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EACH PAINTING ITS OWN STORY

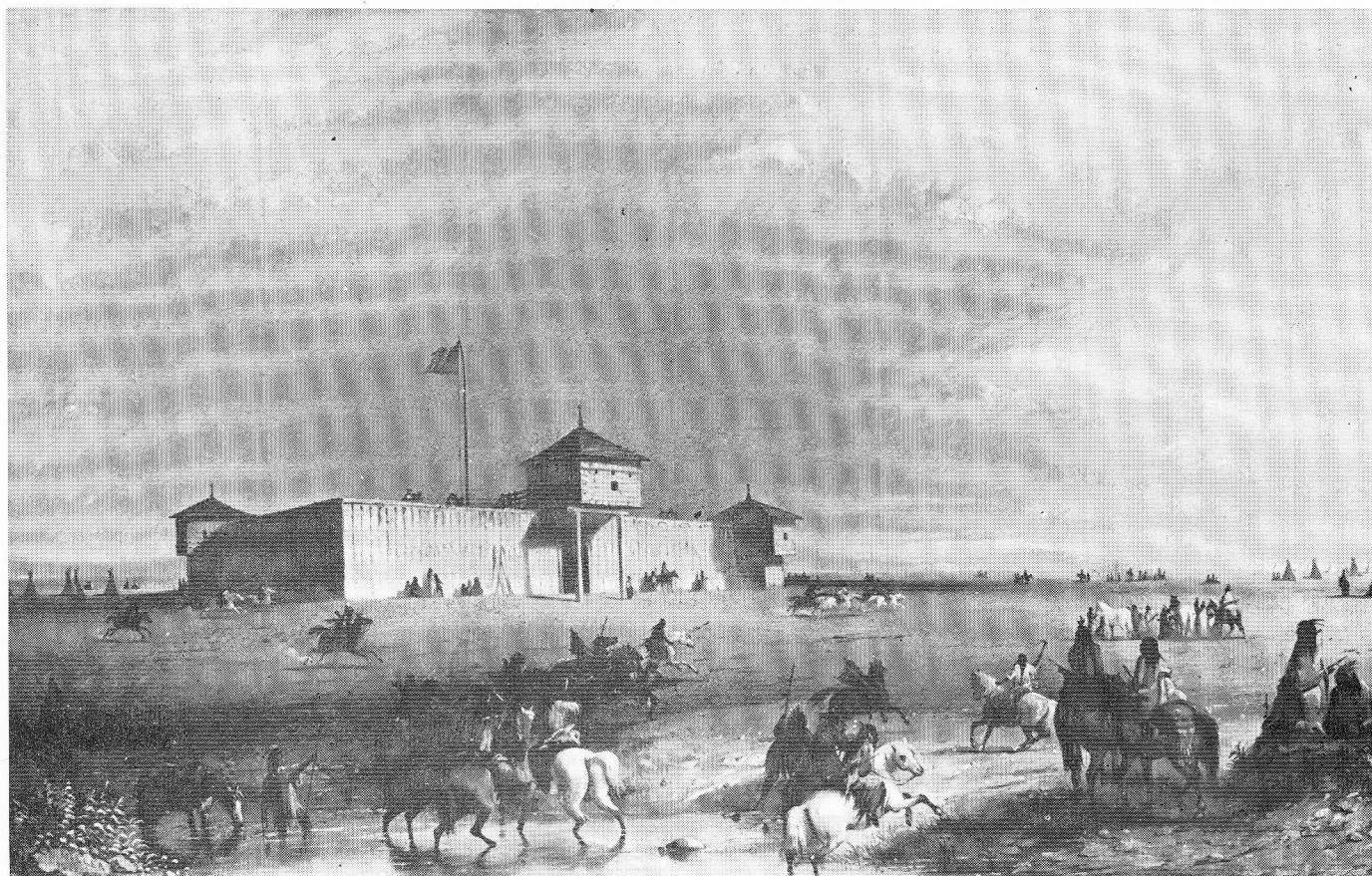
Fort William . . . The First Fort on the Laramie

The fort stood along the irregular banks of the Laramie River, a structure of logs in an almost treeless country, except for willows and scrub growth. All about its outer palisades of 16-foot high split timbers Cheyenne, Sioux, Snake and bands of many other tribes encamped while they traded with the bourgeois of the fort. Beaver was the main pelt taken in

the area by the Indians and by the company and free trappers; the small streams of the Laramie once teamed with the busy rodents, but overtrapping soon forced hunting farther and farther into the reaches of the mountains. Caravans of carts and wagons and many horsemen came to the fort to bring supplies and trade goods from St. Louis for this outpost of the American Fur Company during its existence from 1834 until 1840-41. After that another fort was built and Fort William fell into de-

cay and its planks and logs were likely used as fire wood, but it is the log fort with which we are concerned.

The river above which the fort was built was named for a Canadian trapper, Jacques La Ramee. In 1834 William Sublette and Robert Campbell of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company stopped enroute to the yearly rendezvous at a point upstream from the junction of the North Platte and the Laramie rivers. Campbell remained to see to the fort's construction while his partner hurried on to



FORT WILLIAM (1837)

ALFRED J. MILLER

Gilcrease Collection

overtake their competitor. The fort, named for William Sublette, was built by some dozen men in less than three months. From the beginning it was of strategic importance in the region. Almost at the time of the building of the fort the Rocky Mountain Fur company was dissolved and ownership was transferred to the American Fur company.

During the brief days of its activity Fort William served as a trading center, a strong place in a land of hostile and sometimes friendly Indians, and a supply depot for the travelers and settlers moving westward. Many persons now mentioned as having played an important role in the opening and settling of the Northwest passed by this fort and some made temporary home here. The fort was owned, not only by Sublette and Campbell, but by Jim Bridger, Thomas Fitzpatrick, Milton Sublette, and Lucien Fontenelle. Many who visited the old fort wrote of it in their journals; in the spring of 1835 Rev. Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman, enroute to establish a mission in Oregon territory, stopped off at Fort William and Parker described the council held there with the chiefs of 2,000 Oglala Sioux who had come to trade. Whitman was back along the trail during the following year, this time with his wife. Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Henry H. Spalding were the

first white women to travel the Oregon Trail and the relative comforts and the good hospitality of the fort were a welcome respite in their weary trail life.

Sir William Drummond Stewart, a Scottish sportsman, visited the fort on the Laramie first in 1836; he returned in the spring of the following year, bringing with him Alfred Jacob Miller, an artist, who was to be the only man to paint the plank fort's "portrait". Stewart enjoyed the West and wanted to retain some of it when he returned to his native land; therefore, Miller was to serve as his camera—a most sensitive and responsive picture maker.

Perhaps our best descriptions of Fort William were written by Miller, to add to his drawings and sketches. "This post built for the American Fur company, situated about 800 miles west of St. Louis is of a quadrangular form with block houses at diagonal corners to sweep the fronts in case of attack.

"Over the front entrance is a large block house in which is placed a cannon. The interior of the fort is about 150 feet square surrounded by small cabins whose roofs reach within three feet of the top of the palisades against which they abut; the Indians encamp in great numbers here three or four times a year, bringing peltries to be

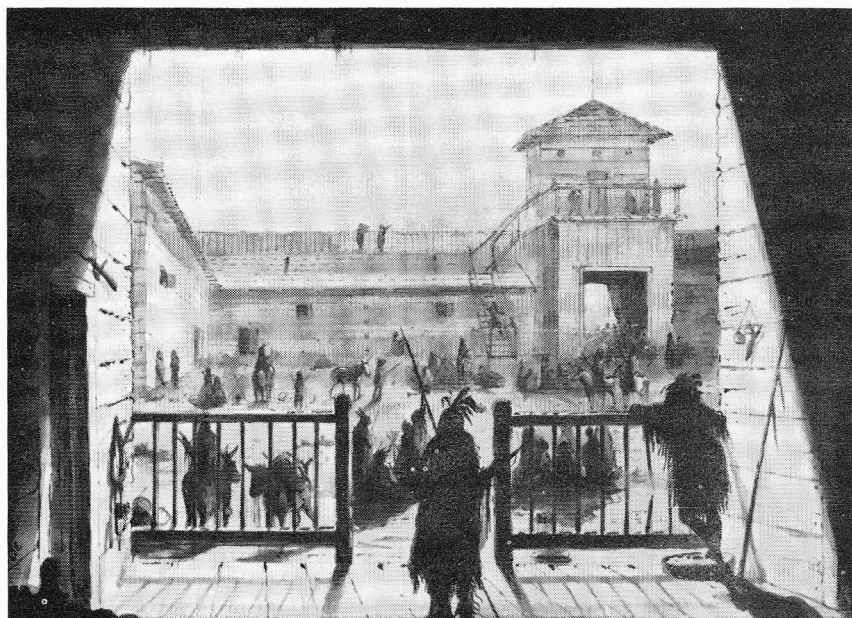
exchanged for dry goods, tobacco, beads and alcohol.

"The Indians have a mortal horror of the 'big gun' which rests in the block house as they have had experience of its prowess. I witnessed the havoc produced by its loud 'talk'. They conceive it to be only asleep and have a wholesome dread of its being waked up . . .

"The interior view (see picture) is from the great entrance looking west, and embraces more than half the court area. When this space is filled with Indians and traders as it is at stated periods the scene is lively and interesting; they gather here from all quarters, from the Gila at the south, the Red River at the north and the Columbia River west. Each has its quota and representatives—Sioux, Bannacks, Mandans, Crows, Snakes, Pend Oreilles, Nez Perces, Cheyennes and Delawares; all except the Blackfeet who are 'betes-noir' and considered 'de trop'. As a contrast, there are Canadian trappers, free and otherwise, half breeds, Kentuckians, Missourians and Down-Easters. A Saturnalia is held the first day and some excesses committed, but after this trading goes briskly forward."*

The life span of Fort William has been in doubt for many years; some accounts say that it was torn down in 1836-37 (Elliott Coues) but this could not be true since Miller, Captain Andrew Dripps, F. A. Wislzenus and others wrote of Fort William and described it, leaving no doubt as to which fort they referred. Many writers speak of the fort as having been called William for only a brief time and then named Fort John (after John Sarpy), but that, in all, the name of the stream on which the fort stood was the common term. And yet, if the latter were true during the days of the first fort on the Laramie, it is not true in regard to official papers and casual written records—in these it was Fort William until 1840. In 1840 or 1841, however, the plank fort was abandoned and the new adobe fort, called from the first, Fort Laramie, was built a short distance downstream. (Not over the site of the old fort as some writers have indicated.) Therefore, Fort William and Fort Laramie were two separate and distinct places and of the former we know so little. Fortunately one man, a student and an artist, stopped here and captured for all time the intimate face of this rude fortress of the early Northwest. J.T.F.

* From the original note book kept by Alfred J. Miller (1837) now in the Gilcrease research library.



INTERIOR OF FT. WILLIAM

ALFRED J. MILLER

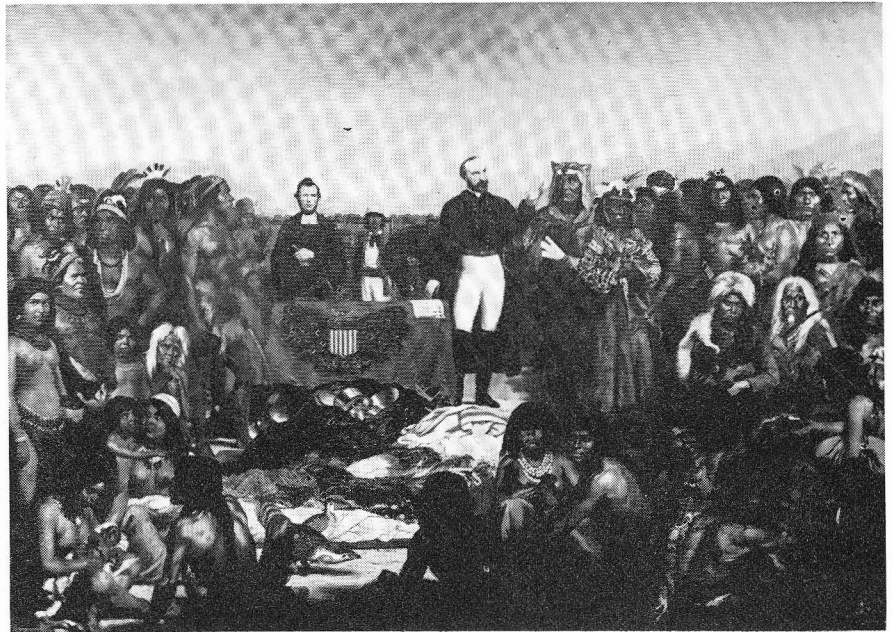
Gilcrease Collection

The Unsigned Treaty

For some reason the artist was motivated to do more than just sign his name. He carefully inscribed at the bottom of the canvas; "painted by Charles C. Nahl on the occasion of Governor Lyon's Treaty with the Sho-Sho-Nee Indians by which Southern Idaho was ceded to the United States, March A.D. 1866." Whatever the reason, it is fortunate Mr. Nahl followed his whim, because the incident he had recorded proved to be a very obscure one. In fact, finding the story behind the painting is literally an exercise in "reading between the lines". The basic story is told in three paragraphs from the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1865 and 1866, although none of these refer to the treaty in any detail or describe the specific incident.

Caleb Lyon, who was Governor and Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs of Idaho Territory from 1864 to 1866, submitted his first report to Washington in 1865. Concerning part of his activities for the year the Commissioner's report states:

"In the course of the governor's extended tour through the territory, he met, at a point not very far distant from the present capitol, Boise City, the Chiefs of the Boise Shoshonees, and made with them a kind of preliminary treaty agreement, by which the Indians agreed, on the fulfillment by the government of certain rather loosely defined conditions, to cede to the United States an extent of country estimated at many millions of acres, and comprising a large part of southern Idaho, and to concentrate upon a reservation of moderate dimensions. This treaty not being in a condition for submission to the Senate, authority has been given to Governor Lyon to conclude a formal treaty with the tribe referred to, upon the general basis of the arrangement above mentioned."



SOUTH IDAHO TREATY

CHARLES C. NAHL

Gilcrease Collection

The commissioner indicated that great progress was expected in Idaho's Indian affairs during the next year. This was not the case. The 1866 report reads in part:

"We make but slow progress in obtaining accurate information relative to Indian affairs in Idaho, although something has been gained. After the verbal statements made by the late governor, Caleb Lyon, in the fall of 1865, and the instructions given him, it was thought that we should speedily be in a condition to know more, and thus be better enabled to do what should be necessary; but great disappointment has been the result. Shortly after his return to Idaho, the governor appears to have become involved in quarrels, political or otherwise, to an extent which resulted in his leaving the territory last spring, having accomplished little, if anything, to the advantage of the Indian service; and, on the contrary, failing to account for the large amount of government funds placed in his hands, causing great embarrassment to the office . . ."

Concerning the formal treaty with the Shoshoni which Lyon has been instructed to negotiate, the commissioner could only say:

"Sometime during last spring a treaty was received here, which had been concluded by Governor Lyon with the Boise Shoshonees, providing for placing them upon a certain reservation, and furnishing them with the usual aids for improvement and

civilization. Various reasons, referred to above, had caused a distrust of the governor's discretion or judgment, and no action was taken upon that treaty; and later information fully justifies the course taken."

The Shoshoni were not to have a treaty that was approved by Congress until June of 1867.

The foregoing would indicate that the artist, Charles C. Nahl, had the rare bad luck to record for posterity the signing of a treaty that was not even considered for approval by Congress. Furthermore, the central figure in the painting proved to be a man that western history has noted primarily for his ineptness in frontier politics and his poor bookkeeping habits. This was hardly a major historic event, and yet the artist has, perhaps inadvertently, portrayed something that is symbolically important. He certainly caught the feeling of awesome confusion the Indians must have felt on such an occasion as they tried to understand the complex ways of the white man, and the naivete of so many tribes as they signed away their rights to millions of acres of land.

We will probably never know exactly what happened between Governor Lyon and the Shoshoni, nor will we know exactly why a painting was made of the scene; but regardless of motivations, the painting tells a segment of the complex story of the dealings between the United States and its reluctant Indian charges. C.C.P.

CALIFORNIA CROSSING

In a diary entry for July 25, 1866, William Henry Jackson, who was at that time an apprentice "bull whacker", describes the crossing of the South Platte River by his wagon train. He states at one point in his narrative, "the scene was one to be remembered and I must represent it pictorially." Many early travelers in the west had similar feelings about scenes or incidents they observed, but Jackson was one of the rare ones who was equipped to express his thoughts graphically. He sketched the scene on the spot, and later produced the marvelously detailed painting that now hangs in the Gilcrease Institute. Jackson was destined to become one of the important recorders of the western scene as a photographer, but this painting, done when he was a twenty-three old "bull whacker", along with his written narrative about the occurrence, constitutes one of the best available descriptions of the technique of overland travel in the early west.

Jackson's caravan left Nebraska City on the 27th of June, and the first several weeks of his diary deal almost exclusively with the trials and tribulations of a complete tenderfoot learning to be a bull whacker. Aside from the fact that most of the men were learning a new profession the hard way, the wagons did not encounter many important physical obstacles until they reached the area of present day Julesburg, Colorado. Here they prepared to cross the Platte at a spot called the California Crossing. The following narrative of this

crossing is from Jackson's diary for July 25, 1866:*

"Yesterday we got breakfast before yoking and started for the crossing an hour or so after sunrise. Three of the boys are missing and it delayed us considerably in yoking up. It was very hard driving and at times I was so vexed and angered that I was fairly beside myself. The team ahead of me was without a driver, and as Ed could not attend to it, he made Emerson & I, an offer of a dollar a day each to take care of it. We agreed and it made us just double work. Passed through Julesburg (a small place of 8 or 10 houses, two storied and shingled) and passed some 4 or 5 miles beyond where there were several trains crossing & preparing to cross. We made preparations at once to go over. The river here is about half a mile or a little less in width, and the greatest depth across the ford would not exceed between 3½ or 4 feet in depth. The bottom was a quicksand and gravel that makes very hard pulling. We uncoupled our wagons and fastened 12 yoke to each single wagon. The scene was a lively one. The river was filled from bank to bank with trains passing over and oxen recrossing for another wagon. The drivers as a general thing were minus pants and attired in the light and airy costume of shirt and hat only. The bulls when they first enter the stream are timid and it is extremely hard work to get them started, and the yelling, the hooting, the hurraing and the cracking of whips of the drivers make a very pandemonium. The cattle plunged

and tugged and geed and hawed & after a deal of trouble pulled out of the first plunge from the bank of the stream. Clear across the river it was the same yelling at the oxen—"yaw-ho, whoa haw," all the time laying on your very best and might with cudgel or whip. At the same time there were crossing a bank of Sioux Indians, the big braves on their little ponies, the squaws leading the pack horses and juvenile Sioux paddling along very nearly in a state of nature. The banks upon either side were covered with wagons & groups of drivers collected together to see the little Indians paddle in the water & chatter with the older ones. A little ways back were quite a number of wigwams. The scene was one to be remembered and I must represent it pictorially.

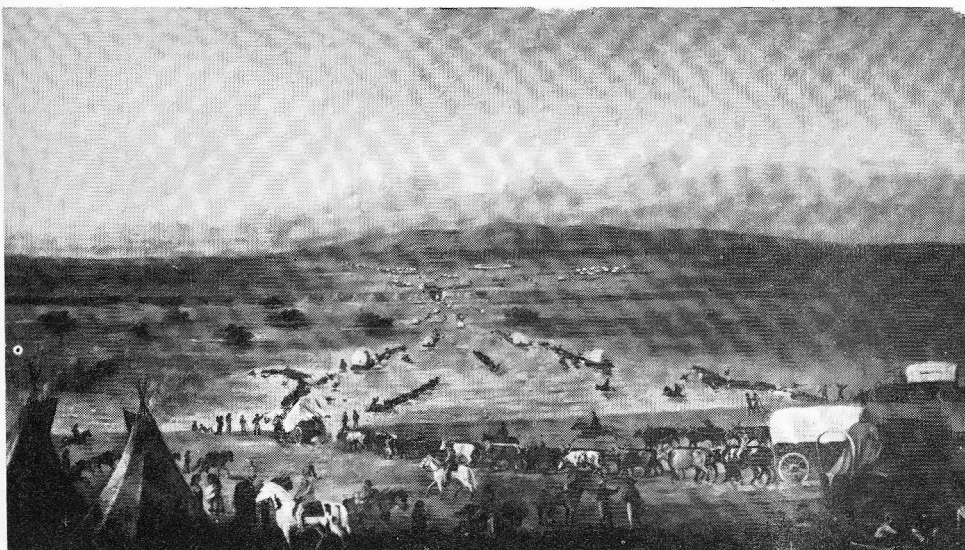
"Charly & I coupled our teams together and first took over my lead wagon, it took about two hours. We had an awful time to get them through the water & could never have done it without assistance. We next took Charlie's lead wagon. It was after sunset before we reached the opposite shore. A thunder storm was rising & it grew dark rapidly. There I was with nothing but a shirt & hat on, my clothes being all in the wagon left behind, & I disliked the idea of going over again without something to eat or drink, chilled as I was. A little whisky was sighed for, but the ardent was not forthcoming."

Jackson had to be satisfied with "sow belly" and coffee which he begged from friends. Then, before he could return to the other side, the approachigng dark clouds caught him, and he was forced to spend a miserable night in a wagon that rocked with the force of a furious summer storm. Soaked and generally bedraggled, he began the next day by borrowing a pair of pants and food for breakfast. He then crossed the river to the other wagon where he found his possessions intact. The drivers had apparently learned a great deal during the first crossing, because the second wagon was over by noon. After a day's rest for the cattle, the train moved on. C.C.P.

CALIFORNIA CROSSING

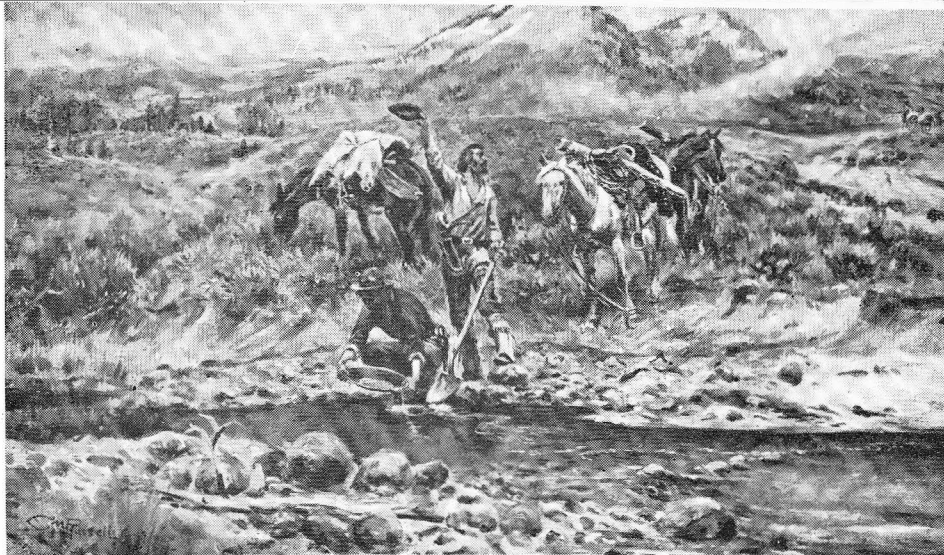
WILLIAM H. JACKSON

Gilcrease Collection



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Last Chance Gulch



"DISCOVERY OF GOLD AT LAST CHANCE GULCH"
CHARLES RUSSELL

Gilcrease Collection

In July of 1864, the nation's attention was focused on the South and events of the Civil War. Lincoln was President and Sherman's army was marching through Georgia. In wildly beautiful Montana Territory the Civil War was as remote from the minds of men as the territory was from the scene of the conflict. For it was on July 14, 1864, that gold was discovered in Last Chance Gulch, beginning the last of the three real "rushes" into Montana.

Gold had been discovered in Montana as early as 1856, and some believe that Father de Smet knew of its presence in the forties, but it wasn't until July of 1862 that the first strike of real merit took place. This was on Grasshopper Creek, the site of which later became Bannack City and Montana's first territorial capitol. A year later, when the richest placers had been located along Grasshopper Creek (and an estimated five million dollars' worth of gold recovered), the

latecomers began prospecting in surrounding gulches. Fortunately for the johnny-come-latelys, even richer placer deposits were found in Alder Gulch and the stampede was on again.

News of the bonanza spread rapidly and within three months the twelve miles of Alder Gulch held six thousand inhabitants. By January of 1864, when the town which sprang up in the diggings was incorporated and named Virginia City, the population had increased to ten thousand and \$10,000,000 had been washed from the claims. Virginia City was indeed queen of the gold camps and soon supplanted Bannack City as the territorial capitol, thus becoming Montana's second territorial capitol and, in time, the first state capitol.

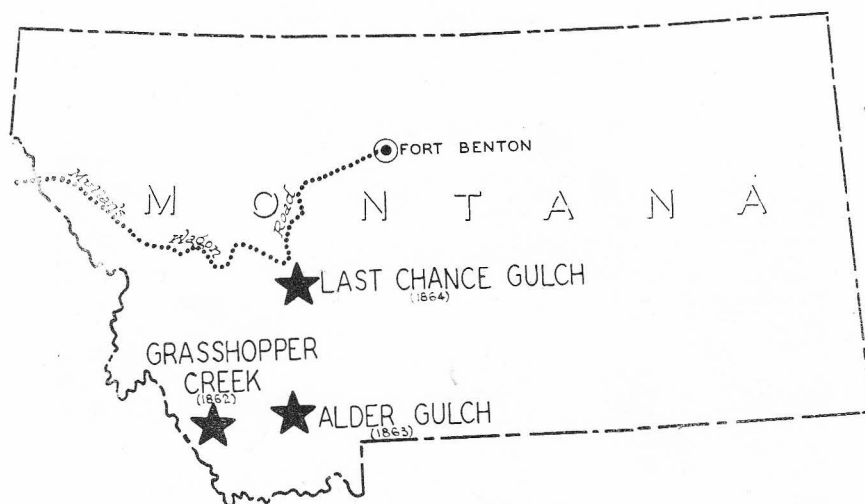
The tremendous invasion of prospectors into Alder Gulch soon exhausted the supply of available claims, and the winter of 1863-64 found a great many rootless men "giving an ear" to rumors of new strikes on the

Kootenai River in the northwest corner of Montana. In spring the exodus began as parties of enthusiastic prospectors fanned out from Alder Gulch in search of the magic mineral—gold.

One such group leaving Virginia City that spring was a party known as the Four Georgians. The four, John Cowan, D. J. Miller, Reginald Stanley, and John Crab, got as far as Hell Gate, the western pass into the Rocky Mountains, when they met a discouraged group of miners returning from the Kootenai country. Discouraged themselves, the Four Georgians decided to prospect their way back to the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains and then try their luck further up north on the Marias River. Emerging into the Prickly Pear Valley, they stopped and panned on the Prickly Pear Creek. Here they found colors but, evidently dissatisfied with the showing, decided to push on to the Marias. The farther north the four went, the less promising became the gold outlook so it was agreed to retrace their route and try again in the little gulch where they had previously found traces of gold. Referring to it as "our last chance", the Georgians sank two holes to bedrock on opposite sides of the Prickly Pear Creek and recovered enough flat nuggets to warrant a trip by Cowan to Alder Gulch for additional supplies and equipment.

Cowan's news of their discovery at Last Chance Gulch sent the restless miners of Bannack and Virginia City scurrying to the diggings, but Stanley and Miller were prepared for the rush. They had the foresight (probably learned from experience at Virginia City) to draw up a code of laws protecting their own locations and providing for an orderly system

(Cont. on P. 12)



Three Cherokees . . .

to See the "King, their Father"

The history of the relations between the Cherokees and the white man extends back a long way; indeed, almost to the very beginning of English colonial activity in America. When the English first began their colonization, the Cherokees were living in the beautiful country comprising parts of what is now the western Carolinas, Tennessee and northern Georgia. The first white people to have much contact with them were the Scotch-Irish who settled the "backwoods country" very early in the eighteenth century. Many Scotch traders came to live among the tribes so that in time some of the Cherokees were of part Scotch descent.

During the eighteenth century the Cherokees were objects of solicitous attention from the English, the French and the Spanish, all seeking to woo and win these red folk of the southern Appalachians as allies in the struggle to dominate the western country. Hence there was much diplomatic intrigue and catering to the Cherokees and their head men. In 1721 Governor Nichols secured a trade agreement between South Carolina and the Cherokees and a few years later Sir Alexander Cummings pulled a diplomatic coup de etat by succeeding in getting the Cherokees to acknowledge complete sovereignty to King George of England.

In 1755 during the war between England and France, General Braddock marched his regulars against Ft. Duquesne without the help of the Cherokees contrary to the advice of his aide de camp, George Washington. The British were defeated and Braddock was slain. The French and the northern Indian tribes, such as the Shawnees, were now free to harass the settlers of the back country and the Virginia border. To counteract this, Nathaniel Gist was sent into the Cherokee country to recruit a Cherokee force to attack the Shawnees and a band led by Ostenaco agreed to do so. Relations between the Cherokees and the Virginians now improved to the point where Governor Dinwiddie acceded to a Cherokee request that a fort be built in their country and Ft. Loudon was erected on the Little Tennessee just across the river from the Cherokee town of Chote.

The English built this fort in the Overhill country in exchange for Cherokee help against the French and their Indian allies. But things did not go as expected. Braddock's successor, General John Forbes, looked upon Indians with contempt ignoring Washington's observation: "they are more serviceable than twice their number of white men. Their cunning and craft cannot be equaled. Indians are the only match for Indians." Nor did British officers approve the policy of paying the Cherokees for enemy scalps. These factors together with such incidents as the army seizing Cherokee horses or holding Cherokees prisoners for days at a time for no reason whatever created an ugly mood in the heart of the Cherokee.

Matters came to a climax in 1760

when a group of Cherokees who had been seized as hostages by Governor Lyttleton was murdered. The Cherokees responded by attacking Ft. Loudon and capturing it. This was followed by a punitive expedition led by Colonel James Grant. The campaign was so successful that the Cherokees sued for peace and signed a new treaty of friendship in the fall of 1761. Among those who signed the treaty were Standing Turkey and Ostenaco (also known as Judd's Friend, Man Killer, and Outacite), two of the leaders of the Cherokee uprising.

The Cherokee chiefs now persuaded the English to send a representative to their people to convince them of the sincerity of English desires for peace and friendship. Lt. Henry Timberlake was chosen for this task. His mission was quite successful and on his return to Williamsburg he brought with him three Cherokee leaders, Ostenaco, Standing Turkey, and Pouting Pigeon.

At Williamsburg Ostenaco told Governor Fauquier that he would like

CUNNE SHOTE

FRANCIS PARSONS

Gilcrease Institute



to visit England "to see the great king, my Father," and believing it to be a wise suggestion Fauquier assigned Timberlake the duty of escorting Ostenaco and the other two chiefs to London. Thomas Jefferson has left us a description of the oration given by Ostenaco the night before he boarded the sloop L'Epreuve for the voyage:

"The moon was in full splendor, and to her he seemed to address himself in his prayers for his own safety on the voyage and that of his people during his absence. His sounding voice, distinct, articulate, animated action and the solemn silence of his people at the several fires filled me with awe and veneration, although I did not understand a word he uttered."

On May 15, 1762, the sloop sailed for England; on board in addition to the three Indians and Lt. Timberlake was an interpreter, William Shorey. During the voyage an event occurred which was to seriously impair the visit to England. Shorey, the only one among the party who could speak Cherokee adequately, died with pneumonia contracted apparently earlier when his Cherokee wife had plunged him into a cold river to relieve an intoxicated condition. The loss of the interpreter contributed greatly to the comic-tragic character of the Indian's stay in England.

In England the three Cherokees immediately created national excitement. The party landed at Plymouth June 16th and made its way to London stopping enroute at Exeter and the estate of Lord Pembroke. The newspaper, **St. James Chronicle**, described the Indians as "tall, well-made men, dressed in their own country fashion with only a shirt, trowsers, and mantle around them; their faces painted a copper colour, and their heads adorned with shells, feathers, ear rings and other trifling ornaments."

While waiting several weeks for an audience with the king the Cherokees spent their time visiting notable places and entertainment centers and taverns. Everywhere they went they attracted large, curious crowds much to their own displeasure. The ladies, too, evidently took quite a liking to the Indians; a song written and peddled by Mr. Howard at his place near the Union Coffee House indicates as much. And a tavern keeper wrote to a London newspaper protesting the exploitation of the Cherokees by the public, stating that his wife insisted upon the Cherokees being brought to

JOSHUA
REYNOLDS'
"SYACUST
UKAH"
(1762)

Courtesy
Gilcrease
Foundation



his tavern, saying "Although I have taken great pains to show her how unchristian-like it would be to make a show of our fellow beings", she paid no attention "for if there's money to be got in it, that's all my wife cares for."

One evening as he was about to enter a carriage Ostenaco's garment caught on the sword hilt of a gentleman and the sword was drawn. Ostenaco grabbed and broke the blade, holding up his bloody hands to the crowd as if to protest the circus-like treatment being accorded his party.

On August 13th, King George III held an audience with the Cherokees which lasted an hour and a half. Inadequate translation made the meeting difficult and the king wrote them a letter which had to await their return to Virginia for translation.

Two artists painted the Cherokees while they were in London. Francis Parsons did the imposing portrait shown here. It has never been positively established just which one of the Cherokees it represents. Timberlake does not give the name of the two chiefs who accompanied Ostenaco but the **St. James Chronicle** for July 23, 1762, states that one of them was named Tohanohawighton. When James McArdle engraved a mezzotint from the Parsons' portrait he entitled it: "Cunne Shote, the Indian Chief, a Great Warrior of the Cherokee Nation" and it seems plausible that the third Indian was Cunne Shote.

There is no other historical record making mention of a Cherokee Indian named Cunne Shote. A con-

temporary English print indicates that one of the Chiefs was named Stalking Turkey. This probably refers to Standing Turkey, the chief who played a prominent role in the events of 1760-61. Now the colonists frequently wrote his name as Cunnica-togue which is a corrupt spelling of Kanagagota meaning Standing Turkey. By abbreviating the corrupted spelling to **Cunni** and adding the name of the town from which he came, **Chote**, we have **Cunne Shote** or "Turkey of Chote." However some students firmly believe that Cunne Shote was none other than Ostenaco.

Sir Joshua Reynolds was the other artist who painted the Cherokees. He painted them as a group and also did a splendid formal portrait of Ostenaco. This he called "Syacust Ukah" which for the want of a good interpreter was an English corruption of the Cherokee words "Skiagusta Ustenacah" meaning "Chief Ostenaco." Fortunately the Reynolds portrait is now also in the United States, being owned by the Thomas Gilcrease Foundation, and a comparison of it with the Parsons painting in the Gilcrease Institute reveals that they are the portraits of two different men. (See photo.) This further substantiates the thesis that Cunne Shote, or Standing Turkey was the third Cherokee.

In spite of the hectic events of the visit the British government viewed the trip a success since it not only improved relations between the Cherokees and the colonists but it also instilled respect in the Cherokees for the might of the British Empire and for the King, "their father." M. W.



CUSTER'S DEMAND

CHARLES SCHREYVOGEL

Gilcrease Collection

CUSTER'S CAMPAIGN IN 1868-1869

During the late 1860's Indian raids in the southern plains country increased, causing considerable concern not only among the settlers but also among the soldiers in their frontier outposts. The army would strike back but often their retaliation was against the innocent tribes and, rather than subduing the Indians who had been on the war path, the action would cause peaceful factions to take up the challenge. As incidents increased General Phillip Sheridan, who was in charge of the frontier army, sent a telegram to Colonel George A. Custer asking him to return and also a request to Army headquarters in Washington asking for Custer's reinstatement from a recent suspension. Shortly, Custer was back on the plains and on active duty. Custer and Sheridan were determined to restore peace by forcing the Indians onto reservations; in order to accomplish this they decided to conduct a winter campaign. An extended campaign in snow and freezing weather would be difficult for the army but for the Indians it would be impossible. Plains Indians lived from natural resources and thus their horses without proper forage became weakened in winter, leaving the Indians to a large extent immobile.

On November 23, 1868, in a foot of snow, and to the accompaniment of "The Girl I Left Behind Me", Custer and his newly trained cavalry unit began the search for hostile Indians. After a difficult march, the scouts located an Indian camp on the banks

of the Washita (near the present town of Cheyenne, Oklahoma) and in the pink light of dawn the troops descended upon the unsuspecting Indian village of Black Kettle's Cheyennes. The village was immediately turned into a turmoil of troopers, warriors, women, and children—some fighting, others attempting to escape. Toward the final stages of the battle Custer began noticing a growing number of Indian warriors on the ridges overlooking the scene of devastation. From one of the Indian women prisoners, Custer learned that below this village on the Washita were other Cheyenne, Kiowa and Arapaho in winter encampment. Realizing his peril as the number of Indians grew, Custer completed the final destruction and burning of the village and began an orderly withdrawal.

After a triumphal return to Camp Supply (in what is now northwestern Oklahoma) and a few days rest, Custer with his calvary set out again in search of the Indians who had been camped below Black Kettle's village. Reaching the Washita, the army found the villages deserted. The Indians had fled in fright, and had gone to Fort Cobb where they hoped they would be protected by Colonel William Hazen, the fort commander.

As Custer turned his men toward Fort Cobb he was met first by a scout sent out from Fort Cobb and then by Satanta, Lone Wolf, and other lesser chiefs of the Kiowa and Arapaho tribes. The scout delivered to Custer

a written message from Colonel Hazen which assured the Colonel that all Indians beyond this point were friendly.

Custer and a guard composed of his brother, Tom, an interpreter, California Joe, and others went forward with some apprehension to meet the chiefs who carried a white flag. Their apprehension increased when they perceived that the Indians, including the tribe which remained back on the hill, were in full paint and plume of war. (This is the moment which Schreyvogel has portrayed in his painting.) Satanta spoke first and extended his hand. Custer declined the hand and, without responding to the friendly greeting, informed Satanta and the other chiefs that if they did not surrender themselves and their people and go peacefully to the reservation they too would reap the devastation that Black Kettle's Cheyenne village had suffered.

Satanta spoke of their friendship and stated that the Indians would certainly accompany the troops back to Fort Cobb. However, on continuing the march toward the fort, one by one the lesser chiefs fell back and joined the Indians who were slowly following. This maneuver was repeated until only Satanta and Lone Wolf were riding with Custer. Colonel Custer, fearing some trick, informed the two chiefs that they were his prisoners.

In the evening the troops and the tribe camped outside Fort Cobb. The morning light revealed that during the night the Indians had fled, leaving only the guarded Satanta and Lone Wolf. The people had seen their leaders made prisoners and feared that they would also be taken or perhaps attacked. Custer ordered the chiefs to send a message through Satanta's son to the sub-chiefs that the tribes must go immediately to the reservation. Satanta's son carried this message several times to his people and the response was always conditioned on the prior release of the chiefs. This Custer refused.

General Sheridan, weary of the slow movement of affairs, set forth a final resolution—either the tribes were to be on the reservation at Fort Cobb by sundown the following day or the two chiefs would be hung. Satanta's son quickly carried this message back to his people. By noon of the following day the tribes appeared on the horizon, and by mid-afternoon the Kiowa and Arapaho were on the reservation.

(Cont. on P. 12)

Lost Pages of History

INSTITUTIONS OF INDIAN TERRITORY

The following material serves to illustrate how certain pages of history might have been lost had it not been for the foresight and the ability of two men. Fifteen years ago Thomas Gilcrease looked around the state of Oklahoma and became acutely aware of the rapid disappearance of the historically important houses and buildings which had served the various Indian tribes in Indian territory. He called upon historian and artist Vinson Lackey and together they worked out a plan to "save" some part of this picture of the past; they knew they could not rebuild the buildings which had burned or fallen into decay, nor could they hold fast those which would die in the future—but they could keep a pictorial and written record of their existence. Lackey looked into old building plans, went to the site of every known institution or building; he searched out information from records and from elderly citizens who could give accurate verbal accounts. After four years of research and more years of painting the project was completed: over one hundred early Oklahoma institutions had been captured on canvas.

Vinson Lackey also wrote a brief historical description of each of the subjects of these paintings. From these notes twenty-three selections, representing a cross section of the paintings done by Lackey for this project, are presented here. The subjects include schools, missions, business and civic buildings and military establishments. Two of Lackey's paintings of Beck's and Old Fort Arbuckle, are reproduced in this issue.

The paintings, now a part of the Gilcrease Institute's collection, and

the written material help re-tell something of the history of the Oklahoma experience, unique in the story of the settlement and establishment of the states. Together the pictures and the story would make an exciting book which the Institute would like someday to publish in full.

THE CAPITOL OF THE CHEROKEE NATION was erected at Tahlequah in 1869. The brick was fired at Tahlequah, but the finished lumber and hardware came from Ft. Smith, Arkansas, by boat and wagon. It replaced a two-story log building burned by General Stand Watie's Confederate Indian troops during the Civil War, which in turn had replaced a large open shelter erected on a spot chosen by a committee from the Illi-

nois Camp Ground composed of members from the three united tribal groups: Ross' Immigrants, Ridge's Western Cherokees, and Jolly's Old Settlers. The building has served as the county court house since 1907. The site was first a camp ground; the city of Tahlequah grew up around it.

MOUILLE'S SALT WORKS, near the mouth of Brush Creek, west side of Grand River, five miles northeast of Mazie, two miles from the old Union Mission, was in use even before the Louisiana Purchase. It is not known how, or by whom, the first kettles were brought to this remote location, but when licenses were first issued by the Arkansas Cherokee Agent, William L. Lovely, in 1815, one was obtained by Bernard R. Mouille. By 1818 the salt works were in possession of Johnson Campbell and David Earhart. Earhart murdered Campbell in May, 1819, and then abandoned the works. Later it became known as "Bryant's." It was one of the region's most prolific sources of salt, yielding about a gallon of salt to eight gallons of water. The coming of railway transportation led to the abandonment of the works in the 1880's.

BECK MILL, near Flint, known also as Hildebrandt Mill, was erected in 1838. The millstones came from France and were shipped by boat up the Arkansas river to Van Buren, Arkansas, then taken by ox team to the mill site. The mill race, constructed through solid rock, required two

BECK'S MILL

VINSON LACKEY

Gilcrease Collection



years to complete. In 1872 Polly Chesterson, wife of the miller, was killed by Ezekiel Proctor. Proctor's trial before a Cherokee court at Going Snake District courthouse was interrupted by a gun battle when friends of the deceased attempted to seize Proctor and take him to Ft. Smith. Proctor was eventually pardoned by the United States government.

HUNTER'S HOME, Park Hill, was the mansion of George M. Murrell who married the niece of Chief John Ross. It was often called the "White House of the Cherokee Nation." It is preserved today as a memorial commemorating the golden age of Cherokee civilization in Oklahoma.

OLD MORMON MILL, Spavinaw Creek, was located in what is now about the middle of Spavinaw Lake. The mill was established in the early days by Joseph L. Lynch and used as a sawmill. In 1855 it was purchased by Mormons who had settled at Spavinaw and was used by them until they moved to Utah in 1860. The dam for the mill was thirteen feet high, 115 feet long, and the mill race was lined with heavy oak planking.

THE CAPITOL OF THE CHOCTAW NATION, near Tuskahoma, was erected in 1883 of native brick and sandstone. This "last resting place of the Choctaw government" is now maintained as a tribal museum by the Choctaw Memorial Association. The location of the Choctaw government was moved several times; the last move was from the Armstrong Academy buildings at "Chata Tamaha" to this new capitol six miles northeast of old "Nanih Wayah," which was the first legislative site of the Choctaw Nation west of the Mississippi River. A thriving settlement grew up around the new capitol building, called "Tushka-humma," or "Red Warrior," but when the railroad came in 1888, the capitol site was by-passed and the village moved down to the railway leaving the capitol standing alone two miles north of the new town.

CHOCTAW AGENCY, Skullyville, was established in 1831. This was the first stop in the Indian Territory for the Choctaws when they were being removed from Mississippi. The agency building was occupied continuously from 1832 until it was destroyed by fire in 1847, first by Choctaw agents and later by private parties. The treaty annuities, paid here by U.S. agents, gave the village the name "Skullyville," signifying "money town," which is derived from the Choctaw word "iskuli" meaning "small coin," or "bit of money."

Many influential Choctaw families resided here and many United States military and survey expeditions stopped at this place enroute West.

THE CAPITOL OF THE CHICKASAW NATION, Tishomingo, was built in 1897-98 of mammoth pink granite blocks from a nearby quarry owned by R. M. Harris, who was at that time Governor of the Chickasaw Nation. The most imposing and most substantial of the five Indian capitols, it replaced a two-story structure which had been destroyed by fire. Since statehood this building has served as the Johnston County Court House.

THE CAPITOL OF THE MUSCOGEE OR CREEK NATION at Okmulgee was erected in 1878 of native sandstone, replacing the two story log capitol which had served for ten years following the establishment of the Creek Nation. Prior to the Civil War the "Upper Creeks" and the "Lower Creeks" had separate tribal governments. The first log capitol, symbol of the merger of the two branches into a unified government, was the scene of many inter-tribal councils (called international councils) held by the Five Civilized Tribes. It was also the meeting place of two great meetings of representatives of the Five Tribes with those of the Plains Tribes, as well as frequent conferences between Indian leaders and U.S. government officials.

TULLAHASSEE MISSION, Tullahassee, ten miles northwest of Muskogee, was built in 1848 under the supervision of Reverend Robert M. Loughridge on a site chosen by him. It was operated jointly by the Creek Nation and the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions and functioned until the Civil War split the Creek Nation and the school personnel as well. Badly damaged during the war, it was reopened in 1868 by the Rev. W. S. Robertson who had been its first head teacher. The main school building burned in December, 1880, but the other buildings were utilized so that the school could continue. However the next year the original main building was rebuilt and became a Negro school. Rev. Robertson's wife, Eliza, received the first honorary doctor of philosophy ever conferred on an American woman in honor of her work in Indian languages. It was at Tullahassee Mission that her daughter, Alice Robertson, Oklahoma's first Congresswoman, was born.

THE WEALAKA MISSION is at Leonard. When Tullahassee Mission

burned in 1880, and new schools were needed in the Creek Nation, a site south of the Arkansas River was selected and \$25,000 was spent by the Presbyterian Mission Board to establish the new Wealaka Mission. Rev. Loughridge, who had founded Koweta and Tullahassee, was called from Texas to supervise the founding of the school, begun in 1881. The main building was destroyed by fire in the 1890's and was replaced by several smaller frame buildings which served the school until it was closed in 1909.

THE CAPITOL OF THE SEMINOLE NATION, Wewoka, was erected about 1890 to replace a one story log house which had served as a capitol for over twenty years. After statehood the property was privately acquired and the building was used as a farm house. At first the Seminoles occupied land in common with the Creeks, but in 1856 they were given a separate domain. Tribal business was conducted in a series of brush arbors, and continued so after the formation of the Seminole Nation in 1866 until sometime before 1870 when the log capitol was built.

THE FIRST QUAPAW AGENCY was seven miles northeast of Quapaw. This old house, known as the Neosho Sub-Agency, was located on Five Mile Creek in the Quapaw country. Erected about 1840, it served until abandoned during the Civil War but was reopened about 1866 and used until 1877 when the Agency was moved to about three miles west of Seneca, Missouri. Later it was moved to Wyandotte, Oklahoma, and still later to Miami, Oklahoma.

SHAWNEE BOARDING SCHOOL, Tecumseh, was erected about 1875 by the Shawnee Agency, but the school itself was started in 1871 by Joseph Newsom, a Quaker missionary. In 1872 the Agency bought the school building, enlarged it, and later had it weatherboarded. It was used as a combined dormitory and classroom. The school did not grow rapidly until after the merger of the Shawnee, Iowa, Kickapoo, and Sauk and Fox agencies.

SACRED HEART MISSION was established at a site east of Asher, in present Pottawatomie County, in 1876 by Father Isidore Robot of the Benedictine Order as a school for Pottawatomie children. Sacred Heart began as a day school but soon added two dormitory wings. A post office was obtained in 1879. In another year St. Mary's academy for girls was added and in 1883 a new boy's building was begun. Sacred Heart was

made an abbey in 1896. In 1901 the abbey burned but was rebuilt in 1902.

RAINY MOUNTAIN SCHOOL, Kiowa Reservation, near Cooperton, Kiowa County, was established in a remote part of the Kiowa country about 1885. The school's bleak setting belied its importance in the process of civilizing, educating and Christianizing the families of some of the tribe's most refractory members. It saw change from arrogance to friendliness, from buckskins to jeans, and from war chants to hymns before it closed its doors because of a work well done.

FORT COFFEE, shown about 1836, was near Spiro. Old Ft. Coffee, which occupied the most picturesque site of all Oklahoma forts, sat atop Swallow Rock, just north of present Spiro on the banks of the Arkansas River. It was founded in 1834 by Captain John Stuart to police traffic on the river and to stop the whiskey trade with the Indians. The fort was abandoned in 1838. The original buildings as well as those added later saw subsequent service as a Choctaw Academy, a mission school, Confederate barracks, and then in 1863 as a "bonfire" set by raiding Federal troops. Only one building survived to serve as a farm house until about 1940 when it finally fell into ruins.

OLD FORT ARBUCKLE was near Tulsa. In early June of 1834 Brevet Major George Birch, with two companies of the Seventh Infantry from Ft. Gibson, established this post on a high beautiful ridge two and a half miles east of the confluence of the Cimarron and Arkansas Rivers and named it in honor of Brig. General Matthew Arbuckle, of Ft. Gibson. Its purpose was to make a show of force to remind the Osages of their 1825 agreement to withdraw from Creek and Cherokee lands. A testimony to its effectiveness is the fact that by late November of the same year it had served its purpose and the troops were being withdrawn. The Osages were reluctantly moving north to the area assigned to them in Kansas. For many years the abandoned buildings were utilized by traders and campers, and when Ft. Arbuckle was established near the Washita River in 1851, the old site became known as "Old Fort Arbuckle."

FORT ARBUCKLE just west of Davis in Garvin County began in 1851 after its first site near Byars in present McClain County had been abandoned. This famous post on Wild Horse Creek was the first United States post in western Oklahoma and

served as a protection against the wild tribes of the Plains. The founder and first commandant was the noted Captain Randolph B. Marcy. Federal troops abandoned the fort at the beginning of the Civil War but reoccupied it from 1865 to 1870. Later it became the ranch of the Grant family of the Chickasaw Nation. Many of the buildings were used for a long time and a few ruins could still be seen as late as 1950.

FORT COBB, just east of the town of Ft. Cobb in Caddo County, was started October 1, 1859 by another noted soldier, Lt. Col. W. H. Emory, to protect the recently established Wichita agency. The garrison was withdrawn in 1861 when all Federal troops in Indian Territory withdrew to Kansas. Confederate Indian agents took over the agency and Confederate troops occupied the fort for a short time. On the night of October 22, 1862, a band of loyal Indians set fire to Ft. Cobb during a raid on the Wichita Agency. Late in 1865 it was reoccupied by the United States army and four years later was abandoned (March 12, 1869) when its garrison was moved to newly created Ft. Sill.

FORT DAVIS was a Confederate post established on the banks of the Arkansas River across from Ft. Gibson. It was founded by General Albert Pike and named for President Jefferson Davis of the Confederacy. The fort was occupied by Confederate In-

dian troops until the night of December 27, 1862, when it was captured and burned by Federal soldiers while most of its garrison was away on Christmas leave.

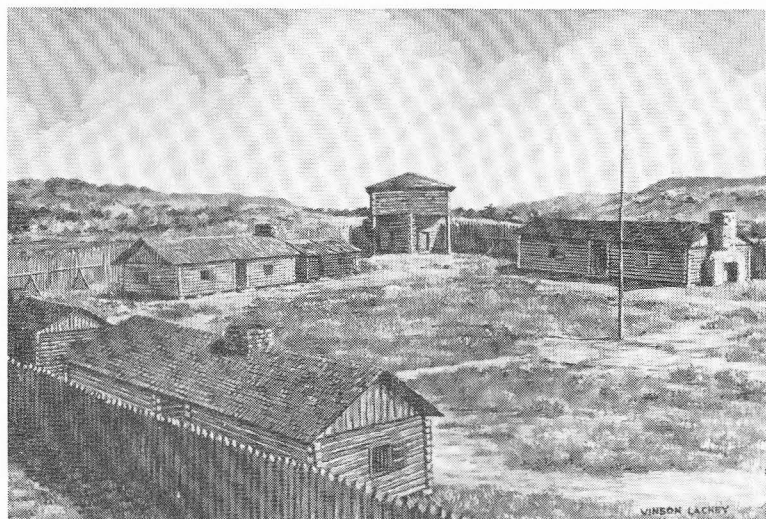
FORT SILL was erected at a site near a former Wichita village at Medicine Bluff in the Wichita Mountains in 1869. Colonel Benjamin Grierson and General Phil Sheridan chose the location for what was to become one of the most important military posts of the western frontier. At about the time of statehood it was in grave danger of being abandoned but the outbreak of the World War brought an expansion program which continued even through the Second World War and today it remains as the only active army post in Oklahoma.

FORT SUPPLY was ordered established by General Sheridan and the actual construction was supervised by General Alfred Sully. It was originally known as Camp Supply and was created in 1868 at the mouth of Wolfe Creek, Woodward County, to serve as a base of operations for the punitive expeditions of the army against the Kiowas and Comanches of western Oklahoma. It was the post from which Colonel George Custer launched his surprise raid on Black Kettle's village in November 1868. The post was abandoned in 1893 after the Cherokee Strip was opened to white settlement.

OLD FT. ARBUCKLE

VINSON LACKEY

Gilcrease Collection



LAST CHANCE GULCH

Cont. from page 5

of locating new claims. The mining camp quickly grew; tents and rough cabins were erected among the gravel and sluice boxes and the business section of town grew up right on top of the tailing piles. On October 30, 1864, a public meeting was held and the new community was named Helena. Although its placer deposits weren't as rich or its growth as sudden, Helena eventually surpassed Virginia City as the center of wealth and culture and became the state capitol.

Last Chance Gulch's transition from camp to capitol was accomplished without too much difficulty. The Mullan Wagon Road, which ran from Fort Benton to Walla Walla, Washington, passed within a few miles of the mining camp, making the bustling community the natural distributing point for supplies that came up the Missouri to Fort Benton and for freighters from Salt Lake City.

Today, Helena is a modern residential city proud of its past but living in the present. The original name of Last Chance Gulch has replaced Main Street, serving as a reminder of a remarkable pioneer achievement. J.S.

CUSTER'S CAMPAIGN

Cont. from Page 8

Satanta and Lone Wolf were held until the following summer in hopes that more Indians might be coerced into coming onto the reservation. Custer continued through the winter a peaceful and successful operation of relocating most of the southern plains Indians onto the reservations. Both Custer and Satanta met death in tragic circumstances; ironically, Custer's rendezvous at Little Big Horn in 1876 was with some of the relatives of the peoples with whom he had dealt so harshly in 1868-69. L. W.

Our Readers Report

EDITOR: Your article in **The American Scene** about my father is very fine and I want you to know our whole family appreciates this.... Carl C. Seltzer, Great Falls, Mont.

EDITOR: I enjoyed your article on this old cowboy but would like to make some comments. It was in 1889 when I saw the Buffalo Bill Show in Paris and incidentally met Rosa Bonheur while she was painting the Buffalo Bill picture on horseback and not in 1892. I first came to Denver in 1899... stayed in Denver six weeks and went to Billings, Montana, because I was disappointed not seeing anything pertaining to western life for which I had come West to portray. Also I met Charlie Russell in 1902 in the Great Northern Hotel in Billings and worked with him in his log cabin studio in Great Falls in 1904. Robert Lindneux, Evergreen, Colorado.

EDITOR: Your periodical, **The American Scene**, is always a work of art. I was particularly interested in the issue regarding the Missouri River trip of 1861.

In 1904 I traveled down the Missouri on a steamboat from Chamberlain, South Dakota to Bonesteel, South Dakota, a distance of only about 100 miles. But Mr. (William) Cary traveled over the same waters on his trip. I was in that country for the purpose of taking part, in a very small way, in a historical event. In that year the U. S. Government opened for settlement by lottery, The Rosebud Indian Reservation, Gregory County, South Dakota. The reservation was located a short distance south of Chamberlain, west of Bonesteel, and adjoined the Missouri on the west.

I had previously participated in the opening of the Kiowa-Comanche Indian Reservation, O. T., in 1901, and

the early development of two others, the Cherokee and Cheyenne-Arapaho. I was familiar with the laws governing such events.

The drawing for land was held in Chamberlain. I knew that many applicants who drew lucky numbers would appreciate a service not rendered by the Government. The Government notified them by mail; they would prefer a telegram. The mayor of Chamberlain and a bank there joined me in rendering this service to the public. I also knew one could make application, before the opening, to the Government to set aside a half section of land for townsite purposes. I made application. It was approved. The mayor of Chamberlain and some friends of mine from Oklahoma Territory joined me and on opening day we founded the town of Herrick, located in Gregory County, South Dakota, about fifteen miles northwest of Bonesteel. The mayor owned several steamboats that he operated on the Missouri out of Chamberlain. He generously provided a steamboat to take me from Chamberlain to Bonesteel as his guest. And the curtain went down. Chas. H. Lamb, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

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