest brother were anxious to get a homestead, and decided to make the run. We were living in Butler

* Mrs. Clara Bullard who lives at 1031 West Boyd, in Norman, Oklahoma, here contributes her reminiscences of the opening of the Cherokee Strip that brought 6,500,000 acres of new land to Oklahoma Territory just sixty-five years ago this September, 1958. She tells of many interesting details of pioneer living in this great country in the Territory. It has been through the kind interest of her son, Mr. Clyde Bullard, Editor of *The Rush Springs Gazette*, Rush Springs, Oklahoma, that Mrs. Bullard's story is published in this autumn number of *The Chronicles*.—Ed.

County, Kansas, at that time. They went to the booth south of Caldwell on the State line and registered there. It was very dry and dusty, and the crowds of people stirred up a terrible dust. Drinking water was scarce, and some people living near sold drinking water from their wells.

People came in wagons, buggies, horseback or any way they could. To make the run some took off the beds of the wagons, and used the running gears consisting of the wheels, axles, coupling poles and tongue with a team of horses hitched to them; others used only the front wheels with axle and tongue. To get *there*, first, was the ambition of one and all.

My father and brother had a two-wheeled cart, much like the sulkeys used for horse racing, but a little larger. In this or on it they, somehow, (I don't know how), carried a canteen of water, a roll of bedding, camp equipment and food; also, wooden stakes for the hoped for claims.

Before noon all were lined up as close to the boundary line as they could get. When the signal was given by a U. S. cavalryman's pistol shot at noon on the 16th of September, the race began. And what a race it must have been! Away the crowd went at top speed across the broad plains where there were no roads except a few trails, but no bridges. Each person had to find his own way and at the same time avoid collision with others or avoid falling into a gully. Trains that had stopped on the Kansas line were allowed to run ten miles an hour, were loaded with many people on top or anywhere they could manage to find a seat. Men jumped off all along the way to stake claims. But many stayed on board were headed for the town-sites to get town lots.

My father staked a claim eight miles south of the Kansas state line and thirteen miles from Caldwell, Kansas. My brother staked on an adjoining claim, but found another man was on the same claim. He tried to buy the man off, but he was not willing to sell so my brother gave it up. That night campfires gleamed across the prairies, and new towns sprang up overnight.

My father and brother stayed only a few days, long enough to establish a settler's claim, then went home. After a claim was staked a settler had ninety days in which to file, and usually did some work on the claim, such as building a shack or dugout or plowing on the land.

After a short time at home, Father took the team and wagon, a plow, and other tools, with camping equipment, and went back to file and start improvement on the claim. The Land Office was at Enid, but applicants were lined up so a man would have to stand in line for days before he could file.

Father got as far as Pond Creek where he heard of the situation from men who had been to Enid. He then sent a filing by mail from Pond Creek, and returned to the claim. He did some plowing and started a sod house, and then returned home to finish up fall work.

In due time word, came from the Land Office that the claim had already been filed on before his application was received. Father had no thought of giving up, but immediately filed a contest, and decided we would move as soon as possible. He had planned to finish the sod house, and make some other improvements, and then move in the spring. The contest changed everything, and all efforts were directed toward moving as soon as possible. There was much to be done; deciding what to take and disposing of what could not be taken, getting necessary supplies, wagon sheets, and bows to cover the wagons, a tent, and other necessary items, and as much cash as possible, which was not much.

At last two wagons were ready with bows and sheets to cover; a tent 14 feet by 16 feet was purchased. About the middle of January, 1894, the wagons were loaded, the cows tied behind, chickens in a coop on the rear of one wagon, a box with a pig in it on the rear of the other wagon. The family consisted of Father and Mother; James, 23; Amos, 20; Clara (myself), 13; Loren, 11; Elizabeth, 8; Melissa, 6; Walker, 3; and Amy, 9 months. A near neighbor, Mrs. Rice, fixed dinner for us at her home. Sometime in the afternoon we were all loaded in the wagons, and started off. What a sight we must have been, but not an unusual one at that time.

Father drove one wagon, and Amos the other. James did not go at that time but remained behind to attend to some business. So there were nine of us on the trip. Loren and I took turns walking, to keep the cows in line behind the wagons. At first the cows did not understand, and were inclined to stall, but they soon learned to go when they were started. We did not get far the first day for rate of travel had to be suited to the cows which do not travel very fast. When night came we camped wherever we happened to be, but near a water supply and usually near a farm home. When we stopped for the night, all hands got busy. Horses were unhitched and fed; cows also fed. A campfire was made to warm by, and make coffee and cook supper. Mother and I had baked lots of bread, cooked a big kettle of beans, and as much other food as had been possible. I remember only the beans and how good they tasted, and have a faint recollection of cookies. What else we had besides bread, I do not remember. The tent was stretched, and beds made on the ground. As soon as supper was over and cleared away, we went to bed.

The weather was fine for January, nice and sunny, not cold and stormy which was lucky for us. About the second day or night on the trip, the pig got out of the box and while the cows were lying down, discovered that he could get milk by sucking the cows. The cows were almost dry but giving a little milk. After this discovery the pig would follow, and any time we stopped he would stand on his hind legs and help himself to milk from the cows. As I remember, the cows never objected. It was amusing to us, and attracted the attention of others who happened to be nearby. The pig rode in the box part of the time, for a pig cannot walk very far.

We went through Atlanta, Winfield, Arkansas City, and on to Drury, Kansas, where we camped the last night. Between Drury and Caldwell, we stopped at a farm and left the cows on wheat pasture. So piggy lost his lunch counter, and we had no milk from then on, until the cows freshened and were brought home in the spring. We drove on through Caldwell, which is noted in early history as a "Border Town" on the Chisholm Trail, the first stop coming north after the long trail through Indian Territory; also the last stop on the same Trail south, and the last chance for liquor until reaching Texas. It had been a wild town with much lawlessness, in the old trail days.

We continued on through Caldwell, south to the Kansas state line, where we had our first view of the "Promised Land." It stretched out before our eyes as far as we could see, prairie land, treeless, with occasionally a small house, shack, sod house, or dugout in view. Only a few settlers were on their land at that time. We reached the claim shortly before sundown. All hands got busy at once to stretch the tent, unload and move in the cookstove, one bedstead, a dropleaf table, chairs, dishes and cooking utensils. I do not recall where we put the dishes and cooking utensils, probably in boxes.

Mr. Covey was living across the road. He had a two room frame house and a good well of water. His family consisted of him and his wife, a teen-aged son, and twin daughters about two or three years of age. We took the horses to the Covey's well to water, and we carried water from his well for cooking and other uses. The well was covered with a curb and frame for a pulley, a rope through the pulley connected with a bucket on each end—buckets of the "old oaken bucket" type. One bucket was at the top of the well, the other in the water; as one drew up a bucket of water, the other bucket descended into the water. You then emptied the water into a trough for stock, or into a bucket for house use. The buckets held about three gallons each.

As soon as possible, on our first evening in our new home, supper was prepared and eaten. I wish I could remember

what it consisted of, but I have not the faintest recollection. Soon after supper we prepared for bed. Father, Mother, Walker and Amy slept in the bed. Elizabeth, Melissa, and I slept on a feather bed on the ground. Amos and Loren slept in the wagon. One wagon, with a cover, was kept for storage and as a bed for the boys. The other wagon was unloaded to be ready for use, probably not that night, but soon.

The next few days were busy ones. The tent was staked down all around, and a ditch made with dirt thrown against the bottom of the tent. The ditch was to carry off water when it rained, the bank of dirt serving to keep the water from running under the tent. The horses and chickens were housed in the sod building for shelter from the wind. It was necessary to feed them hay and grain until grass started in the spring. After grass started the horses were turned out to graze but would come back for a light feeding. We had only a few days of nice weather, then came a blizzard, cold hard wind from the north with a driving snow. We must have brought in a supply of fuel, wood or coal, perhaps some of both, before the storm. We were able to keep warm at least from freezing, by keeping the fire going throughout the day in the stove. At night we had no heat but depended upon keeping warm in bed. Water would be frozen in the bucket in the morning, and bread and other freezable items, unless well wrapped or in some way protected. The storm came during the night. When the men folk went out to see about the horses they found one of them gone. This horse was blind in both eyes, but was a big nice looking horse and a good work horse. The men were unable to find him though they spent several days, after the storm, looking for him. They never found any trace of him or anyone who had seen him, and finally decided that he had been stolen and taken out of the country. After the storm cleared away and the weather moderated there was much to be done. As soon as possible the plow was started to get ground ready for spring plowing.

To make a sod house, ground was plowed and the sod, having grass roots in it to hold it together, was cut into lengths of about fifteen or eighteen inches and laid up in a wall in the same manner as brick is laid but without any mortar. The side walls were about six feet high, and the end walls were about eighteen inches higher in the middle, sloping down to the same height as the side walls. A ridge pole was put on the top through the center from one wall to the other. Long boards were laid across, nailed in the center to the ridge pole which was fastened on the side wall. The boards on the roof extended several inches over the side walls for eaves. Tar paper was laid over the boards and dirt put on that. This roof was called

“car roof,” and the word *car*, here did not mean an automobile as this was before the days of the automobile.

The sod building, Father had started when he first made the claim was used as a stable but never finished. The sod house was completed and we moved in late in March or early in April. Crude as it was, we were glad to have it. The tent was moved back of the sod house, and used for sleeping quarters for the boys and for a storage room.

Spring came. The prairies became green with grass, gardening and farming began. The boys brought the cows from the pasture. The few hens, that we had began to lay. We had milk and eggs, wild greens were plentiful for the picking, and we soon had garden “sass.” Settlers were coming in fast, putting up shacks, sod houses, dugouts and a few frame houses.

Then one day, came one, for whom we had no welcome. The man who had filed on our claim. He showed up with a team and plow and plowed a furrow through the claim from East and West, at about the center of the tract, thus dividing it into two parts. We were supposed to stay on one eighty, and he would live on the other. He proceeded to plow a few acres on his (?) eighty and built a two-room frame house about a quarter of a mile from our house. Some of his family lived there at intervals until the contest was decided. Sometimes it was his wife and a son about ten years of age, sometimes a grown daughter and the boy. Cooper, himself, made only short stays. He had other business to see after in his home in Kansas.

Wells were dug, and plows were busy. The older brothers, Amos and Jim, got jobs digging wells, plowing or other work for settlers who needed help and could pay for it. The money they earned helped buy groceries and other necessary things, wages were low but so were groceries. Flour was from seventy-five cents to one dollar per fifty pound sack; sugar about five cents a pound; beans as low as eight pounds for twenty-five cents; a big package of rice for twenty-five cents; coffee fifteen to twenty-five cents a pound. Dollars were hard to get, and there was no credit. If one had no money to pay, he did without. The country had not recovered from the panic of 1893, and times were hard everywhere, and especially so for the settlers. A trip was made to Caldwell, thirteen miles away about once a week to get provisions and the mail. Mail for us was not much, sometimes a few letters, a weekly paper and the Church paper, *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, which my Father took when he could afford the price, as long as he could see to read. Mail was one of the highlights, however, and always eagerly awaited. Neighbors brought each other's mail, and often brought other things needed whenever they went to town.

Sometime during the first summer, the men folk made a cave, an early version of a storm cellar. It was simply a square hole (or rectangle) in the ground about five or six feet deep and about six feet by eight feet (larger or smaller as desired), covered over with boards, sometimes cement, and dirt heaped on top. An entrance was dug on one side with steps descending to the bottom, and covered with a door which could be raised to enter. In this cave during the summer time, we kept milk and butter (yes, we had real butter those days!), also eggs, fruit, or anything we wanted to keep cool. In the winter the cave was used for canned fruit, when we had it, vegetables, eggs, and other things to keep them from freezing.

There was not much raised the first year, mostly feed for stock, and that was valuable. The grass was luxuriant and tall enough to cut for hay, and all that was available was cut and cured and stacked for hay. Piggy had grown to a good size, but I do not remember whether he or she went into the meat barrel, or was kept to mother future piggies.

It was January 1, 1895, that a good water well was dug for us. One had been dug and abandoned because no water was found. This second well was forty-three feet deep and had an abundance of water, slightly salty and hard, but we were overjoyed to have it. All this time we had been carrying water from Covey's. Now all we had to do was draw water to the top of the well, carry it into the house and heat what we wanted on the stove. A big iron teakettle was kept always on the stove, and filled with water to heat. We could have all the water we wanted to draw. As far as I know the well was never dry even after a windmill and pump were put in. The well was walled with stone, lowered in a bucket and laid up by hand. While digging the well, when the men came to a solid layer of rock, usually about twenty feet from the top, a shelf was left all around the well, and the wall was built on that. The hole was that much smaller from there to the bottom half, but when walled was the same size all the way down. Jim did the digging and all the work in the well, and my father worked the windlass and drew out the dirt and lowered the rock for walling. Which was the harder work, I do not know, but they both seemed hard to me in my memory.

Windmills were put in as soon as farmers could afford them, and the ropes and buckets discarded. That well and many others dug by my brothers and father are still in use. Ours was curbed and equipped with usual rope and buckets, and they were used for several years. Probably no one now, including the ones who are using the wells, gives a thought to the hard work that was involved in digging with pick and shovel, and sometimes dynamite, and hauling to the surface



F. E. Williamson homestead, 1896, with original sod house in rear.



F. E. Williamson homestead in 1903, with members of the family left to right: Walker (on horse), Mr. Williamson, Amy, Mrs. Williamson (in chair), Lizzie and Melissa.

all the dirt and rock that came out, in the process of digging wells in that early day.

Before the end of the first year there was a settler on every quarter section of land. With a dwelling of some sort, including mere huts or dugouts, sod houses, box houses made of boards placed up and down or made in box fashion often with cracks that one could see through, between the boards. There were some one or two room frame houses, and occasionally a four or five room frame house.

While there were many families, some of them with several children as ours was, there were also many single men and women, a number of whom especially women, were school-teachers. Occasionally a brother and sister who had adjoining claims would build a house on the line, part on each claim. Thus they could have the same house, and each live on his own claim. Some fortunate ones who had jobs elsewhere stayed on their claims only the minimum time required, maybe a day or two every three months. A man with a family could leave his family to hold down the claim and be gone indefinitely. But a certain amount of work must be done on the claim every year.

Before the opening, the land had been surveyed and stones having the number of the land placed at each corner of every claim. One of the first things done after locating a claim was to hunt up the corner stones and be sure one was the only person on that particular claim. The claimant also had to have the numbers in order to file. Sixteen feet on each side of a section line was reserved for a public road making the roadway thirty-two feet wide. The Cherokee Strip country was divided into counties of various sizes designated by letters of the alphabet. The counties were divided into townships. Each township was six miles square and contained thirty-six sections numbered from 1 to 36. In each township, two sections, numbers 16 and 33, were allotted to the state for school purposes. These school sections were leased to settlers for cash rental and the returns used for the territorial schools and to establish and maintain public colleges. There were plenty of applicants for school land, and those to whom they were leased lived on and improved the land the same as other settlers. Townships were divided into school districts three miles square.

There were people from many states, also foreign countries. Many nationalities were represented, and a few settlers could not speak English, but they soon learned. People of culture and education lived side by side with uneducated people, and their children went to the same schools. The majority were industrious, honest, and hardworking, farm-loving people.

For at least the first two years there was not much income from the farms. So much was to be done, such as fencing

pastures, putting land in cultivation, making needed buildings and other things. Yet each year saw some improvements.

The first school I attended was a subscription school taught by Mrs. York in one room of the York two-room home, the winter of 1894-95 for three months. The next summer our District No. 46, had a three-month school in Mr. Covey's granary in one end of his barn, separated only by a board partition from the livestock. The people of the District got together soon afterward and with voluntary labor put up a sod school house which was used for several years. The average school had from 25 to 40 pupils. Sunday schools were started first in homes and after schoolhouses were built, were held in schoolhouses. The schoolhouse was usually built in the center of the District. Thus a schoolhouse every three miles each way, and they soon became the center of community activities.

In those days there was no mail delivery, electricity, telephones, picture shows, radio, gas, refrigerators, television, cars, airplanes, or many other things the world now accept as a matter of course. Our homes were lighted (dimly) by kerosene lamps which had to be filled with kerosene, wicks trimmed, and chimneys washed. They were smelly from the kerosene, and sometimes smoky. Heating and cooking was done with coal or wood, and often with cowchips.

Almost every community had a literary and debating society which met once a week in the schoolhouse during the winter months. The program consisted of recitations, songs, music by violin, banjo or guitar. All was by local talent and supposed to be entertaining and sometimes it really was. After the program was a recess, and then the debate. Leaders for the debate had been appointed at the previous meeting, before the recess, and had decided on a question to debate, and each chose two assistants. Thus they had until the next meeting to prepare their arguments. Some of the debate questions I remember were: "Resolved, That the invention of modern machinery has been a detriment to the working man"; "Resolved, That the American Indian has been more cruelly treated than the Negro"; "Resolved, That the horse is more useful to man than the cow," and many others. Three judges were chosen and the debating began. Sometimes the arguments were funny, often they were amazingly good; at least it provided some training in public speaking for those taking part, and entertainment for the audience. Almost everybody in the community attended. The schoolhouse was usually crowded.

As a means of raising money for various purposes, box suppers or pie suppers were held. Each woman attending a pie supper brought a pie or a box containing supper for two. The pies or boxes were auctioned and sold to the highest bidder.

The men were not supposed to know who brought which box. But they usually had ways of finding out. Sometimes rivals would bid high on a box to extravagant prices, or others would run the price up on a man they knew was determined to have a certain box, which was a big help to the Finance Committee. After the boxes were sold the man proceeded to find the lady whose name was on the box, and they ate the supper together.

Another means of raising money was the ice cream social. A committee appointed for the purpose, solicited ingredients for the ice cream such as eggs, milk, sugar, and flavoring extracts, also cakes to serve with it. Then on the appointed day, all met in the afternoon and the women prepared the mixture for the ice cream, and the men turned the freezers. The crowd came in the evening, and ice cream and cake were served at about ten cents a dish. There were no programs or planned games. The young people often played games out-of-doors, and the older people visited with one another in the house.

At Christmas time the Sunday School, or sometimes the district school, would have a Christmas tree and program at the schoolhouse. Funds for this were usually raised by a box or pie supper a few weeks before Christmas. At other times funds were solicited from the people of the community. Committees were appointed for the program, to get and trim the tree, buy and prepare the treats. Trees were any kind of tree available, of appropriate size and shape. Bare branches were whitewashed or wrapped with cotton or tissue paper. No evergreens grew in our section of Oklahoma, and none were available for purchase. The Christmas program and tree were for everybody, and usually almost everybody was there with the house crowded. The bigger the crowd, the more successful the event was considered. Anyone who wished could bring presents for the members of their family or anyone they wished to give a present to. Most of the people put presents on the tree, and it would be loaded. Often there was rivalry as to who gave the most and nicest gifts, which was not showing the true spirit of Christmas. There was a treat for all the children, and if the Finance Committee had been real successful, for the adults, too.

Other social activities were spelling matches held in the schoolhouse, and conducted by the teacher. Usually those attending who were willing to spell were chosen into opposing sides by two leaders. The teacher held up a book with her finger in the book. The leaders guessed the number of the page where her finger was; the one nearest the correct number had the first choice. As the participants were chosen they lined up on opposite sides of the room. The first word was pronounced to one of the leaders, who stood at the head of his group. The next word, to the opposite leader, and continued in this

fashion. When an individual missed a word, he sat down, and the word passed to the opposite speller. The spelling went on until all were spelled down. The one who spelled the longest was the winner. There were no prizes, but the competition was keen and winning was an honor. It was soon known who were the best spellers, and of course, they were chosen first.

There were also play parties and some square dances. Church people generally did not approve of dancing, and did not allow their children to attend. Play parties were in private homes (as were some of the dances), and most of the young people attended. They played games of various kinds, sometimes kissing games, such as postoffice and others. The kissing games were frowned upon and not often played. At the close of the evening refreshments were served.

Some of the popular songs of that time were: "There'll be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight," "The Girl I Loved in Sunny Tennessee," "O Bury Me not on the Lone Prairie," "Annie Laurie," and many others. One especially popular and with good reason was "My Little Old Sod Shanty on the Claim." There were several verses describing life in this song, but I remember only the chorus:

"The hinges are of leather, the windows have no glass
The roof lets the howling blizzard in;
I can hear the hungry coyote as he sneaks up through
the grass,
Around my little old sod shanty on the Claim."

One day, after our water well was finished, we saw that the Coopers had arrived to live for awhile on the claim. They had no well, in fact had made no improvements except the house and the few acres they planted the year before. Mother said to Jim, "If Coopers come to get water from the well, what shall I tell them?" He replied, "Tell them they can't have any." Soon after, Mrs. Cooper came to the door and asked if she could water the horse and get a pail of water. Jim was in the house and he went out and drew the water for her. When we teased him about it he said, "You can't refuse water to a woman."

It was sometime, I think at least two years, before the contest was set for a hearing. There were so many contests, that it took a long time for the Court to hear them. At last the date was set and Father and Mother, Jim, Amos, and several of the neighbors for witnesses went to Enid where the hearing was to be held. The younger children and I stayed at home. Before they left, Amos said to us, "Now don't you kids sleep too late in the mornings, the neighbors might talk about you." He seemed real worried about it; guess he thought



School District 24, Grant County. Miss Clara Williamson, Teacher, standing center above, 1897-98.

the neighbors would think we were a lazy bunch. I still think that funny. We had the cows to milk and other chores to be done, not the least of which was to draw water for the stock, so it was necessary for us to get up at the usual time. The folks were gone almost a week, but they brought good news when they returned. The Court ruled in Father's favor and Cooper's filing was to be canceled, and then Father could file. Naturally we were all very happy about it.

But the end was not yet. Cooper had the right to appeal the decision and this he threatened to do unless Father would buy his house. It had taken all the money we could raise to pay the lawyer and expenses of the witnesses for the week at Enid. There was no money left to buy the house. As I said before there was no credit, and one could hardly have borrowed a dollar if his life had depended upon it. But the old saying, "Where there is a will there is always a way," proved true. A neighbor who was living in a dugout agreed to buy the house at the price Cooper was asking, if the men would move it onto his land without extra charge. The house was moved so the matter was settled, and Cooper went away and left us in peaceable possession of the claim.

Thus time moved along. The soil was very fertile and with a good season, meaning of course enough rain, it produced abundant crops. With cows and chickens, farmer's wives were soon paying most or all of the grocery bills with butter and eggs. Eggs sold for ten or fifteen cents a dozen in the winter, less in hot weather. Butter sold for ten to fifteen cents a pound.

New homes were being built every year, often one room, to which additions were made later. In the fall of 1897, my father built the first room of the frame house that was to be the family home as long as our parents lived on the farm. The frame room was built in front of the sod house and about doubled our living space. In 1900, he built four rooms joining on the front of the first room built. The rope and pulley on the well was replaced with a pump and windmill. The work of drawing water was taken over by the wind.

Every year brought changes to the face of the country. More land was put in cultivation. Trees had been planted during the first years of settlement, and their growth year by year produced an ever changing landscape. New houses and barns were built, and sod houses and dugouts abandoned. New school-houses replaced the sod ones. Some churches were built.

By 1900 the whole country had achieved a new look, far different from the bare prairies of 1893. Optimism prevailed and the old Cherokee Strip was in an era of progress and prosperity that has lasted until the present day.

CAPTAIN DAVID McNAIR AND HIS DESCENDANTS

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

David McNair, one of the prominent and useful citizens of the Cherokee Nation, was of Scotch descent. He was born in 1744 and died August 15, 1836. His wife Delilah Amelia Vann was a daughter of "Rich Joe" and Elizabeth Vann. She was born in 1795 and died November 30, 1838.¹

In 1820 McNair was keeper of the stand and boat yard at the southern end of the Portage on the Conasauga River, in Tennessee, while Michael Hildebrand occupied the same position at the northern end of the Portage on the Ocoee River twelve miles north. This short route was popular with traders traveling by water from the Ohio River, by way of the Kentucky and Tennessee rivers to the Ocoee which enters the Hiwassee about three miles above Benton, Tennessee. After crossing the twelve mile Portage to McNair's, they would sail down the Conasauga to the Gulf of Mexico.²

When commissioners ran the line between the states of Georgia and Tennessee in 1818 it was found that the property of David McNair was one mile and one fourth within Tennessee. The handsome McNair home, the first brick house built in Polk County owned by an Indian, was built by Robert Howell in 1827 or 1828. This builder left his home to go to the southern part of the state to construct houses for McNair and Joseph Vann.

These structures were typical of the homes of wealthy southern planters and slave owners. The McNair house had an added attraction in the Indian carvings on mantles, and mouldings of iron work. There were corner fire-places in two adjacent rooms on the first floor and over one of the mantles there was a removable panel. The rafters of this house were peeled pine poles pinned together with wooden pegs and no nails were used in the building. Of course McNair had become wealthy before he built his home together with a brick smoke-house, brick houses for his numerous slaves and he later had a long brick ell added to his dwelling.³

Among the persons entertained in the McNair home was John Howard Payne who found refuge there after his imprisonment by the Georgia Guard, at Spring Place. Of his

¹ Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, Oklahoma City 1921, 611.

² Leola Selman Beeson, "Homes of Distinguished Indians," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (September, 1933), pp. 935-37.

³ *Ibid.*

stay there, Payne wrote, “. . . It is an Indian family. Nothing could be kinder or more cordial than my reception and treatment . . . They looked upon me as one risen from the dead.”⁴

In 1826 when the General Council of the Cherokee Nation was in session the subject of adopting a constitution was considered, and it was decided to hold a convention. The National Committee and the Council nominated certain men in their districts as candidates, and voting places in the precincts were selected. In Amohee District, the election was held at the court house with David McNair and James McDaniel as superintendents.⁵

Among the early missionaries among the Cherokees, were the Reverend John Gambold and his wife, Anna Rosel Gambold, who did excellent work at Spring Place. Unfortunately she died in February, 1821 and soon afterward Mr. Gambold received a call to establish a new mission at Oochgelogy, four miles from New Echota. On April 11, 1821, he left Spring Place for the Conasauga River where he met a flat-boat proceeding down stream. Captain McNair, whose home was eighteen miles above Spring Place, gave the missionary free transportation to his new mission.⁶

McNair again came to the rescue of the missionaries when they were disturbed by a new law enacted by the State of Georgia, which required that all white persons should take an oath to support and defend the constitution and laws of Georgia. The missionaries had been instructed by their leaders to take no part in politics and they were not in favor of signing the oath, so their relief was great when Captain McNair invited them to make their home with him. “The cordial invitation was eagerly accepted.”⁷

The Reverend Henry Gottlieb Clauder wrote, “. . . we removed to Connesauga, within the limits of the State of Tennessee, where our well known friend, Captain David McNair, permitted us to occupy a farm belonging to his son and which was then vacant.”

The situation at Captain McNair's was really very favorable for carrying on the work, for many members of the Moravian Church lived in this vicinity, and were now nearer

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 936. For an interesting account of the McNair establishment see Ralph Henry Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot, Cherokee and His America*, (Norman, 1941), p. 117.

⁵ Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁶ Robert Sparks Walker, *Torchlights to the Cherokees*, (New York, 1931), p. 35.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 38. Muriel H. Wright, *Springplace Moravian Mission . . .* (Guthrie, 1940), p. 48.

to their missionary than before. After a few repairs had been made to the house Captain McNair had so kindly thrown open, the missionary family was in very comfortable quarters. Another little house on the premises was arranged for a school which Miss Sophia Dorothea Ruede taught for two years. The removal of the Cherokees was settled by the Treaty of 1835, and Captain McNair asked the missionaries to vacate his house and farm as his son had married and returned home to live on the place.⁸ When the Cherokees were compelled to emigrate in 1838, Mrs. McNair and her daughters drove away from home in their fine carriage. While awaiting the arrival of the boats at Charleston, Bradley County, on the Hiawassee River in Tennessee, Mrs. McNair died, and the United States officers permitted her body to be returned home where she was laid to rest beside her husband. In 1846, descendants of the McNair family went back to Tennessee from the Indian Territory and had placed on their parents' grave a large marble slab with the following inscription:

“David and Delilah McNair who departed this life, the former on the 15th day of August, 1836, the latter on the 31st day of November, 1838. Their children being natives of the Cherokee Nation and having to go west, leave this monument not only to tell their regard for their parents but to guard their sacred ashes from the unhallowed intrusion of the white man.”

The graves were surrounded with a solid wall of large limestone rocks, two feet thick. “Both the wall and the broken slab on the graves have been mended by interested people.”⁹

Schwarze wrote that McNair died on July 15, 1836:¹⁰

. . . . and in him the Moravian mission lost another good and faithful friend. Brother Clauder now had the privilege of rendering him a service in recognition of the great debt of gratitude which the Church owed the good Captain for his many acts of accommodation and his last great kindness in giving the mission a home for three years, free of charge. Clauder prepared Capt. McNair's body for burial and then conducted his funeral service, using the Moravian ritual.

McNair was a friend of the Indian and white and a particular friend to messengers of the Cross from all demonination.

⁸ Rev. Edmund Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions Among the Southern Indian Tribes of the United States*, (Bethelam, Pennsylvania), pp. 202, 204, 206, 226.

⁹ Beeson, *op. cit.*, 937-37. Mrs. McNair became a Moravian convert and she was baptized at Spring Place.

¹⁰ Schwarze, *op. cit.*, 210-11. David McNair fought as a captain in the War of 1812, and the United States government placed a headstone on his grave.

The writer was fortunate in having a copy of the will of David McNair, which was signed by him on June 4, 1836:

I David McNair of the Cherokee Nation now Bradley County, State of Tennessee, knowing the uncertainty of life and the certainty of death, and being of a sound and disposing mind & memory do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following, (to wit)

I give and bequeath my soul to God who gave it, and I desire that my body be decently buried.

2d. It is my desire that my funeral expenses shall be paid out of my Estate.

3d. I give and bequeath to my beloved wife Delila Amelia McNair, the following property which I received from her father's estate, (to wit) Davy and his wife Minty and their children (to wit) George, Betsy, Davy, Lewis and Maria; also another negro woman named Phoebe, all Slaves for Life; also a certain claybank Horse presented to her by her Son in Law David Vann. Also the farm where I now live, together with the farming utensils & household kitchen furniture, beds and bedding of all sorts, excepting that part which may hereafter be provided for; during her natural life, Provided the said farm is held by reservation, under any Treaty heretofore made, or which may be made hereafter between the United States and the Cherokee Indians, if the same should not be held by reservation, but valued under the provisions of any treaty made or hereafter to be made, she shall be entitled to said valuation.

Also an equal dividant of all my property after making the following bequests, in this my last Will and Testament. And whereas I have heretofore distributed part of my estate between my several children (to wit) my daughter Betsy, my Sons James V. McNair, Nicholas B. McNair, Mary V. Rogers & Martha Vann, and whereas I give and bequeath to my son Clement McNair over and above his dividant certain property hereafter to be named in the ninth bequest of this my last Will and Testament, in order to make his share equal with the shares heretofore given to my other sons (to wit) James & Nicholas.

4th. I give and bequeath to my beloved daughter Betsy's use during her life time, with the reversion of the same at her death to her six oldest children (to wit) Amelia Bean, David Bean, Gustavus Bean, William Bean and Mira Neely Bean, an equal dividant of my estate after the bequests heretofore made, or that may hereafter be made in my last Will and Testament.

5th. I give and bequeath to my son James Vann McNair, an equal dividant of my estate after the bequeaths heretofore made, or that may hereafter be made in my last Will and Testament, in addition to the property he has heretofore received from me.

6th. I give and bequeath to my son Nicholas Byers McNair an equal dividant of my estate after the bequests heretofore made or that may hereafter be made in this my last Will and Testament in addition to the property he has heretofore received from me.

7th. I give and bequeath to my beloved daughter Mary Vann Rogers an equal dividant of my estate, after the bequests heretofore made or that may hereafter be made in this my last Will and Testament, in addition to the property she has heretofore received from me.

8th. I give and bequeath to my beloved Martha Vann, an equal dividant of my estate after the bequests heretofore made or that may

hereafter be made in this last Will and Testament, in addition to the property she has heretofore received from me.

9th. I give and bequeath to my son Clement Vann McNair the following property (to wit) The Negro Slaves for life named Moses, Amy and Riley; also six cows and calves and Stock Cattle to amount in all to twenty-six in number; also four or five horses; also sheep and hogs, household furniture, all to be equal in value to what my sons James and Nicholas McNair have had heretofore. Also the farm upon which Revd. H. G. Clauder now lives, together with a sufficiency of farming tools to work said farm, and also an equal dividend of my estate not heretofore requested.

10th. It is my will that my friends Samuel McConnel, together with my two sons James V. McNair and Nicholas B. McNair, be Executors of this my last will and Testament.

Signed, sealed and acknowledged to be my last Will and Testament, this 4th day of June 1836.

David McNair Seal

in presence of

Hamilton Bradford

David Cunningham

X (his mark)

On this 5th day of July 1836 I David McNair having considered the foregoing last Will and Testament made by myself and dated 4th June 1836 and attested by Hamilton Bradford and David Cunningham do now make this Codicil to the same—and whereas in the 3rd Bequest of said Will I gave to my beloved wife Delila Amelia McNair the farm on which I now live, or the valuation of the same if valued under any Treaty now made or which may be made, and since the date of said Will said farm has been valued by the Agents of government under the late Treaty to upwards of \$10,000 dollars, and the valuation made *sertain*, and being desirous that an equal distribution should be made previous to my heirs emigrating to the West, it is therefore my will that each of my children sons and daughters named in the foregoing Will, shall have one thousand dollars of said valuation in addition to the bequests heretofore made to them and my wife Delila Amelia McNair, to have the residue of said valuation, also to have a good new wagon and six horse team together with the gearing of same, also a good carriage and harness, I also wish her to have a negro man named Mack in place of George as she owns his wife, and that George be put up in the division of the balance of the negroes, also to have the bequests heretofore made to her, except the six thousand dollars devised to my six children.

I also confirm the 4th bequest of the foregoing will to my daughter Betsy only that each of her children named in said bequest to have their proportion of the same as they come individually of lawful age, it is also my will that my said daughter Betsy shall have a negro girl slave for life now in her possession named Hager during the life of my said daughter Betsy with a revision at her death, together with her increase, to her children.

It is also my will that my Executors shall sell all the property not named in the foregoing will which cannot be divided or removed to Arkansas with advantage hereby confirming every part of the foregoing will, except the alterations made in this codicil. I also wish my two sons in law William Rogers and David Vann added as Executors to this my last Will and Testament.

Signed, sealed and acknowledged to be my last Will and Testament
 on the day and date above David McNair Seal

In presence of

Lemuel Childers X (his mark)

Flemuel Childers

Cherokee Nation

New Echota

Personally appeared Lemuel Childers and Flemuel Childers before John Ridge President of the Committee designated in the late Treaty between the United States and the Cherokee Nation East of the Mississippi and after being duly sworn deposeth and saith—that they were requested by David McNair to witness the foregoing Will and Testament of him the said David McNair or the codicil to said will which confirms the said foregoing will on the day it bears date that he acknowledged it to be his last Will and Testament in their *presents*.

Flemuel Childers

Lemuel Childers X (his mark)

Sworn to and scribed to
 before me this 4th day
 of Sept. 1837

John Ridge Prest. Committee

In 1835, James Vann McNair, was living on Connesauga Creek, McMinn County, Tennessee. In the census of that year he listed in his household three quadroons, [one-fourth Cherokee by blood], three slaves, one white by intermarriage. There were a farmer, two readers of English, one weaver and one spinster (spinner).¹¹

At the Running Waters, Council Ground, Floyd County, Georgia on Monday, July 19, 1835, Archilla Smith introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, by the council of the Cherokee Nation, That in consideration of the poor condition of our people, the aged, the infirm of both sexes, men women, and children, that the present annuity of six thousand, six hundred and sixty-six dollars and sixty-seven cents, be now divided equally to the people, and to the poor particularly, as it is their money, accruing from old treaties with the United States. It is now a great many years since they have received the same.

James V. McNair of Connesauga was one of the 2,159 Cherokees who voted “no” against the resolution, and there is a note from the printer of the document saying that there were only 2,200 names in the list so it was defeated by a large majority.¹²

James Vann McNair was one of the Cherokees who developed the important salt industry in the Cherokee Nation West, for salt deposits were more numerous in this nation

¹¹Oklahoma Historical Society, “Cherokee Census of 1835,” p. 41.

¹²Senate Document, 25th Congress, 2d session, *Report from the Secretary of War . . . in relation to the Cherokee treaty of 1835*, pp. 397, 400.

than any other in the Indian Territory. In 1841, James Vann McNair and Joseph Vann represented the Saline District in the Cherokee National Council. McNair's wife was Eliza Childers.¹³

After the removal west, a place near the Spavinaw and Grand rivers was first occupied by a Cherokee, John Shepperd, who later sold it to Martin Miller, a white man with an Indian family. Another note in history states that "About 1838 Miller sold it to James McNair, a Cherokee of the Treaty Party. McNair dug for salt and found a supply of water, he constructed two furnaces and was engaged in making salt when the law of 1834 deprived him of the salt well."¹⁴

Affidavits concerning the salt well claimed by James McNair were made on January 24, 1849, by both McNair himself and T. L. Rogers. The affidavit by Rogers stated: "When witness first knew the place it was an Osage Reservation and occupied by a Frenchman living among the Osages." Rogers further testified that he never saw any signs of salt except in the bed of Grand River 150 yards from where McNair dug his well, and made his improvements.¹⁵

The Cherokee Council appropriated money on January 16, 1845, to pay the following citizens for improvements at salines taken under the Act of 1843: Big Cabin, \$266.00; Walter Webber's estate, \$417.50; Lewis Wilkerson, \$257.50; John Rogers, Senr., \$3,024.00; David Brown, \$1,068.63; James V. McNair, \$980.81; Thos. L. Rogers, \$2,891.25.

Another son of Captain David McNair was Nicholas Byers McNair who was living on the Hiwassee River, McMinn County, Tennessee, according to the Cherokee Census of 1835. There were three quadroons [one-fourth Cherokee by blood] in his household: "One farmer, 1 mechanic, 2 read English, one read Cherokee, 1 weaver, one spinster [spinner]." McNair owned a ferry boat and "4 slaves."¹⁶

Nicholas Byers McNair moved west to the new Nation, and became as associate justice of the Cherokee Supreme Court in 1847. His wife was Mary Rogers McNair, and their heirs were Nannie McNair, John, T. B., N. B. McNair, Jr., C. V. McNair. John McNair was administrator of his father's estate which consisted of a house and farm on Grand River, claim on Verdigris River and a number of notes on various people. The administrator's report was dated October 6, 1887

¹³ Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

¹⁴ Grant Foreman, "Salt Works in Early Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 10, No. 4, (December, 1932) p. 498.

¹⁵ Office Indian Affairs, "Claims of Estates of Bluford West and John W. West against Cherokee Nation." File No. 266. Part 2.

¹⁶ Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

(probably error for 1867), although the valuation of the property was made June 30, 1868.¹⁷

Martha McNair, daughter of Captain David McNair, married David Vann who served as treasurer of the nation in 1839, 1843, 1847 and 1851. He served as a delegate to Washington in 1843, 1846 and 1849. During the Civil War, he was enlisted in the company of Captain John Porum Davis, Second Cherokee Mounted Volunteers. He was killed by the "Pin Indians" on December 23, 1863.¹⁸

Elizabeth McNair—Captain David McNair's "beloved daughter Betsy,"—married first Jesse Bean and Later John Weir. Her sister, Mary McNair Vann married Clement Vann, and later became the wife of William Rogers.

Dr. Felix H. McNair was a son of James and Eliza Palmer McNair. His wife was Nancy Bushyhead of Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation. She was a daughter of the Reverend Jesse Bushyhead and his wife Elizabeth Wilkerson Bushyhead. Mrs. McNair was born July 14, 1843. Dr. McNair became a prominent physician in the Cherokee Nation. He was married in 1867 to Miss Bushyhead. His death occurred June 30, 1892. He left five children: Cora Archer who married William Buffington Wyly of Tahlequah; Felix Owen, Denis Bushyhead, and Carolyn Quarles who became the wife of James W. McSpadden of Tahlequah.¹⁹

The Indian Territory Medical Association held its first meeting in Muskogee on April 18, 1881, on the following day Dr. Felix McNair of Locust Grove was elected second vice-president. Among the members of the association enrolled at that meeting was Dr. F. H. McNair whose address was given as the Cherokee Orphan Asylum.²⁰

The Board of Education of the Cherokee Nation met December 17, 1875 and "... proceeded to enter into contract with Dr. F. H. McNair as Physician for the Orphan Asylum. Board agreeing to pay the sum of (\$800.00) Eight hundred dollars per annum in quarterly enstallments" The written contract was signed by each member of the Board,

¹⁷ Oklahoma Historical Society, "Cherokee Census of 1835."

¹⁸ Starr, *op. cit.*, pp. 295, 421; Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives, Cherokee Vol. 23, p. 59.

¹⁹ Starr, *op. cit.*, pp. 468, 137, 149, 292, 295, 149; Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation*, (Norman, 1938), p. 121.

²⁰ D. C. Gideon, *Indian Territory*, (New York and Chicago, 1901), p. 851. Caroline Quarles McNair was graduated in the class of 1903 from the Cherokee Female Seminary (Starr, *Op. Cit.*, p. 293); Dennis Bushyhead McNair was graduated from the Cherokee Male Seminary in 1902. Cora Archer McNair taught in the Baptist School, Goingsnake District and in the Cherokee Female Seminary from 1897 through 1900.—Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives, Cherokee Vol. 525. p. 57; Vol. 544. p. 32.

and it was placed in charge of W. A. Duncan to secure the signature of Dr. McNair.²¹

Thereafter warrants were issued to Dr. McNair through the years until the winter of 1887. In the Registration of Officers of the Cherokee Nation for November 1879 Dr. W. T. Adair was president of the Board of Medical Examiners which was composed of Doctors L. M. Craven and F. H. McNair.²²

In the Record of Marks and Brands, Saline District, August 2, 1864, Dr. McNair's cattle brand was No. 69: "Crop off left ear & swallow fork in the right."²³

On November 10, 1888, a lease was issued to F.H.McNair, John Wilkerson, and Gano Powell to mine for stone coal for ten years in Cooweescoowee District, under the name of F. H. McNair & Co. The sureties were Jesse Cochran, of Locust Grove, B. W. Alberty, R. M. Wolfe and H. T. Landrum.²⁴

F. H. McNair subscribed to the following document on October 1, 1881 in the presence of Robert L. Owen and J. Pausset as witnesses:²⁵

Know all men by these presents, that I, Felix H. McNair party of the first part, do hereby bargain and convey to Nan McNair my wife, party of the second part, all and singular of my property, including cattle, mules, horses, houses, farms, farming implements, bonds, claims of all kinds and so forth, excepting nothing whatever. The consideration of which conveyance is as follows—the natural love of the party of the first part for party of second part, the natural fear that in case of death my estate may be unjustly taken from my wife and children by fraudulent claims, and for the further consideration that said Nan McNair party of the second part shall educate our common children and care for them till of age.

On August 26, 1892 the property and effects belonging to the estate of F. H. McNair, deceased, late of Saline District, Cherokee Nation, were appraised by R. B. Sixkiller, Stephen Foreman and J. M. Ross and sworn to before H. C. Ross, Judge of the District Court.

The property consisted of²⁶ house, farm and improvements valued at \$2,000.00; 954 bushels of wheat at thirty cents per bushel; 150 head of hogs; nineteen head of horses and mules

²¹ Fred S. Clinton, M.D. "The Indian Territory Medical Association," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Vol. 26, No. 1. (Spring, 1948), pp. 25. 38.

²² David Rowe presided at the meeting; executive councillors were John Cookston and Johnson Spade; commissioners A. W. Timberlake and J. R. Vann.—Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives, Cherokee Vol. 512, p. 10.

²³ *Ibid.*, Vols. 563, 566: 590, pp. 275a, 105. Dr. McNair was succeeded in office by Dr. Burr of Chouteau who resided near the Orphan Asylum in the building known as the Dr. Ross place—*Ibid.*, Volume No. 513, p. 157.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 178, p. 9.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 336, p. 26.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 168, p. 6.

and eight pieces of farming machinery the whole valued at \$3656.20.²⁷

According to S. W. Ross three members of early graduating classes at the National Male Seminary, Cherokee Nation, in the early fifties of the last century became physicians. They were Doctor Walter T. Adair, William C. Campbell and Felix H. McNair. "They studied and were graduated from the Missouri Medical College at St. Louis, and practiced among the Cherokees for many years."²⁸

Clement Vann McNair was the youngest child of David McNair and his wife Delilah. He served his nation in several capacities having been solicitor of Saline District in 1841, 1842. He was elected senator from his district in 1845 and 1847.

Acting Principal Chief George Lowrey issued a call for a special session of the National Committee and National Council to meet on February 3, 1846.²⁹

The chief delivered a message representing that measures were on foot by representatives of the Treaty Party "to affect materially the government and condition of the Cherokees." And with the consent of the legislative body he appointed Rev. Stephen Foreman, Clement V. McNair, members of the National Committee, and John Thorn, judge of the circuit court additional members to proceed to Washington and join the delegation there for the purpose of protecting the integrity of the Cherokee Nation in its negotiations with the Federal government.³⁰

When the treaty between the United States and the Nation was ratified in Washington on August 8, 1846, Clement V. McNair was one of the signers along with John Ross, Stand Watie, David Vann, Stephen Foreman, Richard Taylor and T. H. Walker.³¹

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 106, p. 3.

²⁸ Cherokee Citizenship Roll 456, p. 22, for Saline District, 1880 (Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives) includes the following names and facts on five members of the McNair family, Native Cherokees:

McNair, F. H.	N. Cher.	45	M
McNair, N. S.	N. Cher.	55	F
McNair, Lizzie	N. Cher.	10	F
McNair, Edward	N. Cher.	4	M
McNair, Cora	N. Cher.	2	F

²⁹ Oklahoma Historical Society, "Indian Pioneer History," Foreman Collection, Vol. 43, p. 41. According to Mrs. Carolyn McNair McSpadden (James W.) of Tahlequah, her father served in the Confederate Army as a surgeon.

³⁰ Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, (Norman, 1934), p. 345.

³¹ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Early History of Webbers Falls," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Winter 1951-52), p. 464. According to Emmet Starr, McNair was an associate justice of the Supreme Court in 1851.

The first wife of Clement McNair was Susannah Martin, daughter of Judge John Martin, first treasurer and later illustrious first chief Justice of the Cherokee Supreme Court. His second spouse was Mrs. Martha Ann (Childers) Smith whom he wed in California.

During the Gold Rush in 1850, a party was headed by McNair from the Grand Saline as far as Cache La Poudre River, Colorado, where he resigned command to Thomas Fox Taylor. Early in the journey to California emigrants discovered that they had commenced their trek too early for the grass to support their horses and McNair's company camped on the far side of the Verdigris River. This outfit had adopted a constitution at their camp on Elk Creek, April 29, with McNair as captain; when Fifteen Mile Creek was reached the secretary, John H. Wolf, proclaimed the rules and regulations that were to govern during the trip west. McNair was authorized to decide the time and manner of travel; to see that all rules were enforced. On May 6, the party was enlarged by the arrival of twenty-three more Cherokees and forty white men. Three days later twenty-one more men joined the outfit and all came under the command of McNair. On May 26, Cherokee Captain Thomas F. Taylor's company asked to join McNair's company and three days later he was elected first lieutenant. While the party was encamped on Cache La Poudre River in June McNair resigned command and was succeeded by Taylor.³²

On July 26 the "Journal" of this expedition states: "Today we lay Bye. McNair being unable to travel" He had been reported ill the previous day. He was still ill at camp 50 on August 15 and on August 20 the journal reads: "This morning a Separation took place in the Company of C. V. McNair, May's & Martin's messes accompanied by Dr. Barker & his men separated themselves from Capt. Taylor's Co. . . ."³³

In the spring of 1932 the handsome McNair house was destroyed by a tornado and the havoc was so great that the house was torn down in 1933. "Tennessee and Georgia too,

³² The "Journal" of this expedition en route to California in 1850, was kept by John Lowrey Brown, of the Cherokee Nation, giving day by day entries. This "Journal of John Lowrey Brown," transcribed from the original notebook and annotated by Muriel H. Wright, was published in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII, No. 2 (June, 1934), pp. 177-213. The route of this expedition, which became known in Colorado and west as the "Cherokee Trail," is mentioned by Dr. Grant Foreman in his "Early Trails through Oklahoma." *ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 2 (June, 1925), pp. 110-12. Dr. Foreman makes mention of this trail and expeditions west in *Marcy and the Gold Seekers* (Norman, 1939), pp. 100, 101-04.—Ed.

³³ Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 197, 205.

are poorer by the destruction of the McNair house. It was the most interesting of all the Cherokee homes on account of the handsome house, the cemetery, and the broad, fertile, picturesque acres.'³⁴

³⁴ Beeson, *op. cit.*, pp. 398-99. This article from which extracts have been taken is one of the most interesting that has appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. The Cherokees are greatly indebted to Mrs. Beeson for her research and also for the handsome pictures of Cherokee mansions which accompany her article.

The McNair graves have been preserved: "The long neglected graves in the middle of the pasture were restored in 1907 by members of the Chief Standingdeer Tribe which is a group of white and Indian friends of the late Chief Standingdeer of the Cherokee Indian Reservation in North Carolina. The 'Tribe' was organized for the purpose of placing a memorial marker at his grave on the reservation. This marker was dedicated in 1957."—Gertrude Ruskin, "Historic Graves Preserved," *Georgia Magazine*, Decatur, Georgia, Vol. II, No. 6 (June-July, 1958), p. 27.

OKLAHOMA HISTORIC SITES SURVEY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was assigned the duties of acquiring, maintaining, preserving, marking and cataloging historic sites in the state by the 26th Legislature (1957) through *House Bill No. 573*. In discharge of these responsibilities, a survey of historic sites over the state has been made under the direction of the Oklahoma Historic Sites Committee, appointed by the President of the Historical Society at that time, General William S. Key, members of which were George H. Shirk, Chairman, Thomas J. Harrison, R. G. Miller, Henry B. Bass, Miss Genevieve Seger, James Bullard, Don E. Baldwin, Mrs. Grant Foreman, Dr. T. L. Ballenger, Elmer L. Fraker and Miss Muriel H. Wright.

A preliminary list of 512 historic sites was prepared first in the Editorial Department of the Society, to which additions and modifications suggested by Committee members and others have been added in completing the survey presented in the Autumn, 1958, number of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*.

The Historic Sites Committee, of which Dr. James D. Morrison is the present chairman, contemplates further study of this survey relating to legal descriptions of the sites, easements, other legal details and additional pertinent data. There will also be a study of the sites to be acquired by the Oklahoma Historical Society and the needs for their preservation.

The Committee is aware that the acquisition of a site must be accompanied by the recognition of the responsibility for preservation and maintenance; and any listing of contemplated acquisitions must be in two categories, those which by their nature involve future obligations for maintenance and those which do not.

The survey lists 550 sites by counties, given in alphabetical order, and is presented here by the Historic Sites Committee for the use and guidance of members of the Oklahoma Historical Society and other societies, local historical groups, historians, and all others interested in the preservation of historic sites in Oklahoma.

—The Editor

OKLAHOMA HISTORIC SITES

ADAIR COUNTY

1. Going Snake's Grave, 1½ mi. east of Ballard, noted Cherokee before 1850. Also Going Snake Court House, Going Snake District, Cherokee Nation, 2nd site, 4 mi. west of Westville. (Sec. 33, T 18 N, R 25 E).
2. "Bread Town"—Baptist Mission, Cherokee Nation, 1839, about 3 mi. N. Westville. (Sec. 13, T 18 N, R 25 E).
3. "Going Snake Massacre" in April, 1872; site 9 mi. S. W. Westville—near Christie and near site of 1st Going Snake Court House, Cherokee Nation. (SE¼ of Sec. 18, T 17 N, R 25 E).
4. Site of assassination of Major Ridge, 1839, 4½ mi. E. Baron, near Arkansas Line and Snake Mt.
5. Duncan O'Bryant's Grave—Baptist Missionary—D. 1834—,founded "New Hope Baptist Mission," 1832; site of grave in Sec. 4, T 16 N, R 26 E., N. W. Piney School.
6. Flint Post Office (first site) in SE Sec. 20, T 16 N, R 25 E. 1846.
7. Flint Post Office (2nd site) Masonic Lodge at Dannenburg's place N.W. edge of Stilwell.
8. Fairfield Mission—2 mi. S.W. Lyons (NE¼, Sec. 35, T 15 N, R 24 E).
9. Bitting Spring, Old Mill, about 9 mi. N.W. of Stilwell. (Sec. 16, T 16 N, R 24 E.)
10. Scott Cemetery—old Cherokee burial customs—about 5 mi. S.W. Lyon's Cemetery, near present schoolhouse.
11. Fort Wayne, 1st site just east of Watts, 1838 (Sec. 19, T 19 N, R 26 E). (Fort moved N. to edge Beattie's Prairie, Delaware Co.)
12. Old Bryan House. Col. Joel M. Bryan. 7 mi. E. of Stilwell (1883).

ALFALFA COUNTY

1. Drum Ranch, about 6½ mi. N.E. Cherokee, east side of Medicine River, Cherokee Strip Livestock Association Hdqtrs.
2. Great Salt Plains—George Sibley Expedition—1811, on State Highway 11, about 2 mi. E. of present Cherokee.
3. Cherokee Strip Opening, 1893, booth on Kansas Line S.W. Kiowa. Kansas. Registration of entrants for "M" Co., old Woods Co.
4. Eagle Chief Pool—Cattlemen, 1883, vicinity of Carmen and N., one of largest cattle pools leased by Cherokee Strip Livestock Association.
5. Stella Friends Academy—site 3 mi. E. of Ingersoll, or about 3 mi. N. and 2 mi. E. of Cherokee.
6. Kiowa-Hennessey Cattle Trail, vicinity Cherokee, early 1890's.

ATOKA COUNTY

1. Capt. Atoka's homeplace, 12 mi. E. of Atoka (county first named 1854,) in Choctaw Nation.
2. Waddell's Station on Butterfield Overland Mail Route, 2½ mi. S.W. of Wesley, 1858; also known as "Roger's Station" after Civil War (John Penn Rogers—Cherokee) or "Old Beale Place." SW¼ Sec. 10, T 1 N, R 13 E.
3. Geary's Station, 1858, on Butterfield Mail Route; site 2 mi. S.W. of Stringtown. (SE¼ Sec. 19, T 1 S, R 12 E.)
4. Choctaw Court House at Atoka about 2 blocks S.W. of old bridge on Muddy Boggy Creek; old Atoka County, Choctaw Nation, 1867.
5. Confederate Cemetery, marking site of Confederate Camp and site Civil War battle, 1864; site E. side U. S. 69 at parkway north of Muddy Boggy bridge, and about 100 yards south on wooded ridge, old graves; just north of Atoka. (NE¼ Sec. 11, T 2 S, R 11 E).

6. Old Boggy Depot, site of town in Choctaw Nation 1837; Butterfield Stage Station, 1858-61; S.W. Atoka about 14 mi. (Sec. 1, T 3 S, R 9 E.)
7. Charles LeFlore homeplace, 1880's; site N. Limestone Gap, U. S. Highway 69-75. (NE of Sec. 31, T 2 N, R 13 E); LeFlore noted Choctaw, member U. S. Indian Police.
8. First Oil Well drilled for discovery of oil in Oklahoma, "Old Faucett Well," 1885-88; west side of Clear Boggy Creek. (Sec. 8, T 2 S, R 9 E).
9. Grave of "Uncle Wallace" Willis, Negro slave, composer of "Swing Low Sweet Chariot," etc., unmarked in Negro cemetery about 1½ mi. S. Wilson School house. (See Spencer Academy in Choctaw County.)

BEAVER COUNTY

1. Pedro Vial (French in Spanish govt. employ) encampment^t 1793, on Beaver Creek, vicinity of Dombey, en route to mark possible road to Santa Fe from St. Louis.
2. Benton County Banner—newspaper 1888—at Benton (ghost town) county seat of Benton Co., Cimarron Terr., 6 mi. W. and 6½ S. of Knowles.
3. Lawrence Friends Academy, 1905 or "Gate Academy," 3 mi. E., 2 mi. N. of Gate. (NE¼ Sec. 26, T 5 N, R 28 E.)
4. Presbyterian Church, first church in N. W. Oklahoma, 1886 (Presbyterian) at Beaver City.
5. Neutral City, ghost town, in Cimarron Terr., site 2 mi W. of Gate. (SW¼ NW¼ Sec. 6, T 4 N, R 28 E.)
6. Indian Camp Grounds on old Indian Trail, N. Dakota to Western Oklahoma, used by early Cheyenne; one site 4 mi. N. of Gate, U. S. Highway 64; and a second site 5 mi. N. of Gate (important site, many artifacts found here).
7. Jim Lane's house and trading store (soddie) built in 1880; standing at Beaver, and housing a museum.

BECKHAM COUNTY

1. Old Greer County (Texas) 1860 included this county.
2. Elk City oil field, deepest producing oil and gas wells in state.
3. Soldier Spring, on Texas Cattle Trail to Dodge City, 1870's & 1890's; camp ground site 13 mi. E. Sayre.
4. Crossing of Ft. Sill to Ft. Elliott post road, 1875-90, at mouth of Sweetwater Creek.
5. John Powers' cattle ranch at mouth of Sweetwater Creek, 1880.
6. Boyd ranch headquarters at mouth of Timber Creek, 1881, east of Sayre.
7. Ikard and Harrold line camp for cattle range, 1880, at mouth of Deep Creek, east of Sayre.

BLAINE COUNTY

1. "Cantonment on the Canadian" U. S. Army post, 1879, established by Richard I. Dodge: 2½ mi. W. and 2 mi. N. of Canton. (NW¼ Sec. 29, T 19 N, R 13 W.)
2. Jesse Chisholm's Grave—4½ mi. E. of Greenfield (SW¼ Sec. 32, T 15 N, R 10 W).
3. Salt Springs on upper course of Salt Creek, worked by Jesse Chisholm after Civil War; location SW¼ Sec. 23, T 18 N, R 12 W.
4. Home of Chief Roman Nose, site in NW¼ Sec. 24, T 17 N, R 12 W.
5. Whirlwind Mission, Episcopal for Cheyenne Indians, 1897, site in SE¼ Sec. 32, T 15 N, R 13 W. Whirlwind Cemetery north of Mission site.
6. Bird (or Bard) Springs on Ft. Reno-Ft. Supply Road, now undated; location in SE¼ of Sec. 6, T 19 N, R 13 W.

BRYAN COUNTY

1. Fort Washita, 1842, N.W. corner of county, on State Highway 199, and 3 mi. W. of junction with State Highway 78; 14 mi. N.W. Durant. (W $\frac{1}{2}$ Sec. 22, T 5 S, R 7 E.)
2. Fort McCulloch, 1862; site about 3 mi. S.W. Kenefick, S. side of Blue River. (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 7, T 5 S, R 9 E.)
3. Nail's Crossing, 1858 and earlier; Butterfield Stage Station, 1858, E. side of Blue River, 2 mi. S.W. Kenefick. (SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 7, T 5 S, R 9 E.)
4. Carriage Point, known as "Fisher's Station" on Butterfield Route, 1858; site about 4 mi. W. of Durant, on prairie at head of Mineral Bayou. (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 34, T 65, R 8 E.)
5. Boiling Springs, 3 mi. W. of Carriage Point or Fisher's Station site, and S. of Mead 3 mi.; site of court ground and church, Chickasaw Nation, dating from 1850's.
6. Colbert's Ferry early 1850's and Butterfield Stage crossing (1858-61) on Red River, 3 mi S.E. Colbert just below old bridge which was famous in Murray Red River Bridge War, 1932. (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 31, T 8 S, R 8 E.)
7. Old Cemetery at Caddo, E. of town, graves dated 1870's.
8. Mount Pleasant Mission, Presbyterian Church, Rev. C. C. Cope-land, founder, 1849; site 14 mi. E. of Caddo. (Sec. 6, T 5 S, R 12 E.)
9. Armstrong Academy, 1843, Capitol Choctaw Nation, 1863-83; site and few ruins 3 mi. N. and E. of Bokchito. (NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 12, T 6 S, R 11 E.)
10. Old Presbyterian Church, 1855, about 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ mi. N. of Bennington; residence just E. of church is original home of Rev. C. C. Cope-land who founded the church
11. *Chish Oktok*, noted Presbyterian Church, Indian Presbytery 1854; site about 6 mi. S.E. of Bennington. (Sec. 19, T 7 S, R 13 E.)
12. Site of Bloomfield Seminary, Chickasaw Nation, established 1852; site about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. S. Achille; in woods on hill in field south $\frac{1}{4}$ mi. is cemetery and noted Holmes Colbert's grave. (NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 8, T 9 S, R 9 E.)
13. Judge Kemp's (Chickasaw) home, pre-Civil War, two-story log house, in vicinity of Kemp.
14. Providence Baptist Church, second site, at Blue, first founded near old Rose Hill (Choctaw County) 1837, S. W. of Hugo.
15. Oklahoma Presbyterian College, at Durant, 1890's.
16. "Robbers Roost" noted place, site about 1 mi. N. Silo, in a "break" in hills.

CADDO COUNTY

1. Rock Mary, 5 mi. S. Hydro, in Mound Township, named by Capt. Marcy's California Expedition, 1849. (NW Sec. 30, T 12 N, R 12 W.)
2. Pacific R. R. Survey, 1853, Whipple Expedition Camp 27, north of Cogar.
3. Fort Cobb, U. S. Military Post, established by Maj. Wm. H. Emory, First Cavalry, Oct. 1, 1859; site 1 mi. E. City of Fort Cobb. (NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 12, T 7 N, R 12 W.)
4. Old Wichita Agency, first site 1859 N. Washita River; site 4 mi. E. Fort Cobb. (NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 2, T 7 N, R 11 W.)
5. Black Beaver's Grave $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. N.W. Anadarko, 1880, near home site of this famous Delaware Indian Scout.
6. Wichita Agency (2nd site (1870-78) 2 mi. N. Anadarko; Battle of Wichita Agency or "Anadarko Affair," August 1874; site N. of Washita River).
7. Kiowa Agency, 1878; site 1 mi. N. Anadarko; now in Anadarko in the Anadarko Area Indian Office.

8. Wichita Sub-Agency, near Binger, 1895.
9. Camp McIntosh, 5 mi. E. Anadarko, Confederate Army Camp, 1861-65; on site of Mautame Mission (Presbyterian) 1888. (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 17, T 7 N, R 9 W.)
10. Riverside Indian School, 2 mi. N. Anadarko, 1871 to present, on U. S. Highway 281.
11. Methodist Mission Church, Rev. Methvin, 1887, in Anadarko.
12. St. Patrick's Mission, Catholic, 1892 to present, 1 mi. S.W. Anadarko.
13. Carither's Mission, Presbyterian; site 6 mi. S.W. Apache, 1890 to present.
14. Baptist Mission and church, 1890 to present, 4 mi. N. Anadarko. "Rock Branch Baptist Church."
15. Old Keechi Village, near Keechi Hills 10 mi. S.E. Anadarko, on old maps, 1859.
16. "Tonkawa Massacre," 1862, in Tonkawa Township, 4 mi. S. Anadarko, a Civil War battle. (S $\frac{1}{2}$ Sec. 36, T 6 N, R 10 W.)
17. Masonic Lodge, July, 1884, first in Oklahoma Territory, at Anadarko, now Lodge No. 21 in Oklahoma.
18. Caddo Indian Cemetery, many graves 6 mi. S. E. of Binger on Grace Adkins Allotment (Caddo tribal rolls).

CANADIAN COUNTY

1. Darlington Agency established by Brinton Darlington, Quaker Agent, 1870; site 6 mi. N.W. El Reno. Old Building here now used as State quail hatchery. (NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 25, T 13 N, R 8 W.)
2. Fort Reno. U. S. troops in vicinity 1874; first buildings on post site and named in 1876; cemetery W. El Reno, 1874.
3. Frisco, 1899, now ghost town; site 3 mi. N. and 1 mi. W. Yukon.
4. "Caddo" George Washington's Home, south side Canadian River Sec. 34, T 11 N, R 8 W.); and ford on Fort Sill to Fort Reno military road 1880's.
5. Concho Indian School at Caddo Springs, 1880 to present; Cheyenne Sub-Agency here and site of Seger Indian School, 1872.
6. Chisholm Trail 1869-89, traces near Piedmont, and other places.
7. Sand Hill Fight. U. S. troops and Cheyenne Indians 1874, near N. Canadian River vicinity of Darlington and future Fort Reno.
8. North Canadian River Bridge, Feb. 1886; site of first bridge on military road Darlington to Fort Reno (part of Old Chisholm Trail), completed by troops from Fort Reno under Col. E. V. Sumner, Jr. This bridge was substantial structure and pride of the Army.

CARTER COUNTY

1. Old "701" Ranch, first house on site of Ardmore early 1880's.
2. Tussy, located early 1880's; postoffice 1890, N.W. corner of County, named for cattleman.
3. Healdton, oil field and home of Charles Hobart Heald, 1880.
4. "Indianola Business College," established early 1890's at Ardmore; main building now Negro high school, N.E. Ardmore; boys of prominent white and Indian citizens attended this Business School, J. M. Rudisill, Pres.
5. Carter Seminary, Ardmore, named for Hon. Charles D. Carter, Congressman from 3rd Dist. for 20 years. This Indian School is operated today, as outgrowth of "Bloomfield Academy" (estab. 1852, see Bryan Co.). Carter Sem. established 1917 when Chickasaw government purchased buildings of old Hargrove College (established by Methodists at Ardmore, 1895) on present site.

CHEROKEE COUNTY

1. Cherokee Capitol at Tahlequah, erected by order of Cherokee Council 1867, and completed early 1870's. Tahlequah site of signing of Cherokee Constitution, 1839, and designated by Cherokee Council as capital of the Nation in 1841.
Other historical buildings at Tahlequah and sites include:
 - (a) Cherokee Supreme Court building erected 1844, standing, housed printing press of *Cherokee Advocate*, first newspaper in Oklahoma, 1844.
 - (b) Cherokee National Prison, building standing, erected 1874.
 - (c) Presbyterian Mission School, 1890, now houses Cumberland Presbyterian Church.
 - (d) Old Methodist Church, replica of Sehon Chapel (see below) and built of same bricks, 1888.
 - (e) Baptist Mission site, established here 1867 by Rev. Evan Jones and his son, John B. Jones—first building stood about 100 yards N. of present Tahlequah High School, and second building of brick was on site of this High School.
 - (f) Bacone College, established 1880, by Rev. Almon C. Bacone. Started in the building that had been recently occupied by the late W. Buff Wyly. Known first as "Indian University." Moved to Muskogee 1882, and named Bacone College.
2. Illinois Camp Grounds, 1839, site of convention Eastern and Western Cherokees, 1½ mi. S.E. Tahlequah.
3. Park Hill Mission, 1836, Park Hill Press here and Worcester Cemetery, at Park Hill 3 mi. S. Tahlequah. (SW¼ Sec. 22, T 16 N, R 22 E.)
4. Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851, site ½ mi. N.E. Park Hill. (SW¼ Sec. 15, T 16 N, R 22 E.)
5. Cherokee Male Seminary, 1852, site 2½ mi. N.W. Park Hill. NE¼ Sec. 5, T 16 N, R 22 E.)
6. Mission at Forks of the Illinois, 1829 (A. B. C. F. M.); site 3 mi. E. Park Hill.
7. Cherokee Agency, 1853, 3 mi. N.W. Tahlequah. (NW¼ Sec. 19, T 17 N, R 22 E.)
8. Riley's Chapel, Methodist, 1844, on site of Balentine home, 2 mi. S.E. Tahlequah.
9. Murrell House ("Hunter's Home"), 1844, standing ½ mi. S. Park Hill. (NW¼ Sec. 22, T 16 N, R 22 E.)
10. Chief John Ross Home ("Rose Cottage"), 1840's; site ½ mi. S.E. Park Hill.
11. Old Ross Cemetery—about ½ mi. from site of Ross Home. Here is grave of Chief John Ross. (NW¼ Sec. 23, T 16 N, R 22 E.)
12. Cherokee Training School, buildings 5 mi. S. Tahlequah, 1903.
13. Sehon Chapel, Methodist, 1 mi. E. Park Hill, 1850's.
14. Hinton House built by an Old Settler Cherokee (ca. 1840's), purchased by Chief John Ross for one of his daughters. House standing near Murrell House, *q. v.*, on left side of road.
15. Springplace Mission established by Moravian Church 1838. Old walled spring and mission graves several yards east of spring to be seen. Site south of Adair-Delaware Co. line (and S.W. of Oaks in Delaware Co.). (NE¼ Sec. 5, T 19 N, R 22 E.)

CHOCTAW COUNTY

1. Goodland Mission (Presbyterian, U. S.), 1848 to present (A. B. C. F. M.) in Choctaw Nation, 2 mi. S.W. Hugo.
2. Rose Hill, site 3 mi. S.E. Hugo 1844, home of Robert M. Jones, noted Choctaw planter; old cemetery here.

3. Goodwater Mission, Choctaw Girls' School, 1842, S.E. part of County; site about 4 mi. W. Frogville. Old mission cemetery and missionary graves (1848) to be seen near site of school.
4. Fort Towson, established by Col. Matthew Arbuckle 1824; site of this U. S. Post about 1 mi. N.E. Town of Ft. Towson.
5. Doaksville, 1830's, site W. edge of Ft. Towson; old cemetery here. Grave of noted David Folsom, Choctaw chief, and other old graves here.
6. Choctaw Chief's House, Choctaw Nation, (ca.) oldest building standing in Oklahoma dating from about 1832. Part of 2 story log house standing $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. N. and $1\frac{1}{2}$ mi. E. Swink.
7. Choctaw Ration Station, out of Ft. Towson, 1831-34; site near the "Witch Hole" about 2 mi. S. Swink and near old landing place (site) for corn shipped up Red River by Army.
8. Old Spencer Academy established 1841, Choctaw boy's school; cemetery missionary graves, on ridge about $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. W. of school site, 9 mi. N. Sawyer. SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 6, T 5 S, R 19 E. (It was on Spencer Academy grounds that "Uncle Wallace" Willis and his wife, Negro slaves, first sang his song "Swing Low Sweet Chariot," etc., in early 1850's. See Atoka County, 9.)
9. New Spencer Academy, 2nd site, 1883; site about 7 mi. N. Soper.
10. Living Land Presbyterian Church, 1856; cemetery of Hotchkin family, on Red River about $2\frac{1}{2}$ mi. S.E. of Bluff. (Sec. 31, T 7 S, R 16 E).
11. Mayhew, old site on Mayhew Creek in SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 6, T 6 S, R. 14 E; First post office established here February 5, 1845, Charles F. Stewart, post master and owner of store; graves in old cemetery date from 1850's. New site of Mayhew is west in SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 1, T 6 S, R 13 E; Mayhew court ground, Jackson County (1886), Choctaw Nation, was here, and last court house is standing.
12. Old water mill on Kiamichi River, site in vicinity of Sawyer, 1820's, north of present Kiamichi River bridge on U. S. Highway 70.
13. Providence Mission, Baptist 1837, site at or near "Rose Hill" home of Col. Robert M. Jones, S. E. of Hugo.
14. Horse Prairie, west side of Kiamichi River, E. of "Rose Hill," location of Chief Nitakechi's house, Choctaw Nation, 1834.
15. Cole Nelson home; site near Nelson, prominent leader in Choctaw Nation before Civil War.
16. Spring Bluff, pre-Civil War, shown on early maps in Forks of the two Boggy Creeks, probably in N.W. Choctaw County.
17. Folsom Salt Works; Folsom settled at site 1836, $3\frac{1}{2}$ mi. E. and $2\frac{1}{2}$ mi. N. Boswell. (NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 35, T 5 S, R 14 E.)
18. Rock Chimney Ferry—east side of Kiamichi River near Sawyer; 2 old stone chimneys marked this ferry at old house built here long before Civil War; site is shown on old maps about 7 mi. W. of Doaksville (Sec. 25, T 6 S, R 18 E) now just N. of the bridge across the Kiamichi on U. S. Highway 70. This was the crossing of the river on the road from Doaksville to Boggy Depot. The old water mill (see 12 above) was near this ferry and house site.

CIMARRON COUNTY

1. Fort Nichols, established by Gen. Kit Carson, 1865; site with ruins 6 mi. E. of Oklahoma-New Mexico line on old Santa Fe Trail (Sec. 2, T 3 N, R 1 E.)
2. Santa Fe Trail, 1826 survey, northeast to southwest through County passes Fort Nichols' site.
3. Cold Spring, 10 mi. N. Boise City, on old Santa Fe Trail (Sec. 9, T 4 N, R 4 E.)
4. Autograph Rock near Cimarron River crossing on Santa Fe Trail, traces of which are immediately near the rock cliff carved with

names of those traveling the Trail, dating back to 1840's and 1850's. This carved, rock cliff is N.W. Boise City (6 mi. W. and 8 mi. N.), on present Gaylor Ranch, formerly "Cold Spring Ranch," in E $\frac{1}{2}$ NE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 8, T 5 N, R 4 E.

5. Original "101" Ranch site near and east of Kenton, 1870's.

CLEVELAND COUNTY

1. Washington Irving buffalo hunt and encampment in vicinity and east of Moore, 1832.
2. Irving Camp, 1832, site 15 mi. E. of Norman, on old abandoned Tecumseh-Norman Highway. D. A. R. historical marker for site is 1 mi. S. State Highway 9. (SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 27, T 9 N, R 1 E.)
3. Friend's Mission, "Big Jim Band" Shawnees, 1897; small church standing used as barn, 1 mi. W. of Cleveland-Pottawatomie County line and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. S. State Highway 9, "Little Axe Settlement."
4. Original site of Seminole Baptist Church, "Spring Church" John Jumper preacher, Seminole settlement pre-Civil War, on Buckhead Creek 7 or 8 mi. E. of Lexington (Church moved to near Sasakwa after War, see Seminole Co.)
5. Chouteau's Trading Post 1835 on Chouteau Creek—W. of U. S. Highway 77 about 3 mi. N. Lexington.
6. Camp Mason, 1835, E. U.S. Highway 77 about 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. N.E. Lexington.
7. Canadian River Bridge site of toll bridge 5 mi. from Purcell, authorized by Chickasaw Legislature and built in 1889; names of builders were prominent Chickasaw Citizens including W. L. Byrd, C. J. Grant, Samuel Paul, Samuel Garvin, Overton Love Osborn Fisher.
8. St. Elizabeth Mission, 1890, Catholic School at Purcell.
9. University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1890.

COAL COUNTY

1. First Coal mine in Lehigh field, about 1882 on Rev. Allen Wright farm claim at Midway.
2. Site of old homeplace of Principal Chief Ben Smallwood, Choctaw Nation, 1888-90, and his grave is in vicinity, west of Lehigh about 5 mi.
3. Gov. Palmer Mosely, Chickasaw Nation, site of home 1890's, E. of Bromide about 2 mi.
4. Greenwood Spring church in 1890's; at settlement of Chickasaws 1840's, near Gov. Palmer Mosely place E. of Bromide.
5. Telle Ranch, S.E. Olney, original Rev. Allen Wright Ranch, 1880.

COMANCHE COUNTY

1. Camp Comanche, Dragoon Expedition, 1834: site 2 mi. S. Comanche County line, on U. S. Highway 62.
2. Fort Sill, established Jan. 9, 1869, by Gen. Philip Sheridan; first called "Camp Wichita"; first Kiowa-Comanche Indian Agency here. Many local historic sites in vicinity mapped by Post Library, 1957.
3. Crossing on "14 Mile Beaver Creek," about 3 mi. S.W. Sterling; noted crossing on stream by early expeditions, Capt. R. B. Marcy (1852), etc.
4. Mission School (Dutch Reformed), 1890's, N. of Medicine Bluff Creek, about 8 mi. W. of site of old Fort Sill.
5. Fort Sill Indian School, 1871; located 1 mi. N.E. Lawton, in operation.
6. Meers mining camp, 1901; location about 5 mi. N. W. Medicine Park and N. of Mt. Sheridan.

7. Deyo Baptist Mission; site S. E. Cache, 1890's; old Indian and white cemetery near here East.
8. Geronimo's Grave (Apache Warrior), about 6 mi. N. E. of Fort Sill, just outside of military reserve, 1½ mi. E. of U. S. Highway 281.
9. Quanah Parker's Home at Cache, 1880's. House moved from site 1958).
10. Post Oak Mission (Mennonite), 1898; site 6 mi. N. W. Cache; old Cemetery and original site of Chief Quanah Parker's grave and that of his mother (graves moved to Fort Sill Cemetery, 1957).

COTTON COUNTY

1. Randlett, town platted in 1906, at opening of "Big Pasture" (Kiowa-Comanche lands) which included most of present Cotton County.
2. Ahpeatone, one of original towns platted in "Big Pasture," 1906; 13 mi. W. of Walters.
3. Devol community, one of original towns platted in "Big Pasture," 1906, located 7 mi. W. of Randlett.
4. Warren's Trading Post, 1840's on Red River; site E. side of mouth of Cache Creek, about 14 mi. S.E. Randlett. (SW¼ Sec. 8, T 5 S, R 10 W.)
5. Capt. R. B. Marcy Expedition to source of Red River, 1852, crossing of Cache Creek 1 mi. N. of site of Warren's Post.

CRAIG COUNTY

1. Willie Halsell College, 1891, site at Halsell and Thompson St., in Vinita.
2. Blue Jacket on State Highway 25; S.E. about 1 mi. is old Shawnee cemetery; name of Shawnee Indian family, descendants of noted Chief Blue Jacket, settled here 1869.
3. Old Military Road, Fort Gibson to Fort Leavenworth and Fort Scott traces 2 mi. W. of Ketchum, 1830's; site of stage stand, 1860's, and store, about ¼ mi. N.E. of Sulphur Spring crossing on Mustang Creek (NE¼ Sec. 27, T 24 N, R 21 E.), 2 mi. N.W. Ketchum.

CREEK COUNTY

1. "Euchee Boarding School," in Sapulpa, buildings now public school, erected 1894.
2. Site of home of Cosena Barnard, 1834, on present site of Slick; noted family of Yuchi tribe; his grave near here.
3. Yuchi tribal square grounds; one on Pole Cat Creek, near Kellyville, "Green Corn" ceremonial-dance ground.
4. Home of Jesse Allen, 5 mi. E. of Bristow, a descendant of Cosena Barnard and well known peace officer in early Oklahoma history.

CUSTER COUNTY

1. Arapaho Arrow Newspaper, printed in Cheyenne-Arapaho country, opened 1892; location at Arapaho.
2. Red Moon, Cheyenne Indian school and Sub-Agency, 1890's.
3. Southwestern Institute of Technology, formerly The Normal School established 1901, at Weatherford, by Territorial Legislature.
4. Pacific R. R. Survey, Whipple Expedition of 1853, encampments—Camp 29, S.E. Custer County, and Camp 30 near Arapaho.

DELAWARE COUNTY

1. Seneca Agency, 1832, first site, Agency established by Gov. Montfort Stokes (Sec. Car.), about 1½ mi. S.W. of Tiff City, Mo., on Buffalo Creek, W. of Oklahoma state line.

2. Splitlog Church, 1896, at Cayuga, about 9 mi. N. E. Grove; church of stone erected by Chief Mathias Splitlog, and his carriage house standing W. of big spring by county road.
3. Stand Watie's Home (on W. side of Grand River at time of death), family burial plot here; site on present "Monkey Island," peninsula of Grand Lake between two prongs of Lake, about 6 mi. W. of Grove.
4. Stand Watie's farm home on Honey Creek, 5 mi. S. and 1 mi. E. of Grove (NW $\frac{1}{4}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 33, T 24 N, R 24 E.)
5. Graves of Stand Watie and Major Ridge at Polson Cemetery, about 2 mi. N.W. Southwest City, Mo., and W. of Oklahoma state line. (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 28, T 24 N, R 25 E.)
6. Battle of Cowskin Prairie, June, 1862 (Ohio Cavalry vs. Gen. Stand Watie) about 2 mi. N.E. of Grove; Cherokee Emancipation Act 1863, approved in Cherokee Council this vicinity, Chief Thos. Pegg.
7. Fort Wayne, second (permanent) site, 1839; site 2 mi. west of Oklahoma line in Sec. 28, T 22 N, R. 25 E. Battle of Fort Wayne here, Oct. 22, 1862. Federal forces under command of Gen. Wm. Blunt defeated Gen. D. H. Cooper's Confederate troops.
8. Saline Courthouse, Saline District, Cherokee Nation, 1840's; site about 3 & $\frac{3}{4}$ mi. W. of Leach near Mayes County line. Saline Courthouse massacre here, 1897.
9. Beattie's Prairie, S. edge is location of J. P. Edmonson home and farm. (Cherokee), about $\frac{3}{4}$ mi. from site of old Fort Wayne; Edmonson was member of Oklahoma Constitutional Convention.
10. Danish Lutheran Church and Mission (SE Sec. 33, T 20 N, R 23 E.) established at Oaks in 1902, is outgrowth of Springplace Mission which was established in 1842 at site about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. S.W. of Oaks. (see Cherokee County for site of Springplace Mission.)
11. Dripping Springs, noted scenic site 2 mi. E. of present Flint P. O. 1898 (first called Beckwith); this was the third Flint Post Office.
12. Hildebrand's Mill. Post Office 1886. (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 24, T 20 N, R 24 E.)

DEWEY COUNTY

1. Texas Cattle Trail Crossing, 1871, to Dodge City 3 mi. W. Vici.
2. Ancient battle site (ca. Indians vs. white forces); site E. side of Canadian River (Sec. 31 & 32, T 17 N, R 17 W.) about 10 mi. S. of Taloga.
3. Amos Chapman grave in burial plot near his old home, E. of Selling. Early day cattleman and U. S. Deputy Marshal.

ELLIS COUNTY

1. Headquarters of "Box T" Ranch (Dominion Cattle Co.), 1884; site $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. E. of Texas line on U. S. Highway 60.
2. Battle of the Antelope Hills, 1858, between Texas Rangers and Comanches; site S. side Little Robe Creek (Sec. 6, T 17 N, R 26 W.)
3. Grand, ghost town, County Stat of old Day County ("E" County at opening of Cheyenne-Arapaho country), 1892. (SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 31, T 18 N, R 24 W.)

GARFIELD COUNTY

1. Buffalo Springs Stage Stand on Chisholm Trail; site $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. N. Bison.
2. Skeleton Ranch and Stage Stand on Chisholm Trail; site 1 mi. N. Enid.

GARVIN COUNTY

1. Fort Arbuckle, U. S. Military post established by Capt. R. B. Marcy, 1852; site $\frac{1}{4}$ mi. N. Hoover. (SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 25, T 1 N, R 1 W.)
2. Initial Point, 1870, all surveys in state except Panhandle made from here; stone marker 1 mi. S. site of Fort Arbuckle.
3. Harlan's Store at Caddo Spring, 1870's; site about 1 mi. N. White Bead Hill.
4. Pierce Institute, Methodist School, 1884; site about 1 mi. E. Caddo Spring.
5. Cherokee Town settled by band of Cherokees about time of Civil War; location of Dr. John Shirley who built first bridge here across Washita, 1869. (NE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 26, T 3 N, R 1 E.)
6. Erin Spring (first known as "Elm Spring") on road to Fort Sill; location of Frank Murray (cattleman), home standing.

GRADY COUNTY

1. First school in County opened by Mrs. Meta C. Sager, 1889, at old Silver City on Chisholm Trail; old cemetery near site; school moved to Minco, 1890, and later called El Meta Bond College.
2. Fred Store about 1874, first site at old rock crossing of Chisholm Trail and on N. side of Washita River, about 2 mi. S.E. Chickasha; moved on trail S. of River, 1881, about 2 mi. S. of Chickasha; Fred Post Office established 1884.
3. Camp Napoleon, 1865, Confederate Indian Council; site at Verden.
4. Battle of the Wichita Village, 1858; site about 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. S.E. Rush Springs; battle fought by Maj. Earl Van Dorn's U. S. troop against Comanches. (Sec. 1, T 3 N, R 7 W.)
5. Silver City, ghost town, site 2 mi. north of Tuttle.
6. Parr, ghost town, postoffice 1883, moved to Rush Springs 1893. (Sec. 1, T 3 N, R 7 W.)

GRANT COUNTY

1. Sewell's Ranch at "Round Pond" on Pond Creek; site just east of Sewell's Ranch Monument on Chisholm Trail, about 1 mi. S.E. Jefferson.
2. Cherokee Strip Opening, site of U. S. Registration Booth on Oklahoma-Kansas line (in vicinity of U. S. Highway 81); booth marked a point of entry in Run into Cherokee Outlet, 1893.

GREER COUNTY

1. Ft. Sill to Ft. Elliott (Texas) post road crossing of North Fork of Red River at Comanche Springs, 1875-90, located 5 mi. N.E. of Granite. Here, also was Ikard and Harrold line camp on cattle ranch, 1880.
2. "Jaybuckle Springs" old landmark, ranch headquarters for Haney-Handy-Powers-Murphy cattle, 1880, located at crossing of Elm Creek due north of present Reed.
3. "Z. V." Ranch, 1881, Ladessa community. John Ledbetter and W. B. Tullis cattle.
4. Mangum townsite platted by Henry C. Sweet, 1883, on Capt. A. S. Mangum land tract, and located on old Mobeetie Trail (across old Greer County to Mobeetie and Ft. Elliott), Texas; first post office established at Mangum, April 15, 1886; *Mangum Star* established here, October 13, 1887.
5. First public school in old Greer County, at Headquarter Mountain, 1888, near present Granite, funds for this school granted by State of Texas.
6. First election held in old Greer County (Texas) in 1884, at "Y Cross" Ranch headquarters for McNulty and Pope cattle, at mouth of Elm Creek and on small branch called "Y Cross Creek."

HARMON COUNTY

1. "T-Cross" Ranch, Sam Cross cattle, 1880, S. W. of Hollis in southwest corner of old Greer County.
2. "H-Y" line camp, Haney and Handy cattle, 1880, site due west of present Vinson, near present Texas line; later, Ikard and Harrold cattle in this ranch area.
3. Kiser's salt works on branch of Salt Creek, 1884, S. W. of present Madge.

HARPER COUNTY

1. Western Cattle Trail, or Dodge City Trail, from Texas to Kansas, 1874-1890's, crossed the county south to north. Traces of this Trail can be seen about 2 mi. W. of May, thence north. Doby Springs, originally Buffalo Springs, was well known watering place about 2 mi. E. of the Trail, and about 9 mi. W. of town of Buffalo. Traces of the Trail are visible at the Oklahoma-Kansas line, where a camp ground on the east side of Redoubt Creek was later called Yelton (W $\frac{1}{2}$ of Sec. 14, T 29 N, R 24 W.)

HASKELL COUNTY

1. Iron bridge footings on San Bois Creek, about 3 mi. S.W. Keota; iron bridge on U. S. Mail Route, erected 1859; site W. on creek W. of community known as "Ironbridge."
2. San Bois County, Choctaw Nation, present court house and jail, site 4 mi. E. and 1 mi. N. of Kinta; San Bois School site, established by Green McCurtain; his first home built here.
3. McKee King grave, and others in burial plot; he was Choctaw Delegate to Washington and prominent leader and member of Choctaw Council 30 years: date of death on tombstone 1882, about $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. S. of Kinta, on east side of country road.
4. Old Trail Seminoles from Florida 1835; California emigrants U. S. expeditions, etc., traces near McKee King burial plot, S. side of ridge $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. S. Kinta.
5. Pleasant Bluff (sometimes found "Pheasant Bluff"), present Tamaha on bluff, on Arkansas River, one of oldest permanent settlements in state; early traders, 1833 to 1850's—Robert M. Jones, Vore, Tandy Walker, etc., cemetery with recent graves, began early (Sec. 28, T 11 N, R 22 E.)

HUGHES COUNTY

1. Fort Holmes, 1834, U. S. Military post established by Lieut. T. H. Holmes; site at Bilby, about 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. S.E. Holdenville, east side State Highway 68, near R. R. crossing. (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 4, T 6 N, R 9 E.)
2. Edwards Store, 1835, site about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. S.W. Bilby, south side of Little River. (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 8, T 6 N, R 9 E.)
3. Oak Ridge Mission established by Rev. J. Lilley, 1848, Presbyterian, in Creek Nation; site about 3 mi. S.E. Holdenville, east side of present reservoir.
4. Levering Mission, 1880, school by Creek Council, and operated by Baptist Southern Association; site 3 mi. E. & 1 mi. N. of Wetumka; stone building stands here.
5. Shawnee Town, dating from about 1840; Shawnee settlement mentioned by Marcy (1849), Whipple (1853), etc.; in region E. from Allen; old graves in Indian burial ground 3 mi. N. of Allen on ridge, cedar trees, east side of Canadian River bend.

JACKSON COUNTY

1. Old Navajoe, town in old Greer County, Texas (now S.W. Oklahoma) established, 1886; *Buckskin Joe's Emigrant Guide* (1887) printed here; site near Navajoe Mountain, 9 mi. E. & 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. N. of Altus.

2. Doan's Crossing on Red River, Texas Cattle Trail to Dodge City, 1874; site about 8 mi. S. & E. of Hess, east bank of river.
3. Frazer, site located 2½ mi. west of Altus; first store opened here by Holt, 1885; and first post office in old Greer County established here on February 18, 1886.
4. "Nine Mile Spring" landmark on old Mobeetie Trail, 9 mi. N. of Doan's Crossing (No. 2 above); here was L. V. Eddleman ranch headquarters, early 1880's.

JEFFERSON COUNTY

1. San Bernardo, one of earliest towns in Oklahoma, named in 1778: French traders at old Caddoan Village (Wichita) dated from about 1750; site east bank of Red River about 1½ mi. S.W. of Petersburg.
2. Red River Crossing of Chisholm Trail, 1867 to 1889; site about 2½ mi. S.E. of Fleetwood.
3. Sugg Ranch, late 1870's to 1890's, on Chisholm Trail; large area about 5 mi. N. of Ryan; present Sugden was once headquarters for ranch.
4. Waurika, only town in Oklahoma located on 98th Meridian which marked west boundary of Chickasaw Nation, 1855 to 1907; first P. O. called Peery (1890), site about 1 mi. S.E. of Waurika (established 1901); second P. O. called "Moneka" 1895.
5. Addington Ranch, Chickasaw Nation, 1870's; area east of Addington into Carter County.
6. Branch of the Dona Ana Road (see Stephens Co.), established by Capt. R. B. Marcy in 1852, from Ft. Arbuckle (see Garvin Co.) to Ft. Belknap (Texas), crossed Jefferson County from a point 15 mi. N.E. of Addington to a point on Red River N.W. of Terral.

JOHNSTON COUNTY

1. First Chickasaw capitol buildings of logs, on present County Court House grounds, moved from first site on Gov. Harris's place at Emet; dates from 1854. Present County Court House was last Chickasaw capitol building, 1898, at Tishomingo.
2. Dragoon Crossing on Blue River at old Belton, State Highway 7, about 12 mi. W. of Wapanucka; Dragoon, or Leavenworth Expedition crossed here, 1834; this crossing is mentioned in later Chickasaw laws, as site on Texas Cattle Trail through eastern Chickasaw Nation.
3. Wapanucka Institute, Chickasaw girl's school, 1852; teacher, Mary Greenleaf's grave on ridge near building ruins; site south side Delaware Creek about 2½ mi. S.E. Bromide. (Sec. 9, T 2 S, R 8 E.)
4. Chickasaw Manual Labor School, 1850, operated by Methodist Church South, ("Robinson's Academy"); site about 2½ mi. S.E. of Tishomingo.
5. Harley Institute, established about 1888, Chickasaw boy's school; site about 1 mi. E. & N. Tishomingo (the building was country club in recent years).
6. Pleasant Grove Mission, Methodist, 1844; site W. of Emet: old well on site. Grave of Chief Jackson Frazier, Chief 1852-56. (SE¼ Sec. 15, T 4 S, R 7 E.)
7. Home of Gov. Douglas H. Johnston, built in 1890's "White House of Chickasaw Nation," at Emet; residence standing.
8. Home of Gov. Cyrus Harris, 1860's, part of house standing on Jack Penner's place west of Mill Creek about 2 mi.; Cyrus Harris served many terms as Governor of Chickasaw Nation, first term in 1858.

KAY COUNTY

1. Ferdinandina (ca. 1740's), French trading post at Caddoan Indian Village; first visited by Du Tisne 1719; site near Deer Creek 3 mi. E. & 2 mi. N. Newkirk.
2. Kaw Agency, later called Washunga, established 1873 on Kaw Indian Reservation; Kaw school building here.
3. Chilocco Indian Agricultural School, established 1883; school in operation near state line, about 8 mi. N. Newkirk.
4. Oakland, Tonkawa Indian Agency, established 1885; was Neze Perce Agency 1879; site west bank of Chikaskia River about 2½ mi. S.E. City of Tonkawa.
5. Rock Falls, Payne's Oklahoma Boomer town, 1883; "Oklahoma War Chief" printed here; site on west side of Braman Lake 4 mi. W and 2 mi. N. of Braman. (NE¼ Sec. 34, T 29 N, R 2 W.)
6. Kaw Indian allotment of late Charles Curtis, Vice-Pres. U. S. 1928-1932, in vicinity of Kaw Agency.
7. Camp Schofield, 1889, site of extensive field operations and summer training for U. S. troops. Site 3 mi. E. of Chilocco.

KINGFISHER COUNTY

1. Kingfisher Stage Station on Chisholm Trail, 1867-89; site S. side of Kingfisher Creek at west edge of City of Kingfisher and N. of Rotary Park.
2. Bullfoot Station on Chisholm Trail, noted water well, 1870's; site at S. edge of Hennessey.
3. Baker's Ranch on Chisholm Trail, attacked in last Indian Wars, 1874; became "Baker City" 1890; now ghost town; site ½ mi. W. from U. S. Highway 81, 4 mi. S. Hennessey.
4. Kingfisher College, 1890-1922, established by Congregational Church; site east of Kingfisher and 1 mi. N. roadside park.
5. Red Fork Ranch, 1870's, on Chisholm Trail; site near Dover.
6. Lincoln City, town settled 1889; now ghost town center of Negro settlement and old cemetery; site 7 mi. E. and 2 mi. S. of Dover.
7. Massacre of Pat Hennessey, freighter on Chisholm Trail to Kiowa Agency at Ft. Sill, and 3 of his men, on July 4, 1874, during last Indian wars. at site near his grave which may be seen in Hennessey Memorial Garden, at Hennessey.

KIOWA COUNTY

1. Dagoon Expedition (1834) to Wichita Village; site in Devil's Canyon on north side of North Fork of Red River, 3½ mi. S.E. Lugert.
2. Massacre of Cut-throat Gap, 1833, Kiowa and Osage battle; site on Otter Creek in "Cut-throat Gap," west of Saddle Mountain.
3. "Evans Christmas Day Battle," Dec. 25, 1868, Col. A. W. Evans, Third Cavalry vs. Comanche; also known as "Battle of Soldier Spring"; site north side of North Fork River, on east bank at Soldier Spring, about 4 mi. N. E. Devil's canyon.
4. Rainy Mountain School, 1895, Kiowa Indian school; site about 6 mi. S. Gotebo.
5. Camp Radziminski established by Maj. Earl Van Dorn, 1858; site 1½ mi. N. and 2½ mi. W. of Mountain Park. (NE¼ Sec. 16, T 3 N, R 17 W.)
6. Camp Davidson, outpost of Fort Sill, 1870's; detachment of U. S. troops guarding vs. cattlemen intruders; site on Otter Creek at old Radziminski Crossing.
7. Grave of Lone Wolf, Kiowa chief, Indian cemetery 4 mi. S. Hobart, (Sec. 27, T 6 N, R 18 W.)

LATIMER COUNTY

1. Choctaw Nation courthouse, Gaines County and Mosholatubbee District, 1850-1907; site 2½ mi. S. and 1 mi. E. of Panola (Sec. 21, T 5 E. R 20 N.); noted execution of Sylan Lewis here, under Choctaw law.
2. Rock Creek Baptist Church, organized 1860; original site 2½ mi. and 2½ mi. W. of Lodi; moved years later to present location on County road about 2½ mi. S. and 2 mi. W. of Red Oak.
3. Civil War Confederate camp and graves reported on Little Fourche Maline about 1 mi. E. of Panola.
4. Riddle Station on Butterfield Overland Mail Route, 1858; site near old Riddle Cemetery, 2 mi. E. of Wilburton at Lutie and on County road just south of U. S. Highway 270, on west side of Fourche Maline Creek. (Sec. 12, T 5 N, R 19 E.)
5. Holloway's Station on Butterfield Overland Mail route, 1858; site N.E. of Red Oak at east end of "the Narrows," about 5 mi. (SW¼ Sec. 24, T 6 N, R 21 E.)
6. Thomas Edward's Store, stop on Butterfield Overland Mail route, 1858; site about 5 mi. N.E. of the east end of "the Narrows," near north section line of Sec. 15, T 6 N, R 22 E. This was a stop for meals (not regular station), and original log house is standing. First post office for Red Oak here, 1868.
7. Mountain Station, 1867, tollroad privileges granted to Olasechubi by order of Choctaw Council; site at top of hill about 13 mi. S.W. Wilburton on county road; old cemetery E. across road from his house site which is marked by old chimney stones in woods.
8. Pusley's Station on Butterfield Overland Mail Route, 1858; site about 3 mi. S.W. of Higgins, south side of Gaines Creek, vicinity of New Hope District School. (NE¼ Sec. 25, T 4 N, R 17 E.)

LEFLORE COUNTY

1. Fort Coffee, garrisoned 1834-38; site on bluff on Arkansas River, about 6 mi. N. of Spiro; this became the noted Fort Coffee Boarding School for Choctaw boys, 1842, under auspices of Methodist Church; old burial ground at Fort Coffee Site, and original grave with stone marker "Maj. Francis Armstrong, 1835."
2. New Hope Seminary established for Choctaw girls, 1842; site 2¼ mi. E. of Spiro; old spring can be seen here; this was the site of first government school for Choctaws west (terms of Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty), in operation 1837, Wm. Wilson graduate Washington College, Pa., as superintendent, and listed as "Choctaw Agency School."
3. Choctaw Agency, 1832; site few hundred feet S.W. of old "Agency Spring" still in use on county road about 1¼ mi. E. of Spiro; Choctaw Agency building residence of Gov. Tandy Walker, Choctaw Nation, 1858, listed as "Walker's Station" on Butterfield Overland Mail Route, 1858-61; village here was Skullyville, later called Oak Lodge.
4. Capt. J. E. Reynolds stone residence built 1890, standing at east edge of Cameron.
5. Cameron Institute established, 1893, by Presbyterian Mission Board at Cameron; site about 300 yds. E. of old Reynold's residence.
6. Brazil Creek bridge and tollgate (privilege to McDaniel and James by Choctaw Council, 1858) on Butterfield Overland Mail Route, 1858-61; location S.W. of Panama 8 mi. and about ½ mi. N. of Brazil which was later a stage station on Ft. Smith to Boggy Depot Road.

7. Chief Mosholatubbee's home (1834) district Chief's house erected by U. S. under 1830 Treaty; site about 400 yards S. E. of old spring at Latham; Mosholatubbee's grave probably in old cemetery across the road from here, now in a field; here is tombstone standing at east edge of field, at grave of Judge James Trahern, Skullyville County before Civil War, died 1883. This site was "Trahern's Station," 1858-61, on Butterfield Overland Mail route. (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 32, T 8 N, R 24 E.)
8. Choctaw neighborhood "Pine Ridge" School, established by act of Choctaw Council, 1874; old building standing recently at Milton.
9. Bethel Mission school, Baptist, 1837, reported 8 mi. S.W. of Choctaw Agency; site probably S. of Panama, Cavanal (Old Cavernhole) Mountain region.
10. Bethlehem Mission School, Baptist, 1837; reported 25 mi. S.E. of Choctaw Agency; site in vicinity of present Monroe, near Sugar Loaf Mountain.
11. Jesse Riddle tollgate on Backbone Mountain, late 1860's; site in Sec. 31, T 9 N, R 26 E, on old Ft. Smith-Ft. Towson military road; Jesse Riddle's home on S. side of Backbone Mountain $\frac{1}{4}$ mi. from Mt. top. Civil War battle fought on the road near this mountain.
12. *Kulli Chaha* ("High Spring"), ghost town; first store here 1880; site near Arkansas line, about 6 mi. N. of Sugar Loaf Mountain; this was in Sugar Loaf County, Choctaw Nation.
13. Sugar Loaf County Courthouse, 1850-1907; old log house standing recently in vicinity of Conser (Sec. 5, T 4 N, R 25 E.); here is home (two-story, frame) of Peter Conser, Choctaw lighthorseman (1880-81) under Chief Jack McCurtain, and member of Capt. Charles LeFlore Indian police force, late 1880's; Courthouse on Ft. Smith-Ft. Towson Military Road.
14. Lenox Mission, 1853-54 (A. B. C. F. M.), established by Rev Simon Hobbs and Mrs. Hobbs; their graves are $\frac{1}{4}$ mi. N.W. of mission site which is one mi. N.W. of Whitesboro.
15. Double Springs Camp Ground, Annual Conference Methodist Church, 1879; trace of these springs at Shady Point, just east of R. R. track and S.E. of Depot.
16. Peter Folsom Ferry on Poteau River, 1827, first ferry on this stream at old Fort Smith.
17. Iron Bridge, 1859, built by U. S., for U. S. Mail Route, across Poteau River; in vicinity or near old ford of this stream crossed by Butterfield Overland Mail stage, Sept. 1858; this bridge was near present Arkoma, about 6 or 7 mi. S.W. Ft. Smith, W. of Oklahoma state line.
18. Skullyville County (established 1850, Choctaw Nation) courthouse site (Sec. 7, T 8 N, R 25 E) about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. N.W. of Panama. Here is standing old stone jail, a few feet west of the courthouse site, one of the very few old Choctaw government buildings remaining today.
19. Residence of A. F. Cowling standing at Cowlington, erected late 1870's, where he was deacon in Baptist Church here, organized 1877, in Short Mountain Community; organized as Short Mountain Baptist Association, 1884; first post office established as Cowlington, August 27, 1884.

LINCOLN COUNTY

1. West Shawnee Cattle Trail established about 1869; south to north, crossed U. S. Highway 62 between Meeker and Prague, bore north and east past Sac and Fox Agency through present Stroud.

2. Sac and Fox Agency established 1869; first buildings 1870; first Boarding School 1874; first store 1873; Agency Site 3 and $\frac{3}{4}$ mi. S. of Stroud. (SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 21, T 14 N, R 6 E.)
3. Chief Moses Keokuk's home (first residence 2 story brick) standing, 2 mi. W. of Sac and Fox Agency site. (NE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 18, T 14 N, R 6 E.)
4. Wellston Trading Post established, 1880; Christian T. Well's store and first white settlement in County, on Kickapoo Indian Reservation.
5. Iowa Indian Village, Iowa Reservation 1883; site of old village 1 mi. N. Fallis (SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 19, T 15 N, R 2 E.)
6. Chandler, first townsite in "County A," in Sac and Fox reservation opening, by run, Sept. 18, 1891.
7. Friend's Mission, 1890, Iowa Indian Reservation; site N. W. Fallis SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 20, T 15 N, R 2 E.)

LOGAN COUNTY

1. Camp Russell established 1883, site 7 mi. N. of N.E. corner of Guthrie (NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 2, T 17 N, R 2 W), by Lieut. N. W. Day, 9th U. S. Cavalry, to remove "boomers" led by David L. Payne.
2. Mulhall Ranch owned by Zack Mulhall near Alfred (now Mulhall) 1890.
3. Guthrie, Capital of Oklahoma Territory and State, 1890-1910; many buildings of territorial days here: first State Capitol now part of Masonic Temple; St. Joseph's Academy, 1893; Frank Greer's State Capital newspaper printed 1889 on site of present Co-Operative Pub. Co. building (1901); Carnegie Library portico was scene of first State Inaugural Ceremony Nov. 16, 1907; site of Oklahoma Constitutional Convention Hall (marked), 1906-07; Oklahoma University (not O. U.), 1892-94, on site of present court house; U. S. Land Office at Run of 1889, on site of Post Office building.
4. Orlando, site of U. S. Land Office for Run of 1893 into Cherokee Strip.
5. Langston Agricultural and Normal School for Colored People, established 1897, by Territorial Legislature.
6. "Alarm Camp" of Washington Irving, October 22, 1832, was near Meridian.

LOVE COUNTY

1. Bill Washington's home, built 1890's; cattleman (wife part Chickasaw); site (house standing—real mansion of the time) about 4 mi. S. W. Marietta.
2. Oil Springs, noted for medicinal waters, 1853; site 5 mi. N.E. Marietta, (Sec. 25, T 6 S, R 2 E). Other items of historic interest here.

McCLAIN COUNTY

1. Camp Arbuckle, 1850, established by Capt. R. B. Marcy on site $1\frac{1}{2}$ mi. N. and 1 mi. W. of Byars (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 14, T 5 N, R 2 E); log buildings here occupied by Delaware Indians under famous Black Beaver in 1852; post moved 1851 to Fort Arbuckle on Wild Horse Creek southwest.
2. California Road, Capt. R. B. Marcy escort of emigrant train, 1849; traces can be seen south of Wayne.
3. West bank of Canadian River at Purcell (Chickasaw Nation) was starting point for many who made the Run into Oklahoma on April 22, 1889, crossing the river on horseback.
4. William E. Chisholm, son of Jesse Chisholm, log home 1863, standing, and Wm. E. Chisholm's grave on property (in field west of

residence); location south of Canadian River in Cooke School District $\frac{1}{4}$ mi. E. of State Highway 18, south of Asher about 4 mi. (NE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 36, T 6 N, R 3 E).

5. T. B. Johnston home, 1875, well known citizen of Chickasaw Nation, (cousin of Gov. D. H. Johnston) is standing; location N. W. of Byars (site of Johnsonville) 2 mi. (SE $\frac{1}{4}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 14, T 5 N, R 2 E).

McCURTAIN COUNTY

1. Miller Court House, 1824, first Post Office in Oklahoma; site about 9 mi. S. of Idabel, probably in area now called Eagle Bend cut-off near Mintubbee Lake.
2. Eagle Town on Mountain Fork River, dating from about 1819, first white settler, in vicinity of present Eagletown. First Eagle Town post office, 1834. One of the oldest continuous settlements in state. Old cemetery about $\frac{3}{4}$ mi. north of present town, and Howell burial ground on farm place west of this cemetery. U. S. Highway 70.
3. Bethabara Mission, 1832, Choctaw Mission, A. B. C. F. M.; site on ground just west of "Big Cypress" tree that marked the Bethabara Crossing on the Mountain Fork (end of the Choctaw "Trail of Tears" in this region during Indian Removal, 1831-34) Sec. 7, T 6 S, R 26 E. This ground was site of first Eagle Town post office, 1834.
4. Jefferson Gardner, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation (1894-96), home erected in 1880's, still standing ("Old Governor's Mansion") on ground of Bethabara Mission just west of the Mountain Fork Bridge and north of U. S. Highway 70. This was the Eagle County (1850, *Onsi Kaunti*) court house ground until statehood in 1907, Choctaw Nation.
5. Lukfata School, 1836, and later "Skelton Depot" trading store, Choctaw Nation: site on east side of Lukfata Creek, 3 mi. W. of Broken Bow. (Sec. 22, T 6 S, R 24 E.)
6. Stockbridge Mission, 1837; site on east side of Mountain Fork about 2 mi. S. of U. S. Highway 70, near present Eagletown. (SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 9, T 6 S, R 26 E.)
7. Grave of George Hudson, principal Chief, Choctaw Nation (1860-62); grave in SW $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 18, T 6 S, R 26 E, near the site of his old home.
8. Bok Homa County (Red River County), Choctaw Nation, court house and ground, 1850-1907, at old Kulli Tuklo (Double Spring), SW $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 24, T 8 S, R 24 E, in vicinity of village of Kulli Tuklo on the Frisco R. R.
9. Wheelock Mission Church, oldest church building in state, standing; erected of stone in 1846; church organized 1832 (Sec. 34, T 6 S, R 22 E). Near this church, several hundred yards N.E. are the buildings and grounds of Wheelock Seminary, established 1844 by the Choctaw Council, Indian girl's school to 1955.
10. Clear Creek, white settlement dating back to 1817-20; site near present Clear Creek S.W. Valliant about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. Here was site of Clear Creek Mission, established 1833, by Rev. Ebenezer Hotchkin, A. B. C. F. M.
11. Old Garland Cemetery, family burial plot of Principal Chief Samuel Garland, Choctaw Nation (1862-1864); handsome monuments at his grave and graves of his family, including that of his relative, "Sophia, wife of Major John Pitchlynn," with her gravestone birth date "Dec. 27, 1773," the oldest known birthdate on any gravestone in Oklahoma — Died "Dec. 18, 1871." Site of this Garland family burial plot (SE $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 28, T 9 S, R 27 E) is 3 mi. E. and 1 mi. N. of Tom.

12. Janis post office site $\frac{3}{4}$ mi. N. of State Highway 21 in NW Sec. 29, T 9 S, R 27 E. This was location of the Garland residence after Civil War (gin, store, etc.); on old road to Doaksville, traces of which can be seen near.
13. Harris House, early residence in vicinity of Harris before Civil War. Pecan Point and Harris Ferry on Red River, about 2 mi. S. of Harris, now shown on map as Harris Bend on Red River.
14. First church service in Oklahoma. Methodist, at Pecan Point about 1816, in white settlement here. Harris family in this vicinity in 1830's.
15. Old Shawneetown, community about 3 mi. S. W. of Idabel; oldest farm in the state in community east of Shawneetown, French settlers (ca.) about 1770-1780; Shawnee Indians settled here about 1808-1812, and their plowed fields and fences, etc., purchased by Col. Robert M. Jones, Choctaw planter, in 1830's; from which time Jones operated one of largest plantations in Oklahoma, at Shawneetown.
16. Methodist Mission school for Choctaw girls, 1883; site in community and W. of Shawneetown, on Perry Creek; noted missionary teacher, Mrs. J. P. McKenzie, taught here; also, school for boys near, taught by Rev. Moses Perry. (Perry Creek named by French in early 1700's "Bayou Galle.")
17. *Toh-wali* ("Glade"), Court Ground site, Bok Tuklo County, Choctaw Nation, 1850-1907; site about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mi. N. of Oak Hill and 7 mi. N.W. of Broken Bow.
18. *Olikchi*, District Court ground site, Apukshunubbee District Choctaw Nation, 1850-1907; here last execution July, 1899, under Choctaw Law, Tonaka (William Going) met death sentence; name Alikchi means "to doctor" alluding to Sulphur Spring near here. Court ground site in Sec. 16, T 3 S, R 22 E.
19. Methodist Boarding School, in operation 1920's, for white and Indian, co-educational, at Smithville; church and buildings here.
20. Norwalk Mission, 1850-54, for small Choctaw boys; noted for singing; site about 5 mi. N. of Wheelock Church, vicinity of Wright City.
21. *Oksha-anli Bok* (Clear Creek) Court Ground, Towson County (Tausin Kaunti) Choctaw Nation, 1850-1907; site about 5 mi. W. of Valliant.
22. Shauwa Court Ground, Nashoba (Wolf) County, Choctaw Nation, 1850-1907; site about 1 mi. W. of Bethel, about 200 yards N. of the old highway to Wright City.
23. Chitto Harjo's grave, once covered by small log house, Indian fashion, near the Bok Tuklo Mountain. Chitto Harjo famous "Crazy Snake of the Creek Nation, died April 11, 1911, after the "Crazy Snake Uprising" of 1909; he fled his own Creek country and went to live among his Choctaw friends.

McINTOSH COUNTY

1. Honey Springs Battle, July 17, 1863, last charge of Federal forces vs. Confederate troops at Confederate supply depot located at Honey Springs; site E. of U. S. Highway 69, and E. and N. of Rentiesville; the fighting closed here in the noted Battle of Elk Creek or "Battle of Honey Spring," bringing Confederate defeat (Battle had begun east of Oktaha, in Muskogee County.)
2. Eufaula Court House, Eufaula District, Creek Nation, 1867-1907; site 9 mi. W. and 1 mi. N. of present City of Eufaula.
3. North Fork Town, early 1840's, trading post Creek Nation: inter-tribal meetings held here, and 3 Indian treaties with Confederate States signed here (1861); location on the famous Texas Road.

- present site with old burial ground about $2\frac{1}{2}$ mi. E. of Eufaula. (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 25, T 10 N, R 16 E.)
4. Asbury Mission School, 1848, noted Creek school (Methodist); site about $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. E. and 1 mi. N. Eufaula on Creek Boarding school property; here on this acreage are the graves of Rev. John Harrell and wife, Methodist missionaries, also grave of Rev. Thomas Bertholf, their work dating for 40 years, beginning 1830's.
 5. West Eufaula Burying Ground, at Creek Indian Baptist Church, operated about 90 years, second oldest Baptist Church in Oklahoma; burial ground about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mi. W. of Eufaula on country road (off highway); here is fine example of Indian burials, small roofed, log houses over graves, significant custom among all tribes of Indian Territory, after Removal to West.
 6. Alexander Posey (famous Creek poet), birthplace about $\frac{1}{4}$ mi. E. of site of Mellete; here is old log house (ruins) with graves about 100 yards south, including that of Polly Posey. (NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 27, T 9 N, R 15 E).
 7. Tukabachee Town Square, about 12 mi. S.W. Eufaula, in vicinity and west of Mellete; site Creek Indian town, where ancient type Creek "Round House" erected in west about 1836, built according to small wooden model carried over "Trail of Tears" (significant in architectural history in Oklahoma).
 8. Eufaula Canadian Square Ground, Creek Nation; site about 6 mi. S.W. of present City of Eufaula (significant in Creek ceremonials, 1836-1912.)
 9. Wiogufki Square Ground; site about 4 mi. W. of Hanna (significant in Creek ceremonials, 1836-1912.)
 10. Hichiti Square Ground; site near Deep Fork River, S. of present Hichiti; the Hichiti town people were pre-historic Indian tribe in Georgia, anti-dating the Creek (ceremonies and language significant in anthropological and archeological studies).
 11. Texana settled by Texas Cherokees, 1839; noted Cherokee, Captain Dutch was here; by 1870 this was important center (white people, teachers, doctors, traders and Cherokee).
 12. McIntosh Bridge on Elk Creek, on Texas Road, north of Honey Springs (see Honey Springs Battle, above); bridge erected by Wm. F. McIntosh (Creek citizen) before Civil War (bridge mentioned in Gen. Blunt's report of Battle of Honey Springs); McIntosh home S. side of Elk Creek; Creek Council granted privilege of toll bridge on Elk Creek here on Texas Road, in 1871, to Mrs. Delilah Drew.
 13. Fishertown settled before 1850, ghost town; site $1\frac{1}{2}$ mi. E. and 4 mi. N. of City of Eufaula; Samuel Fisher settled here, served in Creek War 1812 (Red Stick War); important center on Texas Road.
 14. Ball Mountain, noted landmark on road from Ft. Gibson to Edwards Trading House on Little River; mentioned in Dragoon Expedition of 1834.
 15. Standing Rock (also called "Mary's Rock") in Canadian River, below mouth of North Fork, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ mi. E. of City of Eufaula; mentioned by Capt. Bonneville in the report of his 1830 expedition out of Ft. Gibson, and noted by other expeditions; rock 65 ft. high.
 16. Canadian River Ferry on Texas Road 1892; tollgate privilege granted Dick Greenwood by Creek Council; south of Eufaula.

MAJOR COUNTY

1. Sheridan's Roost, 1870's concentration spot and camp ground for troops under General Phillip H. Sheridan; site on or near

south county line (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ NE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 36, T 20 N, R 15 W) about 3 mi. S. and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. E. of Orion.

2. Cleo Springs, Post office 1894; near here Cheyenne Indian village or camp site in vicinity of Eagle Chief Creek, late 1860's.

MASHALL COUNTY

1. Camp Leavenworth, July 6, 1834, Dragoon Expedition, General Henry Leavenworth in command; he was injured in a buffalo hunt near here, and died in camp about 25 mi. W., July 21; Camp Leavenworth site about 2 mi. S. of Kingston.
2. Judge Gabriel M. Martin's hunting party killed by Kiowas in Spring of 1834, encamped on Glasses Creek, N. W. of Kingston; Martin's small son taken captive by the Kiowas but rescued by Dragoon Expedition in August, 1834.
3. Burney Institute erected by Act of Chickasaw Legislature in 1857, opened for Chickasaw pupils in 1859, Rev. F. D. Piner, Supt., followed by Rev. Robert S. Bell through Civil War and later; and school became known as Chickasaw Orphan Academy, in operation until about 1910; site about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. E. of Lebanon; the school building (1896) now used as barn (NE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 4, T 7 S, R 4 E).

MAYES COUNTY

1. Union Mission 1820, first mission station in Oklahoma; site Sec. 16, T 19 N, R 19 E, about 5 mi. N. E. Mazie.
2. Col. A. P. Chouteau residence (1822), and site of first permanent American settlement in Oklahoma, around 1804 at Salina; salt works here.
3. Nathaniel Pryor's grave, 1831; with Lewis and Clark Expedition to Pacific in 1803, military service and trader at Three Forks; location of grave about 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi., S. E. Pryor (NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 33, T 21 N, R 19 E.)
4. Hopefield Mission by the A .B. C. F. M., for Osages 1823; site about 1 mi. S.E. of Pensacola, north side of Grand River on old Ft. Gibson road. (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 24, T 23 N, R 20 E).
5. Battle of Cabin Creek (2nd battle), October, 1864, Gen. Stand Watie, C. S. A., defeat of Federal forces and capture of \$1,000,000 wagon train; site SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 12, T 23 N, R 20 E (property of U. D. C. Vinita Chapter).
6. Old Pensacola Post Office, early 1890's, old Martin home on site; located 1 mi. E. of present Pensacola (Sec. 26, T 23 N, R 20 E).
7. Battle of Locust Grove, 1862, Col. Stand Watie and Col. John Drew, in command of Confederate forces; battle site known as "Pipe Springs," in SE $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 23, T 20 N, R 20 E.
8. Markham's Ferry, (1893) site about 1 mi. downstream from the Mayes Bridge between Locust Grove and Pryor. Locust Grove is on Markham's Prairie. Leroy Markham (Cherokee) home (1835) site and old cemetery (his grave here) are on southwest corner of Markham's Prairie, in SW $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 31, T 20 N, R 20 E. Old salt lick site about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. S. of the home site, operated by Markham in 1830's.

MURRAY COUNTY

1. Sulphur Springs, Platt National Park established 1901, was a resort in Chickasaw Nation early 1890's.

MUSKOGEE COUNTY

1. La Harpe's Expedition (French), 1719, to Tawakoni Indian Village on Arkansas River, in vicinity of present Haskell and east to river; first Indian Council with European Nation in Oklahoma.

2. Battle between Pushmataha's hunting band (Choctaw from Mississippi) and Joseph Bougie's trader group near mouth of Verdigris River, 1806; site probably in Muskogee County, north of Arkansas River, and E. of bridge on Arkansas River.
3. Fort Gibson established 1824, site and history significant and well known; east side of Grand River at town of Ft. Gibson.
4. Union Agency, established 1874, stone building standing on hill and north of Veterans Hospital, at Muskogee, houses Five Civilized Tribes Museum.
5. Fort Davis, Confederate Army post, 1861-62; Indian mound marks center of this extensive fort; site located 1 mi. N. of Bacone College, overlooking Arkansas River N.E. of Muskogee. (SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 7, T 15 N, R 19 E.)
6. Old Creek Agency, 1851-1874, near Fern Hill; site in S $\frac{1}{2}$, Sec. 8, T 15 N, R 18 E. Important sites here:
 - (a) Battle on east side of the community, between Creek and Cherokee Confederate forces and Cherokee and Osage Union forces, Civil War.
 - (b) Agency location, footings, and bermuda grass on grounds.
 - (c) John Bemo (Seminole teacher and Baptist preacher) 1844; his homestead on south side of the community, his grave with marker.
 - (d) About $\frac{1}{4}$ mi. W. of Agency Building site, is site of Creek Indian Court House for Muskogee District, Creek Nation, 1868.
7. Rabbit Ford and Ferry, 1834, located 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. E. of original site of Muskogee (i. e. R. R. station), on Arkansas River near noted landmark of "Frozen Rock," in stream, on road to Fort Gibson. Site of Shorey Coodey home, near "Frozen Rock," 1830's
8. Nevens Ferry, early 1880's, N. E. of Muskogee, on Arkansas River about 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi.: site below mouth of the Grand River.
9. Battle of Elk Creek or "Honey Springs," July 17, 1863; major battle in Indian Territory during Civil War; battle formation of Union forces located about 1 mi. to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. E. of present Oktaha, the fighting continuing south to the last attack vs. Confederate forces at Honey Springs, south side of Elk Creek at Honey Springs Confederate depot and supply camp; Spring and site about 3 mi. S. in present McIntosh County, *q. v.*
10. Webbers Falls, first called "La Cascade" on old maps; falls in Arkansas River here noted by Lieut. James B. Wilkinson were 7 feet high in 1806; settled by Walter Webber, Cherokee, 1829; Civil War battle fought here April 24, 1863; Stand Watie's forces defeated.
11. Briartown Cemetery, grave of Spring Frog (died 1859), Cherokee, marked by unusual stone bearing inscription in Cherokee language.
12. Tilden Cramp Ferry, 1870's and 1880's on Canadian River, 2 mi. S. of Briartown, near present bridge on State Highway 2.
13. Cherokee Agency. First Agency for Western Cherokees. E. bank of of Bayou Manard (NE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 12, T 15 N, R 20 E).
14. David Vann Salt Works. (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 17, T 12 N, R 20 E).
15. Belle Starr headquarters (and her home) 6 mi. W. of Tilden Cramp Ferry; site on Belle Starr Creek; her grave in vicinity.
16. Robertson Memorial Church built by Judge N. B. Moore, of the Creek Nation, and his wife, Augusta Robertson Moore, at Haskell. Site of the Judge Moore ranch home is near the Arkansas River, east of Haskell.
17. Alice Ross Howard's home at Ft. Gibson, erected for Ranger troops in 1830's.
18. Grave of Chief Justice John Martin, of the Cherokee Nation (1839-D. 1840), south of old stockade at Ft. Gibson.

19. Ruins of Fort Blunt breastworks (Ft. Gibson, 1863-65) between old stockade and Military Park at Ft. Gibson.
20. Citizen's Cemetery, Ft. Gibson, where many noted people were buried.
21. Traces of Military Road between Ft. Smith and Ft. Gibson, 1828, south of Ft. Gibson.

NOBLE COUNTY

1. Cherokee Outlet, south boundary (i. e. south boundary of County) surveyed 1837 by John C. McCoy, son of Rev. Isaac McCoy, noted Baptist missionary.
2. Ponca Indian Agency ("White Eagle Agency") buildings seen near site, west side of State Highway 40, on former Ponca Indian Reservation; established 1878; Methodist Mission here 1890; Ponca Boarding School, 1883, part of old buildings seen.
3. Chief White Eagle, veteran Ponca chief in Sioux wars, monument seen on hill on north edge of Marland, east side of U. S. Highway 77 (dates given 1817-1914).
4. Oto and Missouri Indians, 1881, agency established, and some buildings seen on W. side of State Highway 40, about 6 mi. N.E. of Red Rock. Townships in this part of County on former "Oto-Missouri Reservation."
5. 101 Ranch, Miller Brothers, 1893, on U. S. Highway 77, north side of Marland.
6. First Zack Mulhall Ranch, 1889, site of City of Perry.
7. Cattle ranches, 1883, leased from Cherokee Strip Livestock Association in limits of Noble County: McClellan Cattle Co., S.E. Perry; Wyeth Cattle Co., N. Black Bear Creek, S.E. Otoe; Wiley and Dean, N. of Wyeth Ranch; Dean and Broderick Pasture Co., S.W. part of county, with T. J. Sullivan Ranch just east, bordering south line.

NOWATA COUNTY

1. Coody's Bluff, on Verdigris River, about 3 mi. E. of Nowata, on U. S. Highway 60; trading store established here by John Coody; Bluff first settled by Coody family of Cherokee Nation, in 1830's.
2. Delaware Indian tribal settlements from Kansas, 1867, came to Cherokee Nation and made their homes in this County in vicinity of Alluwe, Nowata, Delaware and Lenapah.
3. Alluwe, first called Lightning Creek Post Office, 1872, postmaster Henry Armstrong (a Delaware); J. E. Campbell store built here 1878 (wife, Emma Journeycake, a Delaware); Rev. Journeycake, Delaware chief lived in vicinity; old Baptist Church $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. N. and $\frac{1}{4}$ mi. E. of Alluwe was where Delaware payments were made.
4. Riley Cemetery, 1850's, oldest cemetery in County; location 3 mi. N. of Coody's Bluff (Riley-Coody Family).
5. Alluwe Oil Field opened 1904, near Alluwe.
6. Paxton Ferry, 1895, on Verdigris River 1 mi. N. of Nowata; this was Ketchum Ferry about 1905-08, last ferry in County; bridge built 2 mi. S. of Ketchum Ferry in 1908.

OKFUSKEE COUNTY

1. Old Dog Ford, N. Canadian River (Arbeka Town, just S. and W. in Seminole County), about $2\frac{1}{2}$ mi. S.E. of Boley; near here on the N. Canadian River, at or near the rapids in the stream, Thomas James' expedition to west in 1823. buried all the trading hardware, and reported never recovered.

2. Thlopthlocco Town, Creek Nation, established 1830's; headquarters Col. D. H. Cooper, Confederate forces, 1861, before the battles vs. Opthleyahola ("Loyal Creek" or Union side) in Dec. 1861; site about 2½ mi. N.W. Weleetka, E. side of Alabama Creek.
3. Alabama Baptist Church (old Alabama tribe) 1870's, which is 1 mi. N. and ½ mi. W. of Weleetka, near Alabama Creek; old Alabama Tribal Town (Creek Nation) site about 2½ mi. S. W. of this Alabama Baptist Church.
4. Deep Fork Court House, Creek Nation, Deep Fork District; site 3 mi. E. of Morse, and about ¼ mi. N. and ¼ E. on country road, E. side of Philadelphia Creek (Sec. 2, T 12 N, R 10 E.)
5. Greenleaf Town and Greenleaf's store, Creek Nation, 1850's; site about 4 mi. S. W. of Okemah. (NE¼ Sec. 21, T 11 N, R 9 E.)

OKLAHOMA COUNTY

1. Chisholm Trading Post, 1858; location of site E. of North Canadian River at east end of bridge on West 10th Street, Oklahoma City, in Council Grove Township.
2. Washington Irving's camp site ("Tour on the Prairies" 1832), about 1½ mi. W. of Arcadia (Oct. 24, 1832).
3. Irving Tour, "Ringing the Wild Horse," in what is now Nine Mile Flat; site of incident about 3 or 4 mi. N.W. of Jones, on W. side of North Canadian (1832).
4. Irving Camp, Oct. 26-29, 1832, on Crutch Creek; site in vicinity of Taylor Home for Boys on N. E. 23rd St., Oklahoma City.
5. Camp Alice, David Payne's boomers, 1883; site on N. side of North Canadian River about 2½ mi. N.W. of Jones (site of camp reported SW¼ of Sec. 16, T 13 N, R 1 W).
6. Old Kickapoo Village, 1883 (on Kickapoo Reservation); site N.E. of Horseshoe Lake, about 2 mi. N. of Harrah.
7. Central Normal School (present Central State College) established at Edmond, 1890.
8. Camp ground at spring on Fort Reno Trail to Shawnee Town for Oklahoma boomers and travelers, 1870's-1880's; site of spring on E. side Webster Jr. High School grounds, in draw, at Oklahoma City.
9. First post office Oklahoma Station (now Oklahoma City), Dec. 1887; site just west of Santa Fe Depot—Old Arbeka Hotel building. (There are 16 other historic sites, 1889, marked in Oklahoma City significant in the City's history).

OKMULGEE COUNTY

1. Old Council House, Creek Nation, erected 1878, now museum in Block 139, City of Okmulgee.
2. Council Hill, site of first Creek Council House about 1840; location 4 mi. S. of Eram in County, on McIntosh County line (SW¼ SE¼, Sec. 31, T 13 N, R 15 E).
3. New Town Church, Creek Nation, Methodist, organized 1841 by Samuel Checote, later Principal Chief and noted Creek leader; present building has some of the timbers of the old church, located 1 mi. N. of Okmulgee (Sec. 36, T 1 N, R 12 E).
4. Old Shieldsville, site ½ mi. S. of the New Town Methodist Church; was location of store established by George W. Stidham and J. A. Patterson, 1860, and became well known trading center.
5. Site of Chief Isparhecher's grave (Principal Chief, Creek Nation 1895-99); located near his old home about 4 mi. W. of Beggs (NW corner of NE¼ Sec. 34, T 15 N, R 11 E).
6. Grave of Chief Samuel Checote (Principal Chief Creek Nation, 1867-75 and 1879-83) located at N.E. corner of City of Okmulgee on U. S. Highway 75 (E½ of Checote Addition and in E½ of Block 6).

7. Creek Indian Orphanage established by Creek Council 1892; site that of present Oklahoma A. & M. School at N.E. corner of City of Okmulgee, on U. S. Highway 62.
8. Nuyaka Mission, established 1882 by Alice Robertson, in Creek Nation; site about 11 mi. W. of Okmulgee (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ NE $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 32, T 14 N, R 11 E); original building standing as residence of owner and in good repair.
9. Black Jack Grove, home of Motey Tiger, prominent Creek Leader and Chief after Creek government was closed; site about 1 mi. N.W. of Sharp (about $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. S.W. of Okmulgee). (NE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 27, T 13 N, R 12 E).

OSAGE COUNTY

1. Pawhuska Indian Agency (Osage) established 1872.
2. St. Louis Industrial School (Catholic) for Osage girls, 1887, at Pawhuska.
3. St. John's School (Catholic) for Osage boys, 1888; location 10 mi. N. W. of Hominy and 4 mi. N. E. of Gray Horse in SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 34, T 25 N, R 7 E.
4. Gray Horse Trading Post established in 1885 by trader, John Florer, among Osages; location 1 mi. S. and 3 mi. E. of Fairfax.
5. Battle of Chustenahlah, Dec. 1861, on Hominy Creek west of Skiatook, in which Opothelayahola's followers (Creeks, Seminoles) were put to rout by Confederate forces, and fled to Kansas where they refuged during the War.
6. First discovery of oil on Osage Reservation was on the Foster Blanket Lease, drilled in by Phoenix Oil Company, 1897; well location in SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 34, T 27 N, R 12 E. Big discovery of oil in Osage County came in 1920, at Burbank, all oil royalties to the enrolled Osage Indians.
7. Bald Hill, prominent land mark, mentioned by Washington Irving. (Sec. 17, T 20 N, R 12 E).

OTTAWA COUNTY

1. Old U. S. Military Trail about 1828 from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Gibson entered the Indian Territory near present Highway 64 on State line and thence south; in use long after Civil War days.
2. Seneca Agency site about 2 mi. W. of Oklahoma line and W. of Seneca, Mo.; agency location here in 1830's to 1861.
3. Wyandotte Boarding School, 1872, at Wyandotte (now Seneca Boarding School); one of early buildings still standing here.
4. Crawford Seminary, Methodist school for Quapaw, 1834; site on Spring River, on Fort Leavenworth-Fort Smith Road, in vicinity of mouth of Five Mile Creek.
5. Devil's Promenade on Spring River (ledge of rock on river), and the Quapaw pow wow grounds a few hundred yards west where Quapaw Indians have held councils and pow wows for many years.
6. Modoc Cemetery dating from 1874, with settlement of Modoc on reservation here; location about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. W. of Missouri-Oklahoma line.
7. Old Peoria Schoolhouse, still standing from 1874; location Sec. 18, T 28 N, R 24 E.
8. Old Ottawa Cemetery, 1870's, noted Ottawa leaders buried here; site at Ottawa Baptist Church at Ottawa.
9. St. Mary's Mission (Catholic), 1893, founded among Quapaw Indians by Father William Ketcham; location 2 mi. E. of Quapaw and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. from old Lincolnville station.

10. Pooler trading post and post office, 1882, and old Pooler Ferry on Grand (or Neosho) River, about 1 mi. S.W. of post office (east side of river in Sec. 3, T 27 N, R 23 E.)
11. Prairie City, present Ogeechee, post office and town on Atlantic and Pacific R. R., 1872; moved east 3 mi. and called Grand River, 1876, now Wyandotte.
12. First mining camp, 1891, at Peoria (lead and zinc); this had been site of Fourmile post office, 1882.

PAWNEE COUNTY

1. Pawnee Agency established 1874, original agency building still standing and Pawnee Boarding School near, 1877; site about 2 mi. E. of Pawnee.
2. Bear's Glen, site of Irving Camp, Oct. 15, 1832. Referred to by Washington Irving as "wild rocky dell" (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 20, T 20 N, R 10 E).

PAYNE COUNTY

1. Twin Mounds outlaw battle, reported about 1869, fought between Texas cattlemen and cattle thieves; vicinity of Twin Mounds. (A monument has been erected near Twin Mounds, near Yale, to mark this site as that of the "Battle of Round Mountain," Civil War battle 1861. See Tulsa County, "Battle of Round Mountain").
2. Battle at Ingalls, 1893, between Dalton-Doolin outlaws and U. S. marshals; site at Ingalls.
3. "Last Boomer Town," Oklahoma boomers led by William Couch made their last stand for settlement of Oklahoma country, on Jan. 26, 1885; site $\frac{3}{4}$ mi. E. of State Highway 40, about halfway between south edge of City of Stillwater and Stillwater Creek.
4. Oklahoma A. & M. College, established 1890, at Stillwater; old buildings still found on present OSU campus.
5. "Irving's Castle," unusual rock formation visited Oct. 20, 1832, by Washington Irving. (SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 5, T 18 N, R 4 E), location $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. W. and 2 mi. S. of Ingalls.

PITTSBURG COUNTY

1. First Coal Mine, McAlester, opened by Osage Coal and Mining Co., 1871; location in western part of City of McAlester (Sec. 4, T 5 N, R 14 E.)
2. Choctaw Courthouse, Tobucksy County; on old county court grounds, Choctaw Nation, 1850's; last building still standing on west side of U. S. Highway 69, north edge of North McAlester.
3. Perryville, established late 1830's; noted trading point on old Texas Road; Civil War Battle of Perryville, July, 1863; location W. of U. S. Highway 69 and M. K. & T. R. R., 3 mi. S. McAlester. (NE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 34, T 5 N, R 14 E.)
4. Buffalo Station, stage station on Fort Smith-Boggy Depot Road; turnpike with tollgate privileges granted here to Wade N. Hampton, 1867, by Choctaw Council; Hampton's grave is near this site. (Sec. 7, T 3 N, R 17 E.)
5. Colbert's Stage Stand and Inn, on Fort Smith-Boggy Depot Road 1860's (owned by "Brushy" Jim Colbert); one of first Government blacksmith shops established here for Chickasaws about 1838; location is about 8 mi. S.E. of Pittsburg, $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. W. of crossing on Brushy Creek (Sec. 7, T 2 N, R 15 E.), old graves in vicinity, south side of county road.
6. Jones Academy, established 1892, Choctaw school for boys; school still in operation with original building standing; site about 2 mi. N.E. of Hartshorne.

7. "White Chimney House" built about 1840's, probably in old Shawneetown settlement, part of building standing; site about 2½ mi. S.W. of Cabaniss (Sec. 8, T 5 N, R 12 E.) and about 1 mi. S. of U. S. Highway 270.
8. Rock Creek Mountain Toll Gate, 1867, privilege of turnpike toll-gate granted Allen W. Carney, by Choctaw Council; located south of Canadian River on Texas Road, and west of later M. K. & T. R. R., 3 mi. N. of Ream Station.
9. Blackburn's Station, stage stand (1858) on Butterfield Trail. (SE¼ Sec. 5 T 2 N, R 15 E).

PONTOTOC COUNTY

1. Osage Village, 1834, about 100 lodges here visited by Dragoon Expedition, Gen. Henry Leavenworth in command; site south of the Canadian River in vicinity of present Allen, on old Indian trail leading south later shown on early maps as "Texas Cattle Trail."
2. Old Shawnee settlement in 1840's. indicated by old graves located about 3½ mi. E. of Francis (Sec. 26, T 5 N, R 7 E.)
3. Cochran's Trading Store established during Civil War by Robert Cochran about 1½ mi. S.W. of present Frisco and on S. side of Clear Boggy; Cochran's store was moved at close of War 3 mi. E., and place named "Stonewall" (or Old Stonewall).
4. Residence of Wm. Byrd (later Governor of the Chickasaw Nation) erected around 1878, recently razed at site of Old Stonewall which was about 3 mi. directly E. of Frisco.
5. Byrd's Mill, flour mill owned by Frank Byrd, established 1870's at head of Clear Boggy (big spring, present Ada water supply) shown on some early maps as "Franks"; site about 12 mi. S. E. of Ada, and about 5½ mi. S.W. of old Stonewall.
6. "Chickasaw National Academy" established about 1866, about 1 mi. S. E. of old Stonewall, was outgrowth of Colbert Institute established 1854 at Perryville, Pittsburg Co. *q. v.*, where it was operated until outbreak of Civil War under auspices of Methodist Church, South; this Chickasaw Academy was attended by boys and girls; at 2nd site buildings burned about 1880 (this school sometimes shown as Cochran's Academy on old maps).
7. Collins Institute established 1885 by Chickasaw Legislature, through work of Judson D. Collins, full blood Chickasaw member of Legislature who lived near old Stonewall; first was Manual Labor School for Chickasaw boys, and in few years became school for girls, in operation to 1905; location about 3 mi. S.W. of old Stonewall (Secs. 17 and 18, T 2 N, R 7 E), some old buildings standing recently.
8. Old Stonewall was County Seat of Pontotoc County, Chickasaw Nation, from early 1870's to 1907 (County organized in 1856 under Chickasaw Constitution).

POTTAWATOMIE COUNTY

1. Jesse Chisholm trading post, 1848; established at Chisholm Spring 2 mi. E. of Asher (SE¼ Sec. 16, T 6 N, R 4 E.)
2. Shawneetown (referred to as "Old Shawneetown"), trading post 1872, and post office, 1876; located south side of North Canadian River, about 1 mi. west of old Tecumseh cemetery, or 2 mi. S.W. of City of Shawnee. West Shawnee Cattle Trail near (Texas to north).
3. Shawnee Mission Church, 1872, Friends Society (Quaker) 2 mi. S. of City of Shawnee (Sec. 31, T 10 N, R 4 E); building now owned by Pottawatomie County Historical Society.

4. Shawnee Boarding School, buildings erected by Government and opened 1876; buildings now seen (1958) as location of Shawnee Agency and Indian Sanitorium on State Highway 18, south of North Canadian River, about 1 mi. S. of City of Shawnee.
5. Sacred Heart Mission, 1876, by order of St. Benedict, Roman Catholic Church; original boarding school building burned, and site occupied by large brick building, 1901 (recently razed); some of small original buildings on grounds (1 log and 1 stone); located 6½ mi. E., 1 mi. N. and ¼ mi. W. of Asher (present Catholic Church seen on county road leading to old mission buildings west. Mission Site in NW¼ Sec. 18, T 6 N, R 4 E.
6. Kickapoo Station, 1875, on Kickapoo Indian Reservation, about 5 mi. W. of City of Shawnee; Kickapoo school erected here, and station abandoned, 1883; present Kickapoo settlement about 2 mi. N.E. McLoud.
7. 1st Seminole Agency, 1859, in vicinity of Trousdale; in Seminole Nation by Treaty 1856, east boundary of which was just east of 97th Meridian, north from mouth of Pond Creek, 3 mi. S.E. of Wanette. Seminole Council House of this period was 8 mi. W. of Seminole Agency (or Trousdale) on Council Creek.
8. Keokuk Falls, 1890's; now ghost town; main street was on Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory boundary line, with saloons on west side—"wet territory"; site on N. side of North Canadian River, about 2 mi. east of bridge on State Highway 99.
9. Washington Irving Expedition, 1832, camp for Nov. 1, 1832, near present Tecumseh.

PUSHMATAHA COUNTY

1. Old Military Trail from Fort Smith via Horse Prairie to Fort Towson. (Crossed Kiamichi River at Rock Chimney Ferry, Choctaw Co. *q. v.*), marked out by Capt. John Stuart, 1832, with Jesse Chisholm and Robert Bean in party; this trail came over Winding Stair Mts., vicinity of Talihina, then W. and S., crossing Jacks Fork Creek at the "Narrows," about 4 mi. W. of Tuskahoma.
2. "Nanih Waiya" Council House, first capitol of Choctaw Nation, 1838, (built by U. S. Govt.—logs); site about 1½ mi. N.W. of Tuskahoma, in Secs. 22 and 27, T 2 N, R 19 E.
3. Tuskahoma Council House, last capitol of Choctaw Nation, completed 1884; brick building standing at site, 2 mi. N. Tuskahoma in Sec. 14, T 2 N, R 19 E.
4. Grave of Jackson McCurtain, principal Chief Choctaw Nation (1880-84), located E. of Tuskahoma Council House, about 200 yards.
5. Spring Station on old Fort Smith-Fort Towson Road, established by John Spring before Civil War; site in NW¼ Sec. 19, T 2 N, R 20 E, about 1½ mi. N. and E. of Tuskahoma.
6. The site of William Bryant's grave, Principal Chief of Choctaw Nation—1870-74, is east side of Old Military Road and 200 or 300 yards N. of Spring Station.
7. Tuskahoma Academy for Choctaw girls, established by Choctaw Council 1892 and in operation until 1926; site about 3½ mi. N.W. of Tuskahoma in NW¼ Sec. 16, T 2 N, R 19 E.) Residence on site of the school is of stone from the old Academy building. Lyceum postoffice here, 1896.
8. St. Agnes Mission School for Choctaws, established at Antlers, 1897 (Catholic), by Father William Ketcham.
9. Antlers was home of Col. Victor M. Locke, Jr., Principal Chief Choctaw Nation (1911-16), and his grave is in cemetery here.

ROGER MILLS COUNTY

1. California Trail followed by emigrants in Gold Rush, 1849, Capt. R. B. Marcy and detachment of U. S. troops as escort; traces of trail can be seen about 1 mi. N.W. of Roll, in sight of Antelope Hills, on U. S. Highway 283.
2. Battle of the Washita, November, 1868, when Black Kettle's Cheyenne Village on site was destroyed by Col. George Custer and U. S. troops; location of the village and battle site about 2 mi. W. of Cheyenne, south side of Washita River (NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 12, T 13 N, R 24 W).
3. "Box T" Spring line camp of Cheyenne and Arapahoe Cattle Company, 1878; site and spring near center of Sec. 6, T 15 N, R 23 W.
4. "Bar X" Headquarters, ranch line camp of Cheyenne and Arapahoe Cattle Company, 1878; site on Flying Creek, north side in Sec. 8, T 17 N, R 21 W. This location was also known as "Flying V" Ranch headquarters about 1882-4.

ROGERS COUNTY

1. Battle of Claremore Mound, 1817, between Cherokee and Osage; site at Claremore Mound about 1 mi. N. Sageeyah.
2. Black Dog's Town, Osage, 1830's, $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. E. of Claremore (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 10, T 21 N, R 16 E), important Osage village.
3. Birthplace of Will Rogers, site 1 mi. N. and 3 mi. E. of Oolagah; homeplace standing (NW $\frac{1}{4}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 19, T 23 N, R 16 E.)
4. "Fort Spunky," stage station on Vinita-Tulsa stage line, 1880's; location east of Spunky Creek, N.E. of Catoosa about 2 mi. on U. S. Highway 66.

SEMINOLE COUNTY

1. Wewoka, capital of Seminole Nation 1868-1907; Seminole Council House of logs erected here 1878, replaced by later frame building.
2. Spring Baptist Church, Seminole, location 1 mi. W. of Sasakwa; this Seminole Indian church now seen in good repair here (north side of State Highway 56), the church organization (begun in 1850's) located here about 1870, having moved from first site east of present Lexington; Chief John Jumper and Gov. John Brown of Seminole Nation, both pastors of this Church at different times.
3. Mekasukey Academy for Seminole boys, established by Seminole Nation and opened in 1891; location (ruins of building seen) on N. side of State Highway 99, about 3 mi. S.W. of City of Seminole (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 6, T 8 N, R 5 E).
4. Emahaka Academy for Seminole girls, established by Seminole Nation and opened 1894; site E. side of State Highway 56, about 5 mi. S. of City of Wewoka.
5. Grave of Gov. John Brown of Seminole Nation at site of residence, 2 mi. W. of Sasakwa, N. side of State Highway 56. (NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 34, T 6 N, R 7 E).

SEQUOYAH COUNTY

1. Dwight Mission, established among Cherokees in Indian Territory, 1830; location about 3 mi. S.W. of Marble City (NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 2, T 12 N, R 23 E) old mission cemetery with graves dating back to early 1830's on north side of mission grounds; property now owned by United Presbyterian Church Synod of Oklahoma, with many buildings of later day now used for assembly and convention meetings.

2. Talonteeskee, capitol of the Cherokees West, 1829-1839; site on N. side of Deep Creek to west of County road, about 2 mi. E. of Gore and $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. N. U. S. Highway 64 (NE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 16, T 12 N, R 21 E).
3. Home of Chief John Jolly, Western Cherokee Chief and friend of Sam Houston, 1830-32; site near that of Tahlonteeskee (see above note) in NE $\frac{1}{4}$ NE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 16, T 12 N, R 21 E. Chimney stones and vine covered tree now seen on site of Jolly's house.
4. Sequoyah's Home—famous inventor of Cherokee alphabet—erected 1830's (log house now enclosed as historic shrine by State of Oklahoma); location about 10 mi. N.E. of Sallisaw in Sec. 15, T 12 N, R 25 E.
5. Mackey's Salt Works operated by Samuel Mackey, 1828, an important industry here before Civil War: site inundated in Secs. 11 and 14, T 13 N, R 21 E, about 9 mi N.E. of Gore.
6. Illinois District Courthouse, Cherokee Nation, near James Mackey's place on Military Road, 1848; site on E side of Illinois River, about 2 mi. N. W. of present Blackgum Store (NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 6, T 13 N, R 22 E.)
7. Childers Station on Muskogee-Fort Smith Road, 1870's; located about $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. S. of Sallisaw City cemetery where original log house stands today (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 9, T 11 N, R 24 E).
8. Lees Creek Mission, provided for by Cherokee National Council, 1848, and opened early 1850's by A. B. C. F. M.: site about 2 mi. S.E. of present Nicut. (NE $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 27, T 13 N R 26 E.)
9. Pierce's Chapel, Methodist, 1882, located about $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. S.E. of Muldrow cemetery; building moved to Cottonwood and is standing today as oldest church building in County.
10. Keetowah Society, Cherokee organization (1859) still holds annual ceremonals about 6 mi. N. of Vian, in summer.
11. Earliest public school in County was established by Cherokee National Council, 1848, south of present Vian (in Illinois District, Cherokee Nation).
12. Nicksville post office established 1828, by John Nicks, on site of present Dwight Mission (this region then in Crawford County, Ark. Terr.)
13. Sequoyah District, Cherokee Nation, log courthouse early 1830's near juncture of Black Fox Fork and Skin Bayou, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. S. were reported the trees used for hanging condemned persons; new courthouse of Sequovah District by Act of Cherokee Council, 1833, built about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. S. of first site: this new building was two-story frame, and this was sold in 1902 and material used in building Baptist Church at Maple. (2nd site in SW $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 27, T 12 N, R 25 E.)
14. Salt spring granted Sequoyah by Treaty of 1828, and salt works first operated by him is 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi. W. of Nicut. (Sec. 19, T 13 N, R 26 E.) Spring can be seen partially walled up at foot of hill about 100 yards, south of Salt Branch.
15. Bean's salt works operated by Richard and Mark Bean, 1817, and noted by Col. Mathew Arbuckle and Captain Bonneville. Signs of the old salt works are visible (SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 21, T 13 N, R 21 E) about five miles N. of Gore on highway to Tenkiller Lake, or about 1 mi. above where Salt Creek empties into Illinois River.

STEPHENS COUNTY

1. Fitzpatrick's Store established by Theodore Fitzpatrick in 1867, the first settlement in vicinity of Duncan: site 2 mi. N.E. of east edge of Duncan. (Store later owned by Wm. Duncan).
2. Crossing of old military trail to west in vicinity of 2 mi. N. of Comanche on U. S. Highway 81: trail followed by Dragoon Ex-

- pedition, 1834, to North Fork of Red River; and by Capt. R. B. Marcy's expedition, 1853, in search of source of Red River.
3. Old Rock Crossing on Beaver Creek, about 10 mi. S.W. of Comanche, on old road to Warren's Post on Red River, 1840's, and later to points in "Big Pasture" before opening of that region (Cotton, Tillman counties, etc.)
 4. Addington Ranch (1870's) area, N.E. part of County, crossing over into Tussy area in Carter County; Addington Ranch had first barbed wire line fence in Stephens County. (Ranch was 12 mi. square.)
 5. "Indian Territory School" (1890) on Chisholm Trail; site about 1½ mi. N.E. Duncan (NE¼ Sec. 27, T 1 N, R 7 W).
 6. Five Marlow brothers, ranchers in Chisholm Trail days (1870's), lived on immediate site of City of Marlow.
 7. Branch of the Dona Ana Road between Ft. Arbuckle and Ft. Belknap (Texas), traveled and marked in 1852 by Capt. R. B. Marcy, crossed the S.E. corner of County, N. and W. of Loco.

TEXAS COUNTY

1. Boss Neff Ranch, 1889, about 1½ mi. N. of old Hardesty.
2. Old Hardesty, Cimarron Territory, 1st post office 1887; the old Hardesty burial ground is on the Neff Ranch property, about 1½ mi. N. of this early town. Dick Quinn established *Hardesty Herald* here, 1890.
3. Optima, Cimarron Territory, founded by "squatters" in spring of 1886, and first post office established Sept. 1886; well known in history of region.
4. Shade's Well noted watering place for R. R. shipment of cattle on Rock Island at end of track at old Tyrone, 1888; site is on old Tascoso Trail through old Beaver County (Cimarron Territory) over which herds of cattle driven from S.W. for shipment.
5. "Wild Horse Lake Tragedy" ("Haymeadow Massacre") in July, 1888, stemming out of Stephens County (Kansas) county seat war; some from the warring factions with desperadoes involved, went over into No-Man's-Land; Sheriff John Cross's posse fired on and 4 killed by Robinson's (desperado) party; site of massacre about 12 mi. W. of Hooker at "Wild Horse Lake" (present Dry Lake area).

TILLMAN COUNTY

1. First encampment of Maj. Earl Van Dorn's Expedition vs. Comanches N. of Red River, 1858 (place sometimes referred to as 1st site of "Camp Radziminski"); site N. E. of Tipton (7 mi.) and on south side of Otter Creek near spring near the military road crossing of the Creek (NW¼ Sec. 14, T 1 N, R 18 W).
2. Otter Creek Camp, Fourth Cavalry, out of Fort Sill, visited by Col. R. M. McKenzie, 1871, at crossing on Otter Creek and on south side, approximately where Van Dorn Expedition of 1858 had camped (See above note No. 1).
3. Camp Augur. U. S. Army patrol camp on Red River, 1870's, named for Gen. C. C. Augur; site about 5 mi. S.W. Grandfield SE¼ Sec. 31, T 4 S, R 14 W).

TULSA COUNTY

1. Battle of Chustolasah ("Caving Banks,") Dec. 9, 1861, Col. D. H. Cooper's Confederate Indian forces and Col. James McIntosh's Ark. forces in battle vs. Opothlevahola's northern Creek and Seminole bands; site about 3½ mi. S.E. of Sperry, on Bird Creek.
2. Tulsey Town, Creek Nation, tribal town settled before Civil War; site south edge of City of Tulsa (NW¼ Sec. 18, T 19 N, R 13 E).

3. Battle of Round Mountain, 1st battle in Civil War, Col. D. H. Cooper's forces vs. Opothleyahola's northern Creek and Seminole bands, Nov. 19, 1861; site given by Indian descendants and some historians as "Round Mountain" (Eknv-hv'lwuce) south of Cimarron River, near Keystone (Sec. 33, T 19 N, R 10 E). See Payne County "Twin Mounds."
4. Washington Irving Camp, Oct. 12, 1832, N. of Bixby, on old U. S. Highway 64, E. side of Arkansas River, in vicinity of new bridge N. of Bixby; Irving's camp on Oct. 13, 1832, on present Jill Creek on State Highway 51, within 1 mi. radius of end of pavement at the river's edge.
5. "Old U. S. Crossing" on Arkansas River, about 1½ mi. above mouth of the Cimarron River; Irving's party crossed river here in 1832; crossing well known at opening of the "Cherokee Strip" in 1893 (NW¼ Sec. 29, T 20 N, R 10 E).
6. "Camp Arbuckle." 1834, temporary military camp established by Maj. George Birch, out of Fort Gibson under command of Gen. Mathew Arbuckle; (SW¼ Sec. 2, T 19 N, R 10 E), site about 3 mi. E. of Keystone and N. of Arkansas River.
7. Wealaka Mission, 1881. Presbyterian; site (old footings can be seen) about 2 mi. N.W. of Leonard (SW¼ Sec. 21, T 17 N, R 14 E.)
8. Grave of Principal Chief Pleasant Porter, Creek Nation (1899-1907) in family burial plot, about 2 mi. N.E. of old Wealaka Mission site (NE¼ Sec. 21, T 17 N, R 14 E). Chief Porter's home site is at Leonard.
9. Hillside Mission, Friends Society, 1882; site east of State Highway 11, about ¾ mi., and short distance west of present Hillside Church; old footings of buildings can be seen (NW¼ Sec. 1, T 22 N, R 12 E.) 3 mi. N. of Skiatook.
10. Old Courthouse, Cooweescoowee District, Cherokee Nation, in use after period of Civil War; site about 1½ mi. E. of Hillside Mission.
11. Grave of Principal Chief William Rogers, last elected chief of the Cherokee Nation (1903-1917), located with handsome mound in cemetery across the road south of Hillside Mission Church (Sec. 1, T 22 N, R 12 E). Chief Roger's home site about 2 mi. S.W. of Hillside Mission and north of Skiatook.
11. First Oil Well, Tulsa County, at Red Fork, 1901, location N. side of Red Fork City limits, on U. S. Highway 66.

WAGONER COUNTY

1. Ebenezer Baptist Church, a Creek mission, established 1832, first Baptist church organization in Oklahoma; site S. E. of present village of Tullahassee about 2 mi.
2. Western Creek Agency, 1828-33, and Chouteau's Trading Post: site near Falls of Verdigris. E. of river at Okay.
3. Tullahassee Mission, established in Creek Nation, by Presbyterian Foreign Board, 1848, and opened in 1850: Rev. W. S. Robertson, Superintendent; site N. E. of village of Tullahassee, and in NE¼ Sec. 27, T 16 N, R 18 E.
4. Koweta Mission established under authority of Creek Council, by Rev. R. M. Loughridge of Presbyterian Mission Board, 1841, and school opened 1842; site where one old building from mission days is standing on State Highway 51, north side about 1 mi. E. of present Coweta. (NW¼ Sec. 18, T 17 N, R 16 E).
5. Home of Chief Roley McIntosh, 1829, at Coweta (Town), served as leading Chief of Creek Nation to 1859.
6. "Wigwam Neesho." Sam Houston's home and trading post, 1830: site about 2 mi. S.E. of village of Okay.
7. Osage Agency, 1832, west of Falls of Verdigris River.

8. Old Creek Agency, 1835-1853, just east of old Marshall Town, and west of Verdigris River.

WASHINGTON COUNTY

1. "Delaware Big House" where Delaware tribal ceremonials were held, built about 1867; site about 2 mi. W. of Copan, on W. side of Little Caney River, in almost center of Sec. 18, T 18 N, R 12 E.
2. Bartlesville named for Col. Jacob H. Bartles who established trading post at Silver Lake (1873), and other posts at Turkey Creek and Caney Creek (1875). Grist mill established at Caney Creek by Nelson F. Carr about 1873. (The wife of Col. Bartles was Nannie, daughter of Chief Charles Journeycake of Delaware tribe, and they were the parents of the late Joseph A. Bartles of Dewey.)
3. First commercial, pay producing oil well in Oklahoma was the "Nellie Johnstone No. 1" located and marked in Johnstone Park at Bartlesville; well completed by Cudahy Oil Co. in April, 1897. (Well on original allotment of Nellie Johnstone Cannon, great-granddaughter of Chief Charles Journeycake of the Delaware tribe.)

WASHITA COUNTY

1. Colony, oldest town in County, established by John H. Seger who built his home here in 1883.
2. Seger Mission School, about 1½ mi. S. of Colony, established in 1897.
3. Cordell Academy, established in 1906 under auspices of Dutch Reformed Church in Cordell (site E. of City Park).

WOODS COUNTY

1. Captain Nathan Boone's Expedition out of Fort Gibson to Western Plains, encamped about 3 mi. N. and W. of present town of Freedom, on July 1-2, 1843. (Nathan Boone was youngest son of Daniel Boone.)

WOODWARD COUNTY

1. Camp Supply established in November, 1868, by Gen. Alfred Sully, with 5 companies of Third Infantry; supply base for Col. George Custer's Seventh Cavalry troops; Gen. Philip Sheridan received Custer and his returning troops here after Battle of Washita (1868 Black Kettle's Cheyenne village destruction); site of old post where an original stockade building stands is in Sec. 9, T 24 N, R 22 W.
2. Home of Temple Houston located at 1400 W. Texas St., Woodward. He was noted attorney in Western Oklahoma and son of Gen. Sam Houston. His unmarked grave and graves of members of his family are in a cemetery at Woodward.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

RESTORATION OF THE OLD GARLAND PLANTATION CEMETERY

The Oklahoma Historic Sites Committee in the Historical Society, Dr. James D. Morrison, Chairman, has completed one of its major projects this summer, in the restoration of the old Garland family burial plot on a tract of more than three acres, deeded to the Oklahoma Historical Society a number of years ago. The plot has been cleared of heavy timber and tangled underbrush, the handsome marble shafts have been cleaned, straightened and steadied, the iron fence surrounding the plot mended, set up and painted and an easement road graveled by the County Commissioners, leading from the section line road to the plot. Following a report on the condition of this historic site to the Committee, by the Editor after her field trip to Southeastern Oklahoma in November, 1957, this project was on the Committee's agenda. Mr. D. A. Moore, a resident of McCurtain County interested in preservation of the old cemetery, living near Tom, gave his assistance to Mr. Wm. Dale, of the Historical Society staff, who supervised the restoration of cemetery plot this past summer. This historic place is now accessible to visitors driving through Southeastern Oklahoma.

The Garland cemetery site in McCurtain County, in SW NE NW of Sec. 28, T. 9 S., R. 27 E., is on the old pre-Civil War plantation tract which originally included hundreds of acres of farm lands belonging to Samuel Garland, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, 1862-1864. The burial plot is about three and a half miles northeast of Tom, in McCurtain County, and less than a mile west of the Arkansas line. A handsome white marble shaft eighteen feet high marks Samuel Garland's grave and bears this inscription:

Ex-Governor of the Indian Nation:

Samuel Garland, born Dec. 1803, died March 20, 1870.

The soul of origin divine
 God's glorious image freed of clay
 In heaven's eternal sphere shall shine
 Forevermore.

Samuel Garland was the grandson of Major James Garland, a Scot, who settled among the Choctaws in Mississippi before the American Revolution and married a full blood Choctaw Indian woman. Their son, John Garland, one-half Choctaw and father of Samuel, owned the site of Garlandville, the oldest town in Jasper County, Mississippi. Samuel Garland attended the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, and afterward made his

home in Noxubbee County, Mississippi, when this was still Choctaw country. He married Mary Pitchlynn, the daughter of Major John Pitchlynn, a Scot and officer in the British Army, and his second wife, Sophia Folsom, one-half Choctaw and a daughter of Ebenezer Folsom who had also settled among the Choctaws before the American Revolution. Mary Pitchlynn Garland was a younger sister of Peter P. Pitchlynn, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, 1864-1866. A handsome marble shaft at her grave in the old Garland plot states: "Mary P., Wife of Samuel Garland, Born Oct. 14, 1811, Died March 31, 1886."

Another marble tombstone in the old cemetery plot bears this inscription: "In Memory of Sophia, wife of Major John Pitchlynn, Born Dec. 27, 1773, Died Dec. 18, 1871. Our dear Mother's grave." The birthdate of Sophia Folsom Pitchlynn on this gravestone is the earliest date carved on any burial marker in Oklahoma. Sophia Pitchlynn came west to the Indian Territory after the death of her husband, Major John Pitchlynn, and made her home with the Garlands, living to the ripe age of ninety-eight years.

The earliest graves marked in the Garland Cemetery are those of children: Cordelia E. Garland, Born Jan. 29, 1837, Died Sept. 30, 1844; Laura A. Garland, Born Oct. 27, 1838, Died Nov. 18, 1839; Peter P. Garland, Born Oct. 17, 1840, Died Sept. 7, 1844.

A number of other gravestones bear names noted in history. One of these is that of "David Crockett, husband of Cynthia Ellen Garland, Born Sept. 18, 1860, Died Jan. 28, 1899." Some of the old-timers in the community around the Garland cemetery have stated that this David Crockett was the grandson, (or possibly the grand-nephew) of the David Crockett of the Alamo fame.

Chief Samuel Garland's handsome residence on his plantation was at the site of Janis (post office established 1894, now a ghost town) where he owned a store and cotton gin on the old road to Doaksville, from about the time of the Civil War (residence site in McCurtain County, NE NW SW of Sec. 29, T. 9 S., R. 27 E.)

—The Editor

THE CAREER AND LIFE OF A COMMANDER AT OLD FORT SILL

Some early American military history is emphasized in the the June number, 1958, of *American Heritage* (Vol. XI, No. 4) with its handsome illustrations and altogether readable narratives. Here, "Border Warrior" by Edward S. Wallace gives the career and life of Brig. Gen. Ranald Slidell Mackenzie

who saw active service as Colonel commanding 4th Cavalry troops during the Indian wars of the 1870's and was one-time Commandant at old Fort Sill. Mr. Wallace points out that Mackenzie fought more Indian battles and never suffered defeat in comparison to his contemporary, Colonel Custer of the 7th Cavalry. The title of his story has this added comment: "Spare, frail, and plagued by old wounds, Ranald Mackenzie was still 'the finest Indian-fighting cavalryman of them all.' " The Colonel had a remarkable part in the military history of Southwestern Oklahoma though he has remained unpublicized in the annals of the Great Plains. It was from the Otter Creek Camp in what is now Tillman County that Colonel Mackenzie set out with his 4th Cavalry troops in 1871, on the hard campaigns that brought about the final surrender of the Plains Indians at Fort Sill. His stay at the Otter Creek Camp makes this spot the more significant as an historic site in Southwestern Oklahoma. The Camp had been established as one of the largest outposts of Fort Sill, and was occupied by troops for a number of years, on the south side of the old Radziminski Crossing on Otter Creek in the vicinity of a big spring where Major Earl Van Dorn's first Camp Radziminski had been temporarily located in 1858. Many relics of the military in Colonel Mackenzie's time and probably some of an earlier day have been found on this outstanding historic site listed in the Oklahoma Historic Site Survey elsewhere in this number of *The Chronicles*. (M.H.W)

STORIES OF HISTORIC SITES AND A HISTORY IN THE ADA REGION

Oklahoma Historical, an attractive booklet recently published in Ada, is a collection of feature articles on the official Historical Markers in the surrounding region, erected under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society and the State Highway Commission. These features by William D. Little, Jr., of *The Ada Evening News* tell the stories of the twelve historic sites marked by the official markers on the highways in this daily paper's 4,000 square mile circulation area in Southern Oklahoma. The writer has made a real contribution to local history in *Oklahoma Historical* which is profusely illustrated by many unpublished scenes and old photographs and a map showing the locations of the twelve historic sites in the Ada region.

Another publication out of Pontotoc County is *The Early History of Ada* by J. Hugh Biles, produced under the auspices of the Oklahoma State Bank of Ada in commemoration of its fiftieth anniversary in 1954. Mr. Biles is advertising manager of *The Ada Evening News*, and is well known in the journalistic field in Oklahoma. He has had a prominent part in the growth of Ada, much of the material in his book having come

from his own recollections as well as from files of old newspapers, reminscences of pioneers and official records. The author has said that he made it his aim to present an authentic account of the mode of pioneer life and the vigor with which Ada's first citizens attacked their problems during the founding years. The format of this book of 160 pages is neat and attractive with upwards of 150 illustrations from rare old photographs. The book is factual, beginning with an account of the first settlers, the Daggs brothers from Texas in 1890, yet it is good narrative from start to finish, which places it among the best of city histories in Oklahoma.

—M.H.W.

NOTES ON SADDLE MOUNTAIN MISSION CHURCH AND
MISS ISABEL CRAWFORD, MISSIONARY

More notes on the Saddle Mountain Mission Church in Kiowa County and on the beloved missionary, Miss Isabel Crawford who began her work among the Kiowas in 1893, under the auspices of the Women's American Baptist Home Mission Society, were given the Editor by Mr. and Mrs. Tully Morrison active members of the Saddle Mountain Church today, who visited the Oklahoma Historical Society recently. The story of Saddle Mountain Mission and Miss Crawford are told by Hugh D. Corwin in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* for summer, 1958 (Vol. XXXVI, No. 2), based largely on Miss Crawford's book *The Kiowa* (New York, 1915) and on her diary, scrapbook and many of her letters. On her last visit to Saddle Mountain Mission Church a few years ago, she placed this whole collection of historical material in the safe keeping of Mr. Tully Morrison who serves as Librarian of the Church and has these papers. Miss Crawford now in her 94th year and nearly blind lives with her nieces, the Misses Cline, at 26 Nelles Boulevard, Grimsby, Ontario, Canada. She has expressed the wish to be buried in the Saddle Mountain Mission cemetery when she dies.

Miss Crawford has been dearly loved by all the Indians in the Saddle Mountain mission field for her warm heartedness and deep interest in their lives. She was naturally a gay and happy person as a young woman, but was strict in seeing that the Indian members carried out the laws of the church. Many an Indian couple who had lived together as man and wife for years under the Indian customs observed their first marriage ceremony under the new laws when they became members of Saddle Mountain Church. Men who had more than one wife under the old tribal customs had to chose which one of his wives he wished to keep. Miss Crawford also taught that thrift and energy were necessary in keeping a home and making a living. It was she who suggested a way of raising funds to

build the church house, by selling handmade quilts. For years, the Indian woman worked at making quilts, and even the Indian men eagerly worked at the project of piecing quilts until at last they had saved up the necessary money for the cherished dream of a church of their own. It stands today still a sturdy building with a steeple and stained glass windows, well kept by the congregation.

There are six of the sixty-four charter members of the Saddle Mountain Church living today, their names listed in Mr. Corwin's article (p. 130, *The Chronicles* for summer, 1958). Among the list of the charter members, appears the name of Ba-ah-tate, the daughter of Satanta (Set-t'ainte or "White Bear"), the noted Kiowa who was taken prisoner of war in the last Indian wars around Fort Sill. Ba-ah-tate became the wife of Longhorn under the Indian customs, and they observed their first marriage ceremony under the church laws when they became members in Saddle Mountain Mission. Their daughter, Helen Longhorn, married Carl Reid (Sioux) in the Saddle Mountain Church in 1906, and they are members of this church to this day, having celebrated their golden wedding anniversary two years ago. Their daughter is Mrs. Tully Morrison who carries on the family traditions as a member of the Saddle Mountain church, granddaughter of Ba-ah-tate Longhorn and great-granddaughter of Satanta or "White Bear."

Mr. and Mrs. Tully Morrison make their home on their farm and well stocked cattle ranch south of Mountain View, in Kiowa County, and are active in church, civic and farm life in the County. Mr. Morrison (Creek) has been active in the promotion of the American Indian Exposition at Anadarko in past years, and is the Secretary of the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians with its headquarters at Anadarko. Mr. and Mrs. Morrison were chosen as the Farm Family of the Year from Kiowa County in 1958, in the statewide contest under the Extension Division of the Agricultural Department recently.

Miss Isabel Crawford though living far away in Canada has kept up her interest in the charter members of the Saddle Mountain Church and their descendants through the years. The lives and the attainments of the Indians in this mission community, and even the sturdy Saddle Mountain Church itself may be counted as living symbols of a missionary's love and devoted work begun on the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation over sixty years ago.

—The Editor

FIRST SEMINAR ON AMERICAN INDIAN LIFE SPONSORED
BY THE AMERICAN INDIAN HALL OF FAME AT ANADARKO

A Seminar on American Indian life, organized and planned through the interest of Mrs. Logan Billingsly and Mr. Billingsly, under the sponsorship of the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians carried on its panel discussions with great success and was enthusiastically received by those attending its first meetings at Anadarko, during the American Indian Exposition on August 19, 20, 21, 1958. The Seminar was held in an historic place, the large waiting room of the Rock Island Railroad station; this railroad having discontinued its passengers service at Anadarko a few years ago, Rock Island officials generously co-operated by loaning the well kept and commodious waiting room as a meeting place.

The first of the morning meetings beginning on Tuesday, with Miss Muriel H. Wright, presiding, had for its subject the "American Indian Family Unit" highlighting the role of the first American homemaker, the American Indian woman, and the production of food, clothing and shelter. Brief talks were added to the panel discussion, given by native authorities in this part of Oklahoma. Judge Ross Hume, Caddo County historian, opened the program by a review of the history of the Wichita-Caddo Reservation in this region. Mr. Tully Morrison (Creek), secretary of the American Indian Hall of Fame and well known cattle man of Kiowa County, spoke of the difficulties in Indian life of the vital changes from the old tribal customs and foods to modern ways and foods. Interesting observations were made on clothing, by Mrs. Martha Thomas (Kiowa) maker of fine bead work, and by Mrs. Mary Inkinish (Cheyenne) noted throughout the country as a maker of fine, beaded moccasins. Mr. George Bates (Wichita), authority on the construction of the Wichita grass thatched house, told how the Indian men cut big cedar logs for the supporting posts and poles for the framework, and how the Indian women helped in gathering and drying bundles of grass for the thatching of such a dwelling. Mr. Bates also mentioned some of the methods and ways of the Wichitas in making various corn dishes.

The second meeting of the Seminar, with Mr. Irvin Peithmann of the University of Southern Illinois presiding, had for its panel subject, "American Indian Art," with discussions and displays on aboriginal, historical and contemporary art, some of the displays furnished by the Museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Leaders on the panel were Mrs. Susie Peters, well known founder of the Kiowa Indian school of art, who recounted some of her experiences in developing the talents of the first five, famous Kiowa artists; and Mr. Acee Blue Eagle (Pawnee), outstanding American Indian artist of the

Art Department in Oklahoma State College of Technology at Okmulgee, who gave interesting comments on Indian art and humor. The aged Mrs. Enoch Smokey (Kiowa) gave some of her life experiences and told the story through an interpreter of her rescue as a small child, by a daring Kiowa woman on horseback during the battle of Palo Duro Canyon (1874 in Texas) between Kiowa-Comanche forces and Fourth Cavalry troops from Fort Sill, under the command of Colonel R. S. Mackenzie.

Another very interesting talk was given by Mr. Cecil Horse (Kiowa), minister in the Methodist Mission Conference and brother of the late Monroe Tsatoke, celebrated Kiowa artist, both being sons of Hunting Horse, noted U. S. Army scout. Mr. Cecil Horse told of some sources of symbolism in traditional Indian art, and recounted old Kiowa customs in the tribe before 1870.

The panel discussion of the third meeting was on "The Seminole Tribe," with reviews on the origin and the history of the Seminoles under Spanish rule and on the removal to the Indian Territory. Dr. Edwin McReynolds, of the Oklahoma University History Department and author of the historical volume *The Seminoles* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1957) took part in the panel, as well as Mr. Irving Peithman who has recently published a brochure "The Unconquered Seminoles" which gives a brief review of the past and present day life of the members of the tribe that have remained in Florida.

The 1958 honors accorded the Seminole war chief, Osceola, in the American Indian Hall of Fame afforded special emphasis in this third meeting of the Seminar with discussion and study of military tactics of many well known Indians in history, Sitting Bull, Chief Joseph, and others. Colonel George H. Shirk, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, led this discussion on Indian military tactics holding that the warrior group manoeuvres were superior to the individual Indian's action and ability as a soldier. Mr. Gillett Griswold, Director of the U. S. Artillery and Missile Center Museum at Fort Sill, gave observations on the subject, pointing out individual Indian warriors in history noted for their talent as military leaders. Others present for this panel discussion included Mr. Joe McBride, President of the Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma; Senator Don Baldwin, President pro-tempore of the Oklahoma State Senate; and Mr. Logan Billingsly, Executive Director of the American Indian Hall of Fame.

DEDICATION OF MEMORIAL STATUES IN THE AMERICAN INDIAN
HALL OF FAME AT ANADARKO, 1958

An assembly at the grounds of the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians, on the east side of Anadarko, was an historical event in Oklahoma, held on Monday, August 18, 1958, when a program of ceremonies was given in the dedication of bronze busts of two noted American Indians, which were placed in the Hall of Fame landscaped area. The American Indians honored were Allen Wright (1826-85), Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, and Osceola (1804-38), a war chief of the Seminoles in Florida during the Great Seminole War. The two bronzes had been previously unveiled¹ elsewhere: That of Allen Wright had been unveiled with impressive ceremony in the Rotunda of the Oklahoma State Capitol on November 15, 1957; that of Osceola, in colorful ceremony at the Dania Seminole Reservation in Florida on July 18, 1958.

The unveiling of the Osceola bust had taken place under the big council tree on the Dania Reservation where more than 400 Florida Seminoles had gathered in colorful native costumes for the occasion. The bust of Osceola was made by sculptress Madeleine Parks of New York, who had done the modeling from a death mask of Osceola, recently discovered by her in the stored collections of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D. C. The program on the occasion of the unveiling included speeches made by Florida state and U. S. Indian Office officials, highlighted by the principal address given by Honorable N. B. Johnson, Justice of the Oklahoma Supreme Court and President of the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians. Before the Osceola bust was brought to Oklahoma this summer, it was placed on special exhibit after the Dania Reservation program in the beautiful Stephen Foster Memorial building at White Springs, Florida, where it attracted wide attention of visitors from over the United States. The unveiling of the bust during the program had been done by Billy Bowlegs III, patriarch of the Florida Seminoles, along with Billy Osceola, Chief, and Charley Cypress, counselor.

The dedication ceremonies at Anadarko were opened by Mr. Paul Stonun, Member of the Oklahoma State Planning and Resources Board, in the introduction of Justice N. B. Johnson, State Supreme Court, who as President presided over the meeting. The invocation and the benediction were given by the Reverend Dick Smith, pastor of the Rock Branch Baptist Church, and the robed choir of this early day mission among the Wichita and Caddo north of Anadarko, sang a number of

¹The unveiling ceremonies for the Allen Wright bust are recounted in "Dedication Ceremonies of Bronze Portraiture in the Indian Hall of Fame, 1957," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXV, No. 4. (Winter, 1957-58).

old hymns and other songs. A greeting from the State of Oklahoma by Governor Raymond Gary was delivered; an address of welcome was given by Floyd Maytubby, Governor of the Chickasaw Nation and Vice President of the American Indian Hall of Fame, and a response made by Mr. Logan Billingsly, Executive Director of the Hall of Fame, followed by greetings from the American Indian Exposition by Robert Goombi, President. Distinguished guests introduced by Justice Johnson included General William S. Key, past President of the Oklahoma Historical Society and Mrs. Key, a daughter of the late Alice B. Davis, Chief of the Seminole Nation in Oklahoma; Honorable Don Baldwin, President pro-tempore of the Oklahoma State Senate; Mr. Joe McBride, President of the Board of Regents for the University of Oklahoma, and Mrs. McBride; Mrs. Madeleine Parks, sculptress of the Osceola memorial bust; Mr. Kenneth Campbell, sculptor of the Allen Wright memorial bust; Mrs. Mary Wright Wallace, a daughter of Principal Chief Allen Wright, and her son, Mr. Robert Wallace, along with Mrs. Harriet Wright O'Leary, another granddaughter of the Chief, with her three sons, Charles, James and John O'Leary; Mr. Charles Grounds, an attorney of the Seminoles in Oklahoma, and Mr. Phillip Walker, Chairman of the Seminole Council in Oklahoma, besides the Reverend Billy Osceola, Chief, and members of the Seminole Council from Florida.

The Allen Wright dedication service was opened by the introduction of Miss Muriel H. Wright, historian and editor of the Oklahoma Historical Society, by Senator Don Baldwin. Miss Wright introduced her uncle, Mr. J. B. Wright, the only living son of Allen Wright, who gave the dedicatory address on the Memorial to his father. This address was followed by a Choctaw ceremony, in which earth from the birthplace of Allen Wright in Mississippi was placed at the base of the memorial pedestal and bust by John Pushmataha O'Leary, great-grandson of the Chief.

The Osceola dedication service was opened with the introduction of Dr. Delyte Morris, President of the Southern Illinois University, by Mr. Irvin M. Peithmann, Curator of Archeology of the same University. The First Annual Award by the National American Indian Hall of Fame, a bronze engraved plaque, was presented to Dr. Delyte Morris in behalf of the University of Illinois for its historical research and promotion of the Osceola memorial among the Florida Seminoles recently.

The dedicatory address on Osceola was delivered by Dr. Alton Morris, of the University of Florida and chairman of the Osceola Memorial Committee. A Seminole ceremony followed when earth from Osceola's Florida homeland was placed at the base of memorial pedestal and bust by Chief Billy Osceola. The dedication services closed with remarks on the

Seminoles and their war chief in the great Florida war of 120 years ago, by General William S. Key of the Oklahoma Historical Society Board of Directors.

The principal dedicatory addresses delivered by Mr. J. B. Wright and Dr. Alton Morris at the memorable American Indian Hall of Fame meeting on August 18, 1958, at Anadarko, follow here:

DEDICATION SPEECH

On placing the Memorial Bust of Allen Wright, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, 1866-1870, in the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians
President Johnson, Mr. Goombi, Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends and Fellow Citizens:

This is a great occasion for us who are interested in Indians, their general background and their achievements.

It was on these grounds sixty years ago last month that I, as a visitor, camped with my brother, the Reverend Frank Hall Wright, a missionary to the Indians of Western Oklahoma. Here I became acquainted with the Plains Indians. They lived in tepees at that time. I spent three weeks with my brother, and we travelled over a wide scope of this country, and I met many notable Indians. Frank preached to the Indians along the way, his sermons being interpreted by means of the sign language. I was an interested spectator. Although I have been back twice since then, it does my heart good to see the great advancement made as attested by the Indian Hall of Fame and the American Indian Exposition held here this year.

This occasion is of special interest to me, the last surviving son of a great father, to be called on to speak at the dedication of his bronze bust in the National Hall of Fame of Famous American Indians. I feel deeply the honor and only hope I can do my small bit in such a manner that it will add to the great honor which has been bestowed upon him by friends of the Red Man.

I want to say that time will not permit me to tell all that I would like to narrate, and an abbreviated account of Allen Wright's achievements will not do him full justice. My narrative will undertake to give a few sidelights of his life not usually found in printed form but naturally will overlap some of it.

Allen Wright, a full blood Choctaw, was born in Mississippi in 1826 and bore the name Kiliahote, a Choctaw name which may be liberally interpreted to mean "Go Forth and Lead." He bore this name for eight or ten years until he came in personal contact with the white missionaries who gave him the name Allen Wright.

While Kiliahote was a small boy his parents undertook the trek to Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, with their family consisting of three boys and one girl. The mother died on the "Trail of Tears." The father brought his children to the Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory, where they lived together a few years and until the father died, leaving the children orphans.

The white missionaries took charge of Allen, and he lived mostly in the home of the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury, D. D., the first mission-

ary sent by the Presbyterian Church to the Choctaws in Mississippi, in 1818. Kingsbury later came to the Indian Territory and laboured among the Choctaws for fifty-two years and lies buried near the grave of the Reverend Allen Wright in the Old Boggy Depot cemetery. He was from New England, the cradle of American learning, and no doubt had great influence on Allen Wright's learning.

Allen attended Choctaw tribal schools and prepared for college at Spencer, A Choctaw Academy. The Choctaw Nation had set up an educational fund for higher learning, and each year sent certain students to the states to attend college. Allen on this scholarship went to Union College, Schenectady, New York, where he finished his collegiate course and then went on to Union Theological Seminary, New York City. There he finished his course in theology. He was one of the most highly educated Indians of all time. He became a master of the Choctaw, English, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Languages. One missionary wrote that it was his opinion that Allen would be an unprofitable servant of his people, since being absent and out of touch with them for seven years he would be educated away from them. The Reverend Allen Wright refuted this opinion by his services, for he loved his people. As soon as he returned home the Choctaws, recognizing his ability and learning, placed him as principal of Armstrong Academy for boys. From this time, he was honored and chosen for many elected offices and appointments in the Choctaw Nation. He was always a patron of higher education among the Choctaws, and a strong advocate of education for girls.

The year that he graduated from Union Theological Seminary and returned home, 1855, the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions sent Miss Harriet Newell Mitchell from Dayton, Ohio, to serve as a missionary teacher to the Choctaws. She was of a prominent family in Dayton, and a descendant of Elder William Brewster, a leader of the Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth Rock on the *Mayflower* and founded the second English colony in America, in 1620. Harriet Mitchell had prepared to go as a missionary to India, but it seems the Lord had other plans for her and she was sent west to our Indians.

Allen Wright and Miss Harriet had come to the same mission field as educators and missionaries among the Choctaws, so it seems only natural that they were attracted to one another in this western wilderness where the Choctaws had been living in their new nation only about twenty-three years. They were married in 1857. To this union were born ten children, two of whom died in infancy. The other eight children lived to maturity and a ripe old age.

The young couple made their first home in a log cabin at old Mount Pleasant, in present Bryan County, where wild deer and turkeys approached the house. Two years later, 1859, Reverend Wright was assigned as minister to several churches in the radius of Boggy Depot, Choctaw Nation. He employed an English artisan to build a house here, which was the family home until his death. This was one of the best residences in the Indian Territory at the time, and the birthplace of eight of his children.

A few years after making the family home at Boggy Depot, Allen Wright's only sister died leaving her two small, full-blood Choctaw boys orphans. He took them into his family, and reared and educated them. During his short lifetime, he sent his sons and daughters and his two nephews to college, and after his death the older children assisted the younger ones in obtaining college advantages. All of the children became substantial citizens, and his sons worked for the progress and welfare of the Indian people. Two of his daughters are still living.

During the War between the States, Allen Wright served as chaplain with the rank of captain in the Choctaw regiment of the Confederate States Army. At the close of the War, he was chosen as one of the Choctaw delegation to renew relations with the Federal Government, which had been disrupted by the War, and to make a new treaty which is known in history as the Treaty of 1866. It was while serving on this delegation in Washington, absent from home for nearly a year, that he was elected by the Choctaws as their Principal Chief without his knowledge. He was later re-elected for a second term to this position (1868-70). It was also while he was in Washington working on the draft of the Treaty of 1866 that he gave the name "Oklahoma" ("red people" or "Indian") for the Indian Territory, the name appearing in the Treaty. Twenty-three years later, this name was applied to the western part of the Indian Territory when this region was organized as Oklahoma Territory; and again, forty-one years later, the name became that of the 46th State when Oklahoma Territory and the last Indian Territory were organized as the State of Oklahoma.

Allen Wright was progressive in his ideas for the advancement of the Choctaws and the development of the Indian Territory. He worked to improve his own properties as owner of a farm, ranch and livestock, as well as a grist mill and a flour mill, one of the few in his part of the country. At times, he was hard pressed for money when he had three or four children away in college, but he never became discouraged. My mother told me that when Father was principal chief that there was hardly ever a meal that did not require three long tables for persons and their companions who came to see him on business.

He was a courteous gentleman, well received everywhere. And was well known as a scholar and translator, his work including a translation of the Psalms of David direct from the Hebrew into Choctaw, and the compilation of a Choctaw dictionary for use in the public schools in his nation.

While engrossed in Choctaw public affairs, Allen Wright never forgot his calling as a minister of the Gospel. He filled preaching appointments in the Choctaw and Chickasaw country, elsewhere in the Indian Territory and in the states of the old South. His influence was felt in the local Presbyteries and on up to the General Assembly by which he was one time elected a delegate to a World's Presbyterian Conference in Scotland. He was elected in the last year of his life as President of the Alumni Association of Union Theological Seminary which had members living in the four corners of the earth.

The Reverend Allen Wright died at his home at old Boggy Depot on December 2, 1885, at the age of fifty-nine years, and his grave is beside that of his wife in the cemetery nearby. This Bible verse is inscribed on his monument:

"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them."

It now becomes my honored privilege bestowed by proper authorities, to dedicate the memorial statuary of Allen Wright, a Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, to be placed in the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians.

—J. B. Wright

McAlester, Oklahoma

* * * * *

DEDICATION SPEECH

On the occasion of placing the Bust of Seminole War
Chief Osceola in The National Hall of Fame for Famous
American Indians

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Americans:

We have met on this occasion to pay tribute to Osceola—warrior, leader, and hero—who lived in one of the critical spots of time in American history. He played his role in Florida life when the state was young, when the pulse of an expanding America throbbed with a vibrant imperative to send new life and energy to the southern frontier. That a clash between the would-be possessor and the unwanted-to-be dispossessed should finally eventuate was inevitable unless the wisdom of compromise should have been employed. This was not done, and in consequence the Seminole War burned with devastating waste for six years in the then unhappy territory of Florida. Osceola emerged as the courageous leader of a people who desired no territory or privilege other than to be left alone to dig, delve, and hunt in familiar lands unspoiled by the white man's civilization.

Osceola, whom we this day honor, was born to lead. By inheritance he had the gallantry, the cool courage, and the native wisdom of the white man and the ferocity, the savage daring, and the subtlety of the Indian. He was a child of the forest with qualities commanding admiration and regard. Many footnotes to Florida history—in lore, legend, and fact—reveal the elements of greatness in this man whom danger could not dismay nor unprincipled reasoning motivate to dishonorable action. Brave and active in war he was docile in peace. He was a firm friend of the white man until treachery provoked a bitter revenge wherein he became treacherous as a foe and unbridled in his passions. He comprehended his trust to his people and kept vigilant watch lest he compromise his Seminole followers' claim to Florida territory.

Osceola was a man who made no undue demands of his friends or foes, exacted no unfair tribute, kept faith with the unfaithful, and remained constant to a principle that merited for him the favor of his fellow tribesmen and the plaudits of his fellow Americans.

As a young man he was versatile in the hunt, in wrestling, and in playing the Indian ball game in which he early gained fame among his fellows for his athletic prowess and his love of fair play.

On many occasions throughout his life Osceola exhibited that rare quality of leadership that turns necessity into glorious gain. His white flag of truce, whether misunderstood or dishonored at Camp Peyton, became for him a white plume of honor around which Americans, who have always loved fair play, rallied to bestow homage upon him. Cities in nineteen states; counties in Michigan, Iowa, and Florida; streets in many sections of the country, a mountain in Massachusetts, a lake in Alabama and a United States Naval ship do him silent honor in bearing his name.

Possibly the fairest appraisal of Osceola that has been made is that given to us by the writer of an anonymous letter dated Charleston, January 31, 1838, one day after Osceola's death. I quote:²

²Quoted from *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIII (January-April, 1955), p. 305.

"We shall not write his epitaph or his funeral oration, yet there is something in his character not unworthy of the respect of the world. From a vagabond child he became the master spirit of a long and desperate war. He made himself—no man owed less to accident. Bold and decisive in action, deadly but consistent in hatred, dark in revenge, cool, subtle, and sagacious in council, he established gradually and surely a resistless ascendancy over his adoptive tribe, by the daring of his deeds, and the consistency of his hostility to the whites, and the profound craft of his policy. In council he spoke little—he made the other chiefs his instruments, and what they delivered in public, was the secret suggestion of the invisible master. Such was Osceola, who will be long remembered as the man that with the feeblest means produced the most terrible effects."

Today Osceola takes his place in this Oklahoma shrine with others who have added immeasurable stature to their race and to this nation. This bust, this creation of beauty, will remain after those whose vision conceived it and those who this day share in this dedication will have become only a record in the annals of what we do here. The personal qualities of the man—courage, innate intelligence, a bold combativeness, and a discipline of self—have been stamped indelibly on this statue with a permanence as lasting as the memory of the spirit that prompts us to honor him almost a century and a quarter after his passing from our midst.

This occasion and this bronze image of Osceola, which we here dedicate to posterity, will have served its purpose well if it keeps constantly before us and our inheritors the reminder that the iron and steel of the white man are not invincible when principles of justice are flaunted; and that breaking faith with men of any race or creed achieves only a temporary advantage. If Osceola's destiny serves to teach men this truth, his life and our elevating him to this high place today will not have been in vain.

—Alton C. Morris, Chairman
Florida Osceola Committee

NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society, held in the Auditorium of the Historical Society, Oklahoma City, at 10:00 a.m., April 24, 1958, voted and unanimously adopted a new Constitution for the Society. This new Constitution, proposed as amending the existing Constitution which had not been modified since 1932, had been previously submitted to and approved by the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and subsequently was submitted to the Annual meeting of the Society in April, this year. A Committee appointed by the then President of the Society, General William S. Key, had drawn up this new, amended Constitution. Members of the Board of Directors who served on this Committee appointed by General Key were: Col. George H. Shirk, Chairman, Mr. Joe Curtis, Judge Baxter Taylor, Judge N. B. Johnson, Judge Edgar S. Vaught and Judge Redmond S. Cole.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Adopted April 24, 1958

ARTICLE I

Name, Object and Location

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be:
The Oklahoma Historical Society.

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

Section 3. All deposits of papers, artifacts or articles or other gifts received by the Society are made to it in trust for the people of the State of Oklahoma, and may not be received with any limitation, condition or other restriction that renders such other than an outright gift. No portrait may be hung in the galleries of the Society except upon the prior invitation from the Board of Directors, after a majority vote to that effect duly taken at a regularly constituted meeting. Provided, no portrait, bust, art object, artifact, manuscript, document, nor thing of historical value, shall be removed from its place of exhibition or from the premises of the Society, nor shall any of said objects be loaned to any person without prior permission in each case from the Board.

Section 4. The offices, library, archives and museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society shall be located at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; provided the Society may as from time to time determined by the Board, establish temporary displays or exhibits at other locations in conjunction with fairs, exhibitions or other meetings of historical, educational or scientific interest.

ARTICLE II

Membership

Section 1. The membership of the Oklahoma Historical Society shall consist of: Annual, Life and Honorary.

Section 2. The annual membership of the Society shall be composed of such persons as shall be elected to membership by the Board of Directors at any regular meeting thereof, except that which

last precedes the regular annual meeting of the Society, after payment of the prescribed fee. Editors or publishers of newspapers or other periodicals who have contributed the regular issues for one year shall be entitled to membership in the Society during the continuance of such contribution thereafter without the payment of the annual membership fee.

Section 3. The life membership of the Society shall be composed of such persons as shall be elected to membership by the Board of Directors and after payment of the prescribed life membership fee.

Section 4. The honorary membership of the Society shall be composed of the Governor, former Governors of the State of Oklahoma, members of the Legislature during their term of office, Justices of the Supreme Court, and such persons as may be so elected by the Board of Directors because of their distinction in literary or scientific attainments or notable public service. The Honorary members shall be free of all dues and assessments and shall not vote at the annual meeting of the Society.

Section 5. The annual membership fee shall be three dollars per year; and the life membership fee shall be fifty dollars; provided, such fees may be from time to time modified by the Board of Directors of the Society. Membership dues shall be deposited in the Private Fund of the Society and expanded for the purposes of the Society as the Board shall direct.

Section 6. Membership may be withdrawn from any person at any meeting of the Society by a two-thirds vote of the members present. Provided, that at least twenty days notice shall be given the accused member, together with specifications of the charges upon which action is proposed to be based.

Section 7. Only life members and such annual members as have paid their current membership fee shall be entitled to vote at any annual meeting of the Society. Provided, that a representative of each newspaper or periodical which has contributed its paper for at least one year to the Society shall be entitled to one vote at the annual meeting of the Society.

ARTICLE III

Meetings

Section 1. The annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society shall be held at such place or places and on such date or dates as may be determined by said Society, or its Board of Directors when the Society at an annual meeting or adjourned meeting thereof has failed to designate such place or time.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Society shall be convened upon call of the President of the Society for the transaction of such business as may be specified therein and no other business shall be taken up for consideration at such meeting except by unanimous consent.

Section 3. Notice of all meetings of the Society shall be given by mail, or if directed by the Board by publication in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, to all members of the Society by the Administrative Secretary, at least twenty days in advance of such meeting.

Section 4. Fifteen voting members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business of the Society at any regular or called meeting thereof.

ARTICLE IV

Directors

Section 1. The Board of Directors of twenty-five members shall be the governing body of the Society, with full and complete authority to manage, administer and control its affairs, moneys, property and effects. The Board of Directors may formulate such rules and regulations as may in its judgment be necessary for the proper conduct of the affairs of the Society, not in conflict with this Constitution. The Governor of Oklahoma shall be an additional and ex officio member of the Board.

Section 2. Members of the Board shall be elected for a term of five years or until their successors have been elected. Directors shall be elected only from among those persons who have been annual or life members of the Society for not less than three years prior to their nomination.

Section 3. Five members of the Board of Directors shall be elected annually by ballot by members of the Society in the following manner: Prior to the tenth day of January of each year the Administrative Secretary and the Treasurer shall prepare ballots upon which appear the names of the five directors whose terms will expire that year, unless otherwise directed in writing by such director, and the names of such other eligible persons who may be nominated thereto in writing filed with the Administrative Secretary by the first day of such year by twenty-five members who at said time are entitled to vote at the annual meeting. Such ballot shall be mailed by the Administrative Secretary to each member of the Society entitled to vote at the annual meeting, who shall mark such ballot for not more than five, and shall then return same in a double envelope, the inner one being a plain envelope upon which the member must sign his name. Upon prior direction of the Executive Committee, in lieu thereof, such ballot may be printed in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, in which event the Executive Committee will provide adequate instructions for the return and protection of the ballot. On the fourth Tuesday in January, or as soon thereafter as possible, the President, a Vice-President, the Administrative Secretary, and the Treasurer shall meet and open the ballots, counting the same, and retaining the envelopes and ballots in a safe place until the next regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors, when such ballots, together with the envelopes and the result of the canvass shall be delivered by proper certificate to the Board. After being satisfied as to the correctness of the canvass, the Board of Directors shall declare the five receiving the highest vote as directors of the Society.

Section 4. The 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.

Section 5. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the president of the Society at the request of three members of the Board of Directors, due notice of the same having been given five days in advance, together with a statement of the object of the meeting. Five members of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. The Board shall cause the Administrative Secretary to prepare a written report of its proceedings to be published to the membership of the Society.

Section 6. The Board of Directors of the Society shall supervise the number and designation of the employees of the Society and as recommended by the Executive Committee, shall approve the selection

of suitable persons to fill such positions and the determination of the rate of compensation of each employee within limitations fixed by legislative enactment. The Board of Directors may require bond for the faithful performance of duty by any employee in such sum justified by the circumstances. No member of the Board of Directors shall receive salary, expenses or per diem for services rendered as a member of the Board of Directors.

Section 7. The absence of a member of the Board of Directors from three consecutive regular quarterly meetings of the Board of Directors shall operate to terminate the membership of such director from said board, provided that a statement from the member accepted by the Board at the meeting from which the Board member was absent showing such member he was reasonably prevented from attending such Board meeting may prevent the termination of such membership.

Section 8. In the event of a vacancy in the membership of the Board of Directors, the same shall be filled for the remainder of that term by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE V

Officers

Section 1. The officers of the Society shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, an Administrative Secretary and a Treasurer. Each shall serve for a term of two years or until the successor of each be elected. All Officers except the Administrative Secretary shall be elected from among the members of the Board of Directors.

Section 2. At the meeting of the Board where the newly elected Directors are announced, and on each even numbered year, the Board shall elect such officers. Such election shall be by written ballot. Provided, nothing shall be construed to prevent the Board from electing such additional Emeritus officers as it may determine.

Section 3. The President of the Society shall preside at all meetings of the Society and perform all other duties usually incident to a chief executive officer.

Section 4. The Vice-Presidents of the Society, in order of their election, shall perform the duties of the President in event of the absence or disability of that officer.

Section 5. The Administrative Secretary of the Society shall keep the records and seal of the Society; shall take and record the minutes of the proceedings of the meetings of the Society and of its Board of Directors; shall conduct its correspondence; in conjunction with the President of the Society, he shall make such report of its work and collections as may be required by law or order of the Board; he shall collect all membership fees and keep a record of same, transmitting the funds thus secured to the Treasurer of the Society; shall be in supervisory control of all staff members and employees of the Society; and shall perform such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Board of Directors. The Administrative Secretary shall give bond in such sum as the Board of Directors may determine for the faithful performance of his duties.

Section 6. The Treasurer of the Society shall receive and hold all funds of the Society; shall keep the accounts of the Society in its name in a safe banking institution; shall keep a detailed account of the receipts and expenditures holding the same subject to inspection

by the President and the Board of Directors of the Society; and shall render a full report at the annual meeting of the Society and at such other times as may be required by the Board of Directors. The Treasurer shall give bond for the faithful performance of his duties as may be required by the Board of Directors.

Section 7. Any officer of the Society may be removed for cause by a two-thirds vote at any regularly convened meeting of the Board of Directors.

Section 8. Officers pro tempore may be chosen at any meeting of the Society of the Board of Directors in event of the absence or disability of the regular officers.

ARTICLE VI

Committees. Official Journal

Section 1. There shall be an Executive Committee composed of the President, the Vice-presidents, the Treasurer, and two other members of the Board of Directors appointed by the President. It shall meet at the call of the President and minutes of its meetings shall be kept by the Administrative Secretary.

Section 2. The Executive Committee shall, as directed by the President, advise and counsel the President in the discharge of his responsibilities and the administration of his office; shall determine such routine matters of policy, not inconsistent with the mandates of the Board of Directors, as may arise between regular meetings of the Board; and shall, under the supervision of the Board of Directors, select suitable persons to fill positions on the staff of the Society.

Section 3. The President, agreeable to the directives of the Board of Directors, shall appoint and designate such standing or special committees as may be appropriate to the work and purposes of the Society.

Section 4. The official publication of the Oklahoma Historical Society shall be **The Chronicles of Oklahoma**. It shall be published quarterly and distributed without charge to all members of the Society, editors or publishers of newspapers deposited in original or microfilm form regularly without charge in the archives of the Society, and such schools, libraries and other institutions and societies as may be from time to time determined. The Editor of **The Chronicles of Oklahoma** shall be selected by the Board of Directors upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee.

Section 5. **The Chronicles of Oklahoma** shall publish the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors and of the Society; and shall pursue an editorial policy of publication of worthy and scholarly manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Oklahoma or regional history, including necrologies, reviews, reprints of journals and reports and the other activities of the Society. It shall not interest itself in the publication of manuscripts of a political or controversial nature.

ARTICLE VII

Amendments

This constitution may be amended at any meeting of the Society by a two-thirds vote of the members present, provided, that due notice of such proposed amendment be given in the form of a copy thereof to each member or by publication in **The Chronicles of Oklahoma** at least three months in advance of the date of such meeting.

RECENT ACCESSIONS IN THE LIBRARY

The following list compiled by Mrs. Edith Mitchell, Cataloger, gives the titles of books accessioned and catalogued in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society, from July 1, 1957 to July 1, 1958:

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- Carter, Clarence E. *The Territory of Florida, 1821-1824.* Washington, D. C. Territorial papers of the U. S., Vol. 22. 1129 pp.
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- Caswell, John Edwards. *Arctic frontiers.* Norman, Okla.: University Press, 1956. 232 pp.
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- Chapman, Berlin B. *Founding of Stillwater*—Original MS. 2 vols. 382 pp.

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- Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Muriel H. Wright, Editor. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1956. Vol. 34. 516 pp.
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- Clare, Isreal Smith. *Library of Universal History*. New York and Chicago: Union Book Company. 15 vols.
- Clark, Ira G. *Then came the railroads* . . . Norman, Okla.: University Press, 1958.
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BOOK REVIEWS

The Pioneer Judge. By Edward Everett Dale and James D. Morrison. (The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1958. Pp. xvii, 433. Ills. \$5.00)

The Pioneer Judge, by Dr. E. E. Dale and Dr. James D. Morrison, is more than a record of the life of Judge Robert L. Williams. It relates in a detailed manner the early life of an American youth affected by respectable poverty, but inspired by the opportunities for advancement and achievement which were available in his day.

The many incidents related in this volume are characteristic of thousands of young men and women who have not admitted defeat but by sheer grit and determination have conquered almost impossible conditions and have risen to eminence in professional, business, and scientific careers.

As a boy he loved to be employed. He had no distaste for hard work. In his early life he was determined to save something of his earnings, though it be ever so little.

He worked his way through the public schools and college, and was always recognized as a diligent and painstaking student. Upon leaving college he decided to study for the ministry, and after completing his ministerial studies, accepted appointment as a "circuit-riding" pastor in the Southern Methodist Church. He worked faithfully in this position although the task called for arduous labor and little pay. At this point, the authors have disclosed a chapter in the Judge's life which to many has been the object of much speculation and conjecture.

It was as a young minister that he met a charming and cultured young lady in Texas, with whom he fell deeply in love. He sought her hand in marriage, but her family, of modest wealth and high standing, did not look with favor upon this union, and apparently the young lady shared in the judgment of her family. The Judge, however, was not easily deterred in his matrimonial aspirations; he was never accused of being a quitter. He surrendered his license as a preacher and applied himself vigorously to the study of law (which he had previously begun in Alabama), and came to Indian Territory. Locating at Durant he worked night and day in his new profession and immediately began to build a lucrative practice.

His early habit of saving a portion of his earnings now asserted itself, and we find him investing in farm lands, bank stock, building and loan companies, and taking an active interest in politics. He was either the president or the general manager of every institution in which he was interested.

Never forgetting the secret affection for the young lady in Texas, he built a nice cottage in Durant, furnished it completely throughout and then sought to contact her. Learning that she was vacationing in Colorado, he secured her address and took the train to Colorado. He there told her the cottage was ready and again implored her to marry him. Her mind had not changed and he returned to Durant and the vacant cottage. Since that time while he respected the opposite sex, his affection for women changed to one of indifference, and he remained a lonely bachelor throughout his life.

The probability of statehood for Oklahoma and Indian Territories now increased his interest in politics and his record for the following years is an almost detailed history of the Democratic Party in Indian Territory during this period. He was a natural organizer and was early recognized as the leader of his party in the Durant section of the Territory. He was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention; was not only active, but a leader in that convention.

His ambition to become Governor of the new state began to assert itself, but there were other members of the Convention who had definite aspirations in that direction. A compromise was effected and while Haskell became the state's first Governor, Williams became the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

He made a great record on that court and thereafter became Governor. It is generally admitted that his record as Governor was one that reflected great credit not only upon himself but upon the state as well.

Upon the expiration of his term as Governor, he was appointed United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Oklahoma, and eventually he was elevated to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals from which he retired a few years before his death.

His election for Governor and his appointment to the Federal Court were bitterly opposed by his political enemies; in fact every victory he won was by hard work and over vigorous opposition.

In summing up the career of this man it may be said while he made many enemies, no one has ever questioned his honesty or integrity.

In emphasizing the many sterling qualities of Judge Williams, the authors have not attempted to conceal or ignore his faults, mistakes and indiscretions, but in a careful analysis of his record have with impartiality detailed in a most excellent style and manner the vices and virtues of this distinguished Oklahoman.

The book is intensely interesting and worthy of a place in any library.

Oklahoma City

—Edgar S. Vaught
Western District of Oklahoma
Judge, U. S. District Court

The Indian Territory. By Robert E. Cunningham. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1957. Pp. xi, 174. Ills. Index. \$5.95.)

This "Frontier Photographic Record" is a departure from the usual histories on the Indian Territory. There are in this book some 106 fine prints from the original glass negatives of photographs made by W. S. Prettyman who carried his camera and recorded real life scenes among the people of the Indian Territory from 1880 to 1905. Prettyman had the eye of an artist in making 10,000 or more photographs in his time. He was a great favorite as a photographer among the Indians, his marvelous likeness of Chief Washunga of the Kaw tribe that appears as the frontispiece in this history having been pronounced by many Americans as one that looked "the way an Indian should."

The collecting of early photographs made in Oklahoma has long been the hobby of Robert E. Cunningham, graduate of Oklahoma State University and photoengraver. The identification of thousands of fragile glass negatives was a difficult undertaking, in which those that proved the hand of Prettyman were discovered. The ones selected by Mr. Cunningham for this his first book form a priceless record for the story of Oklahoma. Besides photographs of Indians and Indian life, there are many others shown here that were made by Prettyman in the days of the cattleman and of the Oklahoma boomers and even a few of outlaws in the 1890's. The most valuable one of all, a landmark in "news photography" of all time is that made under Prettyman's direction on the day of the run at the opening of the Cherokee Strip on September 16, 1893. This photograph has become a famous classic showing a run for land in Oklahoma history, its effect heightened in Cunningham's presentation by contrast with another view shown on the opposite page, taken two seconds later at the time of the run in 1893.

Mr. Cunningham has written a sketch of the life of W. S. Prettyman presented in the forepart of the book, as well as a brief resume of the periods covered and an explanatory caption under each photograph reproduced that round out *The Indian Territory* as a dramatic history of this part of the old West.

—Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma Historical Society

The 46th Star. By Irvin Hurst. (Semco Color Press, Inc., Oklahoma City, 1957. Pp. 171. \$3.95).

Statehood brought practical as well as unique problems to those charged with the government of the new State. Many arose from the circumstance that the new State of Oklahoma was erected upon two separate and distinct territories, each with widely divergent laws, practices and customs. County government came to the eastern half of Oklahoma for the first time, and until a year had transpired there were no funds nor other practical ways to operate these new political entities. Then, too, the politics of the new State was of a different party than the one in Washington, and upon statehood adherents of one political doctrine were thrust the reins of government from those adhering to the other party. Finally, blended with all of the heady and virile excitement of admission into the Union was the capital removal controversy.

All in all, these made for exciting times. It is fortunate that the events may be chronicled now while some of the principals are yet alive and the records readily available. For this job, Irvin Hurst is uniquely qualified. As a statehouse newspaper reporter, he had the scent for anything newsworthy; and this knack has not failed him here. He here covers the span of time from the Constitutional Convention convened at Guthrie, pursuant to the Enabling Act of June 14, 1906, to the inauguration of the second governor, Ardmore banker, Lee Cruce. This is a delightful volume and reading it actually is great fun. Not often may the latter be said of a book of history, but this is the exception. For the "inside," with the word used in the newspaper man's vernacular, story of the first Administration, the years 1907 to 1910, here is a terrific book.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City

Major General James Henry Carlton, 1814-1873. By Aurora Hunt. (The Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, California, 1958. Pp. 390. Ills. Bibliog. Index. \$10.00).

Much of the fascinating history of the Western Frontier is given in this life story of James Henry Carlton, for his activities offer a wide picture of America in his time. Following his service as an officer in the militia of his native state of Maine, he passed the test for a commission in the regular army, and was appointed second lieutenant of the First Dragoons on October 18, 1839. He trained for a year at the Cavalry School of Practice, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Captain Vose Sumner, Commandant, who became his warm, lifetime friend. The army discipline of a century ago taught by Captain Sumner was that enforced by Carlton during his long years in the saddle as a dragoon and a cavalryman on the Frontier.

Carlton's experiences were firsthand in the settlements of the Indians and the pioneers in the region of the early military posts in Arkansas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Texas, Iowa, Wyoming, Arizona, New Mexico and California that are interesting sidelights on the great history of the West. He first saw regular service at Fort Gibson, and was stationed for a time at Fort Holmes near the noted Edward's Store and trading post at the mouth of Little River, Indian Territory. Under the command of General Matthew Arbuckle, he made a report in the case of two Negro slave boys, one acquired by Jesse Chisholm in Mexico and sold to Lucinda Edwards, an incident involving the importation of slaves under the Slave Trade Act of 1818. Lieutenant Carlton was also directed by Colonel R. B. Mason to report on evasions under the National Intercourse Law of 1834 by traders who engaged in whisky trade and traffic with the Indians on Red River. Another time, a grievous experience came out of his warm friendship for a fellow officer and graduate of West Point, Lieutenant Charles Wickliffe who was involved in trouble in the nature of a duel with an inter-married citizen of the Cherokee Nation. This brought on a General Court Martial at Fort Gibson, to which Lieutenant Carlton was summoned by Colonel Mason. All this history is a part of the military and rugged life around the early army posts in the Indian Territory.

Miss Hunt has woven not only the military, but the cultural, social, genealogical and personal life of James Henry Carlton into her narrative. This book, listed as Number 2 in the Frontier Series by the publishers, has many fine illustrations including Carlton, his mother and his lovely young wife who died during his assignment at Fort Gibson. There are two beautiful prints of original paintings presented to the young officer of the U. S. Dragoons and personally inscribed by John James Audubon. There are also a number of maps valuable in the study of historic places in the West. Few books that have been judged historically sound are also rightly

pronounced delightfully readable as this by the historian, Aurora Hunt, of California.

—Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma Historical Society

THE LITTLE BIG HORN

Custer's Luck. By Edgar I. Stewart. (The University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1955. Pp. 522. \$5.95.)

The death of General George Armstrong Custer on a forlorn hill in Montana Territory on June 25, 1876, stirred the American people as perhaps no single instance in previous peacetime military history. A swashbuckler, yet in many ways a brilliant officer, General Custer was never one to avoid the limelight nor not to enjoy publicity. As he was in life, so he was in death. The steamer *Far West* that returned the remains of his command to civilization was draped in black bunting; and the "massacre" on the Little Big Horn touched off a frenzy of mourning, sentimentalities and national excitement not seen since the death of President Lincoln. At once a clamor of recriminations, fault findings, excuses, justifications and outright scapegoat-seeking arose. Partisans of Custer were on one side; and the anti-Custer forces, augmented by the friends and adherents of Major Reno and Captain Benteen, were on the other. Countless words have been written during the three quarters of a century that has elapsed. In fact, so much has been written that the precise truth will never be known. There are a half dozen versions extant on almost every circumstance of the encounter.

The entire volume is devoted to the Battle of the Little Big Horn. The first third of the book, dealing with the events leading up to the summer campaign of 1876, is a marvelous introduction. The chapter on the Belknap scandal is superb; and Custer's pointless participation therein leading to his clash with President Grant is excellently handled. The final third of the volume dealing with the events of that fateful day leaves nothing wanting nor more desired. Remarkably, in so well demonstrating the weaknesses of Major Reno, the author does not by so doing fall into the trap of becoming thereby pro-Custer.

It is extremely refreshing to be able to find here a book that successfully avoids all partisan controversy, but presents clearly and forthright all that is known pro and con on the battle. Granted, it is the task of a true historian to collect and to relate but also to explain and to interpret. This Author Stewart has done. If he speculates on what might have been, he does it well and nobly under that license as a historian.

Mr. Stewart ends the volume with seven conclusions assessing responsibility and liability. Wholly objective, they appear irrefutable. Surely nothing could ever be better written on the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

Did Custer Disobey Orders? By Dr. Charles Kuhlman. (The Stackpole Company, Harrisburgh, 1957. Pp. 56. \$1.50.)

For years a leading adherent of the anti-Custer group was Colonel Robert P. Hughes. A brother-in-law of Brig. Gen. Alfred H. Terry, Hughes had served as Chief of Staff for General Terry, Custer's immediate superior. Perhaps in a too zealous effort to make certain his brother-in-law came through the melee following the death of Custer with an undamaged reputation, Colonel Hughes devoted many years and countless written words in proving that Custer disobeyed the written orders given him by General Terry on June 22, 1876. It was this order that set in motion the chain of events that moved Custer's column of cavalry to its rendezvous with Sitting Bull and the fate there in store. This little volume is devoted solely to a rebuttal of the various arguments of Colonel Hughes. Being thus limited in purpose, of necessity Dr. Kuhlman aligns himself with the pro-Custerites. Actually Dr. Kuhlman is no more convincing than was Colonel Hughes. The book ends with a summary of eleven "evasions and patent falsehoods" the author finds in Colonel Hughes' writings. How evasive and how patent each may be must rest with the individual reader. We shall never know.

Oklahoma City

—George H. Shirk

OFFICIAL MINUTES, OF QUARTERLY MEETING,
THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS THE OKLAHOMA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING
JULY 24, 1958

Members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society met in regular quarterly session at 10:00 a. m., July 24, 1958. The meeting was held in the Board of Directors room and was presided over by Col. George H. Shirk, President of the Society.

Roll call revealed that all members of the Board were present with the exception of Dr. B. B. Chapman, Mr. Exall English, Mr. T. J. Harrison, and Judge Baxter Taylor. Upon motion made by Mr. R. M. Mountcastle and seconded by Judge Edgar S. Vaught, the absent members were excused.

President Shirk pointed out that the minutes of the meeting of April 24, 1958, referring to the Treasurer's report should be corrected by deleting the phrase "approximately \$800.00 in interest" and substituting therefor the phrase "approximately \$800.00 in principal." Minutes of the previous meeting as amended were approved on motion of Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, seconded by Judge N. B. Johnson.

Lists enumerating gifts and new members were presented by the Administrative Secretary. A motion was made by Judge Johnson and seconded by Miss Genevieve Seger that the enumerated gifts be accepted and the proposed members be placed on the rolls.

The Administrative Secretary reported that the sale of miniature flags was being carried on in a satisfactory manner by Miss Katherine Ringland, Curator of the Union Room. He also pointed out the need of a duplicating machine for use in the library, archives and newspaper room. Gen. Wm. S. Key moved that the purchase of such duplicating machine be authorized, and that the Library Committee set the scale of fees for its use by private patrons. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Willis Reed and adopted.

Authorization for paying \$638.27 from the private funds of the Society, needed to balance *The Chronicles* account, was requested by the Administrative Secretary. Gen Key moved and Mrs. Reed seconded a motion that such payment be made. The motion was put and carried.

It was stated by Mr. Fraker that subscription agencies were taking yearly subscriptions for *The Chronicles* at \$3.00. He explained that when the commission to the agency was paid, the Society was thereby not receiving the full subscription price. He said that Miss Muriel H. Wright, Editor of *The Chronicles*, joined him in recommending that subscription agencies be required to charge \$4.00 rather than \$3.00 for a yearly subscription to the *Chronicles*. Judge Vaught moved, and Mr. Mountcastle seconded a motion that the recommendation of the Administrative Secretary in this matter be approved. Motion was put and carried.

The Administrative Secretary reported that state funds had been expended to where practically no balances were left at the close of the fiscal year. This report showed that the operating account had a balance of 1c; microfilm account, 19c balance; and historic

sites account zero. This made only 20c that was turned back to the State of Oklahoma from the total amount appropriated by the last Legislature to the Oklahoma Historical Society for the fiscal year of 1957-58.

Mrs. George L. Bowman gave her report as Treasurer of the Oklahoma Historical Society. She said that her first official act after being elected to the office of Treasurer was that of securing a \$1,000.00 fidelity bond. She reported that signature change had also been made at the First National Bank and Trust Company of Oklahoma City, which is the depository of the Oklahoma Historical Society funds.

Mrs. Bowman expressed appreciation to Col. George Shirk, preceding Treasurer, for his courtesy in going over the accounts with her and explaining all necessary procedures and methods. She also praised the work of Mrs. LaJeanne McIntyre, Chief Clerk, for the efficient manner in which she was keeping the Society's books, under the supervision of the Administrative Secretary. The Treasurer emphasized the fact that little or no delay was being experienced in getting checks signed and returned to the Historical Society offices for distribution. She stated that checks are forwarded to her for approval on one day, received in her office the next, and returned to the Society offices by the third day.

It was reported by Mrs. Bowman that the auditing firm of Sam J. Hammonds had already completed an audit of the private fund, but copies were not yet available. She said that the books, however, revealed that on July 1, 1958, cash on hand and in the bank at the beginning of that period was \$3,165.53; total receipts 10,372.42; total disbursements \$12,246.49; leaving a balance on hand at the close of the fiscal year of \$1,249.86. She said it had been a pleasure to work with the President, Administrative Secretary and the Chief Clerk in carrying on her duties as Treasurer.

President Shirk complimented Mrs. Bowman on her report and stated that the private funds were in good condition. He pointed out that a great many purchases had been made from that fund, which had merely converted cash into capital investments. He said that he considered the private fund to be in the best condition.

It was moved by General Key and seconded by Dr. Harbour that the Treasurer's report be accepted and that Mrs. Bowman be thanked for making such a complete and clear report. The motion was adopted.

At this point, President Shirk made a brief summary of the work done by the Oklahoma Historic Sites Committee, which he had recently headed as chairman. He said that the money appropriated by the Legislature had been largely used in reconditioning, cleaning, and improving historic sites owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society. He also pointed out that a commendable piece of work had been done in marking the twelve stage stands on the Butterfield Overland Mail Route, where it crosses Oklahoma. He said that the committee had authorized placing of a permanent bronze marker at each one of the stage stands and that these bronze markers are on concrete bases.

Gen. Key suggested that additional thought be given to marking a greater number of historic sites in Oklahoma. He said there were many significant historic spots that were so located that local groups were not likely to raise funds for the markers. He suggested that the legislature be requested to provide \$12,500.00 for the next bi-

ennium to be used in the Society's highway marker program. At the close of his remarks Gen. Key moved that authorization be granted to request an appropriation sufficient to purchase 100 markers to be placed where the Historic Sites Committee may determine. Judge Clift seconded the motion which was adopted when put.

The report of the Microfilm Committee was made by Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Chairman. He stated that since the microfilming program started in September more than 637,000 pages had been processed. He estimated there are more than eight million pages in the stacks of the newspaper department yet to be microfilmed. On the basis, he said, on which the department is now operating about 1,200,000 pages would be processed in a year's time. Mr. Phillips estimated that approximately 400,000 pages of new newspapers are received each year. This means that the department should be able to make a net gain of 800,000 pages for the year.

Mr. Phillips said that the operation of the microfilm department of the Oklahoma Historical Society approaches that of a commercial concern, but that at the present rate of microfilming it would take until 1966 to complete processing the papers that were published prior to World War I. He estimated that it would probably be possible to become current in the microfilming work by 1977; that is, have all newspapers microfilmed to the current time.

It was stated by Mr. Phillips that all microfilm negatives are kept in vaults in Dallas, Texas, but that it is hoped the Society may have its own microfilm vaults before too many years.

President Shirk announced that the historical marker brochure is in the process of being printed and would be available for sale within a short time. Dr. Wayne Johnson expressed the view that this was an exceedingly important undertaking and that he was glad to know that work on the brochure was proceeding satisfactorily.

The Administrative Secretary reported briefly on his work in connection with the North American Historic Sites Commission. He said that it was his observation that the work done under the direction of the Historic Sites Committee of the Oklahoma Historical Society was comparable to the best that was being done in some of the states and provinces that had been handling such programs for a much longer time. He also stated that staff members of the Oklahoma Historical Society were assisting the directors of the Pioneer Woman Museum in Ponca City in selecting and arranging their exhibits.

It was moved by Dr. Johnson and seconded by Miss Seger that the Society explore the possibility of designating one member of the Society in each county to officially represent the Society in the acquisition of artifacts and papers pertinent to the history of Oklahoma. Motion was adopted.

Judge N. B. Johnson told of his trip to Miami, Florida, where he participated in the ceremonies of unveiling the statue of Osceola. He said that when it came time for him to make his remarks, it was necessary to use two interpreters so that all those present might understand. He said that the statue of Osceola would be placed in the Indian Hall of Fame and that ceremonies connected with that event would be held on August 18. He also reported that the state of Georgia has remodeled the home of Chief Joe Vann of the Cherokees, near Dalton, Georgia. Judge Johnson said that he and Justice Welsh of the Oklahoma Supreme Court would participate in the dedication ceremony of the Vann home when that event is held.

President Shirk appointed a committee consisting of Gen. Wm. S. Key, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mr. R. G. Miller and Judge J. G. Clift to represent the Oklahoma Historical Society at the Osceola dedication service to be held at Indian City on August 18.

Mr. R. G. Miller told of a rock located near Heavener on which there were a number of inscriptions that might prove to be of Norseman origin. He said that if this could be determined that the site would become one of the greatest attractions in the Southwest. He moved that the Historical Society take whatever steps necessary to see that proper research is done to determine the authenticity and significance of the markings on the rock. The motion was seconded by Miss Seger, and adopted.

President Shirk submitted the following committee appointments: Executive Committee—Judge Edgar S. Vaught and Mr. R. G. Miller; Publications Committee—the President, the Administrative Secretary, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. R. G. Miller, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, and Dr. B. B. Chapman; House and Grounds—Mr. Henry Bass, Chairman, Mr. T. J. Harrison, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Mr. Joe Curtis, and Judge N. B. Johnson; Annual Tour Committee—Mr. R. G. Miller, Chairman, Mr. Henry Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Judge J. G. Clift, Dr. James D. Morrison, and the President; Oklahoma Historical Day at Salina—Mr. T. J. Harrison, Chairman, Mr. Kelly Brown, and Mrs. Willis Reed; Microfilm Committee—Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Chairman, Mr. Joe Curtis, Mrs. George L. Bowman, and advisory members Mr. Ray Dwyer, Mr. Ben Blackstock, and Mr. Lou Allard; Library Committee—Mr. Joe Curtis, Chairman, Dr. Wayne Johnson, Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Gen. Wm. S. Key, Dr. B. B. Chapman, and Judge Robert A. Hefner; Historic Sites Committee—Dr. James D. Morrison, Chairman, Mr. T. J. Harrison, Mr. R. G. Miller, Miss Genevieve Seger, and advisory members Miss Muriel Wright, Mr. James Bullard, Mrs. Grant Foreman, Dr. T. L. Ballenger, Mr. Vernon Brown, Mr. John Frizzell, and Mr. Dave D. Price.

The President announced that the Legislative Committee would be appointed later. He then named a special committee for marking Temple Houston's grave in Woodward, consisting of Mr. Henry Bass, Chairman, Mr. W. K. Suthers, and Mr. Leslie L. Conner.

Judge Cole moved and Judge Johnson seconded a motion providing that the committees as nominated by the President be approved. The motion was put and unanimously adopted.

President Shirk called attention of the Board to the fine display of presidential signatures now in the entrance lobby of the Historical Society Building. He said the display, arranged by Chief Curator, Mr. William Dale, was made possible through the kindness of Mr. T. J. Harrison, member of the Board of Directors. The signature collection was made by Mr. Harrison over a period of several years. President Shirk said that special exhibits of this type are of great value in attracting people to the Oklahoma Historical Society displays.

The meeting was adjourned at 11:50 a. m.

(Signed) George H. Shirk, President

(Signed) Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED:

LIBRARY:

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IN MEMORIAM

WILLIAM SHAFFER KEY

It is with deep sorrow that *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* announces the death of Major General William Shaffer Key on the evening of January 5, 1959. He served for many years as a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and as its President from 1948-1958. His life and service to his Country and State will be presented for our members and readers, in a later issue of *The Chronicles*.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

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Winter, 1958-59

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Cover: The scene is a reproduction of an old print from an original sketch showing the first charge of Custer's 7th Cavalry on the Cheyenne Village of Chief Black Kettle, early in the morning of November 27, 1868. The site of this "Battle of the Washita" is about two miles northwest of Cheyenne, Roger Mills County, and near the Washita River.

THE FIRST PANHANDLE LAND GRANT

By Raymond Estep*

In the spring of 1826, only five years after Mexico won its independence from Spain, the Mexican state of *Coahuila y Texas* conveyed to a North Carolinian an *empresario* title to an immense area including all of Cimarron County and the extreme western side of Texas County. This grant, which also encompassed large portions of Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado, was the first non-Indian conveyance of land within the present boundaries of Oklahoma.

Although the tract was the subject of speculation and legal action from 1826 to 1902, the grantee and his successors were never able to establish a valid title to it either under the Texas Republic or later under the United States government. In spite of the fact that no present Oklahoma land titles can be traced to this grant, the fact of its existence and the subsequent attempts to validate the title warrant a study of its history.

In 1819 Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and Luis de Onís, Spanish Minister in Washington, concluded the so-called Florida Purchase Treaty, a treaty defining the western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 and thus marking the limits of United States and Spanish territory. In February 1821 the treaty was finally ratified, but before the year was out Spain had lost its claim to the region to the west and south of the line so recently defined. In August, Mexico achieved her independence from the mother country and became the new owner of the land contiguous to the boundary defined by Adams and Onís. It was under the laws of the new republic that the state of *Coahuila y Texas* began to issue

* Raymond Estep received his Ph. D. degree from the University of Texas, and is a former member of the faculty of Oklahoma State University at Stillwater. Dr. Estep served as historical officer with the Third Air Force during World War II; he is now Professor of History in the Research Studies Institute, Air University, USAF, Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, Alabama. He is the author of *Lorenzo de Zavala: Profeta del Liberalismo Mexicano* (Mexico City: Libreria de Manuel Porrua, 1952). Besides many book-length studies on air power and various Latin-American subjects, his several published contributions to southwestern history include that appearing in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (Vol. LIV, No. 2) on "The Military and Diplomatic Services of Alexander Le Grand for the Republic of Texas, 1836-37." It was during a summer's research in the archives of Mexico City that Dr. Estep discovered Le Grand's survey of the *empresario* land grant made in 1826, which has a part in the history of the first land grant in the Panhandle of Oklahoma, presented here in *The Chronicles*.—Ed.



(From William Kennedy's Texas)
Map showing the first land grant in the Oklahoma Panhandle.

empresario titles to millions of acres of unsettled land on the northern frontier of Mexico.

Among the first to take advantage of the liberal Mexican colonization laws was Stephen Julian Wilson, a partner in a Mexico City mercantile firm.¹ Wilson, a native of North Carolina,² made application in Saltillo on May 15, 1826, for an *empresario* grant bounded as follows:³

Beginning at the point of intersection of the 32nd degree of north latitude and the 102nd meridian, thence west on the 32nd parallel to the eastern boundary of New Mexico [not otherwise defined], thence north along that boundary to a point 20 leagues south of the Arkansas River, thence east along a line parallel to and 20 leagues south of the Arkansas River to the 102nd meridian, thence south to the point of commencement.

Twelve days later, May 27, 1826, Ignacio Arispe, Governor of *Coahuila y Texas*, conveyed the grant to Wilson on the condition that he settle 200 families within the area in a period of six years from that date and fulfill other provisions of the *empresario* contract.⁴

In the succeeding months, and prior to the end of November 1826, Wilson hired Alexander Le Grand to survey the tract,⁵ and sold a half interest in it to British merchant Richard Exter.⁶ Aside from the Le Grand survey, the partners appear to have done little to explore or settle the grant in the next two years. Exter, however, did attempt to capitalize on his investment. To this end he entered into an arrangement of uncertain date with Dennis A. Smith, a Baltimore speculator in Mexican mines. Taking advantage of a letter of introduction from Joel R. Poinsett, United States Minister to Mex-

¹ Dennis A. Smith to Joel R. Poinsett, Philadelphia, August 19, 1827, MS., Poinsett Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; W. P. Webb and H. Bailey Carroll (eds.), *The Handbook of Texas* (Austin, 1952), Vol. II, p. 922.

² Wilson made declaration of his North Carolina birth in a contract signed in New York City on October 5, 1829. See *Petition to Congress Made by the Heirs of Dr. John Charles Beales and the Howard University of Washington for the Confirmation of the Title to a Certain Grant of Land in New Mexico Known as the Arkansas Grant* (New York, 1880), p. 14. On August 4, 1830, in asking for 11 sitios of land on the Trinity River in Texas, Wilson said he was a native of Louisiana. See Texas University photocopies of Saltillo Archives, Vol. 27, p. 66, Expediente No. 1003.

³ *Documents Relating to Grants of Lands, Made to Don Estevan Julian Willson [sic], and Don Richard Exter, in Texas* (New York, 1831), pp. 1-4. The area included in the grant is described in many sources.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

⁵ For information on the survey see the author's article ("The Le Grand Survey of the High Plains—Fact or Fancy,") in *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. 29 (April, 1954), pp. 81-96, 141-153.

⁶ The date on which Exter signed his contract with Wilson is not revealed. The contract was notarized in Mexico City on November 27, 1826. See *Documents Relating to Grants of Lands to Willson and Exter*, pp. 7-9.

ico, Exter initiated the negotiations on October 6, 1827.⁷ The proposition appealed to Smith, and on August 18, 1828, on behalf of a group of Baltimore investors, he offered \$200,000 for a half interest in the grant.⁸ Within the succeeding ten months Smith and Exter concluded an agreement, and Smith then proceeded to organize a company for the development of the grant. In July 1829 his agents published a prospectus of the company in the *National Intelligencer* and other papers.⁹ Smith's active promotion was soon to be brought to naught by the first in a long series of events and actions that were to mark the history of the grant.

Late in the spring of 1829, Exter left Mexico en route to England. Sailing from Vera Cruz, he died at sea on June 18.¹⁰ Receipt of news of Exter's death was the signal for Smith and associates to initiate a vigorous campaign for control of Exter's share in the grant, but in this they were unsuccessful.¹¹

Upon Exter's death his interest in the land grant devolved upon his wife, the former María Dolores Soto y Soldana, whom he had wed on August 25, 1825, and Anita, a minor daughter of that marriage.¹² By the terms of Exter's will, attorney Mariano Dominguez was named guardian of his minor heir. In addition, Judge Cayetano Ibarra on October 27, 1829, appointed Francisco Fagoaga curator and guardian of the widow and child.¹³ In the hands of these two Mexican citizens Exter's interests rested until the summer of the following year.

⁷ Exter to Smith, Mexico City, in *National Intelligencer*, July 8, 1829, p. 3. The date of the letter is revealed in John Enrico and W. H. Egerton, *Emigration to Texas* (Bath, 1832), p. 15, in which a portion of the same letter is reproduced.

⁸ The date of Smith's letter containing the offer is given in a letter from William Exter (Richard's brother) to Poinsett, Woollacombe, England, November 24, 1830, MS., Poinsett Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. William Exter erroneously assumed that his brother and Smith did not reach an agreement.

⁹ *National Intelligencer*, July 8, 1829, p. 3. Similar notices appeared in western newspapers for some time after that date. See *Niles Register*, Vol. 36, February 6, 1830, p. 394.

¹⁰ John Exter to Lorenzo de Zavala, London, August 20, 1829, MS., Poinsett Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹¹ William Exter to Poinsett, Woollacombe, England, November 24, 1830, MS., Poinsett Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹² *The Arkansas Grant* ([New York], 1901), p. 4. Webb and Carroll (eds.), *The Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, p. 579, give August 24, 1825, as the wedding date. Mrs. Exter's full maiden name is given in *Memorial [of] Doctor John Charles Beales, et al., vs., The United States . . .* (Washington, 1870), p. 3.

¹³ Curiously, the recording of the document naming Dominguez as guardian of Anita Exter was not accomplished until November 11, 1829. See *Documents Relating to Grants of Land to Willson and Exter*, p. 29. Exter's earlier will, in which he named his brother John sole executor, was voided in British law by his subsequent marriage and the birth of his child. William Exter to Poinsett, Woollacombe, England, November 24, 1830, MS., Poinsett Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

On August 3, 1830, in Mexico City, Señora Exter married Dr. John Charles Beales, English physician (26 years old) then residing in Mexico City.¹⁴ Beales let little time elapse after the wedding before establishing effective control over Exter's estate. His first action was to lay hold of Exter's land title, an action which Exter's widow and guardians seem to have overlooked. With this end in view, he procured from Exter's brother in England those papers relating to Texas lands that had been in Richard Exter's possession at the time of his death.¹⁵ His second action was to secure from Fagoaga and Domínguez, the court-appointed and Exter-named curator and guardian of the estate, full powers to act for his wife and step-daughter in all matters pertaining to the land grant. The two guardians formally recorded the transfer of the requested powers early in October 1830.¹⁶ From that day to the end of his life Beales actively labored to realize a profit from the lands. Hastening to the United States, he initiated actions to tap the most readily available money market in North America. In January 1831 he was in Baltimore where he found Smith's efforts at a standstill because of a misunderstanding concerning Mexican colonization laws. In spite of this impediment, investors in the company continued to hold their stock in the venture and appeared interested in further speculation.¹⁷ Investor interest notwithstanding, the Baltimore project failed to develop to Beales' satisfaction and he thereafter concentrated his efforts in New York City. Here he soon created the Arkansas and Texas Land Company, and on April 27, 1831, transferred to it the Exter (now Beales) half in-

¹⁴ *Documents Relating to Grants of Lands to Willson and Exter*, p. 27. Beales was born in Aldborough, Norfolk County, England, March 20, 1804, took his medical training at St. George's Hospital and at the Royal College of Surgeons in London, and emigrated to Mexico in 1826 as a surgeon for the Halpujahuan Mining Association. He later entered private practice, and in 1829 was named by Governor Zavala to a position as medical officer of the State of Mexico. In 1830 he was appointed to the staff of the Hospital of San Andreas by the government of the Federal District. He continued private and public practice in Mexico City until 1833. From 1839 to 1876 he engaged in active medical practice in New York City. "Beales Biography," St. George's Society of New York; inclosure to letter, Beales to Dr. McLean, New York, March 9, 1837, printed in *Petition of Beales Heirs and Howard University*, pp. 83-85; *Memorial [of] Beales, et al.*, p. 3; *The Medical Record* (New York), Vol. 14, August 17, 1878, p. 140; William Kennedy, *Texas: The Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Republic of Texas* (reprint, Fort Worth, 1925), p. 415.

¹⁵ William Exter to Poinsett, Woollacombe, England, November 24, 1830, MS., Poinsett Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁶ The date is variously given as the 2nd, 10th, and 13th in *Documents Relating to Grants of Lands to Willson and Exter*, pp. 18, 29, 35, and 45. October 2, is the date given in the instrument signed by Fagoaga and Dominguez and perhaps is the correct one.

¹⁷ Beales to Poinsett, Baltimore, January 18, [1831], MS., Poinsett Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

terest in the southwestern grant. In the new company he became a permanent director.¹⁸

The company immediately began a search for colonists—200 of which it had to settle in the area by May 27, 1832, if the *empresario* contract was to remain in force. In an effort to meet this deadline, agents were sent to England, where in January 1832 they published a pamphlet of eighteen pages, *Emigration to Texas*, describing the land grant, conditions of settlement, and prospects for employment in Texas and Northern Mexico. Company plans provided for colonists to take passage to New Orleans, from where they would proceed up the Mississippi and Red Rivers, first by steamer and then by keel boat. Although a company representative was to accompany the expedition, all expenses to New Orleans, and apparently to final destination, were to be borne by the colonists.¹⁹

Beales' hopes for the early settlement of the grant, and the consequent fulfillment of the terms of the original Wilson contract were not achieved. What success the directors of the Arkansas and Texas Land Company had in disposing of land scrip is not revealed, but certainly no colonists were recruited and sent out to the grant. In the spring of 1832, Wilson having died,²⁰ and the six-year period for settlement being near its conclusion, Beales concentrated his efforts on retaining control of the grant.²¹ In order to accomplish this, he entered into an agreement with José Manuel Royuela of Saltillo, and the two on March 13, 1832, asked the state of *Coahuila y Texas* to concede them the identical tract first granted Wilson in 1826. On the following day the request was granted.²² Royuela's role in the undertaking was soon terminated. Seven months later, on October 11, 1832, for an unrevealed consideration, Royuela transferred all of his rights in the grant to Beales.²³ Title having been re-established in his name, Beales proceeded, on April 29, 1833, upon his return to New York, to convey one-half of his rights in the

¹⁸ *Documents Relating to Grants of Lands to Willson and Exter*, pp. 33-48.

¹⁹ Enriço and Egerton, *Emigration to Texas*, pp. 1-18.

²⁰ Evidence of Wilson's death is given in a letter from James Prentiss to Sam Houston, New York, June 13, 1832. See Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker (eds.), *The Writings of Sam Houston* (Austin, 1938), Vol. I, p. 239.

²¹ James Prentiss wrote of Beales' actions: "The original grantees [Wilson and Exter] being both dead—Beales has obtained the grant in his own name but for the Arkansas & Texas Land Co he having agreed originally with the Co to do so if he could—" Prentiss to Houston, in Williams and Barker (eds.), *op. cit.*

²² *Documents Relating to a Grant of Land Made to John Charles Beales and José Manuel Royuela in Texas* (New York, 1833), pp. 5-9; Texas University photocopies of Saltillo Archives, Vol. 35, pp. 50-66, Expediente No. 1216.

²³ *Documents Relating to a Grant of Land to Beales and Royuela*, pp. 12-13.

grant to a new company, the "New" Arkansas and Texas Land Company. Trustees and directors of the new organization were the identical people who had filled the same positions in the earlier company.²⁴

In the succeeding three years Beales traveled back and forth between New York and Mexico, made various agreements with respect to this and his other land grants in Texas and the Southwest, brought his family to New York, and actively promoted the project for the establishment of his ill-fated colony at Dolores to the north of the Rio Grande.²⁵ Those activities, part of the larger story of Beales' activities, are outside the scope of the present episode pertaining to Oklahoma. Subsequent history of the New Arkansas and Texas Land Company has not been discovered. Like many other such organizations formed for speculation in Texas and southwestern lands, it probably soon ceased to exist. Beales, however, retained his interest in the grant.

Whatever plans Beales may have had for the settlement of the area known to his family as the "Arkansas Grant," they were upset by the outbreak of the Texas Revolution and the creation of the Republic of Texas. During the life of that Republic he attempted on numerous occasions to secure confirmation of his Mexican title. Although he employed a number of agents to present his case to the Texas government, he seems never to have presented a petition in his own behalf, brought suit, or filed evidence of his titles with the proper agencies of that government.²⁶

Beales chose to take other action in an effort to validate his title. Relying on his continuing British citizenship, Beales in 1842 presented a memorial to Queen Victoria setting forth the evidence of his title, the effect of the Texas Revolution on the performance of his contract, and the attitude of the Texas government, and praying for action by Her Majesty's government to secure a restoration of his rights.²⁷ The British

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 17-26.

²⁵ C. C. Rister, "The Rio Grande Colony," *Southwest Review*, Vol. 25, July 1940, pp. 429-441; Kennedy, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-420.

²⁶ Lucy Lee Dickson, "Speculations of John Charles Beales in Texas Lands" (MA Thesis, University of Texas, 1941), pp. 114-125. Miss Dickson covers in detail Beales' activities in regard to his other land grants.

²⁷ The date of the memorial has not been determined. It was published in two Houston newspapers: *The Morning Star*, April 6, 1844, and *The Telegraph and Texas Register*, April 10, 1844. G. P. Garrison (ed.), *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas* (Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1908), Vol. II (2), Part III, p. 1134, cites these two sources and *Senate Journal*, 7th Texas Congress, p. 57, and says that the memorial is undated as to month and day but was written in 1842. Beales later wrote that the memorial had been prepared in 1840. See *Memorial [of] Beales, et al.*, p. 16.

government felt that Beales' claim had some justification and twice intervened in his behalf through Captain Charles Elliot, its chargé d'affaires in the republic. To the second of these British efforts Secretary of State Anson Jones replied on September 19, 1843, suggesting that Beales appeal to the courts or the congress of the Republic of Texas if he had been wronged.²⁸ This Beales failed to do.

The annexation of Texas to the United States and the conversion of the republic to a state ended Beales' hopes with regard to his claims to land in Texas,²⁹ but another avenue lay ahead with respect to his other southwestern claims, including a large part of the Arkansas Grant. This avenue, as unrewarding as the former, Beales was soon to explore.

In the years between the annexation of Texas and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo concluding the War with Mexico, Beales (who had established himself in the practice of medicine in New York), his wife, and his step-daughter Anita, made application for naturalization as citizens of the United States. In 1850, by decree of the Superior Court of the State of New York, the three became naturalized citizens.³⁰ It was as a citizen of the United States that Beales in the future was to pursue his efforts to salvage his land titles. On July 22, 1854, Congress enacted a law directing the Surveyor General of the Territory of New Mexico to investigate all claims to land arising from Spanish or Mexican law prior to the ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 and to submit a report of his findings so that *bona fide* titles could be confirmed.³¹ For some undisclosed reason, perhaps attendant upon the United States Civil War, Beales appears to have delayed for many years any attempt to present his claims. In the spring of 1870, however, he sent his agent, B. F. Williams, to New Mexico to settle on the Arkansas Grant. Williams proceeded to Mesilla, New Mexico, took up residence at the San Augustine Ranch, located twenty-five miles east of the village, and from there advised Beales on June 23, 1870, that he was living on the grant. Tragedy was to thwart this

²⁸ E. D. Adams (ed.), *British Diplomatic Correspondence Concerning the Republic of Texas, 1838-1846* (Austin, 1918), pp. 157-161; Garrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 1129-1136; Dickson, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-123.

²⁹ Years later Beales asserted his belief that the Queen's government, in response to his memorial, commissioned Elliot, then Minister to Mexico, "to demand of Texas the restoration" to Beales of all lands within the republic granted by Mexican agencies, but that Elliot, on his arrival in New York "learned that the United States had annexed said territory" of Texas. This action, Beales asserted, deprived him of all remedy against Texas, either by suit or by British intervention. *Memorial [of] Beales, et al.*, pp. 16-17.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

effort of Beales and his representative. On December 7, 1870, Williams was murdered in El Paso, Texas.³²

On that same fateful day on which Williams lost his life, Beales, together with his wife and step-daughter, swore to the correctness of a petition addressed by them to the United States Senate and House of Representatives of the Second Session of the 41st Congress. In this petition they pointed out that Congress had confirmed certain other Mexican land titles in New Mexico, and prayed for similar relief.³³ In this, the first of a long list of similar appeals to the Congress, Beales and his heirs, and later associates, were unsuccessful.

The mere recital of the requests for congressional action is somewhat boring, but does serve to show the persistence with which the matter was pursued. In the Third Session of the 41st Congress, Beales and his wife asked Senate confirmation of title to the Arkansas Grant.³⁴ In the Second Session of the 42nd Congress the matter was presented to the Senate in the form of a letter from the Assistant Secretary of State. This, like all subsequent requests to the Senate, was referred to the Committee on Private Land Claims. In the Third Session of the 42nd Congress the subject again came before the Senate. In the Second Session of the 43rd Congress Beales found new support. On February 11, 1875, Senator Reuben E. Fenton of Jamestown, New York, by unanimous consent, introduced Senate Bill No. 1288 to grant relief to Beales and his step-daughter, Anita Exter.³⁵ Ten days earlier, Representative Samuel S. Cox of New York had introduced a similar bill, House Resolution No. 4539, in the House of Representatives.³⁶ In the First Session of the 44th Congress, House Resolution No. 3193, asking relief for Beales and his step-daughter, was introduced.³⁷ There the matter rested at the time of Beales' death on July 25, 1878.³⁸ Beales' son, James Alfred Greaves

³² Affidavit of Commander William W. Williams, U. S. Navy, June 26, 1880, and extract of a letter from B. F. Williams to Beales, Mesilla, New Mexico, June 23, 1870, printed in *Petition of Beales Heirs and Howard University*, pp. 93-94. The Beales heirs in compiling the document known as *The Arkansas Grant* stated (p. 7) that Beales sent Williams to the grant in July 1854 and that he remained there until 1870, but this is not borne out in the affidavit cited above.

³³ *Memorial [of] Beales, et al.*, p. 20.

³⁴ *List of Private Claims Brought before the Senate of the United States*, Commencement of 14th through Close of 46th Congress. Senate Misc. Doc. No. 14, 46th Cong., 3d sess. (Washington, 1881), Vol. 1, pp. 108, 567.

³⁵ *Ibid.*; *Congressional Record*, 43rd Cong., 2d sess., Vol. 3, Part 2, February 11, 1875, pp. 1154-1155.

³⁶ *Congressional Record*, 43rd Cong., 2d sess., Vol. 3, Part 2, February 1, 1875, p. 881.

³⁷ House Misc. Doc. No. 53, 47th Cong., 1st sess., 1881-1882 (Washington, 1883), Vol. 2, p. 39.

³⁸ "Beales Biography," St. George's Society of New York.

Beales, as administrator of his father's estate, continued the family's efforts before Congress.³⁹ On April 12, 1880, Senator William Windom of Winona, Minnesota, presented to the Senate in the Second Session of the 46th Congress the younger Beales' petition for relief. On the same day Representative Amasa Norcross of Fitchburg, Massachusetts, presented a similar petition in the House of Representatives.⁴⁰

Before Congress again convened a new party joined the younger Beales in his efforts to secure congressional relief. During the year 1880 the Beales' heirs and Howard University in Washington, D. C., prepared a petition of 107 pages setting forth their interests in the Arkansas Grant. The university traced its rights to one John Woodward, who for a number of years was associated with the senior Beales in the promotion of his colonization projects and later was his representative in Texas during the days of the Republic. Pursuant to the terms of a contract dated January 6, 1836, Beales, by deeds of January 16, 1836, and January 20, 1837, conveyed title to over 4,000,000 acres to Woodward.⁴¹

Upon Woodward's death, Howard University, as a beneficiary of his will, became a participant in the actions relative to the Arkansas Grant. On June 17, 1880, the Beales' heirs and the university signed a contract specifying the university's interest.⁴² The Beales' heirs and the University then prepared the petition to Congress mentioned above. Almost a year later, May 30, 1881, James Beales and the University signed a contract for the sale of "a certain interest" in the grant to representatives of the American Homestead Association for Freedmen. On the following day, May 31, 1881, the Board of Trustees for Howard University authorized President William W. Patton and Secretary James B. Johnson to execute the contract on behalf of the university.⁴³ When the American Homestead Association failed to complete the purchase agreement, Beales and associates negotiated the sale of the grant to George E. Curtis for \$1,000,000. This negotiation came before the Board of Trustees of Howard University on May 30, 1882.

³⁹ *Petition of Beales Heirs and Howard University*, pp. 97-100.

⁴⁰ *Congressional Record*, 46th Cong., 2d sess., Vol. 10, Part 3, April 12, 1880, pp. 2302 and 2341. See also Senate Misc. Doc. No. 14, Vol. 1, p. 108.

⁴¹ *Petition of Beales Heirs and Howard University*, pp. 104-106. On April 6, 1834, Woodward bequeathed his estate to the Mayor of New York City to hold in trust "for the education of persons of color, being free," In March 1835 he executed a codicil authorizing the trustee to use the proceeds of the estate as he saw fit in complying with the will, but suggested that they would be best applied on "the continent of Africa, either at Liberia or some other spot or spots"

⁴² Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees of Howard University, May 30, 1882, pp. 287-288, MS., copied for the author by Mrs. Dorothy B. Porter, Howard University, November 29, 1949.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, May 31, 1881, p. 283.

That body approved the sale provided that the contract with young Beales of June 17, 1880, was amended to secure to the university an eleven percent interest in the proposed sale or other disposition of the grant.⁴⁴

Prior to this, on January 10, 1882, Representative Norcross had presented a petition to the House of Representatives in the First Session of the 47th Congress on behalf of Howard University and the Beales' heirs and asking relief for them on the subject of the Arkansas Grant.⁴⁵ These two actions mark the end of all known association between Howard University and the Beales' heirs. What steps were taken to terminate their contractual relationship have not been ascertained.

A different type of action was taken by the heirs on November 17, 1886, when Anita Exter, James A. G. Beales, his wife, Eugenia K. Beales, his sister, Adelaide K. Jaffray, and her husband, J. Hamilton Jaffray, conveyed all of the Beales' interest in the Arkansas Grant to Newton B. Childs of Kansas City, Missouri, for the stated sum of \$12,500. Childs and his wife, Nellie B. Childs, then, on November 23, 1886, for \$250,000 and other valuable considerations, sold all of their recently-acquired rights in the grant to the Inter-State Land Company, a Colorado corporation organized in Kansas City on November 12, 1886. Directors and officers of this \$10,000,000 corporation, whose records of incorporation were filed with the Secretary of State of Colorado on November 22, 1886, were: Newton B. Childs, William V. Childs, and James F. Hadley (ex-Governor of Kansas) of Kansas City; Thomas Carney of Leavenworth, Kansas; Orville H. Nelson and W. H. Lord of Burlingame, Kansas; and Charles Goodnight of Paloduro, Texas.⁴⁶

This company proceeded with its announced purpose of settling the lands acquired, but shortly found its title to much of that portion of the Arkansas Grant in Colorado and New

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, May 30, 1882, pp. 287-288. Nothing further has been discovered with regard to the Curtis purchase. The agreement probably was voided.

⁴⁵ *Congressional Record*, 47th Cong., 1st sess., Vol. 13, January 10, 1882, 341; House Misc. Doc. No. 213, 53d Cong., 2d sess., 1893-1894 (Washington, 1896), Vol. 40, p. 47.

⁴⁶ *The Transcript of Record, The Inter-State Land Company, Appellant, vs. The Maxwell Land Grant Company*, Appeal from the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Colorado, Supreme Court of the United States, October Term 1890, No. 1267 (Washington, January 28, 1891), Exhibits 1, 7, and 8, pp. 16-17, 32-36. *The Kansas City Times*, March 1, 1887, p. 8, says the Beales heirs sold for \$1,250,000, and that the Inter-State Company paid Childs \$10,000,000. The same source also lists Inter-State officers as follows: Goodnight, president; Newton Childs, vice president and general manager; Nelson, assistant general manager; Hadley, secretary and treasurer. It also lists L. R. Moore of Kansas City and S. F. Neeley of Leavenworth as additional members of the board of directors.

Mexico challenged by the Maxwell Land Grant Company, a Dutch corporation claiming title through an 1841 grant to Guadalupe Miranda and Charles Beaubien made by Governor Manuel Armijo of New Mexico. The Inter-State Land Company brought suit against the other corporation in Federal Circuit Court at Denver. The case, first set for trial on February 4, 1889, after demurrers, amendments, and other delaying actions, was decided in favor of the defendant by Circuit Judge Henry C. Caldwell. The Inter-State Land Company, as plaintiff, on July 1, 1890, appealed to the United States Supreme Court.⁴⁷

Although the Oklahoma portion of the Beales Grant was not directly involved in the above litigation, title to it was to be lost before the Supreme Court rendered its decision. All claims to the land in present Cimarron and Texas Counties deriving from the early Spanish and subsequent Mexican grants were invalidated by the Organic Act of May 2, 1890, which created Oklahoma Territory. This legislation, which joined the Public Land Strip to the Unassigned Lands area, also provided:⁴⁸

All the lands embraced in that portion of the Territory of Oklahoma heretofore known as the Public Land Strip, shall be open to settlement under the provisions of the homestead laws of the United States, . . . but all actual and bona fide settlers upon and occupants of the lands in said Public Land Strip at the time of the passage of this act shall be entitled to have preference to and hold the lands upon which they have settled under the homestead laws of the United States, by virtue of their settlement and occupancy of said lands, and they shall be credited with the time they have actually occupied their homesteads, respectively, not exceeding two years, on the time required under said laws to perfect titles as homestead settlers.

The opening of the Public Land Strip to settlement without reference to claims under the Beales Grant marked an end to the title hopes of the Inter-State Land Company in the present confines of Oklahoma, and was the first in a series of acts dooming the company's plans.⁴⁹ Thus ended efforts by

⁴⁷ *Transcript of Record, Inter-State Land Company, Appellant, vs. Maxwell Land Grant Company, loc. cit.* Attorneys for Inter-State were Alexander Graves, Lexington, Missouri, John L. Jerome, Denver, Colorado, and Walton, Hill & Walton, Austin, Texas. See *The Kansas City Times*, March 1, 1887, p. 8.

⁴⁸ *United States Statutes at Large* (Washington, 1891), Vol. 26, pp. 81, 90.

⁴⁹ On April 6, 1891, the U. S. Supreme Court, in upholding the decision of the lower court, destroyed the company's hopes for gaining control of that portion of the lands within the bounds of the Maxwell Grant. See "Inter-State Land Company, Appellant, vs. Maxwell Land Grant Company," *Cases Argued and Decided in the Supreme Court of the United States*, Book 35, Lawyers' Edition (Rochester, 1926), pp. 278-286.

In January 1902 officers of Inter-State in a meeting with some 75 cattlemen at Carlsbad, New Mexico, received from \$50,000 to \$100,000 by leasing land to the cattlemen at one cent per acre. A check on Inter-State's title

private and corporate agencies to establish title in present Oklahoma under the original grant of 1826 (and its 1832 renewal). After more than three-quarters of a century marked by promotion, speculation and litigation, this small part of the original, vast land grant entered the public domain, and was opened to settlement under the Homestead Acts.

revealed the Supreme Court decision of 1891, and resulted in a quick refund of the lease money.

On February 14, 1902, a further effort was made on behalf of Interstate when Representative Charles Curtis of Topeka, Kansas, introduced in the First Session of the 57th Congress House Resolution No. 8738 providing congressional authorization for the company to institute suit in the Court of Private Land Claims for the determination of its title to the Arkansas Grant. The resolution received rough treatment in the sub committee from Representative Dudley G. Wooten of Dallas, Texas, and from Territorial Delegate Bernard S. Rodey of Albuquerque. The resolution seems to have died in the subcommittee. The above information is from *The Beales Land Grant*, the Record of the Hearing on H. R. No. 8738 before the Subcommittee of the House Committee on Private Land Claims ([Washington, 1902]).

THE CASE OF THE PLAGIARIZED JOURNAL

By George H. Shirk

A small, leather-bound, military style diary dealing with the Battle of the Washita has been made available to the Oklahoma Historical Society that poses any number of intriguing questions. Historical research indeed may be exciting; and when it is complicated with all the uncertainty and perplexity of a situation that would baffle Sherlock Holmes, then indeed history can be fun.

November 27, 1958, is the 90th anniversary of the Battle of the Washita. Perhaps no other event in the military history of Oklahoma has the broad popular appeal, even to those not otherwise concerned with matters of history, as does Custer's wild and reckless charge at early dawn through the sleeping village of Black Kettle's Cheyenne Indians.

The causes of the "Indian War" of 1868-9 are well known. That background is not essential for anyone wishing to assist in unraveling the perplexity and mystery to be here presented. Suffice to say the 7th U. S. Cavalry was organized July 28, 1866, pursuant to the Act of Congress creating the regular establishment following the Civil War.¹ George A. Custer was named its Lieutenant Colonel. No figure who has ever crossed the stage of Oklahoma history was of quite his mold. Dashing and actually with considerable ability, Custer was never one to shrink from the limelight nor to avoid situations that would thrust him before the public eye. A swashbuckler and an opportunist, he saw the military action on the Plains as an ideal escape from the humdrum of the inevitable garrison life that was to follow the hostilities of Civil War.

Custer was born in New Rumley, Ohio, December 5th, 1839.² His father was a successful blacksmith and farmer. Custer spent most of his childhood with his half sister at her home in Monroe, Michigan. There he attended school. By his own persuasion he obtained an appointment to West Point in June of 1857. There youthful escapades and pranks, epitomizing the same strain of character of his later years, resulted in his graduation near the bottom of his class. He was commissioned in

¹ War Department, AGO, *Official Army Register For 1868*, Washington, 1 January 1868, p. 35.

² A suitable popular type history of Custer is Frederick Whittaker, *Popular Life of General George A. Custer*, (New York, Sheldon & Co., 1876), pp. 648. For an excellent treatment of the closing years of Custer's life and the events leading to the Little Big Horn, see Edgar Stewart, *Custer's Luck* (Norman, 1955).

the Second U. S. Cavalry in June 1861. For a person of Custer's personality, he could not have received his commission at a more opportune moment.

Within a matter of months, his bounce and vivacious character so attracted the attention of his superiors that he had been promoted to the rank of Brigadier General by the time he was twenty-three years of age. Two years later a second star was added. At the conclusion of the War it was inescapable that he would gravitate to the regular Army; and his commission as a Lieutenant Colonel in the regular establishment bears the same date as the organization of his beloved regiment of cavalry.

With the coming of the Indian War, military hierarchy found General William T. Sherman commanding the Division of the Missouri; and Major General P. H. Sheridan in command of the Department of the Missouri, a territorial command immediately subordinate to General Sherman's headquarters. Custer could not have had two better officers for his own purposes occupying these positions had he selected them himself. To them Custer was the ideal choice for the active field commander for the contemplated campaign in the Indian country south of Kansas. Actually, General Sheridan made several shifts among the various officers so that Custer would not be outranked, and thus denied the position as the commander of the expedition.

So with this introduction,³ let us proceed to seek the solution to the enigma of the conflicting journals. In fact, were this a theater script, it would well be called the "Case of the Plagiarized Diary." General Custer has left his own narrative of the Battle of the Washita, which has been widely read and is well known. General Custer's manuscript was first published serially in the latter part of 1874, in a magazine known as "The Galaxy," and was thereafter issued in book form under the title *My Life on the Plains*.⁴ It has been reprinted many times.

Mr. Russell Pearson of Oklahoma City has made available to the Society another diary of the engagement that poses the present mystery. It is in longhand and has all the external appearances of full authenticity. He reports that little is known of its history or background, but that it was found years ago by his family among the personal papers and Civil War mementos of his grandfather, Joseph Pearson, who had served

³ For perhaps the best presentation of the immediate events leading to the Battle of the Washita, see Brill, *Conquest of the Southern Plains* (Oklahoma City, 1938).

⁴ George A. Custer, *My Life on the Plains, or Personal Experiences With Indians* (New York, 1876).

in the Union Army. In fact, all that his family has been able to state is that the book was acquired shortly after the Civil War in the vicinity of Catawba, Ohio. The book is note size, 4" x 6", leather-bound, of the type in common use during the period by military personnel. The front cover is inscribed with amateur artistry in ink:

Indian War
on the Plains
Campaign Details
.....
U. S.
Report Books
From 1 to 26
or
Feb. 1865 to 1880
Book No. 10 1868

The "U. S." is surrounded by an elaborate wreath cut into the leather cover by the use of what appears to have been a quill pen.

Without doubt this report book is from a series; and were all of the other volumes available, perhaps the present mystery could be solved. The apparent author of the Diary is one P. N. Hardman who signs the manuscript as a First Lieutenant of the 7th Cavalry and Regimental Adjutant. There was no person by that name in the regular Army, much less a member of the 7th Cavalry participating in the Washita engagement.⁵ Who could he have been; and why such an elaborate deception? It excites imagination and makes interesting reading. To aid in a reader's study of the little booklet, we here present side by side in corresponding columns the longhand Diary of "Lt. P. N. Hardman" and the corresponding excerpts from *My Life on the Plains* of General Custer. Which came first?

⁵ A complete roster of the 19th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, a militia unit mustered in to Federal service for the Indian campaign of 1868-69, appears in Brininstool, *Campaigning With Custer, the Diary of David L. Spotts* (Los Angeles, 1928), and the name P. N. Hardman does not appear in the regiment, either as an officer or enlisted man. In his Diary entry for December 7, 1868, Pvt. Spotts records his impression of Custer: "We got to see Gen. Custer today at close range. He is of medium size, light complexion, long curly hair, wears a light colored hat and buckskin suit, the same as the scouts wear, with leather fringe on the seams of arms and legs. His men all like him."

MY LIFE ON THE PLAINS
Or Personal Experiences With
Indians

By Gen. G. A. Custer, U.S.A.

The weather, which during the past few days had been so bitterly cold, moderated on that day sufficiently to melt the upper surface of the snow. After leaving the wagon train, we continued our march rapidly during the remaining hours of the forenoon and until the middle of the afternoon. Still no tidings from Elliot's⁶ party nor any sign of a trail. No halt was made during the day either for rest or refreshment. Toward evening we began to feel anxious concerning Elliot's detachment. Could be that the In-

REPORT

Battle of the Washita

By P. N. Hardman,
7th U. S. Cavalry

November 30, 1868.

The march of the 7th U. S. Cavalry was again begun in the face of the blinding snowstorm; and before we had gone many miles, even the Indian guides owned that they had lost their way and could not recognize the country till the snow ceased. It had been intended to encamp at Wolf Creek, fifteen miles from Camp Supply,⁷ but the guides could not find it.

Most men would have stopped, in the face of such obstacles—not so, Custer. He took his course by

⁶ Joel H. Elliott. Born Indiana. Pvt. Indiana Cav. 13 Sept. 1861; 2nd Lieut. 2nd Ind. Cav. 25 June 1863; Capt. 23 Oct. 1863; mustered out 18 Feb. 1866; Major 7th U. S. Cav. 7 March 1867 (Francis Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, 1789-1903*). Although both Custer and "Lieut. Hardman" spell the name Elliot, the spelling is Elliott in Heitman and on the monthly regimental returns of the regiment. Following his death at the Battle of the Washita, the 7th Cavalry removed his body to Fort Arbuckle for burial. With the closing of Fort Arbuckle as a military post, Major Elliott was disinterred and now rests in Grave No. 2233, Officers Circle, Fort Gibson National Cemetery. In "Some Reminiscences, Including the Washita Battle, November 27, 1868" Lieut. E. S. Godfrey, who also participated in the Battle, writing in *The Cavalry Journal*, Vol. XXXVII, October, 1928, p. 481, said of Major Elliott: "Major Joel Elliott was younger than all of the captains, most of whom had been field officers during the Civil War; some had commanded regiments and brigades. He was younger even than most of his lieutenants. In the Civil War, the highest rank held by him was that of captain and his highest command had been a squadron (two troops) in his volunteer regiment of cavalry. After the war he taught school and at the time he went before the Casey Board of Examiners for a commission, he was superintendent of the public schools of the City of Toledo, Ohio, intending eventually to study and practice law. He passed such a perfect mental examination that the board recommended his appointment as major of cavalry. He had anticipated an appointment as first lieutenant, or, at least, as captain."

⁷ Camp Supply was established by G.F.O. #10, Hq. District of Upper Arkansas, In the Field, 18 November 1868. The name was designated by G.F.O. #8, same date and headquarters. General Field Orders No. 10 also directed that Companies B, E and F, 3rd U. S. Infantry and Co. G, 38th Infantry, proceed to the new post and constitute its garrison. Capt. John H. Page, being the senior company commander present, was also post commander. G.F.O. #11, issued the following day by Gen. Sully, the District Commander, was interesting. It provided that barrels, boxes, etc., would not be destroyed but would be used in erecting fortifications. The post return for Camp Supply for November, 1868, has the following opening entry: "Camp Supply is located near the junction of Beaver Creek and Wolf River, where forms the North Fork of the Canadian River and about twenty miles East of the 100 meridian of longitude, West. All mails are carried by trains or courier."

dians had discovered that they were pursued, and had broken up into smaller parties or changed the direction of their trail? If so, could Elliot's messengers reach us in time to make the information valuable to us? We had hurried along, our interest increasing with each mile passed over, until the sun was not more than one hour high above the western horizon; and still, strain our eyes as we would, and scan the white surface of the plains in every direction in our front, the snow seemed unbroken and undisturbed as far as the eye could reach. Our scouts and Indian guides were kept far out in front and on the proper flank, to discover, if possible, the trail. At last one of the scouts gave the signal that the trail had been discovered, and in a few moments the command had reached it, and we were now moving with lighter and less anxious hearts. After studying the trail our Osage warriors informed us that the Indians whose trail we were pursuing were undoubtedly a war party, and had certainly passed where we then were during the forenoon. This was encouraging, and a free rein was given to our horses as we hastened through the snow. The object was to overtake as soon as practicable the party of Elliot, which from the heavy trail we could see was in advance of us. The almost level and unbroken character of the country enabled us to see for miles in all directions, and in this way we knew that Elliot must be many miles ahead of our party Hour after hour we struggled on, hoping to overtake the three troops in advance, for hunger, unappeased since before daylight, began to assert its demands in the strongest terms. So far had Elliot pushed his pursuit that our scouts were a long time in reaching him, and it was nine o'clock at night when the main command

the pocket compass became his own guide, and we reached Wolf Creek in the afternoon.

Next morning at dawn the column started, with eighteen inches of snow on the ground, but a clear sky overhead, with a very cold north wind. The march was continued with little incident except the extreme cold, through a country abounding in game, where we found plenty of buffalo. At last we crossed the Canadian River. The crossing with the wagons occupied the best part of the day, and during that time Major Elliot, with three companies, was dispatched on a scout down the Canadian to hunt for Indian signs. So far the column had met no Indians. Bad as the storm was for the "soldiers" the Indians had found it still worse, it had made them hug their lodges.

The last wagon of the 7th Cavalry had crossed the ford, and was parked on the plains to the south when a courier from Major Elliot came dashing in, to report to Gen. Custer that Elliot had found the fresh trail of a war party, 500 strong, leading nearly due south, with a trifle of easting. It was evidently that of the last war party of the season, going home, disgusted with the cold weather; and snow had given it into Custer's hands. There was no more difficulty about finding the Indian village. Custer's perseverance and pluck in marching away in the midst of a blinding snow storm had been rewarded by "Custer's Luck."⁸ A little earlier start and the war-party would have probably found him, not he them. As it was, we had the advantage of a surprise: we was in the heart of the Indian country, and as yet unperceived; the snow had proved our salvation. The pursuit was almost immediately taken up. "Custer" gave the Regiment just twenty minutes to prepare; then, leaving eighty men

⁸ Whoever "Lieut. Hardman" may have been, he at least was familiar with army shop-talk. The phrase "Custer's Luck" was in universal use in the military. From some of his acts, apparently even Custer believed in its infallibility.

arrived at the point where he and his three troops were found halted

By waiting an hour we not only gained by rest and refreshment, but the light of the moon would then probably be sufficient to guide us on the night ride. When the hour had nearly expired, we began our preparations in the most quiet manner to resume the pursuit. No bugle calls were permitted, as in this peculiar country sound travels a long distance, and we knew not but that our wily foes were located near by. Before starting I conferred with our Indian allies, all of whom were firmly convinced that our enemy's village was probably not far away, and most likely was in the valley in which we then were, as the trail for some miles had led us down the stream on whose banks we halted. "Little Beaver," who acted as spokesman for the Osages, seemed confident that we could overtake and surprise the Indians we had been pursuing, and most probably follow them direct to their village; but, much to my surprise, Little Beaver strongly advised that we delay further pursuit until daylight, remaining concealed in the timber as we were at the time

Ten o'clock came and found us in our saddles. Silently the command stretched out its long length as the troopers filed off four abreast. First came two of our Osage scouts on foot; these were to follow the trail and lead the command; they were our guides, and the panther, creeping upon its prey, could not have advanced more cautiously or quietly than did these friendly Indians, as they seemed to glide rather than walk over the snow-clad surface. To prevent the possibility of the command coming precipitately upon our enemies, the two scouts were directed to keep three or four hundred yards in advance of

with the poorest horses, as a guard for the wagons, we started with the rest, provided only with what supplies could be carried on the horses, to intercept Maj. Elliot party. The wagon train was ordered to follow the trail of the regiment. We struck off at an angle to intercept Elliot's supposed course. That officer, having started the Indian trail twelve miles down the river, and at right angles thereto, it was probable that if Custer moved off to the southeast, he would cut the line of march. Just about sunset he found it, but it was not till nine o'clock at night that the whole command overtook Elliot's party in camp on the trail of the Indians. Then the whole regiment, 1200 strong,⁹ was reunited at last. We remained an hour in camp, getting supper and feeding our horses; we were now in the valley of the Washita River and close on the Indians. As soon as each troop was in readiness to resume the pursuit, the troop commanders reported that fact to Genl Custer's Headquarters. Ten o'clock came and found us in our saddles. Silently the command stretched out its long length as the troopers filed off four abreast. First came two of our Osage scouts on foot; these were to follow the trail, and lead the command; they were our guides; and the panther, creeping upon its prey, could not have advanced more cautiously or quiet than did these friendly Indians, as they seemed to glide rather than walk on the snow clad surface. To prevent the possibility of the command coming precipitately upon our enemies, the two scouts were directed to keep three or four hundred yards in advance of all others; then came, in single file, the remainder of our "Osage" guides and the white scouts—among the rest California Joe and Buffalo Bill,¹⁰ with these Genl

⁹ The regimental return of the 7th U. S. Cavalry for November, 1868, shows the strength of the regiment to be 27 officers and 810 enlisted men.

¹⁰ The introduction by "Lieut. Hardman" of W. F. Cody into the plot is an added attraction not supported by the facts.

all others; then came, in single file, the remainder of our Osage guides and the white scouts—among the rest California Joe. With these I rode, that I might be as near the advance guard as possible. The cavalry followed in rear, at the distance of a quarter or half a mile; this precaution was necessary, from the fact that the snow, which had thawed slightly during the day, was then freezing, forming a crust which, broken by the tread of so many hundreds of feet, produced a noise capable of being heard at a long distance. Orders were given prohibiting even a word being uttered above a whisper. No one was permitted to strike a match or light a pipe—the latter a great deprivation to the soldier. In this silent manner we rode mile after mile. Occasionally an officer would ride by my side and whisper some inquiry or suggestion, but aside from this our march was unbroken by sound or deed. At last we discovered that our two guides in front had halted, and were awaiting my arrival. Word was quietly sent to halt the column until inquiry in front could be made. Upon coming up with the two Osages we were furnished an example of the wonderful and peculiar powers of the Indian. One of them could speak broken English, and in answer to my question as to "What is the matter?" he replied, "Me don't know, but me smell fire." By this time several of the officers had quietly ridden up, and upon being informed of the Osage's remark, each endeavored, by sniffing the air, to verify or disprove the report. All united in saying that our guide was mistaken. Some said he was probably frightened, but we were unable to shake the confidence of the Osage warrior in his first opinion. I then directed him and his companions to advance even more cautiously than before, and the column, keeping up the interval, resumed its march. After proceeding about half a mile, perhaps further, again our guides halted, and upon coming up with them I was greet-

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California Joe

(From an Old Print)

ed with the remark uttered in a whisper, "Me told you so;" and sure enough looking in the direction indicated, were to be seen the embers of a wasted fire, scarcely a handful, yet enough to prove that our guide was right, and to cause us to feel the greater confidence in him. The discovery of these few coals of fire produced almost breathless excitement. The distance from where we stood was from seventy-five to a hundred yards, not in the line of our march, but directly to our left, in the edge of the timber. We knew at once that none but Indians, and they hostile, had built that fire. Where were they at that moment? Perhaps sleeping in the vicinity of the fire.

It was almost certain to our minds that the Indians we had been pursuing were the builders of that fire. Were they still there and asleep? We were too near already to attempt to withdraw undiscovered. Our only course was to determine the facts at once, and be prepared for the worst. I called for a few volunteers to quietly approach the fire and discover whether there were Indians in the vicinity; if not, to gather such information as was obtainable, as to their numbers and departure. All the Osages and a few of the scouts quickly, dismounted, and with rifles in readiness and fingers on the triggers silently made their way to the nearest point of the timber, Little Beaver and Hard Rope leading the way. After they had disappeared in the timber they still had to pass over more than half the distance before reaching the fire. These moments seemed like hours, and those of us who were left sitting on our horses, in the open moonlight, and within easy range from the spot where the fire was located, felt anything but comfortable during this suspense. If Indians, as then seemed highly probable, were sleeping around the fire, our scouts would arouse them and we would be in fair way to be picked off without being in a position to defend ourselves. The matter was soon de-

seen the embers of a wasted fire, scarcely a handful, yet enough to prove that our guide was right, and to cause us to feel the greater confidence in him. The discovery of these few coals of fire produced almost breathless excitement. The distance from where we stood was from seventy five to 100 yards, not in line of our march, but directly to our left, in the edge of the timber. We knew at once that none but Indians, and they hostile, had built that fire. Where were they at that moment. Perhaps sleeping in the vicinity of the fire.

It was almost certain to our minds that the Indians we had been pursuing were the builders of the fire. Were they still there and asleep? We were too near already to attempt to withdraw undiscovered. Our only course was to determine the fact at once, and be prepared for the worst so Custer and myself quietly approached the fire, to try and discover whether there were Indians in the vicinity; and if not we would gather such information as was obtainable as to the numbers and departure. We with our rifles in readiness and fingers on the triggers silently we made our way to the nearest point of the timber. After we passed the timber we still had to pass over more than half the distance before reaching the fire.

These moments seemed like hours to the command that we left sitting on their horses in the open moonlight, and within easy range from the spot where the fire was located, they felt anything but comfortable during our absence. If Indians, as then seemed highly probable, were sleeping around the fire, we would arouse them, and our men that was left in the rear would be in a fair way to be picked off without being in a position to defend themselves.

The matter was soon determined. We soon arrived at the fire, and discovered it to be deserted. Again did the skill and knowledge of our Indian allies come into play. Had they not been with

terminated. Our scouts soon arrived at the fire, and discovered it to be deserted. Again did the skill and knowledge of our Indian allies come in play. Had they not been with us we should undoubtedly have assumed that the Indians who had had occasion to build the fire and those we were pursuing constituted one party. From examining the fire and observing the great number of pony tracks in the snow, the Osages arrived at a different conclusion, and were convinced that we were then on the ground used by the Indians for grazing their herds of ponies. The fire had been kindled by the Indian boys, who attend to the herding, to warm themselves by, and in all probability we were then within two or three miles of the village. I will not endeavor to describe the renewed hope and excitement that sprang up. Again we set out, this time more cautiously if possible than before, the command and scouts moving at a greater distance in rear.

In order to judge of the situation more correctly, I this time accompanied the two Osages. Silently, we advanced, I mounted, they on foot, keeping at the head of my horse. Upon nearing the crest of each hill, as is invariably the Indian custom, one of our guides would hasten a few steps in advance and peer cautiously over the hill. Accustomed to this, I was not struck by observing it until once, when the same one who discovered the fire advanced cautiously to the crest and looked carefully into the valley beyond. I saw him place his hand above his eyes as if looking intently at some object, then crouch down and come creeping back to where I waited for him. "What is it?" I inquired as soon as he reached my horse's side. "Heaps Injuns down there," pointing in the direction from which he had just come. Quickly dismounting and giving the reins to the other guide, I accompanied the Osage to the crest, both of us crouching low so as not to be seen in the moonlight against the horizon.

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Looking in the direction indicated, I could indistinctly recognize the presence of a large body of animals of some kind in the valley below, and at a distance which then seemed not more than half a mile. I looked at them long and anxiously, the guide uttering not a word, but was unable to discover anything in their appearance different from what might be presented by a herd of buffalo under similar circumstances. Turning to the Osage, I inquired in a low tone why he thought there were Indians there. "Me heard dog bark," was the satisfactory reply. Indians are noted for the large number of dogs found in their villages, but never accompanying their war parties. I waited quietly to be convinced; I was assured, but wanted to be doubly so. I was rewarded in a moment by hearing the barking of a dog in the heavy timber off to the right of the herd, and soon after I heard the tinkling of a small bell; this convinced me that it was really the Indian herd I then saw, the bell being worn around the neck of some pony who was probably the leader of the herd. I turned to retrace my steps when another sound was borne to my ear through the cold, clear atmosphere of the valley—it was the distant cry of an infant; and savages though they were, and justly outlawed by the number and atrocity of their recent murders and depredations on the helpless settlers of the frontier, I could not but regret that in a war such as we were forced to engage in, the mode and circumstances of battle would possibly prevent discrimination.

Leaving the two Osages to keep a careful lookout, I hastened back until I met the main party of the scouts and Osages. They were halted and a message sent back to halt the cavalry, enjoining complete silence, and directing every officer to ride to the point we then occupied. The hour was then past midnight. Soon they came, and after dismounting and collecting in a little circle, I informed them of what I had seen

tance which then seemed not more than a mile. I looked at them long and anxiously, the guide uttering not a word, but was unable to discover anything in their appearance different from what might be presented by a herd of buffalo under similar circumstances. Turning to the Osage, I inquired in a low tone why he thought there were Indians there. "Me heard dog bark," was the satisfactory reply. Indians are noted for the large number of dogs always found in their villages, but never accompanying their war parties. I waited quietly to be convinced; I was assured but wanted to be doubly so. I was rewarded in a minute by hearing the barking of a "dog" in the heavy timber off to the right of the herd, and soon after I heard the tinkling of a small bell; this convinced me that it was really the Indians herd I then saw, the bell being one worn around the neck of some pony who was probably the leader of the herd. I turned to retrace my steps when another sound was borne to my ear through the cold clear atmosphere of the valley—it was the distant cry of an infant; and savages though they were, and justly outlawed by the number and atrocity of their recent murders and depredations on the helpless settlers of the frontiers, I could but regret that in a war such as we were forced to engage in, the mode and circumstances of battle would possibly prevent discrimination.

Leaving the two Osages to keep a careful lookout, I hastened back until I met the main party of the scouts and Osages. They were halted and a messenger sent back to halt the Cavalry, enjoining complete silence, and Genl Custer directing every officer to ride to the point we then occupied. The hour was past midnight. Soon they came, and after dismounting and collecting in a little circle, I informed them of what I had seen and heard; and in order that they might individually learn as much as possible of the character of the ground

and heard; and in order that they might individually learn as much as possible of the character of the ground and the location of the village, I proposed that all should remove their sabres, that their clanking might make no noise, and proceed gently to the crest and there obtain a view of the valley beyond. This was done; not a word was spoken until we crouched together and cast our eyes in the direction of the herd and village. In whispers I briefly pointed out everything that was to be seen, then motioned all to return to where we had left our sabres; then, standing in a group upon the ground or crust of snow, the plan of attack was explained to all and each assigned his part. The general plan was to employ the hours between then and daylight to completely surround the village, and, at daybreak, or as soon as it was barely light enough for the purpose, to attack the Indians from all sides. The command, numbering, as has been stated, about eight hundred¹¹ mounted men, was divided into four nearly equal detachments. Two of them set out at once, as they had each to make a circuitous march of several miles in order to arrive at the points assigned them from which to make their attack. The third detachment moved to its position about an hour before day, and until that time remained with the main or fourth column. This last, whose movements I accompanied, was to make the attack from the point from which we had first discovered the herd and village. Major Elliot commanded the column embracing G, H, and M, troops, Seventh Cavalry, which moved around from our left to a position almost in rear of the village; while Colonel Thompson¹² commanded

and the location of the village, I proposed that all should remove their "sabres" that their clanking might make no noise, proceed quietly to the crest and there obtain a view of the village beyond. This was done; not a word was spoken until we crouched together and cast our eyes in the direction of the herd and village. In whispers I briefly pointed out everything that I had seen and, then motioned all to return to where we had left our sabres; then, standing in a group upon the ground or crust of snow the plan of the attack was explained by General G. A. Custer to all and each assigned his post. The general plan was to employ the hours between then and daylight to completely surround the village, and at daybreak, or as soon as it was barely light enough for the purpose, to "attack" the Indians from all sides. The command numbering as has been stated about 1200 mounted men, was divided into four nearly equal detachments. Two of them set out at once, as they had each to make a circuitous march of several miles in order to arrive at the points assigned them from which to make their attacks. The third detachment moved to its position about an hour before day and until that time remained with the main column or fourth column. This last, whose movements General Custer accompanied was to make the attack from the point which I had first discovered the herd and village. Major Elliot commanded the column embracing G, H and M Troops 7th Cavalry, which moved around from our left to a position almost in rear of the village; while Col. Thompson commanded the one consisting of "B" and "F" Troops, which moved in a corresponding manner from our right to a posi-

¹¹ See footnote 9.

¹² William Thompson. Born Penna. Capt. 1st Iowa Cav. 31 July 1861; Major 18 May 1863; Col. 20 June 1864; Brig. Gen. Vol. 13 March 1865; mustered out 15 March 1866; Capt. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Retired 15 Dec. 1875; Died 7 Oct. 1897.—Heitman, *op. cit.* It is interesting to note that Custer uses the rank of Colonel in referring to Thompson, notwithstanding his former rank of brigadier general.

the one consisting of B and F troops, which moved in a corresponding manner from our right to a position which was to connect with that of Major Elliot. Colonel Myers¹³ commanded the third column, composed of E and I troops, which was to take position in the valley and timber a little less than a mile to my right. By this disposition it was hoped to prevent the escape of every inmate of the village. That portion of the command which I proposed to accompany consisted of A, C, D, and K troops, Seventh Cavalry, the Osages and scouts, and Colonel Cook¹⁴ with his forty sharpshooters.¹⁵ Captain Hamilton¹⁶ commanded one of the squadrons, Colonel West¹⁷ the other. After the first two columns had departed for their posts—it was still four hours before the hour of attack—the men of the other two columns were permitted to dismount, but much intense suffering was unavoidably sustained. The night grew

tion which was to connect with that of Major Elliotts. Col. Myers commanded the third column, composed of E and I Troops, which was to take position in the valley and timber a little less than a mile to Custers right. By this disposition it was hoped by Custer to prevent the escape of an inmate of the village. That portion of the command which "Custer" proposed to accompany consisted of A, C, D and K Troops, Seventh Cavalry, the Osages and scouts and Lieutenant Hardman with his fifty sharpshooters. Capt. Hamilton commanded one of the squadrons, Col. West the other. After the first two columns had departed for their posts—it was still four hours before the hour of attack—the men of the other two columns were permitted to dismount, but much "intense suffering was unavoidably sustained", the night grew **extremely cold towards morning**: (30° below zero)¹⁸ no fires of course could be permitted, and the men were

¹³ Edward Myers. Born in Germany; enlisted man in 1st Dragoons 26 Aug. 1857 to 26 Aug. 1862; 2nd Lieut. 1st Cav. 17 July 1862; 1st Lieut. 23 Sept. 1863; Lt. Col. 1 April 1865; Capt. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866. Died 11 July 1871.—Heitman, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ William W. Cook. Born in Canada; 2nd Lieut. 24th NY 26 Jan. 1864; 1st Lieut. 14 Dec. 1864; Major 2 Mar. 1867; Bvt. Lt. Col. 2 Mar. 1867; 2nd Lieut. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; 1st Lieut. 31 July 1867; Killed 25 June 1876 at Battle of Little Big Horn.—Heitman, *op. cit.* The name often appears as Cooke.

¹⁵ Upon organization of the regiment great interest was evidenced in the marksmanship of the enlisted men. Records were maintained on all practice rounds fired, and scores were entered for each soldier. The forty best shots in the regiment were organized into a special sharpshooting detachment. This special detail of the enlisted men was carried on the monthly regimental return.

¹⁶ Louis McLane Hamilton. Born New York. Pvt. 14th Inf. 23 Sept. 1862; 2nd Lieut. 3rd Inf. 27 Sept. 1862; 1st Lieut. 6 May 1864; Bvt. Major and Capt. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Bvt. Major 7th U. S. Cav. posthumously (Heitman, *op. cit.*). Hamilton was a grandson of Alexander Hamilton. A number of mementos of Captain Hamilton are on display at the Oklahoma Historical Society. At the time of his commission in the 7th Cavalry, he was reputed to be the youngest captain in the regular army.—Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma* (New York, 1916), Vol. 1, p. 413.

¹⁷ Robert M. West. Born New Jersey. Pvt. 12 April 1856; Capt. 1st Pa. Art. 25 July 1861; Major 13 Sept. 1861; Colonel 28 July 1862; Brig. Gen. Vol. 1 April 1865; Capt. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Resigned 1 March 1869; Died 3 Sept. 1869 (Heitman, *op. cit.*). As with Thompson, Custer seems to overlook that here also was a former general officer.

¹⁸ Possible but not probable. The U. S. Weather Bureau (Oklahoma City Station) reports that the coldest recorded temperature in Oklahoma since the establishment of that Agency is 27° below.

extremely cold towards morning; no fires of course could be permitted, and the men were even ordered to desist from stomping their feet and walking back and forth to keep warm, as the crushing of the snow beneath produced so much noise that it might give the alarm to our wily enemies.

During all these long weary hours of this terribly cold and comfortless night each man sat, stood, or lay on the snow by his horse, holding to the rein of the latter. The officers, buttoning their huge overcoats closely about them, collected in knots of four or five, and, seated or reclining upon the snow's hard crust, discussed the probabilities of the coming battle—for battle we knew it would be, and we could not hope to conquer or kill the warriors of an entire village without suffering in return more or less injury. Some, wrapping their capes about their heads, spread themselves at full length upon the snow and were apparently soon wrapt in deep slumber. After being satisfied that all necessary arrangements had been made for the attack, I imitated the example of some of my comrades, and gathering the cavalry cape of the greatcoat about my head lay down and slept soundly for perhaps an hour. At the end of that time I awoke, and on consulting my watch found there remained nearly two hours before we could move to the attack. Walking about among the horses and troopers, I found the latter generally huddled at the feet of the former in squads of three or four, in the endeavor to keep warm. Occasionally I would find a small group engaged in conversation, the muttered tones and voices strangely reminding me of those heard in the death-chamber. The officers had disposed of themselves in similar but various ways; here at one place were several stretched out together upon the snow, the body of one being used by the others as a pillow. Nearly all were silent; conversation had ceased, and those who were prevented by the

even ordered to desist from stomping their feet and walking back and forth to keep warm, as the crushing of the snow beneath produced so much noise that it might give the alarm to our wily enemies.

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Occasionally I would find a group engaged in conversation, the muttered tones and voices strongly reminding me of those heard in the death chamber. The officers had disposed of themselves in similar but various ways; here at one place were several stretched out together upon the snow, the body of one being used by the others as a pillow. Nearly all were silent; conversation had ceased, and those who were prevented by the severe cold

severe cold from obtaining sleep were no doubt fully occupied in their minds with thoughts upon the morrow and the fate that might be in store for them. Seeing a small group collected under the low branches of a tree which stood a little distance from the ground occupied by the troops, I made my way there to find the Osage warriors with their chiefs Little Beaver and Hard Rope. They were wrapped up in their blankets sitting in a circle, and had evidently made no effort to sleep during the night. It was plain to be seen that they regarded the occasion as a momentous one and that the coming battle had been the sole subject of their conference. What the views expressed by them were I did not learn until after the engagement was fought, when they told me what ideas they had entertained regarding the manner in which the white man would probably conduct and terminate the struggle next day. After the success of the day was decided, the Osages told me that, with the suspicion so natural and peculiar to the Indian nature, they had, in discussing the proposed attack upon the Indian village concluded that we would be outnumbered by the occupants of the village, who of course would fight with the utmost desperation in defence of their lives and lodges, and to prevent a complete defeat of our forces or to secure a drawn battle, we might be induced to engage in a parley with the hostile tribe, and on coming to an agreement we would probably, to save ourselves, offer to yield up our Osage allies as a compromise measure between our enemies and ourselves. They also mistrusted the ability of the whites to make a successful attack upon a hostile village, located—as this one was known to be—in heavy timber, and aided by the natural banks of the stream. Disaster seemed certain in the minds of the Osages to follow us, if we attacked a force of unknown strength and numbers; and the question with them was to secure

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Disaster seemed certain in the minds of the Osages to follow us if we attacked a force of unknown strength and number; and the question with them was to

if the battle showed up against us, then they being in a position, could take advantage of circumstances and some chances as best they might.

Learning from our Camp friends who were unknown to me, entertaining such doubtful opinions as to our fidelity to them, I joined another group near by consisting of most of the white soldiers. There were Colophonie Joe and Buffalo Bill and several of his companions. One of the latter deserves a fair notice. There was a low long-set Mexican with features remarkably somewhat those of the Athapian - thick lips, deep-set eyes, and low forehead. He was quite young probably not more than 25 years of age, but had passed the greater portion of his life with the Indians, had learned to speak their language, and had a familiarity with the

language of the Comanches and acted very skilfully. He was invaluable both as a scout and as an interpreter. His real name was Romero, but some of the officers of the command with whom he was a sort of a favorite, had dubbed him Romeo, and by this name he was always known, a sobriquet which he responded to readily as if he had been christened under it; never protesting, like the original Romeo: -

Tut, I have lost myself; I am not here; This is not Romeo, he's some other where.

The parents, like nearly all the other members of the command, had been in changing opinions as to the result of the movement of the following day. Not sharing the mistaken and suspicious of the Camp guides, yet not faint

The noted "Tut, I have lost myself . . ." remark, "Lt. P. N. Hardman" Diary. (Photograph from Original Diary)

such a position in the attack as to be able promptly to detect any move disadvantageous to them. With this purpose they came to the conclusion that the standard-bearer was a very important personage, and neither he nor his standard would be carried into danger or exposed to the bullets of the enemy. They determined therefore to take their station immediately behind my standard-bearer when the lines became formed for attack, to follow him during the action, and thus be able to watch our movements, and if we were successful over our foes to aid us; if the battle should go against us, then they, being in a safe position, could take advantage of circumstances and save themselves as best they might.

Turning from our Osage friends, who were, unknown to us, entertaining such doubtful opinions as to our fidelity to them, I joined another group near by, consisting of most of the white scouts. Here were California Joe and several of his companions. One of the latter deserves a passing notice. He was a low, heavy-set Mexican, with features resembling somewhat those of the Ethiopian—thick lips, depressed nose, and low forehead. He was quite a young man, probably not more than twenty-five years of age, but had passed the greater portion of his life with the Indians, had adopted their habits of life and modes of dress and had married among them. Familiar with the language of the Cheyennes and other neighboring tribes, he was invaluable both as a scout and as an interpreter. His real name was Romero, but some of the officers of the command, with whom he was sort of a favorite, had dubbed him Romeo, and by this name he was always known, a sobriquet to which he responded as readily as if he had been christened under it; never protesting, like the original Romeo.

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secure such a position in the attack as to be able promptly to detect any move disadvantageous to them. With this purpose they came to the conclusion that the standard-bearer was a very important personage, and neither he nor his "Flag" would be carried into danger or exposed to the bullets of the enemy. They determined therefore to take their station immediately behind the standard-bearer when the lines became formed for attack to follow him during the fight, and thus be able to watch our movements, and if we were successful over our foes to aid us; if the battle should go against us, then they being in a safe position, could take advantage of circumstances and save themselves as best they might.

Turning from our Osage friends, who were unknown to us, entertaining such doubtful opinions as to our fidelity to them, I joined another group nearby, consisting of most of the white scouts. Here were California Joe and Buffalo Bill and several of his companions. One of the latter deserves a passing notice. Here was a low heavy-set Mexican with features resembling somewhat those of the Ethiopian—thick lips, depressed nose, and low forehead. He was quite young probably not more than 25 years of age, but had passed the greater portion of his life with the Indians, had married among them. Familiar with the language of the Cheyennes and other neighboring tribes, he was invaluable both as a scout and as an interpreter. His real name was Romero, but some of the officers of the command with whom he was sort of a favorite, had dubbed him Romeo, and by this name he was always known, a sobriquet to which he responded as readily as if he had been christened under it, never protesting, like the original Romeo;—

Tut, I have lost myself; I am not here;

This is not Romeo, he's some other where.

The scouts, like nearly all other members of the command, had been interchanging opinions as to the result of the movements of the following day. Not sharing the mistrust and suspicion of the Osage guides, yet the present experience was in many respects new to them, and to some the issue seemed at least shrouded in uncertainty. Addressed the group, I began the conversation with the question as to what they thought of the prospect of our having a fight. "Fight!" responded California Joe; "I havn't nary doubt concern' that part uv the business; what I've been tryin' to get through my topknot all night is whether we'll run against more than we bargain for." "Then you do not think the Indians will run away, Joe?" "Run away! How in creation can Injuns or anybody else run away when we'll have 'em clean surrounded afore daylight?" "Well, suppose then that we succeed in surrounding the village, do you think we can hold our own against the Indians?" "That's the very pint that's been bothern' me ever since we planted ourselves down here, and the only conclusion I kin come at is that it's purty apt to be one thing or t'other; if we pump these Injuns at daylight, we're either goin' to make a spoon or spile a horn, an' that's my candid judgment, sure. One thing's certain, ef them Injuns doesn't har anything uv us till we open on 'em at daylight, they'll be the most powerful 'stonished redskins that's been in these parts lately—they will, sure. An' ef we git the bulge on 'em and keep puttin' it to 'em sort a lively like, we'll sweep the platter—thar won't be nary trick left for 'em. As the deal stands now, we hold the keerds and are holdin' over 'em; they've got to straddle our blind or throw up their hands. Howsomeever, thar's a mighty sight in the draw."

..... The night passed in quiet. I anxiously waited the opening signs of dawn in order to put the column in motion. We were only a few hundred yards from the point from which we were to at-

The scouts, like nearly all the other members of the command, had been interchanging opinions as to the result of the movements of the following day. Not sharing the mistrust and suspicions of the Osage guides, yet the present experience was in many respects new to them, and to some the issue seemed at least shrouded in uncertainty. Addressing the group, I began the conversation with the question as to what they thought of the prospect of our having a fight. "Fight!" responded California Joe; "I haven't nary doubt concernin' that part uv the business; what I've been tryin' to get through my topknot all night is whether we'll run aginst more than we bargain for." Then you do not think the Indians will run away, Joe?" Run away! How in creation can Injuns or anybody else run away when we'll have em clean surrounded afore daylight?" Well suppose then that we succeed in surrounding the village, do you think we can hold our own against the Indians?" "That's the very pint that's been botherin me ever since we planted ourselves down here, and the only conclusion I kin come at is that it's purty apt to be one thing or t'other: if we jump these Injuns at day light, we're either goin to make a spoon or spile a horn, an' that's my candid judgment sure. One thing's sartin, if them Injuns doesn't har anything uv us tell we opin on 'em at daylight, they'll be the most powerful 'stonished red skins that's been in these parts lately—they will, sure. An if we git the bugle on 'em and keep puttin it to 'em sort a lively like, we'll sweep the platter—thar won't be nary trick left for 'em. As the deal stands now, we hold the keerds and are holdin' over 'em; they've got to straddle our blind or throw up their hands. How someever, thar's a mighty sight in the draw."

The night passed in quiet. I anxiously watched the opening signs of dawn in order that we could put the column in motion. We were only a few hundred yards from the point from which

tack. The moon disappeared about two hours before dawn, and left us enshrouded in thick and utter darkness, making the time seem to drag even slower than before.

At last faint signs of approaching day were visible, and I proceeded to collect the officers, awakening those who slept. We were standing in a group near the head of the column, when suddenly our attention was attracted by a remarkable sight, and for a time we felt that the Indians had discovered our presence. Directly beyond the crest of the hill which separated us from the village, and in a line with the supposed location of the latter, we saw rising slowly but perceptibly, as we thought, up from the village, and appearing in bold relief against the dark sky as a background, something which we could only compare to a signal rocket, except that its motion was slow and regular. All eyes were turned to it in blank astonishment, and but one idea seemed to be entertained, and that was that one or both of the two attacking columns under Elliot or Thompson had encountered a portion of the village, and this that we saw was the signal to other portions of the band near at hand. Slowly and majestically it continued to rise above the crest of the hill, first appearing as a small brilliant flaming globe of bright golden hue. As it ascended still higher it seemed to increase in size, to move more slowly, while its colors rapidly changed from one to the other, exhibiting in turn the most beautiful combinations of prismatic tints. There seemed to be not the shadow of doubt that we were discovered. The strange apparition in the heavens maintained its steady course upward. One anxious spectator, observing it apparently at a standstill, exclaimed, "How long it hangs fire! why don't it explode?" still keeping the idea of a signal rocket in mind. It had risen perhaps to the height of half a degree above the horizon as observed from our position,

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when, lo! the mystery was dispelled. Rising above the mystifying influences of the atmosphere, that which had appeared so suddenly before us, and excited our greatest apprehensions, developed into the brightest and most beautiful morning stars. Often since that memorable morning have I heard officers remind each other of the strange appearance which had so excited our anxiety and alarm. In less perilous moments we probably would have regarded it as a beautiful phenomenon of nature, of which so many are to be witnessed through the pure atmosphere of the plains.

All were ordered to get ready to advance; not a word to officer or men was spoken above undertone. It began growing lighter in the east, and we moved forward toward the crest of the hill. Up to this time two of the officers and one of the Osages had remained on the hill overlooking the valley beyond, so as to detect any attempt at a movement on the part of the occupants of the village below. These now rejoined the troops. Colonel West's squadron was formed in line on the right, Captain Hamilton's squadron in line on the left, while Colonel Cook with his forty sharpshooters was formed in advance on the left, dismounted. Although the early morning air was freezingly cold, the men were directed to remove their overcoats and haversacks so as to render them free in their movements. Before advancing beyond the crest of the hill, strict orders were issued prohibiting the firing of a single shot until the signal to attack should be made. The other three detachments had been informed before setting out that the main column would attack promptly at daylight without waiting to ascertain whether they were in position or not. In fact it would be impracticable to communicate with either of the first two until the attack began. The plan was for each party to approach as closely to the village as possible without being discovered, and there await the approach of day-

when, lo! the mystery was dispelled. Rising above the mystifying influence of the atmosphere that which had appeared so suddenly before us and excited our greatest apprehension, developed into the brightest and most beautiful of morning "STARS". Often since that memorable morning have I heard officers remind each other of the strange appearance which had so excited our anxiety and alarm. In less perilous moments we probably would have regarded it as a beautiful phenomenon of nature, of which so many are to be witnessed through the pure atmosphere of the plains.

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light. The regimental band was to move with my detachment, and it was understood that the band should strike up the instant the attack opened. Colonel Myers commanding the third party, was also directed to move one-half his detachment dismounted. In this order we began to descend the slope leading down to the village. The distance to the timber in the valley proved greater than it appeared to the eye in the darkness of the night. We soon reached the outskirts of the herd of ponies. The latter seemed to recognize us as hostile parties and moved quickly away. The light of day was each minute growing stronger, and we feared discovery before we could approach near enough to charge the village. The movement of our horses over the crusted snow produced considerable noise, and would doubtless have led to our detection but for the fact that the Indians, if they heard it at all, presumed it was occasioned by their herd of ponies. I would have given much at that moment to know the whereabouts of the first two columns sent out. Had they reached their assigned positions, or had unseen and unknown obstacles delayed or misled them? These were questions which could not then be answered. We had now reached the level of the valley, and began advancing in line toward the heavy timber in which and close at hand we knew the village was situated.

Immediately in rear of my horse came the band, all mounted, and each with his instrument in readiness to begin playing the moment their leader, who rode at their head, and who kept his cornet to his lips, should receive the signal. I had previously told him to play "Garry Owen" as the opening piece. We had approached near enough to the village now to plainly catch a view here and there of the tall white lodges as they stood in irregular order among the trees. From the openings at the top of some of them we could perceive faint columns of smoke ascending, the occu-

was to move with Custer's detachment, and it was understood that the Band should strike up the instant the attack opened, so we began to descend the slope leading down to the village. The distance to the timber in the valley proved greater than it had appeared to the eye in the darkness of the night. We soon reached the outskirts of the herd of ponies. The latter seemed to recognize us as hostile parties and moved quickly away. The light of day was each minute growing stronger, and we feared discovery before we could approach near enough to "Charge" the village. The movement of our horses over the crusted snow produced considerable noise, and would doubtless have led to our detection but for the fact that the Indians, if they heard it at all, presumed it was occasioned by their herd of ponies. I would say Custer give much thought at that moments to know the whereabouts of the two columns first sent out. Had they reached their assigned positions, or had unseen and unknown obstacle delayed or misled them? These were questions which could not then be answered. We had now reached the level of the valley, and began advancing in line of "Battle" towards the heavy timber in which, and close at hand, we knew the village was situated. Immediately in rear of "Genl Custers" horse came the "Band", all mounted, and each with his instrument in readiness to begin playing the moment their leader, who rode at their head, and who kept this "cornet" to his lips, should receive the signal. I heard "Genl Custer" tell him to play "GARRY OWEN" as the opening piece. We had approached near enough to the village now to plainly catch a view here and there of the tall white lodges as they stood in irregular order among the trees. From the openings at the top of some of them we could perceive faint columns of smoke ascending, the occupants no doubt having kept up their feeble fires during the entire

pants no doubt having kept their feeble fires during the entire night. We had approached so near the village that from the dead silence which reigned I feared the lodges were deserted, the Indians having fled before we advanced. I was about to turn in my saddle and direct the signal for attack to be given—still anxious as to where the other detachments were—when a single rifle shot rang sharp and clear on the far side of the village from where we were. Quickly turning to the band leader, I directed him to give us “Garry Owen.” At once the rollicking notes of that familiar marching and fighting air sounded forth through the valley, and in a moment were reechoed back from the opposite sides by the loud and continued cheers of the men of the other detachments, who, true to their orders, were there and in readiness to pounce upon the Indians the moment the attack began. In this manner the battle of the Washita commenced. The bugles sounded the charge, and the entire command dashed rapidly into the village. The Indians were caught napping; but realizing at once the dangers of their situation, they quickly overcame their first surprise and in an instant seized rifles, bows, and arrows, and sprang behind the nearest trees, while some leaped into the stream, nearly waist deep, and using the bank as a rifle-pit, began a vigorous and determined defence. Mingled with the exultant cheers of my men could be heard the defiant war-whoop of the warriors, who from the first fought with a desperation and courage which no race of men could surpass. Actual possession of the village and its lodges was ours within a few moments after the charge was made, but this was an empty victory unless we could vanquish the late occupants, who were then pouring in a rapid and well-directed fire from their stations behind trees and banks. At the first onset a considerable number of the Indians rushed from the village in the di-

night. We had approached so near the village that from the dead silence which reigned I feared the lodges were deserted, the Indians having fled before we advanced. I was about to turn to my saddle say—“Custer” and direct the signal for attack to be given—still anxious as to where the other detachments were—when a single rifle shot rang sharp and clear on the far side of the village from where we were. Genl Custer quickly turning to the “Band” leader, he directed him to give us “GARRY OWEN”. At once the rollicking notes of that familiar marching and fighting air sounded forth through the valley, and in a moment were re-echoed back from the opposite sides by the loud and continual cheers of the men of the other detachments, who, true to their orders, were there and in readiness to pounce upon the Indians the moment the attack began. In this manner the battle of the “Washita” commenced. The bugle sounded the charge and the entire command dashed rapidly into the village. The Indians were caught napping; but realizing at once the dangers of their situation, they quickly overcame their first surprise, in an instant seized their rifles, bows, and arrows and sprang behind the nearest trees, while some leaped into the stream, nearly waist deep, and using the bank as a rifle pit, began a vigorous and determined defence. Mingled with the exultant cheers of our men could be heard the defiant “war whoops” of the warriors, who from the first fought with a desperation and courage which no race of men could surpass. Actual possession of the village and its lodges was ours within a few moments after the “charge” was made, but this was an empty victory unless we could vanquish the late occupants, who were then pouring in a rapid and well directed fire from their stations behind the trees and banks.

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rection from which Elliot's party had attacked. Some broke through the lines, while others came in contact with the mounted troopers, and were killed or captured

.....
We had gained the centre of the village, and were in the midst of the lodges, while on all sides could be heard the sharp crack of the Indian rifles and the heavy responses from the carbines of the troopers. After disposing of the smaller and scattering parties of warriors, who had attempted a movement down the valley, and in which some were successful, there was but little opportunity left for the successful employment of mounted troops. As the Indians by this time had taken cover behind logs and trees, and under the banks of the stream which flowed through the centre of the village, from which stronghold it was impracticable to dislodge them by the use of mounted men, a large portion on the command was at once ordered to fight on foot, and men instructed to take advantage of the trees and other natural means of cover, and fight the Indians in their own style. Cook's sharpshooters had adopted this method from the first, and with telling effect. Slowly but steadily the Indians were driven from behind the trees, and those who escaped the carbine bullets posted themselves with their companions who were already firing from the banks. One party of troopers came upon squaw a endeavoring to make her escape, leading by the hand a little white boy, a prisoner in the hands of the Indians, and who doubtless had been captured by some of their war parties during a raid upon the settlements. Who or where his parents were, or whether still alive or murdered by the Indians, will never be known, as the squaw, finding herself and prisoner about to be surrounded by the troops, and her escape cut off, determined, with savage malignity, that the triumph of the latter should not embrace the rescue of the white boy. Casting

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My [Hardman's] sharpshooters had adopted this method from the first, and with a telling effect, slowly but steadily the Indians were driven from behind the trees, and those who escaped the troops bullets posted themselves with their companions who were already firing from the bank. "I" came upon a squaw endeavoring to make her escape, leading by the hand a little white boy, a prisoner in the hands of the Indians, and who doubtless had been captured by some of their war parties during a raid upon the settlement. Who or where his parents were, or whether still alive or murdered by the Indians, will never be known, as the squaw, finding herself a prisoner about to be surrounded by the troops and her escape cut off determined, with savage malignity that the triumph of the latter should not embrace the rescue of the white boy. Casting her eyes quickly in all directions to con-



(From an Old Print)

Colonel Custer's Interpreter, Romero and his Wife.

her eyes quickly in all directions, to convince herself that escape impossible, she drew from beneath her blanket a huge knife and plunged it into the almost naked body of her captive. The next moment retributive justice reached her in the shape of a well-directed bullet from one of the troopers' carbines. Before the men could reach them life was extinct in the bodies of both the squaw and her unknown captive.

The desperation with which the Indians fought may be inferred from the following: Seventeen warriors had posted themselves in a depression in the ground, which enabled them to protect their bodies completely from the fire of our men, and it was only when the Indians raised their heads to fire that the troopers could aim with any prospect of success. All efforts to drive the warriors from this point proved abortive, and resulted in severe loss to our side. They were only vanquished at last by our men securing positions under cover and picking them off by sharpshooting as they exposed themselves to get a shot at the troopers. Finally the last one was dispatched in this manner. In a deep ravine near the suburbs of the village the dead bodies of thirty-eight warriors were reported after the fight terminated. Many of the squaws and children had very prudently not attempted to leave the village when we attacked it, but remained concealed inside their lodges. All these escaped injury, although when surrounded by the din and wild excitement of the fight, and in close proximity to the contending parties, their fears overcame some of them, and they gave vent to their despair by singing the death song, a combination of weird-like sounds which were suggestive of anything but musical tones. As soon as we had driven the warriors from the village, and the fighting was pushed to the country outside, I directed "Romeo" the interpreter, to go around to all the lodges and assure the squaws and children remaining in

vince herself that escape was impossible, she drew from beneath her blanket a huge knife and plunged it into the almost naked body of her captive. The next moment retributive justice reached her in the shape of a well directed bullet from "my trusty carbine." Before I could reach her, life was extinct in the bodies of both the squaw and her unknown captive. The desperation with which the Indians fought may be inferred from the following: One hundred warriors had posted themselves in a depression in the ground, which enabled them to protect their bodies completely from the fire of our men, and it was only when the Indians raised their heads to fire that the troopers could aim with any prospect of success.

All efforts to drive the warriors from this point proved abortive, and resulted in severe loss to our side. They were only vanquished by our men securing position under cover and picking them off by sharpshooting as they exposed themselves to get a shot at the troopers. Finally the last one was dispatched in this manner. In a deep ravine near the suburbs of the village the dead bodies of two hundred warriors were reported after the fight terminated. Many of the squaws and children had very prudently not attempted to leave the village when we attacked it, but remained concealed inside their lodges. All these escaped injury, although when surrounded by the din and wild excitement of the fight, and in close proximity to the contending parties, their fears overcame some of them, and they gave vent to their despair by singing the death song, "A combination of weird-like sounds which were suggestive of anything but musical tones." As soon as we had driven the warriors from the village, and the fighting was pushed to the country outside, "Custer" directed "Romeo," the interpreter, to go around to all the lodges and assure the squaws and children remaining in them that they would be unharmed and kindly cared

them that they would be unharmed and kindly cared for; at the same time he was to assemble them in the large lodges designated for the purpose, which were standing near the centre of the village. This was quite a delicate mission, as it was difficult to convince the squaws and children that they had anything but death to expect at our hands.

It was perhaps ten o'clock in the forenoon, and the fight was still raging, when to our surprise we saw a small party of Indians collected on a knoll a little over a mile below the village, and in the direction taken by those Indians who had effected an escape through our lines at the commencement of the attack. My surprise was not so great at first, as I imagined that the Indians we saw were those who had contrived to escape, and having procured their ponies from the herd had mounted them and were then anxious spectators of the fight, which they felt themselves too weak in numbers to participate in. In the mean time the herds of ponies belonging to the village, on being alarmed by the firing and shouts of the contestants, had, from a sense of imagined security or custom, rushed into the village, where details of troopers were made to receive them. California Joe, who had been moving about in a promiscuous and independent manner, came galloping into the village, and reported that a large herd of ponies was to be seen near by, and requested authority and some men to bring them in. The men were otherwise employed just then, but he was authorized to collect and drive the herd if practicable. He departed on his errand, and I had forgotten all about him and the ponies, when in the course of half an hour I saw a herd of nearly three hundred ponies coming on the gallop toward the village, driven by a couple of squaws, who were mounted, and had been concealed near by, no doubt; while bringing up the rear was California Joe, riding his favorite mule, and

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whirling about his head a long lariat, using it as a whip in urging the herd forward. He had captured the squaws while endeavoring to secure the ponies, and very wisely had employed his captives to assist in driving the herd. By this time the group of Indians already discovered outside our lines had increased until it numbered upwards of a hundred. Examining them through my field glass, I could plainly perceive that they were all mounted warriors; not only that, but they were armed and caparisoned in full war costume, nearly all wearing the bright-colored war-bonnets and floating their lance pennants. Constant accessions to their numbers were to be seen arriving from beyond the hill on which they stood. All this seemed inexplicable. A few Indians might have escaped through our lines when the attack on the village began, but only a few, and even these must have gone with little or nothing in their possession save their rifles and perhaps a blanket. Who could these new parties be, and from whence came they? To solve these troublesome questions I sent for "Romeo" and taking him with me to one of the lodges occupied by the squaws, I interrogated one of the latter as to who were the Indians to be seen assembling on the hill below the village. She informed me, to a surprise on my part almost equal to that of the Indians at our sudden appearance at daylight, that just below the village we then occupied, and which was a part of the Cheyenne tribe, were located in succession the winter villages of all the hostile tribes of the southern plains with which we were at war, including the Arrapahoes, Kiowas, the remaining band of Cheyennes, the Comanches, and a portion of the Apaches; that the nearest village was about two miles distant, and the others stretched along through the timbered valley to the one furthest off, which was not over ten miles.

What was to be done?—for I

a whip in urging the herd forward. He had captured the squaws while endeavoring to secure the ponies, and very wisely had employed his captives to assist in driving the herd. By this time the group of Indians already discovered outside our lines had increased until it numbered upwards of a hundred. Genl Custer, examining them through his field glass, he could plainly perceive that they were all mounted warriors; not only that, but they were armed and caparisoned in full war costume, nearly all wearing the bright-colored war bonnets and floating their lance pennants. Constant accessions to their numbers were to be seen arriving from beyond the hill on which they stood. All this seemed inexplicable. A few Indians might have escaped through our lines when the attack on the village began, but only a few, and even these must have gone with little or nothing in their possession save their rifles and perhaps a blanket. Who could these new parties be, and from whence came they? To solve these troublesome questions Genl Custer sent for "Romeo" and taking him to one of the lodges occupied by the squaws he interrogated one of the latter as to who were the Indians to be seen assembling on the hill below the village. She informed him to a surprise on the part of Custer almost equal to that of the Indians at our sudden appearance at daylight, that just below the village we then occupied, and which was a part of the Cheyenne tribe, were located in succession the winter villages of all the hostile tribes of the southern plain with which we were at war, including the Arapahoes, Kiowas, the remaining band of Cheyennes, the Comanches and a portion of the Apaches; that the nearest village was about two miles distant and the others stretched along through the timbered valley to the one furthest off, which was not over ten miles. What was to be done?—for Custer needed no one to tell him that we're certain to

needed no one to tell me that we were certain to be attacked, and that, too, by greatly superior numbers, just as soon as the Indians below could make their arrangements to do so; and they had probably been busily employed at these arrangements ever since the sound of firing had reached them in the early morning, and been reported from village to village. Fortunately, affairs took a favorable turn in the combat in which we were then engaged, and the firing almost died away. Only here and there where some warrior still maintained his position was the fight continued. Leaving as few men as possible to look out for these, I hastily collected and reformed my command, and posted them in readiness for the attack which we all felt was soon to be made; for already at different points and in more than one direction we could see more than enough warriors to outnumber us, and we knew they were only waiting the arrival of the chiefs and warriors from the lower villages before making any move against us. In the meanwhile our temporary hospital had been established in the centre of the village, where the wounded were receiving such surgical care as circumstances would permit. Our losses had been severe; indeed we were not then aware how great they had been. Hamilton, who rode at my side as we entered the village, and whose soldierly tones I heard for the last time as he calmly cautioned his squadron, "Now, men, keep cool, fire low, and not too rapidly," was among the first victims of the opening charge, having been shot from his saddle by a bullet from an Indian rifle. He died instantly. His lifeless remains were tenderly carried by some of his troopers to the vicinity of the hospital. Soon afterwards I saw four troopers coming from the front bearing between them, in a blanket, a wounded soldier; galloping to them, I dis-

be attacked, and that too by greatly superior numbers, just as soon as the Indians below could make their arrangements to do so; and they had probably been busily employed at these arrangements ever since the sound of firing reached them in the early morning and been reported from village to village. Fortunately, affairs took a favorable turn in the combat in which we then engaged and the firing had almost died away. Only here and there where some warriors still maintained his position was the fight continued. Leaving as few men as possible to look out for these "Custer" hastily collected and reformed his command, and posted them in readiness for the attack which we all felt was soon to be made; for already at different points and in more than one direction we could see more than enough warriors to outnumber us, and we knew they were only waiting the arrival of the "chiefs" and warriors from the lower villages before making any move against us. In the meanwhile our temporary hospital had been established in the centre of the village where the "wounded" were receiving such surgical care as circumstances would permit. Our losses had been "very severe; indeed we were not then aware how great they had been. Hamilton, who rode at Custer's side as we entered the village, and whose soldierly tone we heard for the last time as he calmly cautioned his men, "Now men keep cool, fire low and not too rapidly," was among the first victims of the opening charge, having been shot from his saddle by a bullet from an Indian rifle. He died instantly. His lifeless remains were tenderly carried by some of his troopers to the vicinity of the hospital. Soon after I saw four troopers coming from the front bearing between them in a blanket, a wounded soldier; galloping to them I discovered Col. Barnitz, another troop command-

covered Colonel Barnitz,¹⁹ another troop commander, who was almost in a dying condition, having been shot by a rifle bullet directly through the body in the vicinity of the heart. Of Major Elliot, the officer second in rank, nothing had been seen since the attack at daylight, when he rode with his detachment into the village. He, too had evidently been killed, but as yet we know not where or how he had fallen. Two other officers had received wounds, while the casualties among the enlisted men were also large. The sergeant-major²⁰ of the regiment, who was with me when the first shot was heard, had not been seen since that moment. We were not in as effective condition by far as when the attack was made, yet we were soon to be called upon to contend against a force immensely superior to the one with which we had been engaged during the early hours of the day. The captured herds of ponies were carefully collected inside our lines, and so guarded as to prevent their stampede or recapture by the Indians. Our wounded, and the immense amount of captured property in the way of ponies, lodges, etc., as well as our prisoners, were obstacles in the way of our attempting an offensive movement against the lower villages. To have done this would have compelled us to divide our forces when it was far from certain that we could muster strength enough united to repel the attacks of the combined tribes. On all sides of us the Indians could now be seen in considerable numbers, so that from being the surrounding party, as we had been in the morning, we now found ourselves surrounded and occupying the

er, who was almost in a dying condition having been shot by a rifle bullet directly in the vicinity of the heart. Of Major Elliot, the officer second in rank, nothing had been seen since the attack at daylight, when he rode with his detachment into the village. He too, had evidently been killed, but as yet we knew not where or how he had fallen. Two other officers had received wounds, while the casualties among the enlisted men were also very large "among the killed and wounded." The sergeant major of the regiment, who was with me when the first shot was heard, had not been seen since that moment. We were not in as effective condition by far as when the attack was made, yet we were soon to be called upon to contend against a force immensely superior to the one with which we had been engaged during the day.

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¹⁹ Albert Barnitz. Born Penna. Sgt. 2nd Ohio Cav. 22 Aug. 1861; 2nd Lieut. 1 June 1862; 1st Lieut. 18 Feb. 1863; Capt. 11 Sept. 1865; Maj. 20 March 1865; Mustered Out 11 Sept. 1865; Captain 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Bvt. Lt. Col. 2 March 1867; Bvt. Col. 27 Nov. 1868 for gallantry at the Battle of the Washita; Retired 15 Dec. 1870. Barnitz Creek in Custer and Dewey Counties is named in his honor. He was gifted in literary talent and was the author of a volume of poetry.

²⁰ Sergeant-Major Walter Kennedy. Sergeant-Major Creek was named in his memory.

position of defenders of the village. Fortunately for us, as the men had been expending a great many rounds, Major Bell,²¹ the quartermaster, who with a small escort was endeavoring to reach us with a fresh supply of ammunition, had by constant exertion and hard marching succeeded in doing so, and now appeared on the ground with several thousand rounds of carbine ammunition, a reinforcement greatly needed. He had no sooner arrived safely than the Indians attacked from the direction from which he came. How he managed to elude their watchful eyes I never could comprehend, unless their attention had been so completely absorbed in watching our movements inside as to prevent them from keeping an eye out to discover what might be transpiring elsewhere.

Issuing a fresh supply of ammunition to those most in want of it, the fight soon began generally at all points of the circle. For such in reality had our line become—a continuous and unbroken circle of which the village was about the centre. Notwithstanding the great superiority in numbers of the Indians, they fought with excessive prudence and a lack of that confident manner which they usually manifest when encountering greatly inferior numbers—a result due, no doubt, to the fate which had overwhelmed our first opponents. Besides, the timber and the configuration of the ground enabled us to keep our men concealed until their services were actually required. It seemed to be the design and wish of our antagonists to draw us away from the village; but in this they were foiled. Seeing that they did not intend

ly for us, as the men had been expending a great many rounds, Major Bell, the Quartermaster, who with a small escort was endeavoring to reach us with a fresh supply of ammunition, had by constant exertion and hard marching succeeded in doing so, and now appeared on the ground with several thousand rounds of carbine ammunition, a re-inforcement greatly needed. He had no sooner arrived safely than the Indians attacked from the direction from which he came. How he had managed to elude their watchful eyes, I never could comprehend, unless their attention had been so completely absorbed in watching our movements inside as to prevent them from keeping an eye out to discover what might be transpiring elsewhere.

All men were issued a fresh supply of ammunition to those most in want of it. The fight soon began generally at all points of the circle, for such in reality had our line of battle become—a continuous and unbroken circle, of which the village was about the centre. Notwithstanding the great superiority in numbers of the Indians, they fought with excessive prudence and a lack of that confident manner which they usually manifest when encountering greatly inferior numbers—a result due, no doubt, to the fact which had overwhelmed our first opponents. Besides, the timber and the configuration of the ground enabled us to keep our men concealed until their services were actually required. It seemed to be the design of our antagonists to draw us away from the village; but in this plan they were foiled. Seeing that they did not intend to press the attack

²¹ James M. Bell. Born Penna. 1st Leut. 86th Ohio Inf. 10 June 1862; Capt. Pa. Cav. 30 June 1863; Mustered out 14 July 1865; 2nd Lieut. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; 1st Lieut. 2 April 1867; Captain 25 June 1876; Major 1st U. S. Cav. 23 May 1896; Lt. Col. 8th U. S. Cav. 10 Jan. 1900; Col. Vol. 5 July 1899; Brig. Gen. Vol. 20 June 1901; Brig. Gen. U.S.A. 17 Sept. 1901; Retired 1 Oct. 1901.—Heitman, *op. cit.* Not to be confused with Lieut. James F. Bell, also of the 7th U. S. Cavalry, and acting Chief Signal Officer for the Department of the Missouri at Camp Schofield, 1889.—*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1958) p. 256.

to press the attack just then, about two hundred of my men were ordered to pull down the lodges in the village and collect the captured property in huge piles preparatory to burning. This was done in the most effectual manner. When everything had been collected the torch was applied, and all that was left of the village were a few heaps of blackened ashes. Whether enraged at the sight of the destruction or from other cause, the attack soon became general along our entire line, and pressed with so much vigor and audacity that every available trooper was required to aid in meeting these assaults. The Indians would push a party of well-mounted warriors close up to our lines in the endeavor to find a weak point through which they might venture, but in every attempt were driven back. I now concluded, as the village was off our hands and our wounded had been collected, that offensive measures might be adopted. To this end several of the squadrons were mounted and ordered to advance and attack the enemy wherever force sufficient was exposed to be a proper object of attack, but at the same time to be cautious as to ambuscades. Colonel Weir,²² who had succeeded to the command of Hamilton's squadron, Colonels Benteen²³ and Myers with their respective squadrons, all mounted, advanced and engaged the enemy. The Indians resisted every step taken by the troops, while every charge made by the latter was met or followed by a charge from the Indians, who continued to appear in large numbers at unexpected times and places. The squadrons acting in support of

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²² Thomas B. Weir. Born Ohio. 2nd Lieut. 3rd Mich. Cav. 13 Oct. 1861; 1st Lieut. 19 June 1862; Capt. 1 Nov. 1862; Major 18 Jan. 1865; Lt. Col. 6 Nov. 1865; Mustered out 12 Feb. 1866; 1st Lieut. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Captain 31 July 1867; Died 9 Dec. 1876.—Heitman, *op. cit.*

²³ Frederick W. Benteen. Born Va. 1st Lieut. 10th Mo. Cav. 1 Sept. 1861; Capt. 1 Oct. 1861; Maj. 19 Dec. 1862; Lt. Col. 27 Feb. 1864; Mustered out 6 Jan. 1866; Capt. 7th U. S. Cav. 28 July 1866; Maj. 9th U. S. Cav. 17 Dec. 1882; Retired 7 July 1888; Bvt. Lt. Col. 13 Aug. 1868 for gallantry on Saline River, Kans., and Bvt. Brig. Gen. 22 June 1898 for gallantry at the Little Big Horn, 25 June 1876.—Heitman, *op. cit.*

each other and the men in each being kept well in hand, were soon able to force the line held by the Indians to yield at any point assailed. This being followed up promptly, the Indians were driven at every point and forced to abandon the field to us. Yet they would go no further than they were actually driven. It was now about three o'clock in the afternoon, I knew that the officer left in charge of the train and eighty men would push after us, follow our trail, and endeavor to reach us at the earliest practicable moment. From the tops of some of the highest peaks or round hills in the vicinity of the village I knew the Indians could reconnoitre the country for miles in all directions. I feared if we remained as we were then until the following day, the Indians might in this manner discover the approach of our train and detach a sufficient body of warriors to attack and capture it; and its loss to us, aside from that of its guard, would have proven most serious, leaving us in the heart of the enemy's country, in midwinter, totally out of supplies for both men and horses.

By actual count we had in our possession eight hundred and seventy-five captured ponies, so wild and unused to white men that it was difficult to herd them. What were we to do with them was puzzling, as they could not have been led had we been possessed of the means of doing this; neither could we drive them as the Indians were accustomed to do. And even if we could take them with us, either the one way or the other, it was anything but wise or desirable on our part to do so, as such a large herd of ponies, constituting so much wealth in the eyes of the Indians, would have been too tempting a prize to the warriors who had been fighting us all the afternoon, and to effect their recapture they would have followed and waylaid us day and night, with every prospect of success, until we should have arrived at a place of safety. Besides, we had

men in each being kept well in hand, were soon able to force the line held by the Indians to yield at any point assailed. This being followed up promptly, the Indians were driven at every point and forced to abandon the field to us. Yet they would go no further than they were actually driven. It was now about three o'clock in the afternoon. "Custer" knew that the officer left in charge of the train and men would push after us, follow our trail, and endeavor to reach us at the earliest practicable moment. From the tops of some of the higher peaks or round hills in the vicinity of the village I knew the Indians could reconnoitre the country for miles in all directions. So this I reported to "Custer" and he Custer feared if we remained as we were then until the following day, the Indians might in this manner discover the approach of our train and detach a sufficient body of warriors to attack and capture it; and its loss to us, aside from that of its guard, would have proven most serious, leaving us in the heart of the enemy's country, in midwinter, totally out of supplies for both men and horses.

By actual count we had in our possession 800 and 75 captured ponies, so wild and unused to white men that it was difficult to herd them. What we were to do with them was puzzling, as they could not have been led had we been possessed of the means of doing this; neither could we drive them as the Indians were accustomed to do, and even if we could take them with us, either the one way or the other, it was anything but wise and desirable on our part to do so, as such a large herd of ponies, constituting so much wealth in the eyes of the Indians, would have been too tempting a prize to the warriors who had been fighting us all the afternoon, and to effect their recapture they would have waylaid us day and night, with every prospect of success, until we should have arrived at a place of safety.

upwards of sixty prisoners in our hands, to say nothing of our wounded, to embarrass our movements. We had achieved a great and important success of the hostile tribes; the problem now was how to retain our advantage and steer safely through the difficulties which seemed to surround our position. The Indians had suffered a telling defeat, involving great losses in life and valuable property. Could they succeed, however, in depriving us of the train and supplies, and in doing this accomplish the killing or capture of the escort, it would go far to offset the damage we had been able to inflict upon them and render our victory an empty one . . .

We did not need the ponies, while the Indians did. If we retained them they might conclude that one object of our expedition against them were to secure plunder, an object thoroughly consistent with the red man's idea of war. Instead, it was our desire to impress upon his uncultured mind that our every act and purpose had been simply to inflict deserved punishment upon him for the many murders and other depredations committed by him in and around the homes of the defenceless settlers on the frontier. Impelled by these motives, I decided neither to attempt to take the ponies with us nor to abandon them to the Indians, but to adopt the only measure left—to kill them. To accomplish this seemingly—like most measures of war—cruel but necessary act, four companies of cavalrymen were detailed dismounted as a firing party. Before they reluctantly engaged in this uninviting work, I took Romeo, the interpreter, and proceeded to the few lodges near the centre of the village which we had reserved from destruction, and in which were collected the prisoners, consisting of upwards of sixty, squaws and children. Romeo was directed to assemble the prisoners in one body, as I desired to assure them of kind treatment at our hands, a subject about which they were greatly

Besides, we had upwards of 600 prisoners in our hands, to say nothing of our "wounded" to embarrass our movements. We had achieved a great and important success over the hostile tribes; the problem now was how to retain our advantage and steer safely through the difficulties which seemed to surround our position. The Indians had suffered a telling defeat, involving great losses in life and in valuable property. Could they succeed, however, in depriving us of the train and supplies, and in doing this accomplish the killing or capture of the escort, it would go far to effect the damage we had been able to inflict upon them and to render our victory an empty one. We did not need the ponies, while the Indians did. If we retained them they might conclude that one object of our expedition against them was to secure plunder, an object thoroughly consistent with the red man's idea of war. Instead, it was our desire to impress upon their uncultured minds that our every act and purpose had been simply to inflict deserved punishment upon them for the many murders and other depredations committed by them in and around the homes of the defenceless settlers on the frontier. Impelled by these motives Custer decided neither to attempt to take the ponies with us nor to abandon them to the Indians, but to adopt the only measure left—to kill them. To accomplish this seemingly—like most measures of war—cruel but necessary act, four companies of cavalrymen were detailed dismounted, as a firing party.

Before they reluctantly engaged in the uninviting work, Custer took Romeo, the interpreter, and proceeded to the few lodges near the center of the village which we had reserved from destruction, and in which were collected some of the prisoners. Romeo was directed to assemble all the prisoners in one body, as Custer desired to assure them of the kind treatment at our hands, a subject about which they were greatly

wrought up; also to tell them what we should expect of them, and to inform them of our intention to march probably all that night, directing them at the same time to proceed to the herd and select therefrom a suitable number of ponies to carry the prisoners on the march. When Romeo had collected them in a single group, he, acting as interpreter, acquainted them with my purpose in calling them together, at the same time assuring them that they could rely confidently upon the fulfillment of any promises I made them, as I was the "big chief." The Indians refer to all officers of a command as "chiefs" while the officer in command is designated as the "big chief." After I had concluded what I desired to say to them, they signified their approval and satisfaction by gathering around me and going through an extensive series of hand-shaking. One of the middle aged squaws then informed Romeo that she desired to speak on behalf of herself and companions.²⁴ From her remarks, interpreted by Romeo . . . she claimed to speak not as a squaw, but as the sister of the head chief of her band, Black Kettle, who had fallen that morning almost the moment the attack was made. He it was who was the first to hear our advance, and leaping forth from his lodge with rifle in hand, uttered the first war-hoop and fired the first shot as a rally signal to his warriors, and was almost immediately after shot down by the opening volley of the cavalry. Often she had warned her brother of the danger the village, with its women and children, was exposed to, owing to the frequent raiding and war parties which from time to time had been permitted to go forth and depredate upon the settlements of the white men. In the end it was sure to lead to detection and punishment, and now her words had only proven too true. Not a chief

wrought up; also to tell them what we should expect of them, and to inform them of our intentions to march probably all that night, directing them at the same time to proceed to the herd and select therefrom a suitable number of ponies to carry the prisoners on the march. When Romeo had collected them in a single group, he, acting as interpreter, acquainted them with "Custers" purpose in calling them together, at the same time assuring them that they could rely confidently upon the fulfillment of any promises Custer made them, as he was the "big chief". The Indians refer to all officers of a command as "chiefs" while the officer in command is designated as the "big chief". After Custer had concluded what he desired to say to them, they signified their approval and satisfaction by gathering around him and going through an extensive series of hand-shaking. One of the middle-aged squaws then informed Romeo that she wished to speak on behalf of herself and companions.

This squaw last mentioned turned out to be the sister of Black Kettle, Chief of the band we had struck; she bemoaned the wickedness of Black Kettle, and told Custer how only that night the last war party returned with white "scalps" and plunder, and how they got so drunk that the white man was able to ride into their lodges next morning before they woke up. She continued by reminding him that it was his duty to help the helpless, and offered him a young girl in marriage. As soon as "Custer" found from the interpreter what she was doing, he declined the honor, though not till Mah-wiss-a, the old squaw's name, had performed the whole of the Indians part of the ceremony, which consisted in placing the girl's hand in "Custer's" and invoking the Great Spirit on the union. "Custer" asked Romeo the scout what

²⁴ For another version of the battle, see Theodore A. Ediger and Vinnie Hoffman, "Some Reminiscences of the Battle of the Washita," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2 (Summer 1955) p. 137.

or warrior of the village in her belief had survived the battle of the forenoon Black Kettle, the head chief and once trusted friend of the white man, had fallen. Little Rock, the chief second in rank in the village, had also met his death while attempting to defend his home against his enemies Only last night, she continued, did the last war party return from the settlements, and it was to rejoice over their achievements that the entire village were engaged until a late hour dancing and singing. This was why their enemies were able to ride almost into their lodges before they were aroused by the noise of the attack Turning to me she added, "You claim to be a chief. This man" (pointing to Romeo) "says you are the big chief. If this be true and you are what he claims, show that you can act like a great chief and secure for us that treatment which the helpless are entitled to."

Black Kettle's sister, whose name was Mah-wis-sa, and whose address had just received the hearty approval of her companions by their earnest expression of "Ugh!" the Indian word intended for applause, then stepped into the group of squaws, and after looking earnestly at the face of each for a moment, approached a young Indian girl—probably seventeen years of age—and taking her by the hand conducted her to where I was standing. Placing the hand of the young girl in mine, she proceeded in the Indian tongue to the delivery of what I, in my ignorance of the language, presumed was a form of administering a benediction. Never dreaming of her purpose and turning to Romeo, who stood near me, and who I knew was familiar with Indian customs, I quietly inquired, "What is this woman doing, Romeo?" With a broad grin on his swarthy face he replied, "Why she's marryin' you to that young squaw!" I think even the most strenuous and ardent advocate of that peace policy which teaches that the Indian should be left free and un-

could have been Mah-wiss-a's object on this marriage, and he received the following very plain reply: "Well, I'll tell ye; ef you's 'a married that squaw, then she'd a told ye that all the rest of 'em were her kinfolks, and as a nateral sort of thing you'd a been expected to kind o' provide and take keer of your wife's relations. That's jist as I tell it to you—fur don't I know? Didn't I marry a young Cheyenne squaw, and give her old father two of my best ponies for her, and it wasn't a week till ever tarnal Injun in the village, old and young, came to my lodge, and my squaw tried to make me b'lieve they were all relations of hern, and that I ought to give 'em some grub; but I didn't do nothin' of the sort." "Well how did you get out of it, Romeo?" "Get out of it? Why, I got out by jist takin' my ponies and traps, and the first good chance I lit out; that's how I got out. I was satisfied to marry one or two of 'em but when it come to marryin' an intire tribe, 'scuse me."

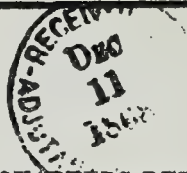
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Joe met us with a return dispatch, before the regiment could reach Camp Supply. It was read at the head of the troops by Genl Custer and repaid us for all our hardships. It was as follows: Headquarters Dept. of the Mo. In the Field, Depot on the North Canadian at the Junction of Beaver Creek, Indian Territory.

November 29th 1868

General Field)
Orders No. 6)

II. The General commanding announces to this command the defeat by the 7th U. S. Cavalry, a large force of Cheyenne Indians, under the celebrated chief Black Kettle, re-enforced by the Arapahoes under Little Raven, and Kiowas under Satanta, on the morning of the 26th instant, on the Washita River, near the Antelope Hills, Indian Territory, resulting in a loss to the savages of 403 warriors killed, including Black Kettle, the capture of 600 squaws and children 875, ponies 1123,



HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI.

IN THE FIELD, DEPOT ON THE NORTH CANADIAN RIVER, AT THE JUNCTION OF
BEAVER CREEK, INDIAN TERRITORY, November 29, 1868.

GENERAL FIELD ORDERS, }

No. 6. }

The Major General Commanding announces to this command the defeat by the 7th Regiment of Cavalry, of a large band of Cheyenne Indians under the celebrated Chief, Black Kettle, reinforced by the Arrappahoes under Little Raven, and Kiowas under Satanta, on the morning of the 27th inst., on the Washita River near the Antelope Hills, Indian Territory, resulting in a loss to the savages of one hundred and three (103) warriors killed, including Black Kettle; the capture of fifty-three (53) squaws and children, eight hundred and seventy-five (875) ponies, eleven hundred and twenty-three (1123) buffalo robes and skins, five hundred and thirty-five (535) pounds of powder, one thousand and fifty (1050) pounds of lead, four thousand (4,000) arrows, seven hundred (700) pounds tobacco, besides rifles, pistols, saddles, bows, lariats and immense quantities of dried meat and other Winter provisions; the complete destruction of their village, and almost total annihilation of this Indian band.

The loss to the 7th Cavalry was two officers killed, Major JOEL H. ELMOTT and Captain LOUIS M. HAMILTON, and nineteen (19) enlisted men; three officers wounded, Brevet Lieut. Col. ALBERT BARNITZ, (badly,) Bvt. Lieut. Col. T. W. CUSTER and 2d Lieutenant T. J. MARCH, (slightly,) and eleven (11) enlisted men.

The energy and rapidity shown during one of the heaviest snow storms that has visited this section of country, with the temperature below the freezing point, and the gallantry and bravery displayed resulting in such signal success, reflects the highest credit upon both the officers and men of the 7th Cavalry; and the Major General Commanding, while regretting the loss of such gallant officers as Major ELLIOTT and Captain HAMILTON, who fell while gallantly leading their men, desires to express his thanks to the officers and men engaged in the Battle of the Washita, and his special congratulations are tendered to their distinguished Commander, Brevet Major General GEORGE A. CUSTER, for the efficient and gallant services rendered, which have characterized the opening of the campaign against hostile Indians south of the Arkansas.

By command of Major General SHERIDAN:

J. SCHUYLER CROSBY,
Bvt. Lieut. Col., A. D. C.,
Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

OFFICIAL:

Brevet Lieut. Col., U. S. A.
Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

Original General Field Orders No. 6 in the
War Department, 1868

molested in the gratification of his simple tastes and habits, will at least not wholly condemn me when they learn that this last touching and unmistakable proof of confidence and esteem, offered by Mah-wis-sa and gracefully if not blushing acquiesced in my the Indian maiden, was firmly but respectfully declined

[After relating of the destruction of the ponies; the loss of the overcoats the men had removed earlier; the killing of his stag-hound Blucher; dressing the wounded; and the search for the missing officers and men, Custer continues—]

The last lodge having been destroyed, and all the ponies except those required for the pursuit having been killed, the command was drawn in and united near the village. Making dispositions to overcome any resistance which might be offered to our advance, by throwing out a strong force of skirmishers, we set out down the valley in the direction where the other villages had been reported, and toward the hills on which were collected the greatest number of Indians. The column moved forward in one body, with colors flying and band playing, while our prisoners, all mounted on captured ponies, were under sufficient guard immediately in rear of the advanced troops. For a few moments after our march began the Indians on the hills remained silent spectators, evidently at a loss at first to comprehend our intentions in thus setting out at that hour of the evening, and directing our course as if another night march was contemplated; and more than all, in the direction of their villages, where all that they possessed was supposed to be. This aroused them to action, as we could plainly see considerable consultation among them—chiefs riding hither and thither, as if in anxious consultation with

buffalo robes and skins, 535 pounds of powder, one thousand pounds of lead, besides rifles, pistols, saddles, bows, lariats and immense quantities of dried meat and other winter provisions, the complete destruction of their village, and almost total annihilation of this Indian band.

The loss to the 7th U. S. Cav'ly was two officers "killed" Major Elliot and Captain Hamilton, and Four Hundred and nine enlisted men; three (3) officers wounded Col. Barnitz (badly), Col. T. W. Custer and Lieut. P. N. Hardman,²⁶ and 61 enlisted men.

The energy and rapidity shown during one of the heaviest snow storms that has visited this section of the country, with the temperature below freezing point and the gallantry and bravery displayed, resulting in such signal success reflect the highest credit upon both the officers and men of the 7th U. S. Cavalry; and the Major General commanding, while regretting the loss of such gallant officers as Major Elliot and Captain Hamilton, who fell while gallantly leading their men, desires to express his thanks to the officers and men engaged in the battle of the Washita, and his special congratulations are tendered to their distinguished commander General George A. Custer 7th U. S. Cav'ly for the efficient and gallant services rendered, which have characterized the opening of the campaign against hostile Indians south of the Arkansas.

By command of Major Gen'l P. H. Sheridan

Comd'd Department

J Schyler

Lieut Col and ADC AA Genl

So closed the Washita campaign Dec. 2, 1868. It will be observed, however, that General Sheridan's congratulatory order calls the battle only "the opening of the campaign against the hostile In-

²⁶ In this actual order, the name "2nd Lieutenant T. J. March" appears at this point. Thomas J. March. Born Penna. Cadet Military Academy 1 July 1864; 2nd Lieut. 7th U. S. Cav. 15 June 1868; Resigned 10 March 1872.

—Heitman, *op. cit.*

each other as to the course to be adopted.

[Custer continues his narrative by saying that the column continued down stream until long after dark, only deserted villages were encountered; that the surrounding Indians appeared to disappear into the distance; that after proceeding about two miles he turned the column about and by ten o'clock had returned to the battlefield; that the column continued on until two in the morning and then bivouaced for the remainder of the night; at daylight the column proceeded to the location of the wagon train; that California Joe was selected to ride ahead with the official news for Gen. Sheridan; that the guide returned in advance of the arrival at Camp Supply with the official orders of Gen. Sheridan, which were read to the assembled troops]

This order, containing as it did the grateful words of approval from our revered commander, went far to drown the remembrance of the hunger, cold, and danger encountered by the command, in the resolute and united effort made by it to thoroughly discharge its duty.

dians south of the Arkansas" such it was meant to be. Five days later, Dec. 7th the regiment with 30 days rations in the wagons, started for the Washita once more, accompanied by Gen. Sheridan and staff. Along with Sheridan were the 19th Kansas Vols. Cav'y,²⁵ a special force, just raised for the hostilities, and the whole expedition numbered about fifteen hundred men. December 6th in hospital from effects of wound.

* ° * * *

For further campaign details see large book No. 11—1869.

Yours Very Respectfully
P. N. Hardman
1st Lieut and Adjutant
7th U. S. Cavalry

Note.

Jan. 17th 1869 Post Hospital
All the wounded progressing finely I hope to soon be out of "bed" Treatment good and a clean hospital. "Vegetables very scarce"

More wounded arrived yesterday from the Indian campaigning.

Jan. 25 1869

Hospital visited by Miss Sturgis Miss Samdiman. Oh how a sweet face helps to cheer our wounded Received a telegram from home asking how I was progressing.

* * * * *

Again reported for duty will join my comd soon and oh how glad I'll be

And so ends Book 10 of the "Diary of Lieutenant P. N. Hardman." Of Custer's narrative, much has been written. Maj. Gen. W. B. Hazen, Civil War officer transferred to the Indian Service and stationed at Fort Cobb, found much that was objectionable in Custer's version of the fight. General Hazen's

²⁵ On 6 October 1868, the War Department authorized Gen. Sherman by telegram if deemed "necessary to a successful prosecution of the present campaign against the Indians" to accept the services of a regiment of Kansas Cavalry. This was done three days later. The governor of Kansas, Samuel J. Crawford, resigned to accept the commission as colonel of the regiment. Difficulties prevented its arrival at Camp Supply in time to participate in the Battle of the Washita. However, it took the field Monday, 7 December 1868, and rendered good service for the remainder of its muster. The diary of Pvt. David L. Spotts, of Company K, edited in Brininstool, *op. cit.* is invaluable in tracing the progress of this expedition through Western Oklahoma.

*Corrections*²⁷ do much to give balance to the tale as spun by George A. Custer.²⁸

Of Custer's style, Frederic F. Van DeWater has said:²⁹

He was better with the sword than with the pen. His literary style adhered to the Victorian convention whereby adjectives and nouns were wedded for life. For Custer, "Rifle" never appeared in public without its consort, "trusty." "Comrades" forever was linked with "gallant." "Steed" and "noble" were eternally joined. His writing had vigor but scant skill. He hewed to his task, letting infinitives split where they might.

In appearance and by nature, he complied so little with the popular picture of an author that when his first article appeared in print many were skeptical. Rumor whispered that his wife really had written it and color was lent that fable by Custer's insistence that she sit beside him while he worked. The allegation galled him. He referred to it often in his later letters to her.

What is the answer? Looking at both narratives, side by side, which came first? At this distance in time and space and in the absence of the other volumes of the journal of "Lieut. Hardman," we cannot be sure.

These possible explanations have been offered; they are all passed along here to give spice to the mystery:

1. That Mr. Van DeWater, after all, was correct, and the doubts often expressed on Custer's authorship were valid; and that "Lieut. Hardman" was actually one of his junior officers, fearful to use his own name, thus to avoid the displeasure of his superior officer.

2. That this is actually the work of Capt. Benteen, who, after experiencing Custer's wrath following publication of Benteen's letter in the *St. Louis Democrat*, felt that he could best serve the cause of anonymity in this manner. At one place or another in the foregoing narrative, the author has substituted himself in the place of Capt. Cook, Capt. Myers and Lieut. March; and that all of this was to further the disguise.

3. That the whole Diary is spurious, and that "Lieut. Hardman" found himself enmeshed in some tall tales of his exploits with Custer that he wished to perpetuate among his family and friends, and so prepared for that purpose these

²⁷ See the introduction by Thoburn and the philippic of Maj. Gen. W. B. Hazen in "Some Corrections of 'Life on the Plains'" *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III, No. 4 (December, 1925), p. 295.

²⁸ Particularly, see Van DeWater, *Glory Hunter* (Indianapolis, 1934), pp. 187-219. The author is highly critical of Custer's conduct of the Battle, but commends his subsequent efforts to control the hostiles by measures short of gun fire. This volume is of special value in that contains Benteen's version of the Battle, as he had written it to a friend, and which appeared without authorization in the February 9, 1869, issue of the *St. Louis Democrat*.

²⁹ Van DeWater, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

series of "journals." Credence to this is given from some of the obvious inaccuracies, such as the presence of Buffalo Bill at the Battle of the Washita.

4. That the famous phrase "Tut, I have lost myself, etc." appears too logically in the "Lieut. Hardman" journal, and too illogically in the published book of Custer. Had Custer, in his long-hand draft of his narrative "lost himself", he could easily have corrected this wandering in his final published manuscript; and so in fact, here now is the actual origin of the "Tut" interlineation.

Regardless of what may have been the circumstances and the facts in the case, this date, the 90th Anniversary of the Battle of the Washita, is the time to use the "Diary" of this unknown "author," in order to call to mind again the exciting events in Western Oklahoma nine decades ago.

A MILITARY BURIAL AT LAKE ALTUS

*By James B. Shaeffer**

During the 1957 spring meeting of the Oklahoma Anthropological Society at Norman, Mr. Elmer Craft of Eldorado, Oklahoma mentioned a burial which he had recently found while surveying for Indian sites along the shores of Lake Altus, near Lugert. He added that he was not certain whether the remains were Indian or white but that he believed the excellent preservation of the bones warranted investigation by the salvage project. Accordingly arrangements were made and in April excavation was begun.

Lake Altus is located in Southwest Oklahoma in the southeastern section of Greer County. The lake has been formed by a dam across the Red River along the Greer-Kiowa county line about seventeen miles due north of Altus. The lake extends northward from this point for a distance of approximately fifteen miles and varies from less than a quarter of a mile to more than a half a mile in width. The west side of the lake lies against the base of the treeless Quartz Mountains which rise abruptly back of the shoreline. The shore itself drops off gradually to form a sandy strand at low water level.

On the gentle slopes of this sandy shore Indian artifacts often appear as they are washed out of the surrounding hillside by the action of the waves. It was north of the present tourist lodge that Mr. Craft had located the burial. A controlled lowering of the dam level and the subsequent wave action had uncovered some human toe bones which Mr. Craft was observant enough to note. Though the evidence was slight he was aware of its possible significance and for that reason had not only avoided disturbing the area further but had marked the location and covered up the remains.

Excavation was begun at the feet because they had been exposed due to the slight slope on which the body had been buried. The damp sand made the digging quite easy and it was not long before the first evidence, a leather fragment around the bones of the right foot, suggested that the burial was historic rather than prehistoric. Shortly thereafter several pieces of metal which later proved to be boot nails were uncovered.

* As Archaeologist for the Department of Anthropology in the University of Oklahoma, Dr. James B. Shaeffer is Director of the Oklahoma Archaeological Salvage Project. He was formerly Director of the Southern Plains Museum and Craft Center at Anadarko, under the U. S. Indian Arts and Crafts Board. He had held positions for a number of years in the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Arizona and in the University of Arizona.—Ed.

As the digging proceeded it was to become evident that this individual had literally "died with his boots on."

In order to expedite the excavation at this point Mr. Craft continued to work at the feet while the writer shifted his attention to the region of the head hoping to locate the position of the skull. Careful probing indicated that it lay about six inches beneath the surface. Once the skull was located digging was begun several feet away with the idea that something might have been placed around the head, a practice often followed in the case of Indian burials. The general procedure was to outline the skeleton within a shallow rectangular pit the depth of the body. Working slowly toward the cranium, the writer, perplexed by not having reached the top of the skull as expected, was finding another kind of bone. It was thought that these might be the remains of some animal but further cleaning showed a pile of human ribs. It now appeared that the burial might possibly have been disturbed and reinterred. From the placement and arrangement of the bones at the same level as the skull the disturbance hardly seemed the work of rodents but whether the bones had been so placed at time of burial could never be determined.

Meanwhile Mr. Craft, working up from the feet, came upon some small roundish objects which upon cleaning seemed to be made of metal. Later examination indicated that they were legging hooks or hooks from the boots.

Presently there was another problem to be solved at the upper portion of the body. A long slender slightly polished bone was found on the chest. The bone was not human. It looked rather like a segment of bird bone. The immediate reaction was that this finding might substantiate the burial as that of an Indian scout, the bone segment representing part of an amulet or necklace worn around the neck. The fact of the matter was that this bone was identified as the stem of a wooden or corn cob pipe which had evidently been kept in the breast pocket.

Shortly thereafter Mr. Craft came up with another round piece of very corroded metal having the form of a button. After a little more spit and polish it was possible to make out an eagle. It was the first indication that this was possibly a military burial. The question now was whether this was a renegade dressed in an army uniform, an Indian Scout, a white soldier or officer?

Presently in working carefully around the pelvic area a hard lump of brown stained material was found near the left hip. cursory cleaning showed it to be a small round metal box about three inches in diameter and an inch or two thick. The lid was corroded shut. The box itself was quite heavy for its



Objects found in the Military Burial at Lake Altus: Left to right, top row: corroded percussion caps and U. S. Army buttons; second row, percussion cap, boot nails, legging hooks; third row, bone pipe-stem; bottom row, boot strap.



Skeletal remains found in the Military Burial at Lake Altus, Greer County.

size and seemed to be filled with something solid which did not rattle when shaken. The purpose of this item remained an enigma until it was opened in the laboratory and found to contain percussion caps corroded into a near formless mass by water. Several more buttons were found presently making a total of six which, together with the legging fasteners, leather fragments, pipe stem and a hook of some sort, possibly for a cap, completed the inventory of associated grave goods.¹ A final piece of evidence which indicated a white burial rather than that of an Indian, hostile or scout, was the position of the skeleton for it lay on its back with the arms folded across the chest, this being a white rather than an Indian burial position. Some additional exploratory digging was done beneath the burial and in the vicinity but no other evidence of interments or associated material was found.

When it became evident that we were dealing with a military burial, a hole in the left temple of the skull became even more significant. This aperture about three inches in diameter was circular in shape and at a slight upward angle. When the skull was lifted, there was also a jagged opening at the back of the head. Most of the bone from both holes was missing. It seemed clear that the soldier had met his death by a large calibre weapon or by a smaller calibre one fired at close range.

Laboratory examination of the skeletal remains by Dr. Alice Brues, Associate Professor of Anatomy at the University of Oklahoma Medical Center in Oklahoma City revealed more concrete evidence as to age and race. At first, due to the rather poor condition of some of the teeth it was surmised that the skeleton might be that of an officer until Dr. Brues established the age at death to have been between 18 and 20 years. It was added that, except for some slight dental deficiencies, he had been in good health. The skeleton was definitely that of a white male and lacked any evidence of Indian admixture. The probability was that the burial was of an enlisted man from one of the nearby military posts at Ft. Sill, Ft. Cobb, Ft. Reno, or perhaps from one of the Texas posts, who had been killed in an action against the Indians. The question which remained was what action and when.

On the latter point our first lead was supplied by Lieut. Col. L. D. McCurry, U. S. Marine Corps, Associate Professor of Naval Science at the University of Oklahoma, who provided the information that percussion caps went out of Army issue about 1870 although the possibility existed that they might have survived longer as regulation issue on the western fron-

¹ This material is now stored in the History Division of the Stovall Museum at the University of Oklahoma in Norman, Oklahoma.

tier. This gave the first estimated date for the burial. It suggested however that a search would have to be made of military records around or prior to 1880 in order to get more definite information. Since it thus appeared that further research would be historical it was decided to turn the evidence over to more competent hands in this field. Accordingly the material was submitted to the U. S. Army Artillery and Guided Missile Museum at Ft. Sill.

Subsequently a letter was received from Mr. Gillett Griswold, Curator of the museum, stating that Mr. James Marler, the Assistant Curator, had done the research on the uniform buttons and the percussion caps with the following significant results:

Buttons identical to your specimens, including the inscription *SCOVILLS CO EXTRA*, appear on one of our Union Army uniforms here at the museum. The same button, with a different manufacturer's imprint, is on one of our Army forage caps issued in 1893. None of these buttons appear on our artifacts after this date. Corroborative data is contained in Volume II of the *Atlas of the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, which specify this type of button worn by enlisted men of the Union Army for the period 1861-65. It is certain, therefore; that the buttons were an item of Army issue from the Civil War to the 1890's. The design of subsequent regulation buttons included a constellation of stars above the eagle's head.

Percussion caps were in use by the Army on the western frontier until the 1870's. Cartridge weapons were not issued to the military in this area until 1874.

On this evidence it would appear that burial was that of an enlisted man and that the date was within the period 1861-1874.

This, then, is the present status of information concerning this particular burial. One further lead, again provided by Mr. Marler, suggests the circumstances of the action which led to the soldier's death. There is Mooney's report of an encounter in 1874 between a band of marauding Indians and a group of soldiers who surprised them at rest. This action occurred in the general area of the burial. During the brief engagement a Kiowa by the name of Gi-edal who was mortally wounded in the first fire propped himself against a rock and succeeded in killing one soldier and wounding another before he died and the troops were repulsed.² Whether this is the action

² James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," *17th Annual Report*, Amer. Bur. Ethnol. (Washington, 1898), Pt. I, p. 339. The Kiowa Calendar reference here covers an event in the winter of 1874-75, and is worthy of special notice for possible history back of the military burial described in this article. The country in the region at the junction of the Elm Fork with the North Fork of Red River, near the southern end of Lake Altus (southwest of Lugert) was an old Kiowa camping area, the tribal sun dance held here in the summer of 1874 having celebrated the release of the Kiowa leader, Set-t'ainte (Satanta or "White Bear"), from the Huntsville, Texas, prison. The fight that took place with a detachment of soldiers at a

responsible for the death of the soldier whose remains were uncovered nearly one hundred years later by archaeologists is not certain at present. Perhaps further search of the military journals and reports of this period can narrow this possibility to a concrete probability. Mr. Marler has had considerable correspondence on this matter with the National Archives and Record Service and with the Office of the Adjutant General of the United States Army. While the identity of several soldiers wounded in other nearby engagements has been established, it has not been possible to identify the individuals killed and wounded in the action recorded in Mooney's report.³



The sequel to this excavation is contained in a letter from Mr. Craft who revisited the area several months later. He found that the burial site was completely under water. Undoubtedly, had salvage operations not taken place when they did, even this fragment of Oklahoma's past would have been lost beyond recall.

Winter, 1874-5, *Gi-edal* killed; Kiowa imprisoned. — Pictograph from the Kiowa Calendar.

Kiowa camp some months later in the winter of 1874-75 was of such importance that it was indicated on the tribal calendar as "*Gi-edal Ehotal-de Sai*, 'Winter that Big-Meat was killed.'" The Kiowa pictograph shows *Gi-edal* ("Big-Meat") distinguished by buffalo horns on his war-bonnet, with blood gushing from his mouth and a wound in his side. It was at the close of this period in the history of Kiowa warfare that a number of warriors were selected and sent as prisoners to Fort Marion, Florida. The evidence unearthed in the military burial at the edge of the water in Lake Altus points to this as a site that should have further consideration and note in the history of old Greer County and Southwestern Oklahoma.—Ed.

³ Since Dr. Shaeffer's article on "A Military Burial" went to press for this winter number of *The Chronicles*, a note has been received in the Editorial Department which seems to point the grave as that of a young soldier killed by accident in 1869. The identity of the young man and the tragedy of his death will be told in an article now in preparation for the Spring number of *The Chronicles*, the incident told in an original Diary kept by one of Custer's troopers on an expedition out of Fort Sill in the spring after the establishment of that post. It may be added here that the discovery of this data and Mooney's account as given in the Kiowa Calendar history on the battle with the Kiowa that brought the death of *Gi-edal* make the site of this military burial on the shore of Lake Altus and the site of the later Kiowa battle in the same region, a place of historical significance that should be specially marked in the history of Southwest Oklahoma.—Ed.

THE OSAGES AND THEIR AGENCY
DURING THE TERM OF ISAAC T. GIBSON,
QUAKER AGENT

By *Frank F. Finney*

The present city of Pawhuska grew from the Osage Agency established in 1872 by Agent Isaac T. Gibson, on Bird Creek near the geographical center of the Osage reservation, which after statehood became the largest county in the state of Oklahoma. The post office was established May 4, 1876, with Lizzie Hiatt commissioned as post mistress.¹ The Agency then became officially Pawhuska, from the name of the famous Pah-Hue-Skah (White Hair) chiefs,² having been suggested by Mr. John Fergusson, an employee of the trading firm of Hiatt and Company. The mail was delivered to Pawhuska regularly once a week by Jesse Morgan from Coffeyville, Kansas.

Before the post office was created, mail was brought over the Coffeyville trail by the freighters but frequently mounted Indian couriers were dispatched with important messages. Indian runners on foot sometimes were sent and made incredible time. In one instance a young Osage, known as "The Trailer," was sent to overtake a trader who had left the agency for the state by team of horses, about an hour before the Indian started, and had traveled about eight miles. Trailer overtook the trader before he had reached the Hickory Station, twenty five miles distant. Asked why he preferred to travel on foot rather than mounted on a pony, the Indian said, "A horse soon gets tired."

The Osages became owners of their large reservation, about three times the area of the tract they expected to receive when they vacated their lands in Kansas and removed to the Indian Territory, singularly because they were classed as "a wild and uncivilized tribe."

In the treaty of July 19, 1866, the Cherokees granted the government the right to settle "friendly" Indians in any part of the Cherokee Outlet west of the 96th Meridian.³ The treaty provided under certain conditions, "friendly civilized" Indians could be settled east of the 96th Meridian. The government held with the Cherokees that the Osages were uncivilized and

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

² Frank F. Finney, "Old Osage Customs Die with the Last Pah-hue-Skah," *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1958).

³ Charles Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, p. 729 (Washington, 1903).

did not qualify under the treaty to settle east of that meridian. However, due to an incorrect survey the tribe found itself located east of the meridian specified and as a consequence the government was confronted with a perplexing problem. To solve the dilemma and mollify the Osages, commissioners of the Government agreed with their chiefs for the Indians to move west of the 96th Meridian, on a tract extending west to the Arkansas River.⁴ By the Act of June 5, 1872, Congress set apart a tract for the Osage tribe, bounded on the east by the 96th Meridian, on the south and west by the north line of the Creek country and the main channel of the Arkansas River, and on the north by the south line of Kansas.⁵

This reservation embraces all of which is now Osage County, Oklahoma, consisting of 1,470,559 acres and compares to a tract of 560,000 acres, (160 acres for each member of the tribe presumed to consist of 3,500 members) the Osages would have received under a mutual agreement reached between the Government commissioners and the Osage chiefs in a council held on the banks of Drum Creek in Kansas, September 10, 1870. In this council the Osages accepted the terms of the Congressional Act of July 15, 1870, providing for the sale of their diminished reserves in Kansas and their removal to the Indian Territory on lands to be purchased from the Cherokee Nation.

The amount of \$8,825,000 eventually accrued from the sale of the Osage Kansas lands after the Cherokees were paid for their lands at seventy cents an acre, and was deposited to the credit of the Osages in the United States Treasury to earn 5% interest.⁶ It could not be forseen, which was unfortunate for the Cherokees but a stroke of luck for the Osages, that the Outlet lands purchased by the Osages were underlaid with enormous oil and gas reserves which would bring them vast riches.

Their agent, Isaac T. Gibson, thought that the Osages had made a bad bargain and that the value of the land they purchased did not exceed fifty cents an acre. He called it a wilderness and found it impossible to penetrate its rugged and rough recesses in a wagon. The Agent said although the scenery was indeed wild and grand, it certainly was not a fit place to settle "wild Indians" to effect their civilization.

Regardless of the agent's poor opinion of the new reservation, he had charge of moving the tribe into it from the re-

⁴ Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report 1872*, p. 247. (References to the Indian Commissioner's reports hereafter cited in this article as *Annual Report* and the year.)

⁵ *17 Stat.*, p. 228.

⁶ "The Osage People and Their Trust Property," Field Report of Anadarko Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1953, p. iv; and *The Daily Journal-Capital*, Pawhuska, Nov. 20, 1929, p. 5.

gion of Silver Lake, a few miles south of the present city of Bartlesville, where the first agency had been located and where a saw mill had been set up and a few temporary buildings had been erected. In May, 1872, the agent arrived at the site selected by the chiefs on Bird Creek for their permanent agency, and established his temporary headquarters in a log cabin at the foot of a high hill, which if it were standing today would be in the heart of the present city of Pawhuska where Grand Avenue intersects Main Street.

The cabin which the Agent occupied had been built by Tom Ankrom who with his eight year old son, John, had arrived a year before in the Bird Creek valley. They had brought a team, wagon and a bunch of hogs, which they had driven from Cedarvale, Kansas, to their new location where they found abundant mast on which to fatten and raise the hogs. Among the early memories of these early days, John Ankrom vividly remembers the cries of panthers on the prowl on Bird Creek during the nights, and the yapping of the coyotes on the hills.⁷

Numerous deer and smaller animals thrived in the uninhabited land and wild turkeys, prairie chickens, wild pigeons and other wild fowl found in it an undisturbed refuge. The Agent must have thought better of the "wilderness" after he became acquainted with it. It was true much of the country was broken with bluffs, ridges and hills, covered with black jacks and post oak, but there was land in many valleys suitable for agriculture. The creek and river bottoms were well timbered with many varieties of trees, and there were large expanses of prairies carpeted with luxurious and nutritious blue stem and other grasses on which cattle fattened without corn or other feed, and which have made the Osage pastures famous.

The appraisal of the reservation as a grazing range made by agent Major L. J. Miles, has proven accurate: "This is largely a grazing one and must continue for all time."⁸ The great development of the oil and gas resources has long past its peak but the reservation continues to be an outstanding cattle country.

Agent Gibson at once made use of this ready crop and cut 450 tons of hay for the Osages' stock consisting almost entirely of ponies of which they had twelve thousand head. His attempt to induce the Indians to train their ponies to harness and engage in breaking up and cultivate the ground met with little

⁷ John Ankrom was born in Virginia, October 10, 1863, and came to Cedarvale, Kansas, as a young boy with his parents. He lives at Pawhuska at the age of ninety-five years, and remembers clearly his boyhood days at the Osage Agency.

⁸ *Annual Report*, 1889, letter of Osage Agent, L. J. Miles.



Osage Agency School for Osage children, erected 1874.



Old Council House erected 1874-5, at Osage Agency, Indian Territory. First used as the Commissary Building.

success. Some "squaw" patches of pumpkin, squash and corn were cultivated by the women but the full blood men regarded such work beneath their dignity and neither Gibson nor the agents who followed him succeeded in making farmers out of them.

The 3,150 members of the tribe were 92% full bloods⁹ who unlike their agent were not looking for a land in which to be civilized but one where they would be free from white people, and could live their own manner of life without interference. They had left the immigrants in Kansas who had overrun and settled on their reservation there bringing the Osages trials and hardships, and the whiskey peddlars who had introduced "fire-water" with its baneful effects. Tempered with doubts arising from experiences of their eviction from other lands to make way for the whites, they held some hope that they had found at last a home which would be an exclusive Indian country. In this hope they had encouragement by the prompt action of the Government with soldiers under orders to clear the reservation of intruders who had squatted mostly near the Kansas line.

Indian traders followed hard upon the heels of the Indians and set up for business at the Osage agency. Dunlap and Florer were the first to receive a license, September 22, 1872; and Hiatt and Company was licensed, January 20, 1873. The economic domination of the Chouteaus who held a virtual trade monopoly with the Osages for years had come to an end. The last member of the family to trade with them met a violent death at the Osage camps near Silver Lake. He was fatally stabbed to death by a half-breed Cherokee.

The Dunlap and Florer store was built similar to the trading houses built by the French traders on the frontier in the manner of a stockade with log posts set in the ground and the chinks plastered. Back of the store, Florer had a frame building of rough lumber erected for a comfortable home for his family. Here Walter Osage Florer, the first white child born in the agency arrived to the Florer family, January 24, 1873.

The Hiatt and Company's store flanked the Dunlap and Florer store on the west and was built in the same fashion. A United States flag was kept flying on a staff between the two stores. Adjacent to the east of the Dunlap and Florer store was the government commissary, a two story stone building topped by a cupola.¹⁰ Colonel Coffey, founder of the city of

⁹"The Osage People and Their Trust Property," Pt. 1, p. 9.

¹⁰The City of Pawhuska purchased the Osage Commissary building from the Osage Indian Agency in 1907 at the price of \$12,000. Since that time, it has housed the Pawhuska City Hall, with the police station in the basement, and the fire station at the rear of the building.

Coffeyville, Kansas, and Cyprian Tayrian early established themselves as traders in two smaller log buildings across the road from the other stores.

The Osages did not immediately settle down on their reservation but most of them went to the western plains in search of buffalo meat. No rations were then being issued by the Government and they were in need of food. Upon returning from the hunt the seventeen bands in which they were divided, settled in villages of lodges in different parts of the reservation. The Big Hill, White Hair, Hard Rope and Tall Chief bands located to the west in the Salt Creek and Arkansas Big Bend region; the Big Chief, Claremore, Black Dog and Wahtiankah bands went south on Hominy Creek; the Beaver band was on Bird Creek; and the Little Osages consisting of Chetopah, Strike Axe and Nopawalla bands located in the north on Big Caney.

In the autumn of 1873, the Indians departed again for the short grass plains about two hundred miles west where they remained the entire winter. The hunting grounds to which they went were shared with the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa and Comanche tribes that had been placed on reservations in the western part of the Indian Territory. These Plains Indians were restless when confined within the limits of reservations, and resentful when they saw the buffalo on which they depended for food and raiment exterminated in wanton destruction by white men.

Almost all of the members of the Osage tribe who were able to travel, including women and children went on the hunt, and the Bird Creek bottoms, a customary camping grounds were almost deserted. The frames of slender poles and sapplings of the lodges were bare of skin and canvas coverings and the cries of the children, the scolding of their mothers and songs to quiet them, the barking of dogs, the neighing of ponies, the throb of the drums, all of these usual sounds were stilled.

It was different on the Plains where the excitement of the hunt prevailed and the buffaloes were hunted down by the Indians mounted on their fastest ponies and using guns or bows and arrows for the kill. The hunt was governed by rules and each chief appointed "soldiers" from their band to see that these regulations were observed by the hunting parties. When the buffalo was killed and delivered to the camps, the man's part was over and the squaw's work began. It was the duty of the woman to skin and butcher the animal, and take care and tan the hide. The hides were stretched out taut on the ground and fastened down with wooden pegs. The hides were then scraped with knives or sharp portions of bones, and rubbed with brains of the buffalo. "Jerked" meat was pre-

pared by cutting it up into thin portions and hanging it in the sun or over slow burning fires to be cured. The tallow was moulded into cakes, and used for cooking.

The large droves of cattle which were driven over the Chisholm Trail in early years, presented a temptation to hungry Indians at times when the buffalo was hard to find. Benjamin K. Wetherill was employed by the Government as "trail agent," and was stationed at the Sewall-Huffaker store near Pond Creek on the Chisholm Trail to keep tab on the Osages. His duty was to keep informed of any depredations that might be committed and to make the Indians feel that the eye of the Government was constantly on them.

The prairies were taking on a tinge of green and the buds were bursting into blossoms on the creek banks when the Osages began to arrive home from their hunt in 1874. It was plain to see from the pack ponies and wagons laden with buffalo hides and cured meat and from their well fed and happy appearance that the hunt had been successful. The wagons of the traders who freighted supplies from the Agency to the distant camps also returned with the Indians loaded with buffalo robes. The Indians brought from their hunt 10,800 robes from which with small furs they realized \$60,000 worth of staples, blankets and necessaries from the traders.¹¹

Whether they liked it or not, the Osages found on their return to the Agency, unmistakable evidence of the inroads of the white man's civilization. The school building and agent's residence were under construction on the hill. Other Agency buildings in course of erection included the blacksmith and physician's residences, the doctor's office, which also became the home of *The Indian Herald*, the first publication to make its appearance at the Agency,¹² and a building for the shoe and harness shops. All of these buildings were constructed of native sand stone. A combined saw mill and grist mill was in operation on Bird Creek just below the present bridge.

Also, some houses were being built, scattered over the reservation for full bloods as a part of the plan to adapt them to civilized ways of living. The native lumber sawed at the saw mill was used for their construction but the lumber warped and buckled in such a way that they were not much use. The full bloods who were provided with the houses preferred to put up lodges in the yard so they could live as they were accustomed.

¹¹ *Annual Report*, 1874, letter of Osage Agent, Isaac T. Gibson.

¹² *The Indian Herald* was published by the Osage Agency physician, W. McKay Dougan. The first issue appeared in January, 1875.

Another part of Agent Gibson's program was the apprenticing some of the young mixed-bloods to learn a trade. The Agency shoe shop was in charge of Mr. Larsen where Nick Thompson and Sol Revard learned the trade. Alex Revard was employed in the blacksmith shop under Nick Delereau, the blacksmith, and Mose Plomondon worked in the carpenter shop. "Uncle" Joe Revard built many of the houses over the reservation.

Agent Gibson brought to his office a zealous determination to civilize and convert the Indians to Christianity, which was in full accord with President Grant's "Peace Policy." The Indian problem which had plagued the Government ever since the white population began moving westward and taking over Indian lands and hunting grounds, often in utter disregard of treaty obligations, had not been solved by military force. President Grant determined on a new approach other than the Army, and brought to the administration of Indian affairs a program of civilization for the Indians. Under this plan the President appointed Indian agents recommended by religious denominations. The Orthodox Friends (Quakers) were given the supervision of the Indians of the Central Superintendency of Kansas and the Indian Territory under Enoch Hoag as Superintendent at Lawrence, Kansas.¹³

Attempts to convert the Osages to Christianity had been discouraging. Early missionaries of the Protestant faith had made valiant efforts at the Union Mission established in 1820 on the Grand River with that part of the tribe which was then in the Indian Territory and at the Harmony Mission opened up in 1821, in what is now Bates County, Missouri.¹⁴ After about fifteen years of operation both of these schools were abandoned. The influence of the devoted missionaries was beneficial and pupils received useful training but soon returned to the Indian ways when they returned to the camps, and the making lasting Christians out of them or any of the full bloods was a failure.

Jesuit Fathers and Sisters of Loretto of the Catholic religion made a long and determined effort at the Osage Manual Mission in Kansas which was founded in 1847.¹⁵ Although some full bloods and many mixed-bloods received some education and training there, Father Ponziglione of the Mission was disappointed with the results, and after years of work among them wrote that very little had been accomplished among the

¹³ *Annual Report*, 1869.

¹⁴ Joseph Tracy, "History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," *History of the American Missions to the Heathen* (Worcester, 1840), pp. 170-171.

¹⁵ Velma Nieberding, "Catholic Education among the Osage," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1954), pp. 293-4.

aborigines, and there was little hope of accomplishing greater things in the future. He expressed the belief that the work of bringing the Indians from barbarism to civilization and thence to Christianity was a labor not of a few years but of centuries.

Like the ancient Hebrews, whose tribal life and customs had similarities to the Indians, the Osages followed the precepts of the Semitic law of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," and embraced the tenet of the wild justice of retaliation. Scalping was incidental to a religious custom among the Osages of taking the life of an enemy after death of one of their tribe, founded on the belief that the spirit of the departed could not rest until a human sacrifice had been made. The Osages were deeply affected by the loss of relatives or friends. In the early hour of dawn, the lamentations and supplications to the Great Spirit, "Wahkontah," were a common sound around the camps and at the graves of piled up rocks which dotted the hills, and the women went about with clay on their heads.

After a period of several weeks following the death of one of their tribe, a mourning party might be organized whose purpose was to kill and take a scalp from an enemy or on occasions the first person they met. If the deceased was of great importance, a "war" dance was held preceding the departure of the scalping party. This custom brought trouble to the Osages when a party met Esaddaua, principle chief of the Wichita Indians, who while hunting near the Salt Plains had become separated from his companions. In accordance with their peculiar belief, the Osages professed that the chief was designed by the Great Spirit as a sacrifice. They proceeded to kill and scalp him and returned to the reservation where the customary scalp dance was held. The murder of the chief brought a delegation of angry Wichitas to the Agency, who after much counseling with the Osage chiefs were finally pacified and accepted as reparations, money ponies and blankets in the amount of \$1,500.

In later years, after the fear of retaliation had passed, Wah-sah-she-wah-tian-kah boasted that he led the party that took the chief's scalp. He said that "Three Striker" was a member of the party and that Bill Conner, a mixed-blood, was with them and severed the head of the Wichita chief. Conner admitted his part of the bloody affair years after it occurred.¹⁶

After the killing and scalping of the distinguished Wichita chief, Agent Gibson reported to Washington:¹⁷

¹⁶ Frank F. Finney scrapbook items: W. E. McGuire manuscript; *Kansas City Times*, date line from Pawhuska, "The Last Osage Scalping."

¹⁷ *Annual Report*, 1873, letter of Osage Agent, Isaac T. Gibson.

This custom has, with the Indians all the sacredness of a religious duty, and I apprehend more victims have been sacrificed by them than was heretofore supposed. Information now can be had, through the employees at the different stations and confidential Indians, of the forming of these parties, which require several days ceremony to perfect, and by persuasion, gifts, and threats, all of them since have been broken up.

The "war" dances, however continued during Agent Gibson's tenure as agent, and for years thereafter. The feelings of the Indians found surcease in the ceremonials of the dance but the bloody climax of killing and scalping the victim, with possibly one or two exceptions which were hushed up, came to an end.

Joseph Paw-nee-no-pashe who became Governor of the Osage Nation, and whose appointment by the government shortly before the tribe came to the Indian Territory and ended the succession of the hereditary Pawhuska line of head chiefs, was guilty, or in the eyes of his tribesmen had the honor, of having taken his share of scalps from the enemy. Governor "Big Hill Joe" had been educated at the Osage Manual school (Catholic) in Kansas. Upon leaving the school he said: "It took Father Shoemaker fifteen years to make a white man out of me, and it will take just fifteen minutes to make an Osage out of myself." He proceeded by laying aside the white man's clothing and donning the Indian garb. According to Father Paul of the Mission, Joseph went on the war path, and returned to the reservation with two bloody scalps which he took as evidence of his right to assume the name and rank of his chieftain father. On the occasion of an invitation from the Superintendent Hoag to the leading men to visit him at Lawrence, fifteen accepted but Governor Joe could not be induced to go, fearing it was a trap to get him into prison.

The Agent realized that there were good and bad individuals among the Osages differing both in character and mental capacity much as white men differ. He paid tribute to Chief Chetopa, Councilor of the tribe as a brave and true man, incorruptible and loyal to the Government, and on the other hand he accused Governor Joe of accepting bribes. On the whole, however, the Quaker agent had a high regard for his charges and shared the views of Lieutenant Zebulon Pike, Washington Irving and other early visitors among the Osages who have written of their superiority of many other tribes. In a report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs agent Gibson commented enthusiastically:

Physically the Osages are strong in constitution richly endowed by nature physically and morally A finer looking body of men with more grace and dignity or better intellectually developed could hardly be found on the globe This little remnant is all that remains of a heroic race that once held undis-



First Delegation Osage Indians, 1873, to Lawrence, Kansas. Standing left to right, back row: Sam Bevenue, White Hair, Saucy Chief, No-pa-wal-la, Supt. Enoch Hoag, Chetopa, Big Elk, I. T. Gibson, Osage Agent. Seated, middle row: Ta-wan-ge-he, Ke-neu-in-ka, Kon-se-ah-le, Ne-Kah-ke-pah-ne, George Beaver; front row, Ogeese Capitaine, Strike Ax, Mo-shon-ko-she, Lame Doctor.



Second Delegation Osage Indians, 1874, to Lawrence, Kansas. Standing left to right: Sam Bevenue, Ogeese Capitaine, I. T. Gibson (Osage Agent), Big Wolf, E. P. Smith (Com. Ind. Affs.), Mo-shon-ko-she, Supt. Enoch Hoag, Ok-on-se-was-ka, Little Wolf, Jim Big Heart. Seated, middle row: Bill Mathews, Che-to-pa, No-pa-wal-la, Governor Joe, Ne-kah-he-pun-na, Hard Rope, Paul Aken; front row, Sah-pe-ke-ah, Tah-he-kah-he, Tally.

puted ownership over a domain extending from the Gulf to the Missouri River and from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains More than sixty years since they pledged themselves by treaty to perpetuate peace with the white man. That promise has been nobly kept in spite of great provocation.

Besides the Indians and his employees, the Agent assumed regulating and improving the morals and conduct of the other white people who resided at the Agency. Traders who applied for licenses were required to show that they were moral, temperate and regular attendants of religious services. Profanity, intemperance, card playing and kindred vices were not to be tolerated. Mixed-bloods as well as others were put on their good behavior by means such as posters displayed on the walls of the Agency offices, bearing the warning, "Thou shalt not swear." One of the mixed-bloods appeared to be enrolled for payment before the Agent, who inquired of him:¹⁸

"What is thy name?"

"Joseph Boulanger," was the reply.

"Thee belong to this people, does thee?"

"I do."

"Does thee swear?" the agent asked.

"No," Boulanger answered promptly.

"Enroll him," commanded the agent at once.

All employees were expected to attend religious services and do missionary work. To the female employees he issued the following instructions:¹⁹

While you are here you can not avoid being regarded by the Osage girls as examples for them in conduct-conversation-dress. In view of that fact, how modest and uneffected your conduct should be, conversation pure and truthful-dress, comfortable tidy and clean-your hair neatly done up avoiding excessive and uncouth decorations of person, which their uncultivated tastes leads them to admire. Useless jewelry-chignons-superfluous hat, overskirt and dress trimmings—gaudy colored garments-corsets-powder and paint for faces should be dispensed with and hereafter avoided in this service.

If the health and liberty of anyone is damaged by the observance of the foregoing things they are advised to seek employment elsewhere.

There was little prospect that the older Indians would greatly change their ways and their generation would learn to work like the white men or abandon their religious ideas and customs for the Christian religion. The Agent's efforts prom-

¹⁸ *Osage Journal*, Pawhuska, 1906, copied from *Pawnee Times Democrat*.

¹⁹ Osage Agency files, Pawhuska.

ised much better success with the youth who were gathered in face of the opposition of their fathers, in the boarding school on the hill. However his efforts to civilize his charges were impeded by events that arose over which he had little control.

In the summer of 1874, the wild tribes in the western part of the Territory went on the war path. A wagon train under Pat Hennessey was attacked and he and three companions were killed; the Comanche, under Quanah, their chief, attacked a settlement of buffalo hunters at Adobe Walls; Kiowas and Comanches burned a part of the Wichita agency at Anadarko; United States troops were in the field in pursuit of the Indians. To keep the Osages out of the hostilities and trouble, Gibson sent couriers carrying orders for them to come back home from their summer hunt.

Word did not reach a peaceful Osage party of twenty nine men, women and children, who had wandered into Kansas hunting and were attacked by about forty white men, eighteen miles from the settlement of Medicine Lodge. Four of the Indians were killed and the remainder sprang on their ponies and escaped leaving all of their belongings and extra ponies in the hands of the white men. The Governor of Kansas after the massacre mustered the men of the attacking party into the Kansas Militia, and dated the papers back so as to make the affair legal and lawful.

The Osages returned from their unsuccessful hunt, unhappy and smarting under the fate of their tribesmen in Kansas, and the killing of Broke Arm, one of their tribe, in a skirmish with the soldiers on the Cimarron River. Their feeling were heightened to a rebellious mood when they learned that odious regulations had been issued requiring them to work in order to receive rations. Ignoring the order they demanded cash, which was refused. The warehouse was filled with articles used only by civilized people for which they had no use but there was food in the warehouse which they could use and needed, and it appeared they would seize forcibly when some of the braves showed up at the Agency adorned with their war paint and in a belligerent spirit. The Agent fearing the situation was getting out of hand, sent mounted couriers to Fort Sill for troops. Superintendent Hoag from Lawrence was addressing a council of the chiefs on the banks of Bird Creek in an attempt to calm them down when to the surprise of the Indians a troop of the 5th Cavalry rode up, led by the well known scout, Jack Stilwell.

The Agency was at once put under military rule, and as night settled down, pickets were placed. "Who goes there?" was frequently heard up and down the valley, and the people of the Agency arose and retired to the sound of the army bugle.

The veteran Indian fighters were stationed at the Agency throughout the winter until the Indians quieted down.²⁰

Without meat of the buffalo, the meager annuities were far from sufficient to sustain the Osages with food from the traders, and the Government found it advisable to lay aside the work-to-eat order and start regular issues of necessary commodities. The supplies were issued at the three established stations besides at the commissary at the Agency, each in charge of a Government employee. These stations were located, one at Hominy Creek, on the site of the present town of Hominy;²¹ one on Salt Creek in charge of Jonathan Osborn, near the present town of Fairfax; and the third was the Hickory Station in charge of Peter Hobson, about midway between Coffeyville and the agency. Cards were issued to each head of a family showing the name and number in the family, and each drew rations of flour, sugar, coffee and bacon.

Issues of beef also were made near the Agency weekly. Usually, about twenty head of cattle were cut out of a herd and driven into a corral about a mile from the Agency. The steers were shot down by an employee, and the corral was immediately filled with Indians who after throwing aside their blankets soon had the animals skinned and cut up with butcher knives, each family receiving its share under the direction of the head men. Every part of the beef was taken, leaving nothing but the hoofs and horns. Swarms of flies hovered about and the fighting off of the dogs which were everywhere added to the confusion of the busy scene. No time was lost by the Indians in getting started for the distant camps on their ponies with the meat securely lashed to the pack saddles. In the summer, they preferred to travel in the coolness of the night to better preserve the meat until it could be cured over the fires, or by the sun. The corral at the Agency and surrounding camps were vacated after each beef issue and given over to the buzzards and coyotes.

The discontent in the tribe engendered by the ration question and the troops was disconcerting enough, but there was more trouble ahead for the upright, uncompromising, but biased Quaker agent, which speeded the end of his term. Two Cherokees, W. P. Adair and C. N. Vann, had been visiting the camps to obtain support for the payment of a large fee which they alleged was due them for services they had rendered in connec-

²⁰ Thomas M. Finney Collection has furnished these notes on life at the Osage Agency and others used in this article.

²¹ August (Ogeese) Capitaine, a prominent French-Osage mixed blood, had a trading store on Hominy Creek on the outskirts of the present town of Hominy. The name Hominy was a corruption of Harmony, the name of the early Osage Mission in Missouri, and was the way the Osages pronounced this name.

tion with negotiations of treaties in Kansas from which they claimed the Osages benefited. Agent Gibson vehemently opposed the payment and charged that bribery had been used on the Governor and some of the leading men. There was much controversy in the tribe over the claim, and the Agent underwent much criticism from its supporters.

Then too, the Agent was in an active quarrel with representatives of the Roman Catholic Church and gained the enmity of many mixed-bloods. Most of the mixed-bloods were descendants of early French traders, trappers and adventurers who had married into the Osage tribe. This ancestry and, also, the fact that many of them had attended the Catholic Manual Mission School in Kansas and some then had children in the school, made them partial to and supporters of the Catholic Church. The dissatisfaction culminated in a petition signed by a number of both mixed and full bloods and was presented to the President making charges against the agent and asking for his removal.

A commission was appointed by the Secretary of the Interior to investigate the affairs of the Osage agency and submitted its report as of September 14, 1875. They found that the charges were mainly "frivolous" in their nature and that the agent had administered his affairs with strict integrity. Notwithstanding the favorable report, Gibson's tenure as agent soon ended and Cyrus Beede was appointed to succeed him.

OLD INGALLS: THE STORY OF A TOWN THAT
WILL NOT DIE

By Leslie McRill

The name "Ingalls" still insists upon recognition. Even though the name was changed to "Signet," the whole town—that part which stands today and the old part—is "Ingalls" in present day talk, and no one ever thinks of its name "Signet." In fact, the writer who has gone to the town time and time again did not know until recently that the name might be Signet. An old plat of the town shows "Ingalls," that part which has practically vanished, and at the northwest corner appears the site of "Signet," First Street of Ingalls becoming Main Street of Signet.¹ Only three or four of the old buildings of Ingalls remain, and these have been made into residences standing on the old site of the town.

Ingalls at the time of the incidents to be recounted in this article, was a progressive community eager to grow and be an important center of business in the newly settled Oklahoma Territory. The town site was laid out about four miles west of this territorial line by a man by the name of Sater, the grandfather of Judge Sater of Stillwater, who was hired by the Government for the work. There were all the usual rumors of growth that accompanied a new town, every one believing, as was so easy to do in those days, that this town was destined to be a metropolis in the near future. The incident is told by one old timer that there was a well in process of being drilled when suddenly the drill struck a vein of coal. Immediately the news spread and visions of a coal mining center immediately took hold of the citizens. There was some coal in the hole since two enterprising girls had dumped a quantity of coal into the hole as a practical joke. The secret of their identity has never been revealed to this day. The town boasted some four or five doctors, stores of different kinds, livery barns, saloons, hotel, blacksmith shop and places of business common to early day towns. Good citizens from many places in the United States had come here to build homes and establish themselves.

¹Ingalls was first established as a post office, January 22, 1890, with Robert F. McCurtry as postmaster (George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 [Spring, 1952]). This post office was discontinued by order dated October 4, 1907, effective October 31, 1907, and mail sent to Stillwater. A post office was established on the new addition to old Ingalls, and called "Signet" on June 6, 1921, with John W. Porter as postmaster (Gene Aldrich unpublished manuscript in the Editorial Department of *The Chronicles*, titled "Post Offices established in Oklahoma, 1907-1930.")—Ed.

It was a happening, not of the people's choice, that the notorious band of outlaws chose that community as a favorite hangout. There were those in the community, doubtless, who did shelter and sympathize with the law-breakers, just as there were many who did not give aid or sympathy.² Opinion was divided as to just how much these men were involved in law-breaking. They were well behaved as they moved in and out of the community, quiet in their manners and friendly. They drank in the saloons, played poker, furnished oysters for country dances and took as much part in community affairs as any of the early day settlers. One who lived in the community and at whose home the "boys" as she called them, often brought oysters and held a dance, remarked: "In that day no one took any sides nor seldom was it asked where a man came from. 'Bitter Creek' is said to have acquired his name by answering when asked where he came from, 'I came from Bitter Creek.' He had worked on a ranch through which Bitter Creek ran."

One of the leading physicians at Ingalls in that early day came to the community in 1893, from Nebraska and began practice. His family consisted of wife and four children. He was Dr. J. H. Pickering and his children were Warnie, Mary (Mollie), Roy and Iva. In his country practice he was usually assisted by daughter, Mollie (later Mrs. William McGinty). Mollie could ride a horse as well as the best of them, always using a sidesaddle, or sometimes going with her father in the old buggy of the day.

Evidently, Dr. Pickering had a view to the future, and that view gave him the idea of keeping a diary. This Diary has been carefully preserved, locked in a small metal box, through the years, and in the possession of his daughter, Mollie. It is from the Diary that this article springs. Among the first items recorded, we find this notation: "Came to Ingalls and bought of Mrs. Thomas our present home, consideration \$380.00. Hired Wm. Yost to drill a well."

Another item gives the proposed cost of the first church building erected in the town. It was a Methodist church built by the "Methodist Episcopal church, North," as the Doctor describes it, and was to cost \$385.00, to be built by a Jonathan West. "It has changed the plans some which adds more to the cost of the building," says the writer. "It is being built

² Recently the writer walked the streets of Ingalls, Oklahoma, where some sixty years ago the United States marshals fought it out with an outlaw band. Not many of the original buildings still stand, but my companions, Billy McGinty and Gilbert Shaw, of Ripley, who lived at Ingalls at the time, pointed out to me the locations of the saloons, the hotel, the blacksmith shop and other buildings that sheltered, either the law-men or the outlaws as the fight progressed.



(From original Photograph, McGinty Collection)

The Pickering Home shortly after the "Outlaw Battle," at Ingalls, 1893. Left to right: Dr. J. H. Pickering, Iva, Warnie, Mollie, Roy and Mrs. Pickering (Charlotte Ann). This house at Ingalls is now occupied by the family of Earl Pickering, the youngest son of Dr. and Mrs. Pickering.

by Methodist people, M. E. North.”³ This item is followed by another about the erection of a school building: “Mr. West has just finished a fine two-story school building for the Ingalls district at a cost of over \$1200.00, two rooms below & a hall above. There will be several good buildings put up this spring.”

The people of Ingalls have always had an interest in community projects, schools, churches, etc. Although the town has gradually lost population and the buildings have been moved away, there lingers that strong community feeling that prompts the citizens, whether living there now or scattered all over the United States, to gather every September in a reunion to commemorate the date of the battle between the U. S. marshals and the Doolin-Dalton gang. At the main street intersection of the “old town” there now stands a monument erected by the “Citizens of Ingalls in 1938,” and dedicated to the memory of the three marshals who gave their lives the day of the 1893 battle. The inscription reads:

In Memory of U. S. Marshals

Dick Speed—Tom Huston—Lafe Shadley

who fell in the Line of Duty

September 1, 1893

By Dalton and Doolin Gang.

At this reunion, a basket dinner is served in the Ingalls Community building, and the day is spent in reviewing old acquaintances, recounting tales of the “battle” and various community recreations. Some “tall tales” develop year after year when different ones begin to tell about the fight. One of these is the number of holes found shot into the sides of the saloon where the outlaws were at the beginning of the battle. One old timer boasts that over a hundred holes were there. But another who was a boy of thirteen⁴ when the fight occurred says that he and his pals (who by the way were engaged in a very common early day past-time when the fight broke out—that of raiding a watermelon patch south of town) counted sixteen holes. Very little would escape the sharp scrutiny of the town boys at a time like this.

Many of the most exaggerated stories have been invented by out-of-town writers or some romantically inclined individuals, seized by the modern cinema fashion of “blood and thun-

³ The writer had the privilege of serving this church twice during the early 1900's. The building still stands but no longer used, has fallen into disrepair.

⁴ Gilbert Shaw, of Ripley.

der" accounts. Poets and writers have seized the opportunity to make interesting reading, regardless of facts. One writer has woven a tale of one Cimarron Rose, giving lurid and daring actions on her part during the fight. How she saw Bitter Creek, wounded and snapping his empty pistol at the marshals—at which pastime he would have lasted five seconds at the most—and how she lowered his ammunition from the upper story of the Pierce Hotel, then lowered herself by means of a sheet, and went to his rescue. This one makes all the old-timers smile, as none of them believe she was in Ingalls that day. Bitter Creek stayed at the Pierce Hotel where another of the old former citizens roomed, and it was known at that time that Bitter Creek was interested in another girl who also stayed at the hotel.

As the Guthrie paper suggested in its write-up of the Ingalls fight, there were romantic tales of what happened or might have happened, and one of these regarding the Cimarron Rose has persisted until it has gained credence and has insinuated itself into both romantic fiction and poetry of the state. Old timers say that the girl was not in Ingalls the day of the fight. She was about fourteen or fifteen years of age at the time of the fight. Her home was in Ingalls, but as she did not always agree with her step-father, she stayed at the Bee Dunn ranch part of the time. That ranch was a mile east and a mile south of the town. About fifteen years after the fight, the tale began to spread that she was Bitter Creek's girl. The outlaws did stay at the Dunn ranch part of the time, so there was some semblance of the connection suggested. The popular story is something as told above.

One of the more romantic and poetic writings is a poem by Grover Leonard,⁵ the Cowboy Poet of Oklahoma, with "The Cimarron Rose" as the theme, in which he alludes to her as "Bitter Creek's girl":

Shadows of dead men stand by the wall
 Watching the fun of the pioneer ball.
 The wail of fiddles, the dancers sway—
 Troubles forgotten for a night and a day.

Rose of the Cimarron, Bitter Creek's girl,
 Stood watching the dancers glide and whirl.
 The dance grows wilder, they're young, don't you see?
 "Gosh," says Red Buck, "so were we!"

Of course, when these verses were written the "Rose" was still in the land of the living, and Bitter Creek alone among the shadows. Of such stuff is poetic dreaming inspired but history frowns on the figments of imagination such as have been built out of the Ingalls event.

⁵ Grover Leonard's poetic writings have recently been placed in the Oklahoma City Public Library; where they may be seen in the "Oklahoma Room."

So many are the tales revived or made more plausible as the years go by. Dr. Pickering's Diary, not written to satisfy literary purposes, but to preserve what happened that day as he saw it, brings to us the account of an eye witness. Many of the citizens, including Dr. Pickering's whole family, were in the caves for safety all during the fight, and while there, they saw little of what was transpiring above ground. But the doctor stayed above ground, as did the other doctors, and all attended the wounded as soon as called.

After recording his coming to Ingalls and a few other items, the doctor begins his account of the fight. We give it in toto and just as he wrote it at that time:

In July Wm. Doolan, George Newcomb (alias Bitter Creek), Slaughter Kid, Tom Jones (alias Arkansas Tom),⁶ Danimite,⁷ Tulsa Jack and Bill Dalton began to come here frequently & in a short time they all staid here except Dalton. He was out at B. Dunn's. As a rule they were quite (*sic*) & peaceable. They all went hevily armed & constantly on their guard, generly went 2 together. They boarded at the O.K. Hotel, staid at B. Dunn's when not in town.

The last of this month a man by the name of Dock Roberts and Red Lucas came to town looking up a proposed Rail Road rout. Both parties took in the haunts of the outlaws. They were both jovial fellows & soon was drinking & playing cards with them. They left and came back in a week & said they was here to locate a booth, a place for intended settlers to register and get certificates to make a race for land or town lots. They staid here until the last week in August then left.

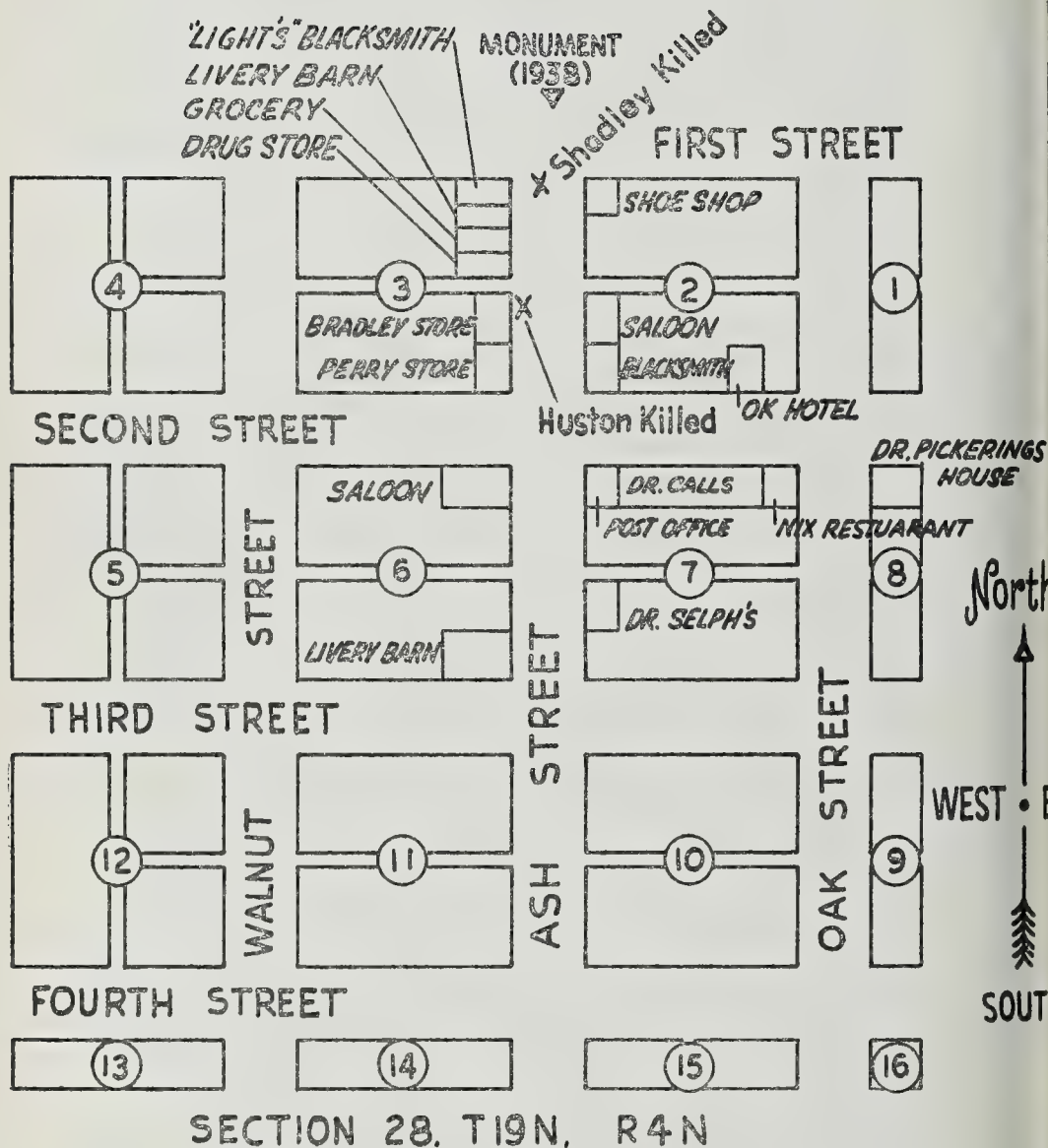
On the morning of Sept. 1st there was 27 deputy marshals piloted into town in covered wagons. They caused no suspicion as there was hundreds of Boomers moving the same way. 2 wagons stoped at Light's Black Smith Shop & one drove up by my house & they all proceeded to unload in a quite (*sic*) manner and take positions. Doolan, Bitter Creek, Danimite Dick, Tulsa Jack, & Dalton was in Ransom & Murrys Saloon. Arkansas Tom was in bed at the Hotel. Bitter Creek got his horse & was riding up to a small building where Said Conley staid & the marshalls thinking he was known to the move fired on him. Dick Speed marshal from Perkins fired the first shot. The magazine was knocked off] of his, Bitter Creek's gun & he was shot in the leg. He made his escape to the southwest. Speed was shot about this time & instantly killed, also young Simonds mortally wounded.⁸ The fires of the Marshalls was centered on the Saloon & old man Ransom was shot in the leg. Murry in arm and side. Walker shot through the liver.

By this time the outlaws had got to the stable & saddled their horses. Doolan & Danimite went out at the back door & down a draw southwest. Dalton and Tulsa made a dash from the front door. As they came out Dalton's horse was hit on the jaw & he had a hard time

⁶ His name as a cow puncher in Western Oklahoma was Roy Daugherty.

⁷ Dynamite Dick's real name was Bill Grimes.

⁸ Dal Simmons, a young student visiting in Ingalls. Some say he had gone to the drug store passing through the saloon. When he came out the back door he was mistaken for an outlaw.



Map showing the site of the fight with the outlaws at old Ingalls, Payne County, Oklahoma Territory, in 1893, and the location of the monument erected to the memory of the marshals who died there.

getting him started, but finly succeeded.⁹ He went probely 75 yards when his horse got his leg broke. He then got off of him & walked on the opisite side for a ways, then left him but came back to his sadel pockets & got his wire cutters & cut a fence, then got behind one of the other boys & rode off. A great many say he shot Shadly but I seen Shadly run from my place to Dr. Call's fence & in going through it he was first shot. He then got to Ransom's house & was debating with Mrs. Ransom, she ordering him to leave when he got his last shots.¹⁰ He fell there and crawled to Selph's cave.

A great many believe that Dalton shot him; in fact he thot so for when I and Dr. Selph was working with him in the cave he said Dalton shot him 3 times quicker than he could turn around, but I think I know better, taking the lay of the ground in consideration & I stood where I saw Dalton most of the time & never saw him fire once & Shadly was hit in the right hip and all the balls tended downward. If Dalton had of shot him he would of been shot in front & balls of ranged up. The outlaws crossed the draw south of town & stoped a few minutes shooting up the street my house is on. One of these shots hit Frank Briggs in the shoulder but a slight flesh wound. I took him to my cave and dressed his wound, then went to Walker & gave him Tempory (*sic*) aid, from there to Murry's & laid his wound open and removed the shattered bone. Some of the doctors¹¹ wanted me to amputate but I fought for his arm; 2 inches raidus (*sic*) was shot away, slight flesh wounds in the side.

About this time I was called aside & told to go to Hotel, that Jones was up there either wounded or killed. I and Alva Peirce & boy by the name of Wendell, boys about 12 years old, went over. I went in & called but got no answer & was about to leave when he¹² came to top of the stairs & says 'is that you Dock?' and I told him it was. I asked if he was hurt & he said no. He said for me to come up & I told him if he wasn't hurt I would not but he insisted. So I went up. He had his coat and vest off[] also his boots. Had his Winchester in his hands & revolvers lying on the bed. I said Tom come down and surrender. He says 'I can't do it for I won't get justice'. He says: 'I don't want to hurt anyone but I won't be taken alive.' He says: 'Where is the boys?' (meaning the outlaws). I told him they had gone. He said he did not think they would leave him. It hurt him bad. I never seen a man wilt so in my life. He staid in Hotel till after 2 o'clock & then surrendered to a Mr. Mason, a preacher. They took him off right away.

Of the wounded, Simonds died at 6 p.m. Shadly & Huston was taken to Stillwater, both died in three or four days. Walker shot through the liver died the 16th. All the rest recovered. The outlaws staid close to town as Bitter Creek was not able to travel. Dr. Bland of Cushion tended him. I loaned him instruments to work on wound with although I did not know just where he was at. A piece of magazine was blown in his leg. It eventually worked out and he got able to again ride. Tom was indicted for the killing of Huston, Speed & Shadly, was tried on the Huston case and convicted of manslaughter in 1st degree with no leniency of the court. Judge dale sentenced him to 50 years at hard labor in the Lansing Penitentiary. Dalton drifted

⁹ It is said that the horse kept spinning and became unmanageable.

¹⁰ He wanted to come into the house, but a woman was in there under the bed screaming for fear so Mrs. Ransom directed him to a cave where several people were.

¹¹ There were four or five doctors in Ingalls at the time of the fight.

¹² Arkansas Tom.

away from the crowd & was killed near Ardmore. The rest staid around Dunn's.

Danamite ordered a big gun sent to Tulsa. The Marshalls got onto it & watched for him thinking he would come in at night to get it but he rode in at 2 p.m. & got his gun & was getting out of town before they knew it. They started after him & had a running fight from there to Turkey Track ranch. They killed 2 horses from under him. They thought they had him surrounded in the timber there & sent for more help but when they got it & searched thorough he was gone. He then left the territory for good. Bitter Creek, and Tulsa, still staid here. Doolan disappeared and no one knew where; also Edith Elsworth, they probely went off together. Bitter Creek, Tulsa, Peirce & others went to Dover & held up train. Was pushed closely & Tulsa in trying to cover the retreat of the others was shot and killed. Bitter Creek and Peirce come back to their old haunts and in a short time was killed on Dall Dunn's farm. It is the universal belief that they were betrayed by the Dunn boys if not killed by them.

It might be well here to add some information pertinent to this account up to this time. Billy McGinty, of Ripley, at the time of the battle, was staying at the Pierce Hotel, but was not in Ingalls that day as he was collecting some stock west of town which he had sold. He says that after one train robbery, Doolin, who was wounded in the right foot, came back to the Pierce Hotel where he was treated for the injury by Mrs. Pierce. Billy was there and saw Doolin and talked with him. They did not know then when or how he had been wounded.

When Billy saw Doolin, Mrs. Pierce had brought out a pan of water and carbohic acid to bathe the foot, so Billy went over and washed Bill's foot. Doolin could not bend over to reach his foot since it had been neglected several days and was badly swollen. This was shortly before the Ingalls fight. U. S. Marshal Heck Thomas was looking for Doolin and passed close by. Doolin warned Billy to get away from there as he fully expected the marshal to draw on him. But the marshal passed on seemingly oblivious of Doolin's presence. Billy says that if the marshal had started anything it would have meant the latter's death as Doolin was armed and ready. Billy had known Doolin when the latter was employed on the Bar-X-Bar Ranch and a good cowpuncher.

Billy had also known "Arkansas Tom," but not by that name. He was Roy Daugherty when Billy knew him on the round-ups in Texas and western Oklahoma. When Tom came to Ingalls and joined in with the outlaws, Billy called him out of the saloon and warned him he was in bad compnay. Arkansas Tom just laughed and went back into the saloon and to the gang. Later, after his capture and conviction, Arkansas Tom's brother, who was a minister, came to Billy to get him to sign an application for a pardon for Tom. Billy told him he wouldn't sign since he had once warned Tom. "You ask

him if I didn't when you see him again," Billy said. Later on the brother saw Billy and told him that Tom said he was warned, and he did not blame Billy for not signing. Tom must not have held any grudge against Billy for when he was released from prison he came to Ripley to see Billy. At that time Billy's wife, Mollie, was in the hospital with a fever. Billy and the three boys were having a rough time with the cooking, so Tom, who was a good cook, took over and kept the three boys in school for several weeks until Mollie was able to go home. Tom later ran a restaurant in Drumright, and was offered a marshal's job at Holdenville, but declined the offer. Tom was finally killed in Missouri.

It was difficult for some to believe that the soft-spoken, quiet fellows they saw in and around town were outlaws. They sometimes gave the preacher money, and conducted themselves in a gentlemanly manner as any ordinary citizen might.

There is a break of some time in the Diary, and then we read:

In March 1896 Bill Doolan was captured in Eureka Springs by Bill Tilghman of Perry. He was brought back and lodged in Guthrie jail. I went and seen him there. In June, Danimite was caught in Texas for bootlegging, tried & sent to county jail for 60 days and they suspected him of being one of the Doolan gang & sent Magee, the U. S. Marshall, word and he sent a man there to identify him and they brought him to Guthrie. They got several murder cases against him, but on Sunday night July the 5th, Doolan and a negro overpowered the guards, locked them in cells & 14 of the worst men made their escape, and I think for good. Rumor is they were helped to get out. Time will tell as there is to be an investigation.

Toward the last of August, Doolan and small band was located on Mud Creek 12 or 15 miles east of Ingalls. He was seen to go to Lawson, P.O., several times and the marshalls laid a trap for him and between 9 and 10 o'clock Monday night, Aug. 24, he walked into it and was shot and killed dead. No particulars yet in regard to it. I will note them when I get a full account. They say Danimite & 3 others are hiding close by.

Later; Doolan was at Lawson making arrangements to leave the country with his supposed wife. He had just left the woman, and was walking down the road when he was shot from ambush. He was killed dead. He was put in a wagon and taken to Guthrie that night. The parties that killed him was Heck Thomas, Dall, Bee, George and John Dunn with one or two others. They had Dr. Call's No. 8 shot gunn. This did the work for he had 16 buckshot in him also 2 Winchester balls. His wife went to Guthrie to get his body but failed to get it. On the morning of the 25th the marshalls sighted the remaining outlaws a few miles from where they killed Doolan, but they were on the move heading for Turkey track ranch and it is doubtful if they ever get them now. There was 4 in the bunch.

It is interesting to see what the Guthrie paper had to say about the capture of Doolin. In the Guthrie *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* of August 26th, 1896, we read:

DOOLIN KILLING

True Story of How It Was Done Told by Eye Witness

The *State Capital* reporter got the true story of the killing of Bill Doolin today from an eye witness. He was killed a few hundred feet across east of the Lawson postoffice in Payne county The hour was between 12 and 1 o'clock Tuesday morning. A wagon was loaded and was ready to take Bill and his wife and baby out of the country. Bill and Mrs. Doolin were across a ravine, away from the house, in the timber, in conversation. Mrs. Doolin went to the house and Bill promised to meet her and the wagon around a certain corner. Heck Thomas, Tom Noble, John Mathews, Charley Noble, Dall Dunn and Bee Dunn were in hiding on each side of the path where Bill Doolin proposed to go. He came with the rein of his fine riding horse on one arm, and the other holding a Winchester. When he was within reach the posse of marshals on one side cried out to him to throw up his hands. Instead of doing so he wheeled about, and lifted his Winchester. At the same moment the marshals on the other side cried "Stop! Throw up your hands." He turned in the direction of the last voices and fired his Winchester once, and dropping it, followed up with three shots from his revolver. A volley of Winchesters from the marshals on both sides and the emptying of a double barreled shot-gun razed him to the ground before he could shoot more. Mrs. Doolin, hearing the shooting, ran to the spot and found her husband dead. She desired the body but the marshals said they would first have to take it to Guthrie which they did immediately

The Doctor's Diary goes on then to relate some later developments in the Ingalls neighborhood, the outcome of the outlaw betrayal by former associates:

Friday Nov. 6 at 4 p.m. George Dunn rode into Ingalls very fast & said his brother Bee had been shot by Deputy U. S. Marshal Canton in Pawnee. They left for there immediately. Saturday afternoon Mr. Cots of Stillwater & family, also Mrs. Bee Dunn arrived with dead body of Bee. They took him to his stepfather's house & kept the body until Sunday noon & then buried it. There was a long Funeral procession. They found no bill against Canton for the killing and let him loose at once. The feeling in Pawnee is all in favor of Canton. Past reputation is what hurts Dunn. All kinds of reports are afloat in regard to his past life. At Ingalls people are divided on the case. All was looking for Dunn to be killed, but expected it to come from some of the remaining outlaws. There is bound to be more killing over this. I think it only a matter of time until more of the Dunn boys are killed or they get Canton.

After Bee's death, John, Dall and George go on the scout.¹³ There is a number of bills against them in Pawnee for cattle stealing. T. Boggs and Bill Long left for Kansas to avoid same charge. They got into trouble there and was sent to jail. As soon as their time was out, Havelin wrote for his step-son, Bill Long, to come home. He thought there was not anything against him but just as soon as he got here they took him in. He laid in jail at Pawnee a month or so and gave bond for two thousand to appear at Sept. 1897 court. Bob Boggs went to Texas to get away & stole down there 47 head of cattle. They caught him & sent him over the road for 4 years. Pawnee

¹³ Expression which evidently means "to keep under cover" or "leave the country."

county will get him when his time is out. Bill Chappel, Tom Boggs, A. E. Peirce and several others left the country for good. McIlhiney (Narrow Gauge Kid) skipped his bond & is gone for good. Some think he went to Cuba. J. McLain, Dr. Steel & W. Wilson are his bondsmen. A May term the Grand Jury found bills against John & All McLain at our place & several others in Stillwater for perjury. They gave bonds. It was on scheduling their property for taxes.

Here the Diary ends. This is an account of an eye witness, written as he saw it, and jotting down current happenings and the aftermath of the outlaw matters.

Now it might be well to observe some of the effects the outlaws had on the rest of the Territory, as well as in Payne County. Rumors were rife at all times as to the activities of the outlaws. A dispatch from Topeka, Kansas, dated June 17, told of a Santa Fe train robbery at Cimarron Crossing, and named Newcomb, Wyatt and Davis as the robbers. They were captured at Hennessey, Oklahoma Territory, on the Rock Island according to the report.

On September 5th news was given of a train hold-up at Mound Valley, Kansas, and it was reported that the Ingalls' bandits were responsible. A dispatch from Wichita reads:

The railway and express companies' officials are of the opinion that the Frisco train robbery at Mound Valley yesterday morning was committed by Bill Dalton, "Dynamite Dick" and another one of the outlaws who escaped after the battle with the United States marshals at Ingalls, I. T., on Friday.¹⁴ These three desperadoes were seen by an Indian policeman early Saturday morning in the Osage country, about forty miles due south of the scene of the robbery going toward the Kansas line, and it would be just like them to hold up a train before going into hiding.

A later report, however, noted the capture of three other men for this deed. But this will show how every happening would be laid at the door of the Ingalls gang. That there was serious fear of reprisals from the outlaws at Ingalls, Cushing, and even Guthrie is shown by news items current in those days. One headline reads "Getting Serious," and cautions that preparations should be made at once to guard the city of Guthrie, saying that the bandits may even now "be here." The item goes on to say: "A man pretty well posted informed a representative of the *State Capital* that if the bandits were coming to the city at all they were here now. He said the game would be to come in separately and concentrate about the jail. He stated that their arms would be brought in in a wagon. That they would arm in some isolated spot and that their objective point would be the jail for their only purpose in coming to town would be the liberation of 'Arkansas Tom' and his asso-

¹⁴ Letters were post marked "Ingalls, Indian Territory" for several years after 1890, the Post Office Department having delayed changes of names in its records.—Ed.

ciates. He advised the arrest of all suspicious persons in the city who could give no satisfactory account of themselves." This item was dated Sept. 16th, 1893.

An item from Vinita on Sept. 29th put Bill Dalton's Gang at Wybark, I. T. where the officials of the railroad were warned to watch for them. "It is believed, if not known, that Bill Dalton has been in the vicinity of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas road for two weeks," the report said.

A report from Cushing appearing in the *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* of October 10, 1893, was headed, "They Want Revenge," and the item proceeds:

Mr. J. K. Berry of Cushing was in the city yesterday. He states that the Dalton gang of outlaws has again congregated about Ingalls and is pursuing its old line of depredations. Many of them have been at Cushing, also, and the neighboring country has been in fear of them ever since threatening letters have been received by a few good citizens of Ingalls, telling them that they took sides with the United States deputy marshals and that they would better pull their freight or they would pull it for them. A few days ago they got an Indian drunk at Ingalls and then stole several head of horses from him.

Mr. Berry came to Guthrie to see Marshal Nix to see if a posse of deputy marshals could not be gotten into that country to clear the outlaws. They are a continual menace to the neighborhood and are becoming a great burden.

Dr. Pickering's Diary simply states the fate of "Bitter Creek" and Pierce, but the Guthrie paper gave a lurid account of how the two were killed and brought into Guthrie in a wagon. This is the newspaper account on Thursday, May 2nd, 1895:

OUTLAW BLOOD

Bitter Creek and Dynamite Kid killed by Deputies. Battle in Osage Country. One Man Shot 35 times.

The city was suddenly turned upside down at 2 o'clock this afternoon by a wagon driving into the city with two dead men in it. The wagon came down First Street and stopping at the side door of Spengel's Furniture House, the bodies were taken into the undertaking rooms. In an instant the city was in an uproar of excitement and everybody on the streets ran to see the bodies.

The dead men, stretched out on two boards, were Geo. Newcomb, alias "Bitter Creek," alias "Slaughter Kid," and Charley Pierce, alias "Dynamite Dick." They were in full clothes with boots and spurs on, and armed to the teeth. Besides a Winchester each, they had on a revolver apiece and belts of cartridges for both instruments of death.

As the clothes were cut off them, it was seen that Dynamite Dick had at least thirty buckshot in him, while two Winchester balls let the life out of Bitter Creek. Dynamite Dick was shot all over, but mostly in the right shoulder and side, though he had fully six shot in his stomach and as many in one foot. One eye was still open as though he had cocked it alongside of a Winchester. One Win-

chester bullet struck Bitter Creek in the forehead and tore out a lot of brains at the back of the head and the other hit his hand as he was pulling the trigger.

Marshal Nix does not want to say too much about the killing, as the marshals who did the work are still after the other men. The outlaws were killed at the southeast corner of Pawnee county at the house of the Dunn brothers, who were protecting them, by Deputy Marshal Sam Schaffer at the head of six other marshals. The outlaws rode to Dunn's house about 8 o'clock last evening. It being moonlight they were easily seen, and Dynamite Dick was killed outright, being filled full of buckshot. Bitter Creek made a fight, and two Winchester balls felled him off his horse before he could pull the trigger of his Winchester.

The outlaws who are killed are a part of the gang that held up the Rock Island train at Dover some time ago. They have been chased ever since. Chas. Pierce, alias Dynamite Dick, is a half brother to Tulsa Jack who was killed in the Cheyenne country by Deputy Marshal Dudley Banks. Banks saw the body and recognized him. Oscar Halsell recognized Bitter Creek. The outlaw used to herd cattle for him. O. F. Hicks, a cowboy, looked at him and said he "punched cattle" with him several years.

The horses of the outlaws were killed and their saddles and all the guns were brought to the city. The catch is a great big feather in Marshal Nix's cap as he had spent lots of private money and has been incessant in running the outlaws down, and he feels justly proud in their capture. None of the marshals was hurt.

According to the above account, it was believed in Guthrie that they had killed Dynamite Dick, and gave that alias as belonging to Charley Pierce. However, the old-timers, with whom the writer has talked, agree that Dynamite Dick was not the same as Pierce. They say that Pierce was tall and slender, while Dynamite Dick was burly and heavier set. One old-timer says that his father and Dynamite Dick's father were acquainted in Ohio, and that the man's real name was George Grimes. He had committed crime, it is said, in Ohio, and had fled to Oklahoma. Sometimes a man with the alias of "Red Buck" is identified with the Ingalls outlaws, but one old-timer says the "boys" had no use for him and called him "a chain-harness horse thief." Once when he was on the trail with them, a man was following them, going in the same direction, and Red Buck wanted to go back and shoot the man, but Doolin made him give up the idea. It is said that Red Buck's price for killing a man was \$50. All that was necessary was to point out the "victim" and hand over \$50. Red Buck was killed later on Oak Creek in G county (later Custer County, Oklahoma Territory), as an item from the *Cheyenne Sunbeam* of March 13, 1896, tells: ". . . . The firing was kept up on both sides until Red Buck was killed. . . . George Miller was his companion."

That Dynamite Dick was not the man killed near Ingalls is borne out by this item which appeared in the *Hennessey*

Clipper of Dec. 10, 1896. "The band of outlaws headed by Dynamite Dick were surprised by Deputy Sheriff Cox and a posse of seven men 16 miles west of Newkirk, Ok., and Dynamite Dick was killed and Ben Cravens, one of the gang, was captured."

The El Reno News of the same date had this to say:

Dynamite Dick, who reigned as the king of desperadoes after the killing of Bill Doolin, is no more. He was killed near Blackwell last week by Deputy Marshal Lund during a hot fight between bandits and officers. The marshals had been on Dynamite Dick's trail for several weeks. At sunrise on the eventful day Deputy Sheriff Dossie of Kay county, and a band of deputies possemen surrounded the outlaws in a hollow between Blackwell and Newkirk. The fight lasted an hour and over a hundred rounds were fired. Dynamite Dick was killed outright and his pal, Ben Cravens, fatally injured. None of the attacking party was hurt.

Dynamite Dick derived his name from the deadly manner in which he loaded his Winchester cartridges. In the bullet of each cartridge he drilled a hole, which he filled with dynamite; the hole was then plugged up with lead and it became a double death-dealing instrument. Whenever the ball perforated the object at which it was fired, it exploded tearing the object to pieces. At the fight at Ingalls in which the outlaws killed so many citizens, Bill Raidler¹⁵ fired these dynamite cartridges from his Winchester rifle, doing most deadly work, and for which he was afterwards known as "Dynamite Dick." After he was killed a number of these cartridges were taken from his cartridge belt

While on the subject of Dynamite Dick, it is well to note the fact that he was still "going strong," and had not yet been killed though confused with several others who were killed or captured.

There was a heated dispute after this fight near Blackwell, according to the *Arkansas City Traveler*.¹⁶

Members of the posse and their friends insist that it was the noted outlaw Dynamite Dick, that Cox killed near Blackwell last week The posse claims that the deputy marshals are jealous because they did not make the capture as the reason they dispute that it was Dynamite Dick, and the marshals laugh at the charge. The United States jailer at Guthrie, who had charge of Dynamite Dick for several months, says the corpse he saw is not that of the noted outlaw The question is getting too deep for the common people, therefore we would suggest that in order to settle the dispute, if Dynamite Dick is still alive, that he so inform the public. Let him come forth from his hiding place and make himself known in some manner.

On Dec. 21, 1896, the *Guthrie State Capital* carried this final word:

¹⁵ Bill Raidler was not at the Ingalls fight as he was then in the penitentiary. And Dr. Pickering's Diary referred to "Dynamite Dick" even before the Ingalls fight.

¹⁶ *The Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, Friday, Dec. 11, 1896.

Last of the Gang: After accounting for several outlaws the article says: "Mr. Madsen who has put in twenty-five years in Oklahoma and the Indian Territory laughs at the recent killing of Dynamite Dick As told above Bill Raidler is serving a term at the military prison at Leavenworth and is not now and never was Dynamite Dick. Dynamite Dick's real name is Clifford"¹⁷ Madsen declared that Dynamite Dick is still alive and is on foot in the territory with the deputies after him, and that no man from Oklahoma who knows the real facts ever believed that dead man was Dick."

The writer has searched the files of several Oklahoma papers, and has not found any account of Dynamite Dick's death, although one man who knew him fairly well says he was finally killed by officers about six miles east of Cheyenne at his mother's half dugout home. Officers surprised him in the early morning as he was leaving the home.

There were two accounts of the Ingalls fight in the *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, and it is interesting to compare them with Dr. Pickering's Diary account. Of course Guthrie was many miles from the scene and naturally there was more or less guesswork in the accounts. The first appeared on September 2, 1893. The facts of how the marshals entered Ingalls and took their positions about town are essentially as the Diary has it. The conversations held by the outlaws at seeing the marshals is probably imaginative. It is unlikely that their words were heard or taken down by any one. The outlaws are reported by the *State Capital* as having given a warning:

All but Arkansas Tom heard the warning, and went out. He finding himself alone upstairs when the firing began, punched a hole in the two sides of the roof with his Winchester, and this with the two windows, one at each end, gave him command of the whole town, the building in which he was being the only two-story structure.¹⁸

Some wonderful shooting and daring deeds were done on both sides but this man out of sight in the building did most of the shooting that killed and wounded. He picked his man whenever he wanted to, and for one hour from 10 to 11 o'clock, poured shot down on the besieging party, and on citizens who appeared. Bill Dalton had his horse shot from in under him twice, the last time by Marshal Shadley. Shadley, thinking he had killed him, turned his attention to the fire from the hotel, when Dalton walked to within easy shot and poured four shots into Shadley, killing him. He then took the saddle from his horse and placed it on another and rode off. Bill Doolin, after getting away some distance, turned his horse and poured shot after shot back into the marshals. He saw Dynamite Dick fall off his horse (perhaps wounded) and riding back toward the fight, picked him up on his horse. Four men rode off on three horses.

The names of the outlaws as learned are: Bill Dalton, Bill Doolin, Bitter Creek or George Newcomb, Arkansas Tom and Nibs or Tulsa

¹⁷ He had as many names as occasions called for evidently. "Dan Wiley," "Bill Raidler", but the Ingalls folk who knew him say he was George Grimes.

¹⁸ Citizens still point out that holes punched in the roof would have given him only sights at the stars.

Jack. The names of the marshals' posse as learned are: John Hixon, Shadley, Houston, Dick Speed, George Cox, Jim Masterson, Jenson, Henry Keller, Hi Thompson and Doc Roberts.

Arkansas Tom kept the marshals at bay until 4 o'clock in the afternoon when he made a proposition that if he was promised protection from mob violence and not to be put in chains he would give up.

He said that he knew he could be taken finally, but in the meantime he would kill at least seven men, whom he had range on then. He had over eighty balls yet left. His proposition was accepted and he came down and gave himself up.

A posse of eleven men came down from Stillwater and went in pursuit of the outlaws. The marshals also followed them further.

George Ransom, the owner of the hotel in which the outlaws boarded, was arrested and this morning brought to Guthrie on a charge of harboring the robbers. There will be more arrests of citizens, it is said, on the same charge.

But two days following, the same paper had a further account, after the marshals returned to Guthrie. In this account they brought Arkansas Tom and a group of Ingalls' citizens charged with aiding the outlaws. The charges were evidently not sustained as all returned home later. One of the citizens of Ingalls who was taken as far as Stillwater, was released there when Marshal Nix saw him in the group. It was Lon Case who is now in his ninety-first year. The writer talked with Lon and asked him what they did to him. He replied that when Marshal Nix saw him at Stillwater he asked him what he was doing there. "You tell me, Marshal," replied Case. Thereupon Marshal Nix, who was well acquainted with him, said: "Go on home. We don't want you." Although in his 91st year Lon is feeding a bunch of cattle this year on his farm west of Ingalls and has lived a long and useful life in that community as one of its best citizens, respected and admired by all.

Among those taken to Guthrie according to the newspaper account were:

John Nix, Sherman Saunders, George Perrin, one Murray, Mr. and Mrs. George Ransom, two boys named Case belonging to one family, and two of the same name belonging to another They are sure that Bill Doolin and Bill Dalton were shot and another man was undoubtedly killed A doctor from Stillwater was called out the night following and tended the wounded bandits. He was sworn to secrecy and will not reveal their whereabouts, but he says that Bill Dalton will never again hold up a train. Along the road of the robbers' retreat they stopped several times at farm houses to get buckets of water to bathe their wounds The story of the fight and the preparations of the capture, if told at length, would be very romantic. It is no easy thing to capture five men, outlawed and having a lot of citizens protecting them The marshals and posse made a bold attempt to capture the most dangerous band of robbers in the territory, and when in a few days the death of one or two more is ascertained, the citizens will appreciate their efforts.



(Photo 1958 by Jack McGinty)

Three old-timers at the Battle of Ingalls Monument. Left to right on horseback: Lon Case and Billy McGinty. Standing in center: Gib Shaw who was one that counted the holes in the saloon just after the Ingalls' Battle, in 1893.

This event probably marked the beginning of the end of bandit gangs in Oklahoma, and as such is an important historical marker date in the events of early Oklahoma.¹⁹ And at Ingalls the citizens still remember and each year they meet to commemorate the event, gathering around the monument "erected to the wrong crowd," as one old man remarked when shown the monument which stands at the head of a street in old Ingalls at the highway. It is but the natural resentment held by some toward a group of marshals who descended upon a quiet town, and loosed a barrage of death in which citizens suffered more than the outlaws, who escaped, for the most part, unharmed.

¹⁹ An official Oklahoma Historical Marker erected under the direction of the Oklahoma Historical Society and the State Highway Commission, with the caption "Outlaw Battle," is located at the intersection of State Highways 51 and 101, one and half miles west and two miles north of Ingalls, stating that the notorious battle with the outlaws there, in 1893, "was a climax in bringing law and order to Oklahoma and Indian territories."—Ed.

COMMITTEE REPORT
BUTTERFIELD OVERLAND MAIL

*To the President and Board of Directors
Oklahoma Historical Society*

Pursuant to the instructions of the President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, this Committee has completed its work in retracing across the state of Oklahoma the route of the Butterfield Overland Mail, and in selecting the sites for the location of the permanent markers to be placed by the Society at the site of each of the twelve stage stands or stations located within Oklahoma.¹ All of the markers have now been installed and the locations of the stations, mute and faded symbols of one of the most important contributions of their age to the growth and progress of America, are permanently marked and recorded for posterity.

The verdure, profuse along the Overland Mail route across Southeastern Oklahoma, ranged in color from the deep green of the soft pine to the yellowish green of the ash. The two tone leaves of the dogweed, elm and oak were revealed in the light May breeze. The planted trees and shrubs at certain of the old station sites were in bloom. In the warm sunshine the sweet blossom of the privet, locust, bois d'arc and catalpa gave a heavy fragrance to the air. The wild honeysuckle and blackberries were starting to bloom which added a sweet spicey odor. The valleys were covered with a lush growth of blue grass, made even more fragrant by the tall sweet clover. The springs and streams were flowing full as a result of the recent spring rains.

The Committee assembled the morning of Saturday, May 17, 1958, at the Goldman Hotel, Fort Smith, Arkansas. We reached Walker's station somewhat later than Ormsby on the first west bound Overland Mail, as described by him in 1858:

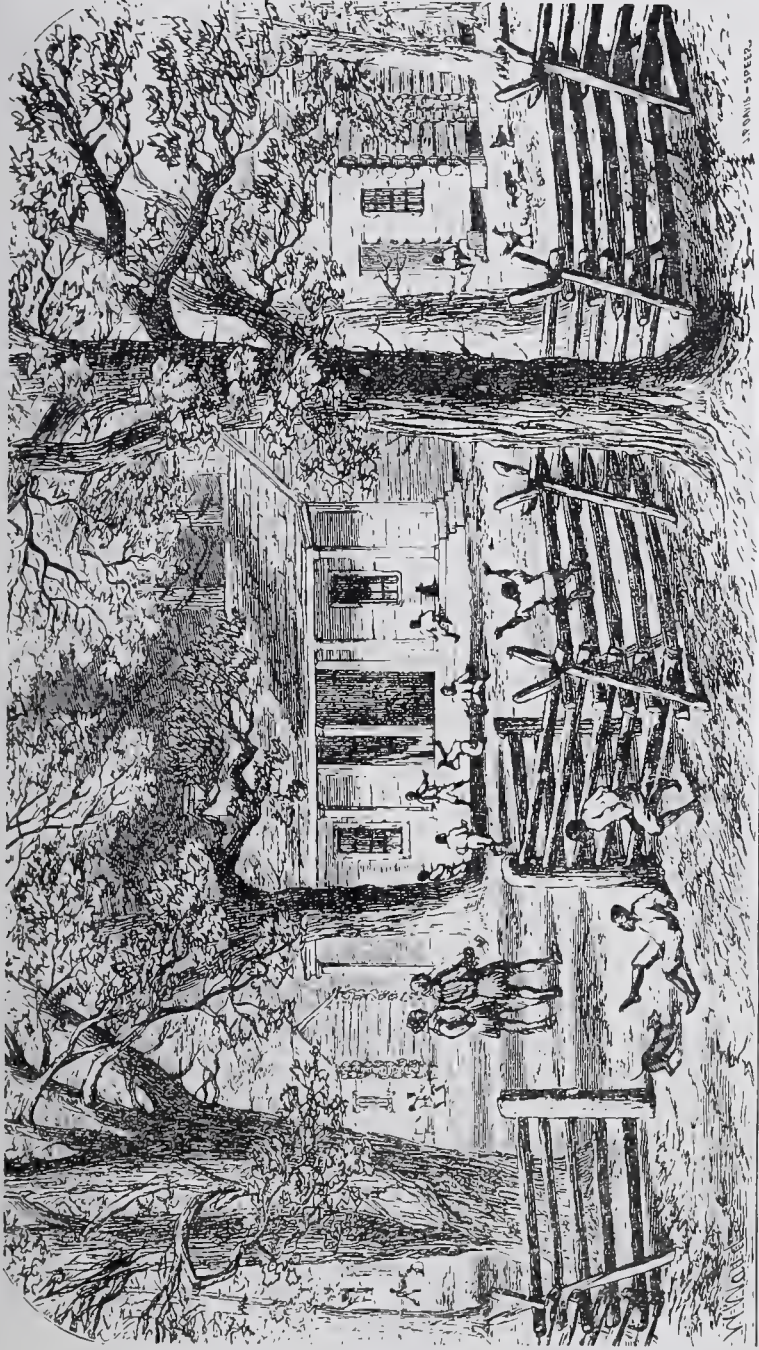
¹ The Committee used as reference:

- a. State Highway Commission, county maps, scale ½ inch—1 mile.
- b. USGS, Topographic maps, various quadrangles.
- c. Photostats of original township surveys, from field notes, General Land Office (now Bureau of Land Management) Washington 25, D. C.
- d. Ormsby, Waterman L., *The Butterfield Overland Mail*, edited (The Huntington Library, 1942).
- e. Pumpelly, Raphael, *A Journey by Stagecoach to Arizona, 1860*.
- f. Conkling, Roscoe P. and Margaret B., *The Butterfield Overland Mail, 1857-1869*. (The Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, 1947.)
- g. Special notes kept by Mildred Frizzell, on the tour of the Trail in May, 1958.



(From original photograph)

Waterman L. Ormsby, Correspondent, *New York Herald Tribune*, only through passenger on first Overland Mail Stage St. Louis to San Francisco, 1858.



(From old Print of sketch by William Waud, Davis & Speer, Engravers, 1859)
Earliest known scene of Walker's Station, Overland Mail Route, the residence of Gov. Tandy Walker, Choctaw Nation, visited in 1859 by Albert D. Richards, a journalist, and described by him in his book, *Beyond the Mississippi* (New York, 1867.)

We forded the Arkansas at Fort Smith, and for the first time since our departure from St. Louis, I had an opportunity to sleep in the wagon, wrapped up in blankets and stretched on the seats. It took some time to get accustomed to the jolting over the rough road, the rocks, and log bridges; but three days' steady riding without sleep helped me in getting used to it, and I was quite oblivious from the time of crossing the Arkansas to the first stopping place in the Indian Territory about sixteen miles from the river, which we reached about daylight.

Our caravan left Fort Smith, Arkansas, going south on Towson Street. We crossed the Poteau River eleven miles south on Oklahoma State Highway 9. Four miles west of the Poteau River bridge, we turned north on a gravel road that soon joined the old (former U. S. 271) black top road to Skullyville. At Skullyville we turned right on the gravel road past Oak Lodge School House and the former Walker home site and on down the hill to the station spring on the left side of the road.

U. S. Highway 271 has been rebuilt farther south than its former location, and the old route, leading northeast from Spiro and passing just south of old (original) Skullyville cemetery, is now disused and is hard to recognize as a former major route.

We parked the motor cars near the spring, and drank at the same spot so much enjoyed by the countless passengers riding across the Choctaw Nation via Overland Mail stages a century ago. The site of the Walker's Station is in the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 18-9N-26E and on property once occupied by Governor Tandy Walker. The old house (formerly the Choctaw Agency, 1832) later known as the Ainsworth place, burned on September 12, 1947. The local citizens still carry water from this spring. For their convenience, the water has been piped out of the old spring house nearby to the side of the road. Both the spring and springhouse are almost entirely concealed from view by the dense growth of underbrush and wild honeysuckle which was in bloom and very fragrant.

Nothing remains of the old Walker Station but scattered foundation and chimney stones. The site of this station is easily located by climbing a barbed wire fence and walking about two hundred feet up the hill from the spring.

From the position of the foundation stones it is easy to visualize the exact position of the log home. Much landscaping remains, which has grown rank and dense from lack of care. Many iris and other bulbs were in bloom, marking the location of paths, walks, borders and gardens. The dense growth of spirea indicates the front of the house. Close to the old foundation are the remains of a cellar and cistern, built perhaps at a later date.

About 150 feet east of the site appears the deep cut trace of the old road. It lies northeast-southwest, which corresponds to the direction across Section 18 of the "Texas and Fort Smith Road" shown on the General Land Office survey, dated November 2, 1898, and traverses the present county road at a point east of the Walker home site.

The setting of the Walker Station is one of the most beautiful of all the Butterfield sites in Oklahoma. The ground is covered with a lush growth of blue grass. The tall and stately hickory, walnut, oak and elm trees give it an aura of dignity and importance. The huge trees in the yards of the surrounding home sites indicates that this was once a thriving and important community.

The Committee selected as the location for the marker, a site due east of the Walker location, on the west side of the county road, and in the center of the slight depression created by the trace of the old road. As installed, the marker is situated directly in the center of the Butterfield Trail.

Governor Walker is buried in the original Skullyville cemetery, southwest of his home. The grave is marked with an ornate white marble tombstone. The cemetery, except for a few small areas that have been cleared for recent graves, is almost completely grown rank with dense blackberry bushes, wild honeysuckle and weeds. The marble tombstone of Gov. Walker bears the square and compass of the Masonic Lodge, with these words below:

*Gov. Tandy
Walker*

Born

Oct. 14, 1814

Died

Feb. 21, 1877

Behold and see as you pass by,
As you are now, so once was I,
As I am now you too will be,
Prepare for death and follow me.

The county road upon which the marker was located is the one running to the north towards the site of Fort Coffee and the empty grave plot of Choctaw Agent Francis Armstrong, but the Committee did not visit those historic locations. The Oklahoma Historical Society historic markers for Fort Coffee and for Choctaw Agency (Nos. 20 and 15 of the *Historical Marker* brochure) have been moved by the State Highway Commission to a commanding spot on the north side of new U. S. 271, due south of Skullyville.



Walker's Station as it appeared in 1932. This was the Old Choctaw Agency erected 1832.



Entrance to Walker's Station site in 1958; only shrubbery remaining on the grounds, the house having accidentally burned in 1947.

From the cemetery, the Committee returned to U. S. 271, and proceeded west, through Spiro, to the junction with U. S. Highway 59, and there turned south. The Butterfield route passed through Spiro and proceeded southwesterly, north of the present Kansas City Southern tracks, and crossed U. S. 271 about at the intersection with State Highway 31. Mr. and Mrs. Conkling state:

From Walker's to Trahern's, the next station seventeen miles southwest, at present-day Lathan, LeFlore County, the mail road passed south of what is now the town of Spiro and followed a general southwest course toward the crossing on Coal Creek. Highway 271 is established close to the line of the old road over a portion of this distance. Two miles southwest of Walker's two early established roads branched west from the mail road. One led to Edward's Trading Post, and the other was the road followed by Marcy to the Sansbois River. Near Coal Creek crossing, the mail road curved sharply west and then southwest again and passed over a low divide to Buck Creek, ten miles from Walker's. There was a station known as "Buck Creek" at this point on a later established mail route. From Buck Creek crossing, the road continued on southwest to the crossing on Brazil Creek, a tributary of the Poteau, and then on to the crossing on Nigger Creek, near its confluence with Brazil Creek.

The remains of the stone jail for Skullyville County Courthouse, Choctaw Nation, stand in the extreme southeast corner of Section 12-8N-24E, and the Trail crossed just a few hundred feet south of this location. From the Courthouse, the Trail appears to have proceeded due east for about two miles in the flat between Coal Creek and Buck Creek, before resuming its course to the northeast. Between Spiro and the Courthouse site few, if any, definite traces of the Trail may be found today.

The route of the Trail across Township 8 North 24 East is known with exactness, and is shown as the "Old Ft. Smith and Stringtown Road" on the township survey of the General Land Office, November 15, 1898.

The Committee proceeded south on US 271 to Shady Point, and there turned west on the section line road. At the end of the sixth mile, Nigger Creek was crossed on the county road bridge. Less than a half mile farther, we turned north on the section line road and proceeded as far as the Brazil Creek bridge. This present bridge is located .7 miles southwest from the old Trail crossing on Brazil Creek. Returning south .4 mile from the Brazil Creek bridge is a lane leading to the east. This is the road leading to the Brazil school, now abandoned, and the site of the D. R. Welch place and cemetery. At the end of the lane, after it has completed a turn to the north, and marked with a hedge of huge bois d'arc trees is the site of the once busy settlement of Brazil. A few hundred feet west of the lane is the grave plot of D. R. Welch. Several hundred yards northeast of the cemetery plot is the Nigger

Creek crossing, and on beyond is the ford across Brazil Creek. The postoffice at Brazil was established April 11, 1879, with Mrs. Phebe Welch as postmistress. Until 1895, the office was officially known as Brazil Station.

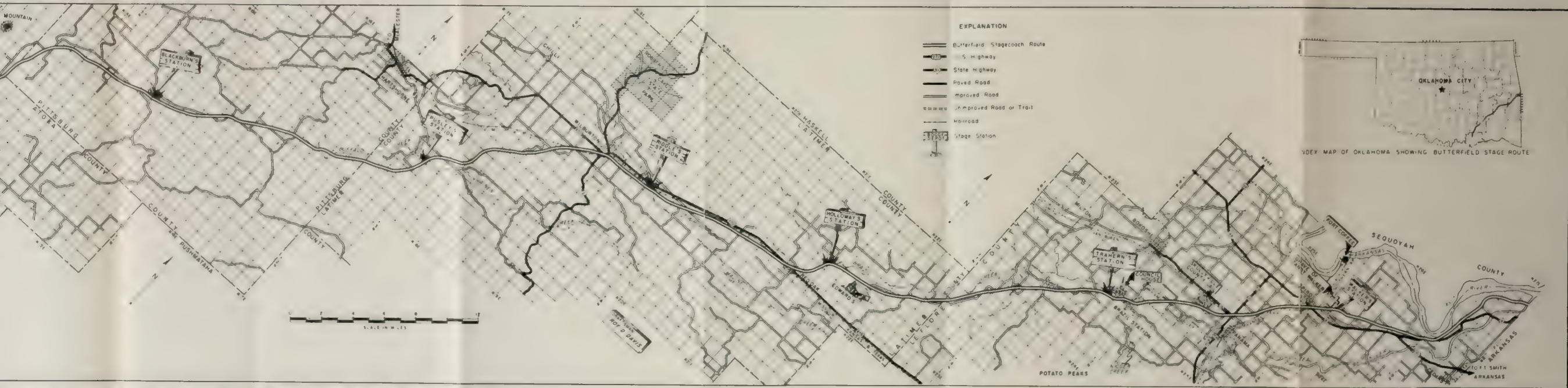
Brazil Station was on several important roads, and while not an official station on the Butterfield Trail, was important from the early beginnings. The site of the stables and corral is near the present well, still in use. We were told of two elderly men living in Poteau who remember as boys in 1903 climbing to the attic of the old Welch house where they saw mail bags and old mail or dead letter files. Mr. and Mrs. Conkling write:

Approximately a quarter of a mile southwest from Nigger Creek crossing is the site of Brazil station, established by Washington McDaniel and Charles M. James, to whom the right had been granted by the General Council of the Choctaw Nation, in October, 1858, to operate and maintain a tollbridge on Brazil Creek. This project was, no doubt, planned in anticipation of increased traffic over the road. Ruins of Brazil station may be seen a short distance north of the old house and store of D. R. Welch, built in 1868, at the present settlement of Brazil. This was a station stop on the local mail lines which operated over this route before and after the Civil War, but it is not reported on the Butterfield Mail itinerary. From Brazil the old road maintained a southwesterly course for three and a half miles to Trahern's, at Latham.

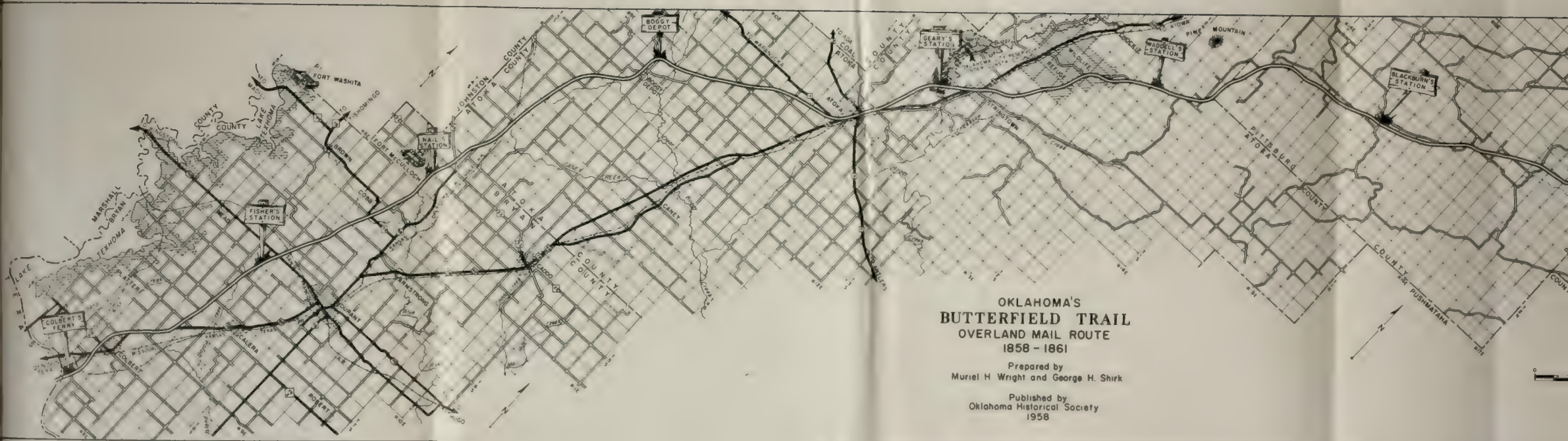
From the section corner south of Brazil, the county road proceeds two miles west and south, and passes westerly through the site of Latham. At Latham is the location of Trahern's Station, or "Council House." The present county road is the approximate Butterfield route from Brazil Station to Trahern's. The Latham community is located in SW $\frac{1}{4}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 32-8N-24E. On the north of the present road is an abandoned store building, and the farm home of Everett Bledsoe. On the south is the modern farm home of Leon Watson. Most of the surrounding countryside has been cleared for small scattered farms.

The Butterfield Station appears to have been in the field a few hundred feet east of the Watson home. Mr. and Mrs. Conkling state:

From all that can be learned it appears certain that the station was at the original Trahern home located about three hundred feet south of the old Council House. This old executive building is recalled as a large well-built log structure which occupied a site approximately two hundred feet northeast of the present Latham store. The tract that the original Trahern home and station occupied is now a cultivated field. The evidence in favor of the location is the significant fact that the Trahern family burying ground is located in a copse of small trees on the eastern margin of this tract. The location is further confirmed by a later mail route itinerary which gives "Council House" as a station at this point on the route instead of Trahern's, and the distance from Walker's is given as seventeen miles, the same as the distance given between Walker's and Trahern's on the Butterfield Mail itinerary.



location of 12 Butterfield Overland Mail stations in Oklahoma, and other sites along the route



OKLAHOMA'S
BUTTERFIELD TRAIL
 OVERLAND MAIL ROUTE
 1858 - 1861

Prepared by
 Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk

Published by
 Oklahoma Historical Society
 1958

Map showing location of 12 Butterfield Overland Mail stations in Oklahoma

The Trahern grave is in the grove of large trees in the east portion of this field. It reads:

James N. Trahern

Died

Mar. 29, 1883

Aged

65 Years

The cemetery continues for some distance east into the adjoining pasture. The Committee interviewed Mr. Everett Bledsoe, who came to the Latham community in 1908.² He stated that a former owner had removed the grave stones of the cemetery and placed them in a large pile near the Trahern grave, in order to cultivate the field; and that the entire area between the Watson home and the Trahern grave had once been a cemetery.

At the northeast corner of the field, and just inside the fence, is the site claimed to be the grave of Chief Musholatubbee. It is nineteen feet south of the right of way, and is a large mound marked by a row of stones. The large size is attributed to the belief that the horse of the Chief is likewise interred. Nothing remains of the horizontal stone slab or other grave structure, just the large mound of earth and loose stones.

About 500 feet north is Council House Spring. It is in a large grove of trees, and is flowing copiously. Its stone walls are covered with ferns. The spring is often mentioned in contemporary writing, and is a certain aid in double checking the site. About 100 feet away is the site of the old Council House, marked by a few scattered foundation and chimney stones. Mr. Bledsoe related that as a boy, the older settlers would align their sight upon the grave of Musholatubbee by sighting a certain way through the windows and doors of the Council House.

The Committee selected a site for the marker, on the south side of the county road, due north of the Trahern grave site and just north of the fence from the Musholatubbee grave.

The route from Trahern's to the next station is described by Mr. and Mrs. Conkling:

The nineteen-mile stage between Trahern's and Holloway's, the next station, pursued an almost direct course southwest. Wild Horse and Dog creeks were forded much the same as now. One mile and a half southwest of the present settlement of Walls, the road crossed the boundary line of LeFlore and Latimer Counties, and a mile southwest of present Fowlerville, it crossed the 35th degree parallel,

² Committee members were grieved to learn of the death of Mr. Everett Bledsoe on May 22, 1958, a week after this interview at Latham.

and approximately two and a quarter miles from this point, it crossed the 95th degree meridian, and then on three and three quarters miles to Holloway's.

The Committee proceeded west from Latham .2 mile and then turned south to the section corner, and after a turn again west, we followed the county road south and west as it proceeds to Walls community, following generally on the south the course of Brazil Creek. Dog Creek Settlement (Sec. 11-7N-23E), a Negro community of descendants of Negro freedmen, is reached about three miles from Latham, and about five miles farther the Walls community is reached just before the county road crosses into Latimer County. We continued west along the south valley of Brazil Creek. The gradient of the creek at this point is only 3 feet to the mile, so small one is hardly conscious of climbing. This is also a good reason for locating the Overland Mail Road here because of the easy grade to the southwest.

From here the road climbs slowly from 400 feet at Latham to 600 feet at Edwards' Store, located (NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 15-6N-22E) at the north entrance to The Narrows (elevation over 650 feet). Edwards' Store, in the community of original Red Oak, is located in a beautiful spot. As Edwards' place is approached, one is conscious for the first time of climbing, as the road swings southwest and south around the northwest limb of the Savanna sandstone hills.

Approaching from the east, the old original log home of Thomas Edwards is clearly visible on the rise to the north of the present county road. This is the only original building located along the Overland Mail in Oklahoma that is standing today. It is located on a limb of the hill that is approximately 30 feet above the present county road. We parked along the road, and walked up the hill some 200 feet to the house, as there would not have been room for all three cars to turn around in front of the house.

As we walked up the hill, the old hitching post of bois d'arc was noted. It was probably near this old hitching post that the Overland Mail coaches would stop, while the passengers would walk up to the Edwards' home where they were served good food. This would also give the horses a chance to blow for the pull up over The Narrows, as from here on the gradient is much steeper. Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Hardaway occupy the old place. Mr. Hardaway's father was a nephew of Mr. Thomas Edwards.

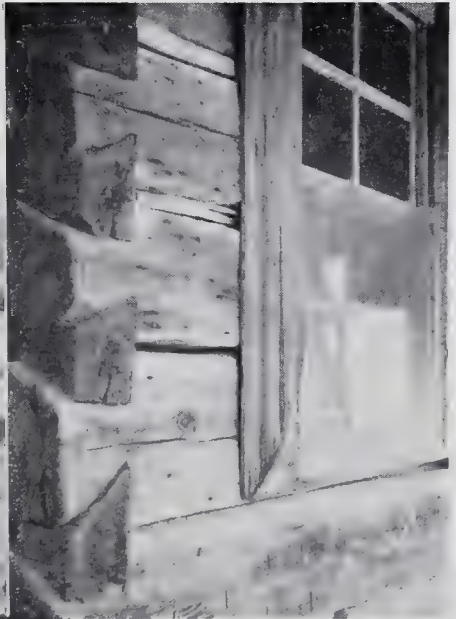
It is hoped that this old house with its century of historic associations may be preserved. It is long and low. Two sections are connected by an open breezeway. A long low porch across the full length of the front of the house. The porch is



Edwards' Store in 1958.



The old chimney built without mortar, Edwards' store.



Carefully notched and fitted logs of the original house, Edwards' Store.

floored with wide boards, well rotted along the outer ends. A crude log railing, waist high, and log posts, outlines and helps to support the structure. The low sloping roof is covered with corrugated tin recently added. A wire fence defines a clean, bare and neat lawn.

As the visitor enters the gate and approaches the house, it is realized this is no farmer's ordinary shack. The minute one steps on the well packed yard from long years of use, and the steps leading to the porch (which are giant cut slabs of sandstone), it is sensed that this is a very old and important building. Upon seeing the great, hand hewn logs of the original home on the Butterfield Mail, at once one knows this is the real thing. Perhaps the most convincing features of all are the great stone chimneys at either end of the home. The stones are so perfectly fitted on the earliest chimney that they laid without mortar.

The original appearance of the home will have to be imagined because of the later additions, but the vista from the house, of the wooded Brazil Creek valley and hills beyond, to the north is one of majesty. It has not been appreciably altered. It is an everlasting joy to the visitor of Edwards' store, and looked to us much as it looked to Ornsby, assuming he wasn't too tired to look!

The beautiful flowering shrubs and early roses were in full bloom, which added to the beauty of this historic and scenic spot.

From Edwards, the Committee continued west and south on the county road for five miles until we reached the western entrance of The Narrows. Here was located Holloway's Station. From Edwards' to Holloway's, the present county road follows exactly the Butterfield route, and in many places, the depression and trace of the old Trail may be seen lacing back and across the present roadway. The original route is shown as "Red Oak and Peach Orchard Road" on the survey of Township 6N-22E, General Land Office, November 15, 1898. The mouth of The Narrows is in SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Section 24-6N-22E, and the location of Holloway's was somewhere in the Quarter Section.

Of Holloway's Station, Mr. and Mrs. Conkling write:

William Holloway is believed to have been the original proprietor of this station. Unfortunately, nothing definite has been learned concerning his identity or antecedents, further than that in October, 1858, "One William Holloway was granted the privilege to establish a toll-gate near his home in The Narrows." The toll-gate was probably located a short distance above the station at the foot of a spur of the mountain up over which the mail road made a steep ascent and descent. A well preserved section of the old road at this point may still be seen. It was probably at this same location that Jack McCurtain established his toll-gate, eight years later in 1866.

The present county road climbs slowly from the west into the saddle forming The Narrows. Portions of the Butterfield road may be seen plainly where it crossed and laboriously climbed the grade. The great effort that went into building the stage road is evident when the enormous slabs of sandstone that were used to support the road are examined. The grade of the present road is much less than the Butterfield, and in order to reduce grades, present engineering has made deep cuts and fills obliterating sections of the Trail. Portions of the stage road appear to rise as much as one foot in twenty.

The site of Holloway's is believed to be indicated by the remains of an early cemetery, of which only a few markers remain. The graves are high above the county road, on its south; and it appears that modern highway construction has cut away part of the grave plots. The principal remaining stone reads:

Dolphus C.

Son of

H. S. & J. S. Jackson

Born

Sept. 23, 1874

Died

Oct. 18, 1875

The Committee thinks that the site of the Station was probably within two hundred feet west of the grave plots. This is partially determined by the fact that a site farther west would be in terrain which would render impractical the operation of a toll-gate facility.

Remarkably, while the Committee was gathered at the cemetery site, a deafening roar from the air disclosed the passage of a flight of B52 jet bombers. The aircraft were very near the ground and by an odd circumstance passed directly and immediately overhead. Each member of the Committee remained in awe of this incredible contrast in man's progress in transportation within the short span of one century.

As the location for the Holloway Station marker, the Committee designated a favorable site on the north side of the county road, across from the cemetery plot, and on a flat caused by removal of road building materials.

We then followed the county road southwest to present Red Oak, where we resumed travel due west on U. S. Highway 270. The Butterfield Trail directly crosses Red Oak, and then swings sharply west, following the direction of U. S. 270. On

the route of the Trail from Holloway's to the next station, Mr. and Mrs. Conkling write:

From Holloway's to Riddle's, the next station sixteen miles southwest, the mail road pursued a winding course southward through The Narrows and on through what was later known as the Jack McCurtain place. The improved highway leading through The Narrows to present-day Red Oak, branches from the mail road a short distance from Holloway's Station site and follows a course farther west. . . . One of the best preserved abandoned sections of the old mail road on this portion of the route was observed here traversing a dense oak wood on the McCurtain place. In spite of the undergrowth it still appeared like a straight narrow aisle through the forest, where the bark on the trunks of some of the larger trees displayed old scars, long healed, that were scored by the hubs of many passing vehicles. The old road could be distinctly traced following up the hill past the McCurtain station site, and on still farther up towards The Narrows. This was on November 3, 1930. It was announced that on the following day work would commence on this very spot, felling the fine trees and clearing the land preparatory to planting, thus effectually effacing this relic of the old thoroughfare that has been a trail followed by man as long as he has inhabited the region.

About one mile east of the present town of Red Oak, Highway 270 and the tracks of the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad cross the abandoned mail road where it curved west after traversing the old McCurtain place. From this point the road continued on a course almost due west, south of the present main lines of traffic, to Riddle's keeping along the edge of the southern foothills, that border the narrow valley now traversed by the railroad and highway. Both Little and Big Fourche Maline creeks were crossed. Portions of the old road may still be traveled over this section. The present country road as it approached the Big Fourche Maline, which is established almost on the old road, becomes a good graded highway. An iron bridge now spans the stream near the old crossing which may be seen about seventy-five feet north of the bridge.

The west course of the Overland Mail, south of Red Oak, (likewise true of other places) was no accident. It was determined by the geology of the country. From a point three miles south of Red Oak to a point south of Wilburton, there is a line of east-west hills, rising to a height of over 850 feet, that would have been real "horse-killers" to cross. The Overland Mail in choosing this route took advantage of the fine engineering work of nature and crossed these hills at a point where Fourche Maline Creek had laboriously cut through the hills, as it flows northeast to the Poteau River. At this point, "In October, 1858, John Riddle was among the number to whom a toll-bridge concession was granted by the Choctaw Council. His charter specified a toll-bridge on Fourche Maline Creek near his home," according to Conkling.

We proceeded west on U. S. 270 to Lutie. From Lutie to Wilburton, the highway has been rebuilt recently, and it is easy for the traveler unwittingly to pass Lutie, as the new route is several hundred feet north of the former U. S. 270.

A short distance east of Lutie, on former U. S. 270, a county road continues due east and crosses the tracks of the Rock Island Railroad. This county road must be followed to reach the site of Riddle's Station. Immediately after crossing the tracks, driving east, the Lutie Cemetery is seen on the north of the road. A short distance farther east is the county road crossing of Fourche Maline. The location of Riddle's toll bridge was about 100 feet north of the present bridge. Between Fourche Maline and the Lutie cemetery is the Riddle family cemetery and the site of Riddle's Station (Center Sec. 12-5N-19E). Some 500 feet north of the county road may be seen the scattered stones of chimneys and other debris of the Riddle place. The well, partially filled, is a dense brush thicket. "The original Riddle home was probably a large log house with stone chimneys, typical of the time," writes Conkling.

On the hillside west of the site is the family cemetery. One stone reads "Isabella Riddle, died Jan. 25, 1875, age 34 years" and another, "Elsie Riddle, died Feb. 1, 1875, age 29 years." The grave of John Riddle is not indicated.

This station was located in a beautiful and bountiful valley, almost knee deep in blue grass, with unlimited water from the Fourche Maline, and with coal seams exposed a short distance south of the station.

The location for the Riddle's Station marker was designated by the Committee on the north side of the county road, south of the Riddle cemetery, and adjoining the present gate into the field containing the location of the Riddle home.

From Lutie to Wilburton, the tracks of the Rock Island are superimposed on the trace of the Trail, and the road laces back and across, often only a few feet away from the tracks. The concrete highway is only a few yards farther to the north. Mr. and Mrs. Conkling write regarding the Trail from Riddle's:

From Riddle's to Pusley's, the next station, sixteen miles southwest, the mail road followed a westerly course, south of the present town of Lutie, and the city of Wilburton and south of the line of the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad, for a distance of three miles and then curved in a more southwesterly direction toward the present little settlement of Higgins in Latimer County. From Lutie to a point about one mile northeast of Limestone, a distance of about six miles, Highway 270 and the railroad parallel the course of the old road. From this point, the country road leading in the direction of Higgins, which branches from Highway 270, is close to the line of the old road, and where, farther on, it makes the ascent of a rough and somewhat steep hill, it appears to be established in the track of the old road. On the summit of the hill, which is one of a low range of hills over which the mail road led, was a little settlement known as "Mountain Station" post-office, twelve miles southwest from Riddle's, that probably owed its existence to the establishment of the Butterfield Mail.

West of Wilburton, at a corner just west of Eastern Oklahoma A. & M. College, we turned south into a county road. A short distance, this road turns to the southwest and parallels on the north the Rock Island. After a mile, the road turns again to the south, crosses the tracks, and resumes its course to the west for 1.6 miles. We then turned again south, and proceeded on the county road to Higgins. This road rises sharply over a divide, and at the crest, elevation 920 feet, is the site of Mountain Station. For several miles on either side of Mountain Station, the present road is closely contiguous to the Trail, and in many places the ruts and depression of the old road may be seen within a few feet along the roadway.

Mountain Station cemetery (NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 9-4N-18E) is still in use, and is in excellent condition. The graves of Melvina Pusley and the sons of J. J. Oatman, as well as many others, were noted. Iris were in full bloom and the cemetery is an inspiration of rustic beauty. The view south from Mountain Station is one of grandure; and across the valley of Gaines Creek are timbered hills rising to a height equal to the "pass" containing Mountain Station.

Upon reaching Higgins we were fortunate to locate Mr. James W. Green (Star Route, Wilburton), the gentleman who was residing in the Pusley place when it was visited by Mr. and Mrs. Conkling. He had been of great help to them, and notwithstanding the passage of the intervening years, he was of equal value to the Committee. He accompanied us to the site of Pusley's Station, the most difficult at present to find unaided.

The road has been rebuilt west from Higgins to Harts-horne, with a new modern bridge over Gaines Creek. The Trail crossed this highway about one mile west of Higgins School. At the west approach to the Gaines Creek bridge is a county road leading to the south. On this road we proceeded south $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the dim almost impassable section line road (between Sections 24 and 25) leading east. This is the present route to the Pusley site. This trail fords Buffalo Creek and terminates at the entrance to the old Pusley place. The trace of the Trail crosses north-south at the road end, and may be seen plainly as it proceeds across the pasture comprising the northeast corner of Section 25-4N-17E.

Pusley Station (NE $\frac{1}{4}$ NE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 25-4N-17E) is described by Conkling:

Pusley's Station was at the home of Silas Pusley, the location being in Latimer County, in Sec. 24-25, T4N, R17E. Part of the old Pusley farm occupied a large triangular tract of comparatively level land lying between Gaines Creek on the north and Pusley Creek on the west, which was traversed by the mail road in a general northeast-southwest direction from the crossings on the above-named

creeks. The original Silas Pusley home and station was a large double log house of which nothing remains but two crumbled heaps of stone chimney foundations. The ruins may be seen slightly over a quarter of a mile southwest of the Gaines Creek crossing, and about one hundred feet west of an old log house now standing on the east side of the old road, the former home of Eastman Pusley, and now occupied by Mr. J. W. Green. The Pusley property is now owned by Mr. J. T. Stalling of Hartshorne, Oklahoma.

The place is now vacant. Mr. J. W. Green, mentioned by Conkling as residing in the house, stated he now made his home with his children. He also advised that the present owner is John Watts.

We spent considerable time at the former home of Eastman Pusley. It is an excellent example of the station type home. Being unoccupied it was readily inspected. The stage station site is about two hundred yards west of the present house which was built about the time of the Civil War or soon afterward. The care with which this home had been constructed indicated that this community of Pusley's was built by discerning and intelligent people. This log house, now vacant and exposed to the ravages of weather and stock, is built in the typical station style of two sections connected by an open hall or breeze-way. The beautiful hand hewn logs are visible where the cheap recent clapboards have fallen off. The door and window frames are about twelve inches thick. Porches which are rotting away run the full length of the east and west sides of the house. The south section of the house is divided into two rooms by a light partition, apparently added much later. The fireplace in the front room facing the trace of the Overland Mail is in a good state of repair. The north room was filled with hay. Since this is an excellent example of the Butterfield Station home (even though it was built after the War Between the States), the Committee urges that it be preserved as an historic home. The open hallway had been closed with a partition waist high, and screened in for a summer room. The beautiful old tree to the north of the house and the adjoining well were other indications of a once important house. The well was built waist high out of carefully cut and fitted slabs of sandstone and adjoined the house at the south corner of the west or front porch. The wire fence that outlined the yard was covered with early spring roses and fragrant honeysuckle in full bloom.

We recalled the young Indian boy who aided Ormsby at Pusley's home one hundred years ago. Mr. Ormsby wrote:

At Pussey (a station for changing horses, where an Indian of that name lives), about sixty-six miles from the river, I met an old Indian who owns seven hundred head of cattle and a pretty daughter, and is willing to give the half of the one to the white man who will marry the other. Here I gave an Indian boy a paper of tabacco to



Traces of the old turnpike road at The Narrows, located northeast of Red Oak. Photo, 1932.



(Photo, 1958)

This old log house built soon after the Civil War stands near the original site of *Pusley's Station*, and is the same type house as the Stage Station of 1858.

give me water enough to wash my face, put on a blue flannel shirt, and considered myself pretty well on my way out West.

This rich and productive black soil, that pastured Mr. Pusley's stock one hundred years ago, is now feeding abundantly Mr. Watts' cattle.

The Pusley burial plot is about two hundred feet southwest of the location of the old Silas Pusley home. Among others in this cemetery are the graves of the Pusleys and the Kings. There is also an old Indian type grave covered by a small house now falling in decay.

The Committee designated a spot on the south side of the primitive section line road along the north of Section 25, in the center of the depression made by the old road, as the location for the Pusley marker.

We returned to the ford on Buffalo Creek, and after regaining the north-south county road, turned left, to the south, and almost at once again crossed Buffalo Creek. From this point we proceeded southwest across Townships 3 North, Ranges 16 and 17 East, on a private road traversing the ranch of Moses Watts. This road follows very closely the trace of the Trail.

The next seventeen miles to Blackburn's is through some of the most interesting and difficult geology in the state of Oklahoma. This northeast-southwest valley through the Ouachita Mountains was made possible by the great Ti Valley fault. This fault swings in a great semi-circle across southeastern Oklahoma from Arkansas on the east to Bryan County on the southwest where it disappears under younger cretaceous rocks. Isolated as this valley is, by nature of its geologic structure and lack of subsequent culture, gives the feeling of riding over the actual old stage road. In fact, at a number of places it is possible to drive over portions of the original mail road. Since this area is for the most part one large ranch, there is only a private ranch road or trail throughout most of the distance. There are no cars, no houses, no telephone lines, no electric lines nor signboards for the longest distance of any place along the Overland Route in Oklahoma. The trail winds up along Buffalo Creek (draining to the northeast) slowly rising to a divide near the middle of the valley of Elm Creek (draining southwest). Beautiful wild flowers and a lush growth of grass carpet the floor of this valley.

It is urged that the visitor proceed from Pusley's to the next station site via Hartshorne; and that the route through Ti Valley not be utilized without prior permission from the ranch owners. The gates on the ranch road are locked, and by returning to the Gaines Creek bridge west of Higgins, thence to Hartshorne, and south to Ti, time will be saved and convenience assured.

The ranch road passes the site of Buffalo Station, located in SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 7-3N-17E, and established in 1867. Conkling writes:

About two and a quarter miles slightly southwest from the Watts place is the ruin of the old Pulcher log house, which stood directly on the old road. The Pulchers were among the early settlers in this region. About a mile southwest from the Pulcher place is the site of Buffalo Creek station, a station that was established on a later mail route.

Nothing remains today of Buffalo Station, although the exact site is known. The Committee recommends that a marker similar to the Butterfield markers be placed at the exact site as soon as possible.

The ranch road comes into the Hartshorne-Ti county road three miles west of Buffalo Station, and there we turned left, south, to Ti. Somewhere near Ti, on Sunday, September 19, 1858, Mr. Ormsby had the experience he relates:

On Sunday night, when within a few miles of Blackburn's Station, I thought all hopes of a quick trip for the first overland mail were at an end. We had taken a splendid team of horses at the last station, had been spinning over the rolling prairies at a rapid rate: our route for some hours had been over these hills with their gradual elevations, and our driver had urged his team pretty well. We now came to a patch of woods through which the road was tortuous and stony. But our driver's ambition to make good time overcame his caution, and away we went, bounding over the stones at a fearful rate.

The moon shone brightly, but its light was obstructed by the trees, and the driver had to rely much on his knowledge of the road for a guide. To see the heavy mail wagon whizzing and whirling over the jagged rocks, through such labyrinth, in comparative darkness, and to feel oneself bouncing—now on the hard seat, now against the roof, and now against the side of the wagon—was no joke, I assure you, though I can truthfully say that I rather liked the excitement of the thing. But it was too dangerous to be continued without accident, and soon two heavy thumps and a bound of the wagon that unseated us all, and a crashing sound, denoted that something had broken. We stopped and examined, but found no damage except a broken seat, and proceeded to the station. Here a further examination, to our utter astonishment, disclosed the fact that the pole, or tongue, of the wagon was badly split. It was a mystery to me how we ever reached the station without completing its destruction. It took more time to mend it than the ambitious driver saved. Moral—"Make haste slowly." After repairing damages we got started again and traveled the next 18 miles in two hours and a quarter.

From Ti we proceeded west on the Pittsburg-Ti county road for five miles to the junction with the section line road leading south to Pine Top School. For several miles west from Ti, the present road follows closely the trace of the Trail. The Trail entered Township 2 North 15 East in the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 3, and crossed Brushy Creek at a ford in the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 5. Regarding the locality, Conkling states:

As early as October, 1858, a small settlement known as "Brushey", evidently named for the near-by flowing creek, existed in the vicinity that may have included Blackburn's within its borders. In a thick wood southwest of the station site are a number of old graves. This is said to be old Brushey Cemetery. In 1858, one J. G. Blackburn kept a store at Brushey, and judging from the numerous consignments of merchandise to him at that place, waybills of which were found among the records of the old commission house of O. C. Wood and Company of Fort Smith, he carried on an extensive trade for that day.

The Committee was able to locate the all but obliterated remains of the Brushey Cemetery (SE $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 5), with the trace of the Trail clearly discernable just north. One grave stone, legible in part, reads:

Mora Bell

Wife of (?) Bell

DIED

April 12, 1888

GOOD BYE

The section line road (between Sections 4 and 5) leading south from Pine Top School crosses a well defined trace of the Trail a few hundred yards north of the south line of these two sections. Conkling gives this description of Blackburn's Station:

Blackburn's Station was at the home of Casper B. Blackburn, in old Jack's Fork county, now Pittsburg County, the location being in Sec. 4-5, T2N, R15E. A heap of chimney stones still to be seen in a small clearing on the north side of the abandoned old road is all that remains of the old Blackburn home and station.

The Committee was unable to locate with certainty the heap of chimney stones in question, but without doubt the station was located a short distance west of the east line of Section 5. A location on the west side of the section line road leading south from Pine Top School, where the road intersects the trace of the Trail, was designated as the site for the Blackburn's Station marker.

From the marker, the visitor should proceed west along the section line road on the south some seven miles, towards Wesley. After seven miles, the county road turns south, and the total distance by motor car from Blackburn's to Wesley of thirteen miles is readily passable. The Butterfield Trail entered Township 2 North, 14 East, in the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 12, crossed Brushy Creek in the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 17, and crossed the west line of the township in NW $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 30. The present road, up the valley of Brushy Creek, with the imposing crest of Pine Mountain (El. 1253 ft.) is picturesque and full of delight. Blue spiderwort and pink

mallow added charm and color to the grass covered hills. The Butterfield route is described by Conkling:

From Blackburn's to Waddell's, the next station sixteen miles southwest, the road followed a course almost due west for about one mile to the crossing on Brushy Creek. Though this short section has long been abandoned, it is still traveled by local folk on horseback or on foot, and provides a convenient short-cut from a point east of the old crossing to the intersection of the mail road with the improved country road from Brushy Creek to Blanco.

On the west side of Brushy Creek, about one-half mile from the old fording place, is the site of J. Colbert's (Brushy Jim's) stage station, another of the post-Civil War stations on this route. The site is located on the south side of the present country road, a short distance east of a dilapidated frame house, where in a grass and weed-grown patch, the remains of a flagstone floor may be seen. These slabs may have formed part of the floor of an old blacksmithy dating back to the early occupation of the region by the Choctaws, or they may have been laid by "Brushy Jim" himself, for it is known that he operated a smithy in connection with his station. The spring which once supplied the station still spouts a small stream almost in the middle of the improved country road which runs by the site a little north of the line of the abandoned road.

For a distance of about five miles west of J. Colbert's station site the old road is difficult to trace through the fenced land. Although the improved country road follows the same general direction as the old road, it is established around fenced sections over this distance and farther north than the original road which followed along the north back of Brushy Creek, through a little valley between Pine Mountain and a low lying range of hills to the south. It kept close to the foothill of this southern range and then curving southwest toward present-day Wesley, maintaining a course close to the foothills bordering the valley on the east. This valley through which the old road followed over this distance is so narrow that it is probable that when the road was heavy on one side, the mail drivers would seek the higher and drier ground on the other side, a practice which was followed on many other sections of the route.

The improved country road between Wesley, Kiowa, and Pittsburg, which intersects the country road leading to Brushy Creek and Blanco, about five miles north of Wesley, is established from a mile to a mile and a half west of the mail road over this distance.

Standing on the abandoned mail road, about three quarters of a mile northeast of Wesley, is the ruin of old Schmallfield log house, the home of Frederick Schmallfield, a native of Germany, who settled and married in the Choctaw Nation after the Civil War and was later appointed postmaster at Brushy. It is said that this was a station on a later mail route. At the northern entrance of the present little settlement of Wesley, the old road crossed Nolitubbe Creek, a branch of McGee Creek. The old fording place may still be seen. From Nolitubbe Creek, the country road which passes through Wesley and continues on for a distance of about three miles to the old Beale place, believed to be the location of Waddell's station, is the approximate route of the mail road.

About three miles west of Wesley is the site of Waddell's Station (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 10-1N-13E). Known as the old Beale place, it is the present farm home of Glen Elliott (Rt. 2, Box 69, Pittsburg). The well northeast of the present house is the



'Old graves in "Brushey Cemetery," near Blackburn's Station.
Photo, 1932.



(Photo, 1932)

Waddell's Station. Original building, of logs covered with boards in picture above, has been torn down and another house built on the site. The well in front of the house, not shown in this view, can be seen today.

original, and all indications are that the Blackburn building was located about 40 feet north of Elliott's home. A well defined trace of the Trail leads northeasterly from the barnyard. The old house was extant when visited by the Conklings:

The Beale log house stands on the north side of the mail road, which at this point is an improved country road. Very little has been learned of the Beale family who once occupied the place. Numerous authorities claim that the house is the original Waddell's station building, having been built several years before the Civil War. The house is certainly a very old one and its location on the road corresponds to the distance of sixteen miles from Blackburn's. If the old Beale house is not the original station home, it certainly stands on or very near the original site.

The house is a well preserved example of the pre-war type of log house to which period it appears to belong. It is a one-story, double log house with an open hall. The dimensions of the two main rooms are approximately twelve by thirteen feet, and the hall is nine feet wide. The two outside chimneys are constructed of partly dressed slabs of limestone. The exterior of the house has been weatherboarded, and an addition has been attached to the rear. The present stable buildings, nearly opposite the house, stand on the site of older structures.

About 100 yards east of the Elliott place, and just south of the present roadway is a rank, overgrown and deserted cemetery plot. It contains about fifteen well defined graves, each with the usual stone border. None is marked with an inscription of any type. Local legend tells that seven outlaws were hanged at Waddell's shortly after the War Between the States and the seven plots in a row are the graves of these individuals. The Committee doubts if such care would have been taken to provide individual graves, each bordered with selected stone, for such characters!

The Committee selected as the location for the Waddell's marker a site on the north of the roadway, east of the Elliott homeplace, and under a large bois d'arc tree.

For the first three miles after proceeding west from Waddell's, the county road closely follows the Trail. The modern road then goes directly west to join U. S. Highway 69 at the Sub-Penitentiary whereas the Trail continued in a more southwesterly course entering Township 1 South 12 East in the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 2. The road winds west through hills of Arbuckle limestone, Ordovician in age. This outcrop of Limestone, a prominent formation of the Arbuckle Mountains to the west, was brought to the surface in this area by a series of complicated faults. It is surrounded by Pennsylvanian sandstones and shales, normal to this region.

A short distance south of Stringtown a new road has been constructed leading west from U. S. 69 to the site of the Atoka Reservoir, now under construction by the City of Oklahoma City as a future water supply. The Trail crossed North Bogy

Creek at the center of Section 19-1S-12E. This entire area has been cleared in connection with the construction program, and will be inundated by the reservoir.

Mr. Ormsby records that it required three hours to traverse the thirteen miles from Waddell's to Geary's Station. It is evident why Waddell's and Geary's were closer together than were the other stations. The road was required to cross the hills of Arbuckle Limestone, or to go miles out of the way around to the north. At least an hour would be required for a four-in-hand to pull a celerity wagon over this one limestone hill.

Geary's Station was at the home of A. W. Geary. (Center Sec. 19-1S-12E) Geary had been operating a toll-bridge on North Boggy at this point, and his home was a well-known stopping place for travelers. Of the crossing, Conkling writes:

The old crossing on the North Boggy at Geary's was maintained at that point throughout the life of the Butterfield Overland on the Southern route, and was never removed to a crossing erroneously designated as the Butterfield road crossing, located a mile and a half south of Stringtown, and a short distance east of the railroad bridge spanning the North Boggy at that point. The road, and the crossing erroneously reported, probably did not come into use until about 1871-1872, or about the time of the coming of the railroad.

The site of Geary's was the only one not visited by the Committee. Several overlooks have been built along the road leading to the dam site, and the entire bottom ground where once Geary had one hundred acres in corn has now been altered by construction operations; and as the site will be inundated, no purpose would be served by locating it with exactness.

The Committee agreed that the Geary's Station marker should be located on a high point or vista, overlooking the future lake body, with the added words on the tablet "site inundated." In this way the marker location could be suitably incorporated into future beautification programs for the lake shore. Arrangements have been completed with Morrison Cunningham, Esq., Director of Public Works, Oklahoma City, to install the marker at an agreed location after heavy construction is completed. The City of Oklahoma City has agreed to assume the costs of erection, and the Committee expresses appreciation to Mr. Cunningham and the other municipal officials for their interest in this project.

From Stringtown, the Committee proceeded through Atoka on U. S. 69, and then went west on State Highway 7 to the crossing on Clear Boggy Creek. The route of the Trail from the North Boggy crossing to the next station, Boggy Depot, is all but obliterated and is now obscure in every detail.

Today's traveler should turn south on the county road entering State Highway 7 at the west approach to the Clear

Boggy bridge. At that point is the Historical Society Marker (No. 31 of the marker series) for historic Boggy Depot.³

Boggy Depot was the largest and most important settlement on the Butterfield route between Fort Smith, Arkansas, and Sherman, Texas, in 1858. It is located sixteen miles southwest of Geary's Station on Clear Boggy Creek, in Section 1-3S-9E, and two miles north of present New Boggy Depot.

The Overland Mail road traveled around the northwest edge of the Ouachita Mountains, from a point south of Wilburton, where it crossed south over the Choctaw Fault (the northwest boundary of the Ouachita Mountains) to an area approximately three miles west of Stringtown, where it again crosses the fault to the west. The Choctaw and associated faults disappeared beneath the cretaceous plains a few miles south of Atoka. The fossiliferous clays and shales of Cretaceous age were deposited up over the southern edge of the Ouachita Mountains.

Again the Overland stage road takes advantage of nature and swings south through the narrow opening made during cretaceous time between the Arbuckle Mountains on the west and the Ouachita's on the east. This opening was formed by the encroachment and deposition of the Cretaceous sea covering the southeast end of the Arbuckles and the southwest and south sides of the Ouachitas. Early northeast-southwest trails crossed through this opening between the two distinct mountain barriers.

After turning south from State Highway 7, a drive of three miles brought us to Boggy Depot State Park at the site of the old town. Much work has been done in clearing this important location and marking the sites of the various buildings and stores. It is to be much regretted that the fine home of Rev. Allen Wright (destroyed by fire March 28, 1952) is not yet extant, thus adding much to the quiet dignity of this memorial State Park.

A postoffice had been established at Boggy Depot November 5, 1849, with William R. Guy, the proprietor of the Boggy Depot hotel, as postmaster. Other than Walker's, this was the only Butterfield stage station in Oklahoma where the location coincided with a postoffice. This office was the mail connection for Fort Washita and provided postal service for many miles of surrounding region. During the period of the Butterfield operation Boggy Depot was the Capital of the Choctaw Nation, and the National Council met here.

³ See ref. "Mark of Heritage," brochure published by the Oklahoma Historical Society, 1958.

The Trail entered Boggy Depot from the east, and well defined outlines may be seen between the State park and the crossing on Clear Boggy. The Committee designated a spot in the center of this trace, at the extreme eastern limit of the park, as the location for the Overland Mail marker.

From Boggy Depot State Park we proceeded south along the section line road across Sandy Creek, passed by present Boggy Depot, and drove south five miles. We then went east on a section line road to U. S. Highway 69-75. From Boggy Depot, the Trail went west a short distance and then curved sharply south. It entered Township 4 South 9 East in the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 4 and crossed the south line of the Township in the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 32.

We continued south on U. S. 69-75 to Caddo, and there used the improved county road to Kenefic. The Historical Society marker for Fort McCulloch (No. 67 of the marker series) is at the junction with Kenefic-Durant road. For those desiring to travel more closely to the trace of the Trail, section line roads may be used without difficulty between Boggy Depot and Kenefic by turning west five miles south of New Boggy Depot; proceeding west two miles; and then south to Kenefic. This will insure the visitor a close proximity to the Trail for the entire distance between Boggy Depot and the next stage station at Nail's Crossing on Blue River.

Nail's Station was the home of Joel H. Nail, and was located in the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Section 7-5S-9E. Large piles of brick and stone mark the location, which is in a field on the high ground east of Blue River. It is described by Mr. and Mrs. Conkling:

Originally it appears to have been a one-story-and-a-half double log house with an open hall. The dimensions are: forty-two feet long by twenty-six feet wide. The exterior has been clapboarded, the open hall closed to form additional room, and modern window and door frames have been added. The tall outside chimneys constructed of red brick with the exception of some recent reinforcing of the foundations are the original chimneys. It is said that the bricks used in their construction were the product of Charles Sparrow, an English brick mason who molded and burned red brick at Old Boggy Depot. A shelter porch evidently extended along the front of the house, judging from the foundation stones still in place. The interior of the house has been modernized and otherwise altered to such an extent that the homely charm which the old rooms must have possessed is gone. Modern frame barns and out-buildings occupy the same locations as the old log structures of mail coach days. In front of the house near the abandoned road are the foundation ruins of a store house which stood there in the early days. It was a log building forty feet wide by fifty feet long. The house and out-buildings were at one time inclosed by a fine wooden fence with tall oak posts some of which had ornamental tops of original design. Entrance to the front yard from the mail road was over a high stone stile. Altogether the old Nail home in the hey-day of its existence must have presented an air of distinction and comfort.

From this description it is not surprising then when Ormsby reports:

Fourteen miles from Boggy Depot we came to Blue River station where a very heavy bridge is building for the company. Here I saw a copy of the *Weekly Herald*—a distance of six hundred miles from St. Louis, and nearly seventeen hundred from New York, overland, and twenty-five miles from any Post Office. I thought the *Herald* was appreciated there.

From the Nail house site, we walked down to the river where the traces of the ford across the fossiliferous limestone bed of the stream were clearly visible. That must have been the scene of great excitement for the driver of the Overland Mail stages as well as the passengers. With four fresh horses, eager to go, and a fairly steep river bank to descend, the driver must really have had to ride the brake and pull leather to avoid a catastrophe.

East of the site of the Nail place is the Nail family burial plot (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 8-5S-9E). This small but impressive cemetery had been allowed to return to a jungle of trees, wild vines, climbing roses and iris, all in bloom. Apparently it had not been cared for in years. The graves marked with large (ten feet tall) marble head stones were enclosed by an iron fence. The shaft of Joel Nail is inscribed:

J. H. Nail

Born

Mar. 21, 1825

Died

May 9, 1867

The Committee selected a site amid the stones and bricks comprising the ruins of the Nail home as the place for the marker. The location being on private property, written permission has been obtained from the owner, Mrs. Vivian Locke. The Committee expresses appreciation for this courtesy. It is hoped that the tract upon which is located the Nail burial plot may be acquired by the Society and maintained as a memorial to the contribution of this pioneer citizen, J. H. Nail.

From the grave plot, the Committee returned to State Highway 48 and proceeded south to Durant. From Durant we drove west on U. S. Highway 70. On this highway, 2.6 miles west of the Frisco Railroad underpass, is the boundary line between the Chickasaw and the Choctaw Nations. It may be readily identified by today's visitor by the electric transformer station on the south side of the pavement. At this point, a county road leads to the south. This road is directly upon the old boundary line. One mile to the south is the site

of the next Butterfield stage stand, Fisher's Station. Of Fisher's, Mr. and Mrs. Conkling says:

The name of Fisher is another name added to the list of Butterfield station-keepers of whom neither their names nor identities can be recalled by the oldest inhabitants interviewed. Although the name of one Osborne Fisher was found among those identified with the region, and where it is certain that some one named Fisher was living in this stopping-place on the route in 1858, there was no evidence to prove Osborne Fisher the occupant. Because the station ceased to be known as Fisher's after the Company abandoned the route in 1861, and the old name of Carriage Point restored, it has been suggested that Fisher may have been in the Company employ and temporarily installed there.

The location is immediately behind and in a portion of the barnyard of the farm home of A. O. Cross (Star Route, Durant, Okla.); and is in the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 34-6S-8E. By circumstance, this spot was only a few yards east of the National boundary, and slightly more than a mile north of the Initial Monument (NW $\frac{1}{4}$ NE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 10-7S-8E) placed on Island Bayou to mark to the point where the boundary left that stream and proceeded due north. Island Bayou does not in fact reach Fisher's Station, as mentioned by Conkling. Rather, the site is on Mineral Bayou, which flows easterly from Fisher's, through Durant, and then northeasterly to drain into Blue River. Thus, the divide between the Island Bayou and Blue River watersheds is on the high ground just south of the station site.

Mr. Jess Robinson, of Durant, a descendant of Dixon D. Durant, met with the Committee at Fisher's, and identified with exactness the various landmarks and locations. The site is generally known as Carriage Point, and the name Fisher's was never in local use after the Civil War. A postoffice was established at the site March 23, 1869, and was in operation for less than two years.

Prominent and well defined mounds of sod cover the fallen chimneys and the remains of other structures. Immediately east of the Cross barn are many scattered stones and other rubble, giving ample evidence of the one time location of several buildings. Two large wells, each lined with stone, appear in good condition. Immediately north of the site, are a few scattered grave stones indicating the location of a small cemetery. The largest remaining stone, approximately four feet in height, reads:

Thomas L. Rider

Died

Aug. 17, 1863

Aged

19 ys. 4 m. 14 ds.

A larger cemetery, known as the Carriage Point burial ground, is located about one half mile southeast of the Fisher's Station site.

The Committee selected a favorable location in the front lawn of the Cross place as the marker location. Mr. and Mrs. Cross expressed interest, and offered to mow around the marker and keep it tidy.

From Fisher's the Trail progressed south to the crossing on Red River. It entered Township 7 South Range 8 East in the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 3, and crossed the south line of the township in the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 33.

We returned north to U. S. 70, doubled back through Durant, and south on U. S. 69-75 to Colbert. On this highway, Island Bayou is crossed one mile south of Calera, and Colbert's was the only Station located in the Chickasaw Nation. The Trail entered Township 8 South 8 East at almost the identical spot where Highway 69-75 is now located, and for the next mile and one-half the two roads are almost superimposed. The pavement then turns due south on the section line between Sections 7 and 8, whereas the Trail swung several hundred yards farther west in its gentle curve to the River, thus passing along the west limits of present Colbert.

Approximately one mile south of Colbert we turned east on the county road, the road to the old Red River toll bridge and to Kemp. This road crosses Sandy Creek a few yards west of the Trail, as the latter was located east of the small creek running north from Sandy Creek, and thus the mouth of this small tributary is between the present roadway and the Trail.

Mr. and Mrs. Conkling describe Colbert's:

From a description furnished by Holmes Colbert, a son of B. F. Colbert, the original home built in 1848, and which became a Butterfield station ten years later, was a single-story, double log house. The dimensions of the two main rooms were approximately sixteen by eighteen feet and the open hall between, twelve feet wide. There was a sleeping room attached to the rear of one room and a dining room attached to the other. The kitchen was a separate log building with a large fireplace, connected to the dining room by a shelter roof. The chimneys on each end of the main building were built of red brick and stone. The house was constructed of the best material obtainable and the workmanship represented the best of that day.

The location is south of the premises (tenant occupancy) owned by Dan S. Owens. Substantial ruins remain, and the old storm cellar is in good preservation. North of the cellar, the clear outlines of the rectangular foundations are readily discernable. The General Land Office Township survey, dated October 31, 1871, shows Colbert had several hundred acres fenced and almost the entire southwest quarter of Section 31

is marked "Colbert's Field". On this survey, the Colbert home is shown in the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 31.

Ormsby describes in detail life at Colbert's Ferry:

Sometime in 1848, the Colbert family established themselves on the Red River in the Chickasaw Nation, and by the year 1853, B. F. Colbert had become a wealthy and influential citizen. He established his ferry in that year and five years later in 1858 it was the point of crossing on the Red River selected by the Butterfield organization.

A ride of three hours brought us to Colbert's Ferry on the Red River, the boundary between Texas and the Indian Territory.

We arrived here on Monday, the 20th at ten minutes to ten—being altogether thirty-four hours ahead of time to this point. But here was a difficulty. There was no team to carry on the mail. Arrangements had been made to put it through in quick time on the regular day, but it was not expected a day and a half in advance. Indeed, there was nothing left to do but to put up with it. We had, by several mere accidents, been enabled to obtain our relays so far in advance, and now we could afford a little loss of time. We had a good dinner and I took advantage of the opportunity to write you—the first chance off the wagon since Thursday, the 16th.

Mr. Colbert, the owner of the station and of the ferry, is a half-breed Indian of great sagacity and business tact. He is a young man—not quite thirty, I should judge—has a white wife—his third. He has owned and run this ferry five years and has had excellent patronage from its central location, being about midway between Preston and the one below.

Mr. Colbert evinces some enterprise in carrying the stage of the company across his ferry free of charge in consideration of the increased travel which it will bring his way. He also stipulates to keep the neighboring roads in excellent order and has already done much towards it. He had a large gang of slaves at work on the banks of the river cutting away the sand so as to make the ascent easy. His boat is simply a sort of raft pushed across the shallow stream by the aid of poles in the hands of sturdy slaves. The fare for a four-horse team is a dollar and a quarter and the net revenue of the ferry about \$1,000.00 per annum. He thinks of either buying a horse boat (he must be referring to the Van Buren ferry propelled by a horse on a treadmill) or having a stout cable drawn across the river so that one man could manage the boat. I suggested to him to buy a piece of the Atlantic cable, but he was of the opinion that it would be too costly. He owns about twenty-five slaves and says he considers them about the best stock there is as his increase is about four per year. He has a fine farm and raises considerable corn—how much I do not know. At his table I saw sugar, butter and pastry—the first two of which have been exceedingly rare articles since I left Fort Smith and the last of which I have not seen anywhere else since I left Fort Smith. He is nearly white, very jovial and pleasant and altogether a very good specimen of the half-breed Indian.

We had determined after giving our horses a brief rest to proceed with them until we met the other team coming back from Sherman, but just as we were about starting with them the expected team rode up and all haste was made for our departure over Colbert's Ferry into Texas. We crossed the wide, shallow and muddy Red

River on one of Mr. Colbert's boats and saw quite a large number of his slaves busily engaged in lowering the present steep grade up the bank.

A few feet east of the site of the Colbert home is the family burial plot. The stone of Benjamin F. Colbert is substantial and impressive. It reads:

B. F. Colbert

Born Dec. 18, 1826

Died March 11, 1893

Amiable and Beloved Husband Farewell
Not on this Perishing Stone
But in the Book of Life
And in the Hearts of thy Afflicted Friends
Is Thy Worth Recorded

The Committee designated a favorable location in an attractive, level and advantageous tract on the south side of the county road, at Mr. Owens' place, as the site for the marker.

A few hundred yards north of the marker site, the county road forks and leads to the abandoned toll bridge across Red River. This bridge had been constructed by the Red River Bridge Company, as assignee of the license originally granted to Colbert. In 1931, a free bridge (present highway span) was completed, and the "bridge war" that ensued, with the use of the Oklahoma National Guard and the Texas Rangers, was an exciting incident of local history. The new bridge was opened Labor Day, 1931. Since that date the old span, gradually deteriorating and now with rotted timbers, has been used only by an occasional citizen not wishing to walk or drive the extra mile to the present highway, and will soon fade into the limbo of history side by side with the ferry that it, in its turn, had superseded.

Walking onto the disused bridge, from this vantage point we looked down Red River to the site of Colbert's Ferry. It is quiet and peaceful now; and time and erosion have lowered the gradient of the north bank. The spot is now deeply shaded by tall and solemn cottonwood and elm trees. Impressed with the tranquility of the site, the Committee tried to recreate in our minds the shouting, confusion and excitement that must have prevailed as the whip for the Overland Mail brought his celerity wagon, pulled by a four-in-hand, down that steep bank to the waiting ferry to be pulled across the Red River, by Negro slaves, into Texas and towards the unknown West.

The Committee reports that all of the markers, except Geary's for the reason indicated, have been installed and are

now in service at the sites designated by the Committee. Each marker, except for the special wording for Geary's, has an identical text. On a bronze tablet are the words:

Butterfield Overland Mail

Site Of

(Name of Station)

Here was located a stage stand of the Butterfield Overland Mail Route, under Act of Congress, March 3, 1857. First mail stage arrived here in September 1858 enroute to San Francisco. Service continued until the outbreak of the War Between The States

Oklahoma Historical Society 1958

The plaque has been cast onto a solid concrete pedestal, which in turn has been set with reinforcing bars into a large sunken concrete base. The Committee employed Bill J. Hall, of Oklahoma City, to install the eleven markers. He accompanied the Committee when the sites were selected and knew of its wishes with regard to installation details. He has performed his task with care and dispatch; and the Committee expresses appreciation to him for the interest he took in this project.

The Committee reports that its assigned mission has been accomplished, and it respectfully asks approval of its work and that it be discharged.⁴

Respectfully submitted

(signed)

Vernon H. Brown
John D. Frizzell
Mildred Frizzell
James D. Morrison
Lucyl A. Shirk
George H. Shirk
Muriel H. Wright

September 1, 1958

⁴ Accompanying the Report published here is an additional volume comprising all of the maps used by the Committee. The maps have been bound into a permanent folder and have been placed with the map-collection in the Library of the Society. In addition, the Committee has adopted as a supplement to the above report the Special Edition of the *Press Argus*, Van Buren, Arkansas. This special edition contains as feature articles all of the important reference material on the Butterfield Mail service.—Ed.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE "MARK OF HERITAGE," BROCHURE AND A NOTE ON
NATHANIEL PRYOR IN WESTERN HISTORY

The Oklahoma Historical Society is receiving many compliments on its handsome brochure "Mark of Heritage" recently published, giving brief histories of each of the 131 sites that have been marked by official Historical Markers in Oklahoma. A letter from Mr. Will C. Robinson, Secretary of the South Dakota State Historical Society at Pierre, to Mr. Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary, says:

I have just received and had an opportunity to look over your fine brochure setting out the location and content of your Historical Marker program. The brochure is most attractive and informative, and I certainly am going to read all the Historical Markers as I feel that they, to a great extent, must set out the high lights of Oklahoma history. I note that Nathaniel Pryor came to rest in the state.

"Mark of Heritage" lists the Historical Marker to Nathaniel Pryor, and points out the site of his trading post and grave nearby, about five miles southeast of the City of Pryor, Oklahoma. Mr. Robinson adds further notes in his letter: "Pryor who as a sergeant with Lewis & Clark appeared to have been a cut above the ordinary soldier." When Pryor conducted the party taking the Mandan chief, Big White (*Shehaka*), back to his people after the Lewis and Clark Expedition returned from the Pacific Coast in 1806, he had a bloody fight with the Aricaras near Grand River, South Dakota where a historical marker stands on the site today. Mr. Robinson again observes, "Incidentally, it cost more to get Big White back to his Mandan kinsmen than the entire Lewis & Clark journey had cost."

Six items of importance are pointed out at the site, listed on the South Dakota monument: (1) the stops both in ascending and descending the rivers by Lewis and Clark, 1804-1806; (2) Nathaniel Pryor's fight in 1807; (3) the final return of Big White by Manuel Lisa and Pierre Chouteau, Jr., in 1811; (4) William Henry Ashley's fight with the Aricara in June, 1823; (5) Gen. Henry Leavenworth's punitive expedition in August, 1823, when the Aricara's power was broken; (6) the Atkinson-O'Fallon treaty party in 1825 when the first review of U. S. troops in South Dakota was held on the site. The item that pertains to Pryor on the South Dakota monument is set out below:

HERE ON SEPT. 3, 1807

ENSIGN NATHANIEL PRYOR

ATTEMPTING TO RETURN BIG WHITE,
MANDAN CHIEF TO HIS PEOPLE WAS
STOPPED AND HAD 13 CASUALTIES IN
THE FIRST BATTLE WITH THE INDIANS
IN SOUTH DAKOTA.

THE BATTLE OF THE WASHITA
An Indian Agent's View

The Battle of the Washita touched off a wave of acrimony, charges and counter-charges between the adherents of the strong punitive policy, lead by the military on one hand, and the "peace policy" advocates on the other. There is no doubt that the military held the detested "Indian ring" in almost as much ill repute as the Indians themselves. Applying the term "Indian ring" glibly and loosely, there were areas of uncertainty as to just who or what constituted the members of the ring in the minds of the professional military, and it seemed almost as if anyone disagreeing with their concept of harsh treatment, even extermination, of the Plains Tribes, qualified for the sobriquet.

Congress lent an ear to both factions, and several investigations, resolutions and hearings ensued. By Senate resolution of December 18, 1868, the Secretary of the Interior was "requested to send to the Senate any information in the possession of the Department in relation to the hostile or peaceful character of the Indians recently killed or captured by the United States troops under the command of General George A. Custer, and to inform the Senate whether said Indians were, at the time of said conflict, residing on the reservation assigned them under treaty stipulations; and if so, whether they had taken up said residence in pursuance of instructions emanating from the Department of the Interior."

The resolution was an ideal opening for the anti-army forces; and should have been turned by the "Indian ring" as the cue for a parade across the National stage of their side of the controversy. Unfortunately, the chance was permitted to slip by and the opportunity was lost.

On January 30, 1869 the Secretary of the Interior, O. H. Browning, replied to the Senate,¹ forwarding in satisfaction of the resolution a short memorandum from N. G. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated January 29th, in which the Office of Indian Affairs reported to the Secretary that "all the information this office has" regarding events on the Washita were two personal letters that Commissioner Taylor had received; one from J. S. Morrison, Fort Dodge, Kansas, a former Indian Agency employee, and the other from Major E. W. Wynkoop, former Cheyenne tribal agent.

Of Wynkoop, Dr. Thoburn has written:²

Although Major Wynkoop had had a most creditable record as an officer of volunteers, he had been appointed to the position of United States Indian agent from civil life. He was snubbed by General Hancock, was sneered at in the writings of General Custer

¹ Senate and House Documents, 40th Congress, Ex. Doc. No. 35, January 28, 1869.

² Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma* (New York, 1916) Vol. 1, p. 415.

("Life on the Plains" pp. 142-150), while his unselfish services passed unnoticed in General Sheridan's "Memoirs." While the "Indian Ring" and the average tribal agent may have been all that they were depicted by the proponents of the transfer of the Indian Bureau to the War Department, there were certainly no grounds for belittling the service of Major Wynkoop as systematically as it seems to have been done.

The following is Major Wynkoop's letter in its entirety:
Philadelphia, January 26, 1869.

Sir: In reply to your request to be furnished with all the information I have received relative to the battle of the Washita, I have the honor to state that all the information I have in regard to that affair has been gleaned from the public reports of the same, and in two letters I have received from Mr. James S. Morrison, who was formerly in the employ of my agency; one of his letters I herewith enclose, the other is in possession of Colonel L. T. Tappan, of the Indian peace commission.

I am perfectly satisfied, however, that the position of Black Kettle and his immediate relations at the time of the attack upon their village was not a hostile one. I know that Black Kettle had proceeded to the point at which he was killed with the understanding that it was the locality where all those Indians who were friendly disposed should assemble; I know that such information has been conveyed to Black Kettle as the orders of the military authorities, and that he was also instructed that Fort Cobb was the point that the friendly Indians would receive subsistence at; and it is admitted by General Hazen, who is stationed at Fort Cobb, that Black Kettle had been to his headquarters a few days previous to his death. In regard to the charge that Black Kettle engaged in the depredations committed on the Saline river during the summer of 1868, I know the same to be utterly false, as Black Kettle at the time was camped near my agency on the Pawnee Fork. The said depredations were undoubtedly committed by a party of Cheyenne Indians, but that same party proceeded with the Sioux Indians north from that point, and up to the time of Black Kettle's death had not returned to the Arkansas River. They have been Indians deserving of punishment, but unfortunately, they have not been those who received it at the hands of the troops at the battle of the Washita. Black Kettle's village at the time of the attack upon it was situated upwards of 150 miles from any travelled road, in the heart of the Indian country. The military reports state that the ground was covered with snow and the weather intensely cold. It is well known that the major portion of the village consisted of women and children, and yet the military reports are that they were engaged in hostilities, and excuse the attack for the reason that evidence was found in the camp that the said Indians were engaged in hostilities. How did they know that those evidences existed previous to the attack? Mr. Morrison states that there were *40 women and children killed*. That fact needs no comment; it speaks for itself. I do not know whether the government desires to look at this office in a *humane* light or not, and if it desires to know whether it was right or wrong to attack the village referred to, I must emphatically pronounce it wrong and disgraceful.

With much respect, your obedient servant,

E. Wynkoop
Late United States Indian Agent

And thus Major E. W. Wynkoop stood upon the calendar of the United States Senate as the sole advocate for the cause.

(G.H.S.)

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF MOUNTAIN STATION AND
J. L. DENTON, RANCHMAN

Old Mountain Station is at the top of Blue Mountain about ten miles southwest of Wilburton, Latimer County, and less than 100 yards west of Mountain Station Cemetery. The arched gate at the entrance to this cemetery is on the east side of the present county road that here parallels the Butterfield Overland Mail route of 1858-61. Mountain Station was established as a stage station after the Civil War, for stages found hard driving over the rough road on Blue Mountain. The privilege of establishing a tollgate here was granted by the Choctaw General Council on October 18, 1867, to Olasechubi, a full blood citizen of the Choctaw Nation, upon the condition that he construct and maintain a turnpike on Blue Mountain, for travelers on the road between Fort Smith and Boggy Depot. Olasechubi's house became known as "Mountain Station," the site of the house now marked by a heap of chimney stones within the shadow of a huge oak tree, near which are traces of the old turnpike. Mountain Station Spring which furnished water for the stage stand is about 100 yards south of the Cemetery. (SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 5, T 4 N, R 18 E.).

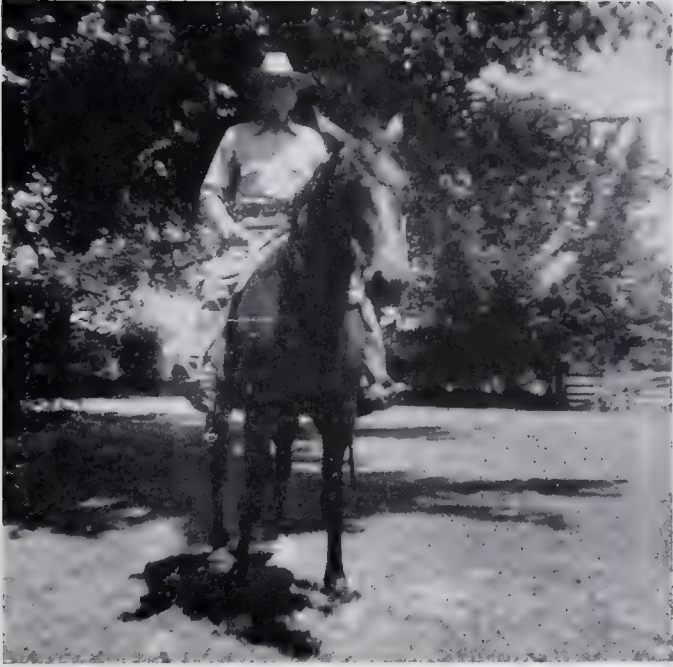
Mountain Station was operated a few years after its establishment by William Chapen, a native of Virginia, and his wife, Martha Riddle Chapen, grandparents of J. L. Denton of McAlester, Oklahoma, who has given these notes on his family. Martha Riddle was the daughter of John Riddle, a Choctaw citizen, who owned Riddle's Station, a noted stage stand in the history of the Butterfield Mail route, the site of which is near present Lutie southeast of Wilburton. Riddle's was the next stage station east of Mountain Station when traveling toward Fort Smith, the Choctaw General Council having continued the franchise for its operation in 1866, to George Riddle, son of John Riddle.

J. L. Denton, great-grandson of John Riddle, was born in 1882, three miles north of Mountain Station, and has been a prominent cattleman in this part of Oklahoma for over fifty years. Dr. Ellsworth Collings, of the University of Oklahoma, well known for his book, *The 101 Ranch*, and articles on the history of ranching in Oklahoma, has contributed the following biography of J. L. Denton:

(M.H.W.)

JAMES LAFAYETTE DENTON—THE COWMAN

James Lafayette Denton (best known as "Jimmie Denton") was born April 1, 1882, seven miles south of Wilburton, Oklahoma, on Denton Creek, named after his father. The old Butterfield Stage road, established in 1858, passed by his father's home and a stage station was located nearby.



J. L. Denton, Ranchman, great-grandson of John Riddle who owned Riddle Station on the Butterfield Overland Mail route, was born near Mountain Station.



Mountain Station Cemetery near site of Mountain Station, a stage stand after the Civil War on the old Overland Mail route.

His grandfather, William Chapen, and his grandmother, Martha Riddle (Choctaw), operated this Stage Station which was located on top of Blue Mountain, near a big spring known as the Mountain Station Spring. A short distance from the site of the Station is Mountain Station Cemetery with grave markers dating back almost one hundred years. In this cemetery is buried Mr. Denton's mother and other relatives. The stage station building consisted of a log house of two rooms with an open breezeway between them. Mr. Denton's grandmother provided meals and over-night sleeping quarters for passengers going east and west, while his grandfather looked after changing and providing the stage coaches with fresh horses on arrival at the Mountain Station.

John Denton, Jimmie's father, was born in 1851 in Texas, and came to the Indian Territory in about 1870. He married Johnnie Chapen, a daughter of William and Martha Chapen. Soon after his marriage, John Denton established his home where his son, Jimmie, was born, near Mountain Station on the old stage line road.

Jimmie Denton spent the first eighteen years of his life working on the cattle ranches of eastern Indian Territory. He soon became one of the outstanding cowboys of the Territory, and was widely known for his ability to rope wild cattle and ride untamed horses. During this time, he worked for the following Indian Territory ranches on the big cattle roundups: Ike Yancy's "DV Ranch"; J. J. McAlester's and T. J. Phillips' "Six-Bar-Six Ranch"; Dick Coleman's "C-Bar Ranch"; Joe Tannehill's "J-Box-D Ranch"; J. W. Ward's "J. W. Ranch"; H. P. Ward's "Double O Bench Ranch"; Ed Crosby's "C-Tree Ranch"; R. M. Hall's "ARK Ranch"; E. S. Bound's and T. A. Bond's "T-Bar" and "T-Bar-S" ranches; Dave Pollock's "Seven-D-Ranch"; and Tom Lankford's and Henry Marcum's "Pot Hook Ranch."

In 1900, Jimmie Denton came from Wilburton, Oklahoma, with Bob Hall to the new country where Ashland, in Pittsburg County, is now located. The country was unsettled at that time since the lands belonged to the Choctaw Nation. For the next six years, he lived with Bob Hall, and worked for cattlemen who grazed large herds on the native grasses of the unfenced country. In 1906, he married Lou White, whose father and mother had lived for several years some ten miles south of Wilburton. In about a year, Jimmie purchased, with his earnings as a cowboy, twenty acres of unallotted Indian land near Ashland, and built his first log home. Being one-eighth Choctaw, Jimmie took his allotment of 220 acres adjoining the twenty acres that he had already purchased. A daughter, Lyndall, was born in 1907, and the young parents embarked upon a long career of ranching in the new country.

Since Jimmie Denton was already an experienced cattleman as a result of his many years of work for the big cattlemen of the Indian Territory, he lost no time in getting his new ranch in operation. The surrounding country, for the most part, was still open country covered with an abundant amount of native grasses. He leased large acreage of this land for grazing his cattle, and utilized the 240 acres of fertile land, upon which his ranch headquarters was located, in the production of cattle feed for the winter months. Along with the operation of his ranch, he continued to work on the surrounding ranches for the first few years, supplementing his income by enlarging his herd and making more improvements on his ranch. During this time he worked for Crosby's "C Tree Ranch," Bonds "T Bar" and "T Bar S" ranches, and Berry's "Wagon Wrench Ranch." These were large ranches operating big herds of cattle on the open range of the surrounding country.

The Dentons, as a result of close application to their activities, prospered, and in a few years became substantial citizens of the new town of Ashland, which soon developed into a thriving trade center in the new country. Their herd of cattle increased in size each year, and the fertile farm land yielded abundant feed for the ever expanding herd. In addition to the production of cattle on the ranch, Jimmie bought and sold many cattle on the markets of Kansas City and other trade centers.

The Denton cattle brand at first was the "Cross D." Jimmie's grandmother Denton used this brand as far back as 1870. She turned the brand over to Jimmie, and he used it on his own cattle until 1904. John Denton, Jimmie's father, used the "Half Circle JD" brand on his cattle and horses. In 1904, Jimmie discontinued the use of his grandmother's brand, and selected the "Seven K" brand for both his cattle and horses. He used this brand for more than fifty years on his ranch stock. The "Cross D" brand is now the brand of Lyndall Coop, the daughter of Jimmie Denton.

After more than fifty years of successful ranching at Ashland, Mr. Denton sold his ranch, cattle, and horses in 1957, and retired to a new home in McAlester, Oklahoma. Here he now lives at 902 East Osage Street, thinking back over the many years that have elapsed since he and his young wife set up their ranch in the Choctaw country. In this new home in a strange city environment, he is like a mighty lion couped up in a steel cage for he yearns to live out in the big open spaces with cattle and horses grazing on the native grasses. The very mention of cattle and horses brings a radiant glow to his sun-tanned face, as he peers wistfully through the picture window of his home to distant ranges of long ago.

—Ellsworth Collings

BUTTERFIELD OVERLAND MAIL, 1958 IN OKLAHOMA

The participation by the Federal government in the Butterfield Overland Mail Centennial presented a forceful portrayal of a century of progress in postal service. As the original Butterfield Trail was an instrumentality of the Post Office Department, it was proper that the contribution to the 1958 celebration made by that Department be the central theme of the Overland Mail Caravan from Tipton, Missouri, to San Francisco.

The stage coach of John D. Frizzell, complete in every detail, and the Highway Postoffice coach traveling together headed the Caravan along the Trail from Fort Smith to Colbert's Ferry, thence to San Francisco, and presented dramatically the progress of one hundred years in mail transportation and postal service.

The first Highway Post Office coach was constructed by the Department on an experimental basis in 1941. It was designed to function on the highway in the same manner as the railway mail car operates on the railroad. The experiment was highly successful, and now many highway postal routes

serve the nation. The Post Office Department recalled the first coach, already with more than one million miles to its credit, back into service for duty with the Butterfield Overland Mail Caravan in 1958.

Each postoffice along the route of the Caravan was authorized to deposit mail on the coach for transportation over the Butterfield route to San Francisco. There each letter, after receiving a special back stamp showing the date of arrival in San Francisco, was dispatched to the addressee. Philatelists were advised of the special arrangement, and at each office along the 1958 route letters or covers accumulated for transportation over the Trail.

The following is a tabulation of the Oklahoma post offices that were on the itinerary, and the number of envelopes dispatched from each office over the Overland Mail Caravan:

POSTOFFICE	PIECES OF MAIL
Spiro	685
Panama	510
Shady Point	480
Poteau	2438
Wister	890
Fanshawe	597
Red Oak	589
Panola	495
Wilburton	1120
Gowen	525
Hartshorne	617
Haileyville	502
Bache	432
Dow	436
Alderson	420
Krebs	520
McAlester	1076
Savanna	441
Kiowa	540
Stringtown	537
Atoka	1121
Tushka	510
Caney	412
Caddo	606
Durant	10110
Calera	641
Colbert	981

Postmasters were authorized to apply special cachets or markings to the outgoing mail placed on the Caravan, and a number of fine philatelic items resulted. A description of the special cachets that were utilized to commemorate the event is as follows:

Poteau

A front view of a stage coach, with four horses at the full gallop, constitutes the central design, with the inscription:

The Overland Mail carried along the Rainbow Trail through Poteau, Oklahoma, now the Black Angus Capitol of the World.
Color of Cachet: Black.

Wister

A small illustration of a stage coach, with four horses at a full gallop was the central design, which was applied in black ink. In blue ink were the words: *Butterfield Overland Mail 1858-1958 Home of Lake Wister Wister, Okla.*

Red Oak

The design was a side view of a stage coach, with two teams galloping smartly toward the left of the envelope. Below the design were the words: *Red Oak, Oklahoma (Indian Territory) Stage Station.* Color of cachet: Magenta.

Panola

The design was framed by two slightly overlapping circles, with the words *Butterfield Overland Mail* in a curve across the top. In the upper circle is a stage coach, with the teams moving to the right, and in the lower circle is a modern highway mail coach. Between the two illustrations are the words *1858 Centennial 1958*, and at the bottom of the cachet is the phrase *Panola, Oklahoma, Participates.* Color: Green.

Gowen

Design identical to the description of the Panola cachet, except for the name of the post office. Color: Magenta.

Hartshorne

Identical to the Panola and Gowen cancels, except for the name of the office. Color: Maroon.

McAlester

An outline map of the State of Oklahoma contained the words: *McAlester, Oklahoma 100th Anniversary Overland Trail 1858-1958.* Color of cancel: Magenta.

Kiowa

Design identical to the Panola cancel, except for the name of the postoffice. Color of cachet: Bright blue.

Atoka

A large circle contains the words, in antique type: *Overland Mail Company Atoka Butterfield Centennial 1857-1957.* Color: Magenta.

Durant

An illustration of the log cabin mail station exhibited at the Semi-Centennial Celebration in 1957, now on display adjoining the City Hall at Durant, is the central design. Below the illustration at the words: *Overland Mail Company 1858—Fisher's Station—1958 Durant, Choctaw Nation*. Color: Magenta.

Colbert

The cachet is large and contains as the central design a stage coach with two teams on a flat bottom ferry being poled across the river. The cachet was furnished by the Oklahoma Postal History Society. The wording reads: *1858 Colbert's Ferry, I. T. The Overland Mail Crosses Red River Colbert, Oklahoma 1958*. Color: Magenta.

When time permitted, the postoffice mail coach was open for visitors. While the Highway Postoffice was in Oklahoma, more than 3,400 persons inspected the coach, and the number would have been much higher except for the tight schedule. Letters and covers mailed on the coach itself received a special postmark worded: *Tipton, Mo. - San Francisco, Calif. H. P. O. No. 1* in a circle enclosing the date. The "killer" portion of the cancel contains the words *Butterfield Overland Mail Centennial Caravan* on the left of illustrations of a stage coach without horses and a highway mail coach. All mail posted upon the coach was transported to San Francisco before release.

A fine stock of commemorative and special issue stamps was carried on the coach, and all along the Oklahoma route stamp collectors and others interested were eagerly in line to purchase at face value the special issues.

The postal coach was in charge of William D. Corell, Washington, D. C., representing the Postmaster General. Joseph Menser, special postal representative, was handling the sale of special stamps and commemoratives; and the coach driver was William R. Hatchett of the motor vehicle service.

(G.H.S.)

THE OKLAHOMA CIVIL WAR CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

The organization of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission is here reported in *The Chronicles*, by Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Department of History, Oklahoma State University at Stillwater:

Oklahoma joined a group of commonwealths in June of 1958 when Governor Raymond D. Gary appointed a state Civil War Centennial Commission. The recommendation for this action was made to Governor Gary and other state executives assembled at the Governor's Conference in Miami, Florida the previous May.

Behind the movement to organize state commissions is the National Civil War Centennial Commission recently established by an act of Congress.¹ The purpose of this new federal body is to organize and carry out an overall program of activities designed to fittingly observe the 1961 to 1965 centenary years of the War Between the States. In working out its program the National Commission will coordinate its plans with the similar and related activities of the state commissions and local civic, patriotic and historical bodies. In all this activity, cooperation with state and local groups is the keystone of procedure.

The National Commission stresses the importance of making the Centennial a new study of American patriotism, planned to give us a fresh appreciation of the bravery, sacrifice and idealism imbedded in the American character. The approach will be through a wide knowledge of the basic facts of the war. The truth will be sorted from fable and legend, and the new picture will be one of accurate history.

In realizing these purposes, the National Commission does not propose a rigid or exclusive program into which state and local Centennial activities must fall. These observances will not be directed from Washington but are to spring into being in response to the wishes of the people of the state and local areas. The Commission office, however, will be glad to assist in plans for state and local observances when its services are requested. It is equipped to answer questions concerning the history of the war and has a chronological file of events of the conflict which may merit local recognition. Cooperation is offered in bringing about the proper marking of historic sites and landmarks connected with the war. The Washington office also has a group of speakers to represent the National Commission at commemorative events to carry its greetings to local participants.

On the nation-wide level the National Commission is cooperating closely with the Department of the Interior and the National Park Service in support of the *Mission 66* program to complete the preservation and development of twenty-six Civil War battlefields, memorials and historic sites in the National Park System so that appropriate observances can be held at each as its Centennial occurs. Historical offices of the various Federal agencies are being encouraged to publish significant studies concerning the war. Special commemorative stamps in the one to fifteen cent categories recognizing important anniversaries of the war are being proposed by the Commission to the Post Office Department. The Washington office is recommending to Congress that it consider the advisability of holding one or more joint sessions in recognition of outstanding anniversaries of the war.

Several areas of activity by the National Commission depend primarily on state cooperation. The collection, cataloging and dissemination of fundamental historical materials like newspapers, manuscripts, maps and pictures, is encouraged so that these materials will be preserved and made more easily available to students. A program of publication of new research studies, the revision and reissuance of important out-of-print works, and other aids to research and writing, is also being promoted by the Washington office. Lastly, the National Commission encourages special emphasis on the war in the schools, colleges, museums, libraries and historical societies of the nation

¹ Public Law 85-305 (September 7, 1957), 85th Congress, 1st Sess. *U. S. Stat.*, Vol. LXXI, pp. 626-28.

so that a deeper appreciation of and sharper interest in the rich heritage of the war will result.²

The office of the National Commission is located across from the White House at 700 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 25, D. C., and is in charge of Mr. Karl S. Betts, the Executive Director of the Commission. The staff includes six persons, with Major General U. S. Grant, III, United States Army, Retired, serving as chairman of the Commission. The continuing activity of the National Commission is assured for the Centennial years because of an annual appropriation of \$100,000 by Congress for that period. Ex-officio members of the Commission are the President and the Vice President of the United States and the Speaker of the House of Representatives. The officers, the executive committee, and the members of the Commission total twenty people prominent in military, congregational and historical activities.

It was against this background of national preparation that Governor Gary launched the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission. Following a conference of the members of the Commission with the Governor, the organizational meeting was held in the Blue Room of the State Capitol Building on July 18, 1958, with Dr. Charles Evans of Oklahoma City, Chairman of the Commission, presiding. Dr. Charles C. Bush, Jr., of Norman was named vice-chairman along with Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer of Stillwater. The other members of the Commission, Dr. A. K. Christian of Norman and Dr. Homer L. Knight of Stillwater, were also present. Attending in addition was Mr. Elmer Fraker, Administrative Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, who is working with the Commission. On the recommendation of Dr. Evans, four districts were established in the state for organizational and planning purposes, with each member of the Commission responsible for one of the areas. Dr. Knight has the northwest section, Dr. Fischer the northeast, Dr. Christian the southwest, and Dr. Bush the southeast, with Dr. Evans serving as a coordinator.

NOTES ON THE BOUNDARY DISPUTE BETWEEN THE STATE OF TEXAS AND THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA

The Oklahoma Historical Society's Annual Tour of 1958 was reported by Mr. Henry B. Bass, of Enid, in his monthly letter addressed to "Dear Everybody" among all his friends, with some comments on the history of Southwestern Oklahoma and the old boundary dispute with the State of Texas. A letter from Mr. George I. Shannon, attorney of Amarillo, Texas, to Mr. Bass compliments him on the interesting report, and gives further notes that help to clarify the history of the controversy between Texas and Oklahoma. Mr. Shannon's brief review on this subject are here given from his letter to Mr. Bass:

The boundary dispute between the State of Texas and the State of Oklahoma had a long and interesting history which has been well documented by numerous decisions of the United States Supreme

² "Statement of Objectives" in *Digest of Action Taken by the National Assembly Convened by the Civil War Commission January 11-15, 1958* (Washington, 1958) pp., 9-11.

Court and of the Supreme Court of Texas. As was said by the Supreme Court of Texas in the case of *Wortham v. Walker* (128 SW 2nd 1138), the story "is one with an epic past, and is framed in a distinct, historical setting. The notable facts that led by successive stages to the immediate controversy, are intimately bound up in the life of five countries—France, America, Spain, Mexico, and Texas, and unfold a drama of the nineteenth century, in which rulers and statesmen acted their part and disappeared. The shift of civilization on this part of the continent from the Spaniard to the Angle-American is at the bottom of the story and illustrates the course of destiny by which one race shrinks to its own confines while the other spreads to distant lands, and carries with it the precious gift of freedom tempered and restricted by law."

By the Treaty of 1819 between the United States and Spain, re-affirmed with Mexico in 1828 and the Republic of Texas in 1838, the boundary line established between the two countries followed the course of the Red River westward to the 100th Meridian, and crossing that river, ran thence due north to the Arkansas River, all "as laid down in Melish's map of the United States" as of January 1, 1818. The same line became part of the boundary between Texas and the adjacent territory of the United States on the admission of Texas into the Union in 1845. In 1850, however, it was agreed by legislative compact between the United States and Texas that the northern boundary line of the Panhandle should run west with the parallel of 36° 30' from its intersection with the 100th meridian, and Texas ceded to the United States all claims to territory exterior to the above limits and boundaries.

Since the Treaty of 1819 merely designated the Red River by name, a dispute arose between Texas and the United States as to which fork of the river was the true boundary. The United States claimed the South Fork (Prairie Dog Town Fork, known to the Indians as "Ke-che-ah-que-ho-no,") of the Red River and Texas claimed the North Fork of the Red River as such boundary. As early as 1860 Texas asserted its authority over the territory between these two forks by creating it as Greer County; and this territory was treated as a part of Texas until 1896, when the United States Supreme Court in the case *United States v. State of Texas* (162 US 1, 40 L. ed. 867, 16 S. Ct. 725), held that the jurisdiction of Texas extended only to the South Fork of the Red River. Thereupon, sovereignty of the territory bounded by the two forks of the Red River and the 100th Meridian passed from Texas to the United States, and later this territory became a part of the State of Oklahoma.

But the true location of the 100th Meridian was yet to be determined. According to the Melish map, it was shown to be some 80 or 100 miles east of the astronomical location. Its location was not finally determined on the ground until 1930. The Supreme Court of the United States by an order dated March 17, 1930 (reported in 281 US 109, 694, 74 L. ed. 731, 1122, 50 S. Ct. 247), approved the location as determined upon the ground by Samuel S. Gannett, Commissioner, who had been appointed by the court for that purpose in the case *Oklahoma v. Texas* 272 US 21, 71 L. ed. 145, 47 S. Ct. 9).

Prior to 1930 numerous efforts had been made looking to the establishment of the 100th Meridian between the Red River and the Parallel of 36° 30'. The boundary line had been regarded by the local authorities of the United States and the State of Oklahoma as having been fixed upon the ground by what was commonly known as the Jones-Brown-Clark line run in 1859 and 1860, and sovereignty east of that line, under claim of right to do so, was sought to be

exercised by the Government of the United States and of the State of Oklahoma.

Texas in 1892 engaged the services of one H. S. Pritchett to establish on the ground the intersection of the 100th Meridian with the Red River, Pritchett located this intersection at a point 3797.3 feet east of the original line established by Jones-Brown-Clark.

The Gannett survey, approved by the Supreme Court of the United States, fixed the 100th Meridian intersection of the south bank of the South Fork of the Red River 4071.2 feet east of the Jones-Brown-Clark line and established suitable locations throughout the entire line in keeping with the decree of the court. The effect of this decree was finally to include within the territorial boundaries of Texas all of the lands east of what is known as the Jones-Brown-Clark line to the true 100th Meridian as established by the Gannett survey.

Many titles to the land in the strip transferred from the sovereignty of the State of Oklahoma to the sovereignty of the State of Texas were held under patents from the United States, whereas Texas had retained title to all public lands within its borders upon its admission to the Union. What happened to the titles in the disputed area along the 100th Meridian and to the lands between the North Fork and the South Fork of the Red River is another story.

BOOK REVIEW

The Kiowa Indians. By Hugh D. Corwin. (Privately printed; Hugh D. Corwin, Lawton, Okla. 1958. pp. 221. Ills. \$3.50.)

The official records of American Indian tribes are generally well preserved; but the traditions and stories which give an insight into native American minds and hearts are in danger of disappearance. Mr. Corwin's book on the Kiowas is a contribution to the history of a great people. His sources include books and articles on the Kiowa country by Grant Foreman, Carolyn T. Foreman, J. B. Thoburn, Colonel James B. Many, Lawrie Tatum, J. W. Wilbarger, Josiah Butler, W. S. Nye, J. J. Methvin, Isabel Crawford, Rev. Owen F. Thompson, George Catlin, and many other writers who have given their attention to the Indians of the Plains.

More important than his secondary sources, perhaps, are the results of his interviews with Kiowa Indians. The descendants of Hunting Horse; Tom Dietrich, grandson of Joseph Chandler; and Edward Clark, son-in-law of Quannah Parker, are examples of the host of acquaintances who have enabled Mr. Corwin to speak with authority. Kiowa history has its share of dramatic action, and the author has packed a great deal of it into this volume. His narrative includes the mysterious death of Kicking Bird; the tragic careers of Satank and Big Tree; the story of Odlepaugh; the legend of Medicine Bluff; and the personal conflict of Satanta and Big Bow over a Kiowa woman.

He also gives with interesting detail the story of the first school in the Kiowa country, established by Josiah Butler near Fort Sill in 1871. The Saddle Mountain Mission, the life of Rev. Albert Horse, and the Methvin Institute, are treated in separate chapters. Lone Wolf (Gui-pah-go), and his nephew, Ma-Ma-De, also called "Lone Wolf the Younger," are the principals of another chapter. Lucius Aitsan and Jimmy Quoetone, each of whom was the son of a Mexican captive who married a Kiowa woman, were men of deep influence.

Students of the Plains Indians will find this account of the Kiowas an interesting and informative volume.

—Edwin C. McReynolds

University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

Trigger Marshal. By Homer Croy. (Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York. Pp. 245. \$4.50)

Bringing law and order to the raw frontier of the Oklahoma and Indian territories were largely matters of courage, patience, and persistence on the part of United States marshals and their deputies. What is now Oklahoma had become the refuge of many lawless men from throughout the nation. A majority of them were from neighboring regions and frontier states. The reason for early day Oklahoma becoming a mecca for the outlaw on horseback arose largely from the absence of a well organized local constabulary. Where the states had sheriffs, policemen, and town marshals, the territories relied in general on federal lawmen to keep the peace. Among the greatest of these federal peace officers was Chris Madsen. His remarkable story is told in a colorful way by Homer Croy in *Trigger Marshal*.

In recording the life of Chris Madsen, a narrative unfolds that is almost unbelievable. This stolid block of a man, born in Denmark, is not the type that one would expect to carve a glamorous career for himself. But Chris Madsen, the Danish lad, fought with the French at the Battle of Sedan in the Franco-Prussian War; served with the French Foreign Legion in Algiers; was with the United States Cavalry at the Battle of War Bonnet Creek when Buffalo Bill killed the great Cheyenne Chief Yellow Hand; became a United States deputy marshal, and finally a United States marshal. On top of all this he served with the American forces in the Spanish-American War.

Trigger Marshal, however, concerns itself primarily with that period of Chris Madsen's life when he was a United States deputy marshal in Oklahoma. Croy makes a rollicking story out of the life of this phlegmatic Danish-American who attained phenomenal success as a tracker down and conqueror of Oklahoma bad men. Sometimes the author allows his enthusiasm for his subject to have free reign, with the result that a certain amount of flamboyancy creeps into the styling. The use of the simile and the metaphor are occasionally overdone. The technique works, nevertheless, to the extent that the reader looks forward with anticipation to what is on the next page.

Like the writer of drama, Croy now and then breaks the thread of his story with a bit of humor so as to eliminate the monotony of the grimness attached to the duties of federal law enforcement men. One of the best of these is the story of the time that Madsen and Bill Tilghman, another great marshal, went to the nation's capital in an effort to speed up some of their back pay. While there their friend, President Theodore Roosevelt, invited them to a swank military ball. The two

tough old frontiersmen rented evening clothes and joined the festivities. Inasmuch as Chris always spoke with a Danish accent, Bill introduced him throughout the evening as the Ambassador from Denmark. The attention Chris got from some of the grande dames was most amusing.

There is also pathos in Croy's writing of this story. His description of Madsen's love for his wife Maggie and his devotion to his children touches one's heart. The death of Maggie was a severe blow to Chris although he was to survive her by many years. Chris and Maggie are buried side by side in the Frisco Cemetery a few miles north of Yukon, Oklahoma. This reviewer was so intrigued with the life of Chris Madsen, as revealed in *Trigger Marshal*, that he recently paid a visit to the Frisco Cemetery to view the last resting place of that great peace officer.

—Elmer L. Fraker

Oklahoma Historical Society
Oklahoma City, Okla.

NECROLOGY

RICHARD CLYDE ALLEN

1882-1958

Richard Clyde Allen was a man of many parts. Born and reared in a small town, he became a man of note by his own efforts: a good lawyer, an efficient public official, and a business executive in large enterprises. He was a pioneer in the real sense. Leaving his home in an old settled state early in life, he came west to the Indian Territory where the Indian laws still prevailed. At times he was a visionary and an idealist but his wealth of good sense aided him in keeping a balanced view and course in life. His courage, energy, willingness to work and belief in himself brought him success and reward.

Richard Clyde Allen was born in the town of Kelly, Bladen County, North Carolina, on September 14, 1882, the son of R. P. Allen and Katie Allen (nee Moore). As a boy he worked on some of the farms in the neighborhood, and did odd jobs that could be found in a small town to earn his own way. He attended the common schools of his community and high school at Lenoir, North Carolina. He graduated from Wake Forest College, at Wake Forest, North Carolina, in 1902, and for a short time, practiced law at Elizabethtown and at Wilmington, North Carolina. He soon came to Coweta, Indian Territory, where he joined with James C. Pinson in the general practice of law.

At the age of twenty-eight in 1910, Richard C. Allen was elected judge of the District Court of the Third Judicial District, State of Oklahoma, comprising Wagoner and Muskogee counties. At that time, he was one of the youngest judges to hold such an office in the Nation. He resigned this office in 1913, and was appointed National Attorney for the Creek Nation by Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, under President Woodrow Wilson. Judge Allen is reputed to have written some of the principal laws relating to the protection of Indian rights. He always spoke in the highest terms of the Indian people, and they held him in high esteem.

He resigned as National Attorney for the Creek Nation in 1921, and moved to Tulsa, Oklahoma, where he formed a partnership with I. W. Underwood in the general practice of law. Here he enjoyed a good and lucrative practice, locally, nationally and internationally. Later, he became General Counsel and Executive Vice President of the Oklahoma Natural Gas Company, one of the largest gas companies in the world. Ill health forced his resignation as General Counsel, in 1939, yet remained as a Director of the Gas Company. Subsequently, he made his home for a time in Capiscola, California, and in his native state of North Carolina, at Wilmington. He moved to Fort Lauderdale, Florida, in 1950, where he resided until his death.

He married Lillian Lumpkin on February 24, 1906, at Coweta, Indian Territory. No children were born to this union. Mrs. Allen, a lady of fine personality, intelligence and charm, survives her husband after their happy married life.

Judge Allen was a member of the Masonic Lodge, the Tulsa Bar Association, the Oklahoma Bar Association, the American Bar Association, and was licensed to practice before the United States

Supreme Court and other Federal courts, as well as State courts. He was named a steward for life in the Park Temple Methodist Church of Fort Lauderdale, Florida. He died on February 12, 1958, after a long illness, and is buried in a mausoleum at Fort Lauderdale.

Richard Clyde Allen was a man of high intelligence and honor. In his private life, he was sober and clean, and his conduct was well ordered. He realized intensely the duty of service which the bar owes to the community and the duty the lawyer owes his profession. These were his prime convictions and motives. He was a good citizen, a good lawyer, an honest and efficient public officer, and a Christian gentleman. He is greatly missed by his many friends who knew and loved him in his lifetime.

William B. Moore
and
Fred P. Branson

Muskogee, Oklahoma



RICHARD CLYDE ALLEN

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING,
THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS THE OKLAHOMA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING
OCTOBER 23, 1958

The Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society met in regular quarterly meeting in the Board of Directors room of the Historical Society Building at 10:00 a. m. on Thursday October 23, 1958.

With President George H. Shirk presiding, the roll was called by the Administrative Secretary with the following members answering present: Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge J. G. Clift, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Judge N. B. Johnson, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, Col. George H. Shirk, and Judge Edgar S. Vaught.

Mr. Kelly Brown, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. Exall English, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Judge R. A. Hefner, Gen. Wm. S. Key, Mrs. Willis C. Reed and Judge Baxter Taylor were absent.

It was moved by Mr. Mountcastle and seconded by Judge Cole that the absentee members be excused. The motion carried. Dr. Harbour moved and Judge Vaught seconded a motion to the effect that the minutes of the last meeting be approved. This motion was also adopted.

President Shirk called attention to the fact that the recent article in *The Chronicles*, written by the Administrative Secretary, concerning the new officers of the Society, had given him credit for more time overseas than was actually the case. He said the record should show that he arrived in England in May 1942, rather than 1941.

He requested that the minutes show he was using a gavel that had been presented to him at the Centennial celebration of the Butterfield Overland Mail Route at Van Buren, Arkansas.

The President called to the attention of the Board the passing of two former members of the Historical Society staff: Mrs. Laura Messenbaugh and Mrs. Elsie Hand. Col. Shirk read a note of appreciation from the family of Mrs. Hand. It was requested by the President that Mrs. Korn see that necrologies were prepared concerning Mrs. Hand and Mrs. Messenbaugh for publishing in *The Chronicles*.

The Administrative Secretary requested authority for returning pictures of the 4-H Club members, now on loan in the museum, to the families or to Oklahoma State University. He pointed out that requests for this action had been made by both members of the Club and by Oklahoma State University officials. Mr. Curtis moved that the Secretary be authorized to take this action. Motion was seconded by Mrs. Korn and carried.

Staff members of the Society were complimented by the President for the work they were doing on the TV educational programs. He said that Miss Wright and Mrs. C. E. Cook had been participating in this work, and that other members of the staff were soon to appear. He pointed out that such appearances on the part of staff members gave wide publicity to the Oklahoma Historical Society and its work.

The President stated that he was happy to report that the Administrative Secretary had caused an inventory system to be set up whereby all items for sale by the Society were carefully listed and all sales accurately recorded. He said that the most recent inventory showed the sales materials now held by the Society in the form of brochures, booklets, flag sets, et cetera, had a total retail value exceeding \$3,500.

The chairman of the House and Grounds Committee, Mr. Henry Bass, gave his report. He declared there was no question but that the most important thing needed to improve the facilities of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building was air conditioning; that complete air conditioning of the building would entail considerable financing; that his committee would attempt to have definite recommendations concerning the possibilities of air conditioning all or part of the building at the next Board meeting.

Mr. Bass recommended that expenditures from the sale of bonds now held by the Society be made in the amount of \$600.00 for placing a railing in the library to provide working space for the employees and to protect entrance to the stacks. He further recommended that \$1,600.00 be provided from the same source for the purpose of building two large wall exhibit cases in the alcove of the third floor. He said these requests were being made in order to comply with the suggested improvements of the Administrative Secretary and staff members.

After some discussion, it was pointed out by the Administrative Secretary that although it was proposed to build the cases in the alcove, it did not mean that the tepee exhibited there would be removed from display, but would be placed in another location in one of the museums.

Judge Vaught moved that the recommendations of the House and Grounds Committee be approved. The motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour. All members voted for the motion, except Dr. Wayne Johnson who requested that the minutes show he was opposed to expending money from the reserve funds except for artifacts, books, et cetera. President Shirk instructed that the minutes reflect that Dr. Wayne Johnson was opposed to using private money for capital improvements.

In making the report for the Historic Sites Committee, Dr. James Morrison stated that Mr. Dale was doing a splendid job in the field; that a great many accomplishments had been attained; that most of this work had been outlined in the quarterly staff report of the Society; that the historic sites brochure would soon be ready for distribution; and that the possibility of restoring a portion of the Confederate Cemetery north of Atoka was being considered.

He called on Mr. Fraker to make additional remarks concerning the historic sites work. The Administrative Secretary said that assistance was being given to several groups that were desiring to set up markers, particularly at the 101 Ranch site, Devil's Canyon, and at the Twin Rivers Park near Miami. He also pointed out that recent research and surveys had indicated that historic sites ranked as the No. 2 choice of tourists for places to visit.

Col. Shirk stated that it was not generally known that the author of the widely known song "Home on the Range" is buried in a Shawnee cemetery. He said that a more extensive marking of this grave should be considered.

It was recommended by the Historic Sites Committee that further interment in the Garland Cemetery be prohibited. It was moved by

Mr. Mountcastle and seconded by Miss Seger that this recommendation be approved by the Board. The motion was made and passed.

The report of the Library Committee was given by Mr. Joe Curtis, Chairman. He said that two members of the Board, President George Shirk and Mr. Henry Bass, had recently advanced funds for the purchase of the book collection of the Lee Harkins Estate for \$1,675. He said that these two gentlemen made this purchase in order to keep the collection from going to a California bidder and to enable the Oklahoma Historical Society to acquire any portion of the collection it might desire. He said that an additional \$30.00 had been spent by them in moving the collection to Oklahoma City, making a total of \$1,705.00. Mr. Curtis further reported that the Administrative Secretary had requested the Librarian to make a check of the titles in the Harkins collection so as to determine which ones the Society already had as well as the ones it did not have. It was found, he said, by the Librarian that of the 1,430 items in the Harkins collection, 622 were duplicates of those already in the Oklahoma Historical Society library.

Mr. Curtis said that in checking the figures it would be found there are 808 books in the collection that the Society's library does not have. On a pro rata basis, he continued, plus the cost of moving to Oklahoma City, the cost of the nonduplicates to the Society could come to \$971.85. Mr. Curtis then moved that the Society purchase the nonduplicated items for the stated amount of \$971.85. This motion was seconded by Dr. Wayne Johnson. President Shirk retired from the chair and called upon Judge Vaught to preside.

Dr. Harbour expressed the viewpoint that it might be well for the Society to purchase the entire collection. Dr. Johnson said he was in sympathy with that point of view. It was moved by Mr. Mountcastle and seconded by Dr. Harbour that the motion be amended to buy the entire collection from Col. Shirk and Mr. Bass.

At this point, Mr. Curtis pointed out that he believed the original motion was satisfactory to the two members of the Board who had purchased the collection.

When a vote on the amendment was called for, with Col. Shirk and Mr. Bass abstaining, the nays prevailed. Then the original motion was put and carried.

Various members of the Board expressed sentiments of appreciation to Col. Shirk and Mr. Bass for their thoughtfulness in preserving the Harkins book collection for Oklahoma, and in permitting the Historical Society to purchase that portion of the collection which was not duplicated in the Society's library.

Judge Cliff reported briefly on his having represented the Board of Directors of the Historical Society at the dedication of the Old Post Corral Museum at Fort Sill.

When the Treasurer's report was called for, Mrs. Bowman stated that the annual audit of the Special Funds had been received and was available for all to see. She said the audit showed that the financial affairs of the Historical Society, in so far as the Special Fund was concerned, were being handled in a businesslike manner, and that all accounts had been found in order.

Mr. Mountcastle moved that the Treasurer's report be accepted, and the second was made by Dr. Harbour. The motion was put and unanimously adopted.

The Original Contract for the Building of the Fort Gibson Dam, which had previously been presented to the Historical Society by Mr. Mountcastle was officially turned to the library and archives of the Society. In the interim since the original presentation, Mr. Mountcastle had secured the binding of the contract in book form. Col. Shirk expressed the thanks of the Board to Mr. Mountcastle for his thoughtfulness in this matter.

Judge Vaught said that inasmuch as the new Constitution provides the Society may elect honorary members, that he was making a motion to the effect that the President appoint a secret committee for the purpose of considering honorary members that might be proposed to the Board. This secret committee would make screenings of those proposed for such honorary membership, and report their findings to the Board through the President. The motion was seconded by Mr. Phillips and adopted unanimously by the Board.

Mr. and Mrs. John Frizzell of Oklahoma City, who had been invited to attend the meeting by President Shirk, were introduced as the ones who had so generously contributed of their time and money in order to make the Butterfield Overland Mail Route Centennial a success. Col. Shirk said that the stage coach furnished by the Frizzells was probably the outstanding attraction on the rerunning of the famous Overland Mail Route. President Shirk then presented to Mr. and Mrs. Frizzell, in token of their great contribution to the success of the Butterfield Overland Mail Route Centennial a carriage step that had been found at the ruins of Fort Chadbourne in Texas. Col. Shirk explained that the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society had previously and unanimously approved the presentation of the memento to Mr. and Mrs. Frizzell. He pointed out that though the gift's intrinsic value might be small, its significance in the way of thanks and appreciation was great.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Frizzell expressed delight at the presentation and told briefly of their trip on the Butterfield Route, all the way to California.

The Board requested that a study be made of the possibility of acquiring the 25,000 item gun collection in the Mason Hotel at Claremore. The President was requested to discuss the matter with the owner who might turn the collection to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mrs. Korn presented the diary of Mrs. W. W. Jackman of Pacific Palisades, California, to be placed in the archives of the Society.

It was brought to the attention of the Board, by Mr. Curtis, of the fine booklet concerning historical markers in the south central portion of Oklahoma, that had been compiled and published by Mr. W. D. Little, Editor of the Ada Evening News. He moved that the Administrative Secretary be authorized to write a letter of commendation to Mr. Little. The motion was seconded by Mr. Bass and passed unanimously.

The possibility of acquiring the old Will Rogers birthplace was discussed by Dr. Wayne Johnson. He expressed the view that the Society should investigate the possibility of acquiring and restoring this historic place. The President appointed Dr. Johnson chairman and Mr. Redmond S. Cole and Mr. Thomas J. Harrison members of a committee to investigate the possibilities of accomplishing that objective.

It was announced by the Administrative Secretary that during the past quarter two new life members and fifty-seven new annual

members had paid their dues. Dr. Harbour moved, and Judge Cole seconded the motion to the effect that the new members be accepted into the membership of the Society. The motion was passed unanimously. Attention was also called to the gifts that had been made to the Society and Dr. Harbour moved with Miss Seger's second that the gifts be accepted and acknowledgments made. This motion was also adopted.

Mrs. Bowman presented to the Society eight original pictures of the camp sites of David L. Payne. These pictures were made by C. P. Wickmiller. She also presented some framed copies of old newspapers. The pictures were accepted for the Museum.

Chairman of the Tour Committee, Mr. R. G. Miller, recommended that the 1959 annual Historical Society tour be held the first week in June. He said that by setting the time for early June many school teachers would be able to make the tour, who otherwise would be unable to do so. He said consideration was being given to eastern and south-eastern Oklahoma as the location of the tour. It was moved by Mrs. Korn that the Tour Committee be given authority to proceed with arrangements and that said committee have complete authority to arrange all details as to the time, place, and costs. The motion was seconded by Miss Seger and unanimously approved.

Mrs. Bowman moved and Dr. Harbour seconded that the meeting be adjourned. This motion was adopted at 12:05 p. m.

George H. Shirk, President

Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED:

Library

Genealogical Sketch of Certain of the American Descendants of Mathew Talbot, Gentleman. Compiled by Robert Howe Fletcher, Jr., 1956.

Donor: Colonel R.H. Fletcher, Leesburg, Virginia

Two pictures—"Drake Well Memorial Museum, Pennsylvania"
"Bonta House, Pithole, Pennsylvania, 1866"

Donor: John B. Fink, Oklahoma City

Four publications from the Industrial College of the Armed Forces:

"Pre-Revolution of the USSR" by Dr. Carroll Quigley

"War Production in Future Emergencies" by Walter C. Skuce

"Human Resources of the Communist World" by Leonard R. Linsenmayer

"Statutory Renegotiation and Profit Control" by Charles Swayne

Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City

Souvenir Book of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition—St. Louis, 1904

Souvenir Book of the Panama Pacific International Exposition—San Francisco, 1915

Souvenir Album of Ben Hur played at the Overholser Opera House, 1909-1910

Scrap Book

Brochure Commemorating the 38th Anniversary of Oklahoma City and the American First National Bank, 1927

Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce Golden Anniversary, 1899-1939.

Encyclopedia of American Biography of the 19 Century by Herringshaw, 1905

"The Southwest of Yesterday"

The Romance of Oklahoma—Oklahoma Author's Club, 1920

War Ration Book

New Soldier's Handbook, 1943

Dodge City Guide Book, 1956

Group of maps and picture

"Steamer Sagamore en route New York to Esopus, August 10, 1904
Carrying Notification Committee and Guests to Witness Ceremonies
Attending Notification to Honorable Alton Brooks Parker of his
Nomination to the Presidency"

Donor: Mrs. Zoe Tilghman, Oklahoma City

The Skinner Kinsmen by Mrs. Charles G. Rummel, 1958

Donor: Mrs. Charles G. Rummel, Kenilworth, Illinois

Three books printed in the Mormon alphabet, 1868, 1869

Donor: Elmer L. Fraker, Oklahoma City

Catalogue of Genealogical and Historical Works—Library of the
National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution, 1940

Donor: Ralph Hudson, Oklahoma State Library

File of the magazine *Boy Builder*

Donor: Athie Davis, Oklahoma City

Twelve copies of *THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA*

Newspaper—Interstate Arts, February 16, 1931

Map of Oklahoma

Message of the Governor Henry S. Johnston, 1929

Speech of Former Governor Henry S. Johnston, 1932

Governor's Message to the Eleventh Legislature of the State of Oklahoma

The Negro's Place in Call of Race by William H. Murray, 1948 (autographed)

Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman

Microfilm: "Records of the Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company"

Donor: George H. Shirk

The Swanee River and a Biography of Stephen Foster by Fletcher Hodges, Jr., 1958

Donor: Office of the Curator, Foster Hall Collection, University of Pittsburg, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania

Comanche Texts by Elliott Canonge

P O C O M C H I Texts by Marvin Mayers

Donor: University of Oklahoma Library, Norman, Oklahoma

Centennial Edition of Press Argus, Van Buren, Arkansas, September 19, 1958—Issued to Commemorate the 100th Anniversary of the Butterfield Overland Mail

Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City

A Social and Economic Survey of Six Counties in Southeastern Oklahoma: Atoka, Bryan, Choctaw, Coal, McCurtain and Pushmataha. 1946

Donor: Leonard Logan, Atoka, Oklahoma

Indian Territory Cover, 1906

Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City

MUSEUM:

Pictures

H & S Railroad entering Blackwell, O. T., February 28, 1898

Street Scene in Blackwell 1898

Donor: Mrs. Ella Mae Gerhold, 515 East 24th Street, Kansas City, Missouri

Group of Doctors at Veterans Hospital in Muskogee

Donor: Dr. D. H. Miller, Veterans Administration Hospital, Muskogee, Oklahoma

Photograph of Dr. Grant Foreman

Donor: Mrs. Grant Foreman

Marines presenting Flag to Oklahoma Historical Society

Donor: U. S. Marine Headquarters

Abandoned Farm House

Donor: Oklahoma State Department of Agriculture

First State Mining Board in Oklahoma

Donor: Stanley N. Neiswander, McAlester, Oklahoma

Framed photograph of Chris Madsen

Donor: Reno Madsen, Ft. Worth, Texas

Framed photograph of Heck Thomas

Donor: Mrs. J. B. Meeks, 119 Comanche, Purcell, Oklahoma

Framed photograph of Bill Tilghman

Donor: Mrs. Zoe Tilghman, 3130 North Barnes, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Framed picture of Libby Prison

Donor: Miss Dee Roads, 507 South Duck, Stillwater, Okla.

Album of tintypes of Cherokee Indians

Donor: Mrs. Frances C. Munselle

Exhibits

Model of Oklahoma City Oil Field

Donor: Ike Pierce, District Manager, Phillips Oil Company

Documents, clippings, booklet of Indian Service

Donor: Mrs. Floyd Diacon, 715 West Hill Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Record Navaho Music

Donor: Mrs. Milton Kinney, 711 Edgewood, Ponca City, Okla.

Spoon, Sofky spoon made of wood, Creek

Donor: Mrs. Robt. L. Aiken, 2019 NW 19th, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Pen, writing pen used by Gov. Haskell

Donor: May Adele McFadyen, Anadarko, Oklahoma

Album, old fashioned picture album and coverlet

Donor: Myrtle Lucille Brown, 2143 North Stonewall, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Document, Report of Mining Board

Donor: Stanley Neiswander, McAlester, Oklahoma

Stamps, G. A. R. Memorial Stamps in a frame (Union Room)

Donor: Maude Caywood, 102½ West Frank Phillips Boulevard, Bartlesville, Oklahoma

Document, Appointment of Heck Thomas to office of Deputy U. S. Marshal

Donor: Mrs. J. B. Meeks, 119 Commerce, Purcell, Okla.

Rug, Semi-Centennial hooked rug, 9 x 12

Donors: Gov. and Mrs. Raymond Gary, Oklahoma State Capitol Building

Newspaper Clippings

Donor: Mrs. Margie Morris, 519 West Woodward Street, El Reno, Oklahoma

CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL ROOM**Walnut table, the last piece from the collection from the Jefferson Davis Museum at Fort Gibson**

Donor: Oklahoma Division United Daughters of the Confederacy

Ornamental picture frame for photograph of William (Bill) Gill

Donor: His son William Cross, 829 Kayton, San Antonio, Texas

Spanish American War recognition button

Donor: William Dean, 830 Magnolia, Oklahoma City, Okla.

INDIAN ARCHIVES:**Twenty-five Creek manuscripts, 23 signed by Alexander Posey**

Donor: Mr. J. R. Pemberton, Los Angeles, California

Five photostats of Otoe & Missouri records "Santa Fe Sidelight," article about Santa Fe Railroad "Findings of Fact and Opinion in cases of Pawnee Indian Tribe of Oklahoma vs. United States, before the Indian Claims Commission Opinion of Indian Claims Commission in Choctaw Nation vs. United States, and Chickasaw Nation vs. United States. Petitioners request for Findings of Fact in case of "The Kiowa, Comanche & Apache Tribes of Indians vs U. S.

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

New Members for the Quarter July 25, 1958 through
October 21, 1958

NEW LIFE MEMBERS

Watts, Clyde J.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Bartlett, David A.	Tulsa, Oklahoma

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS

Hallett, Bill D.	Ardmore, Oklahoma
Milner, C. Milton	" "
Cox, James W.	Atoka, Oklahoma
Cannon, Robert	" "
Henie, M. B.	Bartlesville, Oklahoma
Dyche, Delbert	Belva, Oklahoma
Grisham, Billy Daryl	Drumright, Oklahoma
Staley, Mary Etta	" "
Chaffin, W. E.	Duncan, Oklahoma
Chestnut, A.	" "
Conger, G. F.	" "
Frensley, Jim J.	" "
Hall, Dr. L. A.	" "
Cowley, Mrs. Momie	Granite, Oklahoma
Smith, Robert Harold	Hobart, Oklahoma
Herrmann, Arthur Eldon	Lawton, Oklahoma
Barnes, Joe G.	Midwest City, Oklahoma
Hurley, Mrs. Shelby F.	" " "
Crain, Dr. Robert W.	Muskogee, Oklahoma
Cornett, Jack W.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Graham, Samuel H.	" " "
Green, Mrs. O. L.	" " "
Howard, Eva	" " "
Jackson, Lela O.	" " "
Markham, Clarence B.	" " "
Robinson, Phillip A.	" " "
Schultz, Mrs. Wayne H.	" " "
Shell, Claud W.	" " "
Yager, Mrs. Frank	" " "
Harrell, Ray E.	Picher, Oklahoma
Badami, Mrs. Paul	Ponca City, Oklahoma
Weather, Charlotte E.	" " "
Hughes, Dr. Horton W.	Shawnee, Oklahoma
Riley, F. H.	" "
Speed, Dr. Louis E.	" "
Whittet, Mrs. John	" "
Ballard, Jesse L.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Cole, Margaret H.	" "
McNeill, Mrs. N.E.	" "
May, Milton E.	" "
More, Esther McCullough	" "
Perkins, Jaunita V.	" "
Wells, Randall L.	" "
Epton, Hicks	Wewoka, Oklahoma
Brown, Harold Vernon	Yale, Oklahoma
Pierce, Mrs. Linna G.	Mesa, Arizona
Tinnin, Ida M.	Bentonville, Arkansas
Rogers, Mrs. Ida	North Little Rock, Ark.
Hickman, Miss Lucy	Washington, D. C.
Braden, G. B.	Tupelo, Mississippi
Chew, Byron	Tucumcarl, New Mexico
Seagraves, Mrs. B. F.	North Kansas City, Mo.

Divine, Miss Milburn
Briggs, Hugh M.
Brumley, O. C.
McLamore, Mrs. W. T.
Glavind, Miss Rozella

Johnson City, Tennessee
Dallas, Texas
Edinburg, Texas
Houston, Texas
Seattle, Washington

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 26, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, etc. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publication Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history, and for librarians. The annual dues are \$3.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership may be secured upon the payment of \$50.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is \$4.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), \$1.00 each plus postage. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.



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